UNDERSTANDING REGION:

PLACE, SPACE, TIME AND FORMATIONS OF WAYANAD

A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

REGIONAL STUDIES

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DECLARATION

I, Arun Ashokan (Reg. No. 07SRPH03) hereby declare that the thesis entitled "Understanding Region: Place, Space, Time and Formations of Wayanad" submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of Prof. M.T. Ansari, Centre for Comparative Literature, University of Hyderabad, is a bonafide research work, which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that this thesis has not been submitted in part or full to this university or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

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Supervisor　　　　　**Head of the Department/Centre**　　　　　**Dean of the School**

C O N T E N T S

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This Ph.D. thesis is a "matter"[1] of continuous discontinuities of engagements I have had with people, places, things and other living beings. A "matter" which has been indirectly influenced by the *impermanence* and *relationality*, the philosophy of Buddha on being and becoming of universe, which I perceived and conceived through cognitive "matters" of Ambedkar.

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[1]A word which signifies both Subject and Object.

When I faced the interview for Ph.D. at CRS I was very much nervous. I answered the questions posed by the interview board with conceptually overloaded but highly broken language and struggled to finish sentences. I was in a spot and a moment of distress. But the reply of board members, especially the prophetic words of Sasheej Hegde—"though you have some problem in articulation, I think you can write theoretically"—resurrected me from that state and resonated in my later life. The ethical presence of K.Y. Ratnam in the interview board and in campus life, like most of the above mentioned teachers and Simi, reinvigorated my political stands.

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For

Simi Korote

Introduction

> If it were to be
> Under the sea
> Even tall mountains
> Tend to disappear.
> You can dive deep
> To reach a mountain top
> Or climb up
> To reach the surface of a sea.
>
>   – "Ocean and the High Peak," Benoy P.J.[1]

Problem

As a concept, "region" is widely used as an indispensable category across disciplines in the social sciences[2] and humanities. Environmental determinist[3] school of geography defines region as a place bounded by geography and it considers a particular society's inhabitancy in a place as determined by the unique geographical nature of that place. However, most other disciplines[4] define region in various ways, depending on their interests, as a place bounded and determined by culture, history, language, economy and politics—in short, by the social. For these disciplines, region is a place shaped by the subject-matter of these disciplines—the place where the subject-matter operates.

While environmental determinist geography puts primacy on place/space, other disciplines give prominence to society/time. Despite this fundamental difference, environmental determinist geography and other disciplines consider region as a bounded-terrain—bounded by either the placial[5] or the social. More importantly, the nature of

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[1] Unpublished translation by the author of his Malayalam poem "Kadalum Kodumudiyum." *Sancharam: Akalangal*. (Mavelikkara: Fabian Books, 2008).

[2] Quoting from Paul Claval, Entrikin points out that "for much of the past century, the region had been one of the most commonly used and internationally recognized terms in the geographical vocabulary." See, J. Nicholas Entrikin, ed., *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) p. xv.

[3] In John Fraser Hart's opinion, environmental determinists saw "the natural environment as cause and human activities as effect; nature was the physical mold in which human activities were formed and shaped." For detailed discussion, see John Fraser Hart, "The Highest Form of the Geographer's Art" in J. Nicholas Entrikin, ed., *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) p. 43.

[4] From 1970s onwards human geographers also see region through social dynamics that is centered on human actions. This in many cases replaced nature determinism with social determinism.

[5] Placial means process of geology, climate and water along with built environment such as road, bridge, fort, military-post and underground which produce force that effect human, animal, plant, object and language to form a place as region.

these practices creates two problems. First one is the impossibility of knowing the interrelations and the mutual constitution of both place and society[6] in the formation of region. Second one is the difficulty in understanding the open-endedness of region in its every formation that has the potential to go beyond the essentialisms of both environmental determinism and social determinism. This open-endedness is formed through relational, multidirectional, overlapping and altering formations of region in relation to other regions. Understanding the open-endedness of region helps us to think and live beyond the over-emphasis on place by communities. The over-emphasis leads communities to not only see certain communities outside and inside the place as dangerous *Other* but also to fix themselves with a place by reifying both place and communities as timeless and unchanging, as evident in notions such as "fatherland," "motherland," and "son of the soil." This results in hegemony of one community over others by denying their right to live with equality, freedom and self-respect. More significantly, this essentialism prevents us from understanding that the existence of a region is not shaped by any absolute character but by *differences* and *sameness* that are formulated relationally—in relation with other regions formed inside and outside that region.

By attending to these problems through a problematizing of the formations of the region of Wayanad[7] (see map below) in relation to other regions,[8] I argue that regions are formed[9] through interrelations and mutual constitutions of *acts,*[10] *texts*[11] and *contexts*.[12] I

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[6] This also created problems in understanding the interrelation and mutual constitution of both nature and culture.

[7] In the language of modern history and geography Wayanad is one of the districts in Kerala state of India. It is situated at an altitude varying from 700 to 2100 above sea level, which topographically includes hills, valleys, forests, plantations and paddy fields. Geographically, this area is part of the Deccan plateau and Western Ghauts of South India. This region is surrounded by districts of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Wayanad and other parts of Kerala are geographically demarcated and connected by various mountain passes such as Thamarassery Churam, Periya Churam and Pakramthalam Churam. Moreover, this region is populated by socially diverse Tribal, Caste and Religious Communities, such as Paniyar, Adiyar, Kattunaikar, Kurumar, Kurichiar, Nair, Ezhavar/Thiyyar, Wayanadan Pulayar, Parayar, Syrian Christians, Dalit Christians, Mappila Muslims, Pattany Muslims, etc. In colonial records this place is spelled as Wynad, Wynaad, Wynaud, Vayanatu, Waynad, Vainad, Bynadu, Nellala and in native record it is spelled as Wayanad. In early periods, natives called this place "*Chorathintemeethal*" rather than Wayanad.

[8] In Part-II of the thesis, I delineate formations of Wayanad(s) as region(s) in relation with neighboring regions such as Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Kadathanad, Arakkal, Chirackal, Neelagiri, Kudaku and Mysore.

[9] This formation is processual, contingent and relational.

[10] This work represents *acts* as actions and activities of human, animal, plant, object, language and natural world.

further argue that mutuality and interrelationality in the formation of regions is the open-endedness of regions that has the potential to go beyond essentialisms.[13] I think these arguments help us to understand the problems of ruminations that see region as an enclosure, a backdrop, a container and a given entity. Thus, the thesis' exploration of the past(s) of the region(s) from the vantage point of the present is not an attempt to find a lofty origin and eternal essence of region[14] that has been continuing till the present day, but an attempt to show the interrelations and mutual constitutions of acts, texts and contexts in the formation of region,[15] and to elucidate the existence of different pasts that are selectively used to fabricate a narrative of an uninterrupted historical continuity of the present Wayanad(s).[16] More importantly, the "history of the present" approach of this thesis orients me to start my expedition from the present of Wayanad to understand the different formations of Wayanad as region. This approach enables me to disapprove the belief in an "original past" that is completely insulated from the effects of the present. This endeavor will help us to unravel interrelations and mutual constitution of both place/space and society/time in the formation of region and will also help us to understand our complex "relational being and becoming" in relation to regions, which is largely concealed by the predominance of the social and the overdevelopment of the temporal in the production and dissemination of knowledge.

Evoking the above problems, I problematize four seminal works[17] on region which have acquired wide currency in the Indian context. The first among these is Bernard Cohn's

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[11] In this work *texts* represent both written and oral narrative which contain sound, symbol, signifier, rhetoric, trope, form, frame and metaphors that generate certain effect on human, animal, machine, object, natural world and built environment.

[12] In this work *contexts* represent natural geography and built-environment which effects on the action of human, animal, object, terrain, oral and written language through forces of geology, climate and hydrology along with dynamics of constructed material world such as road, fort, military-post, underground and house.

[13] Most of the present inhabitants of today's Wayanad do not see Wayanad as their "place of belonging" (*Nadu*). This notion is not generated from an anti-essentialist mind but rather as a product of an "intimate othering" of Wayanad by them. See Part-I of this thesis for further discussion.

[14] For instance, one cannot see forest as an absolute character of Wayanad because in *Kadu* (forest) also people lead a kind of agrarian life. Therefore, *Kadu* is not absolutely different from *Nadu* where people live an agrarian life. See Part-II of this thesis for further discussion.

[15] See Part-I of this thesis for further discussion.

[16] See Part-II of this thesis for further discussion.

[17] One may be able to identify similar problems in many other volumes, like *Regions and Regionalism in South Asian Studies: An Explorative Study (Monograph No. 5, Program in Comparative Studies on South Asia, Duke University)*, ed., Robert Crane (Durham: Duke University, 967); *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, ed., Richard G. Fox (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1977); and *Region, Culture and Politics in India*, eds., Rajendra Vora and Anne Feldhaus (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2006).

article "Regions Subjective and Objective"[18] which first appeared in 1967 in *Region and Regionalism in South Asian Studies*, edited by Robert Crane. Cohn's work examines region's conceptual relation to the study of Indian history and society. The second is Rajendra Vora and Anne Feldhaus' Editors' Introduction to *Region, Culture and Politics in India*, published in 2006[19] that discusses different constructions of regions in India in relation to culture and politics. The third and fourth are two different articles written by Barbara Harriss-White[20] and Sudipta Kaviraj,[21] included in *Economic and Political Weekly*'s special issue on "regional political economy," published in November 2017. These two articles deserve re-examination as a "project of conceptualizing the region in the Indian context in all its diversity" which aims to "tackle the concept of region in its manifestation at multiple scales."[22] Through a critical review of these four seminal works, in the following paragraphs, I demonstrate the problems discussed above.

Cohn's conception of region largely relies on the notion prevalent in disciplines other than geography which considers region as a terrain bounded by the social. Cohn, however, borrows certain perspectives from the discipline of geography to complicate his formulation of region. He, for instance, quotes the renowned geographer Norton Ginsburg: "There is no universally accepted definition of the region, except as it refers to some portion of the surface of the earth."[23] Cohn adds that "most definitions of regions begin with a geographic component and develop out of the relationship between geographic features *and man's adaptation to the physical environment*."[24] Drawing on Prakasha Rao, Cohn remarks: "At one end of a continuum of definitions of regions would be the idea of a natural region, which would encompass only the physical basis of a

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[18] See, "Regions Subjective and Objective: Their Relation to the Study of Modern Indian History and Society," Bernard Cohn, *Barnard Cohn Omnibus* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004) pp. 100-135.

[19] Rajendra Vora and Anne Feldhan, eds., *Region, Politics and Culture in India* (New Delhi: Manohar Publisher, 2006).

[20] Barbara Harriss-White, "Constructing Regions Inside the Nation Economic and Social Structure of Space in Agrarian and Cultural Regions," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. LII, No. 46 (November 18, 2017) pp. 44-55.

[21] Sudipta Kaviraj, "Three Planes of Space Examining Regions Theoretically in India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. LII, No. 46 (November 18, 2017) pp. 56-63.

[22] Sub-national, national and super-national levels represent multiple scales. See Arjun Jayadev and Vamsi Vakulabharanam, "Possibilities of Seeing the 'Region' Differently," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. LII, No. 46 (November 18, 2017) pp. 41-43.

[23] "Regions Subjective and Objective," p. 101. It is probable that the absence of a "universally accepted definition" and meaning of region as a "surface" was born out of the use of region as a "relative frame."

[24] Ibid, p. 101, emphasis added.

region."[25] He further contends that "for the last fifty years human geographers have been developing techniques for the definition and analysis of various kinds of geographic regions, all of which involve synthetic or analytical efforts involving *space relationships which encompass human as well as physical conditions*."[26] By concluding his definition of region as "some portion of the surface of the earth,"[27] he stresses on the importance of geographic approaches in the study of regions of India.[28]

Cohn invokes the role of region as a space/place that has deep relation with the social for a potential reconceptualization of region. His delineations are, however, fraught with certain problems. In his conceptualization of region, the word *adaptation*,[29] attached to the social, gives agency to the social against the spatial by suggesting "adaptation to the physical environment" as being a capacity of human. At the same time, his use of the word *encompass*,[30] attached to the spatial, reduces space's potential agency to shape the social by marking space as mere surfaces "*which encompass human as well as physical conditions*." This narration not only provides agency to the social over place and covers the process of space/place which shapes the social but also figures the spatial as a surface where the agency of the social is at work. One of the crucial consequences of this conceptualization is the absence of attention to the reciprocal relations that mutually shape the spatial and the social.

Problems of these kinds can easily be noticed in Cohn's classification of region into four major types—historical region, linguistic region, cultural region and structural region. According to him, a historical region is "one in which there are sacred myths and symbols, *held by significant groups within the area*, regarding the relationship of people to their 'past' and the geographical entity"[31] A linguistic region is "one in which there is a

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[25] Ibid, p. 101.

[26] Ibid, p. 101, emphasis added.

[27] Bernard Cohn describes geographers, economists, planners, administrators, and political scientists who spend time to develop ideas and criteria for the establishment of planning region in India on the basis of geographic and economic variables and points out the limit of these approaches in the study of historical and/or cultural problems. Ibid, pp. 101-102.

[28] Ibid, p. 102.

[29] It means the process of changing something, for example, your behavior, to suit a new situation. See *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 8th edition, E-copy (Oxford University Press, 2010).

[30] It means including a large number or range of things or surround or cover something completely. See *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 8th edition, E-copy (Oxford University Press, 2010).

[31] "Regions Subjective and Objective," p. 102, emphasis added.

shared and recognized literary language, the standardized form of which is known and identified with by the *educated groups within the area*."[32]

Cohn defines a cultural region as "one in which there are widely shared and recognized cultural traits and patterned behavior, particularly *among the common people*. Descriptively, one or two kinds of behavior, costumes, or traits and taken a diagnostic of regional culture. Gods, goddesses, rituals, myths, and festivals are the most frequent diagnostic traits used to establish the 'reality' or particular regions."[33] For Cohn, a structural region is "one in which there are groups of associated structural variables which differentiate one structural area from another."[34]

The remarks such as "*held by significant groups within the area*," "*educated groups within the area*," "*among the common people*" that occur in Cohn's definitions mark the agency of human/social rather than that of the spatial. In his definition of historical region, usages such as "*in which*" or "*within*" in relation to region represent the meaning of region as a container, whereas the usage "*held by significant groups*" locates the agency of the social. This not only attributes subject position to social groups but also puts geography in an object position. Similarly, in the definition of linguistic region one can see usages such as "*in which*" or "*within*" that signify region as a backdrop and position "*educated groups*" as the subject/agency who acts in that backdrop. In the definition of cultural region the word *common people* not only attributes the agency of region to particular people who practice the common culture of a region but also suggests region as a construction of people's culture. However, the definition of structural region doesn't give any direct agency to the social and it doesn't explicitly mark the agency of the spatial either. Therefore, the potential of the spatial to shape the social is absent in Cohn's delineation.

Though Cohn is aware of the difficulty of strict classification of region[35] in academic practice, he doesn't grant any role for a place to shape the social. While denoting the

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[32] Ibid, pp. 102-103, emphasis added.
[33] Ibid, p. 103, emphasis added.
[34] Ibid, p. 104.
[35] In Cohn's opinion, "it is usually difficult to differentiate the four types of regions, historical, linguistic, cultural and structural, as it is assumed that there is concomitant variation among linguistic, cultural, historical and structural variables;" ibid, p. 103.

importance of region as an analytical category, Cohn doesn't extend its scope beyond the instrumentality of the category of region in academic knowledge production[36] of the social. However, in his concluding remarks, he succeeds in articulating the complex, elastic, fluid and contextual use of the concept of region in the academic practice which has been engendered by different disciplines. He concludes,

> … regions are far from fixed, enduring things, especially if any historical perspective is taken. They are not absolutes and they are difficult, if not impossible, to define by objective criteria. Where one stands and for what purpose one is observing or studying will determine the boundaries of unit one is studying. For many purposes a region, which can be defined in a relative fashion for the purpose of the study, makes a logical unit; for other purposes a village, a city or the civilization make the relatively important unit to be studied.[37]

Cohn, however, overlooks the dynamics and interface between the processes of place/space and society/time. By a careful analysis of usages such as historical region, cultural region and linguistic region that are prevalent in the practices of disciplines which classify region into different categories, one can clearly discern this problematic. These usages, which represent different disciplines, largely condition the meaning of region as a mere surface/frame/backdrop/closure/container by putting region as a suffix, and hides its potential to shape the prefix(es). This not only gives precedence to prefix(es) such as historical/cultural/linguistic in the constitution of place/space but also erases the role of place/space in the constitution of the social (historical/cultural/linguistic). In short, these sorts of articulations that are evident in the practices of disciplines discursively form the primacy of social on *placial* spatial. More importantly, it overlooks the relational constitution and mutual existence of both the social and the spatial in the formation of region.

Though published after many supposed spatio-temporal changes, the perspective offered in Rajendra Vora and Anne Feldhaus's introductory essay doesn't differ much from that of Bernard Cohn. For them, "a region is a mental construct. It is always a human product, whether the product of scholarship, political ideology, or daily life."[38] Following the path

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[36] Cohn points out that "region with all its difficulties as a concept refers to means of classification of a wide variety of kinds of data which helps analyze particular or general situations;" Ibid, p. 119.
[37] Ibid, p. 132.
[38] Rajendra Vora and Anne Feldhaus, p. 7.

of Cohn who comments on the subjective and objective perceptions of region, they further elaborate that "…whether identified 'objectively' by social scientist, recognized 'subjectively' by a poet or pilgrim, or cultivated 'cynically' by a politician, regions are created and nourished by human minds and emotions."[39] Like Cohn, Vora and Feldhaus too, lay stress on the flexible and contextual nature of the definitions of region[40] in practice. However, there are some serious problems discernable in their discussion.

For instance, Vora and Feldhaus not only negate, though obliquely, the process of place/space in the formation of social/temporal by unconditionally placing the social via human as a subject/agent who constructs region mentally, but also deny the very materiality of the human mind. Rather than destabilizing the perception of region as a geographically bounded terrain, their formulation erases all possible traces of reciprocal relations between places/spaces and societies/times in the formation of regions.

Let us now move to a discussion on Barbara Harriss-White and Sudipta Kaviraj's writings on region to understand contemporary perspectives on the conceptualization of region in the Indian context. Examining the new manifestations and mechanisms of economic and cultural regions in India that are distinct from the political units of the Indian nation, Barbara Harriss-White argues that those regions are "manifestations of the spatial patterns of Indian Capitalism." For her, "material agency of capital" is the force under the construction of economic region and intellectual activity which is employed to theorize region as the formative power under the constitution of social region.[41] Along with rent and petty production, she also considers the availability of water as a decisive factor behind the spatial patterning/formation of agrarian and cultural regions. However, her overemphasis on the process of capital and economic structure as the main

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[39] Ibid, p. 7.

[40] They examine previous discussions on region in the light of present discourses. For instance, they cite geographer Hartshone's differentiation between area and region in these terms: "Region – as an area of specific location which is in some way distinctive in relation to other areas and which extends as far as that distinction extends." Moreover, they specify the contextuality of region by stating that "a region must always be defined with reference to a context. If the context changes, the boundaries or definitions of the region can change radically;" ibid, p. 7.

[41] Barbara Harriss-White, p. 45.

determinative of manifestations of regions, devalues the force of nature such as water's constitutive role in the formation of region.[42]

She further identifies petty commodity production, surplus from agrarian labour and cultural identities as the markers of boundaries of region. Thus, for her, social factors determine the form of region and regionalization. Besides, she takes for granted the use of social categories to define region without examining its existential connectedness with place/space. This disregards not only the power of nature[43] in the manifestation of region but also indirectly refuses the mutuality of social (cultural) and spatial (placial) in the formations of regions. Therefore, her formulation of social forces[44] as the producer of spatiality of capitalist development, which disregards nature's disposition, is not adequate to address the above-mentioned mutuality.

Sudipta Kaviraj's article is an epitome of an overdeveloped form of social and temporal (historical) determinist approach in conceptualizing region. This is evident from many of the lines in his article. He writes, for instance, "just like the concept of the dog that does not bark, the concept of a region does not exist on the material ground of space. It is a concept that exists historically and, like any other social concept, is subject to the basic rules of historicity."[45] Comparing the concept of region with the Indian nation, he argues that both are historical in two senses.[46] Firstly, based on temporal span both concepts are referentially not permanent, but subject to change in accordance with historical processes.[47] Secondly, both concepts are "formed by contingent epistemic processes" which are epistemically shaped by intellectuals or social agents.[48]

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[42] She argues that "… agro-ecological zones (such as water resources) seem to have limited purchase for explaining the spatial forms of agrarian relations or cultural regions;" ibid, p. 54.

[43] By power of nature, I suggest the geological, hydrological and climatic dynamics.

[44] She sees "endowments of natural and human resources" and history and interconnected mechanism of social, cultural and political institutions as the producer of spatiality of capitalist development; ibid, p. 54.

[45] Sudipta Kaviraj, p. 56. His first sentence is a little bit ambiguous. Does he mean that the "concept does not exist?" or that the "concept does not have material existence?" What he exactly means is a little ambiguous. Perhaps he denotes that eternally and permanently a "concept of region does not exist on the material ground of space."

[46] Without rejecting one another, he also acknowledges the fundamental reality of region and of Indian nation which makes democracy a necessity by its mutual influence. He writes that "… if we ignore the reality of regions, we get a skewed and misleading picture of Indian politics, if we do not grasp this second-order reality of India, we get a picture that is skewed from the other direction;" ibid, p. 63.

[47] Like state formation, economic change and cultural configurations, Kaviraj sees the existence of region as changing.

[48] Ibid, p. 56.

At the same time, he asserts that "regions are historical; they are formed historically, and thus get unformed or transformed in time."[49] He further argues that regions are differently "bound together within one single frame" of political, economic, or cultural, and expressed and functioned by any of this character.[50] However these three influence and communicate with one another. He buttresses his argument by stating that,

> regionality is created, or regions are formed by three separate kinds of forces—political, economic and cultural—and regions are also consequently of three kinds. These three kinds of regionalities are produced by distinct kinds of logics, and their boundaries are maintained in different ways. One form of regionality also affects others, and the power of the state, in particular, affects the two other types of region formation. All three forces are communicative in the sense that they produce a certain kind of currency exchanged between individuals and groups, and the circulation of these objects—of political power, material goods and cultural artefacts—create zones of common experience and intelligibility, which have the historical effect of producing what we call regions. These three kinds of regionalities might overlap, for understandable reasons.[51]

The predominance of social and temporal is clearly discernible in Kaviraj's conceptualization of region. Kaviraj argues that regions are not only formed distinctly by social forces and by contingent epistemic processes of human agents but have also changed through the course of time, subject to historical processes. It is evident that for him social forces mean political, economic and cultural forces which form separate regions, and these forces influence one another in an overlapping manner. Moreover, it is also clear from his words that cognitive and physical actions of humans are the decisive factors of social forces and contingent epistemic processes along with political, economic and cultural structures of society. If we think about historical process (that means interconnected past events in a temporal logic) from these argumentations of him, we can understand that action of human agents is the determent of historical process. Thus the thrust of his arguments is that region is formed by human actions, an argument that amounts to social and temporal determinism. This conceptualization of region not only denies the forces of place and space in the constitution of social and temporal but also

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[49] Ibid, p. 58.
[50] Ibid, p. 58.
[51] Ibid, p. 58.

fails to understand the symbiotic relationship between space and time (place and society) in the formation(s) of region(s).

Let us once again turn to Cohn and Kaviraj. According to Cohn, regions change their "nature through time. Various kinds of circumstances can rapidly alter the boundaries and very nature and conception of a region."[52] According to Kaviraj, regions are historical, "they are formed historically, and thus get unformed or transformed in time."[53] One can see similarities in ideas among the four writings discussed above: in one way or the other, they view region as socially or temporally constituted. While Vora and Feldhaus's narrative defines region as a mental construct, Barbara Harriss-White's writings conceptualize region as a social manifestation. These two views signify region as a given geography and as a place geographically-bounded by social. All the four writings I have discussed so far see region as a construction of social processes that indirectly question the environmental determinist stand which sees society/human as a construction of geographically bounded place, i.e. region. These writings offer the possibility to think beyond geographical essentialism that fixes region as an immutable geographical entity.

However, their analysis is fraught with another set of problems: that of social determinism which suggests that the formation of any place/space is unilaterally determined by the social. To elaborate, this conceptualization not only locates the precedence of the social but also fixes primacy of time by perceiving region as an entity that is "changing (its) nature through time" and "get(s) unformed or transformed in time" by unknowingly keeping silence about the process of place/space, as evident from the above examples. Similar to the denial of the mutual constitution of space/place and society/time in the formation of region, this conceptualization locates region as an entity that linearly progresses and changes through time by unifying societal process in a linear temporal manner; which the theory of historical continuity, i.e. historicism, has reified. More significantly, this practice unintentionally fixes each region in the world in a temporal stage based on the progressing temporal order of history that runs through temporal stages such as primitive, feudal and capitalist, or marks the linearly progressing stages of time by regions as underdeveloped, developing and developed. Subsequently, it

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[52] "Regions Subjective and Objective," p. 113.
[53] Kaviraj, p. 58.

sets a hierarchy of regions parallel to the progressing order of time, demotes one region under another, and positions one as more privileged than the other.
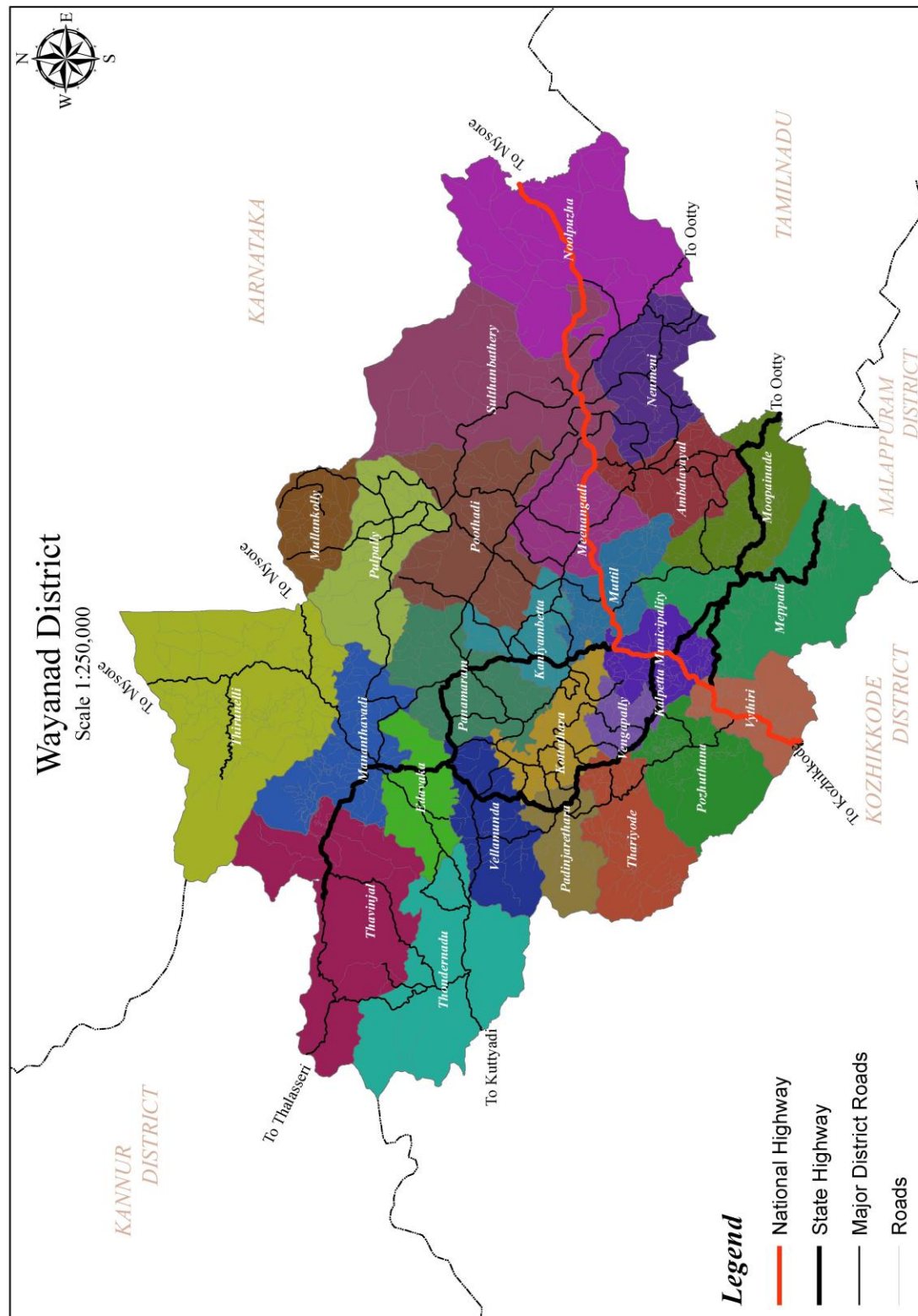
Research Questions

In this thesis I delineate (i) how a region is positioned in a linearly progressing order of time, as a space, while one's writing of history forms a region; (ii) how place and society mutually constitute each other in the formation of region that is actualized by geography-mapping; and (iii) how the relation between time and space is non-linear and non-hierarchical while a region is formed mutually through everyday practices of a community (like the Wayanadan Pulayan[54]) and the effects of place upon them. In order for this, firstly, I unravel the temporal location of the region of Wayanad(s) in the linearly progressing order of written history by addressing the formation of Wayanad(s) as a region through history-writing and by problematizing the questions of origin, continuity and time in that process. Secondly, I examine the context, act and text that are active in the geography-mapping of Wayanad(s) to understand the dynamics of place and society in the formation of region. I delineate mutual constitutions and reciprocal interrelations of places and societies in the formation of regions by uncovering mutual constitution of context, act and text in the formation of regions. Thirdly, I map the everyday formation of the region of Wayanadan Pulayan through their everyday geography and genealogy and show the mutual constitution of place/space and society/time in the formation of their region that works in a non-linear and non-hierarchical fashion.

Methodology

In the first part of the thesis, I deploy textual-reading method[55] to unravel the temporal location of the region of Wayanad in our present. This is achieved by problematizing the production and reproduction of three important narrative-plots such as *Stories of Vedar[56] Raja*, *Etymologies of Wayanad* and *Engravings of Edakkal Cave* in the registers of history that figure and configure Wayanad(s) as a region. Even though I examine each narrative-plot separately, I explore the complex relation of these narrative-plots within a wider narrative milieu. Through this method, I elucidate the process of history-writing in

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[54] Wayanadan Pulayan is a community living exclusively in Wayanad. It is categorized as scheduled caste. The word Wayanadan Pulayar is used in the work as the plural form of Wayanadan Pulayan. For a detailed discussion see chapter 8.

[55] This is an interpretative method that analyses plots, contents, structures, tropes, rhetorics, symbols, signs, signifiers, forms and narrative strategies of texts to understand discursive formation of meanings generated by the texts.

[56] In this study, the name Vedar historically represents Mullu Kurumar, Mullu Kurumber, Mollu Kurumbar, Kurumber, Kurumbar, Kurumar, Coorumber, Cooroomber, and Bedar, according to the sources referred.

relation to the basic tenets of history—origin, continuity and time—that constructs a Wayanad as well as the work of history-writing in the formation of region(s) and human subjectivities. This helps me to critically understand the historicity of the histories that were written *on* the places of Wayanad(s) that produce a relegated temporal spatiality of Wayanad(s) in relation to other places that were located as regions outside Wayanad in the written history.

For this purpose, I travel through popular history books such as *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions*,[57] *Wayanad Rekhakal*[58] [Notes on Wayanad] and *Ariyappedatha Wayanad*[59] [Unknown Wayanad].[60] I also cross-examine colonial records such as the *Mackenzie Manuscript*,[61] *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*,[62] *A Manual of the Nilgiri District*,[63] *Malabar Gazetteer*[64] and *Engravings of Edakkal Cave*[65] that the authors of the above-cited works used as sources of writing of history.

In the second part of the thesis, I deploy genealogical method[66] to uncover the mutual constitution of contexts, acts and texts in the formations of the region of Wayanad. I do

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[57] This is a seminal popular historical and anthropological book about Wayanad written in English in 1911 by Rao Bahadur G. Gopalan Nair. See G. Gopalan Nair, *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions* (first published: Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1911; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000).

[58] This is a popular history book written in Malayalam by O.K. Johnny, published in 2001. See O.K. Johnny, *Wayanad Rekhakal,* (Calicut: Pappiyon, 2001).

[59] This is another popular history book on Wayanad written in Malayalam by Mundakayam Gopi published in 2002. See Mundakayam Gopi, *Ariyappedatha Wayanad* (Kalpetta: Sahya Publications, 2002).

[60] These books generally rely on published stone and copper plate engravings and inscriptions which were discovered from Edakkal Cave, Thirunelly Temple and Sulthan Bathery Mariammankovil, as well as excavated artefacts from different areas in Wayanad as sources of their history-writing.

[61] Manuscript generated and collected by Collin Mackenzie during the period between late decades of eighteenth century and early decades of nineteenth century.

[62] C.D. Maclean, ed., *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* (originally printed by E. Keys and first published in 1885; New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1982).

[63] H.G. Grigg, *A Manual of the Nilgiri District in the Madras Presidency* (Madras: Government of Madras, 1880).

[64] C.A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer*, ed., F.B. Evans (first printed 1908, reprinted 1951 in Madras by Madras Government Press; Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Gazetteer Department, 1997).

[65] Fawcett, "Note on the Rock Carvings in the Edakal Cave Waynad" in *Indian Antiquary: A Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XXX, Bombay, 1901.

[66] This is a method which analyzes interrelation between discursive formations and Non-discursive formations in being and becoming of subjects. In this, discursive formations means discourse generated through languages, texts, mental and symbolic interactions, and non-discursive formations means process and force of place, space, built-environment and other material manifestations. This genealogical method critique and overcome meta-historical dispositions of history such as search for *lofty origin*, belief in *uninterrupted continuity* and *indefinite teleology*. For discussion on relation between discursive and non-discursive formations in Foucault's methodology, see Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 1988) pp. 1-23. For further discussion on genealogical method, see chapter one; section Michel Foucault for further discussion.

this through a simultaneous exploration of three interrelated areas. Firstly, I analyze the mapping of new places and territories through war, loot and revenue collection[67] during the period between the 18th and 19th centuries on certain terrains in Malabar and Mysore, which changes their material context, and form *Churathintemeethal*[68] or Wayanad as region(s). Secondly, I explain forces of the place[69] *Churathintemeethal* or Wayanad upon people (those who were operating war, loot and revenue collection on that place and its adjacent places by using those places as a refuge) that forces them to experience that place as a region.[70] Thirdly, I elucidate the text's framing (which is also a kind of mapping) of Wayanad(s) as region(s) through writing of texts like treaties, reports, contracts, agreements and correspondences from *Churathintemeethal* and neighboring terrains by the Mysore and British rulers and the natives.

Towards this purpose, I primarily navigate through sources such as *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792-93*,[71] *Talasseri Rekhakal* [Records of Talasseri][72] and *Pazhassi Rekhakal* [Records of Pazhassi][73] along with other secondary sources such as *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal* [Records of Pazhassi's Struggle],[74] *History of*

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[67] The war, loot and revenue collection I mention here is the one among the British East India Company, the Mysore regime of Hyder Ali Khan and Tipu Sulthan, and Pazhassi Raja and other inter-rivalries Native Chieftains of Malabar.

[68] *Churathintemeethal* literally means above the hilly-pass.

[69] By forces of place, I mean geographical forces such as geological, hydrological and climatic forces that have an effect on people.

[70] I suggest that a map of the region is drawn in the mind of people through their bodily interaction with the place.

[71] This is a report about the state and condition of the Malabar province along with revenue, judicial and military affairs, prior to 1793, which was submitted by William Samul Farmer and Major Alexander Dow (after Seringapatam Treaty which ends the third Anglo-Mysore War in 1792) – by the order of Robert Abercromby, the Governor General of Bombay, who issued the order as per the direction of Lord Cornwallis, the Governor General of India. See J. Rejikumar, ed., *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792-93* (Kochi: Kerala State Archive, 2010).

[72] *Talasseri Rekhakal* is a collection of correspondences between British Company officials, Native Chieftains (like Kottayam Raja and Kurumbranad Raja) and tenants about Revenue collections, Judicial Proceedings and Military operations, roughly in the period of 1796-1804, compiled by the European linguist and missionary Hermann Gundert. See Scaria Zacharia, ed., *Talasseri Rekhakal: Tuebingen University Library Malayalam Manuscript Series* [TULMMS] Vol. V, (Kottayam: Centre for Kerala Studies and D.C. Books, 1996).

[73] *Pazhassi Rekhakal* is a collection of correspondences between British Company officials, Native Chieftains (like Kottayam Raja and Kurumbranad Raja) and tenants that is mainly about Pazhassi's rebellion. However, it also includes discussions on Military operations, Judicial Proceedings and Revenue collections, roughly in the period of 1796-1804. This was also compiled by the European linguist and missionary Hermann Gundert. See Scaria Zacharia, ed., Tuebingen *Pazhassi Rekhakal: University Library Malayalam Manuscript Series* [TULMMS] Vol. II, (Kottayam: Centre for Kerala Studies and D.C. Books, 1996).

[74] Foreign political consultations about Pazhassi rebellion are available at the National Archives of India, New Delhi. These are listed as an index in *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal (Records of Pazhassi's Struggle)* as a

the Madras Army,[75] *Malabar*[76] and *A Collection of Treaties (on) British affairs in Malabar*.[77]

In the third part of the thesis, through a deployment of dialogic-ethnographic method, I elucidate the everyday formation of the region of Wayanadan Pulayan by their everyday production of geography and genealogy and show mutual constitution of place/space and society/time in the formation of their region that function in a non-linear and non-hierarchical mode. I further elaborate how the formations and the spatio-temporality of the region of Wayanadan Pulayan differ from the spatio-temporal orders of Brahmanism and Capitalism even though they also live under the spatio-temporal orders of Brahmanism and Capitalism.

To understand the everyday formation of region, I lived with members of the Wayanadan Pulayan community in their place. In this venture, I was guided by Premkumar and Dasan who belong to the Wayanadan Pulayan community. Instead of the method of independent observation of mine, I have depended on discussion and dialogue with members of this community to make sense of their everydayness. They recollected accounts, stories and songs about their geography and genealogy, and discussed with me the relation these narratives have with their day-to-day practice. In addition, I depended on the manuscript of *Wayanadan Pulayarute Jeevithavum Samskaravum* [Life and Culture of Wayanadan Pulayar] written by Premkumar to deepen my understanding of their life worlds.

Structure of the Thesis

To address the three problematics this thesis unravels, I have divided this thesis into three major parts, each part containing three, four and one chapters respectively. The first chapter of Part-I offers a theoretical discussion on the formation of the present understanding of history and history-writing in relation to the basic tenets of history—origin, continuity and time—and on how a linearly progressing history-writing positions

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source. However, because of its current form which is a result of many translations—from old Malayalam(s) to English and retranslation of English to Malayalam which is available in this book—I am not considering those correspondences as central source for my enquiry. See K.K.N. Kurup, *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal* (Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2008).

[75] See W.J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. III (Madras: Government Press, 1883).

[76] William Logan, *Malabar*, Vol-I (first published in 1887; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989).

[77] William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar* (Calicut: Minerva Press, 1879).

regions in a hierarchical order of the time of modernity. The second chapter problematizes two narrative-plots, the *Stories of Vedar Raja* and *Etymologies of Wayanad*, to show how the production and reproduction of these plots were used to build a narrative of the origin of the political lineage of Wayanad and to install a linearly progressing history of Wayanad. This chapter also delineates how this linearly progressing history positions the region of Wayanad and certain subjectivities in the primitive stage of temporal order by temporally demoting them and erasing heterogeneous pasts and fixing a *lofty origin* of Wayanad.

The third chapter which problematizes the *Engravings of Edakkal Cave*, another narrative-plot, describes how deciphering of the meaning of engravings and inscriptions detects the foundation of the History of Wayanad, and offers grounds for historical continuity of the region, and provides reasons for imagining the region and certain subjectivities as primitive by relegating them in the temporal order of history. Through these chapters, I elucidate how history-writing and its historicities scripted the terrains of Wayanad into (pre)modernity by constructing it as a region. Put differently, these chapters uncover the imagined Wayanad as well as the agencies and subjectivities that were demoted by the process of history-writing. These chapters also show how history-writing acts as an allegory that (un)consciously produces Wayanad as the relegated *Other* and Kerala as the progressed *Self*.

In the first chapter of Part-II, I offer a theoretical discussion which delineates the contemporary configuration of the meaning of space, territory and place that are asymmetrically connected with society, geography and geography-mapping. The second chapter of Part-II outlines the preliminary phase of early-modern[78] formations of Wayanad as region which happened roughly from the first invasion of Mysore regime on the terrains of Malabar to the attack and loot of British military on Pazhassi's palace, chronologically from 1766 to 1796. The third chapter of Part-II delineates the later changes in the nature of early-modern formations of Wayanad as region which happened roughly around the attack of British military on Pazhassi's palace to the conquering of

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[78] In the knowledge of discipline history, early-modern represents preliminary phase of modern period. Here, periodically, I consider this as modernizing phase of India from 16th to 19th century. But, one cannot explicate and write about pastness of early-modern, as such. Because, as C.H. Carr points out, we can only understand past (early-modern) through the present eye. For detailed discussion, see Chapter one.

Sreerangapattanam[79] by the British and the killing of Tipu Sulthan,[80] from 1796 to 1799. The fourth chapter of Part-II sketches the conclusive stage of early-modern formations of Wayanad as region that occurred roughly from the assassination of Tipu Sulthan[81] to the killing of Pazhassi Raja[82] and conquest of terrains of Wayanad, from 1799 to 1805.

Through these chapters I explicate that control on act, text and context means the control on bodies of act, text and context. I further argue that control on the bodies and control by the bodies are prerequisites for the formations of regions. I extend my argument that the mutuality of shaping of act, text and context in the formation of region is nothing but control on the bodies (of act, text and context) by the bodies (of act, text and context). Therefore, control on the bodies (of act, text and context) by the bodies (of act, text and context) is not only the way of formation of region but also the constituent of that formation. So every formation of region through the effect of bodies on other bodies not only provides a possibility of (de)formation of other regions, but also probably deforms every formation itself.

The lone chapter in Part-III of the thesis begins by picking on two responses that I encountered in the field and I show how these responses interrogate, complicate and provoke our academic common sense. I treat these responses as a counter-encounter against the dominant praxis of ethnographic encounter that produces epistemological and ontological violence towards the people who engage with ethnography. To overcome this methodological problem, I employ a dialogic-ethnographic method that bypasses the observer/observed binary by emphasizing the collective reflexivity of people engaged in the production of knowledge. Adopting this method, in this chapter, I elucidate the relation between the everyday-life (act), geography (context) and genealogy (text) of the Wayanadan Pulayan to show the mutual constitution of place/space and society/time in the everyday formation of the region.

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[79] Sreerangapattanam is also marked as Seringapatam and Pattanam in earlier records which are used in this study.
[80] The name Tipu Sulthan also figures as Tipoo Sulthan, Tipu Sultan and Tippoo Sultaun in this study.
[81] The assassination of Tipu Sulthan resulted in the fall of Mysore.
[82] The records which I used in this study spell Pazhassi Raja as Palassi and Paichey.

The mutual constitution of place/space and society/time is produced through *acts* such as *Kalari-thurakal, Thulapathu, Puthary, Thira*, funeral, marriage and birth; *contexts* such as *Paynad* which has four divisions—Ettukoorodu, Naalnaatil, Kyakkithara and Aarum-Moonum-Ompathuvaramb; and performative *texts* such as *Kayyanakku, Kalppattu* and *Paattu*. I further argue that the everyday formation of the region of *Paynad* and its spatio-temporality is non-linear and non-hierarchical by virtue of being different from the linear and hierarchical spatio-temporality of Brahmanic-Capitalism though they live under Brahmanism and Capitalism. The dynamic of the formation of the *Paynad* region and its spatio-temporality offer a hopeful future by being different from the linear and hierarchical spatio-temporality which is the reason behind their relegated position in the birth-based spatio-temporal order of Brahmanic-Capitalism.

Along with these three parts, this thesis includes a glossary of non-Enlgish words which are found in the colonial and native sources—oral and written—that are used in this work, and an appendix about the reciprocal relationship between geography and community of Mullu Kurumar.

I would also like to hope that, owing to the non-linear emphasis in methodology and arguments, instead of a linear reading, one can start reading this thesis from any part….

Re-conceptualizing Region

Let me offer a brief discussion of the theorization of certain geographers which has led to a re-conceptualization of the concept of region. The works of Allen Pred, Nigel Thrift, Anssi Paasi, John Agnew, Robert Sack, Doreen Massey, Edward Soja, David Harvey, Nicholas Entrikin and Ash Amin have played an important role in this re-conceptualization.[83] Among these scholars, Allen Pred, Nigel Thrift, David Harvey, Edward Soja, Anssi Paasi and Ash Amin are geographers who have, in one way or the

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[83] It was an apparent shift from the chorological perspective of region proposed by Richard Hartshorne. For Hartshorne region is a more or less static objective natural entity. He defines region as "an area of specific location which is in some way distinctive from other areas and which extends as far as that distinction is determined by the student using the term; if not explicitly stated, it must be judged from the context." See Anssi Paasi, "The Institutionalization of Regions: A Theoretical Framework for Understanding the Emergence of Regions and the Constitution of Regional Identity," (first published in 1986), in J. Nicholas Entrikin, ed., *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) p. 78.

other, made important contributions to the theorization of the social construction of region.[84]

Allen Pred uses the concepts of region and place almost interchangeably, without any significant difference. Contrary to the chorological view, which identifies regions through certain characters of a specific land that makes one region different from another, Pred theorizes region as a human product, produced through social acts and interactions. He argues that,

> place (region)…always involves an appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space.…It also is what takes place ceaselessly, what contributes to history in a specific context through the creation and utilization of a physical setting.[85]

To conceptualize place as a process, Pred incorporates the theory of structuration, transdisciplinary ability of time-geography and the Vidalian tradition. Drawing on these, he theorizes place (region) as "a historically contingent process that emphasizes institutional and individual practices as well as the structural features with which those practices are interwoven."[86] He further elaborates this process as "…the material continuity both of the people who participate in that process and of any natural and humanly made objects employed in time-space specific practices."[87] Moreover, he defines human beings who participate in this process as both subject and object of this process.

He maps the becoming of place through simultaneous occurrence of components of historically contingent process.[88] He further asserts that continuous becoming of practice

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[84] Theories of Anthony Giddens, Pierre Bourdieu, Roy Bhasker and Jurgen Habermas which show the processual and dialectical manifestations of structure and practice of society in time and space were the main stimulation for their conceptualizations. Gidden's theory of structuration and theory of time-geography by Torsten Hagerstand were some of the key referents of Allen Pred, Nigel Thrift, Anssi Paasi and Edward Soja; see ibid, pp. 68-69.

[85] Allan Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process: Stucturation and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places," (first published in 1984) in J. Nicholas Entrikin, ed., *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) pp. 131-149.

[86] Ibid, p. 132.

[87] Ibid, p. 132.

[88] The components of historically contingent process are: (i) practice (intersection of individual paths and institutional projects); (ii) structure (establishment, reproduction and transformation of power relations); (iii) life's connectedness with nature and social reproduction; production and distribution (spatial and social division of labour); sedimentation of other cultural and social forms; (iv) biography formation and

and structure are parallel to the recurrent becoming of production, reproduction, formation of biographies and transformation of nature.[89] Subsequently, he explains that the physical environment also changes like "place-specific biography" and "place-specific social reproduction" which produce each other. This changing nature of the physical environment is indivisible from the becoming of place.[90] He marks human body as an indistinguishable part of nature by pointing out its biological constitution, and further suggests that by involving themselves in the "becoming of place," people are not only mentally transformed by social and other experiences but also change their physical nature as their path that runs unstoppably from birth to death.[91] He further remarks that like human beings, nature and objects have life with biographies that mark their course of emergence and disappearance. For him, the becoming of place "can easily escape conventional linear language" because the paths and projects which engage in continuity of material world are nothing but simultaneous occurrence of things and their disappearances.

Nigel Thrift's conceptualization of region, signaled in his work on time-geography,[92] is developed in detail in his work on social action.[93] Through time-geography analysis, which he developed from Torsten Hagerstand's studies, he endeavors to offer a realistic picture of temporal and spatial relations within and between societies that are actualized through paths[94] and projects.[95] In this, he conceives region as a collection of spatial

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socialization; language acquisition; personality development; and development of consciousness; and (v) transformation of nature.

[89] Ibid, pp. 134-143. In another occasion Pred remarks that place (region) "… is a process whereby the reproduction of social and cultural forms, the formation of biographies, and transformation of nature ceaselessly become one another, at the same time that time-space specific path-project intersections and power relations continuously become one another."

[90] Ibid, p. 139.

[91] Ibid, p. 140.

[92] See Nigel Thrift, *An Introduction to Time-Geography* (Norwich: Geo Abstracts, 1977).

[93] See Nigel Thrift, "On the Determination of Social Action in Space and Time," *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, Vol. I (1983) pp. 23-57. In this work he shows the mutual constitution of structure and human agency by negate the oppositional theories that either privileged structure's determination on agency or privileged agency's determination on structure. Social action in Thrift's theorization is a rework of Marx's concept of "labour process." He quotes from Gregory: "The labour process (properly conceived) is the very locus of structuration since, in Marx's words "labour is, first of all, a process between man and nature" through which he acts upon external nature and changes it, and in this way he simultaneously changes his own nature;" ibid, foot note 18, p. 39.

[94] "The human population is conceived of as forming a web of paths which flow through a set of time-space locations or situations. In the "aquarium" of the relevant time-space unit anything having spatial and temporal extent can be described as paths (for instance, people, plants, animals, buildings and so forth). Each path has different life-span;" Nigel Thrift, *An introduction to Time-Geography,* p. 7.

locations such as residences, places of work and shops.[96] Moreover, he also contends that disentanglement of time from space is impossible. He writes that "just as a car with no engine has no movement (and so no rationale) so space with no time has no dynamic and is equally curious."[97]

In his work on social action, he defines region as a continuous process, not a stagnant plain; an "*actively passive* meeting place of social structure and human agency" and "generator and conductor of structure."[98] Simultaneously, he suggests region as a sphere of interaction which offers possibilities and impossibilities for the actions of individuals. For him, region is precisely "made up of a number of different but connected settings for interaction…that is mediated by institutional correlations with social structure."[99] He elaborates that "in any region the life paths of particular individuals can interact, simply because they are collateral, near to one another in time and space."[100] This interaction of individuals, dependent on a specific model of production or consumption, results in a particular production of region.[101] In short, in Thrift's view, region is a medium and an outcome of social-action/interaction where social structure and human agency meet. Therefore, in his conception region is a relational social construct produced by social action.

In his article on geographical imagination, knowledge and power,[102] David Harvey treats the concept of region as a main structural component of geographical knowledge. In his view, "region is the most entrenched of all geographical concepts," because of its central role in defining the main areas of geography—regional differentiation. Terms such as locality, territory and place are often used in academic discourses as substitutes to the

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[95] "All human beings have goals. To attain these they must have projects, series of tasks… for goal attainment… form a project.… Projects involves people and their time, space and in many instances materials, tools, animals and plants – a series of interrelated living and non-living entities;" ibid, p. 7.
[96] Ibid, p. 25.
[97] Ibid, p. 4.
[98] He argues that "a region is lived through, not in." He elaborates that "… social activity in any region takes place as a continuous discourse, rooted in a staggered series of shared material-situations that constantly arise out of one another in a dialectically linked distribution of opportunity and constraint, presence and absence;" ibid, p. 38.
[99] Ibid, p. 40.
[100] Ibid, p. 40.
[101] Ibid, p. 40.
[102] David Harvey, *"*The Sociological and Geographical Imaginations," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 18, No. 3/4 (2005) pp. 211-255.

concept of region. In his opinion, region has been defined in many ways, either in terms of materialistic qualities or in terms of mentalities of populations.[103] For him, region is a "mix of material, social and mental processes," and definitions which see region as either made or constructed are not enough to address the double-ness of region produced both mentally and materially by human labour.[104]

In his article on region that delineates the development of regional political economy in the recent past, Edward Soja[105] offers a discussion of his idea about the concept of region. In his opinion, "retheorization of spatiality" of social life that happened in recent times in a "reconstructed ontology of human society" is "part of an encompassing process of the social production of space."[106] He posits region as product of socially and historically contingent process that is not only part of multifaceted spatiality such as everyday practices and "immediate built environment" but also part of global networks of flows and productive forces of capitalism.[107] One can discern his concept of region in the promises of re-theorization of spatiality. He considers the "social production of space," "the existential link between spatiality and human agency," human production of geography and history, and unitedness and interchangeableness of social and spatial relations as promises.[108] What emerges from this discussion is that Soja conceptualizes region as a social product.

While Doreen Massey's take on the concept of region is not much different from the social constructivist view, her approach to region is grounded on spatial analysis. In one of her articles, she argues that "…regions must be constituted as an effect of analysis; they are thus defined in relation to spatial uneven development in the process of

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[103] On the one hand it depends on soils, geological forms and land uses and such homogenous qualities. On the other hand, it depends on "coherent relations between diverse elements." While few of them defines region in terms of materialistic qualities such as physical qualities of terrain, climatological regime, built environments and tangible boundaries, others define region in the terms of mentalities such as "ideas, loyalties, a sense of belonging, structures of feelings, and ways of life, memories and histories and imagined community;" p. 245.

[104] Ibid, p. 245.

[105] Edward Soja, "Regions in Context: Spatiality, Periodicity, and the Historical Geography of the Regional Question," (first published in1985) in J. Nicholas Entrikin, ed., *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) pp. 151-166.

[106] Ibid, p. 152.

[107] Ibid, p. 153.

[108] Ibid, p. 153.

accumulation and its effects on social (including political) relations."[109] She introduces one of her major terms of spatial analysis, "spatial division of labour," which she defines as a "way in which economic activity responds to geographical inequality."[110] In her collaborative work *Rethinking the Region*,[111] which "re-imagine(s) the region in an open, relational political context,"[112] she extends her argument on the decisiveness of the social. By asserting the connectedness of region with space and place her work suggests two principles to define a region.

The first one is a "relational approach to thinking about space and place" which "understands both space and place as constituted out of spatialized social relations—and narratives about them—which not only lay down ever-new regional geographies but also work to reshape social and cultural identities and how they are represented."[113] Her second principle asserts that all studies about region are based on a definite aim and none of them can study region completely. There are manifold ways for viewing region and no one can offer a total picture of a region. "Regions only exist in relation to particular criteria. They are not 'out there' waiting to be discovered; they are our (and other's) constructions."[114]

Anssi Paasi sees the concept of region "as a human and social category."[115] He conceptualizes "region as a process" which is "continually reproduced and gradually transformed in individual and institutional practice" after its initial formation. Instead of treating region as a "flat lattice" or a "given context" where society establishes and consciousness happens, or as a "framework" which contains all kinds of object, subject and idea, he defines region as "a concrete dynamic manifestation of social (natural, cultural, economic, and political, etc.) processes that affect and are affected by changes in

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[109] Doreen Massey, "Regionalism: Some Current Issues," (first published in 1978) in J. Nicholas Entrikin ed,. *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) pp. 111-130.
[110] Ibid, p. 119.
[111] John Allen, Doreen Massey and Allan Cochrane, *Rethinking the Region* (London: Routledge, 2002).
[112] Ibid, p. viii.
[113] Ibid, p. 1.
[114] Ibid, pp. 1-2.
[115] Anssi Paasi, "The Institutionalization of Regions: A Theoretical Framework for Understanding the Emergence of Regions and the Constitution of Regional Identity," (firstly published in 1986) in J. Nicholas Entrikin, ed., *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) pp. 67-108.

spatial structures over time."[116] He further argues that "space and its symbolic and ideological dimensions, as well as its material basis (e.g. nature, economic development) are essentially social categories, and thus essentially reflect the development of the society."[117] Paasi criticizes the geographers for their emphasis on spatial that devalues the social which constructs region.[118]

By interlinking the question of region with the question of "historical continuity," he lays emphasis on social processes that establish, reproduce and transform regions.[119] He further argues that "the region ...is an institutional sphere of *longue durée* representing one specific dimension of the spatial structure of the society. Although a region is a contingent historical process within the society, just as is a place for an individual, the former, because of its institutional role in the society, manifests itself in a more permanent structure."[120] Differentiating region from place, he shows the difference between collective and individual consciousness that region and place produce respectively.[121] He adds that "instead of the man-centered category of place, a region is interpreted as a category with an explicit collective dimension which represents institutional practices and the history of the region, not the history of an individual as a place does."[122]

Paasi delineates four stages, which simultaneously works, either completely or partially, to explain the institutionalization of region: (i) assumption of territorial shape; (ii) development of conceptual (symbolic) shape; (iii) development of spheres of institutions; and (iv) establishment of the regional system and regional consciousness. These four are interconnected stages that enable us to understand the institutionalization of region.[123] For him,

> institutionalization of a region is a process during which some time-space specific level of spatial structure becomes an established entity which is identified in different spheres of social action and consciousness and which is continually

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[116] Ibid, p. 72.
[117] Ibid, p. 82.
[118] Ibid, p. 82.
[119] Ibid, p. 72.
[120] Ibid, pp. 76-77.
[121] Ibid, p. 72.
[122] Ibid, pp. 75-76.
[123] Ibid, pp. 83-93.

reproduced in individual and institutional practice (cultural, legal, educational, economic, political etc.).[124]

He further asserts "human action" as the principal producer of region[125] and argues that "as products of history and social action, the regions are not outcomes of autonomous forces and do not come from nothingness."[126] He further adds that "in everyday life different regions and localities may transform themselves to constitute a part of one's place. Consequently, the distinction between region and place is not based on the scale or areal extent of these spatial units, but instead on their relationship to one's daily life."[127]

In his conceptualization of region "towards a new politics of place,"[128] Ash Amin describes the contemporary challenges faced by the politics of regionalism in the wake of globalization and the "society of transnational flows and networks" that transform "bounded" region to an unbounded one. He shows two interconnected factors which change the territorially bounded process of region into an unbounded formation. The first is the emergence of compositional forces of globalization that transforms "cities and regions into sites immersed in global networks of organization and routinely implicated in distant connections and influences."[129] The second one is the "ontology of flow, connectivity and multiple geographical expressions" that engenders geography of cities and regions through "plural spatial connections."[130] He adds that the supposed territorial integrity of contemporary regions and cities does not already exist. Rather, regions are constructed relationally[131] through the "spatiality of flow, juxtaposition, porosity and relational connectivity."[132]

He further argues that "… if we are to see cities and regions as spatial formations, they must be summoned up (not by territorially bounded social process) but as temporary placements of ever moving material and immanent geographies, as 'hauntings' of things

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[124] Ibid, p. 72.
[125] Ibid, p. 74.
[126] Ibid, p. 76.
[127] Ibid, p. 74.
[128] Ash Amin, "Regions Unbound: Towards a New Politics of Place," (first published in 2004), in J. Nicholas Entrikin, ed., *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) pp. 373-384.
[129] Ibid, p. 373.
[130] Ibid, p. 374.
[131] Here Ash Amin is drawing on the ideas of Doreen Massy who, along with her colleagues, theorizes the relational construction of region.
[132] Ash Amin, p. 374.

that have moved on but left their mark… as situated moments in distanciated networks, as contoured products of the networks that cross a given place. The sum is cities and regions without prescribed or proscribed boundaries."[133] For him, regional differences matter politically because "…very different sensibilities of the political spring out … not only to the scope and reach of local political activity, but also to what is taken to count as being political at the local level."[134]

In his opinion, the "new regionalism," which claims the political, economic and cultural autonomy of people in a particular territory through devolution of decision making, locally oriented economy system, locally defined public sphere and shared local culture, is very strange because in the contemporary world there is no geographical territory where "local actors can have effective control and manage as a social and political space" and there is no territorially defined public sphere.[135] In today's world, sense of place is heterotopic and "fold together the culturally plural and geographically proximate and distant," and public sphere is trans-territorial where anyone can engage from anywhere with the help of "traveling" technologies, like books, newspapers, billboards, television and internet.[136] In this globalized world, same regions and cites simultaneously serve as different nodes of network-spaces that are not at all attached to a single bound territory and its supposed public sphere.

In contrast to a politics of bounded territory, Amin offers a politics of place that is relational in nature which is neither spatial nor territorial but topological. "Local brings together different scales of social action," as John Agnew argues.[137] Through his proposition of a politics of place, Amin delineates cities and regions as "sites of heterogeneity juxtaposed within close spatial proximity and as sites of multiple geographies of affiliation, linkage and flow."[138] He puts politics of proximity and politics of connectivity as two registers of this politics.

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[133] Emphasis in original, ibid, p. 374.
[134] Ibid, p. 374.
[135] Ibid, p. 376.
[136] Ibid, pp. 377-78.
[137] Ibid, p. 378.
[138] Ibid, p. 378.

He identifies as a temperament of contemporary times, the diverse cultures' negotiations in everyday life that mutually attach and influence cultures of cities and regions that exist geographically distant from one another. This is distinct from a shared territorial culture of a bounded region. He sees these trans-territorial intimacies of everyday cultures as relational politics of proximity.[139] Subsequently, he notes the diverse "geographies of relational connectivity and transitivity that make up public life and local political realm in general in a city or region." He defines this trans-territorial connectivity of public spheres that goes beyond boundaries of territorial region as relational polities of connectivity.[140] He concludes that "…cities and regions possess a distinctive spatiality as agglomeration of heterogeneity locked into a multitude of relational network of varying geographical reach." He puts this relational politics of place as deep materialization of proximity and connectivity rather than mere socio-spatial formations.[141]

On another occasion, Paasi discusses the challenges faced by the supposed permanent linkages between people and regions as a result of the mobility of people, catalyzed by globalization.[142] He points out that "the contemporary world is characterized on all spatial scales by mobility, which challenges the fixed links between a territory and a group of people, and forces us to reflect spatial identities in more dynamic ways." Resisting the valorization of this situation as the "disappearance of boundaries" and configuration of "hybridity of identities," he emphasizes that "…boundaries have not disappeared, even though their meanings have changed, and that people still seem to rely on collective identities."[143] He further complicates this formulation by adding that "while people's roots are typically associated with their place of birth, they can of course identify themselves with new home regions too. When families move, there can also be difference in the forms of identification that emerges from the diverse experiences of various generations."[144]

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[139] Ibid, pp. 378-80.
[140] Ibid, pp. 380-81.
[141] Ibid, pp. 382-83.
[142] Consequently he states that "geographers are understanding regions increasingly as social constructs and historically contingent process, not naturally given, permanent elements that provide a framework for a fixed identity, but in spite of this the links between 'regional identity' and 'regions' have not been sufficiently well analyzed;" p. 387; see Anssi Paasi, "Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing 'Regional Identity,'" (first published in 2002) in J. Nicholas Entrikin, ed., *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) pp. 385-396.
[143] Ibid, p. 392.
[144] Ibid, p. 392.

Conceptualization of region by Robert Sack, Nicholas Entrikin and John Agnew complicate the precedence of social that is present in the conceptualization of geographers who are influenced by sociological theories and social philosophy which gave much importance to human agency. Robert Sack delineates located-ness of social process in his work[145] and indirectly addresses the conceptual problem of region. In contrast to geographers who theorized geography through social theories, Sack explores "the empirical and moral implications of our geographical nature by developing a general relational framework that connect the factors of perspectives, the self, and forces—especially those of place and space."[146] At the same time, he explains the mutuality between these factors to show the locationality of our self, by considering the geographical as the vantage point.[147] The main focus of work is an exploration of "…how place and space are forces, and how they braid together nature and culture (which includes social relations and meanings) and help constitute the self."[148] In other words, his work is an exploration of how geography acts as a force that affects nature, meanings and social relations.

He describes the relation between nature, meanings and social relations as a central concern between world and us. He maps "the means by which geography through place and space actually becomes a force that is constitutive of other things." Through the deployment of a relational framework, he links spatiality to nature and meaning, then to social relations, and then to the self.[149] Through this framework, he not only shows how different perspectives link distinct geographical conditions but also argues that these different perspectives are determined by geographical dynamics.[150]

At the same time, he offers a critique of the position of geographers who give more emphasis to social while theorizing the processual and dialectical nature of place and space. He asserts that,

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[145] Robert David Sack, "Chorology and Spatial Analysis," (first published in 1974) in J. Nicholas Entrikin, ed., *Regions: Critical Essays in Human Geography* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008) pp. 23-36.
[146] Robert David Sack, *Homo Geographicus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997) p. 1.
[147] In his opinion "We humans are geographical beings transforming the earth and making it into a home, that transformed world affects who we are. Our geographical nature shapes our world and ourselves. Being geographical is inescapable—we do not have to be conscious of it," Ibid, p. 1.
[148] Ibid, p. 1.
[149] Ibid, p. 2.
[150] Ibid, p. 3.

…privileging the social in modern geography, and especially in the reductionist sense that "everything is socially constructed," does as much disservice to geographical analysis as a whole as has privileging the natural in the days of environmental determinism, or concentrating only on the mental or intellectual in some areas of humanistic geography. While one or the other may be more important for a particular time, none is determinate of the geographical.[151]

He further adds that "a clear and comprehensive picture of how we are geographical agents requires that we suspend for a while what may be ideological commitments to privilege one set of forces and make geography a part or a consequence of them—in other words, to reduce the geographic to one of these."[152]

As Nicholas Entrikin rightly points out, "while many other geographers concentrate on working out the geographical consequence of social theories, Sack conducts a theoretical exploration that has geography as its starting point."[153]

Entrikin questions the unilateral "causal power" assigned to social by certain geographers while classifying nature and in analyzing dialectical relation between social and spatial that devalues the power of place in the constitution of human experiences and perspectives.[154] He offers a discussion of the different and difficult meanings attributed by geographers to the social that see nature as a binary opposite of social, thus undervaluing the potential of place and space to constitute social dynamics. Cautioning against the trap of one-sidedness that this discourse is caught in, Entrikin argues that,

the preoccupation with the social in discussions of place and region threatens to replace a long-disavowed natural reductionism with a social reductionism … [that] collapse[s] the multiple dimensions of geographic place into a single dimension of social space. Conceptualizing place and place identity as socially constructed or produced offer geographers a rich research orientation, but we should not allow the social part to substitute for the more complex whole.[155]

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[151] Ibid, p. 2.
[152] Ibid, pp. 2-3.
[153] Nicholas Entrikin, "Place and Region," *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 18/2 (1994) p. 229.
[154] Nicholas Entrikin, "Place and Region," *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 20/2 (1996) pp. 215-221.
[155] Ibid, p. 219.

On another occasion, invoking Sack, he emphasizes the importance of the mutually constitutive relation between place and self to overcome the singular decisiveness of social that reduces complexity of being.[156]

John Agnew complicates this problem with many illustrations.[157] He points out the meaninglessness of the conflicts between realists and constructionists[158] by addressing their oppositional conceptualization of region. In his view, realists claim that regions are "mental real" that one can experience directly and the constructionists claim that regions are "mere inventions" of an observer's mind.[159] Departing from these, Agnew suggests the combination of "real existence" and "prior thought" as a necessary precondition for a conceptualization of region. In his analysis, constructionists show either a "social determinism" or an "ontological relativism." While social determinism sees region as a product of economic or social forces, ontological relativism sees region as a construct of "social conventions or purely linguistic categories without real-world counterpart." The discourse generated by philosophy and sociology which gives importance to human agency was the cause of the high exchangeability of this constructivism. Both realists and constructionists deploy "totalistic visions about how the world works." These totalistic visions, which do not take into account the possibility of mutual relations, produce tension between these two perspectives.[160]

He describes this conflictual problematic by drawing real-constructed binary positions of geographers as a parallel to the body-mind question in philosophy. He points out the problem in viewing real as body and constructed as mind. Like body, real "is tangible, touchable and empirically decipherable with a minimum of assumptions." Like mind, constructed is "making sense of itself" and real. By showing the problematic parallel between the body/mind and real/constructed dichotomies, he further elaborates this point. He likens the partial vision that treats "consciousness as being prior" to the functioning of

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[156] Nicholas Entrikin, "Place and Region," *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 27/2 (1997) pp. 263-268.
[157] John Agnew, "Regions on the Mind does not Equal Regions of the Mind," *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 23/1 (1999) pp. 91-96.
[158] This is similar to the conflicts between the empiricists and postmodernists.
[159] These definitions of constructionists "say more about the political-social position of that observer than the phenomena the regions purport to classify;" John Agnew, p. 92.
[160] Ibid, p. 92.

body to the idea of constructed idea of mind as being prior to the understanding of real.[161] In his opinion, both these positions are erroneous. Drawing on the works of Ian Hacking who differentiates object from an idea about that object, he elaborates that "…an object and an idea about the object are not the same and in the world that humans inhabit the distinction is crucial. Neither can be reduced to the other because humans are reflexive. There are objects to which humans react but they also have ideas about those objects to which they also react. Human behavior, therefore, cannot be reduced to one or the other but is constituted by both."[162]

Drawing on these insights he argues that "regions both reflect differences in the world and ideas about differences. They cannot be reduced to one or the other. Observers and people in the world use regional designations to make sense of the world and these draw on real differences between parts of the world but they cannot claim a total fit to the world because they are based on ideas about regional differences that are not simply about those differences *per se* but also about ideas of how the world works."[163] He contends that region "…exists 'out there' in the world, even if there is a prior requirement to think that the world is divided up in this way."[164]

In the light of the above discussion, in this thesis I attempt to delineate: (i) how place and society mutually constitute each other in the formation of region that is actualized by geography-mapping; (ii) how a region is positioned in a linearly progressing order of time, as a space, while one's writing of history form a region; and (iii) how the relation between time and space is non-linear and non-hierarchical while a region forms mutually through everyday practices of a community (Wayanadan Pulayar) and the effects of place upon them. In order for this, firstly, I unravel the temporal location of the region of Wayanad(s) in the linearly progressing order of written history by addressing the formation of Wayanad(s) as a region through history-writing and by problematizing the questions of origin, continuity and time in that process. Secondly, I examine the context, act and text that are active in the geography-mapping of Wayanad(s) to understand the

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[161] He further adds that "at an extreme of this view, illness of the body is itself taken as a total construction of consciousness mediated by the diagnostic terms 'society' has invented to label illnesses;" ibid, p. 92.
[162] Ibid, pp. 92-93.
[163] Ibid, p. 93.
[164] Ibid, p. 92.

dynamics of place and society in the formation of region. I delineate mutual constitutions and reciprocal interrelations of places and societies in the formation of regions by uncovering mutual constitution of act, context and text in the formation of regions. Thirdly, I map the everyday formation of the region of Wayanadan Pulayar through their everyday geography and genealogy, and show the mutual constitution of place/space and society/time in the formation of their region that works in a non-linear and non-hierarchical fashion.

PART ONE

History-Writing: Construction (of the Past) of Wayanad(s) and some Questions of Origin, Continuity and Time

"The(se) evil consequences of the caste system are sure to be sharpened by creation of Linguistic States. Minority communities may be crushed. If not crushed they may be tyrannized and oppressed. They are sure to be discriminated against and denied equality before law and equal opportunity in public life."

– Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar[1]

"Writing has a double function: to translate everything into assemblages and dismantle the assemblages. The two are the same thing."

– Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari[2]

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[1] B.R. Ambedkar, *Thought on Linguistic States* in Selected Work of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, p. 3918; http://drambedkarbooks.wordpress.com.

[2] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003) p. 47.

Chapter One

Re-addressing History by Re-conceptualizing Origin, Continuity and Time

P. Somasekharan Nair's *Paniyar,* a linguistic and anthropological work published in Malayalam in 1976, has an interesting discussion on the etymologies of Wayanad,

> Some say that the root of the name Wayanad lies in field (*Vayal+Nad*), while others aver it lies in forest (*Vanam+Nad*). We can say the meaning of the Wayanad is "open field" and "upper country etc." Really Wayanad is the combination of all of these. The place which is situated uphill is the combination of field and forest. Another opinion is that in earlier period, this was *Vazhinad*— the land of the route—and it was transformed to Wayanad because the Wayanaden-passes are the easier way of entry into different cultures. In Sanskrit its name is *Mayakshetra*, the place of Mayan who built the Inthraprastha for Pandavas. Did *Mayanad* become Wayanad? In Malayalam "Ma" and "Va" can mutually interchange. If we think like this, we will feel *Sthalajalavibhramam* (delusion about land and water) like the Kauravas. Therefore, it is suitable to consider Wayanad as *nad* of *vayal* before that happens.[1]

For distinct reasons, all the prototypes of the place name of Wayanad in this narrative offer such heterogeneous pasts of Wayanad that are ambiguously credible to the narrator. For instance, the *Vayal+ Nad* (land of field), *Vanam+ Nad* (land of forest), *Vazhi+ Nad* (land of route) and *Mayan+ nad* (land of Mayan) the different prototypes of the place name, Wayanad, which suggest distinct pasts, are differently reasonable to him, for definite reasons informed by his knowledge of geography and linguistics. But, he is forced to discard these heterogeneous pasts and made to choose a definite singular past to Wayanad (Wayanad was the land of field) to make *a* linear history of Wayanad.

To put it differently, the language of this narrative, which slips between literalness and figurativeness, is an expression of complex dilemmas and its limits to articulate plural

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[1] P. Somasekharan Nair, *Paniyar* (Kottayam: National Book Stall, 1976) p. 61. All translations, unless otherwise specified, are mine.

etymologies about Wayanad in the context of writing a modernist history of Wayanad. The narrative delineates (1) heterogeneous pasts of Wayanad from an ontological plane, (2) the predicament of the colonized subject to historicize the heterogeneous pasts in the context of writing the modernist history of Wayanad, (3) the epistemological pressure that forces him to escape from this predicament and (4) the necessity of the selection of *one* prototype (*Vayalnad*), *one* etymology and *one* past to make a singularized ontological tie, for writing the authentic modernist history of Wayanad. In other words, I can say that the statement—"if we think like this we will also get *sthalajalavibhramam* like Kauravas. So, it is suitable to consider Wayanad as *nadu* of *vayal* before that happens"[2]—is first of all an allegorical one. It states tacitly that one who think about different meanings of the place name Wayanad will get *sthalajalavibhramam* like Kauravas and "before it happens," it is suitable to consider that Wayanad is the land of *Vayal.* So a person who would like to write a modernist narrative about Wayanad must choose *one* prototype of (place name) Wayanad.

We need to take a closer look to uncover the use and meaning of the tropes such as Kauravas and *sthalajalavibhramam* in the narrative. In the epic *Mahabharata,* which is the *Ithihasa* (canonical text) of Brahmanic-Hinduism, the Kauravas are the anti-heroes and symbol of evilness and Pandavas are the symbol of goodness in opposition. It has hegemonically influenced the commonsensical notions in the day-to-day life of Indian (Hindu) public. The word *Sthalajalavibhramam* denotes a deranged condition of mind in which one does not know what s/he sees and senses, and which makes severe perceptional disorder. Moreover, *sthalajalavibhramam* connotes an experience of Duryodhana when he enteres to the palace Inthraprastha of Pandavas. He was the elder Kaurava. He had felt land as water and water as land, and had fallen into water many a time in the palace and was in chaos. It created laughter in Pandavas. Here, by using this analogy in the narrative, the thought about heterogeneous etymologies of (place name of) Wayanad appears to be causing *Sthalajalavibhramam.* That is to say, during the process of writing a modernist history nobody thinks about heterogeneous meanings of (place name of) Wayanad. That is a sin because they become mad like the evil-Kauravas.[3]

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[2] Ibid, p. 61.
[3] These maybe the expressions of the self of a colonized upper caste/elite/male subject when he engages in transcribing the life of a regional landscape through the epistemology of modernity.

Moreover, this narrative is an epitome of the credible native language, formed by receiving vocabulary from Brahmanical-Hinduism, which is considered as authentic to translate epistemological consciousness of modernity. Because the words, such as, *Sthalajalavibhramam,* Kauravas, Pandavas, *Mayakshetra* and Inthraprastha which are used to write history, are not only referring to lexis in the past but also to the rhetorical tropes which have produced the credibility of the narrative in the present. For instance, the deployment of *Sthalajalavibhramam* in the above narrative creates a mental image and meaning in the reader's mind in relation to *Ithihasa,* which makes the reader take a moral stand to think in favor of the law of modern history that demands a singular authentic past. This narrative is also a disguised announcement of the ontological uncertainties and epistemological certainties of language in the context of translation of the regional landscape of Wayanad into modernity and its language—history.

In the coming chapters of this part, I problematize the history-writing and its historicities that transcribe the places of Wayanad(s) into modernity and construct it as a Region. In other words it seeks to know the imagined Wayanad, agencies and subjectivities that were constructed by history-writing or the allegory of history-writing. For this purpose, I am attempting to uncover production and reproduction of *Stories of Vedar Raja*, *Etymologies of Wayanad* and *Engravings*[4] *of Edakkal Cave*—the three important narrative-plots in the registers of history. These three narrative-plots are largely used to erect the foundation of the history of Wayanad. Before turning to the textual details of forthcoming discussions, let us make a trip to the formation of the present understanding about history and history-writing, especially, its basic tenets—origin, continuity and time.

History, Writing and Conceptual Problematic of Origin, Continuity and Time
In this section I look at E.H. Carr, Anglo Analytical Philosophers, Levi-Strauss, Roland Barthes, Michel de Certeau, Hayden White, Reinhant Koselleck, Michel Foucault, Prathama Banerjee and Johannes Fabian.

E.H. Carr
I think E.H. Carr's influential work—*What is History?*—which came forth in the 1960's can provide a good opening point. Because, it had changed the old-fashioned idea about

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[4] Engravings mean both inscriptions and carvings of Edakkal Cave.

historicity of the discipline of history that existed so far and gave a new vantage point to look at the practice of history and indirectly inducted new crisis to the discipline with regard to its ideology and scientificity. Carr commented generally on historicity of texts, more particularly on facticity of texts, and the location of historian in society. "No document can tell us more than what the author of the document thought – what he thought had happened, what he thought ought to happen or would happen, or perhaps only what he wanted others to think he thought, or even only what he himself thought he thought."[5] By drawing heavily from hermeneutic philosophers of history such as Dilthey, Croce, Car Becker and Collingwood who think against the Victorian myth of history as a simple record of fact and against the fetishism of fact that has influenced the positivists, Carr made three insights (1) "the facts of history never come to us 'pure,' since they do not and cannot exist in a pure form: they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder."[6] (2) The historian needs "imaginative understanding" not "sympathy" (3) "… we can view the past, and achieve our understanding of the past, only through the eyes of the present."[7] However, he was also conscious of the danger of hermeneutics, which suggests that "the facts of history are nothing, interpretation is everything." He declared: "either you write scissors-and-paste history without meaning or significance; or you write propaganda or historical fiction, and merely use facts of the past to embroider a kind of writing which has nothing to do with history."[8] The proposal he suggested to historians was to navigate delicately between the Scylla and Charybdis of untenable theories of primacy of fact over interpretation and primacy of interpretation over fact.[9] In the third chapter of the book titled "History, Science, and Morality," Carr has unfolded the socially determined relativity of all sciences and argued history as a science. He suggested that by using rigorous and realistic scientific method in disciplinary practice of history, one can triumph over the danger of relativity. By invoking Karl Mannheim's idea about sociology of knowledge—which explains all knowledge as socially produced and hence are relative in nature—he substantiates his arguments.

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[5] E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (London: Penguin, 2008) p. 16.
[6] Ibid, p. 22.
[7] Ibid, p. 24.
[8] Ibid, p. 29.
[9] Ibid, p. 29.

One can understand the proposed content of his arguments on three levels. Firstly, the values that are supposed as absolute and extra-historical are historically conditioned; so the *serious* historian is the one who recognize the historically conditioned character of all values, and not the one who claims for his own values of objectivity beyond history. Secondly, the realization that, the study of history itself is historically conditioned was not a particular problem of discipline of history, but the problem of all sciences because knowledge of all science is historically conditioned; so the study of history is absolutely a social science. Thirdly, one of the specialized areas of the historical science is the study exactly of the aspect of historicity, which unties all meaning-making processes; so history does not need to pander to any other discipline. Carr emphasizes the very idea of historicity of history-writing against the ideological and non-scientific practice of history.

Anglo-Analytical Philosophers and Levi-Strauss

Another defender of scientific history was Anglo-Analytical philosophers. Walsh, Gardiner, Dray, Gallie, Morton, White, Danto and Mink were the main figures among them. They were most critical of narrative history. For Annales[10] historians, narrative history is simply the history of past politics and, moreover, political history is conceived as short-term, "dramatic" conflicts and crises which lend themselves to "novelistic" representations, of a more "literary" than a properly" "scientific" kind.[11] Narrativity in history is inherently "dramatizing" or "noveling" of its subject matter and so by virtue of their dramatic nature do not fit objects of historical study.[12] Annales opposed structuring of history-writing as an imaginative and representational stylization in the domain of language and realized the mismatch between narrative history and science. In fact, they proposed a scientific history which explores the structures "by the promotion of a historiography devoted to the analysis of 'long-term' trends in demography, economics, and ethnology, that is, impersonal…."[13]

Levi-Strauss had problems with both the Annales historiography and historiography of narrative history. He said that the structure in the Annales' scientifically triggered

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[10] Annales means "Annales School of Historiography."
[11] Hayden White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," *History and Theory,* Vol.23, No.1 (February, 1984) p. 8.
[12] Ibid, p. 9.
[13] Ibid, p. 9.

structural analysis is also defined historically, and that narrative historiography is "nothing but the myth of western and especially modern, bourgeois, industrial, and imperialist societies."[14] And he pointed out that "representation of event in terms of their chronological order of occurrence" was the accepted method of historical studies, and he asserted that it "is nothing but a heuristic procedure common to every field of scientific study."[15]

These scientific historiographies vehemently attempted to exorcise the ideological, extreme-hermeneutical and non-scientific practice of history-writing from the body of history but they did not drive it out from the body of history.

Roland Barthes

In 1967, six years after Carr's lectures in Cambridge, Roland Barthes wrote an essay, "The Discourse of History," against the claimed scientific status of history,

> Does the narration of past events, which, in our culture from the time of the Greeks onwards, has generally been subject to the sanction of historical "science," bound to the underlying standard of "real," and justified by the principles of "rational" exposition-does this form of narration really differ, in some specific trait, in some indubitably distinctive feature, from imaginary narration, as we find in the epic, the novel and drama?[16]

He argued that the historian did not simply re-present the facts about past through writing history, instead, he is structuring the "facts" in an order and making narrative-plots. The narrative structure of this narrative-plots which are considered to signify the real and rational "was originally developed within the cauldron of fiction should have become, in traditional historiography, at once the sign and proof of reality."[17] And the meaning of the history which is expressed by the narrative is not found through facts but constituted by language. The historian who is producing the meaning of the past is not only explaining the reality about past but also participating in the production of ideology. Barthes affirmed that the "historical discourse is in its essence a form of ideological elaboration,

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[14] Ibid, p. 11.
[15] Ibid, p. 11.
[16] Roland Barthes, "The Discourse of History," trans. Stephen Bann, *Comparative Criticism*, Vol.3 (1981) p. 1.
[17] Ibid, pp. 6-7.

or to put it more precisely, an imaginary elaboration."[18] He suggested that the honest thing history can do is to avoid the pretense of science and to admit the fact that it is like the novel and other fiction which engages in the craft of language. In addition to this in another context Barthes says,

> Claims concerning the "realism" of narrative are therefore to be discounted …. The function of narrative is not to "represent," it is to constitute a spectacle … "What takes place" in a narrative is from the referential (reality) point of view literally *nothing*? "What happens" is language alone, the adventure of language, the unceasing elaboration of its coming.[19]

Michel de Certeau

Michel de Certeau properly explained why scientific historiographies have failed to prevent the ideological, extreme-hermeneutical and non-scientific practice of history-writing. He described that one of the main objects of the study of the old history was ideology. For example, in Europe, much of the old history was about religion. The historian in that period considered religious doctrines and practice as their objects of study without guilt and their involvement in the debate was considered as the act of historicization. So, through writing history they were producing ideology; this is exactly what the new scientific historian would find offensive.

The new scientific history would emphasize that it was not producing ideology. Ideology would disappear from the product of history writing, but reappear in its production—as the presuppositions of historiography. The innocent beliefs of Annales' historiography—which believes in writing history by exploring structures—and Rankean historiography—which believes in writing history of what exactly happened based on sources—were destroyed. And, the fact that, all scientific history had its own methodological presuppositions, was disclosed. By methodological presuppositions of scientific history, the ideology is unknowingly generated. It has been revealed that the scientific and non-ideological status of new scientific history is achieved by concealing ideology under the rubric of methodological presuppositions.[20]

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[18] Ibid, p. 5.
[19] Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana Press, 1977) pp. 123-124.
[20] Michel De Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) pp.17- 116.

In the last decades of the twentieth century other thinkers also problematized the concepts and categories of history, historiography, historicity, historical consciousness and the practice of history-writing by following the Levi-Strauss and Roland Barthes who had cast serious doubts on the claimed facticity of history and challenged the history's claims to a place among the sciences.

Hayden White

In 1973, through the book *Metahistory*, by deploying the theory of tropes—the Metaphor, Metonymy, Synecdoche and Irony—Hayden White examined the works of master thinkers of historiography and philosophers of history in the nineteenth century and explained the deep structures of historical consciousness and imagination as well as those of historiographies and argued that those works were prefigured by the tropological strategies which are familiar to the language of poetic. He complicated the two traditions; romantic-poetic-metaphorical and realistic-prosaic-metonymical which was pointed out by Jakobson to understand nineteenth century literature by saying that "Both traditions can be seen as elements in a single convention of discourse in which all of the tropological strategies of linguistic usage are present, but present in different degrees in different writers and thinkers."[21] In relation to current discussion of the problem of historical knowledge, he affirmed that "(the) historical explanations are bound to be based on different metahistorical presuppositions about the nature of the historical field, presuppositions that generate different conceptions of the kind of explanations that can be used in historiographical analyses."[22]

He extended his argument in his collection of essays, *Tropic of Discourse*, published in 1978, and elucidated the tropical element in all discourse in general and in the discourse of history in particular. He wrote "tropological is inexpugnable from discourse in the human science, however realistic they may aspire to be. Tropic is the shadow from which all realistic discourses try to flee. This flight, however, is the process by which all discourses constitute the objects which it pretends only to describe realistically and to analyze objectively. How tropes function in the discourses of the human science is the

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[21] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975) p. 33.
[22] Ibid, p. 13.

subject of these essays."[23] In particular, he interrogated the middle and secure position of history in between science and art, which has protected history from criticism, and criticized the putative real and objective status of history through his first four essays about history. Through explicating the textual details of classic works of history, he disclosed the undeniable determination of fourfold tropes in making the real effect of history; the illogic and metalogic that are deeply structured by tropes, which stand behind the rational logic; and fact that authenticated the discipline of history.

He summarized his intention as follows,

> I have never denied that knowledge of history, culture, and society was possible; I have only denied that a scientific knowledge, of the sort actually attained in the study of physical nature, was possible. But I have tried to show that, even if we cannot achieve a properly scientific knowledge of human nature, we can achieve another kind of knowledge about it, the kind of knowledge which literature and art in general give us in easily recognizable examples. Only a willful, tyrannical intelligence could believe that the only kind of knowledge we can aspire to is that represented by the physical sciences. My aim has been to show that we do not have to choose between art and science, that indeed we cannot do so in practice, if we hope to continue to speak about culture as against nature – and, moreover, speak about it in ways that are responsible to all the various dimensions of our specifically *human* being.[24]

Reinhart Koselleck

In 1985, Reinhart Koselleck published a collection of essays titled *Futures Past*. Standing in the hermeneutic tradition of philosophy, he addresses the question of temporal consciousness in the domain of history-writing. In a given present, how is the temporal dimension of past and future related?—was his question. The scheme of the question was not to uncover the historical in the history; but, rather to apprehend the metahistorical in the history. In fact, he has studied the history of historical time in his book. By using the methodology of conceptual historiography he has studied the concepts of history such as event, temporality, change, progress, revolution, modernity, past, and so on. In opposition to the history of ideas which stress the evolutionary continuity of certain "unit ideas," he

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[23] Hayden White, *Tropic of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) pp. 1-2.
[24] Ibid, p. 23.

has traced out the radical transformation in the ways that modern societies have conceived of their "experience of history." This work has uprooted and changed the conception about the development of the concepts of history. He has pointed out three radical breaks which have occurred in the development of the modern ideas of history. The first one occurred in the period of Renaissance, second in the period of Enlightenment and third in the period of French Revolution.

In pre-enlightenment period history was not at a level of existence or in the common domain. It was the conglomeration of distinct chains of events, each of which had a specific set of "stories." Koselleck affirmed, "… to say that someone 'makes' history is a modern usage which could not have been formulated before Napoleon or in any case before the French Revolution."[25]

Thereafter history became a metaphor for civilization and the driving principle of the nation-state. Koselleck opined, "one of the conceptual achievements of the philosophy of enlightenment was enhancing history into a general concept which becomes the condition of possible experience and possible expectation."[26] It "gained an enhanced degree of abstraction, allowing it to indicate a greater complexity, which capability has since made it necessary for reality to be generally elaborated in a historical manner." [27] Further, he has explained how this constitutes the conceptual conditions for modernism and how history and modernity become the conceptual pair of contemporaneity.

Michel Foucault

Another thinker who had seriously troubled the eternal truths of history was Michel Foucault. He questioned the "lofty origin" and ideal "continuity," of the beliefs of history through genealogical explorations which he developed. One can see the deployment of this method in *Discipline and Punish*[28] and *The History of Sexuality.*[29] In his essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" in particular, Foucault exclusively questioned this blind insight of history. He interrogates the faith in lofty origin and ideal continuity of historical

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[25] Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantic of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (New York: Colombia University Press, 2004) p.193.
[26] Ibid, p. 194.
[27] Ibid, p.195.
[28] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York:Penguin, 1991).
[29] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: The Care of the Self* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).

narratives in this work. Drawing out the concept of Genealogy from Nietzsche he points out the asymmetrical relations between genealogy and history. "…genealogy demands relentless erudition. Genealogy does not oppose itself to history…on the contrary, it rejects the metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies (of history). It opposes itself to the search for 'origins.'"[30]

He answers the question "why Nietzsche challenges pursuit of origin when he is truly a genealogist?" in two steps. In the first step, he exposes the common idea behind the search for origin,

> … it (pursuit of origin) is an attempt to capture the exact essence of things, their purest possibilities, and their carefully protected identities; because this search assumes the existence of immobile forms that precede the external world of accident and succession. This search is directed to "that which was already there," the image of primordial truth fully adequate to its nature, and it necessitates the removal of every mask to ultimately disclose an original identity.[31]

And in second step he suggests that "if a genealogist refuses to extend his faith in metaphysics" he can see things behind the things are "… not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms."[32]

Then by quoting Nietzsche, Foucault extends his argument that "the lofty origin is no more than 'a metaphysical extension which arises from the belief that things are most precious and essential at the moment of birth' and… only a metaphysician would seek in the distant ideality of the origin."[33]

Metaphorically, he explained the complex matrix which necessitates history for the genealogist; "the genealogist needs history to dispel the chimeras of the origin, somewhat in the manner of the pious philosopher who needs a doctor to exorcise the shadow of his soul."[34] Connecting genealogy into the search for descent, Foucault critically remarked,

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[30] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" in Paul Rabinow, ed., *Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) p. 77.
[31] Ibid, p. 78.
[32] Ibid, p. 78.
[33] Ibid, pp. 79-80.
[34] Ibid, p. 80.

Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things; its duty is not to demonstrate that the past actively exists in the present, that it continues secretly to animate the present, having imposed a predetermined form on all its vicissitudes. Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people.[35] …The search for descent is not the erecting of foundations: on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought united; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself.[36]

By stating that descent attaches itself to the body, Foucault underlined the complex interrelation between descent, body and history,

The body is the inscribed surface of events (traced by language and dissolved by ideas), the locus of a dissociated self (adopting the illusion of a substantial unity), and a volume in perpetual disintegration. Genealogy, as an analysis of descent, is thus situated within the articulation of the body and history. Its task is to expose a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history's destruction of the body.[37]

Discussing the act of interpretation in detecting the origin, he says; "The role of genealogy is to record its history: the history of morals, ideals, and metaphysical concepts, the history of the concept of liberty or of the ascetic life."[38] Exposing Nietzsche's concept of "effective history" (*wirkliche Historie)* against the historical continuity of historicism, Foucault wrote,

History becomes "effective" to the degree that it introduces discontinuity into our very being …. Effective history deprives the self of the reassuring stability of life and nature, and it will not permit itself to be transported by a voiceless obstinacy toward a millennial ending. It will uproot its traditional foundations and relentlessly disrupt its pretended continuity. … An entire historical tradition

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[35] Ibid, p. 81.
[36] Ibid, p. 82.
[37] Ibid, p. 83.
[38] Ibid, p. 86.

(theological or rationalistic) aims at dissolving the singular event into an ideal continuity – as a teleological movement or a natural process.[39]

"The purpose of history, guided by genealogy, is not to discover the roots of our identity, but to commit itself to its dissipation. It does not seek to define our unique threshold of emergence, the homeland to which metaphysicians promise a return; it seeks to make visible all of those discontinuities that cross us."[40] The intention of the question concerning native land, native language, or the laws that govern us—which was introduced by genealogy—is to reveal the heterogeneous systems which, masked by the self, inhibit the formation of any form of identity.[41] One of the main projects of genealogical method is to uncover the genealogy of history beyond the metahistorical presuppositions, which normatively have occurred in the practice of history.

Another basic tenet of history is time, in addition to origin and continuity, the tenets which Foucault dismantled. The origin, continuity and time are deeply entangled with each other. For history, the detected origin is necessary to anchor the starting point of natural/evolutionary time of a history, and this evolutionary time presupposes the continuity, the uninterrupted ideal continuity of history.

Prathama Banerjee

In the opinion of Prathama Banerjee, Hegel, the foundational philosopher of European Modernity had a major role in formulating reciprocal relationship between historical and temporal. He has deployed two strategies to reconstitute the very nature of temporality. (1) By formulating time as the symmetrical other of space and (2) by spatializing time itself he actualizes it. Moreover, Hegel has argued that "history" was the development of the spirit in time just as "nature" was the development of idea in space and by this he has formulated a clear equation between time and space. Also he harnessed to Europe, as its own past, other continents and argued that if the point in space was an indifferent, immobile position, the point in time was the negative dialectical moment through which undifferentiated space becomes differentiated, its immobility overcome. The articulation

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[39] Ibid, p. 88.
[40] Ibid, p. 95.
[41] Ibid, p. 95.

of Hegel, temporality in terms of territoriality, produced the defining condition of an-other land appearing as primarily an-other time.[42]

Banerjee further suggested; the dominance of temporal is centrally defined through the historical, and dominance of historical is defined by modernity. The time which orders events chronologically constitutes history itself and in the domain of the modern, time becomes the undeniable common reference. Moreover, modernity itself marks out a purely temporal position. The undividable interrelations of modernity, time and history have formulated our contemporary subjectivities. Then she asserted,

> Time itself becomes the universal parameter of judgment – that is, of judging if a society, a people or an act is modern or "primitive," advanced or backward, historical or timeless, distant from or contemporary to the subject-author of knowledge.… modernity appears as a temporal competence, an advantage that the posterior possesses over the prior, exclusively because of the former's advanced position in time.… in modernity, time appears as something which does not simply pass, nor as something articulated only in memory. Time remains always already available in the form of a cumulation of value and knowledge....in this paradigm, it is not absurd to say that the modern always comes after the non-modern, historically and logically, even though they may coexist empirically in and at the same time.…time appear(s) as empty, common denominator, wherein different peoples could be positioned in successional terms.[43]

Johannes Fabian

The work of Johannes Fabian *Time and Other* has unpacked the diabolical power of (evolutionary) Time in Othering the world outside the west as rest of the west. He has uncovered how the subject of the study in the discourse of anthropology becomes Other, and how they become spatially and temporally distanced Other. Fabian has understood anthropology as essentially a political discipline which constitutes and demotes its objects through their temporal relegation. He has called this phenomenon as the "denial of coevalness" – which hierarchically negates the simultaneity and contemporaneity of ethnographic object. He notices how the temporal structures place anthropologist and

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[42] Prathama Banerjee, *Politics of Time: 'Primitives' and History-Writing in Colonial Society* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006) pp. 5-6.
[43] Ibid, pp. 4-5.

their reader in a privileged time frame, by pushing out the other into a lesser stage of development and by the deployment of temporal categories such as primitive. Fabian called such "denial of coevalness" the "allochronism of anthropology" (i.e. denial of the simultaneous existence of ethnographic object and subject, the observer and observed).

Fabian opined that the "decisive steps towards modernity was not in the invention of a linear conception (of time), but in a succession of attempt to secularize Judeo-Christian time by generalizing and universalizing it."[44] He has identified the temporal which defines the present world by the intersection of scientism, evolutionary science, global temporal hierarchy and enlightenment belief in progress; that established civilized west as the pinnacle of universal human progress and legitimized western domination on others and global inequalities, and above all justified the imperialist project. Moreover it places the west as present and non-west as past in the sequential terms of evolutionary time of history. He has classified major uses of time in anthropology writing into three; Physical Time, Mundane or Typological Time and Intersubjective Time—which are used to define the world and produce knowledge about the unknown.

In Fabian's words, the Physical Time works as a sort of parameter in describing socio-cultural process. This method of dating (timing) appeared to anchor human evolution and is used to objectivize vast amount of cultural material forever into a non-cultural time.[45] In other words, he defined Physical Time as a time which seems objectively distanced from the researcher's culture, finding it from an archaeological excavation or a record that is reconstructed from oral tradition. In this way, one can anchor an object or an event in definite irrevocable past by locating it in 2000 B.C or in 1865. This definitive anchoring in past is giving logical and psychological firmness to the standpoint of the researcher. This chronological dating can bestow scientific significance on the vast array of particular data. The chronology which is used in dating is only a means to an end. The temporal distancing is needed to show that natural laws or law-like regularities operate in the development of human society and culture.[46]

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[44] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How the Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) p. 2.
[45] Ibid, p. 22.
[46] Ibid, pp. 28-29.

Mundane Time "connotes a kind of world-wise relation to Time…unlike belief in the Millennium or the Golden Age; it keeps a cool distance to *all* times."[47] Typological Time is a Time which is measured, neither as time "elapsed, nor by reference to points on a (linear) scale, but in terms of socio-culturally meaningful events, more precisely, intervals between such events."[48]

Inter subjective Time is one that "signals a current emphasis on the communicative nature of human action and interaction… Once Time is recognized as a dimension, not just a measure, of human activity, any attempt to eliminate it from interpretive discourse can only result in distorted and largely meaningless representations."[49]

Scheme of Chapters

In this part of the thesis, in the light of insights from preceding discussions, I problematize the production and textual registration of knowledge about the *Stories of Vedar Raja*, *Etymologies of Wayanad* and *Engravings of Edakkal Cave* manifested through the history-writing. This has structured and systemized formation of region Wayanad in a linearly progressing temporal order of history. Then I show how this writing of history locates Wayanad in a relegated spatiotemporal stage of history. In other words, I seek to know the imagined Wayanad that was reified by the writing of history that transcribes the places of Wayanad(s) into (pre)modernity and constructs it as a region. Additionally, this explains the construction of agencies and subjectivities of region by the history-writing, and allegory of history-writing. For this purpose, I am attempting to uncover production and reproduction of *Stories of Vedar Raja, Etymologies of Wayanad* and *Engravings of Edakkal Cave*; the three-important narrative-plots in the registers of history. These three narrative-plots are largely used to erect the foundation of the history of Wayanad.

However, in these chapters I examine each narrative-plot separately; but for knowing interrelation between these, I travel through the complex interconnection of these narrative-plots in a wider narrative milieu. By doing this I think I can understand the process of writing of history in relation to the basic tenets of history—origin, continuity

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[47] Ibid, p. 23.
[48] Ibid, p. 23.
[49] Ibid, p. 24.

and time—in the construction of the region of Wayanad and engagement of narratives in different identity-framing/making practices. Otherwise, I can realize the discourse of history-writing in the formation of subjectivities, in a sub-national/linguistic-state terrain. Besides that, I consider I can critically make a look at the historicity of the histories of Wayanad. More importantly, in this part I would like to show how writing of history makes absent the role of heterogeneous histories, multiple languages and intersectional geographies in the recurrent (de)formation of the region of Wayanad(s) by en-framing Wayanad into a spatio-temporality of lineally progressing history.

Sources of Chapters

I aim to unravel in detail the initial process of framing of these three narrative-plots in certain texts, and the figuration and configuration of these narrative-plots in popular history books. Such as; *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions*,[50] a seminal historical and anthropological book about Wayanad written in English in 1911 by Rao Bahadur G. Gopalan Nair, *Wayanad Rekhakal*[51] [*Notes on Wayanad*] a popular history book written in Malayalam by O.K. Johnny published in 2001 and *Ariyappedatha Wayanad*[52] [*Unknown Wayanad*] a popular history book written in Malayalam by Mundakayam Gopi published in 2002. These books generally rely as sources for writing of history on the already published stone and copper plate engravings and inscriptions which were discovered from Edakkal Cave, Thirunelly temple and Sulthan Bathery[53] Mariammankovil as well as excavated artefacts from different areas in Wayanad. They have also used as sources colonial records such as *Mackenzie manuscript*[54] (which was documented mainly in between 1800-20), *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*[55] (published in 1885), *A Manual of the Nilgiri District*[56] (which was published in 1880), *Malabar Gazetteer*[57] (published in 1908) as a source for writing the history.

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[50] G. Gopalan Nair. *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions* (first published: Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1911; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000).

[51] O.K. Johnny, *Wayanad Rekhakal* (Calicut*:* Pappiyon, 2001).

[52] Mundakayam Gopi. *Ariyappedatha Wayanad* (Kalpetta: Sahya Publications, 2002).

[53] Sulthan Bathery is also mentioned in this study as Sultan Bathery and Sulthan Battery.

[54] Collin Mackenzie, *Mackenzie Manuscript*, Madras, (documented in between late decades of eighteenth century and early decades of nineteenth century).

[55] C.D. Maclean, ed., *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* (originally printed by E. Keys and first published in 1885; New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1982).

[56] H.G. Grigg, A *Manual of the Nilgiri District in the Madras Presidency* (Madras: Government of Madras, 1880).

[57] C.A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer*, ed., F.B. Evans, (first printed 1908, reprinted 1951in Madras by Madras Government Press; Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Gazetteer Department, 1997).

Content, Concern and Context of Sources

Before entering into the three narrative-plots and its discursive realms, we need a detailed discussion on the content, concern and context of history-writing which is proposed by the books about the history of Wayanad. Gopalan Nair wrote *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions* based on his fieldwork in Wayanad among communities, which he had done when he lived in Mananthavady[58] as deputy collector of Malabar as well as based on his research on the above-mentioned sources. He described his history of Wayanad in nine chapters titled as: Bird's-Eye View, Ancient History, Kottayam[59] Regime, Political History, Planting Industry, People of Wynad, Shrines of Wynad, Legends and Anecdotes and Hunting in Wynad. In the preface, he wrote,

> Wynad has always interested me. The inhabitants of the plains have no idea of the several races that have settled in Wynad and of the legends relating to shrines and other places of interest in this taluk.[60] The idea sprung up in my mind that a short account of this country would be interesting and useful, and being encouraged (sic) in this idea by Mr. Wood, I.C.S., Collector of Malabar, I availed myself of the opportunity of my stay for two years in Wynad to collect the information which I present to the public in these pages.[61]

It is clear that, to resolve the ignorance of "inhabitants of the plain" about the history of Wayanad besides his exoticism is the intention and interest behind his work, which was strongly supported by the British collector of Malabar. Here "inhabitants of the plain" mean inhabitants of Malayalam speaking areas. Moreover, he desired to write history of Wayanad in a linearly progressing chronological order of events, which is acceptable to the discourses of modern history. Indeed, he narrativized history of Wayanad vertically by episodic accounts of narrative-plots in a series of chapters such as Ancient History, Kottayam Regime, Political History and Planting Industry. But, a large amount of narratives which refer to heterogeneous pasts were not easy to historicize, and so he

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[58] In this work, Mananthavady is also written as Mananthawaddy, Maananthody, Manathody, Manantawaddy and Manantoddy.

[59] Kottayam, which is referred here, is one of the early *Nadu,* which was under the Kottayam Rajas. It is situated in the current Kannur district of Kerala. It is also noticed as Cotta, Cotay hyttay, Cotiote, and Cottaiyatta as per the early records, which are used in this study.

[60] Taluk appears as Talook and Thalook in this study.

[61] G. Gopalan Nair, p. XI.

enforced to register and portray those narratives as stories of shrines of Wynad, stories of legends and anecdotes, and stories of hunting in Wynad. Furthermore, he has arranged the political history of rulers of from ancient Kudumbiyil family to modern British.[62]

The *Wayanad Rekhakal*, the book written by O.K. Johnny has twenty-four chapters, which are arranged under three broader headings such as History, Oral history and Present. The writer's life as a journalist, his enquiry and study, and his extensive fieldwork in Wayanad helped him to write this book. His book also intends to narrate the history of Wayanad in a linearly progressing chronological order but the "myths which are active in social memories that do not have the authority to consider as history" has limited his ambition and forced him to transcribe those as oral history. He wrote the concern about and context for writing in four instances which are mentioned in the preface and in the first chapter,

> The enquiries of Wayanadan Research students for the "Cultural Landscape of Wayanad" which was published before 13 years, has influenced me to release this new edition....[63] This book is a sign of my wish to build the Wayanadan History by using the incomplete references which are scattered around the different spheres of knowledge like anthropology, archaeology, paleography and folk lore and to find out the historical past of ethnic-races which are fast disappearing… I am forced to enquire into the centuries old cultural-social context of Wayanad to locate the natives of this land in their several specialties in the real historical context and to enquire the basic causes of decay of ethnic culture today through that...Nobody had enquired into how the socio-political evolution of Wayanad affected the *Adivasi's* life. My intention is to make a necessary context to that kind of thinking.[64]

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[62] By following Partha Chatterjee, one may categorize this book as an "old social history." But I am reluctant to use that category because he uses that in a historicist perspective. Moreover, this book is not only a historical print artefact which existed in earlier twentieth century, but is rather a popular cultural product in our present—in English and in translated Malayalam form. So, I am interested to call this a "popular history book."
See, Partha Chatterjee, "History and the Domain of the Popular," *Seminar*: 522 (February, 2003). http://www.india-seminar.com/2003/522/522%20partha%20chatterjee.htm.
[63] O.K. Johnny, p. 11.
[64] Ibid, pp. 17-20.

Apparently, the driving forces behind this book were—the enquiries by Wayanadan Research students for a history book of Wayanad in order to find out the historical past of ethnic races in Wayanad; a desire to enquire into the basic causes of decay of ethnic culture in Wayanad; need to locate the native of this land in the real historical context of Wayanad; and the need to make a necessary context for thinking how the socio-political evolution of Wayanad affected the Adivasi's life. At this point the position of the writer is favorably disposed to Adivasis and researchers.

Mundakayam Gopi, the author of *Unknown Wayanad,* has arranged the content of his book under twenty-eight chapters. Author's exhaustive field work and engagement with the archival material and life as a trade unionist and journalist helped him write this book. The author indirectly mentioned the purpose and concern of his writing as: "Since when have the humans been present here (Wayanad)? What is the history of *Janapatha* and humans who had disappeared in distant terrain of past who cross the (Wayanad) land? What is the reality of the mythical stories which spread in oral and written forms?" He is also interested in the "life of the people of Wayanad as it was kept away from the mainstream."[65] And he also intended to resolve the uncertainty created by written history books of Wayanad in the mind of students of history by writing history.

The way Mundakayam Gopi introduces his history of Wayanad is interesting. He wrote an introduction named "Know Wayanad" somewhat different from the title of his book. He illustrated the introduction with mythical stories regarding the places in Wayanad, stories that have existed in popular oral narratives related to the people's belief. He chronologically classified it under Hindu cosmic time-scapes such as *Treta Yuga, Dvapara Yuga* and *Kali Yuga.* Moreover, by the use of circuitous fictional language he implicitly criticizes the absences of the scientific evidence in these narratives. Further, he puts his history of Wayanad—the *Unknown Wayanad*—contrary to this narrative and obliquely indicated his quest for scientific rationality. Also, he wants to break the ground of common sense about history of Wayanad.[66] Like Gopalan Nair and Johnny, he also aspires to write history of Wayanad in linearly progressing chronological order, and unlike them he actualized it by a selection-and-efface method. He selected certain pasts

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[65] Mundakayam Gopi, pp. 27-28.
[66] Ibid, pp. 7-11.

which are available to history and effaced the other pasts from his book which were not compatible with history, judging them as ahistorical.

One can recapitulate the arguments of the books as follows: Gopalan Nair aims to provide knowledge about Wayanad to the people of plains/Malayalam speaking areas; Johnny expects to locate *Adivasis* in real history of Wayanad and offer knowledge to Wayanadan researchers about history of Wayanad, and Gopi intends to probe since when human settlement has started in the region? What was the story of people who crossed the land in distant-past? Why is the people's life of Wayanad distant from the mainstream? Moreover, Malayalam, the language of the Johnny's and Gopi's books have indicated the linguistic nature of addresses the books intent. Here the concern of the above books towards Malayalees is very obvious.

Chapter Two

Writing History and Constructing Wayanad: *Stories of Vedar Raja* and *Etymologies of Wayanad*

This chapter problematizes two narrative-plots, the *stories of Vedar Raja* and *etymologies of Wayanad*, to show how the production and reproduction of these plots were used to build pasts of Wayanad and construct it as a region. How *stories of Vedar Raja* used to make a narrative of the origin of the political lineage of Wayanad especially to install a linearly progressing history of Wayanad, and how *etymologies of Wayanad* used to create an ontological tie to anchor history of Wayanad. More importantly, this delineates how this linearly progressing history positions the region of Wayanad and certain subjectivities in the primitive stage of temporal order of Modernity, by temporally demoting them by erasing heterogeneous pasts and fixing a "lofty origin" of Wayanad.

In Search of an Originary Political Lineage: *Stories of Vedar Raja*

Let us briefly go through the *stories of Vedar Raja*, before entering into different accounts about it. *Stories of Vedar Raja* was an oral story/legend/myth considered to be an account on the past of Wayanad. In the earlier times Vedar Rajas were rulers of Wayanad. In those days, a Kumbala[1] Raja came from north to Tirunnelly shrine. He was taken by the people and carried before Vedar Raja. The Vedar Raja told him to marry one of his daughters. He agreed to that demand on the condition that the marriage ceremony should be in a Kshatria way. But on the day of marriage Kumbala Raja defeated the Vedar Raja with the help of the forces of Kottayam and Kurumbranad Raja[2] and later Raja of Kumbala gave the Wayanad country to these two Rajas.

Necessary Conditions: Documentation of Stories of Vedar Raja

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[1] The name Kumbala is also used in this study as Cumbala, Kumbazha and Kazergod as per the records which this study uses.

[2] Kurumbranad Raja is also spelled as Coorimnaad, Koorubrand Raja and Kurumba Raja in the documents depended for this work.

As William Taylor noted in his book, primary documentation of this story/legend/myth about Vedar Raja[3] was recorded in *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, from oral form to written form. Similarly, one can see parallel remarks about the documentation of this story in *Mackenzie Manuscripts* in Gopalan Nair's book, even though the dates of documentation in both are different. In William Taylor's book *Examination and Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts,*[4] which was published in 1838, he has marked the date of documentation as July 1806. However, contrary to this G. Gopalan Nair's book[5] that was printed in 1911 has marked the date of recording as 28th November 1810. Nevertheless, indiscriminately, these two books show those referential relations to *Mackenzie Manuscripts*.

Mackenzie Manuscripts is a collection of a huge array of historical artefacts, including genealogies, *charitras*, stories, *puranas*, maps and drawings, collected and documented by Colin Mackenzie and his native and foreign assistants especially from southern India, mainly collected between 1800 and 1820. He was a surveyor and cartographer. Later he became the Surveyor General of India. Kavali Venkata Boriha was his chief native assistant.[6] He was a Telugu Brahmin. In the words of Nicolas Dirks, *Mackenzie Manuscripts* are the "…sources

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[3] In search of the original account on Vedar Raja which was documented in *Mackenzie Manuscripts* I spent many weeks in Government Oriental Manuscript library and Research Centre in Chennai where the *Mackenzie Manuscripts* were preserved, but I didn't find any Manuscript related to Vedars of Wayanad even in the title of *Kollikulaya Chief* in that library. I also searched that at Tamilnadu state achieve at Chennai Egmore but the result was the same and disappointing. Moreover, I corresponded with Jennifer Howes who was curator of The British Library and who wrote *Illustrating India*: *The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie*, after a search and consultation with her coworkers she told me that no original and translations are available in British Library and she also added that all the vernacular manuscripts related to Mackenzie were transferred to Madras in the late 1820's itself.

[4] William Taylor, *Examination and Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1838) pp. 113-118.

[5] G. Gopalan Nair, *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions* (first published: Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1911; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000) p. 12.

[6] Under Mackenzie, in between 1803-1821, at least 17 Indian assistants worked for the translation of manuscripts to English and record oral history gathered from field. Among them except one Jain and a few Christians, a majority were Brahmins, especially the relatives of Boria. See Jennifer Howes, *Illustrating India*: *The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010) p. 9, and also see Nicholas B. Dirks, "Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive," in Carol A. Brekenridge and Peter Van der Veer, ed., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1993) pp. 292-300.

for the study of the early modern historical anthropology of southern India… (and) colonial Britain's most extensive engagement with Indian history and Indian historicity."[7]

After the fall of Seringapatam, the Governor General of Company, Mornington stated, "a more complete knowledge of these countries was indispensably necessary for the information of (Company) Government."[8] This was the colonial desire that led to the collection and production of historical and geographical knowledge about the conquered territories. Moreover, Rosane Rocher argued that the period after the fall of Sirajudheen Doulla in northern India and Tipu Sultan in Southern India is important in many ways because this was the period of transformation from East India Company to British Raj.[9] In addition to that David Ludden remarked, "Foundations of Orientalism lie in the transition to company rule in India, circa 1770-1820, when producing new knowledge about India was bound tightly with political patronage. As Company territory grew, centralization became a policy imperative...."[10]

Dirks put the concern behind the documentation in this way: "Mackenzie's studied attempt to collect the genealogical records of these displaced chiefs[11] was due to the East India Company's desire to sort out claims of local political legitimacy and evaluate the nature and potential resistance of these forms of local political rule."[12] In this thesis, in part-II, I have delineated inter-rivalry "claims of local political legitimacy" and the "potential resistances" of different forces against the establishment of Company's territorial authority on the terrains of Wayanad. Here, we can see that those kinds of demands have led Company to the documentation and production of knowledge such as *stories of Vedar Raja* about Wayanad.

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[7] Nicholas B. Dirks, p. 281, and for further details about *Mackenzie Manuscript* see, T.V. Mahalingam, ed., *Mackenzie Manuscripts,* Vol. I (Sivakasi: University of Madras, 2011).

[8] "A Statement of the Literary Labours of the late Colonel Mackenzie," in *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, Vol.13, Kingsbury (1822) p. 245.

[9] Rosane Rocher, "British Orientalism in the Eighteenth Century: The Dialectics of Knowledge and Government," in Carol A. Brekenridge and Peter Van der Veer, ed., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1993) p. 222.

[10] David Ludden, "Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge," in Carol A. Brekenridge and Peter Van der Veer, ed., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1993) p. 253.

[11] Between Tipu Sulthan and other native Rajas.

[12] Nicholas B. Dirks, p. 289.

A detour to the historical registers which have described the pre-1806 situations shows environment of production and registration of *stories of Vedar Raja* in *Mackenzie Manuscript* and its further reproductions. In historical registers concerning the history of Wayanad we can see different kinds of encounter[13] between Tipu Sulthan, Pazhassi Raja and British. Because, for them Wayanad was a place of contestation and a territory in dispute. Moreover, it was a frontier and a bridge of political power to different territories. The multilayered vague territorial limits and frontiers drawn by Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sulthan between 1766 and 1799, by Kottayam Rajas and Pazhassi Raja between 1780 and 1805, and by East India Company and British between 1768 and 1805, using their spatial strategies of revenue, raid and military, formulate different territorial ideas about Wayanad. Put it differently, the activities of people (such as loot, military assault and revenue collection) that form places, and effects of places (hill, forest, marsh, road, fort, military post and underground) that form activities, have formed different regions in and around Wayanad and made Wayanad as a region with unfixed contours.

But these vaguely formed regions of Wayanad, and contesting and overlapping spatiotemporal knowledge on the region of Wayanad generated mainly though textual and non-textual practices of Tipu Sulthan, Pazhassi Raja and British were not sufficient to install and ground the territorial authority of any of them on Wayanad. Significantly, the Company's lack of historical and geographical knowledge about Wayanad, and their dependence on natives about this knowledge, made impossible the installation of their territorial authority on Wayanad in an absolute sense. But the victories of Company's military primarily on Tipu Sulthan in 1799, and decisively on Pazhassi Raja in 1805, not only placed territorial authority of Company on Wayanad but also created a necessary environment to produce and register the historical and geographical knowledge about Wayanad in order to en-frame Wayanad as a region under their power. One can see the production and registration of *stories of Vedar Raja* by Company government in *Mackenzie Manuscript* as one of their preliminary act of en-framing of Wayanad as a region under the

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[13] This encounter includes both narrative (discourse based) and non-narrative (non-discourse based).

authority of British. If we go through the backdrop of documentation of this story we can easily understand how this became the foundation of modern historical and geographical knowledge about Wayanad and facilitated the authority of Company in Wayanad.

On Documentation: William Taylor and Gopalan Nair

On the documentation of *stories of Vedar Raja* William Taylor has remarked that "Certain persons, whose names are given in reply to certain queries from the *cutcherry* made in July, 1806, wrote (this account) to this effect."[14] He continued, "The foregoing account is attested by the signature of fourteen individuals, as being that which they had received from their forefathers, by tradition."[15] Under the title "general remark," he again stated that "They are the results of queries circulated by Mr. Baber, perhaps at the suggestion of Colonel Mackenzie…."[16] In addition to that, Gopalan Nair also has remarked that this story was "handed down from generation to generation" and documented "by certain leading inhabitants of Wayanad" in 1810 by the order of the Zilla Court of North Malabar, that dated 29th Thulam 986 (12th November 1810).[17] These are the two contexts about the documentation that are available to us.

Instead of being a mistake in the marking of actual period, these two distinct remarks were probably two different documentations of the *stories of Vedar Raja*, in its transition from oral form to written, which was traditionally passed through forefathers from one generation to another. Firstly, as Taylor observed, this story was collected in 1806 from fourteen informants who were signed under this document as a result of the direction of Baber through his enquiry circulated by *cutcherry* (Court). Secondly, as Gopalan Nair stated, this story was recorded in 1810 by certain chief inhabitants of Wayanad by the order of Zilla Court of North Malabar. In both cases it is clear that eye and hand of British raj worked for the documentation and modern production of this knowledge. Moreover, formal directions of Company through its legal institution such as court and obedience of native subject to deposit their knowledge in front of court, not only express the authority of Company but also mark

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[14] William Taylor, *Examination and Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts*, p.113.
[15] Ibid, p. 115.
[16] Ibid, p. 118.
[17] Gopalan Nair also looks at *Mackenzie Manuscript* as a source of information; see G. Gopalan Nair, p. 12.

the authorial process of Company's power on Wayanad, through documentation of knowledge about that place from natives.

From Story to History: Scripting and Transcripting of the Stories of Vedar Raja

If we go through each account about Vedar Raja that was documented in *Examination and Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts* and other historical registers, we can understand how this en-framing of knowledge was deeply interlinked with establishment and consolidation of the power of the Company government. Besides, we can realize how history-writing figured and configured this account(s) to form and locate Wayanad as a region in the linearly progressing temporal order of history. Firstly, in the absence of the firsthand record about Vedar Raja, which was documented in *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, in Malayalam language[18] let us examine William Taylor's reproduction of this record in English in 1838 from *Mackenzie Manuscript*.[19] As Taylor assures, this allows us to believe that this abstracted version is an almost complete reproduction of the account about Vedar Raja that was "copied and embodied in the second volume of restored manuscripts" of Mackenzie.[20] Strangely, as mentioned by Taylor, other than representing the content of the record, it is titled as *Account of the Cottaiyatta, Chief of the Mapala[21] Caste,* in Malayalam. However, going through the lines of the account, we can identify that the explanatory answering mode of narrative is a result of the formal questions raised by Company government about the history and geography of Wayanad.

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[18] See, H.H. Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection: Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts and other Articles Illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics and Antiquities of the South of India; collected by the late Lieut Col Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor General of India,* Vol. II (Calcutta: Asiatic press, 1828). And also see, William Taylor, *A Catalogue Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts in the Government Library by the Rev.* Vol. III (Madras: Printed at the United Scottish press, by Graves, Cookson and Co., 1862). First book marks the documentation of this story under the title Malabar as *(Malayalam) Account of Kollikulaya, Chief of the Mapula Cast at Kolikota* in ditto and second book marks *Account of the Cottaiyatta, chief* that documented under title Malayalam in Manuscript Book, No.3, C.M. 896. These two undoubtedly shows the presence of this narrative in Malayalam language in *Mackenzie Manuscripts* even though the title of the record is not represented in the content.

[19] In the same year, this account published under the title "Account of the Cottaiyatta Chief of the Mapala Caste in Malayalam in The Madras Journal of Literature and Science," published under the auspices of the Madras literary society and auxiliary of the royal Asiatic society, Vol.7 (1838) pp. 345-347.

[20] William Taylor, *Examination and Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts*, p.115.

[21] The community Mapala is also figured as Mapula and Mappila according to the sources of this study.

The remarks such as "no stone or copper inscriptions" were available about the earlier Rajas of the country Wayanad and "no other inhabitants than Vedars (wild hunters)" inhabited in Wayanad, not only reflect an answering mode but also fix Vedar as the original inhabitants of Wayanad and situate them as earlier rulers of Wayanad. Here, lack of authentic evidence such as inscription creates certain impossibility for the Company government to prove and establish political lineage and legitimacy for a ruler of Wayanad. But the revelations of natives that situate Vedars as ancient rulers of Wayanad and detect them as the original inhabitants, reconcile the problem and sort out political claim and lineage of Wayanad.

As I summarized above, this account of Vedar Raja also starts its narration from the journey of Kumbala Raja from north through Wayanad to visit Tirunelly shrine as a pilgrim, and his arrest and custodial submission in front of Vedar Raja. While Kumbala Raja reveals his "rank and object," Vedar Raja—who belongs to "kingly tribe"—told him to marry one of his daughters, and intimidated him by saying that if he did not agree with that he would not return. Initially Kumbala Raja did not agree with that proposal saying that because he belonged to a Kshatriya caste he could not marry a Vedar tribe. However, after Verdar Raja suggested that he was ready to arrange marriage based on Kshatriya rites, Kumbala agreed to marry her. After that Vedar Raja gave directions to lodge the bride in a separate room for few days up to a suitable date. Meanwhile, he ordered to install a big *panthal* (or booth) for marriage, and commanded to decorate it completely with silk and other costly materials, and fill it with *nelli* (emblic myrobalan) and *tani* (terminalia bellirica) fruits.

He also directed people to bring all their weapons to his country and gather all those in a fort at the time of marriage. But on that occasion Kumbala Raja devised a secret plan using his two companions who accompanied with him—one was a "*Jadadhari*" (ascetic with matted hair) and another was a "Sudra Vellazhan." With their help he wrote letters and sent them to Kurumba Raja and Cotta Raja[22] and requested them to come to Wayanad with all the force that they could command and enter the fort of Vedar Raja, after his people gave signal by blowing the trumpet. Therefore as per the plan, *Jadadhari* who was the leader of musicians

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[22] Cotta Raja is Raja of Kottayam.

gave the signal sound to Kurumba Raja and Cotta Raja, who entered the fort with their full forces after hearing that sound. Then they killed Vedar Raja and a portion of his people; who attended the marriage function, though a section of them escaped. When the Rajas and their forces reached the place where Kumbala Raja was confined, he disclosed his identity and came out from confinement.

Then other rajas had asked Kumbala Raja about the future government of Wayanad which they conquered. He said that he couldn't govern this country because of the far distance of his country from Wayanad. Subsequently, he acknowledged the help of the Rajas as valuable for saving him from the "disgraceful marriage." Then Kumbala Raja was honoured by other two Rajas with presents, and they sent him to his country. From the country which they conquered, *Jadadhari* got a "district of land" to reign. The proposed bride of Kumbala raja was given to another man who was the member of "Nambiya caste." After he married her, he was assigned as an administrator of country under rajas of Kurumba and Cotta. Then they thought about how the country could be divided among them without any clash. They decided to travel through different directions and agreed that the spot where they would meet together as their territorial boundary. But that plan didn't work out. Then Cotta raja desired to take the whole country by Kurumba and he came to a contract that if Kurumba's lineage fails, "then it should come to the Cotta chief or to his posterity," and if Cotta's posterity fails then it should come to the hand of Kurumba. Then Kurumba Raja attained the authority to rule. As Cotta or his successor married the daughter of *Jadadhari*, her inherited property along with her was transferred to them. Consequently, Kurumba and Cotta Rajas waged war against each other. That fights ended with the country of Wayanad coming in the hands of the East India Company.[23]

The Report on the Mackenzie Manuscripts that came in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science* in July1839[24] and *A Catalogue Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts Vol.III*

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[23] See, William Taylor, *Examination and Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts*, pp.113-115 for a cross examination.

[24] Robert Cole and C.P. Brown, ed., *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, published by Madras Literary Society and The Royal Asiatic society, Vol. X (July-December, 1839) pp. 16-17.

published in 1862[25] give more details through the documentation of historical and geographical knowledge about Wayanad. Among these books, the first one, the examination of *Mackenzie Manuscript* by William Taylor, under the title *Account of ancient matters relative to the Vainad (Wynaad) district*, described shortly about the account of Vedar Raja, boundaries and divisions of Wayanad, about the strange belief that distances Banasuran Kotta from people,[26] and details of vegetable production, gold ore, traders and Brahmin inhabitance. And under title *Legend of Tirunelli-cshetram in Malayalam country* it mentioned the derivation of the Tirunelly from *Nelli* (phyllanthusemblica) "under which Brahma paid homage to Siva." Many Brahmas worshiped Siva in that temple and a sacred pool is situated there. In the second book, under the heading *Account of the Vedar of Wynaad district*, William Taylor primarily profiled Vedar as "wild and naked savages; …increased and lived by hunting" and labeled them as ignorant who do not know even the "existence of any god." Then it portrayed them as cunning people who were freed by the king of the country by recruiting them as soldiers to destroy wild animals after providing food and cloth to them. It goes on to narrate that the Vedars subsequently constructed a fort in the Wayanad country and reigned considerable land of the territory. This land was later conquered by Malayalam country and incorporated to their jurisdiction. Then, the work conclusively remarks the people there as useful people who will clear "the country of ferocious animals" and mentioned them as "aboriginal people, differing from the Hindus."[27]

Contrary to "A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar,"[28] the "Report on the History, Condition and Prospects of the Taluk of Wynad"[29] that produces certain indirect remark on Vedar Raja is significant for our interest. It says,

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[25] William Taylor, *A Catalogue Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts in the government Library*, Vol. III (printed at: Madras: United Scottish press, by Graves, Cookson and Co., 1862) p. 398.

[26] A place that people never visit because of a strange belief.

[27] See William Taylor, *A Catalogue Raisonne of Oriental Manuscripts in the Government Library,* Vol. III, p. 398.

[28] *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar* was a result of the trigonometrical survey and other field works done by Benjamin Swain Ward and Peter Eyre Conner in the period of 1824-1830. This book is a leading register which documented geographical, topographical and statistical knowledge about Wayanad. Though, particularly the chapter on Wayanad which came under the title *Descriptive of the Wynaud Taluk* was a result of separate survey done by Ward in the period of 1826-27. This record is an indispensable one in the mapping and en-framing of Wayanad as a region. But, here we are not going to examine the significance of this work because of its absence about Vedar Raja in this book which is the main interest of the chapter. Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive*

On the earliest history of Wynaad it is unnecessary to touch. It was doubtless once the country of Canarese tribe, but was visited largely by Malabar races on account of the sanctity of several of its ancient temples, to which a great part of the country belonged. The traditional history of Wynaad carries back the date of early aggression of Malabar Princes on the country above the Ghauts several centuries.[30]

Other than this the chapter "Wynaad Taluk" in Malabar Gazetteer which was printed firstly in 1908[31] is much significant in this context. Its reproduction of the account of Vedar Raja is more direct than the above one. That described,

The early history of the Wynaad is involved in obscurity. Tradition points to a time when a line of Vedar kings held sway, and the story goes on to record that an ill-judged capture of a Kshatriya pilgrim to the famous Tirunelli shrine led to the invasion and subjugation of the country by the Kshatriya princes of Kottayam and Kurumbranad.[32]

Though Gopalan Nair's narrative which came under title "Ancient History" also shows its referential relation to *Mackenzie Manuscripts* in the reproduction of account of Vedar Raja, its meanings and effects are considerably different from Taylor's narration on Vedar Raja. Because, with the referential help of above mentioned Malabar Gazetteer he linearly links Vedar Raja, the subject of account, to ancient ruler of Wayanad by finding his name in the earliest inscriptions of Edakkal Cave located in Wayanad. That teleologically made an "age-old" lineage of Vedar Rajas as kings of Wayanad through deciphering the name "Kudumbiyil family"—that was the reading of Hultzch about one of the inscription—as a remark about Vedar Raja. Moreover, he delineates in detail the whereabouts of earlier rulers of Wayanad and geographically marks the territorial locations of each raja and draws the cartography of Wayanad by a "formal" language of history. Probably, these elaborations might be a result of

Memoir of Malabar, (first printed: Calicut: Collectorate Press, 1906; Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Gazetteers Department, Government of Kerala, 1995).

[29] See W. Robinson's "Report on the History, Condition and Prospects of the Taluk of Wayanad" dated as 22nd August 1857 (Calicut: Collectorate Press, 1917) in J. Rejikumar, ed., *Selected Reports on Malabar, Canara, and Wynad* (Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Archives Department, 2010).

[30] Ibid, pp. 84-85.

[31] C.A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer,* ed., F.B. Evans (first printed 1908, reprinted in Madras: Madras Government press, 1951; Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Gazetteer Department, 1997).

[32] Ibid, p. 502.

independent enquiry of Gopalan Nair along with the information which he collected from *Mackenzie Manuscripts*. He narrates his account more or less similar to the above narrative,

> The Vedar kings were ruling the country when the Kshatriya ruler of Kumbala (Kumbazha-Kasergod in South Canara) happened to go on a pilgrimage to the Tirunelli temple. He was taken prisoner and carried before the Vedar Raja at Velikumbam Fort (Veliyambam in Puthadi[33] amsam) and on being pressed to marry a daughter of the Vedar ruling family, he consented on condition that the ceremony should be celebrated in accordance with Kshathriya customs.[34]

Then they fixed a suitable day for the party of marriage. But, without the knowledge of Vedar Raja, Kumbala Raja had planned sabotage. He furtively corresponded with Rajas of Kottayam and Kurumbranad to come with their forces to Wayanad and secretly camp near the fort of Vedar Raja. At the same time, he assigned his two helpers "an ascetic with matted hair, an Erati by caste" to beat drum for the marriage party. Actually, it was a secret signal to the camped forces to ambush the Vedar king.

Accordingly, on that day, suddenly after hearing the drum beats, the forces of two rajas ruined Vedar Raja and they released Kumbala Raja. Instead of him, Nanthillath Nambiar married the daughter of Vedar Raja to fulfil the assurance which Kumbala gave. Through this conjugal relation, he was authorized as sovereign of Velikumbam (Veliyambam), on remaining Vedars. Subsequently, Kumbala returned to his country from Wayanad. Then Wayanad was divided among Kottayam and Kurumbranad Rajas.

> The Kottayam Raja left Mathangode and the Kurumbranad Raja left Koliyadi, and it was settled that their meeting place should be the boundary between the two countries. They met at Pazhupathur, and the North-west Wynad known as Wynad proper became the Kottayam Raja's share, and the South-east Wynad known as *Parakkumeethal*[35] the Kurumbranad Raja's share.[36]

After a short period of their rule, they started to fight each other. Consequently, apart from certain landed properties and palace, Kurumbranad Raja abandoned his country and it further

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[33] Puthadi also appeared as Poothady in the document which this study referred.
[34] See, G. Gopalan Nair, p. 10.
[35] The word literally means "above the rock."
[36] G. Gopalan Nair, pp. 11-12.

reached the hands of Kottayam Raja. Then he ruled the entire Wayanad including *Paarakkumeethal*. The Rajas rewarded the Muttil to "Erati ascetic" for his judicious acts and appointed him as ruler of that domain. By considering him as a "lucky man (Bhagiyavan)" they called him the founder of "family of fortune (Bhagiya Swarupam)" and it subsequently evolved as "Pakka Swarupam."

Gopalan Nair further explain that,

> Pazhupathur is a place near Sultan's Battery and Padiri rock on the way from Meenangadi to Battery is pointed out as the exact boundary dividing the respective tracts parceled out between the two Rajas. The name *Parakkumeethal* (lit., above the rock) refers to the amsams south-east of that rock and in that portion the Kurumbranad Raja still holds some property including a residence known as Ramangalath Kovilagam.[37]

He then remarked that this record which explains "several stages through which Wynad passed before it became part and parcel of the British Empire" is significant in the absence of other credible sources to show "how the Kottayam Rajas became the rulers of Wynad." Further he said that after the disappearance of Veliyambam and Pakkam families, their possessions were first escheated to Kottayam Raja and then to the British Government.

Unlike other accounts on Vedar Raja, Gopalan Nair delineated the genealogy of Vedar rulers by geographically marking their realm of rule. He pointed out that names of last rajas in the lineage of Vedar were Arippan and Vedan. Panamaram was the domain which Arippan ruled and South of Panamaram River was the realm of Vedan's rule. The place in Tavinjal amsam where the fort of Arippan has existed called Aripatta Kunnu after his death. The place in Pakkam and Nenmani amsams where fort of Vedan is situated is called Vedan Kottas (Vedan forts) after his time. He emphasized that these rajas were "legendary characters" but the overwhelming memories of people about these rajas show certain "foundation of truth in the legend" like the saying that the name of Cheraman Perumal existed among the people of

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[37] Ibid, p. 13.

plains.[38] Mullu Kurumbar claim to be the descendant of Arippan's race and Vettu or Urali Kurumbar s assert the lineage of Vedan's race. By quote from "Madras Journal of Literature and Science (1889)" Nair further depicts Kurumbar as "Vedas in the virgin forests hunting the deer for its flesh and the wild animals for their own safety"[39] and substantiates the nationality claim of Kurumbar on Wayanad. By citing Dr. Oppert who affirmed "*Kudumban*" as identical with "*Kudumbi*" and "*Kuruman*" he also strengthened his argument and stated that "the Kurumbers were the original inhabitants of Wynad during the reign of the Kudumbiyil family." Then he conclusively remarked that "these Kurumbers carved out a kingdom for themselves" and Arippan and Vedan were the last rajas of this lineage.[40]

Documentation of Knowledge and Installation of Colonial Power in collaboration with Native Elites

The *frame of the text* and *content of the text*, are vital for our consideration in the above reproduction of documented accounts of Vedar Raja.

a. Framing of Texts: Power, Knowledge and Problem of Geography

Theorization of Michel de Certeau possibly aids us to reread the process of framing of texts. He observed that the magistrate's "spatial legislation" through determining rights and "dividing lands" by hearing the "stories" of conflicting groups about their claims on place asserted by them through the depiction of their activities such as seeding a plant or keeping a dung heap "composes, verifies, collates and displaces" frontiers of place.[41] Because it helps us to understand how the reproduction of documented *stories of Vedar Raja* in paper[42] fixes the boundaries and bounds the geography of Wayanad into a grid of a formal language and position rajas in different temporal stages of history. Furthermore, it probably aids us to complicate and critique the theory of de Certeau—which sees more liberative potential in

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[38] Ibid, pp. 13-14.
[39] Ibid, p. 14.
[40] Ibid, pp. 14-15.
[41] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (London: University of California Press, 1988) p.122.
[42] Chinese paper was preliminarily used to record this story. See, William Taylor's remarks on this in William Taylor, *Examination and Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts*, p18.

time and oral narrative than space and its potential effects—by thinking about the effects of geography in the making of the stories, in reverse.

In detail, while thinking through de Certeau we may get a vision of how the process of reproductions of document(s) generates knowledge and power for Company government. Because he argues that the visit of magistrate in the place of dispute to hear the contradictory narratives about claims of parities about boundaries, and his "interlocutory judgment" unite together the conflicting stories on genealogies of places and legends about territories not only settle conflicting claims between parities but also "mark out boundary" of a place.[43] Here in the case of above documentation(s) also one can see somewhat similar process. As we know; by the judicial order of the court (*cutcherry*) the documentation of oral stories about Vedar Raja also happened, and that was a writing which compiled many oral narratives deposited by various individuals in to *a story* of linear narration. Hence, this judicial recording by writing in paper not only invalidated the multiple and overlapping claims of people on places that exist through oral stories by homogenizing those into an authentic account but also made Company's authority on knowledge on the geography and history of Wayanad by erasing presences of different narratives in a written text.[44]

Moreover, this documentation converted memories of people on Vedar Raja—generated from their present—into a definite past of history, and it relegated Vedar (Kurumar) people who live in present with their memory as a stagnant object of historical time that distanced from the present. Rather than a people who have history this discourse transforms Vedar into a history of others. On the other side, trans-scripting of these oral narratives about Vedar Raja into *Mackenzie Manuscripts* was an "interlocutory judgment" for discovering "truth" and "credibility" of an immutable past of Wayanad. So that further reproduction of it by

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[43] Therefore, one can see oral stories as the primary source of spatial legislation. Moreover, de Certeau also sees this judgment as a duplication of the role played by the stories as mobile and magisterial tribunal to delimit the boundary of a place as how human activities on places mark boundary of a place. Ibid, p.122.

[44] Ranajit Guha's explication about the establishment of permanent settlement and reification of the idea of private property by the Company in the soil of Bengal, offers another delineation about the deployment of knowledge on the geography and history of a native land by Company. See Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property for Bengal: An Essay on the Idea of Permanent Settlement* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1982).

William Taylor and Gopalan Nair in the form of books were translations, disseminations[45] and extensions of it for a possible *credible story* over the *obscure* past of Wayanad.

But if we closely look at the mapping of boundaries of Wayanad by stories we can discern that the process of mapping by stories is not only a self-generated one but also a product of geographical effect of Wayanad(s) too. It is not only because these documented stories were the contribution of native inhabitants of Wayanad who have lived-knowledge about the geography and history of Wayanad but also because the lived-knowledge of them was a product of geographical effect of place on their bodies. More significantly, here space/place works as a main constitutive of oral stories as well as time. Therefore, the argument of de Certeau about space is myopic. Because for him "proper" knowledge which was fixed and framed by the grid of formal writing that was largely inaugurated by modernity "is a victory of space over time."

b. *Textualization of Contents: Knowledge and Registration of Power on Land*

Let us treat the content of texts, on Vedar Raja, one by one. In the absence of the firsthand account on Vedar Raja that was documented in *Mackenzie Manuscripts* one cannot evaluate completely the content of that by examining its reproduction by Taylor. There are two definite reasons that hinder a fair evaluation. Firstly, contrary to the record of Mackenzie that is transripted in Malayalam, which is not available to us, the reproduction of Taylor is available in English, in a translated form. Secondly, use of rhetorical tropes and narrative technique deployed by Taylor to reproduce this account is probably distinct from earlier one. However, while thinking on the content, one of the most profound effects of the textualization of Taylor is the temporal ordering of rajas in a hierarchy, which positions Vedar Raja as an ancient ruler in comparison with Kurumba Raja and Cotta Raja who were located as contemporaries of the English East India Company. This temporal ordering nullifies territorial claim and land possession of Kurumbar on Wayanad as a descendant of Vedar by pushing their claim into the remote past. On the other hand it places Kurumba Raja and Cotta Raja as rulers of Wayanad and situate them as one and only heir of entire land of

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[45] Through its printed forms, it possibly became books that are available in many countries of Europe and influence their imagination about places of India.

Wayanad who live contemporary to Company just before its establishment of authority on Wayanad. Through this, Kurumbar who encountered the British Company—along with Kurichiar[46] in 1812 and along with Pazhassi Raja in many years—to assert their territorial claim on Wayanad and who lived in the terrains of Wayanad by shifting cultivation, hunting and collecting goods from jungle; have become a past referring lexis of their text.

Moreover, even though one can see the use of words such as "Kingly Tribe" and "Cshetriya Caste"[47] and expression like "disgraceful marriage" in Taylor's text, one cannot judge those completely as a product of colonial prejudice. Because, these terms are probably a product of mutual exchange, between colonized and colonizer, possibly, born from the translation of self-expression of natives by Taylor those had transcribed in the manuscripts. However, it is obvious to see internal-colonial attitude of one section of natives in the form of the unethical acts of Kumbala raja and his allies that subvert authority of Vedar Raja and conquered his country Wayanad. Assassination of Vedar Raja by carrying out an attack on his unarmed man, through misappropriation of his territory, and the denial of marriage promise; all plots of sabotage employed in association with Cotta and Kurumba Rajas clearly show the unethicality of the acts. The very betrayal of Kumbala Raja is symptomatic of that.

Contrary to this, in other texts of Taylor which reproduced narratives from *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, one can see clear marks of colonial prejudice in the description of Wayanad. For instance, in *Account of the Vedar of Wynaad* he marks Vedar as primitive. The phrases he use to describe Vedar such as "wild naked savages," "ignorant," "guile" those who "increased and lived by hunting" without any knowledge about god are meant to represent Vedars as primitive. In subsequent lines, even though he states them as people who were later civilized by king (!) and who build fortress and held sway over the territory of Wayanad, he found them only useful to clear the "country of ferocious animal," in a utilitarian logic. However, contrary to this, while he describes Brahmins as those who worship Siva in *Tirunelli-cshetram* in Wayanad he does not attribute any term with negative valence on them. Here, even if we think through the logic of Taylor it is difficult to

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[46] Kurichiar is figured in this study as Korecher as well based on the sources used.
[47] These words were used to qualify Vedar Raja and Cumbala Raja respectively.

understand how a Vedar king alone[48] could be civilized man to civilize his uncivilized counterparts and how Vedar who use silk cloth to decorate marriage Panthal could be termed as an unclothed people. Therefore, unthinking sheer prejudice is evident here, that grade native culture and identities, in a high and low position, in a hierarchy, that are usually seen in orientalist narratives.

But, if anyone goes through his final words about Vedar as "aboriginal people, differing from the Hindus" perhaps s/he might feel that these are not only the remarks which independently emerge out from a colonial mindset but also an effect of Brahmanical worldview about oriental society inflected through the Brahmin assistants and informants. We have enough proof to show the attitude of Brahmin assistants of Mackenzie towards Vedar who are known as Kurumbar. Nicholas Dirks asserts that Appavoo, one of the Mackenzie's Christen assistants, states clearly his opinion against the attitude of Mackenzie's Brahmin assistants who attempt to "suppress certain kinds of local traditions."

He quotes from Appavoo,

> Here, by Brahmins, the history of Jains and Cooroomber are much concealed. As there is not a single learned Jaina and Cooroomber in the Jaghere, their written histories are very rare with the exception of some information concerning them… As Brahmans and other nations bear a great enmity at them, many refuse to give me such information in my route.[49]

But a Kurumbar informant later he met in his route disclosed him, "They were the most ancient nation derived from the Bedars and first had the entire sovereignty of the Carnata and Dravida Desums."[50] Here it is clear that Brahmins were the source of most of information collected by Mackenzie's assistants and they were hostile towards Kurumbar. Therefore, temporally[51] and culturally relegated representations of Vedar were perhaps generated

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[48] Based on colonial text itself, he was the earliest king of Wayanad who erected fort in Wayanad to rule those lands, along with other Vedar.

[49] Nicholas B. Dirks, p. 300.

[50] Ibid, p. 300.

[51] However, the terms such as "ancient nation" and "first had the entire sovereignty" also perhaps signify Kurumar as an archaic identity and locate them at the lowest level of time but it has possibly happened through

mutually through the discriminatory attitude of Brahmin assistants over Vedar and colonial prejudice.

W. Robinson's expression on the history of Wayanad that is perhaps drawn from Taylor's account is an exact reflection of the state of mind which we saw above. Because, by expressions such as "it is unnecessary to touch" "earliest history of Wynaad" and his passive phrasing of Vedar as "Canarese tribe" and as oldest inhabitants of Wayanad, and his reverence while wording "Malabar races" Robison shows his prejudice towards Kurumbar. However, description in Malabar Gazetteer on history of Wayanad is, nevertheless, not similar to Robison's attitude but shares certain traits above mentioned. For, it depicts Wayanad's "early history" as "obscurity" and custodial arrest of Kshatriya man as an "ill-judged"act.

In the text of Gopalan Nair, one can see many differences in content from that in Taylor's text. While Taylor note *Jadadhari* (ascetic with matted hair) and Sudra Vellazhan as the assistants of Kumbala Raja whom he used as messengers to Kurumba and Cotta rajas for communicating his secret plan and sounding the trumpet as a signal for attack, Gopalan Nair marks differently the furtive correspondences of Kumbala raja with Kottayam and Kurumbranad as an independent one and ascetic with matted hair and Erati by caste as his helpers who assigned by him to beat drum as a signal sound. But other than this, the main difference among these texts lies in the grounding of each place in the oral stories about Vedar Raja into the material soil of physical geography. While Taylor's text remarks the name of the Rajas and place of the incidents without exactly referring the geographical location of them, Gopalan Nair's text grounds those in physical geography of terrains in a profound manner. For instance, he locates Kumbala raja as the raja of the place Kumbazha or Kasergod in south Canara and situate Vedar Raja in Velikumbam Fort in Veliyambam in Puthadi amsam. Furthermore, he plotted the trips of Kottayam and Kurumbranad Rajas based on real places of Wayanad—that they conducted to divide the country of Wayanad among them—by mapping route of that trip through Mathangode, Koliyadi and Pazhapathur. And

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translation of Appavoo. Because, most probably the very reason of recollection of memory by Kurumbar was to claim and assert power in their present rather than a self relegation of their body into a past.

further he affirms north-west Wayanad as Kottaym's territory and south-west Wayanad (*paarakkumeethal*) as Kurumbranad's territory. Additionally, he mapped the geography of two Vedar Rajas; Arippan and Vedan as Panamaram and south of Panamaram river respectively, and plotted their headquarters in Arippakunnu in Panamaram and Vedankotta in south of Panamaram river and furthermore comments on the claim of Mulla Kurumbars as the descendant of Arippan's race and claim of Vettu or Urali Kurumbar s as successor of Vedan's race. Rather than a contextualization of text all these reflect the capacity of context or geography to generate textual significations.

But rather than juxtaposing many places in horizontal geography the conclusive remarks of Gopalan Nair place Kurumbar and Kottayam raja in a temporal hierarchy, in a sequential order of linearly progressing time of history, of region Wayanad. By this, he asserts on the one hand Kottayam Rajas as the rules of Wayanad who were contemporaries to British Company, and positions Kottayam Rajas in a temporally progressive stage and directly sanctions the right of them on the land of Wayanad. On the other hand, through declaring Kurumbar as original inhabitants and ancient rulers of Wayanad by connecting their linage to archaic past of inscription, he places Kurumbar in a temporally demoted stage and indirectly denies the contemporary right of Kurumbar on land of Wayanad.

Golden Past and Primitive Present: Johnny's Historicization of Stories of Vedar Raja
Another reproduction of this account can be seen in O.K. Johnny book. Under the *Kudumbiyil Vamshavum Vedarajakanmaarum (Kudumbiyil Race and Vedar-Rajas)*[52] he argued Kurumar as earlier rulers of Wayanad. By repeating the argument of Gopalan Nair, Johnny links the inscriptional remark about "Kudumbiyil family" with Vedar Raja and thereafter with Kurumar. Additionally, he strengthens this argument by pointing out the period of that inscription as between 3rd century B.C. and 5th century A.D. and emphasized that this was the possible period of ruling of this dynasty. Picking certain clues from Oppert which was cited by Nair as regards the linguistic relation among Kudumbi and Kuruman he further says, here it is clear that the Wayanadan places were Kurumar's realm in the earlier

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[52] O.K. Johnny, *Wayanad Rekhakal* (Calicut*:* Pappiyon, 2001) p. 59.

period. There was a separate country as Kurumar's. The Veda Rajas who ruled Wayanad were the descendents of Kudumbiyil race. Borrowing heavily from Nair as regards the geography of Veda Rajas he further validates his arguments. After almost copying Nair's account on Vedar Raja he also significantly registered one of the narratives of Kurumar on Vedar Raja which was circulated orally from generation to generation and was slightly different from Mackenzie's versions. Taking from Kurumar's words he wrote, Kottayam and Kurumbranad Rajas, by one of their Nambiar assistants, forcibly married a Vedar princess to misappropriate the country Wayanad. A war broke out as a consequence of that, which led to the annihilation of Vedar dynasty. Moreover, Kurumar believes that through betrayal Kshathriya rajas defeated Vedar Raja.

Contrary to Nair he further elaborates the narrative-plot Vedar Raja through the production of many logical connections to substantiate reality of Vedar Raja. He wrote Veliyambam-fort the headquarters of Arippan and the Pakkam-fort located nearby; are main pilgrim centers of Mullu Kurumar. From different parts of Wayanad, Kurumars are gathering there to celebrate yearly Thulapathu festival. The Vedar-kotta near Cheeral exists live in the myths of Mullu Kurumar. The elders point at the hill where Vedar-kotta was situated. The place which knows as Vedar-kotta is an estate today. Moreover, he pointed at three temples—Eravimanagalam in Anjukunnu Amsom, Eravimala in Thavigal Amsom and Eravineloor in Kuppathodu Amsom—to prove the existence of Vedar Rajas. The legend is that these temples were established by a Vedar princess named as Eravi using the money she earned by selling her big earring. It was the same Vedar princess who was forced to marry Nandhilath Nambiar.

Through references from William Logan and Thurston he further links lineage of Kurumar with Pallavaas. Quoting Thurston he asserts that Kurumar were the descendants of Pallavaas who defeated by Chola King Adondai and who escaped from their country to Nilgiris, Wayanad, Coorg and Mysore. Then he affirms that in the period of Pallavaas the Wayanad-Neelagiri[53] terrains were under the rule of Kurumar. Johnny further evokes Logan's remark about a King who had sent an ambassador to China in 500 A.D. and identifies the hairstyle

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[53] Neelagiri is also marked as Nilgiri in the records which are used in this study.

and palm-leaf writing of that ambassador as that of Kurumar to suggest that the King who had sent an ambassador is Vedar Raja whereby he connects a royal past for Kurumar. In addition to this he reread the signs about Vedar Raja in Sangam literature and connects those with Kurumar. Furthermore, by citing a clue from Periya-Puranam that narrates Kannappa-nayanar's trip with dogs for hunting, equipped with bow and arrow, he further stated that Kurumar were the descendants of Kannappa-nayanar (Thinan) who were praised by Sangam literature and who belonged to the Vedar race.

However, information and arguments which were borrowed from Nair are the foundation of Johnny's argument that asserts Kurumar as the ancient rulers of Wayanad. He authenticates the point it by producing enormous referential backup and indefinite teleology. His periodization of inscription as in between 3rd century B.C. and 5th century A.D. that are interpretatively linked with Kurumar not only offers kingly lineage to them but also temporally fixes them as an identity as old as the archival past. By evoking the present pilgrimage of Mullu Kurumar at Veliyambam and Pakkam forts, by raising their living memories about geographical location of Vedar fort, and by locating the mythical remarks about the establishment of temples by Vedar princes Eravi in the physical geography of Wayanad he further delineated and grounded glorious past Kurumar as the ancient rulers.

However, all these narratives designate a royal agency to Kurumar, but the method he used to establish those narratives signifies them as ancient rulers of Wayanad. This indirectly causes to deny the present right of Kurumar on the land of Wayanad and demote their position as rulers to archaic past in the temporally progressing linear history of region, Wayanad. Moreover, Johnny's evocation of Thurston by connecting the lineage of Kurumar with Pallavaas; his extravagant interpretation of "native ambassadors who visit China in 500 A.D." in Logan's work as Kurumar by identifying cultural traits of the ambassadors with Kurumar's; and his another much imaginative interpretation that links the ancestry of Kurumar with Kannappa-nayanar by identifying similarities between the cultural practices of Kurumar and Kannappa-nayanar; exemplify the production of referentiality and indefinite teleology in the making of linear history. These textualizations not only constructs a golden

past of Kurumar but also perhaps unknowingly pushes the present being of Kurumar to a past of writer's time.

History for the Present: Contemporaneity of Vedar Raja

One of the memories about Vedar Raja from an elder man[54] from Mullu Kurumar community which I came to hear from Wayanad is different from above versions. During a conversation he told me,

> "Mullu Kurumar was Vedar, who lived in the forest. Their headquarters was Poothady. Vedar ruled from there. Once, Kumbala Raja and Kottayam Raja visited Tirunelly temple. However, someone suggested them to visit the Vedar's temple at Poothady. Then they came to see that temple. Vedar Raja saw them. He liked one of the men among them. Then he proposed him to marry his one and only daughter. They couldn't escape from that offer of Raja. Then they told him that we would return after having permission from our elders. A few days later, they came back and said that they were ready to marry her. But that was indeed a machination. They took this as an opportunity to conquer Vedar Raja. For actualizing their plot they suggested certain compulsory rituals for the marriage function. Firstly, they suggested burying all weapons like bow and arrow in a pit. Secondly they told them to fill floor with nellikka and thanikka fruits. Thirdly, they directed to orchestrate beating and sounding (kottum kuravayum) for the marriage rite. These all were secret plans to destroy Vedar raja. Especially, the third one was a sound signal to attack Vedar."

> "On the day of the marriage the combined force of rajas attacked the fort of Vedar Raja after they heard the signal sound. They slaughtered almost all men, except a few who ran away and left their women behind."

> "After the victory they asked us; are you the people who play (*kurumbu*) with this thorn (*mullu*)?" "then after our name becomes Mullu Kurumar." The people who ran off and harbored at Karnataka and Tamil Nadu were called Jenu Kurumar and Vettu

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[54] His name is Karimpan. The discussion happened on 13/1/2013. He was elected as Panchayath member twice.

Kurumar. They were also known as Kattu-Naikar and Urali. Four of our women were married by Nayar men, of victorious rajas. Then, those families started to rule Poothady. In my childhood whenever we met Nayars we called them as Nayar-acho (Nayar-papa). Mullu Kurumar is a mixed race community born from Vedar mother and Nayar father. In this way Vedar become Mullu Kurumar and Wayanad became in the hands of those rajas."

Another man from the same community also shared his memories on Vedar Raja more or less similarly. But he asked me a question: "How did a Kurumar man who can kill his rival more speedily with bow and arrow than with sword become (technologically) primitive compared with his rival who use sword and has less speed to kill?"[55]

These memories, contrary to the above-mentioned account, lay emphasis on the unethical acts of Kumbala and Kottayam rajas that misappropriated the land of Wayanad from their forefathers. Along with that these memories signify how Vedar become Mullu Kurumar etymologically and culturally in relation with Nairs. One might perhaps consider the remarks about Vedar Raja in these recollections as mere signs of Mullu Kurumar's past life. But if anybody closely looks at those remarks we can realize them as indications of memories which exist in their present rather than as the references about the remote past that relegates them from present. Besides that, these memories are asserting their claim on present geography other than the lost life world that was located in remoteness which relegated them to an archaic past.

But the initial comment "Mullu Kurumar was Vedar, who lived in forest" generates certain predicament about their self-evident temporal stage. But if we follow the meaning of forest in their understanding we will not stay on that predicament. Because the first discussant described the forest in his experience[56] as a habitation of people who lead agriculture by

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[55] K. Ramakrishnan (20/1/2013), Personal discussion.

[56] Today also he and his family are living in a house in the forest by cultivating different types of grains and rearing cow and buffalo. He told me that he had travelled through almost every forest for hunting and grazing his cattle inside of Wayanad and surrounding areas of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. In most of the places he had seen proper water storage by constructing bunds. Those were used for the irrigational facilities to cultivate plants like ragi and paddy in the fields inside forests. During those trips he also had seen several built structures

cultivating rice and other grains with the help of proper watershed management and with the support of many built environment and edifice like houses. From his disclosure we can understand the forest in and out of Wayanad as an agri*cultural* place, not a relic of primitive life in our present, which is emphasized by certain texts that have had both Colonial and Brahmanical trajectories.

Furthermore, the question raised by another Mullu Kurumar about the high speed of bow and arrow—to assault others—in comparison with sword also is very much important. On the one hand this connotes the power of Kurumar over their opponents such as men of Kottayam, Kurumbranad and Kumbala rajas who used sword, and the unethicality of their victory over Kurumar by cunningly interring the bow and arrow of Kurumar. On the other hand, this questioned the very logic of hierarchical progress, and signifies the meaninglessness of gradation of Kurumar with others that position them as lower in the temporal hierarchy of progress. Because, if we see progress as an ability to do thing faster than others[57] Kurumar's bow and arrow has fastness compared with sword, the weapon of other natives.

In concrete terms, one can summarize the above discussions in these ways. In one way or another, except for the memories of Kurumar, all other accounts on Vedar Raja use Kurumar and their bodies as a foundation to erect historical and geographical knowledge about the establishment of Wayanad as a region. Locating Kurumar as original inhabitants or aboriginal people of Wayanad not only has detected them as some earlier inhabitants of a land but also fixed the origin of the region of Wayanad in the discerned primitiveness of their bodies. This detected origin is used to construct a straight line of uninterrupted historical continuity of region through linking primitivized Vedar with Kurumar by deciphering inscriptional remarks as theirs. This positioned Vedar Raja, Hindu Rajas[58] and Company as rulers in a linearly progressing temporal order by setting Vedar Raja in ancient time, Hindu rajas in present and Company in future, as sequences of history.

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of houses in forests where people once lived, and other built habitation where people were still living by leading an agricultural life.

[57] In modernity progress also means one's capability to do things in less duration in comparison with others.

[58] Kottayam, Kurumbranad and Kumbala Rajas.

 In short, the temporal relegation of Kurumar by putting them as aboriginal people and the temporal promotion of rajas of Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Kumbala and British who came from outside Wayanad as civilized in such a way as to differentiate them from Kurumar are producing two pernicious effects. On the one hand this discourse puts Kurumar as demoted subjects, and on the other hand this discourse frames Wayanad as relegated region through its foundational relationship with Kurumar. This indirectly justified the colonization of Wayanad by Hindu Rajas and by Company, and sanctioned their rule and land right on Wayanad as their right to civilizing Kurumbar.

Etymologies of Wayanad: **Detecting an Originary Root for *a* Regional History**

One of the sound methods of writing the history of a place was to discover the etymology of the place; that means to discover the origin and history of the word which represents the place. These etymological discoveries have been utilized to change the overlapping and heterogeneous spatio-temporal forms of meaning of the place into a singular immutable essence. Not only for making an authentic history of India but also for making authentic histories of linguistic regions and other provincial landscapes of India this method was widely used in the colonial period. Today also this method is widely used in history writing practice. The colonial administrators and native educated persons were inventing etymologies of places through interpretations[59] or applying structured representations of their mind on places. They find out Hinduism as a parallel religion to Christianity for these interpretations. Imaginations were the main determinant of these scientific historical objectifications and interpretations. But it has achieved credibility by using the rational language of history. This discourse of etymology in the context of Wayanad is a significant narrative-plot to my endeavor to understand history-writing on Wayanad. Because it builds the foundation of History of Wayanad and offers grounds for historical continuity of the region by probing its origin. Besides, it also provides reasons for imagining the community and construction of region by distancing spatio-temporality of Wayanad from other places.

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[59] Bodhisattua Kar, "Incredible Stories in the Time of Credible Histories," in Raziuddin Aquil and Partha Chatterjee, ed., *History in the Vernacular* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2008) p.297.

Productions of Etymologies of Wayanad: Gopalan Nair's Register

Let me begin from the earlier etymological interpretations about Wayanad in the colonial administrative records such as; *A Manual of the Nilgiri District* (published in 1880) and *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency* (published in 1885), that are codified and printed in *Wayanad: its Peoples and Traditions* written by Rao Bahadur G. Gopalan Nair, the Deputy Collector of Malabar. I am copying a portion of G. Gopalan Nair's narrative that described the *etymologies of Wayanad*, without changing its structure,

> The Name Wynad has been derived in different ways:
>
> (1) Wynad lit., the open or champaign country.
>
> Bailu (Can.), a field having water suitable for growing rice, a plain.
>
> Nadu (Can.), a division of a district.
>
> (Grigg`s Manual of the Nilgiri District, page I.)
>
> (2) Wynaud (Upper Country) is, as its name, denotes, an elevated plateau.
>
> (Madras manual of administration, Vol. II. p. 143.)
>
> (3) Wynaud, (Vayanatu. Mal. :Wynaud).
>
> From (Vayal, Mal. : Open field, Natu, Mal. : country)
>
> Sanskrit name (Mayakshetra), meaning district of Mayan, architect of the deityans.
>
> (Madras manual of administration, vol. III. p. 1025.)
>
> I have added a fourth derivation "Vananad" in accordance with the popular belief in this country. This derivation seems more probable, especially as the country is more a land of (vana) forest than of fields.[60]

This is not merely an expression of *etymologies of Wayanad*. Moreover, the representations of desire of historical agencies and their attempt of appropriation of Wayanad by detecting the past of the place name Wayanad. *The open or champaign country,* the literary meaning given by Henry Bidewell Grigg the author of Manual of the Neelagiri District to "Wynad" (look the spelling he used to state place name) is not just a neutral activity but also a highly creative reflection of his mindscape. He discovered and claimed the social and geographical features of the plateau, marshy nature of land and malaria of *champaign country* that existed

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[60] G. Gopalan Nair, pp. 7-8.

elsewhere in the world,[61] on Wayanad. The similarities in features; the plateau, marshy nature of land and malaria that he *discovers* between the champaign country, his model of reference and Wayanad that made his identification and shaped the meaning of Wayanad. This is the comparison between the land of the colonized and the land of the colonizer. His experience of Wayanad as an *open country* might be formulated from his identification between *champaign country* and Wayanad. The way he construed "Wynad" is interesting. Like the difference in spelling of his concerned place, in interpretation also his approach was distinct. For his construal he split the word into two; *bailu* and *nadu* and fixed it in singularized lingual sphere of Kannada language and produced the meaning; *Bailu* = "a field having water suitable for growing rice, a plain" and *Nadu* = "a division of a district." Also there is the necessity of a singular language, the Kannada language, as essential to produce the meaning of a multilingual place, Wayanad. Here visualizing the past of Wayanad as a place of homogeneous nature, as a place of paddy fields, as a place of "field having water suitable for growing rice" was a creation of particular ontological tie for making the meaning of place Wayanad.

The second derivation of the place name Wayanad cited from *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency Vol-II* by Gopalan Nair is different in spelling and meaning. The Madras manual of administration Vol-II recorded the spelling of the concerned place name in this manner; "Wynaud" and gave the meaning; upper country and elevated plateau. Both meanings are more or less the same and in this way these connotations signify the nature of Wayanad as coming from a singular meaning.

The third derivation cited by Gopalan Nair from *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency Vol-III* repeated the same spelling but it relocated the word and its meaning into the Malayalam language. Furthermore, as another possibility of derivation, from Puranic text it has been invented as the place name *Mayakshetra*. The Malayalam version of the place is marked in this manner; *Vayanatu* and it splits the word into two; *Vayal* and *Natu*. And it is interpreted in Malayalam, *Vayal*= open field, and *Natu*= country. This Malayalam translation

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[61] One could probably see a place of this name in United States by the help of Google map.

of Wayanad too was an act of monolingualization of the multilingual context of a place. Also this is an act of delimitation of nature of the place into an *oneness* through imaging the past nature of place as an "open field country." The invention of a Sanskrit name; *Mayakshetra* and its meaning; "district of Mayan, architect of the daityans" from Sanskrit text was not simply a concretization of a vernacular place into an imagined authentic national Brahmanical geography. Moreover, the *Mayakshetra* and its connotation *kshetra*= district and *mayan*= "architect of the daityans" are a self-evident translation, rationalization and historicization of Sanskrit textual knowledge and also the secularization of mythical knowledge of Brahmanic-Hinduism by generalizing and universalizing it.

In the last part of his narrative Gopalan Nair attached his own analysis. He stated "I have added a fourth derivation 'Vananad' in accordance with the popular belief in this country. This derivation seems more probable, especially as the country is more a land of (vana) forest than of fields."[62] Here his authenticated argument with the support of popular belief and self-evident ecological nature (country is more a land of forest than of fields) not only undermines the earlier interpretations of *Manual of the Nilgiri District* and *Madras manual of administration* but also presupposes the meaning and sense of past of the place Wayanad into another homogeneity. By discovering the earlier form of place name Wayanad in *Vananad* (the land of forest) this homogenization is actualized.

Moreover, these etymological descriptions in *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions* are motivating me to raise two set of questions. (1)Why the prototype *Vananad* has no explicit relation with a particular language? (2)Why the prototype "seems more probable" to the author among other prototypes he mentioned? Does it *only* reflect the inevitability of a singular prototype for place name in writing the modernist history of Wayanad? To understand deeply the problematics of modernist history on the regional landscapes of Wayanad, the above questions should be addressed.

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[62] Ibid, pp. 7-8.

Reflections of the above cited etymological discussions can be seen in *Swapnabhumiyil*, a popular social history book written in Malayalam by Thomas Pazheparampil published in 1978 about Travancurian migration to Malabar. A chapter named, *To the Top of the Snowfalling Mountains* in this book which narrate the different accounts of migratory experience of Travancurians particularly Syrian Christian migrants in Wayanad, begins like this,

> Wayanad is a beautiful place with white snow-fall. A plateau which is three thousand feet above the sea level. The nad (land) which is covered by vayal (fields) become Wayanad …Vayal which spread to unseen distance like backwater. The hills and grassland which projected like small-islands in between. Golden-grains are *suhbiksham* (lot to eat) in vayal.[63]

Several things determined the narrative context but I am emphasizing on one aspect which is related to the etymology of Wayanad. We can see the attempt of the entire sentence to singularize the pasts of Wayanad in relation to homogenized geographic location and ecological nature. However, the central focus of the sentence is how the meaning of (the place name) Wayanad evolved. For locating the argument regarding the place name Wayanad in narrative, the narrator emphasizes on the geographic and ecological details of rice field.

Reproductions of Etymologies of Wayanad: Johnny's Register

Let us look at the reproduction of etymologies. Around more than sixty years after *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions,* Johnny's *Wayanad Rekhakal* [*Notes on Wayanad*], a popular history book about Wayanad[64] reproduced the *etymologies of Wayanad*,

> About the derivation of place name Wayanad, there have been different assumptions. *Madras Manual of Administration* notes that Mayakshetra was the Sanskrit name of Wayanad. It becomes Mayanad in Malayalam and later in orality it may have become Wayanad. The Vayalnad, Vananad, Vazhinad are also seen as being related to the names of Wayanad. It will be rational to think that Wayanad got its name from the

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[63] Thomas Pazheparambil, *Swapnabhumiyil* (Muvattupuza: Mar Mathews Press, 1978) p. 67.
[64] This book which was written by O.K. Johnny and published in 2001 was the revised version of the book W*ayanadinte Samskarika Boomika*; [Cultural World of Wayanad] written by him and published in 1988.

Sanskrit concept Mayakshetra. A few of the earlier place names of Wayanad were in Sanskrit. One of the examples is the old name of Thirunelly. As like Aamalakkagramam became Thirunellygramam in Malayalam the Malayalam form of *Mayakshetra,* Mayanad (*nad of Mayan*) probably became Wayanad in orality.[65]

One can say that this description is an enlarged reproduction of Gopalan Nair's narrative on the etymology of Wayanad and also that it discusses different possibilities of derivations of the name Wayanad. But my interest is in how emphatically he argues for the probability of derivation of the place name Wayanad from *Mayakshetra*. From a close look we can understand that Johnny has restructured the narrative through editing, adding and projecting some portion. In the first paragraph of the core of his discussion he substantiates his argument for *Mayakshetra* by repeating the word *Mayakshetra* three times and using six out of nine sentences to lay stress on that. Likewise he made other derivations irrelevant and authenticates his argument for *Mayakshetra* by the selective use of the colonial text, the *Madras Manual of Administration* and the Sanskrit language. But here, more than colonial text, the discursive power of Sanskrit language creates the authenticity of his argument. For instance,

> To be rational Wayanad has got its name from the Sanskrit concept Mayakshetra. Few of the earlier place names of Wayanad were in Sanskrit. One of the examples is old name of Thirunelly. As Aamalakkagramam became Thirunelly in Malayalam, the Malayalam form of Mayakshetra the Mayanad (nad of Mayan) probably becomes Wayanad in orality.[66]

At this point, the rationale for *Mayakshetra* is produced through a structural analogy. It is similar to the evolution of Sanskrit place name Aamalakkagramam to Malayalam place name Thirunelly. Here the fixing of Sanskrit as a proto language, and portraying its transition to Malayalam and its orality, not only provides objectivity to *Mayakshetra* but also is giving a high canonical status to Sanskrit. Moreover, the rational status of *Mayakshetra* and Sanskrit, the religious language and its word, reveals the limit of secular history-writing.

Johnny continues, quoting G. Gopalan Nair,

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[65] O.K. Johnny, p. 20.
[66] Ibid, p. 20.

1. Wynad lit., the open or champaign country. Bailu <u>(bailu-Cannaries),</u> a field having water suitable for growing rice, a plain. Nadu, <u>(natu-Cannaries.)</u>, a division of a district. (Grigg`s Manual of the Nilgiri District, page I.)

2. Wynaud (Upper Country) is, as its name, denotes, an elevated plateau. (Madras manual of administration, Vol. II. p. 143.)

3. Wynaud, (Vayanatu<u>), from Vayal+Nadu (Vayal+Nadu) this is in Malayalam</u> <u>(Vayal, Mal. : Open field, Natu,= country)</u> <u>Sanskrit name=Mayakshetra (Madras Manual of administration, vol. III. p. 1025.)</u> A stone inscription excavated from Ganapathyvattam (Sulthanbathery) considered to be that of the 13th century mentioned the name Veeravayalnad. Did Wayanad also have the name Veeravayalnad?[67]

For Johnny, this citation from Gopalan Nair's narrative is enough to indicate the truthfulness of his historical enquiry. He also restructured this citation. It is interesting to see how he restructured the narrative by editing and adding. He gave the expansion of "Can" as *Cannaries* in the first etymological explanation that quoted from *Manual of the Nilgiri District* and in the third etymological explanation he edited details that explained *Mayakshetra* and added a mathematical formula, *vayal+nad* both in English and Malayalam to portray the formation of the word *Vayalnad*.

In the end of his etymological description, he asks the question, "Does Wayanad have also the name Veeravayalnad?" and expressed his ambiguity in front of archaeological evidence that mentioned the name *Veeravayalnad*. Possibly, this is an expression of anxiety born out of the alien presence of heterogamous past of place(s) Wayanad(s) that stands against his belief in homogenous past of history, rather than the complex indication of his predicament before history.

Criticism against Predecessors and another Reproduction: Gopi's Register

In 2002, ninety-one years after *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions,* another popular History book was published in the name of *Ariyappedatha Wayanad* [*Unknown Wayanad*].

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[67] Ibid, pp. 20-21.

Written by Mundakayam Gopi, the work brings out another location for *etymologies of Wayanad* which articulated three problem areas. This narrative expressed distrust about scientificity and objectivity of written histories or *etymologies of Wayanad*, and discussing causalities for a united place name and discovers a prototype for place name Wayanad.

He expresses his predicament about *etymologies of Wayanad* in this way,

> Hills and valleys are waiting for people who entered hilly-fort from the valleys. The contradictory land, mix with forests and rivers that flow east and west. Is it *Vananad* or *Vayalnad*? Doubt even in the case of its name! The enquiries have not reached a result about the derivation of the approved name Wayanad. Anyway, nobody has complaints about calling this land "Wayanad" which is contradictory in geographical and ecological nature.
>
> Is there any ban on a complete enquiry in this case? The manner of response of historians in the past decade seems to show that there was (some ban).
>
> The second and third volumes of *Madras Manual of Administration* that was published in the early period of last century discussed this case and reached some assumptions. Therefore Wayanad was conceived as meaning; land in upper region, land of paddy fields on the basis of that. One group's opinion is that Wayanad originated from the *Bailunad* in Kannada. In Sanskrit Wayanad had the name *Mayakshetrm* which means temple of *asura* architect Mayan. *Vananad* is the suggestion of Gopalan Nair who is the earliest historian of Wayanad. But the people who formulated the above mentioned opinions do not say when the name they suggested was established and why is it originated.[68]

The complex blend of satire, excitement and distrust is the language of this narrative. This narrative is a polemic against the *illogic* of discovered etymologies and prototypes of (place name of) Wayanad which is produced and reproduced in *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions* and its citations and parenthesis from *Colonial Administrative Records* and

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[68] Mundakayam Gopi, *Ariyappedatha Wayanad* (Kalpetta: Sahya Publications, 2002) p. 16.

Wayanad Rekhakal and other texts. It is obvious that the criticism of this narrative is not against the scientificity and objectivity of modern paradigm of history. Moreover, its attempt is to create the scientificity and objectivity that is promised by modern history. That is why the narrative asks the questions as to *when* place name was established and seeking exact birth time and search for causality of origin of (place name) Wayanad. Two eternal questions which modern history asks to build a lineally progressing and continuous history. Therefore, this narrative is anxious about the absence of scientific evidence and lack in estimation of epochal-time in *etymologies of Wayanad*. In another part of narrative he explained,

> There is more than one reason to identify a particular region or a place in one name. The name of place/region is based on particularities which are related with geography and climate and specialities of flora and fauna including human beings which are growing and living there. The effect of the presence and influence of supreme institutions and kingly dominance may be the cause of a unified name given to a region....[69]

However, by illustrating geographic, climatic, ecological, biological and political reasons, Mundakayam Gopi has attempted to define the context of formation of unified place-name and theorized the possibilities of objectification of a unified place name through defining the causalities.[70] As an end result of his narrativization, one can see the fixing of kingly-lineage and supreme-institution as the singular cause of "origin" of the place name Wayanad. Before proceeding with the examination of this narrativization, let us examine how he has described the origin of place name in another part of his book:

> Considering the initially mentioned factors among the classifications indicated above, the places from the west of Neelagiri Ghats onwards to below the Wayanadan mountain valleys were called Kurumpurrai which means the hilly place. Kurumpurrai is mentioned in many songs of the Sangam texts. The common name of above said places was Kurumpurrainad, Kutumbianad and Kurumbranad.[71]

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[69] Ibid, pp. 16-17.
[70] And although, through objectifying the causalities the author of the narrative subjects the place name to the knowledge/power of his narrative and creates impossibility for a subjective attitude towards the place name.
[71] Mundakayam Gopi, p. 17.

"Kurumpurrai," the place thus "discovered" by him, widened the geography of the area to also include Wayanad and thereby re-inventing a place name that was also re-inscribed, produced and reproduced, by books like *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions, Wayanad Rekhakal* and other narratives. Another important point to consider is that his account draws the frontiers of the area as between west of Neelagiri Ghats and below the Wayanadan mountain valleys. This attempt is exceptional when compared to other narratives on the *etymologies of Wayanad,* because it is the first endeavour of its kind to map the geographical boundaries of a united place which included Wayanad. In other words, the narrator considers the geography of "Kurumpurrai" as an enlarged united place that contains Wayanad. But the sentence which shows different common names of "Kurumpurrai" expresses a certain predicament of the narrator to fix a singular prototype of the place name.

After a long nomadic-voyage between heterogeneous ontological experiences and homogenous epistemological expectation for *an* authentic past of (place name) Wayanad, he finally arrives at the following conclusion,

> In the political situation which was born out of Chola-Chera-Pandya battles, it was one particular dynasty (Vayalnad dynasty) which has located its headquarters in the empire of paddy fields in central Wayanad gave rise to the name Wayanad. This name is seen first in stone inscription at Sulthan Bathery Mariamman Kovil, in the name of Eravi Eravivarman of Vayanad dynasty that was established in A.D 11th century. After this, the name Vayalnad (Wayanad) got established in different language-records, including those of Karnataka. The entire landscape got the common name Wayanad in 14th-15th centuries when the entire region above the passes came under Puraikizharnadu.[72]

Gopi is indirectly giving historical agency of Wayanad to "Malayalam" (land/language) through this textualization. By placing Vayalnad dynasty as the source of the place name and by positioning the entire region Wayanad under the authority of Puraikizharnadu (known as Kottayam) which was ruled by Malayalam speakers, Gopi historically locates Wayanad

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[72] Ibid, pp. 25-26.

under the rule of Malayalam Rajyam.[73] Through this narrativization, his presumption that the place name may have originated from the agency of a supreme institution and king is realized. This narrative, that is different from other narratives discussed above, puts forward a royal agency behind the naming of Wayanad.

Another Reproduction: Aiyappan's Register

Another narrative of etymology I came across was in *The Paniyas: An Ex-slave Tribe of South India*, a book written by A. Aiyappan on Paniya and Adivasi communities of Wayanad. Published in 1992 the book relies on an anthropological field study done by the author in around 1936. He wrote,

> The name Wynad seems to have been given to this area by Canarese-speaking swidden-farming autochthonous tribes of the eastern half of the plateau. The term means "Land of Rice Fields." To the dwellers of the hills of Nilgiris plateau, the level paddy land of eastern Wynad should have looked attractively level, green and well-watered.[74]

With little ambiguity, without making a prototype for place name Wayanad, Aiyappan creates an ontological bind through putting "Canarese-speaking swidden-farming autochthonous tribes" as an agency in the naming of Wayanad. Uniqueness of this statement is that it not only states the meaning of Wayanad, as the "Land of Rice Fields" without ambiguity, it but also locates a singular past of place (name) and suggests a human agency for that name in the context of *etymologies of Wayanad*. One can see here proclaimed scientificity and objectivity of modern history achieved by this narrative not only through placing the human agency in singularized realm of Kannada language and declares them as "autochthonous" (natives) but also by reducing the polyphonic and relational pasts of place(s) Wayanad to monotone. Therefore, instead of qualifying etymology directly he has illustrated geographical nature of Paddy land by announcing "… Wynad should have looked attractively level, green and well-watered" and has provided indirect support to the meaning of Wayanad "Land of Rice Fields."

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[73] See pages 111 to 117 for a detailed discussion of Gopi's construction of Kerala's Wayanad.
[74] A. Aiyappan, *The Paniyas: An Ex-Slave Tribe of South India* (Calcutta: Institute of Social Research and Applied Anthropology, 1992) p. 19.

Contemporary Reproduction: Narayanan's Register

For understanding the nature of contemporary articulations of etymology of Wayanad, descriptions in *Konthala* provide the best instance. The *Konthala* is a memoir about Wayanad written by Kalpatta Narayanan and was first printed in 2007. It narrates,

> Ones upon a time Wayanad was the Vayalnad (land of paddy field) which produces more rice subsequent to Palakad. In between hills, the paddy fields are ready to reap. The tempting smell of Gandhakashala rice …all spoiled in the passage of time. Now plantains and arecanut trees are growing in the field.[75]

One History and One Geography: Etymological Decipherings and Singularization of Pasts

A significant thing we should notice in the *discovered* prototypes of (place name) Wayanad such as *Bailunadu (Vayalnad)*, *Vananad, Vazhinad*, *Mayakshetra (Mayanad)* the prefixes of the words such as *Bailu, Vana*, *Vazhi* and *Maya* are producing different meanings and changing the context of etymology but the suffix *Nad*[76] that makes the conception of a place, produces constant meaning. Here all words that represent prototypes of etymologies particularly the prefix of prototypes are diverse ontological ties which contextualize the history, conditions of the past and meaning of the place Wayanad in different ways. It is obvious that all etymologies regarding Wayanad are the possibilities of different interpretations about Wayanad. They remain as the possible traces of heterogeneity of place(s) and interrelations among pasts of place(s) that was has called Wayanad.

Put it differently, probably different geographical characters such as paddy-field, forest and route that have generated through deciphering of the place name Wayanad are not only showing heterogonous pasts of place(s) which was called Wayanad but also signifies place(s) of pasts of Wayanad that possibly attached or detached one another, for forming a region named as Wayanad. But my argument is that in the context of Wayanad the production of

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[75] Kalpetta Narayanan, *Konthala* (Thrissur: Current Books, 2010) p. 50.
[76] *Nad/Nadu* is a word which vernacularly refers to "native place" or "homeland" in Malayalam speaking area. For a discussion of the term *Nadu* in Tamil see, Valentine Daniel, *Fluid Signs: Being a Person the Tamil Way*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). He too stresses its locational character.

each etymology is the laying of a foundation, for homogenizing and delimiting histories of Wayanad into *a- geography-a-history* of linear narration. In other words, instead off articulating spatial multiplicity and open-endedness of region of Wayanad, each etymological interpretation is fixing prototype of place name in a singularized geographical feature, and makes it as a starting point of drawing a closed history of Wayanad in an evolutionary logic of time.

Moreover, in relation to deciphering the linguistic codes of language, another area of problem exists. For producing the *original* past meaning of place name Wayanad each etymological discussion locates the prototype of place name Wayanad either in Malayalam, Kannada, Tamil or Sanskrit. This activity has not only created particular ontological ties for the past of Wayanad but also visualizes the present of Wayanad into singularized linguistic-geographic character. Furthermore, each interpretation which situates the meaning of Wayanad in monolingual spheres has negated the multilingual or cross-lingual character of Wayanad. Besides, the abundance of interpretations which are founded on Malayalam language bolsters the claim of Kerala's linguistic-regions on Wayanad and generalized Wayanad as a place in Kerala, and detaches possible linguistic-geographic interrelations of place(s) Wayanad into so called Tamil and Kannada speaking society and geography.

 More importantly, the prefixes of prototypes of Wayanad which signify the pasts of the place(s) not only demote temporal positions of Wayanad as a region but also relegate its spatial location in the linearly progressing and continuous order of history and in *our* present. For instance, the prefix *Vana*, the forest both in Indian (Hindu) and Western notion, as a trope represents primitive life, *Bailu* the paddy field represents the agrarian land of the feudal where the slaves (*Atiyaan*) were forced to live, *Vazhi* the route represents the passage to the remote terrain and *Maya* the architect of *Asuras* commonsensically represents the "uncivilized." When one perceives these prefixes from the present, s/he can realize how the history-writings of the above authors resulted in the lowering of spaces and times of Wayanad in the spatial order of human development set by the temporal order of modernity via evolutionary history. This ultimately fixes Wayanad in a relegated spatiotemporal position in-(out)-side-of Kerala.

Chapter Three

Scripting History and Making Wayanad: *Engravings of Edakkal Cave*

Importance of the *Engravings of Edakkal Cave*,[1] our third narrative-plot, exists on many levels. Primarily, by deploying Edakkal Cave as a plot, to anchor the foundation of History of Wayanad, the narratives construct Wayanad as a region. Correspondingly, by deciphering the carvings and inscriptions of the cave these narratives seek to trace the origin of the history of Wayanad and offer grounds for historical continuity of Wayanad as a region. Significantly, this also provides reasons for imagining the community and region of Wayanad—that was constructed by narratives—in a specific spatiotemporal location, of a linearly progressing history of modernity. Knowledge about this cave as well as its carvings and inscriptions was introduced to the English-speaking world by F. Fawcett, in the year 1901, by publishing an English article in Indian Antiquary.[2] Therefore, problematization of his narrative is a requisite not only to understand spatiotemporal positioning of the region of Wayanad by him but to know positioning of Wayanad by others who heavily borrowed from his work to anchor the origin of their history of Wayanad.

Archiving Descent and Locating Present: Fawcett's Note on Edakkal Cave

In the years of 1894, 1895 and 1896 Fawcett visited the Edakkal Cave for documenting carvings and inscriptions through photographs and estampages. He geographically mapped the locality of the cave in the western slope of crest of Edakkalmala (Edakkal-hill) by plotting it as a site near to the Ganapativattam (Sulthan's Bathery), in "Vayanatu (Wynaad) taluk" in Malabar District and by marking the height of Edakkalmala from sea level and ground level of that area. Further, his narrative described the relationships of neighboring communities such as Chetties, Kurumbar and Paniyar to the cave. In his opinion Chetties have climbed the hill once in a year for offering rituals to the goddess Mudiampilli who

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[1] Edakkal also appears as Edakal in this study.

[2] Fawcett, "Note on the Rock Carvings in The Edakal Cave Wynaad" *Indian Antiquary: A Journal of Oriental Research,* Vol. XXX, Bombay (1901) pp. 409-421.

stationed at the peak of Edakkal-hill. But Kurumbar who live in the surroundings of the hill don't approach the cave because of a strange, uncanny reverence towards it. And they never even utter any word about it. Contrary to this Paniyar "have no reverence" to the cave. Therefore, he could use their labour to uncover the carvings in the cave that were covered by the deposits of mud.[3]

In this geographic mapping of the site—Cave—one may not find anything wrong. But if we closely perceive this we can grasp the techniques which he employed to locate the cave inside Wayanad. The marking of the altitudinal measures, geographical directions and demographical profiles not only bound the geography of Wayanad as a region and locate— Cave—as a site inside it, but also cut the trans-lingual and multi-geographical relation of this site with the east-north and east-south places that were today strictly marked as regions inside of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Furthermore, this profiling fixes Chetties, Kurumbar and Paniyar as territorially bonded and bounded communities of Wayanad and conceal their trans-lingual and multi-geographical relations with places that are currently plotted in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. In concrete terms, this geographic mapping simultaneously fixes the region and communities as bounded entities though reciprocal ties.

However, in his article, Fawcett reproduced interpretations of Dr. Hultzsch about two inscriptions[4] that the latter has located in Sanskrit and Tamil languages respectively. The First one was, "*Sri-Vishnuvarmma[nah] Kutumbiya-kula-var[d]dhanasyali[kh]ita[m]*; the writing of the glorious Vishnuvarman, the propagator (i.e., descendant) of the Kutumbiya family." Second one was, "*pal-puli tan=antakari*; he who himself has made an end of many tigers." Citing Hultzsch subsequently, Fawcett states that Varman is the name of the Kshatria Caste and Kutumbia is the family name of Vishnuvarman. In the coming discussions on the narratives of Gopaln Nair and O.K. Johnny one can see how these reading were used to *inven*t two deferent human agencies of the cave—one as *royal linage* and other as *hunting community*—rather than as a mere production of meaning of the past of a site.

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[3] Ibid, pp. 409-410.

[4] While reproducing his interpretations in his paper Fawcett has corrected a misconception of Hultzsch that this cave was "discovered" by Fawcett in the 1896 and honestly commented that residents in the neighborhoods of this cave have known about this for at least 12 to 15 years.

In Fawcett's further extension, he described the carvings of cave; as figures of humans and animals, articles for human use and symbols. Besides, he particularly noted repeated presence of human figures in cave wall with special headdress. He saw those symbols as the variants of swastika or sun-symbols, and illustrated those in a detailed manner. He interpreted one among the figures, which seems to him to be "a man with a feathered head-dress (who) carrying a bow," as a figure in relation with the Kurumbar. He stated, "Assuming the weapon to be a bow, it may be conjectured that possibly the artists of the drawing were ancestors of the present Mol.l.u Kurumbars[5] of the neighborhood...."[6] This interpretation not merely assumes that there was an author for the carvings but it collapses the archaic past of engravings and present being of the Kurumbar into a same temporal stage. Put it differently, this interpretation obliquely demotes the Kurumbar as primitive as parallel to archaic past of the engraving. Here as a location of primitive-site (cave) and as reside of primitive (Mollu Kurumbar), Wayanad is portrayed as a prehistoric place.

One can also see this kind of spatiotemporal positioning of Wayanad by locating and community of Kurumbars as primitive in further lines. While trying to decipher another carving which appeared to him as figures of dancers and figures of masked and seated persons he connects them with communities who worship devils. He observed that these figures "... may represent an ancient 'devil-dance' of the country[7]...In fact the carvings may be merely the work of any one of the 'devil'-worshipping castes or tribes of the neighborhood in a past more or less—probably more—remote."[8] In the end of the article he conclusively remarked, "The curious reluctance of the Kurumbars to approach the cave...tempt one to hazard the theory as to the carvings being the handiwork of Kurumbars of a by-gone day."[9] Then he validated indirectly Kurumbar's connection with carvings[10] by

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[5] Mol.l.u is another pronunciation of Mullu Kurumar
[6] And he added that "Vedas as they sometimes call themselves," Ibid, p. 414.
[7] He added that Tuluvas of the adjacent Districts of Wayanad and other communities all over Southern India particularly in Tinnvelly practice devil-worship, see, ibid, p. 415.
[8] Ibid, p. 416.
[9] Ibid, p. 421.
[10] However, it is bit contradictory, because of lack of "evidence" to address; how they become the authors of the carvings?

saying that mysteries of carvings and silent unfrequented ambiance of cave creates fear and aloofness in Kurumbar.

Historicizing Edakkal and Anachronicing[11] Wayanad: Gopalan Nair's Writing

Let us enter into the discussion of Edakkal Cave in Gopalan Nair's *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions*. In the opening of the second chapter named "Ancient History" the author says,

> The earliest record of a ruling family in Kerala exists in Wynad in the shape of a rock-inscription in the Edakal cave four mile south-west of Sulthan's Battery. The walls of the cave are covered with "rude, fanciful drawings" and one of the inscriptions was suggested by Dr. Hultzsch to be "the writing of the glorious Vishnu Varma, the propagator of the Kudumbiyil family" (Malabar Gazetteer). That Kudumbiyil family held sway over Wynad must be accepted as an established fact, but it is impossible to fix the period when they lived and reigned.[12]

Major portion of this narrative is a reproduction of Malabar Gazetteer written by C.A. Innes. The narrative fixes Edakkal Cave as a *pre-historic* (narrative)-plot of history of Wayanad. The supposed antiquity of cave as an *ancient* site of human life and reliability of inscription as an ancient form of *royal* record in the knowledge of modern history has authenticated this narrative. In addition to this, the selective use of Dr. Hultzsch's interpretation of the inscription and its referential relation to the Malabar Gazetteer, the colonial record also create the credibility of narrative. There were diverse inscriptions and carvings in Wayanad in different historical sites such as Thovari, Thirunelly, Mariamman Kovil, and Jain Bastisother than the Edakkal Cave. Edakkal Cave itself is the site of different inscriptions and carvings and there were different interpretations about them by scholars before Gopalan Nair's book came, in 1911 but he chose only one inscription in Edakkal Cave to begin the (ruler's) history of Wayanad. It placed "Vishnu Varma" and his "Kudumbiyil family" as the ancient rulers of Wayanad. Moreover, this constructed belief helped the narrator to begin the political lineage of rulers of Wayanad from Kudumbiyil family. Furthermore, the sentences "the

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[11] It denotes to past, to a primitive stage of history.

[12] G. Gopalan Nair, *Wayanad: Its Peoples and Traditions* (first published: Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1911; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000) p. 9.

earliest record of a ruling family in *Kerala* exists in Wynad….” and “Kudumbiyil family held sway over Wynad must be accepted as an established *fact*” are teleological statements because the authors of his referential source, Malabar gazetteer, only state that “(Vishnu Varma) is the earliest king known by epigraphic research in Malabar.”[13] Why is Gopalan Nair’s narrative more passionate in trying to locate the earlier agency of Wayanad as under Kerala? Or in another way, why does Wayanad or the Edakkal Cave become the earlier historical habitation/location of Kerala rulers? I think we can address this question in later enquiries.

Historicizing Edakkal and Antiquing Wayanad: Johnny’s Writing

Let us look at the depiction of Edakkal Cave in O.K. Johnny’s *Wayanad Rekhakal* as a narrative-plot. Contrary to Gopalan Nair, Johnny has stretched the narrative-plot of Edakkal Cave on to a larger canvas. He described it under two chapters such as “Pre-Historical References” and “Edakkal-Thovari Engravings” in a linear ascending chronological order. In the chapter “Pre-Historical Reference” he located Edakkal Cave and its surroundings in the wider background of a pre-history of South India and described it as a site from the Paleolithic age. Johnny extended the Palaeolithic culture which existed in Edakkal as a general pre-historic culture of Wayanad. This self explanatory identification is possible because of the present existence of Edakkal cave within the administrative geography of Wayanad. Moreover, he used several sets of administrative and academic accounts written by Robert Broosfoot, Colin Mackenzie, Fawcett and Rajendran to connect South India to Kerala, Kerala to Wayanad, Wayanad to Edakkal in a horizontal spatiotemporal order. For instance,

> The Edakkal-Thovari engravings and the stone-weapons which were discovered by Colin Mackenzie before one century and Dr. Rajendran before two decades prove the existence of prosperous *continuity*[14] of a very old culture in South India in Wayanad

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[13] C.A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer*, ed., F.B. Evans (first printed 1908, reprinted 1951 in Madras by Madras Government Press; Thiruvanathapuram: Kerala Gazetteer Department, 1997) p. 506.
[14] Emphasis added.

through the historical fact mainly about stone age culture in three places in Wayanad

which represent the three stages of Paleolithic age.[15]

The belief of historical tradition as a natural process, the structural certainty of modern history, and continuity the rhetoric of modern history have helped the narrative to situate Wayanad in the pre-history of south India via Edakkal Cave.

It is interesting to notice how he spatialized the entity Edakkal in the field of human action. The conclusion of his chapter may disclose it,

> Persons like Fawcett have opined that the cave engravings in Edakkal were carved by the ancestors of Adivasis, Mullu Kurumar. This assumption reveals the deep root of the tradition of Adivasis in Wayanad. The above mentioned proto-ruins are witness to the fact that many generations of human race have lived in the land containing forest, hill and field from the Neolithic age which marked a significant turn in the human history of the Wayanadan plateau. We need to believe that the cultural history of Wayanadan ethnic-races was older than Edakkal engravings and of Edakkal inscriptions, which were markedly later than the engravings.[16]

This narrative not only has expressed the historical legacy of Edakkal Cave as a human habitat but also has *discovered* a human agency for Edakkal from the contemporary social environment of Wayanad. The Adivasi community Mullu Kurumar, the human agency of Edakkal Cave discovered by the narrator is one of the present inhabitants of Wayanad.[17] These enunciations make Edakkal a heritage site and generate a tradition of Wayanad. It simultaneously erects a glorious past for Mullu Kurumar and grounds it in Wayanad. Above all, the referential power of the opinion of Fawcett, the white man who produces modern knowledge about Edakkal Cave in 1901, substantiates the agency of Mullu Kurumar.

The next chapter, "Edakkal-Thovari Engravings" starts with the reference that "the Edakkal Cave which contains the archaic inscription and early models of world engraving that refer to the very ancient dynasty in Kerala and prove the existence of Neolithic culture in Wayanad,

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[15] O.K. Johnny, *Wayanad Rekhakal* (Calicut:Pappiyon, 2001) pp. 23-24.

[16] Ibid, p. 24.

[17] Mullu Kurumar also reside in places in Tamil Nadu beyond the administrative geography of Wayanad.

is situated at Ampukuthy hill in Ambalavayal near Sulthan Bathery."[18] The mode in which the narrative has located Edakkal is very interesting because rather than territorializing the plot Edakkal in to the administrative taluk, Sulthan Bathery or district, Wayanad Rekhakal has located it in the complex relations of Kerala and the World. These two places have universal character compared to Edakkal. In other words, the narrative has connected Edakkal to Kerala and Edakkal to World in two ways (1) by discovering the references of an early dynasty of Kerala in Edakkal engravings, and (2) by considering engravings in Edakkal as a model for the world. The spatialization of history of Edakkal through expansion of location of Edakkal to Kerala, by fixing the agency (of site Edakkal and place Wayanad) in the dynasty of Kerala is not a novel thing to this narrative-plot because Gopalan Nair also was of the same opinion. But why did Johnny desire to find out the earlier agency of Wayanad in Kerala by extending the particular representation of Edakkal to relatively universal Kerala? Or why did Johnny consider Wayanad, the Edakkal Cave as a pre-historic location that is part of the culture of Kerala? I will discuss the implications of this later.

The following lines of the above mentioned chapter described the physical structure, natural origin and narrative-content of the Edakkal Cave. As an introduction to the expansion of narrative-content he described each engraving one by one in this way: the four-handed standing human figure with circlet and ornament that are likely to be made from feather as well as other rounds and rectangular forms which were divided in different sizes on the north-east wall of the cave. A wheeled-cart in strange perspective is seen on the south-west wall among four carts situated in two walls. One woman's figure and a male figure are seen on the southern side of eastern wall. Their sexual organs are connected by a magical line. These figures are placed in a wheeled-cart. It has been observed as one of the important motifs in the engravings and it signifies the worship of sun. Persons like Dr. Tillner assume that Edakkal Cave was a stage of rituals and that the king or headman must have lived here.[19] He took the last sentence which was mentioned above as reference point and made one significant interpretation about the Neolithic history of Wayanad. He cited directly from E.O. Tillner to strengthen his referential point. "The cave most certainly served as a place of

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[18] O.K. Johnny, p. 25.
[19] Ibid, pp. 25-26.

worship, as indicated by many symbols. From the inscription it follows that the cave had indicated a chief or king with his retinue and that some tiger cult has its home here, in which the killed tiger was hung in the cave."[20]

The two very significant ideas put forward by E.O. Tillner are that the "cave served as a place of worship" and that the cave was a stage of tiger cult, in which the killed tiger was hung in the cave and chief or king with his retinue were present there. The *plausible factuality* of these two ideas is generated from the interpretation of engravings and inscriptions. The referential points which were produced from these two ideas are important in this context. Because, for constructing historical continuity of Wayanad, Johnny internalized these two ideas as factual referential points and produced so many imaginary justifications to actualize them. He presumes that the cave and carvings not only indicate the origin of engravings but also represent emergence of the drama and argues that the engravings in the cave are part of dramatic rituals which were staged in the cave. In order to affirm this he commented: In the light of recent studies that trace out the origin of Indian theatre from cave engravings, we could say that the history of our theatre has also started from the time of Edakkal engravings. He connected the performative element of the engravings to *Theyyam* in Malabar and *Yakshaganam* in Karanataka and asked a question: "Are the Edakkal Cave carvings the text of a drama which was written in the engravings?"[21]

Other portion of the pre-history of Edakkal Cave is illustrated through the expression of illusionary experience of writer's self about the lost past. For instance,

> We are participating in a century old ritual (in Edakkal Cave) when we are seeing the visual accounts; of men and women who crowned and merged in a magical ritual with straightened-up-hands, sun symbols, animal figures and magical signs. The stylistic moves of the human figure seen on the wall and visible rhythm of the unheard beat are repeating in the mind. Without knowing it, our minds are filled with the nostalgia about unknown ancestors.[22]

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[20] Ibid, p. 27.
[21] Ibid, p. 27.
[22] Ibid, p. 26.

The melancholic pleasure and affection of the author about the lost past generate fantasies about pre-history of Edakkal Cave. This is a point which reveals the intensity of metaphysics in materialist history; presupposes the precious origin of men from an ideal ancestor and believes in an ultimate disclosure of original identity. The sentence "this cave is one of the rare paths remaining in the world that can direct us to return to our own home"[23] exposes his belief in the final destiny offered by metaphysicians. He illustrates Edakkal Cave as a "secret-container which is waiting for generations with some obscure message of dead humans from the depth of time."[24] Let us look at how he uncovered the *primordial truth* about human history from this secret-container.

He used the observation of E.O. Tillner as a reference point and selected an idea regarding tiger and the pictorial image of a dog from this secret-container and interpreted it in relation to the present context of Wayanad. He states,

> There are still evidences which support Tillner's opinion that some rituals were conducted in the Edakkal Cave related to a tiger cult. Important among these is one record which was inscribed after many centuries from carved engravings in Edakkal Cave. In 1896 Dr. Hultzsch who was the head of Madras Epigraphy Department read it as "*palpulithanathakari.*" He noted that the inscription was in old Tamil script. Later it was confirmed that the original form in Brahmi is "*palapulithanathakari*" i.e. the person who killed many Tigers. Kesari Balakrishna Pillai assumed that the northern side of the carved inscription can be read as "*Vedkopanakajam Nannuchathy.*" The complete form of this is the Nannushakthi in Naga Vamsham who killed various tigers.[25]

Connecting this to the present environment of Edakkal he continued "whoever killed the tiger, which is mentioned in the inscription, the people who lived in the surroundings of Edakkal still worship a savior-goddess who eliminates tigers."[26] He substantiates his argument with an early reference of Fawcett, about a "Mudiampilly Bagavathi" temple which existed in Edakkal and was worshipped by Wayanad Chetties that was recorded one century

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[23] Ibid, p. 26.
[24] Ibid, p. 26.
[25] Ibid, pp. 27-28.
[26] Ibid, p. 28.

before. He interpreted Mudiampilly as "eliminator of tiger" and linked it to the Mudiampilly Bagavathi temple of Mullu Kurumar which exists presently in the valley of the Ampukuthy hill. He further extended the connection to the Narikuth a traditional custom practiced by the Wayanadan Chetties and Adivasis to hunting tiger, which existed in Wayanad fifty years ago. He elaborated this description with the help of "*Naripaattu*" (song on tiger), the folk songs of Wayanadan Kurichiar about "*Narikuth*" and other information about the custom "tiger-hunt," and concluded that "this continuity of a tiger cult which started from the time of Edakkal Cave inscriptions is interesting."[27]

The logically created linear connections between engravings, epigraphs and lived culture of people in the surroundings of Edakkal are employed to construct the historical continuity of Edakkal Cave. It is obvious that this ideal continuity of history is created through the selection and effacing of data because there were many engravings and inscriptions that had overlapped the heterogonous spatiotemporal forms of meaning, which was not considered flexible enough to make a continuity of the narrative.

For contextualizing the Edakkal in the history of Wayanad the narrative logically connects three sets of discovered idioms in Edakkal which are considered as three stages of history. There are (1) tiger cult and ritual related to tiger which was unpacked by E.O. Tillner by construing the engravings in Edakkal. (2) Meanings such as "*palpulithanathakari*," "*palapulithanathakari*," "*Palapulikale konnotukiyavan*" (the person who killed many tigers), "*Vedkopanakajam Nannuchathy*" and "*Palapulikalekonna Nagavamshachanaya Nannu Shakthi*" (Nannushakthi of the Naga Vamsham who killed various tigers) were uncovered by Hultzsch and Kesari Balakrishnapilla through interpreting the inscriptions in Edakkal. (3) "Mudiampilly Bagavathi," *Mudiampuli* ("eliminator of tiger"), "*Narikuth*" (killing tiger by spear), "*Naripaattu*" (song on tiger) and "*Narikandi*" (the place of hanging killed tiger) were *discovered* by Fawcett and the narrator from socio-cultural practices of present inhabitants of Wayanad. These three sets of idioms represent three stages of history or three periods of time in the history which are respectively Neolithic, later Neolithic and Modern periods. The

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[27] Ibid, pp. 28-30.

resemblance between idioms, based on the relations in meaning between Tiger, *Puli* and *Nari* and repetition of the word tiger (*puli/nari*) formed the connections between idioms and built links among historical periods which were produced from the engravings, inscription and practice.

The journey of the deciphered tiger (*puli/nari*) through the three stages of history and its discovered presence in present socio-cultural practice not only construct the historical continuity of Wayanad but also draws a straight stagnant lineage of inhabitants (Mullu Kurumar, Chetti and Kurichiar) which start from Edakkal Cave to present day Wayanad. Why is the time of archaic carvings and inscriptions taken to be contemporary by linking them to the lived practice of Mullu Kurumar, Chetti and Kurichiar in the context of a linearly progressing history? Or why is the present of Mullu Kurumar, Chetti and Kurichiar juxtaposed with the time of origin of the carvings and inscriptions in the context of progressive history?

The pictorial image of a dog in the Edakkal engravings is another thing which contextualized the Edakkal Cave in the history of Wayanad. The background of the contextualization is attractive. It states,

> It was pointed out that the human figure in Edakkal cave wall has similarities to warriors who hold bow and arrow which was seen in the pottery that was excavated from Iraq. It points out the international connections of the Edakkal picture. The picture of a dog turned towards the upper part, above the human figure in northern wall, attracts the attention of all who enter the cave. A human figure with a bow stands below that. The human figure that is going hunting with the dog is that of a Mullu Kurumar of Wayanad, and hence the assumption of Fawcett is rational. To go hunting with bow and arrow, with trained dogs, is part of the rituals of Mullu Kurumar even today. Dr. Hultzsch also announced that this human figure represents some ancestors of Kurumbar (Kurumar) in Wayanad. Fawcett says that due to some unknown fear Kurumars don't enter the cave. The Chetties used to make pilgrimage to in those days. Today Kurumars does not seem to have that type of fear. An old Kuruma family still lives below Edakkal caves whose family name is Edakkal. Kesari

also agreed to the opinion of Fawcett and Hultzsch, that the ancestors of Mullu Kurumars who belonged to Australoid race are the creators of Edakkal Engravings.[28] One of the main points the narrative is making is the parallelism between historical continuity of Wayanad and static ancestral lineage of Mullu Kurumar community. Moreover, it again repeats and anchors the identity of Mullu Kurumar as a human agency for the history of Wayanad. The discovered connection between the pictorial image of dog and human figure with bow and arrow with the present hunting practice of Mullu Kurumar community, and its referential relations to the argument and observations of Fawcett, Hultzsch and Kesari is constructing the historical continuity of Edakkal, history of Wayanad and agency of Mullu Kurumar. Moreover, the similarities which are indicated through comparison between warriors who hold bow and arrow in the excavated pottery from Iraq and the human figure with bow and arrow in Edakkal not only transnationalizes Edakkal but also so qualifies it as to represent its universal character. Why does this constructed continuity produce simultaneity between engravings of Edakkal and contemporary lived practices of the Mullu Kurumar community?

Unearthing Paniyar's Tomb and Archiving Wayanad: Gopi's Writing

Another important description about engravings of Edakkal Cave has figured in Mundakayam Gopi's *Unknown Wayanad*. On so many reasons his depiction differs from Gopalan Nair's and O.K. Johnny's. Before looking at how Gopi has articulated engravings of Edakkal Cave as the narrative-plot, we need a detailed discussion about the preparatory accounts he wrote in the name of Beginning (*Naandhy*) in his book. In this he has discussed the etymologies of Wayanad, the Paleolithic culture in Wayanad and its relation to Paniya community, the problems that have existed in written history sources which consider Wayanad as a place under non-Malayali rulers, and available sources for history writing and its limitations. Among these the etymologies of Wayanad I discussed already in detail. But we need to examine remaining accounts because it has provided certain distinct grounds for his history.

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[28] Ibid, pp. 32-33.

He begins his account on Paleolithic culture by describing Kuppamudy, Edakkal, Kuppakkoli, Koottumunta and Kottathara as Paleolithic sites in Wayanad which were uncovered by Colin Mackenzi in 1890, as well as Fawcett, H.D. Sagaliya, Jone Ochan Thuruth and him (Gopi) in 1981.[29] And he elaborates it in relation to tombs and artifacts inside the tombs which were unearthed from different places in Wayanad, and believed these as a source for the primordial facticity to locate the Paleolithic history of his history of Wayanad. In other words by considering the tombs and artefacts inside the tombs which were excavated from Wayanad too as relics of Paleolithic history of Wayanad, Gopi deepened the foundation of history of Wayanad. Let us look how he constructed the Paleolithic history of Wayanad in relation to tombs and communities in Wayanad.

By describing the general socio-cultural causalities of practices of burying earthen pots, illuminated vessels and iron objects with human dead-body in tombs, he makes an observation which pointing at the uniformity between the humans who rest in the hard-stone tombs in Wayanad and primitive humans in the form of mummy in stone pyramid in Egypt and redbrick pyramid in Mexico. This comparison is a strategy to provide universality and historical importance to tombs in Wayanad on the basis of global temporal hierarchy of history. The next sentence in his descriptions is significant. It discovered a human subject for these tombs from the present environment of Wayanad.[30] That asserts,

> Today also there is a few tribal-races that practice funeral culture which perhaps have small differences but are on the basis of the old customs, in Wayanad. Where were the people who lived in Kuppakkolly, Chembra-mala and Kottathara before millions of years their ancestors?[31]

And he further added,

> The Paniyar's funeral practice deserves examination; they were qualified by anthropologists like Thurston for their resemblances with Negroes in bodily features. Paniyar never burn their dead bodies because they believe in life after death. They believe that burning of body is a major offence against the dead person. They put

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[29] Mundakayam Gopi, *Ariyappedatha Wayanad* (Kalpetta: Sahya Publications, 2002) p.18.
[30] Ibid, pp. 18-19.
[31] Ibid, p. 19.

little gruel, water in mud pot, betel leaf, areca-nut and quicklime in one portion of the tomb, before burying the body.[32]

In following lines he contextualized the culture and life world of Paniyar community for the history of Wayanad,

Among the Wayanadan Adivasis, the Paniyar who are numerically dominant and are uncivilized share resemblance with Negroes. This community who are short, have black skin, curly hair believes that they came from an unknown and imaginary Ippy Mala (hill) while other Adivasis speak romantic stories about their origin and believe that their ancestors came there from somewhere else. They may also not know what the reason for believing that is.[33]

The language of the narrative is sardonic. Through this, the narrative expresses the lack of reason in the migratory belief of Paniyar and locates Paniyar in inferior position by using historian's words like uncivilized and anthropometric indices. Simultaneously it reinforces the constructed savage status of this community by equalizing them with Negroes who were branded by historicism as ideal models of primitive. Apparently, internalization of the knowledge of modernist history and its historicist reason is one of the factors which gave the writer the power to classify and portray Paniyar community in this manner. At this time it is interesting to notice the limits and allegory of his modern historicist reason which has discovered the origin of Paniyar and has offered rational explanation about that origin, through making slight criticism to early understanding of Logan and extending it into the new fields of interpretations. Let us unravel the two sets of explanatory accounts about origin of Paniyar community which he wrote. The first one is a parenthesis about *Ippy Mala* which he construes as follows,

In the spoken language of Paniyar the meaning of the word Ippy is fear or frightening. It is said that the root of the word came from an African ethnic language. The "Ippy hill" which is the previous habitat of Paniyar may be a volcano in Africa. We can

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[32] Ibid, p. 19.
[33] Ibid, p. 19.

speculate that a fear was generated from volcanic eruption made "Ippy hill" immemorial in the ancestors of Paniyar.[34]

The second one is an expansive account about the coming of the Paniyar from Africa. He begins by citing the alleged opinion of Logan which affirms "one set of Negroes who were caught by Moors (Arab) as slaves from Zanzibar in Africa and kept in a ship reached the shore after a ship wreck on Malabar Coast, whose successors are the people who have the resemblance with Negroes including Cherumar."[35] He connected this opinion with recent findings of human genetic science that designed human genome map which found out the root of sickle-cell anaemia, the genetic disease of Adivasis of Wayanad, as the part of grand research project for decoding the human's genetic relations. And Gopi bridges the relationship between the black-race in West-Africa, one among fifty of whom has sickle-cell anaemia and Adivasis in Wayanad, in the name of this genetic disease, and strengthened the observation of Logan.[36]

But by pointing out the numerical dominance of Paniyar and their wider habitation which includes Neelagiri, Kudaku[37] and Kannur outside Wayanad he has expressed his disbelief on the assumption of Logan that; the people who reached Malabar shore during shipwreck are the ancestors of Paniyar. And further expressing his disbelief by asking, how could Paniyar spread into a wider geographical area within one or two thousand years overcoming all hard natural calamities and short life-spans?[38]

Instead of Logan's story of shipwreck he offered another assumption; the ancestors of today's Paniyar were Negros who traveled from West-African area to Eastern side and settled in Western-Ghats which had the topography and climate similar to Africa, *in an age when African and Asian continents were united.*[39] To substantiate this he quoted different

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[34] Ibid, p. 19.
[35] Ibid, pp. 19-20.
[36] Ibid, p. 20.
[37] Kudagu is also used as Kodaku, Corga and Coorg interchangeably in this study.
[38] Mundakayam Gopi, p. 20.
[39] Emphasis added.

alleged anthropological accounts which made observation about the migration of Negros from Africa to Andaman, Aanamala and Parambikulam. These anthropological accounts arrived at these conclusions through a comparison between bodily features of people and illustration in bamboo-hairbrush in these areas and Africa.[40]

He concluded these discussions; "In short, while thinking through above declarations, *the original inhabitants of Wayanad are the people known as Paniyar[41]* who have lived in wide areas, from today's southern part of Karnataka to Neelagiri in Tamilnadu and from Kasarkode in Kerala to Kozhikode."[42][43]

Here we can understand that the search for origin of the history of Wayanad is the aim of these accounts and that is why it discovered Paniyar as original inhabitants of Wayanad, and situated them as a subject for the history of Paleolithic Wayanad looking from the present environment and practices of Wayanad. In other words, through these accounts Gopi could produce a human subject to represent the Paleolithic period which is the period of origin in the chronological order of history in his history of Wayanad. Here the foundations of history of Wayanad are built by the strange analogies which connect Africa and Wayanad, and indefinite teleologies which detected the remote ideality of origin of Paniyar. By using the *rational* language, the strange analogies and the teleologies of the narrative achieved the credibility and the authenticity of history. And by this discovered origin of Paniyar, the origin of (history of) Wayanad was actualized. Moreover, another undeniable task which was actualized by these accounts is the construction of past of Paniyar as a slave-past.

The knowledges which are produced to order the origin of Paniyar and its connection with origin of history of Wayanad demand attention. Because, one can see the construction of origin of Paniyar and origin of history of Wayanad through production of knowledges in a chronological order by archaeology from the tomb, linguistics as regards the place names,

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[40] Mundakayam Gopi, pp. 20-21.
[41] Emphasis added.
[42] Mundakayam Gopi, p. 21.
[43] Kozhikode also appears as Kozhikotta and Kolikotta in the documents referred in this work.

anthropology (Thurston and Logan), genetic science and medical science from human body and geography from earth. Moreover, the strange analogies, indefinite teleologies and obsessive referentiality which are used to order the relations of knowledges, are nothing but the ways to construct the historical continuity of the origin of Paniyar. The belief in the precious origin of men from an ideal ancestor and belief in an ultimate disclosure of original identity, the metaphysical faiths, are an internal drive of this history. These are the limits and allegory of modern historicist reason which demands scientific reason and supplies something different from it.

Associated with the above accounts two other accounts are significant. The first account is about the tomb in Chembramala. That frames tomb in Chembramala out of geographical and historical context of Wayanad, (which presently exists inside the administrative geography of Wayanad,) by locating it inside the geographical limit of Neelagiri and positioning it in the Neolithic period by deciphering bronze and mud sculpture unearthed from this tomb as cultural artefacts of Todar community. The second account proclaimed that the human habitation existed in Wayanad before first century A.D by referring to Sir. Mortimer Wheeler's discovery which declares that the Megalithic culture existed in South India from fifteenth century B.C to first century A.D and that it declined in the middle of first century A.D.[44] In this, the first account not only located the subject of the tomb in Chembramala outside Wayanad and positioned the time period of tomb in Chembramala outside the Paniyar's chronological period but also reinforced the *primitiveness* of Paniyar community and that of Wayanad through them. The second account once more reinforced and grounded the chronological and genealogical primitiveness of Paniyar (indirectly) and Wayanad (directly) by signifying Wayanad as a place of Megalithic culture.

One of the important things we should notice in above discussed narratives of Gopalan Nair, Johnny and Gopi is that they construct a human agency/subject for the ancient history of Wayanad. We already know Gopalan Nair located agency of ancient history of Wayanad on Kudumbiyil family—the ruling family in Kerala, Johnny on Mullu Kurumar, Chetties and

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[44] Ibid, pp. 21-22.

Kurichiar—the inhabitants of Wayanad, and Gopi found the subject of ancient history of Wayanad on Paniyar—the inhabitants of Wayanad. In this, Kudumbiyil family discursively attains a *civilized* position because of their privileged typological temporal status as a ruler in Kerala. The Paniyar, Mullu kurumar, Chetties and Kurichiar attain the status as the subject/agency of ancient history of Wayanad by making them into *primitives* because their status is created by juxtaposing the temporality of archival past of Wayanad and that of present day lived practices of this community. It makes the present of Paniyar, Mullu Kurumar, Chetties and Kurichiar the past of Wayanad. In fact, one can argue that the ancient history of Wayanad is constructed on the primitivized bodies of Paniyar, Mullu Kurumar, Chetties and Kurichiar.

Constructing Kerala's Wayanad: Gopi's Writing and Its Strategies

The third part of preparatory accounts of Gopi that have discussed the problems of sources of written history—available sources for writing of history and its limitations—begins with the admiration towards the British for their documentation of sources of history and their contribution to make a modern history of India in general and Wayanad in particular. It then sarcastically criticizes historians in India for their blind anti-colonial position. In addition to this he criticizes modern historians who accept the discoveries and elevate the findings of Sahibs (British) with slave-mind without confirming their veracity.[45] For an example of this temperament, he points out the remark of William Francis in relation to the history of Neelagiri, that Wayanad was the part of the administrative geography of Neelagiri during that time. By citing William Francis, he wrote that from tenth to eighteenth century Ganger, Kathambar, Hoisalar, Vijayanagarar, Hyder, Tipu Sulthan among others *had dominated Mysore had dominated Wayanad.*[46] It is stated by important *Shasanas* undoubtedly and not imagined on the basis of any single *Shasana*. Then he added, this conclusion of William Francis became the foundation stone of history building attempts with regard to Wayanad and it caused the denial of real political pasts of Wayanad.[47]

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[45] Ibid, pp. 22-23.
[46] Emphasis added.
[47] Mundakayam Gopi, p. 23.

For recovering the real political past of Wayanad he reexamines the *Shasanas* and shows the problems which have existed in William Francis's remark that considered Wayanad as a place under the rule of kings from Ganger to Tipu Sulthan. The method he used to disqualify the remark of William Francis is notable. Gopi assumed that the *Shasanas* which gave the grounds to Francis' remark are Malavally, Selam, Jaganadhapuram, Coimbatore, Belur and Chamarajanagar *Shasanas*. And he summarized the warfare and fame of Vishnuvardhanan Hoisalan who ruled from his capital, Daarasamudram in 1108 A.D. to 1152 as well as his brother Vinayanithan and his military chiefs Gangaraja, Chamadeva and Dandayaka were the significations of these *Shasanas*. Along with this, as a remark on these *Shasanas* he also discussed the territorial dominance of Hoisala rajas and gave extra significance to the Chamarajanagar *Shasana* which was erected in 1117 A.D. by considering that it influenced William Francis to reach the assumption that the Hoisalar had dominated Wayanad. He also disqualified this assumption by arguing that the Bathery Mariamman kovil *Shasana* in twelfth century has provided recorded evidence to suggest that Wayanad was ruled by Wayal natarachar at that time, who was the successor of Chera Raja. Furthermore, he added the "Thirunelly *Shasanam*" and "Unniachicharitham," the literary text, that substantiates that the Chera descendant Kurumbranad and Purakinarnad kings ruled this place up to the earlier decade of eleventh century, and Purakinarnad king and his land lord ruled this after an interval of two centuries.[48]

He then discusses the dominance of Kathambar, as remarked by William Francis, and comments that,

> The dominance of Kathambar, can only be considered on certain conditions. If a king who was under Kathambar, had ruled Wayanad and established a separate dynasty it would have been a successor of Pallavas. That dynasty which was established in fourth or fifth century A.D. became amalgamated in the mainstream of Malanadu (Kerala) and attained Malayalitham (nature of Malayalam speaking people) completely.[49]

He continued,

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[48] Ibid, pp. 23-24.
[49] Ibid, p. 25.

There is no reference about the (Karnataka) dynasties which claim to have existed in Wayanad in the *Shasanas* which existed in Thazhekavu, Mulamkavu, Varadoor and were written in eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth century A.D. in Karnataka language, as well as Bathery *Shasanam* of the twelfth century and in other inscriptions or in any verbiage. It is also a useless exercise to attempt to prove Karnataka dominance by pointing at the Jain Basties that were built along the trade route.[50]

And he concludes,

One part of Wayanad was dominated by Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, Nawabs of Karnataka, for almost twenty-three years. It is undeniable, for the exception of this period, till the earlier time of British supremacy (today's) Wayanad had been fully associated politically and culturally with other parts of the Malayalam speaking areas. The assumptions that go against this are imaginary and not appropriate.[51]

In short, Gopi nullifies and delimits each dynasty's claim being figured in William Francis's argument in this way. Firstly, Gopi counters the argument of William Francis that Wayanad was under Hoisalar, by using the interpretations of Mariamman kovil, Thirunelly inscriptions and "Uniachicharitham" which support Wayal natarachar's, Kurumbranad's and Purakinarnad's rule on Wayanad in eleventh and twelfth centuries. Secondly, by stating that if a king under Kathambar ruled and established a dynasty in Wayanad it would be as a successor of Pallavas points at the amalgamation of that dynasty in the mainstream of Malanadu (Kerala) and its complete incorporation with the culture of Malayalam speaking people (*Malayalitham*) to invalidate the Non-malayali Kathambar rule on Wayanad and reassert the cultural dominance of Malayalam speaking area on Wayanad. Thirdly, by examining *Shasanas* in Thazhekavu, Mulamkavu and Varadoor that were written in eleventh, fourteenth and seventeenth century A.D. in Karnataka language and *Shasana* in Bathery of twelfth century and other inscriptions and verbiage inside the administrative geography of Wayanad he negated the claim of Non-Malayali rulers and simply denied the authenticity of Jain Basties in Wayanad as a source to prove the Karnataka dominance. In the fourth part of

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[50] Mundakayam Gopi here bracketed that "This case is discussed by me in the part about Jains of Wayanad" in the pages of 176-194 in this book; Ibid, p. 25.
[51] Ibid, p. 25.

the argument, as a conclusion he admits the rule of Nawabs of Karnataka Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sulthan on Wayanad, up to twenty-three years and affirms that for the remaining period, Wayanad was fully associated politically and culturally with other parts of Malayalam speaking area till the earlier time of British supremacy and declared that the other assumptions opposed to this are imagined and unreal.

The three stages of the syllogistic reason which actualized the recovery of real political past of Wayanad are; (1) the re-citation of William Francis's statement, (2) defining the rulers from Ganger to Tipu Sulthan in the William Francis's statement as Karnatakites/Non-Malayalis and (3) arguing for the Malayali/Kerala dominance on Wayanad by countering the dominance of Karnatakite/Non-Malayali. In other words, by interpreting the rulers Ganger, Kathambar, Hoisalar, Vijayanagar, Hyder and Tipu Sulthan which are mentioned in William Francis's statement, as Karnatakites/Non-Malayalis the narrator produced the linguistic regional identities and situates it as an other to Malayali/Kerala linguistic-regional identity. Moreover, by invalidating the claimed dominance of the other, the Karnatakite or Non-Malayali, it confirms the Malayali/Kerala dominance on Wayanad. The above recovery not only disqualifies the argument of William Francis, by considering that it has placed the political agency of Wayanad on Non-Malayali/Karnataka rulers, but also located Wayanad under the identity/agency of Malayali/Kerala. It is clear that this account which articulates the agency/identity of Wayanad under Malayali/Kerala obliquely formulated the immutable and eternal political-cultural ownership of Kerala's linguistic regional identity on the past of Wayanad. Why did Gopi express the ardent desire to locate Wayanad under the identity/agency of Kerala/Malayali?

The question of secularism, one of the basic tenets of history-writing, is also significant here, because, formation of secular identity is also vital in the recovery of the real political past of Wayanad. Let us look at the configuration of secular and articulation of secular language. The rulers (such as Hoisalar, Kathambar and Pallavas) and the sources (such as Thazhekavu, Mulamkavu, and Varadoor *Shasanas*) are the two kind of metaphors of Non-Malayali/Karnataka that are encountered by Gopi to prove the Malayali/Kerala dominance on Wayanad. In this, the first; Hoisalar, Kathambar and Pallavas were the believers and

supporters of Jain religion, and the second; Thazhekavu, Mulamkavu, and Varadoor *Shasanas* are the *Shasanas* in Karnataka language erected by Jain followers, the Jain traders. That means the rulers Hoisalar, Kathambar and Pallavas, and sources Thazhekavu, Mulamkavu, and Varadoor *Shasanas* which represented the Non-Malayali/Karnataka, are representing Jain religion. Contrary to these, the rulers such as Chera Raja, Wayalnatarajan, Kurumbranad and Purakinarnad kings, and the sources such as Bathery Mariammankovil *Shasanam* and Thirunelly *Shasanam* which are used to prove that the Malayali/Kerala dominance represent Hindu religion.

In this narrative encounter, one can notice the sharp dichotomy between two sets of tropes. The trope, Malayali/Kerala linguistic regional identity and Hindu religion which re-present the real political past are dichotomous towards the trope, non-Malayali/Karnataka and Jain. Moreover, the Malayali/Kerala linguistic regional identity and Hindu religion are interchangeably representing secular, and non-Malayali/Karnataka and Jain are interchangeably representing communal or schematic. Furthermore, in this context, the regional language Malayalam is the signpost of secularism, and it is contrasted to the national, because in the national context the language English is the marker of the secular.[52] One can argue here that the configuration of the secular normativized and totalized the Hindu/Malayalam/Kerala as secular and gave power to Hindu religion to represent authentic homogeneous political pasts of Wayanad, and wiped out the right of heterogeneous religions/languages/and regions to represent the pasts of Wayanad.

The last part of Gopi's chapter discusses sources for history-writing and its limitations. As available recorded evidence it described the Thirunelly copper *Shasanam*, Bathery Mariamman copper plate which was discovered from Hindu temples, and Thazhekavu, Mulamkavu stone *Shasanam*, Varadoor Jalaadhara inscription which were from the Jain temples and the famous Edakkal Cave inscription. As useful sources for historians it also points at the songs in Sanga-text "*Akananure*" and songs in "*Manipravalam*"-text "*Unnniachicharitham*," and British East India Company records from eighteenth century

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[52] Vivek Dhareshwar, "Caste and Secular Self," *Journal of Arts and Ideas*, 25-26, (1993) p.116.

onwards. It also remarks on few oral songs and migratory stories of Nairs and Adivasis which were recorded in a later period.[53]

Auditing chronologically the name of scholars who worked in relation to the history of Wayanad he commenced the discussion about limitations. He commented that the geographical difference maybe the cause of the lack of references about Wayanad in the myths of other regions. As an example of that he points at the only one remark about Wayanad in "*Keralolpathy*" as a frontier land that exists on one side of the land which Cheramanperumal gifted to his dependents. He also observed that for the famous "*Mamamkam*"[54] in Malayalam-land, nobody was invited or had attended from Wayanad. Moreover, he shows the lack of references about earlier history of Wayanad in Logan's *Malabar*, and points out limited references about political history of Wayanad from Pazhassi Raja, and about Morgan's report on the flora and fauna of Wayanad.[55]

Gopi also points at the scarcity of coins that limits the sources of history writing. At the same time, he points at the sculptures in monuments and ruined appearance of tombs which signals the possibility of sources. In a mocking language, he criticizes the scholars who argue that the background of this Sangam literature is Wayanad on the basis of minor references about cardamom, sandal and heroes who travel through passes. He also comments that the larger portion of oral songs and migratory stories are misguiding.[56]

Here, one can see certain sources get normative referential power to represent the sources of history of Wayanad. The vernacular records such as the stone, copper inscriptions in Edakkal and other temples, and songs in Sangam text "*Akananure*" and the "*Manipravalam*" text "*Unnniachicharitham*," and oral text "*Keralolpathy*" and cultural practice "*Mamamkam*" have referential power to represent the sources of pre-colonial history of Wayanad. Likewise, the colonial records such as *Malabar* and *A Manual of the Nilgiri District* have the referential power to represent the sources of colonial history of Wayanad. At the same time the disbelief

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[53] Mundakayam Gopi, pp. 22-31.
[54] It was a festival staged every 12th year, from 14th to 18th century.
[55] Mundakayam Gopi, pp. 27-29.
[56] Ibid, pp. 29-31.

about the capacity of oral narratives regarding origin and migration (of Adivasis) and its written forms to represent the sources of history is obvious. It does not come from the understanding that the written sources are authentic and oral sources are less authentic, because one can see the referential power of oral text "*Keralolpathy*" in the above account. In fact, the disbelief came from other reasons. I think we can uncover these other reasons in later enquiries.

Historicizing Edakkal and Archaizing Wayanad: Gopi's Writing

Let us comeback to the focal narrative-plot, *engravings of Edakkal Cave* which is described in the subsequent chapter, "Edakkal Engravings and Inscriptions." In this chapter as a prologue to the narrative-plot, he explains Edakkal cave as situated in Ampukuthy near Ambalavayal and also discusses the method and particulars of engravings. Moreover, for providing universality to (engravings in) Edakkal Cave he compares it to the Cro-Magnon man who carved engravings in the Cro-Magnon hill in France.[57]

Then about the meaning of engravings, he says, "In front of world, today also the Edakkal engraving is a puzzle. There is no unified opinion about the meaning of the engravings and their significations. Some people's interpretations of these engravings are baseless, in relation to animal hunt and animal sacrifice. Rajan Gurukal states that the Edakkal engravings have similarity to the Perumukal cave engravings in Tamil Nadu and it may have been carved five thousand years ago."[58]

Next to that he enters in to the inscription in Edakkal Cave. He described how Fawcett, the superintendent of police of Malabar district, discovers the Edakkal Cave and its artefacts with the help of Adivasis. He points out the names of scholars who attempt to read the inscriptions, such as; Dr. Hultzsch, Prof. Bular, Tillner, Kesari Balakrishnapillai, Dr. M.R. Raghava Variar, Dr. S.P. Swaminathan, Dr. Raju, A.H. Seetharaman and Dr. Rajan Gurukal, and details the scholarly engagement on this matter. Furthermore, he says that, these inscriptions are written in Brahmi, Pali and Kannada and describes different readings of these

[57] Ibid, pp. 31-32.
[58] Ibid, p. 32.

inscriptions by different scholars.[59] Subsequently, he stated that, "There is no united opinion on the interpretation. But there is no different opinion; the inscription is inscribed after the Edakkal engravings, and it was done in a different time period."[60] By considering Rajan Gurukal's[61] opinion about the political agency of inscriptions, as a postulate of his argument, Gopi states, "Rajan Gurukal's argument that the people who had inscribed their names in the caves, for the exception of two cases, belong to Chera dynasty, and (for strengthening his argument Gurukal suggests) that the words 'Ko' and 'Chera' in the inscriptions mean king...."[62]

On the basis of this postulate Gopi starts to produce his teleological history about the agency of Edakkal Cave, through the selective referentiality and imaginary justifications. For instance, he writes, "The people who had visited and left the cave were people who could claim royal power or kingship relations with the Chera dynasty and were the authors of the other inscriptions that are in Brahmi, which were considered to be written in third century A.D."[63] On the basis of this view he affirmed that it is not possible to say that any famous king from Chera dynasty reached Edakkal. Instead of that the people who are mentioned in the inscription maybe people who lead the raid from Chera dynasty. They did not go for pilgrimage, but, the Edakkal Cave was rather a rest house for them in their passage. One of the important trade routes passed through the side of Edakkal which connected the habitations of Wayanad, Western seashore and Gudallur-Neelagiri areas in Cheramantalam. The Ampukuthy Hill, rocky and full of caves was attractive to the trading groups and raiding military personnel who sought its protection.[64]

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[59] Ibid, pp. 32-33.
[60] Ibid, p. 33.
[61] Raian Gurukal is a contemporary academic historian of Kerala. Just like popular historians through interpreting inscription in Edakkal he also has offered the political agency of Wayanad (and Wayanad via Kerala) to Ruling Castes. See Raian Gurukal and M.R. RaghavaVarier, eds., *Cultural History of Kerala*, Vol: I (Thruvananthapuram: Department of Cultural Publications, Government of Kerala, 1999) pp. 85-199.
[62] Mundakayam Gopi, p. 34.
[63] Ibid, pp. 34-35.
[64] Ibid, p. 35.

Another excellent epitome of his teleological history and construction of agency is in the interpretation of an inscription which was read by Kesari Balakrishna Pillai as "Vedko Nanthuchathy." Kesari says:

> the inscription of Nanthushakthi which is considered as established in third century demands attention. Who is Vedkonanthuchathy who killed many tigers? The ancient Tamil word "Ko" had the meaning like king, head and leader. "Ko" is generally seen with the name of Chera kings. So we need to enquire, whether there was a Chera king called Nanthuchathy.[65]

Then he searches for the name "Nanthuchathy" in Akananur, Purananur, Patitupathu, Manimeghala and Chilapathikaram, but fails to find it. In his opinion these are the Sangam literature that provides believable evidence about Chera dynasty.[66]

But Gopi's thirst for enquiry does not stop. He continues,

> We can see that in Malanad, in the same period of Cheras, in so many places, the Kurunila Mannanmar ruled. This Kurunila Mannanmar belongs to so many clans like Mazavar, Maravar, Mallar, Ainar, Vedar, Vettuvar and Villor, and they were known as *Vel*. The famous Vel among them is Nandan who ruled Eazimala which was known as Mount Eali, Mount Dali and Mushikarajyam. The Eazimala country which had its capital in *Paazhi* encompassed regions from Kozikode to Mangalapuram including Wayanad and Gudaloor.[67]

Related to this Gopi asks a question, "Was the Veda King Nandan—who had defeated the military-chief of the Chera king Narmudicheral in Paazhi battle and who was killed by the Narmudicheral in Vakaiperumthurai battle—visitor of Edakkal Cave?" And further he answered,

> But there is no evidence that he (Vedko) had opposed the Chera king who holds the tiger-flag. May be Nanthuchathy was a Vel who ruled the Eazimala as a descent of

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[65] Ibid, pp. 35-36
[66] Ibid, pp. 35-36.
[67] Ibid, p. 36

Nandan, after his death. We need to consider whether the "Vedko" who is referred in Edakkal inscription is the son of Nandan, the Nandu Chithan, who was one of the Vels coronated by the Cheras after the death of Nandan. His presence in Edakkal provides strength to the argument that Wayanad was part of Eazimala which contained Tamil- Karnataka lands.[68]

The "*Sree VishnuVarma Kudumbia Kulavardhanasia Ligitham*" is another important inscription which is reinterpreted by Gopi for refiguring the agency. Through reinterpreting this he obliquely disqualified the earlier interpretation and agency which was proposed by Hultzsch, Gopalan Nair and Johnny. He says,

> Mahadhevan[69] and his team assumed that this inscription which was written in southern Brahmi and read in Sanskrit was inscribed in the fifth century. Hultzsch read this inscription long back. This inscription of which the meaning is easily understandable, and is more modern among Edakkal inscriptions, creates a lot of misconceptions. Some people have recorded unstable opinions that there was a Kudumbiya dynasty here and Vishnuvarman from that dynasty ruled here, by interpreting the inscription which means "the Vishnuvardhanan who increased the fame of kudumbiya clan, wrote this." These people profoundly believe that the kudumbiyil dynasty was ancestors of Kurumar who are the Adivasis in Wayanad! The famous linguist Dr. Oopert wrote: we need to assume that Vishnuvarman, whose name is mentioned in the inscription, was the king from Kurumar clan because the word Kurumban can change in to Kutumban and Kuduby. The name can also be called Kurumban. To follow this relatively naive assumption, without any other base, many of them were ready to create the dynasty named Kudumbiyil and to give them the ancestry of Kurumar. It is assumed that we need to believe, without any evidence, that the society which had lived in tribal structure with their rituals and customs till they were modified in recent times already had the developed alphabet, Sanskrit language knowledge, centralized royal power and other things in the fifth century

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[68] Ibid, p. 36.
[69] Mahadhevan is Iravatham Mahadhevan, the famous lithographer and archeologist.

when the concept of Raja and Rajyam were just evolving, and had lost all these later on![70]

In subsequent lines he shaped a new agency for the Edakkal Cave. He continued,

There is an argument that this inscription is inscribed by Kathambar. The Brahmin called Mayuravarman established the Kathamba dynasty centred in Vanavasy in Karnataka in the middle of fourth century A.D. In the opinion of George M. Morise this is the cave inscription of the period of Vishnuvarman who was one of the followers of Mayuravarman. In final analysis one can find out this opinion is true.[71]

For substantiating this argument he made another account of logical connections. The Kathamba dynasty which dominated Deccan plateau and its surroundings for around two and half centuries was established by the many victories of Mayuravarman against the Pallavas. Shanthyvarman who was the fourth generation king after Mayuravarman handed over the authority to rule the southern side of the country to his brother Krishnavarman. Krishnavarman who gradually became an autonomous king was killed in the military encounter with Pallavas. The Pallavas who won installed Vishnuvarman, son of Krishnavarman as the king. The coronation of Vishnuvarman is considered to have happened in A.D 475. This is the same period as that of the Sanskrit inscription in Edakkal. In short, by admitting the ascendancy of Pallavas, and as a dependant of Pallavas, Vishnuvarman who is mentioned in the inscription in Edakkal ruled over the terrain including his father's country which included the Punnad and Thulunad, as well as Kurunchi (Kurumpurai) the neighboring place which included Neelagiri and Wayanad. His capital was in Munnalanad which exists in the Neelagiri district of today's Tamilnad. We need to believe that as a lord of the Kurumbar's land which he conquered, Vishnuvarman named his dynasty Kudumby dynasty. As an establisher of a dynasty, that had not existed in history he added the title "Kudumbia Kulavadhanasia" to his name. It proves that Vishnuvarman mentioned in the Edakkal Cave was not the ancestor of Kurumbar and not a Tribal head; he was the member of Kathamba dynasty by birth and was a representative of Pallavas who had ruled the land of Kurumbar. This is exciting, since the descendants of Vishnuvarman—the Kurumbrathiry and Elamkure

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[70] Mundakayam Gopi, pp. 37-38.
[71] Ibid, p. 38.

Vazunoor—are present as donors of the *Shasanas* in Thirunelly, Kinallur and Kulathur temples. This is the indication that the descendents of Pallavas also continued the practice to donate lands to Brahmins and temples for attaining health and prosperity.[72]

One can summarize the construction of agency in the narrative of Gopi in this way. Consider Rajan Gurukal' stake as a postulate that argued those who had done inscription in the cave belong to Chera dynasty.[73] Gopi took the inscription which was interpreted by Kesari Balakrishna Pilla "*Vedkopanaakacjam Nanntuchathy*" and delineated that the person who was mentioned in this inscription has relation with Chera dynasty via Nandan who ruled Eazimala. Then by stating "Vedko" who is referred in Edakkal inscription as the son of Nandan, the Nandu Chithan, who was one of the Vels who was coronated by the Cheras after the death of Nandan, he concluded one of his arguments.

For denying interpretation and agency which was proposed by Hultzsch, Gopalan Nair and Johnny; Gopi reinterpreted the inscription "*Sree VishnuVarma Kudumbia Kulavardhanasia Ligitham*" and refigured new agency. In detail, by opposing the Hultzsch interpretation which is considered by Gopalan Nair as a postulate of his argument about the historical agency behind Edakkal Cave engravings Gopi dismantles Gopalan Nair's argument. Moreover, he counters Dr. Oopert who opinioned Mullu Kurumar is the owner of Edakkal Cave by his evolutionary linguistic analysis. And through this he indirectly attacked and nullified the argument of Johnny which discovered agency of Edakkal Cave in Mullu Kurumar. Moreover, Gopi indirectly disqualified Johnny's argument by deciphering the inscription, by using sweeping qualifications like without evidence and without base and by commenting that the Mullu Kurumar who lived in a tribal structure and had developed their life in recent times do not have such a possibility as to have the developed alphabet, Sanskrit language knowledge and centralized royal power, and he presupposed that only royal descendants can become the authors of inscriptions.

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[72] Ibid, pp. 38-40.
[73] Rajan Gurukal argued that Chera king had done inscription in the Edakkal cave by pointing out the words "Ko" and "Chera" in the inscriptions as an evidence of the name of the Chera "king."

Subsequently he argued that the name which is mentioned in the inscription in Edakkal is the name of Vishnuvarman, the son of Kadhamba king Krishnavarman who was installed as a king by Pallavas and who had admitted the ascendancy of Pallavas and had ruled over the terrain including Neelagiri and Wayanad. Then by believing that he was a lord of the conquered land of Kurumbar, Vishnuvarman named his dynasty Kudumby dynasty and as an establisher of this dynasty which had not existed in history previously he added the title "Kudmubia Kulavadhanasia" to his name, Gopi substantiated his argument. He further adds that Vishnuvarman mentioned in the Edakkal Cave was not the ancestor of Kurumbar and not a Tribal head; he was the member of Kadhamba dynasty by birth and was a representative of Pallavas who had ruled the land of Kurumbar. He concluded that; it is exciting that the descendents of Vishnuuvarman—the Kurumbrathiry and Elamkure Vazunoor—are present in *Shasanas* in Thirunelly, Kinallur and Kulathur temples as donors of lands to Brahmins and temples to attain the health and prosperity.

Here one can understand three things (1) the narrative of Gopi finds out the political agency of Wayanad in royal lineage via interpreting inscription in Edakkal Cave, (2) by using analogies, teleologies, referentiality, and above all excessive imagination he actualizes this interpretation, (3) he thus makes ultimately a geographical boundedness and historical continuity between Wayanad and Malayalam speaking areas through significations about kings and *Shasanas* which are connected to Malayalam speaking areas. For instance, (1) significations about Chera king who is considered by the history of Kerala as one of the kings who ruled Kerala, (2) the remark regarding descendants of Vishnuvarman in the *Shasanas* in Thirunelly, Kinallur and Kulathur temples which are situated within the present administrative geography of Kerala, (3) and the interpreted inscriptions of cave; all make Wayanad a part of Kerala.

Formation of a Self and Two Others

Finally, if we look closely at the entire process of history-writing on Wayanad we can see the discursive formation of three subjectivities—one *Self* and two types of *Other*—simultaneously. More than being the result of conscious effort this is an allegory of history-writing. This is because nobody intentionally produces these subjectivities, but they rather

intend to write the history of Wayanad. This may be an unknown progeny of history-writing but it is also a product of the well-known practice of history-writing.

Let us look at the discursive formation of subjectivities in history-writing by explicating *stories of Vedar Raja, etymologies of Wayanad* and *engravings of Edakkal Cave* the three narrative-plots. Apart from the recollections of Kurumar community, all other stories on Vedar Raja deployed Kurumar and their bodies as a basement to build historical and geographical knowledge on Wayanad. The subjectivity of Kurumar is that of original inhabitants or aboriginal people of Wayanad that was attributed by the history-writing which simultaneously creates two meanings. On the one hand it locates them as earlier inhabitants of Wayanad, on the other hand; it grounds the origin of the region Wayanad in the detected primitiveness of their bodies. This discerned origin of Wayanad constructs an uninterrupted historical continuity of region by connecting Vedar with Kurumar and by interpreting the inscriptional remarks as Kurumar's.

More importantly, these documentations have positioned Vedar Raja as ruler of Wayanad in ancient time, Hindu rajas as ruler of present time and Company as ruler of future and constructed a linearly progressing temporal order of history of Wayanad. This indirectly evaded conflicting and heterogeneous territorial claims of Tipu Sulthan, Pazassi Raja and British on Wayanad that existed at a time. And it demoted Vedar Raja temporally by depicting their body and bodily act as primitive and relegated Wayanad temporally by detecting Vedar as its original inhabitants.[74] Moreover, it registered Hindu rajas—who colonized Wayanad—and the region of Kerala as civilized, in comparison with Vedar and Wayanad.

Looking close into this discourse of history-writing we can see the figurative formulations of one type of Self and two types of Others. The history-writing which locates Hindu Raja from Malayalam-speaking region as the singular ruler of Wayanad obliquely makes Tipu Sulthan and his region Mysore as *External Other* of the Malayali regional self. Correspondingly, it

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[74] By considering them as the founders of the region, Wayanad.

portrays Kurumar via Vader as primitive inside Kerala and makes them and Wayanad an *Internal other* of Malayali self. These parallel processes construct Hindu Raja and Malayalam speaking region as a *Self* himself through their history-writing.

Moreover, by locating the prototype of place name Wayanad in a particular language either in Malayalam, Kannada, Tamil or in Sanskrit, and placing the past meaning of (place name) Wayanad in a specific geographic nature either paddy-field, forest or route; etymological interpretations of history also produce meanings of Wayanad. This activity that has created particular ontological ties for the past of Wayanad visualises the present of Wayanad in to singularized lingual and geographical sense and situates the meaning of Wayanad in monolingual and homo-geographic sphere. Precisely, discourse of history-writing negates the possible multilingual/hetero-geographical or cross-lingual/cross-geographical spatio-temporalities of Wayanad as a region that relationally formulates region.

Besides, the abundance of interpretations which are founded on Malayalam language bolsters the claim of Kerala's linguistic-regions on Wayanad and generalizes Wayanad as a place in Kerala. Moreover, all prefixes which signify the pasts of Wayanad—the *Vana* the forest a trope represent primitive life both in Indian (Hindu) and Western notion, *Bailu* the paddy field represent habitat of agrarian-slave under feudalistic order, *Vazhi* the route represent the passage to the remote terrain and Mayan the architect of *Asura* represent the uncivilized— signify the lower stages of human development and evolutionary history which fixes Wayanad in demoted spatiotemporal position inside Kerala.

Here one can see the concurrent formation of two types of Other. The history-writing on Wayanad which singularizes the past meaning of Wayanad into a monolingual form by producing many of the interpretations in Malayalam language; which bolsters the claim of Kerala's linguistic-regions on Wayanad and which generalizes Wayanad as a place in Kerala makes Karnataka and Tamil Nadu (which represent Kannada and Tamil language respectively) as an Other(s) by reducing their right to represent historical agency of Wayanad and giving excessive right to Kerala via Malayalam to represent the historical agency and geographical subjectivity of Wayanad. Simultaneously, the prefixes which signify the past of

place name Wayanad which is cherished by Kerala are marked by attributed spatiotemporal positions such as forest, paddy field, root and Mayan (the architect of *Asura*) that all make Wayanad an Other inside of Kerala. Here the simultaneous process of External and Internal othering has occurred which has made Karnataka and Tamil Nadu External Others of Kerala and Wayanad an Internal Other of Kerala. This discourse of history-writing has concurrently made Kerala and its language Malayalam as a Self of history-writing, as the Self of history-writer, and as the Self of history.

The discursive formation of other(s) and self is much visible in the configuration of narrative-plot of Edakkal Cave and its discursive realms. Gopalan Nair's remark on the inscription in Edakkal Cave as the "earliest record of a ruling family in Kerala that exists in Wayanad" is a sign of the process of othering. It forms othering in two ways. On the one hand it makes Wayanad part of Kerala by the detected sign about Kerala rulers in Wayanad and erasing the trace of another linguistic culture from Wayanad by keeping extreme silence about it, on other hand it makes Wayanad an archaic location of Kerala's past. This is the parallel construction of *External Other* and *Internal Other*.

The history-writing of Johnny has certain predicament because it oscillates between dreams of Kerala-incorporated-Wayanad and desire of subjectivised historical agency of Adivasis. In between, trying to grapple with the dream and desire, the formation of Other(s) has happened. Let us elucidate complex situation which generates the Other(s). "The Edakkal Cave which contains the archaic inscription and early models of world engraving that *refer to the very ancient dynasty in Kerala*[75] and prove the existence of Neolithic culture in Wayanad is situated at Ampukuthy hill in Ambalavayal near Sulthan Bathery..." the statement of Johnny is a signal of the process of othering. Because by indicating the political agency of Kerala in Edakkal Cave the narrative extends the particular representation of Edakkal to a relatively universal Kerala and converts Edakkal Cave via Wayanad as a location of the past of Kerala. This act has produced two types of others in parallel, the External Other; by silencing other linguistic-geographic traces, and the Internal Other; by demoting the temporal

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[75] Emphasis added.

position of Wayanad into the past of Kerala. It is unambiguous; the silence of narratives has produced the *External Other* invisible.

If we look at this process of history-writing through Johannes Fabian we will get a clear picture of othering. The narrative of Johnny begins the origin of his history of Wayanad from Neolithic age. In Fabian's sense, Johnny's view that sees the Edakkal Cave as a Neolithic site is a fixing of a "physical time"[76] for anchoring the evolutionary history of Wayanad. In the sense of Fabian all these processes of unpacking of the tiger cult and ritual related to tiger from engravings uncovers the meaning of inscriptions in Edakkal "the person who killed many tigers" and connecting them to socio-cultural practices of Mullu kurumar of Wayanad are part of registering of being into a "typological time."[77] This narrative produces the Mullu Kurumar as a historical subject for the early history of Wayanad. However, the location of this subject in the relegated physical and typological time indicates the unprivileged spatiotemporal status that has made the Mullu Kurumar the demoted object of history. Putting it differently, the historian's endeavor to figure the Mullu Kurumar as an agency/subject of history is denied by the objectifying taxonomical politics of time. Moreover, the body and the bodily practices of Mullu Kurumar become the primordial site of evolutionary history of Wayanad. The time of "archaic" carvings and inscriptions taken to be contemporary to the lived practice of Mullu Kurumar or the present of Mullu Kurumar is juxtaposed with the time of origin of the carvings and inscriptions which has made Wayanad (through Edakkal and Mullu kurumar) the Other, the other of the privileged time of history, the internal other of the self of history-writing, the other of writer.

When we come to Gopi the process of othering is very clear. Contrary to Gopalan Nair and Johnny, Gopi registered the "physical time" in the tomb from Paleolithic period that was excavated from Wayanad for writing the history of Wayanad. He erects the foundation of his diffusionist history of Wayanad on this site. By relating physical time of tomb and artefact into "typological time" of the contemporary funeral practice of Paniyar he generated a human subject to the earlier history of Wayanad. This subject is directly objectified under the

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[76] See discussion on Fabian's theory in Chapter-I.
[77] See discussion on Fabian's theory in Chapter-I.

hierarchal temporal power of historical discourse because the subject Paniyar signified by pronoun "primitive," is the most unprivileged temporal identity offered by history. The observation of Fabian is very much apt to this context where he says that,

> *Primitive* reactions to death may then be consulted for purpose of illuminating, ontogenetic development with parallels from man's early history. Or, more frequently, we will find attempts to identify contemporary reactions to death, especially those that appear irrational, overly ritual and picturesque, as survivals of "archaic" forms.[78]

Moreover, the narrative distances temporally and spatially the Paniyar and Wayanad from contemporaneity by stating that "Paniyar came from Africa" and "that the Paniyar are the original inhabitants of Wayanad." This is not that the Paniyar or Wayanad have history but that they are the history of evolutionary history. Paniyar through Wayanad or Wayanad through Paniyar is the Other of the privileged time of history, internal-other of history-writing, internal-other of writer's self, internal-other of Kerala/Malayali.

In Gopi's narrative, the way of forming the external-other is very clear. By negating William Francis's claim that Wayanad was ruled by Ganger, Kathambar, Hoisalar, Vijayanagarar and interpreting them as Karnatakites/Non-Malayalis, Gopi argued that Wayanad was under Kerala and substantiated it by historical artefacts. This has produced the linguistic regional identity of Karnatakates/Non-Malayalis and situates it as an other to Malayali/Kerala linguistic-regional identity. Moreover, by invalidating the claimed dominance of the Other, the Karnatakite or Non-Malayali, it confirms the Malayali/Kerala dominance on Wayanad. It is clear; this narrative which articulates the agency/identity of Wayanad under Malayali/Kerala obliquely formulates the immutable and eternal political-cultural ownership of Kerala's linguistic regional identity on the past of Wayanad.

One can see very clearly the formation of two types of others and one self in the process of history-writing on Wayanad, as subjectivities. That means (1) the formation of non-malayali/non-Kerala as an *External-Other*, (2) the formation Wayanad/Paniyar/Mullu

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[78] This quote is from Johannes Fabian's Ethnography of Death (1972, p. 179) recited in Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How the Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) p. xv.

kurumar/Chetties/Kurichiar as an *Internal-Other*, and (3) formation of Kerala/Malayali as a *Self*.

I think that the concepts of external other and internal other are not sufficient to express the severity of Othering as in writing of history the formation of non-Kerala/non-Malayali is not only *external* but also *incompatible*, its constructed incompatibility having made the distinct historical and modern self of Kerala/Malayali. And Wayanad is not only *internal* to Kerala but also *intimate,* its intimacy formulating historical and modern self of Kerala by becoming itself the pre-historical and pre-modern. So I would like to call non-Kerala/non-Malayali; Incompatible-Other and Wayanad; Intimate-Other. It is better to end this chapter by remembering what Emmanuel Levinas properly said "I (self) exist in the world in relationship with others."[79]

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[79] Emmanuel Levinas, *Entre nous: On thinking-of-the-Other* (London: Continuum, 2007) p. 196.

PART TWO

Geography-Mapping: Interconnections of Context, Act and Text in the Formations of Early-Modern Wayanad(s)

"Once knowledge can be analyzed in terms of region…one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power.…The politico-strategic term [such as field, region and territory] is an indication of how the military and the administration actually come(s) to inscribe themselves both on a material soil and within forms of discourse."

– Michel Foucault[1]

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[1] Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography" in Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) p. 69.

Chapter Four

Re-thinking Geography through a Re-conceptualization of Space, Place and Territory

Introduction

In his journey through the countries of Madras, Mysore, Canara and Malabar, Francis Buchanan[1] passed from Sira to Coimbatore via Seringapatam between 7th August 1800 and 31 October 1800. While traveling through Hegodu Devana Cotay on 19th September he noted,

> The wretched inhabitants of this [*Hegodu Devana Cotay*][2] country have also had frequent trouble from the *Bynadu Raja,*[3] who is besides possessed of a country called *Cotay-huttay* in *Malayalam.…* The *Bynadu Raja* has at present sent the *Conga Nair*, one of his officers, into the *Mysore* dominions to cut Sandalwood and to plunder the villagers. In this vicinity there are now a hundred cavalry, and one hundred and fifty regular, besides *Candashars*[4] [foot soldiers], belonging to the *Mysore Raja*; but these dare not face the *Conga Nair*, nor venture to repress his insolence. His master lays claim to all country west from *Nunjinagode*. Had I deferred visiting the forests till I

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[1] One of the officials of the British East India Company who wrote *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*; three big volumes on Agriculture, Art, Commerce, Religion, Manners, Customs, Natural and Civil History, and Antiquities of ceded counties of British East India Company in Mysore, Canara and Malabar after the fall of Tipoo Sultaun. See Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar,* Vol. II (London: The East India Company, 1807).

[2] In the sources of this work, Hegodu Devana Cotay is also spelled as Hekkadadhevana Cotay.

[3] As an introduction to the *Bynadu Raja* (Wayanad Raja) Francis Buchanan wrote "*…Bynadu Raja*, who is besides possessed of a country called *Cotay-huttay (Kottayam)* in *Malayalam*. This last territory is below the *Ghats*, and is part of what we call *Malabar…Carulu Verma (Kerala Varma)*, the present *Raja*, is a younger branch of the family; but retains his country in absolute sovereignty, denying the authority of the Company, of the head of his family, and of all other persons. In the reign of *Tippoo*, this active chief assembled some of his *Nairs*, and regained possession of the territories which the former reigning prince had, on *Hyder's* invasion, deserted. The *Raja*, who had so basely submitted to the Mussulman conqueror, succeeded afterwards to the territory of a relation, and now enjoys his share of the allowance which is made to the *Rajas* of *Malabar* by the Company, to whose authority he quietly submits." Ibid, pp. 131-132.

[4] Buchanan writes, "Each Candashara had a small farm, which he or his family cultivated for his support in peace, and for clothing. The head Candashara of every village had a large farm, and acted under the Polygar as captain; but out of the profit of his farm he was bound to provide arms for his company. Some of the villages in each district were thus divided among the Candasharas; while others were let for a rent, out of which the Polygar maintained his family, and paid his tribute." Ibid, pp. 327-328.

came here, I should have been completely disappointed; although the best information that I could procure at *Seringapatam* pointed this out as the place most proper for the purpose.[5]

Following this, describing the past of *Dan Nayaka Cotay,* on 24th October he again remarked

About two months ago thirty or forty Nairs from *Wynaad*, or from *Nellala*, as it is here called, persuaded the chief of one of the hill villages, subject to the Company, to join them sixty or seventy men. This united force came down to the low country, and plundered three villages [of *Dan Nayaka Cotay*]. A hundred *Candashara* [foot soldiers], supported by a few *sepoys*, were sent out; and after an engagement, in which nobody was killed, took the chief and seven men prisoners, of these three were Nairs. About ten years ago these banditti made some disturbance among the village, but never before ventured down into the low country.[6]

For different readers, the complex nature of these two narrative fragments would offer different meanings. The one who is adapted in the contemporary discourses of power/knowledge will probably read these as an epitome of the colonial discourses of power/knowledge. Because what such a reader tends to see here is the travelling European white male, Francis Buchanan, producing knowledge about the people, thing and place by making them stagnant objects and subdued subjects through his distanced gaze, modern narrative technique and rhetorical strategies. Moreover, this reader possibly sees this scripting as a textual conquering of native by modern discourses of knowledge of Company, who were primarily conquered physically by Company's armed power. Besides, one may add that the narrative on the plunder of Wayanadan people in three villages of *Dan Nayaka Cotay* and the conquering of them as prisoners by the Company's people figuratively signify the Company's control on those places through the control of their bodies.

A radiant postcolonial critic may consider these narrative fragments as an embodiment of the postcolonial predicament. Because from such a vantage point the focus may be on the difficulty that the traveling European may have faced in mapping, fixing, documenting, ordering, objectifying, classifying, and narrating the people, thing, and place *properly*.

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[5] Ibid, pp. 132-132.
[6] Ibid, p. 245.

Therefore, his direct, recurrent gaze and displacement of what he gazed at by the act of plunder rendered the colonial project quite difficult and complex. Moreover, probably one may argue here that the political turmoil, anarchic state or lawless condition in Wayanad which spread into the surrounding areas such as *Hegodu Devana Cotay* and *Dan Nayaka Cotay* might have prevented Buchanan from "visiting the forests" of Wayanad directly. The disappointment that we see in his words could be the result of his failure in scripting the native properly. In other words, Buchanan's disappointment could be located in his failure to annex Wayanad through the production and mapping of the *proper* knowledge about Wayanad.

These two readings signify two possible affects of the colonial textualization project, which either actualizes or fails to construct the modern life context of the people in *India*. In other words, these two interpretations show us how an idea or knowledge produced by a text, through writing, either activates or fails to activate new practices, which perhaps might reify new life context of the people.[7] But if we perceive these narrative fragments carefully rather than in the precedence of an idea or text to determine the act or context we can realize that the idea/text, place/context, and act/practice are mutually constitutive of the recurrent formation of being and becoming.

In detail, one can notice here that the geographical specialty of the *place* of Wayanad (especially in relation to its forest-scapes) allowed the raider to direct his raids onto other places like Hegodu Devana Cotay and *Dan Nayaka Cotay*. In addition, the raider's *act* to move to the forest of Wayanad as a refuge generates a peculiar geographical experience of that place, and the plunder, which is operated by the possibilities of the forested geography of Wayanad forces Buchanan to *text*ualize the character of the place Wayanad differently. Therefore, here it is clear that nature/place, culture/act, and idea/text are simultaneously

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[7] One can argue here that act and place (space) are elements of a text if s/he perceives writing as an act and page as a place. But that perception not only limits the process of act and place into the text but also reduces all dynamisms of act and place in to the text. So, for the time being, I would like to see act, text and context, in difference, to properly delineate those interrelations.

making meaning.[8] Equivalently, we can realize here that the forest-like peculiarities of a place and raid-like act influence the framing of a text, seeking that here the meaning of place, act and text are co-produced and closely interconnected. Therefore, act, context and text mutually constitute the formations of modern regions.[9]

In following pages by picking clues from the above debate on Francis Buchanan's narrative fragments and also by capturing the characteristic insights of the theoretical discussion appearing below, I endeavor to problematize early-modern formations of Wayanad as region(s) and unravel the deep interconnection between act, context, and text in those formations. To make easier my task of problematization and to provide better clarity to the reader, I have divided this part of the thesis into four chapters. The first chapter delineates the contemporary configuration of the meanings of space, territory, and place that asymmetrically connects with the geography and geography-mapping. The second chapter is an outline of the preliminary phase of the early-modern formations of Wayanad(s) as region(s) which had happened roughly from the first invasion of the Mysore regime on the terrains of Malabar to the attack of the British military for looting the Pazhassi palace, chronically from 1766 to 1796. The third chapter delineates the later change in the nature of the early-modern formations of Wayanad(s) as region(s) which happened during the period from the attack of the British military on the Pazhassi palace to the conquering of Sreerangapattanam by the British and the killing of Tipu Sulthan, from 1796 to 1799. The fourth chapter sketches the conclusive stage of early modern formations of Wayanad(s) as region(s) that occurred roughly from the assassination of Tipu Sulthan (which caused the fall of Mysore) to the killing of Pazhassi Raja and the conquest of terrains of Wayanad, from 1799 to 1805. Before turning to the main details, let us navigate through certain works that

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[8] From these insights we can also understand that plunder and raid of different people which has been delineated in these narratives were not only the ways of accumulation of revenue but also strategies and modes to disseminate power of certain people on certain place.

[9] Along with these; how Kerala Varma, who popularly known as Kottayam *Thampuran* or Pazhassi Raja (Raja of Pazhassi palace situated in Kottayam country), especially in pre 19th century records, become *Bynadu Raja (Wayanad Raja)?* In Buchanan's above narrative fragment, why do Nairs figure as the only community engaged in looting across Wayanad, while names of other communities that were part of the plunder are absent? Are these only the problems of representation in text or does any material-context instigate the configuration of textual representation? Why does he represent the terrain that includes Wayanad as "forest," even though people lived in those places were engaged in cultivation? I address these questions here.

complicate our understanding of space, territory, and place, by linking them with geography and geography-mapping.

Re-conceptualizing Space, Place and Territory

In this section, I discuss Henry Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, Edward W Soja, Doreen Massey, David Harvey and Derek Gregory.

Henry Lefebvre

I think Henry Lefebvre's groundbreaking work *Production of Space*, which was first, published in 1974[10] will show us the contemporary formations of the meaning of space retrospectively. In the first chapter, he delineated many reasons why the articulation of the "social space" became strange in academic discourses. He argues that the change in the meaning of the word "space" as strictly geometrical, has happened only in recent past, and change in the general understanding of the concept of space as ultimately as mathematical one (such as Euclidean, isotropic, or infinite) was one of the main reasons behind it.[11]

He added that the Philosophy of Rene Descartes generated this conception of space. Descartes "had brought to an end the Aristotelian tradition which held that space and time were among those *categories* which facilitated the naming and classing of the evidence of the senses."[12] By the Cartesian logic, "space had entered the realm of the absolute." Spinoza, Leibniz and Newtonian philosophers who came in the wake of Descartes further cultivated the absolute conception of space. Even though, Kant, who came next to them revived and revised the old notion about space and considered space as a relative category; for him, space as a tool of knowledge and a means of classifying phenomena, was yet quite clearly separated (along with time) from the empirical sphere: it belonged to the *a priori* realm of consciousness (i. e. of the subject), and partook of that realm's internal, ideal—and hence transcendental and essentially ungraspable-structure.[13]

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[10] Henry Lefebvre, *Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).
[11] Ibid, p. 1.
[12] Ibid, p. 1.
[13] Ibid, p. 2.

He further opined that the philosophers who are associated with the modern field of inquiry known as epistemology have considered space as a "mental thing/place," which enthralled not only philosophers but also writers and linguists, even though, among them, there was no consensus about the general nature of this "mental space."[14] By evaluating the philosophical and theoretical discourses which formulate the dominant conception of space as a mental space Lefebvre has proposed a unitary theory about space which interconnects and theoretically unites the different conceptions about space such as mental space, physical space, and social space. Through this formation, he constructs a theoretical unity by connecting the "physical" (nature, the Cosmos) the "mental" (including logical and formal abstractions) and the "social," which hitherto have been considered separately.[15] He also added that in actuality the mental (logico-mathematical) space separated from the "real" space (space of social practice) "involves, underpins and presupposes the other."[16] Lefebvre directly asserts that he "…does not aim to produce a (or *the*) discourse on space, but rather to expose the actual production of space by bringing the various kinds of space and the modalities of their genesis together within a single theory."[17]

By defining social space as a social product, Lefebvre has disentangled some complexities of understanding space and further detailed his "unitary theory." He elaborated; "social space" is simultaneously abstract and concrete. Like commodities and money, it is a "concrete abstraction." It is indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematician) and physical space (as defined by "practico"-sensory activity and the perception of nature). But social space is neither constituted by an aggregate of (sensory) data nor by form imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality.[18]

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[14] In Lefebvre's opinion even Michel Foucault did not explain what kind of space he had referred in his works nor did he explain how it had bridged the gap between the mental space and social space or the space of the philosophers and the people. Noam Chomsky too unhesitatingly postulates a mental space endowed with particular properties. He has not addressed the gap which separates this linguistic mental space from the social space wherein language becomes a practice. Julia Kristeva, Jacques Derrida and Ronald Barthes also proposed philosophic-epistemological notion of space and their mental conception came to cover social and physical one. Ibid, pp. 3-5.

[15] Ibid, pp. 11-12.

[16] Ibid, p. 14.

[17] Ibid, p. 16.

[18] Ibid, pp. 26-27.

The fact is that "social space" as a (social) product is concealed from us by double illusion such as the "illusion of transparency and illusion of opacity." The Illusion of Transparency believes that space can be understood by a single glance of the mental eye. The Illusion of Opacity believes that space has more of an existence than the subject.[19] "The illusion of transparency has a kinship with philosophical idealism" and "illusion of opacity is closer to (naturalistic and mechanistic) materialism."[20] And he further discusses that social space contains and assigns the social "relation of reproduction" (bio-physiological relations between sexes and age groups, along with the specific organization of the family) and the "relations of production" (the division of labour and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions.). "These two sets of relations, production and reproduction, are inextricably bound up with one another."[21]

Then he has developed a conceptual triad to explain the complex state of spaces. They were known as; Spatial practice, Representations of space and Representational spaces. (1) Spatial practice is society's space, "it is revealed through the deciphering of its space." (2) Representations of space is the conceptualized space; the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, and social engineers. This is the dominant space in any society. (3) Representational space is a space as being directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of inhabitants and users. This is a dominated space. Physical, mental and social spaces are respectively perceived, conceived and lived.[22]

In his later descriptions, Lefebvre has asserted that "(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity—their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder.… Social space implies a great diversity of knowledge."[23] He continues,

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[19] Lefebvre calls it as "realistic illusion."
[20] Henry Lefebvre, pp. 27-30.
[21] Ibid, p. 32.
[22] Ibid, pp. 38-40.
[23] Ibid, p. 73.

> Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such "objects" are thus not only things but also relations. As objects, they possess discernible peculiarities, contour and form. Social labour transforms them, rearranging their positions within spatio-temporal configurations without necessarily affecting their materiality, their natural state.[24]

"…any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships – and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products)."[25]

He added that space is neither a collective noun indicating products having particular quantity like one-kilogram sugar nor the location where those products are situated. Certainly, space is a *social relationship,* but space is inherent to property relationship and similarly closely bound up with the force of production. Space is polyvalent in nature; its reality is formal and material. Space is a product one can use, but at the same time it is a "means of production." "Thus this means of production, produced as such, cannot be separated either from the productive forces, including technology and knowledge, or from the social division of labour which shapes it, or from the state and the superstructures of society."[26] Then he makes it clear that "*Social space(s) interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another*. They are not *things*, which have mutually limiting boundaries."[27] "Space is neither a mere 'frame' nor a form or container."[28]

Subsequently he has complicated the discourse by saying that, "the form of social space is encounter, assembly, simultaneity. But what assembles, or what is assembled? The answer is: everything that there is *in space*, everything that is produced either by nature or by society, either through their co-operation or through their conflicts."[29] "Space as locus of production,

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[24] Ibid, p. 77.
[25] Ibid, pp. 82-83.
[26] Ibid, p. 85.
[27] Ibid, pp. 86-87.
[28] Ibid, pp. 93-94.
[29] Ibid, p. 101.

as itself product and production, is both the weapon and the sign of this struggle."[30] "…space is neither a 'subject' nor an 'object' but rather a social reality…."[31]

Michel Foucault

Michel Foucault is another thinker who has reasserted space in social theory and reconsidered the question of territory; both of these he links with the larger concerns of geography, in an interview with geographers, which appeared in the French radical geography journal *Herodote* in 1976. In 1980, this interview came in English in the collection called *Power/Knowledge* as "Questions on Geography."[32] The preliminary spatial concern of Foucault was evident in the form of a lecture delivered in 1967, which was translated into English after his death in 1986 as "Of Other Spaces*"* in *Diacritics*.[33] Also, there was an interview of Foucault by Paul Rabinow entitled *Space, Knowledge and Power* published in *Foucault Reader* in 1984. In his lectures of 1978-1979 entitled *Security, Territory, and Population,[34]* he has rearticulated territory to explain the modern technology of power and governmentality.

It does not mean that his major published work never touches the significance of space for theorizing social life. *Madness and Civilization* (1961), *The Birth of the Clinic* (1973), *Discipline and Punish* (1975) are illuminated by the brilliant insight about space.[35] *Discipline and Punish*, for instance, tells about the architectural model "Panopticon," about how it disciplines and controls subjects through spatially ordered surveillance system and about how space is interconnected with knowledge and power.[36]

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[30] Ibid, p. 109.

[31] Ibid, p. 116.

[32] See information about the Issue 4 of this Marxist geographers' journal *Herodote*, which contains responses to questions posed in return by Foucault and its English translation "Questions on Geography" in Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977Michel Foucault* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) p. xi and pp. 63-77.

[33] See Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, Spring (1986) pp. 22-27.

[34] Michel Senellart, ed., *Michel Foucault: Security, Territory, Population; Lectures at the College De France*, 1977-78 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

[35] See, Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden, ed., *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Cornwall: Ashgate, 2007) pp.1-16.

[36] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1991).

In "Of Other Space," he introduces the term "heterotopia" to describe the conditions and characters of spaces in the modern world. Though certain ambiguity prevails in the usage of place/site to signify space in his polemics, we can understand the transformations in the conception and perception of space, which has happened in modernity. He has retraced the history of space as (1) "hierarchic ensemble of places" which has existed in Middle age (2) "the place of emplacement" opened up by Galileo; the infinite open "space of extension" and measurement.[37] In addition, he has stated that even though certain theoretical de-sanctification of space has occurred, by the work of Galileo, contemporary space is perhaps still not entirely de-sanctified practically. For instance, he points out, private space and public space, family space and social space are still nurtured by the hidden presence of the sacred.

By describing Bachelard's and phenomenologists "internal space" such as space of our primary perception, the space of our dreams and that of our passions he directed towards the "external space"—the space in which we live, the heterogeneous space. For him, this "external space" is not the space of void, instead is "a set of relations that delineates sites" that "are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another."[38] Spaces—the set of relations that delineates sites—which have linked and contradicted other sites can be classified into two types. One is Utopia, and other is Heterotopia. Utopia is unreal space, but it is connected with the real space of society through direct or inverted analogy. Different from utopia, Foucault has called the space that juxtaposes real and unreal as "heterotopia." He has delineated it by the example of the mirror.

> The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there.[39]

Foucault's interview with geographers in *Herodote*, "Questions on Geography," was a mutual learning between Foucault and Geographers. On the one hand, it dialogically forced

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[37] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," pp. 22-23.
[38] Ibid, p. 23.
[39] Ibid, p. 24.

Foucault to realize and retrospect on the importance of his spatial analysis and space in general to understand contemporary social life. On the other hand, geographers realized how intersections and interrelations between space, knowledge and power constitute our present.

At the end of the discussion, both Foucault and Geographers realized and admitted certain crucial points about the geography and space. Geographers realized the "epistemological weakness of Geographical studies and at the same time of their profitability for apparatus of power." And, Foucault introspectively pronounced "I have enjoyed this discussion with you because I've changed my mind since we started. …Now I can see that the problems you put to me about geography are crucial ones for me. …Geography must indeed necessarily lie at the heart of my concerns."[40]

In his lectures of 1978-1979 titled *Security, Territory, and Population*, Foucault critically extended the concept of territory, one of the geographical concepts, with the refashioned deployment of the concept of *population*. He argues, for Machiavelli, the government is those who govern territory and its inhabitants, and territory is the very foundation of the principality of sovereignty. Drawing from a sixteenth-century writer Guillaume de la Perriere who defined "Government is the right disposition of things arranged so as to lead to a suitable end,"[41] Foucault has developed his idea about governmentality and geography. He has seen de la Perriere's definition as a preliminary proclamation of a new "art of government." And, he has the complicated meaning of government as disposition and control of complex of "men" and "things" beyond protection and possession of the land from enemies, an idea different from Machiavelli's idea about government. Foucault has called the complex of "men" and "things" as population. This notion runs counter Machiavelli's conception because Machiavelli considered prince's principality on territory and its inhabitants as artfulness of the Prince. Put it differently, for Machiavelli government is control over territory and its inhabitants rather than sovereignty over things.[42] Here, by following Foucault carefully, one can say that the art of modern government is grounded on

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[40] Ibid, p. 77.
[41] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, p. 134.
[42] Ibid, p. 145.

governmentality and not much on coercive physical power. Governmentality is about population having strong entanglements with the spatial and geographical.

Edward W Soja

Edward W Soja's *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*[43] is a landmark of "spatial turn" in social theory as its title indicates. Spatializing the historical narrative with critical human geography is the aim of the book. The essays in this book differently evoke the "reassertion of a critical spatial perspective in contemporary social theory and analysis"[44] as a central theme. The core of each essay in this book is an "attempt to deconstruct and recompose the rigidly historical narrative, to break out from the temporal prison-house of language and the similarly carceral historicism of conventional critical theory to make room for the insight of an interpretive human geography, a spatial hermeneutics."[45]

By accumulating insight from Michel Foucault, John Berger, Fredric Jameson, Ernest Mandel and Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soja attempts to "spatialize the conventional narrative by recomposing the intellectual history of critical social theory around the evolving dialectics of space, time, and social being: geography, history, and society."[46] By tracing out the nineteenth-century origin of historicism, Soja discusses how spatial hermeneutic were subordinated in Western-Marxism and critical social theory. And he further discusses how the over dominance of history and time with the rise of nineteenth-century historicism successfully occluded, devalued, and depoliticized space in critical social discourse; how emancipatory spatial praxis relatively disappeared for almost one century; how different stages of capitalism shape and reshape the notion of space; and how modernity, modernism, and modernization are interrelated with it.

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[43] Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1990).
[44] Ibid, p. 1.
[45] Ibid, pp. 1-2.
[46] Ibid, p. 3.

In the chapter "History: Geography: Modernity," Edward Soja has remarked about "…a practical theoretical consciousness that sees the lifeworld of being creatively located not only in the making of history but also in the construction of human geographies, the social production of space and the restless formation and reformation of geographical landscapes: social being actively emplaced in space *and* time in an explicitly historical *and* geographical contextualization."[47] Soja made this remark in response to the hegemony of historicist theoretical consciousness that has tended to cover a comparable critical sensibility to the spatiality of social life, and opposite to the suspension of interplay between time and space. As a new possibility contrary to historicism he suggested the "possibilities for a simultaneously historical and geographical materialism; a triple dialectic of space, time, and social being; a transformative re-theorization between history, geography, and modernity."[48] Soja has also revealed that the over dominance of time submerged postmodern critical human geography which appeared in 1960s and the primacy of history over geography was subsequently reaffirmed in such a way that it enveloped both Western Marxism and liberal social science and led to the mutation of spatialization project over a decade. As a convincing depiction of this, Soja marked C. Wright Mills' work on "sociological imagination," one of the critical ventures in social theory which gave overemphasis on historical imagination and temporal constitution that led to the rejection of geographical imagination and the spatialization project in social being.[49]

Then he defined "historicism as an overdeveloped historical contextualization of social life and social theory that actively submerges and peripheralizes the geographical or spatial imagination." And, without denying "the extraordinary power and importance of historiography as a mode of emancipatory insight" he emphasizes on "implicit subordination of space to time that obscures geographical interpretations of the changeability of the social world" which penetrates "every level of theoretical discourse, from the most abstract ontological concepts of being to the most detailed explanations of empirical events."[50] By locating Henri Lefebvre as the most persistent, insistent, and consistent voice of spatializing

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[47] Ibid, pp. 10-11.
[48] Ibid, p. 12.
[49] Ibid, pp. 13-14.
[50] Ibid, p. 15.

project he has unearthed Michel Foucault's and John Berger's assertive postmodern geographies that have been largely hidden from our view by their more visible identification as historians.

Tripping through Foucault's minor works such as "Of Other Space," he comes to terms with the concept *heterotopias* which Foucault suggests as "characteristic space of the modern world."[51] He has revealed that heterotopias, the relational spaces, are "neither a substanceless void to be filled by cognitive intuition nor a repository of physical forms to be phenomenologically described in all its resplendent variability."[52] For Soja, this space is the space identified by Lefebvre as a "lived and socially created spatiality, concrete and abstract at the same time, the habitus of social practices." By evoking Foucault's words "history will protect us from historicism," Soja proclaimed that Foucault's spatalization was not an anti-history scheme; rather, it was a project that opened up history to an interpretative geography.[53]

Moreover, Soja discerns another hidden historical geography in the work of John Berger. Berger has emphasized the intersection of time and space in all his writings. He pronounced the end of historicism directly by saying, "Prophesy now involves a geographical rather than historical projection; it is space, not time that hides consequences from us." By setting a range of arguments, Berger defined "postmodern turn against historical determination and vividly announces the need for an explicitly spatialized narrative."[54] Subsequently, Soja commented that both Foucault's and Berger's work had restructured the critical social thought by inserting questions of space and geography. While discussing figuration of space in between1880-1920 in social theory, he has argued that through modernization and modernism projects, not only was spatiality subordinated in critical social theory but also the "instrumentality of space was increasingly lost from view in political and practical discourse."[55]

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[51] Ibid, pp. 16-17.
[52] Ibid, p. 17.
[53] Ibid, pp. 18-21.
[54] Ibid, pp. 21-23.
[55] Ibid, p. 34.

In the third chapter, "The Socio-spatial Dialectic," Soja comes up with a new theorization about Space by critically drawing from Lefebvre's understanding of the dialectical relation between the social and spatial relation of production. Keeping in his mind Lefebvre's idea that "industrialization, once the producer of urbanism, is now being produced by it" he instigated his theorization. Instead of rigid categorical logic of David Harvey and Manuel Castells that prioritizes the social over spatial, (and especially countering and addresses Harvey's conception that "organized space is not a separate structure with its own laws of construction and transformation, nor is it simply an expression of the class structure emerging from social relations of production"[56]), Soja has suggested "a dialectically defined component of the general relations of production," that is "relations are simultaneously social and spatial."[57] Also, he pronounced the homology between the social and spatial structures (between class structure and spatial structure) and extended it into an another argument, that is, "the two set of structured relations (the social and the spatial) are not only homologous, in that they arise from the same origins in the mode of production, but are also dialectically inseparable."[58]

By proposing the "interpretation of human spatial organization as a social product" and considering it as a "key step in recognizing a socio-spatial dialectic, " he argued that "space in itself may be primordially given, but the organization and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation, and experience."[59] And, he uses the term spatiality to specify this socially-produced space. For figuring the reasons that reject formulation of socio-spatial dialectics in Western Marxism, he traces out the origins of the neglect of spatiality in Western Marxism. In Western Marxist view, according to him, space was conceptualized as a "container" or "external reflection," "a mirror of the social dynamic" and "social consciousnesses," a view that they shared with bourgeoisie social science.[60]

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[56] Ibid, p. 78.
[57] Ibid, p. 78.
[58] Ibid, p. 78.
[59] Ibid, pp. 79-80.
[60] Ibid, p. 85.

In the chapter "Reassertions: Towards a Spatialized Ontology" Soja has made a rethinking of the philosophizing abstractions of the modern ontology and epistemology along with a rethinking of the concreteness of the capitalist spatial practices to make space visible again as a fundamental referent of the social being that was devalued by the overdevelopment of time. Soja opens this project by showing the complex disjunctions and interrelations in the social production of the social space.

He asserted that socially produced space could not be separated from physical/ material and psychological/mental spaces. Spaces of nature and cognition are not only incorporated into the social production of spatiality but are reproduced and significantly transformed in this process.[61] He then added that each of them needs to be theorized and understood "as ontologically and epistemologically part of the spatiality of social life."[62] Then Soja has located the connection between physical, mental and social space as an essential prerequisite for understanding the relation between (social) space and time, geography and history. By unraveling the age-old projection "space as fixed," he proclaimed an epochal observation, "Spatiality exists ontologically as a product of a transformation process, but always remains open to further transformation in the contexts of material life. It is never primordially given or permanently fixed."[63]

Soja encapsulates his general argument about the mutual production and reproduction of social and spatial structures and, relations, and its complex matrix of relations with spatial and temporal formations. His central ideas could be spatialized into eight points. One, spatiality (social space) is an identifiable social product, as a part of "second nature" that "incorporates as it socializes and transforms both physical and psychological spaces." Two, "Spatiality is simultaneously the medium and outcome, presupposition, and embodiment, of social action and relationship." Three, "The spatio-temporal structuring of social life defines how social action and relationship (including class relations) are materially constituted, made concrete." Four, the "concretization process of spatiality is problematic, filled with

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[61] Ibid, p. 120.
[62] Ibid, p. 120.
[63] Ibid, p. 122.

contradiction and struggle." Five, "Contradictions arise primarily from the duality of produced space as both as outcome/embodiment/product and medium/presupposition/ producer of social activity." Six, "Concrete spatiality – actual human geography – is thus a competitive arena for the struggle over social production and reproduction, for social practices aims either at the maintenance and reinforcement of existing spatiality or at significant restructuring and/or radical transformation." Seven, "The temporality of social life, from the routines and events of day-to-day activity to the longer-run making of history (*événement* and *durée* to use the language of Braudel), is rooted in spatial contingency in much the same way as the spatiality of social life is rooted in temporal/historical contingency." And eight, "The materialist interpretation of history and the materialist interpretation of geography are inseparably intertwined and theoretically concomitant, with no inherent prioritization of one over the other."[64]

Drawing heavily on Martin Buber, Sartre, Husserl and Heidegger and critically extending them Soja has delineated an existential spatiality of being for realizing a spatialized ontology. On the question of being that has found its articulation in the work of those philosophers he remarks that their ontology

> is an explicitly situated ontology in which existence and spatiality are combined through intentional and creative acts inherent to being-in-the-world, entering into relations, involvement. This existential spatiality gives to being a place, a positioning within the "lifeworld." This emplacement is a passionate process that links subject and object, Human being and Nature, the individual and the environment, human geography and human history.[65]

Doreen Massey

For space, Doreen Massey's book, which was published in 2005,[66] is an exclusive repertory of debate on space, especially the politics of space. It elucidates how certain conceptual rendering of space, time and place has been formulated through the hegemonic theorizations

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[64] Ibid, pp. 129-130.
[65] Ibid, p. 134.
[66] Doreen Massey, *For Space* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2005).

and political practices, and how it has devalued the challenges of space. For arguing "for space," this work creatively offers new propositions on the potentialities of space through renewed theorizations about the same. This text is setting the scene of arguments by jotting down three dominant ruminations about space. These show us three ways of taming the challenges of space; (1) "The imagination of space as a surface on which we are placed," (2) "the turning of space into time" (3) "the sharp separation of local place from the space out there."[67] First, through the discussion of the conquering of Aztec she has shown how space conceived in voyages of discovery as something to be crossed or conquered as a surface continuous and given. In the second, she has pointed out how the discourse of globalization has turned geography into (singular) history and space into (homogenous) time. She points out that in the eyes of global power Mozambique and Nicaragua is neither different from "us" nor has different trajectories, history, and future. They are only in "our" early stage of progressing historical queue. The third point brings the debate of politically charged defense for "local place." Here she located the problem of viewing place as closed, coherent, "home" and space as somehow originally regionalized, as always already divided up. These dominant ruminations exemplify the failure of spatial imagination, the "failure in the sense of being inadequate to face up to the challenges of space; a failure to take on board its coeval multiplicities to accept its radical contemporaneity…."[68]

Opening the "alternative approach to space," Massey has presented three propositions. "*First*, that we recognize space as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny." *Second* proposition (is) "that we understand space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity."[69] That is, Multiplicity and spaces are co-constitutive. "*Third*, that we recognize space as always under construction. … It is always in

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[67] Ibid, p. 7.

[68] Ibid, p. 8.

[69] She further elucidated that "Without space, no multiplicity; without multiplicity, no space. If space is indeed the product of interrelations, then it must be predicated upon the existence of plurality." Ibid, p. 9.

the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed. Perhaps we could imagine space as a simultaneity of stories-so-far."[70]

These propositions are making a potential range of connections between "imagination of spatial" proposed by the recent shift in geography and "imagination of political" that was envisaged by the recent shift in "progressive" politics. Through these propositions, Massey not only argues that "spatial is political" but also thinks that "the spatial in a particular way can shake up the manner in which certain political questions are formulated." Thus to elucidate the range of connections between spatial and political she argued three points. First, "understanding space as a product of interrelations chimes well with the emergence over recent years of a politics which attempts a commitment to anti-essentialism."[71] Space as a product of interrelation can *work against* the notion that identities are given and already constituted. And, *work with* anti-essentialist politics stresses the relational construction of identities that nullify the claim of individualistic liberalism and identity politics. Second, "Imagining space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity resonates with the greater emphasis which has over recent years in political discourses of the left been laid on 'difference' and heterogeneity." Thus, the story of the world is not only the story of the West. Instead, it is "stories of worlds" and the story of West only one among the "stories of worlds," which means politics like space is a sphere where different trajectories coexist and interconnect with *difference*.[72] Third, "Imagining space as always in process, as never a closed system, resonates with an increasingly vocal insistence within political discourses on the genuine openness of the future." By borrowing the argument of Laclau: "only if we conceive of the future as open, can we seriously accept or engage in any genuine notion of politics," she asserted that the "imagination of space juxtaposes with the shift in political imagination."[73] Then she conclusively put; "A space… is neither a container for always-already constituted identities nor a completed closure of holism. This is a space of loose ends and missing links. *For* the future to be open, space must be open too."[74]

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[70] Ibid, p. 9.
[71] Ibid, p.10.
[72] Ibid, pp. 10-11.
[73] Ibid, p. 11.
[74] Ibid, p. 12.

Through the essays in this book, Massey uncovers the challenges of space, the multiple tricks that evade challenges of space, and the political meaning of practicing imagination of the spatial differently. Also, it exposes how space/politics has configured in the domain of philosophy and pushed space/politics to new directions which can strengthen the challenges. By uprooting space from certain perceptions that locate meanings of space as stasis/closure/representation, and resettle it among another set of ideas such as heterogeneity/relationality/coeval-ness/liveliness her work liberates concept of space into the promising political landscape.[75] Contrary to the dominant commonsense, she argues "that space is equally lively and equally challenging, and that, far from it being dead and fixed, the very enormity of its challenges has meant that the strategies for taming it have been many, varied and persistent."[76]

Picking certain clue from Henri Lefebvre, Massey unravels the unpromising associations that generate meaning of space as static, closed, immobile, opposite of time and problematizes those meanings. She reconnects space into other chains of meaning such as openness, heterogeneity, and liveliness, which can offer life that is more productive. For this theme, she suggests the idea of "time and space thought together," and she further makes it clear that it doesn't mean that time and space are identical. "Rather, it means that the imagination of one will have repercussions for the imagination of the other;" "that space and time is implicated in each other."[77] To delineate the unpromising associations she unraveled the philosophical posits/strands which revolve around Henri Bergson, structuralism and deconstruction.

David Harvey

David Harvey is another scholar who seriously addresses the problematic of space in relation to time in the domain of contemporary social theory by theorizing *Geographical Imagination*. He wrote a couple of articles in this regard. *Between Space and Time:*

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[75] Ibid, p. 13.
[76] Ibid, p. 14.
[77] "It has reverberations for thinking about politics and the spatial." p.18.

Reflections on the Geographical Imagination[78] was one among them that comes up as a breakthrough on the historical geography of space and time. By uncovering the historical geography of space and time, he has addressed "a double play on the concept of space and time" "in relation to the historical geography of everyday life and the social practices of those who call themselves geographers."[79] Agreeing with the view that "space and time are social constructs," and "different societies produce qualitatively different conceptions of space and time" he emphasizes two features. Firstly, "the social definitions of space and time operate with the full force of objectives facts to which all individuals and institutions necessarily respond." For instance, even though clock time is a social construct as an objective fact it controls our life. Secondly, "the definitions of objective space and time are deeply implicated in processes of social reproduction." For instance, Bourdieu shows how in the case of the North African Kabyle, temporal and spatial organizations, such as calendar, the partitions within the house, serve to constitute the social order through the assignment of people and activities to distinctive places and time. In the introduction to the historical geography of space and time in the era of Western capitalism, Harvey says that new principals and conceptualization of time and space have emerged in the context of transformation from feudalism to capitalism.

The launch of the Ptolemaic map into Florence in 1400 and its sudden dissemination became a way to describe the geographical space and store the locational information, considered to be the foundation of geographical knowledge which we know today. Moreover, the "rational mathematical conceptions of space and time were, for example, a necessary condition for Enlightenment doctrines of political equality and social progress."[80] "Cartographic representation allowed individuals to see themselves in terms that were more in accord with these new definitions of social and political relations." The reorganization of space and spatial representation through railways, canals, steamships and television altered space and

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[78] David Harvey, "Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 80, No. 3 (September, 1990) pp. 418-434.
[79] Ibid, p. 418.
[80] Ibid, p. 424.

time relations and forced us to adopt new material practices as well as new modes of representation of space.[81]

"The Sociological and Geographical Imaginations"[82] is another path-breaking article by David Harvey in this regard which critically engages with the question of geographical imagination, knowledge, power and the need for a critical geography along with sociological imagination. He acknowledges the well-acclaimed work of J Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* which suggests,

> …the idea that the individual can understand his own experience and gauge his own fate only by locating himself within his period, that he can know his own life chances in life by becoming aware of those individuals in his circumstances…. The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two in society…(at the) back of its use there is always the urge to know the social and historical meaning of the individual in society, and in the period in which he has quality and his being.[83]

Along with that, he has emphasized on Mills' "omission of geography (as opposed to history) from the list of disciplines within which the sociological imagination was at work." He recited from his own work *Social Justice and the City*, which complimented as well as contrasted with Mills in some degree. And in which he call for a "spatial consciousness" or "the geographical imagination" that "enables the individual to recognize the role of space and place in his own biography, to relate the spaces he sees around him, and to recognize how transactions between individuals and between organizations are affected by the space that separates them. It allows him to recognize the relationship which exists between him and his neighborhood, his territory…It allows him also to fashion and use space creatively and to appreciate the meaning of the spatial forms created by others."[84]

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[81] Ibid, p. 425.

[82] David Harvey, "The Sociological and Geographical Imaginations," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol.18, No.3/4 (Spring-Summer, 2005) pp. 211-255.

[83] This is a recitation from ibid, p. 211 cited from C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959) pp. 4-7.

[84] Ibid, p. 212.

Considering the difference between "Sociological Imagination" and "Geographical Imagination" as counterproductive and unfortunate he has proposed that relations between social processes and spatial forms as a prerequisite for a well-grounded critical research. He has remarked that the concepts such as "social process produces spatial forms;" "time took precedence over space," and "history subsumed geography" give us a reduced idea about space. To bridge the gap between the sociological imagination and geographical imagination he argued for an adequate philosophy of social space. Harvey thus defined space as "a socially contested cultural configuration."[85] Another difficulty he faces in his conceptualization of the philosophy of space was in relation to the interpretations of space and time. The Newtonian "absolute space" that operates as a fixed and immutable framework of coordinates is radically contrasted with Einsteinian "relative space" and Leibnizian relational space. Contrasting from these views, he argues nature of space depending on the circumstances. "The problem of the proper conceptualization of space is resolved through human practice with respect to it." Then he has offered two fundamental conclusions of space. Firstly, "each form of social activity defines its own space." Neither space nor time (it turns out) can be understood outside of process. Different processes set different metrics and qualities of space and time. Secondly, once space is defined, created or produced and then this can have long-lasting implications on the way social action can proceed.[86]

Discussing further on geographical knowledge Harvey delineated its four structural components such as (1) Cartographic identifications, (2) the measure of space-time, (3) place/region/territory, and (4) environmental qualities and the dialectical dynamics of socio-environmental change; as deep structures of geographical knowledge. He wrote cartography is about locating, identifying and bounding phenomena and thereby situating events, processes, and things within a coherent spatial frame, which imposes spatial order on phenomena.[87] On contemporary space-time, he remarks that "Speed-up of turnover time and reductions in the friction of distance have meant that spatiotemporality must now be

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[85] Ibid, p. 213.
[86] Ibid, p. 214.
[87] Ibid, p. 241.

understood in a radically different way from what was operative in, say, Classical Greece, Ming Dynasty China or Medieval Europe."[88]

About place/region/territory, he has delineated several things. He states that, "The 'region' is possibly the most entrenched of all geographical concepts. Within the discipline, it has proven to be the least flexible, mainly because of its central role in those essentialist definitions of the subject that rest exclusively on the study of chorology or regional differentiation. Terms like "locality," "territory" and above all "place" have often been substituted for "region" in geographical discourses both within and without the discipline.…Sometimes the region is defined in terms of homogenous qualities (e. g: of land use, soils, geological forms) and sometimes in terms of coherent relations between diverse elements (e.g. urban functional regions). Sometimes, region is defined in materialistic terms (physical qualities of terrain, climatological regime, build environments, tangible boundaries) but in other, it depends on ideas, loyalties, sense of belonging, structures of feelings, ways of life, memories and histories, imagined community, and the like. In either instance, it is important to recognize that regions are "made" or "constructed" as much in imagination as in material form and that though entity-like, regions crystallize out as a distinctive form of some mix of material, social and mental processes."[89] On environment he puts it compactly; "The question of how people do and should understand the relationship to environment and nature forms the fourth pillar to all forms of geographical knowledge."[90]

Finally, Harvey suggests the necessity of an emancipatory critical geographical theory to address the problems of contemporary world. He concludes,

> The sociological and geographical imaginations have to be interpenetrated more freely to create what I call a "dialectical utopianism" operating in space-time rather than in either space or time. This dialectical utopianism calls for a full engagement of the geographical imagination since it requires a remapping of the world (as much in our heads as on the ground), redefinitions of the social construction of space and time,

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[88] Ibid, p. 244.
[89] Ibid, p. 245.
[90] Ibid, p. 246.

a reterritorialization of the world and a quite different approach to the dialectics of socio-environmental change and to uneven geographical development.[91]

He further adds,

> It also requires full deployment of the powers of the sociological imagination in which transformations in social relations and modes of exchange, in institutional arrangements, political structures, and modalities of knowledge production become crucially embedded in radically transformed geographical structures. Through moves of this sort, the gap between the sociological and geographical imaginations could be overcome, and a moribund critical theory might be brought back to life. An open political conversation about real alternatives to the deathly and deadening trajectory of multinational capitalism then becomes possible (252).[92]

Derek Gregory

Geographical Imaginations written by Derek Gregory[93] is another landmark work which sets its thematic position by delineating the relation the between Geographical knowledge, power, and space that are closely entangled with the Geographical-mapping. This book questions the neutrality and naivety of geographical knowledge and addresses the question of power in the production of knowledge in relation to space and geography. It also shows to us an indispensable hegemony which this knowledge production disseminates on the *Other* subjects who are positioned in distance to white/European/male. Moreover, it attempts to critically interrogate and discern the complex mapping of images, that link with power, knowledge, and spatiality, and propose to self-reflexively evaluate the role of academic discourse to configure and reconfigure the hegemonic interlinks between knowledge, power, and space. As C. Wright Mills argued about the decisiveness of biography and history in social life of individual; he also affirmed the decisiveness of geographical and space in the social life of individual.[94]

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[91] Ibid, p. 252.
[92] Ibid, p. 252.
[93] Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1994).
[94] Ibid, p. 11.

Then, Gregory explains how the central place of eye and visibility in production and authentication of knowledge gave importance to the geographical discourses such as travel-writing, mapping, and cartography. And he argues that this not only confines geographical discourses to any particular discipline rather it links discourses of geography with knowledge and power, and frame space, place and landscape hegemonically. Based on these revelations; classical origin of geography is directly identified with the optical practice of cartography and geometry. Borrowing from Michel Foucault, he reveals the violence in knowledge production by observing gaze that distances and objectivizes subject.

Evoking the *World-as-exhibition* from Timothy Michel, who used the idea to explain modern constellation of power produced through European way of knowing, that "…sets the world up as a picture (and arrange) it before an audience as an object on display, to be viewed, investigated and experienced," he extended that "…this kind of visualization of life becomes constitutive of European modernity at large."[95] Gregory elucidates the ocularcentrism in modernity and its intimate relation to the discourses of geography. He further strengthens his argument by Heidegger's concept *enframing* of world, which suggests the idea that in modern age "… the world is conceived and grasped as picture."[96] Subsequently, he remarks, "After GIS, at the core of a new geography is traveling through the world-as-exhibition rather than gazing world as exhibition."[97]

Gregory shows the effects of geographical and cartographic discourse in modern subject formation through deconstructing wide realms of academic knowledge. He remarks decisively that the Cartesian certitude and indubitableness is the part of his enquiry "for firm and permanent structures in the sciences."[98] On cartography, he wrote; "…cartography's 'mask of a seemingly neutral science' hides and denies the modalities of power that are

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[95] Ibid, p. 34.
[96] Ibid, p. 34.
[97] Ibid, p. 34.
[98] Moreover, he added; "Descartes' voyage discovered its continent of certainty through the so-called "Cartesian exclusion" it banished as radically other everything that could not be brought within the ring-fence (and have sovereign rule) of reason." Flowingly he mark; rather than reduced it to Descartian philosophy, this strategy was a part of general philosophy of exclusion, because to reify legitimate knowledge claim it use to devaluate every others which "lie beyond its sovereign grasp." Ibid, p. 71.

embedded in and enframed by the map text, and that ostensibly 'scientific,' 'objective' maps cannot escape their (sometimes unwritten complicity in ideology)."[99]

It is appropriate to unsettle this entire discussion by evoking the words of Edward Said, because they re-evoke certain crucial questions of geography. He pronounced, "Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggles over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about images and imaginings."[100]

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[99] Ibid, p. 74.
[100] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1993) p. 7.

Chapter Five

Mysore, Pazhassi and British (1766-1796): Opening Phase of Early-Modern Formations of Wayanad(s)

Introduction

As I mentioned in the preceding chapter, the coming chapters problematize early-modern formations of Wayanad region(s),[1] and I attempt to unravel the deep interconnection between context, act, and text in formations of Wayanad region(s), beyond one's precedence over another. In other words, firstly, I would like to analyze the mapping of new places and territories through activities like war, loot, and revenue collection (among British East India Company, Mysore regime of Hyder Ali Khan and Tipu Sulthan, and Pazhassi Raja and other inter-rivalry among Native Chieftains of Malabar), between 18th and 19th century on certain terrains of Malabar and Mysore, which changed the material context of those terrains and form Wayanad as region(s). Secondly, I will explain the experience of Wayanad as region(s) by its geographical specialties, for those who were operating war, loot, and revenue collection by the use of Wayanad and its landscapes as a refuge. Thirdly, I will elucidate the text's framing of Wayanad as region(s) through the writings of texts such as treaties, reports, contracts, agreements, and correspondences by the Mysore, British and Native agencies.

In detail, the coming lines are venturing out to grapple with three interrelated problems correspondingly. (1) How the strategic withdrawal, resistance, counter-attack, combined battle (allied with British or Mysore), plunder, and revenue collection operated at different times in different ways by the expelled Rajas of Malabar, mainly chieftains of Kottayam against the annexations or secession of Mysore regime or British Company; and how the counteracts of Mysore or British in the form of war, loot, and revenue collection operated: in between 1766 to 1805. How these competing but well-connected activities such as military

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[1] Here also I draw heavily from the debate on Francis Buchanan's account, and the discussion on theories of space, for theoretically grounding my attempt.

strategies, revenue collections, judicial proceedings[2] by Mysore Regime (between 1766 to 1799), Kottayam Rajas and Pazhassi Raja (between 1780 to 1805), and the British East India Company (between 1768 to 1805) frequently attempted to form regions centered around *Churathintemeethal* (on the hilly pass) or Wayanad, and animated it in different forms by drawing conflicting, multilayered and overlapping limits and borders on terrains of Malabar and Mysore. (2) How the geographic (geological, hydrological and climatic) specialties such as forest, hill, hilly-pass, valley, bog, cold, snowfall, heavy-rain, different flora and fauna of *Churathintemeethal* or Wayanad offered different experiences to the people who were engaging in war,[3] loot, and revenue collection, especially to the people of lower countries such Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Kadathanad[4] and Eranad who strategically withdrew from or fled to *Churathintemeethal* to resist invasion and annexation of Mysore Regime or British Company; and how those different experiences led to the experience of those geographies as region(s). (3) By scripting, how the texts such as treaties, agreements, contracts, reports, and correspondences frames the right over terrains or fixes the claim on lands in between Pazhassi Raja (and inter-rivalry Native Chieftains of Malabar), the British (East India Company), Mysore (regime of Hyder Ali Khan and Tipu Sulthan), and en-frames *Churathintemeethal* or Wayanad as region(s) differently. In short, here I endeavor to explain distinct formations of *Churathintemeethal* or Wayanad as region in early modern time by the juxtaposition and interrelation of act, context and text.

Content and Concern of Sources

I navigate mainly the sources[5] such as *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792-93,*[6] *Talasseri Rekhakal [Records of Talasseri]*[7] and *Pazhassi Rekhakal [Records of*

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[2] One can also call these three processes as discourses of governance.

[3] The minutes of Company governor-general point to the fact that geography and climate are the negative factors that created hindrance to conquer Pazhassi Raja. See K.K.N. Kurup, *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal* (Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2008) p. 63.

[4] Kadathanad also figures as Cartinaad in the work.

[5] However, Margret Frenz and K.K.N. Kurup also have studied early colonial Kottayam and Pazhassi Raja's struggle. In this study, I am not going to depend on their works to set a framework to my analysis, rather I closely look at primary materials discussed above to understand the nuances of the formation of Wayanad. See Margret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar, 1790-1805* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003) and K.K.N. Kurup, *Pazhassi Samarangal* (Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute, 2015).

Pazhassi].[8] Let us briefly explain the content, concern, and context of these sources for better understanding.[9]

On the basis of Seringapatam Treaty in 1792 which ended the third Anglo-Mysore War, Malabar came under the control of the British East India Company. For installing British authority in Malabar powerfully, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor General of India, directed Robert Abercromby, the Governor General of Bombay, to make necessary arrangements. Consequently, Abercromby appointed William Samul Farmer, a senior merchant and Major Alexander Dow, the Military Commandant at Tellicherry[10] as Commissioners of Malabar. They were authorized to report the state and condition of the Malabar province along with revenue, judicial, and military affairs and were also assigned to administrative responsibilities.[11]

> After a comprehensive study and analysis of the data that they collected through field
> study and interview they prepared a detailed report consisting of five hundred and
> seventy one paragraphs besides certain important appendices. The report reflects the

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[6] See J. Rejikumar, ed., *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792-93* (Kochi: Kerala State Archive, 2010).

[7] A collection of correspondences between British Company officials, Native Chieftains (like Kottayam Raja and Kurubranad Raja) and tenants is about Revenue collections, Judicial Proceedings and Military operations. See Scaria Zacharia, ed., *Talasseri Rekhakal: Tuebingen University Library Malayalam Manuscript Series* [TULMMS] Vol. V (Kottayam: Centre for Kerala Studies, D.C. Books, 1996).

[8] Another collection of correspondence between British Company officials, Native Chieftains (like Kottayam Raja and Kurumbranad Raja) and tenants is about mainly Pazhassi rebellion including discussions on Military Operations, Judicial Proceedings and Revenue collections. See Scaria Zacharia ed. *Pazhassi Rekhakal: Tuebingen University Library Malayalam Manuscript Series* [TULMMS] Vol. II (Kottayam: Centre for Kerala Studies, D.C. Books, 1996).
One can also see Foreign Political Consultations about Pazhassi rebellion which is available in National Archive, New Delhi which added as an index in *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal (Records of Pazhassi's Struggle)* as a source, but because of its current form which happened through many translations—from old Malayalam(s) native correspondences to English and retranslation of English form to Malayalam which is available in this book—here we are not considering those correspondences as central sources of our enquiry. For a better understanding see K.K.N. Kurup, *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal (*Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2008)..

[9] As they are manuscripts preserved in archives, one may conventionally call these sources as archival sources but rather than archival sources these are popular cultural products too, because these are at present available as books in English, Malayalam or in translated Malayalam form. Moreover, when I go through certain correspondences between Pazhassi raja and British officers that were preserved in Regional Archives, Kozhikode as archival sources, those copies of manuscripts were not legible to read. At the same time similar copies of those manuscripts which were printed in above mentioned records are legible to read. So here I depend on printed records rather than sources in archive.

[10] Tellicherry is also spelled as Thalasseri, Talasseri and Thalacherry.

[11] *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792-93,* p. 10.

history of Malabar from the days of Cheraman Perumal to the appointment of the Commission on 23rd March 1792.[12]

They submitted this report to the Governor General-in-Council at Fort William Calcutta on 11th October 1793, and a supplementary report was also submitted to clarify certain parts of the original report, after a few months.[13] This report was firstly published as "A Report of a Joint Commission from Bengal and Bombay appointed to inspect in the state and condition of the Province of Malabar in 1792-93"[14] and it came to be known as *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792-93* later.

Talasseri Rekhakal is a volume of 1429 manuscripts which were written in old Malayalam(s) transcribed and compiled by Scaria Zacharia without editing words and sentences. This record contains a wide range of correspondences such as letters, orders, petitions, instructions, appeals, official circular, secret dispatches, writs, and reports that prove official correspondence between British Company officials, Native Rajas, Chieftains, Merchants and Tenants, about Revenue collections, Judicial proceedings and Military operations. *Talasseri Rekhakal* is a portion of the manuscripts pointing to a period roughly in 1796-1804 which was collected by the European linguist and missionary Hermann Gundert probably while he lived in Thalasseri around 20 years from 1839 onwards.[15] He binds these manuscripts into ten volumes and maintained well, which was later deposited as Tuebingen University Library Malayalam Manuscript Series (TULMMS) in Germany.

Pazhassi Rekhakal is another volume of 255 manuscripts which were also written in early Malayalam(s), transcribed and compiled by Scaria Zacharia without editing words and sentences. Like, *Talasseri Rekhakal* this also is a portion of manuscripts, roughly in the period of 1796-1804, which was collected by Hermann Gundert and kept as ten-bound volumes, later on deposited as TULMMS in Germany. Mainly *Pazhassi Rekhakal* is about Pazhassi rebellion which was circulated between British Company officials, Native Rajas

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[12] Ibid, p. 11.
[13] Ibid, p. 15.
[14] Ibid, pp. 11-12.
[15] With the publishing and printing of a Malayalam grammar book and a Malayalam-English dictionary he became one of those who modernized Malayalam language.

(primarily like Kottayam Raja and Kurumbranad Raja), Chieftains, Merchants and Tenants. Similarly, these collections also include letters, orders, petitions, instructions, appeals, official circular, secret dispatches, writs and report, including discussions on Military operations, Judicial Proceedings, and Revenue collections.

In *Talasseri Rekhakal* and *Pazhassi Rekhakal* diverse spoken forms of different people and places in Malabar determine and precede the writing style, mode, and type of the correspondences. This is different from the language that has standardized script, which directs, fixes, and uniforms the grammatical structure, spelling, size and sense of the sentence, and homogenizes the language. That means, as Scaria Zacharia points out, in *Talasseri Rekhakal* and in *Pazhassi Rekhakal*, language is scripted by scribes in the same way people spoke in those languages. Precisely, as people speak scribes scripted the words, sentences, usages, and expressions in correspondences.[16] Therefore, rather than one standardized Malayalam, these correspondences offer many Malayalam. The above remark 'old/early Malayalam(s)' signifies this problematic of language. Moreover, if we examine the beginning dates of correspondences such as 16th May 1796 in *Talasseri Rekhakal* and 23th June 1796 in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* we can understand that the correspondences happened after Company military's raid on Pazhassi's palace that occurred on 1st April 1796.

Outlining the socio-spatial processes of formations of Wayanad(s)

Before the detailed discussion on the early-modern formation of Wayanad (s) I will briefly outline the socio-spatial processes of formation of Wayanad (s) for an initial understanding. In the time of Mysore Regime, for conquering the internally conflicting Malayalam speaking *Nadus* in the Arabian coast, Hyder Ali used lands of Wayanad from 1766 onwards as a bridge which connects the tablelands of Mysore and land below mountains which touch the Arabian Sea, and later he and his son-successor Tipu Sulthan conquered these places. He constructed roads between mountains in Wayanad, especially reconstructed Thamarasseri-pass as a gun-road[17] and installed forts and military posts in different locations in Wayanad

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[16] See Scaria Zacharia, ed., pp. XIV-XV.
[17] William Logan remarked that in 1774, Hyder Ali dispatched a force under Sahib and Srinivas Row Berki to Malabar, where they pushed the force through Wynad and descended through new and direct route via the

such as Sulthan Bathery and Vythiri. Correspondingly, he conducted route-march and parade of his infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Also his spies and messengers stealthily moved through Wayanad to conquer and to know the plans of British Company and Native chieftains. These operations not only caused the movements of people, cattle, elephant and horse but also resulted in a multidirectional flow of goods. Besides, he established revenue and judicial system in those ceded territories, even though it was short lived. Along with these, whenever Wayanad as a place came into dispute, he extended his power on to this terrain through plunder, riot, arrests, and burning of houses. In short, military moves, revenue collections, judicial proceedings, and other such practices produced spaces through the newly built-environments such as roads, posts, and forts. These spaces and acts created complex networking system and asserted spatial power on the land and created an (un)certain region called Wayanad. But when the British conquered Mysore and assassinated Tipu in 1799, the claims of Mysore regime which were generated through the spatial practices was over.

As per available information Kottayam Raja and their allies used from 1780 onwards the land above Kottayam that connected difficult mountain passes which were called by them as *Churathintemeethal* (above the hilly-pass) or Wayanad to resist Mysore Regime and the British Company whenever they attacked or conquered the country. In this way, Wayanad becomes a realm of resistance for Kottayam Rajas. Using the geographical specialties of these landscapes which contain forests, hills, peaks, mountain passes, valleys, marshes and paddy fields they lead guerrilla warfare against them and established temporary fort and military post in different areas such as Mananthavady, Manathala, Panamaram, Vythiri, and Banasurankotta and connected them through the moves of soldiers, revenue collectors, messengers, and spies. Moreover, they consider sacred groves and temples in Wayanad as sites having decisive power over the military move through the oracular pronouncement of their *Komaram.*[18] Besides, using forests and hills as a sojourn, they operated a number of attacks such as raid, arrest, and burning of houses in surrounding countries which situated below and above the mountain pass including the one in Wayanad. Along with the activation

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Thamarasseri pass to Malabar on 27th December. See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol. I (first published in 1887; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989. p. 418. Similarly, Logan reported that on 11th February 1788 Tipu had descended into low country through the Thamarasseri ghaut. Ibid, p. 450.

[18] The man who possessed spiritual power.

of new movements of people and their animals, multidirectional flows of goods were the result of these acts. These activities and production of spaces territorialized Wayanad as a region, with a fuzzy border. But the triumph of the British military on Pazhassi Raja and his rebels which ended Pazhassi Raja's life instigated the official installation of the British authority on the land of Wayanad, and which more or less stopped spatial practices and power operated by Pazhassi Raja and his people.

Since 1768 the British have considered this terrain as an area of military operation against their territorial extension and domination. They attacked the force of rebellious Pazhassi in Wayanad through Periya ghaut road, Kuttiyadi ghaut road, Elachurrum (Cardamom pass), Karkur pass, and Thamarasseri ghaut road.[19] Moreover, they bypassed this area through Periya ghaut road and Thamarasseri ghaut road to conquer Tipu Sulthan and Sreerangapattanam. After the Seringapatam Treaty between the British and Tipu of Mysore in 1792 they claimed Wayanad as their territory, but along with them Pazhassi Raja and Tipu Sulthan, also raised claims on the same territory which led to many conflicts. From then onwards the British started to loot or collect revenue from this place even though they were not quite successful in this regard. In different times of battles, between Company and Pazhasi Raja, they installed eleven posts such as Panamaram, Kozilady, Kunjoth, Vellad, Adhave, Konichery, Dharaloor, Pullingal, Manancherry, and Lekkidikotta and Forts such as Mananthavady, Panamaram, and Vythiri and connected them to different networks. Moreover, by the moves of infantry, cavalry, and artillery forces as well as by the trip of emissaries and journeys of revenue collectors and officers they actualized military moves, revenue collections, and judicial proceedings. These activities not only caused the movements of people, horse and elephant, and flows of goods but also produced spaces such as forts, posts, factories, and headquarters, and connected them mutually. Such processes

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[19] William Logan wrote, "The Tamarcheri ghaut road – one of Tippu's Military roads – leading from Calicut through South Wynad to Mysore was the line judiciously selected by colonel the honorable Athur Wellesley as commander of the forces for the operations against the rebellious Palassi Raja. It had the advantage of splitting up the country of that chieftain in Wynad and of enabling the military commanders to operate, according to circumstances, against any position where the rebels seemed inclined to make a stand." See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol. I, pp. 65-66.

fixed frontiers temporally and animated contours and helped to make sense of Wayanad as a region, albeit loosely.

It is very much important here that the havocs caused by these activities of war, plunder and revenue collection engendered large-scale flee, exile, migration, exodus and wandering of peoples and communities on the terrains of Malabar, Mysore, Madras, Cochin, and Travancore in between 1766 to 1805. These also created new spatial relations, newly built environments, and new spaces, along with the flow of goods and animals.

From Invasion of Mysore to the Attack of British on Pazhassi Palace (1766 to 1796)

Mapping the Region's Formations through Joint Commissioner's Report

Now we have to discuss the main problem of the second chapter by analyzing the preliminary phase of early-modern formations of Wayanad(s) as region(s) which happened roughly from the first invasion of Mysore regime on the terrains of Malabar to the attack of the British military and looting of Pazhassi palace, chronically from 1766 to 1796. In *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar (JCRM) 1792-93,* one of the colonial records on Wayanad, the commissioners wrote,

> In the high parts of Malabar above the range...tribe of pumjee…cultivate (sic) the rice…whilst the korechers and the koorumbees take care of the cardamom trees…all grow in that superior region …which have already been enumerated among those articles claimed by the Rajahs[20] as royalty, though that this exclusive claim is not every where rigorously enforced appears from the Rajahs admitting that there are some Nayars and others who have estates in Wynaad, producing cardamoms, whereof the said proprietors are allowed to dispose of the one-half, on the condition of the Rajah's receiving the other as revenue.[21]

In relation to Wayanad, this account directly registers the claim of native rajas with its limits, production of crops like rice and cardamom, and the possibilities to collect revenue. Like

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[20] Here Rajahs signify Kottayam Rajahs.
[21] *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar*, pp. 27-28.

Buchanan's narrative about possession of land in Wayanad here also only the agency and subjectivity of Kottayam Raja and Nair Community are present. Even though this narrative mentions Kurichiar (Korechers) and Kurumbar (Koorumbees), their name is marked merely as caretakers of the cardamom trees; correspondingly the name of *other* communities—those who are mentioned as landholders—is completely absent in the narrative. This absence and misplaced presence of names suggest the denial of agency and subjectivity of *other* communities regarding the possession of Wayanad. Other than this, the report signifies the oblique but obvious attempt of the narrative to detect, *carry back* and *fix* lineage of the local political legitimacy of Kottayam Raja and their possessions on Wayanad. Subsequent description in this report about Wayanad, suggesting Wayanad as a country above ghauts which annexed Kottayam that produces cardamom[22] clearly exemplifies this. But this description has been unregistered, ever since this possession of Kottayam Raja and Nair Community of Wayand came to exist.

However, Hyder Ali Khan's invasion and his annexation of Malabar including Wayanad is registered *properly* with its time periods. In the report, Commissioners narrated that the first time Hyder Ali Khan entered Malabar in 1766, "he made an easy conquest of the whole extent, from Chericul[23] to Cochin."[24] Hyder descended ghauts once again in 1774 and established government and administration through his direct control of Malabar.[25] In 1774, Hyder appointed Chericul Rajah to "Cotiote (including Wynaad and Numbeliote) together with Irvennad."[26] "The dispossessed Raja of Cotiote (by the Hyder's invasion) made a proposal in December 1778, to place his country under the Company's protection." In 1779, Ruvee Vurma,(Ravi Varma) the Raja of Cottiote, in alliance with the Cartinaad and the Nambiars of Irvenaad attacked the country of Cotiote but the counter-attack by Chericul troop with the combined forces of Hyder "defeated the Cotiote Rajah (along) with his allies, whereupon the former was obliged to retire again to his jungles."[27] Moreover, "the

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[22] Ibid, p. 28.

[23] Chericul stands for Chirackal. I use these names interchangeably in this study, because it has occurred in such a manner in the records which are used as the sources of this study.

[24] *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar*, p. 30.

[25] Ibid, p. 32.

[26] Ibid, p. 33. Irvennad is also used as Erivayinad and Iruvayinad interchangeably in this study

[27] Ibid, pp. 40-41.

dispossessed Rajah of Cotiote, who in November (1779) set 2000 of his Nayars into the place to assist (British Company) in its defense against Chericul and Hyder."[28]

In 1782, after the death of Hyder Ali, his son Tipu Sulthan became the claimant of the throne. Tipu appointed Ashed Beg Khan as the General Manager of all the civil and revenue concerns of the countries in Malabar which Hyder conquered. Again in the report, commissioners added that; in 1783, Ashed Beg Khan arrived at Malabar as general manager of civil and revenue concerns of the countries in the region.[29] He made a settlement of one lakh of rupees in the year 959[30] (1783-84) with the Rajah of Cotiote or Cottatu which included the upper-ghaut district of Wynaad.[31] In 1785, Chericul, Cartinaad, and Cotiote Rajas paid a visit to Tipu in the Corga County,

> … whilst from Ruvee Vurma of Cotiote he [Tippoo] exacted, sorely against that Rajah's will, a written deed of relinquishment of that part of his country situated above the ghauts, called the Wynaad districts, which after some reluctant delay, the said Rajah was forced finally to give up by the middle of the next Malabar year, or about February 1787; so that (together with the small division of coorumbulla, which Tippoo separated at the same time from the southern district of Pyoormulla) it is stated to have become a new annexation to, and to have been registered as, a dependency on the Cutcherry of Seringapatam, under the name of Chulkloor, from the beginning of 963 or September 1787; in consideration of alienation, a deduction from this Rajah's former jumma of one lakh was allowed to the amount of about Rupees 35,000 leaving the residuary or still payable part at rupees 65,000….[32]

Also, as an account of the past of the areas including Wayand, this narrative exemplifies the deep interconnection and mutual constitution of act, context, and text in the collective formation of Wayanad region(s) in the early-modern period. If we elaborate on this, the following points can be ascertained:

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[28] Ibid, p. 43.
[29] Ibid, pp. 45-46.
[30] Malayalam year (*Kollavarsham*).
[31] *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar*, p. 46.
[32] Ibid, p. 54.

(1) Hyder's activities in the two military expeditions to Malabar which took place in 1766 and 1774, especially the second one, operated through the easiest Tamarachery[33] ghaut road in the terrains of Wayand, (2) the uniqueness of those landscape—which also reifies triumph of his military strategy in Malabar—offers a necessary environment for a sudden and stealth-based attack in the region and (3) establishment of administration and government in Malabar in 1774 puts Wayand under the administrative boundary of Cotiote, one of the preliminary actions authenticated by the support of formal scripting; these whole processes temporally forged Wayanad as a region. At the same time the counterattack of expelled Raja of Cotiote, Ravi Varma, in 1778-1779 against Hyder's invasion, jointly with others[34] and their defeat at the hands of the combined forces of Chericul and Hyder, and his (Raja of Cotiote) flight to *his jungles*[35] is important. Because, this shows the effect of military activities on place and in reverse the effect of forested place on armed activities, and signal the uncertainties and difficulties in the forging of region.

Similar to this, another set of incident shappened under the power of Tipu. This also forms Wayanad as region in relation with act, text and context. The appointment of Ashed Beg Khan as general manager of countries of Malabar by Tipu; Khan's resettlement of revenue of Cotiote as one lakh by including Wayanad under Cotiote; meeting of Ravi Varma of Cotiote with Tipu to discuss the problem of this resettlement; Varma's giving up of claim on Wayanad by the pressure of Tipu; Tipu's separation of Wayanaad from Cotiote and its unification with Seringapatam; and corresponding reduction of amount of revenue to be paid by Ravei Varma to Tipu from one lakk to 65000 by the latter show the relation between act, text and context.Put it differently, the whole activities entangled with the writing of treaty, which redraw the boundaries, marked Wayanad differently by dividing it from the administrative geography of Cotiote and by adding it to Mysore is a new formation ofWayanad that shows the interconnection between act, text and context.

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[33] Tamarachery also appeared as Thamarachery and Thamarassery, Tamercherry, Tamberchery and Tamberaccherry in the documents used in this study.

[34] Along with Cartinaad and Nambiars of Irvenad and with the support of British Company, Raja of Cotiote counter attacked Hyder.

[35] Here emphasis is intentional, because the usage "his jungles" that was scripted in text not only signifies the geographical specialty of the terrain but also frames the land right on jungle to Raja of Cotiote (Kottayam).

Here one may argue that Tipu's military interest for invasion and the geographical exceptionality of the terrains of Wayanad (which helps Tipu's military strategy) together separated Wayanad from Kottayam and formed it part of Mysore by incorporation. But a letter of Kadathanad Raja (who visited Tipu in Corga/Coorg County along with Raja of Cotiote[36]), written in old Malayalam in 1ˢᵗ December 1796 in response to the query of British Company Government, which was placed in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* explains this incident with some more details and difference, which is very much important in this context. Because in this letter shortage in the revenue collection found by Tipu while he audits the collection from Kottayam and Wayanad was put as the reason of bifurcation of Wayanad from Kottayam.

Tipu affirmed this reason when native Rajas visited Tipu—based on his order—in Kodaku country along with Ashad Beg Khan and Venkayyan Subedar.[37] Tipu told Raja that after a reassignment of revenue in Wayanad he also detected a huge difference. Then based on the demand of Tipu, in Malayalam year 961(1785-86),[38] Raja of Kottayam has given Wayanad and its revenue collector Guruvan Patter to Tipu by writing an agreement with him, and resettled the amount of payment to 70000 from one lakh which was settled by Khan. Then Tipu unified Wayanad with Mysore, and appointed his people in Chekaloor Fort to collect revenue directly from Wynaad.[39]

In this milieu one can find that the shortage in revenue collection was cited as reason for splitting and appropriating of Wayanad under Mysore. However the production of agricultural products, the source of revenue, is not only linked with labour but also with the geographical peculiarity of the terrain. Therefore the shortage in revenue collection was not

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[36] See letter in serial number: 76B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 53-54.

[37] He stayed in Kottayam during that time; he probably was a military officer of Tipu.

[38] One can approximately set Danu 961 as English year 1785-86.

[39] In the last line of the letter, Kadathanad Raja stated that it is unknown how much revenue Sultan collected from Wayanad, after Malayam country came in the hand of Company. If you need to know this approximately you can enquire to Payappan, one Tharakan (accountant) living in Pallakuzi in Wayanad. (Here the name Malayam country can be read as country of Malayalam or country of mala/hills). See letter in serial number: 76B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 53-54.

only caused by inefficient act of collectors but also determined by the productive nature of the terrain. In this way the new formation of Waynad by Tipu is the result of the reciprocal intersection of place/context, act, and text.

Subsequent lengthy descriptions of commissioners in the report about the conflicting claims between Tipu, Rajah of Cotiote, and British Company in the period of 1792-93 offer opportunities to understand a series of attempts by them to mark boundaries of Wayanad in overlapping fashions which shaped Wayanad in different ways. It also provides a chance to know the complex processes of act, context, and text in this act of shaping.

After Seringapatam assent in response to complaint of Tipu's Vakeel to Commissioners, regarding the former's claim on Wayanad, the Commissioners reported: "…it was generally understood that the Rajahs of Cotiote had availed themselves of the period of the late war to resume Wynaad, which is above the Ghauts, and to re-annex it to Cotiote…. " Then they continued that it is not yet settled the dispute "… whether or not the Talooks (of Wynaad) were included in his (Tippoo's) general secession of the Cotiote country."[40] By considering this ambiguity subsequently, the Bombay commissioners ordered the Cotiote Rajah to withdraw from Wayanad and deliver the district to Tipu.

> …Mr. Farmer instructed the chief of Tellicherry to desire the Rajah to withdraw to that boundary of the District of Tambercherry or Tamercherry (being another of the Hoblies or Sub-divisions of Cotiote) which, reaching above the ghauts, adjoins on the elevated table land to the western frontier of the Wynaad.[41]

Rajah did not give any attention to the commissioner's instruction but in August 1792 he sent intimation to them saying that, "Hurry Purvo, a military officer of Tippoo, had advanced to Canara river…[42] in the probable intention of attacking the Rajah's collector and of taking passion of the District."[43] After a few days, as a result of commissioner's proceedings he

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[40] *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar*, pp. 222-223.
[41] Ibid, p. 223.
[42] Cotiote Rajah considered Canara River as the eastern boundary of Wynaad.
[43] *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar*, p. 223.

returned. The Commissioners repeated to Rajah to withdraw his people from Wayanad, the tract in question, because the region did not appear to be included in the secession of Tipu.[44]

In December 1792, Governor Abercromby arrived at Malabar, in response to Rajah's complaint regarding the encroachment of Tipu on Wayanad. At time Robert—an Engineer of the Company—verified the plan of the boundaries of Wayanad and stated that none of Tipu's troop had advanced on Wayanad. He also asserted Wayanad as perhaps land of Rajah and said to commissioners that "Wynaad did not belong to us." However, the commissioners received one complaint from Tipu's Vakeel "that the Zemindar of Coliangria has given protections to banditti who have committed depredations, and laid waste the talooks of Chulkloor and Todnar, a country of 40,000 kabities, and collects (sic) money there from."[45] Meanwhile, commissioners obtained information from the Rajah's agent that

> some hostilities had taken place between Harry Purvo, on his attempting to pass into Wynaad district, and the Rajah's Nayrs stationed in it, in so much that after losing a few men (whilst the Nayrs allows that on their side no loss of lives was sustained) the said officer of Tippoo returned to Seringapatam.[46]

In March 1793, the commissioners wrote a letter to Rajah by disapproving his daring extremities regarding Wayanad and pointing out that "Wynaad was not included in the secession by Tippoo." They further "advised the Rajah of Cotiote and Coorimnaad (who being relations, are both nearly equally interested) of our resolution neither to support nor to countenance them in violating, in respect to the said district, the sovereignty of Tippoo Sultaun"[47]

In response to the commissioner's enquiry regarding the complaints of Tipu's Vakeel about Chukloor and Todnar, Corrimnaad Rajah said that Todar or Torinaar "does not constitute any part of the Wynaad district" but Chuckloor or Chickloos are "two villages or places of that

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[44] Ibid, p. 223.
[45] Ibid, p. 224.
[46] Ibid, p. 224.
[47] Ibid, p. 225.

name, one in Wynaad and the other within Tippoo's boundary" and he affirmed the claim that Wayanad or Chuckloor was "an original constituent part of Cotiote." He then added that,

> If the company will not receive the revenue of Wynaad, he must negotiate for its payment with Tippoo's Government… at the same time that as an old inheritance, his family cannot think of giving it up, though he knows that in maintaining it, they are not to expect protection from the Honorable Company.[48]

In fact, in these complex circumstances, "the Madras Government be (sic) nevertheless unable to effect the confirmation of Wynaad to the Company."[49] Concerning Tipu's attitude towards this contested terrain, they concluded that Wayanad "was understood by us to belong to Cotangary" (Kottayam).[50]

Here it is obvious that the claims of Tipu, Rajah of Kottayam, and the British Company on Wayanad were in contestation. Because Tipu not only wrote a formal petition to the British Company against the possession of Rajah of Kottayam on Wayanad through his Vakeel but also sent his military man to act against the will of Rajah by trespassing the eastern frontier of Wayanad—Canara river—set by the Rajah of Kottayam. Moreover, without listening to the formal order of British Company to withdraw from Wayanad (it issued a response to the petition of Tipu's Vakeel) and attacked Tipu's military by accusing that Hurry Purvo (one of the military officer of Tipu) and his force crossed the boundary of Rajah's Wayanad; Rajah of Kottayam asserted his claim. Additionally, Rajah lodges a formal counter-complaint to the British Company against the trespassing acts of force of Tipu by Hurry Purvo. Meanwhile, to foreground Tipu's claim on Wayanad, his Vakeel again registered a complaint to commissioners of the British Company saying that the taluks of Chulkloor and Todnar which provided considerable revenue to them were deserted and looted by bandits who were protected by Zemindar of Coliangria.

But Corrimnaad Rajah's reaction concerning the complaint of Tipu's Vakeel about Chukloor or Todnar was another attempt to erect a timeless political claim on Waynad by producing a

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[48] Ibid, pp. 263-264.
[49] Ibid, p. 264.
[50] Ibid, p. 265.

traditional geographical knowledge about the boundaries of the region and presenting it in front of the British commissioners. For this Kurumbranad Rajah proclaimed that even though Todar or Torinaar was not part of Wayanad, but Chuckloor and Wayanad was a real part of Kottayam because Chuckloor or Chickloos were villages in two different names in which one belonged to Wayanad and the other was in Tipu's territory. And he also added that his family cannot renounce their rights over old inheritance, the land right on Wayanad. He then asserted that he knew how to preserve their rights on Wayanad without any help of Company, and if Company does not get the revenue from Wayanad he must negotiate with Tipu for a payback to the Company. Interestingly, other than a mere affirmation of claim on Wayanad, one can see the production of geographical knowledge here. By mapping Wayanad different from Mysore, this knowledge also makes Wayanad an inseparable part of Kottayam (Cotiote).

The deeds, petitions and other correspondences between British, Rajas and Tipu Sulthan, written after the Seringapatam Treaty, in the period of 1792-93, especially the submission of petitions in front of British Company by Kottayam Raja and Tipu Sulthan, for seeking justice for their possession, from the British company, also established British company as a government of Malabar which has judicial power. Besides, these correspondences initiate to weave a network of writing which connect Kottayam Raja and Tipu Sulthan to British company, and these activate British Company as a locus of the network. Furthermore, these also have marked the possible transition of British Company to British Company government in Malabar. But the silent rejection of the order of Company government by Kottayam Raja to withdraw from Wayanad which was in dispute was a negation of sovereignty of Company government and an assertion of the power of Kottayam Raja on Wayanad. However, the revenue and rental agreements made by Commissioners between Company government and Rajas of Malabar such as Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Kadathanad and Chirackal, to pay revenue of those countries to Company government not only slowly reinforced the authority of Company government but also gave birth to a new crisis in the form of conflict and rivalry between Company, Rajas and Tipu, and among Rajas. These, as well as set the correspondences documented in *Talasseri Rekhakal (Records of Talasseri)* and *Pazhassi*

Rekhakal (Records of Pazhassi) further instigate new processes of act, context, and text and direct to map Wayanad as a region in new ways.

Mapping Region's Formations through Logan's *Malabar* and *A Collection of Treaties*

The colonial accounts such as *Malabar* and *A Collection of Treaties* elaborately delineated the processes of act, context, and text, and obliquely map Wayanad in these manners. The temporary agreement the Commissioners signed on 25th April 1792 with Raja of Cotiote for one year,[51] and the revenue settlement drafted on 29th October 1792[52] by the Commissioners[53] with Raja of Cotiote on the Taluks of Caderur, Paichey, Cuttiady and Tamberacherry;[54] were designating Karla Wurma Raja[55] of Cotiote as the authority of the country Cotiote.[56] Similarly, a rental agreement on 22th March 1793 signed by Raja of Koorimnaad with Duncan at Quilandy for the taluks of Pynaad, Payoormulla, and Koorimnaad in Koorimnaad Country[57] were assigning Raja of Koorimnaad as the authority of the country Koorimnaad. But the engagement signed by Raja of Koorimnaad—Weera Wurma—with British Commissioners on 18th May 1793 as an authority of revenue collection of Koormenaad and Cotiote counties[58] for the period of 1793-94[59] cancelled the earlier settlement, between Karla Wurma Raja of Cotiote and the Company government, and negated the authority of Karla Wurma on Kottayam.

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[51] See No: VI document in part-II of collection in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British affairs in Malabar* (Calicut: Minerva Press, 1879) p. 13.

[52] See No: XX document in part-II of collection in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar,* pp. 35-37.

[53] William Gamul Farmer, William Page Esquires and Major Alexander Dow were the Commissioners.

[54] As a tribute to the help done by Raja of Cotiote, Karla Wurma received a Kowl from chief of Company factory, Thalasseri in the last war of Company against Tipu. These country names stands for Kathirur, Kuttiyadi, Pazhassi and Thamarassery.

[55] Kerala Varma Raja, the Kottayam Raja

[56] According to this settlement, Raja got a payment deduction of 20000, owing to the inability of the country to pay more, due to the ruined and uncultivable state resulted by the war of Tipu.

[57] See No: XXXI document in part-II of collection in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, p. 45.

[58] With this new settlement Raja of Koorimnaad Weera Wurma became authority of revenue collection in taluks of Kottayam such as Cotate, Purechee, Kudroor, Kotyary and Tambercherry and in taluks of Koormenad such as Koormenad, Kolecaut Pyhaar, Pyoormulla and Poorvye, and one taluks of Peripnaar. See No: XLII document in part II of collection in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, p. 57.

[59] See No: XLVII document in part II of collection in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, pp. 63-65. This document discusses in detail the same *Kararnama* (settlement) pointing out the payment with exceptions like the deduction of amount for the expenses of Rajah, his family, Temple, Brahmin and Chetties.

However, the following revenue settlement signed by Willam Gamul Farmer, supervisor of the province of Malabar on 20th December 1793 with Kerula Varma Raja of the country of Cotiote on Cotiote country, for the year of 969 (1793-94),[60] reinforced once again the authority of Kerula Varma Raja on Cotiote. But the five years engagement made by Stevens Esqr, Supervisor, on 13th March 1795 with Weera Weeram Raja for revenue assessment and collection of Cotiote and Corrimnaad countries in the periods of 970 (1794-95), 971 (1795-96), 972 (1796-97), 973 (1797-98) and 974 (1798-99)[61] denied the authority of Kerala Varma Raja on Cotiote.

Along with this, the alleged parallel activities that were employed by Raja of Kottayam, Kerala Varma, the disturbances in 1793[62] and later stoppage of revenue collection from Kottayam on 28th June 1795,[63] made the political condition worse. Furthermore, the protection he had given to Iruvayinad Numbiar who killed a Mappila[64] increased its intensity. Other than this the killing of two Mappilas by alleging robbery in 1793[65] and execution of two other Mappilas suspected to theft in 1795[66] and the demolition of a Mappilla Mosque constructed in Kottayam bazar by him[67] pushed the political condition to turmoil. These activities denied the authority of Company in Malabar. In fact, the Company government directed that the Raja be put under trial for the murder.[68]

In these circumstances, 19th April 1796,

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[60] See No: LXXIV document in part II of collection in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, pp. 89-90. Logan remarked that, this was a tribute to the help provided by Kerala Varma Raja of the country of Cotiote in the late war with Tipu Sultan, and also noted the revenue exception for temple that provisioned in this settlement.
[61] See No: XCL document in part II of collection in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, pp. 106-108.
[62] See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol. I, p. 499.
[63] Ibid, p. 503.
[64] Ibid, pp. 502-503.
[65] Ibid, p. 503.
[66] Ibid, p. 178.
[67] Ibid, p. 497.
[68] William Logan wrote, "…but it was not easy to bring this about, for the Raja was well guarded by five hundred well armed Nayars from Wynad." Ibid, p. 503.

In early morning of that day, 300 men of the 3rd Battalion of Native Infantry, under Lieutenant James Gordon, surrounded the Raja's fortified house at Palassi…. An entrance was forced, but the affair has been mismanaged, and the Raja had four days previously gone to Manattana in the jungles.…The Raja after this could not feel himself safe in the low country, so that next news received of him was that, accompanied by his family and principle people, he had in May 1796, "ascended the mountains and gone to the ghaut Parayeel in the Wynad country."[69]

These whole scripting of contracts, military activities, and effect of places upon them further proceeded the formation of Wayanad(s) and also directed the scripting of correspondences that have roughly happened in the periods[70] between 1796 to 1803 which have been documented in *Talasseri Rekhakal [Records of Talasseri]* and *Pazhassi Rekhakal [Records of Pazhassi]*. But, rather than these colonial accounts, if we try to capture the formation of Wayanad(s) and the interconnection of act, context, and text in those formations from native accounts offered by Raja of Kottayam (Kerala Varma) and inhabitants of Kottayam, we can perceive certain situational differences and positional shifts.

Mapping Region's Formations through Talasseri Rekhakal and Pazhassi Rekhakal
Let us explore the grounds from *Pazhassi Rekhakal* that is written in old Malayalam(s) to elucidate it. The letter written by chieftains and landlords of Kottayam to Christopher Pele, the Superintend of Company government, in Malayalam year[71] 27th Thulam 972,[72] defensively makes an appeal for Kerala Varma to Company government in this way,[73]

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[69] Ibid, pp. 510-511.
[70] On the basis of available date of documentation one can put period of correspondences of *Talasseri Rekhakal* between 26th June 1796 (Malayalam year 13th Midhunam 971) and 30th November 1803 (16th Vishchikam 979) and *Pazhassi Rekhakal* between16th May 1796 (6th Edavam 971) and 1803 (17th Karkkadakam 979).
[71] In *Talasseri Rekhakal* and *Pazhassi Rekhakal* certain correspondences are dated in Malayalam and English year, but certain correspondences are only dated in Malayalam year, so it is difficult to put equivalent English dates to all Malayalam dates. Therefore, here I am referring only the available time period of correspondence.
[72] Malayalam year 972 more or less equal to the period of 1796-97 in English year.
[73] All translation from Malayalam is mine. Instead of word by word translation I adopted here the method of content translation. For Malayalam letter see correspondence in serial number: 57B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 40-43.

When in 964 (1788-89) Tipu Sulthan's Military came and deserted our land, all of them have fled; the younger *Thampuran* (Raja[74])—who died at Aalangat—ordered Pazhassi *Thampuran* to take responsibility and fled to Venad. Then Pazhassi *Thampuran* accepted the responsibility to protect all of us in the country. Then, he stayed with us in forest and saved our small-children. While from the capital of the English Company in 965 (1789-90), an order came to Thalacherry terminating Tipu's power. Therefore, a letter had been sent by Head of fort Thalacherry to Pazhassi *Thampuran* for collaborating with them in that military mission. So, with all of us he has gone to Thalacherry, and together with Head of fort and Governor we move to Kathirur and fought war against Tipu. Then, after terminating Tipu's peoples from the lands of Kottayamnad, Pazhassi *Thampuran* saved us from Tipu and he also distributed seeds of paddy to us that he lent from others for restarting cultivation. After the country came under the English Company he appointed Pazhaya Veetil Chandu to collect revenue from Pazhassi. Then, submitted revenue of 968 (1792-93) and 969 (1793-94) in the hands of Chandu.

In 970 (1794-95), honorable Edwin Sayppu[75] came to our country from Venad, and without knowing the exact revenue of the country, he wrote agreement (*kararnamam*) with Kurumbranad Raja to collect revenue of the country. Then we informed our concern to Pazhassi *Thampuran* regarding this but *Thampuran* told us that, though the agreement came to exist, we had no other option, rather than paying revenue to Chandu. Chandu increased the revenue rate of pepper, extracting to the tune of 970 (1794-95). For paying the high rate of revenue for the periods of 970(1794-95)'s and 971(1795-96)'s we sold out our land, other assets such as our children's earrings and necklaces. Those who had nothing to pay as revenue ran away to other places. Thus, without care, lots of pepper vines were destroyed.

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[74] One can read Raja as a synonym of *Thampuran;* but the word *Thampuran* connotes both body of people in royal lineage as well as lord.

[75] A term of respect which is used here to qualify English Company officers, but generally this term is used to qualify all Europeans.

Other than this, Chandu called and brought two Mappillas to his home by accusing them of robbery of Veghatte Angady. Then he took them to Pazhassi's palace and asked Pazhassi *Thampuran* to punish them. Subsequently, by replying to Chandu to do as per the order of the English Company, *Thampuran* had gone to Manathana. Without discussing this matter to us, Chandu killed the two Mappilas and hung them on *Kazhu*.[76] Rather than this, on 11th Medam 971 (1795-96), English Company's military intruded into Pazhassi's palace during his absence and forcefully took his belongs such as money, assets, and weapons. We do not know why the Company acts like this! However, without reacting to these acts of Company *Thampuran* stayed in Pala. But Chandu went to Pala, and told *Thampuran* that; if he stayed there the Company military would come and attack. So, then *Thampuran* distance from there and has moved to Churathumalekku[77] (Wayand).

After that Kurumbranad *Thampuran* and Gernnal Dom Sayppu (British Company's official) came to Churathumal (Wayanad) and affirmed that Company would return the lost assets from Pazhassi, vacate from his palace and save the *Prajas* (Subjects) of his country. So, *Thampuran* went with them to Kottayam. But they didn't return the complete assets which he had lost from Kottayam. Therefore, he kept those returned assets to a third man. Moreover, Chandu wrote a letter to *Thampuran*, to inform him that if he didn't go to Thalacherry, he would experience the same that happened to Pazhassi palace. Then he moved to Thodikkalam from Thillamyery. After that, Kurumbranad *Thampuran* arrived at Kottayam and by the tyranny of his revenue collection lot of *Kutikal*[78] (tenants) fled the land. Subsequently, they seized the land and assets of the people who fled. We felt fleeing as a shameful act, so we informed our sorrows in front of Pazhassi *Thampuran*. *Thampuran* nobly replied to us that he

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[76] One kind of public execution that is done by hanging the body of the culprit on a roped hook or vertically erecting the body of a culprit on a bar.

[77] Churathumalekku and Churathumal mean above the hilly pass or above the ghaut road. Figuratively it represents the place Waynad. See detailed discussion in coming lines.

[78] One can loosely translate the word *kutikal* as Tenants but in Malayalam *Kutikal* or *Kutiyan* means those who pay revenue directly to the government or those how have right to build *Kuti* (figuratively: hut and literally: drink) in Land by paying revenue to *Thampuran*. This was a type of relatively permanent traditional right on land.

would end our sorrows by conveying them to the Company. Therefore, we are requesting the Sayppu (Company's officer) to kindly allow Pazhassi *Thampuran* to collect Revenue from the year 972 (1796-97) onwards, and end our sorrows and save us by making our country as inhabitable. Otherwise, to inhabit with our children would sorrowful.

Significantly, this letter is a powerful register which maps the places by the recurrent move of people, and a potential record of interrelation between the day-to-day acts of people, places, and texts (scripted for to frame the revenue contacts) over a period of nine years (1788-1797). Moreover, it shows the deployment of sovereign power and its formulations on territory by destroying the well-being of inhabitants who lead settled agriculture and by pushing them to the edge of death through military and revenue activities. In detail, it marks (1) the desertification of Kottayam by Tipu's attack and flee of its people to the forest; (2) return encounter and strategic war of Pazhassi Raja and his people with Company through the landscape of Kottayam, Thalasseri, and Kathirur; (3) recapture of Kottayam and the replanting of agriculture in those terrains by distributing paddy seeds borrowed from others; (4) oppressive tapping of the revenue from those terrains by Kurumbranad *Thampuran* and his assistant Pazhaya Veetil Chandu and, consequential loss of pepper vines and the flight of people to other places; (5) arrest of two Mappillas by accusing them of robbery; taking of them to Pazhassi's palace and their public execution of them as culprits (6) following intrusion of Company military in Pazhassi palace and resultant strategic withdrawal of Pazhassi Raja to Churathumalekku (Wayanad), and (7) his return back to Kottayam by Company's offer from Churathumal and his departure to the Thodikkalam from Thillamyery.

Most notably this is a testimony which powerfully marked the preliminary presence and emergence of Pazhassi *Thampuran* (Kerala Varma of Kottayam) in 964 (1788-89) as a chief of Kottayam country by the order of younger *Thampuran* who fled to Venad. At the same time it is not clear what happened to Ravi Varma Raja who fought war against Tipu Sulthan for Kottayam and later signed the settlement for the revenue collection of Kottayam from Tipu and acted as a chief of Kottayam country up to 1787.

Besides, the above reproduced letter and two other defensively appealing letters of Pazhassi *Thampuran* which addresses Christopher Pele (the Superintend of Company government) in Malayalam year 972 (1796-97) also provides further evidences to these types of representations. The letter written by Kerala Varma (Pazhassi *Thampuran*) on 7th Thulam 972[79] mentions the military assistance offered by gathering chieftains and the people of Kottayam country as a result of written request of the Head of Thalacherry while Sardar Khan and Chirackal Raja attacked Thalacherry in 955.[80] Furthermore, similar to the inhabitants, words of Raja also make references to the incursion of military in his palace in his absence of and the plunder of his assets, saying that these were the result of the fabricated and fake stories told by the Kurumbranad *Thampuran* and Pazhaya Veetil Chandu to the Company overlord. Correspondingly it also pointed out that this was the result of his defence against the cruel acts of Kurumbranad *Thampuran* on people of Kottayam by rejecting the *Keezhmaryada* (traditional norms of the country) and Company's order. Further he revealed that his "stay after the mounting of the hilly-pass"[81] (in Wayanad) was the outcome of the news about the military's move to his locality about which Pazhaya Veetil Chandu had written to him. Then he notes that; the Company official came to Churathil (on hilly-pass) and promised that they would return the assets which they took from Pazhassi and would withdraw from his palace, but nothing has happened. Additionally he remarked,

> I never thought Pazhaya Veetil Chandu would act against me! The one I assigned to collect revenue for the Company is now, against me, he reports many blames to Company and, by believing him Company expressed hatred towards me. Therefore, by understanding slowly the truth of this, the Company should return the assets which they had taken from Pazhassi. If the Company is not admitting them I do not wish to live in our country and as Pazhaya Veetil Chandu wish I will withdraw from there and live in another place! He destroyed the country by taking lot of money as revenue also has not yet informed me about the accounts of his collection. He is the person who creates problem between me and the Company and he has now become trustworthy to the Company! Therefore, now onwards, by understanding the ultimate-

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[79] Probably 20th October 1796, see correspondence in serial number: 36A&B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal*, pp. 25-26.
[80] The Malayalam year 955 more or less equal to 1780 English year.
[81] In Malayalam *Choramkayarinilkkuka*, loosely means "climb atop the (Wayanad) ghaut."

truth (*parama-sathyam*) of these incidents, company would think of making good for me and my subjects.[82]

In another letter[83] on 12th Thulam 972 Kerala Varma requests the Company to thoroughly enquire about the murder of Mappilas saying,

> If Company investigates to find reason behind the death of Mappilas as to who killed them the Company can understand the ultimate-truth. And I will provide later the evidence for the Company to prove it. Why has the Company not released my lost assets even as the order came for that? …Along with company I terminated Tipu's military from our country, cleared the forest from the land which became jungle and brought back subjects. And I distributed money to them that has been lent from Thalacherry and purchased cattle from other countries and gave them and saved the country through cultivation. How can one collect lot of money as revenue from those subjects without the Company's order and traditional sanction and put them in trouble that pushes those many *Kutikal* (tenants) to flee. This put very much sorrow in me. That is the reason to oppose the revenue collection from country.

Positional Differences of Narratives

The positional difference between colonial narrative and native narrative on act, context and text is very visible here. Because, colonial narratives such as *Malabar* and *A Collection of Treaties* represent Pazhassi Raja as a collaborator-turned-antagonist and Kurumbranad Raja as a protagonist. Pazhassi Raja helped in war against Tipu and in settlement with the Company which designated him as the authority of Kottayam. His later denial of Colonial authority by stopping the revenue collection of the Company, demolition of Mappila mosque, execution of Mappilas and the protection of culprit considered to be as subjects of Company signify his collaborator-turned-antagonist representation. And obedient revenue settlement and agreements for revenue collection by Kurumbranad Raja with Company which visible in colonial narratives increasingly portrayed him as protagonist. Other than this, the narrative of natives on the one hand suggests Pazhassi *Thampuran* as protagonist of inhabitants of

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[82] *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 26.

[83] See correspondence dated 12th Thulam 972 (25th October 1796) in serial number: 39A&B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 28-29.

Kottayam who protected them and saved their children, allied with the British Company in war against Tipu and reasonably addressed the problem of revenue collection from Kottayam. On the otherhand these narratives set Kurumbranad *Thampuran* and assistant Pazhaya Veetil Chandu as antagonists who mercilessly tapped revenue from the inhabitants of Kottayam and deceived Pazhassi *Thampuran* by misinforming the Company about Pazhassi *Thampuran* and Pazhassi *Thampuran* about the Company.

More interestingly, without reversely portraying Company as an antagonist to Pazhassi *Thampuran* and inhabitants of Kottayam; in reaction to the antagonistic activities of Company which has operated through the incursion at Pazhassi's palace and brutal extraction of revenue from inhabitants of Kottayam, the native narrative is suggesting natives such as Kurumbranad *Thampuran* and his assistant Pazhaya Veetil Chandu as antagonists in the name of their unkind revenue collection and betrayal. Moreover, these native narratives written by Kerala Varma and inhabitants of Kottayam defuse the charges leveled by the Company against Kerala Varma by relocating sources of all problems on Pazhaya Veetil Chandu and justifying oppositional activities of Kerala Varma as a result of adversarial activities of Pazhaya Veetil Chandu against the inhabitants of Kottayam.

But the sound of justification of Kerala Varma is much more assertive than this in the letter which he wrote to the Kurumbranad *Thampuran* Veera Varma, on 7th Thulam 972.[84] Rather than on a requesting mode, on the matter of stoppage of collection of revenue, he strongly states,

> Though English the Company is very strong, we haven't yet decided to stop the trail in the light of truth and justice (in our country). To inform those to their knowledge we stop the revenue collection from country. … Therefore, the principal people of the country reached Manathana[85] and decided; "take what is obtainable" and "give what is givable" from our country (to Company).

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[84] See correspondence in serial number 45 A&B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 32-33.

[85] One of the temporary stations outside Pazhassi from where Pazhassi Raja operated his military strategies along with his principle people after the Company military people raided his palace at Pazhassi.

Here it is clear that one cannot consider natives as a homogenous category having a homogenous interest, in this context. Because, even though Kurumbranad Raja Veera Varma and his chief associate Pazhaya Veetil Chandu worked as allies of Company, by using the governmental machinery of the Company, they satisfied their personal interest to rule Kottayam, Kurumbranad and Wayanad countries as their own, but overall it worked as a supporting mechanism for Company's interest too. Contrary to them Pazhassi Raja and his few supporters seemed to be the protectors of the interest of inhabitants or subjects of Kottayam but their definition about inhabitants/subjects were so secluded because it only included Brahmins, Cow, Rajas[86] and tenants who were subjected to Raja's power. Moreover, *Atiyaan*[87] of *Kutikal* such as Cherumar was considered as sellable assets of a *Janmi*[88] (landlord) like cattle and ornaments. Therefore, they never came under the title of inhabitant or under the preview of inhabitants' interest. Furthermore, though Mappilas of these countries lived as chieftains, merchants, petty shopkeepers, Company administrator, Company agents, tenants and labourers in several contexts[89] they were depicted as robbers, polluters, cheaters and cow-slaughters who needed severe punishments and were dangerous to the Brahmanic (im)moral economy of these countries. In fact, they were also not completely considered as inhabitants/subjects whose interests should be protected.

Conclusion

From these discussions (which depict the situations of Kurumbranad, Kottayam and Wayanad from first invasion of Mysore regime on Malabar to the attack and loot of British

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[86] See correspondence in serial number: 1003J dated in 18th Thulam 974 (6th November 1798), *Talasseri Rekhakal,* pp. 457-458. And also see letter of Pazhassi Raja in Foreign Political Consultations about Pazhassi rebellion which available in National Archive New Delhi which is indexed by K.K.N Kurup, in *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal* p. 169.

[87] One might translate *Atiyaan* as slave communities but condition of *Atiyaan* is worse than that of slaves in Europe. For instance in Europe slaves possessed land right in certain contexts but here *Atiyaan* did not have any land right. Moreover, *Ati* or *Adi* means base, bottom, foot and *oone* represent "he" in Malayalam, therefore one of the possible meaning of *Atiyaan* was "the men at the bottom of *Jati* society." To know the situation of *Atiyaan* see the petition submitted by Chieftains (*Mukiayasthan*), Tenants (*Kutiyans*) and Accountants (*Tharakans*) in Venattagady to Company's Collector, see correspondence in serial number: 1427 M dated in 5th Dhanu 978, in *Talasseri Rekhakal*, pp. 678-679.

[88] Even though one can roughly put *Janmi* as Landlord, the title linguistically means those who have *Janmam* right (birth right) on land or *Attipperu*. See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol. II, p. clxxii.

[89] See same reference in 73rd footnote and also see correspondence in serial number: 212A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 134, and correspondence in serial number: 1423 K in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* pp. 676-677.

military from Pazhassi palace, chronically from 1766 to 1796) one can outline the peculiarity of this preliminary phase of early-modern formations of Wayanad(s) in this way. In the preliminary phase; Mysore regime perceived and reified the terrains of Wayanad as a *bridge to power,* an area which helped them to expand their territorial rule to Malabar. Contrary to them, Kottayam Rajas conceived and used the terrains of Wayanad as a *land of refuge* that offered shelter to them against the military attack of Mysore regime or the British Company, but other than these two the British identified the terrains of Wayanad as an *area against their will to conquer* which could offer potential space to deploy unpredictable military attack on their interests.

In elaboration, by conquering the terrain of Wayanad and use of the geographical specialties and military importance of those terrains which provide a short-cut to reach counties of Malabar, and also by producing built environment like road, post, armory and fort; Mysore regime not only operated their military activities to conquer the countries of Malabar but also shaped Wayanad as a region by their subsequent attack on Malabar and scripting of revenue settlements and treaty with Chirackal Raja, Ravi Varma Raja and British Company.[90] Different from this, exile of Kerala Varma—as a result of military attack and plunder of Company from Pazhassi Palace—to *Churathintemeethal* maps the terrain of Wayanad as region of refuge. And in reverse, for British, these activities frame Wayanad as a region of potential threat that is difficult to map and define, for their expansion of territorial power in Malabar.

In next chapter one can understand how these tussles and turbulent states in the formations of region(s) extend to next levels and notice, how *Churathintemeethal* is transformed from a refuge for him into a territory of Pazhassi's reign by his military activities, revenue collections, and judicial proceedings. That has been reified through his selective agreements and contestations with the Company and Mysore.

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[90] However, that terrain of Wayanad again falls into dispute, later in 1792.

Chapter Six

Mysore, Pazhassi and British (1796 to 1799): Middle Phase of Early-Modern Formations of Wayanad(s)

Introduction

In this chapter, I venture to delineate changes in the early-modern formations of Wayanad(s) as region(s), from the period of British military attack on Pazhassi's palace to that of the conquest of Sreerangapattanam that resulted in the killing of Tipu Sulthan. This period covers three years from 1796 to 1799. After the attack and plunder at Pazhassi palace, Raja of Pazhassi, Kerala Varma, in 1796, exiled to *Churathintemeethal* (Wayanad). The submission of Krishna Rayer, Company officer of Kottayam, to Christopher Pele, on 13th Edavam 971 (26th May 1796)[1]—quite near to the military action at Pazhassi which occurred in 1st April 1796—provides evidence about Pazhassi's move. He wrote,

> After this incident Pazhassi Raja with his kids, children, Rajas (*thampranmar*), ministers (*karyakkar*) and chiefs (*mukyasthan*) has gone to Peril Hill situated "above the hilly-pass" (*Churathinte-Mukallil*) in "Wayanad country" (*Wayant Sheemayil*). When was leaving Paleri he wrote to his ministers and tenants (*Kutiyanmar*), "I am going to forest."

Concurrently, on 13th Mithunam 971 (23rd June 1796)[2] the Company government demanded the inhabitants from Kottayam who left their homes and the traders who closed their shops to come back home and open their shops, and to be present in the administrative offices to settle their grievances. Similarly, on 21st Mithunam 971 (1st July 1796),[3] the Company government distributed a circular to the inhabitants to return to their home by leaving Raja, who appeared to have gone to the forest jointly with Kerala Varma. Further, they threatened them that their

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[1] See, correspondence in serial number: 11 C & D, dated in English year 26th May 1796, in *Talasseri Rekhakal* (Kottayam: Centre for Kerala Studies, D.C. Books, 1996) pp. 5-6.
[2] See, correspondence in serial number: 1A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal* (Kottayam: Center for Kerala Studies, D.C. Books, 1996) p. 1.
[3] See, correspondence in serial number: 5A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 3-4.

assets would be sequestrated if they continue their insolent behavior by living a secret life and by stockpiling weapons without obeying the order of Company.

From these letters,[4] one can understand that after the incursion of military at Pazhassi palace, Kerala Varma lived away from Pazhassi palace and moved around Perile/Periya, Peruvayal,[5] Manathana, Maanathery, and Thodikkalam—places conceded as jungle terrains and tracts on above hilly-pass (*Churathintemeethal)* or closely connected with hilly-pass (*Churam*). As we saw above, in the letter of inhabitants, Pazhassi Raja and his people moved recurrently from one place to another.[6] Correspondingly, he sent letters as formal orders[7] to his *Pravarthikaran* (revenue collectors) of Mozakkunnu, Kallattu and Koodali, and threatened them not to collect revenue from Kottayam and ordered them to send either rice or accounts of revenue (*Pattolla*) for his sojourn or to join him there. Likewise, he sent Kaitheri Amboo and Chengotteri Chandoo,[8] his military chiefs, to Paattyam and Muryad in Kottayam to intimidate subjects of Kottayam. Under the headship of Kaitheri Amboo on 1st Thulam 972[9] around thirty of them armed with guns threatened *Kutikal* to send rice to Maanathery where Raja temporally took residency or pay rice as revenue to Raja. Moreover, they looted the shop of Kuttiassan at Muryad and abducted tenants like Chindan and Pakrrummare, the latter being the brother-in-law of Kuttiassan. Besides, Chengotteri Chandu who came to Kottayam on 2nd Thulam 972[10] from Thodikkalam banned the revenue collection and ordered *Kutikal* not to obey Pazhaya Veetil Chandu, as he was the man who was assigned to collect revenue for the Company. Responding to this incident Veera Varma[11] wrote: "if people who act in the

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[4] Here I am considering the letters which were produced in the earlier chapter.

[5] See K.K.N. Kurup, *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal* (Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2008) p. 48.

[6] See letter in serial number: 57B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal* which completely reproduced above, that has mapped the movement of Pazhassi Raja.

[7] See, correspondences in serial number: 46A & B, 47A & B, 48A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 33-34.

[8] See, letters send by Pazhaya Veetil Chandu, Veera Vrama and Krishna Rayar (the British officer of Kottayam) to Christopher Pele which serially numbered as : 22A & B, 23A & B, 24B, 33A & B, 34B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 17-34.

[9] Probably October 1796.

[10] Probably October 1796.

[11] He was assigned to revenue collection from Kottyam and Kurumbranad countries on behalf of the Company.

line of bad-thoughts have an option to escape to forest from Company's punishment, one cannot maintain peace and collection of revenue from the country."[12]

 Here Pazhassi Raja and his people were using the jungle terrains and tracks above hilly-pass (*Churathintemeethal*) or linked with the hilly-pass (*Churam*) as a strategic place to send formal orders and to operate military moves for asserting their power on Kottayam. In return, the geographical specialties of jungle terrains and tracks circumscribed by forest—considered as the part of *Churathintemeethal*—offered an impenetrable safe zone for Pazhassi Raja and his people as a refuge. Moreover, for Pazhassi Raja and his people, this geographical specialty of jungle terrains and tracks of *Churam* and *Churathintemeethal* offered an environment to frame their text such as orders and letters. These scripting practices and military moves besides the specificity of place together formed *Churathintemeethal* (Wayanad) and Kottayam as different, but interconnected regions. In other words, geographical uniqueness of the forest and mountain-pass, the loaded guns armed by around thirty men, and the scripted orderings on palm-leaf (*Oola*)[13] were the three factors that made possible Pazhassi Raja's and his people's control and direction on people, things and places. In short, these three processes jointly mapped and produced *Churathintemeethal* (Wayanad), different from Kottayam, as places that are interconnected.

At the same time, contrary to this, by sending their formal letters and circulars to the inhabitants (especially tenants and merchants), the Company government also ordered them to return from the forest to Kottayam and restart normal life by farming and reopening shops and to submit their grievances to the Company authority. This process, the formal writing practice, by which Kottayam was marked as a place of possible agrarian life—different from the forest which was considered as part of the place *Churam* or *Churathintemeethal* (Wayanad)—also affirmed Company's power over Kottayam. Furthermore, while the formal

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[12] In most letters written by Veera Varma he called and qualified himself as Veera Varma of Kottayam and Kurumbranad. This was a strategic politics of naming too because by extending his name into the place of Kottayam he was in fact extending his political claim on the region to rule. See, letters send by Veera Vrama of Kottayam and Kurumbranad to Christopher Pele in serial number: 33A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 22-23.
[13] One can generally consider *Oola* as a text inscribed in palm-leaf but in special case *Chempoola* (copper-leaf) is also considered as *Oola*. This *Oola* was most probably scripted by scripting-nail (*Naarayam* or *Ezuthaany*).

letters of the Company mapped the contours of Kottayam—distinct from forest terrains linked with the *Churathintemeethal* (Wayanad)—by directing and limiting the movement of inhabitants through setting the judicial frontiers of Kottayam, Pazhassi Raja and his people challenged that mapping by traversing the judicial and military frontiers and redrawing the boundary of Kottayam with their formal orders and military moves in their own interest.

Moreover, the attempt of the British or Pazhassi to deploy sovereign power on Kottayam was not only reified by guaranteeing a situation for the prosperity of Kottayam but by putting life-supporting system of people under constant threat. On the one hand, the Company signaled to offer a peaceful future to the country through the attack and plunder at Pazhassi Palace—thereby deposing the native Raja from Palace[14]—and, also by brutally extracting revenue from inhabitants of Kottayam and putting them under the enduring terror of sequestration. On the other hand, Pazhassi Raja and his people also envisaged a future of autonomous well-being for Kottayam by taking weapons against the Company; by leading a nomadic surreptitious life in the forest for ambush; by intimidation and abduction of Company employers in Kottayam who were assigned to collect revenue and trading; by using guns and formal orders; burglary from shops of his enemies; and moving rice and other goods to Raja's sojourn.

Here it is very much obvious that other than the bodies of settled people in Kottayam, the bodies of people who left Kottayam and moved through the adjacent forested terrains were becoming severe threat to the territorial sovereignty of the Company on Kottayam. Therefore, establishing a permanently settled agrarian life of people by bringing back the tenants of Kottayam who left to forested terrains was the prerequisite of Company to establish its sovereign power over Kottayam. In short, *moving bodies* became the threat to the sovereignty rather than *settled bodies*. In other words, sovereign power on the relatively settled agrarian terrains of Kottayam depended not only on fostering and regulating people who lived in those terrains but also on resisting and controlling the potential threat of armed

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[14] The spatial location of authority seems to be the responsible place to offer peaceful life to the subjects of the country.

people who roamed through the forested terrains linked with the *Churam* or *Churathintemeethal* (Wayanad).

Veera Varma's Mapping of Productive and Catastrophic Geography of Wayanad

Activities and discussions of Veera Varma with the Company government to collect revenue from *Churathintemeethal* (Wayanad)[15] by him for the Company and the oppositional military moves of Tipu Sulthan or Kerala Varma—which was reported by Veera Varma—elaborated the scope of this spatial politics to another level. In response to the query of Company government in 23rd Chingam 972 (6th September 1796) Veera Varma replied to Christopher Pele.[16]

> As per the order that came from Nettur fort, I will do the works by bringing the chieftains and accounts from Wayanad country. Based on the information I have received from *Chorathummal* (Wayanad) a few people of [Tipu] Sulthan crossed the border from Edathra Fort and abducted one cow and one tenant. Moreover, a few of them from Kakkana fort also traversed the limit.

The Subsequent letter [17] written on 11th Kanny 972[18] by Veera Varma to Christopher Pele not only discussed the problems of revenue and the plunder of Tipu Sulthan in Wayanad but also illustrated other social situations of the people who lived in Wayanad. He informed the Company that Maruthanath Raman destroyed the house that he built in 971 in Edanadassa Koottil[19] in Wayanad. He rebuilt those houses by entering Wayanad via Thamarasseri hilly pass and stayed there later. Meanwhile, on 14th Mithunam, when the Company officer Dow came to Wayanad he rebuked Veera Varma for his failure in the payment of revenue and Dow also instructed to him to send a letter to Pazhassi (Raja) who was staying in Periya. Moreover, on 1st Karkadakam 971, by the order of Dow he got the right to govern the Wayanad country. Further, Veera Varma replied that because of Tipu's military raid, the

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[15] For discussions between Veera Varma and the Company government regarding collection of revenue from Wayanad see letters dated 25th Mithunam 971 (6th July 1796) and 19th Kanny 971 in serial number: 7A and 11A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 22-23.

[16] See, correspondence in serial number: 111 C & E in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* p. 57.

[17] See, correspondence in serial number: 150 C & E in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* pp. 77-80.

[18] Probably in September 1796.

[19] Edanadassakoor also appeares as Edanadassakkudy.

production of grains in Wayanad thinned out and that he failed to control Wayanad. Therefore, he requested that he could not pay revenue for the year of 970 and 971. Then, after mentioning the time of rice harvesting in Wayanad, and obstruction of Tipu's military to the cropping, he described the chaotic life of the people in Wayanad, "the *Kutikal* (tenants) live (in Wayanad) by stealing the sandalwood which remained rotten in the forest and by cultivating in some land, when military arrived they flee to the forest." He added that the situation not only exhausted the revenue of Company from the sandalwood but also created possibilities to Pazhassi's *Karyakkar* (ministerial officials) to plunder the share from *Kutikal* (tenants). He remarked that it was difficult to generate revenue by enquiring revenue from the (Tipu's) people of Karnataka laying stress on the fact that; "in these circumstances, to audit and to protect revenue, Company's involvement is better, because Malayalam-land (Malayala-*kkara*) may not able to answer the questions of Karnataka-land (Karnadaka-*kkara*)." Hence, he has requested the Company government to provide him fifty Sepoys—along with gun and gunpowder—to surrender Wayanad under him and additionally asked the Company to send five hundred *urupya* (rupees) to his expense, and concluded that "this is the state of Edathara (in Wayanad)."

Veera Varma wrote another letter in 17th Kanny 972,[20] and described in detail the written accounts of revenue from Wayanad country in the years of 970 (1794-95) and 971 (1795-96), and elaborately narrating the plunders of Tipu's people from Wayanad as a reason for his failure in paying revenue to the Company. He presents the amount of revenue, in the year 970 and 971, from paddy in the rate of *Pothy* (Bag) based on each division of Wayanadu *Rajyam* (Wayanad country). He estimates the total revenue from paddy in year of 970 from Wayanadu *Rajyam* as 23267 *Pothy* (Bag).[21] That includes 4607.75 *Pothy* from Mootheruvatil (Mootha Kooruvatil), 4060 *Pothy* paddy from Elayeruvatil (Elaya Kooruvatil), 2800 *Pothy* paddy from Wayanattil, 1100 *Pothy* paddy from Porunnannuru, 1000 *Pothy* from Kunjoth, 5200 *Pothy* from Edanadassa Kootil and Muttil Edavaka, and 4500 *Pothy* from *Paarakkumeethal*.

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[20] Probably in September 1796; for a better understanding see, correspondence in serial number: 151 C & E in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* pp. 80-81.
[21] This calculation has a slight variation because if one calculates this s/he will get the total as 23267.75 bags.

Further he described that the estimated revenue of paddy in year of 971 from Wayanadu *Rajyam* as 17560 *Pothy*. That included 4300 *Pothy* paddy from Mootheruvatil , 2560 *Pothy* from Elayeruvatil , 500 *Pothy* from Wayanattil, 800 Pothy from Porunnannuru, 1000 *Pothy* from Kunjoth, 4300 *Pothy* from Edanadassa Koootil and Muttil Edavaka, and 4100 *Pothy* from Parakkumeethal. In this way, he puts the grand total of revenue in the years 970 and 971 as 40827.50.[22] Moreover, he also mentioned the revenue of cardamom from Mootheruvatil as 68.5 *Thulam* and from Edanadassa Kootil as 36.5 *Thulam*, the aggregate coming around 95.[23]

The letter cites the loot and abduction of paddy, seed, calf, cow, goat, tenant, man, children from Wayanad and carnage and burning of men, house and hut in the region by Tipu's army and the subsequent flee of tenants from Wayanad as reasons for his failure to submit revenue of Wayanad before the Company. He described that in 23rd Kumbam 970, the army of Tipu, headed by Sardar Shaik Muhamad, entered Wayanad through Edathrakotta passage and burned and looted (C*huttukollayiduka*)[24] from *Paarakkumeethal*, Koliyadi-*desham,* Thirumangalam kottadesham, and Ganapthyvattam and took away calf and cow (*Kannukaally*),[25] goat and seed. Passing through Muttil *Edavakka* the army then burned and looted Wayanad, Panamaram, Poothady *Edavakka*, Cherattiyamapth *desham*; then the *Kuti* (tenants) of these places ran way.

In 13th Dhanu 971 the army led by Sardar Saykkarapatty entered *Paarakkumeethal* through Edathrakotta passage and burned and looted calf and cow, paddy and seed from Kedaganad and Vadakkan *Edavakka*, subsequently *Kutikal* (tenants) who lost a lot moved away from those places. Then the army entered Wayanad through Muttil *Edavaka*, burned and looted and abducted seventy-one people including kids, children and *Kutiyan* (tenants) from

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[22] This grand total also has slight variation because if one calculate grand total s/he will get result as 40827.75 bags.

[23] Here the variation in totaling is remarkable because the total comes around as 105 Thulam.

[24] In *Chuttukollayiduka*, the prefix *Chuttuka* means burned and the suffix *Kollayiduka* means plundered, so, one of the possible meanings of this is burned and plundered.

[25] In *Kannukaally*, the prefix *Kannu* means calf and the suffix *Kaally* means cow, therefore probably it means calf and cow but in certain contexts along with calf and cow the word *Kannukaally* also includes bull.

Wayanad, Pulpally *desham* and Poothady, and killed nineteen men. From these places, the *Kutikal* (tenants) who lost their life supporting system went away. Later the army men entered Elayeruvatil, burned and plundered calf, cow, goat, paddy and seed from Maadathinkara, Achaany and Thrissilery, and abducted twenty-two men and killed two from them. Then, they burned and plundered calf, cow, goat and paddy from three places of Mootheruvatil in Perinchola *desham* and kidnapped three people from a house.

Again on 23 Vrishchikam 972 (5th December1796)[26] Veera Varma wrote a similar letter by mentioning the plunder of Tipu Sulthan as a cause of his failure to pay revenue of Wayanad country in Kottayam Thalook in the years of 970 and 971. He described the rate of revenue collection as 23000 (in the year of 972), 25000 (in 973) and 30000 (in 974) from Wayanad. He also remarked the necessity to assert the power of the Company on Wayanad to resolve the turmoil, which was taking place in Wayanad. Meanwhile, a formal written order came from Company headquarters of Bombay and Bengal on 17th October 1796[27] by announcing to officials that, "we didn't hesitate to order Wayanad as definitely part of places in Malayam [Malayalam] countries given by Tipu Sulthan, and it is good to allow the Sypoys to stay in Wayanad as they, till this moment, were already residing in there."

Although these accounts of Veera Varma simply were the defense of his failure in duty to collect and submit revenue of Wayanad before the Company, its reverberations had extremely deep effects. Significantly, these accounts of Veera Varma locating the importance of Wayanad work against the will of Company to install its authority on Mysore and Malabar by its unruly conditions that are linked with war, loot, and revenue. Additionally, it also signifies how *acts* such as military move and revenue collection, *text* like written letter and order and *context* like forested-terrain and agrarian-field constitute their meaning mutually, and how they jointly attempt to form Wayanad as a region different from other places of Malabar and Mysore. Those situated below hilly-pass such as *Thamarasseri choram* and beyond jungle-passage such as Edathra *kotta t*hat respectively directed towards the places in Malabar and Mysore domains.

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[26] See correspondence in serial number: 83B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 57-58.
[27] See correspondence in serial number: 84B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 58.

In short, the narratives of Veera Varma, especially the third letter cited above, can be seen as mapping the geography of Wayanad in two ways; as a revenue based *productive geography* and as a turmoil based *catastrophic geography*. On the one hand, by accounting the revenue from paddy and cardamom, based on different divisions of Wayanad country such as Mootheruvatil, Elayeruvatil, Wayanattil, Porunnannuru, Kunjoth, Edanadassa Kootil, Muttil Edavaka, and Paarakkumeethal, in the rate of *Pothy* and *Thulam*,[28] Veera Varma not only sketched and made an administrative geography of Wayanad but also produced quantifiable geographical knowledge about Wayanad. This account of Veera Varma indirectly was an attempt to formulate Wayanad as region in the modern sense for authenticating the power of the Company over Wayanad. But, based on available knowledge we can understand here that the typology of geographical knowledge that classifies Wayanad into many revenue divisions and geographical areas, and the unit of measure such as *Pothy* and *Thulam* were not produced from a colonial system, rather they were generated from a traditional knowledge of *natives*. In fact, probably one can argue that the foundation of modern geographical knowledge in these texts that frame Wayanad as a region in modernity was not completely European-modern in its pure sense.

Veera Varma produced not merely a disastrous geography of Wayanad but also a definable geographical knowledge about the region by mapping the loot and theft of sandalwood, paddy, cardamom, seed, calf, cow, and goat; the abduction of tenant, man and children; carnage and burning of man, house and hut by Tipu's army; and resultant expulsion of tenants to forest and neighboring countries which happened in *Paarakkumeethal*, Koliyadi-*desham*, Thirumangalam *kottadesham*, Ganapthyvattam, Muttil *Edavakka*, Wayanad, Panamaram, Poothady *Edavakka*, Cherattiyamapth, Kedaganad and Vadakkan *Edavakka*, Pulpally *desham*, Poothady, Elayeruvatil, Maadathinkara, Achaany, Thrissilery, Mootheruvttil and Perinchola *desham*. In this milieu also, we can notice, accounts about people, animal and house that existed in Wayanad, division of places in Wayanad, and forest-passages and hilly-passes which mark the frontiers of Wayanad were used to draw geography

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[28] *Pothy* and *Thulam* were two different counts in traditional measuring systems.

of Wayanad possibly evoked by Veera Varma from a *traditional knowledge of native* other than from a colonial register. Therefore, one can argue that the geographical knowledge in these texts, which structure Wayanad as a region in modern terms was not absolutely European-modern in its nature.

Significantly, by transgressing the administrative boundary and productive geography of Wayanad, which was textually mapped by Veera Varma for the Company, Tipu's army mapped the geography of Wayanad as catastrophic by their acts like carnage, burning, raid and abduction, and attempted to frame Wayanad by their arm as a region under their power. Besides, we can also realize that Veera Varma's request to the Company for fifty sepoys with gun and gunpowder was an act parallel to the textualization of Wayanad for consigning Wayanad to his power.

Moreover, on a closer look, we can see that the language in Veera Varma's letters is meant to normalize the power of the Company on Wayanad. To further elaborate the point; on the one hand, by portraying Tipu, Pazhassi and tenants as trespassers who do looting, theft, abduction, killing, burning and other illegitimate acts, and on the other, by justifying the attempt of the Company to seize wealth from the disputed land of Wayanad in the name of revenue-collection (*mothaletuppu*), the Veera Varma's text legitimizes the power of Company on Wayanad. Here a naked eye probably suggests that in the absence of formal ornamental language—which names seizing of wealth as revenue collection—the act of Company becomes mere of looting of others' possession just like Tipu's and Pazhassi's act. Put it differently, subject position of the author and procedures of the language are decisive in making the meaning of an act.

Furthermore, the minor remarks of Veera Varma about plunder of Pazhassi's people from the tenants of Wayanad also signify the double use of plunder by Pazhassi Raja like that of Tipu Sulthan and the Company. Plunder as a way of accumulation of wealth from Wayanad and plunder as a way of assertion of their power over Wayanad. The Following letters, like above letters, also strengthen the evidence of this strategy of power on terrains of Malabar

especially on Wayanad, along with the preparation of Pazhassi Raja for a war against the Company.

Two Conflictual Plottings of Wayanad by Veera Varma and by Pazhassi Raja

On 4th Vrishchikam 972[29] Veera Varma wrote to Christopher Pele; "On Churathumal (Wayand) Kaitheri Emman and Kunkku were disturbing *Kutikal* (tenants) by demanding Cardamom sent from Thodikkalam." Next to this on 7th Vrishchikam 972 (19th November 1796) Pazaya Veetil Chandu wrote[30] to Christopher Pele that,

> By sending his men from Aambillat-*desham* in Kottayam, Kaitheri Amboo shot and killed a Tiyyan. Kaitheri Amboo is the man of Pazhassi *Thampuran*. He has houses in Kottayam and Maanathery. By the order of Pazhassi from Thodikkalam through shaping the hill he built a house and fort in Maanathery.

A letter subsequently written by Veera Varma on 26th Vrishchikam 972[31] not only illustrates the loot of Pazhassi Raja's people from Wayanad by terminating the Parapravan but also registered Pazhassi Raja's further move. Veera Varma narrates,

> I allow the chief Mappila Parapravan-kutty in Kottayam-town (kottyathangady) to possess his belongings in Wayanad by using muscle power. While he has gone to Wayanad and attempted to take his belongings, Pazhassi Raja has sent Kaitheri Kukkan, Kaitheri Emman and other people against him from Thodikkalam. Without considering my order, they have terminated Parapravan and plundered cardamom and paddy from there.
>
> The people who helped for this in Wayanad were Edachena Kunkkan, Thondar Chathoo and Koyilery Cheran. Paalora Emman and Chengottery Chandu were also with them. They were the people who subordinated the revenue officer (Keezhparpathyam), Keezhukkida Maruthanath Raman. I don't like their seizure of revenue collected by Raman.

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[29] Most probably on 16th November 1796, see correspondence in serial number: 63B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 47.

[30] See correspondence in serial number: 64A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 47.

[31] See correspondence in serial number: 97B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 63-64.

The Company should help me to submit revenue of Wayanad in Kottayam on 26th. Otherwise, I am trapped in trouble. Without delay, the Company should send an order in the most suitable way to Wayanad. After all the assets are plundered by others, from Wayanad, Company cannot be angry with me! So I wrote (above) all things in detail. By actualizing all these Company would order and send soon the date of revenue collection.

Prior to these incidents, Pazhassi raja ordered[32] his revenue-officers (*Parpathyakaran*)—who were probably disobedient to him—not to take any revenue in the year of 972 in Kottayam country and in Mootheruvatil in favor of Veera Varma and the Company. Then he threatened them that "I heard that you also work as a helper to Parapron [Parapravan-kutty] who came to cardamom hill. It will not be good for you! A few of them [among my people] are going to ascend the hilly-pass to bring Parapeera Panathutty [Parapravan-kutty] down through hilly-pass. If you help Parapron you also experience the same."

On 3rd Dhanu 972 (14th December 1796), Veera Varma again sent a petition to Christopher Pele[33] about the atrocities of Pazhassi's people in Wayanad and surrounding areas. He wrote,

I have sent a written palm-leaf (*oola*) about the plunder of the people—who came from Thodikkalam—at the home of revenue collector whom I appointed, on eastern side of *Chorathummal* (Wayanad) in Elayakoorvadu Nattil (Elayeruvatil). The one whom I assigned to collect news, reported to me the atrocities meted out by the Pazhassi Raja by sending his men in Kallattu Edavaka. To report that news before you I sent him near to you. ….I came to know secretly that guard of Kaitheri Amboo killed a Tiyyan tenant (*Kutiyan*) in the month of Vrishchikam 972. Again I heard that he killed another Tiyyan.
In the name of Pazhassi Raja, the people who joined him were threatening others, seizing guns and other weapons which they made and possessed, and distributing those to other people who are sided to them. This turned out to be a permission to

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[32] See news reported by Mamppila Thodu Chaathu Nambiar in correspondence which serially numbered as: 99B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 65.
[33] See correspondence in serial number: 107A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal*, pp. 69-70.

them to do atrocities. I have no clarity on how to exercise power given to me to execute the order of protection and punishment of the subject (*Raksha-shiksha-kalppana*)[34] for the Company. If we fail to order protection and punishment of the subject, revenue collection will become difficult.

Meanwhile, on 7th Vrishchikam 972 (19th November 1796) and 8th Vrishchikam 972 (20th November 1796) Pazhassi also wrote letters[35] to Christopher Pele to settle the problem between him and the Company, and also asked to return his lost assets from his palace. On 4th Dhanu 972 (15[th]December 1796) responding to these atrocities Christopher Pele wrote a warning letter[36] to Pazhassi Raja,

> Kurumbranad Raja (Veera Varma) and one Brahmin have informed me that people were committing atrocities using your name in Kallattu edavaka. I lost my pleasant mood, when I heard that. I think you know that my attempt is to resolve the problems. As a knowledgeable person you might have known I can't allow the denial of the wellbeing (*sukhaviroodham*) of the country. Therefore, as soon as possible you should order that "nobody go to disturb the wellbeing of the country" in your name.

On 5th Dhanu 972 (16th December 1796), the next day, Pazhassi Raja replied to[37] to Christopher Pele saying that "I didn't want to disturb the tranquility in the country. I know that the respectable Sayppu is a very knowledgeable person." Subsequently, the next day on 6th Dhanu 972 (17th December 1796) Pazhassi Raja wrote a letter to Christopher Pele,[38] in which he reminded them of his collaboration with the Company as an agent of revenue collection from Kottayam in the period of 969. He also stated that he lost his assets which he kept in Pazhassi because of his opposition to the atrocities of Kurumbranad Raja on the subjects of country after Kurumbranad Raja was appointed as a revenue collector in the year of 970 in his place. Then he expressed his distress at the tyrannies of the people of Kottayam

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[34] Probably *Raksha-shiksha-kalppana* was a judicial power which responsible to maintains the law and order system of country.

[35] See correspondences in serial number: 66A & B, 68A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 48-49.

[36] See correspondence in serial number: 111A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 71-72.

[37] See correspondence in serial number: 113A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 73.

[38] See correspondence in serial number: 117A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 75-76.

who believed in him. Also he requested the Company to write a new agreement in which he would be to assigned to collect revenue from the Kottayam country.

In response to this, Christopher Pele wrote to Pazhassi Raja[39] next day on 7th Dhanu 972 (18th December 1796) asking him to write about his grievance to the Company if the Company denies his inheritance (*neravakasam*)[40] by the agreement of Company with Kurumbranad Raja. Also he has advice to him to believe in Company to judge on this case. Pele further added that the government was convinced about his rights which can sanction, but can't take, the right of your elder-brother Kurmbranad Raja. He then stated that he believes in Pazhassi Raja because of his revelation that; "he didn't do anything to disturb the wellbeing in the country." Then he concluded that "if anybody disturbs the wellbeing in the country, Company will not leave them alive."

Moreover, as a mediator of the Company Parappanad Raja went to Maanathery with the elder Raja; handed over the letter of the Company and discussed the matter in a convincing language with Pazhassi Raja.[41] Responding to this, on 12th Dhanu 972 (23rd December 1796),[42] Kerala Varma wrote to Christopher Pele to accept his inherited right over Kottayam country as a possession which is traditionally sanctioned by his ancestor. He narrates,

> When in 968 Tipu's military came to our province everybody fled to Venad including Kurumbranad Raja. Meanwhile, my elder-brother gave me the right to protect the subjects and country. By the order of previous elder-brother the current elder-brother also gave a writ as a written sanction to protect the country Kottayam. As per the order of my ancestors I am protecting the country. If you ask this to the chieftains and subjects who supervise the country they will corroborate this. As per the traditional justice (*Pandenadakkuna Mariyatham*) the Paramara (Farmer) Sayppu wrote agreement with me in 968 and allowed me to rule country. But when Duncan Sayppu

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[39] See correspondence in serial number: 115A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp.74-75.

[40] Apart from this, the word *neravakasam* has two other possible translations; one is *truthful-right* and other is *direct-right* because the prefix *neru* mean *truth* as well as *direct*.

[41] See letter written by Company officials such as Baalajira and Peshkkar Ramara Ukkudy on 10th Dhanu 972 (probably 21st December 1796) which serially numbered as: 125B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 83-84.

[42] See correspondence in serial number: 126B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 84-86.

met me at Kottayam he told me that the matters of defense and revenue (*amkkam-chukkam*) and punishment and protection (*shiksha-raksha*) in the country can't be decided without consulting others. I myself gave [to Company] the money of the revenue [collected for Company] in that year by going to Thalacherry [headquarters]. However, while I am ruling the country as per the sanction of ancestors, without consulting me, Eshtimin (Edwin) Sayppu wrote the agreement with Kurumbranad Raja. But how can a country that our ancestors gave me, can be give [to Kurumbranad Raja] by an agreement? I have already informed the Company government what I have done for Company. That is the principal-record (*pramanam*). … Therefore, Company should give the country to me.

Again on 9th Dhanu 972[43] Veera Varma reported to Christopher Pele about the troubles further made by the people of Pazhassi Raja. He wrote: On 9th morning when I sent two Pattanmar (Tamil Brahmins) to assess pepper, then from the place Thamarakolangara, Kaitheri Amboo asked them, "where you are going?" They answered, "we are going to assess pepper." Then he holds and pulls them by telling them to come to Thodikallam. After a long time Amboo beats one among them. Next to this on 11th Dhanu 972[44] also Veera Varma wrote to Christopher Pele that: "Kaitheri Amboo and Kannoth Chekkura Ramara were brainwashing Pazhassi Raja who came to good behavior. So, we need to appoint fifty and hundred men respectively here (Kottayam) and *Chorathinmeethal* (Wayanad). And also need to ban other's supply of goods into the places where the Pazhassi Raja resides." Then after a few days Christopher Pele wrote to Veera Varma[45] to collect the revenue of Kurumbranad, Thamarasseri and Wayanad and send it immediately.

As mentioned above here also we can see that Pazhassi's people plundered cardamom and paddy in Churathumal and Kottayam, and Pazhassi dispatched a formal order to his

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[43] Probably on 20th December 1796, see correspondence in serial number: 121A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 77-78.

[44] Probably on 22th December 1796, see correspondence in serial number: 124A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 82-83.

[45] See correspondence dated on 16th Danu 972 (27rd December 1796) which serially numbered as: 127B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 86-87.

Parparyakaran by warning them not to take any revenue in Kottayam country and in Mootheruvatil, in the year of 972.

To sum up, (1) termination of Paraparavan-kutty from cardamom-hill, subordination of Maruthanath Raman and threatening of Company's revenue collector of Elayeruvatil to dispossess the cardamom and paddy in Churathumal and (2) beating, shooting and inflicting of terror over inhabitants and revenue auditors such as Pattanmar, capture of pepper in Kottayam, at Aambalat-desham and at Thamarakolangara, (3) and murder of three Tiyyans, seizing of gun like weapons and redistribution of those to other people who sided with them, and dissemination of atrocities at Kallattu Edavaka; were not only schemes to seize wealth but also attempts to announce the authority of Pazhassi on Churathumal and Kottayam. This not only denied power of Veera Varma—who try to execute the *order of protection and punishment* (*Raksha-shiksha-kalppana*) for the Company on subject—in Churathumal and Kottayam but also created obstruction to collection of revenue of cardamom and paddy of Churathumal and revenue of pepper of Kottayam. The repeating remarks in the letters of Veera Varma about the difficulty in revenue collection—as a result of plunder and atrocities of Pazassi's people in the places of Churathumal and Kottayam—and his continuous plea to the Company to establish its political authority on those areas demand attention. Because it reveals that accumulation of capital by revenue collection was one of the prime secrets behind the desire of the Company to establish their political authority on the lands of Malabar and Mysore. In other words, establishing sovereign power on these areas in Malabar and Mysore was becoming one of the preconditions for the colonial accumulation of capital for the English East India Company.

Along with this, one can see that without admitting the charges that the Company levelled against Pazhassi Raja and defending himself in his explanation letters asked by Company from him,[46] Pazhassi Raja secretly operated his move against the Company, and simultaneously appealed for his lost authority on Kottayam in an apologetic language. This style of response reflects ambivalence about Pazhassi Raja's rebellion and nature of his

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[46] This was a result of Veera Varma's and others's report which described plunders and atrocities of Pazhassi Raja's people on *Chorathumal* and Kottayam.

political wish to rule Kottayam rather than a political strategy of the vanquished native raja. Also his letter which attempts to prove his inheritance over Kottayam, before the Company, was not only a mark of this ambivalence but also a register of the complexity about the nature of political power of native rajas and its authentication process, that stands different from European way of political system and its legitimization process.

Instead of pure written records that seem to be the record of political legitimacy of a king, here Pazhassi Raja authenticated his claim of inheritance to rule not only by writ—written by elder-brothers that sanctions Pazhassi Raja's right to protect the subjects and country—but also by oral sanction of his ancestors, to rule the country based on traditional justice (*Pandenadakkuna Mariyatham*). But the question raised by Pazhassi Raja in his letter—"how the country that our ancestors had given to me can be given (to Kurumbranad Raja) by an agreement?"—signals the importance of oral sanction in native political system to rule a country equivalent to a written record like writ.

The remark in the letters about the built-environment such as fort and house through shaping hill at Maanathery by Kaitheri Amboo as an accomplishment of Pazhassi Raja's formal order indicates the furtive military plans of Pazhassi Raja which were mobilized clandestinely against Company's attempt to rule Kottayam and *Churathintemeethal*. Similarly, Veera Varma's request to post fifty and hundred (armed)-men respectively to Kottayam and *Chorathinmeethal*, and his appeal for banning supply of goods into the sojourn of Pazhassi Raja also signals the anticipatory schema from Company's side to counter Pazhassi's plans. In the coming letters one can see how the murmur mode of this secret-war was amplified by new hidden moves both from Pazhassi Raja's side as well as the Company's.

Sketchings of Wayanads: Pazhassi's Maneuvers with Tipu, and Company's Schemas
On 4th Dhanu 972[47] Panichaate Kannan, possibly a Company agent, wrote a secrete-dispatch to the Company about the hidden moves of Pazhassi Raja allied with Tipu Sultan against the rule of the Company government. Information in this dispatch was collected from some

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[47] Probably on 15th December 1796, see correspondence in serial number: 124B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 81.

principal men of Ettakooravattil who received writ from Paalora Emman the minister of Pazhassi *Thampuran*. This dispatch has marked some important sites in *Churathintemeethal* such as Periya, Valliyoorkavu and Paapali (Vavali). Panichaate Kannan wrote,

> Along with the writs (*tharaku*) of Pazassi *Thampuran* and Parampynattil *Thampuran*; Paalora Emman starts his journey on 28th Vrishchikam (972) from Thodikalam and reached Periya on 29th Vrishchikam. From there 1st Dhanu four people sent to Kakkana-fort (Kakkanakotta) with Emman's writing and with these two writs. Then, I came to hear that on 5th Dhanu Chief of the fort (of Tipu) and 29 men will reach on Paapali. Karumaatachery *Thampuran* has got a writ from two places regarding this. The writ ordered *Thampuran* to move to Valliyoorkavu on 5th, and also informed about the coming of Emman, Chathan and Kunkkan along with Paalora Emman and principal-men of Ettakooravattil and others to Valliyoorkavu on 5th. Moreover, the younger *Thampuran* of Pazhassi also will reach there. Then, these two *Thampuran*s with four merchants and four tenants together will go to Paapali and will discuss with Chief of the fort and plan to make an agreement on behalf of these four merchants. Through this they plan to bring the military [of Tipu] and fire against the Whiteman who camped in Periya and Kunjoth and descent them the hilly-pass. Then they are planning to built a fort in Kunjoth and camp their military, and settle few military men by building an underground (*Kadathilekkadiketty*).

Another circular was issued on12[th] Dhanu 972 (23rd December 1796)[48] by the Company to the tenants and chieftains of the province of Kottayam during the dialogic situation between Pazhassi Raja and Company.[49] The circular signals the secret move of the Company against the interest of Pazhassi Raja. That circular proclaims that the last few days Kerala Varma of Kottayam would be going to the forest and joining with others who are armed, without respecting the Company's order, and trying to threaten the tenants of the province by writing *oola* (palm-leaf orders) to everywhere to prohibit the revenue collection from Kottayam and Wayanad, and initiating riot. Therefore, people who stayed with Pazhassi Raja should return

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[48] See correspondence in serial number: 123B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 79-81.
[49] The letter wrote by Christopher Pele to Pazhassi Raja five days back (see above) expressed Company's belief on Pazhassi Raja.

immediately and report to northern Superintend of the Company within fifteen days. Otherwise, their asset will be sequestrated and they will experience serious consequence.

Moreover, on 21st Dhanu 971 (1st January 1797)[50] Christopher Pele wrote a warning letter to Kerala Varma Raja that the Company would not allow others to take weapons and collect revenue in the form of paddy and pepper from Kottayam which was assigned to Veera Varma to collect. If anybody acts against this order they will be punished by the Company. Furthermore, Pele directed Kerala Varma to distance from the people who took weapons and who have advised wicked-disposition (*durbuddhi*)[51] to him.

Meanwhile, on 18th Dhanu 971 (29th December 1796)[52] Kudaku Raja (Haalery Veera Rajendra Vadayar) sent a letter to Christopher Pele about the secret move of Tipu and the attempt of Kerala Varma Raja and Kannur Valiya Beeve to attain help from him. Along with this letter he enclosed a letter of his ministerial officer Kettully Achu Annan to provide a better clarity on this matter. In this, Kudaku Raja informed about the consultations of the Mappila's of Kannur Beeve with Tipu, and about the military move of Tipu which was collected by an informer whom he sent to Hekkada Devanna Fort. Kudaku Raja wrote,

> Tipu once again went to [Sreeranga]pattanam from Hekada Devanna Fort. With hundred workers (*Kaamaatty*) Nayakan Shamayyan is repairing the road from Pattanam to Kakkana fort which was different from the earlier route. They repaired the road up to Sinkkamaranahally village located in distance two *aradhaari*[53] from Hekkada Devanna Fort. And from there they are repairing road up to Kakkana fort. Cheriya Raja and Emman-Nayar, the people of Kottayam Raja, are waiting for Tipu in Kakkana fort, after consulting with the thilledar (Killadar, commandant[54] of Tipu's fort). Meanwhile I came to hear that Tipu was planning to come to Kakkana fort from Pattanam on Friday (*Velli-Azcha*) 30th December. One of the two persons whom I

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[50] See correspondence in serial number: 137B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 91-92.
[51] One can also see the meaning of *durbuddhi* as malignity and ill-disposed-person; in C. Madhavan Pillai, NBS Malayalam-English dictionary (Kottayam: National Book Stall, 1999).
[52] See correspondence in serial number: 145B & 146B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 96-98.
[53] Probably *Aradhaari* is a measurement of place.
[54] *Killadar* also means fort governor.

sent earlier to collect information regarding this is staying in Kottayam, to know the situation clearly.

Another one informed me that he came to hear one; Meeri Sayppu coming to inspect the village called as Shakanipuram[55] or Jaageera. And they are repairing the road from Shakanipuram to Pattanam. Moreover, I sent one man to know whether they were planning to repair the road ahead from Shakanipuram and to know whether the information about Tipu's move to Kakkana fort is true or false.

Meanwhile, on 22th Dhanu 972 (2th January 1797)[56] Kaitheri Amboo wrote a letter to Kaathiri (Priest) and Merchants of Panoor Palli (Musjid) by warning them that "if Kottapurath Thooppara intrudes into Porattara along with a few Mappilas following Kurumbranad *Thampuran'*s order we will also invade your place and create problems." Regarding with same matter in the same date,[57] Kanooth Nambiar also wrote a letter to Kaathiry and Merchants of Panoor Palli. A follow-up letter written by Pazhaya Veetil Chandu to Veera Varma Raja on 24th Dhanu 972 (4th January 1797)[58] is very important in many ways. Because this letter marks out the geographical location and climatic specialties of Wayanad for the deployment of territorial power of the Company on Wayanad, and details a plan to defend against the military moves of Kerala Varma Raja and Tipu Sulthan. His report says,

> Periya of Wayanad country is situated in the direction which we reach after climbing the hilly-pass from Manathana. The military Sypoys and Company officers (Sayppu) are residing in this place. Paaloora Emman, Eadachena Kunkkan, Thonadar Chaathu, Koyilery Cheran and Kaitheri Kunkku (who live in Kottiyoth Naattil) were sent circulars to deny rice and other grocery to Sypoys and our people who reside there. The revenue of Wayanad in the period of 972 was almost captured by the disciple of the above mentioned Emman; Govinda Pothuval and others. They are the people of Pazhassi Raja. Also in 971, except a little amount, they captured all other part of revenue completely from Wayanad country.

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[55] Shakanipuram is also spelled as Shayanipuram in this study
[56] See correspondence in serial number: 175B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 115.
[57] See correspondence in serial number: 176B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 115.
[58] See correspondence in serial number: 147B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 98-100.

The people who were mentioned above jointed ShankaraVarma Raja—the younger brother of Parappanad Raja who lives at Karumatacherry Palace (Kolotth) in Wayanad country—went to (Tipu) Sulthan's Kakkana-fort with the formal order of Pazhassi Raja on 12th Dhanu 971. Based on their request towards the chief of the Kakkana-fort to offer military power from Najara, the chief wrote a petition to Tipu Sulthan for his formal sanction. As per the suggestion of chief; Emman only stayed in the place Paakkam near Kakkana-fort waiting Tipu's order, while others went to Wayanad country. After they came here, they were staying here and there, wandering from one place to another by announcing the order to stop the supply of rice and anything such as grocery to our people as well as the people of the Company, and also by forbidding others from meeting our people.

After realizing that they would not get the support of Tipu's military power, they requested them (to Tipu's officials) that they are ready to pay monthly revenue and money for each gun and extra money to arrange Karnataka people and porters (for the war against Company). And they added that if this plan would work out they could convince the Company that the army did not belong to Tipu; but at the same, they would give tribute (*Kappam*) to Tipu by controlling the country and by convincing inhabitants that this is the military of Tipu. On the basis of this agreement Govinda Pothuval went to Edathara (Edathra) Fort and brought army men and porters to *Paarakkumeethal* in Chulliyottu *Desham*. At that night our (Veera Varma Raja's) people went against them and fired. So, the next day the army men returned to the Edathara Fort. I will inform later what happened in that day.

Nowadays they try to subdue the country under them by bringing army, and stop the collection of pepper, and are controlling by threat people who were not subservient to Pazhassi. However, Parappanad Raja and Dhivaan have decided to delay the official proceeding against these acts. It is unable to convey necessary things to Wayanad due to the disturbances of Emman and others in Wayanad country and the absence of Sypoys in the western hilly-pass, even though the (military) Sypoys reside in Periya because of the situation in Thodikkalam. Pazhassi also went to Wayanad country

through climbing the hilly-pass, rather than the disturbances of his people. To avoid the disturbances in the pepper collection in Kottayam, I think it is good to reside military men and Company officials (Sayppu) at Maananthody in Wayanad who now have resided in Periya. In my mind I think that if Sypoys shift their residence to Maananthody in Wayanad from Periya and tighten the military order in Kottayam, Pazhassi Raja is forced to a situation other than climbing the hilly-pass. If Pazhassi Raja ascends the hilly-pass and the Sypoys start to reside in Manathana and Nedumbron Chola, the Company can enforce the power on Wayanad and people who are allied with the Pazhassi Raja will wither away. Moreover, unable to suffer the earth (*Boomisahikkan kaziyathe*) and with the shrinking of the help, people in Periya became docile. I am writing for the knowledge of Company officials (Sayppu) the situations which emerged in my intelligence.

On the same day (24th Dhanu 972/4th January 1797)[59] Christopher Pele wrote to Veera Varma asking him to tell about the people to be assigned for revenue collection from Maanathery for removing the confusion of Captain Sayppu whom he protects; as revenue collectors of Veera Varma. Pele also directed Varma to send his revenue collectors in time—when Company officials make a clarion call by gunfire—along with Company Sepoys (against the people who make disturbance in revenue collection). Responding to this on the same day [60] Veera Varma replied that he wrote to (revenue officers of) Maanathery and Pinaray for directing Sypoys.

Ensuing letter which was sent by Kudaku Raja—Haalery Veera Rajendra Vadayar—to Christopher Pele on 25th Dhanu 972 (6th January 1797)[61] is significant in its content. That narrates the secret mission of a Patter (Tamil Brahmin) spy who was sent by Killadar [62] of Valliya Pattanam to know the military arrangements of Kudaku, Thalasseri and Kannur. His mission was to know the number of people who had gathered in Kudaku, the number of guards (*Paarav*) who were in Kudaku, the number of military men in Thalasseri, and the

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[59] See correspondence in serial number: 148A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 100.
[60] See correspondence in serial number: 152A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 102.
[61] This English date might be misdated, see correspondence in serial number: 156B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 104-105.
[62] Fort commandant of Tipu.

number of military men in Kannur. When he came to Veera Rajendra Vetta by bypass through forest, the people of Kudaku Raja caught him. In an inquisition, he has revealed his missions mentioned above. Then the Raja sent him to Christopher Pele along with his people to provide firsthand information about his mission.

Next day on 26th Dhanu 972 (6th January 1797)[63] Christopher Pele replied to Kudaku Raja (Haalery Veera Rajendra Vadayar) that the white paper (*chakkalasum*) and gunpowder (*vediuppum*) required by him in another earlier letter was not available for purchase, and conveyed his happiness for the information about Kannur Beeve and Spy Patter related to Tipu. Also, he expressed his hope about the return of Pazhassi Raja to good behavior.

Here we can understand how Tipu Sulthan's and Kudaku Raja's activities—military and textual—are so decisive as to map Wayanad, along with contested interest of Pazhassi Raja and Company. The news reported by Panichaate Kannan, Kudaku Raja and Pazhaya Veetil Chandu about the meeting of Pazhassi Raja's people with those of Tipu Sulthan for seeking military aid signifies two things. On one hand, it registers the offers of Pazhassi Raja's spokespersons such as tribute, monthly revenue, payment of money for each gun and extra money for military porters to Tipu Sulthan to provide military assistance to encounter the Company's attempt to permanently install power on Wayanad and Kottayam. On the other hand, it also suggests the probable mutual plan of both Pazhassi's and Tipu's people to construct fort, underground and road like built-environment to territorialize Wayanad and Kottayam under their power. Moreover, Tipu's spy's travels to know the military arrangements of Company and its supporters such as Kudaku Raja and Chirackal Raja; informers' rides to collect details about the military moves of Tipu Sulthan and Pazhassi Raja for Company; and trips of emissary to make military agreement with Tipu Sulthan, for Pazhassi Raja; complexly generates and sketches the geographic locations and frontiers of Wayanad that are connected with the domains of Malabar and Mysore, both textually and physically.

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[63] See correspondence in serial number: 158B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 106-107.

More significantly, the military plan suggested by Pazayaveetil Chandu is a repertoire which shows deep interconnection between (human) action and (physical) nature in the process of forming regions. Because his suggestion to shift the military camp of Company from Periya (which seems to be located in the edge of Wayanad) to Maanathody (which seems to be situated inside Wayanad) and parallel tightening of military force on Kottayam does not only signify the magnitude of clever military plan. But it also marks the geographic importance of Maanathody that provides easy access to different directions of Wayanad to deploy military power of the Company on the terrains of Wayanad and Kottayam to form Wayanad and Kottayam as regions. Additionally, Pazhassi Raja's forced move to Wayanad as a supposed result of tightening of military action on Kottayam and withering away of his supports from Wayanad as a possible effect of *unable to suffer earth* (*Boomi sahikkan kaziyathe*) of Wayanad, is perhaps a delineation of the importance of climatic, hydrological and geological specialties along with the human action to produce region. Because here *unable to suffer earth* (*Boomisahikkan kaziyathe*) is possibly a consequence of geographical nature of *Chorathintemeethal* such as heavy rain, cold and malaria that make life impossible at *Chorathintemeethal*.

Along with plunder and combat, by wandering with arms from one place to another and by announcing the prohibition order to stop the supply of survival goods such as rice and grocery, and also forbidding the relationship of tenants of Wayanad to Company, Pazhassi Raja and his people act against the Company's people and Veera Varma who reside at Wayanad. These counteract not only resist Company's authority on Wayanad but also draw terrain of Wayanad as catastrophic and as an attempt to shape it as region of resistance. As we mentioned above, in this situation, the *moving bodies* of Pazhassi Raja's people, rather than relatively *settled bodies* of inhabitants became severe threat to Company's endeavor to establish their sovereign power on Wayanad and Kottayam. The circular of Company that addresses the tenants—who are allied with Pazhassi Raja in the terrains of forest by going from Kottayam—to come back to Kottayam by threatening them in the name of sequestration, and Company's letter which advises Pazhassi to return from forest without listening to the wicked spells and brainwashing of Kaitheri Amboo, Kannoth Chekkura

Ramara and others,[64] exemplify the Company's tactical effort to destabilize the power of Pazhassi Raja on his subjects, and in reverse, an attempt to enforce their control on Kottayam and Wayanad.

Frontierings of Wayanads: Visible Combats between Pazhassi and Company

In subsequent letters we can see how these formal orders and secret moves of silent-war turn into visible-war through the clear manifestation of these secret moves. The formal letter which was written by Christopher Pele on 28th Dhanu 972 (8th January 1797)[65] to Kadathanad Porlaathiry Kothavarma Raja indirectly reported the war which had occurred between Pazhassi Raja and Company. In that letter Pele writes, "You might know the news that the Pazhassi Raja's people fired against Company Sypoys. Therefore, you should announce the formal order to tenants (*Kutiyans*), not to transport goods and grocery to Kottayam. If people transport weapons and goods through Kadathanad (to Kottayam) you should also catch them." Then Kadathanad Porlaathiry Kothavarma Raja replied on 29th Dhanu 972[66] that he had ordered to tenants and merchants, not to carry any goods to Kottayam and if any of them do against this they would have to face punishment along with children, including babies, and their belongings. Similarly, in a letter to Christopher Pele, probably as a reply to Company, Ravi Varma Raja of Chirackal wrote[67] on 30th Dhanu 972 (10th January 1797) that he had received the news about the firing of Pazhassi Raja's people against the people of the Company, and that, as per the order of the Company, he also was going to order that no one can carry goods and other grocery to Kottayam.

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[64] Concurrently the representation of Pazhassi Raja in these letters as a naive person who is subjected to the evil spells and brainwashing of Kaitheri Amboo, Kannoth Chekkura Ramara and others, and Christopher Pele's expression of hope regarding the return of Pazhassi Raja to good behavior, not only creates doubt on Pazhassi Raja's power which was considered to be centralized on him, but also portrays him as a innocent man and frames others as villains.

[65] See correspondence in serial number: 159B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 107.

[66] Possibly on 9th January 1797; see correspondence in serial number: 165B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 110-111.

[67] See correspondence in serial number: 170B, 171B &172B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 113-114.

But the letter written by Veera Varma Raja on 29th Dhanu 972 (9th January 1797)[68] to Christopher Pele provided further details about the visible-war which had happened between Pazhassi Raja and the Company. He wrote,

> In the (last) letter Company wrote to me to send people to guide many Sypoys to Maanathery. Thereby, through two directions, I gave order to my people to move. Meanwhile, Kaitheri Amboo fired against us. But passing through Chullikkunnu (Chulli hill) Uran Sayipu (Company officer) reached in Maanathery-Temple yesterday. Today he returned to Kottayam. We face danger because of our travel through Kaitheri and because of the forested nature of the terrain and our failure to anticipate firing. Those who passed through another way didn't face any danger. Captain might write this. We need to repress (*amarchaa*) those who compete against Company. For doing this we need to stay in Kannoth through Poziloor and in Kannoth through Chavittiparamp, and also we need military power (*balam*) and mortar (*valiya-thokku*[69]) for that. If we are late to do those, the arrogance will increase and also we will face loss. Without giving any chance to those, issue orders immediately, to repress those people. Moreover, I hear that from Kamprath in Eruvanad and from Randuthara a few people had gone to Thodikkalm to support military power. The Company should order prohibition against that move also.

Correspondingly, on 3rd Makaram 972,[70] Veera Varma Raja informed Christopher Pele that as per the order of Company he sent three elephants to pull mortar from Thalasseri to Kathiroor.

Similarly in response to the order of the Company to inform the whereabouts of the people— who fired against the military of Messthralaadan Sayppu (Company officer) —and to supply rice and grocery to Company military, on 28th Dhanu 972 (8th January 1797)[71] night 12 o'clock Pazaya Veetil Chandoo wrote to Chistopher Pele,

> Up to this date I have supplied rice and grocery. The amount of rice which is coming from Thalacherry and Mayyazhi has decreased because of the robbery. Kathiroor

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[68] See correspondence in serial number: 163A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 109.
[69] One of the word-by-word translations of this word is big-gun that one can consider as mortar.
[70] See correspondence in serial number: 178B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal.* p. 116.
[71] See correspondence in serial number: 164A & B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 109-110.

Thampuran is directing the people to block the way in Kathiroor and seize the letters from there. From down to the Kathiroor palace they seized the letter which was delivered to Chovakaaran Moosa to send rice from Thalacherry by boat to Vengattu for the expense of military. …The people who fired against the military of Messthralaadan Sayppu were Kaitheri Amboo, Elambilar Kunjaan, Kanooth Chekkoora Ramara Nambiar, Kallattu Kunjaman, Thalacherry Karakkotta Kaitheri Cherriya Amboo, Ganapathiyaatan Nambiar and Kaitheri Kammaran. One Officer and one Sypoy were killed by firing and then they (the military) counter fired.

In response to these incidents on 29th Dhanu 972 (10th January 1797)[72] Kerala Varma Raja wrote a self-defensive letter to Christopher Pele,

To inform our sorrow to Company through (my) writing I send Ganapathyaattan Nambiar and Kaitheri Kammaran to (Company) headquarters. They started their (journey) on 26th, and reached Nittur, on the way to (Company) headquarters, while on 27th morning Captain and military reached at my residence. That time a few people were with me. Our people asked them aloud if they had any letter or order of the Company. Replying to that the people of Chandoo answered that they had no letter or order. Moreover, they added that they had the order to fire. Then they fired against us using their military power. We met some serious danger, therefore our people also counter-fired. Then, by climbing the Chulli Hill the military chief and other 97 Sypoys stood in Maanathery-Corner. We stopped the firing after they said to us that they came here by the order of Company. On 28th 9 O'clock we sent back the military chief and Sypoys to Kottayam, with their weapons. We requested the Company to reinstate our wellbeing as well as that of our subjects, and to inform us whatever Company wished to order.

But different from this correspondence, the formal orders issued by *Karyakkarans* (ministers) of Pazhassi Raja were the clear mark of the visible-warfare between Company and Pazhassi Raja. That announces the sovereign power of Pazhassi Raja by threatening Company military

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[72] See correspondence in serial number: 173B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 114.
One can also see this letter in K.K.N. Kurup, pp. 154-155.

to descend the hilly-pass from Wayanad. In one of the formal orders issued on 6th Makaram 972,[73] on behalf of Pazhassi Raja, by Pazhassi Raja's *Karyakkaran* (minister) declared,

> We saw the Company [army] heads who came in *Chorathintemeethal* by the order of Company. When Thalacherry-Fort of the English Company was attacked by Tipu's people, by bringing people from Kottayam and by giving military assistance Kottayath *Thampuran* saved the fort. But without remembering that help and subjected to Kurubranad *Thampuran*'s bribe the Company sent army men to Pazhassi's palace and looted many belongings and numerous assets. By believing that these acts were not done [directly] by the Company and by thinking that we would compete with Company only after noticing the Company thereabout, we have written about this incident to Company. But [as we wish] the Company did not trail[74] this incident.
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> The present situation [that made by the attack of Company] is not allowing [Pazhassi] *Thampuran* to live in forest too who fled from his country [after the intrusion of Company at his palace]. Therefore we fired [against Company] while [Pazhassi] *Thampuran* lost his peace [in this forest]. We will terminate you from here [Wayanad] before tomorrow's sunset. If you wish to go with your life descend the hilly-pass [as soon as possible]. For your belief we are ready to promise (*aana*) to you about this. You need to recognize the importance of this declaration. We also sent this news to Raman.

On 7th Makaram 972,[75] the next day, another formal order was also sent by Pazhassi Raja's *Karyakkaran* (minister) for the knowledge of the head of military—who came to Wayanad following the formal order of English Company. That too was an attempt to declare and assert sovereign power of Pazhassi Raja on Wayanad. It states,

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[73] Probably on 12th January 1797, see correspondence in serial number: 190B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 121-122.

[74] The word *Vistharichilla* which is used in the letter means not trialled.

[75] This order is probably dated on 13th January 1797. On 22nd January, this order was brought by a military-head who had resided in Wayanad when he came to Kuttippuram, see correspondence in serial number: 191B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 122.

See similar kind of letter in K.K.N. Kurup, p. 155.

We have sent a Sypoy yesterday [for your knowledge]. If you wish to go with your life, descend [hilly-pass immediately]. Otherwise we will not allow anybody among you to descend hilly-pass from here. If you like to descend, without firing against you, we will allow you to go. If you are agreeing with that, you should write and send those in the hand of this Sypoy. We competed with the Company because of the Company's intrusion to Pazhassi's palace and the plunder and other atrocities which were committed by Company. From this time onwards until we die completely [we] will not go without shooting against Company. If you will not descend we will not leave you alive.

A letter which was written by Veera Varma Raja to Christopher Pele on 2nd Makaram 972 (12th January 1797)[76] signifies the post-war difficulty faced by Company. It narrates; "After the people in the country have gone and joined (with the people) in forest and after the residual people have fled to many directions; we face difficulties to get people to carry goods, rice, grocery and medicine to military." Link with this difficulty on 8th Makaram 972 (18th January 1797)[77] Ravi Varma Raja of Chirackal also wrote that "it is helpful if Company order to send at least twenty-nine coolies, in demand of coolies in Kottayam, to carry military-supplies of Company." Similarly, on 19th Makaram 972[78] Chundangapoylil Kunjhipokkar[79] also wrote that some of Nair and Thiyyan *Kutians* (tenants) of the Palathay disappeared, and also on 17th this month in a firing in Kothangal the people of Kunkkan were killed. Moreover, in an open notice on 22nd Makaram 972 (1st February 1797)[80] the Company proclaim to the *Kutians* of Vadakara if anybody among them fled by closing their residence; their house and other assets will be sequestrated and added as the revenue they give to the Kadathanad Raja.

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[76] See correspondence in serial number: 177B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 115-116.
[77] See correspondence in serial number: 189B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 121.
[78] See correspondence in serial number: 207B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal*, pp. 131-132.
[79] One of the Company officer substituted for Eeravand Narangolly Nambiar.
[80] See correspondence in serial number: 208B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 132-133.

Moreover, on 4th Makaram 972 (14th January 1797),[81] an officer of Company in Kadathanad—Chelavurayan—requested through a letter to the Company government to order for the provision of white papers for correspondence between Company and its officials. Subsequently a letter was sent by Beeran Kutty, Company officer of Erivayinad Adalath Kacheeri, on 13th Makaram 972 (23th January 1797)[82] informed Christopher Pele of the duty assigned to Maalimmi Aammathu who live in Erivayinad Champatta Desham to watch the trafficking of firearms through Erivayinad. The letter shows continued surveillance of the Company after the battle between the Company and Pazhassi Raja's people. Additionally, the petition which was submitted by the subject of the Company in Paanoor Angady (bazaar) to Christopher Pele, dated 12th Edavam 972 (24th May 1797),[83] about the threat which they face from Pazhassi's people, proves not merely the challenges faced by the Company rule but also the military strategy of Pazhassi's people by putting the Company subjects and their assets under constant threats. Company subject of Paanoor narrates,

> Chekkura Nambiar and Kaamprath Nambiar[84]—both of them standing with Pazhassi *Thampuran* of Kottayam—came to Cheruvancherry Desham with around hundred people and created disturbances. Moreover, we came to hear that, they came to here, to burning the Palli (Mosque), hut and house of Mappilas of Paanoor, against the burning at Kannoth. To protect ours and our children from this [threat] we are requesting to Company's kind.

But then, Pazhassi Raja has attempted for reconciliation with people of the company. In two letters dated 2nd Midhunam 972 (13th June 1797)[85] which was addressed to Bombay governor Duncan and Colonel Dow separately Pazhassi Raja wrote that if he send his brother for a dialogue, the Company needed to protect him from danger. Then he added that the Company was the only savior for him. Consequently, Pazhassi Raja wrote an agreement

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[81] See correspondence in serial number: 185B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 119-120.
[82] See correspondence in serial number: 194B in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 123-124.
[83] See correspondence in serial number: 212A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 134.
[84] Both went from Eravanad to forest and joint with Pazhassi.
[85] See correspondence in serial number: 213A & 214A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 134-135.
 Before sending these letters, Pazhassi wrote several letters to Company officials to settle the problem between him and Company. Responding to these letters, Company officials wrote letters to him; see K.K.N.Kurup, pp. 156-166.

with the Company on 22ⁿᵈ July by admitting the new contract (*kararnamam*) of the Company with elder Raja of his family about the rule of Kottayam. Kannoth Nambiar, Kaitheri Kammaran, Chattady Thangal, Eswarath Numbiar, Puthan Veetil Dhairu and Elambilan Kannan who were the main principal-man of Pazhassi Raja gave written assurance to this agreement. Based on this agreement the Company promised to give back the plundered assets from his palace at Pazhassi and decided to give 8000 *urupya* (rupees) to his annual expense.[86]

The magnitude and reach of the war mentioned in the above writings was not only restricted to the forested lands and frontiers of Kottayam but also disseminated to jungle tacks and terrains of Choram and *Chorathintemethal*. Moreover, the loss of men and decay of supremacy of the Company in the places such as Maanathery,[87] Pazhassi,[88] Dindimal[89] and Elachurram (Ellacherrum)[90] located in the terrains of Wayanad and Kottayam were also immeasurable. Evan though the Company attempted to siege the territorial assertion of Pazhassi Raja on Chorathummal/Wayanad by attacking Pazhassi Raja's force from different directions, including through Thamarasseri pass and Karkur pass,[91] they failed to conquer Wayanad and Pazassi Raja. And on the contrary, the Company army was forced to retreat from Wayanad through Cardamom pass and faced extensive loss. Additionally, Tipu Sulthan also helped Pazhassi Raja to drive back the Company's military from Wayanad by issuing his

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[86] And, the Company allowed Pazhassi Raja to stay at Pazhassi; but instead of staying there he subsequently moved to Wayanad to further his secret plans. See K.K.N. Kurup, pp. 64-65.

[87] At Maanatheri, by the attack of Kaitheri Amboo's force, several officers including Captain Bowman were wounded and many of them were killed, and similarly in another incident at Maanatheri on 27ᵗʰ January a troupe of Major Anderson was attacked and a Jemadar and three Sepoys were killed and nineteen Sepoys wounded, See William Logan, *Malabar* Vol-I, pp. 514-515.

[88] At Pazhassi, in a havildar's guard, all of military men were killed except one. See Ibid, p. 514.

[89] At Dindimal, in Waynad, the Pazhassi's people attacked the detachment under Lieutenant Inglis led by Lieutenant Gorman to Periya post and killed one Jemadar, one Naigue and 12 Sepoys. See Ibid, pp. 514-515.

[90] In Ellacherrum, at an encounter with Nairs and Kurichiars, Colonel Dow's force has faced considerable loss, "one Subadar, two Havildars, two Naigues, one waterman and thirty-two Sepoys killed, 67 wondered including an English officer." And in an attack in between Periya and Ellacherrum; Major Cameron, Lieutenant Nugent, Ensigns Madge and Rudderman were killed and two other officers wounded, and some Europeans of artillery along with considerable number of native officers and privates were also killed by Pazhassi Raja's people from the same place. With this partially completed extermination, the detachment has lost its "guns, baggage, ammunitions and cattle and the union color of the battalion of Sepoys." See Ibid, pp. 516-518.

[91] In the beginning of March 1797, Colonel Dow with his troops ascended Thammarasseri Pass and marched without opposition through Wayanad, and simultaneously under Lieutenant Mealey two companies of sypoys ascended through Karkur pass into Waynad. This two directional move aimed to join at Periya, and drive away the Pazhassi Raja's force from fortified post of Kannoth which was situated in lower country, but these two troops were attacked from Wayanad and forced to retreat to Kottayam via Ellacherrum. See Ibid, pp. 516-517.

formal order to Company's officers to leave form Wayanad and by deploying force of his armed-men against Company military.[92] The letter which was written by Tipu Sulthan from Sreerangapattanam to French General Mangalon was the perfect register of defeat and disaster met by the Company in this war. He narrated that owing to Pazhassi Raja's different attacks one thousand Europeans and three thousand Sypoys were killed in Calicut and surrounding areas.[93]

Like formal writings and direct physical attack in combat, in the context of this war, the destruction on supply chain, one of the significant war strategies, is also decisive to map and bound Wayanad and Kottayam as regions. In elaboration, the disturbance was made by the supporters of Pazhassi Raja like Kathiroor *Thampuran* in the supply chain of Company military which battled against Pazhassi Raja's people that distribute goods, weapons, medicine, rice and other grocery to in the interior areas of Kottayam and Wayanad. And counteract of Company to block the supply of goods, groceries and weapons at Kadathanad, Kottayam, Chirackal and Erivayinad that has ventured for the Pazhassi Raja's people; and Company's attempt to reinstate supply chain by the help of Pazhaya Veetil Chandoo, Veera Varma Raja, Chirackal Raja and Chundangapoyil Kunjhipokkar were crucial in this. However, Company's supporters failed to reinstate completely the supply chain because of the robbery of those supplies and the lack of conveyer to carry those, which was resulted by the exile of people from Kottayam, Kadathanad, Erivayinad and Randuthara into many directions and association of certain people among them to Pazhassi Raja's force.

From these we can understand that the flow or stoppage of goods and move or control of people, which indirectly affected either the supremacy of Company or the supremacy of Pazhassi Raja were equally important as direct physical attacks[94] in war between Company military and Pazhassi's people to map and bound Wayanad and Kottayam as different

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[92] When Colonel Dow reached Periya, while in his military mission, he received letter of Tipu from his men who came from Kakkana kotta, and consequently while he descended from Wayanad, he saw men in the dress of Tipu's sypoys among the people of Pazhassi Raja who attacked him. See Ibid, pp. 516-517.
[93] See Ibid, p. 518.
[94] Such as gun firing and arrow shooting against the Company men to oppose territorial assertion of Company in Wayanad.

regions. The forceful retreat of the Company military from the upper lands of Wayanad to the lower land of Kottayam, asserted territorial power of Pazhassi Raja on Wayanad. This was not only actualized by the direct physical attack of Pazhassi Raja's people on Company's military at Maanathery, Pazhassi, Dindimal and Elachuram but was also accomplished by destructions on supply chain which had happened in Kathiroor that resulted in the lack of food, stores and ammunitions for Company military to survive in Wayanad. Similarly, extirpation of Pazhassi Raja's authority from lower plains of Kottayam pushed him and his people to forested terrains of Wayanad. This was not only actualized by the direct military attack at his palace at Pazhassi but also by blocking of supplies and by destroying his life supporting systems at Kottayam.

Furthermore, (1) the formal orders written by Company officers to Kadathanad Raja and Chirackal Raja to officially prohibit the supply of rice, grocery and weapons through their territory to Kottayam by writing to their tenants, subjects and merchants, (2) and the formal circular written by Company to the fled tenants of Vadakara to return to their home, by pressurizing them with the threat of sequestration,[95] and (3) the formal orders of Pazhassi Raja written by his *Karyakkarans* (ministers) to Company military to descend from Wayanad, were also important. Because these entire scripting also was decisive to map and bound Wayanad and Kottayam as regions differentially, along with direct and indirect war strategies. Among these formal orders the orders which issued by the *Karyakkarans* of Pazhassi Raja to Company was decisive in certain ways. Hence, those reveal certain crucial clues about the practice of native sovereign power rather than mere news about war.

In these orders we can see that the life threatening disaster which denied the serenity of Pazhassi Raja at his forested hideout in *Chorathintemeethal*—which he considered as his territory—was the reason as stated by his minister (*Karyakkarans*) for firing against the Company military. Therefore, *Karyakkarans* announced that they would terminate the Company army from Wayanad "before tomorrow's sunset," unless Company army men wish to go with their life of retreat through the hilly-pass as soon as possible. Failing this, they will

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[95] Its aim was to assert Company's territorial power on these places and block the supply through these places to Wayanad.

not allow anybody among Company army men to descend hilly-pass. They proclaimed a final word against Company that "from this time onwards until we die completely (we) will not go without shooting against Company. If you will not descend we will not leave you alive."

Here the logic of the moral to assert the sovereignty of Pazhassi Raja at *Chorathintemeethal* is very clear. The threat of the Company over the life of Raja at Wayanad was the reason, which instigated Raja to take the life of Company men. Put it differently, the shadow of death that has fallen from the gun of Company over the body of Raja was the ground that put Company men under the threat of death as well as at the loaded guns of Pazhassi's people. In short, here the principle of sovereignty is that "one has to be capable of killing in order to go on living."[96] Moreover, we can understand that the hold of sovereignty of Pazhassi Raja was not only spatial but also temporal as well. Because he not only tried to assert his sovereignty by extricate Company military from the space *Chorathintemeethal* but also terminate them within a time-period, "before tomorrow's sunset." Precisely, power over life of people by asserting the right of killing, the sovereignty was not only the capacity to determine being at a space but also the ability to decide being at a time. Furthermore, one can argue here that *will to die* and *will to kill* of Pazahssi Raja's people were decisive to their *will to rule Chorathintemeethal*.

A Plan Unfinished: Pazhassi's further Alliance with Tipu for Bounding Wayanad

After Pazhassi Raja's agreement with the Company, the situation of those terrains was unruly. An explanatory letter on 25th Midhunam 972 (6th July 1797)[97] in response to the query of Company officials, regarding revenue collection, which was written by Ramarayar, Tahsildar of Vayyormala (Payyormala), to Kavadan Sayppu is a case in point. It showed that due to the threat of Koothaali Nair, Kumpalathu Nair[98] and other fifty Nairs; the *Kutikal* (tenants) of Kurumbala, the Tharavanmar, had gone to Wayanad, and it also made a remark about protection which was given by Kumpalathu Nair to the people who killed a

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[96] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Vol. I* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) p. 137.
[97] See correspondence in serial number: 411H in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* pp. 184-185.
[98] He was the nephew of Koothaali Nair.

Cheruman.[99]

Moreover, contrary to the agreement with Company, Pazhassi Raja continued to strengthen his secret strategic alliance with Tipu Sulthan for extending his war. On 25th Vrishchikam 973 (5th December 1797)[100] Pazaya Veetil Chandoo wrote a letter to Christopher Pele about the situation in *Churathumal* (Wayanad) which was collected by an informer sent by the Company. Chandoo says,

> Nobody descends the *Churam* (Wayanad) after that. I came to know that Thekey Munjhennan was planning to come. Paalora Emman visited Kakkana kotta and meet Tipu's people. Then they took him to (Sreeranga)pattanam to meet Tipu. After that meeting, with official order for conquering Wayand, they are planning to move to Wayanad from Kankana-kotta. For collecting its details I sent one man to *Churam* from Manathala. But, the person who has gone to *Churam* has not yet returned. When he comes back I will send news without delay.

Following is a petition dated on 21st Makaram 973 (31th January 1798)[101] which was written by Nine *Kutiyanmar*(tenents) —such as Aaparoth Raman Nair, Karumpanakkal Kunjunny, Malayenpally Pappu-Nair, Chembara Raman-Nair, Maleyanpally Kunkkan-Nair, Kuppiyadath Kanaran-Nair, Thekkodan Ukkappan-Nair, Paaloly Unniraman-Nair and Kuppiyadath Kuttychekkan who live in Pathimoonutharayil, Moodadykuttathil in Wayanaatum-kara Thalook—to Chrisopher Pele. It is significant in many ways because, it marks the substitution of orally fixing method of revenue collection—which was considered customary—by the written documents of revenue collection such as bill or receipt, and also reveals the torture faced by the tenants from revenue collectors. They wrote,

> Kanagovi Annachirayar ordered and assigned the collection of revenue for English Company from Wayaanatumkara Thalook from 969 onwards. As per that land-granting (*chaarth*) order of revenue, we gave revenue up to 971. Then, by stating that

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[99] Cheruman is one of the *Atiyore*.
[100] See correspondence in serial number: 694H & L in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* pp. 299-300.
[101] See correspondence in serial number: 777I in Ibid*,* p. 335.

the land-granting (*chaarth*)[102] is not a principal-record, Kanagovi Chappan-menon, in 972, re-granted the land at a rate of fixed amount for a house (*Kuti*) per year and gave *Cheetu* (written receipt or bill of revenue). As per this we gave revenue from 970 to 972. But, now the principal officer of Shamynadha Patter, Poonathiriyappan says that this rate of revenue is not enough. Moreover, by insisting us to pay a rate of three for hundred he is torturing us. However, on the basis of our grievance, the company said to us to pay revenue as per the old *Cheetu*. But till this moment that sanction has not came to exist. So, we are facing serious difficulties. Therefore, respected Sayppu kindly save us by order to pay revenue as per the old *Cheetu*, which was written by Kanagovi, and allow us to live here.

The letter sent by Kodaka Raja (Haalery Veera Rajenthra Vadayar) to Christopher Pele, dated on 20th Kumbam 973 (February 1798),[103] which details the military moves of Tipu provides details on built-environment such as fort, as well as the secret alliance between Pazhassi Raja and Tipu Sulthan. As a news that Kudaku Raja heard from others he wrote about Tipu's move to strengthen his military camps which exist in four directions (of Mysore) with all his power and existence of his military camp in Valagula, and his advancement from there to Pattanam, on 8th Kumbam. Punnayyan (Poornayyan) and Meeri Sayppu, who are the military officers of Tipu, arrived at Shakanipuram. Moreover, Tipu's command was that army men, who come around ten thousand, reach Mangaloram in Thulunad. The Secret move of Kottayam Raja was to meet Tipu by misleading others by saying that he was going to do certain rituals in Thirunelly.

To examine the truthfulness of this information Kudaku Raja sent his people to those places. From his knowledge that he received from his informants he said that the information about ten-thousand army men reaching Thulunad is not true. But, someone with the name of Poshudharan (Pashudharan) is living in Supramanyam with four thousand people and with thousand Karnatak people and Tipu is renovating fort in Kodalath. Moreover, one among Kudaku Raja's informants reported that the military camp in Valagula was shifted to Vallam-

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[102] Probably it was a Vaakaal-Charth (oral land granting).
[103] See correspondence in serial number: 816 I in *Talasseri Rekhakal*, pp. 354-356.

Murikkadu, and Tipu also is staying with that army men and horse.[104] Meanwhile, sitting in that camp-town this informer saw that with sixty Nairs and by mounting on a horse one man who is called Kottayathu Raja moved through the town. He came to know that this man had met Tipu earlier and the latter had gifted him with one *pallak* (palanquin), bangles for two hands, two *vishary* (hand-fan) and two horses and sent him back. And man with the name of Raja went back to Wayanad via Kakkana kotta. Sixty men followed him carrying four guns and a knife, who tied their hair on the front side of their head. They were Nairs but it is uncertain that the man they call as Kottayam Raja is truly Kottayam Raja. And it is also unknown whether they really met Tipu.

Meantime, carrying gifts, twenty Mappilas came there. In an enquiry this informer came to know that they were Mappilas of Kannur. They came with some gifts to Tipu. And he saw that they were approaching Tipu.

Moreover, he informed that the day on which Kottayam Raja had gone, three thousand military men and one thousand Karnaty moved in the same direction as Kottayam Raja and they stayed in Nanjhanapuram, and planned to move to Kakkana kotta. They were the people sent by Tipu to free Wayanad for Kottayam Raja. From Shayanipuram, both Punnayyan and Meeri Sayppu had gone to Nanjhanapuram to collect monthly tribute (*Massappady*) for that. Then, they had sent Kottayam Raja to Kakkanakotta, who paid money for that. Then after they reached Shayanipuram, the frontier regions such as Kottanad, Periyapattanam, Pezhathaapuram, Arakkal Kuta and Hekkadadhevana kotta were authorized to cavalry. Certain people are saying that Tipu will return to Pattanam after that. Some people say that he is planning to descend the Thamarasseri-Pass. There are two or three opinions about it. Lastly, Kodaka Raja concludes that he doesn't exactly know which direction they are planning to move.

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[104] Probably this horse represents cavalry.

The letter which was sent a few months later (on 18th Thulaam 974/6th November 1798)[105] by Dhoroga Chandrayyan to Kavada Sayppu mentions about the news of Pazhassi Raja planning to employ territorial power on the lower plains of Thamarasseri. Chandrayyan reported that he came to hear that Pazhassi Raja is planning to descend Thamarasseri Pass on 5th Vrishchikam to punish Mappilas of Thamarasseri, based on two different reasons. The first reason was that he heard that Mappilas of Thamarasseri had committed atrocities by polluting the houses of Namboothiri and Nair, by slaughtering cows and by catching people as slaves. Similarly, Mappilas of Thamarasseri who were living in Koman-Nair's land, which he granted to them to build a house, disturbed other people. Therefore, Namboothiris of Thamarasseri and Chathamangalam and Koman-Nair went to *Churathintemeethal*, met Pazhassi Raja and requested him to punish Mappilas. Similarly, Pozhavayi Karthaakkanmar, Thirumulppadu and Polanattukar also wrote petition to Pazhassi Raja to warn Mappilas of Eranad and Thamarasseri who created atrocities to cow and Brahmins by not allowing them to travel on road or to live in a house. Another reason was that he heard that the Mappilas of Thamarasseri looted money from the hand of a Patter who was the man of raja who brought thousand urupya (rupees) of cardamom to Raja's résidence. Therefore, the Raja is directly coming to Thamarasseri to take back that money from Mappilas. These are two versions he came to hear about Raja's descend to Thamarasseri.

One can notice in the correspondences from November 1798 to January 1799 conspicuous absence of letters about Pazhassi's move. But the letter which was written by Pazaveetil Chandu on 6th Makaram 974 (16th January 1799)[106] to Eshtimin Sayppu, despite considerable temporal distance, further elaborates on the strategic military alliance between Pazhassi Raja and Tipu Sulthan. He wrote,

> These are the pieces of information from Wayanad where Pazhassi-Raja resides.
> [Tipu] sent around two or three thousands urupyas (rupees) of gifts such as
> Pathakkam, Nijara, Athrakka and Pava (doll) to Raja. While the letter and messenger
> reached Maanathody [from Pattanam], the Raja ordered to send Paalora Emman to
> Pattanam. But there are none gathered [by Raja] at Thuppala where he is residing.

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[105] See correspondence in serial number: 1003J in *Talasseri Rekhakal*, pp. 457-458.
[106] See correspondence in serial number: 215A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 135.

Hundred Thamarachery people are there as well as *Ayudhakkaran* (royal guard of raja) Velayatery Koman-Nayar. Their attempt [to defend Company] will not make any result.

Pazhaya Veetil Chandoo wrote on 18th Makaram 974 (28th January 1799)[107] a similar letter with little more details to Sthrivin (Stephan) Sayppu. Besides the details in the above letter such as gifts of Tipu to Pazhassi Raja and defense arrangements of the latter like "the collecting of hundred Thamarachery people," the letter said,

In different categories around nine hundred and fifty people were staying with Raja and as a Kaaryasthan (Manager) Kannoth Nayar is also residing with him. And I came to hear that nobody has gone, even though Raja's formal order to the people of Kottayam to come to Wayanad. I came to hear that this was because of the harvesting time of pepper.

Interestingly, even in the time of this secret alliance with the enemy of the Company, Pazhassi Raja[108] asked for his allowance from Company, from Eshtimin (Edwin) Sayppu. He wrote on 13th Makaram 974[109] that, "The money of this year has not yet been allotted."

Correspondingly, the network between Pazhassi Raja and Tipu Sulthan operated in a smooth manner. The letter which was written by Ravi-Varma Narasimha-Rajan on 20th Makaram 974 (1st February 1799)[110] to Christopher Pele mentions the formal letter which was sent by Tipu the third time to Wayanad, to Pazhassi Raja. Moreover a letter written by Chundangapoyil Kunjhi Mammy on 8th Kumbam 974 (17th February 1799)[111] to Kaithaan Kuvail provides further details about Pazhassi Raja's move. He wrote that he came to hear that; Pazhassi *Thampuran* was still staying in Maanathody. He produced thirty gold handle knives. These knives are meant for presenting to people as gift. Together with these he is making other things too. On 20th Makaram, Paalora Emman is planning to go to Pattanam from Maanathody and when, Emman returns, then *Thampuran* will go to Pattanam. While, Emman

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[107] See correspondence in serial number: 1077J in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* p. 493.
[108] In this letter he calls himself as Kerala Varma of Kottayam
[109] Probably on 13th January 1799, see correspondence in serial number: 216A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 136.
[110] See correspondence in serial number: 1086 J in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* p. 497.
[111] See correspondence in serial number: 1109J in Ibid, p. 506.

returns from Pattanam, *Thampuran* will send Edachana Kunkkan and Aayinchery Assan to Pattanam. Moreover, from Erivayinad, Kavumprath Nambiar is collecting money for *Thampuran*.

Similar schemes of Pazhassi Raja to straighten the defense against the Company continued. The letter written on 17th Meenam 974 (28th March 1799)[112] by Kanagovi Baburayan of Kottayam Kacherry to Eshtimin (Stephen) Sayppu was significant in this regard. He wrote, "Pazhassi Raja sent tharaku (writ) from *Chorathum meethal* (Wayanad) to principal men and landlords to come to *Chorathum meethal* along with the people in their account. But Kaitheri Amboo was bringing the people who believe in him to his place and said that this was not the time to go there." This was also the moment which marks the decamping of Kaitheri Amboo, from Pazhassi's side to another side, who was one among the military heads, of Pazhassi Raja.

Meanwhile, as a strategic move towards the war against Tipu, and to destabilize the claim of Pazhassi on Wayanad, the Company has admitted the right of Tipu Sulthan on Wayanad.[113] Later, in a war, armies of Company attacked Tipu's military at Seerangapattanam through two directions and on 4th May 1799 Seerangapattanam fell under the Company and Tipu was slain.[114] Then under the partition treaty and subsidiary treaties, Wayanad was ceded to the Company as part of the share on the Western Coast.[115] However, Pazhassi Raja continued his political claim on Wayanad.

Effect of Built Environment, Agency of Objects and Force of Nature
From the above discussions, we can understand that after Pazhassi's agreement with the Company, the exile of tenants to Wayanad continued and the secret alliance of Pazhassi Raja with Tipu Sulthan extended further through many visits of his emissaries in Kakkana kotta,

[112] See correspondence in serial number: 1134J in Ibid, p. 522.
[113] The letter written by Willsoon (Wilson) Sayppu on 18th Meenam 974 (29th May 1799) which refer to the content of the letter sent by Morningten Prabu to Navab Tipu Sulthan admits the right of Tipu Sulthan on Wayanad. See correspondence in serial number: 1135J in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* 1996, pp. 523-524.
[114] See William Logan, *Malabar*, Vol-I, p. 525.
[115] See William Logan, Ibid, p. 526.

and they seemed to plan to conquer Wayanad by the start of their expedition from Kakkanakotta. Parallel report of Kudaku Raja about the war arrangements maps the strength of Tipu's force which he camped in different directions and marks important sites such as Kakkanakotta, Nanjhanapuram, Kottanad, Periyapattanam, Arakkal kuta and Thamarasseri-pass through which he was supposed to carry out his move. Similarly, Pazhaya Veetil Chandoo's delineation on war arrangements also sketches the strength of Pazhassi's force as nine hundred and fifty, which he gathered after sending writs to his tributary chieftains and principal-landlords. As other scholars have observed about the nature of the military of Malabar Rajas[116] it is evident that the force that Pazhassi Raja used to fight against the Company was not a permanent army but one that was gathered contextually for immediate needs. Moreover, strength of that force also depends on harvesting seasons of pepper.

Along with these textual and physical mappings in above letters, we can see the presence of gun, mortar, firearm and white paper as critical objects that reify the power of one man over other. In many contexts, the demand, use and abuse of these objects were marked remarkably, along with the carriers and operators of those objects. For instance, (a) "under the headship of Kaitheri Amboo armed with gun, around thirty people threatened Kutikal to send rice to Maanathery," (b) "the Company government should provide fifty Sypoys along with gun and gunpowder to surrender Wayanad," (c) "at Amballat in Kottayam Kaitheri Amboo shot and killed a Tiyyan," (d) "Pazhassi Raja's people threatened others and seized their guns and other weapons which they had made and carried" and distributed them to those who are sided to them so "the protection and punishment of subject" become difficult, therefore we need fifty and hundred armed-men respectively to Kottayam and *Chorathinmeethal*, (e) Pazhassi Raja was "planning to bring Tipu's military and fire against the White man who camped in Periya and drive them down the hilly-pass," (f) Kudaku Raja requested for whitepaper and gunpowder, (g) Pazhassi Raja offered to pay money for each gun of Tipu's military to shoot against the Company, (h) Kaitheri Amboo and others fired against Company military, (i) demand for mortar to repress Pazhassi Raja's people who

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[116] See, *Malabar, Vol.1* by William Logan, *Kochi Rajya Charithram* by Padmanabha Menon and *Jaathivyavasthithiyum Keralacharithravum* by P. K. Balakrishnan; there is no "evidence" of any standing armies for Malabar Rajas in any of these accounts. For instance, see, *Malabar*, *Vol. I*, pp. 111-139.

compete against Company and Veera Varmas arrange three elephants to pull those mortar, (j) request of Company officer of Kadathanad to whitepapers for correspondence, and (k) Company's surveillance on trafficking of firearms through Erivayinad; these are the remarks which demand careful engagements.

This is because these remarks about demand, use and abuse of these objects show the significance not only of the killing machines such as gun, firearm and mortar[117] in war but also of white paper as it is used to convey secret news on war through correspondences. They also signal the agency of these objects in deploying power and authenticity over certain space, time and body. Put it differently, these significations reveal capacity of these machines to take life of a (human) being or the power of those objects to control (human) beings by putting their life under constant threat of death. In fact, the demand and deployment of these objects in these contexts manifest one's will to rule a space and time by controlling the body of other human beings, probably those who have a capacity to employ coercive power by sword and other means. The efficiency of a gun/firearm/mortar lies not only in their capacity to kill many at a time but in their speed at which they kill compared to sword and other weapons. Moreover, rather than sword these instruments can wound or kill others who stand in far distance.[118]

Therefore, the power of a regime to rule a place depends upon its ability to produce and operate these instruments skillfully against others. In fact, dependence of Rajas[119] either on Company or on Tipu Sulthan for the advancement and large-scale use of firearms such as gun and mortars indicates their state of power. In detail, dependence of Veera Varama Raja and Kudaku Raja on the Company to get gun, gunpowder, mortar, and reliance of Pazhassi Raja on Tipu Sulthan for the same and for the operators;[120] represent their state of power in

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[117] Animals such as elephant, horse and cow also have different kinds of agencies. For instance, see the forces of elephant and horse, which have been used respectively to pull mortar and to ride military.

[118] In comparison with the sword, bow and arrow also have the same caliber, another weapon which used by Pazhassi Raja's people especially Kurichiar against Company military in this war.

[119] However, people of Rajas produced and operated gun minimally.

[120] Logan wrote that it seems that Tipu agreed to supply ammunitions and 6000 Carnatic soldiers to Pazhassi Raja, and Kurup wrote that Tipu's Subeidar and Bakshi of Gundilpetta seems to supply more than twenty head-

those periods. The capacity of these killing machines to dispose and wield power over others shows not only their efficacy to despoil life but the agency of these apparatuses to provide power to people to rule a place and make it a region. In short, we can understand that possibly the eminence and prominence of these objects emerged with a place's formation into a region by the assertion of sovereign power through these objects, on a place.

But the reasons cited by Veera Varam Raja for the failure of the Company military to Pazhassi Raja's force in Kaitheri such as "forested nature of the terrain" reveal the complexity of coercive power regarding the relation between (human) action and (physical) nature in the process of forming regions, as we mentioned above. Because, triumph of Pazhassi Raja's people over Company military was not only actualized by their skillful deployment of the killing machines but also by the forested nature and climatic specialties[121] of the geography which provides a naturally fortified refuge to the Pazhassi Raja's people to operate ambush against the Company's regiment. Here it is evident that rather than primacy of act over physical nature (context), the possibility of territorial dominance of Pazhassi Raja was generated from mutual capacity of act and context to form a region.

The word or cluster of words such as *Chorathinte Meethal Rajyam*[122] (country above the hilly-pass), *Churathumallakku* (on above the hilly-pass), *Churathumal* (on hilly-pass), *Choramkayarinilkkuka* (stay after the mounting of the hilly-pass) and *Churathnte Mukallil Wayanat Seemail* (above the hilly-pass in Wayanad country) in the correspondences are very much important here. Because those words not only signify place on/above hilly-pass that is distinct from countries such as Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Kadathanad, Chirackal and Eranad which are situated below the hilly-pass but also mark a distinct human experience which the place on/above hilly-pass offers to human beings while interacting with its geography. Briefly, in above words the noun word *Choram* or *Churam* which means "big mount in

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lode of ammunitions to Pazhassi Raja's people for this war. See William Logan*, Malabar*, Vol- I, p. 516, and also see K.K.N. Kurup, *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal*, p. 63.

[121] One of the Company officers wrote that, in the war, the geographical specialties and climatic seasons were the main hindrance to conquer Pazhassi Raja. See K.K.N. Kurup, pp. 63-64.

[122] See, correspondence of Edachena Kunkan, the Military chief of Pazhassi Raja to Company: serial number: 1429 M, without date, in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* pp. 680-682.

vertical" or "high-ground" or narrow-pass[123] or hilly-pass or ghaut-road, and the verb word *kayaruka* that means mounting; together presupposes a subject who interacts with *Choram* or *Churam* by his/her act *kayaruka* and who experiences the effect of *Choram* or *Churam*. In other words, one can probably perceive that the above words which were used by natives in correspondences to represent a different place also represent a different experience too, the experience of mounting the hilly geography and reaching on its summit. For instance, the word(s) *Choramkayarinilkkuka* means; "stay after the mounting of the hilly-pass" not only represent a place which one reaches but also a different experience of going through the slant, vertical, forested, precipitous and abysmal landscapes of mountain and reaching at the top. That means the usage *Chorathinte Meethal* (above the hilly-pass) and other variations which start from prefix *Choram* or *Churam* in native vocabulary are embodied spatial as well as social meaning, in short, it suggests a socio-spatial relation in the formation of place. As put elsewhere, other than the name Wayanad, *Chorathinte Meethal* and other above usages starting from prefix *Choram* or *Churam*—representing the place Wayanad in native vocabulary—is possibly mutually constituted by social and spatial processes. Precisely, the above native usages and the place which they *re*present are probably the products of reciprocal relation between social and spatial rather than one's precedence on other.

Furthermore, roads that were constructed by Tipu Sulthan such as from Mysore to Malabar through Wayanad and from Shakanipuram to Pattam, forts and underpass that Tipu built and renovated in the terrains of Mysore and Wayanad such as Kakkanakotta, and the fort and house which was built at Maanathery by Kaitheri Amboo as per the order of Pazhassi Raja were all significant in the formation of regions as well as the built environment, such as post and fort which was constructed by Company in Malabar. Because those places and spaces not only provide the possibility to attack and defend respectable territories of Tipu, Pazhassi and Company, it also actualized movement and stoppage of goods and people, which also participate in the production of those regions. More significantly, the networks which offer to connect spaces, textually and physically, through the move of scribers and messengers and

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[123] It also mean; a valley between two mountain slopes; for various meanings, See Sreekanteswaram G. Padmanabha Pillai, *Shabdataravali Malayalam Dictionary* (first published in 1923; Kottayam: National Book Stall, 1998) p. 811.

through the move of soldiers, looters, suppliers, bullocks, horses, elephants and spies were decisive in the formations of these regions. However, more or less, those built-environments marked the Company headquarters and Sreerangapattanam as the pinnacle of those networks.

Furthermore, the politico-juridical vocabularies and concepts which were deployed in this letters—such as *Raksha-shiksha-kalppana* (order of protection and punishment), *Neravakasam* (inheritance), *Pandenadkkuna Mariyathem* (traditional justice), *Kalppana* (royal-order), *Sukkavirootham* (denial of well-being), *Ankkam-chukkam* (defense n revenue), *Raksha-shiksha* (protection n punishment), *Balam* (power), *Paalayam* (military), *Pramanam* (principal-record), *Kararnamam* (written agreement) *Tharaku* (writ), *Oola* (written-record), *Chaarthu*[124] (granting by oral or written sanction), *Cheettu* (receipt), *Aana* (promise), *Arjji* (petition),*Vistharikkuka* (trail), *Praja* (subjects), *Kutiyan* (tenent), *Atiyaan* (slave), *Kaamaatty* (worker), *Killadar* (Commandant of fort), *Thampuranmar* (Rajas or Princes), *Karyakkar* (ministers), *Mukyasthan* (chiefs), *Praparthyakaran* (revenue officer of a village), *Pramani* (principal-men), *Kaaryasthan* (manager), *Paarave* (guard or confinement), *Keezhparpathyam*[125] (subordinate revenue office) *Dravyam* (wealth), *Mothal* (revenue or asset) and *Niguthy*[126] (land tax or revenue) —also reflect a system of political administration which expresses *native* characters.

Even though these vocabularies and concepts are also present in colonial correspondences— in *Pazhassi Rekhakal* and *Talasseri Rekhakal* which address native Raja, merchant and tenant—those probably were not merely translation of vocabularies and concepts of European political system. It was not only because Company officers probably did not know languages of Malayalam in those periods to translate European political ideas to native languages and bring those to practice, but also possibly the scribers of their letters were native people who knew to script languages of Malayalam. More importantly, in the early stage of modernity, technology of writing of natives was different from modern European writing technology, because instead of pen and paper, the natives used *Oola* (palm-leaf or

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[124] In a general sense, Charthu means: granting of land and other assets for lease or free gifts by oral-granting (*Vakkal-Charthu)* or written-granting *(Oola-Charthu).*
[125] Based on circumstance one can also translate *Keezhparpathyam* as subordinated-revenue-officer.
[126] From the Arabic word *naqdi*.

copper-leaf record) and *Ezuthani* (scripting-nail) to write, and to textually engage with Europeans. Additionally, in that context, other than Company officers, probably the *dhwibhashi* (intermediary)[127] and native-informant who communicate between the Company officers and native Rajas were decisive to configure the language of these letters.

Moreover, rather than being a mere translation of European political ideals by their rhetorical trope and narrative technique which attempts to invent and reify an oriental political system and oriental land, the use of *native* vocabularies and concepts in correspondence signifies a re-presence of *native* political system not only in the formation of early modernity of Malabar but also in the formation of early-modern regions in Malabar. Put it differently, one can probably argue that early-modern formation of regions in Malabar was not completely reified by colonial power but it was a result of mutual engagement and contestation between the native and the colonial political system, knowledge and power. Significantly, these vocabularies and concepts offer a possibility to think about pre-colonial nature of power of Raja and way of ruling that territorialize a place as a country.

Conclusion

In this chapter, conclusively we have seen three major trans-formations regarding Wayanad. After the fall of Tipu Sulthan the territorial power of Mysore on Wayanad almost loosened, and their use of Wayanad as a *bridge* for expanding their territorial rule to countries of Malabar collapsed. Wayanad as a *land of refuge,* the use of Pazhassi Raja, was transformed to a relatively permanent residency of him, and through deploying his coercive power he tried to territorialize Wayanad. Still, for the Company government, Wayanad was a *land against their will to conquer* which could offer to deploy unpredictable military attack on their interests. In the coming chapter we can perceive how the Company conquered and overcame that defensive and unruly state of the terrains of Wayanad by their further spatial and textual strategies.

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[127] Dhevars-bandary, Chovakkaran-Moosa and Pacharanarana-pattar work as intermediaries.

Chapter Seven

Pazhassi and British (1799 to 1805): Final Phase of Early-Modern Formations of Wayanad(s)

Introduction

In this chapter I am sketching the conclusive stage of early-modern formations of Wayanad(s) as region(s) that has occurred roughly from the assassination of Tipu Sulthan (which caused the fall of Mysore at the hands of the British Company) to the killing of Pazhassi Raja and the conquest of terrains of Wayanad, flowingly from 1799 to 1805. After the death of Tipu Sulthan, tripartite struggle between the Company, Tipu and Pazhassi Raja turned into bipolar fight between the Company and Raja.

One of the letters written to Company by Edachena Kunkkan, one among the military chiefs of Pazhassi Raja, is helpful to understand the situation of Pazhassi Raja in that circumstance. Besides proving to be a defensive response of the Pazhassi's camp, the letter delineates the overall context of the Pazhassi Raja's silent war against the Company and the predicament of Raja after the death of Tipu Sulthan.[1] Edachena Kunkkan wrote: "After the attack of the Company on Pazhassi's palace Pazhassi Raja went to *Chorathintemeethal* and decided to collect Tipu's consent—who had captured *Chorathintemeethal* Rajyam—to live in *Chorathintemeethal* by taking the revenue of that place; because of the impossibility to live in Kottayam." Like others Kunkkan also narrated the Company's negligence in keeping the promise to Pazhassi Raja that the belongings seized from his Palace be given back to him; and the sudden attack of the Company on Pazhassi Raja's people[2] and subsequent turn of him and his people to forest, after shooting against the Company's army. He also mentions the

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[1] As other people of Pazhassi Raja mentioned, Kunkan repeats that the Company's military attack at Pazhassi palace and loot of his valuable belongings as the root cause of Pazhassi's rivalry towards the Company. This letter is not dated, even though from smaller remark one can assume that this was probably written after 970 (1795), See correspondence in serial number: 1429M in *Talasseri Rekhakal* (Kottayam: Centre for Kerala Studies, D.C. Books, 1996) pp. 680-682.

[2] The year of attack mentioned in letter is Malayalam year 970 but based on other information in different letters the year of the attack has to be calculated as 972 (1797).

consequent agreement between the Company and Pazhassi Raja; the offer of eight thousand (*Urupya*) as yearly fund for the expense of Pazhassi Raja and its denial in a year later; and the annexation of Sreerangapattanam by the Company's army after the elimination of Tipu Sulthan. Then he concluded the pathetic state of Pazhassi Raja by remarking that; "By siege, then also the Company is punishing *Thampuran* (Pazhassi Raja) and his people. So we are living in this jungle-side."

We can see similar contents in other letters which Pazhassi Raja himself sent to the Company. Seeming like an obedient person, Raja complained to Company against Paalora Emman's atrocities including the burning of houses in Wayanad, in the name of the Company.[3] He also requested the Company to sanction the due amount of the annual fund 8000 rupees.[4] He also pleaded to the Company to protect traditional status, esteem and right of Brahmins, Rajas and temples in Malabar.[5] Moreover, Pazhassi Raja also requested the Company to give him the right to collect revenue from revenue-divisions in Kottayam and permit him to supervise those terrains. Along with this, after praising the Company's victory on Tipu Sulthan and blaming him for desertification of Wayanad, he appealed the Company to authorize him to collect the revenue of Wayanad, after rejoining the two divisions of Wayanad, which the Company had divided as parts of Mysore and Koyampathur administrative units of the Company, after the fall of Mysore regime.[6] But the Company Governor denied his requests and ordered Close, lieutenant colonel of Mysore, to establish the territorial authority of the Company on Wayanad and punish Pazhassi Raja if he opposes the Company's plan. He also commanded Close to lay siege to Wayanad through two directions; through Malabar side and Mysore side, and to order Pazhassi Raja to vacate from Wayanad if he arranges forces in Wayanad to oppose the Company. If the Raja does not obey

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[3] See the letter dated 26th Edavam 974 (6th June 1799) sent by Pazhassi Raja to John Spencer who was the president of Malabar Commission in K.K.N. Kurup, *Pazhassi Samara Rekhakal* (Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2008) p. 168.
[4] The amount Company had offered to him in the year of 794.
[5] See letter dated 20th Thulam 975 (3rd November 1799) sent by Pazhassi Raja to John Semi who was a member of the Malabar Commission in K.K.N. Kurup, pp. 168-169.
[6] See the letter dated 14th Dhanu 975 (16th December 1799) sent by Pazhassi Raja to John Spencer in Ibid, pp. 169-170.

the command of the Company, the Governor was instructed to Close to tell him that the Company would consider him as a rebel and traitor.[7]

For Wayanad: Pazhassi's War Tactics And Company's Counter Strategies

However, contrary to what he wrote, Pazhassi Raja continued secret war against the Company after the Company's elimination of Tipu Sulthan. The letter that was written on 11th Chingam 974 (24th August 1799)[8] and sent to the Company as per the suggestion of Kalluvettukuzy Kunjholan and the letter written by Chudangapoyil Mammy Mooppan to the Company[9] around seven months later (that is on 8th Meenam 975/20th March 1800) are evident of Pazhassi's war arrangements. The first letter informs about the attack of people on the flow of commodities (*Charrak*) from Wayanad to lower lands by head-loaders. The second one describes Chekkura Nambiar's move from Kannoth to Pazhassi Raja's sojourn Maananthody;[10] the *smuggling* of goods such as Coconut-oil and Salt through Payyor mala and Velliyottu mala in Kuttiyady to Wayanad;[11] and the disappearance of Kurichiyara—who paid tax to the Company last time—from adjacent terrain of Wayanad, from Pattiyamalayil in Erivayinad.

The follow-up letter written from Randuthara Kachery on 7th Midhunam 975 (18th June 1800)[12] to Eshtimin (Edwin) Sayppu further explains the armed activities of Pazhassi Raja. It also states how people joined Pazhassi Raja's side from the Company's side and the new configuration of spatial power it generated on the terrains of Malabar and the role of gun in that shift. They wrote,

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[7] See letter dated 3rd February 1800 that was sent by Pazhassi Raja to John Spencer in Ibid, pp. 170-171.
[8] See correspondence in serial number: 1268J in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* p.593.
[9] See correspondence in serial number: 1375K in Ibid*,* pp. 656-667, he notes; "After Chekkura Nambiar had gone to Maanathody (to Pazhassi Raja's sojourn) from Kannoth, ladies and children in his home went to Peruvayalil. Who paid revenue to us in last time those live at Pattiyamalayil in Erivayanad is not staying there. … The inhabitants of Kunjoth are saying that the people smuggle goods such as Coconut-oil and Salt through Payyor-mala and Velliyottu-mala in Kuttiyady to Wayanad."
[10] Subsequently Chekkura Nambiar's ladies and children moved to his home in Peruvayalil.
[11] This news was conveyed by the inhabitants of Kunjoth.
[12] See correspondence in serial number: 1420K in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* p.675.

We came to hear that; along with five or eight "exploding" Mappilas,[13] Bannankandy (Vannankandy) Kunjammy went near Wayanadu Thampuran (Pazassi Raja). Last night, they came to Keezhaloor near Vengat with hundred Nayar gun-shooters and Earankodan Nambru. Among them a few of them were sent to Kunjmaayan at Vengat Chaalukandy. They said to Kunjmaayan that Raja ordered them to stand at the top of the hill of Vengat along with the inhabitants of Vengat. However, the inhabitants replied to them that they were not ready for that. In this situation we came to hear that Kunjammy is coming to Ancharakkandy. But we don't have even one gun and two bullets.

The following letter written on the next day (8th Midhunam 975/19th June 1800)[14] to the same addressee informing the whereabouts of the people who joined Pazhassi Raja, explains the ways of controlling people by collecting information about them and by attempting to seize their landed assets,

This letter is a reply to inform the assets of Vannankandy Kunjammy and others who have gone and joined Pazhassi Raja. We can only identify three among them who went with Kunjammy. They are; Cheria Chadayan Chakka Ummar of Puthiya Parampil, his nephew; Kunjiyemathu, and Kakkachy Moosa. In this, except Kakkachy Moosa who has one Kuzhikkana Paramb, rests of them have hereditary properties.[15] We came to hear that Chovakkaran[16] have *Kaanam* (land right) on all these properties. Kunjammy has built a hut as a house in his land. At night, Kunjammy's people are recruiting a few people there to (Wayanad). We will write whether it is possible or not to catch Kunjammy. If you give fifty guns and bullets we will do what we can. If we fail to warn Kunjammy, other people also will go to Wayanad. We came to hear that Kunjammy receive money from *Thampuran* (Pazhassi Raja) by promising him to bring people to Wayanad. And *Thampuran* said to Kunjammy that he will believe him only after bringing people (to Wayanad).

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[13] "*Pottithericha*-mappilamar" in Malayalam
[14] See correspondence in serial number: 1423K in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* pp. 676-677.
[15] Land granted only for the cultivation of trees.
[16] Possibly Chovakkaran denotes either Chovakkaran Moosa or Chovakkaran Makki, two native traders and middle men who were also brothers.

Afterwards, as part of war provisions, Pazhassi Raja wrote many writs to Principal men such as Kalyatu Nambiar, and among them one writ addresses Koodali Kunjemman.[17] In that writ, he wrote his decision to wage war against the Company as a reaction against its attack on the deity in the Valiyambalam (big-temple) at Manathana. He demanded Koodali Kunjemman's full-fledged support for that endeavor, and ordered to him to convey this news to all people including principal men such as Pazhaya Veetil Chandu and Kaitheri Amboo. Similarly, jointly with Mappilla chief Unni Mutta Muppan and other chief land holders of Iravalinad (Erivayinad), such as the Kampuratt, Peruvayyal and Kannavatt Nambiars, Pazhassi tried to strengthen his authority in Wayanad.[18]

Meanwhile, Colonel Arthur Wellesley had become the commander of the forces in Malabar, Canara and Mysore.[19] Possibly, as a response to above mentioned activities of Pazhassi Raja, on 3rd October 1800, by issuing a proclamation, the Company authority of Kottayam prohibited the supplies of rice, provisions and other articles of conception carried clandestinely to the use and benefit of the people of Pazhassi Raja, and announced serious punishment to the people who engage in that activity.[20] At the same time, he warned the landlords (*Janmies)* and tenants (*Kutiyans*) not to pay revenue to any person until the government authorizes someone to collect that.[21] Moreover, on 10th October 1800 also the Company Government issued a proclamation towards the inhabitants of Irvenaad (Iravalinad/Erivayinad).[22] It prohibited any transactions of goods such as salt, oil and tobacco by people of Irvenaad to the people of Cotiote (Kottayam) without a written permission from the government. It ordered that those who act against this order should be put under trial as rebels and traitors of the government, and suffers punishment of death.

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[17] See letter dated on 8th Karkkadakam 975 (21st July 1800) in K.K.N. Kurup, pp. 170-171.
[18] See William Logan, *Malabar* Vol-I (first published in 1887; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989). p. 528.
[19] Ibid, p. 527.
[20] James Wilson signed in this proclamation, See No: CCXX document in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malaba*r (Calicut: Minerva Press, 1879) p. 223.
[21] See No: CCXLX document in Ibid, p. 223.
[22] See No: CCXXII document in Ibid, pp. 224-225.

On 22nd October 1800, Wellesley directly advised the commissioners to stop all communication with Wayanad for controlling the Pazhassi Raja's supplies. Then he discussed with Emman Nair—who had defected from Pazhassi Raja's side to the Company's side—about the possible plans to conquer Pazhassi Raja. But by negating Emman's suggestion to attack Pazhassi's people through five directions Wellesley recommended Colonel Stevenson to build a post at Kakkanakotta on the Mysore frontier on the north-east of Wayanad and to lead troops through Edatharakotta, located east of Sulthan Bathery to the Thamarasseri pass that goes to Calicut by linking communication network.[23] As per Wellesley's suggestion colonial Stevenson's trope entered Wayanad in January 1801[24] while Pazhassi's people dispersed without any considerable resistance and by the month of May all posts which had any importance came to the control of Company military and "Pazhassi become a wanderer in the jungles."[25]

On 20th April 1801 Stevenson issued a diplomatic proclamation to people.[26] In it he stated that the main aim of the Company government is the protection and happiness of people in this land. The natives should have known the Company's capacity to deploy power against Raja and security that can be offered to natives. Afterwards he emphasized the fact that in the middle of war the Company protected the life and properties of the natives. But some scoundrels and frauds are destroying the peacefulness of the country by opposing the genuine aim of the government. Then he reminded that the natives of Malabar should know that the Company could deploy power on criminals wherever in the country they were hiding. He also said that the Company Government would punish Pazhassi Raja soon who run away from them and live by wandering in the hideout of the forest. Subsequently he remarked the thanklessness of natives of the Kottayam who maintained secret relationship with Raja, hid the news about his banishment, and helped him to escape while the army was chasing him. Therefore he warned them that he decided to take serious steps against them and added that

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[23] In parallel, he suggests to encourage Emman Nair to deploy his authority on the place between southern-pass and Thamarasseri to disturb the communication between Pazassi Raja and Attan Gurrikkal and others. See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, pp. 529-531.

[24] He pushed forward trope from Edatharakotta (Mysore frotier) to Lakkidikotta (head of Thamarasseri Pass).

[25] See; Ibid, p. 532.

[26] See the letter in K.K.N. Kurup, pp. 172-173.

while the Company gives certain consideration to rebels their attitude become dangerous day by day. So the Government decided to banish them from their native land. Then he reminded of the announcement of 10000 rupees as honorarium to the people who help Company to catch Pazhassi, and of the sequestration of properties of rebels such as Kannoth Nambiar, Hidhary Kunjikutty, Elampilal Kunjan, Vavan Rullan Kunji and Chengatteri Chattu. Finally, he concluded that; "if anybody helps rebels the Company will consider them as traitors and punish them as rebels."

Correspondingly, the Company government initiated to regulate the strength of native authorities in the province for controlling Pazhassi Raja and to establish their governmental authority on the terrain of Malabar. As a result, on 27th April 1801 the Company Sircar ordered inhabitants of Vellatre district, including Nairs and Mappila, to deliver up their arms such as muskets and sword on or before 30th of the present month of Medam.[27] And also on 4th August 1801 the Company ordered the inhabitants and landlords who have allegiance with Pazhassi Raja to withdraw from his camp in forty-two days and warned them against the keeping of fire arms in their possession and offered rewards to them for the detection of such arms.[28] Meanwhile, on 18th July 1801, William Petrie from Fort Saint George communicated to John Spencer to annex Numbelah cotah to Wynaad District.[29]

On 5th September 1801, again from Fort Saint George, an order was issued to abolish the commission of Malabar and to appoint Collectors newly for the administration of the province. That assigned Major William Macleod as Principal Collector and Messrs Strachey, Hodgson and Keate as subordinate Collectors, of Malabar. Along with that the order gave the charges of revenue, civil and military to Macleod. And it also postponed the founding of judicial authority until military dominance of the company over the *refractory people* of the province.[30] This postponement in establishing judicial authority was probably a strategy of Company to deploy war laws in Malabar. To suppress the force of Pazhassi Raja and to

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[27] See No: CCXXVII document in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, p. 227.
[28] See No: CCXXIX document in Ibid, pp. 228-229.
[29] See No: CCXXVIII document in Ibid, p. 228.
[30] See No: CCXXX document in Ibid, pp. 229-230.

signal warning to his people Company government hanged Peruvayyal Nambiar along with two other people in Kannavam and also hanged Kannavatt Nambiar along with his son on the hill near Travaller's Bungalow at Kannavam, on 27th November 1801.[31]

Finally, Macleod ordered disarmament in the province on 30th January 1802.[32] Based on that; for those who submit their weapons to government, the Company has offered money. Depending on the quality and quantity of weapons its compensation had fixed. Based on the quality of firelock, the compensation price varied from one to eight rupees. For Nair's knife and matchlock three times the value of their weight of iron, and for picks and all other weapons the price of an equal weight of irons; were the rate of compensation. Correspondingly, that has directed strict punishment such as confiscation and penalty against those who possess and carry arms without the license of Company government. Furthermore, that proclamation also added that; if anyone who deserves punishment resist or attempt to escape from government he will be arrested by government or put to death. Along with that by fixing confinement as a punishment for production and repair of arms, the Company has prohibited the manufacturing of arms. Conclusively it directed all Government officials such as *Pravritties,*[33] *Menons* and *Kolkkar*[34] to arrest any person who disobey these orders and punish them either by putting them in prison or to death.[35]

Then Macleod unifies the rate of exchange of money which has existed in Malabar in different modes; that created lot of difficulty among people. Moreover, by estimating revenue of rice-fields as 35 to 40 percent of the gross produce, per coconut tree 48 nuts, per areca-nut tree 200 nuts he also decided to increase the revenue of government to meet the amplified expense of money caused by continued military operations. This mode of Extraction of revenue and mistakes in fixing exchange rate created serious discontent among people in the

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[31] See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, pp. 532-533.
[32] See William Logan, *Malabar* Vol-I, p. 534.
[33] It is also seen as Parbuthies in colonial records.
[34] One of the lower level employs of Company administration who measures the land and collect the revenue. He also engages in policing activity.
[35] See No: CCXXXIV document in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, pp. 232-233.

province that indirectly instigated Pazhassi Raja's people to carry out an attack on the Company force in Panamaram in Wayanad.[36]

At Panamaram, Edachena Kunkkan killed the peon as a result of dispute between Company official (peon) and Kurichiar Community men regarding the revenue. Consequently, members of the Kurichiar community joined Edachena Kunkkan under the leadership of Talakal Chandu[37] and formed a band. Five days later, the band which numbered around 150, joined Edachena Kunkkan and his two brothers and attacked Panamarattakotta (fort at Panamaram)—with bow, arrow and firearm[38]—and defended a detachment of 70 men of the 1st battalion of the 4th Bombay Infantry who was under Captain Dickenson and Lieutenant Maxwell. In that attack Dickenson and Maxwell were killed and their detachment, including 24 Sepoys, was totally massacred.[39] Afterward, the native band seized 112 muskets, 6 boxes of ammunition and 6000 rupees from Panamarattakotta, and destroyed the building of the fort completely through the sacrifice of just five among them.[40]

That native troupe later increased their strength around 300 to 400 in the attack on the Kottiyoor-Pass and destructed the connection between Koothuparamb and Manathala.[41] The Company government directed Macleod to move to Wayanad with 8th regiment of 1st battalion, and also employed other five companies of 5th Bombay regiment and Sypoys to oppose "rebels." The 77th regiment of British military was also appointed to resist native bands by the order of Colonel Arthur Wellesley.[42] But the Company couldn't resist the attack of native troupes efficiently. For instance, 360 men under the battalion of Major Drummond that camped at Poolinjall in Wayanad failed not only to drive out troupes of the natives but also to break the siege by natives in Company's Poolinjall fort. And only after the arrival of a

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[36] William Logan also points out that how the new way of revenue collection which has established by Macleod was the root cause of insurrection in Panamaram. Ibid, pp. 535-536.
[37] He was a member of Kurichiar community who are considered today as Adivasis.
[38] See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-1, p. 536.
[39] See W.J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. III (Madras: Government press, 1883) p. 55.
[40] See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol- I, p. 536.
[41] See Kurup's remarks from minutes of command in Chief Stuart that dated on 26th October 1802 in K.K.N. Kurup, p. 104.
[42] Ibid, p. 104.

reinforcement of 500 men which was dispatched by Company to Wayanad they were released. Wellesley expressed utter discontent towards this failure of Company military.[43]

This indolent state of the Company's force and the slight advancement of native bands on them instigated the courage of natives to extend their resistance. From Pulpalli Temple, Edachena Kunkkan, one of the main leaders, called the inhabitants of Wayanad to take weapons against the Company government. In response to that 3000 people gathered at Pulpalli Temple. Among them 500 were divided and rest of them took post at Valliyur Kavu near Maananthody, Motimjarra on the Kakkana kotta road and at Eddapaddy. As many as100 men stood at Periya-pass voluntarily along with one of the Edachena Kunkkan's brother, and Kottiyur-pass (Smugglers-pass) blocked with trees and 25 men stationed there to protect the blockade. Moreover, different other posts were erected from Dindimal to Pulpalli Temple. Among them few were armed with matchlocks and muskets, and rest of them held bows and arrows, Nair knives, and swords. The landlords in Wayanad such as Kuppatode Nair and two others joined these bands.[44] Edachena Kunkkan stationed on the route from Mysore to Maananthody via Kakkana kotta for deploying powerful opposition to Company's force came through Mysore side.[45]

The first battalion of the 8th regiment under Captain Gurnell with a party of pioneers and 200 Mysore horses marched from Kakkana kotta to Wayanad for the help of the Company force at Maananthody. While they reached at the side of Bawally River a band of Nairs who occupied an old stockade faced them. But with the help of a third party his force crossed the river, and then next day that battalion marched towards Maananthody. Even though they reached Maananthody they faced opposition on their way throughout, and five in the Mysore cavalry were killed and seventeen horses wounded. Then he sent back Mysore horses which were useless in the marshy land of Wayanad, to Sungaloo. After a few days, Captain Gurnell directed his force to build stockade at Sungaloo and to construct two others in between Sungaloo and Maananthody. Meanwhile, for further support of Company military Wellesly

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[43] See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol- I, pp. 536-537.
[44] Ibid, p. 537.
[45] Ibid, p. 537.

pushed a detachment towards Wayanad. Near Sungaloo on 12th November 1802, his detachment engaged in a skirmish with a Nair troupe. By using advantages of a river which was difficult to cross, the troupe of Nairs fired against the detachment of the Company. As a result of that nine Company people were killed and eighteen wounded. But the pertinent act of officer of command of the battalion turned the course to the Company's side. He sent three companies of military from Sungaloo to support them. Then Nairs were driven out with considerable loss.[46]

To support Drummond, Colonel Bells sent troops from Koothuparamb cantonment to Maananthody, Periya and Lakkidi kotta. Similarly, Colonel Lawrence also pushed his battalion to Maananthody from the lower plain. Concurrently, with five companies of Sypoys and with one Europeans troupe Major Howden ascended Kuttiyadi-pass to support Colonel Lawrence. On 5th November Colonel Wellesley, informed Macleod that he himself should ascend the ghauts to help the forces of Company. Meantime, the Company government sent orders to native inhabitants to settle down the anti-company sentiments. In that manner, to establish Company's territorial power on Wayanad, the Company military marched through Wayanad and faced no opposition from the so called "rebel" bands. Meanwhile, on 6th December, Paalora Emman Nair—who strategically decamped from Pazhassi Raja's side—threw off his disguise and openly defected to Pazhassi's side. On 10th of December a native band attacked baggage and provision escort of the Company between Kottiyur and the foot of the Smuggler's pass. In response to these situations Major Macleod reported to the Company about the insufficient number of troops to deploy power on people who did not return to home (from forested tacks) and who hid news about the move of the so called rebels.

Correspondingly, the bands of natives extended their resistance from Wayanad to lower planes of Malabar. In the month of April Edachena Kunkkan descended Wayanadan-pass and helped native bands of Kottayam to attack military post at Pazhassi. The resistance of the armed bands of natives disseminated to Chirackal, its effect resonated even near to the Koothuparamb cantonment. In August it extended its reach to Randathara. Then in

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[46] See W.J. Wilson, pp. 55-57.

September it spread to Katirur and Anjchrakandi in Kottayam. Subsequently it also dispersed to Chirackal. On 7th December 1802, Cannanore, Makreri, Ancharakandi and Koodali faced serious havoc of native resistance. On 20th December some of the native bands came to attack up to Darmapattanam Island near to the Thalasseri Company headquarters. Lastly, on 7th January1803, Kurumbranad and Payyormala became the open ground of native resistance.[47]

In this period, the life of inhabitants in these terrains came under peril. Those who sided either with Pazhassi or with the Company faced serious tortures from both sides. The letter written on 5th Dhanu 978[48] by *Mukyasthan* (head-men), *Kutiyan* (tenant) and *Tharakans* (scribblers) of Vennattu Angady in Kurumbala Hoobli in Payyormala Taluk to Lakkattar Major Maklote (Collector Major Macleod) Sayppu registers this disastrous state faultlessly,

> With the exception of (lands of) *Devaswom*, as an amount of *Kappam* (tribute), of the period of 966 to 975, we paid 3000 *Panam* (Rupees), through hands of highness (Vazhunoor) of Kurumbala Hoobli, in Payyormala, to Kozhikotta (Kozhikode) *Kachery*. From 976 onwards Assabron Sayppu added our place to Wayanad Thalook and handed over to Kanna kuruppu. The revenue of that year which already assessed was we submitted to Kanna kuruppu. But in 977 Shyma rayar increased the revenue by the order of Maklote (Macleod). In fact, we submitted all our production at *Aramana*,[49] and we give money by selling out our paddy and rice. Then we paid remaining amount by selling out our bullocks and slaves (*atiyore*), and earring and necklace of kids. But, then also revenue has not settled completely, so as a punishment they put us in lockup, beat and stood us in water.[50] Then we borrowed money 7589 and paid at Panorath (Panamaram) Kachery without making any problems to English Company.

[47] See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, p. 538.

[48] Probably on December 1802, see correspondence in serial number: 1427M in *Talasseri Rekhakal,* pp. 678-679.

[49] *Aramana* means office of the colonial administration; it also means palace

[50] Probably in one leg.

After that, Pazhassi Thampuran came to our country. Ettakooruvattukar[51] and Edachena Kunkkan wrote to us to present ourselves in front of Pazhassi *Thampuran* immediately. But, we did not go. Then, Ettakooruvattukar and Edachena Kunkkan intimidated us by saying that they will burn our house and kill our people in front of us. After that few among us have gone and met them. Then again, they threatened us that if we obey English Company they will slaughter our kids and children. While they fired from Pennottu Palayam we feared and fled to forest. Therefore, Company should protect us from them.

Probably in response to these states which existed in the terrains of Malabar, and especially by considering the present state of affairs in the province of Wayanad, the Company government has issued a proclamation on 9th January 1803. In that the honorable governor in council granted power and authority to Colonel Jone Montresor—commanding officer of provinces of Malabar and Canara— "to punish with death all person who shall be found opposing in arms the authority of the British government or adding and assisting the cause of the rebels."[52] But this intimidation couldn't control native bands that were fighting against the Company. In February, Emman Nair descended the hilly-pass to lower plains, and joining with landlords of Payyormala and Kurubranad strengthened the resistance. Irivinadu and Eranad also witnessed the native outbreaks. In those resistances around 3340 people participated and they used musket, spear, sword, bow and arrow for their struggles.[53]

Furthermore, on 1st March 1803, a native band attacked prison in Calicut after killing prison guards and capturing their weapons. When the prisoners tried to escape through the gap between broken walls Company military killed around forty and detained almost thirty-eight. But others who escaped from there ran away and rejoined the native troop, involving themselves in the struggle in nearest places against Company. In that situation Macleod was forced to call Major Howdan to retain a favorable situation for Company rule.[54] Moreover, he

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[51] People of *Ettakooruvatt*.

[52] See No: CCXXXIX document in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, pp. 237-238.

[53] See Kurup's remarks from Macleod's letter that dated on 9th March 1803 in K.K.N. Kurup, p. 106.

[54] See Kurup's remarks from Macleod's letter that dated on 2th March 1803 in Ibid, p. 106.

requested money to Company to meet the expenses for the government activities. By recruiting 150 corps he increased the number of police under Caption Watson, and along with that in Kannur and Thalasserri he recruited 150 *Kolkkarans* each, and he also enlisted 250 Peons for Kozikode and Eranad.[55] However, on 6thMarch Macleod realized that his revision of the assessment and fixing of new rate of exchange generated wide range of insurrections in the province[56] and he understands this as his failure to maintain Company rule in the province of Malabar. Then he decided to resign his collectorship and wrote to Mr. Rickards to take his role who was a senior judge at Mayyazhi (Mahe) Court. In reply to this, on 11th March 1803, Rickards announced that he has taken charge of civil and executive authority of Malabar.[57]

Subsequently, he reverted to the old exchange rate of coin, and he changed the new rate of revenue into the old rate of annual-revenue-survey (*pymashee*) that existed in the period of 1800-1, by a proclamation. Moreover, he granted forgiveness to the people who engaged in fight against Company, for bringing them back to their home.[58] On 16th April 1803 Rickards appointed Murdeck Brown to survey (*Pymashee*) new district of Randathara to settle down the increased discontents of the native people regarding revenue settlement of Macleod.[59] Moreover, in the light of this resurvey he resettled the revenue in the province. Resultantly, *Kutiyan* got a right to claim one third of gross produce of a coconut-tree and remainder or *paattom* was divided equally among Company and *Janmakar*. In the case of jack fruit tree the Company received half of the *paattom* or one third of the gross produce, based on local custom or value of tree. Of pepper plant, one third of the gross produce was the right of Company.[60] Meanwhile, struggle against Company got strengthened at Payyormala in the month of May and it has disseminated in June to the premises of Koothuparamb

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[55] See Kurup's remarks from Macleod's letter that dated on 9th March 1803 in Ibid, p. 106.
[56] See No: CCXL document in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, p. 239.
[57] See Kurup's remarks from Macleod's letter that dated on 10th March 1803 in K.K.N. Kurup, p.107.
[58] See No: CCXL document in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, p. 238.
[59] See No: CCXLI document in Ibid, p. 239.
[60] See No: CCXLII document dated 29th June 1803 in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, p. 240.

cantonment.[61] Subsequently, in the province of Malabar, especially in south Malabar, based on this new revenue settlement, most of the Rajahs, Namboothiries, *Mukyasthans* and Principal-men including Samoory (rajah of Calicut) signed agreements with Company[62] and they became the native collaborators of British Raj. But Company failed to stop the resistance of native bands completely in northern Malabar.

Mutual *Control on Act, Text, Context* and Formations of Region
As we discussed in the sixth chapter here also one can see how *acts* such as trafficking of supplies, assailing of armed forces, transporting of commodities and collecting of revenue; *texts* such as writs, formal orders and proclamations; *contexts* such as dynamics of forested-terrains and agrarian-fields: mutually constitute those meanings and inter-connectedly form regions like Wayanad and Kottayam. Similarly, here also we can perceive that controlling of act, text, and context was a prerequisite for either Pazhassi or the Company to rein these terrains as regions.[63] To actualize those schemes they operated different intense strategies. If we closely examine the acts we can understand that controlling of possession, production, and supply of goods, weapons and the bodies (of human and animal) was the strategy deployed from either sides as their taming acts. As previously mentioned here also goods were rice, salt, coconut-oil, tobacco, black pepper, cardamom, whitepaper, ammunition; and weapons were firearm, musket, sword, matchlock, bow and arrow. Through those controlling measures, one attempts to deny the territorial assertion of other to rein ones place as a region.

For instance, the disarmament which Macleod had executed in Malabar not only regulated the assertion of coercive acts of natives on its terrains by the weapons which the people possessed but also controlled native's supply of weapons and ammunitions to Pazhassi's people and attempted to stop the deployment of Pazhassi's power on Wayanad by that weapons. Similarly, Pazhassi's force successfully attacked Panamaram fort, which eliminated life of many soldiers of the Company. This attack not only conquered the coercive acts of

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[61] See Kurup's remarks from "correspondence related to Pazassi Raja's Rebellion" that dated on 5th June 1803 in K. K.N. Kurup, p. 108.
[62] See No: CCXLIII document dated 22th July 1803 in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, pp. 240-245.
[63] As we mentioned in the above chapter here also it is very clear.

Company's military-man to deploy the reign of Company on Wayanad against the challenges of Pazhassi's people but also decisively helped Pazhassi's people to seize ammunition and weapons to disseminate their coercive acts further in the form of guerrilla-war against reign of Company in many upper and lower lands of Malabar. Here it is clear that the control of the bodies of people from their possible relationship with objects/subjects/goods/terrains/commodities/animals[64] aim to negate the acceleration of force of their bodies and the acts which are actualized through those relations that assert authority on a place/space. In other words, *control on acts* has aimed the regulation of possible engagement between human bodies and objects/subjects/goods/terrains/commodities/animals that give a form of force to those bodies to control others and to assert their authority on certain place/space.

The public execution of insurgents at Kannavam by the Company government was one of the possible end results of this type of control. Because the act of execution was not only to end the life of Kannavatt Nambiar and others who possibly ruled those places but also to rule out their bodies from authority and ruled realms of them. Like this, the implementation of written permission as pass to transport provision, salt, oil and tobacco from one place to another was a new kind of controlling of acts of people by textual registration. The interplay between *control on act* with the text and the context is much visible in this milieu. But, here the *control on text* happened in content rather than its form, because in this case of text; framing of content has made much effect other than its form. A minor analysis of proclamations of Company especially one which issued by Stevenson on 20th April 1801 revel the regulations of language in those texts deployed by the Company's people.

In that proclamation, Stevenson created an impression that the government stands for the welfare of natives by highlighting "protection and happiness of people" as the main aim of Company. It was a turn towards a much tactful language instead of a fully intimidating expression that was used in certain proclamations. Correspondingly, he portrayed and named

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[64] The attack on Mysore cavalry which resulted in killing of five and injuring of seventeen horses by Pazhassis's people; using of elephants to pull mortar to Wayanad from lower lands of Malabar by British; and abducting of cow and goat from Wayanad by Tipu's troop signify the controlling of acts of attacking/farming by destructing the relationship between human and animal that generate the force for those acts.

the people who resist Company's rule as traitors and rebels. This strategy in narration in the text not only conceals the unethical colonizing act of the English Company by a legitimizing formal and procedural language but also possibly creates a textual-effect on natives that Company stands for the wellbeing of the natives. Moreover, that textual strategy possibly generates an identification of certain natives towards the territorial rule of Company in Malabar. Besides this, Pazhassi Raja also had deployed certain regulation on the text. That was very much evident in his correspondences.

On the one hand while communicating with Company Pazhassi Raja used a polite language of an obedient person who requested protection from the Company, while on the other hand in his writ to principal man and tenants he used an authoritarian language of a ruler for their alliance with him in the war against Company. This regulation on text signifies a *double language* which aims to accomplish two different targets at a time. On the one hand by his respectful language he tries to mislead Company that he is a faithful supporter of their provincial governance; on the other hand through his demanding language he attempts to make territorial identification of native people towards his territorial assertion in Malabar. In short, through *regulation on text* both parties aim to produce two different kinds of territorial identification among people. In this way *control on text* here presupposes *control on act* and *context*.

Along with regulation on act and text, *control on context* also plays a decisive role in the formation of a region. Hence both parties attempt to assert their territorial authority on Wayanad by defeating one's dominance by other through their acts and texts. One can see many movements of militaries and correspondences either by Company or by Pazhassi as an attempt to *control on context*. The bifurcation by the company of Wayanad in to two and adding of one part to Mysore and other to Koyampathur reflect their attempt to control the territory of Wayanad. Similarly the construction of built environment like fort, post, blockade, road and bridge in Wayanad and Kottayam both by Company and Pazhassi also was a direct effort to *control the context*.

But interestingly contrary to Company's interest to conquer Wayanad the geographical nature of Wayanad supported Pazhassi's people. Therefore, the terrain of Wayanad which he used as his furtive residence turned into a relatively permanent residence of him.[65] Put it differently; forested, hilly, marshy, rainy and cloudy nature of Wayanad's geography and the lived-knowledge of Pazhassi's people about those simultaneously produced a powerful defense against the will of Company to erect their territorial rule in Wayanad.[66] The impossibility made by the forces of Pazhassi Raja against the Company to rule Wayanad permanently was not only the deployment of coercive power of their body but also the geographical specialty of forest, marshland,[67] hill, hilly-pass[68] and river[69] that offer a situation to the forces of Pazhassi Raja to deploy sudden and unpredictable attack on Company's forces.[70] That is why Pazhassi's people could fight back powerfully with more than 3000 people under the leadership of Edachena Kunkkan by attacking Panamaram Fort and erect several posts across Wayanad.[71]

Other than this here the meaning of nature like agrarian-land (*nadu*) and forested terrain (*kadu*) were contingent. In detail, if the reason for Pazassi Raja to wage war against Company was the attack on deity of Valiyambalam at Manathana, then it is clear that he saw temple situated at Kottayam as a sacred space, an apex spot of his authority. But other than agrarian-land (*nadu*) of Kottayam the forested-terrain (*kadu*) of Wayanad provided capability to him to wage guerrilla-war against the Company's territorial dominance on Kottayam. Therefore, as represented in both colonial and native (Brahmanic) registers here forested-

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[65] The expressions in correspondence by native and British officials such as "Pazhassi living in jungle-side," "he turns to the forest," "Pazhassi become a wanderer in the jungle" and "government will punish Pazassi Raja soon who run away from them and live by wandering in hideout of the forest" clearly indicate Pazhassi's use of forested terrains in Wayanad as a refuge.

[66] This lived-knowledge and practice of native on the forested-terrain of Wayanad which made forest their refuge was not purely the strategy of actualizing the well-being of all beings of forest but possibly of defending and destructing another being of forest itself. It shows how the inhabitation of people in forest itself is contrasted with the territoriality of animals and trees.

[67] See the powerful attack faced by Company's cavalry of Captain Gurnell from Pazhassi's people by exploiting the marshy nature of land in Wayanad.

[68] See the resistance deployed by Pazhassi's troops from different hilly-pass including smuggler's pass.

[69] See how Pazhassi's people resist armed force of Wellesley by using the advantage of river.

[70] However, Pazhassi Raja's people failed to protect their permanent territorial authority on Wayanad in front of Company's military attacks.

[71] However, Stevenson's army could deploy an expedition through Wayanad in January 1801 by capturing all military posts in Wayanad without any considerable resistance from Pazhassi's people.

terrain (*kadu*) is not a binary opposite of agrarian-land (*nadu*) that signifies savage against civilized but a place which has a different agrarian-life[72] that decisively helped Pazhassi in his attempt to territorialize Kottayam as an agrarian-region[73] of his own rule. In fact, here it is much obvious how the *control on context* deeply intersected with *control on act* and text as well as with another *control on context* itself.

Tussles for Wayanad: Company's Collaboration and Pazhassi's Resistance

In the following lines we can see how the Company has further attempted to bring Wayanad under their control by repressing the resistance of Pazhassi Raja in collaboration with natives—such as Thondoor Chathoo, Panchara Naranan Patter, Thenamangalavan Anathan, Chellatta Kanna Kuruppu and Chathoo's maternal uncle Thondoor kotta Edathara Nambiar and his nephews such as Thondoor Rayarappan and Thondoor Rayiru—who have lived-knowledge about the geography of Wayanad, and how Pazhassi's people resisted those attempts. The correspondences between this native-collaborators and Company officials have delineated how the Company attempted to draw Wayanad as their own through this collaboration with natives and how people of Pazhassi reacted to this by mapping Wayanad differently from Company by their acts of war, loot and revenue collection. A letter written by Thondoor Chathoo from Panniyankottil on 28th Medam 978[74] to Assabron Sayppu is a preliminary one in this regard. He wrote,

> I have circulated the proclamation[75]—which was sent from Company office—to all Hooblies by making copies of them. I will continue to inform the stands of inhabitants. Except Thondoor nad, all other inhabitants of other places completely joined Edachena Kunkkan. If people who are the enemies of Company enter into Thondoornad I will fight against them as possible. Even I can't stand them, I will come with my children to Company headquarters. All my belongings in Penangot Desham in Edanadassakkudy Hoobi were looted by Edachena Kunkkan. Moreover,

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[72] See the use of forest as place of inhabitation by certain communities through shifting-cultivation and other ways of existence mentioned in last chapter.

[73] One can perceive similar kind of agency of forest in the escape of natives of Payyormala Taluk to forest to protect life of their family from the attack of Pazhassi's people.

[74] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 11th May 1803, see correspondence in serial number: 218A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 136-137.

[75] *Parasyakattu i*n Malayalam.

they took away all my belongings from my home in Mundayath. Those people are doing many indecent acts[76] like these. Those robbers are not staying any where permanently.

As Company ordered, I gave 29 packs of rice from Mattil. Without delay, I will give the remaining packs, and I will inform those in headquarters soon. When we heard that the belongings of the house of Kanna Kuruppu were looted by Kunkkan and his people and kept at Aroor Cholayil, we collectively went there. But they fired at us, and we also counter-fired. Subsequently, they fled. We caught one among them, whom we keep in lockup. Furthermore, eighteen among nineteen guns which were sent by Company from Kadathanad (to our need) were taken away by Mappilas who had been sent by Vannarath Kunjipokkara, but now those guns were back at home. For the knowledge of Sayppu we inform this news.

Next to that on 9th Edavam 978,[77] Chellatta Kannan[78] wrote another letter to Kappithaan (Captain) Assabron Sayppu,

Thondoor nad Chaathoo might have written and conveyed the current news in Wayanad country. After Chanthoo and I departed from Paaparampath, I and my children, including babies, were living in Pannayankottil. Meanwhile, I have come from Paaparampath, Edachena Kunkkan beat one calf which has been reared by my nephew. Moreover, he looted our vessels, palm-leaf box, record box[79] and paddy and seeds in the baskets. Additionally, without leaving anything, he took away paddy of Kuvana, and belongings such as vessels and assets that were kept in other's hand. Furthermore, Kunkkan also took away paddy and seed of Chathoo in Mattil in Edanadassakkudy Hoobli and in Kethanna.

When we heard the news that Puliyan Kanaran trafficked these belongings, including paddy, and also the belongings of Perumchola Kannan[80] to his house and kept them in

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[76] *Nirmmiryadham* in Malayalam.

[77] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 23rd May 1803, see correspondence in serial number: 228A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 144-146.

[78] Kanna Kuruppu also was known as Chellatta Kannan.

[79] Those existed from the time of our ancestors.

[80] Those he kept in protection by his guards.

his house; I and Chathoo went to Kanaran's house. While, after firing one round Puliyan Kanaran, Puliyan Chandu, Kannu and Kottayadan Raman fled away. We caught one Puliyan who was the helper of Kanaran. We couldn't take away paddy and seed from Kanaran's house because Kunkkan and his 29 people were staying at Peral. Moreover, by following us they fired us up to Pulinjaal.

These are the current news; on 5th Edavam of this month Paalora Emman Nayar and few important people came to Kedavoor where Pazhassi Raja was residing. In response to the letter which Pazhassi Raja wrote to Kunkkan he also will go to Kedavoor. We hear that, with Emman Nayar; Velayattery Raman Nayar, Pazhedath Kunjamathu and Vaazhoth Unnikkidav are the people who came from Kurumbranad. Moreover, Thondoor Kelappan Nambiar and the inhabitance of Edanadassakkudy are staying with Thampuran at Kedavoor. Kunkkan and few others are planning to descend to Kurumbranad. He ordered and appointed people in all places. With 29 people Kunkkan living in our Hoobli by assessing revenue of the land and collecting rice as their share, and by collecting the rent and meet their expense. Moreover, they are resisting the inhabitants are who willing to join with us.

As per the order of master I have camped twenty people with me to make defense and to create protection to me and my small children. For that, I have lodged with me eight gunmen and twelve archers. I didn't get any of them among nineteen guns and shooters which master sent with Naranan Patter and Ananthan. When Chathoo has gone to Kuttiyady; Ananthan, Naranan Patter and shooters also accompanied him. Then shooters fled without return back to our camp. Moreover, while Naranan Patter has gone to Palakkad by taking permission from master all other shooters also were gone. If master will be late in coming back here, I would like to come there to submit our grievance and receive your order.

Now, by meeting Sayppu of Pulinjaal and Mattil, and informing news to him I and Chathoo are working as per his order.

On 22nd Edavam 978[81] again Thondoor Chathoo wrote about the movements of Pazhassi Raja's people to Assaboan Sayppu. "I secretly heard that Edachena Kunkkan and Kunjimoitheen Mooppan had gone to Kurumbranad. Twenty of them descended to Kurumbranad among 59 people, who were with them. I received eighty packets (of paddy) which would be supplied to Mattil." He offered the Sayppu to supply the remaining packets of Paddy. He informed the Sayppu in the letter that the Raja of Pazhassi was residing in Kedavoor and would give further information later.

Alongside this on 23rd Edavam 978[82] Thenamangalavan Anathan wrote to Assabron Sayppu,

> We reached Thondoor nad with the people who were sent by master. These are the news that we secretly hear about Pazhassi Thampuran from here. Pazhassi Thampuran and Paalora Emman live at Kedavoor in Edanadassakkudy with around hundred people. Additionally, along with Edachena Kunkkan, Maliyeakkal Elathoor Kunji Moitheen Mooppan and younger Thampuran of Mallissery Kovilakam[83]— totally around three hundred people—are there from Kurumbarand. Tharuvana Chappan Nayar, Panichaate Kannan Nayar, Pattathod Cheran Nambiar and Ayaravettil Chanthoo are the important people who have gone from here. Karingaly Kannan is living in his Cherukunnumel house in Wayanad Hoobli. Thondoor Kelappan Nambiar is residing at his house at Pongini. Above mentioned Kunkkan and Kunji Moitheen Mooppan along with other people descended Kaithakkal Parachuram on5 *Nazhika*[84] to sunset on 19th. I and Thondoor Chathoo are living in Thondoor.
> We regularly collect information from Pulinjaal, Mattil, Maananthody and Ezhu Daraloor by sending people and by going ourselves by walking. We regularly inform news recurrently to headquarters. I don't have any refuge other than master. With your blessing you should save our kids and children.

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[81] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 5th June 1803, see correspondence in serial number: 229A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 146.

[82] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 6th June 1803, see correspondence in serial number: 230A in Ibid*,* pp. 146-147.

[83] He is from Kurumbranad.

[84] *Nazhika* is a traditional measure of time.

Later, on 28th Edavam 978,[85] Thondoor Chathoo and Chellatta Kannan wrote again to Assaboan Sayppu, saying,

> Pazhassi Thampuran is still staying in Kedavoor. Chaathoth Kumbalath Nayar, after arriving at Kurumbala, makes the people there ready to go to Thamaracherry. With fifty-nine people Kunkkan and inhabitants are lodging at Vengapally. We hear that Kunkkan is also going to descend Thamaracherry. With around hundred people Edachena Komappan, Othenan and Araveetil Chandu are staying for two or three days at one place without fear and moving from there to another place.
>
> We are only hundred people to oppose them. We think that the master knows how many shooters we have. Therefore, if the Company camps thirty-nine efficient Sypoys and 19 White-men either in Maananthody or Pulinjaal we can stop the travelling of people whom we mentioned above and prevent Kunkkan who is collecting revenue from our places.
>
> We are sad in the absence of information as to whether the master ascended to Wayanad in month of Chingam. However, master didn't come here or send his army. We need permission to meet the master and submit our problems. Moreover, the master should order us to send our letters with Kunjipokkar to headquarters and bring back the reply.

Also, on 20th Midhunam 978,[86] Panchara Naranan Patter wrote to Assabron Sayppu. He said that Pazhassi Raja and Emman Nair were staying at Kedavoor in Edanadassakkuddy Hooblii. Furthermore, he informed that Velayterry Raman Nair of Thamarasseri was also living at Thrichilerry in Elayakoorvattil Hobbli. Edachena Komappan and Othenan were travelling from one place to another here. Then he adds: "At Chathoo's house, Karingaly Kelappan and a niece of Chathoo died of smallpox. Chathoo's decease is cured and he took bath. I, Chathoo, Thenamangalavan Ananthu [Ananthan] and Kanna Kuruppu are all staying at Tondoornad."

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[85] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 11th June 1803, see correspondence in serial number: 227A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 143-144.
[86] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 4th July 1803, see correspondence in serial number: 222A in Ibid*,* p. 139.

Then on 13th Karkkadakam 978,[87] Thondoor kotta Edathra Nambiar, the maternal uncle of Chathoo, wrote a letter on the death of Thondoor Chathoo to Assabron Sayppu. "My nephew Thondoor Chathoo died on 9th Karkkadakam by infection from smallpox. The Company had appointed him to obey and work for the Company's order. Therefore, I ordered my nephews; Thondoor Rayarappan and Thondoor Rayiru to obey and to work for the Company. I have lodged Narana Patter, Chellatta Kanna kuruppu and Thenamangalavan Ananthu and others who were appointed by Sayppu in Thondoornad."

The letter written by Panchara Naranan to Assabron Sayppu on13th Karkkadakam 978[88] also mentioned the death of Chathoo and the proposal of his uncle Edathara Nambiar to appoint Thondoor Rayarappan and Rayiru, his nephews, at his place. He also comments that people believe that death of Chathoo and his bullocks, slaves and children were caused by the black magic done by somebody. Moreover, he added to the news saying that with fifty people Pazhassi Raja and Paalora Emman were living in Kunjoth forest in Paarakkumeethal Hoobli. And, after hearing the news of Chathoo's death, with thirty-nine people Edachena Kunkkan was coming to Cherukunnumel[89] in Moothakooruvatil Hoobli and staying there. Furthermore he added that Edachena Komappan and nine hundred and fifty people had come to Anacherry Edavaka near Thondoornad. Then conclusively Panchara Naranan said; "with the blessings of the master we and our children should protect" and Naranan reminded the lack of money to meet the expense of the people who stay with them—which he has conveyed to Company already.

The letter dated vaguely as 3rd next-month 978[90] which was written by Thenamangalavan Anathan also narrates the death of Chathoo and the proposal of his uncle for the appointment of his nephews in the vacancy that emerged due to the death. The letter also describes the

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[87] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 28th July 1803, see correspondence in serial number: 224A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 140-141.
[88] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 28th July 1803, see correspondence in serial number: 225A in Ibid, pp. 141-142.
[89] Means *small-hill* in Malayalam.
[90] See correspondence in serial number: 226A in Ibid, pp. 142-143.

attempt made by them to meet Sayppu in Pulinjaal and Mattil along with Thondoor Rayarappan, Thondoor Rayiru, chiefs and one-thirty people to actualize this proposal. He also remarked that in every 5th day he is visiting forts in Wayanad collecting information, and conveying the same to Sayppu regularly.

Another dated 13th Karkkadakam 978[91] narrates that Edachena Komappan and one fifty people who were staying at Lorutharayil Cherukunnumel in Kuranatu Hoobli had come to Aalancherry Edavayiram[92] downhill near Thondoornad. Like the letter of Panchara Naranan this letter also informs the Company about the lack of money to meet their expense as they had written to Company before. He also appealed to Sayppu to send advice to work out their further plans and request to save them and their children.

Similar to these letters written by Panchara Naranan (225A), Thenamangalavan Anathan (226A) and Edathara Nambiar (224A) on 13th Karkkadakam 978,[93] Chellatta Kannan also wrote a letter that talks about the death of Chathoo, proposal for his nephews, Pazassi Raja's and Palora Emmans's stay at Kunjoth-kotta with fifty people, and Edachena Kunkkan's move to Aalancherry Edavaka with his people after hearing the news of Chathoo's death.

Thondoor-nad Rayarappan and Rayiru's letter on 13th Karkkadakam 978, which addresses Assabron Sayypu,[94] conveyed the numerical strength of their camp along with the above information.[95] They remarked that they were staying at Thondoornad along with superiors (*Melalanmar*), Kurichiars and thirty households who were with their uncle Chathoo, hundred people who were appointed by the Company, and with Panchara Naranan, Thenamangalavan Anathan and Chellatta Kanna Kuruppu: to actualize duties of them assigned by the Company.

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[91] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 28th July 1803. Other name is not mentioned in the letter. See correspondence in serial number: 232A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 147.

[92] This word perhaps similar to Anacherry Edavaka, but I don't have substantial evidence to prove it.

[93] In this letter names are written as Thodoor Dayarppan and Rayiru. See correspondence in serial number: 233A in Ibid, pp. 147-149.

[94] See correspondence in serial number: 234A in Ibid, p. 149.

[95] Such as; death of their maternal uncle Chathoo by smallpox, their grant-uncle's proposal to appoint them in those vacant positions, and about the letters written by Pachara Naranan, Thenamangalavan Anathan and Chellatta Kanna Kurruppu to Company regarding this.

But the letter Panchara Naranan and Thondoor Rayiru sent to Assabron Sayppu on 19th Karkkadakam 978[96] updated the situations in Wayanad with new details. The narration in the letter goes like this,

> On 16th of this month with three hundred people Kunkkan, Komappan and Othenan came to Kunnoth Edava from Poroor. From there, with hundred people Komappan and Othenan entered to Thondoornad. Then they demanded rice at night from Kammana Parapparanna Naamoo's house and from nearer Naayoo's house, and stayed there. Immediately, after hearing that incident, on 17th morning, our Nayars and two hundred people in our households went there. Then, we positioned them in three directions near those three hills where they stayed, and we went to Mattil to inform this incident to Sayppu. Sayppu said, "we people will reach at site suddenly." He also ordered us "to descend them (Kunkkan's troupe) from those hills." But when we reached the location obeying that order all of them had disappeared. That day we stayed there and took written agreements from people of that locality, and returned to Koroth. Later, within four days we reached at master's headquarters.

Again, on 30th Karkkadakam 978,[97] Panchara Naranan and Thondoor Rayiru wrote a letter to Assabron Sayppu to inform about their meeting with Rikkat Sayppu (Rickards?) at Thalasseri and about the release of thousand (rupees) as their monthly fund from the headquarters of the Company. Meanwhile, at Randuthara a native band led by Mena Raman clashed with a troupe of Lieutenant Kennedy.[98]

Following this, on 15th Kanny 979,[99] Panchara Naranan Patter wrote a letter to Assaboan Saypu which narrates in detail the moves of people to Wayanad and the situations there,

> Till now, I am living in Mattil. I have secretly found that on 13th of this month one Thampuran (who was in the lockup of Kannur fort), one Menon, few Sypoy, Kutti

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[96] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 3rd August 1803, See correspondence in serial number: 235A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 149-150.
[97] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 14th August 1803See correspondence in serial number: 236A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 150-151.
[98] See Kurup's remarks from "correspondence related to Pazhassi Raja's Rebellion" that dated on 2nd September 1803 in K.K.N. Kurup, p. 111.
[99] Approximately one can guess English equivalent of this Malayalam date as 1st October 1803, See correspondence in serial number: 238A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 152-153.

Nambiar and three hundred people reached Neraporoor[100] and they went to Pullpally on the 14th morning. When they went from Neraporoor the people of Muthakoornad also went with them.

On 11th of this month, based on a matter of a Kurichian, Kizakkotta Chandappan Nambiar and Mekkotta Othenan Nambiar beat each other. I informed this to Sayppu. So, while I was going to Koroth, I investigated that issue in the presence of Mekkotta Nambiar and brought Kurichian for that. On that day, I returned to Mattil and on the next day with Sayppu and his army I went to Koroth. Then, after bringing them (Chandappan Nambiar and Othenan Nambiar) together I settled the problem, and on the next day retuned to Mattil. Thereafter army men descended the hilly-pass.

Now the state of Thondoor Nambiar is this; He has aligned himself with our enemy without our knowledge. I can't believe him as we believe Chathoo. I will inform you this matter later. The nephew of Chandu, Rayarappan now is staying with me in Mattil. I am also sending the letter written by Rayarappan to the headquarters. While Kizakkotta Chudappan Nambiar and Mekkotta Othenan Nambiar fought with each other (again), Mekkotta Nambiar came to Mattil to descend hilly-pass, when by giving assurance to them, I told them that I settled their problem immediately after Sayppu and the army came there by a detailed trial, and sent them back to Koroth. Thondoor Mekkotta Rayarappan is also living in Mattil now. These were the news while Chathoo's nephew Cheria Rayarppan left from Porunna; Pazhassi Raja stays in Karumam in Kakkavayal near Thrikkaypatta in Edanadassakoor Hoobli. Emman Nayar stays in Koliyady in Paarakkumeethal. Edachena Kunkkan stays at Chingannur near Thariyotumala in Kurumbala Hoobli. Edachena Komappan, Edachena Othenan and their people are traveling here and there. We will recurrently write and inform you of the news which happens here.

The letter of Pannayankottil Thondoor Cheriya Rayarappan, on 15th Kanny 979,[101] to Assabron Sayppu is significant in many ways. Because, preliminarily it is firsthand information acquired by the experience of Rayarappan as a captive in the insurgent camp

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[100] Neraporoor perhaps similar to the place Poroor.
[101] See correspondence in serial number: 239A in Ibid, pp. 153-154.

which was operated by Pazhassi Raja'a people. Moreover, it shows methods of territorial domination and announcement of sovereignty, which was exercised by an insurgent group associated with Pazhassi Raja on the terrains of Wayanad by making hills, slops, jungles, small-plane and tracks of Wayanad as a refuge, especially by the deployment of coercive power on bodies of people who seemed to be as disobedient. Besides it describes how they attempted to declare their sovereignty by challenging the sovereign power of the Company on the terrains of Wayanad by recurrently shifting the detention of Company's agents Rayarappan and Kanna Kuruppu from one locality to another and openly killing the latter; other than intimidation of dissenting people by torturing, killing, burning and looting. Additionally, this was a register of insurgent activities, which opposed the gradual formation of the Company as a sovereign by ordering and *protecting* people in those terrains. Rayarappan narrates,

> In the month of Midhunam, when smallpox spread at Pannayankottil house I shifted my stay to Kizhakottil, where I and Elder brother Rayiru seriously fought each other. Then again I changed my stay to Porunnanoor[102] where my mother's younger sister resides. On 12th Karkkadakam, after hearing the news of my uncle's death at Pannayankkottil—which has happened on 9th Karkkadakam—I started my journey to Pannayankkottil. In the way which goes to eastern side from Vellandakkal I saw Edachena Othenan and seventy people. I didn't get time to defend them. They caught me and put me under their firm control (*Paaravu*), then took me to Kottattu. They didn't release me from their firm control even though I told them that; I will stand with them and no need to put me under their close control. Then I told them again that I will not go anywhere because of my uncle's death. Meanwhile, they have taken an oath from me (regarding that) and strengthened their control on me with five Kurichiar sentries, and lodged me with Othenan. Kurichiar did not allow me to go anywhere except where Othenan has gone.
>
> Meanwhile, on 6th Chingam, four Nazhika after sunset, in night, superiors (*Melaal*) and Kurichiar totally nine hundred and fifty people along with Komappan came to Vellandakkal. Among them one-fifty people gone to western side from Vellandakkal

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[102] Porunnanoor and Porunna might be similar place.

along with Othenan and Ayaraveetil Chappu. When we have reached at Pazhanchana *Angady* (Bazaar) I asked Othenan, where we are going? He told me, we are going to Kunjoth. After we descended Purakkithottumal, Othenan told to Ayaraveetil Chappu that, "now onwards you need to keep an eye on Rayiru." Then they took me along with them to Vellamgavil, and siege our uncle's house. While recognizing this, when servant of Kanna Kuruppu started to run, Puliyan twice fired against them. Meanwhile, Kanna Kuruppu opened the northern door and jumped to outside. Then, Kurichiar caught him. Immediately, they took Kanna Kuruppu to Vellandakkal via Vengechenny. Then they took food from there. Afterward, they handed me over to Ayaraveetil Chappu and they assigned twenty Kurichian as sentry to me. Subsequently, Othenan and his people took Kanna Kuruppu to Kottattu. Then, I, Ayaraveetil Chaappu and twenty Kurichiar stayed at Chappu's house. But, until 19th, I didn't know where Kanna Kuruppu was, after they took him to Kottattu.

In the day when (respectable) Sayppu and military reached at Pulinjaal they butchered Kanna Kuruppu at Echilppad Nadakkal (entrance of the Echilppad). After hear this (incident) Sayppu and military return to Mattil. On the night of that day; Edachena Kunkkan, Komappan and three hundred people slowly move to Kuttiyadi hilly-pass and Ela hilly-pass. Though I was diseased, Ayaravettil Chappu handed over me to Manchaan Kelu Nambiar, and then he and twenty Kurichiar also follow them to hilly-pass. Because of my illness up to 9th Kanny I stayed at Kelu Nambiar's house. But on 9th night, without informing others I (fled from there and) reached at Pariyarath. In next day, I came to Mattil and met Narana Patter and discussed good and bad news. And also I met and informed the news to Sayppu who stay at Mattil and now I stay with Narana Patter. Now I request to Sayppu, with your blessing, to place me in the service vacancy what my uncle had employed for Company.

After uncle and small children died, the remaining three or four people were elders. They were not doing anything to provide food for children. It was necessary to sent aunt to her home after uncle's death. But it was not done by my elder brother Rayiru. Only when I came here, by borrowing money from others, it was actualized. From this moment onwards I request to respectable Sayppu to protect our children with

your blessing. Moreover, I informed all news to Naranan Patter when I came from Porunnanoor.

The letter written by Naranan Patter and Thenamagalavan Anathan to Assabron Sayppu[103] marks the difficulties faced by them from Edachena Kunkkan and his people who hid in Kuttiyadi hilly-pass and Ela hilly-pass to attack them, and how they escaped from that and reached Wayanad after wandering for long through the forest.

> (While we return to Wayanad from Kozhikotta headquarters, receiving your order) we understood that Edachena Kunkkan and his people had ambushed at Kuttiady hilly-pass and Ela hilly-pass by assuming that we were going to ascend hilly-pass. Therefore we stayed and traveled for three days through the jungle and ascended hilly-pass and reached Thondoornad on 26th (Chingham). Then we handed over the letter written by master to Sayppu who stayed at Pulinjaal. Without delay we gave twenty-nine packets (of paddy) to Sayppu who stay at Mattil and by him we wrote and sent a letter (to headquarters) on news which happened here. The thieves here are now also traveling secretly as they had done before. They are not staying anywhere permanently. The notice of Rikkat Sayppu which gives in our hand by Volliza Master is circulated in every Hoonlies on 28th (Chingham).

On 11th Kanny 979,[104] Edathara Nambiar wrote a letter to Killittan Sayppu about the atrocities of Puthanveetil Othenan Nambiar and Cheran Nambiar towards him and his tenants,

> On 11th this month, Puthanveetil Othenan Nambiar and Cheran Nambiar put one of the tenants; who is collecting revenue for the Company in Thondoornad in the lockup. Immediately, after hearing that incident I came there with the Company officials, and asked them why they put him in lockup. By blocking our entry to the house they began to fire at us. It is good for us if the Company released him from lockup. If the Company didn't do that, state of me and my children become bad.

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[103] This letter is not dated, See correspondence in serial number: 252A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* p. 162.
[104] See correspondence in serial number: 240A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal,* pp. 155-156.

The petition written by Kuttiyady Puthanveetil Kandan Nair and Chettiyankady Moyitheen on 12th Kanny 979[105] to Assabron Sayppu shows the chaotic situation in the lower terrain which was situated down to the hilly-pass by the burning and threatening of certain gang. They wrote that on 10th of this month, Melodan Kunjikkutty and Chengottery Kelappan burnt shops of Moyitheen, Cheriya Moyitheen and other Mappilas—that situated respectively in Chettiyankandy, Panayullakandy and three *Nazika* west of *kotta*—and set fire to houses of two Thiyyans. Moreover, they added that tenants informed them of the prohibition and of the threat of death they faced from above said, against reaping of their paddy. Furthermore, they mentioned about the seizure of paddy that was carried through Kadathanad. In response to this the authors of this letter replied to the tenants that if they had paddy to reap they would arrange *Kolkkar* and Sypoy from *Kotta* by narrating this incident to Sayppu.

But when they sent *Kolkkar* and Sypoys twice in night to catch people who burned shops they couldn't find anybody. Then authors suggested to Company that if dwelling of poor become difficult here in this way, it would become difficult to collect revenue money and for people to reside permanently.

The official order of the Company conveyed by Aralkeezhil Ammath in Kottayan (Kottayam) Pravritti on 13th Kanny 979[106] is important because it remarks on the major defections of leaders such as Kaitheri Amboo from Pazhassi Raja'a camp to the Company's side. The Company announced that the tenants of Maanathery such as Kaitheri Amboo, Velluva kukku, Edachely kukku, Menapperon Chanthu Nambiar, Kannazza Nambiar, Kozitti Nambru, Thitikazhile Empran, Mulazil Cherikantan, Chaleri Kunkku, Iruvayinadan Kelan, Pangathu Korumban and Cheriya Embookan can look after their possessions and the Company is ready to give them protection because of their willingness to pay the revenue of 978 and 979 to the Company. The request of Kaitheri Amboo to Assabron Sayppu on 13th Kanny 979[107] to provide protection from Company side to reap his paddy in Maanathery and

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[105] See correspondence in serial number: 241A in *Ibid*, pp. 156-157.
[106] See correspondence in serial number: 242A in *Ibid*, p. 157.
[107] See correspondence in serial number: 243A in *Ibid*, p. 157.

Pattoly marks the gradual acknowledgement of authority and sovereignty of Company by a former leader from Pazhassi Raja's camp.

The correspondences—between Malabar-Karnataka military commanding officer John Montrisore,[108] Little princes of Maaliyekkathazha in Kottayam,[109] Chovakkaran Moosa (native merchant and middle men), tenants of Kottayam, Kurumbranad Raja and Assabron Sayppu, regarding surrender of *Cheriya Thampurans* (younger *Thampurans*) and tenants of Kottayam in front of Company—signify the Company's attempt to spoil the strength of Pazhassi Raja's camp by ways other than direct attack, and strengthen their territorial dominance on the terrains of Malabar.

On 3rd Vrishchikam 979 (17th November 1803)[110] Commanding officer John Montrisore wrote an open letter to Little princes of Maaliyekkathazha in Kottayam to surrender in front of Company within sixty days from 11th Kanny and warned them that for ending the last date of surrender there remain only nine days; and if they don't surrender within the date the Company will consider them enemies. Replying to this on 5th Vrishchikam 979[111] two of the *Cheriya Thampurans* wrote to Montrisore Sayppu that they were not thinking they would do any disturbance to the Company. But unfortunately the latter misunderstood them. The Company should save them to go smoothly with it as their ancestors did.

Again on 7th Vrishchikam 979 (22nd November 1803)[112] Montrisore Sayppu reminded the two *Cheriya Thampurans* (that the two of them had only four days to end the date of surrender), "if they would surrender within this date the Company will protect you two." To clear the possible distrust in the mind of two *Thampurans* about this offer Company officer marked their signature on the letter. In response to this letter two *Cheriya Thampurans* wrote

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[108] In Malayalam: "Malayalathinteyum Karnadakathinteyum pattalakkarude-mel senapathy Karnnon Mathrisor Sayppu."
[109] In Malayalam: "Maaliyekkathazha Cheriya-Thampurans of Kottayam."
[110] See correspondence in serial number: 245A in Ibid, p. 158.
[111] See correspondence in serial number: 253A in Ibid, pp.162-163.
[112] See correspondence in serial number: 246A in Ibid, pp.158-159.

to Montrisore Sayppu on 9th Vrishchikam 979[113] that they received the letter of Montrisore Sayppu at 10th *ati*[114] time and were happy to see the signature, and added that they were waiting for (Chovakkaran) Makky, after Makky came from Vengat they will reach immediately. Subsequently, on 9th Vrishchikam 979[115] Chovakkaran Makky gave assurance to Montrisore Sayppu that he will bring one among them within date either at Ancharakkandy or Kottayam. And in another letter on 10th Vrishchikam 979[116] Makky informed Montrisore Sayppu that one copy of this letter was sent to Kurumbranad Raja and enclosed Kurumbranad Raja's reply along with this. Next to this on 10th Vrishchikam 979[117] Makky wrote to Montrisore Sayppu regarding the work done by him regarding the surrender of two *Cheriya Thampurans*. Later, on 16th Vrishchikam 979[118] Montrisore Sayppu wrote letters to the two *Cheriya Thampurans* that, he had heard that these two *Thampurans* reached up to Keezhaloor to surrender in front of Company but by hearing the news about military move they returned. And he informed them that without any anxiety they can live because Company is ready to protect them.

Then on 8th Vrishchikam 979[119] Montrisore Sayppu wrote an open letter to tenants of Kottayam asking them to surrender in front of the Company officials. He stated,

> If you do not want to experience the difficulties which you face for your bad-thought and arrogance, and if you are ready to obey the company order and apologize on the crime you done, surrender either in front the military chief of Kottayam or in front of administrator Sayppu in *Nad*, on any date in between eighth and fourteenth. If you join with our enemies or stay with them or vacate from home after fourteenth

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[113] English date put in letter as 22th November 1803 but it probably 24th See correspondence in serial number: 248A in Ibid, p. 160.

[114] *Ati* was a native measure of time.

[115] English date put in letter as 22th November 1803 but regarding actuality of this date I have certain doubt, see correspondence in serial number: 249A in *Pazhassi Rekhakal*, pp. 160-161.

[116] English date put in letter as 23rd November 1803 but regarding actuality of this date I have certain doubt, see correspondence in serial number: 250A in Ibid, p. 161.

[117] English date put in letter as 24th November 1803 but regarding actuality of this date I have certain doubt, see correspondence in serial number: 251A in Ibid, pp. 161-162.

[118] This letter does not carry an English date, See correspondence in serial number: 254A in Ibid, p. 163.

[119] The English date is put in letter as 22th Number 1803 but it is probably 23rd, see correspondence in serial number: 247A in Ibid, pp. 159-160.

> Vrishchikam we consider you people as against us and behave you as we behave to
> that people.

In this period, among the correspondences between Company and its native-agents one can see only one letter as Pazhassi Raja's people. It was the correspondence between Paalora Emman and Randukotta Nambiar wrote on the month of Makaram.[120] It discusses the secret war which happened in the terrains of Malabar, especially centered at Wayanadan terrains, between the native-agents who camp at Thondoornad and the people of Pazhassi Raja,

> *Thirumanasu* (Pazhassi Raja) has ordered and sent Karinjalery Kannan and Thondara
> Raappan to work against Company in Thondoornad. To work by gathering people all
> of them should work together single-mindedly. You should handover the collected
> revenue on their hands. If you didn't do that it becomes a serious trouble. Therefore,
> it is good to work as directed by *Thirumanasu* (Pazhassi Raja).

Moving-Bodies Verses *Settled-Bodies*: Reign, Region and Sovereignty

While going through above set of correspondences one can understand how *moving-bodies* of Pazhassi Raja and his people deploy permanent challenges against the territorial sovereignty of the Company on Wayanad which they attempt to establish through the *settled-bodies* of native collaborators such as Thondoor Chathoo and others who led relatively permanent settled agrarian life in Thondoornad in Wayanad. In elaboration, the recurrent move of Pazhassi Raja from one forest hideout to another[121] with his faithful supports in varying lengths of time evidently prove show Pazhassi undermines Company's sovereign power by escaping from its pervasive grasp. Also, Edachena Kunkkan's roaming with his 20 to 39 people[122] and the wandering of Edachena Komappan, Othenan and Ayaraveetil Chathoo with 100 to 950 people through the terrains of Wayanad and the lower plains like Cherukunnumel

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[120] Date in this letter is partially mentioned but one can assume it happened in the month of January1804, see correspondence in serial number: 255A in Ibid, pp. 163-164.

[121] Such as Kedavoor (Edanadassakkoor Hoobli), Kunjoth (Paarakkumeethal Hoobli) and Karumam (Edanadassakkoor Hoobli) associated with his faithful supports—such as Pazhedath Kunjamathu, Vaazhoth Unnikkidav, Kunjimoitheen Mooppan, Thampuran of Mallissery Kovilakam, Tharuvana Chappan Nair, Panichaate Kannan Nair, Pattathod Cheran Nambiar, Ayaravettil Chathoo, Karingaly Kannan and three-hundred people of Kurumbranad.

[122] Either joins with his brother Edachena Komappan or headed by himself.

and Anacherry in Thondoornad to collect revenue or abduct and intimidate the indocile inhabitants clearly show how the itinerant nature of attack and defense of *moving-bodies* of troupes of Pazhassi Raja unsettled the territorial sovereignty of the Company on Wayanad.

Furthermore, the expressions in correspondences about the Pazhassi's troupe mainly on Edachena Komappan, Othenan and Ayaraveetil Chathoo are very much significant in this milieu. There are many remarks about them such as "Those robbers are not staying anywhere permanently" and "(They) are staying two or three days at one place without fear and moving from there to another place."[123] These remarks were not only textual attempt to frame Pazhassi's people as unethical, but also reveal the dangerous *potentials* of this peripatetic forces to destroy the life supporting system of Company's supporters in Wayanad. They do this by traversing and undermining the boundary and blockades that are employed by Company Military to wall the terrain of Wayanad under the sovereignty of the Company. In other words, on the one hand, the moving bodies of armed peripatetic forces protect themselves from the attack of the Company through their incessant moves along the jungle tracts and terrains in Wayanad. And, on the other, they subvert the fortified sovereign power of the Company by accumulating revenue[124] from Wayanad, by threatening to hit and run, and by kidnapping and publicly executing native agents of Company who had lived in Wayanad by fencing the sovereignty of Company on Wayanad.

 Here the meaning of coinage such as *moving-bodies* and *settled-bodies* are relative rather than absolute, because bodies of the Company agents are also mobile in certain sense. They travel for the supply of rice in Pulinjaal and Mattil Camps; they do their regular rounds to collect information from the posts and forts of Pulinjaal, Mattil, Maananthody and Ezhu Daraloor of Company in Wayanad, and to communicate those news to Company headquarters in Talacherry (Thalasseri) and Kozhikotta (Kozhikode) located in lower lands of Malabar; and they move to resist the attacks of Pazhassi's people—around twenty to hundred people—and protect the settled agrarian life of people who sided with Company's

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[123] Also see the remark, "The thieves of here are now also traveling secretly as they have done before. They are not staying anywhere permanently."
[124] Or foray paddy.

sovereignty. However compared to Pazhassi's people the bodies of Company's agents were *settled* not only by dint of their *settlement* with the Company[125] and their relatively permanent agrarian life in Thondoornad. But also by the incalculable and unpredictable moves of the bodies of Pazhassi's people that unsettled territorial sovereignty of the Company. Therefore, the ability of Pazhassi's troupes for this maneuver insists us to perceive the bodies of them as moving other than the bodies of Company's people.

The vigor of mobility performed by the bodies of Pazhassi's people and nature of energy which they produced were experientially epitomized in the letter of Thondoor Rayarappan. In that letter, he narrated the detention of him and Kanna Kuruppu by Pazhassi's people as the agents of Company.[126] One part of the letter sketches Thondoor Rayarappan's custodial life—based on the command of Edachena Othenan—under many[127] Kurichiar sentries, who took him from one place to another wherever Edachena Othenan had gone; namely Vellandakkal, Pazhanchana *Angady*, Purakkithottumal, Vellamgavil and Vengechenny. Another part marks the captive life of Kanna Kuruppu and his public execution at the entrance of Echilppad by forcefully taking him via Vengechenny and Kottattu after siege of his house and arresting him from there by Kurichiar under the command of Edachena Othenan and Ayaraveetil Chappu. This *mobile-confinement* of Rayarappan and Kuruppu and subsequent public execution of the latter conducted manually by the physical strength of moving Kurichiar other than a permanent built-structure such as jail—which enslave the body of convict by its built enclosure—shows the *momentum of moving-bodies* of Pazhassi's people and resultant impossibility of Company's force to locate and fix them territorially. Hence, this *locomotion-lockup* symbolizes the maneuver of Pazhassi's people and its ability to generate and deploy by the recurrent move of their bodies through terrains that destabilize the attempt of Company to establish territorial sovereignty.

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[125] For their monitory benefits (see the request from this agents to Company for monthly funds in correspondences) and social prestige.

[126] They were the nephew and the maternal uncle of Thondoor Chathoo respectively.

[127] They were five to twenty which varied in different times.

In this milieu, looking through Niccolò Machiavelli's theory of sovereignty—that defines control on territory and inhabitants as precondition for the power of sovereign[128]—perhaps one would think *ultra-mobile-acts* of Pazhassi's people such as *mobile detention* and *execution* as a process of elimination of the sovereign by freeing men from terrains that enslave them in bounded place. But a close looks at the *locomotion* makes us disagree with such thinking because locomotion speeds up the relationship between terrains and bodies by constant inconstancy rather than absolutely freeing bodies from terrains. Therefore, ultra-mobile-acts are frequent slippery relation between bodies and places other than complete disjunction between them. Furthermore, in this situation, *ultra-mobile-acts* which intimately link with the experiential knowledge of Pazhassi's people about the geography of Malabar and Mysore did not territorialize Wayanad under the rule of Pazhassi Raja but attempted to destabilize territorial power of Company asserted by the help of settled-acts of native-collaborates who have geographical knowledge about Wayanad. Put it differently, rather than controlling/framing bodies in relation with the act, text and context to form a region here *ultra-mobile-acts* un-frame the bodies that had been en-framed through the *control on act*, text and context; however that perhaps again would lead to another framing of bodies. Those who perceive carefully the relation between *ultra-mobile-acts* such as locomotion-lockup, un-located text like the writ of Paalora Emman,[129] and un-bounded context such as forested-terrains—that processed with the bodies of Pazhassi's people—can understand this un-framing clearly.

Simultaneity of Coercive and Disciplinary Governance: Company's Strategies to Reign Wayanad

In May 1803, the strength of the Company military (exclusive of artillery) which has stationed at Malabar province was 8147—that includes 77th, 80th foot soldiers and Bombay Europe regiment (854); Bombay native infantry (5909); Bombay pioneers (390); 2nd battalion 1st regiment Madras native infantry (994). This potential force was not sufficient to oppose the resistance of insurgent bands that operates from different directions, especially from the

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[128] See Michel Foucault. *Security, Territory, Population; Lectures at the College De France*, 1977-78. Ed. Michel Senellart (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 134-145.
[129] See above letter which was written by Paalora Emman to Randukotta Nambiar on the month of Makaram.

terrains of Wayanad and Kottayam. Therefore, in December 1803, Colonel Montrisor requested the Company government for 5000 men to meet the demand of the Malabar province. However, the government of Madras fails to provide this requisition immediately.[130] But to meet this demand in time, Captain Watson has recruited native people as *Kolkkar* or police, around 1200. Those *Kolkkar* provided most proper service in dealing with the small groups of insurgents who spread in lower plains of Malabar. In the early period of 1804 Thomas Warden was appointed as Principal Collector of Malabar in the place of Rickards, and Thomas Harvey Baber took as Sub-collector of North Malabar.[131]

In the eastern and forested portion of Chirackal, at Kalyatu, in the month of February 1804, Kalyatu Nambiar and supporters of Pazhassi Raja made insurrection against the Company. This revolt was suppressed and disbanded by Baber along with his *Kolkkar* and by the support of the regular troops under Colonel Montrisore. At that time, he noticed that the Mappillas of Irukkur, Kallayi and Vengat were the suppliers of ammunition to insurgents, in exchange of their pepper.[132] In a defense to Pazhassi Raja's people Baber stops the rice supply from Karnataka to Kalyatu and strategically brought one of the family members of Kalyatu and his followers to the Company's side. Then he opened a new military post at Irikoor against insurgents.[133] On 14th March 1804, Baber wrote to the chief saying that among the 400 *Kandy*[134] pepper purchased by Chovakkaran Makky and Moosa from Chirackal, 200 Kandy pepper was from insurgent groups. So, he suggested to the government to block the relationship between this merchants and insurgents, and to shift the stay of merchants from the areas which were under the influence of insurgents.[135]

Subsequently, the proclamation of the Company government in Kottayam and Randuthara, on 25th January, to confiscate convoys of pepper which crosses the territorial borders of those

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[130] See W.J. Wilson, pp. 145-146.
[131] William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, pp. 539-540.
[132] Ibid, p. 540.
[133] See Kurup's remarks from "correspondence relating to Pazhassi Rebellion" that dated on 25th February 1804 in K.K.N.Kurup, p. 112.
[134] *Kandy* was a traditional measure.
[135] See Kurup's remarks from the footnote of the letter which sent by Warden to Barber, in K.K.N. Kurup, p. 112.

places without Company's pass and; and ceasing the pepper trade between native trades and insurgents and; punishing inhabitants who involve in those trades,[136] were possibly precautions to weaken the vigor of insurgents' struggles. However, native traders like Mayankutty—who was an agent of Moosa—gave gunpowder in exchange to pepper to insurgent bands of Pazahssi.[137] Meanwhile, the Company government realised the difficulties of their force in Malabar. The Bombay troops which were stationed at Malabar were becoming fragile and incompetent by their prolonged and restless work in unfamiliar terrains especially in the fever-stricken lands of Wayanad far from their home. Therefore, by the end of 1804 Bombay troops were replaced by a body of Madras troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod to relive the difficulty of the former, and government gave a right to Macleod to punish the man who arms against the Company government by death sentence. 7th, 12th, 13th 14th, 17th regiments and pioneers of 1st battalion; and 6th regiment of 2nd battalion; and seven companies of 80th foot of British army were the detachments of artillery in Madras troops which started to employ in Malabar accordingly[138].

On 5th April, Baber implemented a new policy. He placed the responsibility of resisting insurgent acts and giving information about the people who are involved in riots on inhabitants of each locality. As a result of this policy the Company government could repress revolts noticeably on those places. Moreover, on 20th June, Baber personally succeeded to dissolve the confidence of insurgent bands that are concentrated on Chirackal through different ways including portraying them as enemies of society. In that tract, he also actualized disarmament successfully by collecting 2715 muskets, 543 Nair knives and 1862 swords along with other articles.[139] Furthermore, on 1st July 1804, the Company government re-established judicial functions of the court in Malabar[140] probably to generate an effect of civil governance other than military rule.

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[136] See No: CCXLVIII document dated 25th January 1804 in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar,* p. 249.

[137] See Kurup's remarks from "Principal Collectors Diary" which dated on 14thMay 1804, in K.K.N. Kurup, p. 113.

[138] See W.J. Wilson, pp. 146-147; and also see William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol- I, p. 539.

[139] William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol- I, p. 540.

[140] See No: CCXLIX document dated 1th July 1804 in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar,* p. 249.

Babar issued a notice, on 8th July 1804, to regulate trade in the bazaars of northern division bordering Kottayam and the bazaars of Kottayam for controlling the insurgent groups of Pazhassi Raja who survived through the native supporters who supply necessary goods from these bazaars. Moreover Babar directed the merchants to regulate the trade of rice and other goods that valued more than one silver *panam* (that equal to 3 *annas* and 2 pies) by not selling those items to any person who lives near such bazaars, without producing a receipt from the concerned authorities of the company government. He also ordered to stop the person who carried these goods other than through public roads and punish them as rebels. Moreover, he appointed guards in the bazaars of Tellicherry (Thalasseri) and Cannanore (Kannur) to examine the persons who convey goods through any roads without giving satisfactory accounts before police officers.[141]

Afterwards, Baber suggests to the principal collector that a good amount of rebels are descending to the plains of Kottayam. So it is necessary to sequestrate or sale their properties (to undermine their strength). Moreover, he has recommended to Captain Aasborin (Assabron) to dismiss the *Kolkkar* of Manathana (in Kottayam) from their jobs as soon as possible those who help Pazhassi's people. Additionally, Baber informed *Shirastedar, Pravritti, Kolkkar*, Police, Traders and inhabitants who allied (with Pazhassi Raja) that he would dismiss them from their jobs if he notices their alliance with Pazhassi's people. While as a relief to Company, a few *Kolkkar* arrested one of the main insurgents Kannoth Nambiar and his two guards from one Kurichian's house at Chenanpothimalayil.[142] That time, in October 1804, the total strength of the Company forces in Malabar was 5819: which included 393 men of 80th British army and Bombay European regiment; 4015 men of Bombay native infantry; 412 Bombay pioneers and 999 men of 2nd battalion 1st regiment.[143]

After that, the annual-fund which the Company government gave to the conquered Rajas of Malabar—*Malikhana*: a reward to collect and submit the revenue of their respective realm to

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[141] See No: CCL document dated 8th July 1804 in Ibid, pp. 249-250.
[142] See Kurup's remarks from the letters of Baber to principal collector of Malabar which dated on 9th, 20th and 24th October 1804, in K.K.N. Kurup, pp. 114-115.
[143] See W.J. Wilson, p. 146.

Company—is stipulated under the condition of their obedience and obligation to the Company. This condition restricted *Malikhana* to Rajas and those who obey Company without failure.[144] Probably this insists the Rajas of Malabar to be subservient to the Company. Company offered pardon without any condition those who are willing to return home from rebel's camp, except four main people of Pazhassi. On 1st February 1805,[145] with Madras military, principal collector Warden and Colonel Macleod marched through Kottiyur pass to Panamaram[146] and they constructed fortified posts at Vellad, Kozilady and Kunjoth, in Wayanad. Moreover, those military troops marched in the nook and corners of the country and disbanded the insurgents and those who put great challenge to the rule of the Company.[147] A number of rebels were captured and some of them surrendered in front of Macleod's troops.[148]

In the end of April, under the command of Macleod, Company government temporally reified their authority on Wayanad, and by distributing 2152 army men in eleven posts of Wayanad in the middle of May, Macleod returned to Cannanore. Among them 1000 men of the 1st regiment of the 2nd battalion were distributed at Panamaram-kotta, Kozilady and Kunjoth ktta; 844 men of 13th regiment of 1st battalion assigned to Vellad, Attwaye, Conincherry and Darraloor; and 308 men of the 12th regiment of the 1st battalion assigned to Matelette, Pulinjaal, Maananthody and Lakkidi kotta. Moreover on every third day he arranged to send a troop from Maananthody to Havildar's post at Sungaloor which was located at Mysore frontier for patrolling. Along with them Captain Watson and Lieutenant Colonel Innes were also stationed in Wayanad with 800 Malabar police corps with the 1st regiment of the 2nd battalion, respectively.[149]

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[144] No: CCLII document dated 21st November 1804 in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar,* p. 251.

[145] In Wilson's account the entry of Company force into Wayanad under the command of Macleod was dated on 30th January 1805, see W.J. Wilson*,* pp. 147-148.

[146] See Kurup's remarks from the "Letters Sent to Revenue" dated on 15th September 1805, in K.K.N. Kurup, p. 116.

[147] William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, pp. 540-541.

[148] W.J. Wilson, p. 148.

[149] Ibid, p. 148.

Additionally, the Warden assigned military to construct necessary roads and bridges over the rivers, in Wayanad, met the inhabitants of each place and hid the matters of revenue from them without bringing those into their discussion. Moreover, he suggested (to his subordinates) to suspend the new revenue survey (*Pymashee*) in Wayanad until the complete vanquishing of the region.[150] Significantly, on 24th May 1805, Macleod issued a proclamation to inhabitants of Wayanad. The proclamation announces,

> It is therefore hereby made know to all the inhabitants of Wayanad that from this date whatever person is suspected of being acquainted with the entrance of any rebels or party of rebels into the district wherein he resides without giving the speediest information thereof to the officer commanding the troops nearest at hand or of having furnished them with arms, ammunitions or provisions, will be considered an enemy to the Honorable Company's Government, be brought to trial before a Military Court and the guilt (sic) being proved will be punished without any further process.[151]

Additionally, he added that if any person found with arms without the permission of Government would be subjected to trail by Military Court and punished immediately. On 16th June 1805, Colonel Macleod issued another important proclamation to the inhabitants of Wayanad that offered rewards to the person who would apprehend the rebels who live in the forest watching opportunities to do outrage against Company government. Moreover, this notice specified that if a rebel was captured under information provided of any inhabitants, one-half proffered reward would be given to him and the other half to the captor. Then it detailed names of the rebels and the amount of the promised reward based on the importance of the persons: for apprehending Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja they offered 3000 Pagodas, for Veera Varma Rajah 1000, Ravi Varma Rajah 1000, Paalora Emman 1000, Paalora Rayrappan 300, Edachena Kunkkan 1000, Edachena Othenan 300, Edachena Komappan 300, Edachena Emman 300, Karverryally Kannan 300, Yogymoola Machen 300 and Ittykombeth

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[150] Different from Wilson's account Kurup remarked that Warden decided to station 1000 *Kolkkar* in Wayanad, appoint sub-collector Pearson as their Captain and shifted his headquarters to Wayanad. See K.K.N. Kurup, p. 117.

[151] No: CCLIV document dated 24th May 1805 in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar,* pp. 253-254.

Kellappan Nambiar 833. Moreover, this formal order announced that all the estates and properties belonging to the above-mentioned rebels would be confiscated from this date.[152]

But Pazhassi Raja's people held a conference and decided to attack a military post at Churikunjee rather than withdrawing from guerrilla-war. One Subbadar and seven Sypoys of Company were killed in that attack, even though the Company strongly fought them back. That was an attack which was operated by *Kurumbars (Kurumar)* who were aligned with Pazhassi Raja very recently.[153] However, *Kolkkar* and people of Chirackal arrested three *rebel* leaders and their eight followers. On 6th September, Pazhassi Raja himself escaped narrowly from the *Kolkkar* of Warden. Warden received information that Pazhassi has encamped in a pass leading from South Wayanad into Malabar. He directed his *Kolkkar* towards that location. His troupe marched through the Ghauts by facing rain and leeches and reached their destination at 7 am. But Pazhassi Raja fled from there. Raja got a signal about the arrival of Warden's troupe from an arrow discharged by a *Kurumban* guard within a distance of sixty yards. Another obstacle that caused the failure of *Kolkkar* was the thick forest which was difficult to cross before reaching the sojourn of Pazhassi Raja. However, *Kolkkars* arrested two attendants of Pazhassi Raja; along with them they captured Raja's assets such as "13 good muskets, 4 swords, and a large heap of wearing apparel, (and) …500 pagodas worth of gold and silver valuables."[154]

Subsequently, to increase the involvement of Kurumar and Kurichiar in the war Edachena Kunkkan attempted to appeal to them through god of Wayanad, called Murikkanmar.[155] Moreover, he sent one group in the leadership of Karoot Kannan and Edachena Ponnappan towards northern side, and another troop in the headship of Karingali Kannan towards western side; to oppose the Company. Together with Pazhassi's people Kurichiar's of Kurichippatu and Nalloornad also fought against the Company. Lieutenant colonel Hill found one group of insurgents at road to Kakkana kotta, on 28th October 1805. While he moved

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[152] No: CCLV document dated 16th June 1805 in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar,* pp. 254-255.
[153] William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, p. 542.
[154] Ibid, p. 542.
[155] He perhaps told them about the revelation of the oracle of god about fighting against Company.

against them; they turned back. Similarly, while Commandant of Maananthody Lieutenant Robertson found another group in Kattiketti kunnu they also withdrew without a fight.[156]

During that monsoon period, weather was terrible in Wayanad. It spread disaster in the life of the troops and *Kolkkar* stationed in Wayanad. Shortage of provisions and scarcity of medical aid further increased this havoc. On 18th October, sub collector Pearson reported to Warden that out of 1300 *Kolkkar* who had been in Wayanad five weeks ago only 170 were on duty. Pearson was also suffering from fever; therefore he asked Baber to exchange his duty with him. In this situation[157] making Seetha-devi Temple in Pulppalli as a hub, Pazhassi Raja and Edachena Kunkkan organized Kurumar and Kurichiar community members. They were assembled in the areas from Kurchiatu via Paakam to Pulpaalli as their operational grounds.[158]

Operation Pazhassi: **A Final Stratagem of Company to Reign Wayanad**

Consequently, on 1st November 1805, Baber took charge of Wayanad. In his command *Kolkkar* encountered with insurgent troops twice, and both side faced some difficulties in the combat. But the capture of Talakal Chandu[159]—who belongs to the Kurichiar Community— as a prisoner was the decisive lead which Company achieved under his leadership. Because Chandu was the right hand of Edachena Kunkkan and was the man who lead the attack on Panamaram post along with Kunkkan and ruined the Company force on 11th October 1802.[160] In this way, the Company attained certain upper hand. However, the dissemination of insurgent troops all over Wayanad as small and diverse roaming groups caused yet another challenge to the Company. However, Baber noticed that the inhabitants of northern and western part of Wayanad expressed seemingly favorable attitudes towards the Company. But, he also realized a strong inclination of these inhabitants to insurgent leaders like Edachena

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[156] See Kurup's remarks from "Correspondence Relating to Pazhassi Rebellion" in K.K.N. Kurup, p.119.
[157] Perhaps this was the situation which catalyzed to reorganize the forces of Pazhassi Raja.
[158] William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, p. 542.
[159] All the information that has been narrated below from the capture of Talakkal Chandu to the killing of Pazhassi Raja has been fully generated from the long explanatory letter which was sent by Baber to the principal collector of Malabar province, on 31st December 1805. See William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, pp. 543-551.
[160] Ibid, pp. 543-544.

Kunkkan, and their consideration and reverence verging on adoration towards Pazhassi Raja. He also understood that the cover up of any smallest news about Pazhassi Raja and his followers; was a resultant act of this temperament.

Then Baber started to disconnect inhabitants' inclination to Pazhassi Raja. To prevent them from providing possible support to Pazhassi Raja he proposed a clear code of conduct to the inhabitants of northern and western divisions and proceeded to conscript people in all vacancies in the revenue department to establish the Company authority. Subsequently, he turned to south-east Wayanad (*Paarakkumeethal*) to implement his plans. The richest communities in this place were Chetties and Goundas. Among them Chetties received cowle from Pazhassi Raja. The whole insurgent confederacy was supported and secretly aided by the Chettie Community. They were reliant on Chetties for materials and intelligence. Though Chetties presented themselves at Cutchery as a result of Baber's intimidation, a majority of them took permission from Pazhassi Raja and Paalora Emman. The influence of Paalora Emman upon Kurumber (Kurumar) —a community of archer—was the reason behind their support towards Pazhassi Raja. With their family they shifted their residence to the interior part of the forest as a defense against the Company.

In this environment Baber decided to take judicious steps. On the one hand, he powerfully marshaled his machinery against Company's enemies; on the other hand opened the doors to inhabitants to utilize all possibilities to bring them to the Company's side. Moreover, on behalf of this he appointed secret agents and arranged constant patrolling of his force even in the interior part of the region. These strategies show noticeable results, and a few of inhabitants became faithful to Baber. Understanding this situation, the insurgent troops shift their sojourn from *Paarakkumeethal* to Eastern edge of Wayanad. Meanwhile, Baber tried to capture Pazhassi Raja who stayed at Kurchiat. But Raja made a miraculous escape because of the failure of Company's force caused by the betrayal of Baber's native escort.
In that period, Chetties shifted their families from Wayanad to Poonat, Pootoor and Kakanabetta, the places in Mysore, where they had relatives. Through this they safeguarded their families against the dangers which would occur from Wayanad in those circumstances. At the same time it facilitated them to strengthen their social ties with Mysore. It further

helped them to supply essential materials via Mysore for the survival of Pazhassi Raja's people. Chetties collected coconut-oil, salt and other essentials in exchange with ghee and grains, in various types, and delivered those to Pazhassi Raja's people. Yielding from this state Pazhassi Raja's people camped in the eastern limit of Wayanad bordering on the terrains of Mysore. Realizing the danger of this support that Chetties gave to Pazhassi Raja, Baber took necessary steps to curtail it. Therefore, he wrote to the Residents of Mysore regarding this. He hoped that the residents would act cleverly by prohibiting conveyance of goods. So he commanded and announced the confiscation and punishment of those inhabitants who shifted their residence from Wayanad to Mysore and who trafficked articles without a passport issued by the Company Government.[161]

Because of this Pazhassi Raja's people started to face problems. Similarly, Chetties recognized that if they continue their support to Raja their life would fall in to a great havoc and despair. But nothing happened substantially; no one arrested and no men turned to Company's camp. They concentrated in Wayanad rather than other regions. However, immediately, Baber started his action as per the plan. From Ganapativattam (Sulthan's Battery) he advanced to Panamaratta Kotta (Panamaram Kotta), and joining a detachment of Colonel Hill he rallied to Pulpalli. At that time, the total strength of his force included 200 men from Hill's detachment with three officers and 200 police-men (*Kolkkar*) from his own team. On the way to Pulpalli, his troop didn't face any encounter from insurgents. He didn't see on the way any of those who were present in his office a few months back. He felt no wonder about this, because he knew that Chetties with their families were the supporters of Pazhassi Raja. So, they lived with him in the interiors of hills. Then, Baber commanded his troop in those directions and demolished their shelter in forest, and hounded out them from one hill to another and put them in disaster without destructing their agro-farms to signal them that Company could not only put them in calamity but also protect their life and possessions. This strategy generates affection among the inhabitants towards the Company government. Therefore, while Baber demanded their surrender, most of them presented themselves in front of him by walking long-distances from the inlands of Pulpalli. Moreover,

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[161] Ibid, pp. 546-547.

when he reached Pulpalli his *Kolkkar* engaged in many small encounters with the insurgent groups and attained an upper hand against them by killing or detaining them.

Subsequently, using Paniyar community members, Baber attempted to collect information about insurgents. To block the possibilities of betrayal he sought to take pledge from there before he sent them to collect intelligence. On 30th November, three among them delivered information to him about Pazhassi Raja's and his people's stay at banks of Kangura River located very near to Mysore. But he didn't get news on Paalora Emman. In response to this intelligence, at 9, Baber secretly commanded his troops towards the direction of Kangura River along the colonial Hill with his 50 Sypoys, one officer and around 100 *Kolkkar* which included his own local and Captaian Watson's police officers. He didn't inform his guides beforehand of this mission until it commenced. It was a precaution to prevent the treachery from guides. Moreover, he averted the attention of people through proceeding a detachment of 70 *Kolkkar* of his own account in the leadership of a *Sheristadar* by making others believe that they were going to catch Paalora Emman who stayed to south-eastern side of Komanpany Mala. Besides, he secretly directed that detachment to turn from the middle of that route eastwards to Kallir Moutain and hide near the direction of Kangura River for a sudden attack to block the parties of Pazhassi Raja and further directly support his troops.

Travelling through the night, Baber's troops reached near the Kangura River next day morning. Then he divided his troops into two groups and they walked through the sides of the river, meanwhile they saw many new sheds in the river basin. They continued their tracking up to 9 O'clock and took rest for a while. Then after restarting their journey, passing for a mile, through the dense jungle of Mysore, Cheran the Subedar of Watson's armed police force, who was heading the force towards the destiny, stopped unexpectedly and signaled to Baber that he heard sounds. When Baber rushed to that direction he saw ten men loitering on the sides of Mavila Toda. Subsequently Baber commanded detachment against them and the sypoys of Captain Clapham and a chunk of *Kolkkar* followed him. Under the leadership of Subedar Cheran 30 men fought with them, and after a period of time many of the insurgents were killed. *Kolkkar* also were very much active in this combats. From right side, in that time, Baber heard a firing sound and he saw that sypoys and *kolkkar* were

encountering a new group of insurgents; they were the band of Kunkkan. After a minor encounter they also ran away.

Meanwhile, from the right side, where the fights firstly happened, armed forces arrested one man who was hiding inside the bush. From him Baber came to know that Pazhassi Raja was one among them whom he saw initially at the banks of the river. He realized that in initial encounters Raja was killed. When Canara Menon—who was a Cutcherry servant of Baber—engaged with Raja he put his musket to Menon's chest and ordered him that "not to approach and defile his person." Aralath Kutty Nambiar (Aralat Cootty Nambiar), one of the faithful followers of Raja, put up a powerful fight but he was killed by a *Pravritti* of Wayanad. Another four adherents of Raja was also killed in that encounter. Raja's wife, many of her female attendants and two followers of Raja were also arrested as captives. The news which Baber got from the testimonies of Pazhassi's wife was tragic. She stated that last of the ten days they had a tough time surviving. He ordered his people to take the body of Pazhassi Raja in his palanquin and to carry the diseased Pazhassi's wife in Clapham's palanquin. On the road, without any attack from insurgents, at six O'clock in the afternoon his forces reached Chomady. Then in the following morning, under tight security, the body of Raja was sent out to Maananthody with a *Sheristadar*. Moreover, he ordered him to bring Brahmins and observe the funeral with traditional tributes.

In Baber's opinion, the funeral tributes that were offered to Pazhassi Raja was a respect to him as a "natural chieftain of the country." Then he has remarked authoritatively that the fall of Raja marked the end of a nine year long warfare which caused the loss of thousands of lives and lot of money, beyond all calculations. The valuables of Raja; a gold knife and a waist-chain that were seized by Baber's force became a mark of Company's victory. Among those, he took for himself a gold knife and gifted a waist-chain to Captain Clapham. Along with that as Raja's belongings; five elephants, small amount of sandalwood and many copper vessels also were detained in diverse periods by the Company's force.

But the date of Pazhassi Raja death which was remarked in the letter of Baber that he sent to Chief Secretary immediately after the fall of Raja was different from this above letter.

Because different from above letter, in which he denoted time of death as 1st December forenoon, in the immediate letter he mentioned it as 30th November forenoon. Moreover, he placed this conquest of Pazhassi as an event that decides the coming progress of Malabar and Wayanad.[162] Even though in the History of the Madras Army W.J. Wilson noted the date of Raja's death as 30th November 1805 his remark has mentioned that the contribution of Captain Clapham and his party of the 1st battalion 4th regiment were decisive in the conquering of Pazhassi rather than the support and direction of Baber and his 100 armed sypoys.[163]

After a long and tremendous struggle, and also by the effect of illness Edachena Kunkkan became weak, and he then committed suicide.[164] Subsequently, in January 1806, Paalora Rayrappan was also killed at the hill of Nilambur Tirumalpad. Before he died he severely injured one of the men who came to arrest him.[165] In the same year, Paalora Emman was banished to Wales' Island with many other defeated insurgents.[166] One of the princes, one among the two nephews of Pazhassi Raja—who had been captured from Kalladikod palace and sent to Dindigul—died before trial even though the charges on them were forgiven by the Company.[167] Finally, Government honored Baber by gifting 25000 pagodas for his incomparable service to the Company.[168]

But resistance had not ended with these triumphs of Company Government. 1n 1812, Wayanad was witness to another insurrection against the rule of the Company mainly by members of Kurichiar and Kurumbar communities. It was a result of new revenue system which demanded land revenue in the form of money. In that pressure, cultivators faced difficulty to find out market for their commodities and consequently they were forced to sell those in lesser price to meet money for paying revenue. In response to these difficulties they

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[162] Ibid, p. 543.
[163] W.J. Wilson, p. 149.
[164] Ibid, p. 149.
[165] William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I*,* p. 551.
[166] W.J. Wilson, p.149.
[167] William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, p. 551, and for further information see No: CCLV document dated 8th December 1805 in William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar,* pp. 256-257.
[168] William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol-I, p. 552.

gathered in Nallurnad, while Company government deployed force to disperse them. Then they attacked a subedar and jemadar of Company's police with bows and arrows. Subsequently, by pushing back the Company's force they erected their own chain of posts in places such as Sulthan Bathery, Porakandy, Paakam, Moodramoly and Panamaram; for asserting their command on those terrains. To support Company forces that were cordoned off by insurgents at Maanathody and Sulthan Bathery, Company brought troops from Malabar-Coast and Mysore. But the relief from Malabar-Coast faced serious encounter at Kuttiyadi Pass, near the Kurichiar habitation. In this encounter many Company men, including officers, were injured. However, without delay the Company forces retained their rule over them.[169]

Formations of Region and Question of Geography, Knowledge and Power

While thinking through the nine year long episodes of war between Pazhassi Raja and Company one can understand that the excess and lack of *proper* physical, climatic and cultural knowledge about the geography of Wayanad, especially about the forested, hilly, marshy, rainy and feverish tract and terrains inside and outside Wayanad, was one of the critical factors behind the loss and win of both parties. On the one hand, experiential knowledge of Pazhassi Raja's people about the geography of those terrains gave them power to lead a surreptitious life to attack the Company's force to resist the attempt of Company to establish their sovereignty on Wayanad and to produce effect of coercive authority of Pazhassi Raja on Wayanad. On the other hand, lack of geographical knowledge of the Company about those terrains delayed their victory over Pazhassi Raja to establish their sovereignty on Wayanad until they acquired sufficient knowledge about those through native-agents, *Kolkkar, Pravritti* and *Menons*—who have experiential knowledge on the geography of those terrains.

One can see regular rounds of Company's native agents and the frequent wanderings of Pazhassi Raja's people, on Wayanad, for the collection of information, as examples of geographical knowledge production. The letters of native agents that convey this information

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[169] Ibid, p. 552.

regularly to the Company headquarters and the news which was conveyed among Pazhassi Raja's people by messengers formed networks by writings and oral communications. Precisely, these were not only a regular intimidation of indocile bodies but also a system of surveillance for the recurrent accumulation of knowledge to create the effect of authority on people who live in Wayanad to territorialize Wayanad as region.

However, if anyone perceived the recurrent move of Pazhassi Raja—during the last nine years from one forested hideout to another such as Periya, Peruvayal, Manathana, Maanathery, Thodikkalam, Kedavoor, Kunjoth, Karumam, Kurchiat and bank of Kangura-River—as his attempt to keep alive the presence of his mind[170] and body to generate and diffuse his *legitimate* force on Company,[171] s/he may think that bodily presence of Raja was the reason behind the delayed erection of Company's sovereignty on Wayanad. Especially if anyone thinks through Michel Foucault he will possibly judge the frequent shifts of Pazhassi Raja from one sojourn to other as an attempt to protect "The body of the king, with its strange material and physical presence, with the force that himself deploys or transmit to some few others…."[172]

But how without an authority and right on his *Rajyam*, Kottayam, can Pazhassi Raja generate and diffuse legitimate force? Because, in the absence of kingly authority a Raja cannot exercise his right and law in his *Rajyam;* ideally it may be dysfunctional. So, the legitimacy placed on his body through right and law is also possibly deficient. Therefore, rather than his anterior authority[173] which could protect the *Rajyam*, he was in a situation to protect even his body from the new authority of Company that was establishing itself on his lost *Rajyam* and he was in a state to regenerate his *legitimate* force by reclaiming his authority. Waging war against the Company possibly was the only way in front of him to reclaim his authority. Because dethroning him from Kottayam and the establishing of governmental authority of Company in Malabar was the result of advancement in war which they achieved against him.

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[170] *Thirumanasu* which means sacred-mind is one of the words in Malayalam which connotes Raja.

[171] Rather an effort to escape and wage sudden attacks on his enemies.

[172] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1991) p. 208.

[173] If it was a reality.

Thus, for destabilizing the authority of Company that had been established through war; to reclaim his authority and to reinstall *legitimate* force; victorious war was the only necessary means for him. In the absence of a *Rajyam* forested hideouts were the only place which could offer a resort to him to save his life and operate insidious attack on the Company forces to destabilize their authority and regenerate his forces. So, other than an absolute anterior right of a Raja, spatial dynamics and geographical specialty of forested hideout helped him to generate and diffuse force to others vigorously. Put it differently, rather than a preexisting strange material and physical presence of Raja's body which deploys or transmits force to others, the force generated and defused by Raja and his life itself was a gift of *indocile* geography. Hence, here Pazhassi Raja's new bodily force was not completely a depository of his anterior legitimate right but possibly a progeny born out of a combination of geographical specialty of Wayanadan terrains and residuals of his customary right. Influence of Pazhassi Raja on Paalora Emman, Edachena Kunkkan, Edachena Komappan, Edachena Othenan, Ayaraveetil Chathoo and other native Principal men who organize and lead war against Company for him was probably an effect of his residual customary right. In short, the force which exercised its power against the Company was a joint-process of energies of both the *live* presence of Raja and Wayanadan geography.

The battle of Kurichiar and Kurumar against the Company, even after the assassination of Pazhassi Raja, not only proves the importance of geography but also delineates the interface between geography and knowledge in the engendering of force. Because geographical uniqueness of Wayanad and lived geographical knowledge of Kurichiar and Kurumar communities on that geography were the decisive factors which actualized their armed operations, though the problem of revenue was the precipitating factor of that war. In other words, the force of Kurichiar and Kurumar that install several posts across Wayanad and fight vigorously against Company by killing many people of Company and by challenging Company's territorial authority on Wayanad was a production of the spatiality of Wayanad and lived-knowledge of them about Wayanad.

One of the critical elements of Pazhassi Raja's survival was the lived-knowledge of Kurichiar, Kurumar and Chetties who were living across the terrains of Wayanad, Mysore

and Neelagiri. They not only protected Pazhassi Raja from the edge of death by discharging arrows to signal the danger but also provided immeasurable martial services both mentally and materially. The attack and elimination of Company military at Panamaram kotta by one-fifty Kurichiar under the leadership of Talakal Chandu; military operation of Kurichiar and Kurumar via Kurchiat via Paakam to Pulpalli; decisive role of Kurichar in the arrest, mobile-imprisonment and assassination of Company agents of Thondoornad; Raja's dependence on Chetties for the survival-goods and intelligence are only a few examples. If anybody thinks about the force of Kurichiar, Kurumar and Chetties which was generated from their relatively autonomous spatial relation and knowledge of Wayanad, s/he can see that the authority of Pazhassi Raja, that worked against the Company was not a fully self-defined one but a mutually constitutive force, which received huge contribution from the force of Kurichiar, Kurumar and Chetties. In this sense, rather than a top to bottom deployment and transmission of force, the move of forces was possibly bidirectional.

A remark in the correspondence identifies Pazhassi's principal-men as *Melaal* (upper caste) thereby marking them as distinct from the Kurichiars, which complicates our understanding of the interaction between the forces of Pazhassi Raja and the Kurichiars. This also connotes that they are culturally elite and socially higher in the system. Similarly, one can interpret Pazhassi Raja's last and final words—"not to approach and defile (him)"[174]—as not only an arrogant utterance to defend his body from assault but also as a clear revelation of a system of hierarchy and the supposed superiority of a Raja. Further, as discussed above, his attitude towards *Jati-theendal* (caste-pollution) and caste superiority is exemplified in his threat to kill even the Mappilas of Thamarasseri at the time of war.[175] This authority of Raja was derived from a power mechanism that distanced other caste-bodies. In other words, the term *Melaal* and Raja's final words "not to approach and defile..." are expressions of the technology of native systems of power called *Jati Vyavastha*.[176] Such instances are not explicit in the above correspondences because of its profound normativity.

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[174] William Logan, *Malabar,* Vol.I, p. 549.

[175] See chapter 6, p. 222

[176] The limits of Pazhassi Raja's idea of subject which only included Brahmins, Cows, Rajas and tenants, and the state of his *Atiyaans* as marketable assets reveals his practice of *Jati Vyavastha*. See chapter 5, p. 183.

The one who traces out grounds of Company's delayed annexation of Wayanad can realize that till the conscription of large number of natives into the Company's force as *Kolkkar, Pravritti*, *Menons*, agents and police , territorial dominance of Company on Wayanad was fragile, even after their many successful military expeditions through Wayanad. Moreover, one can also understand that ignorance about the geography of Wayanadan terrains was the reason behind the vulnerability of territorial supremacy of the Company. Therefore, one can observe that the parallel relation between development of Company's territorial dominance and their advancement in geographical knowledge on Wayanad happened after the recruitment of natives who have experiential knowledge on the geography of Wayanad. The recruitment of 1200 native men by Macleod and Captain Watson, as *Kolkkar*, Peons and Police who provided judicious service to arrest and suppress Pazhassi's troupes by their coercion and geographical knowledge, and especially tactful works of *Kolkkar, Pravritti* and *Menons* under Baber to assassinate Pazhassi Raja and to rule the unruly terrains of Wayanad—even after the attack of terrible weather and fever which cut short 1300 men into 170—proves the inextricable relation between geography, knowledge and power. Here knowledge from geographical experience is not only a means of power but also constitutive of power. In this milieu, one can perceive how knowledge works as a form of control and how it implies power.

Conclusion

A close analysis of this entire discussion reveals that *control on act*, *text and context* means the control on bodies of act, text and context. In other words, bodies of mutually shaping act, text and context (which relationally make those meanings) were the locus of controls. Because, bodies are the soul of forces that possibly accelerate or decelerate forces of bodies through the relations of merging/resisting/submitting of forces of bodies. *Therefore, control on the bodies and control by the bodies are the prerequisite for the formations of regions*. Moreover, if we carefully examine the mutuality of shaping act, text and context in the formation of region we can understand that control on the bodies (of act, text and context) by the bodies (of act, text and context) are not only the means of that formation but also the constituent of that formation.

In concrete terms; control/knowledge of bodies (of act, text and context) on the bodies (of act, text and context) by bodies (of act, text and context) that generate the effect of power is nothing but the effect of bodies (of act, text and context) on other bodies (of act, text and context). So every formation of region through the effect of bodies on other bodies not only provides a possibility of (de)formation of other region but also probably deforms every formation itself. Because, effects are mutual and relational, generating and degenerating; therefore, they fix anything permanently. But recurrent denial or normalization of reciprocal relations between bodies not only structure bodies' force and its effects unidirectionally but also regulate bodies' forces and its effects towards a systemization of formation of region. In another part of the thesis, by problematizing the history-writing on Wayanad, I discuss this structuring of control and systemization of formation of region by textual production and registration of knowledge about 'Wayanad' in a linearly progressing temporal order of history. That decisively happened after the death of Pazhassi Raja, periodically after 1805.

PART THREE

Geography and Genealogy of Everyday Life

"If the present and the future
Depend on the past,
Then the present and the future
Would have existed in the past."

       –   Nagarjuna[1]

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[1] Jay L. Garfield, *The Fundamental Wisdom of the Middle Way: Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) p. 50.

["**Examination of Time" by Nagarjuna**
If the present and the future
Depend on the past,
Then the present and the future
Would have existed in the past.

If the present and future
Did not exist there,
How could the present and the
Future be dependent on it?

Without depending on the past,
Neither of the two could be established.
Therefore neither the present nor
The future could exist.

By this very method, without substitution,
The remaining two; as well as …
Superior, inferior, average, etc.; and
Unity, etc., should be understood.

A nonenduring time is not grasped
Nothing one could grasp as time
Could exist as enduring.
If time is not grasped, how it is known?

If time depends on a entity
Then without an entity how could time exist?
Since there are no entities at all,
How could time exist?]

Chapter Eight

Geography of Genealogy and Genealogy of Geography: Everyday Formations of Region of *Wayanadan Pulayans* in and above Wayanad

In this chapter, I would like to delineate the geography and genealogy in the everyday life of Wayanadan Pulayans/Wayanadan Pulayar who inhabit in Wayanad, and show mutual constitution of place/space and society/time in the everyday formation of their region. As an introduction, I would like to discuss two responses that I encountered from the field, in Wayanad, while working for this chapter. On 30th December 2012 as part of my fieldwork, I met Prakashan at his house. He was known as *Chengileri*[1] among Wayanadan Pulayan community, one among the communities I have attempted to understand during that fieldtrip. Next day while waking with him on a crossing which runs between paddy fields I described the aim of my fieldwork. And he responded,

> In 1979's Mathur came and stayed with us to study us. He lived here catching crab and eating it … eating jackfruit nuts roasted in fire… drinking rice gruel and sleeping in grass mat (made by pandanus leaf). When he went back and submitted the report to Government we lost our right to get Scheduled Tribe certificate which we used to get from the government office. We got only the Scheduled Caste certificates after that… …He who had stayed in our houses never asked us to sit when our people went to KIRTADS.[2] Now you are also eating and staying with us…O my child …do we lose our Scheduled Caste certificates also after you complete your study and return to your place?[3]

Dasan, Devalan, Vasu, Kunjhiraman, Sunitha and Cherriamottan expressed this concern using different words and contents during my fieldwork. Before teasing out these responses let us look into another response.

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[1] *Chengileri* is a spiritual designation.
[2] KIRTADS means "Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Tribes."
[3] This response of Prakashan takes place on 1/1/2013.

On 8th January 2013, I went to meet Rajithan. He is an energetic community worker within Mullu Kurumar community,[4] another community which I attempted to understand in that trip. Rajithan was as an active member of the Kerala Dalit Panthers (KDP). I met him from government hostel for tribal students at Meenangady. He was the cook of that hostel, before he took up the same vocation in another hostel. To discuss things with me he had invited Sreedharan, the high school teacher at Meenangady Government high school. He was also a barefoot community worker belonging to the Mullu Kurumar community. We three sat at the corner of that hostel room, a storeroom cum TV room and started the talks. When I described the plan of visit he provocatively asked, "Are you people not satisfied by studying us till? What do you need to study?"[5]

I replied,

> As you think I do not have any plan to approach Mullu Kurumar Community as a subdued "object" of inquiry. My intention is to understand the day to day practice of communities in relation to space, place and time. For instance, in Wayanad, Syrian Christian communities have a different spatial consciousness and temporal order formulated by the religious life, by parishes in different localities and its networks which interconnected with the dioceses; and Muslims also have similar consciousness in relation to piety and the *Jama'at,* the commune. So I am interested to know the consciousness of Mullu Kurumar Community in relation to space, place and time. How does it exist in everyday practice? How different is it from the praxis of linguistic state of Kerala and its dominant human agencies that made the place of Wayanad as a district in Kerala through their textual and non textual practices.[6]

He reacted,

> …We are not apt to come inside Kerala. Our language is not Malayalam. Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam intertwined in our language. They have attached us to Kerala without any reason.…So we turned out to be in an ugly form without knowing Malayalam language and our language, neither Malayali nor Us.

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[4] Mullu Kurumar denotes one section of Kurumars.
[5] This response of Sreedharan takes place on 8/1/2013.
[6] I made this reply on 8/1/2013.

>…Our habitats are scattered beyond the Kerala border. We are living in Wayanad which is inside Kerala and in Neelagiri which is inside Tamil Nadu. We have not even fully spread in Wayanad. And good amounts of our people are living in Gudallur in Tamil Nadu.
>
>Through celebrating Tribal festivals the Kerala government is exhibiting us in horrible form. We do not know why they are demonstrating us as a living corpse by incorporating us inside Kerala.[7]

Through certain mumblings Rajithan intervened and seconded Sreedharan's response. These were primary responses that came out of suspicion about my intentions. These responses are interrogating, complicating and provoking our academic common sense through its direct critical and satirical natures. These have complex meanings and vectors in relation with various grounds of knowledge and praxis. Let us look closely each response one by one to unravel its textual and contextual meanings.

Epistemological and Ontological Grounds of Responses

The focal subject of Prakashan's response is P.R.G. Mathur. He is a famous anthropologist who wrote several books including *Tribal Situation in Kerala* and was the former director of KIRTADS in Kozikode. Prakashan's response signifies the reaction against the practice of ethnography the participant observation which was conducted by Mathur and against his hegemonic production of knowledge about Wayanadan Pulayan community which negates their self representation. I spoke with Mathur and Mohankumar[8] who were the directors of KIRTADS to understand the context of study which Mathur conducted among Wayanadan Pulayans/Wayanadan Pulayar. Mathur told me that; he conducted this study approximately in 1979 by the order of central government, to make the list of inclusion and exclusion of Scheduled caste and Scheduled Tribe for government of India. He submitted the report in 1980s of which he didn't have any copy. Before his study in 1979, the Wayanadan Pulayan acquired Scheduled Tribe certificate from government office. At the end of the conversation with me he said that "through my study I understood the problem, submitted my report to the

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[7] This response of Sreedharan takes place on 8/1/2013.

[8] My discussion with Mathur and Mohankumar happened on 20/2/2013.

government and stopped them from possessing certificate for Scheduled tribe."

Mohankumar added that the study was a governmental ethnographic study and it has its own secret nature. So it is difficult for him to disclose it in a detailed way. These kinds of studies, which Mathur did on the government undertaking are being carried out by tribal research institutes among various communities all over India. Further, he added that the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Orders (Second Amendment) Act, 2002 that included Wayanadan Pulayan as a synonym of Pulayan community might have been impacted by the report submitted by Mathur.

In addition to the above response, on another day, Prakashan said, "We are *Piliya.* The government made us Pulayan. Before the arrival of commission of Mathur we availed Scheduled Tribe certificate. He made us as Pulayan."[9] On the next day he added, "We are different from Pulayans/Pulayar of other Nadu. Although, there are certain remarks about our arrival, it is not much clear which *Jati* of people came. But it is very clear in our accounts that our community was formed by the mix up of different group of people who lived here."[10]

Here the articulations of Prakashan and other community members are not just the anxieties about loss of rights that were guaranteed by the Indian constitution. It is a serious objection against the academic praxis (research, writing and teaching) of anthropology and its violent knowledge production which makes their community mere object of ethnographical study by negating their subjectivity that activates them. Moreover, it reveals the complex politics of State sponsored official ethnography which classifies people against their wish so as to regulate and control them. Simultaneously, if one thinks above (Wayanadan Pulayan Communities) responses through the theorization of Johannes Fabian we can see them as a criticism against the denial of covalence, the allochronism of anthropology. That means, the denial of the simultaneous existence of the ethnographic *subject* and *object* (observer and

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[9] This response of Prakashan takes place on 30/12/2012.

[10] This response of Prakashan takes place on 1/1/2013. Further, he mentioned that our people also descend *Churam* to the *Nadu* below.

observed) and thus, it represents the placement of the *observed* in a demoted temporal position by placing the researcher/ethnographer in a privileged temporal position. This hierarchal temporal order is generated by the spatially distance observed by the observer.

Here by deploying participatory observation Mathur thinks he can suspend his privileged position as a researcher for a short period, and experience and study the culture of Wayanadan Pulayan community but when he went back and wrote, he unconsciously translated the subjectivity of them (which was formulated by dialogue between them and him) as a mere object of his study. Through writing the report/study he demoted them into a temporally and spatially relegated position and he denied their simultaneous existence in an ontological and epistemological realm. This process of demotion happened in two ways: (1) by defining Wayanadan Pulayan as Scheduled Castes in his report by denying their self representation and (2) by negating their self respect when he did not ask them to sit to them in front of him when they went to KIRTADS.

These two ways of demotion are respectively textual and praxis oriented even though it is difficult to strictly demarcate them. Firstly, scripting and defining Waynadan Pulayan as Scheduled Castes is a process of textualization that officially makes them a people who have untouchable past, the most temporally and spatially relegated position in the periphery of the Brahmanic Hindu hierarchical order.[11] The second, the statement, "He who had stayed in our houses never asked us to sit when our people went to KIRTADS" designates the fear of ethnographer towards a positional reversal and covalence (cultural exchange) from the *observed*. In addition to that it shows the defense of Mathur in advance against the positional reversal. That means the visit of Wayanadan Pulayan in KIRTADS is itself an orientation towards positional change from the *observed* to *observer*, a change from the position that was fixed by ethnographer to them.

Put it differently, journey of Wayanadan Pulayan from Wayanad to KIRTADS is a move which has the potential to complicate the observer/observed or subject/object dichotomy

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[11] This doesn't mean that these people had any untouchable experience before this textualization.

which was fixed by the ethnographical discourse. "To say to sit" is a gesture to dialogue, a symbolic inauguration towards simultaneous existence, and an initiation for covalence. By negating that Mathur denied the dialogue/the covalence between him and Wayanadan Pulayans. Moreover, one can notice that the participatory observation of Mathur presupposes certain theoretical ground which believes in immutable, eternal, pure, lofty and uninterrupted experience of "primitive" it can be absorbed by his observation, as a raw material for his typological theorization. It is a firm belief in a non mediated pre hermeneutical self and experience, which exists only in imagination.

The indications in the response of Sreedharan and Rajithan are point to both our mentality and materiality, rather than pointing to particular one. It denotes the failure of the numerous studies, which were conducted on the life and culture of Adivasis to bring change in the mentality[12] and materiality of *general* people. Also it critiques the constant and obsessive studies on Adivasis in Wayanad (that started from colonial period and vibrant still today) which make Wayanad a laboratory for knowledge production in social sciences and consider so called Adivasis communities and their bodily acts as an object of experiment.

More over, it critiques the logic of creation of linguistic state and its homogenizing geo politics which envelops the multi linguistic community in the name of language and incorporates them in the geography of linguistic state. Besides that, it complicates academic common sense that judges the so called Adivasis as territorially bonded community and specifies the human geography of Mullu Kurumar community that exists beyond the physical geography of Kerala. Most importantly, it problematizes the statist notions about Adivasis which showcases them as exotic objects and posits this representation as a product of linguistic/cultural violence of Kerala which makes them *living corpses*. In this context, I would like to call these responses as a *counter encounter* against the dominant praxis of

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[12] Landlessness is one of the most pervasive problems faced by the Adivasis of Wayanad. This has been brought about by the encroachment of their land by non-Adivasis and their earlier status as bonded-labourer that denied them the rights of hereditary landholding. Therefore, questions of land and the struggle for it marked an important aspect in the lives of Adivasis of Wayanad. For instance, see, C.R. Bijoy and K. Ravi Raman, "Muthanga: The Real Story," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 20 (May 17-23, 2013) pp. 1975-1982.

ethnographic encounter. One can summarize above discussion on their responses in this way; it signifies the epistemological and ontological violence on certain *marginalized* communities such as denial of covalence, the search for a pre hermeneutical self and experience, the negation of self-respect and self-representation and the homogenizing geo politics of linguistic state.

Problem of Anthropological Knowledge and Need for a *Dialogic Ethnography*

By capturing the indications of these responses and receiving certain help from Johannes Fabian, let us address the problems of anthropological knowledge production in a limited way. Fabian said, in the process of writing, the anthropologist writes other cultures and societal practice in the present tense (that means in ethnographical present), he considers it as a past of him and enforces textuality to eliminate the autobiographical voice of him. These acts place anthropologists and their readers in a privileged time frame and push out other cultures and societies into a lesser stage of development.

He added, "No experience can simply be 'used' as naked data. All personal experience is produced under historical conditions, in historical contexts; it must be used with critical awareness and with constant attention to its authoritative claims. The hermeneutic stance presupposes a degree of distancing, an objectification of our experiences. That the anthropologist's experienced Other is necessary part of his past may therefore not be an impediment, but a condition of an interpretive approach."[13] He points out that the removal of the other from the *dialogic situation* and braking down of *collective reflectivity* are the main problems of anthropological knowledge.

Here a few things are clear. For a critical praxis of anthropological knowledge production we need to consider response of the people not as simple naked data but as a form of knowledge, which is mediated through the systems of knowledge which they experience. In other words one cannot consider the response from the *field* as non hermeneutical. That means all

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[13] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How the Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) p. 89.

expressions are translations, so a researcher can only translate the translated. Instead of locating oneself in a subject/object and observer/observed binary (for production of knowledge) if one consider production of knowledge as dialogue between translators with *collective reflexivity* one can probably envisage critical praxis of knowledge production. Therefore, I would like to engage with Wayanadan Pulaya community through a dialogic ethnography. I employ this ethnographic approach to complicate my own embodied power as a researcher and to face the nuances of their engagements in its maximum complexities.

Milieu of the Study

This part of the thesis picks up characteristic insights and identifies possible problems that are visible in the above discussion, and deploys dialogic ways and collective reflexive modes to elaborate the geography and genealogy in everyday life of Wayanadan Pulayans/Wayanadan Pulayar who inhabit in Wayanad, and show mutual constitution of place/space and society/time in the everyday formation of their region.[14] Before turning into a detailed delineation of that let me reveal the circumstances that have led me to write this chapter. One day while working on this thesis I had a word with Premkumar. He is a friend of mine who was doing his MA in sociology, University of Hyderabad.[15] I told him that, I feel, different from administrative geography and dominant history, probably communities who inhabit in the terrains of Wayanad have their own geography and genealogy that are revealed through their day-to-day practices. After a brief silence he said, "My community, Wayanadan Pulayan, has certain geographical map and genealogical account about our being that is different from administrative geography and dominant history of Wayanad."[16]

He further elaborated to me that they call the area to which they belong as *Paynad* and it has four divisions such as Ettukoorodu, Naalnaatil, Kyakkithara and Aarum Moonum Ompathuvaramb. *Kayyanakku, Kalppattu* and *Paattu* are the genealogical accounts which produce knowledge about their geography. Then he added that he mentioned the same in his manuscript on *Wayanadan Pulayarude Jeevithavum Samskaravum* [Life and Culture of

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[14] For a discussion about "dialogic textual production" see James Clifford and George Marcus, ed., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990) pp.14-15.
[15] Now he is doing his PhD in sociology in the same university.
[16] This response of Premkumar takes place on 10/8/2012.

Wayanadan Pulayar]. Moreover, he invited me to know those in detail as part of my PhD dissertation. By receiving his invitation I went to his house by the end of December 2012. His house which is situated in Padinjarathara was only 70km away from my hometown Balussery. I did my fieldwork along with Premkumar and his friends, exactly between 26th December 2012 and 24th January 2013, in Wayanad and Neelagiri districts for writing this chapter. That was not my first time that I stayed at his home. I had stayed in his house before as part of my friendly visits just as he stayed in my house.

December was Premkumar's vacation time. So, he was in his home. On the first day itself, I started to discuss about the concerns of my fieldtrip with him. We set a tentative outline for that and decided to meet his community members.[17] Along with Premkumar his elder brother Dasan also guided me in those meetings. We together visited many places and met several people and discussed the concerns of my work. Prakashan, Cherriamottan, Sarada, Kunjhiraman, Sunitha and Devalan were the important persons among them. Surprisingly, parallel to our acts, discussions were the modes of knowledge transmission of that community into their new generations. They discussed the stories and sang songs, whenever they come together—on the occasions of festivals, marriage, puberty, birth and death ceremonies—that disseminated their community knowledge to next generations.

These oral accounts in the dialect of Wayanadan Pulayan were different from the Malayalam dialect with which I am familiar, because their dialect which makes use of words in Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada are uncommon[18] to me. So, without help of an expert I couldn't understand fully the meaning and ideas they communicated. Moreover, *Kayyanakku, Kalppattu* and *Paattu* which are the repository of geographical and genealogical knowledge are not an easy narrative form to me to understand. Prakashan who shared with me large chuck of knowledge about Wayanadan Pulayan told that he mostly recollected

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[17] Based on this discussion we extended my engagement to Mullu Kurumar Community and also meat elders among men and women and spiritual leaders of community for that purpose. But instead of making it as a part of this chapter I wrote it as a separate case and put it in index under the title "Geography of Community and Community of Geography: Everyday Formation of Region of Mullu Kurumar in and above Wayanad."

[18] Strictly considering those as the words of Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada languages also is a question of debate. Therefore, one can also consider these as words of Wayanadan Pulayan's language.

knowledge for me from songs such as *Kalppattu* and *Paattu* by singing those in his mind. When he faced certain difficulty to recollect those songs, either he clarified it with his wife Sunita or discussed it with the people who know this such as Dasan, Premkumar and other elders. While I discussed the genealogy and geography with Premkumar's father Kunjhiraman he also clarified certain things to his wife Sarada and she independently corrected his opinions[19]. Similarly, most of the meetings produced knowledge dialogically rather than in mono-logical ways.

Land, Labour and Livelihood

Until the 19th century, Wayanadan Pulayans were treated as untouchables in the Brahmanic social order.[20] But a section of them had considerable possession of cultivable land. This was perhaps possible because the geographical location of their lands was outside the realm of traditional landed power of the caste Hindu landlords. In these lands, they cultivated grains and other vegetables for their survival. Nonetheless, the overarching majority among them were forced to work in the paddy fields and farm lands of Nair landlords as agricultural labourers for a small amount of paddy as their wage, whereas they lived in the terrains outside of the landholdings of caste-Hindus. An epitome of this exploitation was *Kambalam*—the practice of landlords giving arrack to the Pulayans and making them plant paddy sprouts in the large field within a short period of time without giving proper wage and leisure.[21]

In the 20th century, especially after the abolition of bonded labour system in 1976, they legally became free labourers in the state and were ideally considered as wage labourers. However, they did not get opportunities from the markets as freed labourers. Therefore, they either continued to work under Brahmanical landlordism or were left struggling for survival

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[19] I tried to interact with each woman separately; however, they were reluctant to speak with me about matters regarding their community.

[20] Brahmanism is a system of power which orders and regulates human beings by distancing and relating their bodies mentally and materially. This system of power which primarily emphasizes on relation of (biological) reproduction is clubbing relation of production, relation of property and network of relation so as to order and regulate human beings.

[21] There is a story among Wayanadan Pulayans about a man called Shankaran who questioned this practice. Later he was said to be brutally killed by the landlords. But I could not hear any story about the organized assertion of this community against traditional (Brahmanic) and modern regimes of power.

in their small parcel of land.[22] As M. Kunhaman has argued in the case of Adivasis in Wayanad, exploitation of Pulayans also continued thereafter.[23] In this context, Pulayans not only became lumpen-proletariat under capitalism, but also continued as wage-slaves of the caste-Hindu landlords. The state hardly offered any economic freedom to them to lead an independent life. This exposes the interrelation between Brahmanism and Capitalism in doubling the exploitation of Pulayans.

In the present day, a majority of people in this community depend on unorganized service sector. They work as masons in construction fields, drivers, hotel workers, carpenters, painters, barbers and electricians. Only a negligible number of them are employed in government services. By the uneven nature of the labour-supply in unorganized service-sector, majority of them not only face scarcity of labour but also face wage disparity and severe exploitation from employers. As Dasan has opined, the lack of opportunities in labour market, perhaps, is the result of economic recession.[24] As Premkumar observed, the lack of demand for labour is definitely a decisive factor, but the blame mostly lies with the Brahmanical system that has relegated them to mere suppliers of manual/unskilled labour.[25] This situation of pervasive unemployment creates predicaments for their survival and strips them of their basic human dignity that modernity is supposed to offer. Moreover, their landholdings which are collectively located in the surrounding hills, valleys or wetlands are not only decreasing in size but also declared by the government as "colonies," which has further depreciated their exchange value in economic and cultural terms. As in the case of

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[22] Cherriamottan is generally known as *Chempocherry manu*. That is his spiritual designation. He disclosed this information to me on 20/1/2013.

[23] M. Kunhaman wrote "With the development of plantations in Wynad commencing from the latter half of the nineteenth century, a process of proletarianization of the hill-tribes started, continuing throughout the early decades of the present century. However, feudal vestiges, such as bounded labour system, are still prevalent to some extent in this region and the tribals are subject to various kinds of exploitation even today." M. Kunhaman, "The Tribal Economy of Karala: An Intra-Regional Analysis," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XX, No. 11 (March 16, 1985) pp. 467. For understanding contemporary engagement on the labour markets of Kerala see, Mythri Prasad-Aleyamma, "A Market Place for Migrants: Mobility, Settlement and Social Protection in Kerala" in Rachel Sabates-Wheeler and Rayah Feldman, ed., *Migration and Social Protection: Claiming Social Rights Beyond Borders* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) pp. 164-182, and Neethi P., *Gobalization Lived Locally: A Labour Geography Perspective* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[24] Dasan disclosed this opinion to me on 5/1/2013.

[25] Premkumar revealed this information on 2/1/2013.

their labour which has less demand, the lack of exchangeability of their land also is the result of intertwined effects of Brahmanism and Capitalism.

Accounts of Everyday life: *Kayyanakku, Kalppattu* and *Paattu*

In the administrative geography of Wayanad, Wayanadan Pulayans live in the Kalpetta Municipality and Padinjarathara, Kottathara, Pozhuthana, Vellamunda, Edavaka Panchayaths. Their population comes around 2500. In the opinion of Prakashan and Premkumar, knowledge of the community is disseminated among them through unwritten oral narrative forms such as *Kayyanakku, Kalppattu* and *Paattu*. *Kayyanakku* is an account in prose that means *accounts in mind*, because in the opinion of Cherriamottan *Kai*[26] connotes mind and *Kanakku* suggests account. But *Kalppattu* and other *Paattu* are in the poetry form. *Paattu* means song and *Kal* denote *Kali*: play or *Kallu*: toddy. Kunjhiraman mentioned about an old belief among community that disallows writing of these accounts.[27]

In the remarks of Prakashan, *Kayyanakku* is a sacred and secret narrative about their origin. That explains the whereabouts of their ancestors, how they formed as a community, where they lived and where they conducted meetings. This account was retold by elders in the time of their get togethers. He further added, "At night we sit around the heap of burring fire logs. Each elder tells the stories they know. That time we younger among them raise clarifications and doubts about the accounts which elders narrated. While ones attempt to clarify, another one may intervene, which leads to augmentation of the narrative on the subject matter of the accounts, which lead to many opinions." And he added, "But most sacred and secret knowledge is not revealed commonly. They disclose that to their close relatives only. The father divulges to his dearest son and the uncle reveals to his beloved nephew."[28]

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[26] *Kai* also means hand.

[27] Kunjhiraman revealed this information to me on 27/12/2012.

[28] Kunjhiraman also shares similar information with me on 27/12/2012. He told me that he hid here and there to get the knowledge while the elders are secretly talking about it.

Kalppattus are songs on origin, genealogy, ancestral linage, woman, marriage, comedy, animal, bird and things. Those are sung in the time of festivals, birth, death and other ceremonies. In the opinion of Premkumar probably performative festivity and its ritualistic sacredness were reasons behind this naming, because the prefix *Kal (Kali)* means either performance or playfulness. Prakashan suggests that *Kalppattus* can be loosely classified as five types. Those are *Naattu Kalppattu, Amyalu Kalppattu, Chercha Kalppattu, Kalppattu of Aanji and Machan, and Kalppaattu of Muthan*. And each of them includes many songs on different subjects. In *Naattu Kalppattu*, the songs related to the *Nadu*, one can notice *Charithra Kalppattu, Pyana Kalppattu* and *Kalppattu* on animals and things. *Iruthala Kalppattu, Mudipu Kalppattu, Maathakkudi Kalppattu, Pyaarale Kalppattu, Koonakara Kalppattu and Kyakkilue Kalppattu* which link with lineage of *Nadu* are *Charitra Kalppattu*. Songs about ancestral spirit such as *Koorchuttime, Tekkumtala, Pennaattu, Mirikkilaampatta* and *Koolinadkkal* are *Pyana Kalppattu*. Each *Maman mittam/Illa kkudy* (ancestral house) has its own songs.

Other than this, *Naattu Kalppattu* includes *Man Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on deer), *Karadi Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on bear), *Kirang Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on monkey), *Kozhi Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on fowl), *Kompam Kalppattu (Kalppaattu* on rabbit), *Nayatu Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on hunt), *Ola Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on leaf), *Thoni Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on boat), *Panni Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on pig), *Meen Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on fish) *Vijam Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on poison), *Kallu Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on arrack) *Chempu Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on Vessel) and *Kuruma Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on *Kurumar)*. However, these *Naatu Kalppattus* are familiar to community members but a large number of them are particularly attached with certain *Kaavu* (grove) and *Mandram* (shrine) of woman and man ancestors, in *Nadu,* and sing only in those places. For instance, *Kuruma Kalppaattu* sings only at *Thulappath*.

Iruthala Kalppattu and other *Charitra Kalppattu* indicate ancestral lineages of community beyond *Churam* (hilly-pass) of Wayanad through the minor remarks about places below Wayanad such as Nadapuram, Kolathunad, Vadakara, Chirackal, Balussery, Koothali and Kadathanad. But in Prakashan's words, "rather than mere migration, the formation of

community was actualized by several meetings of 141 clans (*Kulam)*[29] which was conducted by ancestors in different places of *Paynad* (Wayanad). *Kyakalakuni Valiya Kalppattu* tells us about this."[30] *Karadi Kalppattu* narrate about the earlier formation of life of the community in the valley of Banasura hill through shifting cultivation of crops such as *Muthari* (Ragi) and their life in the huts which thatched by leafs, and about the struggle of a community man to kill a bear by chasing it through different places where community members resides. Similarly, *Man Kalppattu* also describes the hunting of a pregnant deer and its run off through different places where the community inhabits. This song is sung only at Kyakkithara shrine. *Kompam Kalppattu* depicts how *Aathichappan thiruvam thampuran*, the prime predecessor, gave life to rabbit by his miraculous power. *Kallu Kalppattu* narrates how the community came to know about the making of arrack. *Nayatu Kalppattu* narrates the cunning tricks of a European White man (Sayppu) to sexually abuse a beautiful *Pulaya* woman by killing her husband by deploying a cheat with the help of her father and uncle while they together went to hunting.

Amyalu Kalppattu is the performative song on the biography of each woman. It narrates the identity of a woman through her family relations that go back to ancestors, through her body features, characters and her familial fame. Each woman has her own *Kalppattu*. *Moondal*[31] creates this *Kalppattu* for each girl child, in her childhood, at night on certain occasions such as the ear piercing[32] ceremony (*Kaathu kuthu*) or puberty ceremony or housewarming. They call this song making as *Kalppattu Chaikkuka*. This song is sung in the time of puberty ceremony and ceremonies of her marriage. On the occasions of *Puthary* and *Myalam* celebrations and also while reaping paddy in the harvest they sing this songs. *Chercha Kalppattu* is the song which is sung in the time of marriage. In the night of marriage people sing this song with great importance. *Kalppattu* of *Aanji* and *Machan*, and *Muthante*

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[29] Different from Prakashan, others mentioned the number of clan as 140 and 142 interchangeably. The *Kulam, Illam* and *Kalari* are words with similar meaning and which are used interchangeably.

[30] Prakashan disclosed this information to me on 19/1/2013.

[31] Three men of the community who are designated spiritually as headman such as *Nadan, Nadupan* and *Kudiyan.* See Premkumar, pp.15-16, for detailed discussion.

[32] On 5/1/2013 Prakashan told me that in few years back ear piercing was conducted from *Mandram* by offer rice, fowl, oil and betel leaves to elders.

Kalppattu are the songs of comedy. Each line of the song spills the fragrance of humor. For get-togethers related to marriage and other celebrations these songs are usually sung.[33]

Paattu has two meanings, one is a type of poetic account sung in ceremonies while the other is a ceremony, where songs have much importance. For instance, the ceremonial song which is firstly sung on the occasion of *Pothy* (enthrone of *Merutham*[34]) is known as *Paricha Kurim Paattum. Pena Paattu, Eecharante Paattu, Pookonda Paattu, Pothim Kurukkalum Paattu, Raa Paattu, Chala Paattu, Kanni Paattu, Kalari Paattu, Myala Paattu* are different types of *Paattu* they sing. The *Chala Paattu/Kanny Paattu/Kalari Paattu* are songs that are sung approximately between Chingam 30th to Kanny 20th in the houses of this community. *Pena Paattu, Eecharante Paattu, Pookonda Paattu and Pothim Kurukkalum Paattu* are sung on the occasion of *Thira* festival. While *Pena Pattu* is performed in the entry of *Pyana Thira* in the *Thira,* other songs are rendered in different circumstances of *Thira.*

Contrary to this loose classification made by Prakashan another one from the same community might describe it in a different typology. For instance, Premkumar mainly categorizes these songs as five: *Kalppattu, Myalam, Kerigentari Paattu, Raa Paattu and Pyana Paattu*, and he again divides *Kalppattu* into two: *Natu Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on *nadu)* and *Pengalinda Kalppattu (Kalppattu* on woman).[35]

Production of Genealogy through Festivals, Customs and Rituals

Let us attempt to understand how this geographical and genealogical knowledge is reproduced in their everyday life through *Kayyanakku, Kalppattu*, *Paattu* and other practices. As many of the community members remarked—apart from their birth, puberty, marriage and death ceremonies—the accounts of knowledge are recollected and reproduced among them mainly though different customs and rituals which are set in a cyclical order of year,

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[33] Knowledge about this *Kalppattu* is mainly shared by Prakashan on 19/1/2013 and Dasan on 22/1/2013.

[34] Enthroning of a man as a foremost spiritual leader of community, who is called *Merutham*.

[35] See Premkumar, *Wayanadan Pulayarute Jeevithavum Samskaravum* [Life and Culture of *Wayanadan Pulayar*], unpublished manuscript, pp. 54-59.

based on *Kolla Varsham* (Malayalam Era).[36] Perhaps, this temporal cycle was linked with temporal order of agriculture and agricultural production such as sowing, weeding, fertilizing and harvesting. It mainly depends on *time of nature* such as seasons of climates and day night variations and biological time of human body.

As I mentioned above, large sections of this community today depend on non-agricultural sectors. So, the decisive factor in their work and its temporal order is modern service sector rather than agricultural productive structure and its temporal order. But at the same time this community is not completely distanced from modern agricultural sector because a few of them still work as agricultural labourers and a small number of people have small land holding where they cultivate their crops. Therefore, however, a majority of them work under the temporal order of service sector but the agricultural temporal order influences remarkably the everydayness of them, and both function symbiotically in their everydayness.

In the opinion of Prakashan everyday life of Wayanadan Pulayans/Wayanadan Pulayar was organized temporally on the basis of rice cultivation. On Chingam, the beginning month of Malayalam year, they sow seeds of paddy. *Kalari thurakkal* (opening of *Kalari*), the inaugural festival of community, is starts at the end of Chingam month and extent to next month Kanny, in important *Kalari Kudis*.[37] *Thulapathu* (10th of the month Thulam) is observed in the month of Thulam, a hunting festival against wild animals that destroy growth of the crops. *Puthary* (new rice) is a harvesting festival held on Vrishchikam and Dhanu months. After the harvest, when new paddy is available to them, in between Dhanu and Makaram, they celebrate *Thira* festivals. At the end of the year, on the month of Karkkadakam 14th, they observe *Aadi Pathinalu*.

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[36] Mainly Premkumar, Prakashnan, Dasan and Cherriamottan shared this opinion.
[37] *Kalari Kudis* are ancestor's house or house of clan where members of community worship their ancestors and *Kalari thurakkal* is the cleaning of houses for worshiping ancestors.

Premkumar also detailed their main cultural festivals such as *Kalari thurakkal, Thulapathu, Koll,*[38] *Thira and Kalari adakkal* (closing of Kalari). One can see the detailed narration of rituals related to these festivals in his manuscript.[39]

Kalari Thurakkal

Kalari thurakkal is conducted between Chingam 30th to Kanny 12th in all important *Kalari kudies* and *Maman mittams*.[40] Perichela, Makkot, Manthrodime, Kootapila, Chappottil, Palath, Thekkumthala, Koorchottime, Milampila, Kyakkiluu are the main *Kalari kudikal* where this festival is held.

As Prem described, "This festivals are celebrated at night. One day before this celebration *Moondal* [41] and other elders clean *Kaavu* or *Mandram*,[42] the sites of worship. In the evening of the festival day all community members in a Nadu reach at *Kalari Kudi*. Then, the elders beat *Thudi* (a type of drum) and step in a circular form facing four sides of the earth. Then the *Komarakkaran* (man who perform Thira) can be seen wearing the traditional dresses and weapons of ancestral sprit. When the rhymes of drum become high, *Komarakkaran* is possessed by the ancestral spirit, which starts to dance through him. After bowing his head on each side of earth and each *Thaanam*[43] he addresses the *Moondal* and other community members. Then *Moodal* and elders talk with ancestral sprit. Subsequently, he blesses people with a better future and receives their offerings."[44]

This ritual performance is known as *Pyanapradal* (the performance of *Pyanan*). After this performance all community members together attend in a feast which was arranged by them

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[38] *Koll* is another name of *Puthari*.

[39] Premkumar, *Wayanadan Pulayarute Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, Unpublished Manuscript. pp.37-45.

[40] Front yard of uncle's house

[41] Three men of the community who are designated spiritually as headman such as *Nadan, Nadupan* and *Kudiyan.* See Premkumar, pp.15-16, for detailed discussion.

[42] *Kaavu* is grove of worship and *Mandram* is shrine of devotion.

[43] *Thaanam* means place. It is the sacred elevated platform where the stone erected for worshiping ancestral sprit.

[44] Ibid, p. 38.

with the grain and other ingredients which they bring from their home. Thereafter, in the entire night till the morning, sitting around the burning fire-log heap community members listen to the song such as *Kalppattu* that was sung by Moodal and other elders. And in the intervals of songs they discuss the charting of yearly programs. After these performances and discussions, on the next morning, each family returns to their houses. Parallel to *Kalari thurakkal* celebrations in each ancestral house they observe other celebrations called *Myalam* that was conduct approximately in between Chingam 30th to Kanny 20th. In those, family members sing *Chala Paattu*.[45]

Thulapath

Thulapath is a ceremonial festival related to hunting wild animals which destroy crop cultivated in a particular *Nadu*. Along with Kurichiar and Nair communities Pulayan organize this festival on 10th Thulam in *Nadu* such as Aannoth, Chengileri, Chekkath and Therim.[46] Main rituals of this festival are *Ompathamnthy koodal* (gathering on 9th day), *Thira* and *Kanjikudy* (drinking of gruel). On the 9th Thulam evening all of the community members of a Nadu are gathering at *Kaavu* or *Mandram.* As we have seen in the above *Kalari thurakkal*, here also they beat drum, sing songs, perform *Pyanapradal* and attend in the community feast. Then, up to morning they usually sing Kalppattu. But except for other places, in Chekkathnadu, where they live largely, they perform *Kurumam Kali*. This is a kind of musical-dance. Performers of this program act the story of people's arrival by ascending hills and staging the cultivation of crops along with the lines of *Kalppattu* which depicts those incidents. After this gathering on the next day (on10th Thulam) noon they perform a small *Thria*. Then on the subsequent day each family member makes their special dishes and gathers at a common place and shares those dishes among community members. This inter-dining is known as *Kanjikudy*.[47]

Koll or *Puthary*

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[45] Prakashan disclosed this knowledge on 5/1/2013.
[46] Prakashan revealed this information on 5/1/2013.
[47] Premkumar, pp. 39-41.

Koll or *Puthary* is a celebration related to the harvest. Before the personal use, the fresh rice made out of paddy that was reaped newly from the field, is offered to ancestors and earth by community members. This celebration is called *Koll* or *Puthary*. This was celebrated in Paalath on 1st Vrishchikam, Koonakkara on 10th Vrishchikam, Thekkumthala and Chappottil on 20th Vrishchikam, Koorchuttime on 5th Dhanu, Mempilala on 6th Dhanu and Kyakkilu on 7th Dhanu.[48] On the day of the festival, in the morning, all the members of a *Nadu* reach in a *Mandram* with new paddy and rice along with coconut, salt and turmeric. A day before this festival *Moondaal* and other elders clean the *Kaavu* and *Mandram*. This ceremony of cleaning is known as *Kaavadikkum Koodal* (gathering for cleaning *Kaavu*). The programs of the day are started by *Moondaal*'s headship after bow to ancestors on *Thaanam* by offering betel leaves and arecanut to them. Subsequently with drumming and singing they perform *Thira* of *Pyana* (*Pyanapradal*). Then at the end of that program people receive blessing from ancestral-spirit that possesses *Komaram.*

After that *Thira*, they make Avil (rice-crispy) out of fried paddy which they bring from their home and distribute with coconut pieces to all people who gathered there. Then, with rice which they bring from home they prepare a food called *Koll Chor*. Subsequently they offer that *Koll Chor* to their ancestors and to earth by putting that to three and 142[49] leaves which symbolically represent *Moondaal* and 142 *Kalaris* (clans). Then they pray to ancestors to forgive their wrongs and bless their life. Thereafter those leaves are distributed among people who gathered there and they eat that food together. Subsequently, for other members of the family, *Moondaal* parcel out the share of food in the hands of people who attended that program.[50] After this ceremony only people start to eat foods out of new rice in each house of the community.

Thira[51]

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[48] Prakashan revealed this information on 5/1/2013.

[49] In Premkumar's opinion the leaves are 142 and *Kulams* are 142. But Prakashan mention both as 141.

[50] Premkumar, pp. 41-43.

[51] In Wayanad, like Wayanadan Pulayar, communities such as Kurichiar, Nair and Thiyyar also celebrate this festival. Areekkara *Thira* in Thrissilery, Kariyathan *Thira* in Njanummal and Malankari *Thira* are examples of *Thiras* conducted in Wayanad.

Compared to other festivals, Thira is the most important cultural festival among *Wayanadan Pulayar*. This is the major performative event which has wide participation of people. However, *Thira* is an unavoidable ritual in almost all important celebrations. Here the festival is named *Thira* exclusively for the performance of different *Thiras* which represent distinct ancestors. The *Nadu* where this festival is celebrated every year are Paalath and Thekkumthala (Aanooth). Inhabitants of Naalnattil are the people who conduct *Thira* of Paalath on 30th Dhanu (13th January) and people of Ettukoorodu are the organizers of *Thira* of Thekkumthala on 1st Makaram (14th January).[52] In Chekkath in every six year they celebrate *Thira*.[53] In Premkumar's words *Kulietukal* (taking of bath), *Paattu, Kaavadikkum Koodal, Keyttum Poottum kondoral, Udhaya Thira, Pachi payikkal* and *Munthirayum Pinthirayum* are the main sections of a *Thira*.

As a prearrangement to perform *Thira; Moondaal, Komaram*, drummers and singers self-refine their bodies by avoiding certain food habits, bodily contact and by regular ritual bath for one month. That is known as *Kulietukal. Paattu* is a singing ritual performed by elders, in this period, from *Kaavu,* as a preparatory ritual to *Thira*. To please ancestral goddess and god they sing many songs on this occasion. *Keringentary Paattu* that poetically portrays ancestral gods is the important one among those. For cleaning *Kaavu* and for ritual sanction the event is conducted in *Kaavu* before the day of Thira by the gathering of community known as *Kaavadikkum Koodal*. By offering arecanut and betel leaves at *Thaanam* they are taking consent from ancestors to perform *Thira.*

The custom which brings ornaments, dresses, weapons and other decorative in a bamboo made container from different *Nadu* to perform *Thira* of each *Pyana* is *Keyttum Poottum*[54]-*kondoral*. Till few years back, community members of each *Nadu* had carried *Keyttum Poottum* in their head and come to *Kaavu* walking in a procession. However, now they bring this in motor-vehicles. This is drawing an idea of geography in the mind of community through the networks of things and people who collectively participate in a *Thira* from

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[52] Prakashan revealed this information on 5/1/2013.
[53] Dasan disclosed this information on 9/1/2013.
[54] Meaning of *Keyttu* is tie and *Poottu* is lock. However, here *Keyttum Poottum* means the Bamboo box which contains the essentials of *Thira*.

different *Nadus*. For instance, in Thekkumthala Thira people bring *Keyttum Poottum* from Chekkath (Peral), Chiramath (Kalpetta) and Vennattu (Venniyod). For Paalath *Thira* the people of Kyakkithara bring *Keyttum Poottum*. *Thudi* (small drum), *Kachakal* (dresses), Chamayagal (ornaments),*Vaal* (sword*), Paricha* (shield), *Arival* (sickle), *Chilampu* (anklets) and *Peeli* (peacock feather) are the main items of *Keyttum Poottum*.[55] The introductory *Thira* which inaugurates the festival of *Thira* is *Udhaya Thira*. The incident in which ancestral-sprit is represented as possessing *Komaram* who is going to perform Thira is called *Pachi paayikal*. *Thira* is usually performed by a pair of *Komarams*. In this, most important one is *Munthirayum* (Thira of frontward) and second one is *Pinthirayum* (*Thira* of rearward).[56]

On the day of *Thira* the ground of *Kaavu* is divided into many plots by putting grass-mats on the ground. For each *Moondaal,* for people of each Nadu, and for people of important *Kalari kkudi* and for women of the community they partition the ground. Those spatial distributions of plots not only shows the representative place of each person and families in Thira but also delineates geography of community mapped by the distributions of space among Wayanadan Pulayan that is practiced through the festivals. *Thekkumthala Thira* and *Paalath Thira* depict this in different levels. One can understand the arrangements of participation among community not only through spatial distributions but also through temporal allocations. In Thekkumthala, where many of the *Thiras* are performed, each *Thira* has a particular time to stage its performance.

Other minor festivals are *Vishu Thira*, *Mandram Pothikkal* and *Adi pathinalu*. In the month of Medam they perform *Vishu Thira*. The yearly program for thatching the roof of the Shrine is known as *Mandram Pothikkal*.[57] The final ceremony that is observed at the end of the year by putting an end to the yearly festivals is called *Kalari Adakkal*. As almost similar to *Kalari thurakkal* this ceremony also follows bowing on ancestors, minor Thira, feast, singing of *Kalppattu* and discussion on next year programs.[58]

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[55] The knowledge about *Keyttum Poottum kondoral* is mainly discussed by Dasan on 31/12/12 and Prakashan on 5/1/13.
[56] Premkumar, pp. 44-45.
[57] Prakashan revealed this information on 5/1/2013.
[58] Premkumar, pp. 45-46.

Birth, Marriage and Death

Along with these, customs related to birth, marriage and death are important occasions on which genealogical and geographical knowledge is recited and reproduced. After the birth of a girl child they timely conduct ear-piercing ceremony (*Kathu kuthu*), creation of *Kalppattu* and puberty rites. Puberty rite is an annunciation of maturing-period that also declares period for marriage, of a girl. Thereafter, directly or indirectly, the families of boys put forward marriage proposal to her family. Marriage contains many functions. Meeting of girl, receiving permission from elders, exchange of dress, marriage and feast are the functions of a marriage. Like other communities, this is a great participatory event also among Pulayan. Similar to marriage one has an option to divorce and remarriage, in this community. Moreover, people from another community can also marry a girl or boy from this community with community's rituals if they are ready to follow the belief and lifestyle of Pulayan Community. Those who are willing to marry either a boy or a girl from this community by agreeing with the above conditions become a member of Pulayan community through Moothileduthey clan of *Pulayan*. This is the clan of new members.[59]

Among Wayanadan Pulayan death ceremonies are very important. Their spiritual life and life-after death are indispensably interrelated.[60] Burial (*Marippadakkal*), recalling the dead from tomb (*Moonaam kaval*), transforming them as a spirit-god (*Pyananaakkal*) and performing the *Thira* (K*eyttipaadikkal*) in the name of dead are their death ceremonies. "If anyone dies from their community, the Pulayan believe that they are joined in *Paramparyam*."[61] *Paramparyam* means lineage. More significantly, "Pulayan believes the presence of the dead in their day-to-day life."[62] The ceremony performed by *Moondaal* to recall the dead from the grave three days after the funeral is known as *Moonaam kaval*.

The ritual that makes dead as a spirit is called *Pyananaakkal*. *Pyana* is the god of Pulayan. They consider ancestor's spirit as god. They celebrate posthumous return of the dead to their

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[59] Premkumar, p. 14.
[60] Ibid, p. 35.
[61] Ibid, p. 32.
[62] Ibid, p. 33.

day-to-day-life as a god. During this ceremony they erect a stone in a platform as a symbol of (wo)man who passed away and represent the stone as his/her *Thaanam* (place). By offering food, arrack and arecanut in front of this symbol they communicate with ancestral spirit and worship ancestors as others are worshiping their god. All the present worshiping centers such as *Kaavu* and *Mandram* are the earlier platforms and erected-stones which were built in the memory of ancestors. In Premkumar's opinion they believe the presence of the dead in entire cosmos rather than mere presence of the soul of the dead in this stone.[63]

However, they worship the dead by erecting stone on a platform but the dead become spirit-god only after performing *Thira* in the name of dead. *Keyttipaadikkal* is the name of this performance. By performing *Thira* in the name of the dead they transcend death as god or goddess. This is deployed on the occasion of *Thira* festival. For the process of this ritual, firstly, *Komaram* in the attire of *Thira* stand at a particular place by holding sword and shield. In that time in the high sound of *Thudi* (drum) *Moondaal* sing about the dead person and glorify the persona of the dead. That time the spirit of the dead person possesses *Komaram*'s body and start to dance through his body. At the same time *Komaram* starts to speak like the person who is dead. Meanwhile, children and relatives share their agony, misery and joy to the spirit-god who perform through *Thira* of *Komaram*. Then they consecrate fowl, arrack, money and red cloth (Chop) to the spirit-god. Thereafter, *Komaram* blesses each of them with a prosperous life.[64]

Formations of Community and its Geography

Naatu Kalppattuu that exists in such diverse forms as *Iruthala Kalppattu, Mudippu Kalppattu, Karadi Kalppattu* and *Kyakkalakuni Valiya Kalppattu* reproduces the very important knowledge about the formation of community and its geography. Significantly, they delineate how ancestors such as *Valiya Pyanan, Champumanu, Koorchuttimanu and Makkott Piliyam* form this community through various meetings which were conducted in different places by resolving rivalry and untouchability between distinct groups of people who have lived in an area above the hilly-passes. In those groups some of them came there

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[63] Ibid, p. 34.
[64] Ibid, pp. 36-37.

from lower lands and some of them lived there before the arrival of people from lower lands. In different initiatives of their prime ancestors such *as Valiya Pyanan, Champumanu, Koorchuttimanu and Makkott Piliyam* they conducted many[65] meetings to discuss the matters regarding the merging of distinct fighting groups which numbered around 141 who practice untouchability among them.

From the shared accounts, Prakashan recollected that the first meeting for the formation of community was conducted in Nellithaanam which was located in Chemmath (Kalpetta) by *Valiya Pyanan*. That meeting was not properly held because of the absence of *Champumanu* and *Koorchuttimanu*. But the participation of people went above the expectation. So, they faced food shortage in that meeting. To overcome that they put water in Chor (boiled rice) and converted it to rice-gruel. Second gathering was in Mandrathani in Chemmath. That was also organized under the initiative of *Valiya Pyanan*. However, the food was plenty but the absence of *Champumanu* and *Koorchuttimanu* caused the failure of the gathering. However, the third meeting was arranged by *Koorchuttimanu* and *Makkott Piliyam* in Mandrakoottam in Vijoor (Tharuvana) but the non-participation of *Valiya Pyanan* and *Champumanu* caused the defeat of that attempt.

The fourth meeting was held at such a successive scale and was different from the above meetings. It was organized in Perumankandam in Makkott (Kuppadithara) by *Koorchuttimanu and Makkott Piliyam*. But without any hesitation *Valiya-Pyanan* and *Champumanu* attended in that meeting. *Makkott Piliyam* and *Champumanu* planned a secret trick to mix-up 141 groups who were rivals and untouchables, and to form them as a community. Without knowing any of them they furtively stitched leaves which they were going to use as a plate in the feast that was going to take place in the middle of the meeting. When those 141 groups dined at a distance from each other *Makkott Piliyam* and

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[65] In the opinion of Vasu (3/1/2013) number of meetings is three. Those were Mandrakoottam, Mandrathani and Perumankandam. Premkumar (pp. 10-11) asserted that the round of meetings was three such as Mandrakoottathil*, Nellithaanam and Perumnkandam. Velappan (4/1/2013) who is *Kudupathi* of *Koorchuttime* mentioned that frequency of meetings were four and those were Nellithaanam/Mandrakoottam, Mandrathani, Perumankandam and Kyakkalakkuni. Different from this Prakashan on 5/1/2013 remarked that meetings were five; Nellithaanam, Mandrathani, Mandakoottam, Perumankandam and Kyakkalakuni.

Champumanu slowly shook the thread behind the leaves from either sides and it caused the mixing-up of foods. Consequently, it collapsed the taboos of untouchability among them. Although it was shocking to them all the members of the group gradually began to get free from taboos, and later on the distance among them gradually withered away. Then they established certain common norms and customs among them. Firstly they banned intra-family marriage and sexual relations which happened inside family. Secondly, they established rules regarding marriage, and changed 141 groups who participated in meetings into 141 *kulams* (clans). Then onwards those who went from one family to another family through marriage relation were known by the name of her parental family (*Kulam*). It prevents marriage between blood relatives. Thirdly, they created principles about the responsibility of each member and assigned roles among community members.

However, the community formation was completely actualized after another meeting which was held in Kyakkalakuni in Kyakkilu (Vellamunda). In those meetings eighteen *Jatis* (castes) such as Kurumar, Kaattunaikar, Paniyar, Kurichiar, Nair, Kurup, Cholanaikar and Mappila in those 141 groups converted into *Piliyam* through *Vettithali* ceremony. This account is present in *Kyakkalakuni Valiya Kalppattuu*. In this ceremony they made a nick with a sword on every one's body to show that the color of the blood is the same.[66] Most of these places where meetings are held are not mere sacred places which get reproduced through memories but also places in material soil one can perceive through senses. For instance, by pointing out the three stones which were used to arrange fireplace to cooking food for the meeting, in the centre of a paddy-field, Premkumar showed me Perumankandam in Makkott in Kuppadithara.

The knowledge about meeting held in Perumankandam in Makkott (Kuppadithara) is depicted by Premkumar with slight difference. He wrote,

> Under the leadership of *Makkott Piliyam, Champumanu, Koorchuttimanu* and *Valiya Pyanan* 141 groups of people were invited to Perumankandam. They served food in 141 leaves. All those leaves are stitched to each other using jungle strings. After the

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[66] Above details about five meetings were shared by Prakashan on 5/1/2013 and on 21/1/2013. The knowledge about meetings shared by others also has many similarities with his narrative.

feast they took all leaves together by holding that strings. Then *Koorchuttimanu* announced that as the leaves in the strings we the people stand together without any hierarchy. Subsequently, 141 groups decided to stand united. In this way our community was formed. Those 141 groups were transformed into 141 *Kulam* (clan). They decided to stop marriage between same *Kulam* and same blood relations. They execute laws for community. They selected a line of leaders and prepared community customs. After this meeting, then people of each group went back to their areas and lived without any clashes and problems. People of each *Nadu* married among each other. They selected their leaders. They formed a big community by obeying laws and by showing gratitude.[67]

Once, Wayanadan Pulayan was considered by others as the most polluting community, among all other communities in Wayanad. Therefore, they were ostracized from the mainland to periphery and lived collectively on the outskirts such as hills and paddy fields, and survived as agrarian labourers and small landholders. But like other communities they also called their locality as *Nadu*.[68] However, their community was a conglomerate of 141 clans but today the community includes only around 30 clans. In this community children came under the lineage of mother as other matrilineal communities. In a *Nadu*, different clans co-exist. Intra-clan marriages are forbidden because they consider members in a clan as blood brothers and sisters.

As Premkumar has described "The *Kulams* (clans) who have blood-relations are called *Naalachiyil* and the marriages among them are forbidden. *Kulam* marks the origin. Each *Kulam* emerges from a particular *Nadu*. This Nadu called as *Chemmam* of *Kulam*. *Chemmam* signifies the birthplace of *Kulam*. A key center of worship in a Nadu where each Kulam originates is called *Mittam* of *Kulam*."[69]

Champumanu, Koorchuttimanu, Makkott Piliyam and *Valiya Pyanan* who are the ancestors of community not only representatively build distinct groups into a community but also

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[67] Premkumar, p.11.
[68] Ibid, p.6.
[69] Ibid, p.12.

represent different areas by their being and belongingness. *Champumanu* was from Vennatu (Venniyod), *Koorchuttimanu* was from Chekkath (Peral), *Makkott Piliyam* was from Makkott and *Valiya Pyanan* from Chemmarath (Kalpetta). They formed *Paynad* through the confederation of these dwellings in *Nadus* with other *Nadus*. These four ancestral-houses together with other abodes build the geographical entity *Paynad*. In the coming line we can see how the geography of land; *Paynad,* has mapped with its divisions and subdivisions.

Geography of Community: *Paynad* and its Subdivisions

As I mentioned in the beginning Ettukoorodu, Naalnadu, Kyakkithara and Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu are the main divisional *Nadus* of *Paynad*. *Paynad* is also called *Pyanad*. These divisional *Nadus* of *Paynad* only exist in Padinjarathara, Kottathara, Pozhuthana, Vellamunda, Edavaka Panchayaths and Kalpetta Municipality in Wayanad district. These areas only cover smaller than one quarter of the total area of district. Today the houses of this community are located in these places along with the dwellings of other communities. That means the geography of this community is overlapped by different geographies of government and other communities. But Wayanadan Pulayan called places outside *Paynad*; *Puram-Paynad* (outside-*Paynad)* and places inside *Paynad*; *Akam-Paynad* (inside-*Paynad*),[70] though those exist inside Wayanad. While discussing with Prakashan and Kunjhi Mottan they mapped divisions and subdivisions of Paynad with slightly varying criteria.[71] Prakashan sketched Paynad based on *Illa Kudis* and its *Kulams* of each main divisional *Nadus* and those locations in administrative geography of Wayanad in this way.[72]

Divisional *Nadus*	*Illa Kudis*	*Kulams*	Location in Wayanad
Ettukoorodu	Chhramath	Mangilacheriaduthe	Kalpetta

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[70] Premkumar revealed this information on 1/1/2013.
[71] Perhaps both delineations have slight variations because these depend on personal knowledge rather than thorough inquiry.
[72] Prakashan revealed this information on 17/1/2013.

	Aanoth	Kulottaduthe	Pozhuthana
	Thekkumthala	Kulottaduthe	Pozhuthana
	Mandathil	Kolathaduthe	Pozhuthana
	Pappale	Kolathaduthe	Pozhuthana
	Koliyeri	Madiyamthaduthe	Kalpetta
	Pennaattu	Kuntethaduthe	Kottathara
	Manthrukkam	Kuntethaduthe	Kottathara
	Kuttappila	Kodiyeriaduthe	Kottathara
	Malnikkunime	Kuntethaduthe	Kottathara
	Mankhilu	Kuntethaduthe	Kottathara
	Chaathiyottu	Vechinaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Paaramkoora	Vechinaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Milambilalu	Palliladuthe	Padinjarathara
	Chekkath	Palliladuthe	Padinjarathara
	Korchuttime	Palliladuthe	Padinjarathara
	Chomkhottu	Ericheeraduthe	Padinjarathara
	Onikkinime	Puthalithaduthe/Cherikkuntaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Erivayal	Pyaroduthe/Nedumkulam	Padinjarathara
	Noorammakkam	Puthalithaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Kottlam	-------	Padinjarathara
	Malankhara	-------	Padinjarathara

	Perumghadine	Tappaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Perumghadine	Ericheeraduthe	Padinjarathara
	Cheenghilottume	-------	Padinjarathara
	Thyarame	Palliladuthe	Padinjarathara
	Poothana	Kolathaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Makkottu	140 Thulyaru	Padinjarathara
	Ukkini	Mecheriaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Kattikkuni	Mecheriaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Kontethilu	Chyolikuntaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Moolalu	Kolathaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Pyalaana	-------	Padinjarathara
	Pyamarathu	-------	Padinjarathara
	Kuttakunteme	Kodiladuthe	Pozhuthana
	Kuntethu	Dapputyaduthe/ Kulottaduthe/ Kolathaduthe	Pozhuthana
Naalnadu	Palath	Poluaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Pilkkattu	Chhrathaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Myattattu	Chhrathaduthe	Padinjarathara
	Ranjanakkani	Koolathaduthe	Padinjarathara
Kyakkithara	Perinchala	Thendumaduthe	Vellamunda
	Mlakkara/Mathkkara	-------	Vellamunda

	Paarampatta	Pamittaduthe	Vellamunda
	Pillora	Palliladuthe	Vellamunda
	Kyakkiluu	Thendumanduthe Palliladuthe	Vellamunda
	Kellumittam	-------	Vellamunda
Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Erigame/Cherugame	Manthuraduthe	Edavaka
	Kammathu	Koodiraduthe	Edavaka
	Kaarakkuni	Koodiraduthe	Edavaka
	Aadirume	Koodiraduthe	Edavaka
	Kunakkara	Peliyamittaduthe	Edavaka
	Chenghilerime	Peliyamittaduthe	Edavaka
	Chalukkudukkam	Peliyamittaduthe	Edavaka
	Chyapputtilu	Kuntethaduthe (Manjakudi/Vennarakudi)	Edavaka
	Meladi	-------	Edavaka
	Pentilu	-------	Edavaka
	Cherukame	Manthuraduthe	Edavaka
	Entyanume	Mecheriaduthe	Edavaka
	Vijoor	Vijuraduthe	Edavaka
	Aarool	-------	Edavaka
	Palppath	Koolathaduthe	Edavaka

	Kachirralu	Koodiraduthe	Edavaka
	Edinjaduthu	Mecheriaduthe	Edavaka
	Maanilu	-------	Edavaka
	Keembyalu	-------	Edavaka

Different from Prakashan, KunjhiMottan marked *Kalari Kudis* and *Eda Kudis* of each main divisional *Nadu* and those locations in administrative geography of Wayanad in this mode.[73]

Kalari Kudi	*Eda Kudi*	Divisional N*adus*	Locations in Wayanad
	Kuntethu	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
Manimuttumkudi		Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
	Pyanakkudi	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
Paappala		Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
Aanothu		Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
Chelakkam		Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
	Koolottu	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
	MeethaleKuringhottume	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
	Thyathekuringhottume	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
	Thenghlam Paakkam	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
	Chathothu	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana

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[73] KunjhiMottan disclosed this information on 22/1/13.

	Kooloottu	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
	Karimbukanakudi	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
	Eppattemel	Ettukoorodu	Pozhuthana
Cherammarathekudi		Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Kalpetta
Mandakootathil		Ettukoorodu	Kalpetta
	Nedunghottilu	Ettukoorodu	Kalpetta
Koliyeri		Ettukoorodu	Kalpetta
	Poththukudi	Ettukoorodu	Kalpetta
	Poothukudi	Ettukoorodu	Kalpetta
Pennaattu		Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
Koottappilakudi		Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
	Manthrudukanakudi	Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
	Krokralalukudi	Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
Champunakudi		Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
	Manilukudime	Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
Mankhilukudime		Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
	Mookhame	Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
	Pettne/Vechna	Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
Mettamakudi		Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
Paaramkoore		Ettukoorodu	Kottathara
	Chathiyottu	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara

	Kottlathilu	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Noorammakkam	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Pulikudukkam	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Erivayalil		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Onikkinime	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Cheenghilottume	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Makkodukkam		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Nilathodukkam	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Aadunime		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Pyamarathilu	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Poothana	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Thyarme		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Chenilath/ Erivayal	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Pyalina/Pyalana	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Moolalu	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Pontethilu		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Makkottu		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Kattikunime		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Ukkini		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Chekkathu		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Chomkot	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Mottamakudi	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara

Koorchoottukudi		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Kadichyammakkam/ Kadikkamakkam	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Nediyanakkakkudi	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Thyathechekkathu	Kyakkithara	Padinjarathara
	Koolathottu	Kyakkithara	Padinjarathara
	Myattattu	Naalnadu	Padinjarathara
Pilkkattu		Naalnadu	Padinjarathara
Chenghileri		Naalnadu	Padinjarathara
Palathu		Naalnadu	Padinjarathara
	Mirikkilampatta	Naalnadu	Padinjarathara
	Kyakkalakuni	Naalnadu	Padinjarathara
Mambilalu/ Milambilalu		Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Aalukkam	Naalnadu	Padinjarathara
	Klattume	Naalnadu	Padinjarathara
	Lachodukkam	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Chiyodukkam	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
	Aarottime	Ettukoorodu	Padinjarathara
Perinchale		Kyakkithara	Vellamunda
	Koottiodukkam	Kyakkithara	Vellamunda
	Pyarambatta/Parampatta	Kyakkithara	Vellamunda

	Vilarakkanni	Kyakkithara	Vellamunda
Pilamandam		Kyakkithara	Vellamunda
Kyakkilu		Kyakkithara	Vellamunda
	Mlakkara	Kyakkithara	Vellamunda
Palppathu		Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Indyanme	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
Vijooru		Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Kachralu	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Idinjedathu	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Chalukudukkam	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
Koonakkare		Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
Chenghilerime		Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Kaadittlu	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Kurulattlu	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka

	Chapputtilekudi	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Chalulakundilu	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
Ericherime		Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Kammath	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
Cherukame		Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
Chemmarth		Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Cherukattu	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka
	Cherukaramunde	Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu	Edavaka

Here, the charts of both Prakashan and Cherriamottan show how the socio-spatial relations of houses of families mark a divisional *Nadu* and how relation between divisional *Nadus* form *Paynad*, although they use different names and figures to indicate basic unit of *Paynad*. In other words, one can see here how either *Kalari Kudi* and *Eda Kudi* or *Illa Kudi* differently signifies family and residence together, and function as basic units of *Paynad* and outline *Paynad* as a region through its federation. If anyone closely analyzes the words such as *Kalari Kudi*, *Eda Kudi, Maman Mittam* and *Illa Kudi* which denote basic units of *Paynad* one can understand how cultural aspect and spatial aspect intertwined in those words. While the prefix of these words such as *Kalari/Eda/Maman/Illam* indicates kinship the suffix *Kudi/Mittam* represents residential place of the family. This not only shows the interrelation

between the social and the spatial but also signals the symbiosis of them in their life.

Moreover, the shifting of houses and extensions of families of Pulayan, from one place to another, is redrawing the geography of *Paynad* into other terrains. This shows that the physical geographical features of *Paynad* are not eternally permanent with its fixed frontiers. For instance, in the earlier period the *Illa Kudi* Thekkumthala was situated at Chathoth in Vengapally Panchayath different from its present location Pozuthana Panchayath. Similarly, distinct from current location in Padinjarathara the *Illa Kudi* Pyamarathu was located at Panamaram Panchayath. Likewise, different from the present location in Edavaka the *Illa Kudi* Palppath was situated in Vellamunda Panchayath. Natural calamities and caste atrocities were the main reasons for their shifting of residences from one place to another.[74]

In the depiction of Prakashan one can see the relation between *Illa Kudi* and *Kulam* other than mere mapping of *Illa Kudis* in divisional *Nadus*. This relation not only shows each *Illa Kudies' Kulam* (clan) in divisional *Nadus* but also reveal certain common clans of *Illa Kudies* which are shared across divisional *Nadus* that combine them as a region. For instance, the clan (*Kulam*) Kolathaduthe is commonly shared by *Illa Kudi* named as Ranjanakkani in *Naalnadu* and Mandathil, Pappala and Poothana in Ettukoorodu. Likewise, Palliladuthe is commonly shared by Kyakkilu in Kyakkithara and Chekkath, Milambilalu, Koorchuttime and Thyarame in Ettukoorodu. Similarly, Kuntethaduthe is shared by Chyapputtilu in Aarum Moonum Ompathu Varambu and Malnikkunime and Mankhilu in Ettukoorodu. This confirms the point that similar to marriage relations between *Illa Kudies/Kalari Kudi/Eda Kudi* the relations through shared clans and collective festivals also always weave divisional Nadus into the region of *Paynad.*

If we analyze this overall process we can realize that social and spatial are co-constitutive rather than the decisiveness of one on other. The existence of *Kalari Kudi/Illa Kudi* both as a basic unit of community and of geography shows this togetherness. Moreover, this mutuality of social and spatial is visible in the changing contours of community and of geography that

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[74] Prakashan revealed this information on 17/1/2012.

was resulted in by the reciprocal geographic and cultural effects. Here place/space offers force to people to activate their bodily acts rather than being a mere surface where a social act is performed. Cyclical order of agrarian calendar—based on which customs and rituals have performed—that order certain everyday activities of Wayanadan Pulayar is an epitome of effect of forces of geography on the bodily acts of community. Because, this temporal order is the result of geographical seasons that effects the availability of sunlight, water, wind and moisture which decide sowing, weeding, fertilizing and harvesting, the productivity of soil. Therefore, forces of place are not only constitutive of social acts but also constitutive of time and its order. Moreover, *Koll/Puthary*, the festival of Pulayan that manifests their devotion to earth, symbolizes the effect of place/space on their social life. In this festival they offer newly reaped paddy to earth as they realize that the survival of their body is possible also through energy that was offered by the place/space. The energy of place/space is provided by its fertility, water, sunlight, wind and other geological effects that are decisive in yielding[75] rice and other grains, the staple foods which are the main sources of the bodily energy of the community.

Paynad: A Different Spatiotemporal Order

Thinking through the logic of linearly progressing evolutionary history one may consider *Paynad/Pyanad* as a region of the uncivilized and life of Wayanadan Pulayan as an epitome of primitiveness. But if we carefully unravel the ontology of Pulayan, we can understand that the nature of their modernity and the very logic of their time and space are different from the logic of evolutionary history, which hierarchizes human beings by locating them in different stages of linear time by spaces that are arranged in a hierarchy. However, they live under the temporal orders of Brahmanism and Capitalism. Moreover, their ontology offers a possibility to understand other spatiotemporal practice of being which is different from the spatiotemporal hierarchy of Capitalism. That works along with the static spatiotemporal hierarchy of Brahmanism forms many birth based hierarchies of human subjects in spatiotemporal line in our modernity.

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[75] That is possible also through the bodily energy of the people of the community.

Spatiotemporal Order of Capitalism

In Capitalism; past, present and future are the episodes of sequential order of time. This is a continuous temporal move from one to another. In this linearly progressing temporal order of Capitalism past appeared as a passed and departed time from the present and that marks the less developed stage of evolutionary history. That means that the continuity between past and present is set in a prior and posterior relation. So, degrees of pastness from present are marks in the rate of development and progression. Hence, in evolutionary history, remoteness of past from present is shown in the levels of primitiveness or underdevelopment.[76] Moreover, through colonialism, along with clock and Gregorian calendar[77] this temporal notion disseminates in the world. This made time of day and year is easily measurable, and calculates pastness of life in an evolutionary temporal logic. Besides, Capitalism converts time into money, and measures money value of the labour based on the quantity and quality of time which a labourer invests.

In this temporal order Europe and European-elite-white-male stand in present as a most developed and progressed space and self in the world. Correspondingly, in comparison with Europe, this temporal order sets Asia and Africa as spaces/places as less developed. Moreover, Europe's location in this temporal order, as present time, positioned Asia and Africa as past, of Europe. In response to this problem, Doreen Massey says, "by convening spatial multiplicity (of world) into temporal sequence" this politics of time works.[78] In this way this temporal order sets hierarchy of spaces/places and subjects in a moving temporal line. Ideally this is a generic hierarchy but in actual sense it hierarchizes social categories (e.g. race) in practice. Therefore, based on this logic and its practice, wherever a *Self* claims a

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[76] Walter Benjamin argues that in the mind of modernists (social democrats), "The concept of the historical progress of mankind cannot be sundered from the concept of its progression through a homogeneous, empty time." From his insights one can consider technologies of capitalism such as print and radio as instruments of homogenizing experience of time, and clock as a machine that made time of (wo)man as the time of empty experience by its general measure of time. See Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History" in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (New York: Schocken Books, 2007) p. 261.

[77] This doesn't mean that the colonized do not have instruments for measuring time and calendars. For instance, in Kerala, people used *Nazhika Mani* for measuring time of the day and *Kollavarsham* as calendar.

[78] In her work *For Space* Doreen Massey discusses how the discourse of globalization turns spaces into time. See Doreen Massey, *For Space* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2005) p. 8 and p. 103.

progressed position it automatically locates *Other* as primitive or less developed.[79] In this regard, the progressed position claimed by elite-upper-caste-Hindu-male in India simultaneously locates other castes, tribes,[80] religions, classes and genders in a hierarchy of spatiotemporal order in the rate of progress which they have found on others.

Spatiotemporal Order of Brahmanism

In Brahmanism, *Karma* is the temporal order. *Karma* means present being of an individual predetermined by her/his acts in previous birth, in past life. This is a kind of fatalism. In this temporal order one can see only two temporal episodes; past and present. But in actual sense present does not exist as different from past. Because, present is an effect of past, present is preset by past. This past is previous birth, not the past of present life. That means one cannot change her present life and her future by her acts in present life. So, ideally present and future doesn't exist, and present is merely an effect of the past. It is a temporal fix, a static order. This worldview is controlling the everydayness of Brahmanised subjects, though they also live in the temporal order of Capitalism.

Spatial order of Brahmanism is set by *Varnavyavastha* (system of Varna). The textualization of this order has happened in the sacred text *Rig-Veda*, in its segment *Purusha Sukta.* This text delineates how each Varna posits in a spatial order of hierarchy by stating that the Brāhmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras were born respectively from the head (mouth), hands, thorax and legs of *Virat Purusha.*[81] As a Brahmanic system of belief *Varnavyavastha* has got naturalized in the everyday life of people who was subjected to Brahmanism. And later discourses of *Varnavyavastha* have transformed it to discourses of *Jativyavastha* (system of *Jati*). This birth based system locates subjects of *Jativyavastha* in many spatial hierarchies. The discourses of colonial bio-politics used this system of *Jati* as a frame to classify people of *India* and normatively disseminated it as a structure of *Indian* subject-

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[79] Johannes Fabian articulated this point brilliantly and lengthily in his book. See Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How the Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

[80] Prathama Banerjee in her work describes how the politics of time constructed by the Bengali elite by their writing of history and how it consigns *Santhals* into the category of primitive by temporally relegating them. See Prathama Banerjee, *Politics of Time: 'Primitives' and History-Writing in Colonial Society* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[81] In this sense, the sacred body-space of *Virat Purusha* gave birth to spatial hierarchy of subjects.

hood. This spatial order of *Jativyavastha* along with *Karma* temporal order sets a birth-based spatiotemporal hierarchy of subjects. That provides no chance to change the position of subjects.[82] Alongside the spatiotemporal hierarchy of colonial Capitalism this fixed spatiotemporal hierarchy of Brahmanism forms many birth based hierarchies of human subjects in spatiotemporal line.

Past in Present as a Force to Future: Temporality of Paynad

But different from the above appearances of past, in the ontology of Pulayan, past is present in the present. This *presence of past in present* as a force to future works differently from linearly progressing and continuing episodes of historical time—past, present and future. If anyone analyzes the process of genealogy and geography of *Paynad/Pyanad* she can understand this much evidently. The configuration of word *Paynad/Pyanad* itself signals this. The prefix *Pay/Pya* denotes *Pay/Pyana*, which means dead or ghost, of ancestor, the spirit-god born out from the dead ancestor. The suffix *Nad* literally means place of being and belongingness. The word *Nad*[83] perhaps is derived from *Naduka (i.e* to cultivate in a land) probably it signifies agrarian life of people in a land,[84] a life that is possible mutually through the geological, hydrological and climatic forces of place and forces of social action of human by the use of animals and natural and manmade tools.

This tells us that, in the name of spirit of the people who lived in the past, their community geography exist. This also reveals the *presence of past in their present* through the presence of this ancestral-spirits from whom they acquire force, for the better future of their community. This force is mental and material as well. Similar to the mental state that is affected by the symbolic presence of ancestors, their creations such as bodies of community

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[82] However, *time of nature*, biological time of human body, and time of agriculture were decisive in human life. But this hierarchal order either envelops those times completely or assimilates those to its particular ladder of hierarchy.

[83] *Nad* probably derived from *Nada* means rope or from *Nadakuka* means walking/working, those possibly signify a bounded place by rope or a space which has a particular working order. In this way many interpretation possible as we saw in the case of place name Wayanad.

[84] In word *agri*culture, *agri* means field, so one can read it as field culture.

people, cultivable lands and built environments[85] remain as materials which provide forces to community. This is different from the ghost that haunts people by unwillingly possessing their body. Because, only through many ritualistic acts of community this spirit of dead is present in the body of *Komaram* who revels oracles for future.

Here past and present are never identical, and present is not predetermined by past as we understand in the case of *Karma* temporal order. Past is a *spectral presence* in present by the present acts of community. This is not a mere remembering of remote past from present or this is not simply a reclaiming of the departed time from present. Rather the past helps them to make a better future as mental and material forces that are present in their present. As a mental and material strength past is not only indispensable from their present but it doesn't have any effective existence when it gets disentangled from their present. That means, the past doesn't have an existence when that is temporally and spatially[86] distanced from present.

In other words, past exists in present through the day to day spatiotemporal acts of community. This is different from the existence of past in chronicle, as a rear event recorded with exact date. "Pulayan believe in the presence of dead in their day-to-day life," what Premkumar has revealed, exactly signifies the above problematic. Events of past—those their ancestors have engaged—are present in their life through vocal and other bodily everyday acts, rather than as a mere incident they have passed. In this way events of past are functions as their embodied experiences. Especially the cheating of Pulaya woman by white man and the hybridity of community formation[87] work as embodied experiences and perhaps become part of their unconsciousness other than objective knowledge.

The ceremonies of birth, marriage and death, especially the funeral rituals which create dead as spirit-god and other celebrations such as *Kalari thurakkal, Thulapathu, Koll/Puthary, Thira* and *Kalari adakkal* are the day-to-day practices that make alive the past in the present as a force to future. Therefore, *Thira* the persuasive appearance of spirit-god is an

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[85] Houses, *Mandram* and *Kaavu* are the examples of built environment that ancestors construct.
[86] Perhaps, it is difficult to disentangle chronologically and chorographically too.
[87] This community formation happened through the merging of eighteen different *Jatis.*

indispensable rite of almost all festivals such as *Kalari thurakkal, Thulapathu, Koll/Puthary, Thira and Kalari adakkal*. These are animating past in everydayness both by bodily *acts* and by singing oral *texts* of genealogy such as *Paattu and Kalppattu*, and map the *context Paynad/Pyanad* the geography of community in their everyday life. Forces of the bodies of people to *act* in everyday life, to sing oral *texts* of genealogy, are also the result of geological, hydrological and climatic forces of *context,* of the place *Paynad/Pyanad* where they live. Everyday ritual acts and singing of oral texts that are performed in a cyclical order of agrarian calendar exemplify the forces of context—the forces of geography—up on act and text. In this way, indirectly, place also is the source of *past in present*.

Alike geography, genealogy also appears in their present through everyday performance of texts such as *Paattu and Kalppattu*. This is different from scripted history that fixes past in distance by definite chronological and linguistic marks. Put it differently, in this milieu, similar to past referring events, oral accounts also have appeared through vocal expressions of people who live in present. Moreover every appearance of past through this performative texts is improvisation rather than a mere repetition. *Amyalu Kalppattu*, biographic songs of woman, is an exemplar of this improvisation. In each time they sing, with their creativity, people improvise this song with new details.

Horizontality of Relations: Spatiality of Paynad

Difference of spatiality of Pulayan is much visible in their geography. Instead of spatial hierarchy that is ordered by Brahmanism and Capitalism, spaces in the community life of Pulayan are connected horizontally by the networks of everyday practices. Close spatial distribution on the ground of *Kaavu*, on the occasion of Thira, that is marked out by putting grass-mats on grounds for families, women and *Moondaals* of different Nadus undoubtedly signifies the horizontality of this spatial relation. Because, by this spatial relation they actualize equitable participation of people in community life. The ritual *Keyttum Poottum Kodoral* in Thira marks out horizontal spatial relation in another way.

Keyttum Poottum—things such as swords, shields, small-drums, dresses, ornaments, anklets and peacock-feathers—that is either contained in bamboo box or is carried along with it by

people from different *Nadus* to the venue of Thira is a mapping apparatus rather than a set of objects which have cultural significance. Therefore, the moves of people and things in this rite from one place to another connect different places by weaving networks of spatial relations and drawing geography of *Paynad* in their everyday life. Similar to this, the feast which was arranged on the occasion of festivals—particularly in the time of *Koll/Puthary, Thulapath and Kalari Thurakal* maps the geography of community with interconnections of gastronomy that is connected through the move of human bodies, grains, ingredients and cooked food in between houses of community members and their shrine/grove.

Interrelation between Spatiality and Temporality and its Differences

Parallel to these distinctions of society and place of this community, interrelation between spatiality and temporality also exists different from Brahmanism and Capitalism. Relation between their place/space and society/time shows it much clearly. In their life, when the dead transcend as sprit-god, on the occasion of *Pyananaakkal,* they erect a stone in a platform as a manifestation of the dead. This symbol of predecessors is called *Thaanam. Thaanam* means place. Similar to *Komaram* of *Thira* who possesses spirit of ancestor in his body-space, this place (*Thaanam)* also symbolizes the spirit of the ancestor. As I mentioned above, sites of earlier *Thaanams* of ancestors are today's *Kaavu* and *Mandram* where *Thira* is performed. Therefore, community worships these places as they worship spirit of ancestors that have appeared through the body of *Komaram*. If one perceives this carefully one can understand that here manifestation of spirit is possible through material forms rather than pure mental images. The body-space of *Komaram* and place of *Thaanam* are the materials that make possible the manifestation of ancestral-spirits.

Here the spirit is born from the people who lived in past. So, spirit is past which appears in present for better future through body-space of *Komaram* or place of *Thaanam*. In fact, sprit is not same to present; rather it is past which is present in present. If spirit is past, perhaps various presences of ancestral-spirits in present signify presences of many pasts in present. Moreover, as a community of people who also depend on the cyclical time of agriculture for everyday living their past and present have no linear distance. This contemporaneous

presence of past and present in space/place shows the interrelation between place/space and society/time. Furthermore, this signifies the importance of mutual process of space/place and time/society in the materialization of both in the ontology of Pulayan. This reveals the simultaneity and horizontality of space/place and time/society as a process to future.

That is different from the hierarchical gradation of spaces/places in temporal orders set by Brahmanism and Capitalism. Because, as we see above, in Brahmanism, present is preset by past, so hierarchy of spaces set by *Jativyavastha* is prefixed by this Karma temporal order without any hope about better future in present life. And in Capitalism, past is distanced from present and past is fixed in other space/place that is relegated from the space/place of present time. Instead of simultaneous existence of present and past—that refuses hierarchy of spaces/places—this temporal order discriminates spaces/places as present and past in a progressing hierarchy of time. In short, both these temporal orders locate human subjects in hierarchies of spaces/places, and deny their equality and freedom.

Life of Paynad under Spatiotemporal Effects of Brahmanism and Capitalism

Different from these hegemonic orders, one can see the simultaneous existence of different times and spaces/places in the cultural life of Wayanadan Pulayan. But their everyday life is not completely free from the homogenizing temporal effect of Brahmanism and Capitalism. Because, for their livelihood they are dependent on modern service sector which functions mutually under the effect of Brahmanism and Capitalism. So, their times and spaces are not completely free or isolated from the intertwined spatiotemporal effects of Capitalism and Brahmanism. In detail, the previous excluded life of Pulayan as untouchables in the margin of mainland and outside Karma temporal order, and their existence as petite landholders and agricultural labours in the field of upper caste landlords in *Wayanad* shows the earlier spatiotemporal effect of Brahmanism on them. This location of their place/space and time in periphery and their survival as agricultural labourers—who get fewer paddies as wage—show the relegated position of their subject-hood in the hierarchy of Brahmanism.

However, this community depends on modern service sector for their livelihood today—which functions under the temporal order of Capitalism that considers time as money—they

didn't get liberated fully from Brahmanism. Because, instead of a full-fledged change of their relegated relation with land and labour that determined their being, modernity and modern state only form their land as landed property called colony that has less exchange value and reallocate their labour to lower levels of service sector where they get less money as income. Therefore, in real sense, this modern service sector that functions under the temporal order of Capitalism reproduced their relegated position that has existed under Brahmanism in another way without much change in effect.

So, in effect, the spatiotemporality of being of Wayanadan Pulayan functions as a demoted one under the birth based spatiotemporal hierarchies that are mutually formed by Brahmanism and Capitalism. Here one can argue that possibly the dynamic of ontology of Pulayan which offers hopeful future through their different spatiotemporal being is the reason behind their relegated position in the birth based spatiotemporal hierarchies of Brahmanic-Capitalism. In other words, perhaps in the freed dynamic of this kind of being, Brahmanism and Capitalism cannot exert its dystopic power properly. This is one allegory of our modernity which puts potential being as an *Other*.

Conclusion

In the three parts of the thesis, I have discussed the process of history-writing, geography-mapping and everyday-practices that are linked with different formations of Wayanad(s) as region(s). Through a delineation of different formations of regions, this thesis has addressed three areas of problems related to history, geography and everydayness. Textual-reading, genealogical-method and dialogic-ethnography are the three methodologies deployed in these three parts respectively.

In the first part of the thesis, I have dealt with the question of how Wayanad is located as a space in the primitive temporal stage of history—when Wayanad emerges as a region through the linearly progressing narrative of history-writing. In this part, I have demonstrated the strange analogies, indefinite teleology and obsessive referentiality that the discourse of history-writing employed to construct a unique temporal origin of the region of Wayanad and its uninterrupted temporal continuity till the present. I characterize these meta-historical dispositions which work under the methodology of modern history as meta-logic (and illogic) of history.

I also elaborate how the discourse of history-writing homogenizes region as a bounded place that bond with communities by effacing the multi-lingual, multicultural and hetero-geographical nature of region. History-writing essentializes a region through the formula of one language, one culture, and one geography which attributes a region with a definite culture, community, geography and language. In addition to this, this part shows how the documentation and reproduction of narrative-plots such as *Etymologies of Wayanad* and *Engravings of Edakkal Cave,* especially *Stories of Vedar Raja,* which were used to construct a linearly progressing history of Wayanad, legitimized the right over land of Wayanad in Rajas and Nair community. The rights of Paniyar, Kurumar, Chetties and Kurichiar communities were denied by demoting them as primitive who live without the idea of landed property. Finally, this part shows how the discourse of history-writing configures the region of Wayanad and communities such as Paniyar, Kurumar, Chetties and Kurichiar as the

Intimate-Other and the non-Kerala/non-Malayali as the *Incompatible-Other* by fabricating Kerala/Malayali as a modern *Self* of history and history writer.

Through an exploration of the relational constitution of contexts, acts and texts in the formation(s) of the region(s) of Wayanad(s), the second part of this thesis elucidates the symbiotic configuration of place/space and society/time in that formation(s) and argues for a conceptualization of formation of region as a mutual process among acts, contexts and texts. How acts such as war, loot and revenue collection in Wayanad shape context and text; how contexts such as fort, road, underground, house, forest, marsh and hill of Wayanad shape act and text; and how texts on Wayanad such as reports, contracts, treaties, agreements and correspondences shape act and context are the three interconnected questions addressed in this part.

In this part, I further explore how controlling of act, text, and context was a prerequisite for reign over the places (of Malabar and Mysore) as regions. On the one hand, control on act was aimed at the regulation of possible engagement between human bodies and objects/subjects/goods/terrains/commodities/animals. It is this engagement that gave a form of force to those bodies to control others and to assert their authority on certain geographical contexts. On the other hand, control on act was actualized by deploying language through texts that regulated acts of the human body by installing textual effect in mind. In both ways, control on act was regulated by controlling context and text. Control on text was achieved through the controlling of content and form by the act of writing in Chinese paper or palm leaf— in both these cases, both framing of content and making of form have effects on human acts. Control on text generated different mentalities in human bodies such as territorial identification of people. This control on text presupposes control on act and context. Control on context is actualized in two ways. On the one hand, people control animal, supply, object and other people to control geographical contexts through the use of built-environment such as fort, post, blockade, road, house and bridge, which are built in relation to geography, human and animal acts, and natural and manmade material. On the other hand, people carry out unpredictable attacks on other places by making use of forested,

hilly, marshy, rainy and cloudy geography as a hideout. These attacks are a way to control other geographical contexts. Besides, control on act by text (written and oral orders) control context too. Similar to the mutual constitution of meaning of act, context and text, control on act, context and text also functions mutually.

I have explicated how control on act, text and context results in control on bodies of act, text and context. I further argue that control on the bodies and control by the bodies are prerequisites for the formations of regions. The mutuality of shaping of act, text and context in the formation of region is nothing but control on the bodies (of act, text and context) by the bodies (of act, text and context). Therefore, control on the bodies (of act, text and context) by the bodies (of act, text and context) is not only the way of formation of region but also the constituent of that formation. Every formation of region through the effect of bodies on other bodies not only provides a possibility of (de)formation of other regions, but also probably deforms every formation itself.

Agency of objects, force of nature and effect of built-environment are very important in the formation of region. Demand, use and abuse of objects such as gun, mortar, firearm and white paper not only reify the power of one man over the other but also signifies the agency of these objects in deploying power and authenticity over certain place to rule that as a region. The power of a regime to rule a place depends on its ability to produce and operate these instruments skilfully against others. The capacity of these killing machines to dispose and wield power over others shows not only their efficacy to despoil life but the agency of these apparatuses to provide power to people to rule a place and make it a region. In short, the eminence and prominence of these objects possibly emerged with a place's formation into a region by the assertion of sovereign power through these objects on a place.

As a natural hideout and natural fort, the forested, hilly, marshy, rainy and cloudy geography give force to people who engage in war and loot to undertake unexpected attack on other places and form them as regions. This force is nothing but force of geographical nature such as climatic, hydrological and geological effects upon human body and mind. The built-

environments such as road, underground, house, military-post and fort are significant in the formation of regions because those not only provide the possibility to attack and defend respectable territories but also actualize movement and stoppage of goods and people, which too participate in the production of those regions.

The two concepts theorized in this part—*moving-bodies* and *settled-bodies*—address the problem of body, geography and sovereignty and their interrelation in the formation of region. For instance, the territorial sovereignty the Company attempted to establish over Wayanad and Kottayam through *settled-bodies* of native collaborators such as Thondoor Chathoo and others who led relatively permanent settled agrarian life in Thondoor-*nad* was constantly questioned by ever *moving-bodies* of Pazhassi Raja and his people. Apart from controlling bodies by act, text and context to form a region, the ever *moving-bodies* un-frame the bodies that had been en-framed through control on act, text and context, even though it may lead to another way of control on bodies. Putting the life-support system of a country under constant threat by loot and assault rather than guaranteeing a situation for the prosperous settled-agricultural life of that country was one of the war strategies for deploying sovereign power. This was mainly actualized by the un-framing ability of ever *moving-bodies*.

Reciprocity among geography, knowledge and power in the shaping of region is the other area this part has theorized. Through an analysis of the nine-year-long war between Pazhassi Raja and the Company for control over Wayanad, it may be argued that the excess and lack of *proper* physical, climatic and cultural knowledge about the geography of Wayanad, especially about the forested, hilly, marshy, rainy and feverish tract and terrains inside and outside Wayanad, played a crucial role in determining the state of power of the two parties. While the lived knowledge that Pazhassi Raja's people had about the geography of Malabar and Mysore gave them power to establish their sovereignty over Wayanad, lack of geographical knowledge of the Company about those places delayed their victory over Pazhassi Raja. They could establish their sovereignty over Wayanad only after they acquired adequate geographical knowledge through the lived geographical knowledge of native-

agents, such as Kolkkars, Pravritti and Menons. This not only shows the force of geography on knowledge and the power of human beings but also reveals the ontological connection of epistemology.

Moreover, if we examine the revenue-based productive geography and turmoil-based catastrophic geography of Wayanad which were mapped by Veera Varma for the Company,, we can discern that the source and typology of geographical knowledge which Veera Varma used to map Wayanad was not produced from a European system of geographical knowledge, but from a lived or a traditional register of knowledge that the native inhabitant possessed. This proves that the foundation of modern geographical knowledge which frames Wayanad as a region in the modern sense is not of the European modern in its strict sense. At the same time, it also signifies the mutuality among geography, knowledge and power.

Further, this part also unravels the nature and intricacies of knowledge and power that operated during the period of early modernity. In the milieu of the political system of Kottayam, oral-sanction of the elder king was as decisive as written knowledge, which proved the authenticity of the power of king in ascertaining succession of power. However, this was different from the European political system of the Company which sees authentication of kingly power through written knowledge. Pazhassi Raja's question to the Company about his right to rule Kottayam, which he had attained through the oral and written sanction of the elder king, signifies this problem. Though the accumulation of wealth from Wayanad, either by the Company or by Pazhassi and Tippu, was a kind of seizure, colonial record and the correspondence of the collaborators marked the seizure of the Company as revenue collection. This also is a normalization of the Company's power over Wayanad by knowledge produced through a formal, ornamental language of the Company.

The politico-juridical vocabularies and concepts present in Malayalam correspondences, such as *raksha-shiksha-kalpana* (order of protection and punishment), *neravakasam* (inheritance) and *pandenadkkunamariyathem* (traditional justice) mirror a political system other than the European one. These were not merely translations of vocabularies and concepts of the

European political system—this is not only because the Company officers of those period probably did not have sufficient proficiency in the Malayalam language(s) to translate European political ideas to native languages and to bring those ideas to practice. It is possible that the scribes who wrote these letters were native people who knew how to write the languages of Malayalam. Therefore, rather than being mere translation of European political ideals by their rhetorical trope and narrative technique which attempts to invent and reify an oriental political system and oriental land, the use of *native* vocabularies and concepts in correspondence signifies a re-presence of *native* political system, not only in the formation of the early modernity of Malabar but also in the formation of the early-modern regions in Malabar. Put differently, it may be argued that the early-modern formation of regions in Malabar was not completely reified by colonial power; it was rather a result of mutual engagement and contestation between the native and the colonial political systems, geography, knowledge and power. Significantly, these vocabularies and concepts offer us a possibility to think about the pre-colonial nature of the Raja's power and way of ruling which territorialized a place as a region.

Like the other area we discussed above, the meaning of geography is also interconnected with knowledge and power. In colonial and native (Brahmanic) registers, the meanings of agrarian-land (*nadu*) and forested terrain (*kadu*) are located as binary opposites of the savage and the civilized. But in practice *kadu* was a place of different agrarian-life that not only offers peasantry life to many communities who inhabit there but also a place of war operations that helped Pazhassi Raja to territorialize Kottayam as an agrarian-region of his own rule. Even in a philological deciphering of the word *Choramkayarinilkkuka* that represent Wayanad in native vocabulary, we can discern the reciprocity between social and spatial in the formation of region. *Choramkayarinilkkuka*, which means "stay after the mounting of the hilly-pass," not only represents a place which one reaches but also a different experience of going through the slant, vertical, forested, precipitous and abysmal landscapes of mountain and reaching at the top. Therefore, the usage *Chorathentemeethal* (above the hilly-pass) and other variations which start with the prefix *Choram* or *Churam* in native vocabulary to represent Wayanad, embody spatial as well as social meaning. In short,

it suggests a socio-spatial relation in the formation of region. The above-mentioned native usages and the place which they *re*-present are probably products of a reciprocal relation between social and spatial rather than one of hierarchical relation between them.

Through a discussion of the everyday production of geography and genealogy of Wayanadan Pulayan, the third part of the thesis delineates how the day-to-day formation of region is linked with the genealogy of geography and geography of genealogy of the region and how it functions in a non-linear and non-hierarchical fashion. This part subsequently explicates the differences of the lived region's formation and its spatio-temporality with that of the spatiotemporal orders of Brahmanism and Capitalism, even though the former lives under the spatiotemporal orders of Brahmanism and Capitalism.

The *presence of the past in the present* of the temporality of Pulayan shows the distinctness of Pulayan's temporality from the temporal orders of Brahmanism and Capitalism. This *presence of the past in the present* is different from Capitalism's notion of the past. In the temporal order of Capitalism, past appears as a time passed, departed and less-developed from the present and as a demoted stage of evolutionary history. The *presence of the past in the present* of the temporality of Pulayan is also different from Brahmanism's notion of the past. In the Karma temporal order of Brahmanism, the *present* of a people is predetermined by their acts in their earlier lives. As a result, the past is conceived as present.

Hence, in the temporality of Pulayan, through the presence of the dead ancestor (Pay or Pya), the past is always present in their present. Similar to the way in which the material manifestations of the ancestors, such as bodies of people in the community, cultivable lands and built-environments provide forces to community, the mental presence of the spirits of the ancestors also generate force through symbolic effect. Therefore, the presence of the ancestor is not merely the *presence of the past in the present*; for the community, it is also a mental and material force for their better future. As a *spectral presence*, these mental and material forces of the past are activated through the present acts of the community. The mental and material strength of the past is indispensable to the community's present, and it does not have

any effective existence when disentangled from the community's present. Put differently, the past does not have an existence when it is temporally and spatially distanced from the present.

The spaces in the community life of the Pulayan are horizontally connected by the networks of everyday practices. This horizontal spatial relation actualizes equitable participation of people in their community life. This is different from the hierarchical (or vertical) gradation of spaces/places in the temporal orders set by Brahmanism and Capitalism. In Brahmanism, the present is preset by the past, and the hierarchy of spaces set by *Jativyavastha* is prefixed by the Karma temporal order which does not offer any hope for a better future in the present life. In Capitalism, the past is distanced from the present and the past is fixed in another space/place that is relegated from the space/place of present time. Instead of a simultaneous existence of the present and the past—which refuses hierarchy of spaces/places—this temporal order discriminates spaces/places as present and past in a progressing hierarchy of time. In short, both these temporal orders locate human subjects in hierarchies of spaces/places, and deny freedom and equality. However, as a community of people who also depend on the cyclical time of agriculture for everyday living, Pulayan's past and present have no linear distance. This contemporaneous presence of past and present in space/place shows the interrelation between place/space and society/time. Furthermore, this signifies the importance of the mutual process of space/place and time/society in the materialization of both in the ontology of Pulayan. This reveals the simultaneity and horizontality of space/place and time/society as a process leading to the future.

However, the survival dependence of the Pulayan on modern service sector hinders the spatio-temporality of the Pulayan from liberation from the intertwined spatiotemporal effects of Brahmanism and Capitalism that forms many birth-based spatiotemporal hierarchies of human subjects. The excluded life of Pulayan as untouchable agrarian labourers in the field of upper caste landlords in Wayanad and outside the Karma temporal order shows the spatiotemporal effect of Brahmanism on them. This relegated location of their space and time does not change even when they depend on modern service sector for their livelihood which

functions under the temporal order of Capitalism that considers time as money. Instead of a radical change of their relegated relation with land and labour that determined their being, modernity and the modern state only alter their land as landed property called colony that has less exchange value and reallocate their labour to lower levels of service sector where they get less money as income. This is a kind of reproduction of relegated position of Pulayan that existed under Brahmanism by modern service sector that works under the temporal order of Capitalism. Perhaps the dynamic of ontology of Pulayan which offers hopeful future through their different spatiotemporal being is the reason behind their relegated position in the birth-based spatiotemporal hierarchies of Brahmanic-Capitalism. This is a paradox of our modernity which puts potential being as an *Other*.

Even though the first part of the thesis spends much labour to critique the linearly progressing order of narration, the second part of the thesis paradoxically deploys a narrative that depends on a chronological order of time. This may appear as a contradiction. However, it needs to be stated that the chronological order followed in the second part is not intended to suggest the continuous historical progress of a region but to delineate the contingent nature of the formation of region in relation with other regions in across different periods.

The arguments and theorizations in this thesis offer many possibilities to go beyond the milieu of Wayanad to engage with questions of power in terms of the formation of region and its relation with the problem of knowledge. Employing the conceptualization of Intimate-Other, Incompatible-Other and Self that I use in thesis, one can examine history-writing on Kasaragod, Idukki and other regions, which exist inside the administrative geography of Kerala, to unravel how history-writing marks these regions as primitive and Intimate-Other to classify Kerala as a civilized Self of history. The shaping of Intimate-Other and Incompatible-Other can be seen not just in the formation of regions inside the linguistic region, but also in the formation of international regions such as Asia and Africa which are formed through the discourse of history-writing as well.

In a similar vein, using the theory of mutual constitution of act, text and context in the formation of region as an analytical framework, one could study the formation of nation. This framework not only unravels the entanglement between materiality and mentality in the becoming of region, but also exposes the unseen force and effect of natural geography and built-environment, along with natural and manmade objects, in the becoming. Moreover, this realization about the overlooked force offers us a possibility to understand the role of Other objects and Other subjects in the relational being and ever changing becoming of us. It also explicates the problem of superiority of temporality and sociality on space and place as overdeveloped forces of liberation that devalue the potentiality of space and place.

The theorization of simultaneity of time and horizontality of spaces in the ontology of Wayanadan Pulayan not only marks its difference from the spatiotemporal order of Brahmanism and Capitalism, but also shows the possibility of the realization of their being and becoming which was denied by Brahmanism and Capitalism. Moreover, this pushes us to re-examine the relegation of a certain community life and their region by the standards set by knowledge and power—it is not the wretchedness of the community and region but its potential to go beyond the dystopic standard set by knowledge and power that motivate this relegation. In brief, this thesis defines region as a relational, multidirectional, overlapping, contingent, and altering formation of act, context and text which exist in relation with other formation of regions.

Glossary

Aadi Pathinalu	:	14th day of Aadi month; a festival among the Wayanadan Pulayar
Aana	:	Promise
Aathichappan Thiruvam Thampuran	:	The prime predecessor of the Wayanadan Pulayar
Acho	:	Father, Papa
Adivasi	:	A self-defined and assertive name used by the Scheduled Tribes
Akam	:	Inside
Akananure	:	A classical Tamil poetic work in the Sangam literature on love and separation
Amarchaa	:	Repress
Amkkam-chukkam	:	Defense and revenue
Amsam	:	A revenue division (village) of Nadu
Amyalu Kalppattu	:	Biographical song on women
Angady	:	Market place
Aradhaari	:	A unit that is used to measure place
Aramana	:	Palace; headquarters of the British Company
Arival	:	Sickle
Arjji	:	Petition
Atiyaan	:	Slave; low caste untouchable person who lives under servitude of the upper caste in a Brahmanic system of caste
Atiyore	:	Slaves; low caste untouchable people who lives under servitude of the upper caste in a Brahmanic system of caste
Avil	:	Crispy rice
Ayudhakkaran	:	Royal guard of Raja
Bailu	:	Field (in Kannada language)
Balam	:	Power; military power
Bhagiya Swarupam	:	Family of fortune; Bhagiya Principality
Bhagiyavan	:	Lucky man
Boomisahikkan Kaziyathe	:	Unable to suffer the earth
Brāhmanas	:	First Varna in the order of Chathurvarnya
Bynadu	:	Another usage for Wayanad in Kannada language, as per records
Caderur	:	Kathirur, a place in Wayanad
Cartinaad	:	Kadathanad; a little kingdom of Malabar
Chaikkuka	:	The word means "making" in the milieu of this thesis; but it also means leaning and resting (one's head)
Chakkalasu	:	White paper
Chamayagal	:	Ornaments
Champumanu	:	One of the main ancestors of Wayanadan Pulayar
Chankrathi Pooja	:	A festival

Charithra Kalppattu	:	Songs of lineage of Nadu
Charrak	:	Commodities
Charthu	:	Land-granting by oral or written sanction
Cheetu	:	Written receipt or bill of revenue
Chemmam	:	Birthplace of Kulam
Chempocherry Manu	:	A spiritual designation among the Wayanadan Pulayar
Chempu Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on vessel
Chengileri	:	A spiritual designation among the Wayanadan Pulayar
Chera	:	A south Indian dynasty between 3rd century B.C.E and 12th century C.E., who ruled especially the terrain of Kerala
Cheramanperumal	:	Ancient legendry Chera King, known as the ruler who divided his country Malayalam (Kerala) among his sons and nephews like Nediyiruppu Swarupam (Calicut), Perumpadappu Swarupam (Kochi) Thirupappur Swarupam (Travancore) and so on
Cheramantalam	:	Territory of Chera King, which shares its frontiers with Cholamandalam and Pandyamandalam; these were the three major territories in the Sangam age. The terrain of Cheramandalam includes some parts of Tamilakam, Malabar and often Mysore under the rule of ancient Chera Kings
Chercha Kalppattu	:	The song which is sung at the time of marriage
Chericul	:	A little kingdom of Malabar
Cheriya Thampuran	:	Prince
Cheriya	:	Small; younger
Cherumar	:	An ex-slave community living in Malabar and Karnataka that presently belongs to the Scheduled Caste
Chetties	:	Wayanadan Chetties, a community living in Wayanad; they presently belong to Other Backward Class
Chilampu	:	Anklets
Chilapthikaram	:	One of the five epics of classical Tamil literature
Chingam	:	First Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Chirackal	:	One of the early little kingdoms in northern Malabar
Chola	:	A dynasty in South India, ruled between 3rd century B.C.E. and 14th century C.E.
Cholanaikar	:	A community in Kerala, presently belonging to the Scheduled Tribe
Chop	:	Red color; red cloth
Chor	:	Boiled rice
Choram	:	Native usage for churam
Choramkayarinilkkuka	:	Loosely means climb atop the (Wayanad) ghaut; stay after the mounting of the hilly-pass

Chorathummal	:	On top of the hill; another usage for Churathintemeethal; also spelled as Churathummal or Churathumal
Churam	:	Hilly pass; the Ghat
Churathintemeethal	:	Above the hilly-pass, the word used for Wayanad in the native vocabulary as marked in the record; also spelled Chorathentemeethal
Churathinte Mukallil	:	Above the hilly-pass; above the Ghat
Churathumalekku	:	Above the hilly pass; above the Ghat road
Chuttukollayiduka	:	Burning and looting
Coorg	:	County of Kudaku; a little kingdom near Mysore bordering Wayanad
Coorimnaad	:	Kurumbranad
Corga	:	Kudaku country
Cotiote	:	Colonial usage for Kottayam country as observed in records; also spelled as Cottaiyatta
Cotta	:	Another usage for Kottayam country
Cshetram	:	Temple
Cshetriya	:	Kshathriya caste, also spelled as Kshathriya in the records
Cutcherry	:	Court
Cuttiady	:	Kuttyadi, a place in the foothills of Wayanad
Daiva Pura	:	House of God; the ancestral house
Desham	:	A division of village
Dhanu	:	Fifth Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Dhwibhashi	:	A person who knows two languages; an intermediary between the Company and native elite
Dravyam	:	Wealth
Duryodhana	:	The eldest Kaurava
Dvapara Yuga	:	Third of the four ages of humankind based on the Hindu scriptures
Eadakal Cave	:	A natural stone cave with many stone age carvings on Ambukuthi Hill in Wayanad
Eda Kudi	:	Another usage for Kalari Kudi
Edanadassakkudy	:	A place name in Wayanad; it also appeares as Edanadassakoor in the records
Edavam	:	Tenth Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Eecharante Paattu	:	Song of God
Elayeruvatil	:	A place in Wayanad; it is also seen in records as Elaya Kooruvatil
Eranad	:	Early little kingdom in southern Malabar
Erati	:	A caste name in Kerala
Erivayinad	:	One of the places in Wayanad
Ezuthani	:	Scripting-nail

Ganger	:	Western Ganga dynasty of Karnataka between 4th and 11th centuries
Goundas	:	A caste name
Hoisalar	:	An empire in Karnataka between 10th and 14th centuries
Illakudi	:	Another usage for Kalarikudi
Inthraprastha	:	Palace court of Pandavas
Iruvayinad	:	Another usage for Erivayinad
Irvennad	:	Erivayanad
Ithihasa	:	Epics
Jadadhari	:	Ascetic with matted hair
Jama'at	:	A commune; lived surroundings of a Mosque
Janmakar	:	The people who have birth right on landed property
Janmi	:	Landlord
Jatis	:	Castes
Jativyavastha	:	System of Jati
Kaamaatty	:	Workers
Kaanam	:	Land right
Kaaryasthan	:	Manager
Kaathu Kuthu	:	Ear piercing ceremony
Kaavadikkum Koodal	:	Gathering for cleaning of Sacred Grove, a festival among Wayanadan Pulayar
Kaavu/Kavu	:	Sacred Grove
Kachakal	:	Dresses
Kachery	:	Court
Kadathanad	:	Early little kingdom in northern Malabar
Kadathilekkadiketty	:	Construction of underground
Kadu	:	Forest
Kai	:	Hand
Kakkana Kotta	:	Name of a fort, also spelled as Kaken
Kalari Adakkal	:	Closing of Kalari
Kalari Thurakkal	:	Opining of Kalari; inaugural festival of Wayanadan Pulayar community
Kalari	:	A traditional training space for martial art, Kalaripayattu; kinship among the Wayanadan Pulayar
Kali Yuga	:	The last of the four ages of humankind, based on the Hindu scriptures
Kallu Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on arrack
Kalppana	:	Royal order
Kalppattu	:	Song of play (Kali) or toddy (Kaluu)
Kalppatu Chaikkuka	:	Making of a Kalppattu

Kambalam	:	A kind of bonded labor that leads to intense exploitation of Wayanad Pulayans
Kanakku	:	Usage signifying the discipline Mathematics; calculations
Kandy	:	A traditional measuring unit of weight
Kanjikudy	:	Drinking of gruel
Kannukaally	:	Calf and cow
Kanny	:	Second Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Kappam	:	Tribute
Kara	:	Land
Karadi Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on bear
Karakadakam	:	Twelfth Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Kararnamam	:	Written agreement
Karma	:	One kind of fatalism; a belief of Hindus that present life is determined by past action
Karyakkar	:	Ministers
Kathambar	:	An ancient dynasty in Karnataka and Konkan from Banavasi between 4th and 6th centuries
Kattu Naikar	:	A community in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, presently belonging to the Scheduled Tribe
Kauravas	:	Characters in *Mahabharata*, portrayed as wickedness personified
Kayarukka	:	Mounting
Kayyanakku	:	Accounts in mind
Kazergod	:	Another usage for Kumbala country
Kazhu	:	Gallows
Keezhmaryada	:	Traditional norms of the country
Keezhparpathyam	:	Subordinate revenue officer
Keralolpathy	:	A Malayalam narrative on the origin of the Kerala region
Keyttipaadikkal	:	Performing of the Thira
Keyttu	:	Tie
Keyttum Poottum	:	Bamboo box
Killadar	:	Fort Governor; Commandant of fort
Kirang Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on monkey
Kodaku	:	Kudaku counrty, an early little kingdom in Karnataka
KoIkkar	:	One of the lower level employees of the Company administration who engages in policing activity
Koll	:	Name of a festival among Wayanadan Pulayar; Merry-making; Paddy field
Kollavarsham	:	Malayalam Era, starting from 825 C.E.
Komarakkaran	:	Shaman
Komaram	:	Shaman

Kompam Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on rabbit
Koorchuttimanu	:	One of the main ancestors of Wayanadan Pulayar
Kotta	:	Fort, also spelled as Cotah
Kottayam	:	Kingdom of Kottayam in northern Malabar.
Kottum Kuravayum	:	Orchestra; drumming and hooting during marriage rites
Kovil	:	The temple
Kovilagam	:	The royal palace
Kozhi Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on fowl
Kozhikotta	:	Kozhikode; it also appears as Kolikotta in the records
Ksatriyas	:	Second Varna in the order of Chathurvarnya
Kudi	:	Household; locale
Kudiyan	:	One of the spiritual headman of Wayanadan Pulayar
Kulam	:	Clan
Kulietukal	:	Taking a bath
Kumbala	:	The little kingdom of Kumbala in northern Malabar; it is also spelled as Cumbala, Kumbazha in the records
Kumbam	:	Seventh Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Kunnu	:	Hill
Kurichiar	:	Wayanadan Kurichiar, a community in Wayanad, presently belonging to the Scheduled Tribe, also spelled as Korecher in the records
Kuruma Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on Kurumar
Kurumam Kali	:	Play of Kurumam, a kind of musical-dance during a festival among Wayanadan Pulayar
Kurumar	:	A community in South Indian states like Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karanataka; presently categorized under the Scheduled Tribe; Kurumar is also spelled as Kurumbar, Kurumber, Coorumber and Cooroomber in the records
Kurumbranad	:	One of the early Kingdoms in south Malabar, also spelled as Koorubrand Raja in the records
Kurup	:	A Shudra caste
Kuti	:	House
Kutikal	:	Plural form of Kutiyan
Kutiyan	:	Tenant
Makaram	:	Sixth Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Makkott Piliyam	:	One of the prime ancestors of the Wayanadan Pulayar
Mala	:	Hill
Malabar	:	Malabar Coast; this portion of Kerala was Malabar Province under the British Company rule
Malanadu	:	The land of hill; early name of Kerala

Malikhana	:	A reward to Rajas who were under the British Company rule
Mamamkam	:	A medieval carnival that occurred once in twelve years on the shores of Nila River, Malabar
Maman Mittam	:	Front yard of uncle's house; ancestral household
Man Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on deer
Mananthavady	:	A place in Wayanad that is differently spelled in records as Mananthavady Mananthawaddy, Maananthody, Manathody, Manantawaddy and Manantoddy
Manathala	:	A place in Wayanad, also spelled as Manattana in the records
Mandram Pothikkal	:	The yearly program for thatching the roof of the Shrine
Mandram	:	Shrine
Manimeghala	:	An epic among Tamil classics
Manipravalam	:	One of the medieval literary styles which is a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam
Mappila	:	A believer of Islam in Malabar region, Kerala, also spelled as Mapula, Mapala and Moplah
Marippadakkal	:	Burial
Massappady	:	Monthly tribute
Mayakshetra	:	Temple of Mayan
Mayan	:	Architect of the Daityans or Asuras
Mayanad	:	Land of illusion; another usage for Wayanad
Mayyazhi	:	Mahe, a place name
Medam	:	Ninth Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Meen Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on fish
Meenam	:	Eighth Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Melaal/Melall	:	Chieftains mostly belonging to upper caste
Menon	:	Accountant; a sub-category of the Nayar/Nair community
Merutham	:	Foremost spiritual leader of the Wayanadan Pulayar
Midhunam	:	Eleventh Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Ministers	:	Karyakkar
Mittam/Kkudy	:	Ancestral house
Mittam	:	Front yard; another usage for Kudi among Wayanadan Pulayar
Moondal	:	Three men of community, designated spiritually as headmen such as Nadan, Nadupan and Kudiyan among Wayanadan Pulayars
Moonaam Kaval	:	Recalling the dead from tomb
Mootha Kooruvatil	:	A place in Waynad, also called Mootheruvatil
Mothal	:	Revenue or asset
Mothaletuppu	:	Revenue-collection
Mukyasthan	:	Chiefs

Mullu Kurumar	:	Another name of Kurumar; a section among Kurumar; also spelled as Mullu Kurumbar and Mollu Kurumber in the records
Munthira	:	Vanguard Thira
Muthante Kalppattu	:	The songs of comedy
Muthari	:	Ragi or finger millet
Myalam	:	A celebration among the Wayanadan Pulayar
Naattu Kalppattu	:	Songs related to the Nadu
Nadan	:	A spiritual headman of the Wayanadan Pulayar
Nadu	:	Native place; agrarian-land; homeland
Naduka	:	To plant, to cultivate in a land
Nadupan	:	A spiritual headman of the Wayanadan Pulayar
Nair	:	A Shudra caste in Kerala; also spelled here as Nayar
Nambiar	:	A Shudra caste in northern Malabar, also spelled as Nambyar and Nambiya
Narikandi	:	The place for hanging a killed tiger
Narikuth	:	Killing tiger with spear
Naripaattu	:	Song on tiger
Natarachar	:	Kings of Nadu
Natu Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on Nadu
Natu	:	Kannada usage for Nadu
Nayatu Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on hunt
Nazhika	:	A traditional measure of time
Nellala	:	Granary of paddy; another name of Wayanad
Nelli	:	Gooseberry; amla
Neravakasam	:	Truthful-right or direct-right or inheritance
Niguthy	:	Land tax or revenue
Nilgiri	:	A highland region that shares frontiers with Wayanad, currently situated in Tamil Nadu; also spelled as Neelagiri in the early records
Nirmmiryadham	:	Indecent acts
Ola Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on leaf
Ompathamnthy koodal	:	Gathering on 9th day
Oola	:	Palm leaf records or Coconut leaf
Paalayam	:	Military
Paarakkumeethal	:	Above the rock; another usage for southern Wayanad; it is also spelled as Parakkumeethal
Paarave	:	Guard or confinement
Paattom	:	Tenure
Paattu	:	Song
Pachi paayikal	:	Possession by sprit on/for performing Thira

Pallak	:	Palanquin
Pallavas	:	An early South Indian dynasty who ruled during 3rd century C.E. to 9th century C.E.
Palli	:	Mosque
Panam	:	Rupee
Pandal	:	Booth; marquee/shamiana
Pandavas	:	Characters in *Mahabharata*, portrayed as people of virtue
Pandenadakkuna Mariyatham	:	Traditional justice
Pandya	:	An ancient dynasty in South India who ruled between 4th century B.C.E. and 16th century C.E.
Paniyar	:	A community in Kerala and Tamil Nadu; they currently belong to the Scheduled Tribe
Panni Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on pig
Panorath	:	Panamaram, a place name in Wayanad
Parama-sathyam	:	Ultimate truth
Paramparyam	:	Lineage
Parasyakattu	:	Open letter; Proclamation
Parbuthies/Pravritti	:	An officer assigned to collect revenue of a division of Nadu or an administrative region under the rule
Paricha	:	Shield
Parpathyakaran	:	Revenue officers
Patitupathu		A Sangam literary text that narrates the account of Chera Kings
Pattanam	:	Town; another usage for Sreerangapattanam in the records
Patter	:	Tamil Brahmin
Pattolla	:	Accounts of revenue
Pava	:	Doll
Pay	:	Dead ancestor; also spelled Pya
Paynad	:	Nadu of Penan/Pyanan; name of the region of the Wayanadan Pulayar
Payyormulla	:	Hill of Payyor, a place name, also spelled as Payyormala in the early records
Pazhassi	:	A place name in Kottayam country; the title of Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja of Kottayam, which is also spelled as Palassi and Paichey
Peeli	:	Peacock's feather
Pena Pattu	:	Song of Penan/Pyanan; performed on the entry of Pyana Thira
Penan	:	The ancestral God or Spirit God of Pulayan
Pengalinda Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on woman
Periya	:	A place name in Wayanad; a hilly pass; also spelled Perile in the records

Piliya	:	Early name of the Wayanadan Pulayar
Pinthira	:	Rearguard Thira
Pooja Koottam	:	Another name of Chankrathi Pooja among Mullu Kurumar
Poottu	:	Lock
Pothim Kurukkalum Paattu	:	Song on the occasion of Thira festival
Pothy	:	Bag; traditional measuring unit of weight
Pottithericha	:	Exploding
Prajas	:	Subjects
Pramanam	:	Principal-record
Pramani	:	Principal-men
Praparthyakaran	:	Revenue collector of a village
Pulayans/Pulayar	:	A low caste who belongs to the Scheduled Caste, living in Kerala
Puli/Nari	:	Tiger/Leopard, but in the milieu of this study most of the sources show Puli/Nari as Tiger
Puram	:	Outside
Purusha Sukta	:	One of the segments in *Rig-Veda*, "Purusha-Sukta," where the remark about Varnavyavastha first appeared
Puthadi	:	A place name in Wayanad; it is also spelled as Poothady
Puthary	:	New rice; a celebration related to the harvest among the Wayanadan Pulayar and the Mullu Kurumar
Pya	:	Another usage for Pay; dead ancestor
Pyana Kalppattu	:	Song of Pyana
Pyana/Pyanan	:	Another usage for Penan
Pyananaakkal	:	Transforming dead to Spirit-God
Pyanapradal	:	Thira of Pyanan
Pymashee	:	Annual-revenue-survey
Raja	:	King
Rajyam	:	Country
Raksha-shiksha-kalppana	:	Order of protection and punishment; a kind of sovereign power
Rekhakal	:	Records
Rig-Veda	:	Sacred canonical text of Hindus
Sangam	:	Classical literary period in Tamilakam or Tamil Nadu
Seema	:	Frontier; country
Shasana	:	Inscriptions
Shiksha-raksha	:	Punishment and protection
Shirastedar	:	Administrative officer equivalent to Tahsildar
Sreerangapattanam	:	Headquarters of Tipu Sulthan, the Mysore King, also spelled as Seringapatam in the records
Sthalajalavibhramam	:	Delusion; inability to distinguish between land and water
Sudra Vellazhana	:	A caste in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

Sūdras	:	Fourth Varna in the order of Chathurvarnya
Suhbiksham	:	Feast or extravagance
Sukkavirootham	:	Denial of well-being
Swarupam	:	Early little Kingdoms or Principalities in Kerala
Taluk	:	A revenue division, also spelled as Talook, Thalook in the records
Tani	:	Beleric fruit
Tellichery	:	A place in northern Malabar; headquarters of the East India Company in Kerala; also spelled as Talasseri, Thalassery, Thalacherry, Talacherry in the records
Thaanam	:	Place
Thamarassery	:	A place under the foothills of Wayanad; also spelled as Tamarachery, Thamarachery, Tamercherry, Tambercherry, Tamberaccherry and Tamberacherry in the early records
Thampranmar	:	Plural form of Thampuran; also spelled as Thampuranmar
Thampuran	:	Title of King, Princess and other royal bodies
Tharakans	:	Scribblers
Tharaku	:	Writs
Theyyam	:	A ritual performance in Malabar
Thirumanasu	:	Honorific of King; sacred mind
Thoni Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on boat
Thudi	:	A type of small drum
Thulam	:	Third Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Thulam	:	An early measuring unit of weight
Thulapathu	:	10th day of the month Thulam; a hunting festival against wild animals which destroy crops, among the Wayanadan Pulayar
Thurakkal	:	To open
Tipoo Sulthan	:	Tipu Sulthan, the Mysore King; also spelled as Tipu Sultan and Tippoo Sultaun in the records
Thira	:	A ceremonial festival of performing ancestral spirit among the Wayandan Pulayar. It is an agricultural festival which is celebrated in many places of Southern Malabar by different caste- and tribal-communities
Tiyyan	:	A low caste in Malabar region
Todar	:	A community in Neelagiry, also spelled as Torinaar in the records; they presently belong to the Scheduled Tribe
Treta Yuga	:	Second of the four ages of humankind based on the Hindu scriptures
Uchal	:	A year-ending festival among the Mullu Kurumar
Uchal Kali	:	A dance performance of Urali Kurumars, as part of Uchal festival

Unniachicharitham	:	Early literary work written in the of style of Manipravalam in medieval Kerala
Uralii	:	Urali Kurumar; one section among the Kurumar
Urupya	:	Rupee
Vaal	:	Sword
Vaiśyas	:	Third Varna in the order of Chathurvarnya
Valiya Pyanan	:	One of the prime ancestors of the Wayanadan Pulayar
Valiyambalam	:	Big-temple
Valiya-thokku	:	Mortar
Vanam	:	Forest
Varma	:	Title of the royal caste name; also spelled as Vurma, Verma and Wurma in the records
Varnayavastha	:	System of Chathurvarnya, which classifies people as four fold based on occupation; considered as the archetype of caste system
Vayal Nadu	:	Land of field; usage for Wayanadu
Vayanatu	:	Another usage for Wayanad
Vazhinad	:	Land of route; another usage for Wayanad
Vedar	:	Early name of Kurumar; Vedar is also cited as Bedar in the records
Vediuppu	:	Gunpowder
Veera	:	Valor
Velikumbam	:	Another name of the place Veliyambam
Venad	:	Early little Kingdom of southern Kerala
Vettithali	:	Ceremonial performance on the occasion of Thira among Wayanadan Pulayar
Vijam Kalppattu	:	Kalppattu on poison
Vijayanagarar	:	An empire which ruled in the Deccan plateau region of South India between 14th and 17th century C.E.
Vishary	:	Hand-fan
Vistharikkuka	:	Trial
Vrishchikam	:	Fourth Malayalam month according to the Kollavarsham
Wayanad	:	A region presently located in the administrative geography of Kerala; it shares border with Malabar, Mysore, Kudagu and Tamil Nadu; and is spelled as Wynad, Wynaad, Waynad, Wynaud and Vainad in different early records
Wayanadan Pulayan	:	A community that exclusively lives in Wayanad; it currently belongs to the Scheduled Caste
Yakshaganam	:	A popular classical performance in Karnataka

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Appendix

Geography of Community and Community of Geography: Everyday Formations of Region of *Mullu Kurumars* in and above Wayanad

Mullu Kurumar community also has a geography rendered by close kinship relations of kin-houses. This community includes more than 25000[1] members today. A majority of them possess small landholdings. For livelihood, they live as small farmers, agricultural labors in their lands, and work as government servants, owner cum drivers, carpenters, masons and petty trades.[2] With the guidance of Rajithan, I attempt to understand the process of community that form the geography and the process of geography that shape the community. For this purpose we met many men and women among the community members. Few among them were spiritual leaders of Mullu Kurumar. Velayithan, Narayani, Karimpan, Karalan, Govindan, Raghavan and Ramakrishanan were the important persons we met. On 11th January 2013 we visited a house in Kariyampadi and discussed with Velayithan, Narayani, Vishwanathan and Ramani on this matter. They told me that their dwelling places are a confederation of four *Nadus* and three hills. In those*, Nadus* are *Pakkam-Nadu, Neriyaya-Nadu (Poothadi), Kara-Nadu* and *Mooppa-Nadu (Kallu-Nadu)*. Hills are *Kottoor-Kunnu, Madoor-Kunnu* and *Edur-Kunnu*. Ramakirishnan also shared similar details and information.[3] They delineated *Kudis* of each *Nadu* and Hills with those common spiritual leaders, and locations of *Kudis* in the administrative geography of Kerala.[4]

Four *Nadus* & Three *Kunnu*	*Kudis*	Spiritual leaders	Locations in Wayanad
Pakkam Nadu	Cheriyamala	Thirumooth (Kappi Moopan)	Pulpally
	Thirumukhathu	Cheriyamala Moopan	Pulpally

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[1] 24,505 is their estimated population according to the 2011 census.
[2] This information I received on 8/1/2013 from Rajithan and Sreedharan.
[3] Ramakirishnan disclosed this on 20/1/2013.
[4] These locations of *Kudis* (locales) in administrative geography perhaps have slight variations, because, those remarks are rough rather than results of thorough inquiry.

	Illuyambathu	Kandalama Moopan	Pulpally
	Kandamala	Kurichyathu Moopan	Pulpally
	Koranguvayal/Koranjuvayal		PuIpally
	Kurichipatta/kurichyathu/		PuIpally
	Edamala		Mullamkolly
	Cheruvally		Mullamkolly
Neriya Nadu	Meppadu	Mappadu Moopan	Poothadi
	Kollikkal (Thaze/Mele)	Naalappadi	Poothadi
	Cherakka	Karanor	Poothadi
	Erumathaari/Madathampadi		Poothadi
	Mokkathu	Karanor	Poothadi
	Konnappura/Konnakudi	Karanor	Poothadi
	Thamarachira		Poothadi
	Pillakkudi		Poothadi
	Aadamunda		Poothadi
	Manaluvayal		Poothadi
	Pulachikkuni		Poothadi
	Veetippura		Poothadi
	Athippura/Paalakara		Sulthan Bathery
	Kelamangalam		Poothadi
	Ayanimala		Poothadi
	Mundakutti		Poothadi
Kara Nadu	Appad	Appad Mooppan/ Appad	Meenangadi

		Thalachil	
	Valiyakolli	Thazhathu Mooppan	Meenangadi
	Poovalli	Karanor	Meenangadi
	Chakkola		Meenangadi
	Ayinippura		Meenangadi
	Konghiyampothu		Meenangadi
	Nidiyancheri		Meenangadi
	Elayathu		Meenangadi
	Mettankara		Meenangadi
	Mandakkara		Meenangadi
	Thachampothu		Meenangadi
	Olivayalu		Meenangadi
	Mattumpothu		Meenangadi
	Kunima		Meenangadi
	Pulikya		Meenangadi
	Kappukkunnu		Meenangadi
	Kolliool/Mathammoola		Meenangadi
	Chanthanchira		Meenangadi
	Annavayal		Meenangadi/Poothadi
	Ponghinithodi		Kaniyambetta
Mooppa Nadu	Nochanvayal	Nochavayal Moopan	Nenmeni
	Thottappura		Nenmeni
	Kalamvalavu		Nenmeni
	Aathiyoolu		Nenmeni

	Punchavayal/Mukkool/Koolivadi	Koolivadi Moopan	Nenmeni
	Kuttimaanga		Nenmeni
	Malakara		Nenmeni
	Kalambilu		Nenmeni
	Vattuvadi/Nenjalukoolli		Noolpuhza
	Mathamangalam		Noolpuhza
	Vicharathu		Noolpuhza
	Malappura		Noolpuhza
	Choondakara		Noolpuhza
	Mulamchira/Maalika		Noolpuhza
	Kolippura		Noolpuhza
	Thudiootty/Thudivetty		Sulthan Bathery
	Kayppamcheri		Sulthan Bathery
Koottur Kunnu	Koottur	Koottur Mooppan	Noolpuza
	Kadamkolli		Noolpuhza
	Kalladikolli		Noolpuhza
	Kanal		Noolpuhza
			Noolpuhza
Madoor Kunnu	Madoor	Madoor Mooppan	Poothadi
	Kaloor	Karanor	Poothadi
	Odakkutti		Poothadi
	Chembkkolli		Poothadi
	Vembilathu		Poothadi
	Mannathu		Poothadi

Edoor Kunnu	Krathakalayi/Manjalamkaitha a	Edoor Thalchil	Meenangadi
	Manjakandi		Meenangadi
	Pilaakoottam		Poothadi
	Nellikkandam		Meenangadi
	Aruvanaali		Meenangadi
	Kakkadam		Poothadi
	Paleri		Poothadi/Sulthan Bathery
	Konnama		Poothadi/Sulthan Bathery
	Chembrathani		Poothadi/Sulthan Bathery
	Kattikolli		Poothadi
	Goodaloor (Moodakolli)		Poothadi
	Kandakkattu		Poothadi
	Cholambath		Poothadi
	Vaalavayal		Poothadi
	Pappalasheri		Poothadi
	Vattacheri		Poothadi
	Pattacheri		Poothadi
	Pellapetta		Poothadi

Other than these, they also point to other dwelling places which are probably disseminated from these lineages. Velayithan, Karimpan and several others told me that they migrated to the present residences from different ancestral houses discussed above. For instance, ancestors of Velayithan came to Kariyampadi from Koliyari. Discussing with Govindan[5] who live in Erumad in Nilgiris we extended the list of habitations in this regard.[6]

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[5] Govindan discussed this to us on 16/1/2013.
[6] Here also the locations of *Kudis (locales)* in administrative geography probably vary from present remarks for the same reason which I mentioned above.

Other Areas	*Kudis*	Locations in Wayanad & Nilgiris
Kudis scattered under Aavayal Kunnu/Evayal Kunnu	Kalimittam	Meenangadi
	Onnukuzhivayal	Meenangadi
Kudis scattered under Vengoor	Vaalakkandi	Meenangadi
	Konnappura	Meenangadi
	Thanippura	Meenangadi
	Polakkolli	Meenangadi
Kudis scattered under Meenangadi	Mannath	Meenangadi
	Oorukadi	Meenangadi
	Vettakkandi	Meenangadi
	Thazathuvayal	Meenangadi
	Chennalodu	Meenangadi
	Vattathuvayal	Meenangadi
	Manangal	Meenangadi
	Koottur	Meenangadi
	Mothirottu	Meenangadi
	Kolambatta	Meenangadi
	Moothimoola	Meenangadi
	Vellithodu	Meenangadi
	Varattu	Meenangadi
	Kalluvadi	Meenangadi
	Vazhavatta	Meenangadi
Kudis scattered under Cheengheri	Vethirakandam	Ambalavayal

	Arimunda/Oorukandi	Ambalavayal
	Pothuketti	Ambalavayal
	Vengeri	Ambalavayal
	Kuzhivayal	Ambalavayal
	Naduvittu	Ambalavayal
	Njamalathu	Ambalavayal
	Nellarchalu	Ambalavayal
	Aattuvai	Ambalavayal
	Pallavayal	Ambalavayal
	Padayamoola	Ambalavayal
	Vellada	Ambalavayal
	Maalika	Ambalavayal
	Edakkalu/Edakkal	Ambalavayal
	Aayiramkolli	Ambalavayal
	Kochamkodu	Ambalavayal
	Pulimkandi	Ambalavayal
	Thekkenkolli	Ambalavayal
	Eranjeri	Muttil
Kudis scattered under Chulliyodu	Padipparamb/Patyalambu	Nenmeni
	Kotta/Ramankalyamkotta	Cheramkod
	Mavadi	Nenmeni
	Kakkundi	Nenmeni
	Naduvilu/Naduveedu	Nenmeni
	Kundilu	Nenmeni
	Vellenduthima	Nenmeni
	Pambala	Nenmeni

	Kenimunda	Nenmeni
	Kakkoondi	Nenmeni
	Thaloor	Nenmeni
	Eritheeni	Nenmeni
	Kolkkuli	Nenmeni
	Madakkara/Karuvalam	Nenmeni
	Chembakkara	Nenmeni
	Karuvalam	Nenmeni
	Vazathottam	Nenmeni
	Mandakkara	Nenmeni
	Thanipora	Nenmeni
	Atuvara	Nenmeni
	Malamkara	Nenmeni
	Kallichali	Cheramkod
	Padicheri	Cheramkod
	Konnattu	Cheramkod
	Madakkundu	Cheramkod
	Kappukunnu/Kandankolli	Cheramkod
	Thyzakkuni/Majalam	Cheramkod
Kudis scattered under Ambukuthi	Neelamanga	Nenmeni
	Thanippora	Nenmeni
	Valathottam	Nenmeni
	Kottakkunnu	Sulthan Bathery
	Aadupura	Sulthan Bathery
Kudis scattered under Bathery	Kedangilu	Sulthan Bathery
	Vadasara	Sulthan Bathery

	Aarumadu	Sulthan Bathery
	Pazheri	Sulthan Bathery
	Veettikutti	Sulthan Bathery
	Karattu	Sulthan Bathery
	Thirunelli	Sulthan Bathery
	Valluvadi/Thoramkalam	Noolpuhza
	Odappallam	Noolpuhza
	Kottanodu	Noolpuhza
	Kayappora	Noolpuhza
	Choorikuni	Noolpuhza
	Karasheru/Karasheri	Noolpuhza
	Kumalakkandi	Noolpuhza
	Vallakkottu	Noolpuhza
	Manimunda	Noolpuhza
	Pilakkavu/Chundachira	Noolpuhza
	Pambankolli	Noolpuhza
	Veluthondi/Kunduchira	Noolpuhza
	Maaroottu	Noolpuhza
	Karadimadu	Noolpuhza
	Kallumukku	Noolpuhza
	Athikuni	Noolpuhza
	Manmadamoola	Noolpuhza
	Njambally	Noolpuhza
	Kulimoola	Noolpuhza
	Thakarappadi	Noolpuhza
	Koolooru/Kalchira	Noolpuhza

Kudis scattered under Poongini	Chembuketti	Panamaram
	Nadavayal	Kaniyambetta
	Chullippura	Kaniyambetta
	Nelliyambm	Kaniyambetta
	Naduveedu	Kaniyambetta
	ThazheNelliyambam	Kaniyambetta
	Kulimoola	Kaniyambetta
	Pulikkal	Kaniyambetta
	Athikkuni/Athiyoolu	Kaniyambetta
	Kolipatta	Kaniyambetta
	Kanancheri	Kaniyambetta
Kudis scattered under Panamkandi	Panchottil/Panchothu	Kaniyambetta
	Choplappara	Kaniyambetta
	Mandakamoola	Kaniyambetta
	Kalluvayal	Kaniyambetta
	Panamkandi	Kaniyambetta
	Athippura	Kaniyambetta
	Choladi	Kaniyambetta
	Kannampatta	Kaniyambetta
	Kaniyamkolli	Kaniyambetta
	Arimula	Kaniyambetta
Kudis scattered under Mani Kunnu	Paiynghal/Panayi/	Muttil
	Mukkathu	Muttil
	Kolippura	Muttil
	Vazhakandi	Meppadi

	Kunduvayal	Meppadi
	Uppupara	Meppadi
	Kelluppora/Kalluppura	Muttil
	Mundara	Muttil
	Machinkara	Muttil
	Puthoorvayal	Kalpetta
	Mangavayal	Meppadi
	Chandamvetti	Meppadi
	Velakkathara	Meppadi
	Mottamkandi	Meppadi
	Kaaathma/Kallaymel	Meppadi

Mullu Kurumar is mapping their geography through their everyday practices such as birth, marriage, death ceremonies and other yearly festivals. These networks of relations are not only connecting geography of community but also building a community itself. *Uchal and Chankrathi* are the important festivals of this community. *Uchal* is a year ending festival, which like *Puthary*, is conducted after harvesting. Dance performance of Urali community is the speciality of this festival. The performance is called *Uchal kali*. This is observed in important shrines such as Tirumukam,[7] Kandamala, Nochamvayal[8] and Mappad.

As a rite of this festival, one day before, community members of the respective shrine hunt wild animals. After an animal is hunted, they submit their head and limb in front of *Daiva Pura* (ancestral house). The next day, on the eve of the program, they prepare curry with that flesh for the festival feast. Moreover, the members of each *Kudi* (household) parcels one packet of paddy and a packet of rice and curries from their house to the sacred place where this program is usually conducted. These packets are for the performers of *Uchal kali*. All the community members participate in the feast of the festival and dine together.

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[7] This is conducted on 30th Makaram in Thirumukam.
[8] Today this is not performed in Nochamvayal.

Chankrathi pooja[9] probably is a variety of this rite. In this festival a food called Dosa prepared by new rice flour made out of newly harvested paddy is offered to the earth and the ancestral god. Long ago, this festival was conducted under a mango tree in a paddy field near Kaiyppamchery in Sulthan Bathery. All the community members who bring Dosa from their home put it under that tree, and after a while they share those among them. But today it is performed at *Kuliyan Thara* located in Kaiyppamchery in Sulthan Bathery, near Sarvajana School.[10] As was done in earlier times they share food after offering it to the earth and the ancestral god. The community members from different *Kudis* (locales) reach there to participate in this festival. Performances of different arts and sports programs are the importance of this gathering. This festival is also known as *Pooja Koottam*.[11]

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[9] This is conducted on 29th or 30th Dhanu.

[10] On 11/1/2013 Sajan from Mullu Kurumar community, a friend and my class mate in Post Graduation, guided me to the venue of *Pooja Koottam*. Velappan (11/1/13), one of the organizers of this festival, told that Sarvajana School authorities had encroached acres of land of community where this program was conducted.

[11] Velayithan and Narayani revealed this information to me on11/1/2013.