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INDEGENOUS SOURCE MATERIAL FOR
HISTORICAL RESEARCH:

AN INTRODUCTION TO
THE KOLLENGODE COLLECTION OF RECORDS

P.K. MICHAEL THARAKAN

Centre for Development Studies
Trivandrum

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Introduction

The current situation with regard to source materials for historical research in India, is brought out very well by the editors of The Cambridge Economic History of India; which is quoted here:^{1/}

"The most extensive discovery and analysis of source material in recent years relate in fact to the seventeenth century. Again, we know much more about agrarian relations and aspects of manufactures and foreign trade than about agriculture, inland commerce, population or prices. Area-wise the northern part of the sub-continent is more intensively researched than the southern. In the case of the south, the researchers have been concerned more with the period down to the fifteenth century than with later developments. The gaps in our knowledge remain large and numerous. Given the nature of the known source material, some of these may never be filled. Quantitative data remain, and are likely to remain, scarce except for certain aspects of agrarian or trade history."

Historians have lamented the scarcity of Indian records on Indian affairs.^{2/} More precisely, and rightly so, as it has been pointed out in the Cambridge History, quantitative data seems to be more scarce

* I have followed the spelling which roughly brings out the most commonly expressed pronunciation, in the case of all the Malayalam terms.

** The indexing of these records was done by Shri.K.Thulaseedharan Nair, Superintendent in the Department of Archives, Government of Kerala, who worked in CDS on deputation. I am greatly obliged to him in the writing of this paper.

than other kinds of data. Perhaps rectifying to some extent such lacunae in the source material collection for historical research in India, and particularly in South India, and within that in the study of history of the Kerala region, is the substantial collection of primary records, donated very graciously by the Raja of Kollengode, (Palghat District, Kerala), to the Centre for Development Studies Library, (CDSL), at Trivandrum, in 1978.

This collection of records consists of 178 printed documents, 48 manuscripts, and 38 sets^{3/} of palm leaf^{4/} documents consisting of 10,713 separate documents. Of these, the printed documents and manuscripts are merged together and entered under the serial numbers RI to R 226, in CDSL. Out of the 10,713 palm leaf documents, 614 are damaged, in varying degrees. The distribution of palm leaf records and of those documents that are damaged, across sets, are given in table I.

TABLE I: DISTRIBUTION OF DOCUMENTS AMONG DIFFERENT SETS

Set Number	Number of palm leaf documents	Number of Palm leaf documents: damaged
1	93	1
2	43	39
3	147	1
4	160	2
5	203	0
6	390	5
7	113	1
8	372	2
9	259	14
10	360	13
11	205	0
12	179	1
13	201	0

TABLE I (Continuation)

Set Number	Number of Palm leaf documents	Number of Palm leaf documents: damaged
14	516	27
15	529	13
16	241	0
17	155	2
18	164	4
19	137	1
20	113	1
21	269	15
22	149	1
23	156	3
24	294	4
25	405	19
26	473	23
27	312	5
28	588	14
29	148	1
30	471	25
31	458	1
32	517	4
33	477	129
34	182	30
35	342	81
36	234	76
37	186	46
38	97	8
TOTAL	10713	614

Before looking at the details of the documents, we shall try to gather a picture of the family of the Raja of Kollengode, which had custody of them.

The family of the Raja of Kollengode

The traditions recorded by the family^{5/} traces their beginnings to a royal person named Dharmavarma, who belonged to the dynasty of 'Cheras', the rulers of ancient Kerala. Dharmavarma's son Hamangoda, who happened to be brought up to become a professional hunter, archer and warrior, by a black smith living near the Palghat gap of the Western Ghats, is supposed to have given the name Kollengode which literally means the land of the black-smiths, to the region which came into his possession.^{6/} At this stage of the legends, a sister of the King, named Dronavadi appears and it is from her son Vira-Ravi that the descent of the dynasty is traced, reflecting the matrilineal origins of this family as it was the case with most other families of chieftains in Kerala.^{7/}

The legends about Vira Ravi tries to trace the origins of the apparently high ritual status acquired by the Kollengode royal family. The story goes that Lord Indra, who was angered by some serious omissions by the Nambuthiris^{8/} who were preparing to perform their Srowthakriya, known as Soma Sacrifice, took away the Soma Latha (a creeper)^{9/}, Krishnaginam (deer skin), Khadrim (a kind of wood), and Koormapeedham (a seat for the priest), all essential ingredients of the yaga.^{10/} Moreover he is supposed to have carried away the three kinds of fires^{11/} essential for the sacrifice, and also cursed the Nambuthiris to forget the Mantrams which would elicit the fires. The lord Indra, seems to have developed second thoughts about the whole affair and apparently

returned the ingredients to Vira Ravi, who was instructed to keep them till the Sage Parasurama himself asks for it. Moreover Indra seems to have blessed the young prince with the following words:^{12/}

"Let a sixth part of the yaga performed by the Malabar Brahmins called Namboories go to you as an honour. Protect the Brahmins and the Cows and this entitles you to sit upon Koormapeedham along with the Brahmins. Conquer the five senses and make them your slaves and reign as Sage king; Walk not with bare foot (without sandals) lest you should bring curse and ruin upon your family and make the earth take fire. As a mark of respect, bow to the Brahmins and gods alone and to none else."

Vira Ravi, who was endowed with a pair of sandals, which he was enjoined to worship by Indra, got his privileges reaffirmed by the Sage Parasurama. As a result, according to the tradition^{13/} "the (said) Brahmins installed Vira Ravi with their mantrams as Indra on earth and accepted of his hands all the said ingredients and proceeded to perform the Yaga." The Rajas of Kollengode still retains the right to grant the ingredients for the Yaga,^{14/} and in a social heirarchy in which the Nampoothiris held the first position, became persons of social preeminence.

According to the family traditions, the Rajas of Kollengode were to conduct several rituals such as the workship of sandals, performance of Iyendravradam, and also conducting of Kanyarkooth in worship of Siva. There are also specific legends associating the family with the founding of Charapuram, as their headquarters and of the Kasyapa Kshetram or Kachamkurissi as one of the premier places of worship.^{15/}

The decline of this Swaroopam^{16/} is attributed to the period of ascendancy of Zamorins of Calicut and the political turmoil created by the intervention of the Portugese; by the traditions of the family. By this time the main family is supposed to have divided into three sub divisions, one occupying Vendavanad (in Pollachi Taluk), another occupying Tharpayar (in Erinjarakota) and a third branch occupying Thaliparamba (in North Malabar)^{17/}. When and under what circumstances did this family extend its control over areas like in Taliparamba is not made clear in the traditions. In any case all the extensive territories claimed for the family seems to have been lost and only the Vendavanad sub-division remained.^{19/}

Due to the end of Eighteenth century, a Venganad Nambidi by the name of Sakthan seems to have acquired some fame as a Sanskrit Scholar. He seems to have declared himself an independent prince by getting the Mallikhana paid directly to the Venganad palace by the British Governmen . It is this Sakthan Nambidi who started the practise of levying a tax on forest produces.^{20/}

After Sakthan, Vasudeva Raja in early twentieth century won some distinction, being conferred the title of Raja along with the Kaisherhind (Ceaser - i -hind) medal by the British government.^{21/} He was also nominated to the Madras Legislative Council in 1906. His membership of the Legislative Council was particularly marked by The Malabar Inheritance Bill, which he introduced in 1910,^{22/} claiming the right of inheriting self-acquired property by the immediate successors of a member of the Marumakkathayam Tarwad.^{23/} Vasudeva Raja was active in the landlords association, the Kerala Jenmi Sabha of which he was elected Vice-President.^{24/}

The traditions of this family which were apparently held dear by the succeeding members was described in brief as follows in the Malabar Gazatteer:^{25/}

"Kollengode is the seat of the Venganad Nambidi whose family claim descent from an ancient Kshatriya Raja named Vira Ravi. The name Ravi Varma is accordingly still affixed to the names of all the male members of the family. Their former dominions comprised eight amsams in or near Kollengode, and were eventually absorbed by the Zamorin when he conquered Naduvattam In this temple, (Kachamkurissi) ... all the Nambudris of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, have to receive from the senior member of the Venganad family as preliminary to the performance of a sacrifice, the moon plant, the skin of a black buck, and a piece of wood known as 'Karinkalli' (Mimosa Catechu). The Valiya Nambidi holds this right as the representative of Gandharva and in virtue thereof is prohibited from walking barefooted. He also has the right of entering the Srikovit of any temple, and of eating with Brahmins, though he does not wear the Punul. These privileges are supposed to have been conferred by Parasu Rama with the title of Nambidi, which is borne by the two senior members of the family."

In 1915, on a visit to Kollengode, one Mr. Clarke found two places and a guest house in Kollengode proper; which he has described in great detail. Most striking among the various sights he saw was perhaps the Hall of Audience, wherein it was found 'teak pillars support a shaped roof, and everywhere, on pillars, door-posts, cornicos, and capitals, quaint carvings inspired by Puranic legends.'^{26/}

In conclusion of this brief survey of both facts and legends of the family of Kollengode, we should point out that along with other Rajas and chieftains of Malabar region, Kollengode also lost whatever ruling right they enjoyed; to the British around 1792.^{27/} Since then, Kollengode remained as a large landowning family which had in early twentieth century, over 100 Square miles of arable land, and 150 Square miles of forests and hills.^{28/}

Some general observations

Before entering into a discussion of the source materials at hand, we may reflect upon some general characteristics of the documents. These documents taken together throw light upon the history of a feudal estate in Malabar, particularly in the nineteenth century, which would help us to reconstruct the history of relationships established by the family of the Raja of Kollengode with several groups of people, institutions etc.^{29/} Most of the palm leaf records are accounts. We get the statement of accounts, both income and expenditure, in money terms as well as in terms of paddy or rice; for several years in Nineteenth century, and also for some years in Eighteenth and Twentieth centuries. A closer scrutiny of the records is likely to unravel the unique features of the traditional accounting system practised in Malabar. Moreover it may also be pointed out that these accounts are of the Kovilakom (Palace) and of a Dewasom (temple administration) closely linked to the palace.^{30/}

Another interesting feature of these documents is that except for two clas all other documents are from a period later than 1790 A.D. In other words almost all the documents are from the British period in

Malabar. This is a surprising coincidence in the case of documents randomly selected from a general collection.

Another point to be noted in this context is that these documents are all either accounts of Kollengode palace and the Kochankurissi temple administration or communications from or addressed to persons of authority associated with these two institutions. In other words, these are essentially documents emanating from the ruling class of Malabar. There are hardly any documents which would offer a perspective different from that of the elite of a feudal order. Even otherwise writing of Kerala history is heavily dependent on Brahmanical and Royal inscriptions for the early period^{31/} and on official papers for a later period.^{32/} This might very well be true with regard to the writing of Indian History as well. As a result of the bias that is likely to creep in to histories presented on the basis of documents and other source materials originating from one particular group or class, there has been efforts recently to collect documents, oral testimonies etc. from the perspective of the subaltern classes.^{33/} This point is raised here only to caution ourselves that the use of these materials should not lead us to misrepresent the prevailing socio-economic and political reality in Nineteenth century Malabar.

Among the 10,713 olas in this collection, a rough estimate show that around 1593 olas pertain to land tenure, lease arrangements, mortgages, agreements on land transactions, rent received from leased out land etc. They do give us specimens of land deeds and agreements which were in use in Malabar at least over a century ago. An analysis of land tenures documented in these records^{34/} would give us a rare insight into terms and conditions under which leasing in and leasing out of land used to take place in that period.

Among the documents recording matters pertaining to land, we find, discussion on 35/ Pattacheetu, 36/ Pattom Ozhivu Kuri Adharam, 37/ Karar, 38/ Pattayadharam, 39/ Pattakanayadharam, 40/ Pattaycla, 41/ Kettu Pattom, 42/ Marupattom, 43/ Karar, 44/ Pattom Ozhivu Kuri Cheetu, 45/ Kudiyiruppu Pattom Ozhivukuri Cheetu, 46/ Kuthakapatta Karar Cheetu, 47/ Kudipatta Karar, 48/ Kadu Pattom, 49/ Panapattom, 50/ Kudipattom, 51/ Kadapattadharam, 52/ Marupatta Cheetu, 53/ Kudiyiruppu Patta Karar Cheetu, 54/ Parambu Pattom, 55/ Pattayadharam, 56/ Ubhaya Pattola, 57/ Ubayapattola, 58/ Karanam, 59/ Attiperola Karanam, 60/ Attiper Adharam, 61/ Vilavadharam, 62/ Jenmadharam, 63/ Jenmabhogam, 64/ Kutti Kanam, 65/ Keezhkada Kanam Polichezhuthadharam, 66/ Kanadharam, 67/ Vettu Kanam, 68/ Edakanom, 69/ Kanam Chamayam, 70/ Michavarom, 71/ Melcharthu Karar Cheetu, 72/ Polichezhuthu Adharam, 73/ Melcharthu Polichezhuthu, 74/ Nilam Polichezhuthu, 75/ Panavola Karnam, 76/ Panayadharam, 77/ Panayacharthola Karanam, 78/ Kada Vaypa Adharam, 79/ Nel Kada Cheetu, 80/ Kada Cheetu, 81/ Vaypakararu, 82/ Ozhimuri, 83/ Kadamuri, 84/ Ozhivu Kuri Adharam, 85/ Kai Cheetu, 86/ Keezhkada Kannkōla, 87/ Kudivivaram, 88/ Ubhayam Manyam, 89/ Kudiyiruppu Pattayolakaranam, and 90/ Dhanapramanam which is also mentioned as 91/ Vellolayadharam. Most of the usages denoting agreements on disbursement of agricultural produce and surplus, have now ceased to be in operation. Nevertheless their value in terms of helping to understand how a feudal tenurial system actually operated, cannot be overlooked.

Another rough estimate shows that around 588 documents in this collection deal with felling of timber, sale of forest produce, reclamation of forest land for agricultural purposes and related subjects. These documents deal with locations such as Kollengode, Palghat,

Vaniambadi, Noorani, Alambalam, Thathamangalam, Nellisserri, Old Kalpathi, Anamariyil, Adithyapuram, Nellithurai, Pallikara, Pollachi Mala, Pallassani (East), Pulikotta Vadakacheri, Puthukotta, Nelliampathi, Vengasserri, Perumalkovil, Kozhalmadam, Puthunagaram, Kannambra Kunnannoora, Naduvatta, Manjapra, Kongad and Dharapuram. Those documents are likely to be of immense value to a student of ecological and environmental history. This set of documents together with those pertaining to land tenures etc, do provide two sets of documentary evidence for a systematic empirical research into the economic history of the present Palghat district and neighbouring regions.

There is enough material in this collection to excite the interest of those who wish to work on social and cultural history of Nineteenth century Malabar. For instance, the various rituals, celebrations etc. that used to be held by the Kollengode family, both at the place and at the main temples and Kavus are described in detail in various documents. This included Ganapathi Homam, Thulam Vavu, Chitra Pournami, Gomapathi Puja, Makha Kazcha Adiyanthiram, Sivarathri, ^{73/} Sashti Sadhya, Thooku Vilakku Vazhipadu, Thiruvathira ^{74/} Uttu, Pindam Adiyanthiram, Navarathri, ^{75/} Thiruputhari Adiyanthiram, Thiruvonam, ^{76/} Bharani Mahatmyam, Annabhishekham, Thrikala Puja, Pooyam Theru, Bhagavathi Seva, Ashtami Rohini, ^{77/} Samkranthi Puja, Thulam Vavu, and Karkadaka Vavu. Besides these there were special celebrations and observations at specific temples like Pavakoothu ^{78/} at Vattekatu, Vilakkadiyanthiram at Peringottu Kavil, Puja Adiyanthiram for Karuppan and Mariyamman, Meenakshi Swayam Vara Seva at (Kachamkurissi) temple, making of Ornaments for the Kachankurissi Devan, Naveekarana Kalasam

at Bhagavathi and Muthukkal Kavil, Jeevomodharanam of Ramanathapuram Siva Kovil, making of Balalayam and Balabimbham at Mathilakam, Sethu Snanam at Rameswaram, Kalagam at Kovchan - Kurissi, Japa Dakshina at Kachankurissi, Puja at Guruvayur, Navakam Panchangavyamgam at Pulikott-ayappan Kavu, Vilakku at Pulikko+tayappan Kavu, Eswara Seva at Elavannur Kavu, reading of Ramayanam Sundarakandom from Medom till Chingom, Koothu Adiyanthiram at Bhagavathi Kavu, Paditharam to the Madura Meenakshi Amman Kshetram, and Arattu at Pulikotta Ayyappan Kavu.

Along with these, there were celebrations of various auspicious and festival occasions as well as of days of remembrance by the family such as Vishu Kai Neelom,^{79/} Thiru Nalu, Thiru Masom, Sanchayanam, Thirandu Kuli, Theeyatt, Narana Bali for Thirunal, Saharsa Bhojanam for Thirunal,^{80/} Dhanishta Santhi, Pallikettu, Kali Arangetram, Palli Vetta, giving of Onapudava, Grahapravesam, and Kettu Kaliyanam.^{81/} These celebrations and remembrances together must have cost a huge sum of money as well as of things. A study of the expenditure involved may give us a clue as to one of the major reasons for the eventual financial decline of the Kollengode Kovilakom. Yet, it may be pointed out that some of these celebrations had a built in provision for income as well. The role of such celebrations, at least in their original or more primitive forms, in redistribution of wealth is indeed a subject worth looking at more closely.^{82/}

Printed documents

In the set of documents under discussion there are a small set of printed documents, mainly in the English language. They number around 178. Giant share of them are publications of the governments

of India, Madras, Travancore and Cochin. The oldest document among them is a Malayalam Calender for Travancore printed in the A.D. 1850; (R165) followed by another Calender for Cochin for the year M.E. (Malayalam Era) 1046(A.D. 1870-71), published by the Government of Cochin (R166). These are followed chronologically, by two more documents of Nineteenth century, one on Nomenclature of diseases drawn up by a joint committee appointed by the Royal College of Physicians of London, published by the Royal College in London, in 1885, and another by J.Mills on Plain Hints of the diseases of cattle, published on its second edition in the year 1894.^{83/} The latest document is dated 1950.

Particularly useful among the printed documents are publications of the Madras Agricultural Department. This consists of reports of 13 different agricultural stations^{84/} under the department, for various years ranging from A.D. 1907 to 1918.^{85/} Along with these, are certain back issues of Madras Agricultural Journal,^{86/} and also two issues of the Journal of the Madras Agricultural Students Union Conference.^{87/} There is also available two numbers of Bulletin of the Madras Agricultural Department.^{88/} Forming a set along with these documents are two issues of the Wallagers' Calender for the years AD 1920-21 (R138) and 1929 (R178) published by the same department. Along with these, it may be read with benefit; an assorted collection of other documents such as, Annual Report for 1935-36, The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research (R100), Report on introduction of improvements into Indian Agriculture by the work of the agricultural departments (Calcutta, 1909) (R153), Agriculture in Venganad, 1916 (R129), Malappuram Agricultural Association Bulletin, 1906 (R 150),

and the second annual report of the Palghat division agricultural association for the Falsi or agricultural year 1906-07 (R 151)^{89/}

There are 16 documents pertaining to public services in India, in this collection.^{90/} This includes the Report of the Indian Police Commission, 1902-03, (GOI, Simla, 1903, R15) and the Summary of important matters concerning the Defence Services in India, 1935-36 (K.80). Similarly papers regarding Railways, mainly budget estimates of different railways in the country, constitute another 8^{91/} documents in this collection. Another classification that can be made is that of 24 Administration Reports, Almanacs and official calenders. Of these 6 are administration reports of Madras Presidency covering several years between A.D. 1901-02 and 1908-09.^{92/} For the State of Travancore we have administration report for one year, A.D. 1938 (R73); and Almanac and Directory for A.D. 1909, 1910 and 1920. (R 61, R63 and R62). For the State of Cochin one year's administration report, for A.D. 1936-37 is available (R89). Remaining 13 titles are Malayalam calenders (Panchangam) for Travancore, Cochin and Kerala (R165 to R177). This covers for stray years starting from A.D. 1850 for Travancore to the year A.D. 1946-47 for Kerala (R177). Evidently the most important among these are the administration reports which are unfortunately too few. Nevertheless the almanacs are also useful reference material.

Another set of documents that are likely to be found useful by a researcher is the collection of papers on land tenures. These papers are 15 in number.^{93/} Of these 2 documents are on Punjab and all others are on land question in Madras, Malabar and Cochin.

Most of the printed documents appear to have come from the personal collection of Vasudeva Raja of Kollengode. Though what is received by the CDSL are but a negligible portion of the total collection of the Raja, they nevertheless do provide substantial material to researchers.

Manuscripts

Much more interesting material is available among the manuscripts in the collection. Though palm leaf records are also manuscripts we use the term here specifically to denote the records on paper written with pen or pencil. Most of such records are account books which give details of payment of wages, salaries and other expenses of the palace and of the temple attached to the palace, and also gives details of agricultural operations. Each of these items does provide interesting information on a 'feudal' estate in the Nineteenth and Twentieth century.

IN CDSL, the documents R179 to R225 are accessed as Palace Establishment Registers, Payment Registers, Land Registers and Miscellaneous Registers. Most of them are account books. The method of entry in the account book registering payments of salaries, is as follows: At the beginning there is a statement of different persons employed by the palace, and also the monthly rate of salary/wages eligible to each one of them. This is followed by detailed statements of salary paid to each one of them, according to Malayalam months, with signatures of receivers.

The list of persons employed by the palace itself is interesting. There were 51 employees looking after different functions of

the palace, in the period, 1924-1952. This included Karivasthans (Supervisors) including Kalavara Kariyasthans (Supervisors of stock for cooking and related activities), typist, forester, peons, cooks, Valiyakarans (houseboys), person for measuring rice, person for collecting Michavarom (rent), person in attendance at the bed chamber of the Raja, person for cleaning utensils, gardner, sweeper, scavenger, mahouts, Vandikkaran, (person who drives a vehicle, most probably an ox-cart), chauffer, cleaner, milk woman etc., and even a Chattakaran^{94/}

The Palace establishment registers and the Payment registers together covers most of the years between 1924 and 1952. Salary entered in money terms seem to have ranged from Rupees 35/- per month for a supervisor to Rupee 1 and Annas 8 for the Scavenger and the Cleaner, in early years. By 1952, this seems to have gone upto Rupees 325/- per month to the supervisor (who had responsibilities attached to the forests too), while the lowest salary entered in the register remains to be Rupee 1 and Annas 8 for the Sweeper. Along with the Palace register there is another account book giving details of salaries paid to temple officials, as well as of donations made to various religious establishments. (R 206).

Another very useful document is R221 which is a miscellaneous account register for the year A.D. 1918-19. This gives prices of several commodities like ginger, plantains, coir, potatoes, Kothumbu, garlic, Sugar, soap, and candles. In 1918, according to this register Sunlight Soap cost 5 annas, Sugar for 4 pounds cost 3 annas and 8 paise, garlic for a Palam^{95/} cost 1 anna, and candles for 4 pounds cost 5 annas, while Sago was fetching 2 annas for 2 pounds in 1919. Similarly another account register, R214, gives the contract wages paid to masons

who worked on the construction of a Siva temple, in the year A.D. 1928. In R 219, another miscellaneous register, we get the prices fetched by the Palace in the year A.D. 1940, by selling paddy. ^{97/} Prices seem to have ranged from Rupees 32 to 43 per Vandi; ^{98/} sold to different persons and institutions including a rice mill in Pollachi. The year of sale is pertinent as it was a period of apparent shortage of food grains all over Malabar, leading to riots and uprisings led by the Karshaka Sangham. ^{99/}

There are two documents which are likely to be of immense help to an economic historian. One of them is R222 which gives details of Jenmom ^{100/} land held directly by the palace as well as those which are under sub-tenancies. Each tract of land is marked in this document by their respective names ^{101/} as well as by the survey number. This would be of great help to any one who wants to do detailed work on land and its produce in the Kollengode region. Even more interesting is R217 which is the monthly diary of a land agent named Venkiteswaran. The diary starts with a page giving detailed description of the various supervisory tasks assigned to him, followed in the next 12 pages with detailed descriptions of his movements. After this there are separate portions discussing the work undertaken on one Maramath project, on nine plots of agricultural lands, and on one cattle shed. ^{102/} Among these documents, R222 is for the year A.D. 1930-31 and R217 for the year A.D. 1925.

There is another entry which also bears the accession number R222, probably a continuation of the document mentioned earlier, which gives copies of letters issuing Verumpattom to different tenants during the year ME 1118-19 (AD 1943-44). The documents, R180 to R187 are all

land registers which contains useful information such as the name, survey number, rent charged or tax payed, of different plots of land. Together these manuscript documents are to be found extremely useful to economic historians.

Palm leaf documents

Of the three types of documents in the CDSL, received from Kollengode palace, the most important set certainly is the palm leaf documents.^{103/} They can be divided roughly into two categories, one pertaining to the palace (Kovilakom)^{104/} and the other pertaining to the temple (Dewasom)^{105/}. Among them in terms of antiquity, two records stand out. One is the document No.48 in the bundle No.38, dated ME 924 (A.D. 1749). This document gives details of a land deed.^{106/} Another is the document No.66 in bundle No.3, of the year A.D. 1777, giving details of collection of a toll.^{107/} Kollengode is a particularly interesting region since it is in the border between the present day Tamilnadu and Kerala States, thereby providing insights into different aspects of frontier life.^{108/}

All palm leaf records in this collection are in Malayalam, and the script is of the modern variety. Yet expertise is required to unravel the style of writing adopted; particularly in making out details of some abbreviations, as well as figures, measurements etc. used. The documents are indexed in the CDSL according to (1) bundle number (2) ola number (3) year (4) month (5) day (6) place to which main reference is made (7) nature of the document (8) whether the document belongs to Kovilakom or Dewasom (9) number of sides to the ola on which there is entry and (10) remarks. Systematic deciphering of these documents is yet to be done.^{109/}

The documents are stored according to the bundles. Therefore we shall give a detailed account of the documents according to the bundles.

Bundle 1

This bundle consists of 9 olas. Of these 7 olas refer to the dewasom. The earliest document in this bundle is dated ME 981. (A.D. 1806) (1/16). This is a petition from the Venganad Valia Nambidi^{110/} to the Sub-collector of Southern division. Another document of ME 993 (A.D. 1818) (1/92), is a petition to the Taluk authorities. Another document of ME 997 (A.D. 1822) (1/61) which is a receipt given to the Company Sircar is also found in this collection. In this **bundle**, documents dating from AD 1806 to AD 1873 are found. One set of documents in this bundle which demand particular attention is that of olas referring to various aspects of timber-felling. There are 11 olas of this category.^{111/} Among them, there are letters regarding the sale of timber, dispute over clearing of forests, contract for felling timber, as well as one document of instructions from the Malabar Collector on the felling of timber and bringing it downhill. This set of documents are likely to throw light on the policies of the then government and of the 'feudal' estate in deforestation in Malabar. We might also mention another interesting ola of ME 1043 (A.D. 1868) (1/21), which contains the notice regarding famine in Orissa and a list of donors to the famine relief.

Bundle 2

In this bundle except for one ola, the remaining 417 documents belong to the Kovilakom category. The documents are of between the years A.D. 1850 and A.D. 1862. Except for 34 documents from 2/384 to

2/418, all other documents deal with sealing of trees.^{112/} The sealing would mark out trees for felling. Therefore it is likely to give an area-wise distribution of tree felling for this period.

Bundle 3

In this bundle, except for 10 olas all the other 137 olas fall in the Kovilakom category. There are 20 documents of the Nineteenth and 1 document of the Eighteenth century. The one document of Eighteenth century is of ME 952 (AD 1777) on collection of a toll which is already mentioned. This bundle is in fact an assorted collection of documents, dealing with various subjects. One set of 8 olas (3/82 to 3/89) have to do with the English East India Company. They are either receipts^{113/} or deeds.^{114/} All of them fall in the period, A.D. 1824-25. Another document, 3/35, of ME 1029 (A.D. 1854) deals with a monopoly over trade in hill produce. Another ola in this bundle, 3/35, of ME 1002 (A.D. 1827) discusses the administration of the Swaroopam of Kollengode. Two other documents of interest in this bundle give specimens of a Janmadharam (3/25, of ME 999, or A.D. 1824) and of a Altipper Olakararam (3/27, of ME 992 or AD 1816)

Bundle 4

In this bundle of 160 olas, except for 2 olas (4/140 and 4/159, both of ME 1047 or AD 1872), all others belong to the dewasom category. The dewasom referred to in these documents is that of Thirukachan-Kurissi, the seat of the main deity of the Kollengode family. These documents give information on the purchase price of oil, jaggery, coconut and vegetables in the years AD 1871 and 1872. Another interesting information from this set of documents is the

wages of carpenters as well as the general expenses incurred for the construction of the Agrasala of the temple, in the year AD 1870 (4/1 to 4/18).

Bundle 5

Except for 5 olas (5/8 and 5/71 to 5/74) all the other olas in this collection of 202, fall in the category of Kovilakom. These are primarily documents referring to expenses incurred in the kitchen and also some giving details of temple festivals. There is one document, 5/154, of ME 1068 (AD 1893) which gives details of purchase of laterite. One set of documents (5/127 to 5/129 of the year ME 1068 or AD 1893) giving details of paddy land given on lease, as well as paddy lands directly controlled by the Kovilakom is likely to be of interest to students of economic history.^{115/} Mention may also be made of ola 5/195, of ME 1068/AD 1893; which discusses the commodities wanted for a Yaga, particularly the Soma, Karingali and the Krishnajeena Charamam. This bundle also has two documents (5/155 and 5/156) on the Ayurveda System of medicine.^{116/}

Bundle 6

This bundle of 390 olas do contain many documents of very useful information. The documents from 6/11 to 6/275 give monthly statement of money expenditure from the palace. There is also a document (6/378), without any specific date, which gives the account of expenditure incurred by the Raja himself.^{117/} Another set of documents from 6/276 to 6/353 give details of pattom and Michavarom due to the Kovilakom. Besides these two sets, there are also a few documents dealing with felling of timber. Except for 2 documents all others are from ME 1031 (AD 1856).

Bundle 7

All 113 olas in this bundle are falling in the Kovilakom category and do deal mainly with the Kollengode area ^{118/} itself. These documents come from various years between ME 972 (A.D. 1791) and ME 1046 (A.D. 1871). Almost all of them record lease agreements of various types; particularly of the Melcharthu variety.

Bundle 8

This bundle contains 372 olas; all of them recording expenses incurred by the Kovilakom, for rebuilding a palace after an incident of fire. Documents are of two years, AD 1856 and 1857. They give details of wages payed for carpentry work, separately for sawyers and carpenters. ^{120/} The bundle ends with a document (8/372 of ME 1032, or AD 1857) about the purchase of tiles. ^{121/}

Bundle 9

All the 259 documents except 9/257 of ME 978 (AD 1803) are of the dewasom category. Interestingly enough, most of these documents discuss the collection and remission of a dewasom tax. Since a tax is involved there are also letters from government officers like Parvathiakar, and also from the Company Sircar. It will be worthwhile to study this dewasom tax, which according to the documents in this bundle, fell within the period of ME 976 (A.D. 1801) and ME 1024 (A.D. 1849).

Bundle 10

Out of 360 documents in this bundle, 4 documents are from the dewasom category (10/352 to 10/355). All others are of Kovilakom. 310 of the olas are monthly accounts of money expenditure of the Kovilakom. The remaining 60 documents also deal with expenditure of various sorts.

Bundle 11

This bundle provides one of the most useful set of documents for a student of economic history. Except for the first two olas all the other remaining 203 documents are of the Kovilakom. 194 of these documents are of one year, ME 1045 (AD 1870), and they give detailed information of the income of the palace in terms of michavarom and pattom (rent). These documents deal with various places around Kollengode which makes them exceptionally valuable. Of these documents 11/196 is essentially an aggregation, by various items, of the income from michavarom and pattom. The documents 11/202, 11/203, and 11/204 give a list of those tenants who are to be subjected to polichezhuthu (renegotiation) and also a list of tenants who are yet to give michavarom. The bundle ends with a document (11/205 of ME 1049) which is a polichezhuthu deed.

Bundle 12

The 179 documents in this bundle are essentially a mixed lot giving mainly information on various functions conducted by the palace. These include rituals associated with death, marriage and birth in the family. This also gives us an insight into the scale of observation and expenses incurred by one of the leading families of Malabar on such occasions, around the middle of last century.

Bundle 13

The 201 documents in this bundle are from the Kovilakom, which again deal with different sort of expenses of the palace. We get information about celebrations like Bagavathi Seva, Ganapathi Homam etc. They are all from the years ME 1045 (AD 1872) and ME 1047 (AD 1874).

There is also an ola giving the description of making an Ayurveda oil (13/102, no date) and also another listing some literary works (13/201, no date).

Bundle 14

Of the 516 documents in this bundle, all deal with Kovilakom affairs. Of these, the first 133 olas give money income accounts of the Kovilakom, while olas from 14/134 to 14/395 give money expenditure accounts. Again, documents from 14/396 to 14/411 deal with money expenses incurred for the construction of Kachankurissi Kovilakom. Since these documents are of around A.D. 1851 it may be possible that the Kovilakom mentioned here was the one which caught fire, as revealed by the documents in bundle 8. This bundle has a document which discusses the purchase of clothes from one Manickam Patter (14/425 of the year ME 1036 or A.D. 1861) and another giving account of clothes distributed among the Cherumakkal.^{122/} There are also documents (14/474 to 14/477 of A.D. 1860-61) talking of payment of income tax.

Bundle 15

In this bundle, of 529 documents, olas from 15/2 to 15/178 are giving accounts of money income to the Kovilakom in association with the celebration of Maka Kazhcha Adiyanthiram. Olas from 15/178 to 15/471 deal with accounts of money expenditure. The remaining documents are mainly dealing with both income and expenditure in terms of rice and paddy, including salary payments. Both income and expenditure account of money are of the same year, i.e. ME 1035 (AD 1850). There are also three documents (15/510 to 15/512 of the year ME 1035 or AD 1850) discussing details of a survey done on agricultural land on the hills.^{123/}

Bundle 16

These documents numbering 241 are all dealing with the store attached to the kitchen of the Kovilakom, and are of the year ME 1070 (AD 1895).

Bundle 17

The 155 olas in this bundle refer to the years between ME 1075/A.D. 1900 and ME 1078/A.D. 1903. They give information on agricultural operations undertaken in lands directly cultivated by the Kovilakom. This is mainly expenses, including monthly salaries, paid in paddy.

Bundle 18

There are 164 olas in this bundle, all dealing with the years ME 1053-54 (AD 1878-79). These documents are essentially statements of accounts of expenditure incurred in constructing a building at the Kovilakom. Among other things, this bundle contains wages payed to carpenters, black smiths, and stone workers.

Bundle 19

This bundle consists of 137 olas from the years ME 1031-32 (AD 1856-57). They give mainly measurement of timber used for construction, in the Kovilakom. One of the olas 19/70, discusses the fixation of the auspicious time for Graharambham (ME 1031).

Bundle 20

The 113 olas in this bundle mainly deal with accounts of expenditure at Charapuram Kovilakom. There seems to have been construction in the palace itself and in a temple too. These documents are of several years between ME 1036 (AD 1861) and ME 1046 (AD 1871).

Bundle 21

This bundle having 269 olas, mainly consist of income and expenditure accounts expressed in money terms, of the Kovilakom for the year, ME 1038 (AD 1863). The main source of income as seen in this bundle of documents, is from the Maka Kazcha. The main two items of expenditure are the purchase of textiles to be given as 124/ Onapudava and the Polipanam given on the occasion of the Arangetam of Kathakali performance. 125/

Bundle 22

This bundle has 149 olas. Most of them deal with the expenses of the Store or Kalavara of the kitchen of the Kovilakom, in one year i.e. ME 1045 (AD 1875).

Bundle 23

This bundle consists of 156 olas; of an assorted nature. Most of the documents are found to be extremely useful. These documents consist among other things, communication from and to the Calicut Civil Court, Subordinate Court and Thenmalapuram Munisiff Court. It also has several communications from and to the Malabar Collector, Sub Collector and Assistant Collector. 126/ Among the communications with the Collector is found, one letter regarding the payment of 127/ Malikhana. There are references to a dispute within the Kollengode family. There is a communication from the leading people of the locality 128/ to the Taluk authorities regarding a dispute in the family (23/33 of ME 1031 or AD 1856). This dispute seems to have led the Elamurakar of the Kovilakom filing a case at the Magistrate's Court. We also see a petition from them to the Taluk authorities against the Valia Nambidi

himself.^{129/} One document in this set is an application to the Taluk authorities for allotting Kolkar^{130/} to maintain law and order on the occasion of Mangalya Dharanam in the Kovilakom (23/117, of ME 1033 or AD 1858). Another document is a petition submitted by the Swaroopathil Valyamma to the Taluk authorities requesting action to contain the troubles created by a particular Vasunni Thampan. Another ola, 23/66 of AD 1861 requests for police constables to guard the Kovilakom during the absence of the Raja from Kollengode, for some religious functions at Rameswaram. There is also an order from the Taluk authorities granting fire arms and bandobust for the occasion of ascension to the throne by the Valia Nambidi. (23/108, of AD 1857).

There are several documents in this bundle dealing with the rights of felling timber and also disputes arising over it. One of the earliest documents of this nature is 23/77 dating ME 993 (AD 1818). Another document (23/62 of ME 1031 or AD 1856) is a letter written to the Jama Banthi Kacheri^{132/} regarding the handling of hill produce of the principality.

One of the most revealing documents of this collection is 23/118 of ME 1033 (AD 1858). This document is a petition submitted to the Collector of Malabar against the efforts of the Valia Nambidi to evict his tenants from paddy fields and garden lands, by paying Vettu Kanom. Though not related, another interesting document in this collection is 23/143 of ME 1044 (AD 1869) which discusses the compensation payed for the land taken over for building Kollengode-Pollachi road.^{133/}

Bundle 24

This bundle having 294 olas is again an assorted collection.

Documents from 24/229 to 24/294 are belonging to the dewasom category. Of the remaining documents, from 24/120 to 24/227 give information on the portion received by the Kovilakom in its capacity as the ^{134/}Jemie from various tenant farmers to be passed on to the Government. These documents are all of the years ME 1047 (AD 1872) or ME 1048 (AD 1873) or ME 1049 (AD 1874). Since accounts of what is due and what is already collected from each tenant is given separately, it is possible to understand in detail, the working of the Jemie-Kudiyam system in South Malabar in the second half of the last century.

There is one ola 24/256 of ME 1000 (AD 1825) giving details of dewasom tenants, as well as of tax, Ubhayam, and rent due from them. Similarly another document, 24/229 of ME 984 (AD 1809) lists the garden lands given over ^{135/} for the purpose of conducting Puja at the Kachankurissi temple.

Bundle 25

This set contains 405 documents divided almost equally between Kovilakom and dewasom. There are documents on rents received, tax arrears of Kovilakom and also of measurements of timber felled for building a Pathayapura. ^{136/} The documents from 25/317 to 25/405 are all pertaining to conducting of a Yagam; including a letter from Sukapuram addressed to Venganad Nambidi (25/348 of ME 1039 or AD 1864). There is also a letter to the Pampumekattu Nampoothiri ^{137/} (25/405 of ME 1042/AD 1867).

Bundle 26

This bundle having 473 olas is certainly one of the most useful sets from a researcher's point of view. This bundle is like many others

mentioned earlier, a set of accounts. Among these, the documents from 26/133 to 26/119 (all of ME 1050 or AD 1875) give detailed accounts in Rupees of the share due from each individual tenant to the Kovilakom. Similarly documents from 26/196 to 26/286 are all giving details of rent accounts (all of the year ME 1052 or AD 1877).

Another set of documents in this bundle which attracts special attention is olas from 26/101 to 26/122. These documents deal with the years ME 965 (AD 1790) or ME 966 (AD 1791) and belong to the dewasom. These documents tell us about the details of Kanapattom arrangements granted by the dewasom before ME 965 (AD 1790) as well as the terms and conditions agreed upon in the Polichezhuthu of ME 966 (AD 1791). Along with these we also receive details of Melvaram fixed, and also accounts of debts incurred in favour of the dewasom before ME 965 (AD 1790).

Bundle 27

This bundle has 312 documents. All of them belong to the dewasom category. These documents refer to various years from ME 968 (AD 1793) to ME 1067 (AD 1829) and are mostly accounts of sundry expenses incurred by the temple. Among these olas there are three documents giving us details about; (1) Salary paid to the person who looks after the cows and oxen ^{138/} in the year ME 968 (AD 1793), (2) the salary paid to the person who conducted Puja in the same year, and (3) the wages (Presumably for persons who did odd jobs in the temple) paid in the same year. ^{139/} There is another ola 27/107, of the year ME 969 (AD 1794) which give account of the money income from a sale of coconuts.

Bundle 28

Out of the 588 documents, all falling in the category of Kovilakom, the olas from 28/1 to 28/558 are accounts of both income and expenditure, given in money terms. The remaining documents are also accounts mainly in terms of paddy or rice. The complete set of documents are of the year ME 1034 (AD 1859).

Bundle 29

The 148 olas in this bundle are all of the Kovilakom category. They give accounts of various celebrations in the Kovilakom, including marriage celebrations, in the years, ME 1046 (AD 1871) and ME 1068 (AD 1893).

Bundle 30

The 471 documents in this bundle are all of the Kovilakom category. They are mainly statements of accounts giving rent arrears, and tax payments, and also daily expenditure. There are also several documents giving accounts of money lent out as well as borrowed by the Kovilakom. This aspect of the Kovilakom's economic activities, as a moneylender, is certainly worth investigating. These documents are almost all referring to the years ME 1059 (AD 1884), and ME 1054 (AD 1879). There is also a document 30/323 of the year ME 1059 (AD 1884), which gives information on the paddy seed sowed in different paddy fields of the Kovilakom.

Bundle 31

In this bundle which has 458 olas, the first 286 documents are accounts of expenses incurred by the Kovilakom for a temple festival.

in ME 1047 (AD 1872). The remaining documents are of varied nature, including some documents on the collection of Pattom and Michavarom. In this bundle there is a document (31/317 of ME 1037 or AD 1862) which talks of the decision not to punish a temple servant for a crime committed. This is a clear evidence of the deciding role played by the palace over the temple at least in this period.^{140/}

Bundle 32

This bundle has 517 olas. Of this the first 113 olas ranging from the year ME 981 (AD 1806) and ME 998 (AD 1823) give, both in the case of paddy fields and garden lands, the measurement of land, pattom fixed, list of bearing trees etc. Of this, 32/1 is a settlement document of the dewasom for the year ME 981 (AD 1806). Documents 32/114 to 32/123 are all of the year ME 1028 (AD 1853) and give accounts of income to the dewasom. From 32/124 onwards the documents refer to the year ME 1041 (AD 1865) and give account of among other things, the pattom and Melvarom due to the dewasom.

Bundle 33

This bundle has 477 documents. They are all of the dewasom category. They are a set of accounts of the various expenses of the temple including monthly salaries paid. Among them, 33/132 to 33/146 are lists of tenants on temple lands in the year ME 1052 (AD 1877). We also get details of income to the dewasom from various rituals.

Bundle 34

The 182 documents in this bundle are all from the dewasom. They are mainly dealing with the construction at the temple; and give wages payed to carpenters and stone masons in the year ME 1026 (AD 1851). The wages paid are stated in accounts specific to construction of

seperate buildings like Vathilmadom, Asthivaram and Chittambalam. Besides these, there are documents giving statement of account of pattom and michavarom coming into the temple treasury, from the following villages: Kollengode east, Pulikotta, Perumalkoil, Alampalam, Payyallom, Kollengode Desom, ^{141/} Kachankurissi, Panengattiri, Pallavooru, There is also two documents (34/102, 34/104, both of the year ME 1035 or AD 1860) dealing with the collection of Panapattom in money terms, from the Kazhavamkadu Desom.

Bundle 35

The 348 olas in this bundle offer very interesting material. For the first time in these sets there appears a set of Mudraola, ^{142/} from 35/1 to 35/37. Among the documents in this bundle are for instance, those dealing with marupattom, vilavadharam, attipper adharam, kadamuri adharam, Qzhivu Kuri adharam, and ubhava pattom adharam. These covers among themselves, most of the different type of land transactions extent in Malabar in the Nineteenth century. Similarly olas 35/1 to 35/12 (of ME 1026 or AD 1853 and ME 1022 or AD 1847) do talk of the creation of new paddy fields in the hillside. ^{143/}

Another set of documents deal with the right on lease to build and run shops. ^{144/} Earliest among these is ola 35/78 of ME 995 (AD 1820). Similarly ola 35/181 and 35/190 (both of ME 1037 or AD 1862) also discuss similar arrangements. Another interesting set of documents are those which deal with the supply of water. These documents (35/175 of ME 1024 or AD 1859 and 35/179 of ME 1022 or AD 1857) which are apparently related to irrigational arrangements, are presented in the form of contracts. There is another document in which a request is made to the Taluk authorities for permission to let off water from a tank for agricultural purposes (35/290, no date).



In this bundle there are documents granting the right to tenants to beautify the front of their houses. This was a privilege which seems to have been granted only to a few (35/119 of ME 1007 or AD 1842; 35/122 of ME 1003 or AD 1838, 35/123 or ME 1009 or AD 1834 and 35/128 of ME 1009 or AD 1825). There are also two documents which are contracts entered into for the tiling of Kachan-Kurissi temple (35/132 of ME 1036 or AD 1861) and the Kovilakom (35/134 of ME 1036 or AD 1861).

In this bundle we also come across monopoly leasing of tamrind trees. (35/133 of ME 1039 or AD 1864 and 35/164 of ME 1044 or AD 1869). There is once again an ola which is a receipt for receiving skin and Soma for a Yaqom. (35/216 of ME 1043 and AD 1868). There are also several documents on the felling of timber from the hills. Among the forest produce specifically mentioned are bamboo and teak.

There is one ola (35/292 of ME 993 or AD 1818) which request the magistrate for granting gun powder ^{145/} for a celebration. Another document (35/310 of ME 995 or AD 1820) discusses the granting of a title to a carpenter. This bundle also has a document which gives wages payed for different agricultural operations. ^{146/} (35/242 of ME 1038 or AD 1863).

Bundle 36

There are 234 documents referring to the Kachankurissi temple in this set. Among them are accounts of pattom and michavarom income in money terms to the temple, in the year, ME 1040 (AD 1865). There are also some documents giving estimates made (especially of stones required) for the reconstruction of an old temple building at Pokunni. (36/77 to 36/83 no date). This bundle also have several documents

giving wages paid to carpenters. Similarly olas 36/230 to 36/234^{147/} give information about the donations subscribed for the conducting of Koothu at the temple. The ola 36/148 (no date) refers to the preparation of an Ayurveda medicine. There is another document (36/12 of ME 1040 or AD 1865) which talk about thorns being brought for making a fence. Yet another ola (36/69 of ME 1029 or AD 1854) is a settlement document with regard to Vengamaram.

Bundle 37

The 186 olas in this bundle are all from Kovilakom. The bundle starts with a document (37/1 of ME 977 or AD 1802) which give the daily statement of accounts in terms of paddy which comes into the palace as pattom. There are two other documents (37/5 and 37/18) both of the year ME 977 (AD 1802) which refer to an year's expenditure in terms of paddy of the Kovilakom, and an year's income in money. There is also a set of correspondence between the Raja of Kollengode and the Malabar Collector regarding the Malikhana payments.^{148/}

There are also documents giving insight into the various disputes in which the Kovilakom was involved. For instance, the olas 37/23 and 37/24 of ME 1037 (AD 1862) contain the Anyayam^{149/} filed in the Munsiff Court by the Elaya Nambidi against the Valiya Nambidi. Similarly the ola 37/32 of AD 1870 is regarding a dispute arising from the incident of cutting of timber from the border of the neighbouring Cochin State.

This bundle incidently also has several documents dealing with the felling of timber. Particularly interesting among them

are the following two: (1) 37/60, of ME 1044 (AD 1869), which is an application to the Taluk authorities for permission to extend cultivation by clearing forest and (2) 37/61 of ME 1044 (AD 1869), which is another application to the Taluk authorities for a grant for developing land newly reclaimed from forest. ^{150/} These olas are followed by another, 37/65 of 1869 AD regarding the question of maintenance of the path for bringing down tamber from the hills. Once again the question of path through which timber is taken to Cochin, is discussed in ola 37/156 of ME 1034 (AD 1859). Similarly the complaint against the "people of Cochin" who are alleged to have encroached upon the Kollengode forests is discussed once again in 37/154, of ME 1033 (AD 1858). Another document 37/127, of ME 1034 (AD 1859) addressed to the Conservator of forests discusses the cutting down of teak and rosewood.

Another set of documents in this bundle deal with transactions involving the Company Government, Vanganad Valia Nambidi and Parakkal Panku Menon. The earliest of these documents is 37/88 of ME 1004 (AD 1829) which is a Veppola karanam granted to Panku Menon by the Valia Nambidi. This is followed by 37/87, of ME 1013 (AD 1838) in which the Valia Nambidi enters into a sale deed with Panku Menon. This in turn is followed by 37/84, of AD 1845, in which the Malabar Collector ^{151/} gives a Pattayam to Panku Menon. One more document 37/79, of ME 1029 (AD 1854) which is also a pattayam given by the company sircar to Panku Menon, is also found in this bundle.

There seems to have been a census of bovines in Kollengode in the year 1050 (AD 1875, 37/90). In fact the olas from 37/89 to 37/95 discusses several counts of bovine stock in various places, and in years between ME 1079 (AD 1904) and ME 1083 (AD 1908). It is also

interesting to note that in the year ME 1033 (AD 1858) the Raja sent two tiger cubs to the then Sub-Collector (37/155).

There is a document without date, which is a request to the Collector for granting Melvarom (37/160). This is followed by 37/184 of ME 1034 (AD 1859), which is a petition to the Taluk authorities about those tenants who are not willing to Polichezhuthu of Michavarom agreements. This document, along with 23/118 from the bundle number 23, reveals the tension brewing in the agrarian sector of Kollengode in the nineteenth century.

Bundle 38

With this bundle which has 97 documents the set is complete. They are all of the dewasom category. Among them are several documents giving details of both paddy fields and garden lands which are given out on lease. This bundle has two documents which are exceptional. One is 38/48 of the year ME 924 (AD 1749), the earliest document in the whole set, giving a Pattayadhara Vivaram. The second is a document 38/97, of the year ME 1037 (AD 1862) giving the estimate made by Kanipayyur Namputhirippad, one of the leading architects in the traditional system of Kerala, for the rebuilding of Cherapuram Siva temple.

Conclusion

This collection of primary material do provide information on a variety of subjects. Among the different types of information provided, particularly useful are those pertaining to land transactions, palace expenditure and deforestation. The agrarian history

of Malabar region do throw up a number of questions which still remain unanswered. One could hope that materials of this type would help in our search for a deeper understanding of that history. Similarly the palace expenditure accounts along with income accounts are likely to throw light on the strengths and weaknesses of the Kollengode family's financial position. Similarly the documents on deforestation are likely to provide a picture dating back to the nineteenth century, of the location and pattern of loss of forest resources. This set of documents therefore are presented to the scholars who wish to study the modern history of Malabar.

Centre for Development Studies,
Trivandrum.

P.K.Michael Tharakan

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NOTES

- 1/ Tapan Raychaudhari and Irfan Habib: (ed) The Cambridge Economic History of India, Volume I: C.1200 - C 1750 'Preface', Orient Longman in association with Cambridge University Press, 1982, p.ix
- 2/ See for instance D.H.A. Kolff: 'Review of A.M.Serajuddin: The Revenue Administration of the East India Company in Chittagong, 1761-1785', in Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol.XVI, 1973, Pp 111-112.'
- 3/ Chooranas as they are normally referred to in Malayalam. When rearranged in the CDSL after indexing, the documents were not bundled together according to the original sets to which they belonged. The documents can nevertheless be identified as belonging to a particular set, and they are numbered separately too. Looking at the dates of some of the documents kept together, and the unrelated subject matter discussed in them it seems that there were mixing up of documents from one set along with those from another set. This could have happened only rarely.
- 4/ Ola documents, made of dried leaves of coconut palms, and some-time of palmyrah palms of the Karimbana palm. (See Logan: Malabar; Manual of the Malabar Districts, Govt.Press, Madras, 1906, glossary, p. xxiv). There seems to have been the use of palm leaf for documentation of official matters in Travancore at least till the end of the 19th century. (See for instance, E.R.Elenkath: Dewan Nanoo Pillay: Biography with his select writings and letters; Dewan Nanoo Pillay Memorial Reading Room, Neyyoor, 1975). Much more common was the use of ola documents for recording various affairs in the district of Malabar.
- 5/ K.G.Aiyamani: 'The traditions of the Venganad palace', (manuscript)
- 6/ The tradition ascribes 5 kingdoms having been granted to Hamangada, by the Sage Parasurama himself. See Ibid, p.8.
- 7/ For details of the matrilineal system or Marumakathayam as it was known in Kerala, its widespreadness among castes like the Nairs etc. See J.Puthenkalam: Marriage and the Family in Kerala, with Special Reference to Matrilineal Castes, University of Calgary, Calgary, 1977. For the details of the legal aspect of the system, see M.P.Joseph: Principles of Marumakkathayam Law, CMS, Press, Kottayam, 1918.
- 8/ Brahmins born and brought up in Kerala are generally called the Namputhis.
- 9/ The Soma latha is called the Moon Plant in English. The scientific name is Sarcostema Azidium and Sarcostema Brevistigma.

There is difference of opinion among scholars on whether the plant used in the Soma yagas in the Vedic period was the Sarcostema itself. Since Northern India is generally accepted not to be the place of origin of this plant, the Aryans are not likely to have used the same plant for their sacrifices. Max Mueller points out that plants like Ephedra, and Periploca might have been used as substitutes for Sarcostema. See Rashid Manakkatt: Soma Latha (Malayalam), Mathrubhumi Weekly, Vol: 62, No.13, June 10-16, 1984., Pp 14-15.

- 10/ K.G.Aiyamani: op.cit, p.14.
- 11/ These were known as Garhapathium, Shavanicum, and Dakshinagni.
- 12/ K.G.Aiyamani: op.cit, p.15
- 13/ Ibid. p.17
- 14/ See for instance; Frits Staal: Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar, 2 vols, Asian Humanities Press, Berkeley, 1982, for a description of how a yaga was conducted in Kerala in 1974.
- 15/ The palm leaf records particularly have several references to both Charapuram and Kachankurissi.
- 16/ The family traditions tend to describe Kollengode as a Swaroopam; or an independent kingdom. It may also be noted that Venganad do not figure among the list of 'chief Savarupams' of Kerala, given by K.V.Krishna Ayyar in his The Zamorins of Calicut, (Norman Printing Bureau, Calicut, 1938, Ch.I. p.1) but the Venganad Nampati do figure among the list of 'Feudatories, Naduvalis etc; invited to the Ariyittuvalcha' of the Zamorin. (Ibid. Appendix III, p.325)
- 17/ K.G.Aiyamani: op.cit p.22.
- 18/ The version in the tradition is as follows: Tharpayar was exchanged with the Rajah of Cochin for Elambila and some other places; while Thaliparamba was handed over to the Raja of Chirakkal. See Ibid. p.22.
- 19/ This branch of the family is supposed to have settled for a while in Mallisserry (near Annamara). During this period, a Rajah had the misfortune to live under disguise in Kuttipuram near Calicut; leaving the possessions of Venganad Swaroopam into the hands of the Zamorin. This put the Nampoothiries in great trouble as they were without a patron for their yagams. This prompted the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore to threaten Zamorin with excommunication on behalf of the Nampoothiries; which prompted him to relent. The Zamorin seems to have crowned the son of a royal sister who

was absennding, as the Raja with the title of Nambyadiri - Thirumul - pad, which in course of time came to be referred as Nambidi. This seems to have settled the relationship of Venganad as a feudatory of the Zamorin, which seems to have been the main reason for the 'kingdom' being not disturbed by the attacks of Tipu Sultan of Mysore. In the early period following the conquest of Malabar by the British, the Venganad Nambidi got only a portion of the Malikhana granted to the Zamorin. See Ibid. p.24.

- 20/ Venganad had extensive holdings of forest land which became a major source of income, as the palm leaf documents show. There was a practice of catching elephants from these forests too which seems to have reduced considerably in the twentieth century: Malabar District Gazatteers: Statistical Appendix for Malabar District, (by K.N.Krishna Swami Ayyar and ed by T.G.Rutherford) Govt.Press, Madras, 1933, Supplement, p.1xxiii. It was to "form a valuable source of income to the landowner" as in the case of Kollengode - See C.A.Innes: Madras District Gazatteers: Malabar (ed by P.B.Evans) Govt.Press, Madras,(1908) Rep. 1951, Ch.V, p.242.
- 21/ Vasudeva Raja was granted the personal title of Raja in 1901, and Knighted in 1925 - See C.A. Innes: Malabar, op.cit Ch.XV, p.470.
- 22/ The Speech of the Hon'ble the Rajah of Kollengode on the Motion for Leave to introduce the Malabar Inheritance Bill., Addison and Co., Madras, 1910. Also, George Joseph: 'The Proposed Social Legislation in Malabar', in the Indian Review, Vol. XI, No.1, January 1910, Pp 255-257.
- 23/ Matrilineal Joint family.
- 24/ See Memorial Presented by the Kerala Jenmi Sabha to the Right honourable Edwin Samuel Montague, P.C., His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, through H.E. the Governor-General in Council. Hoe & Co., Madras, 1917. Vasudeva Raja was the leader of the deputation which met Montague.
- 25/ See C.A.Innes: Malabar, op.cit Ch.xv, p.470 and also quoted in A.B.Clarke:, In Kerala, A Record of a Tour in the South of India with their Highnesses the Maharaja and Maharani Gaeckwar, June-July 1915. Lakshmi Vilas Press, Baroda, 1915, Ch.I., p.8.
- 26/ A.B.Clark: In Kerala., op.cit. Ch.I., p.15
- 27/ Malabar region came under British supremacy through the treaties signed at Swringapatam on February 22nd and March 18th, 1792. See C.A.Innes: Malabar, op.cit. Ch.II. p.71.

- 28/ The forest area was in demand for starting plantations. In 1915 the Raja of Kollengode had five European planters as tenants. A.B.Clarke: op.cit., Ch.I., p.9.
- 29/ See for instance, Alan Macfarlane: Reconstructing Historical Communities, (in collaboration with Sarah Harrison and Charles Jardine), CUP, Cambridge etc., 1977. as well as Stephen Henningham: 'Bureaucracy and Control in India's Great Landed Estates: The Raj Dharbhanga of Bihar, 1879 to 1950', in Modern Asian Studies, Vol: 17, part 1, February, 1983, Pp 35-55., and A.C.Mayer: 'Perceptions of princely rule: Perspectives from a biography', in Contributions to Indian Sociology, New Series, Vol. 15, Nos 1 and 2, January - December, 1981, Pp 127-155.
- 30/ "There are several temples in Kollengode, but none of them has any architectural pretensions. The most important is the Kachankurrissi temple dedicated to Vishnu and said to have been built by a great saint named Kasyapa Prajapathi Another large temple is the Kottambalam, dedicated to Subramania, which take its name from an old mud fort in the neighbourhood, the ruins of which may still be seen. In the neighbouring amsam of Payalur near the Pirali Bhagavathi temple is a stone platform said to have been used for the assembly of the ancient Sastrikars, the 36,000 armed Brahmans mentioned in the Keralolpathi" See C.A. Innes: Malabar op.cit., Ch.XV, Pp 470-1
- 31/ See for instance, Elamkulam P.N.Kunjan Pillai: Studies in Kerala History, N.B.S., Kottayam, 1970, as well as Veluthatt Kesavan: Brahman Settlements in Kerala, Historical Studies, Sandhya Publications, Calicut, 1978.
- 32/ Many works can be cited; for instance: K.M.Panikkar: Malabar and the Dutch, D.B.Taraporewala Sons and Co., Bombay, 1931, as well as most of the publications of the Kerala Historical Society, like B.Sobhanan: Dewan Velu Tampi and the British, KHS, Trivandrum 1977 and A.P. Ibrahim Kunju: Rise of Travancore: A Study of the Life and Times of Martanda Varma, KHS, Trivandrum, 1976.
- 33/ Ranjit Guha: (ed): Subaltern Studies I, Oxford University Press Delhi 1982.
- 34/ 760 different land tenures were extent in the neighbouring state of Travancore, They are listed under 8 broad headings viz. Pandaravaga (Government), Sirkar Dewasomvaga (Temple Administrations under Government Control), Kandukrishi (Conferred), Sreepadamvaga (Belonging to the family members of the Ruler), Ooranma Dewasomvaga (Private Temple Administration), Brahmaswomvaga (Belonging to the Brahmins), and Madambimarvaga (Belonging to the Barons) in Travancore Land Revenue Manual, (TLRM) Vol.IV, Land Revenue History, Govt. Press, Trivandrum, 1916, Appendix I: List

of Land Tenures. This list as well as the discussion of the history of various tenures in the Manual together would give us an idea of what each of at least the important tenures mentioned below, stood for. Important in this context is a note given in the Appendix, which is quoted below:

"It will be seen from the above statement that many of the tenures are common to the several main heads shown above. Leaving out the duplication of tenures due to these circumstances, the actual number of tenures under the several main heads aggregates 436. These in reality do not represent so many different tenures but only different names by which the several recognised tenures are known." (Appendix I. p. 858) What is said here about land tenures in Travancore is likely to be applicable for the tenures discussed in Kollengode records; as well.

- 35/ Pattah denotes "a document given to every land holder by the Sirkar at the Settlement, specifying the property and the tax due thereon". (TLRM op.cit Vol.IV Glossary, p.887) Here the reference seems to be Paatta derived from Pattom denoting both a lease as well as rent. It is given in TLRM, Vol. IV, Glossary, p.887 as "Standard assessment fixed for each land in reference to the tharm applicable to it," and in K.K.N.Kurup: William Logan A Study in the Agrarian Relations of Malabar, Sandhya Publications, Calicut, 1981, Glossary p. 123, as "Share of the produce of land due to officials and princes, later was due to proprietors." See also W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit Glossary, p 1-xxxii
- 36/ Cheetu denotes a note or receipt, just as Chitti which is another version of the same. This could very well be the Battuchitti which denotes receipt according to TLRM, Vol.IV, Glossary, p.887. It was also used to denote "A document given by the Sirkar to every person who is to pay the Nikuthi or public revenue showing the annual amount of Nikuthi he is to pay". See W.Logan: Malabar; op.cit, Glossary, p.1xxvii. also p.1xxxiv.
- 37/ Adharam denotes a deed distinctly of a higher order than a cheetu. The word Karanam was also used to denote a deed. (See TLRM op.cit p.882)
- 38/ Karar denotes an agreement.
- 39/ This literally means an ola or palm leaf document stating the details of a lease arrangement. It is derived from Pattam and Dravidian ola (Palm-leaf, deed). (pronounced as Pattola or or Pattamola also); meaning "a deed executed by the mortgagor in favour of the mortgages, making over certain rice-land to the possession of the latter in consideration of money received, called Kanappanam." See W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit., Glossary p.1xxxiv.

- 40/ Since the word Kettu denotes "what is heard" it could be a lease arrangement settled on verbal transaction.
- 41/ Marupattom is defined by Wigram, referring to Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary and Parameswaran Namputhiripad V. Ammuni Nayar (S.A. 1818 of 1897. Madras Law Journal Vol.1x, p.300) as a counterpart of a lease or deed executed by a tenant promising certain rent: (See H.Wigram: Malabar Law, and Custom, (Second Ed. Ed. by Lewis Moore), Higginbothams and Co., Madras, 1900, Appendix, Glossary of Terms, p.298)
- 42/ Kudiyirippu denotes the 'right for dwelling in a property by constructing one's own hut' as given in K.K.N.Kurup: William Logan, op.cit p.123.
- 43/ Kuthakapattom denoted "lease of Sircar land or trees either for a definite period or without limit of time; also lands under the Palliport Farm (near Cochin) which under the old system (i.e. prior to the revenue settlement at the end of 19th century) were given out on temporary lease for long periods." See TLRM, op.cit, Vol.iv. p.883. In this case the land belonging to the Kollengode palace may have been considered as equivalent to Sircar land.
- 44/ This literally means a lease arrangement involving Kadu or forest land.
- 45/ This could literally mean a lease arrangement involving Pana or palmyrah tree; or it could be a derivation of Panaya Patta Kulikannam: which means a deed of mortgage executed by the mortgagor in favour of the mortgagee for plantations, and differs in no respect from that given for rice, lands, except that it promises to give the Kuzhikanam, or the fixed value of the trees, and the Aliva, or the expense of preparing the garden, in conformity with the Desa Maryada or the custom of the village. See W. Logan: Malabar; op.cit; glossary, p.xxii
- 46/ A deed stipulating a 'rent on shops in bazaars', See TLRM, op.cit. Vol. IV, p.881
- 47/ Lease arrangement involving a 'garden or compound'. See K.K.N.Kurup: William Logan op.cit. p.124. A more elaborate description of Paramba is given as 'high land which is not capable of being in undated or irrigated artificially. It may be cultivated with Madan rice, the oil plant etc., or with coconut and other trees. See N.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit. App., p.300. Also See W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit, Glossary, p.1xxxii.
- 48/ Upto this all the tenures seems to be in one way or other denoting some form of lease arrangement; or in other words Pattom agreements.

- 49/ The term Ubhayampalisa is given in the TLRM op.cit, Vol. IV, p.889 as denoting "Interest due on money or grain borrowed from the Sirkar or the Sirkar Devaswoms by the ryots in times long gone by". It seems possible that the Ubayapattola mentioned here also have derived the name from some form of interest payment due on borrowing of money or grain, which was made over later into a rent payment. The term Ubhayapattam has been used to denote 'a lease of rice fields' as given in H.Wigram. Malabar Law, op.cit; App. p.302 and Ubhayan meant rice-fields in South Malabar, See W.Logan: Malabar; op.cit, Glossary, p.1xvi.
- 50/ Attiper according to the TLRM op.cit, vol. iv, p.879 denotes 'Absolute alienation of jenmom lands by a jenmi', but K.K.N.Kurup (William Logan op.cit, p.123) gives it as denoting 'freehold property'. It could mean both as for a land involved in Attiper transaction, except for a Rajabhogam due to the government remains, at least in theory, as something akin to a freehold. Logan says that the Jenmie 'cannot, after the execution of this deed, redeem the mortgage, and the relinquishment of the proprietary right is absolute under it'. (See William Logan: Malabar, op.cit, vo. I., Glossary, p. 1v) Similarly Wigram give the meaning of the term Attiper or Nir Attiper as acquisition by contract with water i.e. complete acquisition, a gift or transfer by pouring out water having been in former times in India regarded as complete or irrevocable, the idea being that the interest of the donor in the property passed away as completely and irrevocably as the water sank into the ground to appear no more" - (See H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, Appendix, Glossary of Terms, p.292-3)
- 51/ Vilayadharam must be meaning a transaction of land in which Vilayartham or 'Purchase money' (See TLRM, Vol. iv. p.890) has been paid.
- 52/ Janmam denotes 'an absolute proprietary right which is hereditary also' giving the base for the origin of the word Jenmie who is 'an absolute owner of land or proprietor'. (See K.K.N.Kurup: William Logan: p.123). According to Sir T.Madhava Rao, eminent statesman of 19th century Travancore, "a Jenmi does not derive his title to lands from the Sirkar etc. His title to the Jenmom lands is inherent. He is, so far as his Jenmom lands are concerned, a little traditional sovereign in a limited sense." An exception is drawn in the case of Madambimar (Barons) different from Nampoothiris and Dewasoms, by Shri.Sashiah Sastri, the then Dewan of Travancore as given in the Administration Report for 1048 and 1049 M.E. He says that "the 'Madambimars' are, in common are place also called Jenmies, though strictly speaking they are not, because their lands are sui generis, subject to the Rajabhogam whether in their own hands or alienated to others." TLRM, Vol.IV, Ch.I., Pp 3, 8. (Emphasiz from the original).

- 53/ Like the Rajabhogam which means royal dues, Jenmabhogam (Jenmabhogam) meant the dues to the Jenmie; or as put by Wigram "The share in the produce of the land which is due to the Jenmi" (H.Wigram: Malabar Law; op.cit. App. p.295)
- 54/ It meant stump money; which has been the basis of an "arrangement by which the landlord assigns on mortgage a tract of forest land, receiving a stipulated fee for every tree felled by the mortgagee; the entire number of trees to be cut down; and the period within which they are to be felled, being expressly fixed in the Karar entered into between the parties". See W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit, Glossary, p.lxxiv.
- 55/ Kanam according to K.K.N.Kurup (William Logan, p.123) meant a 'Mortgage or lease' which 'originally meant supervision or protection'. He quotes William Logan, who found in a detailed analysis of the evolution of the Kanom tenure that it was formerly the supervision or protection right. According to Logan a Kanakkaran was "attached to his holding on the Janmi in ancient times would not dare to oust him for fear of spreading insecurity and discontent among the Kanakkar who remained." (K.K.N.Kurup: Ibid. Ch.iii. Pp.29, 30). K.K.N.Kurup draws a distinction between Kanom and Kuzhikkanam. The holder of the latter tenure had been entitled to sell his possession and improvements. The courts in Malabar also recognized that a tenant making improvements on the soil had to be paid for them if deprived of his holding, which had become an 'accepted law throughout Malabar'. (Ibid.Ch.III, p.31) Professor M.G.S.Narayanan of the University of Calicut, in a private communication to the author dated 7th of May 1981, while agreeing with K.K.N.Kurup further explains the point by stating that Kuzhikanom signifies a concession to the tenant for improving the land by planting trees like coconut or mango. He implies that the term Kuzhikanom might have originated from Kuzhi, the pit in which coconut and mango saplings are planted; and calculated on the basis of the number of pits where plants are grown. In other words the Kanam in Kuzhikkanam is a payment to the tenant for his labour when the land is taken away, and in that sense not applicable to paddy fields. In this context Prof. Narayanan put forwards a suggestion about the original term Kanom. According to him, the term Kanam is used in later Cera documents for a gold weight, 10 Kanam equalling 1 Kalanu. Most probably the word Kanam is derived from the Prakrit form of Karsapana, a coin prevalent in ancient India, just as the Tamil and Tamil-Malayalam form of Kasu. Kanam tenure could be connected with the practise of the tenant (mostly high caste) giving gold to the landlord (individual or group) and receiving the right to cultivate the field. Another possibility is that Kanam in the context of tenure is derived from the word Kazhcha meaning tribute or payment to a superior. Either way, the tenant gets cultivating rights in the field (or garden land) after a payment in cash or gold to the proprietor. He has to pay the tenants due like any other tenant but he is, at least theoretically, entitled to get back

the cash or gold when the tenancy is relinquished. Thus tenancy appears to take on the character of a panayam (mortgage) the proprietor of land being the borrower in this case. This practise of a security deposit itself must have ruled out the poorer people from taking up tenancy. On the basis of this assumption, Prof. Narayan concedes that an assumption made by the author that Kanam ('Simple rent unencumbered with mortgage interest'. See K.K.N.Kurup: op.cit. p.124) tenure was superior in many ways to Verumpattom (which means literally as the "base rent; a simple lease, but usually so arranged as to lease a bare subsistence to the tenant) (See H.Wigram: Malabar Law: op.cit, App. p. 303) tenure, with the usual implications for caste-class heirarchy, may be true. Herbert Wigram gives a definition to the term, Ali-Kuli-Kanam, as Aliva (expense), Kuli (pit), therefore, the expenses of the tenant in improving land which are paid to him on determination of the lease' (See H.Wigram: Malabar Law op.cit, Glossary of Terms, Appendix, p.291). This falls closely to the definition of Kuzhikanom given by Prof.M.G.S.Narayanan. Mr. Wigram goes on to define the derivation of the term Kanom, (quoting Dr.Gundert) as from "the root Kanu and its primary meaning is that which appears or is visible, hence (visible) wealth or property". According to Gundert as stated by Wigram the meaning of Kanom are (1)possessions, goods, (2) Mortgage (3) Loan of money as equivalent for a mortgage and (4) Valuable consideration. The term Kanom Pattom is defined here as 'the rent payable by a Kanamdar: (which) does not usually exceed one-third of the net produce, while Verumpattam, is generally at least two-thirds'. (See Wigram: op.cit; p.296). Logan himself has given the explanation that 'the proper term for a Kanam deed is Pattamola or Pattola'. (See William Logan: Malabar, op.cit Vol.I, Appendix XII, deed no. 57, P. xvii, ft.nt.1 also Glossary p.1xiii) He also indicates that one of the earliest duties of Kanakkar was as overseers or protectors (Ibid. deed No.4, p.ix, ft.nt.4). Also see A.V.Mathew: The Law of Improvements and Compensation, Good Sheperd Press, Kottayam, 1939, Ch.III, Pp.31-32 for definition of Kanom and Ch. XII, p.184 for Kuzhikanom.

- 56/ Also used as Vettu Chamayam meaning "Compensation payable to a tenant for clearing and levelling land or in other words for tillages." - See H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App., p.303
- 57/ Literally meaning something or someone who stands in between. The word Edam or Idam also has the meaning of 'place' or 'House'. It also been used on the distinctive name of a house or palace occupied by a member of the family of the Palghat Raja. It is also sometimes used to denote the house of a Naduvali of consequence in Palghat taluk. (See H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App.p.294 and also W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit, Glossary, p.1viii) But it does not seem to bear any such connotation here in the context used.
- 58/ The term Chamayam is defined by H.Wigram as literally meaning to prepare. He further states in explanation that generally the expense of improving land, used specifically for fixtures as opposed

to Kulikur, plantation, and Vettukanom villages. Kila Chamayam, expenses of cultivation, Pina Chamayam, expenses of building - See H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App. p. 293.

- 59/ Share due to the landlord generally but as the TLRM, op.cit p.884 says with regard to the term Melvarem "this term is used in different senses in the old accounts, to represent the Sirkar tax, Rajabhogam or assignment". A clearer definition is given by Wigram as "the balance of pattom or rent payable to the Janri after the interest on the money lent or advanced by the tenant has been deducted." - See H.Wigram: Malabar Law; op.cit; App. p.298. See also W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit, Glossary, p. 1xxxiii.
- 60/ 'The eviction of a tenant in favour of a new one' as given by K.K.N.Kurup: op.cit. p.124. See also A.V.Mathew: The Law: op.cit, Ch.XVI, p.261.
- 61/ Polichezhuthu means generally a renegotiation of a lease. See P.K.Michael Tharakan: 'Migration of farmers from Travancore to Malabar; from 1930 to 1960: An Analysis of its Economic Causes', Unpublished M.Phil Theses, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, 1977, part II, p.54 and also M.K.George Paikkatt: 'Mudakayavum paschima Dewasom Bhoomium' (Malayalam), Souvenir of the All India Agricultural Industrial Science Exhibition, Civic Centre Committe, Mundakym, 1969. It literally means "to tear up a writing: 1. A renewal of a lease. 2. The fee paid to a proprietor on the periodical renewal of a lease." See H. Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App.p.300 also see W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit, glossary, p. lxxxvi.
- 62/ A rice field (H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App.p.299) of Dravidian origin which means ground, soil, rice field. Which means particularly rice land; means also a field having a distinct name, and having many Kendams or divisions of banks for the convenience of irrigation. See W.Logan: Malabar; op.cit, Glossary, p. lxvi.
- 63/ Panayam means a mortgage. See K.K.N.Kurup: op.cit, p.124. It would also mean "A pledge or pawn - when used of land; if usufructuary, it is generally called Kari-panayam or Kolu-panayam; if hypothecatory, Todu-panayam or Chundi-panayam." See H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App. p.300. Also see W.Logan: Malabar; op.cit, Glossary, p. lxxxii.
- 64/ & 65/ Both the words Kadam and Vaypa means a debt or borrowing. Kada could also mean a shop.

- 66/ "A memorandum or note. It is used especially to denote a document executed to a landlord by his tenant" - H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App.P.295
- 67/ Kanakola means a palm leaf document on which accounts are written.
- 68/ Seems to be details of tenants.
- 69/ A plot of land leased out for building purposes. H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App. P. 297. It has been held within the Travancore usage that the tenant is not having any permanent interest on house sites which are let out on Kudiyiruppu tenure. See A.V.Mathew: The Law: op.cit, Ch.iv p.61. See also W.Logan Malabar; op.cit, Glossary p.lxx.
- 70/ Pramanam also means a agreement or deed and Dhanam means a gift made; so literally this term could mean a gift deed.
- 71/ There is also reference to Kannomma which could be a term relating to land tenure.
- 72/ Perhaps a study in contrast with a 'commercial' agricultural estate in Travancore, as portrayed by documents of a similar period could be thought of. The author has established access to the documents, mainly land-related, of the Ezhupunna Parayil Tharakans at Aroor. In fact, an exhaustive search for similar document collections in Kerala, is likely to unearth very valuable historical source material. The Department of History, University of Calicut has managed to collect several sets of documents of similar nature. An effort of the order like that of Professor V.D.Divekar has done for Maratha history is what is called for. (See for instance, V.D.Divekar: 'Survey of Material in Marathi on the Economic and Social History of India', I in The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.xv, No.1, January - March, 1978, II in ZESHR vol.xv, No.2 April - June 1978, III in ZESHR, vo. xv, No.3 July - Sept. 1978, and IV on ZESHR, Volxv, No.3 October - December, 1978. It would also be instructive to read V.D.Divekar: 'Private Archives in the United Kingdom Relating to India and Problems in Consulting them', The ZESHR, Vol.xiv No.4, 1977, Pp.561-565)
- 73/ "Mahasivaratri or the great night of Siva, is celebrated by the Hindus in Kumbham (February - March). It is supposed to commemorate the day on which Lord Siva consumed the deadly poison (Kalakatavisham) to save the world from destruction. In all Siva temples the day is celebrated by the offering of special Pujas and abishekams and the conduct of cultural programmes. The latter is intended to help the

devotees to keep a complete or partial vigil on this holy night."
 - A.Sreedhara Menon: Cultural Heritage of Kerala, An Introduction, East-West Pub: Pvt. Ltd., Cochin, 1978, Ch.6, p.69.

- 74/ "Thiruvathira falls in the month of Dhanu (December - January) and is a Nair Women's festival par excellence. It commemorates the death of Kamadeva, the Cupid of Hindu Mythology ---- Thiruvathira is a day of restricted fasting and women avoid the ordinary rice meal on this day, taking only chama (panicum - muliaccum) or wheat" - Ibid, Ch.6, pp 67-68.
- 75/ This festival "is dedicated to Devi, the Divine Mother and is celebrated in the month of Kanni (September - October). The Hindus of Kerala celebrate these days primarily as Saraswathi Puja. Saraswathi is worshipped as the Goddess of Learning" - Ibid. Ch.6, p.68.
- 76/ 'Onam the most important national festival of Kerala, falls in month of Chingam (August - September). It is the harvest festival of Kerala ". Ibid Ch.6. p.64.
- 77/ Ashtami Rohini, the birth day of Sri Krishna, is celebrated in the month of Chingam (August-September). On this day devotees throng to the Krishna or Vishnu temples where special prayers and cultural programmes are held. See Ibid. Ch.6, p.69-70.
- 78/ "The Pavakoothu or the play of dolls belongs to the class of puppet plays From their great antiquity in China, in the course of trade relations and cultural contacts, the shadow play was carried to the Indonesian Islands, Siam and India and it is not generally known that a form of puppet play has long prevailed in Malabar which shows a remarkable parallel with similar shows elsewhere in South India. Its religious association is its most striking feature with the Indonesian parallel, and a most puzzling one, for while in Kerala it should be performed only outside the Kali temples, it cannot be held within the very precincts of the temple" See M.D.Raghevan: Folk plays and dances of Kerala, Rama Varm Archeological Society, Tridhur, 1947, Ch.III, Pp 39-40.
- 79/ Vishu is a national feast in Kerala falling on 1st Medom (around 10th April), on which day annual fees are presented. It also is the New Year's day for Malabar Hindus, so a presentation of money to make the new year auspicious is also called for - See H.Wigram. Malabar Law, op.cit, App; p.303.
- 80/ Feeding of 1000 persons in celebration of a birthday.
- 81/ Tali-Ketu-Kalyanam was 'a mock marriage ceremony gone through by Nair girls in childhood'. See H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App. P.302.

- 82/ For an interesting study of social rituals, particularly of a more primitive nature, within such an explanatory framework, see Marvin Hariss: Cows, Pigs, Wars and Witches, Foutana, New York, 1977, and also Marvin Hariss: Canibals and Kings, Random Book House, New York, 1979.
- 83/ Another title of interest in this connection is that of Manual of the more deadly forms of Cattle disease in India, 1903, Govt. of India, Calcutta, 1904. (III3rd Ed.). (R86).
- 84/ (a) Anakapalle (b) Bantanahal (c) Bellary (d) Coimbatore (e) Hagari (f) Koilpatti (g) Manganallur (h) Nandyal (i) Palur (j) Samalkotta (k) Sirvel (l) Taliparamba.
- 85/ R 101 to R 112
- 86/ of volumes 24 (1936) and 37 (1950), (R 113 to R 120).
- 87/ for the years 1916 and June 1928.
- 88/ No. 63 and 64 (R 134)
- 89/ Such documents may be collected for a compilation on the history of Agricultural science in our country, something in the lines of Margaret W. Rositer: A list of References for the History of Agricultural Science in America, Agricultural History Center, Univ. of California, Davis. For a review of the work see Carroll W. Pursell Jr; in Technology and Culture, Vol. 24, No.4, October 1983, p.715.
- 90/ R2 to R7, R15, R42 to R51, R 57 and R58, and R80, covering several years ranging from AD 1903 to 1938.
- 91/ R8, R9, R32 to R35, R68, R81 and R151 covering several years from 1911 to 1936.
- 92/ R9, R23, R24, R25, R65 and R68.
- 93/ R72, R77, R79, R91, to R99, R122 to R127, R140, R152 and R155, covering stray years between AD 1904 to 1925.
- 94/ Literally meaning a person who wields the whip; probably a sheperd.
- 95/ Outer cover of the coconut flowers. Though it is a commercially traded item right now it is indeed a bit surprising that there was a market for this item as early as 1918-19.

- 96/ Derived probably from Dravidian "palam (= ripe fruit) fruit especially of trees." - also meaning profit or compensation. Under the name of Kaval-phalam or compensation the Zamorin seems to have charged a tax of one quarter of a Viray fanam upon every para (rice measure) of seed land in Palghat region alone. (See W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit., Glossary, p.lxxxvi). This meaning of the word may have some bearing upon the term used as a measure in this context.
- 97/ 'There is a considerable trade in paddy and timber with Coimbatore and Pollachi, and other important industries are coarse weaving, the manufacture of grass mats and bell-metal work', See C.A.Innes: Malabar, op.cit Ch.xv, p.470.
- 98/ Per cart
- 99/ See T.V.Krishnan: Kerala's First Communist, Life of 'Sakhavu' Krishna Pillai, Communist Party Publication, N. Delhi, 1971 and A.K.Gopalan: In the Cause of the people, Reminiscences, Orient Longman, Bombay etc. 1973, Ch.12, 13, 14 and 15.
- 100/ Land over which allodial rights are claimed. It had the meaning of "Birth, birth right, hereditary proprietorship; (and) 2. freehold property which it was considered disgraceful to alienate" - H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App.p.295.
- 101/ In Kerala each plot of land, particularly garden (dry) land has a name which is traditionally used to identify.
- 102/ Such documents throwing light upon different aspects of agricultural practises are of immense value for a historian. For instance See Everett E. Edwards: "Agricultural Records; Their Nature and Value for Research", in Agricultural History, Vol.13 No.1, January 1939, Pp 1-13 and Guy A Lee: 'The General Records of the United States Department of Agriculture in the National Archives', in Agricultural History, Vol. 19, No.4, October 1945, Pp 242-249, particularly the section discussing "Fiscal and Property Records, 1914-40", Pp. 248.
- 103/ To draw a rough comparison with the approach of research herein suggested, one might read Joseph S.Chafer: 'The Wisconsin Domesday Book: A Method of Research for Agricultural Historians', in Agricultural History, Vol.14, No.1, January 1940, Pp 23-33.
- 104/ Palace, dwelling place of the Malabar Royal families - H.Wigram: Malabar Law op.cit, App., p.297.

- 105/ Meaning a temple property or a temple. See H.Wigram: Malabar Law op.cit. App. p.297.
- 106/ Pattayadharavivaranam
- 107/ The term used is Chunkam meaning toll or custom. Customs - land and sea - upon imports and exports, are said to have been only $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 percent, while some feel them to have been as high as 10 percent Naduvalis were also entitled to inland customs. See W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit, Glossary, p. lxxxix.
- 108/ See C.A.Innes: Malabar: op.cit, and Fulmer Mood: 'The Concept of the Frontier, 1871-1898: Comments on a Select list of Source Documents', in Agricultural History, Vol. 19, No.1, January, 1945, Pp. 24-31, for a discussion of the origins and development of the frontier concept.
- 109/ Deciphering is expected to be done as and when interested persons make out specific requests for the same.
- 110/ Another term, much more commonly used for the, "Reignig" Raja of Kollengode. Nambidi is the term for "an inferior class of Brahmins"; who follow the Marumakkathayam system of inheritance - (H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App; p.299) See also the explanation given for the origin of the term in the ft.nt. 19.
- 111/ They are 1/7, 1/19, 1/22, 1/40, 1/43, 1/49, 1/51, 1/52, 1/83, 1/85, 1/87.
- 112/ Chapa Kuthuka
- 113/ Kaichoetu
- 114/ Adharam
- 115/ Such documents are perhaps to be included in compilations on scientific literature from traditional systems and societies as for instance, in a study like A.Rahman: 'Science and Technology in Medieval India. Introduction to a Bibliography of Source Material in Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian', in Cressida Transactions, Vol. I No.1, Summer 1981, Pp 187-199.
- 116/ A Comparison with Albert V.House, Jr. "The Management of a Rice Plantation in Georgia, 1934-1861, As Revealed in the Journal of Hugh Fraser Grant" Agricultural History, Vol. 13, No.4, October 1939, Pp. 208-218; may not be too much out of place.
- 117/ Thrikaivaravu Chilavu Kanaku

- 118/ The area around Kollengode has been divided into a division known as Hobali which literally means a division of a district; a term introduced into Malabar by the Muslim rulers of Mysore - See W.Logan: Malabar; op.cit, Glossary, p.lix
- 119/ Melcharthu was one of the means through which the landlords of Malabar could deny their tenants of their rightful gains. This was one of the causes for the Moplah uprisings in Malabar. See, Sukbir Choudhary: Moolah Uprising (1921-23), Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1977, Ch. II, P.15.
- 120/ In Kerala, there are different gradations and even subtle hierarchies within the general profession of carpentry. See Gilbert Slater: Southern India, its Political and Economic Problems, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1936, Ch.xvi, p. 173.
- 121/ Tiling of buildings were rare in Kerala, but it picked up after tile making was introduced in these parts by the Basel Mission. See K.K.N.Kurup: "Significance of the Studies based on the Archival Collections in the Mission House in Basel with Special Reference to Kerala", Journal of Kerala Studies, Vol.V, Parts III and IV, December, 1978.
- 122/ Cherumakkal was the term used to denote members of an inferior caste in Malabar, who are, as a rule, toilers attached to the soil. (See H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App.p.293) " It is supposed to be derived from Cheru: soil and makkal - children: Children of the soil or sons of the earth. Others say from cheru small, and makkal, children indicating that they are to be treated as young children by their masters. "See William Logan: Malabar op.cit, Glossary, p.lvii.
- 123/ Malencheruvile Krishikalude Kandezhuthu Vivaram
- 124/ There is a custom of presenting new clothes on Onam, to the near relatives.
- 125/ This is another custom of giving presents on the occasion of first performance; in this case, of a Kathakali troupe raised by the Kollengode family.
- 126/ To see how letters can be used as source material for historical research, see George C.Osborn: 'Plantation Letters of a Southern Statesman: John Sharp Williams and Cedar Grove', in Agricultural History, Vol. 21 No.2, April 1947, Pp. 117-127 and John L.Shorer: 'Depression Letters from American Farmers', in Agricultural History,

Vol.36, No.3, July 1962, Pp. 163-169. Within Kerala, the letters exchanged between emigrants and their relatives and friends do provide an excellent source material for reconstructing the history of early migration of farmers from Travancore to Malabar.

- 127/ Malikhana was the privy purse paid by the British Indian Government to chieftains and Rajas retired of their administrative responsibilities. The term seems to have been derived from "what is due to the Malik or proprietor when deprived of the management of his estates". See H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit, App. p.298. In Malabar it meant one fifth or 20% of a fixed revenue of the former countries of the dispossed Rajas. See W.Logan: Malabar, op.cit. Glossary, p. lxxv.
- 128/ Nattu Kariyasthanmar
- 129/ Refer 23/48, 23/57, 23/59 all of ME 1031 or AD 1855
- 130/ 'Peons', according to William Logan: Malabar op.cit. vol.I, Ch.IV, p.664.
- 131/ Wedding
- 132/ Occasional account inspection.
- 133/ It was followed in the twentieth century, with a railway connecting Pollachi with Palghat, covering 33.45 miles and having a station at Kollengode, opened for traffic in 1932. See Madras District Gazetteers, op.cit, Supplement, p.xxvi.
- 134/ Nikuthi Jenma Bhogam 'Janmabhogam is the share of the net produce due to Government as landlord on lands, the janmam right of which belongs to Government. In accordance with Mr.Warden's proclamation of 1805 it is fixed at two-thirds of the assessment on wet lands, and at the same rate on the assessment on gardens. On dry lands it is also equal to the assessment" See C.A. Innes: Malabar op.cit. Ch.xi, p.365.
- 135/ Most probably by the Kovilakom
- 136/ Storehouse for grains.
- 137/ Centre of Sarpa Puja and Nagaradhana in Kerala
- 138/ Mattukaran
- 139/ They are 27/100, 27/102 and 27/103 respectively.

- 140/ See for instance K.K.Kusuman: Kerala Charithra Padangal (Malayalam). K.H.S. Trivandrum, 1976, Ch.I, "Etarayogam", for a discussion of the role of the royalty in temple administration.
- 141/ Sub division of an amasam. H.Wigram: Malabar Law, op.cit App.P.294 Originated from Sanskrit meaning a region, country and perhaps a Parish of the English variety. See W.Logan: Malabar op.cit. Glossary, n. lviii.
- 142/ Official registration paper
- 143/ Pazhayadi Pallayil Nilam Vetti Undackal. The reasons for this operation is not clear; yet it is certainly a deviant behaviour to the general lack of dynamism in the agriculture of Malabar as described by Thomas W. Shea, Jr: "Barriers to Economic Development in Traditional Societies, Malabar, a case study", in Journal of Economic History, Vol.xix No 4, December 1959, Pp 504-522.
- 144/ Peedika.
- 145/ Vedimarunnu
- 146/ Kalappa Vettal, Kozhu Undakkal, and Vellum Thakkal. Also see M.atchi Reddy: 'Wages Data from the Private Agricultural Accounts, Nellore District, 1893-1974' in The Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.xvi, No.3. July - September 1979.
- 147/ first document of the year ME 1056 or AD 1881, the rest have no date
- 148/ These are of the years ME 1042 (AD 1867, 37/26), ME 1032 (AD 1857, 37/27) and ME 1010 (AD 1835, 37/29).
- 149/ A petition on the basis of a grievance
- 150/ This is another evidence of dynamism in Malabar agriculture.
- 151/ This is Mr. Conally who happened to be the highest ranking British casualty in the Moplah revolts and after whom a canal is named in Kozhikode. He was the District Magistrate of Malabar and provisional member of council, See. C.A. Innes: Malabar, op.cit, Ch.II. p.80.

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