

# VANIYAMKULAM VIJNANIYAM

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## *A case study of village culture to define the identity of Malayaalan*

The problem of cultural evolution and social formation of Kerala has not been yet received a status of thrust area of investigation. The basic drawback is that most of the writings are of generalizations without any support of authentic (direct or indirect) evidences collected from villages. Exhaustive fieldwork is necessary to correlate the historical observations. This author had taken up micro level village studies based on TOPONOMY of Calicut taluk in 1975. A good number of authors clearly pointed out that no sufficient sources are collected or no attempt had. been made by researchers to get the available sources. Dr.K.N.Panicker has said:” The peoples take over of the responsibility of recording the local history has become the need of the hour”. I have adopted Participatory Research Appraisal Method/Sharing of Local Knowledge in 1978 by using questionnaire and fieldwork. Later 1996 Govt. of Kerala started a project to write local history of villages on Panchayath basis, under the scheme village gazetteers. A case study done by the author for the project of UGC is the VANIYAMKULAM VJNANIYAM. It is Vol IV of the Project “Cultural Geography and Habitat of Bharathappula River Valley”.

## *Pioneering works on Local History:*

The Stress on Local History was made by this author in 1978 and has completed a work in 1987. The dissertation was concentrated on local history of Calicut taluk, where the erstwhile Zamorins Capital, port and fortification existed.

## *TOPONYMY and Village history study*

This author did the earliest Toponomycal study of village history in Kerala namely A Study of Place Names in the Calicut District. (1975-1988) This work analyses more than 200 villages in grass root level. A few articles on the subject are published by this author during the years 1976, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1994. Nearly thirty research papers are also published.

## **The Legacy of Nila-An institutional project ,SNGS College Pattambi**

In 1995 the study of Nila river valley is taken up as an Area study/ Regional Study .A Theme “The Legacy of Nila” was under taken for a long-term research in the Oriental Research Center, SNGS College, Pattambi, Palghat Dist, Kerala.

## **JANAPADAPANAM: A CASE STUDY\*:**

The Project generated a great momentum in all fields of work in the Nila river valley. This is reflected in media reports. Seminar reports, works of Nila protection activities etc The degeneration of river system is gradually destroying the village patterns and culture. Knowledge about cultural potential of the valley will initiate rigorous and grass root level cultural studies in the area. Project is aimed to analyse

the early cultural situations, geographical distribution of cultural factors and to find out the relation between cultural factors and habitat. . The popular awareness is moulded by the project in this direction. Informants are the people of the valley. It is participatory Research. A Questionnaire by name "Malayalante Valiyatayalangan" was distributed and a Workshop was also conducted to do exhaustive Field work as per the method of participatory research/sharing of local knowledge. The impact of the project is visible in the major historical and cultural research work carried out. by a Grama Panchayat with the assistance of Oriental research Center SNGS COLLEGE Pattambi. In 1997 The center conducted a National Seminar under the theme The LEGACY OF Nila. Summary of the Vaniyamkulam study submitted to UGC as a part of the major project is given here.

In 1996 Govt. of Kerala started a village level planning of developments under Peoples Planning, Programme and the works were entrusted to the Village Panchayats, Block panchayats and District Panchayats.

The Panchayaths conducted a preliminary survey and as per the directions of the Govt: they had to include the cultural history of the Panchayats in their Panchayat development (planning) report.

**Vaniyamkulam Panchayath** of **Ottapalam** taluk in the Palghat district initiated a project to prepare the Cultural History of Vaniyamkulam. They conducted a meeting on 9.8.1997 and entrusted the investigation part to this author as the "Chief Investigator" of the cultural history of the Vaniyamkulam Panchayat.. The general co-ordinator /Chief Editor of the work was Sri. P.K. Sivadasan, Vaniyamkulam

(\*VANIYAMKULAM GAZETTEER A case study under Cultural Geography and Habitat of Bharathappuzha River valley-UGC Major Research Project of SNGS COLLEGE PATTAMBI ( 1998-2001)

### ***The Problem of Malayalan and Malayalam,, the land of Malayalan's.***

Here the question of identity of the people of Kerala becomes a point of discussion. Even though the land and people of the western part of Western Ghats are called Kerala and Malayali respectively, no authentic analysis of the problem has been done regarding the Malayala Identity. The relation of the area to other parts of the early Tamilakom is evidenced by Sanghom literature and the land was generally segmented as Kuttanadu, Kudanadu, Pulinadu, etc. during the Sanghom age. These segments lay on the west of western ghats, and early migrations of various groups of people to this segments were through Palakkad Gap, the only opening on western ghats in the eastern part of the three segments. The gap is opened to Kudanadu (the name is supposed to be given by the settlers in the eastern side of the ghats) or western country. The present Nila river valley as a whole comes under Kudanadu. Southern Neighboring land on south of Kudanadu was Kuttanadu, where the second Chera rulers (Cheras of Mahodayapuram) established their capital on the western coast at Cranganore. The northern neighboring land was Pulinadu, supposed to be ruled by Nannan of Ezhimala (noted in the Sanghom literature) in the beginning of Christian era, and during the period of Kulasekharas. Kulasekhara Cheras ruled the area under investigation during 9th cAD to 11th cAD. After the decline of Kulasekharas almost all of Kuttanadu, Kudanadu and Pulinadu up to Badagara beyond Calicut in the north became under the rule of

Zamorins of Calicut.

Kuttuvar lived in Kuttanad. Kutavar and Puliyaar lived in Kutanad and Pulinad respectively. Their leaders were named Kuttavarkon, Kutavarkon and Puliyaarkon respectively. There is no specific reference of Malanad on the western part of western ghats. Some historians are of view that there was Malayalali's in the Tamilakom. They lived in the Ghats. These hilly areas were known as Malanadu. However there are clear epigraphical evidences of Kulasekharas of 10th cAD to prove that the people who occupied the land between the present Alleppey district and Malappuram district were Malayalans. Thus naturally their land was Mala and it is suffixed with nadu.

. Those people settled in Malanadu were called Malayalans, where the suffix "aaluka" means to settle down. Hence the problem of identity of Malayalans, the people who settled in the present Kerala is to be investigated at grass root level. It is pointed out that tribal groups by name Malayalan is even now live in Kollimala, near the earliest settlement of Sangham Cheras: The study of Dr Unnikkidavu is a mile stone in the research related to the Identity of Malayalan. (*"Ceeravum Keralavum" Dr .K Unnikkidavu, Akshara saakshyam, Monthly, East Road, Quilandy, Calicut District, Book 1, No 3 Sep. 1999*).

. Parantaka Chola married Kizhanatikai and their son was Rajaditya Chola (948 cAD) While he was organizing the defense of the Chola empire in Tirumonaipattinatu from 936 c AD onwards he had a whole contingent of Malayalee or Keralite officers in his military force.

"Many of them have left behind their names in donative inscriptions in Tirunavalur or Thirunamanallur, called Rajadityapuram till about 1140cAD. Some of these Kerala officers hailed from the families of hereditary district Governors in Kerala. The names that we find in a group are those of Malaiyalan Maluvachar Attankan chattan, Malaiyalan Netunkalayanatu Isanamangalattu Manavallan Kannan, Malaiyalan Iravi Kotai, Malaiyalan Netumpurayur nattilvakkanattu Mankarai Kantan Kaman, Malainattu Kantiyur Velkula sundaran, Malaiyanaparivaarattu Cevakan Tirukkunrappula Centan Kumaran, and Malainattu Mataivalikai Iyakkai Iraman." (*Perumals of Kerala, P48, Dr MGS Narayanan, Calicut, 1996*)

It is clear that the native places of the people mentioned in the inscription are in Kerala. Netunkalayanatu (Nedunganad) is the Palakkad District. Nedumpurayur natu is also in Palakkad district. Kantiyur and Trikkunnappulai are near Mavelikkara in Alleppey District. All are Malayalans. Thus we have to assume that the people lived in between Nedunganad and Olanad were given the name Malaiyalan by Tamils in 9th cAD. Later in the 13th cAD, early Champukavya Unniccirutevicharitham, Malayalar is mentioned. Malayalans were in Poyilam Annati or Market near Pattaambi, heart of Nedunganad according to the Champu. Kantiyur mattom was also an annati, a few miles east of Trikkunnappula. This place is believed to be the Buddhist center Sreemuulavaasam. It is very important that the inscriptions are written by Princes of Tamil country and it identified the people of Kutanadu, kuttanadu Etc as Malaiyaalan. Again in the literary works which are very particular to describe markets always identify the people in the markets. Hence the identification is a must. Such descriptions are in our early Champu and Sandesa kavyas. These factors are to be taken into account in the study of Identity of Malayalans.

. The problem of identity of Malayalans is to be enquired based on their anthropological nature, settlement patterns, living style, family system, occupations, migrations and such aspects of culture. Some unique characteristics of the linguistic expression and the nature and structuring of prehistoric monuments of the settlers on the western gnats are pointed out by scholars and hence the settlers might have their own evolutionary stages under the peculiar circumstances of habitat of Tina system. Cultural Heritage is to be studied based on the habitat situations .It is important that colure of a land is heavily influenced by Habitat.

#### ***Tina System and Malaya/ans:***

The concept of Tinai or eco- zones in the Sangom literature cannot fully hold good for the nature of Tinai in the Kerala context, and this peculiar nature of tinai mixing (tinai mayakkam), had its own influence in the settlement patterns of people of Kerala. The tinai mayakkam and development of dispersed type of village system are iter-related. The 'Tinai mayakkam, menpulam and vanpulam of Kerala show remarkable difference with such situations of other southern parts of the mainland or other parts of the early Tamilakom. Hence in the analyses we have to put forward a basic observation that the nature and living conditions of the mainland had influenced the settlers of Kerala and helped to create their own identity as Malayalan, with their own settlement patterns .It might have promoted the evolution of Tarawads, Sthanisystem of Power structure under Swaroopams and Joint family system etc. in Kerala.

People who live in the Tamil land is Tamilan and those who live in Telugu country are Telungan and Malayalan identify those who live in Mala country. Mala+aalan, means one who live in Malanadu another name of the land. It clearly shows that the name of the land was Mala and not Kerala.

#### ***The Malanadu culture:***

. The present analysis is thus directed to understand the cultural evolution of Malayalan Malanadu culture and not of Kerala culture. It is an effort to understand the culture of settlers of the land on the western part of the western Ghats with special stress on Nila river valley. where toponyms of village names reflect Kudanadu.

The analysis of epigraphs related to Cheras of Mahodayapuram reveal that there existed Nedunganadu, Valluvanadu, Nedumpurayurnadu etc. in the river valley, which was called Kutanadu (Western country) during Sanghoms period (upto 3rd cAD or 4th cAD). The name of Kutanadu is still in use in the area and the eastern part of the nadu is situated in Palghat Gap, through which the Kutanadu has its contacts to other parts of the Tamilakom.

In some Chera epigraphs and in some Tamil epigraphs of 10th cAD there are references of Malayalans who lived in: Kutanadu. The epigraphical evidences reveal that the people who lived in Kuttanadu and Kudanadu were Malayalans. It is to be noted that according to historians the south of Kuttanadu was ruled by Ay kings and north of Kutanadu was ruled by Nandan of Elimala (Puliyarkon). The Cheras rule existed only in Kutanadu and Kuttanadu.By 8th cen.AD, the Cheras established their capital at Mahodayapura (Cranganore) on the western coast, near the present Cochin Port.

A rigorous analysis related to many aspects of the Tinais in the Kerala context, evolution of family system under the title Taravad or ancestral household, problems of feudal family system, especially joint family system widely spread on the Nila River valley. Malayalan and his characteristics developed under the peculiar nature of habitat which produced the joint family system matrilineal system, caste hierarchy, geopolitical system, feudalistic way of rule etc. existed in the valley are yet to be studied. We have to take up the model of Janapadapadanam in Kerala studies where Participatory Research Appraisal Method is adopted.

### **Vaniyamkulam Panchayath and Panchayath Gazetteer Work**

Vaniyamkulam panchayath converted their project to Preparation of Panchayath Gazetteer in the year 2000, according to the directives of the state Gazetteers department. But the survey was based on Malayalante Valiyatayalanganal and Preparation of Village Cultural registers, a new Field survey method adopted in the Legacy of Nila project. Thus the work was neither in the model suggested by the Gazetteers dept nor in the model of Nila studies. .

The Panchayath itself made the entire infrastructure facilities needed for fieldwork. It is clear that all the steps taken by the Panchayat for preparation of the Gazetteer were sufficient to make rigorous investigation at grass root level to understand cultural and social formations, early history of the villages, cultural and historical geography of the village and many other unearthed cultural and historical problems from oral tradition. This investigation methodology evolved by the PI of UGC in 1997 is the first of its kind in Kerala. The inter- disciplinary method of cultural analysis, studies of village cultural history etc. were envisaged in the theme LEGACY OF NILA. The cultural history of the Panchayat comprising of 12 Revenue villages in the valley is analysed on the basis of various kinds of evidences. Different scholars of different branches of knowledge did it.

#### ***Study to view inter- relations of Great Tradition and Little Tradition.***

The study was taken up by the Principal Investigator of the UGC project as a Case Study to evolve a methodology to be adopted in Village/Area/Regional study in Kerala. Villages in Kerala are of dispersed type. The villages in the records are only administrative units.

The revenue Villages are not formed on the basis of the Concept "Cultural Unit". The smallest cultural unit of Kerala is a House or a hut with some agricultural land around it. The settlers are of different religious, cultural or caste based units. We usually see a family, with its own system of cultural patterns. Such families of same patterns come under a cluster. But, such relations are not confined to a few villages. Thus, the identification of cultural units under two major divisions (micro and macro forms) becomes necessary. In order to overcome such difficulties and complexities, preparation of Gazetteers was taken up by the department under Panchayath /Revenue concept.

Along with the cultural geography of the village, the cultural and historical evolution of families is also to be studied. The study of aboriginals and such groups of people identified from patterns of toponomical and anthroponomical signifiers also is to be done. The same type of analysis is to be done in the case of identified privileged groups of Great culture also. 'Privileged groups' are groups of families under the structural patterns, which come under the power structure. There are three major type social formations (1) Reference groups (2) Main stream of the society (3) Agricultural labourers and labourers engaged in markets Etc. The major forces, which separated the society in segments and units, are (1)

Political Power (2) Economic Power (3) Customs and manners based on religion and caste. (1. Dr N M Nampoothiri, Kerala Samskaram – Akavum Puravum, Central co-operative society, Calicut University, 2002. 2. Report submitted to UGC, dt 10/10/2002). Thus apart from the segmentation of spatial distribution of families under the peculiar geographical and topographical set up of the land, hierarchical system of the society based on the three major factors also exist there. Power, Economy and Customs and manners will produce very high complexities in the study: The societal formations and different forces exerted by the privileged groups can be identified with sources other than oral traditions. But, the societal formation and cultural formation of the lowest segment - Labour class in general, aboriginals and early settlers - can be viewed only through oral traditions. Both social systems are to be analysed and the evolutionary stages due to the interaction of them are to be identified.

The analysis has to be done in different stages. (1) Analysis of Cultural and Social formations of labour class Etc. based on oral traditions. (2) Cultural and Societal aspects of settlement patterns, nature of habitat and the resources. This kind of approach to the problem of Kerala Culture based on Cultural Geography and Habitat is a desideratum.

#### *Method of Analysis adopted in Vaniyankulam Study .*

This type of case studies are to be taken up to understand the cultural geography of each village. Exhaustive field work to collect village oral traditions, evidences of written records are to be undertaken. The second group of evidences are the out come of investigation on scientific level and early survey reports on various geographical, topographical, soil, agriculture, water resources etc. The knowledge of geography, topography, geology etc. identified in the local oral tradition is checked with the results of the modern scientific observations. Thus the change of habitat if any is to be noticed and the actual nature of the habitat thus become clear. This kind of integration of the two or three type of knowledge, and its various other branches are scientifically done. This methodology is the same in analysing the other factors such as Resources. Growth of settlements etc also. Each and every item is to be taken up. Various tables are to be prepared to see the total picture and various distribution maps are also to be prepared.

After the analysis of each factor, their interrelations, interferences such as migration of different groups of people to the area, political interferences etc. are to be rigorously studied. There are various hierarchical forms of the society under religious basis, caste basis etc. These are to be brought out. These can be represented by charts Pyramidal structure's or concentric circles, which will bring out various forces acted upon the society in different periods of the societal formation. The forces seen are centripetal and centrifugal. The resultant force will be the **Dynamism** of culture in the evolutionary stages of culture. The analysis is to be taken up vertically and horizontally to find out the actual resultant. The stages of analysis are: 1) Geography and Topography 2) Resources of the area 3) Growth of settlements 4) Cultural evolution and social formation. These factors are to be identified and analysed at the outset itself with the help of oral traditions.

As noted above, the major thread interrelating the various factors of human life has been taken (1) The Geography, Topography and Soil (2) Resources of the area (3) Growth of Settlements and Major patterns of

settlements (4) Cultural and Social formation. Based on the four factors enlisted above we have to analyse Urbanisation through ages and the cultural evolutions in various stages taking all the four factors as cultural and social segmentations.

Twelve villages of the Vaniyamkulam Panchayath are the “**Core Area**” .A group of villages around it form the close hinterlands. The Core area has traditional “**Vaniyam kulam annati**” and the Villages located within 10-16 kmtrs around it are taken as close hinterlands. Southern border of the Core Area is River **Bharathappula**. The faraway hinterland is comparatively larger area. In order to study the major forces of all kinds of human activities, geographical and topographical stresses, interferences in the core area we here consider these two types of hinterland. Very faraway hinterlands are beyond Calicut port, Cochin port and Palghat gap. Maritime Track is also not taken into account. The far away hinterlands are the areas up to Calicut port on the north, Palghat gap on the east, Ponnani tura on the west and Cochin port on the south. Palghat is the geographical boundary of Kerala in the east, and Ponnani forms the geographical boundary, (the Arabian sea) on the west. The northern Port of the far away hinter land is taken as Calicut port, and southern Port as Cochin because of very important historical and cultural situations existed in the land around Nila river valley.

Calicut was the major port and Capital city of Zamorins of Calicut in the medeival period (13th CAD to 19th CAD), and the chieftain was the supreme authority of the geographical area including the Nila rive valley. Thus the port and market, political power, trade geography, political geography, agricultural and forest geography etc, reveal that historical evolution of the society in the area is mainly depended upon Zamorins rule.

The southern boundary is noted as Cochin port, mainly because of the trade geography etc. Perumpadappu swaroopam had many rights over Palghat and Ponnani regions in the medieval period. Their ancestral house was believed to be at Perumpadappu, near the river mouth at Ponnani. The Swaroopam was of later origin and the area of Cochin rulers was Kalkarinadu during the Chera period (Cheras of Cranganore in 9th, 10th and II the centuries.) Nedumpuraiyur rulers ruled this nadu at that time. According to tradition this chieftaincy had their seat at Palghat where Palghat gap exists. Thus the relation of Cochin to Nila Valley goes back to 9th - 11 th Centuries AD.

Historical relation of Vaniyamkulam area to the central power system at Cranganore (Cheras) is thus important. Vaniyamkulam had strong trade relations with Tirukkunavay Jaina centre at Cranganore port. The situation of Vaniyamkulam as a centre of Trade- Corporation of early period by name **Nakarattar** is the major indication. The Pulavars of Vaniyamkulam was The Nakattars of Vaniyamkulam Market according to their traditional family Land Records. They used the Title “Onnukura Ayiram”, a title supposed to be used by People in Chera.Services. Vayyavi naattu Nampity settled near Kotikkunnu around Kootallur had also used this title. This area is Kulamukku Pattanam-a famous market area .The Nampitis were the major Akampati Janam of The Zamorins.Thus it is clear that the title mentioned above reflects trade relations and military status.

The major findings of the investigation done by the Principal Investigator (UGC) project at Vaniyamkulam is summarised below. The methodology involves correlation, corroboration and integration of various observations.

### **I Geography and topography-Vaniyamkulam: Results of Onomastic survey**

1. The toponymical investigation prove that there are hills, valleys and very high hydraulic slopes in northern and' northwestern part of the Panchayath. Hence land for paddy cultivation is comparatively small and forest areas are large. The land gradually merges with River Nila on south and southeast, and on the banks of the river fertile paddy fields are distributed. Thus by topography, the land produces more cash crops and availability of Forest produces is also very large whereas production of paddy is low.

2. The settlement patterns reflected in toponymical distribution maps reveal that aboriginals inhabit the hilly villages and slopes. Toponymical data shows that settlements of Aboriginals are highly distributed. Signifiers of prehistoric burials are seen in the hilly tracts. On the other' hand close to the river banks toponyms and Anthroponyms reveal that the areas are inhabited by the Brahmin members of the ruling hierarchy, Privileged groups, and People who were in royal services in palaces. Thus, the pattern shows two major areas of settlements. One of them is of aborigines/tribes and the other is of Reference Society. The problem thus analyzed becomes the analysis of social formation and cultural formation of the area, based on **Cultural Geography interrelated** to the **habitat**. The interaction of the Geographical situations and the life of the people in the cluster of settlement segments existed is thus clearly visible by Onomastic enquiries alone. The result of the Onomastic enquiries is fully corroborated by studies of other evidences like oral traditions, recorded manuscripts of Kavalappara swaroopam, customs and manners observed by all settlers of the area.

3. On northern, northwestern and southwestern parts, hilly tract is seen. Slopes are highly undulating. In the eastern part there are some plain lower lands. On southeastern part there is undulating nature in topography. The river Nila flows on the southern boundary. The width of the river on the boundary is very small compared to other portions of the river on eastern and western side. There are ferries on riverbanks, and large fertile paddy fields. Hydraulic slope of the land from Northwest to Southeast is very large and water emerging out from natural springs on hills and hillocks flows away to the river. The topography shows rocks, unfertile rocky soil and undulated rocky areas on northern half of the Panchayath. But the southern part of the Panchayath the soil is fertile for paddy cultivation. There were bushy natures on both parts reflected in toponym 'mulla' (mulla is a tinai concept of Sanghom period) on northern part where more than six villages are distributed. In the villages of southwestern part, the nature is hilly.

4. This survey is to be done rigorously. The basic framework to do Janapadapadanam is only pointed out here. It starts thus from habitat features and settlement patterns of early period. It is then linked to the political and cultural changes taken place in the area due to the interference of Great Tradition in Little Tradition.

### **II Geography and Topography - Surrounding areas: Closer hinterland areas.**

Even though there are only twelve villages in the particular Panchayath the nature of the earth and soil and all other factors like historical geography, cultural geography etc. of the surrounding area mentioned under closer hinterland are to be taken into consideration. This situation arises because the **Core area** under study is not geographically, culturally, or socially a separate unit from hinterland areas. Thus closer hinterlands are the continuum in all aspects of the Core area. In the same way, the far away hinterlands mentioned are also a continuum of closer hinterlands. This situation arises because of the nature of Kerala settlements as dispersed villages. But, it is impossible to analyse all aspects of such a large areas. Thus rigorous analysis is done in the core area as Vaniamkulam Micro study (a segment of 12 villages)

2. The closer hinterlands are taken into consideration for geographical setting and availability of resources such as forest produces, agricultural produces, trading facilities, trade routes etc. The far away hinter lands are taken into consideration because of historical geography, maritime trade facilities, chieftaincies and their interferences, trade routes etc. are to be analysed.

### **Trade route links**

3. The salient features of the closer hinterlands show the extension of the hilly track of Vaniamkulam to Ananganadi hills, Mannarghat hilly tracts etc. merging of them is Attappadi hill area of Western Ghats. It is an extension of Western Ghats. On the eastern and western parts, there are undulating lands and vast paddy fields of Valluvanadu. Enormous trade routes are entering in this hinterland area, which connects the hinterland to Coimbatore through Palghat gap and Attapadi ranges. From Coimbatore it goes to Madura, Tanjore, Karur etc. on south and south east of Tamilnadu. On the northeast, the city Coimbatore is connected to places in Andhra pradesh and places around Palar River at Katpati, Kavanur, Melar Pettah etc. The routs passing through Mannarghat connects the area to Calicut port and Ponnani port on the west. On the southern part, the adjacent hinterland is on the southern bank of river Nila. Two trade routs starting from the Vaniamkulam area crosses the river at 'Navayathodi' (Ferry. In Tamil Navaya means Port) The village Trangali. Locals interpret the village name as "Tiru angadi". This interpretation of the market cannot be rejected because the market is in front of Trangali Temple. Temples and Markets Co-existed everywhere in Kerala. Probably Tiru angadi might be the earliest market in Vaniyamkulam. The route connects the area to hilly tract at Kollengode, Alathur etc. and crosses the Western Ghat. and reaches at Pollachi. The same route crosses Trichur and connects Cochin port and Cranganore port to Vaniamkulam. These routes had historical significances also. On the southern side of the Core area, there is a waterway to Ponnani Port through the river Nila.

### **Market links**

4 The topographical situation clearly denotes the possibility of collection of forest produces, pre-historic settlements, and transfer of goods to far away ports. The topography of the core area where paddy cultivation is low and waste lands are more enable sufficient spatial facilities to store and exchange goods. The Core area is at the centre of the major trade route connecting Ponnani port and Palghat gap The Road runs all along the river bank, close to the river and it signifies the early pattern

of Trade routes. On the southern bank also there is a trade route from Vadakkanchery to Pattambi, Trithala area on the bank of Nila. The route ends at Trithala area where existed early trade centers like Kulamukku, Kotikuunnu, Poyilam annati, Tirunavaya and a few kilometer south there exists a cattle market at Perumpilavu. All these connections of trade routs, centrally situated position, availability of waste land, Royal patronage, availability of forest produces and cash crops etc. are the Centripetal forces of the **Core Area Vaniamkulam** to emerge out as a Internal Trade and Exchange Centre on the central part of Nila river valley,

### **III Resources**

Resources of the core area Vaniamkulam is analysed with the help of toponyms and oral traditions. Scientific surveys were done to understand the situation with the help of environmental, Bio-diversity, Hydrological and land use pattern studies.

. The Flora system reveals that there were enormous numbers of medicinal plants and forest trees in the area. The habitat is productive for cash crops. Historical analysis evidences that the chieftain who ruled over the land had various storage centres and exchange centres distributed in the area where cash crops, vegetables, millets etc. were largely collected and exchanged These centers are called Kalams. The hinter land areas are supportive to these.

### **III. Growth of Settlements in the Core Area:**

The closer hinter land along with the core area shows Prehistoric sites dating back to 900 BC - 400 BC, exposing the origin of human settlements even at that time. Robert sewell has noted more than one hundred locations of burials, caves, umbrella stones etc. in and around the core area. A few of them are now reflected in toponyms. One or two monuments are there in the core area in a highly damaged situation. No archaeological excavations are conducted till this day, eventhough they are noted by Sewell in 1860.

. The settlers of the early period might have changed their Anthropological nature, rituals. customs and manners to a very high level by adopting new social situations. But the present dwellers on the north and north west part of the core villages, reflect their early nature in dwellings and rituals. The present Labour - class groups spread over the hills. hillocks and valleys even today preserve their tribal deity worship in houses. They have small worshipping centres called 'Kaavu'. But the integration of 'Kaavu' system to great tradition has changed its previous nature of deity worship of the aboriginals. Some of the ancestral worship systems and rituals related to it such as Attu etc. are still prevalent among them. These type of settlers form a major part of the population in the area. The demographic situation thus reveal that there was comparatively large settlements with tribal culture in and around the Panchayath.

On the river bank of Vaniamkulam, there are only a few villages. Here we see nearly 60 - 70 large families of privileged groups including a palace complex. The analysis show that the area is fertile for paddy cultivation and paddy is the staple food of people of Kerala. The priveleged group form higher castes like

Brahmins. Nairs. temple communities etc. They are mostly related to the power structure of the

chieftain who ruled the area and thus they form a higher group with very high economic, ritualistic and other facilities along with power. Thus, the influence of these groups in Vaniamkulam area seems to be great

. Amidst this settlements on the river bank, close to the palace complex there exists the temple of Durga, called Aryamkavu. The rituals of the temple and festivals like pooram and vela clearly reflect the interference of this ruling class and privileged groups in the centres of worship of unprivileged groups. The situation clearly points out the adaptation of customs and ceremonies by the lower groups on northern and higher groups on southern part. Thus even though the core area is geographically a continuum demographically two major groups exist; one of Great culture and another of Little culture. They spread over the area based on the available resources.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the growth of settlements are directly related to the resources and geographical setting. The demography and geographical setting at Vaniamkulam has a uniqueness. The locational benefits a central place of the valley, and even the situation as the central geographical place of far away hinter lands, and major port facilities, river way, Ghat, and a port- are all centripetal forces of the development of a comparatively large internal market in the area.

Demographic situation clearly brings out settlements of large trade communities such as Chettis from Andhra (Telugu Chettis or 24 Mana Chettis) Chaliya Chyttis (Chalia Sector Chaliyatteru at Koonathara) and other trading communities. A thorough historical analysis brings out certain important historical factors involved in the factor of demography.

**i** The 'Koonathara Nakaratar' is the title of a Chetty family at Koonathara and they are said to be the 'Onnukura ayiravar' (The Nine hundred and ninety nine) of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram - Cranganore : These Chettis are said to be Vaniyas. Vaniya chettis were a part of Tirukkunavay Jaina centre at Mahodayapuram and hence some royal relations and Jaina relations are clearly indicated.

**ii.** There was a Nakaram or Trade corporate sector at Vaniamkulam which is reflected in family records of Chettis is indicated.

**iii** The title of the feudal chieftain who ruled the Vaniamkulam area was Karakkattu Moothar. One of his family branch is located at Alathur an early settlement of Jaina, and they had a market under their control at that place. The head of the family at Alathur has the title Melarkot Mootahr. All other Five branches of the family used Muuthar along with their title

**iv.** During the period 10th cAD, one envoy by name Chola Muttarayan, came over to a place Tirumittakod, close to this area and had established a Siva temple in the temple complex of Vishnu. This Muttaraya belonged to Kavanurkuttam of Melurkot area in the Tondai mandalam. Circumstances reveal that the Muttarayas of 7th - 8th cAD of Tondaj mandalam were Jainas. It is said that they converted to Saivites. The places around the Core area is completely settled by moothans, who

are great traders of Zamorins. Thus, due to various historical reasons and evidences we have to assume that there was a large migration of Jainas (converted to Saivites) from Chola territory after 11th century AD, and they settled in and around Palghat gap and places up to the market noted at Kulamukku. This demographical situation has its origin in the trade facilities and royal supports.

v Circumstances clearly prove that the ruling family of Kavalappara belonged to this group of Migratory Saivites, their family deity is Siva, worshipped in Eruppa temple, west of Aryankaavu.

vi Analysis of the feudal family systems, it is revealed that they follow the customs and manners of the Zamorins of Calicut, but they had no Coronation ceremony conducted by Brahmins, which in turn show that these groups are anti-Brahminical; probably Jainas. Trading is also anti-Brahminical.

vii Thus the investigation brings out certain very important findings regarding a ruling family which in many ways differs from all other chieftaincies of Kerala. This can be called "A trade group chieftaincy" hitherto unnoticed in Kerala. Compared to Zamorins system, they have only the status of a Cherikkal Sthani or Governor of a division of the Zamorins. A detailed historical study of the families and Moothan trader's family in the closer-hinterland areas are done and very important historical and social findings are brought out.

#### **IV Social and cultural formation**

The evidences of oral tradition clearly express the cultural evolution of the three hierarchies of the society mentioned earlier. The ruling families (the apex of the pyramidal structure of the society) The main stream society (the middle part of the pyramidal structure) and The labour class or the lowest layer of aboriginal groups (the society at the foot of the pyramidal structure)

The pyramidal structure has the apex, middle part and base. Here it is not a continuum because of the social stratification. The apex is the most important factor, because the power, economy and decision making authority in customs and manners are depicted in the apex to a large extent. The land ownership is also vested in them and they are landlords. The mainstream society has many hierarchies in itself. The Brahmins, temple communities and other higher groups like Nair etc. are at the top of the main stream. They own many privileges where the Brahmins have the ownership of land and decision making power in customs, manners and hereditary rights. Other two or three groups below the Brahmins are landholders, but land was distributed to them in the basis of lease. This right seen to all other lower communities in the mainstream including Ilavas, Muslims Christians etc

The Brahmins and Nairs are holders of land of Devaswoms too. Apart from Devaswoms, they have land ownership and lease holdership in the nature of Brahmaswoms also. Thus it is clear that power, ownership of land, decision making right in customs and manners are almost centralised in the higher groups of the privileged Class in the mainstream society. Highly privileged groups are at the apex. They are the rulers.

Various aspects of the societal formations and hierarchies reflected in the oral tradition are discussed in *the* above sections elaborately in a larger context Kerala Culture. Apart from that, the oral traditions clearly bring out the basic cultural factors of the lowest groups. Each and every aspect of their life, food, clothing, customs, manners, agriculture, agricultural equipments, medicinal knowledge, marriage systems, funeral functions, kinship relations etc. are all reflected in oral songs, proverbs, oral kind of expressions, knowledge, festivals and rituals. Thus we get a "mixture" of social and cultural factors, strongly integrated with the life of the lowest groups. This can be traced back to prehistoric period through scientific studies.

There are oral traditions related to the privileged groups also. They also indirectly reflect their status in the society, their customs and manners etc. unnoticed in the recorded evidences. The rituals and ritual based power implementation factors when separated from the cultural factors of these groups, bring out the nature of interferences they made to centralise the power, right of customs and manners and economy in them. These activities are to some extent, is mentioned in the recorded evidences too. Thus details available from evidences other than oral tradition of the privileged groups are also of much help in the analysis of cultural evolution of the area. Here the historical process of social and cultural evolution can be noticed.

Here arises the problem of analyses based on inter disciplinary lines, correlation, corroboration and integration of various factors and segments to see the social and cultural evolution in total as an organic structure. There are oral traditions and other type of evidences, but they form the part of the whole society and the factors are integrated. Now they are separated for the purpose of scientific analysis. The nature of evolutions said above is almost parallel to the evolution noted in the analysis of society in Zamorins land. But some major differences are also to be noted in the Vaniamkulam Case study. The problem of segment wise analysis is discussed in detail in the book Kerala Samskaram Akavum Puravum (2002) Detailed analysis of the segmentation of the society is analysed using Zamorins palace records in the book Malabar studies-Saamuuthirnad (Under publication of kerala state language institute) Another point to be bear in mind is that in these studies most of the analysis is based on power structure and its interferences to the lower hierarchies of the society, and in most part it is based on recorded evidences. Here in Vaniamkulam Case Study the analysis is integrated with the vast oral tradition evidences. In the Malabar studies, we thus get only the evolutionary stages of privileged groups. The lower strata is visible, but not in its full nature. It is indirectly reflected. Here in this case study, the lower level groups are in the limelight. Thus the study of cultural geography and habitat is complete if the cultural evolution and social formation of the lower groups are also taken into account and analysed under the oral tradition collections.

One of the important aspect noted in the social evolution related to power structure (apex priveleged groups) and lower groups (unprivileged groups) is that the power structures have used the same strategy of consolidation of various segments of mainstream society to centralise power and to consolidate the unprivileged groups or land less segments. In order to correlate them, the power structure is seen implimenting recurring distribution of various rights to landless labour groups, and sanctified the distribution based on temple related activities. The Zamorins power structure was distributing " money, power and status "through

investiture ceremonies to segments of main stream society and established this as recurring functions whenever a king passes away. The ceremonies of this investiture nature are conducted when an administrator of a Cherikkal (Sthani who administered a division of land) is appointed. This recurring nature and its temple based sanctity clearly focused to temples and gave highly sophisticated rituals of Vedic and tantric nature for high sanctification under the Bhakti cult. They distributed the privileges under the legal right termed "Hereditary right". Thus the society as a whole is integrated to an inseparable unit of the ruler and highly privileged groups, are the decision makers of all activities.

This nature of strategy is seen in the Aryankavu "temple" and "Menakathodi kalam" of Kavalappara swaroopam. Their coronation ceremony called "Tandettom" (using the Palanquin) and the annual festivals of pooram and vela of Aryankavu, and Eruppa temple and the relations of Kavilappara to various villages in connection with the festivals are also to be taken into account. The general nature of these type of relations and ceremonies conducted with an aim of integration of mainstream society to temples and unprivileged groups to temple complexes discussed in. the analysis of Zamorins power structure and a detailed study of cultural evolution elsewhere.

The 'Kaavu' system is generally related to the unprivileged groups. They are seen emerged out as temples under the rule of chieftaincies, by restructuring their entire system on the lines of temple (kshetra) system. The temple system is structured on the lines of Tantric prescriptions of great culture (mainly Sanskrit prescriptions) The Cheras of Mahodayapuram had depended upon the Brahminical cultural systems to sustain their power', and the streams of support were from the 32 original Brahmin settlements of Kerala. In nature, the Cheras rule was an expression of great culture, and it was temple centered. The second factor which prompted Chera rule (9th cAD to 12th cAD: ) was a port system and internal market system. In these aspects, they tried to expand their power in ports and markets by integrating trade communities like Christians, Muslims, Jews and Jaina and Budha religious groups. Various groups are seen 'Trade export' groups, with royal support. One of the important centres at Mahodayapuram puram (Cranganore) in the Chera capital and port, was Terukkunavay Jaina centre, which promoted internal trade in the main land. The Cheras integrated 'markets' to temple system as seen in the Tiruvalla inscriptions of 10th century AD. Such systems are seen adopted by the chieftaincies that ruled Kerala after the fall of the central power of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram. The chieftaincies gradually transformed and proliferated the systems according to satisfy their need. The major transformation was based on Bhakti cult and temple centred administration of Cherikkal land lease collection. Promotion of art and literature, market festivals, temple festivals, Pattattanam (Annual conference of scholars) Pathinettara kavikal (Group of 18 1/2 poets, court poets) temple/kaavu festivals (pooram. vela etc.) and Trade festivals (Mamakam and Taipuyam) at Tirunavaya Krihnanattom as a tool to collect land lease Etc are to be viewed as the part of ruling strategies. Tirunavaya was a centre of vishnavites and well known to the whole of South India even in 8th or 9th cAD. Temple yogas and even the Pattattanam, yogas, also conducted the Smartha vichara, a trial of Brahmin ladies suspected in adultery. Zamorins integrated Attu and other rituals of unprivileged groups to temple complexes in the Nila river valley. They integrated local markets to temples, as in Puthiyangadi at Calicut, and the income was used for the daily expenses of the temple. They developed an art

form Krishnanattom. based on stories of Krishna. a puranic god and the dance drama were conducted all over Nila river valley areas to collect lease amounts and taxes. All these factors are recorded in palace records and hence we understand that the customs etc. were a tradition initiated by the highly privileged apex groups the court of chieftains from at least 13th century onwards.

#### **IV Adoption of Zamorins System by Kavilappara:**

It is seen that the ruling class and higher privileged groups at Vaniamkulam adopted some of these systems, a land ruled by the Kavalappara swaroopam. Since the records of administration available are very few, it is very difficult to analyse the functioning of the administrative system at grass root level. A few instances are given here..

#### **V Aryankavu : A major center of fusion Point of Great Culture and Little Culture.**

The 'Kaavu' (Shrine) is devoted to Vana Durga. At present there are temple structures in the line of tantric temple structure prescriptions, but there is no roofing, since the concept of the Devi is "Vana" "Durga" (Forest goddess). This temple is supposed to be of the ancestral mother of the family of Karakkattu moothar (Kavilappara Mooppil Nayar, the eldest member of the ruling family). They believe that the family had its origin from Karakkal amma; Karakkal amma is a semi goddess, worshipped in Tanjore in the Chola head quarters. The family worships another deity. God Siva in the Eruppa temple, close to the ancestral house of Karakkad Moothar. In Eruppa there existed a temple with pancha prakara style, the tantric concept. Thus the moothar family worships two deities, one of great culture and the other of little culture. The chief priests of Eruppa and Aryankavu are Nampoothiris (Malayala Brahmin) and Empramtiri (Tulu Brahmin) respectively.

In Aryankavu there is a belief among a set of people especially in the family members of the Moothar that the goddess of Karakkal is Kannaki, the famous character of Chilappathikaram. This concept is seen related to Kodungallore (near Tirukkunavay at Cranganore) temple deity also. The moothan families spread over the close hinter land areas of Vaniamkulam are also Saivites - (Arya Vaisyas) - and they also developed Kannaki worship in their temples. Thus we have three layers of worship seen in Aryankavu and Eruppa, the so-called temples of Kavalapara family.

. There is yet another layer .It is directly related to the unprivileged groups and aborigins. This factor emerges out during the Pooram days. The pooram festival will be conducted only after getting the permission of a Paraya Mooppan (head of the house of a Paraya family) who resides in the valley of hillocks. far away from the temple .The family is in another village. He goes over to Aryankavu temple and givenecessary permission. Thus it is clear that the relation of the goddess to the Paraya group reflects some kind of social situation occurred, and to-some extent, it is Anthropological too. After the pooram at Aryankavu is over, the Paraya mooppan conducts his own pooram in his residence, where the presence of a village god is seen in the form of a stone, without any iconographic peculiarities. A survey of such cases in the area proved that in almost all huts of such lower groups, they worship Karimkutty, Parakkutty and various types of village gods and

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Again, this feature is reflected in the Attu rituals conducted as ancestral worship by lower groups. The dance drama ritual Attu starts in the night and the family believes that during the ritual their ancestors or 'Pithrus' come over there and pour Anugraha to the living members of all branches of family. This reveals the family kinships and their relation to the ancestral family. Apart from this, a joint family system through ritualistic aspects thus originates. After the ritual, all other members of the branches leave to their own dwellings. During the ritual, some of the members will start dancing vibrantly according to the rhythm of drums of crude nature. According to the family along with their ancestors, Parakkutty, Karimkutty, Tekkan Parangodan and many other deities also assemble. One character among them is Hanuman, and he dances vibrantly and climbs on the trees, top of the roof of the house etc. expressing that he is a monkey. The point here is that the ritual reveals the situations and societal linkages. Parakutty and such deities are seen worshipped in all such houses in the area. They do not worship Hanuman in their houses. The social group, when integrated Hanuman to their society, he has been transformed to an ordinary monkey, with primitive nature. The drumming and rhythmic movements are also primitive. This shows the integration method adopted by the lower groups.

But the privileged groups integrate these groups to Karakkal moothar in another way. The right to conduct the pooram festival is vested in the lower groups themselves. But they are not allowed to enter the temple or its premises during ordinary days. They are permitted to enter 'only on pooram days. Thus, such social groups come over there in a particular day for "Kaavu teendal" or worshipping the deity after entering the temple. "Teendal" is a social evil. Out castes have teendal? They are not permitted to enter the houses of the privileged group, or even not permitted to use the village roads etc. Thus the function at Aryankavu is their occasion to enter the temple and worship their deity. They have permission to worship their deities in their houses. They are allowed to conduct the pooram after the closing of pooram festival at Aryankavu.

This kind of societal integration is extended to integration of villages too. The rituals and worship of primitive societies in the lower groups are one of the examples. The lower groups consolidate themselves on family and village basis.

The method of consolidation of villages by the privileged groups (ruling apex groups) is reflected in the pooram festival. During the festival, lower groups are allowed to bring primitive statues of horses (Kutira) and Kaala (Cattles) and they enter the Aryankavu premises. The right to bring Vaikol (fodder), thandu (bamboo) and such items to make such statues are the right of the villagers. The "horses and cattle" dances in the temple complex are called Kutira vela (Kutira festival or dance) and Kaala vela (cattle festival). The right to conduct these items are vested in Pulayar, Parayar and Paanar and the velas are thus known as Paanar vela (with umbrellas made of palm trees) Cherumar vela and Parayar velain which the name of the caste is mentioned. The moopans (head of the caste) of each caste has the right to load them. Thus, the rights of the villagers of aboriginal groups become an annual recurring one and it is re established each time. There are thirteen velas from

villages of hilly tracts.

This type of re establishment of rights is seen in Zamorins rule, in the distribution of rights in investiture ceremony, and as a whole during the coronation of a new king where only privileged groups are involved.

Another instance is seen in the worshipping centre at Menakathodi kalam (granary of the ruler) where an image of a hero "Kaari", a man from the lower caste is placed for worship. At present the Paraya who give permissions to conduct Pooram at Aryankavu himself is the priest in Menakattodi. A story related to Kaari reveals some political and trade promotion strategies of the ruler.

Even though the ruling group uses such integration strategies, they also conduct their own rituals etc. as an integral part of pooram and other festivals. The Nayar vela arrive to the Aryankavu pooram from Eruppa temple of the palace. Nairs are highly privileged groups. Ladies of privileged groups arrive to participate in the "Talappoli" festival. In later days many such items such as 'Mandalam vilakku' etc. are also conducted in Eruppa temple and Aryankaavu.

Local knowledge is that there existed a Chettivela too. At present there is an important factor related to Chettis, the trading community. Koonathara Nakarathar and Onnukura Ayiravar conduct a shadow play based on puranic story of Sri Rama. They derive their story from Kambaramayana and the songs of the play are in Tamil. They conduct "Koothu" (shadow play or puppet shadow play) for twenty one days in Aryankaavu. There they play the complete story of Ramayana, till it completes with Rama pattabhisheka (coronation of Sri Rama). Thus complete story is played only at Aryankaavu.. The Koothu will be conducted in other kaavus also. But there the artists play only a part of the story. There is a parallel of it in Zamorins rule. The dance drama Krishnanattam will be partly conducted in Cherikkal Kalams where revenue collection is also made *at* the time of the performance. But at Zamorins palace and Guruvayoor temple the story will be completely performed in the stage.

. Thus the circumstances reveal that many type of integration and correlation and adoption are done by privileged groups and unprivileged groups, in the formation of a society at different levels in its evolution. These aspects are to be intensively investigated to understand the situation more clearly and to evaluate the dynamism of history.

## **VI KAVALAPPARASWAROOPAM-Coronation**

As mentioned earlier a coronation function by name "Tandettam" is conducted by the Kavilappara rulers. Their title is Kavilappara swaroopam, an adaptation of the features and status of other chieftaincies. Zamorins coronation functions and investiture ceremonies are some of the parallels to be analysed here. It is seen that the coronation of Venganattu nampiti the Kollengode ruler, is an entirely different procedure compared to coronations of other chieftaincies. Vayyavinattu Nampiti is also had coronation ceremony parallel to Kollengode nampiti. This shows that coronation and other ceremonies had differences in chieftaincies.

However lengthy descriptions (official court records) related to the coronation of Vettom and Zamorin are available. But as far as Venganatu is concerned no

official record is seen. Some descriptions of the ceremony in the form of local knowledge are available. In the case of Kavilappara, no recorded evidences of the ceremony conducted at the palace are seen. A single record from British rulers collection, dated 1910 is translated and included in a book under the title Kavilappara papers (Dr K.K.N Kurup) There are less than 120 letters related to the functions of the Power structure and family branches as reports to British authorities. However, all these papers are verified and the system of power is analysed. One of the records mentioned above give the expenses of the coronation function of Kavilappara swaroopam. The accounts (Money expenses) and the recipients of the amount are all privileged groups. especially Malayala Brahmins and Hindu Nairs. Brahmin families who received the money, as a right in attending the function is 28 in number. The Nair families and other groups also represented in the function according to their hereditary rights, they are also 28 families. All these privileged communities received amounts and the hierarchical system of these families is seen in the amount they received from the swaroopam as a right.

Karakkat Moothar, the head of the family is the "Swaroopam". Some of their family branches are seen using the title "Utaiyavar" of which the Sanskritised form is "Swaroopam". When an Utaiyavar becomes a Swaroopam, they become highly independent: ruler. Utaiyavar is the title used by local rulers during the Second Chera period.

During the period of Cheras of Mahodayapuram (9th cAD) all the chieftaincies under them was known as utaiyavar, with limited independence and with personal protection force of the group of hundreds (Nurruvar). We see Eralpad (Zamorin) Valluvanad (Vellattiri) and more than ten utaiyavars having the protective force of hundreds (Munnuravar, Anjonravar, Arunnuravar - 300, 500 and 600) at that time. Cheras had a protective force by name "Onnu kura Ayiram" (the nine hundred and ninety nine), of which one of them according to the Koonathara Nakarathar at Vaniamkulam was his family representative. But there is no reference of Kavilappara utaiyavar in the Chera records. A member of Nudumpurayur ruling family is seen ruling the Kalkarainat of Chera land during the Chera period. This family belongs to Palghat and they are seen as a branch of Kavilappara swaroopam. It is likely that the integration of this family to Kavilappara had given the way to use utaiyavar title by kavilappara. In later times if is possible to rest on traditions and adopt the title swaroopam. Any way the British rulers who give a list of chieftaincies who had the personal protection force above 3000, did not mention Kavilappara.

In this context, the study of the Karakkat moothar can be viewed to some extent as equivalent to a Cherikkal administrator (Sthani) of Zamorinsrins or other chieftaincies. It is noted by some historians that Kavilappara Nair was one of the two Cherikkal administrators of Nedunganad, a feudal chieftaincy of erstwhile Nedukalayanadu. This territory is mentioned in an inscription of Chola ruler Rajaditya in the 10th cAD. It is pointed out that the Nedumkalaya nadu in later times became Neduganadu. If this is historically true, we have to investigate the title of Kavilappara .