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Dynamics of Trade, Faith and the Politics of Cultural Enterprise in Early Modern Kerala

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Intensification of maritime trade in the Indian Ocean from the eleventh century onwards and the hectic commercial transactions that happened in Koualm Mali (Quilon), Shingly (Cranganore), Pantalayani Kollam,[1] were followed by gradual proliferation of subsidiary markets and *aṅṅāḍis* in inland parts of Kerala.[2] Very often, many of these vibrant markets appeared in and around the headquarters of the fourteen divisions of the Cēra rulers, and later when the chieftains of these divisions started asserting autonomy and power of varying degrees on the collapse of the Cēras of Mahōdayapuram in the twelfth century,[3] many of these markets grew along with the augmentation of consumption requirements of the rulers and the evolving political houses. The nuclei of several of the primary and secondary towns of present-day Kerala can be traced back to the major sites of power and wealth that each chieftain and his political house conveniently set up or banked upon during this period in each division in an effort to carve out an independent principality. The collapse of the Cēras of Mahōdayapuram was followed not only by the evolution of smaller principalities and political structures of various nomenclatures like *svarūpaṃs*, *nāḍuvāḻis*, *dēśavāḻis*, *kaimals, karttās,* etc. (indicating the fragmenting nature of authority-structure) across the length and breadth of Kerala,[4] but also by the evolution in

*For a detailed discussion on the meanings of early modernity in India, see Pius Malekandathil, *Indian Ocean in the Making of Early Modern India*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2016.

each principality of different types of markets of varying economic importance and the eventual formation of various types of temples and other brāhmaṇical institutions in and around the newly emerging local power centres of these principalities, towards which brāhmaṇas linked with the former power centres of the Cēras started moving in order to meet the various ritual- and power- related requirements of the newly emerging power hubs.

As many of these principalities, particularly those located in the mid-upland parts of Kerala, did not have enough low-lying land space for regular paddy cultivation, they were sustained mainly by what came from the cultivation of spices, coconut as well as areca nut in each locality. Though seasonal cultivation of rice was carried out along the slopes of small hills and in terraces made in the lower parts of such upland terrains, what was thus locally produced was insufficient to feed the population of most of these principalities and hence rice was imported in most parts of Kerala from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Orissa and, at times, from Bengal as well.[5] These grain traders used to take back mostly pepper from Kerala as their return cargo. Eventually, those principalities that could produce more pepper, and supply it in the most accessible types of markets, attracted more traders, and along with them, a large variety of return cargo.[6] The principalities with bases in or accessibility to mid-upland terrains having considerable pepper-growing hinterlands under their control, with the ability/potency to supply better quality and large volumes of pepper for meeting the growing trade requirements, started evolving as predominantly powerful political entities. In these processes, Ēṟanāḍŭ (the initial base of the Neḍiyiruppŭ *svarūpaṃ*), Angadipuram (the capital of Vaḷḷuvanāḍŭ rulers), Vanneri near Ponnani (the initial power base of the Peruṃpaḍappŭ *svarūpaṃ*), Koratty (the capital of the Koraṭṭi *kaimal*), Alengadu (the power base of Māññāṭṭŭ Accan), Edapally (the capital of Iḷaṅṅalūr *svarūpaṃ*), Kothamangalam and l at er Muvattupuzha (the initial bases of the Kīḻmalaināḍu rulers), Kaduthuruthy and later Thodupuzha (the capital of the Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ rulers), Kottayam and Kanjirappally (the bases of the Tekkuṅkūṟŭ rulers), Poonjar (the capital of Pūññāṟ rulers), Kudamaloor (the capital of Ceṃbakaśśēri rulers), Pandalam, Karunagappally, etc., emerged as major inland centres of power around which principalities carrying sizeable power and political prominence crystallized and expanded.[7] However, by the end of the thirteenth century, the chief of Neḍiyiruppŭ *svarūpaṃ* shifted his capital from the agrarian enclave of Ēṟanāḍŭ to the maritime trading centre of Calicut and the chief of Peruṃpaḍappŭ *svarūpaṃ*

transferred his headquarters by the beginning of the fifteenth century from land-locked Vanneri to the newly emerging port area of Cochin with the intensification of trade in the Indian Ocean, obviously with the intention to appropriate a portion of the surplus coming from trade for political advantages.[8] Meanwhile, the new political developments in the mid-upland regions also made many brahmans from low-lying paddy cultivating zones, which earlier were the prime centres of power and culture (probably till the thirteenth century), move towards new power hubs located in many cases in mid-upland terrains of Kerala. With this process, the waves of bhakti tradition of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, which had earlier spread across the low-lying paddy-cultivating zones of Kerala with the proliferation of temples and brahmanical concepts of God during the period between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries,[9] started seeping into the mid-upland parts of Kerala, particularly to the new power centres of the emerging principalities, through the agency of the immigrant brahmans from wet-cultivating zones, who often absorbed and transformed several of the local religious traditions and practices, besides attaching, at times, new significance to the already existing religious symbols, sites and institutions. This gained momentum from the fast circulation of the devotional literature of Ceṟuśśēri, Eḻuttaccan and Pūntānaṃ in mid-upland terrains, which was in turn facilitated by the wealth accruing from intensified maritime trade and augmented pepper production in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in mid-upland parts of Kerala, where their consumers developed a variety of literary genres, art forms, theatrical performances and cultural endeavours so as to meet and address the growing requirements of the audience created by the 'culture of bhakti'. These cultural pursuits were patronized and supported by the chieftains of the principalities, which resulted in their popularization. This helped the proliferation of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in mid-upland regions and the increment of the political clout of the patrons of these cultural endeavours, in an age when principality chieftains were contesting through different mechanisms, including cultural projects, for asserting their superior positions in early modern Kerala.

Contours of Trade

With the augmentation of trade traffic in the Indian Ocean, the major ports that made available pepper and other spices from the distant

hinterland to the overseas merchants also became the nerve centres of intense trade, out of which Koulam Mali (Quilon), Shingly, Pantalayani Kollam, Chaliyam and Mount Eli emerged as the prominent ones from the eleventh century onwards.[10] The Jewish traders who were linked with Fatimid Cairo and whose commercial details can now be obtained from the Cairo Geniza,[11] established an extensive network of trade along coastal south-western India. One of the principal destinations for the Jews involved in long-distance trade was Quilon, which was known differently as 'Kurakkeni Kollam' in Malayalam,[12] 'Koulam Mali'[13] in the Geniza papers and in Arabic sources,[14] as well as Gu-lin (in the Song period) and Ju-lan (in the Yuan period) in Chinese documents.[15] The Jewish merchants started expanding to Fandarayna (Pantalayani Kollam near Koyilandy) and Madayi (in north Kerala)[16] for the purpose of conducting commerce. In the Jewish letter of 1139 CE, we find Jews conducting trade in Fandarayna with the cooperation of Sheikh Abu 'l-Hasan b. Ja'far and using the ship of Pattanaswamikal. Khalaf b. Isaac b. Bundar, the writer of this letter, states that he had taken in the vessel to Bab al-Mandeb about one and a quarter and an eighth *bhar* of pepper from Fandarayna in Kerala.[17] The Cairo Geniza papers show that the profit which the Jewish traders used to bag from pepper trade was enormous: in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, pepper that was bought at a price of 5 dinars per sack by the Jewish traders from Kerala[18] was sold between 45–52 dinars at Aden,[19] at 135 dinars in Cairo[20] and 130 dinars at Maghreb.[21]

Meanwhile, the Rasulids of Yemen had also developed faith- and trade-related linkages with the major centres of maritime trade along coastal India in the thirteenth century from coastal Gujarat to Coromandel,[22] which was a complex system of networking, in which the Rasulid sultan used to pay stipends, as a form of salary, out of the customs house of Aden to about sixty *qadis* (judge) and *khatibs* (preachers responsible for delivering sermon (*khutba*) at Friday noon prayers) of the major mercantile-cum-religious enclaves of coastal India. As per the information from 1290s, the major centres of the *khutba* and *qadi* networks operating in Kerala or its vicinity and connected with Yemen were Lamibasur (Abusarur or Basarur/ Barcelor), Bud (Buddfattan or Pudupattanam), Hili (Mount Eli), Harqiliya (Kasargode), Jurfatan (Cannanore), Fandarina (Pantalayani Kollam), Manjalur (Mangalore), al-Shaliyat (Chaliyam), Fakanur (Barkur), Nur Dahbatan (Dharmapattanam or Dharmadam),[23] Qa'il (Kayal or Kayalpattanam), and Haram al-Malibarat (Koulam Mali or Quilon(?).[24] It is worth noting

that the solidification of many power houses and principalities of Kerala happened at the same time as the intensification of its maritime trade and the consequent flow of cargo it drew from the hinterland tentatively from the thirteenth century onwards following the increasing trading activities of the Rasulids,[25] the Chinese and also the al-Karimis. The latter were the mercantile allies of the Mamluks of Egypt and their networks of trade often merged with those of the Venetians in the Mediterranean. Plying of direct ships of the Karimi merchant Ibrahim from Calicut to Jiddah in 1422 is referred to by Walter J. Fischel.[26] Al Ibn Muhammad Kalyubi was mentioned as one of the richest Karimi merchants, who used to conduct trade between Calicut and the Mamluk ports of Egypt in the second half of the fifteenth century.[27] It was against the intensified trade of the Karimis between Calicut and Egypt that the Mamluks declared pepper monopoly in Egypt in 1428.[28] Meanwhile, Chinese trade had also become intense by the third quarter of the thirteenth century, particularly in gold, silver and copper cash, iron ware, male and females slaves, silk thread, satins, gold brocades, provisions and military equipment. However, in 1296, the Yuan (Mongol) rulers prohibited the export of gold and silver from China, and there was strict restriction and regulation on Chinese trade with Ma'bar (Tamil coast), Kulam (Koulam Mali or Quilon) and Fandarina (Pantalayani Kollam near Koyilandy), which brought down the value of Chinese trade to the small sum of 50,000 *ting* worth of paper money.[29] However, this sluggish phase did not continue for long and with the accession of the Mings in China, Calicut became one of the major commercial destinations of the Chinese traders in the first part of the fifteenth century, particularly when it was incorporated into the larger maritime endeavours of the Mings under Cheng Ho. The Chinese naval commander Cheng Ho travelled as far as Mogadishu and Melinde during 1405–33 with a navy consisting of 27,800 men and a fleet of 62 treasure ships supported by approximately 190 smaller ships.[30] Out of the seven expeditions of Cheng Ho, Calicut and Cochin were his main commercial destinations in India and the two famous T'ien-fei inscriptions in China (1407–9) mention that Calicut was the most important destination of Cheng Ho's second voyage.[31]

The Portuguese documents of the initial decades of the sixteenth century refer to the volume of trade in Calicut and Cochin, which were the major pepper ports of then Kerala. Initially, the Portuguese used to take about 1,04,920 kg. of pepper (1501) from the pepper port of Cochin, [32] which increased to 30,000 quintals by 1505/6,[33] whose value was around 79,800 *cruzados* in Malabar; however, in Portugal, it fetched

them 6,60,000 *cruzados* [34] and the difference out of this transaction was 5,80,200 *cruzados*.[35] Though this cannot be considered as the actual profit as one has to deduct the transportation cost, protection cost and other costs of risks to get the exact figure of profit, it indicated tentatively the nature of profit that the Portuguese used to bag on an average basis. In 1516, the pepper export from Calicut was 10,20,249 kg.[36] Recent researches have shown that though the forceful interventions of the Portuguese helped to create a port hierarchy in the south with Cochin evolving as the central, pivotal pepper port and the other Portuguese-controlled pepper ports as supportive feeding ports for their trade, the Portuguese managed to take only 18,000 to 20,000 quintals of pepper annually to Lisbon (40 per cent) out of the total 16,000 *bhars*[37] (i.e. 41,280 quintals or 26,69,280 kg.) that was produced in Kerala in the 1520s. Out of the remaining produce (about 5,00,490 kg.), 19 per cent went from the production centres through the ghat routes to Coromandel ports, 25 per cent for trade in different Asian markets including the ports of Persian Gulf and Red Sea, while about 4,17,075 kg., i.e. 16 per cent of the total production, was used for domestic consumption.[38] A great share of pepper thus circulating through these diverse ports finally moved through the medium of the Marakkar traders of Malabar towards the Red Sea ports of the Ottomans and the markets of Safavid Persia rather regularly.[39] Thus even during the times when the Portuguese made attempts to trade monopolistically, the connectivity with the traditional caravan routes was maintained by the local Muslim merchants and this further increased when the linkages and connectivities with the coast and pepper-producing hinterland got intensified in the later decades of the sixteenth century. In 1587, Ferdinand Cron, the commercial agent of the German mercantile houses of the Fuggers and the Welsers in Cochin, writes that about 3,00,000 quintals of pepper were produced annually in India,[40] which when compared with the figure of 1520s shows an increase of 600 per cent in the hinterland of Kerala during a gap of sixty years,[41] which is also suggestive of the economic modification of the hinterland on the basis of the huge demand from the circulatory processes in the Indian Ocean. The significant increase in pepper production is further supported by Francisco da Costa who spent thirty-five years as a Portuguese official for pepper trade in Cochin, and according to his calculation, the total production of pepper in 1603 was 1,00,000 *bhars* or 2,58,000 quintals.[42] Though pepper production increased in the hinterland by 600 per cent, only 3.10 per cent of the total produce went to Europe for trade by the end of the sixteenth century, while 15.50 per

cent was consumed domestically.[43] The remaining pepper, i.e. about 81.40 per cent, was trans-shipped to the markets of the Mughals, Ming China, Safavid Persia and the Ottomans.[44] Despite the use of forces, the Portuguese could not appropriate control over spice trade, as the flow towards various Asian markets was much more than the volume that flowed to Europe.

In the seventeenth century, when the Portuguese and the Dutch were competitively trying to procure pepper from the various ports of Malabar, we get a picture of increasing supply of this cargo for these European powers, for dispatch to Asian and European markets. In 1626, the Zamorin offered about 3,000 *candis* of pepper from Calicut to the Dutch at the price of 28 *realen* per *candi*.[45] During the same period, the Portuguese managed to procure 11,11,228 kg. of pepper from Cochin.[46] The volume of pepper trade of the Dutch from Cannanore was 96,717 Dutch pounds in 1668, which increased to 1,19,411 Dutch pounds in 1672. It was 1,34,672 Dutch pounds in 1681, and 6,92,917 Dutch pounds in 1700.[47] In 1671, the Dutch port of Galle in Ceylon received 9,74,400 Dutch pounds' worth of pepper from the various ports of Malabar.[48] This tentatively shows the nature of trade happening at the major maritime trading centres of Kerala during the period between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Arteries of Trade and Networks of Faith

The highly stimulated maritime trade and the consequent flow of wealth from trade back to the hinterland in different forms started considerably affecting the religious-cum-social processes, local politics and cultural manifestations of the geographies coming under pepper cultivation and trade. With the intensification of trade, the economic connectivity of ports of Kerala with the dispersed pepper-producing hinterland got intensified, accelerating frequency of travels and reducing the isolation of various localities and places. In fact, the human habitations were relatively scattered and mutually detached earlier during the age of feudalization and increasing ruralization, which caused a vast space of wilderness to evolve between agriculture-based human settlements.[49] However, frequent movement of commodities and people from the hinterland to the coast and vice versa, from the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries onwards, for reasons of trade and faith, helped to integrate distant places and their economies with the market systems and major ports on the

coast, often by way of fluvial traffic and occasionally via the terrestrial routes that finally intersected with the riverine channels. Nevertheless, the overcoming of the wilderness and the obstacles of forest terrains located between the scattered human habitation was a gradual process involving great amount of risks, not only because of the presence of wild animals and bandits, but also because of the mental blocks created by stories of 'haunted geography' being circulated about such spaces of wilderness by those social and economic players linked with the brāhmaṇical world who wanted people to confine their movements and activities only within the settled agrarian space in which there was a well-defined format of power structure, based primarily on the nature of relationship with land, and with a large number of intermediaries and subordinates below them.[50] With the fast dissemination of brāhmaṇical concepts of God through the bhakti movement of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, there was an attempt to depict many of the previous folk deities of the region and popular perceptions of god, including Cāttan, Maṟuta, Māḍan, and Yakṣis, as negative forces or diabolic entities, and their mutation and transformation from gods into personifications of malice, vengeance, and wickedness (as evil gods and goddesses) went hand-in-hand with the transformation of their very worshippers into pliable subordinates or subservient agrestic labourers and menial workers.[51] Concomitantly, the space of wilderness was very often projected with a negative significance, as something possessed by the Yakṣis, as most of the folk stories of the period used to indicate.[52] Some of these sites and locations with dense trees and apparent wilderness were locations of non-brāhmaṇical shrines and sacred places of the Jains and the Buddhists. The Jain concept of sacred space associated with Yakṣi was redefined and represented as a space of negativity and of a tempting blood-sucking seductress against the background of a changed scenario, stemming from the social engineering and the brāhmaṇical interpretations of reality, obviously to drain the source of wealth of Jainism, as the new power groups did also with Buddhism during this period. The apparent purpose for the spread of such stories of Yakṣis was probably to keep traders and travellers away from the sacred sites of Jains, which were then located along many of the trade routes and were visible as groves or collectivity of trees. We find many places along trade routes being mentioned in folklores as haunted by Yakṣis like Yakṣipaṟaṃbŭ (on the way from Irinjalakuda to Trichur) in the story of Kāladiyil Bhaṭṭatiri,[53] the land routes (mentioned in the story of Kaḍamaṟṟattŭ Kattanār) near Kadamattom on the banks of river Muvattupuzha, which was the major river channel through

which pepper and other commodities were taken from Kīḻumalaināḍŭ and the northern parts of Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ to Cochin.[54] The mental block stemming from fear of Yakṣis eventually spread to the spaces of actual wilderness as well, which had earlier evolved as a result of centuries-long isolation of human habitations during the age of feudalization and increasing ruralization.

The intensification of demand for pepper and other cargo from the hinterland for maritime trade increased the need for overcoming these obstacles of wilderness and the multiple dimensions of fears associated with it for smooth flow of cargo. Different communities resorted to diverse mechanisms with religious connotations to bolster the 'sense of security and safety' and ensure psychological ease and comfort for the trader while travelling through routes having stretches of wilderness. This eventually led to the emergence of various shrines and sacred places of various communities along the routes through which circuits of trade were complimented by faith-related travels connecting the respective sacred shrines. For example, the belief that the Sufi sheikhs, whether they are alive or dead, could give protection to the travellers and traders passing through forest and wild spaces, facing odd and dangerous situations, as long as they remained within the spiritual *wilāyat* (jurisdiction) of the respective Sufi sheikh made many Muslim traders revolve their movements around Sufi *khānqāhs* and *dargāhs* for seeking blessings of the Sufi saint during the course of their journey through wilderness and risky spaces.[55] Consequently, we find the Muslim mercantile networks often getting converged in and around Sufi *dargāhs* as in the case of Peerumedu (whose name deriving from 'Pir' or 'Sufi sheikh' and *mēḍŭ* or 'hill' (Pir + medu) meant 'hill of the Sufi sheikh') located on the intersecting point of ghat routes from Thodupuzha, Erattupetta and Kanjirappaly and going to Madurai. The same is the case with the *dargāh* of Thodupuzha, located in the heart of its market, where Muslims from Madurai with mercantile background flock even today, which is suggestive of the very long-standing mercantile connectivities between Thodupuzha and Madurai; and the *dargāh* of Mudickal near Perumbavoor, which is located on the banks of Periyar, the major riverine channel for pepper transportation from the hinterland of the older kingdom of Kīḻumalaināḍŭ to Cochin. Though *khānqāhs* and *dargāhs*, which usually appeared in spaces of trade, were frequently seen along coastal Kerala in major centres of trade,[56] they also appeared along the major inland trade routes that connected the pepper-producing hinterland with the ports while the traders moved from place to place networking

dargāhs and other institutions of faith. The shrines of Muttappans in mid-upland terrains of north Kerala and the Śāstāvŭ *kāvŭs* in mid-upland sites of central Kerala acted as sacred spaces of Ezhavas involved in pepper production and trade. The fact that they are often seen along the traceable remnants of trade routes is indicative of the role these sacred shrines played in mobilizing resources for trade through the mechanisms of different festivities and also in conferring a 'sense of security' and a psychological perception of being under 'divine protection' to the travellers and traders on the move. Several trade routes of central Kerala also had churches of the pepper-producing-cum-trading community of the St. Thomas Christians of this region, as in the case of the churches of Kothamangalam, Muthalakodam, Aruvithara, Kanjirappally, etc.,[57] which were then located on one or another of the several trade routes running into Madurai from the inland markets of central upland Kerala. It should be specially mentioned here that many St. Thomas Christians of these places, particularly of Kothamangalam, Aruvithara (Erattuppetta) and Kanjirappally, were also actively involved in the pepper trade with Madurai and Dindigal[58] and it was the share of wealth that the traders used to offer in return for the 'protection' that they got during the course of the ghat-route trade with Madurai that made these churches rich and wealthy.[59] With the increasing movement of various communities into the interior not only for cultivating pepper but also for procuring it for trade, different religious institutions and sacred spaces of diverse natures evolved along the major channels of their movements as institutions bolstering a 'sense of security'.

Cannanore grew as a prominent port in the kingdom of Kolattiri as a result of a long evolutionary process relegating several of the previous prominent ports like Mount Eli, Kachilpattanam, Madayi, and Valarpattanam and making timely adaptations as to meet the demands and requirements of the new trading groups, besides the ability of the rulers and local merchants to make available pepper and other cargo in bulk quantity. The *Payyannūr Pāṭṭŭ* evidently refers to the nature of maritime trade and rich shipbuilding traditions of the merchants in Kachilpattanam.[60] The narrative of *Payyannūr Pāṭṭŭ* shows how the prominent merchant (Naṃbu Ceṭṭi) of Kachilpattanam married Nīlakēśi, the sister of grain merchants (*Kūlavāṇiyar*) and elaborates how she later wanted to take revenge upon her husband Naṃbu Ceṭṭi and Naṃbu Sariyaran, her only son (who had become a very successful ship-builder and trader, faring very well in his trade at Kaveripattanam), when she came to know that Naṃbu Ceṭṭi was responsible for the murder of

her brothers who had actually come to Pazhayannoor (Payyannoor) to enjoy the theatrical performance of *Kūttŭ*.[61] It speaks of the vibrant mercantile practices of the times including the rich tradition of book-keeping and record maintenance of the details of the money-cum-commodity transactions,[62] the use of weights and measures,[63] and also the mercantile journey of Naṃbu Ceṭṭi and his son Naṃbu Sariyaran from Kachilpattanam to Kaveripattanam and still further to Tanjavur via river Kaveri to buy rice in exchange for cash and then to Ponmala (Suvarnabhumi or South-east Asia?).[64] However, the thread of the story is made to take a twist in the sacred shrine of Trichur (*Pērūrayyan Peruṅkōil*), where both Naṃbu Ceṭṭi and Nīlakēśi prayed for three days and nights for getting a child and pledged to sponsor the theatrical performance of *Kūttŭ* as a thanksgiving service.[65] The story also elaborates the way successful traders transferred a portion of their wealth for meeting the expenses of the religious-cum-theatrical performances like *Kūttŭ* in sacred spaces, showing the myriad and intricate ways of convergence for the networks of trade and faith. In the course of time, Cannanore became a major maritime door through which horses from Ormuz were taken to Vijayanagara through land route across the ghat after paying 25 ducats as tax to Kōlattiris, who were also known as 'lords of horses'.[66] This was also the route through which pepper from the hinterland of Cannanore, including that from Wynaad, entered the interior of Karnataka in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were two routes that connected Cannanore with Srirangapattanam, the capital of the Wodeyars of Mysore; the first one was the Perambadi route, which passed through Irukkur lying within the domains of the Kōlattiris and the other was the Peria Ghat route passing through north Wynaad, controlled by the raja of Kottayam. Through these routes, the Wodeyars of Mysore obtained West Asian horses, spices and Dutch wares from Cannanore in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This ghat route was controlled both by the Wodeyars and the Kottayam rulers, and along the route via Wynaad, there were nine toll houses belonging to the king of Kottayam and six belonging to the Wodeyars.[67]

The major maritime trading centre of Calicut was connected with its vast hinterland through a network of rivers, the principal among them being Chaliyar and Kallayi rivers. The Kallayi River originating from Cherukkulathur and flowing towards the south-west connected the local markets and *chanthas* of Velliparamaba, Palazhi, Puthur, Iringallur, Kailamattom, and Pantheerakavu, where it is joined by a tributary of Chaliyar River. Pepper and timber were floated down to Calicut through

this riverine channel. It was through the tributary of Chaliyar which joins the Kallayi River that the extensive cultivable space, located on the banks of river Chaliyar such as Nilambur, Chungathara, Edavvanna, Edavannappara and Mavur, used to get linked with the Calicut port.[68]

However, a major share of cargo for Calicut's trade came from the pepper-producing enclaves located on the banks of Bharatapuzha. There were about 130 *kāvŭs* (sacred shrines belonging to non-brāhmaṇical segments) on either sides of Bharatapuzha itself. The Zamorin used to spend about Rs.25,947 and 52,808 *para* rice annually for the maintenance of these *kāvŭs*, which itself shows the importance they had in sustaining his programmes of power-inscription in the hinterland and mobilizing resources for his trading activities.[69] The *kāvŭs* and the shrines of Pallikkal, Palakotu, Thiruvaly, Chengottoor, Villoor, Puthoor, Panthaloor, Thrikkalangattoor, Thirumanikkara, Puthrukovil, Kalarikkal, Aliparambukalathil, Panankurussikavu, Thoothakkan Kavu, Oothrali Kavu, Vayillamkunnath Kavu, Panniamkurussi, Killikurussi, Akaloor, Murikkumpetta, Panamannakurathi, Chathamkandarkavu, Alangottu Cherukunnath, Perunthatta, Peruvalloor Kotta, Thirunavayi Ayyappan, Palppetty, Ariyambil, Kottamel Asura Mahakalan Kavu, Vengasserry Kavu, Pavannoor Kottalingan, Malamakkavu, Chundamakavu Vettathukavu, Ammancherry, Thrikkandiyoor, Nerunkaithakotta, Puthoor Tharackal Bhagawati, Thrikkandiyoor Vettakkorumakan, Kundukulangara, Cheruthura Kavu, Anthimahakalan Kavu, Ankali Amma, Pulikkottu Ayyappan, Pookulangara, Paruthipally Bhagavathi, etc., formed the most significant ones that the Zamorin used to support with finance and patronage in the attempts to extend his power and authority to the remote hinterland using cultural mechanisms, and mobilize resources for his maritime trade.[70] The long chain of non-brāhmaṇical *kāvŭs* along with the brāhmaṇical temples with their cyclical festal celebrations on monthly and annual bases by way of stellar reckonings used to stimulate the processes of agrarian production and artisanal activities, besides accelerating the various endeavours of culture oriented towards the 'fairs' and 'markets' of festal celebrations.[71] The cyclical festal celebrations of these *kāvŭs* and temples along Bharatapuzha and in the Zamorin's kingdom increased the need for more production, constant flow of commodities for trade for feasts, and thus kept the region economically activated, whose culmination finally happened with the pan-Kerala feast of Mamankam, which also acted as an economic motor facilitating the flow of cargo in a concentrated way through river Bharatapuzha towards Ponnnani and finally to

Calicut for the Zamorin's maritime trade.[72] N.M. Namboothiri argues that the Zamorin who resided in the Vakayoor Palace of Thirunavayi during Mamankam represented 'political authority' and the deity of Navamukunda Temple of Thirunavayi represented the centrality of bhakti; further, this happy merging of political authority with the divine at the Mamankam site was perceived to sanctify the market processes linked with domestic and maritime trade of the Zamorin and in that sense the festal celebration of Mamankam evolved as a devotional-cum-commercial dynamic force.[73] Concomitantly, with the shifting of the mercantile base of the Marakkars from Cochin to Ponnani in 1524,[74] there was an unprecedented flow of pepper and other cargo through Bharatapuzha to Ponnani, thus allowing it to evolve as the second capital and major maritime trading centre of the Zamorins.[75] Immediately after the defeat of the Marakkars and the execution of Kunjali Marakkar in 1600,[76] the Portuguese made efforts to buy the pepper reaching Ponnani through Bharatapuzha and in 1611, they bought 47,283 kg. of pepper from Ponnani.[77] However, eventually the Marakkars patched up their differences with the Zamorin and we find them jointly sending pepper from Ponnani to Mecca on 29 October 1624.[78]

An equally stimulated economic geography was seen along the river channel of Periyar, which originates near Sabarimala on the southern side of the Peerumedu Hills and has a length of 228.5 km. The waters of its tributaries like Mullayaru, Muthirapuzhayaru, Kuttampuzhayaru and Deviyaru make the Periyar navigable by the time it reaches the lowland; and early documents say that it was navigable from Neriamangalam downwards.[79] Ward and Conner refer to Neriamangalam in 1816 as 'an entrepot for the trade of both the coasts'.[80] The waters of Edamalayar merge into it at Bhoothathankettu and flow down through rocky terrain. At Alwaye, the Periyar bifurcates into two branches, out of which the southern branch again bifurcates with one branch flowing towards Verapoly, while the other merges into the backwaters of Thripunithara. However, the northern branch flowing from Alwaye merges with Chalakudy River at Elanthettikkara and flows towards Cranganore.[81] Along the sides of this river, a long stretch of civilizational belt is traceable from Cranganore up to Poyka (present-day Vadattupara), where remnants of the material culture of remote past are still visible in the form of very old stone and granite structures at Karnoor and Kolakunnu near Paniely, Wembooram Thuruthu near Malayattoor as well as Poyka, which is further suggestive of the cultural networks that evolved concomitant to the increasing commercial circulations.[82]

Between Neriamangalam and the sea-mouth of river Periyar, there appeared at different time periods a large number of pockets and human habitats which were economically and culturally linked with one another so as to form links in the long chain of shared commercial and religious activities. As early as 1816, Ward and Conner had taken note of these remnants scattered along the banks of river Periyar and they wrote: 'The banks of the *Perear* (Periyar) in this neighbourhood have at some distant period been inhabited much further on the east than we now see the *Womburuttu* (Wembooram Thuruthu), a small island in the stream is still pointed out as having once been a Brahmin residence.'[83] Many of these structures have been recently renovated, redefined, and reused as temples. In the forests, people light lamps on some of these broken platforms as well.[84]

While examining the networks of trade and faith along the Periyar, one may find different layers and strands running parallel to one another. The civilizational belt of the Periyar had several types of networking mechanisms out of which religious shrines and markets emerged as the most important ones. Many of these religious shrines and institutions were converted into temples in the recent past, as in the case of the temples of Karnoor and Kolakunnu near Paniely. These sacred shrines were networked by the chain of sacred sites that appeared along the Periyar going as far as Alengadu, where the ruler of Kaṟutta *tāvaḻi* of the Māṅṅāṭṭaccan family reigned (with Kottapuram near Alengadu as the base and the territory extending up to the banks of the southern branch of the Periyar) and as far as Angamali, where the ruler of Veḷutta *tāvaḻi* of Māṅṅāṭṭaccan family exercised power over the territory going up to the banks of the northern branch of the Periyar going towards Cranganore, but with Kothakulangara as the seat.[85] The Māṅṅāṭṭaccan of Alengadu was given an annual subsidy of 72,000 *reis* for facilitating regular flow of pepper from the hinterland (obviously coming through the river Periyar) to the Portuguese factory of Cochin from 1550s onwards.[86] The culmination of the cultural chain of sacred shrines along the river Periyar was at the Śaiva temple of Alwaye, where Śaivaratri festival was celebrated annually; this junction point thus became the converging point for the religious and trade circuits along river Periyar, causing the Alwaye fair in connection with Śaivaratri or *Feira d' Alwaye* to be the most important trade-triggering and resource-mobilizing mechanism along this river.[87] The *kartā* of Alwaye used to get 36,000 *reis* per year from the Portuguese for facilitating the supply of pepper coming through Periyar to the Portuguese factory in Cochin.[88]

The remnants of connectivities right from Cranganore and Cochin, which are located at the terminal points of the two branches of Periyar up to deep interiors along the Periyar, could be seen in different forms and degrees. One of the most ancient layers of this chain of connectivity was associated with Jainism, whose sacred institutions continued to be on the margin and periphery till recently, like the Jaina shrine of Kallil, near Perumbavoor. While most of the Jain shrines, which stood as links in this civilizational belt, seem to have transformed into temples recently, as in the case of Karnoor and Kolakunnu, the Jain shrine of Kallil escaped and resisted this mutation process for long. V.V.K. Valath, while studying the shrine of Kallil (*kallu* meaning 'stone' + *il* meaning *illaṃ* or 'house') says that the place names having *kallu* either as prefix or suffix stood for Jain settlements. In line with that logic, he argues that Oonnukal, Kadungalloor (*kaḍuṃ* + *kal* + *ūr*), Mudikkal, Kalloorkadu (all located in the proximate neighbourhood of Perumbavoor), etc., indicate etymological origins connected with *kal*, which further suggests their linkages with Jainism, and if there are elements of truth in this argument, then it becomes clear that the Jain shrine of Kallil[89] in Perumbavoor did not exist in isolation, but as part of a larger cultural and religious world stretching from Oonnukal in the north-east, Kalloorkad in the south-east, the regions adjacent to Koodalmanikkam Temple of Irinjalakuda on the west and Kadungalloor in the north, which were sustained by the surplus coming from Jain commerce.[90] Vellarappally (*veḷḷa* + *ara* + paḷḷi), which is located on the other side of Periyar across Perumbavoor and where Saktan Thampuran, the king of Cochin, was born in *Tekkē kōvilakaṃ*, is also identified by V.V.K. Valath as another geography which earlier had Jain settlers.[91] The Kallil shrine of Perumbavoor, which stood at the junction point of Jain circuits of trade and faith-related travels through the Periyar and from regions beyond, gave added importance to the geography. Probably, the Jain vestiges of the Kallil shrine refused to disappear for long because of the intense isolation and peripheralization that it experienced (when compared to other related shrines, where cultural alterations happened very rapidly) against the background of the evolution of new alternative travel routes and communication lines away from it after the integration of Perumbavoor into Travancore.

Concomitantly, there were Syrian Christian networks of faith and trade along the Periyar. The Syrian Christian settlement of Kothamangalam[92] stood on the eastern terminal point of this belt, while the Syrian Christian enclaves of Kuruppumpady, Malayattoor, Kanjoor, Chowara, Alwaye,[93] Angamali (via Manjali Thodu), Moozhikulam,

Cranganore (on the banks of the northern branch of Periyar), Alengadu, and Verapoly were on the southern branch of Periyar. They were firmly networked and integrated by regular travels of priests and churchmen for faith-related reasons and also by Syrian Christian merchants for dispatching their cargo to the overseas markets through the ports of Cranganore in the north and Cochin in the south. The intensification of trade through the river Periyar to the seaports led to the establishment of *aṅṅāḍis* around most of the churches of the Syrian Christians, out of which the *aṅṅāḍis* of Angamali, Chowara, Kanjoor, and Cranganore were prominent.[94] The *aṅṅāḍis* developed in the immediate vicinity of the churches of these settlements as trading establishments with accommodation facilities for the Christian merchants, who conducted trade in the front part of the edifice facing towards the street, while the hinter part of it was used for their lodging as in any normal house. The spice producers of St. Thomas Christians used to sell their cargo in these *aṅṅāḍis* located near their churches by which the economic identity of the Christians as traders was preserved and maintained in the inland Christian settlements with the help of *aṅṅāḍis*.[95] The enterprising local merchants were thus able to mobilize resources for their trade in maritime markets.[96] The *aṅṅāḍi* of Thazhekadu, which was located near the church on the banks of the river system of the Chalakudy and reachable from the Periyar via Elanthettikara, was established by the Christian traders like Cāttan Vaḍukan and Iravi Cāttan belonging to the *Maṇigrāmam,* thanks to the permission given by King Rājasiṃhan in 1024 CE.[97] Probably, this and other later *aṅṅāḍis* on the banks of the river systems of the Periyar and the Chalakudy also operated as a part of the larger networks of faith and commerce that the early Christian traders developed in their efforts to connect the distant pepper-producing regions with the ports of Cranganore and Cochin.

The Muslim network of commerce along the Periyar is still traceable in the forms of various *dargāhs* of Sufi sheikhs preserved on the banks of the river, and once upon a time they stood in ¯the midst of Muslim mercantile settlements. The spiritual *wilāyat* (jurisdiction) of the *dargāhs* (tombs) of Sufi sheikhs was believed to have provided 'protection' to the Muslim merchants travelling along the river Periyar, which intermittently passed through wild spaces during the pre-modern period. The Muslim traders used to contribute liberally to Sufi *dargāhs* and *khānqāhs* located on the banks of the Periyar, in return for the 'safety' and 'protection' for their travel within the spiritual *wilāyat* of the Sufi sheikhs.[98] Though many of such Sufi *dargāhs*, which once

acted as confidence-building mechanisms for the Muslim merchants on the move, were later mutated or transformed against the background of increasing Sunni homogenization and standardization, their remnants are still visible along the Periyar, westward to Mudikkal. Later, with Tipu Sultan's arrival in Alwaye in 1790s after having destroyed Nedumkotta and breached the vulnerable part of Melukotta to attack Travancore, the Muslim population increased considerably in this region,[99] augmenting their number to 2,004 in Perumbavoor by 1816.[100] Though the trading community of the Jews from Cranganore and Cochin neither established any settlement along the upper part of the Periyar nor in its hinterland, their mercantile settlements are traceable in Parur, Chennamangalam, and Mala,[101] which shows that they moved more along the lower parts of the Periyar and went into the interior through the Chalakudy River as far as Mala via Elanthettikara in their attempts to procure cargo for their overseas commerce.[102]

The river system of the Muvattupuzha, flowing through the heart of Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ kingdom, which was referred to as pepper kingdom (*reino da pimento*)[103] in Portuguese and Dutch sources, integrated the vast and rich pepper-producing hinterland, stretching as far as Thodupuzha, with the port of Cochin via Arakuzha, Muvattupuzha, Piravom, and Vaikom.[104] One can easily identify along its banks a long network of *kāvŭs* (like the Puzhakara Kavu and Pallikavu of Muvattupuzha) and churches of the St. Thomas Christians (like the churches of Kadamattom, Arakuzha, Mailakombu and Muthalakodam), besides a few mosques, which once acted as mechanisms that facilitated the members of the respective communities in the processes of procurement of pepper and distribution of return cargo through the fairs (organized in connection with festal celebrations) and *aṅṅāḍis* or *pēṭṭas* that evolved in the vicinity of these sacred shrines, besides providing platforms for merchants for information networking about market conditions in various nodal points in the economic chain of this river system. Thodupuzha, which initially evolved as the capital of Kīḻumalaināḍŭ against the background of intense flow of pepper and other cargo to Madurai during the time of the Pāṇḍyas[105] became the seat of Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ when the ruler of Thodupuzha was adopted by the queen of Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ, then residing at Kaduthuruthi.[106] Keeping his residence at Karikodu near Thodupuzha, he ruled over an extensive terrain up to Vaduthala with two customs houses, one at Rio Largo (probably near Vaduthala on the banks of Vembanadu Lake) and the other at Urupule (Muvattupuzha).[107] We find in 1605 that the king of Thodupuzha, who then had become the

ruler for the entire Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ kingdom with his base in Karikode, was given an annual amount of 72,000 *reis* per year by the Portuguese for making pepper from his kingdom available in Cochin, while the queen of Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ kingdom, then residing at Kaduthuruthi was given an annual amount of 65,000 *reis*. The main reason for such annual monetary rewards was that from Thodupuzha about 5,000 *bhars* or 12,900 quintals of pepper was taken by the ghat-route traders, including Ravuthar Muslims and Tamil Pattars, to Madurai via Kumily, Kambam, and Theni, from where it was further taken to the ports of Coromandel, such as Mylapore, Masulipatanam, and Pulicat.[108] The volume of pepper taken from Thodupuzha across the ghats was at times much more than what the Portuguese used to get from Cochin for their European trade and the annual subsidy given by the Portuguese to the king of Thodupuzha was to make him stop the ghat-route trade. For centuries, it was from Thodupuzha that one of the major ghat routes to Madurai supplying pepper in return for rice and textiles operated, particularly since the time of the Pāṇḍyas. When the Italian Jesuit Robert de Nobili travelled from Madurai in 1613 to reach Cochin through the mountainous parts,[109] it seems that he had followed this route touching Udumbannoor, Muthalakodam, and Thodupuzha. Ward and Conner gave detailed information about this route in 1816. It emanated:

> from Thoduvully (Thodupuzha) passed by Udambannoor (a large village-chiefly of the Nairs) from where commodities were further carried to Keel Pereeaar (Keezh Periyar) located about thirteen miles further beyond. From Keezh Periyar they were further taken to Perringincooty (Perinchamkutty) located about fourteen miles away and then traveled twelve miles' journey to reach the hill by ascending which the traders used to reach Thaywarram (Thevaram) pass, which opened the doors to Tamil territory.[110]

They also refer to another ghat route from Thodupuzha that passed by Velliamuttum (Velliamattam), from where the merchants used to carry goods to Nadgunni Ghat (Nadukani) and then to Sirdhoney (Cheruthony) located 11 mi. away from it. Crossing the river of Cheruthony, they travelled 33 mi. further to reach Peermode (Peerumedu), from where they used to go another 7 mi. to reach Perear (Periyar or Vandi Periyar). From Periyar, they used to travel 23 mi. and 3 furlongs further to reach the Kurrungkullaar (?), crossing the rocky bed, and then finally to Cumbum (Kambam), from where the commodities were further taken to Madurai mostly by Tamil merchants. The distance from Thodupuzha to Cumbam was covered by the oxen and pack animals that used to carry

the commodities within eight days.[111] In fact, the economic vibrancy of the Tamil towns of Kambam and Theni stemmed from the profit flowing from the trade between Madurai and the Kerala markets of Thodupuzha, Erattupetta, Kanjirappally, and Erumely.[112]

The river system of the Meenachil originates in the hilly regions then ruled by the king of Poonjar, passes by Erattupetta (Aruvithara), Bharananganam, Palai, and Cherpunkal, which were then located in Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ kingdom; flows into Kottayam, the seat of the Tekkeṅkūrŭ ruler; and moves finally to Cochin. It used to integrate most of the pepper-producing enclaves of the St. Thomas Christians of these kingdoms with the port of Cochin.[113] However, the river system of the Manimalayar that integrated the rich pepper-producing pockets of Kanjirappally, Changanacherry, and Tiruvalla as well as the Pambayar, which connected the agrarian enclaves of Chengannoor, Niranam, Maramon, and Pulinkunnu with Cochin, were the prime arteries of trade in the Thekkenkur kingdom. From Erattupetta, about 1,000 *bhars* or 2,580 quintals of pepper was taken by the Ravuthar Muslims and the St. Thomas Christians through the Kumily–Kambam–Theni route to Madurai every year,[114] which the Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ ruler was required to put a stop to. It was in the company of the St. Thomas Christian merchants that Fr Emmanuel Leitão made his journey from Kaduthuruthi to Madurai in 1609. Starting the journey on 18 August and reaching Madurai on 26 August 1609, this group took almost eight days for the entire travel through the 'thick forests' infested by tigers and elephants. Fr Leitão travelled on foot across the ghat up to Uttamapalayam, from where he got an ox to continue his journey of 60 mi. to reach Madurai.[115] A chain of inland markets like Kanjirappally (which used to annually send 4,000 *bhars* or 10,320 quintals of pepper to Madurai alone) and Erumely (from where about 3,000 *bhars* or 7,740 quintals of pepper were taken to Madurai), through which commodity flow between Madurai and the region happened with the help of the mercantile groups including the Ravuthar Muslims, St. Thomas Christians, and Tamil Chetties, were also major economic centres of the Thekkenkur kingdom. From 1560s onwards, the Portuguese sources mention that there were two rulers reigning simultaneously in the Thekkenkur kingdom, one reigning from Kottayam and the other from Kanjirappally. Each of them was given an annual monetary reward of 36,000 *reis* for ensuring regular supply of cargo to Cochin, as is evident from the information given by the Portuguese sources from 1560s till 1605.[116] The different trade routes from Erumely, Kanjirappally, Erattupetta, and Thodupuzha used to get

converged at Kumily or Kambam Medu, from where they moved to Kambam, Theni, and Madurai, the latter being the seat of the Nāyakas of Madurai. However, Madurai, located on the banks of the Vaigai, was not the final destination of the 33,540 quintals of pepper thus diverted from central Kerala, as a sizeable share was again taken via Dindigal or Pudukottai to the Coromandel ports after having fed the elite consumer classes of the Kaveri Basin, including those of Trichinapoly and Thanjavur.[117] It is to be noted that the pepper flow to Tamil Nadu via Palakkad (3,000 *bhars* or 7,740 quintals)[118] and via Korattykara (3,000 *bhars* or 7,740 quintals)[119] was much less when compared to the huge flow of pepper to Madurai from Thodupuzha, Erattupetta, Kanjirapally, and Erumely, the major upland markets of central Kerala, via Kumily.

Against the background of intensified trade, the Chembakasserry ruler, with its power base in the agrarian enclave of Kudamaloor and its maritime trading base at Purakkad, was another local chieftain whom the Portuguese wanted to appease with annual monetary rewards for the sake of ensuring regular supply of pepper in Cochin. The Portuguese used to give 72,000 *reis* per year to the Chembakasserry ruler from 1550s to 1605.[120] Quilon acted as a feeding port for Cochin in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, though its pepper hinterland was also being used by inland traders to procure cargo for the ghat-route trade with Madurai through Ariankavu and Shenkottah.[121] Vizhinjam, in the south, was increasingly used for transit trade in the sixteenth century, primarily by the Portuguese private traders and also by the Marakkars; for helping the latter in their wars against the Portuguese, even the Ottomans came to Vizhinjam in 1538.[122]

In this process, the core areas of convergence for the circuits of trade and faith happened to be the nodal political and economic points in mid-upland terrains of Kerala. The relative absence of low-lying paddy cultivating wet zones in these upland parts of Kerala was a major reason that kept brāhmaṇas reasonably away from these upland pockets. In the relative absence of brāhmaṇas, it was the St. Thomas Christians and the Ezhavas who dominated the social processes of this region, whose substance of power actually came from the wealth derived out of spice production and the ghat-route trade. The churches of St. Thomas Christians, out of which eighty-three were constructed before the arrival of the Portuguese,[123] and the Śāstāvŭ *kāvŭ* of the Ezhavas[124] (both the churches and the *kāvŭs* were located mostly on the top of hillocks or elevated terrains) were the principal cultural agencies that gave cohesion and cogence to the inhabitants of these places, emitting necessary

dynamics and forces for the distinctively unique social formation to unfold in these pockets. The St. Thomas Christians, who used to control a major share of spice production of central upland Kerala, amassed a considerable amount of wealth by linking their spice production with ghat-route trade and this even enabled them to resist and throw away the Portuguese cultural hegemony and Lusitanized practices thrust upon them in the name of reforming their faith. For the St. Thomas Christians, dispatching of pepper to Tamil Nadu through the ghat route, instead of sending it to Cochin, was a form of resistance that they could effectively raise against the Portuguese, who were forcibly trying to culturally mutate this community and graft onto it the alien Lusitanian ritual traditions through the synod of Diamper.[125]

Bhakti, Modes of Power and Changing Forms of Malayalam

With the augmented maritime trade and the consequent increase in interconnectedness of localities, places, people, and cultures, different forms of Malayalam that appeared in different principalities and chiefdoms of Kerala during the age of relative geographical seclusion, political isolation, and parcelization of central authority following the collapse of the Cēras of Mahōdayapuram now started interacting with one another much more intensely and closely. Earlier it appeared as if there were multiple Malayalams, with immense regional variations, where no particular form of Malayalam had any singular privileged position, for there was no mechanism to state that a certain version or strand of Malayalam was the mainstream language and the rest should be considered as its dialects. Fast changes in the material world and consequent changes in perception necessitated recurring modifications and alterations in the use of linguistic medium in many of the regions and classes that experienced such changes. Those who experienced the changes intensely, but in nuanced ways, needed more vocabularies and sophisticated usages, besides complex skills of perception, to compare and contrast the different layers of developments and articulate them intricately, indicating the various shades of their meanings. The consequent region-wise, class-wise, caste-wise and community-wise variations that the vocabulary and structures of sentences of Malayalam had acquired over time made the system of signification much more complex. Different social groups and classes/castes developed different

sets of vocabularies, usages and forms of articulations with equally varying scales and degrees with respect to phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. The phonic Malayalam, or its orally expressed form, when articulated through the medium of Arabic script, gave rise to Arabic-Malayalam and literary works like the *Muhiyudīn Māla*[126] and the *Paḍapattŭ* among the mercantile community of Muslims of Calicut and its neighbourhood, which had long familiarization with the Arabic script from their childhood madrassa days;[127] but when it was recorded in Syriac script, it gave rise to Garshuni and a wide variety of Malayalam religious works in Syriac script among the pepper-cultivating-cum-trading community of St. Thomas Christians,[128] who learned the basics of their faith in Syriac, particularly in Sunday Catechism schools, Malpanates and other spaces of Church discourses. However, a distinctively separate and unique genre of literary styles of Malayalam prose and poetry evolved among this mercantile community, as we find in the prose of the *Udayaṃpērūr Sūnahadōsiṉre Kānōnakaḷ* (written in 1599)[129] and in the verses of the *Rabbān Pattŭ* (1601)[130] and *Paḷḷi Pāṭṭŭkaḷ*.[131] Neither this genre nor the language form of the *Payyannūr Pāṭṭŭ*, which took origin in a mercantile context, nor the linguistic version of *Vaḍakkan Pāṭṭŭkaḷ*[132] that originated against the military background of fighting soldiers, nor the language form of the brahmaṇas[133] who had control over production activities in low-lying paddy cultivating zones, became the mainstream language for the entire Kerala; they were nothing but variations and versions of one and the same Malayalam language, redefined and reformulated by their specific region, caste, class, and community contexts and *sitz im Leben*.

The initial phase of homogenization and standardization of Malayalam language seems to have commenced with the interconnectedness opened up by the intense circuits of trade and faith, which brought together the otherwise scattered and isolated regions and cultures, facilitating the processes of selective absorption, adaptation, and accommodation of different language forms and uses of Malayalam and thus equipping the society to affix logic much more clearly to the changing world around and comprehend the various shades of meanings of reality with its complexities. The homogenization and standardization of Malayalam got accelerated with the fast-spreading bhakti literature like the *Kṛṣṇagātha* of Ceṟuśśēri (fifteenth century),[134] the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇaṃ* of Tuñcattŭ Eḻuttaccan (*c.*1495–1575)[135] and the *Jñānappāna* of Pūntānaṃ (*c.*1547–1640),[136] whose works, besides taking the waves of bhakti tradition from the temple environs of low-lying paddy cultivating zones to the upland

terrains (which suddenly evolved as new centres of wealth convergence by way of intensified pepper cultivation and trade), also helped to disseminate to larger geographies the sophisticated form of Malayalam that these devotional poets resorted to in formulating their devotional poetries. The regions around the river system of Bharatapuzha, through which commodities were floated down to the trading centre of Ponnani, turned out to be the core area of cultural production and literary endeavours of the bhakti genre. The waves of this new bhakti tradition started spreading from the low-lying paddy cultivating zones to upland regions where spice cultivation used to take place and where new forms of wealth started reaching from intensified spice trade. In 1580s, about 1,70,000 *cruzados* used to enter the markets of Kerala annually as pepper money.[137] In 1629, gold coins worth 28,84,000 *reis* and uncoined gold worth 1,51,84,000 *reis*, besides silver worth 2,94,81,000 *reis* reached the port of Cochin as pepper money.[138] A major share of this wealth flowed to the pepper-producing upland regions of Kerala. The mass copying, writing, and circulation of the new bhakti literature by the scribes to meet the growing needs of the expanding devotional space and religious audience of Kerala involved a huge labour process that was sustained by the wealth coming from intensified pepper trade and spice cultivation. In the midst of these new developments, the deities of upland regions like Ayyappan, Śāstāvŭ, and Muttappan, whose sacred shrines and sites were then located in the upland regions on the periphery of the early Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite movements, started experiencing radical transformations with new definitions and meanings because of their absorption into Vaiṣṇava hagiography. Ayyappan (and in some places Śāstāvŭ, which was a deity often linked with the Bōdhisattva cult of the Buddhist tradition) was now presented as Harihara Sutan or son of Viṣṇu and Śiva in the midst of these new bhakti developments, providing a converging point for both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite traditions in the spice-producing upland regions (at an age when conflicts were recurrently happening elsewhere between the two), while Muttappan, another deity in the uplands of northern Malabar,[139] where traditions of the Kṛṣṇa cult began to spread fast with the intense circulation of *Kṛṣṇagātha* of Ceṟuśśēri, was increasingly depicted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and Śiva born in the age of Kali Yuga.[140]

With huge circulation of the copies of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇaṃ* and also the *Mahābhārataṃ* of Tuñcattŭ Eḻuttaccan and the *Jñānappāna* of Pūntānaṃ in the new centres of wealth and power for devotional consumption, particularly in mid-upland terrains, there was a certain

level of cultural homogenization, mutation of the biographies of icons, and transformation of god-concepts of Kerala from one belief system to another, which was facilitated through the increasing dissemination of Malayalam devotional literature and their appealing thematic contents. The different power bases of various principalities in mid-upland regions, with sizeable brāhmaṇical personnel for meeting the administrative and ritual needs of each of these capitals, experienced the transformation intensely, from where it further expanded to the major nodal centres of power and wealth within each principality. Though the peripheries and the regions between these nodal points maintained old cultural practices and language uses, in this process of the journey of the bhakti wave from one locality to another, the language of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇaṃ* and other devotional literature also travelled as the most acceptable and appealing form of Malayalam. The vocabulary, usages, phrases and sentence structures that acted as linguistic tools for transferring the sensibilities, experiences and feelings of the bhakti world suddenly got a great amount of receptivity and acceptability among the large consumers of devotional literature, from whom it spread to every nook and corner of Kerala as the language of daily use, thus facilitating homogenization of the language to a great extent. The mass consumption of devotional literature and the increase in the frequency with which the *Rāmāyaṇaṃ* and the *Krishnagatha*[141] were read in Hindu households went hand-in-hand with their corresponding process of intense language updation/innovation of varying scales, necessitating a departure from the use of traditional forms of written language, thus allowing a distinctively updated alternative to the various local variations of Malayalam to evolve at a pan-Kerala level.

Meanwhile, the rulers of Kerala having considerable amount of wealth with them by way of trade formed the major patrons of the literary elites and poets who formulated literary works that excelled in quality, linguistic refinement, and sophistication. Through the thematic contents that were in high demand (often stemming from devotional/religious background) and the literary flavour and style that captured a wide spectrum of readers, the poets and writers were addressing a large cultural audience causing their affinity to get converged at their political patrons, who in turn used it as a part of their state-building ventures. At a time when literary enterprise was used as an instrument for political assertion of the patrons, only those rulers having immense disposable wealth/trade surplus with them could benefit and create political assets out of it, because the very act of extension of patronage to cultural enterprises involved a huge amount of wealth, whatever be

the form in which it was manifested and distributed. Even smaller rulers and merchants who had considerable amount of disposable wealth with them patronized and promoted literary-cum-performative/theatrical endeavours that evolved around temples as a by-product of the bhakti tradition, as is mentioned in *Payyannūr Pāṭṭŭ*, where the rich merchant Naṃbu Ceṭṭi financed the theatrical performance of *Kūttŭ*, in gratitude for the birth of a son to him.[142] Many of the already existing dance forms, literary genres, and performative art traditions experienced refinement, sophisticated diversification, and solidification from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries onwards, because of the relatively high wealth flow that happened in the form of patronage from the local rulers, temples, moneyed groups, and commercial collaborators of the European companies, and also with the incorporation of a variety of bhakti themes that had popular appeal and could captivate the imagination of the expanding agrarian and mercantile players. However, the system of patronage, which the rulers used for culturally asserting their superiority, helped them to ascend the higher ladders of political power. In kingdoms like Calicut, Cochin, and later Travancore, where centralized political formations happened during this period on a significant scale, cultural endeavours and literary pursuits were increasingly resorted to and liberally patronized in the efforts of their rulers to assert superiority. Even rulers of principalities with secondary importance, when they acquired considerable wealth and clout by way of trade, like the ruler of Porcad (Purakkadu) or Chembakasserry, started extending liberal patronage and support to artists, literary figures and poets, obviously in consonance with this trend. The rich rulers of Chembakasserry used to rule over a vast territory extending across Purakkadu, Ambalapuzha, and Kuttanadu, including Kudamaloor,[143] and received an annual amount of 72,000 *reis* from the Portuguese in the sixteenth century for regularly supplying pepper to the Portuguese in Cochin during the time period between 1550s and 1610.[144] However, later they switched commercial affiliation from the Portuguese to the Dutch by 1640s and used to supply 2,36,584 Dutch pounds of pepper and 3,043 Dutch pounds of ginger to the Dutch in 1643.[145] Eventually, they became one of the most active patrons of cultural production during this period. The ruler of Chembakasserry patronized two of the most famous literary personalities of the eighteenth century: Ramapurathu Warrier and Kunchan Nambiar. Ramapurathu Warrier (1703–53) who introduced the literary style of 'Vanchi *Pattŭ*' started his literary career under the patronage of the Chembakasserry ruler in the heyday of commerce, and moved to Kalkulam with the annexation of the kingdom of Chembakasserry by Marthanda Varma.

Meanwhile, Kunchan Nambiar (1705–70) conceived and popularized the satirical art form of *Ottamthullal* in the eighteenth century, also moved to Kalkulam in 1748.[146] In fact, the territorial annexation of Chembakasserry and other principalities by Marthanda Varma (1748) and his emergence as the superior power in the region was followed by appropriation of the creators and producers of popular forms of culture from the annexed territories under the guise of extension of patronage and support to them by the new political master, and their eventual integration into the new power base, prompting them to make their subsequent cultural endeavours revolve around the new power figure and causing their entire cultural audience to get transformed into the social base for the power processes of the new political head.[147] In this process, the form of language patronized by superior rulers spread within their centrally administered extensive terrains as the appealing form of the language, thus redefining, crystallizing, and equipping Malayalam with newer vocabularies, uses, and structures, and making it capable of being used in myriad ways, ranging from the political language of power centres to the bazaar language of trade centres, from the devotional language of bhakti to the dissenting language of the satirists and social critics.

This highlights the complex and nuanced processes through which some interesting material and cultural aspects of early modern Kerala got formulated over the years. If 'interconnectedness' and march from the phase of 'isolation, stagnation and backwardness' towards progress 'under the globalizing influence' are the essence of early modernity, as Jan de Vries argues,[148] a different type of connectedness emerged among the Malayalis during the period between 1500 and 1800, because of Kerala's increasing participation in global trade and due to the consequent augmentation in the connectivities between its centres of maritime trade and distant commodity hinterlands. Against the background of intensified maritime trade, the hinterland was networked often through circuits of trade and faith, causing the channels of peddling trade to run along those sacred shrines that conferred on the merchants on the move 'a sense of security as well as safety' and 'a psychological feel of being under protection' while crossing the protracted spaces of wilderness. The increasing culture of travel that appeared with frequent commodity flow made the new devotional genre of literature travel to new centres of wealth and power that had been emerging in mid-upland terrains of Kerala following increasing production and trade in the hinterland. This led to increasing homogenization of god-concepts in religious culture, modifying and transforming them, reinterpreting the icons or

replacing the old local popular god-concepts in different ways with the new god-concepts of bhakti. It also impacted the vocabulary, usages, phrases, and sentence structures of devotional genre of Malayalam literature that acted as linguistic tools for transferring the sensibilities, experiences and feelings of bhakti which started spreading into the length and breadth of Kerala as the most appealing form of both oral and written communication, updating or replacing the multiple regional variations of Malayalam, reducing its alternate versions and facilitating homogenization of language culture at a pan-Kerala level. The month-long recitation of *Adhyatma Rāmāyaṇam* in the months of July and August as well as *Krishnagatha* in the months of August and September helped some form of homogenized language uses to evolve in Kerala, modifying most of its regional variations, which in due course of time got further crystallized with its increasing use in the theatrical-cum-performative cultural forms, including *thullal*. In course of time with the increasing centralization of political authority in Travancore, Cochin, and Calicut, which reduced the number of other contenders of power, there was increasing standardization in the use of Malayalam through a complex mechanism of royal patronage to cultural enterprises. Though the system of patronage helped the local rulers to assert the cultural superiority of the respective kingdoms and to ascend the higher ladders of political power, it also helped to disseminate among the larger public the language forms and formulations that received royal patronage from the centralized political authorities in Travancore, Cochin, and Calicut, ultimately causing the standardization of language uses and literary styles that evolved in considerable chunks of each political terrain. The interconnectedness of the domains of material world with the circuits of faith and the world of cultural production caused a mosaic matrix and a culture of pluralism to evolve in early modern Kerala, despite the fact that the inner dynamics of such processes also made the language march progressively towards increasing homogenization.

Notes

1. S.M.H. Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, Madras: University of Madras, 1942, pp. 35–6. Many of these place names appear also in the Geniza records as major centres of maritime trade in Kerala. See S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972, pp. 188–9. The *Mushikavamsa* refers to Pantalayani Kollam as 'Kolam'; see

K. Raghavan Pillai, ed., *Muṣikavamśa of Atula,* Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Trivandrum: University of Kerala, 1977; Chirakkal T. Balakrishnan Nair, 'Musikavamsakavyam-Kolattunattile Chila Nadukal', *Vijnanakairali*, vols. 9, 11, pp. 789–90.

2. For details on the long list of churches having *aṅṅāḍis* in the sixteenth century, see Pius Malekandathil, ed., *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes: A Portuguese Account of the Sixteenth Century Malabar*, Kochi: LRC Publications, 2003, pp. 126–462.
3. For details on the fourteen-fold division of the Cēra territories, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, Calicut: Published by the author, 1996.
4. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Foundations of South Indian Society and Culture*, Delhi: Bharatiya Book Corporation, 1994, p. 22; Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, Delhi: Orient Longman, 1993; K.N. Ganesh, 'Structure of Political Authority in Medieval Kerala', in *Perspectives on Kerala History: The Second Millennium*, ed. P.J. Cherian, Trivandrum: Kerala Council of Historical Research, 2000; M.R. Raghava Varier, 'State as Svarupam: An Introductory Essay', in *State and Society in Pre-Modern South India*, ed. R. Champakalakshmi et al., Trichur: Cosmo Books, 2002, pp. 120–30.
5. As Kerala's topography does not favour rice cultivation except in scattered low-lying areas, a great part of it had to depend upon the rice imported from Coromandel, Orissa, Bengal and Canara. Tomé Pires says that the whole province lacked in rice and the area from Tanore to Quilon had to depend on Kalinga for rice. For details, see Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, tr. Armando Cortesão, Nendeln: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967, p. 77. During this period, Cochin did not produce enough rice to support its population. Rice had to be imported from the Coromandel Coast and was distributed throughout the country by Muslim traders. The King of Cochin gave the monopoly in rice trade to Muhammed Marakkar. See Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, tomo I, parte I, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1922, pp. 428ff; C. Achyuta Menon, *The Cochin State Manual,* Ernakulam: Cochin Government Press, 1911, p. 58. Portuguese documents of the sixteenth century refer to Kerala as a place deficient in rice and other food materials. During this period, rice was imported to Kerala heavily from the rice ports of Canara, Tamil Nadu, Orissa and Bengal. For details, see Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500–1663 (A Volume in the South Asian Study Series of Heidelberg University, Germany),* New Delhi: Manohar, 2001, pp. 110–11, 199–200, 207–8; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Ensaios: Sobre Historia de Portugal*, vol. II, Lisboa: Sá da Costa, 1968, pp. 231–40.
6. It was this process that made Quilon, Calicut, Cannanore and Cochin evolve as major maritime centres of exchange in Kerala at different time

periods. For an elaborate discussion on this theme, see Pius Malekandathil, 'Coastal Polity and the Changing Port-Hierarchy of Kerala', in *Coastal Histories: Society and Ecology in Pre-Modern India*, ed. Yogesh Sharma, New Delhi: Primus, 2010, pp. 75–90.

7. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, 'Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar, Letter IX', *History of Kerala*, vol. II, 1929; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2001, pp. 2–10, 31–140.
8. For details regarding the shifting of the royal residence of the Neḍiyirappŭ *svarūpaṃ*, see K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, Calicut: Norman Printing Bureau, 1938, pp. 1–2. By the middle of the fourteenth century or by the time Ibn Batuta visited Calicut (1343), it had become the most important port of Kerala. See Ibn Batuta, *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China*, ed. Hans von Mzik, Hamburg: Gutenberg Verlag, 1911, p. 302; Hermann Gundert, ed., *Keralolpathiyum Mattum*, Kottayam: D.C. Books, 1992, pp. 190–200; Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, Münster: LIT, 1999, p. 9; A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam: Sahitya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society, 1967, pp. 173–4; Ramesan Thampuran, *Gosri Rajavamsavali: Geneology of Cochin Royal Family*, Cochin: Published by the author, 1989, p. 6; Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, p. 2; Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi: Primus, 2010, pp. 85–6.
9. Kesavan Veluthat, 'The Temple Base of Bhakti Movement in South India', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 40, 1979, pp. 185–94; M.G.S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat, 'Bhakti Movement in South India', in *The Feudal Order: State, Society and Ideology in Early Medieval India*, ed. D.N. Jha, Delhi: Manohar, 2002, pp. 386–9; R. Champakalakshmi, 'From Devotion and Dissent to Dominance: The Bhakti of the Tamil Alvars and Nayanars', in *Tradition, Dissent and Ideology: Essays in Honour of Romila Thapar*, ed. R. Champakalakshmi and S. Gopal, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 135–64; Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009; Kesavan Veluthat, *Brahman Settlements in Kerala*: *Historical Studies*, Calicut: Sandhya, 1978, pp. 21–31.
10. Nainar, *Arab Geographers Knowledge of Southern India*, pp. 35–6.
11. These are the wide variety of papers obtained from the Geniza of Cairo. A Geniza was a place where discarded writings, on which the name of God was written, were deposited in order to preserve them from desecration. Most of the papers of the Cairo Geniza were preserved in a room adjacent to the synagogue of Cairo. For detailed discussion on Geniza papers, see Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 4 vols., Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–84; S.D. Goitein*, Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts through the Ages,* New York: Schocken, 1964.

12. It was called 'Kurakkeni Kollam' so as to distinguish it from Panatalayani Kollam located near Koyilandy in north Kerala.
13. See Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, p. 64.
14. The earliest Arab source is Suleiman's account of 841 CE, entitled *Salsalat-al-Taverika*. For other Arab sources on Quilon, see George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. 70–4.
15. See Haraprasad Ray, 'Historical Contacts between Quilon and China', in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and the European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew*, ed. Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Lisbon: Fundação Oriente/Tellicherry: IRISH, 2001, pp. 386–8.
16. The memories of Jewish contacts in Madayi are still preserved in the form of an oral tradition woven around *juthakulam* (pond of the Jews) from where the Jews used to draw water. It is believed that the town of Marahi, mentioned in *Musikavamsa* as being located on the banks of river Killa, is Madayi. It was also the capital of the Kōlattiris, till they opted later for Valarpattanam.
17. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, pp. 188–9.
18 . Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, p. 180. In 1097, Joseph Lebdi purchased fifty sacks of pepper from Kerala at a price of five dinars per sack.
19. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, p. 214
20. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, p. 118. In the middle of the eleventh century, the price of pepper (per sack) in Cairo was 135 dinars.
21. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, p. 122. For details, see Pius Malekandathil, 'The Jews of Kerala and the Wheels of Indian Ocean Commerce, 800–1800 CE', *The Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies*, vol. 9, 2008, pp. 12–15. By the end of the fifteenth century, the price of pepper at Calicut was 4.64 ducats, but it was sold at Mamluk Alexandria at 25 ducats, which would mean five times higher than the actual price at the source. The Venetians, who managed to grab a major share of spice trade with Mamluk Egypt, also got a considerable share of profit as they used to sell it at 56 ducats in their market of Venice, while its price was 80 ducats in Lisbon. Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Delhi: Primus, 2013, p. 109.
22. Elizabeth Lambourn, 'India from Aden: Khutba and Muslim Urban Networks in Late Thirteenth Century India', in *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c. 1400–1800*, ed. Kenneth R. Hall, Lanham: Lexington, 2008, pp. 60–90.
23. Ibid., pp. 70–2, 87–8.
24. Ibid., pp. 72, 89–90. In Geniza papers, we find reference to Malibarat. See Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, p. 64. Though Elizabeth Lambourn identifies Malibarat with Mylapore, I think that it must have

been Koulam Male, which is the present-day Quilon. Moreover, Koulam Male at that point of time was under the Pandyas. The word 'Malibarat' seems to have originated from 'Male' of Koulam Male. For identification of Malibarat, see Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, p. 4.

25. Even in 1374–5, the qazi of Calicut asked for the permission of the Rasulid sultan to read *Khutba* in his name. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500–1700*, 2nd edn., London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, p. 16.
26. Walter J. Fischel, 'The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt', *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1958, pp. 88–90.
27. K.S. Mathew, 'Calicut, the International Emporium of Maritime Trade and the Portuguese during the Sixteenth Century', in *O Estado da India e os Desafios Europeus: Actas do XII Seminario Internacional de Historia Indo-Portuguesa*, ed. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Vitor Luis Gaspar Rodrigues, Lisboa: CHAM CEPCEP, 2010, p. 285.
28. Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, pp. 21–2.
29. W.W. Rockhill, 'Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast, Part I', *T'oung Pao*, 2nd series, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 425–6.
30. L. Edward Dreyer, *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming, 1405–1433 (Library of World Biography Series)*, London: Longman, 2006, pp. 122–4; K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 60.
31. Roderich Ptak, *China's Seaborne Trade with South and South East Asia. 1200–1750*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1990, pp. 96–7.
32. This is the figure for 1501. For details, see 'The Anonymous Narrative', in *The Voyage of Pedro Alvarez Cabral to Brazil and India from Contemporary Documents and Narratives*, ed. William Brooks Greenlee, London: Hakluyt Society, 1938, p. 86; Luis de Albuquerque, ed., *Cronica do Descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses: codice anonimo Museu Britanico, Egerton 20901*, Coimbra: Junta de Investigaces do Ultramar, 1974, p. 25; Marino Sanuto, *Il Diarii di Marino Sanuto: 1496–1533*, vol. IV, ed. G. Berchet et al., Venice: M. Visentini, 1879, cols. 66–7; Rinaldo Fulin, *Diarii e diaristi Veneziani*, Venice: M. Visentini, 1881, pp. 157–64; Wilhelm von Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, vol. II, Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1886, p. 512.
33. Vicenzo Quirini, 'Relazione delle Indie Orientali di Vicenzo Quirini nel 1506', in *Le Relazione degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, vol. XV, ed. Eugenio Alberi, Firenze: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1863, p. 12.
34. The price of pepper per quintal in Malabar was 2.66 *cruzados*, whereas the price for the same weight of pepper in Lisbon was 22 *cruzados.* For

details, see Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, p. 285.

35. In 1509, the volume of pepper taken to Lisbon from the spice ports of Kerala like Cochin, Quilon and Cannanore was 40,000 quintals, having the value of 1,06,400 *cruzados* in Kerala; however, its value in Lisbon was 8,80,000 *cruzados*. This shows the magnitude of value of Kerala's trade at this point of time. However, during the period between 1510 and 1580, the volume of pepper trade fluctuated: it stood between 15,000 and 20,000 quintals, whose market value was between 39,900 *cruzados* and 53,200 *cruzados*, respectively, in Kerala. See Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, pp. 167, 179, 266.
36. Pius Malekandathil, 'Agrarian Production and Procurement Strategies in Malabar under the Portuguese, 1500–1663', in *The Portuguese Presence in India in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Yogesh Sharma and José Leal Ferreira, New Delhi: Viva, 2008, p. 26.
37. One *bhar* was equivalent to 166.83 kg.
38. This percentage-wise estimate is made on the basis of information given in a document written in the second decade of the sixteenth century. As per this document, the total production of pepper was estimated to be about 16,000 *bhars*, i.e. 26,69,280 kg. Out of this, 2,500 *bhars* (4,17,075 kg.) were consumed domestically. About 3,000 *bhars* (5,00,490 kg.) were taken to Coromandel ports through the ghat route. About 600 *bhars* (1,00,098 kg.) went to Diu by sea for further distribution in Gujarat and the Persian Gulf areas. About 9,900 *bhars* (16,51,617 kg.) went to Europe, Hormuz, the Red Sea and the ports of Bengal. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, ed., *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*, tomo IV, Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciences de Lisboa, 1910, pp. 174–6; M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, New Delhi: Concept, 1981, pp. 27–32.
39. Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, pp. 112–16.
40. See the letter of Fernand Cron, sent from Cochin, dated 26 December 1587, Fürstlich und Gräflich Fuggersches Familien und Stiftungs Archiv, Dillingen Donau, MSS. cod. no. 46, I, fols. 50–51v; Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*.
41. Pius Malekandathil, 'The Mercantile Networks and the International Trade of Cochin', in *Rivalry and Conflict: European Traders and Asian Trading Networks*, ed. Ernst van Veen and L. Blusse, Leiden: Leiden University, 2006, pp. 154–5.
42. The report of Francisco da Costa, 'Relatorio sobre o Trato da Pimenta', in Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, vol. III, Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, Divisão de Publicacões e Biblioteca, 1963, pp. 315, 351.
43. Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, pp. 202–3.

44. The letter of Fernand Cron, sent from Cochin, dated 26 December 1587, Fürstlich und Gräflich Fuggersches Familien und Stiftungs Archiv, Dillingen Donau, MSS. cod. no. 46, I, fols. 50–51v.
45. Om Prakash, *The Dutch Factories in India: A Collection of Dutch East India Company Documents Pertaining to India*, vol. II, New Delhi: Manohar, 2007, p. 259.
46. Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, p. 266; A.R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire: Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 113.
47. Binu John Mailaparambil, *Lords of the Sea: The Ali Rajas of Cannanore and the Political Economy of Malabar, 1663–1723*, Leiden: Brill, 2012, p. 108.
48. Archa N.G., 'Movement of Spices, People and Faith: Role of Indian Ocean in the Making and Unmaking of Calicut, *c*. AD 1300–1750', M.Phil. dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2016, p. 197.
49. See Kottarathil Sankunny, *Aithihyamala*, 1909–34; repr., Kottayam: D.C. Books, 1998, pp. 106–7, 428–41.
50. Rajan Gurukkal, *Social Formations of Early South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010; Rajan Gurukkal, *The Kerala Temple and the Early Medieval Agrarian System*, Sukapuram: Vallathol Vidyapeetham, 1992.
51. The field work done in many parts of Kerala showed that even now these older folk deities are viewed as evil gods or goddesses and the ritual forms performed for placating them or for their worship or exorcism varies from place to place. In certain cases, this process appeared in a different form, particularly in Chirikurumpa Bhagavati Kavu of Cranganore, whose deity is identified with Kannaki (*Or̲r̲amulacci*). Its festal rituals are so formulated and socially engineered that her very worshippers and social groups associated with this shrine were required to use abusive and vulgar language and pronounce evil words on this folk deity, a mechanism whereby the worshippers themselves were made to abuse their own god once in a year as a part of the festal ritual. Even in the Portuguese documents of the mid-sixteenth century, the sacred shrine of Chrikurumpa of Cranganore was depicted as having immense wealth. Elaine Sanceau, ed., *Colecção de São Lourencço*, vol. III, Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1978, p. 9.
52. There were cases where certain portions of land were called *Yakṣipa̲r̲aṃbŭ*, obviously referring to the dwelling place of Yakṣi, which probably must have been an erstwhile sacred space of the Jains. See the story of Kaladiyil Bhattathiri in Sankunny, *Aithihyamala*, pp. 106–8.
53. Ibid., p. 106.
54. For details, see the story of Kaḍamar̲r̲attu Kattanār in Sankunny, *Aitihyamāla*, pp. 436–8. In *Aitihyamāla*, the troubles from Yakṣi were

said to have happened between Trivandrum and Padmanabhapuram (Kalkulam). However, there was less chance for Kattānar from Kaḍamaṟṟaṃ to go all the way to Trivandrum during this period; the land route and the geography of the core areas of Travancore were probably incorporated into the story so as to give it much more acceptability and credibility among the Travancore-based readers.

55. For details on the notions of spiritual *wilāyat*, see Simon Digby, 'The Sufi Shaykh as a Source of Authority in Medieval India', *Purushartha*, vol. 9, 1986, pp. 57–77; Simon Digby, 'The Sufi Sheikh and the Sultan: A Conflict of Claims to Authority in Medieval India', *Iran*, vol. 28, 1990, pp. 71–81.
56. We also find a long chain of Sufi *dargāhs* (some in remnants, while others with mutated meanings) along the coast from Kasargode to Trivandrum; and the most frequently visited *dargāh* is that of Bhima Umma in Bhima Palli in the neighbourhood of Trivandrum. The *dargāh* of Bhima Umma seems to be the most important tomb of a woman Sufi saint venerated in India.
57. For details, see *Jornada*, pp. 176–9, 267, 330, 432–3, 334, 440–1; Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean*, pp. 85–99.
58. The church records of the Cathedral of Kothamangalam attest to the trade conducted by the St. Thomas Christians of the place with Dindigal. See *Kothamangalam Puthenpalli Nalagamam*, vol. I, Kothamangalam: St. George's Cathdral Church, 1919–68, p. 4. Most of the Christian houses in these places had till recently raised *verandahs* or platform-like structures for the purpose of facilitating loading and unloading of cargo transacted between the pepper-producing zones of Kerala and Tamil Nadu.
59. Here it should be mentioned that place names like Muthalakodam evidently explain that it was a place of wealth accumulation. The word 'Muthalakodam' is derived from the words *Mutthal* (wealth) and *Koodunnidam* (place of accumulation), meaning 'place of wealth accumulation'.
60. P. Antony, ed., *Payyannoor Pattu: Pathavum Pathanavum*, Kottayam: D.C. Books, 2000, pp. 12–15.
61. Ibid., pp. 3–32.
62. Ibid., p. 11.
63. Ibid., p. 12.
64. Ibid., pp. 14–15.
65. Ibid., p. 5.
66. Richard Carnac Temple, ed., *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna (1502–1508) as Translated from the Original Italian Edition of 1510 by John Winter Jones in 1863*, London: The Argonaut Press, 1928, p. 50.

67. Binu John Mailaparambil, 'The Ali Rajas of Cannanore: Status and Identity at the Interface of Commercial and Political Expansion, 1663–1723', Ph.D. thesis, Leiden University, 2008, pp. 134–7. Unfortunately, the names of these toll houses are not traceable.
68. Shinoy, 'Maritime Trade and State Formation of Calicut, AD 1400–1760', M.Phil. thesis, Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanskrit, Kalady, 2007; K. Balakrishna Kurup, *Kozhikodinte Charithram*, Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2006, pp. 61–2; N.M. Namboothiri, *Samuthiri Charithrathile Kaanapurangal*, Sukapuram: Vallathol Vidyapeetham, 1987, p. 54.
69. N.M. Namboothiri, *Mamankam Rekhakal*, Sukapuram: Vallathol Vidyapeetham, 2005, p. 45.
70. Ibid., pp. 161–7. Some of the shrines had a diverse social and religious-cum-cultural base, as is evident from the nomenclatures like Kuṭṭiccāttan Kāvŭ, Uḍaṃbṟa Kāvŭ, Viṣāri Kāvŭ, Kariṅkāḷi Kāvŭ, Muṇḍiyan Kāvŭ, etc.; Ibid., p. 167.
71. Ibid., pp. 30–1.
72. Pius Malekandathil, 'Rubrics of Power and Trade in Calicut', in *Cosmopolitanism in a City: The Past and Present of Calicut*, Café Dissensus, no. 22, ed. Archa N.G., 15 February 2016, see https://cafedissensus.com/2016/02/15/rubrics-of-power-and-trade-in-calicut/, accessed 30 May 2017.
73. Namboothiri, *Mamankam Rekhakal*, p. 36.
74. Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *The Portugues Asia: Or, The History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portugues; Containing All Their Discoveries from the Coast of Africk, to the Farthest Parts of China and Japan; All Their Battels by Sea and Land, Sieges and Other Memorable Actions; a Description of Those Countries, and Many Particulars of the Religion, Government and Customs of the Natives, &c*., tr. John Stevens, vol. I, London: C. Brome, 1695, p. 284; Shaykh Zaynuddin, *Tuhfat-ul-Mujahidin*, tr. Muhammed Husayn Nainar, Madras: University of Madras, 1942, p. 66; A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Studies in Medieval Kerala*, Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society, 1975, p. 60.
75. François Pyrard de Laval says that in 1606 the Zamorin resided sometimes at Calicut and sometimes at Ponnani. Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell, tr. and ed., *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, vol. I, 1887; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000, p. 409. K.V. Krishna Iyer calls Ponnani the military capital of the Zamorins.
76. For details on the promise of the king of Cochin to help Kunjali fight against the Zamorin and the Portuguese, see Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, *Fundo Geral*, codice no. 1976, fols. 158–9, Letter of Conde Vidigueira to King Philip written in 1599. For the details on the execution of Kunjali, see C.R. Boxer and Frazão de Vasconcelos, *Andre Furtado*

de Mendonça (1558–1610), Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955, pp. 21–35.

77. Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 2, doc. 89, dated 27 January 1613, fols. 14–15.
78. Ibid., Caixa 8, doc. 38, dated 29 October 1624.
79. Benjamin Swain Ward and Peter Eyre Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States*, vol. I, 1863; repr., Trivandrum: Kerala Gazetteers Department, 1994, p. 16.
80. Ibid.
81. Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, pp. 50–1.
82. Pius Malekandathil, 'Kothamangalam Roopathayude Charithra Pachathalavum Kraisthava Koottaymakalude Verukalum' (in Malayalam), in *Anpinte Anpathandu: Kothamangalam Roopathayude Charitram, 1957–2007*, Kothamangalam, 2008, pp. 26–7. The remnants of this Periyar cultural belt are seen only in the form of scattered cultural remnants. As early as 1816, Ward and Conner had taken note of these remnants scattered along the banks of river Periyar. See Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States*, p. 16.
83. See Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States*, p. 16.
84. These pieces of information are gathered from field study in the region.
85. By the end of the sixteenth century, besides the old king then living in Alengadu, there were two kings in the kingdom of Māṅṅāṭṭŭ, with one often mentioned in documents as the 'white' king ruling over Angamali and the other mentioned as the 'black' one ruling over Alengadu. *Jornada*, pp. 229, 351. Eventually, the lineage of these two rulers of Angamali and Alengadu evolved as dynastic lines (*tāvaḻi*) and by the end of the seventeenth century, the dynastic line of Angamali came to be called Veḷutta *tāvaḻi* and the dynastic line of Alengadu the Kaṟutta *tāvaḻi*. Perron du Anquetil writes in 1758 that Angamali was in the territory of the *Bellouta Tavagi* (*Veḷutta tāvaḻi*) while Alengadu was in the principality of *Karuta Tavagi* (*Kaṟutta tāvaḻi*). Anquetil Du Perron*, Zend Avesta*, vol. I, Paris: N.M. Tillard, 1771, pp. clxxxv–clxxxvi.
86. For details on annuities being given to the ruler of Alengadu in 1554, 1564, 1574 and 1605. see Simão Botelho, 'Tombo do Estado da India (1554)', in *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, ed. R.J. de Lima Felner, Lisboa: Academia Real das Ciências, 1868, p. 25; Panduronga S.S. Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India*, Bastora/Goa: Tipographia Rangel, 1951, pp. 217–19; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Les Finances de l'etat Portugais des Indes Orientales (1517–1635): Materiaux pour une Etude Structuralle et Conjuncturelle*, Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1982, pp. 306–8; The Report of Francisco da Costa, p. 310.

87. *Feira d'Alwaye* means the fair of Alwaye which K.P. Padmanabha Menon wrongly equates with the river of Periyar. *Feira* in Portuguese means 'trade fair'. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, vol. II, p. 126.
88. For details on the monetary rewards paid to the *kartha* of Alwaye in different years, see Botelho, 'Tombo do Estado da India (1554)', pp. 22–6; Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India*, pp. 217–19; Godinho, *Les Finances de l'etat Portugais des Indes Orientales*, pp. 306–8.
89. The figures of Mahavira, Parsvanatha and Padmavati were carved out of rock in the shrine of Kallil. Mahavir is seen as being depicted in Yogasana posture and on either side stands Gandharvan and adjacent to him stands Padmavati's stone statue. However, the usual depiction of Parsvanatha with the hood of a serpent over his head is absent in the shrine of Kallil.
90. V.V.K. Valath, *Keralathile Sthalacharitrangal-Ernakulam Jilla*, Thrissur: Kerala Sahitya Akademi, 2006, pp. 18, 128, 135–40. Valath opines that *kallu* refers to shrines made out of granite stone or Jain shrines and views Kallil shrine to be a Jain shrine. He further says that in Anamalai, near Madurai, there is a place called Undakallu with a large number of Jain monuments. Ibid., p. 18.
91. Ibid.
92. A major share of pepper from Kothamangalam went through the old Munnar route via Kuttampuzha, Pooyamkutty and Munnar and finally merged at Theni with the stream coming from Kumily and moved towards Madurai. However, a considerable share of spices from Kothamangalam used to move to Udumalpettai from Munnar. V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, vol. I, Trivandrum: Travancore Government Press, 1906, p. 14; Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin*, p. 56; A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers: Ernakulam*, Trivandrum: Superintendent of Government Presses, 1965, p. 851.
93. *Jornada*, p. 451.
94. This fact is attested to by *Jornada* which refers to the Christians living in the bazaars (evidently referring to the mercantile category). *Jornada*, pp. 350–1.
95. For a detailed discussion on these *aṅṅāḍis* as markets, see Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, pp. 50–80; for details on the churches having *aṅṅāḍis*, *Jornada* pp. 126–462.
96. Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, p. 44.
97. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala Charitram*, Kottayam: D.C. Books, 1973, p. 135. The grant made to these two Christian merchants was recorded in the form of a *vaṭṭeḻuttŭ* inscription on a granite slab, 74 in. x 51 in., lying at the foot of the open-air cross in front of the Catholic church at Thazhekkadu near Irinjalakuda.
98. See note 55. For related discussion in the context of Kerala, see Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean*, p. 89.

99. Tipu destroyed Nedumkotta on 15 April 1790 and captured the fortresses of Cranganore, Kuriappilly and Pallipuram. The *Niranam Grandhavari* says that on 8 *Dhanu* 965 ME, Tipu Sultan entered *Vettiyakotta* and retreated soon. He entered *Melukotta* on 6 *Medom* and destroyed the fort and the fortress, after which his people marched to Aluva. During the course of this war, many were forcibly converted into Islam. M. Kurian Thomas, *Niranam Grandhavari*, Kottayam: Sophia, 2000, p. 95; the same view is also expressed in Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers-Ernakulam*, p. 183.
100. Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States*, vol. 1, pp. 120–1.
101. Malekandathil, 'The Jews of Kerala', pp. 17–19.
102. Ibid.
103. Godinho*, Les Finances de l'etat Portugais des Indes Orientales*, pp. 306–8; The Report of Francisco da Costa, p. 310.
104. At Vettikkattumukku, the river bifurcates into two, with one branch flowing to Vadakkemurry via Ithipuzha, and the other flowing towards Chembu via Murinjapuzha. From Chembu, spices were further carried to Cochin**.** Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin*, pp. 51–2.
105. Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean*, pp. 88–92.
106. For details on the adoption of the king of Thodupuzha into the Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ ruling family, see *Jornada*, pp. 176–7. The adoption of king of Thodupuzha as the king of Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ happened because of the absence of male members in the Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ royal family, as they were all killed in the continuous wars waged between the forces of the Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ, Calicut and Tanor on the one side and the combined forces of the Portuguese and Cochin on the other side during the period 1548–52. The wars initially broke out between Cochin and Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ on the question of temple money of Vaduthala, which actually belonged to the king of Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ. For details, see ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, II, Maço 242, doc. 44; ANTT, *Gavetas*, 15-20-8; Elaine Sanceau, *Collecção de São Lourenço*, vol. III, p. 15; D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. I, Bangalore: The Bangalore Press, 1939, pp. 130–7; Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin*, pp. 173–4. Though the king of Kīḻumalaināḍŭ was adopted into the royal family of Vaḍakkuṅkūṟŭ, he did not go to Kaduthuruthi; instead he remained at Thodupuzha and continued to rule over both the kingdoms with his base at Thodupuzha. See The Report of Francisco da Costa, p. 310; *Jornada*, pp.175–7.
107. Diogo Gonçalves, *Historia do Malavar*, ed. Josef Wicki, Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955, pp. 87–8.
108. The Report of Francisco da Costa, p. 315.
109. S. Rajamanickam, *The First Oriental Scholar*, Tirunelveli: De Nobili Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, 1972, p. 37. The ghat route was

the main channel through which Jesuit missionaries from Cochin used to travel to Madurai. Ibid., p. 27.

110. Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States*, vol. I, pp. 15, 50.
111. Ibid., pp. 50–1. Also, see note 92 in this chapter.
112. Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean*, pp. 84–96.
113. Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, p. 52.
114. The Report of Francisco da Costa, p. 315.
115. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Emmanuel Leitão, *Relatione di Madure*, Cochin, 20 November 1609, Goa 54a, fols. 20–70; also, see Rajamanickam, *The First Oriental Scholar*, p. 24.
116. For details, see Botelho, 'Tombo do Estado da India (1554)', pp. 22–6; Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India*, pp. 217–19; Godinho, *Les Finances de l'etat Portugais des Indes Orientales*, pp. 306–8; The Report of Francisco da Costa, p. 310.
117. Thanjavur used to receive a significant volume of pepper coming from Kerala through the land route. For details, see Jeyaseela Stephen, *Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System, 1500–1600*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1997, p. 98; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. X, Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1905, pp. 217–19.
118. The Report of Francisco da Costa, p. 315.
119. Ibid.
120. For details, see note 116 in this chapter.
121. Robert de Nobili once resorted to this route for his travel from Madurai, which passed through Shenkottah and the Ariankavu Pass to reach Quilon. Rajamanickam, *The First Oriental Scholar*, p. 40.
122. Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, pp. 115–16; Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, tomo III, parte I, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1922, p. 882.
123. *Jornada*, pp. 120–449.
124. In the upland parts of central Kerala, we find a long chain of *kāvŭs* dedicated to Śāstāvŭ, which are in most cases located on the top of hillocks. 'Śāstāvŭ' seems to have been an abbreviation of Bodhisattva. Some of these dilapidated shrines have been recently renovated, modified and given new meanings and interpretations against the background of pan-Hindu revival movements.
125. For details, see Jonas Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorium, 1958; *Jornada*, pp. 120–465.
126. The *Muhiyudīn Māla* refers to the Sufi space of Calicut and its neighbourhood within which the nucleus of this piece originated. The *Muhiyudīn* of this song in fact refers to Muhiyuddin Abdul Qadir Jilani

(d. 1166), who was the founder of Qadiriyya Sufi silsila. For details on the Qadiriyyas, see S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978.

127. T. Madhava Menon, *A Handbook of Kerala*, vol. II, Trivandrum: International School of Dravidian Linguistics, 2002, pp. 491–3; *Malayalam Literary Survey*, vol. 16, no. 1 and vol. 17, no. 4, 1994, p. 88.
128. Archbishop Dom Alexis de Menezes demanded that the St. Thomas Christian participants in the Synod of Diamper (1599) should not go without signing on the documents prepared in Malayazhma and Garshun. See 'Ezham Mauthwa-Ezham Koodivicharam (Maryathide Thoomakalmel)', in *Udayamperoor Sunahadosinte Kanonakal*, ed. Scaria Zacharia, Edamattom: Indian Institute of Christian Studies, 1994, 19th Canon, p. 245.
129. For details, see Zacharia, *Udayamperoor Sunahadosinte Kanonakal*.
130. This was published for the first time in print form by Fr Bernard. See Fr Thomas Bernard, *Marthoma Kristhianikalude Charitram*, Pala, 1916, pp. 98–109.
131. For *Palli Pattŭkal*, see P.J. Thomas, *Malayala Sahithyavum Christianikalum*, Kottayam: National Book Stall, 1961.
132. For a study on *Vadakken Pattŭkal* (Ballads of North Malabar), see M.C. Appunni Nambiar, ed., *24 Vadakkan Pattukal*, Kollam: Modern Books, 1965; M.R. Raghava Varier, *Vadakkan Pattukalude Paniyala*, Sukapuram: Vallathol Vidyapeetham, 1982.
133. The language form of the brāhmaṇical literature of this time, with a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam, remained for some time as an elite form of Malayalam as it was the language of the brāhmaṇas who shared power. It was used increasingly for the composition of those works now referred as *Maṇipravāḷaṃ*, with a mixture of Malayalam and Sanskrit. *Accī Caritaṃ*s (The Tales of Courtesans) and *Sandēśa Kāvyaṃ*s (Message Poems) such as *Uṇṇiyaccī Caritaṃ*, *Uṇṇiccirutēvī Caritaṃ* and *Uṇṇiyāḍi Caritaṃ* were composed in this language. Ulloor S. Parameshwara Aiyer*, Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritraṃ*, 1953–5; repr., Thiruvananthapuram: Cultural Publications Department, 1990; Kesavan Veluthat, ed., *Raṇḍu Sandēśaṅṅaḷ (Lakṣmīdāsanṟe Śukasandēśavuṃ Uddaṇḍa Śāstrikaḷuṭe Kōkilasandēśavuṃ)*, tr. Kodungalloor Kunjikuttan Thampuran, Kottayam: Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society, 2014.
134. In the Kerala context, clear symptoms of a progressive march towards a distinctively unique genre of Malayalam appeared with *Kṛṣṇagātha* of Ceṟuśśēri, who lived in the court of Kōlattiri ruler Udaya Varma (*c.*1446–76). Chirakkal T. Balakrishnan Nair, 'Introduction', in *Ceṟuśśēri Bhārataṃ*, Thrissur: Kerala Sahitya Akademi, 1974; Ceṟuśśēri, *Kṛṣṇagātha*, Kottayam: D.C. Books, 2000. The lifetime of Ceṟuśśēri corresponded with a phase when the trading activities of Kōlattunāḍŭ

were activated because of its participation in the trade with Vijayanagara rulers, particularly in horses imported from West Asia.

135. See Tuncattŭ Eḻuttaccan, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇaṃ*, Kottayam: D.C. Books, 1998.
136. See Gopi Kottoor*, Poonthanam's Hymns: The Fountain of God*, Calcutta: Writers Workshop, 2002.
137. Reinhard Hilderbrandt, *Die 'Georg Fuggerischen Erben': Kaufmännische Tätigkeit und sozialer Status, 1555–1600*, Berlin: Duncker and Humbolt, 1966, appendix, pp. 191–6; M.A.H. Fitzler, 'Der Anteil der deutschen an der Kolonial politik Philipps II von Spanien in Asien', *Vierteljahrschrift für Social und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 28, 1935, pp. 243–81.
138. For details, see Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire*, pp. 104–5, 164.
139. One of the most important shrines dedicated to Muttappan is that of Parissinikkadavu.
140. The sacred shrines of Śāstāvŭ are even now known not as temples but as *kāvŭs,* despite the passage of a long span of time since this transformation process started. For details, see Pius Malekandathil, ed., *Indian Ocean in the Making of Early Modern India*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2016, pp. 23–4.
141. *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇaṃ* is read daily even today in every Hindu household, particularly in the month of *Kārtika* (July–August) by the devotees of Rama, while *Kṛṣṇagātha* is used for daily recitation as an act of worship of Kṛṣṇa during the Malayalam month of *Ciṅṅaṃ* (August–September) by the devotees of Kṛṣṇa.
142. Antony, *Payyannoor Pattu*, p. 5.
143. Gonçalves, *Historia do Malavar*, pp. 5–6; see note 116 in this chapter.
144. See note 116.
145. M. Antoinette P. Roelofsz, *De Vestiging der Nederlanders ter Kuste Malabar*, 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1943, p. 106; T.I. Poonen, *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar, 1603–78*, Trichnopoly: St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1948, pp. 56–7.
146. For details on the conquest of Chembakasserry kingdom along with other principalities, see Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. I, pp. 343–51; Shangoonny Menon, *History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*, Madras: Higginbotham and Co., 1878, pp. 135–55; A. Sreedhara Menon, *District Gazetteer of Trivandrum*, p. 11; Pius Malekandathil, 'Winds of Change and Links of Continuity: A Study on the Merchant Groups of Kerala and the Channels of their Trade, AD 1000–1800', *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 50, nos. 2–3, 2007, pp. 279–83. However, in the popular perception regarding the movement of Kunchan Nambiar and Ramapurathu Warrier from Chembakasserry to Kalkulam, the conquest of Chembakasserry by Marthanda Varma is never included. It is presented as a normal move of artists and literary personalities from one ruler to another for getting

better patronage. See Sankunny, *Aithihyamala*, pp. 159–61, 261–2. From historical records, it is clear that Marthanda Varma defeated the rulers of Chembakasserry around 1748, which in actuality must have been the main reason for the eventual shifting of these literary figures to Kalkulam.

147. It is obvious that the movement of Ramapurathu Warrier and Kunchan Nambiar to Kalkulam immediately after Marthanda Varma's conquest of Chembakasserry was not casual or accidental. It was the result of an intentional intervention of Marthanda Varma to appropriate the producers of popular culture of the defeated territories for articulating his own sagas of achievements using the literary-cum-cultural medium.

148. Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984; de Vries, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 54, no. 2, 1994, pp. 249–70; Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; Michael Walter Flinn, *The European Demographic System, 1500–1820*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981; Myron P. Gutmann, *Toward the Modern Economy: Early Industry in Europe, 1500–1800*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988. For a detailed discussion, see Jan de Vries, 'The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World', *The Economic History Review*, vol. 63, no. 3, 2010, pp. 710–33; Malekandathil, *Indian Ocean in the Making of Early Modern India*, pp. 15–19; Jack A. Goldstone, 'The Problem of the "Early Modern" World', *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 41, no. 3, 1998, pp. 252–3. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Asia', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 31, no. 3, 1997, pp. 737–8. Also, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Hearing Voices: Vignettes of Early Modernity in South Asia, 1400–1750', *Daedalus*, vol. 127, no. 3, 1998, pp. 75–104.