

**ROLE OF THE KERALA TEMPLE  
IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC ARTICULATION:  
A STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS**

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for the award of the degree of  
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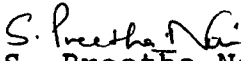
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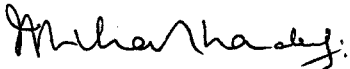
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I hereby affirm that the research for this dissertation titled "Role of the Kerala Temple in Socio-economic Articulation - A Structural-Functional Analysis" being submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy was carried out entirely by me at the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram.

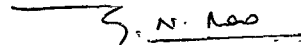
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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The village community has always been identified as the social foundation of the peasant economy in the Asian countries. The village communities were conceived as a 'closed corporate formation' depending on small scale production in a subsistence economy. This 'system' was to repeat or reproduce itself through centuries with no change affecting it whatsoever. Villages were considered mere 'enclaves' in which the undifferentiated peasantry led an insulated existence. The local unit was said to be stable till the colonial times and then evolved into an open, heterogeneous and dynamic rural society.

Such a formulation is found scattered in various administrative and other writings by colonial administration in Asia. Analyses arising out of such a formulation were not based on the variety in types of social organisation. It was postulated rather that the village community was characterised by political autonomy, economic autarchy, social homogeneity and a certain changelessness of the closed formation.

The principle of self-government or political autonomy meant that articulation with the outside world was almost non-existent as Metcalfe had revealed in his 'Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons 1832'. (Dumont 1966: 73). The interference with the village autonomy was through the obligation on its part to transfer a considerable part of the produce to the State. Yet the power of the State did not penetrate the village beyond its

boundaries. (Ibid: 2). For example, Colonel Munro in 1806 wrote that the Indian village was an independent political unit unaffected by the dissolution of the Empire of which it was a part. He referred to the village as a tiny 'republic'. (Ibid. 3)

The early qualitative models had an evolutionary or historical framework which postulated a transition from the stage of community to some other entity. Community and society were perceived as two different forms of social organisation, the former being associated with intrinsic and non-logical values and later with more rationally organised social forms. (Tonnie [1963] quoted in Kemp 1988: 5).

In Joseph Gusfield (1975) the object of study was 'territorial' whether it be a village or any other entity and the goal is to comprehend the dynamics of the communal entity. Along these lines a lot of work was done concentrating on three aspects - territory, interaction and common ties. Contrarily, despite an overt concentration on the peasant village, a lot of anthropological literature have taken a qualitative approach which sees the community as a set of human relationships rather than a well defined group. Gusfield points out [for Ferdinand Tonnie, Emile Durkheim and certain sociologists] that organisations based on kinship, friendship, neighbourhood and "folk" were communal. Social transition in such situations was characterised by Durkheim as one from a mechanical to an organic solidarity. It was 'mechanical' as a result of the similarity in tradition, beliefs and activities which characterised small agricultural villages and in addition they were similar in skills ideals and functions. (Ibid).



These ideals lapsed for some time in favour of diffusionist and functionalist theories and then later made a reappearance with the anthropological discourse in the work of Robert Redfield. His was a major influence on American and British anthropologists. Redfield (1955) in his 'The little community' explained the manner in which the community was woven into a total system of inter-related and complementary relationships. In his later work (1960), The little Community and Peasant society and culture he argued that the village should be seen as integrated into a wider whole, the State. (Ibid).

Peasants cultivating land on a collective basis usually involved reciprocity during harvesting or certain other forms of labour exchange. Marx pointed out to this lack of private property in British India as the root cause for 'Oriental despotism'.

According to J.R. Boeke, the village community was integrated not by economic cohesion but by a social solidarity which meant that priority rested on the group interests (Bremner 1988). In the rural South Asia, for example, agriculture, crafts and services were distinctly caste based activities and the members of the society who provided non-agricultural commodities received a share of the agricultural produce in exchange.

The village community was also considered to be socially undifferentiated. This meant that social positions which were few did not crystallize into a class structure. Scholars including Marxists seem to have failed to consider caste as a principle of

social stratification. (Breman 1988: 5). Boeke, the propounder of colonial dualism owed the integrative character of the village to the 'all embracing community ethos'. Ofcourse, there have been criticisms against this articulation of the concept of collectivity. Marx had also expressed this a century back. Marx commented on the absence of dynamics in such a system and found the Asiatic mode of production inflexible. The peasant community reproduced itself to maintain a stationary state and was considered incapable of structural reform. He felt that it was like ripples on the surface in the form of making and breaking dynasties and leaving the bottom untouched and calm. It did not bear in it the seeds of development. (Ibid: 7).

The village was considered immutable which also implied that its members were immobile. The village was considered self-sufficient and of no interest to the people outside and the inhabitants had absolutely no incentive to leave it. (Ibid.)

'Peasant societies are only part societies'. (Kroeber 1948) The treatment of peasant or village systems as a whole incorporating rural and urban areas or the analyses of political economy of these units attempted by authors like Karl Polanyi also tended to be in the dark.

Expecting 'organised villages', attempts were also made to discover the integrating structure or the centre of a village, in Thailand. But it did not seem like a community at all and individualism seemed to reign (Kemp 1988: 7). There could also be situations where there were physical centres and 'permanent

corporate groups' like lineages, temples, water associations and so forth. (Geertz 1959: 991 - 1012).

Is there any difference between 'village' and 'community' or do they fuse together in certain societies could be a question that would arise in one's mind. In the Thai village it was found that 'village' was different from the 'community'. Village merely referred to a formal administrative division in which could exist many communities. Some major studies designate a village community without describing the administrative order (or the community approach). Each has its limitations. The definition of the village as a territorial group is based on the European image of settlement which may not be applicable to Asian situations. One can even have a main village and satellite villages or hamlets. There can be a situation where the physical centres like the temple could relate and integrate one village and parts of so many other villages in some kind of a 'temple domain' (this is what one can see viewing the Sri Subramania Swāmi Kṣētram [Temple] of the village of our study as a physical centre of integration). Here the 'community' extends far beyond the geographical limits of the village.

So, on empirical grounds, the ideas of community via association with a designation like the 'village' becomes highly contestable. Various spheres of social activity which generate a sense of community may not be linked with physical arrangements like hamlets, villages, neighbourhood etc. (Kemp 1988: 11).

Field work as an anthropological technique of research fast became popular in the post-colonial era. Its shape in an

geographical and demographic dimension did not imply that the village was a sufficient unit of research comprising a sociological reality. There was a reappraisal of the original source materials.

The first notion that was discarded was that the village had a certain political autonomy. Dumont (1966: 74) feels that this cannot be reconciled with the fact that the surplus had to be handed over to the 'State'. Marx had attributed control over irrigation by the precolonial rulers which implied that the authority of the state had made itself felt down to the peasant level.

Secondly, the assumption that the peasant economy was communal and enjoyed economic autarchy was criticized. The nature of landownership and claims to produce is based on opposition between land and peasant as the rightful claimants. This interpretation of the agrarian structure is opposed to both the notion of a village community managed from above and owing existence to local solidarity (Breman 1988: 11).

The unequal distribution of power and property within the rural system manifested itself in the form of a great part of the population being denied any access to land. The colonial administrators looked at such inequality as a normal state of affairs. They concentrated primarily on the landowning classes so that a large surplus could be claimed (Dumont 1966: 74). Depending upon the land owning classes alone would not guarantee a large surplus. The colonial administrative system gave a free hand to the land owners to intensify exploitation by not interfering with the

social functions of subordination and dependency at the bottom level of the rural society.

It is known now that landlessness was not the result of the imperialist rule during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century but was an inherent factor in pre-colonial production relations. Dharma Kumar was one of the first to point out that landlessness was a significant social phenomenon in Southern India in early nineteenth century. (Kumar 1965). These landless labourers tilled the land while the members of the land owning class (like the Namboodiris of the village of our study) who were the leisure class avoided doing it considering it inferior and unclean. Irfan Habib feels that the presence of rural proletariat of such magnitude before the capitalist mode of production in agriculture was unique to Indian civilization<sup>1</sup> (Habib 1982: 249). Exclusion from land rights was based on the caste hierarchy.

In short, new research in this area has helped in replacing the dull and drab image of the 'traditional' Asiatic village as a closed, stationary and strongly collectivist social formation. It is now conceived as an open political and economic structure characterised by class divisions, social conflict, contacts with extra-village institutions, state interference and economic dynamism.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the urge to extract surplus by the Europeans at the local level in terms of labour, kind or money and to by-pass the persons representing the

'ancien regime' made them organize peasant economy on a territorial basis. The village became the most important unit in taxation levies. This was well seen in the ryotwari system of South India which Raffles called the 'village system' (Breman 1988: 14).

Spatial reproduction without any social dynamism was the predominant picture that the colonial administrators and theoreticians saw of the Asian peasant order based on a 'sedimentation model' which meant that the society consisted of a permanent and immobile foundation with a loosely attached erosive upper layer.

This was just not conducive for any sort of 'self propelled transformation process'. So dynamism had to be introduced exogenously which would be possible only if the village 'opened-up' and gained the quality of allowing progressive penetration of the state and the market forces. According to this view only a downward expansion of the external institutions could liberate this internal resistance of change at the village level.

Here in our context one is viewing the village as a self-sufficient unit based on simple division of labour (i.e. showing simple functional interdependence) and with one of the oldest and most traditional institution of Kerala society - the temple as the focal point of the village system serving to integrate the 'village' into a 'whole'. The village here is not the territorial or geographical region but includes all the lands (in other villages) that the temple holds under its control in the *Dēśavalis*. One can call it the 'temple domain'. The village is seen not as

a closed unit but as a unit articulating with the extra-village (in terms of the Dēśavali-temple articulation). The temple at the centre of the village acts as the political, economic, ritual/cultural (religious) edifice and as a manifestation of the State or local government. The temple institution can be seen as an expression of a decentralised structure of power. The integration at the temple level could be a part of the macro integration aimed by the administrative State.

The transition in this Kerala village in the late colonial and post-colonial period has been studied by focussing attention on its most predominant institution or viewing the village from an institutional perspective (which includes institutions like the caste).

The problem:

The objective of the study is to capture the integration of the agrarian village economy during the 20th century and also trying to construct a picture of the 'temple domain' in the earlier periods on the basis of the remnants or vestiges that one notices on perusal of certain data sources of the early twentieth century.

The village is Kidangoor, eighteen kilometres north of Kottayam town in central Kerala on the banks of the river Meenachil, in the Meenachil taluk. It is one of the thirty-two original Brahmin settlements mentioned in the sixteenth century Brahmin chronicle, Keralolpathi.

Looking at the anatomy of the village, one is able to identify or isolate three structures that serve in 'integrating' the village into a 'whole' - the temple, the river and the caste structure (it is also a temple nucleated village as every other Brahmin settlement).

Traditionally, the Brahmins were believed to have established sixty-four villages in the land between Gōkarṇam and Kanyākumāri, which was Kerala then. Thirty-two of them, to the north of Perumpuḷa river in Kerala proper were identified by B.A. Saletore. Out of the remaining thirty-two Brahmin settlements to the south of Perumpuḷa, thirty-one have been identified using various sources. The Brahmin settlement Kalūtanaḍ is yet to be identified. It was the period between the eighth and twelfth centuries that saw a proliferation of temple-nucleated Brahmin settlements through out the fertile areas of Kerala. (See Table 1.1)

Rajan Gurukkal (1980) says that one the major characteristics of this period was the formation of a new society consequent on the socio-economic functions of the institution called the temple.

One can classify the thirty-two Brahmin settlements according to the sources of identification - epigraphical, literary, archeological or customary and place the Brahmin settlement of Kidangoor in the classification. (See Table 1.1)



Table 1.1

## Listing and Classification of Brahmin Settlements with their sources of identification

Sl.No.	Name of Settlement***	Deity of the Gramakshetra	Settlement extinct/non-extinct	Sources of identification			
				evidence from epigraphs	evidence from records	evidence from literary sources	evidence from continuing traditions and existence of structural temple
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	Payyannūr (Payyannūr)	Saivite	non-extinct	-	-	-	continuing traditions and structural temple
2.	Cellūr (Talipalayamba)	Saivite	non-extinct	3 inscriptions	-	sangan literature, mushakavamsa kavya (13th century) cellurnathodayam campu (16th century)	structural temple
3.	Ālattūr (Ālathiyūr)	Vaiṣṇavite	non-extinct	-	-	Chandrotsavan (15th century)	Temple buildings
4.	Kārantōla (Kārattūr)	Vaiṣṇavite	extinct	-	Cadjan leaf records	-	Temple ruins
5.	Čokirami (Čukapuram)	Saivite	non-extinct	5 inscriptions	-	Chandrotsavan, Kokasandesam, Unniccirutevi caritam	Temple buildings
6.	Panriyūr (Panniyūr)	Vaiṣṇavite	non-extinct	2 inscriptions	-	Chandrotsavan, Unniccirutevi caritam	Structural Temple
7.	Karikkāty (Karikkāty)	Saivite	non-extinct	5 inscriptions	-	-	Temple buildings
8.	Iyānamangalam (Iṣṇamahgalam)	Saivite	extinct	3 inscriptions	-	Chandrotsavan	Temple not located
9.	Trīśśivapērūr (Trichur)	Saivite	non-extinct	2 inscriptions	-	Chandrotsavan	Temple buildings
10.	Peruvanam (Perumanam)	Saivite	non-extinct	3 inscriptions	-	Chandrotsavan	Temple buildings
11.	Čamunda (Cemmaṇṇa)	Saivite	extinct	2 inscriptions	-	-	Structural Temple
12.	Iriṅṅātikkuṭal (Iriṅṅālakuda)	Vaiṣṇavite	non-extinct	4 inscriptions	-	Chandrotsavan, Kokilasandesam	Structural temple
13.	Āvattiputtūr (Avittathūr)	Saivite	non-extinct	5 inscriptions	-	-	Structural temple
14.	Paṛavūr (North Parur)	Saivite	non-extinct	3 inscriptions	-	Cilappatikaram	Structural temple

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
15.	Airāṅṅikkāḷam (Airāṅṅikkūḷam)	Saivite	non-extinct	4 inscriptions	-	-	Structural Temple
16.	Mūlikkāḷam (Mūlikkūḷam)	Vaiṣṇavite	non-extinct	3 inscriptions	-	Tiruvaymoli, Chandrotsavan	Structural Temple
17.	Kuḷavūr (Kuḷūr)	Saivite	extinct	2 inscriptions	-	-	Structural temple
18.	Aṭavur (Aṭūr)	Saivite	extinct	-	-	-	Structural temple and continuing tradition
19.	Ceṅṅnāṭṭu (Ceṅṅamanāṭṭu)	Saivite	non-extinct	1 inscription	-	-	Temple ruins
20.	Iḷibhyam (Tirumupattu)	Saivite	extinct	-	-	Kokasandesam, Sukasandesam	-
21.	Uḷiyannūr (Uḷiyannūr)	Saivite	extinct	1 inscription	-	-	Temple buildings
22.**	Kaḷutanād (unidentified)	-	extinct	-	-	-	-
23.	Ēṭṭānūr (Ēṭṭānūr)	Saivite	non-extinct	-	-	Unnilisandesam	Structural Temple
24.	Kumārānallūr (Kumārānellūr)	Saivite? (Durga at present)	non-extinct	1 inscription	-	-	Structural Temple
25.	Kāṭānāyuku (Kāṭānūr)	Saivite	non-extinct	-	-	-	Structural Temple
26.	Āraṅvīḷa (Āraṅvīḷa)	Vaiṣṇavite	non-extinct	1 inscription	-	Tiruvaymoli	Structural Temple
27.	Tiruvallaval (Tiruvalla)	Vaiṣṇavite	non-extinct	4 inscriptions	-	Thiruvaymoli Periya Thirumoli	Structural Temple
28.*	Kitāṅgur (Kitāṅgur)	Saivite	non-extinct	-	-	-	Structural temple and continuing traditions
29.	Ceṅkuṅṅūr (Cengannūr)	Saivite	non-extinct	3 inscriptions	-	-	-
30.	Kaviyūr (Kaviyūr)	Saivite	non-extinct	2 inscriptions	-	-	Rock-cut temple and Structural temple
31.	Veṅṅani (Venmani)	Vaiṣṇavite	non-extinct	-	-	-	Temple buildings and continuing traditions
32.	Nirṅaṅṅa (Nirṅaṅṅara)	Vaiṣṇavite	extinct	-	-	-	Temple ruins

Source: Adapted from Veluthat (1978: 96-100)

\* village under study

\*\* unidentified settlement

\*\*\* names in parentheses are the present names of the settlements.

Eighteen settlements yielded inscriptions from the locality mentioning the village, four have been identified from inscriptions in other places. Four could be identified predominantly through literary sources. Some had more than one source of identification. Four have existed to this day with their continuing Brahminical traditions and structural temple of which category village Kidangoor falls in. This is its only source of identification. Out of these thirty-one settlements twenty-three have survived to the present.

#### Reasons for choosing village Kidangoor for the case study

Kidangoor being a Brahmin settlement with a structural temple and continuing traditions, one can perceive the crucial role the temple played in the village economy.

The temples in Kerala can be broadly classified into two categories<sup>2</sup> viz., - (a) those under the direct administration of the State and (b) those managed by a council of Namboodiris called the *Ūrāṇma*. The Kidangoor *Śrī Subramaṇia Swāmi* Temple belongs to the second category. The *Ūrāṇma* here consists of the heads of the fourteen Namboodiri families (Illams) living in areas around the temple. The temple even after the enactment of Land Reforms (implemented in 1969-70) continues to be managed privately. This helps a comparison of the periods before and after the Land Reforms. There has been an unchanging management throughout the period of study.

This temple is actually a temple 'complex' for the Śrī Subramaṇya Swāmi Temple has seventeen subsidiary temples under its direct control and administration in the different Desavalis. The central control or the 'temple domain' extends even beyond the geographical area of the village Kidangoor which serves in explaining the temple's role in village-extra village articulation.

Access to the data sources like Devaswom Land Register, Settlement Register, Devaswom Jenmikaram Register, the Daily Account Registers (Nālvalīs), Festival Registers (Thirutsava Adiyantira Register) was another important reason for choosing this temple for the case study.

### The Village structure

Kidangoor identified as showing continuing traditions, one can justly see the temple playing a crucial role in the village economy of Kidangoor in the twentieth century too. It becomes a major institution 'integrating' the society. One can so view the temple as the nucleus of the village. The village (the nearest equivalent to what is called a 'dēśam') is a 'system' with its subsistence of the power structure (the political subsystem [G]) validated by the institutionalised values in the form of the temple functioning as the legitimizing institution and supported by its sanctions [L] which is the basis of interaction and hence integration. The economic subsystem [E] is intertwined with the above. It is interesting to see that these four subsystems emerged from the temple in the traditional Kerala village society which would become clear after an analysis of the village structure is done.

The fundamental concepts of the Polanyian school with its central idea that in pre-capitalists societies the economy is 'embedded' in the social fabric and that economic behaviour responded more to social relations than to economic ones (satisfaction of material needs). It is when the economy becomes 'disembedded' from the social fabric that does it become the determining force in the development of the society, which we would then call a capitalist society. The embedded economic subsystem manifests itself in certain forms of transaction like reciprocity and redistribution and the economic structure derives its definition from the specific dominant form of transaction.

To study the transitional society it suits one to choose a blend of the System-Subsystem approach and the substativist approach, the reasons for which would be discussed in the chapter on the 'Conceptual Framework'. (Chapter 2)

The institutionalist position is related to the structure of power which is in term related to the legal rights of economic significance, thereby influencing the allocation of resources, level of income and the distribution of wealth. This is the position we take when we consider the temple as the major institutional village society.

The subsystems interact with each other and with the environment of nature (symbolised in the river here) and send centripetal forces towards the temple, integrating it and making it a 'system'. The disembeddedness of the economic substratum from the village's social fabric would mean a 'disintegration' or

'disarticulation' of the village system. This is our hypothesis.

The 'system' is not a closed one and is affected by articulation with the outside world. We are viewing the village society as an open, dynamic and autonomic system interacting with the natural environment. Its structure consists of a caste hierarchy, joint ownership of land (different tenurial relations) and of other socio-economic relations. It maintains an economic social and ecological equilibrium reproducing itself to attain a stationary state.<sup>3</sup>

One can decipher three sets of relationships, an analysis of which would give us a structural-functional picture of the village economy -

- (a) the temple-people (caste hierarchy) relationship;
- (b) the river-people relationship;
- (c) the village-extra village relationship.

However, an analysis of the above relationships boils down to an analysis of the role of the temple as an institution in the village economy during the period because it was under the aegis of the temple that the Kerala society performed these functions including the economic. All these relationships have the temple as the point of origin and basis for their perpetuation which will be elucidated in the analysis that follows in the later chapters.

## Review of Literature

There have been various studies on the role of the temple in different regions of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa etc. Social scientists like Burton Stein (1960, 1961, 1978, 1980), George W Spencer (1968), David Hudson (1978), Arjun Appadurai (1976, 1981), Carol Appadurai Breckenbridge (1976, 1981) and Cynthia Talbot (1991) have done work in this area albeit with different objectives.

To Burton Stein (1978) temples are a complex and transitory consequence of an extraordinary range of relationships - interactions and transactions. He says, "temple is a statement about its constituent social groupings". Stein's main focus was on the temple configuration in the Vijayanagara period. For example in his article 'Temples in Tamil country, 1300 - 1750 AD the main quest was to discover the factors that accounted for a particular configuration of more than 2000 temples during the Vijayanagara period of the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. He found that the temples devoted to the Shiva deities declined relatively, at about the same rate the temples devoted to independent Goddesses increased and why this happened was another one of his objectives. Stein used inscriptions among other data sources to understand 'the economic functions of the Medieval South Indian temple' - Shri Venketeswara at Thirupati. The inscriptions dealt with endowments of land and money which provided a key to the analysis of the utilisation of land and money by the temple. There is a section on the tenure system on the temple lands. The lands donated to the temple had two main functions: (a) to provide an income with which

a specific ritual was performed in the name of the donor, (b) and to provide a fertile space to invest money for the performance of services in the name of the donor.

There were three or four basic forms of land tenure like the crown and service tenure (Bhandaravada) which was under the direct revenue administration of the government, Eleemosynary tenure (Brahmadaya), service tenures (like Amaram - military service) and certain peasant proprietor tenures. Burton Stein's analysis using almost thousand inscriptions had the main objectives of studying the nature of endowments - land and money, nature of the donors and nature of utilisation of these endowments. (Stein 1961: 164-5).

Arjun Appadurai (1976, 1981) central question is that of dominance and authority. His study is based on administration reports, censuses and legal documents. Appadurai worked on the Shri Parthasarathi Swami Temple at Madras and Carol Appadurai on the Shri Meenakshi Sundareswar Temple on the same question arriving at certain principles crucial to an understanding of the South Indian temple.

George W Spencer (1968) studying early Tanjore, analyses money-lending and livestock redistribution. He talks of how investment by the temple authorities in the property of the agrarian community placed the recipients in a service relationship to the temple. These he says served as a means of redistributing economic resources without potential disrupting inequalities. This is similar to Manning Nash concept of the 'levelling mechanism' (Nash 1964: 239). Spencer has relied on epigraphic evidence in his



work.

Summing up other literature on various aspects of the temple - Brown P (1956), Fergusson J (1910), Gravely F H (1936), Stella Kramrisch (1946) have worked on temple ritual and administration. There have been studies that have shown that division of labour in the jajmani structure of agrarian society as the basis of the division of ceremonial tasks in the temple. (Beck 1972: 44-7). Studies have been made showing that economic functions of the temple relate with the ideas of gift and land tenure as in Dumont (1957: 318, 340). Stein has himself shown that the temple served redistributive and developmental functions coexisting with the political system (1960: 163-76). Beck (1972) and Dumont (1957) have shown that temples provide links between caste, lineage organisation and territorial segmentation. There are works that have shown the temple in the modern period have provided space for social mobilisations of low caste (Galanter 1972: 227-314 and Hardgrave 1969: 120-9) and incipient political elites (Baker 1975).

The relevance of the present study rests on the facts that (1) A transitional society<sup>4</sup> like the Kerala village has not been studied before with an institutionalist perspective by taking the temple as the focal point of analysis. (2) There has not been any study that carefully examines the constituents of the temple's social and material catchment area since temples depend on constant participation of certain groups for specific activities including production of of agrarian produce and periodic participation of certain others during specific occasions. (3) This study invites attention to as yet unused data sources like Devaswom Nālvaḷīs

(daily account registers), Thirutsavam Adiyantira Registers (festival registers), Devaswom Land Registers etc. in situations where conventional data sources are not available. This particular Brahmin settlement of Kidangoor (as seen in the listing of Brahmin settlements in Table 1.1) with the Grāmakṣiṭra as its source of identification has only the structural temple with continuing traditions as its evidence. Here, there are neither epigraphic evidences, literary evidences or any other records in existence for use. (4) The study helps point out areas of temple study which are still under researched and the infancy of the field of temple study with respect to Kerala.


### Objectives

The major objective of the study is to trace the role of the temple as a major institution in community articulation or in other words to analyse the temple-society (economy) articulation in a transitional society. One is attempting to view the changing economy or society through its major institution, here the temple for the pre-Land Reform and the post-Land Reform periods i.e. 1903-1969-70 and 1970-1985 respectively.

The above objective has as its components the objectives listed below:

#### (I) the temple's role in the agrarian production:

Land and hence agrarian produce being the chief resource base of the temple and the possibility of integration being through land and labour in any society it is essential to study the distribution

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of land and rights over land among the various castes/communities of the society (caste structure being a dominant feature of this society). This would give us an idea about who the producing classes or castes are and on whom the temple depends for its chief resource base. This objective deals with questions as -

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- (a) tenants of which caste dominate the Devaswom (temple) lands;
- (b) estimating the total acreage of the temple lands and the caste that has the highest number of land holdings;
- (c) the relationship between acreage and caste of the tenants;
- (d) the relationship between the tenure under which the land is held and the caste of the tenant;
- (e) the relationship between the type of land (there are 13 types depending on the fertility of the land) and the caste of the tenant;
- (f) finding the dominant tenure on the Devaswom lands and its significance; and
- (g) relationship between the tenure and the land type.

(II) Role of temple in the redistribution of the agrarian produce

The agrarian produce (a fixed proportion) reaches the temple annually from the tenants in the different *Dēśavalīs*<sup>5</sup> and gets redistributed among the non-producers - the sterile class (artisans and craftsmen) and the leisure class (the temple management or the *Ūrāṇma*).

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(III) An analysis of the budgetary position in terms of income and expenditure for various years before and after the Land Reforms. An income and expenditure decomposition analysis is done to find out the sources of income accruing to the temple and the

items of expenditure to find out if there was a shift in the main source of income after the Land Reforms and also to find out the changes in the items on which paddy or money was expended. Since income in terms of paddy and money, on doing the analysis separately, for paddy and money for the different years, will tell us about the greater incorporation into the monetary system. This is manifested in an increasing substitution of paddy for money. This analysis helps us in capturing the temple's response to the Land Reforms and its survival strategy to sustain its integrative role as one of the major institutions in the village economy.

The methodology adopted is discussed in the chapter II titled 'Understanding the Temple centred Village Economy - Towards a Conceptual Framework'.

### Data sources and Organization of the Chapters

Chapter II describes the conceptual framework or the methodology used to fulfil the objectives of the study.

Chapter III deals with the temple's role in integrating the economy in terms of distribution of Devaswom land and landrights among the different castes of the society (or tenurial relations). This informs us about its role in integration through land and labour.

The chapter uses primary data found in the Devaswom Settlement Register, Devaswom Land Register (Old i.e. upto 1969-70) and the Devaswom Jenmikaram Register.

Chapter IV is an attempt in understanding the role of the temple in the redistribution of agrarian produce and estimating the share accruing to the recipients (sterile classes and the leisure class). The 'redistribution' has been captured during the annual festival held in Feb./March (Tirutsavam) for two particular years 1903 and 1919. For this purpose another set of registers called the 'Tirutsavam Adiyantira Registers' have been used. These are registers maintained annually to keep an account of paddy and money transactions during this festival. On Perusal of these registers one settles down on the register of 1903 (the oldest existing) and 1919 because they complement each other in giving us a vivid picture of the whole redistributive process.

Chapter V is a comparison of the integrative role of the temple in the village economy before and after the Land Reforms i.e. from 1903 to 1969-70 and 1969-70 to 1985. Land Reforms have been used as a benchmark for the analysis because with the implementation of the Land Reforms the temple lost its lands (lands that are included in the Jenmikaram Register) to the tenants and thereafter was paid a paltry Jenmikaram Compensation allowance and as interim annuity. The lands included in the Land Register were lost to the actual cultivators of the lands through an earlier regulation<sup>6</sup>. The analysis used in this chapter uses data largely from the Nālvalīs beginning 1925 (the oldest Nālvalī existing) for various years till 1985.

Chapter VI which is the last chapter is the summary and a consolidation of the major conclusions of the study.

## NOTES

1. Some authors point out that although the cultural background might vary, landlessness as a structural element was found in the majority of the ancient regimes in Asia. (See for example Breman 1988).
2. One can say that there exists a third category of temples which is neither under the State nor under an Ūrānma. There exist small structures of worship built by people of the lower caste like the Nairs for example.
3. A Self-contained and Ecologically balanced society is considered to be in a stationary state. Self-containment means development independent of any exogenous structure, control of energy and information inputs from surroundings. There is a maintenance of an internal functional balance or homoeostasis. (See Jan Kieniewicz 1984:7.)
4. A society is said to be transitional when it evolves from one mode of production to another.
5. See Appendix III and IV for list of Dēśavalīs where the Śiri Subramania Swāmi Temple held lands.
6. The Jenmi and Kudiyān Act was passed in 1896, incorporating in detail all the provisions enunciated in the Royal Proclamation of 1867. This Regulation secured permanent occupancy rights and other reliefs in the form of fixation of rent and fees for the Kāṇam-Kudiyāns.

## CHAPTER 2

### UNDERSTANDING THE TEMPLE CENTERED VILLAGE ECONOMY --- TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Social structures refer to the mix of institutions, role structures and values, which we otherwise call 'society'. To understand how the economy is positioned to determine the social structure depends on two things - (a) the definitions of 'economy' and social structure used, the properties of 'concepts' and the conceptual boundaries, (b) and whether these definitions applied to all social structures or only to a particular one. (Clammer (ed.) 1987: 10).

The System-Subsystem methodology and the Substantivist methodology appear to be complementary in understanding the village dynamics with the temple as its focal point. A detailed elucidation of the concepts and tools used by these approaches would become necessary to construct a conceptual framework required for the study. In this context the concepts of Surplus, Reciprocity and Redistribution and the Complementarity of the System-Subsystem and Substantivist approaches are examined.

The temple considered as one of the major institutions of the Kerala village and the focal point in the present study, it becomes necessary to unravel the determinants of evolution of institutions, social and economic.

Harry W. Pearson (1957) feels that economic institutions are a result of an oversufficiency of means (surplus). The contrasting situation is that of a scarcity of means which is the root of

economic formalism whose logic is that of economic choice. (Polanyi et.al.(ed.) 1957: 321).

### The Methodological Concepts

#### The concept of Surplus

First of all it is useful to define the conditions of a specific surplus. When the surplus theorem is used as an indicator of evolutionary change it has two parts to it. The first one relates to the meaning of surplus. It equals the quantity of material resources existing over and above the subsistence requirements of the society. These surpluses would appear with advanced technology and productivity. The second part of the surplus theorem is its anabolic effects in bringing about certain social and economic developments like the markets, cities, social classes, civilization etc. (Ibid.)

The level of subsistence becomes the crucial point and one can hypothesise that it is the surplus which becomes the critical variable in the creation of complex social and economic institutions. The surplus produced could be used for trading abroad, for supporting craftsmen, leisure class or certain other non-productive members of the society. (Polanyi et.al. (ed.) 1957: 322).

The level of subsistence now requires to be defined. It can be defined in two ways - (a) as biologically determined i.e. minimal requirement for human existence and (b) and as socially determined. (Ibid.)



If the subsistence level is biologically determined, the surplus resulting would be an absolute surplus which is not a very useful concept in our present study. It is the socially derived surplus that becomes important. This would be a relative surplus. Here goods and services would be considered surplus only if the society using some mechanism decides to keep them aside and use them for specific purposes like ceremonial feasts or in anticipation of scarcity, or war. This can occur along with an increase in productivity but it can also occur with no such change by just reallocating goods and services from one use to another and also for example, consumption being denied to a section of the society. So, the creation of relative surpluses would depend on the attitude towards resources. (Ibid: 323).

In this particular context, the temple is the institution that undertakes the reallocation of resources by physical appropriation creating a surplus and by way of redistribution reaching it to the leisure class (the *Ūrāṇma*) and the classes performing non-agricultural activities like the carpenter, blacksmiths etc. The reallocatory process can only take place under the aegis of an institution or an organisation to avoid conflicts and maintain stability of the system, which is the temple domain here. It is the institution whether it be a chief, a temple that sanctions the locational and appropriational movements. These sanctions (translated into the cultural subsystem) are the basis of integration of the system and so is considered superordinate to the other three subsystems - the economic, political and legal in precapitalist societies.

## Economy as an instituted process

The economy being an instituted process, an analysis of economy means an analysis in terms of motion. The movements are either changes in location or in appropriation or both. The locational movements include production and transportation. The appropriative movements governs both the circulation of goods and their administration. Circulation of goods is a result of transactions which Polanyi crystallises into three types - Reciprocity, Redistribution and Exchange. The administration derives itself from dispositions which is one sided unlike transactions and it is determined by custom or law. (Ibid: 248).

In this village economy, the temple oversees production of agrarian produce by first redistributing its lands to peasants and then transporting the surplus to the temple Nelpura (granary). It undertakes the redistribution of the surplus (which explains its role in the circulation of goods) and depending on the position in the power structure, the surplus share was determined. The members of the Ūrāṇma getting the highest share of the surplus. (See Chapter 4)

The institutions of power may demand tribute, or levy assessments etc. and Polanyi cites examples of corvee, boon days, tithes, auctions etc. as 'paraphernalia' for surplus mobilisation in redistributive economies. (Ibid: 336). In our context Ōṇakkālĉĉa<sup>1</sup>, Panĉĉaphalam<sup>2</sup>, Jenmibhōgam<sup>3</sup>, Lēlam<sup>4</sup> etc.

Another means of institutionalising surpluses in societies integrated through reciprocities rather than market exchange is the

'prestige factor'. The functions of prestige take their own cultural patterns to stimulate these movements. The function could be destructive or constructive. It has a function of destruction of wealth for example, in the Kwakiutl potlach ceremonies and a constructive function in the Trobriander's red suluwa necklace 'trade game'. The prestige wealth may be in the form of copper plates of the Kwakiutl or in the white umwala armbands of the Trobrianders which circulate only in the highest structure of power - Gods, Kings and Chiefs. Cora Dubois calls this a 'prestige economy'. (Ibid: 337).

Though prestige involves an accumulation of 'symbolic wealth', it also helps mobilise relative surpluses indirectly. Because when prestige is gained, honorific duties would result for example, in public functions which is nothing but a manifestation of redistribution of resources especially food and money and so serves in integrating the whole community. But one should note that prestige institutions are not the effects of surplus above subsistence means. (Ibid: 338).

The instituting of the economic process vests the system with unity and stability. Unity in terms of interdependence through a division of labour and stability through sanctions legitimised by the relevant institutions, here the temple. The end result is a structure with definite function in society which possesses history and concentrates interest on values, motives and policy (Dalton (ed.) 1968: 148).

Marshall Sahlins (1974) says that no social relation or institution is itself economic. Any institution whether it be a family, lineage or temple, if it has material consequences for the society can be placed in an economic context and hence treated as part of an economic process. If it has political consequences, it can be placed in a political context and so on. There is no socially distinct economy or government or a well-defined infrastructure but only social groups or relations with multiple functions - economic, political etc. (Sahlins 1974: 185-86 fn.) This holds goods for the temple in this village economy and should be viewed taking such a stance.

Understanding how the empirical economies become instituted or integrated should begin with how the economy acquires unity and stability. Unity meaning functional interdependence and stability in the sense of reproduction of the parts. This leads us to the 'forms of integration' as Polanyi terms it. Each system can be viewed as a mosaic of situations where alternative modes of transaction operate. This was acknowledged by Dalton and Polanyi. (Polanyi et.al. (ed.) 1957: 250).

The place of transactions in the total economy in a primitive (precapitalist) economy is more detached from production. Sahlins feels that it is less involved in the acquisition of means of production and more involved with the redistribution of finished goods. It is an economy in which food holds a commanding position and where output depends on a simple division of labour based on a corresponding level of technology. It is a social order which has a power hierarchy with the rights to control returns moving

along with the rights to use means of production. There are very limited titles or income privileges in resources. (Sahlins 1974: 187).

In the context of the village Kidangoor , with the Śri Subramaṇia Swāmi Temple as the focal point, one can see such a social order existing with a power hierarchy in which the Ūrāṇma is at the highest level and the lowest level occupied by the bonded labourers. The means of production are totally under the control of the Ūrāṇma and redistributed shares of the agrarian produce (or rights to control returns) are also determined by the Ūrāṇma. Lands are distributed only under three titles (as in the Devaswom Land Register) - Devaswamvaka (of the temple), Nambōdirivaka (of the Brahmin), and Mādampivaka (of the local 'baron'). Only these three control the means of production.

### Reciprocity

Polanyi had deciphered three forms of integration in any society and they were Reciprocity, Redistribution and Exchange. (Polanyi et.al. (ed.) 1957: 250).

Polanyi defined reciprocity as the circulation of goods and services on the basis of familial or political obligation, reinforced by ritualistic or religious principles. (Stanfield 1979: 20). Reciprocity based on political obligation rooted in ritualistic or religious principles seems to hold good in our context too.

The land when leased out to the tenant brings a return in the form of a tribute or assessment<sup>5</sup>. This reciprocal act is partly political (by virtue of the land under the control of Ūrāṇma) and partly ritual/religious since the land belongs to the deity even if the actual control was with the Ūrāṇma.

Dalton defines reciprocity as the obligatory gift and counter gift-giving between persons who stand in some socially defined relationships to one another. This definition seems to hold best in the cases of two types of land tenure - Aḍima and Anubhōgam. Aḍima is the land tenure based on gifting of land from a 'higher up' in the social hierarchy to a 'lower' positioned person. This subordinate in turn periodically returns the gift in terms of parts of the produce of the land he cultivates as kāl̥c̥a (tribute). Anubhōgam is similar but between two members of equal social standing.

Sahlins calls reciprocity as 'vice-versa' movements between two parties (A B). (Sahlins 1974: 188). Marcel Mauss decomposes the process of reciprocity into the obligation to give in the first place and secondly the obligation to receive. Studying the Maori tribe, Mauss talks of 'hau' that forces the recipient to make a return. Gifting involves the spirit of the donor and so seeks to return to its origin. Unless replaced it gives the donor a mystic and dangerous power over the recipient. To Mauss 'Hau' explains why gifts have to be returned. (Mauss, 1966: 159).

To Polanyi, reciprocity requires symmetrically arranged groupings. A group which undertakes to organise its economic

relationships on a reciprocal fashion splits into sub groups with members of each sub group having a one to one correspondence with the other sub group like trade in the 'Kula ring'.<sup>6</sup> (Dalton (ed.) 1968: 12). There can be more than two sub groups and it could also happen that members of two groups may not reciprocate with each other but may do so with corresponding members of the third group maintaining analogous relations. Taking an example from Malinowski's (1922) Trobriand Island, the man's responsibility is towards his sister's family but he in return is not assisted by his wife's brother (who is ofcourse a member of a third family. (Polanyi et.al. (ed.) 1957: 253).

Sahlins added and refined Polanyi's position and remained consistent with Polanyi's argument that there was a difference between saying that the economy is an instituted process and that of the economy being a logic of choice. But Sahlins criticises the viewing of reciprocity as a balanced and an unconditional one to one exchange. In fact, he says that it is in the deviation from balanced exchanges that one is able to capture the interaction between reciprocity, social relation and the material fabric. There can be many variations of reciprocity. One end of the spectrum there is the 'pure gift' as Malinowski called it where stipulating an open condition of return would be improper and unsociable. The other end is seizure, forcible appropriation, theft etc. which could be counteracted by an equal and opposite effort termed 'negative reciprocity'. In between are the various conditional reciprocities. [In our context it is these conditional reciprocities which get translated into the different land tenures.] Malinowski in 'Argonauts of the Western Pacific'

developed a taxonomy of reciprocity based on balance and equivalents of exchanges. He saw that the spirit of exchange shifted from insouciance to materialism. (Sahlins 1974: 191).

Barter or trade is different from gifting. To know the difference between the two, one must make a complete survey of all forms of payment. On one end will be the extreme case of pure gift which is an offering without conditions of return. Then comes forms of gift or payment for which return is conditional and after which comes a form of exchange where almost strict equivalencies are observed. This is when one arrives at real barter. (Malinowski 1922: 176). Based on this there are three kinds of reciprocities, general reciprocity, balanced reciprocity and negative reciprocity. Balanced reciprocity can be called Barter.

#### Redistribution

Quoting J.R. Stanfield's definition of redistribution - 'It is the primarily obligatory delivery of goods and services to a central authority from whence they are reallocated towards public functions, defence or relief'. (Stanfield 1979: 20).

Malinowski, Raymond Firth, Gluckman, Richards and Polanyi have made ethnographic studies which have depicted the material and social concomitants of pooling. (Sahlins 1974: 189). To Sahlins pooling is a system of reciprocities and this works out to be the apt definition for use in the present study. It is in a 'chiefly' model that one sees the power (rights) vested in one body to control the produce of the underlying population and have the obligations of generosity in return. The organised exercise of



these rights and objectives is redistribution. (Ibid.) One finds the chiefly model useful for our purposes in the study.

According to Sahlins the redistribution can have two functions. One is the logistic function and the other is the instrumental function. These functions can coexist or exist as alternatives to one another. The former is the function of sustaining the community in a 'material sense' or in an 'economic sense'. The latter is a function related to a 'ritual of communion' and 'of subordination to a central authority' or in other words sustaining the community in a social sense. (Ibid.: 190). The temple in our context performs both these functions. Actually the first function gets subsumed in the second because the economic substratum is embedded in the social fabric of our society in study.

One finds an example of this in Raymond Firth's Tikopia. Every person who takes part in the feast organised by the Tikopia chief called the 'aŋa' is forced to cooperate forgetting his personal interests and that in terms of the whole community. Even rival chiefs come together with an outward show of cooperative friendship and amity. To be present at the 'aŋa' and participate in the economic contributions helped sustain the authority of the Tikopia system. (Ibid.) The same can be seen during the temple festivals - especially the grand festival of ten days (Thirutsavam) in the temple of our village economy.

Reciprocity can be called a 'between' relationship just as redistribution is a 'within' relationship. (Ibid: 188).

Redistribution could consist of payments of obligation in terms of material items, money or services of labour to a socially acknowledged centre (which could be a king, a chief or priest) which provides services by a reallocation of whatever he receives and these services could be for defence, public feasts etc. (Stanfield 1979: 70). In our particular context the redistribution consists of payments of obligation in terms of paddy, produce of the garden lands (like vegetables, plantains, coconuts, pepper etc.), money and also in terms of services of labour (performance of kūtty<sup>7</sup>, scavenging in the temple premises, making flower garlands, dehusking paddy etc.).

Redistribution consists of two movements. One in which the produce to be allocated is collected either physically or by appropriation through custom or law. The second consists of the goods collected and parcelled out among the members of the system. (Ibid.) Pooling becomes a sign of social unity and Polanyian centrality.<sup>8</sup> Reciprocity is social duality and symmetry. It is a relationship involving two sides with distinct socio-economic interests. It establishes cohesiveness (solidarity) to the extent of mutual assistance and benefit, but there is also a duality which cannot be ignored.

For Sahlins, reciprocity and redistribution can merge because he says 'pooling is an organisation of reciprocities, a system of reciprocities'. (Sahlins 1974: 188).

The social consequence of redistribution can be crucial when the society is not as democratic as a primitive tribe. If the

redistribution is organised through an influential family or a ruling aristocracy or an oligarchic caste council like the *Ūrānma* that we have in our context, the motive will be to promote their political power through the redistribution. For example, in the Kwakiutl tribe it is considered an honour by the chief to show his wealth of skins and hides and so distributes them. This has another motivation behind it. This placed the recipients 'under an obligation' making them his debtors or slaves. One can spot instances of centralised despotism in the Kingdoms of Hammurabi, Babylonia and the New Kingdom of Egypt. (Dalton (ed.) 1968: 13-4).

Redistribution was practiced not only in civilizations which did not use money but also in archaic societies which used metal currencies for payments in terms of taxes and salaries. Part of the payments were in kind from the granaries. These were distributed as means of consumption especially to the non-productive part of the society like officials, defence and the revenue class. Examples are seen in Ancient China and the Inca Empire in ancient India.<sup>9</sup> (Ibid: 14).

In the ethnically stratified Africa, there are two strata in society - the superior stratum consisting of herdsmen and the inferior consisting of agriculturists only using a digging stick or a hoe. The gifts received by the superior stratum are agricultural produce like beer, grain etc. and the gifts they distribute would be livestock. There is an unequal division of labour between the two strata. Depending on which is more privileged, land or cattle, politically such societies would live under feudalism. (Ibid: 15).

Richard Thurnwald, an authority on redistribution says that a system of redistribution was always found under feudalism everywhere in the world. His explanation is that the distributive function expands the increase in political power of a 'few people' and would give rise to despots. Gifts later changed their form into taxes. Thurnwald feels that since most transactions are in kind and the fact that the superior stratum claims the privileged resource, (like land under control of the superior caste in our context) feudalism is bound to occur. The pattern of production (here, in terms of distribution of rights over land to the different castes) and distribution of produce through collection, storage and redistribution is generally focussed on the chief, the despot, the lord or the temple. (Ibid). Here, in our case all lands (Devaswom) are vested on the 'lord' while the actual control is done by the 'Ūrāṇma' which is a corporate and acts as the 'chief'.

### Exchange

The last form of integration is exchange or what is called market exchange. This needs the prop of price-making markets. Three kinds of exchanges can be distinguished:

- (a) operational exchange which is the locational movements between hands.
- (b) decisional exchange which is appropriational movements or exchange at a set rate.
- (c) integrative exchange which is the appropriation movement at a bargained rate.

For the exchange at a set rate, the rate is fixed by factors such as an authority rather than by the market mechanism. This is

in contrast with the integrative exchange which is more common in precapitalist societies. The partners here produced a price that is favourable to each of them as one can make it. This integrates rather than disintegrates the economy. An exchange at fluctuating prices requires an antagonistic relationship between the two people. Primitive societies generally do not allow hostility to develop with respect to exchanges of things as vital as food. So here, price making markets do not exist. When markets become the ruling force, land and food get mobilised through exchange with labour becoming a commodity having a price. (Polanyi et.al.(ed.) 1957: 255-56).

**Complementary use of the System-Subsystem Approach and the Substantive Approach in the Analysis of the Transitional Village Economy of our Study**

Having examined the concepts and tools of the two approaches and their applicability to our particular situation one can arrive at the methodology that would suit our particular context.

The methodology adopted would be a fusion of these two approaches - System-Subsystem of Parsons and Smelser and the Substantive Approach supported by Polanyi, Dalton, Sahlins et.al. The methodology is that of 'economic anthropology' with a structural-functional stance.

Based on the unnatural exchange aimed at money making rather than reproducing community and sustaining unity does one find the root of Polanyi's concept of the 'disembedded economy'.

Polanyi's central idea is that market economy remakes society and in the process destroys solidarity leading to social disintegration. But there would be a counter response to this social disintegration which could occur in different forms in different societies. The question as to how this village economy in terms of its major institution (the temple) responded to such a threat would arise. Polanyi finds formalistic or the bourgeois attitude of reducing economy to its logical choice very restrictive when analysing precapitalistic societies. The method that he chose was that of concrete empirical consciousness.

Polanyi's hypothesis have influenced scholars in various fields.<sup>10</sup> His work was said to have been motivated by two basic concerns. One with the general problem of methodology and the other with the historical problem of political economy. He believed that the theory of economic anthropology becomes possible only when primitive and archaic economies are considered part of comparative economic systems. And he says that it is a limitation of formal economics to neglect history and the cultural totality of human behaviour. (Dalton (ed.) 1968: 31).

Formalist definition of social value would just be a sum of private values. This has been the predominant approach used by mainstream economists especially in the post-world war II period. The perspective is ahistorical and hence extremely limited in its psychological and empirical achievements. The most dangerous defect is its ignorance of social change. (Stanfield 1979: 154 fn.)

The Substantivist views the economy as a component of culture rather than a need satisfying process of individual behaviour. Polanyi feels terms like supply, demand and price should be replaced by resources, requirements and equivalencies to understand the society better. (Ibid: 38).

In the System-Subsystem approach there is the premise that social systems are never perfectly integrated and that some mechanism must exist to integrate it and sustain integration. This is the same concern for the substantivist and so one finds that one can see the temple as that factor which serves to integrate the village society or economy. This satisfies both approaches. The substantivist assumes self-sufficiency of society and the System-Subsystem approach qualifies this self-sufficiency. According to this self-sufficiency is achieved through fulfilling four functions in terms of the four subsystems already explained. Our analysis of the 'temple economy' in the forthcoming chapter (Chapter 4) would be helpful in showing the self-sufficiency of the village system and the temple's role in it. The village treated as a 'system' has the temple playing the roles of the economic, political, legal and cultural subsystems.

Analysing or unravelling the political subsystem would mean searching for the situations that manifest the power of the temple in terms of authority and dominance or 'goal attainment' as the propounders of the system-subsystem approach call it. This would be in terms of levelling conflicts and overseeing redistribution to maintain unity and stability. This can be seen clearly when one analyses the role of the temple in the redistribution of the

agrarian produce. To explain the political subsystem one uses substantive concepts like reciprocity, redistribution and disembeddedness. The data that one would look into would be data on collection or pooling of agrarian produce, its administration and the shares of agrarian produce decided by the authority (Ūrāṇma) for the beneficiaries of the redistribution. This gives us an account of the order of beneficiaries and the number of non-productive (in terms of agricultural produce) members of the society. It was their decision that mattered most in this undemocratic set up. Actually the political and legal subsystems fuse together here. The political subsystem depends on the legal and cultural subsystems for its definition. Legal subsystem refers to the institutionalised values. For example reciprocity and redistribution becomes institutionalised by the temple in the village economy. The temple legitimizes it. Actually this legitimation could have been influenced by earlier Vedic-Brahmanic and later Hindu-Brahmanic world view which legitimised the temple itself and thereby legitimising everything else.

One is able to see three levels of temple influence in this temple domain. On the top most level is the main Grāmakṣ'ētra (Śrī Subramāṇia Swāmi Temple). This is the centre of the village. (The village here is not used in the territorial sense but extends itself beyond the geographical limits to the Dēśams where the Grāmakṣ'ētra holds lands). Below this level is the 'subsidiary temple level'. These subsidiary temples are situated in the different Dēśavalīs and these incorporate the members who are actually already incorporated under the influence of the main temple. They relate to the main temple indirectly through these



subsidiary temples and directly on some occasions like during the annual grand festival (Tirutsavam) of the main temple. The bottom level is that of the family temples or lineage temples of whatever form incorporating members of a smaller unit like the 'family'. The margins differentiating the three levels are not clear and definite and could overlap each other.

Aidan Southall studying an East African society, Alur devised a new concept of State formation - a State (political order) different from the 'Unitary State' but still a 'State'. This he calls the 'Segmentary State' (Stein 1980: 265). There are certain characteristics of the segmentary state but can be applied to the temple institution of our village society -

- (a) It is a political situation i.e. highly centralised ritually than political. (He equates ritual hegemony and authority and states that 'Authority is the legitimate exercise of imperative control (Ibid: 266 fn.) i.e. the probability that a command will be obeyed'.
- (b) In a segmentary system 'tribute' is received in direct return for ritual and jural services rather than in recognition of any regular fiscal obligation. Only a certain 'legitimacy' can make this happen. There is a "belief in legitimacy" of the segmentary state. Central political control may not be important at all. Here political control is appropriately distributed among many throughout the system but ritual supremacy is legitimately conceded to a single centre. (Ibid: 268).
- (c) There is a joint recognition by the segments (the three levels described above referring to our context) of the ritual

sovereignty of the highest office or personage considered as the authorized source of ritual cohesiveness for the state as the whole. (Ibid: 272).

- (d) It is based on a ritual and not administrative incorporation. Segmentary forms can exist only under ritually incorporative leadership. (Ibid: 277). The leader has a morality of his own. This ethical aspect is checked through the norms of each Ganam<sup>11</sup> of the temple administration.

A segmentary state is a 'flexible state', fluid with many overlappings of power and authority - ritually and politically. One is not intending to draw sharp lines between the different segments or zones, (or the three levels that we had described) but one is only applying the concept to such a 'situation of flux of ritual power and authority' as seen in the temple domain.

The temple is also the cultural subsystem of the Village. The daily rituals and temple festivals are a proof to this. Each pooja as Arjun Appadurai (Appadurai 1981: 35) calls it is an act of redistribution. Therefore each of the rituals incorporates a few members of the society. Greater the ritual in terms of duration and gravity, greater the number of people incorporated. The annual grand festival incorporates not only the village that the temple is situated in but also villages where the temple holds lands.

The temple is also the economic subsystem of the village system. This is clear from the role of the temple in the production of agrarian produce. An analysis of the distribution of land and rights over land to the different members of the society, its

administration and its role in pooling the agrarian produce by physical appropriation and redistribution again makes clear the role of the temple as the economic subsystem of the village economy (See Chapter 4).

The temple so becomes a unique institution being a fusion of all the four subsystems. Therefore, studying the role of the temple in production of agrarian produce (by way of distribution of land and land-rights - the production movements of the substantive approach), redistribution of the agrarian produce (or the appropriative movements of the substantive approach) and lastly an attempt to study the response of the temple to a threat in the form of the Land Reforms in order to survive disintegration of the village system becomes important.

All the above are being analysed in terms of transactions or forms of integration like reciprocity and redistribution which are concepts essentially substantive.

## NOTES

1. 200 'Padattukai' or plantains and 0.25 Edangali cow's ghee given to the jenmi during the onam festival. (which is just after the harvest)
2. This consists of freshly cut fronds of the coconut palm, jackfruit and a bunch of coconuts as tribute to the jenmi on certain occasions.
3. This is an offering of a share of the produce of garden lands (mostly) by a tenant in terms of a bunch of plantains or vegetables or tender coconuts etc.
4. Auction. This involves auctioning articles coming to the temple in terms of offerings to the deity (mainly through the ritual of Thulabharam) and also livestock offered.
5. It can be called 'rent'. But 'rent' in the substantive sense because some of the returns were more in the character of tributes like Jenmibhōgam and less of an assessment.
6. The Kula ring in Western Melanesia bases itself on reciprocity and is one of the detailed trading transactions known. The Trobriand Island is a ring shaped Archipelago where the population spends time in the activities of a Kula trade. It is trade despite a lack of money of any kind or profits. No goods are hoarded or possessed eternally. Goods are enjoyed by giving them away. Large expeditions are undertaken periodically by natives in order to carry valuable objects to people living on islands situated clockwise while other expeditions are arranged to islands lying anticlockwise. In the longrun which may be even ten years, two sets of objects - white shell armbands and red shell necklaces move around the Archipelago. (Dalton (ed.) 1968: 12).
7. An ancient theatrical art form performed in the temples of Kerala by the male members of the Chakyar caste.
8. Polanyi says that for a society to based itself on redistribution requires a socially acknowledged centre.
9. See Walter Neale, Reciprocity and redistribution in the Indian village, in Karl Polanyi et.al. (ed.) Trade and Market in the early empires, 1957, the Free press, New York.
10. Moses Finlay in the field of ancient history. A.L. Openheim in Oriental history, Douglas North and E.L. Jones in western economic history. In intellectual history, Polanyi's influence is seen in Joyce Appleby's study of the origin of the market mentality and culture. (Stanfield 1979: 20).
11. See Glossary

### CHAPTER 3

#### TENURIAL RELATIONS AND DYNAMICS OF AGRARIAN INTEGRATION

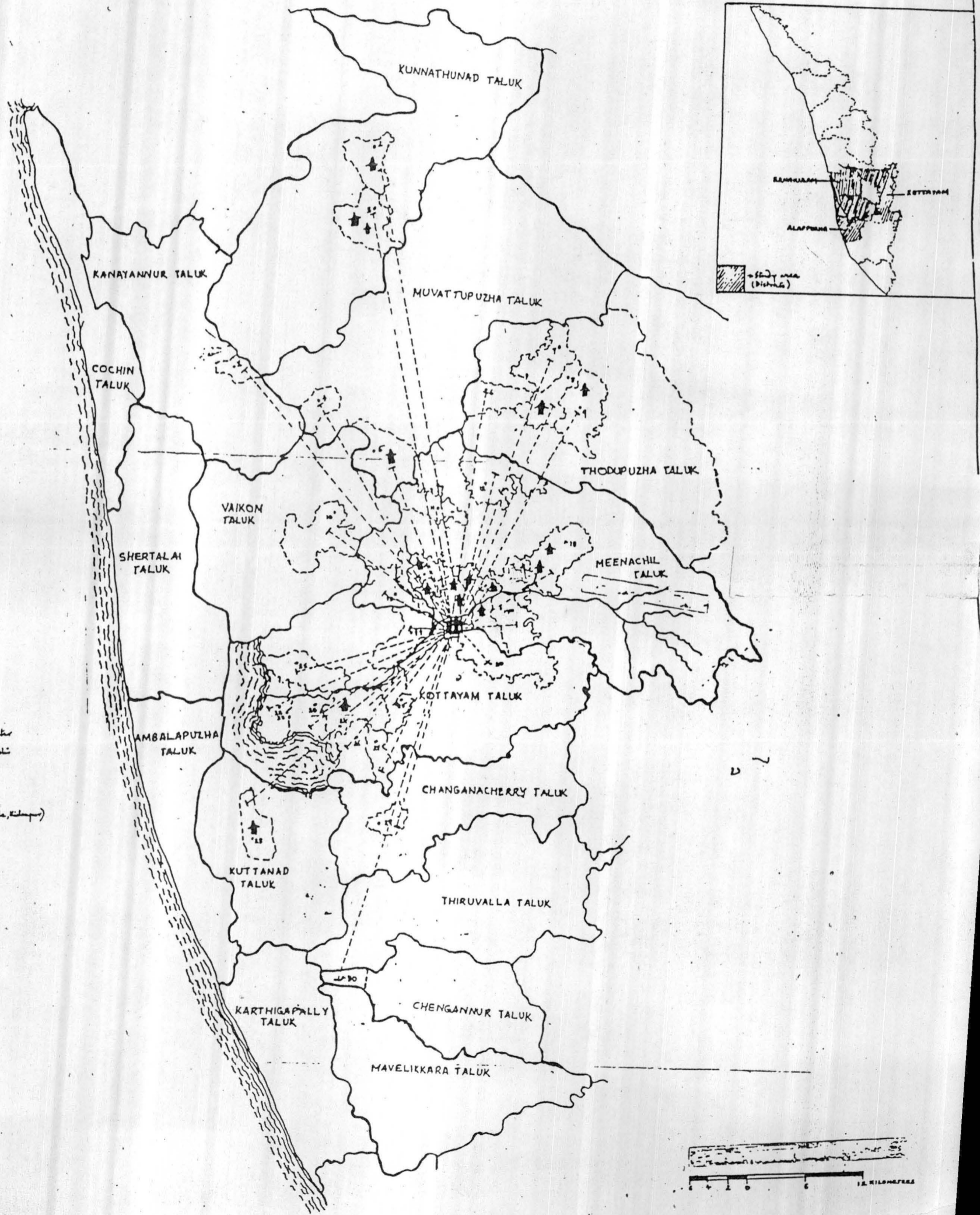
The temple of Śri Subramāṇia Swāmi is situated in the heart of the village Kidangoor. Its domain is not limited to this village but spread out into 19 villages in 8 Taluks according to the Devaswom Land Register (ending 1969-70) [see Appendix] and 25 villages in 9 taluks according to the Devaswom Jenmikaram Register (ending 1955) [See Appendix]. It administered these lands from its situation in Kidangoor through its corporate<sup>1</sup> management - the Ūrāṇma consisting of the heads of the 14 Illams of Kidangoor.

For getting a picture of the usufructory rights on the temple lands, the Devaswam Land Register - which records the specifications of lands (under the classification of garden, wet and Chērikkal)<sup>2</sup> until 1969-70 (the pre-Land Reform period), the Devaswom Jenmikaram Register and the Devaswom Settlement Register (of the Settlement of 1833-1911) have been used. In this study most use has been made of the Devaswom Settlement Register for understanding the distribution of land and rights over land, the reasons for which will be explained shortly.

The jenmi-kudiyān sampradāyam was the traditional land system in Kerala which denoted a land system based on land lord-tenant relations. Jenmam right literally means birth right and this also means that the Jenmi does not owe anything either in services or dues to a higherup in physically holding this right. It is a 'customary' right over soil. The Jenmi loses this right only when this land gets alienated either by transfer or sale, called <sup>2</sup>atṭipēr<sup>3</sup> (absolute alienation of Jenmam land).

Śri Subramaṇia Swāmi temple (Śaivite) is actually a temple complex. This temple has subsidiary temples (Upakṣētras) in different Dēśavaḷi. The process by which these seventeen temples and lands came under the administration of the main temple is not clear. In any case this does not lie within the purview of this study. Some of these upakshetras have Saivite deities, some Vaisnavite and some folk deities. (See Table 3.1) The management of the Śri Subramaṇia Swāmi temple designates persons to each of these temples for its supervision and financial management. It appoints the priests and the other temple functionaries. There is direct interaction with the upakṣētras. No decisions are taken in these minor temples without the sanction of the parent temple. Until 1969-70 it had an over-powering force over these upaksetras. Immediately after the Land Reforms, with the consequent decline of control over land holding of the Śri Subramaṇia Swāmi temple, the relationship between the main temple and the subsidiary temples has reduced to becoming a nominal one. This is because a major portion of the expenditure incurred with regard to these minor temples was taken care of by the local people. Temples that were managed from very early times by the Kidangoor Devaswom are Uttamaśivapuram (Uttamēśwaram), Ayyankōikkal, Murtiṭṭukāvū, Pariyāramāngalatṭu Triikka, Rāyamangalam Kūṭṭumaḍom, Parakaṭṭil Śivaksetra, Kariyur (Kāvālam) Bhagavati Kṣētram, Edavetty Kriśnaswāmi Kṣētram, Tharavattatṭu Subramaṇia Swāmi Kṣētram, Mēvaḍa Bhagavati Kṣētram, Elaṅṅikarayil Elaṅṅimaḍom (total 11 nos.). Six (Nambūdiri family and lineage temples) were later incorporated because they could not be managed by the respective Illams. It could be that the rest were also incorporated for the same reasons. This is just a possibility. The main temple had a special right over the

# - LOCATION MAP - DESAVALIES AND SUBSIDIARY TEMPLES



- L - Lands included in the Desavali Land Register  
 J - Lands included in the Jambhavan Register  
 JL - Lands included in both the Registers
- Taluk boundary  
 - - - Village boundary
- ★ Main temple (for historical or main temple, Kottayam)  
 ☆ Subsidiary temples (1940)
- |                     |          |    |
|---------------------|----------|----|
| 1 Kanayannur        | Midland  | L  |
| 2 Vengoor           | Midland  | L  |
| 3 Rayamangalam      | Midland  | JL |
| 4 Paravom           | Midland  | JL |
| 5 Elanjil           | Midland  | J  |
| 6 Manalad           | Midland  | JL |
| 7 Kumaranangalam    | Midland  | L  |
| 8 Thodupuzha        | Midland  | JL |
| 9 Karikode          | Highland | JL |
| 10 Kaduthuruthy     | Midland  | J  |
| 11 Uthavoor         | Midland  | J  |
| 12 Ramapuram        | Highland | JL |
| 13 Manakkudi        | Midland  | J  |
| 14 Elakad           | Midland  | JL |
| 15 Kidangoor        | Midland  | JL |
| 16 Puliyankur       | Midland  | JL |
| 17 Meenachil        | Midland  | JL |
| 18 Chiranjungam     | Midland  | J  |
| 19 Pottanam         | Midland  | J  |
| 20 Akalathuruthy    | Midland  | JL |
| 21 Aimanam          | Lowland  | J  |
| 22 Kumerakom        | Lowland  | J  |
| 23 Thiruvappu       | Lowland  | JL |
| 24 Kottayam         | Lowland  | JL |
| 25 Vijayapuram      | Midland  | JL |
| 26 Nalukom          | Lowland  | JL |
| 27 Parochikad       | Midland  | J  |
| 28 Pulincunnu       | Lowland  | JL |
| 29 Vazhappally East | Midland  | JL |
| 30 Kurathicry       | Lowland  | J  |

SOURCE: Compiled from Census maps of Taluks.

subsidiary temples which was called the *Kīlīṭu* - literally meaning subsidiary and which also means the revenue cum tenancy right over the subsidiary temples and its lands.<sup>3</sup>

Table 3.1

List of Subsidiary Temples\*

Sl.No.	Name of the Temple	Taluk	Deity
1.	Uttameśwaram, Kidangoor	Meenachil	Śaivite
2.	Pariyāramaṅgalattu Murtiittukāvu Bhagavathy Kṣētram and	Meenachil	Mother Goddess (folk deity) &
3.	Murtiittu Kāvu Kriṣṇa Swāmi Kṣētram		Vaiṣṇavite deity
4.	Kumaṅṅūr, Nadakkānkunnēl kāvu	Meenachil	Mother Goddess (folk deity)
5.	Kumaṅṅur, Kriṣṇaswami Kṣētram	Meenachil	Vaiṣṇavite
6.	Chemplāvu Śhiva Kṣētram	Meenachil	Śaivite
7.	Kāḷ Tōrikkayil Kriṣṇaswāmi Kṣētram	Meenachil	Vaiṣṇavite
8.	Chemplāvu, Śāsthāmkōvil Kṣētram	Meenachil	Folk deity
9.	Mēvaḍa Bhagavati Kṣētram (with a Kūṭṭambalam)	Meenachil	Symbol of the Mother Goddess (no deity)
10.	Nērikāṭṭ, Ayyankoikkal Kṣētram	Kottayam	Folk deity
11.	Kāvālam Bhagavathy Kṣētram	Kuttanad	Mother Goddess Folk deity
12.	Eḍavētti Kriṣṇaswāmi Kṣētram	Thodupuzha	Vaiṣṇavite
13.	Taṅṅavāṭṭatṭu Subramaṅia Swāmi Kṣētram	Thodupuzha	Śaivite
14.	Elanji karayil Elanji Maṭṭom	Moovattupuzha	
15.	Rāyamaṅgalam Kooṭumaṭṭom Subramaṅia Swāmi Kṣētram	Kunnathunadu	Śaivite
16.	Parakāṭṭu Śhiva Kṣētram	Kunnathunadu	Śaivite
17.	Rāyamaṅgalam Kriṣṇa Swāmi Kṣētram	Kunnathunadu	Vaiṣṇavite

\* Compiled from the Oral Communication with the head of the present *Ūrānma*, Shri Nellipūla Padmanabhan Nambudiri.

As already stated, understanding the *Jenmi-Rudiyān* land system means an understanding the landlord-tenant relationship. The



landlord here is the temple represented by the 'Uranma'. The tenants are of different castes - Hindus and Non-Hindus. Understanding the temple-tenant relationship dictated by the conditions of lease, (or the type of tenure) helps us comprehend the role of the temple in agrarian integration and its role in the reproduction of the relations of production. Analysing the distribution of rights over land reflects a major facet of the temple-village society<sup>4</sup> articulation.

A perusal of the Devaswom Land Register, Devaswom Settlement Register and the Devaswom Jenmikaram register raises questions vital for understanding the temple-society articulation with respect to land distribution. One of the most important economic roles of the temple -- the redistribution of the agrarian produce bases itself on the produce (analysed in Chapter 4) of these lands and hence the importance.

Questions for which attempts to answer have been made are listed below. These questions are important because they express the landlord-tenant relationship through different variables.

- (a) Is there a relationship between the size of holding/acreage of land held and caste of the tenant?
- (b) Is there a relationship between the land tenure type and the cast of the tenant? Is there any preference for a particular caste?
- (c) Is there a relationship between land type (there are 13 types depending on soil fertility or on whether it is reclaimed land) and the caste of the tenant?
- (d) Which tenure was most predominant on the garden lands and wet-

lands respectively?

- (e) Was there a relationship between land tenure and a particular land type?

The Devaswom Settlement Register has been found to be more useful for our purposes. The Devaswom Jenmikaram register<sup>5</sup> give us no information about tenures other than Rāṇapāṭṭam while the Devaswom Settlement Registers in addition to providing the required data like type of tenure, number of taxable trees if garden, land type etc. also indicates whether the land-holding is liable for Jenmikaram extraction. The land registers do not give the land type (Taṛa Taram).

Fourteen castes/communities have been identified among the tenants on the Devaswam lands. They are Syrian Christians (C), Nairs (N), Eḷavās (E), Nambūdiris (O), Ambalavāsis (Z) [Pishārody, Vārrier, Mūttad, Eḷayad, Čākkyar, Mārār], Iyer (I), Ārtisan Caste (X) [Kallāšāri, Ašāri, Taṭṭān, Kollan], Kṣatriya (R), Vellāla Pillai (VP), Cheṭṭi Pillai (Ch), Dhōbi (D), Bārber (B), Paravan (P) and even Muslims (M) (4 Nos. on lands in village Vijayapuram).

#### Relationship between Size of Landholding and Caste

The first question would give us answers relating to the caste with the greatest number of land holdings and acreage of land, (we get the average size of landholding from these two informations for the different castes) dominance of tenants belonging to a particular caste on large holdings.

The Devaswom Settlement Register accounts 11 villages (Pakuthies)<sup>6</sup> - Kidangoor, Ramapuram, Piravam, Meenachil, Puliyanoor, Manakkad, Kumaramangalam, Thodupuzha, Akalakunnam, Karikkode and Vijayapuram. The register gives us information about the name of the tenant (which help us identify the caste with near accuracy), acreage details, details of classification of land into wet, garden and chērikkal, type of tenure on which it is held, the number of coconut trees, arecanut trees and Jack trees on land if garden (these are the only taxable trees according to the Final Settlement) and another column specifying the coconut 'tree type' (there are 8 types). There is a column showing the amount of settlement pattam obtained from the land holdings and a remarks column specifying the liability of Jenmikaram extraction.

Table 3.2 has been formed by working on the details of the number of holdings under lease and the information on the caste of the tenants deduced from the register.

TABLE 3.2  
Size of holdings-Caste

Caste Size of holding (in acres)	N	C	E	O	Z	I	S*	R	Vp	M	Total
0 - .25	19	73	3	-	5	8	-	-	-	1	109
.25 - .5	43	121	3	3	18	3	-	2	-	-	193
.5 - .75	60	106	14	5	16	-	1	-	-	-	202
0.75- 1	53	128	20	5	11	2	-	1	-	2	222
1 - 1.5	66	132	18	2	8	-	2	2	-	-	230
1.5 - 2	45	70	5	-	5	-	1	1	-	-	127
2 - 2.5	31	55	5	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	99
2.5 - 3	18	34	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	59
3 - 4	19	49	6	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	75
4 - 5	7	20	1	-	2	-	1	2	1	-	34
4 - 10	9	13	-	-	1	1	4	2	-	-	30
10-20	5	11	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	14
20 <	3	17	-	-	-	1	4	2	1	-	28
	378	829	75	19	79	15	18	13	2	4	1422

Compiled from  
Source: Devaswom Settlement Register

\* Unregistered land under the Devaswom.

N - Nair; C - Christian; E - Elava; O - Nambūdiri; Z - Ambalavāsi;  
I - Iyer; R - Kṣatriya; Vp - Vellāla Pillai; M - Muslim

Total acreage held by Nair Tenants	=	714.83 acres
Total acreage held by Christian Tenants	=	812.69 acres
Total acreage held by the rest of the tenants	=	391.16 acres
Average size of holding of Nair Tenants	=	2.04 acres
Average size of holding of Christian Tenants	=	0.94 acres
Average size of holding of the rest of the tenants	=	1.73 acres
Percentage share of land held by Nair Tenants	=	37.26
Percentage share of land held by Christian Tenants	=	42.36
Percentage share of land held by the rest of the castes	=	20.39
Total acreage of Devaswom lands (Land Register)	=	1918.68 acres

Note: Worked out from the Devaswom Land Register.

Almost 51% of the landholdings are of size class less than 1 acre. Around 24% fall in the size class of 1-2 acres. The rest together would fall within 25% of the total land holdings. Only 1.6% of holdings (28 nos.) fall in the '20 and above acres' category of tenants, 14% (4 nos.) of which falls under the unregistered category and only 10% (3 nos.) of it are under Nair tenants. Almost 61% of the landholdings (17 nos.) under the '20 and above' category are held by Christian tenants. The table shows 19 holdings with Nambudiris as tenants of which 13 fall below 1 acre. Nambudiris held these small sized holdings only as means of rendering certain services to the temple. They had their jenmam lands for private requirements. Maximum number of holdings (230 nos.) fell in the size class of 1-1.5 acres. For every size class Christian tenants were more in number than the Nair tenants (who had the highest number of land holdings). For 378 Nair tenants there were 829 Christian tenants. The Christians dominated both the lower extreme (0-0.25 acres) of the land size category and in the upper extreme (20 and above acres). The Nair tenants totalled to 26% of the total number of tenants and the Christian tenants to 58% and the tenants of the remaining castes came 16%. It is interesting to note that a Hindu institution like the temple depended on a non-Hindu community (Christian) to get most of the required agricultural produce so important for its ritual cycles. The very basis of the redistributive role of the temple (which is a crucial factor governing the temple society articulation). Incorporation of the Christian tenants on the temple lands shows the pragmatism on the part of the Ūrāṇma in exploiting their cultivating skills.

## Relationship between Tenure and Caste

The second exercise is an attempt to find out the relationship if any between the type of tenure and caste of the tenant on the Devaswom lands.

TABLE 3.3  
Tenure-Caste

Type of Tenure	Caste	C	N	O	E	X	B	Z	P	Ch	I	D	R	Vp	M	Total
1. Kid. Dev. Vaka Thēttan		354	202	11	55	17	-	17	1	20	-	-	-	-	4	681
2. Kid. Dev. Vaka Kānapāttan		464	107	13	18	10	2	12	1	14	3	-	3	2	-	649
3. Paṇḍāravaka Pēttan		14	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	20
4. Kid. Dev. Vakayam Namboodiri Vaka Thēttan		7	7	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
5. Kid. Dev. Vaka Anubhōḡan		2	6	1	2	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	18
6. Kid. Dev. Vaka Thanathu		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Kudijennam		1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
8. Kid. Dev. Vaka Verumpāttan		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Namboodiri Vaka Thēttan		6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
10. Namboodiri Vaka Kānapāttan		2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
11. Kid. Devaswam Vakayam Namboodiri Vaka Kānapāttan		16	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
12. Koothu Viruthi		-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
13. Kid. Dev. Vaka Anubhavan		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
14. Kid. Dev. Vaka Nārāpāttan		21	5	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
15. Kid. Dev. Vaka Nērmāpāttan		2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
16. Kid. Dev. Vaka Pāttan		-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
17. Paṇḍāravaka Otti		2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
18. Kid. Dev. Vakayam Nādāmbi Vaka Kānapāttan		1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

Type of Tenure	Caste	C	M	O	B	X	B	Z	P	Ch	I	D	R	Vp	N	Total
19. Kid Dev Vakayam Nadambi Vaka Thēttam		2	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
20. Kid Sabbayogam Vaka		-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	10
21. Paṇḍāravaka Kudijennan		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
22. Kid Dev Vaka Adima		-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
																1482

Compiled from  
Source: Devaswom Settlement Register

The numbers represent the number of land holdings under each of the tenures. 46.3% of the land holdings were held under Kidangoor Devaswom vaka Thēttam tenure. Next comes Kidangoor Devaswom vaka Kāṇapāṭṭom with 44.11%. The rest come to less than 10% of the total land holdings. There was one instance of Viruthi<sup>7</sup> (0.29 cents) held by the Čākkyār tenant in Kidangoor. This is a caste based service tenure. (It is possible that the Čākkyār could have lands on other tenures too as has been found on perusal of the land registers).

Of the total holdings (681 no.) held under the Thēttam tenure, the Christians come to hold 52% of them while the Nairs held only 30% of it. But the Nair tenants held more land under Thēttam tenure than under the Kāṇapāṭṭom tenure.

Lands were held in mortgage/from 12 years to 30 years on payment of a certain amount in cash or kind called artham (kāṇārtham) and the interest on the artham was deducted from the rent paid to the temple. This tenure is called kāṇapāṭṭom.

Kāṇam is a usufructory mortgage. The consideration for the mortgage could be a real or constructive loan i.e. it might have been capital actually borrowed at the time or it might have been money admitted as due for improvements effected on reclaiming land.

The Kāṇapāṭṭom tenure was predominantly among the Christian land holdings (72%). This becomes very significant. The Nairs came to only 16% of the total Kāṇapāṭṭom numbered 18 which is an appreciable number relative to the rest. There were more land holdings with Christian tenants on Kāṇapāṭṭom tenure (464 nos. than on any other tenure though the number of Christian tenants on Theṭṭam tenure was also sufficiently high (354). Holding land under Kāṇapāṭṭom by the Christians showed their access to wealth.

The authority exercised by landlords remained customary while the actual controlling rights were in the hands of these tenants. This was the dichotomy seen in the relationship between the jenmi and the kāṇam holder (Ganesh 1991). The artham paid indicated previously accumulated wealth or their attaining land by other means which qualified them for becoming Kāṇapāṭṭom tenants of the temple. The interest in the Devaswom lands for the Ūrāṇma was limited to merely providing for the upkeep of the temples and their daily consumption.

After Theṭṭam and Kāṇapāṭṭom tenures, Mārāpāṭṭom tenure seems to be dominant relative to the rest of the tenures. Holdings on Mārāpāṭṭom tenure, would seem to be restricted to the Ramapuram Pakuthy only. The simple lease holder occupied only a low economic position compared to holders of māṛāpāṭṭom who generally were



wealthy landholders. (Travancore Land Revenue Manual, Vol. 4, Trivandrum, 1916: 93-6).

The tenure Anubhōgam comes next, with 18 holdings and is a kind of Inam like Aḍima. These tenures which are inalienable, are not totally tax free, for a portion of the tax is remitted and this constitutes the Inam. It is a favourable tenure for it is not assessed in full.<sup>8</sup> If the land granted by the temple as Inām, sells or mortgages the land it becomes liable for full assessment or kandapāṭṭom. Anubhōgam is a Karam olivū land tenure. The difference between Anubhōgam and Aḍima are not definite.

When the donor in this type of tenure of the Inām kind, has a status in society superior to that of the donee, it can be called Aḍima. When they are equals it is called Anubhōgam according to one source.<sup>9</sup> There is another explanation given for the origin of these two tenures. When the Inām is given to a man it is called Anubhōgam, when it is to a woman it is Aḍima.<sup>10</sup>

Otti is also a mortgage like kanam but differs from it in that in the latter a balance (Miḥḥavāram)<sup>11</sup> is reserved to the Sirkar/temple after deducting the interest but no such miḥḥavāram is left to the Sirkar/temple under Otti.<sup>12</sup> The tax payable to the Government is the residue of the full assessment after deduction of interest and a Rājabhōgam<sup>13</sup> and where a Naḍuvakoor<sup>14</sup> remission is allowed, this is also deducted from the assessment. Naḍuvakoor was an incentive given by the Travancore Government to promote expansion of agriculture of and on.

Kidangoor Devaswom Vaka verumpāṭṭom is a simple lease where the tenant holds the lands at the will of the temple and is liable to be evicted, with only payment of the value of improvements if any made by him during his occupancy. He has no other right on the land. He is an 'inferior' tenant with respect to the Kāṇapāṭṭam holders. This is predominantly absent on the Devaswom lands meaning that 'superior tenancy' rights prevailed amongst the Devaswom lands.

The dominant tenures are the Kāṇapāṭṭom and Thēṭṭam among Devaswom land tenures of the Śrī Kidangoor Subramaṇia Swāmī Temple. The favourable tenures and the inferior tenures like Verumpāṭṭom are almost non-existent on these Devaswom lands. Christians are the main Kāṇapāṭṭom tenure holders implying their superior right over land and their access to accumulated wealth or their need for land so that they could become wealthy and a logical proclivity for the Devaswom to lease out lands to them. They could be assured of their daily 'conspicuous consumption' but this was blinding them from the fact that the actual controlling rights of the land<sup>15</sup> were with these persevering Christian tenants and that they held just a customary 'birth right' over these lands. The relationship between the jenmi-kudiyān on the Devaswom lands was a mortgager-mortgagee relationship.

It would be interesting to find out the percentage share of these tenures on the garden lands and the wet lands respectively.

The total garden lands of the Kidangoor Devaswom spread out in these 11 villages came upto 1727.83 acres, and wet lands 368.43

acres, totalling upto 2096.26 acres (based on the Devaswom Settlement Register). One thing to note is that in the settlement register only 11 villages have been considered. (Why this is so is not clear though) and the rice bowls of the Devaswom, Rayamangalam, Elanji and Neelur have not been considered in this register. So the figure for wet lands is a highly deflated one and not to be taken seriously.

TABLE 3.4  
Percentage of each tenure in the garden lands

Sl.No.	Name of Tenure	Area (acres)	% of tenure
1.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Kānapāttom	178.65	10.35
2.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Thēttam	897.52	51.94
3.	Paṇḍāravaka Pāttom	321.58	18.61
4.	Kidaṅgoor Dev. vaka Anubhōgam	17.91	1.04
5.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Thanathu	203.07	11.75
6.	KudiJenmam	7.20	0.41*
7.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Veṛumpattom	3.27	0.19*
8.	Kid. Dev. Vakayum Namboori Vaka Thēttam	17.65	1.02
9.	Kid. Dev. Vakayum Namboori vaka Kānapāttom	4.01	0.23*
10.	Namboori vaka Kānapāttom	1.82	0.11*
11.	Namboori Vaka Thēttam	1.14	0.07*
12.	Koothuviruthi	0.29	0.02*
13.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Mārāpāttom	46.10	2.67
14.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Nēmapāttom	6.63	0.38*
15.	Paṇḍāravaka Otti	15.31	0.89*
16.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Aḍima	0.93	0.05*
17.	Kid Yogathile Vaka Thēttam	1.04	0.06*
18.	Madampi Vaka Thēttam	3.70	0.21*
Total		1727.83	100

Source: Devaswom Settlement Register

\* 11 tenures less than 1%.

The most dominant tenure on the Devaswom Garden lands was the Kidangoor Devaswom vaka Thēttam with Paṇḍāravaka pāttom a poor second (18.6%). The Kāṇapāttom tenure is only found among 10% of the total garden land holdings.

TABLE 3.5

Percentage of Garden Lands in the 9 Pakuthies

Pakuthy	Area(acres)	Percentage in each Pakuthy
1. Kidangoor	368.68	18.78
2. Ramapuram	239.69	12.20
3. Piravam	98.20	5.00
4. Pulayannoor	10.10	0.51
5. Manacaud	89.75	4.57
6. Meenachil	1012.61	51.56
7. Vijayapuram	120.71	6.15
8. Akalakunnam	7.28	0.37
9. Pulinkunnu	16.89	0.86
Total	1963.91	100

Source: <sup>Compiled from</sup> Devaswom Settlement Register

There is a deficit to the tune of 236.08 acres in Table 3.4 as compared to total area in Table 3.5. The Table 3.4 was prepared with respect to the type of tenure alone on the Devaswom Garden lands. Slight inconsistencies are seen with regard to some entries where the tenure is not specified (due to reasons unknown) and so these entries have been ignored.

The Meenachil Pakuthi, (according to the land register), as seen from the Table 3.5 has the highest area of garden lands leased out by the Devaswom. The number of tenants in the Meenachil Pakuti are 69 with 77 percent of the tenants being Christians (53 nos.). The shares of produce in terms of pepper, coconut, arecanut, etc. were paid in kind to the temple but most of it was converted into money for the payment. Table 3.2 on Size of Landholding-Caste showed Christians holding 61% of the land in the category '20 acres and above' most of which are Chērikkals. There is an entry showing that one 'Rōsa Māttu' tenant holding lands to almost 1500 acres of Chērikkal in Meenachil and Thodupuzha. 11.75% of total garden lands was cultivated under Kidangoor Devaswom Vaka Thanathu.<sup>16</sup> 203.07 acres were cultivated by the Devaswom through hired labour to meet the requirements of the temple and for consumption of the Ūrānma members.

Table 3.6  
Percentage of Wet lands in the 9 Pakuthies

Pakuthy	Area(acres)	Percentage in each Pakuthy
1. Kidangoor	131.20	35.61
2. Ramapuram	15.30	4.15
3. Piravam	54.79	14.87
4. Pulayannoor	9.49	2.58
5. Manacaud	39.11	10.62
6. Meenachil	38.87	10.55
7. Vijayapuram	31.77	8.62
8. Akalakunnu	3.71	1.01
9. Pulinkunnu	44.16	11.99
Total	368.40	100.00

Compiled from  
Source: Devaswom Settlement Register

The temple had large areas of wet lands under its control in other places like Rayamangalam, Elanji, Kariyoor etc. as mentioned earlier. But Devaswom settlement register gives data only with regard to these 9 villages for wet lands. Table 3.6 is just indicative and not to be taken as a conclusive one.

Table 3.7 is compiled from the Devaswom Land Register showing Pāṭṭom, Miččavāram and Jenmibhōgam which gives a clear picture of the paddy producing lands of the Devaswom - villages Vazhappalli, Chennankari, Pulinkunnu, Rayamangalam and Kanayannoor in erstwhile Cochin state (now in Ernakulam District). The 'Pāṭṭom' coming to the temple is 92% of the total revenue. Jenmibhōgam and Miččavāram only came to 8% of the total revenue of the temple. Rayamangalam alone provides 35% of the paddy to the temple. Pāṭṭom and Miččavāram from Chennankari come to 20% of the total paddy as paddy. 13% from Pulinkunnu and 13% from Kanayannoor, this was remitted by the two tenants of the Devaswom lands, entered in the Land Register as 'Dēs athu Pārakkal Nasrāṇi Koččū Paulose Chacko Cheriyatum Anujan Yōhannān Pēril'. Total land under their cultivation by them came up to 26 acres and 74 cents.

TABLE 3.7  
\*Income from Pätton, Mičhavāram and Jenmibhōgam

Village	Pätton						Nichavaram						Jenmibhogam		
	P	B	V	Rs.	Ch.	Ka.	P	B	V	Rs.	Ch.	Ka.	P	B	V
1. Kidangoor	46	4	-	27	-	13	10	1	8	22	26	2	-	-	-
2. Elakkad	37	-	-	2	1	12	57	7	8	26	1	-	-	-	-
3. Pulayannoor	31	9	-	5	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Piravam	140	8	8	18	17	12	99	1	4	22	24	4	-	-	-
5. Akalakunnam	16	2	8	8	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Ramapuram	41	2	8	618	2	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Meenachil	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	-	4	147	4	12	-	-	-
8. Karikkode	8	3	-	8	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Kumaramangalam	37	3	10	-	26	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Manacaud	4	4	3	17	24	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Kottayam	40	1	8	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	6	4
12. Kumarakom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	127	-	11
13. Nattakam	174	5	-	8	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Vazhappalli	825	-	2	7	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15. Chennankari	1526	2	8	25	12	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Pulinkunnu	921	-	4	27	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17. Rayamangalam	2516	6	14	205	23	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	209	7	-
18. Kanayannoor	900	-	-	10	5	-	32	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19. Vijayapuram	-	-	-	16	13	8	26	8	4	31	4	6	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>7267</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1009</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>378</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>15</b>
Pätton	7267	3	9	1009	19	1									
Miçhavāram	253	3	12	249	4	8									
Jenmibhōgam	378	3	15												
	<b>7899</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1258</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>9</b>									
or	7899.12 para & Rs.1258.83														

\* This is based on the statement given on 5.7.1958 to the Kidangoor Village Office.

P - Para; B - dānnali; V - Vēsh; Rs. Rupees; Ch - Chakram; Ka - Kashu

TABLE 3.8

## Percentage of Christian Tenants in Each Pakuthy

Pakuthy	Total No. of Tenants	Christian Tenants	Percentage of Total
1. Kidangoor	33	19	57.58
2. Elakkad	18	10	55.55
3. Puliyannoor	9	4	44.44
4. Vijayapuram	34	8	23.52
5. Piravam	40	28	70.00
6. Akalakunnu	5	-	-
7. Ramapuram	97	36	37.11
8. Meenachil	69	53	76.81
9. Karikkodu	13	-	-
10. Manacaud	7	5	71.43
11. Kottayam	8	4	50.00
12. Vazhappalli east	6	2	33.00
13. Pulinkunnu	124	30	24.19
14. Rayamangalam	722	414	57.34
15. Cochi Kanayannoor	1	1	100.00
Total	1186	616	51.93

Source: Compiled from Devaswom Land Register (ending 1969-70)

52% or more than half of the tenants under Devaswom lands were Christians. This is so because the temple did not possess the skill to manage to execute cultivation. They exploited these skills from the Christians. All the rest together come to 48% showing that Christian tenants had a strong hold on the Devaswom lands. The land reforms worked in favour of these tenants and made them the land holders. The Christians held land as already seen more under the Kānapāṭṭom tenure. The 1896 Jenmi-Kuḍiyān Regulation gave more power to the Kānapāṭṭom tenants over the land and with the enactment of the Land Reforms, they had full proprietorship over the lands. The lands included in the Land Register were totally lost to the



temple after the enactment of the Land Reforms.

Relationship between Landtype and Caste

TABLE 3.9  
Land type and Caste

Land type	Caste	C	N	O	E	X	B	Z	P	Ch	I	D	R	Vp	M	K	Total
1		3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
2		7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
3		9	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
4		14	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	33
5		14	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	24
6		96	41	7	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	12	-	-	160
7		57	16	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	78
8		176	117	-	-	12	-	1	1	14	11	-	28	3	1	4	368
9		160	71	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	59	-	-	-	293
10		143	73	1	-	2	-	6	-	-	-	-	55	1	-	-	281
11		54	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	79
12		3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4
13		11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Total		747	352	8	4	18	1	8	2	16	11	1	174	4	1	4	1351

Source: Compiled from Devaswom Settlement Register

C - Christian; N - Nair; O - Nambūdiri; E - Elava; X - Artisans; B - Barber; Z - Ambalavāsi  
P - Paravan; Ch - Chetty; I - Iyer; D - Dhobi; R - Ksatriya; Vp - Vellāla Pillai; M - Muslim  
K - Kidangoor Devaswom.

Of the thirteen land types (Land Revenue Manual, Vol. 4) found among the Devaswom lands the most fertile land is land type 1 which was cultivated by only three tenants all of whom are Christians. The second most fertile land type 2 had seven tenants all of whom are again Christians. The most common land type was land type 8 among the Devaswam lands. 27% of the land holdings were of type 8. 22% of land holdings were of type 9 and 21% were of type 10. Land types 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 together come to 93% of the total land holdings. The cluster is within this bracket. Only 6% of

land holdings were in the more fertile bracket of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. The worst type of lands 12 and 13 formed just 1% of the total. The most fertile lands were 0.7% of the total land holdings. Christians had mostly land of the type 8, 9 and 10 forming 64% of total land holdings held by Christians. Since Christians were in an able position to bargain with the jenmies (ūrāṇma) with respect to the other tenants they could get hold of the fertile regions.

#### Relationship between Tenure and Landtype

The next exercise shown in Table 3.10 (Tenure-land type) has been done to find out if a particular land type and a particular tenure<sup>17</sup> were related. From this Tale one can make out that tenure and land type do not have any relation with respect to these lands. Tenure under which the land is held is irrespective of the land type. The caste of the tenant is related to the tenure under which the land is held to quite an extent as inferred from Table 3.3 (Tenure-caste). Land type being a geographical variable and exogeneously given, lands available have to get distributed among

TABLE 3.10  
Tenure-Land type

Tenure	Land type	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13			
1.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Kānapāṭṭom	1	16	-	18	15	109	8	89	62	100	34	1	454			
2.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Thēṭṭam	2	-	11	18	-	39	40	134	151	142	1	1	539			
3.	Paṇḍāravaka Pāṭṭom	1	-	1	1	2	5	6	8	20	22	13	-	79			
4.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Anubhōgam	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	10	5	2	-	-	19			
5.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Thanathu	1	-	-	1	-	4	-	23	44	27	4	-	104			
6.	Kuḍijenman	-	-	3	2	-	4	2	7	1	-	2	-	21			
7.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Verumpāṭṭom	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	5			
8.	Kid. Dev. Vakayum Namboori Vaka Thēṭṭam	-	1	-	-	-	8	1	5	1	1	-	-	17			
9.	Kid. Dev. Vakayum Namboori vaka Kānapāṭṭom	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	4	2	11	-	-	20			
10.	Namboori vaka Kānapāṭṭom	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	5			
11.	Namboori Vaka Thēṭṭam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	6			
12.	Kūttuvirutti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1			
13.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Mārāpāṭṭom	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	8	16	5	-	-	30			
14.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Nērmapāṭṭom	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3			
15.	Paṇḍāravaka Oṭṭi	-	-	-	1	-	3	5	2	1	3	-	-	15			
16.	Kid. Dev. Vaka Aḍima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1			
17.	Kid Yōgathile Vaka Thēṭṭam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2			
18.	Maḍampi Vaka Thēṭṭam	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	3			
19.	Kidangoor Devaswom Vakayum Māḍampi Vaka Thēṭṭam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1			
Totals				5	17	15	42	21	178	63	303	309	315	54	2	1	1325

Source: Compiled from Devaswom Settlement Register

the tenures, ofcourse the priority order in the distribution can be there. But here one is not seen any sort of a definite relationship between the two. No particular land type is held under a particular tenure alone.

Rent received from different land types vary. One can see how the different land types are distributed among the **Desavals**. This only shows the geographical distribution of land types only serving a descriptive purpose.

TABLE 3.11  
Total Area (in acres) of Garden lands for each land type

Land-type	Pakuthy	Kidangoor	Ramapuram	Meenachil	Piravam	Manacaud	Vijayapuram	Totals
1	--	--	--	--	0.49	--	--	0.49
2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.33	1.33
4	--	0.05	--	--	--	--	11.29	11.34
5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6	--	25.78	0.75	--	12.79	12.20	--	51.52
7	--	0.50	--	--	18.30	--	--	18.8
8	--	88.97	30.52	--	6.52	11.73	21.50	159.24
9	--	110.27	101.77	186.92	76.28	4.40	39.80	519.44
10	--	80.13	101.13	--	6.95	18.46	44.90	251.57
11	--	49.60	10.96	--	--	--	4.95	65.51
12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
13	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Compiled from Devaswom Settlement Register

The above exercise was done to see if garden lands belonged to the higher land types or low land types. The garden lands were

more in the 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 land type bracket.

The wet lands at the same time, seemed dispersed among all the different land types. There was no clustering around a few land types. So one cannot say that wet lands belonged to inferior land types and the garden lands to superior land types. But the wet lands were taxed less than the garden lands.

TABLE 3.12

Total area (acres) of wet lands for each land type

Land-type	Pakuthy	Kidangoor	Ramapuram	Meenachil	Piravam	Manacaud	Pulinkunnu	Vijayapuram	Akalakunnam	Totals
1	0.70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.70
2	0.19	-	5.54	0.25	-	-	-	-	-	5.98
3	-	-	0.78	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.78
4	-	-	4.57	12.04	5.81	--	13.75	6.6		42.77
5	-	-	2.08	6.12	13.23	--	1.03	2.12		24.58
6	0.62	5.26	1.92	12.39	8.66	8.25	2.48	0.24		39.82
7	--	--	2.61	3.42	--	--	1.28	--		7.31
8	19.11	4.18	12.00	9.21	9.74	--	4.31	--		58.55
9	16.31	1.68	5.86	--	4.05	--	6.51	--		34.41
10	52.97	3.49	1.41	2.96	--	--	1.41	0.41		62.65
11	55.53	--	--	--	--	0.68	0.95	--		57.16
12	0.72	--	22.00	--	--	--	-	-		22.72
13	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.40	-		1.40
Total	146.15	14.61	58.77	46.39	41.49	8.93	33.12	9.37		358.83

Source: Compiled from Devaswom Settlement Register

In all the Devaswam lands taken together, there were 9820 coconut trees, 1733 arecanut trees, 1564 jack trees, (only these

three kinds of trees being taxable according to the 1883-1911 Settlement). The coconut trees were further classified into 8 types of which the first second and eighth type did not exist on these lands.

There were 990 coconut trees of the third type, 8372 coconut trees of the fourth type, 4519 trees of the fifth type, 1701 trees of the sixth type and 91 of the seventh type. 53% of the coconut trees belonged to the fourth type. Each of these types were taxed differently.

A chapter on 'Tenurial Relations on the Devaswom Lands' was felt necessary because land as everywhere else was used as a strong 'integrating factor' by the temple. This is not a chapter that gives definite answers to questions related to tenurial relations but it is an attempt in pointing out to as yet unresearched areas relating to Devaswom land and land rights distribution. It only attempts to make clear through the Devaswom Land Registers certain tendencies relating to the tenant-caste distribution on the Devaswom lands, the total area of Devaswom wet lands and garden lands, the most prevalent type of tenure on Devaswom lands, certain tenures specific to Devaswom lands (like the Thēṭṭam tenure), about existence of certain caste-based service tenures (like Kūttuvirutti) etc. All this, with respect to the lands of just one Devaswom has been looked into. Implications and significance of certain tenures like Devaswom vaka thanathu, Mārāpattom etc. are still not clear. More research needs to be done in these areas because tenures in the context of Devaswom lands are different from the ones seen on Brahmaswom and Paṇḍārāvaka lands.

## NOTES

- 1.- Corporate meaning 'collective' with equal power distribution among the members of the Uraṇma.
2. This classification is not based on any analysis but is used only to follow the classification in the Devaswom Land Registers.
3. See, entry in Nālvali (paddy only) 1924-25 - Kīlity Ayyankōikkal Kṣētrattil Nadattiyirunna Āle Mātti Nērikāt Oru Mārane Niyōgičča Nityanidānam pūjāvakkakke ēpičča vakayil - Oru para čelavū.
4. Here village society is not the territorial village Kidangoor which has only a low percentage share of Devaswom lands in the total lands. The major share of land holdings come under the Pandaravaka. One is talking about the temple domain with the main temple at the centre in articulation with lands in other desams or territorial villages. It is this 'system' that one is referring to.
5. Jenmikaram registers began to be maintained after the 1932 Jenmi-Kuḍiyān (amendment) Act which incorporates lands only under Kānapāttom.
6. The smallest administrative (revenue division) unit equal to a village in Travancore and Cochin.
7. a. Kūttu Virutti is a tenure under which land is given to a Čakkyār in return for which the Čakkyār performs kūttu - a traditional theoretical temple art form as a service to the deity.  
b. A Virutti land is assessed and out of the full assessment the value of the service attaching to it is deducted and the remainder if any is paid as the Miččavāram payable. To this a Rājabhōgam tax on 1/8 or 1/6 of full assessment or the deduction made for the service.
8. All favourable tenures (Karamoļivu i.e. all the other than Verumpāttom which is liable for full assessment) emerge into Otti in cases of extract. They are also convertible into otti (except kudi-jenmi) which alienatin by that takes place. This latter rule is enforced only in respect of a tenure like Ađima, Anubhōgam, Thiruvālam, Kudumba Virutti, Anubhōga Virutti, Anjil Rendu kārānma, Kuḍiyiruppy, Pariāppād and Kudumba Neetu.
9. Revenue survey and Settlement of Travancore (printed in 1905) - Kerala State Archives (No. 1038 Publication list) p. 18.
10. From Blue Book containing important papers relating to the land revenue settlement of the Cochin State 1903-1909 A.D., Vol. I, Part I & II, Central Archives (No. 17 Publication list).

11. It is a reduced rent. It is a certain proportion of the assessment or a residue after deduction of Interest (Mičča-balance; Vāram -share)
12. From Bluebook containing important papers relating to the land revenue settlement of the Cochin State 1903-1909 AD, Vol.I, Part I & II, Central Archives, No. 17 Publication list.
13. A light quit rent. According to Keralolpathi it was introduced as far back as A.D. 216 when Kyaperumal was brought from Kayapuram and inducted as the first King of Kerala.
14. Naduvakoor is the planters' share literally. A reduction allowed on the assessment during the period of gestation of new plantings or it is a remission paid for improvements. This is 25% of the full assessment or Pāṭṭom.
15. With the Jenmi-Kudiyan Regulation of 1896 more power had already been vested on the Kanapattom tenants and the Christian tenants as we already know held most of the Devaswom land under Kānapāṭṭom.
16. This is a term by which unalienated jenmam lands are recognized in the Sirkar accounts. It means that which is one's own in all its fulness.
17. For example it could so happen that a 'bad' land type would along with it have the incentive of low assessment and this would evolved into a particular type of tenure (for example in the case of reclaimed land).



## CHAPTER 4

### STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL ASPECTS OF REDISTRIBUTION

For a temple to be called an institution, it has to fulfil three conditions - (i) It should be a 'sacred space' - an architectural structure that is the sacred abode for the deity enshrined who is considered the sovereign (ii) It is a 'process', having a redistributive role, where resources and services are offered to the sovereign (deity) and returned by the deity to be worshippers, as 'shares' depending on the honours. (iii) It as a 'symbol' or a system of symbols, symbolising certain essential South Indian conceptions of authority, worship and exchange - i.e. temple as a 'metasocial' institution (Appadurai 1981: 18-9).

There is not much literature existing with respect to the redistributive role of the South Indian temple. There are a few studies by Stein (1960, 1961, 1978, 1980) Appadurai (1976, 1981) and Breckenbridge (1981), Spencer (1968), and a few others. In the Kerala context there is just one study pertaining to the period between 8th to the 12th century A.D. (Gurukkal, 1980).

The period from the 8th to 12th century A.D. saw the proliferation of a large number of temple nucleated Brahmin settlements on the fertile river banks of Kerala. The most important resource base of the economy being agricultural produce and the temple being the chief land owner during the period, it became the crucial centre of agrarian activity and so the society itself. Temples became cause for the expansion of agriculture because they had the power (though ideological coercion and command on land as a means of agricultural production) to organize society

for various activities enabling higher agricultural production (Ibid 1980: 1)

Each Brahmanical temple formed the nucleus of a Brahmin settlement and the brahman corporate was the custodian of the temple. The Brahmin corporate also played the role of the proprietor of the village or the  $\bar{U}r$ . It consisted of the heads of each of the Brahman families (14 numbers) of the village and was called the  $\bar{U}r\bar{a}nma$  or the Sabha<sup>1</sup> which managed the temple and the village ( $\bar{U}r$ ).  $\bar{U}r\bar{a}nma$  is an 'honour' conferred on the Brahman elders just as  $\bar{K}\bar{a}r\bar{a}nma$  or the temporary rights is on the non-Brahmans (chiefly Nairs) and  $Ku\bar{t}ima$  with the artisans and craftsmen (Ibid: 9).

There is a hierarchy of power in terms of varying rights over land which forms the different strata of the 'feudal' society. The Brahmans had a  $jenmam$ , right over it. Lands belonging to the temple (Devaswoms) were distributed among the members of the 'oligarchic caste council' the  $\bar{U}r\bar{a}nma$ , who in turn distributed the lands to tenants and the tenants to sub-tenants (Ibid, p.8). The temple helped integrating the landed class, tenants, sub-tenants and the tillers into a production-distribution system which was based on ties and obligations from the base to the top. (Ibid: 7). So, the Brahman oligarchy was able to establish control at various social levels and keep the society well knit and subordinate to the central authority (the temple, otherwise the  $\bar{U}r\bar{a}nma$ ).

The basic structure of the temple and its role in integrating

the village economy through the principle of redistribution more or less remains the same in the greater part of the study i.e, from 1903-1969/70 (pre-land reform period).

Sahlins has rightly pointed out that in non-market economies, the social order is such that the control of resources (land and labour) and the control of returns (agricultural produce and artefacts) is vested in a very few people (Brahmans here). When the redistribution is organized through the *Ūrānma* (oligarchy), then there is no democracy and the consequence of redistribution becomes crucial. The motive behind redistribution would be to increase their political power in the society. The oligarchy receives the agricultural produce and services as 'gifts' (obligatory) for the use of the *jenmam* land in terms of 'rent' or 'taxes' (*Pāṭṭom*, *Miĉčavāram*, *Jenmibhōgom* etc) the quantity of which is determined by the conditions of gifting and countergifting (i.e. it depends on the land tenure on which it is leased, See also Sahlins). So, this leaving out of land to the tenant can be seen as an act of conditioned reciprocity where the reciprocity is conditioned by a specific quantity of return and for a specific period of time (for example, if it is a *Kānapāṭṭom* lease, the gifting is for 12 years if it is *Mārāpāṭṭom*, it is a gift for almost 30 years or more).

The rights on the returns (agricultural produce) and the concomitant obligations of benevolence is associated with a 'chiefly model'. (Sahlins 1972: 189 also, Appadurai 1981: 34). Sahlins calls the organized demonstration of these rights and obligation as redistribution (Ibid: 89-90). This appears to be the most suitable definition of redistribution in this particular

context of a temple centred redistribution.

The 'Chief' here is the enshrined image of the "Lord" at the Centre of the temple (Garbhagr̥ham - the womb)<sup>2</sup> which is the Centre of religious (moral) and economic transactions too. (Appadurai 1981: 34). The 'Lord' is bestowed a personality, he is the sovereign before whom everyone else is a subordinate. The fact that the deity is seen as a 'person' is clear from the rituals of daily worship in the temple (Ibid: 21-22). The main temple ritual is the pūja (worship or adoration) which is a daily ritual. (Ibid: 23). Pūja is a 'redistributive ritual because it involves offerings to the deity of flowers, fruits, milk etc. which in return is distributed as prasādam (leavings of the deity) to all the worshippers. In the Kidangoor Subramania Swāmi temple, five pujas are conducted pertaining to the different times of the day. Starting with abhiśēkam (cleaning with milk etc.) the Uśa puja, (morning), Edirte puja (between morning and noon, Pandīradi pūja, Učča puja (noon) and finally the Attāḷa puja (night) with which the 'Lord' is put to sleep<sup>3</sup>. In 1929-30, the quantity of boiled rice (Unakkal Ari) used for these pujas (Nityanidānam) was 3 Para for one day and in 1985 it was just 3 Idanḥali for one day.<sup>4</sup>

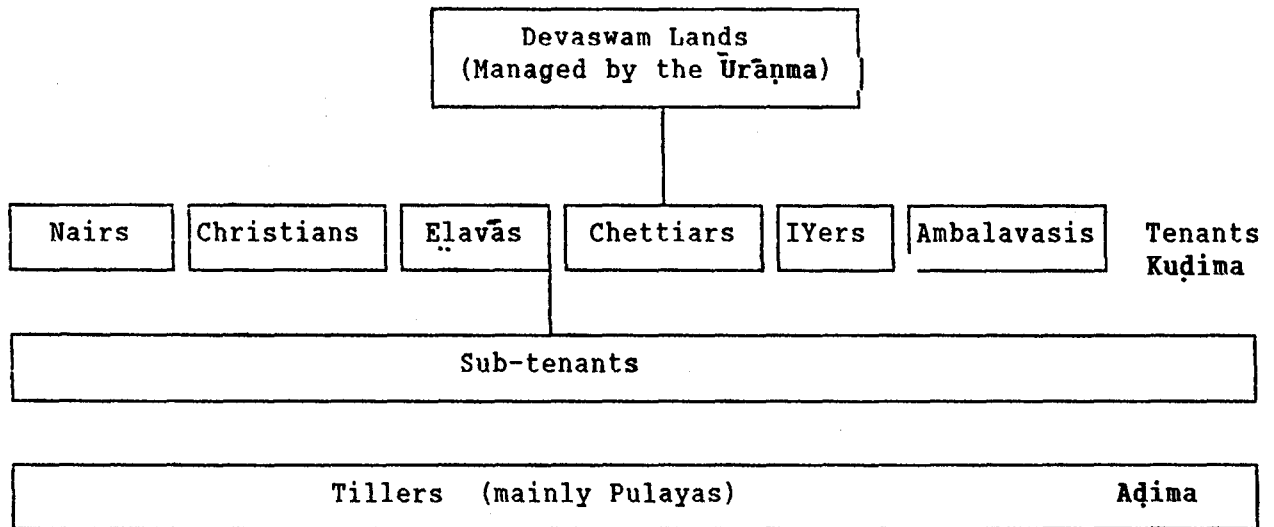
Redistribution according to Sahlins has two main functions which has already been seen in the previous section. The temple, as the centre of redistribution can be seen to be performing these two functions - the 'logistic' function which is sustaining the community in a material sense. The temple had tenants and sub-tenants who were people belonging to the Nair caste, Chettiars, Iyers, Nambūdiris, Elāvas and it has been seen that, almost 52% of

the tenants were Christians. Agricultural output, produced by all the tenants of different castes reached the temple Nelpura every year just before the festival time. (Kumbha Māsam/Feb-March). The tillers of the soil, included the Pulayās who were not allowed entry into the temple until the early 1940's Pulayās were hired labourers and worked specially on paddy lands. They were related to the temple rather indirectly. The temple as an institution was able to integrate the various castes of the society, all subordinate to the omnipotent 'deity' whose lands they tilled and produced food. Land as everywhere was used as the powerful integrating factor.

Labour in terms of services included the many groups of artisans and craftsmen like the Āśāris, Kollans, Tattāns settled on the temple land at the disposal of the temple. There were many temple functionaries who offered service with regard to the temple rituals like the Mārars who were called the Kottikal played instruments like the Mr̄dangam, Idakka and Čenda or blew the conch (Sankhu) before each pūja, the Mūttad who looked after the temple treasury and also were responsible for the Elunallippu (deity in procession during Sr̄abeli) and for Nitya Parikarma, around the Sr̄akōvil, the Vārrier, who cleaned and swept the internal temple premises, the Piṣhārody who made flower garlands for the pūja, the Cakkyar whose duty it was to perform Kūttu in the Kūttambalam, non-Malayalee brahmins such as the Iyers who sat on the elephants during temple festivals and other auspicious occasions etc. For rendering these services, these temple functionaries were given plots of land free or rather with a light quit rent on it called the Jenmibhōgam all of which come under the service tenure called

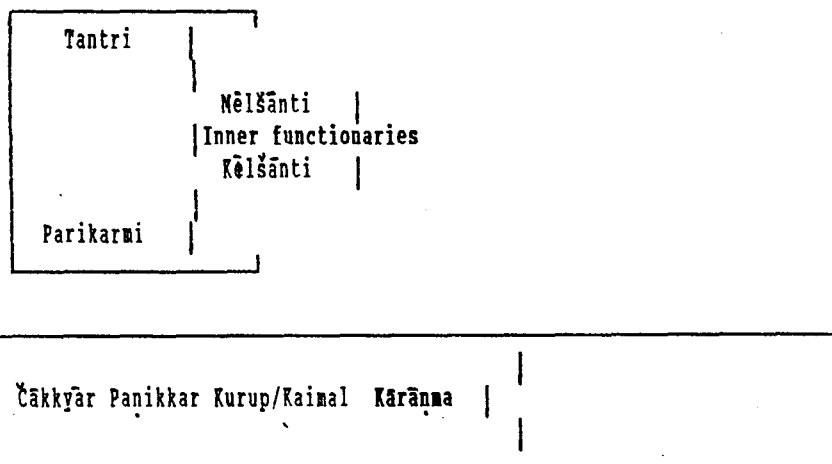
Virutti, lands given on different types of virutti existed depending on the function rendered in the temple like the Kūttu Virutti, Māla Virutti, Sankhy virutti etc.

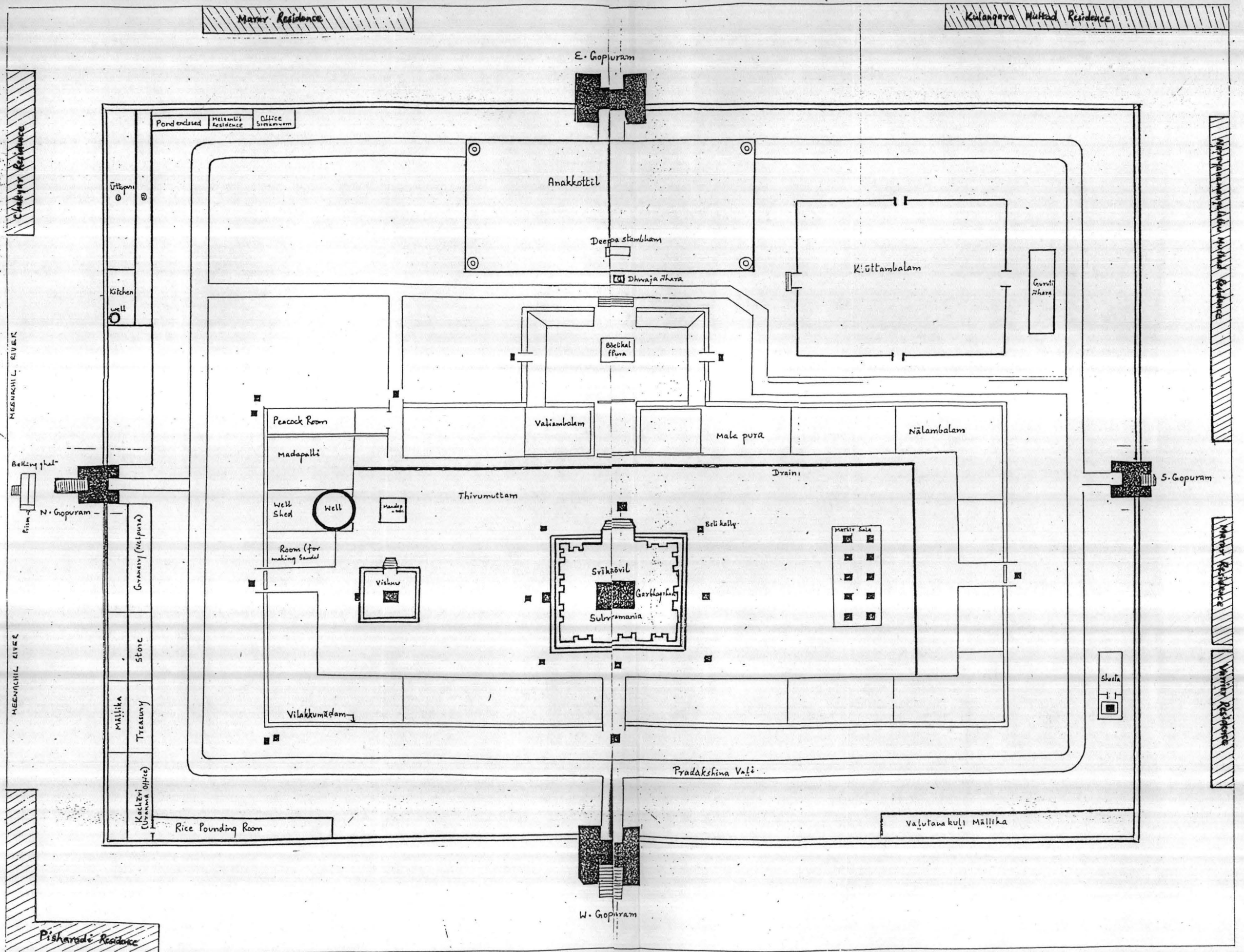
Integration through land



Permanent Temple Functionaries

Integration through Labour





ANATOMY OF THE TEMPLE [CROSS-SECTION OF THE TEMPLE STRUCTURE]

## Outer functionaries

Maramatt Aminādār (renovation and maintenance)  
Civil Agent (legal matters)  
Nālvaḷi Kaṇakkapillai (maintaining daily registers)  
Dēśavaḷi Mutalpaḍi (revenue collection from Desavalis)  
Ċandram (collecting articles from the rituals)  
Kaḷakam (in-charge of subsidiary temples)  
Kaḇaheripeon (Uranma office peon)  
Yōgatunkal Secretary (Secretary of the Uranma Yogam)  
Jenmikaram Clerk (in-charge of maintenance of Jenmikaram register)  
Nellukuty (de-husking and pounding paddy)  
Nelpura Kāval (granary guard)  
Matilakom Kāval (temple security)  
Maṇiyaḍi (ringing of the bell)  
Kaḍavutaḷi (scavenging the bathing ghat)  
Valutanakuḷi Madomtali (scavenging the residence of the priest)  
Matilakamtali (scavenging the greater temple premise)  
Kalavarataḷi (scavenging the store)  
Ūṭṭapurataḷi (scavenging the feeding room)  
Nelpurataḷi (scavenging the granary)  
Puṛamtūppu (scavenging the outer temple premise)  
Ānakkāran (mahout)

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There are 8 families (Nairs) for scavenging, dehusking of paddy etc. staying close to the temple (all females). Nelpura Kāval, Matilakom kāval and Maṇiyaḍi done by males (Nairs). The families were Puṛattakattū, Puṛattakattu Karōṭṭu, Kūrumuḷḷūr,



Tirutti, Čerukōnil, Čāmundāyil, Mundaṇḍānam and Maṇḍakom.

There are 4 'Marar' families for performing on the instruments (musical) and vocal before each of the 5 daily pūjas which including blowing the conch (Šankhuvīli), playing the čenda, uruttu čenda, nādaswaram and Iḍakka accompanied by the Sōmānattuṅgal Pāṭṭu. They belong to four traditional families supposedly specially established here for performance of functions at the temple at the time of the Manakkal Aḍiyōḍi Nair. (See Appendix I). The families being Kičēri, Putteṭṭu, Turutti (Šāḍi) and Varikka.

Sambandhi Maramar are the Marars who also perform the function of Srākōvil Kāval.

The two Mūttad families are the Kulāṇṇara Muttad and the Nārāyaṇamaṅgalattu Mūttad. The former came from Vālapilli in Changanacherry and the latter from Ādityapuram nearby. The Kulāṇṇara Mūttad was brought for Muṭṭuśānti<sup>5</sup>.

There is one Čālakkal Vārrier, one Padiṇṇarēḍattu Pisarody and one Kulimaṭṭattu Čakkyar living on lands just around the temple.

The Tantri appointed is always from the Kidāṇṇāšēri Taranalloor family of Irinjalakuda. His duties are limited to special occasions for activities like Kalašam, Utsava koḍiyēṭṭam etc. All 'purification' of the temple are done by him. His ritual status is much higher than the Mēlśānti whose duties confine him to the sanctum sanctorum and has a very low material status as

compared to the Nambuthiris of the Ūrāṇma. (Gurukkal 1980: 12). The Mēlśānti was expected to stay (Valūtanakuli Mālika) within the geographical limits of the village practising Brahmacharya for 3 years after appointment. He was called the Puṛapadā Śānti. He was helped by two kīlśānthi, who help make sandal paste, prepare the 'food offering' (Pāl Pāyasam) Nivēdyam as it is called in the Maḍapally (the kitchen inside, used only for preparing food for offering to the deity).

For the construction of the temple it was believed, artisans and craftsmen were brought from different places ultimately making the village self-sufficient catering to production of agricultural and non-agricultural produce (Unni 1979: 202-11, See also Gurukkal 1980: 11). The four families of artisans (Asāri) and Māmbalaśēry<sup>s</sup>, Varikkāṭuśēry, Devalanśēry and Taṭṭuśēry Aśāris brought and settled from Vaikom. The Blacksmith family brought for settlement was Kālāyipallī Perinkollan. Foundary work was done by the family Mūśāriyattu Mūśāri . There were two families of Goldsmith - Taṭṭamattēl and Pantallūr. The stone work of the temple was done by artisans from Ettumanur, a nearby village. They were all given land on the eastern side of the temple for living due to Ayittam they were shifted towards the South and established there. So, we have a picture of the temple functionaries who offered services to the temple and lived around the temple for convenience of performance of services.

The second function of redistribution according to Sahlin's was the 'instrumental function' which meant redistribution in terms of a 'ritual of communion' (especially during the grand festival of

the temple in our context) and of subordination to a central authority. This function is manifest, clearly during the 10 day ~~T~~irutsavam of the temple beginning on the Kārtika star of the Malayala month Kumbham and ending on the day of the Utram star.

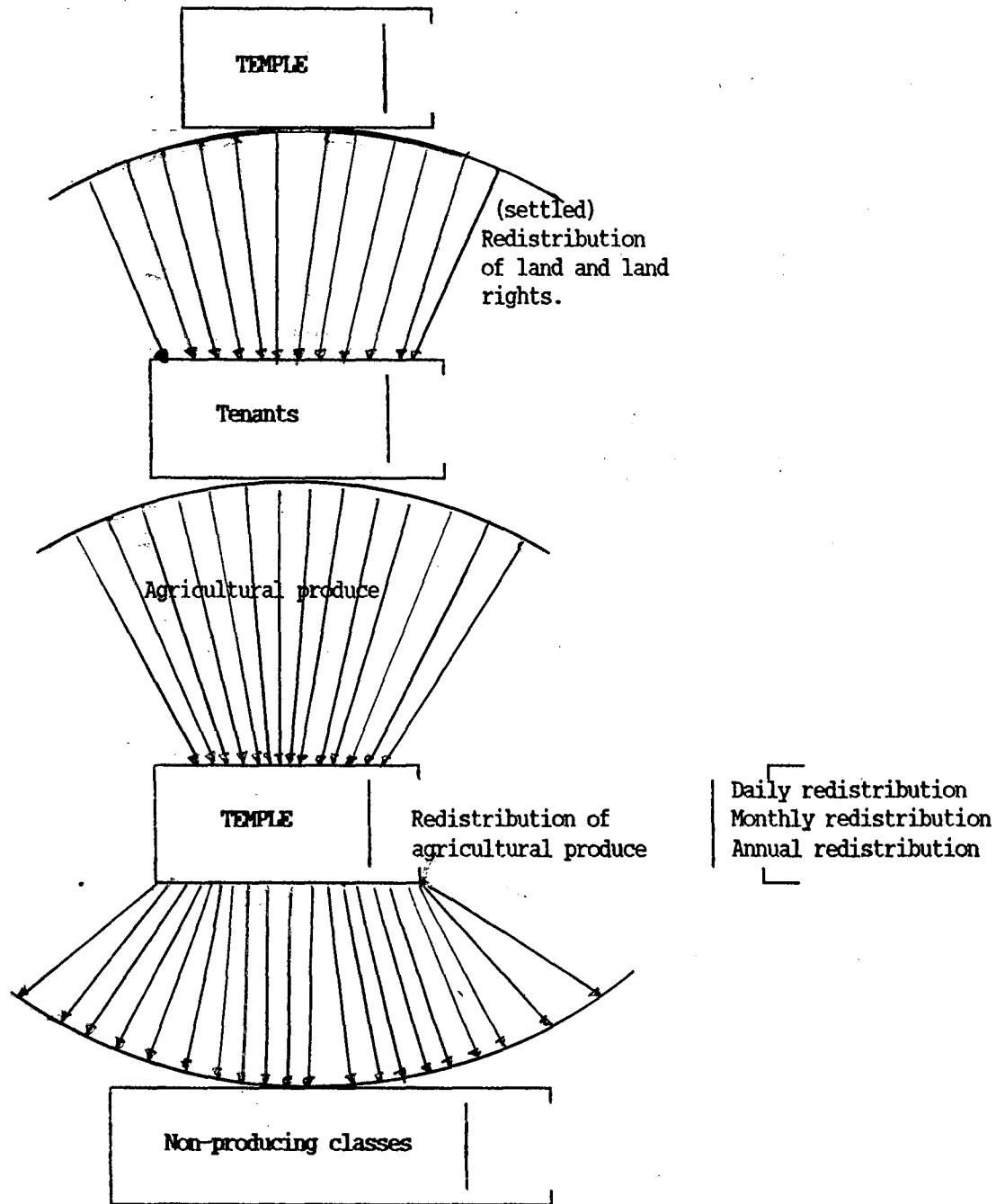
Actually, on careful analysis it may be seen that there are 2 types of redistribution taking place. The temple management redistributes land and land rights (dictated by the land tenure). Agricultural produce from these lands is returned by each producer (tenant) as a token of 'conditioned reciprocity' (whether it be Pāṭṭom or Miččavāram or Pančcaphalam etc.) to the temple where it gets pooled to and during the daily rituals (Nityanidānam) Māsa visesams (monthly festivals) etc.

A yearly festivals (Āṭṭavišēṣam like Utsavam) it again gets redistributed to the society, especially to the 'sterile class' (non-producing in the sense of not producing food) artisans other functionaries and also to the leisure class - here the temple corporate or the Ūrāṇma. So there is a daily, monthly and an annual redistribution taking place. The members of society incorporated under redistribution during the monthly and annual festivals are much greater share the number (limited to the temple kārāṇma) than during the daily rituals.

Again, what Sahlins says namely that the pooling is a sum of reciprocities or an organization of reciprocities holds good here. Each tenant for use of the temple land given to him for cultivation returns a part of the produce to the temple in whatever form. So, produce from each tenant or individual reciprocal acts put together

gives way to another act of redistribution during the festival time (mainly utsavam).

Diagrammatically represented -



To understand the dynamics of Redistribution of agricultural produce, Tirutsavam Aḍiyantiram Registers are almost the only sources. Perusal of these registers makes one settle down on the temple festival register of years 1903 (1078 M.E Kumbham - earliest existing) and 1919 (1095 M.E. Kumbham).

This is because the accounting methods used in each register seems to be different depending on the Kaṇakkapillai's method. The temple festival register of 1903 throws light on certain aspects while 1919 makes clear certain other aspects of redistribution. Using the two in a complementary manner is most conducive in understanding the redistribution dynamics of the Sri Subrahmanīa Swāmi temple. The Tirutsava Aḍiyantira Registers have been maintained very well giving detailed entries for paddy and money incoming and expenditure during the festival.

One can start off by understanding the dynamics of redistribution using first the 1919 temple festival register. This is because the items of income (in terms of agricultural produce, money etc.) and the items of expenditure (which is what expresses redistribution are clearly accounted for our purpose).

Table 4.1

## PADDY\* INCOMING (Nellu Varavū) 1919 A.D

Sl. No.	Source	Quantity	Percentage Share in total
1	Elanji Dēšavali (from Elanji paddy fields)	469 para 9.25 edangali	15.42
2.	Rayamangalam Dēšavali (from Rayamangalam paddy fields)	1070 " 8.30 "	35.30
3.	Paṛavaippu Vaḷi by way of voluntary donations)	61 " 3.00 "	2.00
4.	Pirivil Ninum Nellu (by way of collection of revenue from Dēšavalis)	1434 " 3.00 "	47.28
Total		3033 " 6.50 "	100.00

Source: Compiled from Tirutsava Aḍiyantira Register 1919

\* The incoming is in 'rice'. This has been converted into the corresponding paddy amounts using the paddy-rice conversion ratio of 2.2:1.

For the purpose of the festival, paddy from Elanji and Rayamangalam Desavali's reach the temple. A major portion of paddy required for the festival is brought from Rayamangalam and Elanji totalling to 50.7 % of total paddy incoming. 48% comes from the item Pirivil Ninum (rent collection). This includes Miččavāram vakayil, pañčaphalam vakayil, Sandhya Vēlā Paṛa Paṇam, Vittukkal vakayil, Utsava Kōppu Vakayil, Kalašavari vakayil, Paṛa vaippu vakayil, Jenmibhōgam vakayil, Rakšābhogam vakayil, Poḷiččeluttu avakāšam vakayil, Kuḍiśika vakayil. The Dēšavali Mutalpaḍi, the rent collectors' for each dēšavali goes collects the rent at regular intervals and returns after a stay there.

Paṛavaippu Vaḷi which constitutes the lowest percentage of paddy incoming is collected by way of the ritual called Paṛavaippu. (See Paddy redistribution chart)

When it is time for the festival preparation to begin letters are sent to Elanji and Rayamangalam Dēṣavaḷi Mutalpaḍi to bring the paddy required. For example we have an entry that says Eluthum Paḍi Čumattu Varavu. Lack of motor transport is clear. The paddy was brought in sacks loaded on the backs of men from the two places. They also had a stick in other hands for support. They stepped on the way to take a draught of country liquor which they supposedly paid by taking handful of rice from the sack<sup>8</sup>.

Looking at the Paddy Outgoing (Nellu Čelavu) for the festival year 1919 A.D.

Table 4.2  
PADDY\* OUTGOING (Nellu Čelavu) 1919 A.D.  
(for 10 days of the festival)

Sl. No.	Expenditure Item	Quantity	Percentage Share in total
1.	Akattu Paḍitaram (Ritual estimate)	400 para 1.5	13.18
2.	Elunaḷippu vaka (For procession)	569 " 3.0	18.76
3.	Araḅḅukkāru vaka (For entertainment)	324.15 " ..	10.78
4.	Sadya Čelavu (For feast)	1037 " 3.5	34.19
5.	Ari Kōppu vaka (Rice for self-cooking)	677 " 8.75	22.35
6.	Maramattu vaka (Maintenance and renovation)	10 " ...	0.33
7.	Pala vaka (Miscellaneous)	11 " 3.75	0.38
Total		3033.65 para	100.00

Source: Compiled from Tirutsava Adiyantira Register 1919  
\* Quantity required for each item of expenditure is given in rice and not paddy. This has been converted to the corresponding paddy amounts using the paddy-rice conversion ratio of 2.2:1.

The item with the highest percentage share (34.19) is the total expenditure is the Sadya Ćelavu. The feast is meant for the Nambūdiris and the Iyers. It is conducted in the Ūttupura (Feeding room or Sadyālaya) in the temple. There is a Sadya on the 9 days of the 10 day festival - on some days lunch (Muttālam) and dinner (Attālam) and on other days just lunch. The second major item Ari Kōppu Vaka (22.35%) is paddy/rice which is taken home by Nambudiris, Muttads, Varrier, Pisarody, Marar, Devaswom Udyōgasthanmār, Devaswom Šēvukakkar (all Kšētra sambandhikal) store keepers, lamp lighters, māsapadis etc). Kurup, Kaimal, Nairs (Akampadikkar), Adiččutalikkar (Scavengers), Rakšābhōgakkār (protection/security), Utsavakōppu Ēlpiččavarkku (the people who brought the articles needed for the Utsavam), Sthanakkaru (carpenters, blacksmiths etc), velutēdanmaru (Washermen), Dēšavaliyil ninnu vannu kudiyanavanmārkkku (tenants from other dēšavalis who visit the temple during festival time)

Payments as salaries and wages, rice for the Kārānma members to take home (Swayam pākam) and the rice for the Namboothiris to take home together comes to 22.35 of the total rice redistributed under this item which is almost 12% less than the expenditure on the feast which was meant for only the Brahmins.

The next major item (18.76%) of expenditure of paddy is for the Elunallippu vaka (Procession). Elunallippu takes places for each Srēbeli (circambulation of the outside of the srīkovil with the deity's image carried by the kālšānti with the accompaniment of the Kšētrasambandhikal). There are more occasions for the procession during the Tirutsavam. Elephants are required with the



numbers used for the procession increasing after each day of the Utsavam. The last day of the Utsavam (Ārāṭṭu) requires the most number of elephants with the biggest elephant carrying the image of the Lord Sri Subrahmaṇia Swāmī on it.

Akattu Paḍittaram (Rituals estimate of the Srīkōvil) comes next with 13.18% of the total paddy incoming being used for it. The composition of Akattu Paḍittaram (1) Gaṇapati Nivēdyam (2) Upari Nivēdyam (3) Viśēśāl Nivēdyam (4) Učča Pūjakkū Kūḍutal Nivēdyam (5) Śāstavuṅgal Viśēśāl Nivēdyam (6) Prasādam Śudhi (7) Rakśāṅgaṇa Hōmam (8) Vāstu Hōmam (9) Mēlpaḍi Kalaśam (10) Śāsta Śudhi (11) Dhāra (12) Navakam (13) Panččadravyam (14) Pančakam (15) 25 Kalaśam (16) Kalaśam Ādipūja (17) Srōbhūta Beli (18) Padmapoḍi (19) Kāruvaka (20) Vaiśyam Vaka (21) Koḍikayaru (22) Jala Drōṇi (23) Dhāra Vaka (24) Vārrier (25) Piśārody (26) Mārānmār (27) Muḷaḷdu (28) Maṇḍapatil Muḷapūja (29) Kūrapopittaram (30) Danam (31) Tantri Dakṣiṇa (32) Mēlśānti Dakṣiṇa (33) Parikarmi Dakṣiṇa (34) Pāṇi (35) Kaivilakku (36) Vāhana Pūja (37) Uččapūja Pāyasam (38) Panččagavyam Pāyasam (39) Vaḍakkumdēvane Nivēdyam (40) Trikaṇṇapurattu Nivēdyam (41) Utsava Beli (42) Paḷli Vētta Pītham (43) Mahābhārata Vāyana (44) Paḷlikuṛuppine Appam (45) Paḷli Uṇarttu (46) Ārāṭṭu Beli (47) Ārāṭṭu Kaḍavil Pūja (48) Ārāṭṭu Kaḍavil Kalaśam (49) Tantriyuḍe Alakku vakakku cōlavu (50) Paḷliyuṇarttu Maṇḍapatil Pūja.

The temple festival includes expenditure on entertainment which comes to 9.75% of the total expenditure on paddy which includes Muṛajapam - chanting by Ōtattu Nambūdiri, Nāṇumēl Kaḷi, Karaṇam Čāṭṭam, Čākkyār Kūttu, Pāthakam, Vēśadhāri, Kathakāli,

Ōttam Tullal, Kuratti Āttom, Vallēru, Ammānāttam, Mayilāttom, and Ćeppadi Vidya.

A decomposition of the expenditure in terms of paddy on each of these major expenditure items, reveals the following:

Table 4.3

Akattu Paḍittaram (Ritual Estimate)A [Total Expended on A = 400 Para 1.5 Idannali]						
Sl. No.	Expenditure on	Nellu(Paddy) (Para)	Percentage Share in total paddy	Rs.	Ch.	Ka.
1.	Tantri	14.91	36.38%	7	24	0
2.	Tantri's Assistant	11.00	26.84%	0	0	0
3.	Mēlšānti	7.15	17.44%	4	8	0
4.	Parikarmi	2.20	5.36%	1	12	0
5.	Kālšānti	2.20	5.36%	1	12	0
6.	Special Parikarmi (2Nos.)	2.20	5.36%	1	12	0
7.	Utsava Belike' special Parikarmi	1.32	3.22%	1	8	0
Total		40.98	100.0	17.7 British Rupees.		

Source: Compiled from Tirutsava Adiyantira Register 1919.

Of the total 400 Para 1.5 Idannali paddy was spent on the Rituals, 40.98 Paras was spent on paying wages to the Tantri, Mēlšānti, etc. The rest i.e. 359.17 Para was spent on making the Nivedyam (offerings to God in the form of rice, rice pudding etc). Sp 10.24% of the total paddy expended on item A was paddy money or paddy used as money to pay wages to the people rendering ritual related services. Actual money in terms of Rs/ch/ka spent on wages is 17.7 British rupees (see Appendix IX for currency conversion) wages were partly paid in kind and partly in money terms.

Table 4.4

**Procession (Elunallippu) B**  
(Total paddy expended on B is 569 Para 3 Idannali)

Sl. No.	Expenditure on	Paddy Para	Percentage share in total paddy expended on B	Rs.	ch.	ka.
1.	Rent on Elephants and for the foods	57.2	10.04	28	20	12
2.	Wages and food for the Mahouts	50.6	8.89	12	2	0
3.	Drum beaters (80No.) Cenda	115.06	20.21	105	2	8
4.	Ilatālam (45No.) Cymbal Players	62.70	11.01	22	21	8
5.	Nāgaswara Mēlom (16No.)	72.75	12.78	120	1	8
6.	Kuruñkuḷaḷkkāru (8 No)	11.88	2.08	12	5	0
7.	Kombukkāru (6No.)	10.78	1.89	12	11	0
8.	Sōmānatuñkal Pāṭṭu (9 No.)	1.54	0.27	12	3	0
9.	Vēlatuḷḷaḷ (including music)	20.46	3.59	11	0	0
10.	(a) Oil for lamps (236 čōdana)	-	-	720	18	-
	(b) Cloth for lamp wicks (700 palam)	21.00	3.59	-	-	-
	(c) Vessel for pouring oil	-	-	0	25	-
	(d) For wielding the umbrella, čāmaram, (fan) Alavaṭṭom on the elephant	-	-	0	25	-
	(e) For wielding the above on the accompanying elephants	-	-	7	4	-
11.	Fireworks	-	-	97	7	0
12.	Conch Blowers (4No)	5.28	0.93	-	-	-
13.	Tambourine players (3 No) (Maddaḷam)	3.96	0.70	-	-	-
14.	Wages for lighting lamps, holding the Dēpa Yaṣṭi (Torch bearers)	136.07	23.90	-	-	-
Total		569.28	100.00	14	19	13
				British Rupees		

Source: Compiled from Tirutsava Aḍiyantira Register 1919.

Here, 569.28 Paras of paddy were used as paddy money, in terms of paying wages in kind (which include food and travel allowance). 1419.13 British rupees were the wages paid in cash. Not all of them were paid in kind and money, oil for lamps (quantity 235 čōdana or 2632 Idañṇaḷi [1 čōdana = 12 Idañṇaḷi]) was bought paying cash worth 720.63 British rupees. The cloth needed to make wicks for lamps was paid in paddy. The barter ratio was 1kg of lampwick = 0.37 para paddy or here 700 palam (or 56 kg) = 21 para Paddy. [1 Palam = 0.8 kg].

For the entertainments or stage performances a total of 327.15 Paras of paddy were expended. All of them (except performers of **Pāthakom** and **Vēśadhāri**) were paid in kind (paddy) and cash (307.91 British Rupees) included travel allowance (**Yātra Ayappu**) since most of them came from different villages, some very far off, we get the barter ratio again for lampwick and paddy. For 6 kg of lampwick 2.25 paras of paddy is given ie. 1 kg. lampwick = 0.37 Paras of Paddy. (See Table 4.5)

Table 4.5  
Entertainments (Aranhukāru Vaka/Stage Entertainments) (Total  
Expenditure of paddy on C = 324 paras)

Sl. No.	Item	Paddy (Para)	Percentage share in total paddyC	Rs.	Ch.	Ka.
1.	Murajapam (Nambūthiris 6No)	37.18	11.47	2 (14)	4 8	0 -)
2.	Nnanumēl Kaḷi 3No) (Somersault)	20.90	6.45	- (6	- 2	- -)
3.	Karanam Čāttam (3 No. 1 Set)	3.96	1.22	- (1	- 0	- 0)
4.	Čakkyār Kūttu (4 No. 1 Set)	6.23	1.92	4	8	0
5.	Pāthakam (4 No)	-	-	- (5	- 24	- 8)
6.	Vēśadhāri (3 No) (Fancy Dress)	-	-	- (0	- 20	- -)
7.	Kathakali (4 sets) (2nd to 8th Utsavam)	97.68	30.15	4 (32	22 16	0 -)
8.	Ōttamtuḷḷal (13 Sets 4 Nos. each)	66.00	20.37	2 (15	24 7	0 -)
9.	Kuratti Āttom (Gypsy dance) (5 Sets, 4 Nos. each)	29.04	8.96	- (1	- 4	- 0)
10.	Vālleru (Sword Show) (6 sets, 4, 7 No. each)	37.18	11.48	2 (14	4 8	0 0)
11.	Ammānāttom (Ball Play) (2 sets, 4Nos. each)	11.22	3.46	0 3	16 0	0 0
12.	Mayilāttom (Peacock dance) (1 set 3 Nos.)	4.29	1.32	0 (0	6 20	0 0)
13.	Čeppaḍi Vidya (2 sets, 4 Nos. each)	11.22	3.46	0 (3	20 12	0 0)
Coconut Oil for Stage Lamps (16 čōdana)		-	-	192	-	-
75 Palam or lamp wick (6 kg)		2.25	0.68	- (300	- 225	- 8)
Total		327.15	100.00	307	91	British Rupees)

Source: Compiled from Tirutsava Adiyantira Register 1919.

Numbers in parentheses denote Travel Allowance (Yātra Ayappu) Expenditure on Entertainments bring about a redistribution to almost 80 people mainly Nambūdiris and Nairs.

Table 4.6

Sadya Ćelavu (For the Feast)D  
(Total Expenditure of Paddy on D = 1037 Paras 3.5 Idannali)

Sl. No.	Expenditure items	Paddy (Para)	Percentage Share in Total PaddyD	Rs.	Ch.	Ka.
1.	For rice and Pāyasam	1037.35	100%	-	-	-
2.	Dakṣiṇa for cooks (Dehaṇṇakārku Dakṣiṇa)	-	-	58	24	0
3.	Expenditure on cleaning (Murukkan vaka Ćelavu)	-	-	1	8	0
4.	Coconut work + Frying Pappaḍams (Tēṅga paṇi & Pappaḍam Katcāu)	-	-	14	12	0
5.	'Pān' for the person doing the job (4)	-	-	0	18	0
6.	Panĉĉāṅgam vaka	-	-	2	12	0
7.	For the beginning to to the end of the sadya (sadyakku ādya avasānam)	-	-	5	2	8
8.	Special Work like serving water (Sadyakku Vellom mutā- laya viṣēṣāiṣramam	-	-	2	1	0
9.	Store Keepers (4 Nos.) (Kalavaṛakārkkū)	-	-	(1) 4 (2) 4 (3) 3 (4) 2	2 2 1 1	0 0 8 0
10.	Vegetables & Provision	-	-	661	-	-
Total		1037.35	100%	759 British Rupees		

Source: Compiled from Tirutsava Adiyantira Register 1919.

Rupees 759 (British) were spent on the Festival Feast for a total of 9 days. The helpers were paid wages in cash only.

Table 4.7

Ari Kōppu Vaka (Rice to take home for Swayam Pākam - Self cooking)E [Total expenditure of Paddy on E = 677 Paras 8.75 Idanhalis]

Sl. No.	Expenditure Item	Paddy (Para)	Percentage Share of paddy in total	Pappadoms Plantains	Money		
					Rs.	Ch.	Ka.
1.	For Nambūdiris (25 Families, 79 No.)	127.26 (53.13 para rice)	18.77	<u>2624</u> (2624)	-	-	-
2.	For Mūttads (15 No. 4 Families)	21.56 (9.8 para rice)	3.18	<u>416</u> (416)	-	-	-
3.	For Temple Functionaries (Kalakakkāra & Kṣētra- Sambandhikal) From neighbourhood (10 No.) Vārrier, Piṣārody, Mārār.	204.60 (93 para rice)	30.18	-	-	-	-
4.	For Devaswam Staff (9 No. All Nairs except one Mūttad) Mutalpadi + 8 Kaṇakkapillamar	84.15 (38.25 para rice)	12.41	-	-	-	-
5.	For Dēvaswam Store keeper Lighting of lamps, Māsapadimar (7 Nos.) (Devaswam Sēvukakkar )	39.56 (17.98 para rice)	5.84	-	-	-	-
6.	For Akambadikkār (14 No. Kurup, Kaimal/Nair)	66.11 (30.05 para rice)	9.75	-	2 (2	22 8	8 -)
7.	For Devaswam Scavengers (Devaswam Adibčutali) 10 No. Nairs	57.09 (25.95 para rice)	8.42	-	-	-	-
8.	For Raksābhōgakārku (19 No. Nairs)	6.01 (2.73 para rice)	0.88	-	-	-	-
9.	For the people who brought articles for the Utsavam (13 No.)	4.86 (2.2 para rice)	0.71	-	-	-	-
10.	For Sthanakkāru (Carpenters Blacksmiths etc. 9 No.)	24.00 (10.90 para rice)	3.50	-	-	-	-
11.	For Washermen and Washerwomen (2 No.)	3.30 (1.5 para rice)	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4.7 Contd...

Sl. No.	Expenditure Item	Paddy (Para)	Percentage Share of paddy in total	Pappadoms Plantains	Money Rs. Ch. Ka.
12.	People who came from the Dēśavalis	39.38 (17.9 para rice)	5.80	-	- - -
	From Rayamangalam Dēśavali (15 No.)				
	From Neelur Dēśavali (2 No)				
	From Kariyur Dēśavali (20 No)				
	Total 60 No.				
	Total	677.88 (308.13 para rice)	100.00	<u>3040 Pappadoms</u> 3040 Plantains	4 30 8 or 5.07 British Rupees

Source: Compiled from Tirutsava Adiyantira Register 1919.

247 people including Nambūdiris, Nairs, Vārrier, Piśhārody, Mārār, Carpenter, Blacksmiths, Goldsmith, Washermen were given rice to take home. The amounts given above were the paddy amounts that got redistributed for a total of 10 days to these different sections of society. The Brahmins including the sub-sects like the Vārrier, Piśhārody, Mūttad etc. together took home 52% of the paddy set aside (677.88 para) for this particular item of Swayam Pākam or self-cooking. At least 36% of the paddy set aside for Swayam Pākam went to the Nair Caste while the carpenter, blacksmith etc. artisan class/caste received 3.5% of the total paddy assigned under this item. The washermen (Dhotis) caste got less than 0.5%.



Table 4.8

**Maintenance and Renovation (Maramattu Vaka) F**  
**Total Expenditure on F in terms of Paddy in 10 Paras**

Sl. No.	Expenditure Item	Paddy	Percentage share of Paddy in total F	Money Rs. Ch. Ka.
1.	Cleaning the temple Court-yard, the way to the bathing ghat, 14 No.	5.6	56	- - -
2.	Whitewashing the temple walls 3 Nos.	1.2	12	- - -
3.	Bathing ghats and making improvised bathrooms 2 Nos.	0.8	8	- - -
4.	Cleaning the route to the Arattu (10th day) bathing ghat - (1.5 km) 2 Nos.	0.8	8	- - -
5.	Sharpening the grinding stones 2 No.	0.8	8	- - -
6.	Repairing the Store and Kitchen	2.8	8	- - -
Total		10.0	100	- - -

Source: Compiled from Tirutsava Adiyantira Register 1919.

Here, in F at least 25 Nos. get parts of (a total of 10 paras) the total agricultural produce redistributed. By rendering services like cleaning up the roads, paths, repair work etc. they receive wages in terms of paddy. All these add up to prove the role of the temple in the integration of the society through labour. For any such work (repair etc.) one member received 4 Edangalis of paddy. No money was paid. It was all in kind only.

Table IV.9

Miscellaneous (Palavaka Čelavu)  
[Total expenditure of Paddy on G = 11.33 Para

Sl. No.	Expenditure Item	Paddy	Percentage Share of paddy in G	Money		
1.	Travelling expenses to bring articles from Kottayam	4.52	39.89	-	-	-
2.	3 Bamboo Poles	-	-	1	1	7
3.	Travel allowance for the Contractor who brought the vegetables, provision etc. + Coolies	6.80	60.02	-	-	-
Total		11.33	100 (90.92)	1	1	7
				or 1.04 British Rupees		

Source: Compiled from Tirutsava Adiyantira Register 1919.

Note: Travel allowances and expenses were also mostly paid in kind.

The 1903 Tirutsavam Adiyantira Register gives the money incoming (in Panam) [1 Panam = 4 Chakram]. The paddy incoming, paddy and money outgoing separately. It is more detailed than the 1919 Thirutsavam Adiyantira Register and it is the earliest register maintained. It shows 4 channels of paddy incoming.

- (a) 'unbroken rice' from Rayamangalam Kūttumadom, Mutalpaḍi (887.7 para paddy)
- (b) 'Broken rice' from Elanji Dēšavali, Mutalpaḍi (609.07 para paddy)
- (c) Rice got after dehusking of paddy from the temple Nelpura (collected at earlier points in the Nelpura in terms of Pāṭṭam, Miččavāram etc.) Dehusking is done at the temple Uralpura (1125.74 para paddy.
- (d) Paddy received through Paṛavaippu at the foot of the Koḍimaram (Koḍimara Čuvaṭṭil) [43.56 para paddy]

# PADDY REDISTRIBUTION CHART

[Based on the Tirutšava Adiyantira Register of 1919 A.D.]

## PADDY REDISTRIBUTED

### PADDY INCOMING

From Elauji Dešavali  
(467.92 Para or 15.2% of total incoming)

From Rayamangalam Dešavali  
(1070.83 Para or 35.3% of total incoming)

From Dešavalis as rent and revenue  
(1434.3 Para or 47.28% of total incoming)

From the 'Paravaippu' ritual  
(61.3 para or 2% of total incoming)

### PADDY POOLED

TEMPLE  
3033.65 para

A Expenditure on Rituals (Akattu Paditaranam) (Para)	
1) Paddy for rice and Payasam to prepare Nivedyam	- 359.17 (11.34)
2) For Sautri's Dakšina	- 14.91 (0.49)
3) For the Sautri's assistant	- 11.00 (0.36)
4) For the Mēlānti	- 7.15 (0.23)
5) For the Parikormi	- 2.20 (0.07)
6) For the Kēlānti	- 2.20 (0.07)
7) For the special parikormi	- 2.20 (0.07)
8) Special parikormi for the Sribhūtalē	- 1.32 (0.04)
B Expenditure on the Procession (Elumattippu)	
1) Wages and food for elephants (11NO)	- 57.20 (1.89)
2) Wages and food for mahouts (11 Nais)	- 50.60 (1.67)
3) Wages for the drumbeaters (40 Mārārs)	- 115.06 (3.79)
4) Wages for the Flatakkārs (45 Mārārs)	- 62.70 (0.02)
5) Wages for the Nageswaram players (16 Paikkar)	- 72.75 (2.40)
6) Wages for the Kūmbakal players (8 Mārārs)	- 11.88 (0.39)
7) Wages for the Kombakkārs (6 Mārārs)	- 10.78 (0.36)
8) Wages for the singers (9 Mārārs)	- 1.54 (0.05)
9) Wages for Velathūlal participants (Nais)	- 20.46 (0.67)
10) Wages for the conch blowers (4 Mārārs)	- 5.28 (0.17)
11) Wages for the Maddalakkārs (3 Mārārs)	- 3.96 (0.13)
12) Wages for the people lighting lamps, bearing torches and in charge of fireworks (15NO)	- 136.07 (4.49)
C Expenditure on the Stage Entertainments	
1) Payment for Mūjappant (6 Nambūthiris)	- 37.18 (1.23)
2) Payment for performance of acrobatics on rope (3NO)	- 20.90 (0.69)
3) Payment for performance of gymnastics (3NO)	- 3.96 (0.13)
4) Payment for the cakras kuttu (4NO)	- 6.33 (0.21)
5) Payment for Kathakali performances (4sets)	- 97.68 (3.22)
6) Payment for performance of Ottamtūlal (13sets)	- 66.00 (2.18)
7) Payment for performance of gypsy dance (5sets)	- 29.04 (0.96)
8) Exhibition of targetting the bullseye with swords (6sets)	- 37.18 (1.23)
9) Exhibition of ball-play (2sets)	- 11.22 (0.37)
10) Payment for performance of the peacock dance (1set)	- 4.29 (0.14)
11) Payment for magic show (2sets)	- 11.22 (0.37)
12) For purchase of lampwick (Christian)	- 2.22 (0.07)
D For the Feast	
E Endowments in Paddy	
1) For the Nambūthiris (25 families)	- 110.88 (3.66)
2) For the Mūtādis (15NO)	- 21.56 (0.71)
3) For the Vārrier, Pichāradī and Mārārs	- 204.60 (6.74)
4) For the Devaswam functionaries (9NO)	- 84.15 (2.77)
5) For the Kūmp, Kāimā and Nais (14NO)	- 66.11 (2.18)
6) For the Devaswam scavengers (10Nais)	- 57.09 (1.85)
7) By way of Lakshabhogam for Nais (19NO)	- 6.01 (0.20)
8) For the people who collected the articles from lanes (13NO)	- 4.84 (0.16)
9) For Carpenters, blacksmiths etc (9NO)	- 1.50 (0.05)
10) For the Washermen (2NO)	- 3.30 (0.11)
11) For the tenants visiting the temple (60NO)	- 39.38 (1.30)
F Expenditure on Maintenance and Renovation	
25NO: for whitewashing, building sheds, clearing pathways	- 10.00 (0.33)
G Miscellaneous expenditure	
	- 11.33 (0.37)

\* figures in parentheses denote the percentage share in the total paddy redistributed.

# MONEY TRANSACTIONS [Based on the Thiruvava Adiyandina Register of 1903 A.D.]

Money Incoming		
Sl. No.	Item	Money (Chakrams)
1	By way of 'Thulabharam' of Taggeri equal to 2.75 Thulam	41.00
2	From the donation box at the flagpost	6.00
3	Through sale of milk used for 'abhishekam'	3.00
4	from Madhurasankira Thuppan Nambudiri for a vazhipadi	4.00
5	From the donation box	289.00
6	From Vadaramana Nambudiri as Vazhipadu	4.00
7	From the donation box	151.00
8	By way of selling camphor received	51.00
9	By way of 'Thulabharam'	11.00
10	By way of repentance (Prayasaittam) by a Cakkayar	2.00
11	From the donation box at the flagpost - (after the Sribhutabali)	230.00
12	From the donation box	25.00
13	On the fifth day after the 'Vilakki' at the eastern entrance donation box	114.00
14	From sale of milk received from Otatty Nambudiri via 'pal kavadi'	51.00
15	From sale of milk received from Vela Kaimal via 'pal kavadi'	51.00
16	From sale of milk received from Same Varier via 'pal kavadi'	51.00
17	From sale of milk received from Nambudiri via 'pal kavadi'	51.00
18	Donation by a Nair, Echaram	20.00
19	As Rakshabhojanam from Nannu, Perumbolla Ramani, Corindlan Kuman, Kunji, Kalyani, Krishnan, Appappa, Kalyani, Pachu, Pappu, Vela	87.00
20	From the donation box	100.00
21	From the donation box at the flagpost	210.00
22	From the donation box at the 'Makry kalli'	22.00
23	From Kallampally Nambudiri	28.00
24	From the donation box at the flagpost	281.00
25	From the donation box at the flagpost	740.00
26	From the donation box at the eastern gate	286.00
27	From the donation box after the 'Vilakki'	1677.00
28	By way of 'Thulabharam' of Kadali banana	87.00
29	From 'Para Panasi'	18.00
30	From the donation box at the flagpost	7849.00
31	From the donation box at the eastern side	1197.00
32	By way of 'Paddy Para' from Rayanangalam Devarali (100)	18.00
33	By way of 'rice Para' from a Nambudiri	30.00
34	'Valipadu' by a Pasavari	11.00
35	'Valipadu' by a Panikker	11.00
36	From the donation box at the flagpost	215.00
37	From Rayanangalam Devarali as Jatri Dakshina	490.00
<b>TOTAL</b>		14472.00 or 507.818.18

Money Expenditure		
Sl. No.	Item	Money (Chakrams)
1	Cooking for the feast - (a) Wages for Venkatasubbayyan (b) By way of 'Kindi Vellam' for him (c) By way of 'Panchangam' for him	1844.00
2	For grating coconuts and frying 'Pappadams' for Vasudevan Narayanan Elayathu	210.00
3	For Appaayyan for the supervision of the preparation of the feast	71.00
4	For the elephants and the mahouts - (a) Manjappally's elephants rent for five days (b) For its mahout (c) Pallatt Vala Konbairi elephants rent for five days (d) For its mahout (e) Thundathil Elayath's elephants rent for six days (f) For its mahout (2 No.)	712.00 114.00 855.00 96.00 756.00 226.00
5	For accompanying the Procession - (a) Kari Kuruppan Kaimalkku (b) For Panikker (c) For Kuruppu (d) For Kuruppu (e) For cheruvari Kaimal (f) For cheruvari Elaya Kaimal (g) For Kaimal	24.00 8.00 8.00 12.00 16.00 16.00 16.00 42.00
6	For the Sambandi Maranmar	40.00
7	For 'Somasthanungal Patti' - (a) Shankku Kuruppu (b) For Shankaran (c) For the Varier (d) For Shankaran (e) For Varier	20.00 28.00 28.00 20.00
8	For the players of 'Orutti chenda' (40 No.)	1574.00
9	For the players of Kurunkuzhal (7 No.)	236.00
10	For the players of the musical horn (7 No.)	228.00
11	For the players of the Maddalam (1 No.)	28.00
12	For the players of the Matalam (22 No.)	385.00
13	For the Nagaswaram players (9 No.)	1724.00
14	For the Tabal players (9 No.)	382.00
15	For the Tabal players for the Vela Kali (1 No.)	80.00
16	For the Vela Tullal (Kurup/Kaimal 1 No.)	100.00
17	For the Vela Tullal (Kurup/Kaimal 1 No.)	704.52
18	For the Kathakali (3 No: Nair, Panikker, Nambudiri)	372.00
19	For targetting the Bull's eye with swords (5 No.)	212.00
20	For performance of acrobatics on rope (3 No.)	50.00
21	For exhibition of ball-play (1 No.)	36.00
22	For the performance of the peacock dance (1 No.)	64.00
23	For the performance of the gypsy dance (4 No.)	1080.00
24	For the Ottantullal (20 No.)	68.00
25	For the magic show (2 No.)	160.00
26	For the show of acrobatics (2 No.)	340.52
27	For the rendering of the Bhagavatam (11 Acts 5 No.)	73.00
28	For the performance of Patakam (Nambiar and Nambudiri, 3 No.)	66.00
29	For the 'Fancy' dress show (3 No.)	13083.04
<b>TOTAL</b>		459.03.41.18

The quantity of rice received in 1903 has been converted to quantity of paddy received using the paddy-rice conversion ration 2.2:1 para. So, total paddy received just before the Tirutsavam of 1903 AD was 2666.07 para as against 3033.65 para in 1919 AD. Paddy from (a) in 1919 was 475.95 para paddy as against 609.07 para in 1903. Paddy from (b) was 1070.8 para paddy as against 887.7 in 1903. Paddy from (c) called Pirivil Ninum in the 1919 Tirutsava Adiyantira Register, totalled up to 1434.3 para paddy while in 1903 it was 1125.74 para. Paddy from (d) in 1919 was 61.3 para as against 43.56 para in 1903. This is just for a comparison to see what the 'state of affairs' was at 1903, 16 years before 1919.

This register is a more detailed one in the sense, it gives details like under-Rayamangalam Kūṭumaḍom Mutalpaḍi 'unbroken rice', these are separate entries for rice through Čumattu varavu (loading on backs) equalling 51.5 para, rice rather than paddy brought as response to letter asking for rice to be brought for the Utsavam which is as per conditions of leasing land called Eluttum paḍi (Ādhāram) Čumattu varavu totalling to 291 para rice etc.

Extra rice is given as Paṛavāṣi or extra for incidental loss because it is brought from so far loaded on backs of men. Extra for incidental loss is equal to 1/10 of the total amount. Charge for unloading is 5 para for every 100 para paddy. Charge of dehusking is 1.5 para paddy for every 10 paras of dehusking. Rice brought from Pulinkunnu, Chenankari etc. were brought in boats (Valloms) till the temple bank (kaḍavu). The boat charge and the rowing charge were paid in paddy worth 3.5 paras.

The share of paddy given to each Mēlśānti, Kīlśānti, Parikarmi, Tantri, Mārār, Vārier, Piśārody, Čākkyār etc. remain the same in the 1903 AD and 1919 AD. In fact the share that goes to each of the remains the same throughout, only the total amount that gets redistributed varies. The shares are the 'honours' or the Avakāśam of each of the kārāṇma members.

A look at the 1924-25 Nālvaḷi (for paddy only) shows us another channel into which redistributed paddy goes. A total of 1126 paras of paddy every year went to the 14 ūrāṇma members. This amount was actually shared between the Sabhas before the contribution of the Ūrāṇma. This was their subsistence allowance. After the dissolution of the sabha, this amount got divided among the 14 members. This was given under the Aḍukkavatu right called Sabha Jēvitam Śānti Aḍukkavatu. For example under this right the Ōṇiyopulattu Illam got 50 para of paddy, the Kōhṇōrpally got 80.43 paras, Madhuraṁcira 40.43 para etc.

Every pūja is an act of redistribution. Since there are pūjas daily some monthly and some yearly redistribution also becomes daily, monthly and yearly affairs. The only difference among the three being the number of people incorporated for redistribution. The redistribution is biased in that Christians, Elavas and Pulayas are not incorporated. It is the Christians and the Pulayas who are responsible for the agrarian produce produced from the Devaswom lands. So one can say that the integration is partial with respect to these castes/communities. The yearly redistribution incorporates the largest number of people. The monthly one comes next and the daily pūjas incorporate the least number of people

restricted only to the kārāṇma members - Mūttad, Piśārody, Vārrier and Mārār. The shares that go to each of them of the leavings of the offerings of the deity are equal. The ūrāṇma members do not get a share of this. The 'honours' belongs only to the karanma. (See table 4.10)

'Honours' not only signify the rank or status but are also the 'constitutive features' of culturally privileged roles in relationship to the deity. A share would consist of the right to serve the deity through prescribed ritual functions or through endowment, it could be the right to mobilise resources set aside for a ritual, the right of authority on the persons involved in the realisation of the given ritual, the right to perform a defined role in a complex ritual event, and lastly worshiping the deity by simply witnessing the ritual. Depending on the role one plays in the ritual process the share has a different context. This share when given public expression and when constituted institutionally becomes honours. (Appadurai 1981: 46). Honours on certain days may be for a particular set of people. For example the ūrāṇma members given a brahmaswam vāram which is a feast exclusively for them and their families. According to the 1924-25 nālvali, 30.05 paras of paddy was set aside for the brahmaswam vāram which took place every month.

Table 4.10

## The ritual calendar (1903/1924-25)

Frequency of ritual	Star/month	Duration	Paddy expended	Redistribution/honours (food only)
(Based on nālvali of 1924-25)				
<u>Daily Pūjas</u>				
(Nityanidānam)				
Uśa Pūja	—	—	3.3 Idāṅṅali	4 no. Mūttad
Edirte Pūja			6.6 "	Mārār
Pantēradi Pūja			13.2 "	Vārrier
Ucca Pūja			26.4 "	Piśāroḍy
Attāḷa Pūja			8.8 "	(15.4 Idāṅṅali each)
Namaskāram			<u>Total</u> 61.6 "	
			(or 6.16 para)	
(Based on the Nālvali of 1924-25)				
<u>Monthly Pūjas</u>				
(Māsaviśeśam) <sup>9</sup>				
Karuttavavū	—	—	2.25 para	5 nos. Mūttad, Mārār, Vārrier, Piśāroḍy Mēlsānti (0.3 para) [all the rest get 0.49 para each in addition to 15.4 Idāṅṅali daily]
Veluttaśaṣṭi			1 "	5 nos. Mēlsānti get 1.5 Idāṅṅali and the rest 2.2 Idāṅṅali
Veluttadwādaṣi			2.72 "	4 nos. 0.18 para each
<u>Annual Pūjas/ Festival</u>				
(Attaviśeśam)				
Tirutsavam (1903)	Kārtika/Kumbham (Feb.-March)	10 days	3172.85 para	900 nos. (approx.)
Kārtika	Kārtika/Vriscikam (Nov. - Dec.)	1 day	—	—
Thaipūyam (1924-25)	Pūyam/Makaram (Jan. - Feb.)	1 day	47.85 para	37 nos. <sup>10</sup>
Mantālapūja	Vriscikam (Nov.- Dec.)	1 month	—	7 nos. (Vārrier, Mūttad, Piśāroḍy, 3 Mārār)
Panikkar [Nāgaswaram]				
Niraputtari (1924-25)	Chinṅam 1 (July-Aug.)	1 day	0.2 para	4 nos. 0.5 Idāṅṅali each

Source: Compiled from Nālvali 1924-25 and Tirutsava Adiyantira Register 1903.



Having had a structural-functional snapshot of the dynamics of the redistribution including the 'shares' of 'honours' accruing to the different members of the society (temple domain) of the Śrī Subramāṇia Swāmi Temple of village Kidangoor. It would be interesting to compare this Brahmin settlement with its Grāmakṣētra with the Brahmin settlement of Tiruvalla with its Mahākṣētra.

This Tiruvalla Settlement (Veluthat 1978: 41-3) is conducive for study of various aspects because of the existence of the Tiruvalla Copper Plates. The copper plates unearthed from the temple number forty three. The surviving portion (some have been lost) runs into six hundred and thirty lines, each containing an average of thirty five letters. It is a series of inscriptions codifying endowments and decisions taken from time to time. The exact date of the execution of the document is not clear, but it is believed not to be far away from the twelfth century (Veluthat 1978: 40).

This settlement is supposed to have become so prosperous that it even had Upagrāmās. As evidence other than the Copper Plates mentioned above, there are the Vāḷapalli Copper Plate of Rājaśekhara (AD 830) and the Tiruvrūvāy Copper Plate of Sthāṇu Ravi (AD 861) both pertaining to the Upagrāmās of the settlement. Besides this Nammālvar in Tiruvāymoḷi and Tirumaṅgai Ālvar in Periya Tirumoḷi have praised this temple. (Ibid.)

The Brahmin settlement to this village also as was the general pattern was promoted by Land Grants. This becomes clear from the Tiruvalla Copper Plates. An important section of the temple

properties comprised land. Income from these lands especially in terms of paddy were put to different uses mainly for rituals and for the Nambūdiris.

Table 4.11

Income and Expenditure excerpt of the Tiruvalla Mahākṣētra

Income (from Land)	Expenditure
1. From 12634 Kalam seed capacity of paddy fields and some garden lands	For feeding Brahmins in the temple
2. 2000 (approximately) kalam seed capacity of paddy fields	For burning perpetual lamps (Tiruvatavilakku)
3. Revenue of 13685 paras of paddy	For daily lamps
4. Revenue of 13500 paras of paddy	For daily food offering of the deity
5. Revenue of 1237.5 paras of paddy	For purchasing ghee for temple requirements.

Source: Veluthat 1978: 45

Land was one of the major sources of income. Gold donations and receipt in equivalencies of gold were also common. Royal dues were also given to the temple. Another instance records the gift of a whole village Kutavur along with the right to exact eighteen kinds of taxes and market duties together to the temple by the Governor of Venpōlinatū, Iravi Ćirikantan (Ibid: 42-3).

The wealth acquired by the temple was set apart for many uses which included expenses for daily pūjas (Nityanidānam). From the record it is clear that there were five pūjas every day. This practice continues to the present day. (To recall, Śri Kidangoor Subramaṇya Swāmi Temple also has five pūjas daily performed.) Apart from these as was the case with the Śri Kidangoor Subramaṇya Swāmi Temple, there were the rituals - bathing of the deity

(nīrāṭṭupalli-abhiśēka) and the procession around the inner prakara (srībeli). Property was set apart to meet these expenses. The second (Pantīraḍi) pūja was to be conducted with Nivēdyam made out of 12 nāli rice which is equal to 3 idaṅṅali (or 6.6 idaṅṅali paddy). (Ibid: 43). This is against 13.2 idaṅṅali paddy expended for the same in the Śri Kidangoor Subramaṅia Swāmi Kṣētram during the period 1924-25 which is more than two times the paddy expended in the former.

There were in addition to daily expenses, fortnightly expenses (māsaviśēṣam) for the conduct of the dwādaśi festival which is the twelfth day after full moon and new moon. The expenses for this is not mentioned in the inscription. The ceremony continues in the temple to this day in the form of feeding Brahmins. (Ibid, Ibid: 50, 16 fn.) This is also done in the Śri Subramaṅia Swāmi temple with an expense of 1.25 idannali for Brāhmaṅabhōjanam (as per nālvali 1924-25).

There was the yearly festival (Āṭṭaviśēṣam) like the 'seven day temple festival' at the Tiruvalla temple. The portion describing the festival seems to be missing but there is a mention of certain lands set apart for the purpose. (Ibid: 44). Redistribution takes place with every pūja but as already mentioned the 'spread' of the redistribution varies with the speciality of the puja. The monthly and annual festivals incorporate more number of people for redistribution as compared to the daily pūjās.

In the Tiruvalla Copper Plate inscription, is a detailed schedule of the conduct of the annual festival during Āvaṇi Ōṇam. This can be compared with the annual festival (Tirutsavam) of the Śri Subramaṇia Swāmi Temple. 405 paras of rice (or 891 paras of paddy) was to spent on that day. 38.5 para paddy was used to provide offerings of rice to the eastern and western deities on that day, half of which for feeding the Čattirar. The sub-deities like Varāhappan, Kuṛavarān, Ayyappan etc. were also to be given special food offerings on that day. Then follows a list of what the temple functionaries and dependents were to be given. It has been given in terms of rice (in nali). This has been converted into paddy (para) to facilitate comparison with the shares going to the different functionaries during the Tirutsavam of the Śri Kidangoor Subramaṇia Swāmi Temple. We can at least make a comparison of the list of functionaries, to see if these functionaries exist in the period of our study. (Ibid: 46).

Table 4.12

Redistribution in the Tiruvalla Mahākṣētra  
(during the festival of Āvaṇi Ōnam)

No.	Designation	Payment (paddy in para)
1.	2 chief priests	0.5 para
2.	5 subordinates to the priest	1.25 para
3.	Vedic Professors (Bhattar)	0.10 para
4.	Priest of Ayyappan	0.10 para
5.	Subordinate Accountant	0.10 para
6.	5 Treasury Guards	0.50 para
7.	Supplier of plantain leaves	0.10 para
8.	Watchman	0.10 para
9.	33 drummers & blowers of pipes	2.48 para
10.	4 inside sweepers	0.20 para
11.	Supplier of firewood	0.50 para
12.	Potter	0.13 para
13.	Accountant for the day	0.13 para
14.	For garland makers	0.20 para
15.	Outside sweepers	0.20 para
16.	Sweepers outside the outer prakara	0.10 para
17.	Vedic Professors (each) to participate in scholarly discourses	0.38 para
18.	Lamp attender and the supplier of arecanuts	0.08 para
19.	4 Devadasis	0.30 para
20.	Drummers	0.90 para
	Total	6.35 para

Source: Veluthat 1978: .45-6.

Temple functionaries were paid emoluments both in gold and rice and also in the form of lands under service tenure of Virutti meaning in Sanskrit (Vṛtti) - livelihood. Emoluments in rice are called Jēvitam (to recall with respect to Sri Kidangoor Subramaṇia Swāmi Temple, in nālvaḷi 1924-25, there are entries Śāntijēvitam Aḍukkavatu- giving the number of paras of rice as emolument).

The administration of the Tiruvalla settlement even in details followed the general pattern in other contemporary Brahmin settlements in Kerala. One has seen the same administration set up in the pre-Land Reform period in the Śri Kidangoor Subramaṇia Swāmi

Temple too. (An idea of this administrative set up was derived from the nālvalīs examined).

Kesavan Veluthat attempted to reveal the process by which a typical Aryan Brahmin settlement developed. One can look at the development of the Brahmin settlement of Kidangoor given the informations about it in the earlier paragraphs. At first, a small collection of ten or twenty families was established with a village temple (Grāmakṣētra) as the centre. Slowly, more subordinate deities were consecrated in the temple and the temple was extended. (See Appendix I on the historical background of the Śri Kidangoor Subramānia Swāmi Temple). Festivals of the temple increased which meant more dependants or greater 'spread' of redistribution. This also meant more donations to the temple to meet the increasing expenses. For the administration of the increased number of festivals new sub-committees (Gaṇam or Kaṇam) were constituted to help the ūrālars. Small temples subsidiary to the Grāmakṣētra were also incorporated into the system. (Ibid: 47-8). This is again seen with respect to the temple of our study.

Redistribution is not only of paddy (food or of kind) but also of money. Money comes in the form of voluntary donations or through the conversion of articles received from the temple into money. This money goes out of the temple to different dependents and functionaries along with payment of kind in most cases. Wages were both in kind and money as seen from the tables on paddy/money expenditures during the annual festival. The 1903 Tirutsavam Adiyantira Register clearly accounts this unlike the 1919 register.

Barter ratios (using paddy as money) have been calculated for many articles. (see Appendix IX). A comparison of prices of commodities in 1903 and 1919 has also been done.

What holds the different functionaries together is not a hierarchy of functions or authority but a shared motive and dependence on the sovereignty of the deity they serve and the logical interdependence without which the ritual process breaks down. Even the managerial roles (each member of the Ūrānma is a part of a Gaṇam which has its own norms to conform with) are not considered superordinate. They are authoritative as long as they do not disturb the shares that must be in harmony to keep the moral and economic cycle of the temple ritual going. (Appadurai 1981: 47).

From the above analysis one is able to understand the redistributive dynamics and the temple's role in it through a ritual and economic integration of the system. One sees the expression of the 'logistic function' (as Sahlins terms it, Sahlins 1974: 190). In the whole process of redistribution which is what sustains the community effort (or community) in a material sense. It also sustains the structure in a social sense (the instrumental function according to Sahlins) through a ritual subordination to the central authority. (Ibid.)

## NOTES

1. Sabha has a different meaning with respect to the Kidangoor Sri Subramania Swām Temple: Sabha was a person who was the winner of an open competition in the reciting of the Vedas held in the Kūttambalam in presence of the King's representative. A multifaced ball made of wood (believed to have had 64 faces) with letters inscribed on each face was rolled in front of each competitor. when the ball stopped, the competitor closest to it had to start reciting the verse beginning from the letter inscribed facing him. Failing in the competition would lead to being expelled out of the temple and the sacred thread of the Nambudiri broken by a person assigned for the job. The winner was called the Sabha and he headed the Urānma. All decisions were taken by him and was given an allowance on the right of Sabha Jēvitam. (Unni 1979: 202-11).
2. See the pictorial representation of the 'Anatomy' of the temple'.
3. For each of these pūjas Pāyasam (rice pudding) is prepared and see Appendix VIII.
4. From Nālvali (Nellumātram) of 1929-30 and Nālvali of 1985 respectively.
5. A standby. If the Nārāyaṇamaṅgalattu Mūttad is not able to present himself for the Eḷunallippu for the three Srībelis daily due to 'Pollution' in the family on account of a death or birth for a period of 14 days.
6. On one of the wooden pillars (14 in all) in the Kūttambalam is an inscription which says 'Māmbalaseri Dāmōdaran Kaippani' (Handiwork of Mambalaseri Dāmōdaran).
7. These only collected revenue and did not supervise the actual production of the agrarian produce.
8. Oral communication from Ayyappan Pillai, 85 years.
9. See Appendix VIII.
10. From 19224-25 nālvali (Nelly only)
 

20 no. Sambandhimārār to take care of Srībeli lamps, get	= 20	idannali rice (4.4 para paddy)
1 no. Nāgaswaram Paṅkar gets	= 4	" (0.88 " )
For the elephants (3 nos.) and the mahout (3 nos.), get	= 7.7	" (1.7 " )
9 nos. Māsappaḍi, get	= 9	" (1.98 " )
1 no. scavenger (pūramtūppu, Maria)	= 1	" (2.20 " )
Kāvaḍy carriers (10 nos.)	= 8.34	" (18.34 " )

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Total nos. = 34 (minus the elephants) + 3 (Vārrier,	= 27.53 para + 20.32 para paddy
Piṣārody, Mārār) = 37 nos.	= 47.85 para paddy



## CHAPTER 5

### LAND REFORMS AND THE TEMPLE-SOCIETY INTEGRATION

By 1900 tenurial simplification was achieved to a large extent in Travancore through legislative action in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and with the land revenue settlements at the end of the nineteenth century. Of the legislations enacted and implemented there were three which were specifically important. The first one was the Devaswom Proclamation of 1922. Through this, the earlier distinction made between the Pandāravaka and Sircar Devaswom vaka was abolished. Two-fifths (approximately) of the total land revenue was kept apart for the maintenance of the temples that were incorporated into the state at the time of Colonel Munro. The separation between the "Revenue Account" and "Devaswom Account" achieved through this Proclamation caused grave leakage on the State Revenue. The second legislation is the Jenmi-Kudiyān (Amendment) Act of 1932 which converted Kānam tenants of Jenmom lands (including Ūrānma temples) into proprietors of such lands and they were called Kudiyān. They only had the obligation of payment of Jenmikaram (which is the commuted value of the rent due to the Jenmi) to the Jenmi. The State mediated between the Jenmi and the Kudiyān to collect the Jenmikaram from the Kudiyān and remit the Jenmikaram to the respective jenmies. The third important legislation was the Travancore Land-Tax Proclamation of 1946 which brought almost all the assessed lands under a uniform rate of assessment. All lands, excluding those belonging to the Sree Pandāravaka, Sree Pādom, Kaṇḍukrishi and Edavagai were charged with a uniform tax of 14 annas (Rs. 2.10) per acre of land. As the rate of assessment

introduced was uniform, (that is without any allowance for differences in fertility or yield) the owners of the better lands benefited relatively to the others.

The Jenmi-Kudiyān Act applied only to Kāṇam tenancies of Jenmom lands and not any other. Even in the Jenmom lands only the Kāṇapāṭṭom holders were granted proprietary rights. (Varghese 1970: 138-9).

There were certain provisions entered into by the rulers of Travancore and Cochin at the time of Integration in 1947, with respect to the management of temples. The Covenant gave the authority to two autonomous bodies - the Travancore Devaswom Board and the Cochin Devaswom Board to manage all temples, both Sircar and Private (Ūrāṇma Temples) in the respective areas. There was also a stipulation of an yearly transfer of Rupees fifty lakhs to the Travancore Devaswom Board and Rupees Six lakhs to Sri Padmanābha Swāmi Temple from the "Consolidated State Fund". This administration by independent statutory bodies of the Temple lands added to the Tenancy problem of the State. (Ibid: 139).

Along with the Kerala Agrarian Relation Bill, (See Ibid: 143-6) The 1957 (Communist) Ministry had brought forward the Jenmikaram Payment (Abolition) Bill to abolish the recurring and periodical payment of Jenmikaram to jenmies under the Travancore Jenmi and Kudiyān Act of 1896 (as amended in 1932), by paying compensation to the jenmies and by conferring on the Jenmikaram tenants (Kudiyān) full ownership rights over their holdings. The jenmies were to be paid compensation with respect to a graduated scale

ranging between four and twelve times the amount of the Jenmikaram.

The Act made a distinction between the mode of compensation payable to religious or charitable institutions of public nature and that payable to other jenmies. With the former (which includes the temple of our study), the State undertook the responsibility of annual payment of Jenmikaram which the institution was entitled to receive in perpetuity. For the institutions and individuals (Brahmaswom Jenmies, Mādampies etc.) a lumpsum compensation was given. (Ibid: 146).

A new Legislation was brought out by the Government called the Kerala Land Reform Act of 1963. This new Act was entered in the Statute Book in 1964 replacing all the important legislation that existed in the State governing land relations.

The Act provided for fixity of tenures for all tenants who were subject to a limited right of resumption by the owners either for personal cultivation or for extension of places for public worship or even for the construction of residential buildings. The rent rate prescribed by the New Act was higher than the ones prescribed by the earlier Kerala Agrarian Relation Act of 1960.

The Kerala Land Reform Act, 1963 provided for a ceiling both on existing holdings and on future acquisition. The ceiling limit in terms of ordinary acres was not to be less than 15 acres or more than 36 acres or 12 standard acres. (One standard acre varies from one acre to four acres depending on the land type). (Ibid: 147-8).

Coming back to the Jenmi and Kudiyān Act of 1896, the most important feature of which was that it conferred the right of permanent occupancy on Kāṇam tenants of Jenmom lands (which in our case, a majority of them being Christians). Arrears of rent and other dues payable by the tenant were made the first charge on the holding of the tenant, and provisions were made for the recovery of dues through jenmies filing suits at the civil courts for the same. The jenmies were given the right to increase the rent at the time of the periodic renewal (Polīceluttu) of the Kāṇapāṭṭom (once in twelve years) either by increasing the gross rental of the land or by reducing the interest allowed on the kāṇārtham advanced or through both while the kudiyān had only the alternative to have the rent reduced only through a reduction in the gross rental of the land. (Ibid: 220).

The Act was made applicable only to the lands that came under the last four revenue categories in the Revenue Settlement (1911) - Ūrāṇma Devaswomvaka (lands of private temples like the Śri Kidangoor Subramaṇia Swāmi Temple), Brahmaśwom, Mādampi and Karamolīvu (favourable tenures). The maximum rate of jenmi-pāṭṭom (the gross rental from which the interest due on the kāṇārtham was deducted to obtain the miččavāram) to be paid to the jenmi was fixed as one-fourth of the gross produce, but there was no easy method to calculate it. The only method was filing suits in civil courts. The renewal fees was not regulated by the Act and the jenmi still had the power to increase the miččavāram on every renewal of the kāṇam lease. (Ibid.)

With the Jenmi-Kudiyān Amendment Act of 1932 the Kudiyān was treated not as a tenant but as an owner only subject to certain

obligations imposed by law. The jenmi (in our case the private temple) was deemed to have parted with his proprietary rights in favour of the Kudiyān. Absolute proprietary right was conferred on the Kudiyān under the only obligation of the yearly payment of jenmi's dues known as Jenmikaram and the customary dues were commuted into 'money' payable in annual instalment. The Jenmikaram was required to be paid only in money. The State repaired records according to the Act called Jenmikaram Register after a proper settlement of the Jenmikaram land. (Ibid: 220-1).

Given this background of the legislation pertaining to the land reforms, by the enactment of which the temple (as a private jenmi) had lost its lands (which as already seen in the previous chapter was dominated by 'superior' forms of tenancies like Kānapāṭtom). The legislation was in favour of the Kānapāṭtom tenancy holders and the temple began to receive a Jenmikaram Compensation Allowance.

We had seen that the temple played an active role 'integrating the village' (or temple domain) mainly through its lands. This implies that the chief resource base of the temple had become non-existent. So, the question would be - how did the temple responded to an exogenous "disturbance" (in the form of the Land Reforms) to maintain its "equilibrium" and continue its role as a source of "integration" - the integration in the post-Land Reform period being only of the 'ritual' kind. The temple reduced to become just the "cultural subsystem" of the village-society .

Jan Kieniewicz explains 'transformation' in terms of a set of rules which define the impact of everything that happens 'within'

and 'without' the system upon its identifying variables - segmentary division as reflected in the production relations, caste hierarchy, traditional Hindu values etc. Transformation is inevitable both to maintain and alter identity. Fixed transformation allows adaptations and regulation of the inner dynamics without altering the structure. But there could be transformations that lead to important changes in the structure resulting in a new identity. (Kieniewicz 1980: 38).

One major structural change was the alienation of its lands and the consequencies. What was the material base that substituted land which was its main source of income? This can be understood by examining the components of the income accruing to the temple in the post-Land Reform period (1969-70 - 1985). One can do a comparative study of the two periods taking the Land Reforms as the benchmark for the analysis and show the shift in the main components of income and expenditure in the two periods. This also gives us a picture of the budgetary position of the temple in both the periods for various years including the period of the Great Depression to see if it had an impact on the components of income and expenditure. This would reveal the temple's response to the Land Reforms.

For this purpose the daily account registers (*Nālvalīs*) have come to be of immense use. The *Nālvalīs* of the years 1924-25, (separate registers were maintained for paddy and for money this year and this was the earliest *Nālvalī* existing and available for use), 1928-29, 1929-30, 193-31, 1933-34, 1941-42, 1952-53, 1955, 1961-62, 1962-63, 1963-64, 1964-65, 1965-66, 1972, 1975, 1978,

1980, 1982, 1983, and 1985 have been used for this purpose.

### Paddy/Money Incomes

On perusal of these registers we are able to segregate five major components of paddy/money incomes.

#### The Income component [Mi] (or Income from Revenue and Rent)

The first one [Mi] constitutes paddy/money incomes from the Desavalis in terms of Mičdavaram, Pančcaphalam, Sandhya Vēlā Pāra paṇam, Vittukal, Utsavakōppu, Pališa, Kalašavari, Paṛavāši, Jenmibhōgam, Rakšābhōgam, Poḷiçeluttu Avakāšam and Pāṭṭom.

#### The Income Component [S] (or Allowances from the Government)

The second one is [(S) which comes from the Sirkar or the State (State Devaswom Board). This Ūrāṇma temple comes under the "supervision" of the Ettumanoor Group Devaswom, not for administrative purposes but for certain allowances in terms of paddy and money. An entry in the Nālvaḷi of 1924-25 (1100 M.E.) states - 'For Trikidangoor Śri Subramaṇia Swāmi' Temple an allowance of 18 Para 7.5 Iḍaṇṇaḷi paddy on the first of every month as per orders of the Superintendent, Ettumanoor Group Devaswom.

Another income from the Government is the Valipādu allowed every year in commemoration of the 'Cittiratirunāl Tirumanasilē Tripadiyēttam' as per orders from the Ettumanoor group Devaswom. A representative of the Rāja visited the temple every year, stayed there to supervise the rituals performed and participated in the

paṭṭadānam ceremony for the Nambudiris. (This representative was from the Vaṅṅipula Madom of today's Pathanamthitta district.<sup>1</sup>

As stated earlier, the Śri Subramania Swāmi Temple had under its administration 17 subsidiary temples. The Eḍavetti Kriṣṇaswāmi temple in Thodupuzha is one of them and it receives Rs. 8 16 Chakrams (or Rs.8.04) from the Trikariyoor Devaswom Group for maintaining a Vāḍa Vilakku (perpetual lamp).

The above comprise the paddy/money income from the Government.

Income component [A] (Income through sale of articles received as offerings

The next item under paddy/money income is [A] which consists of money got from selling oil received as offerings, food offerings (Appams), paddy, sandalwood that comes by way of Tulābhāram, plantains, pepper from the Devaswom gardens, sale of used oil tins, rent from the temple's elephant, rent from Devaswom buildings leased out to shops etc. rent from feasts conducted in the temple Uttapurās, income from renting out temple vessels for functions etc.

The Income component [L] (income through auctioning of articles and making contracts

The item [L] stands for paddy/money income received by way of auction (Lēlam). This includes as an entry in Nālvaḷi 1933-34 says Tulābhāram Vaka Mundy Lēlam Ćeitattu. Auction was of dhoties, of



plantains, of jaggery, sugar, of livestock, (Kāla Mūriye Naḍakke Vačcatu), milk, curds, mats, coconut fronds (tenṇōla), varriōla etc.

The "right" to get the contract of conducting the 'fireworks' for a whole year was also done through auction 'Veḍi Veppu avakāšam lēlam čeitatiṇu'. The "right" to sell oil - was also cution - the right is through an auction - 'Veḷičēenna Viḷkanuḷḷa Avakāšam'.

The Income component [V] (income from Corban and voluntary donations

The last major item in paddy/money income is through Valipadu (corban). This can be in many forms. The articles used for puja and other rituals are rice (special types like Oṇakkal Ari, Čāma ari, Gingely oil (from black gingely seeds i.e.unskinned), coconut oil, coconuts, milk, sugar, honey, scrubber (Inja-a special tree fibre), Aštagaṇḍha etc. These are generally offered to the deity in the form of Valipādu by the worshippers. This could be by way of Tulabhāram (which meant offering articles equivalent to one's own weight which may be in terms of plantains, sugar, jaggery etc.) or offering sandalwood for annointing of the deity with it (Čandanam čārttu), offering livestock, Valipādu for repentance (Prāyaścittam Vakayil), Naṭakke Satyam Čeita Vakayil in Nālvali 1924-25 (for money'), (making a promise), Aḍima Vakayil (namesake offering of 'generally' a baby to the deity for having helped during a certain crisis), Jaladrōṇi Vakakke, Valipādu also takes the form of sponsoring of the expenditure of a whole day's pūja or may be just the incurring the oil expenditure or conducting an

Utsavabeli (Srībhutabeli), sponsoring special pūjas on the days of the grand festival (Tirutsavam) or as lately sponsoring cultural performances like Kathakali, Ṫṭamtullal etc. Valipāḍu in this particular temple quite often takes the form of offerings through Kāvadi. This could be with offerings of milk, (Pāl kāvadi) of Camphor (Karpūra kāvadi) of rosewater (panineer kāvadi), of sandalwood (Čandana kāvadi), of tender coconuts (Karikku kāvadi) etc. The Nālvaḷi of 1933-34 neatly lists out the offerings of 54 no. of Kāvadi for the Taipūyam festival of the temple offered by 10 Iyers, 25 Nairs, 6 Asaris (Carpenter caste), 2 Nambūdiris, 1 Chetty, 1 Vārrier, 2 Pišharody and 2 Čakkyārs and 5 Elavās) made there offerings.

Valipāḍu can also take the form of conducting Navakams - Navakam can be of coconut oil, of coconuts, of milk, of sugar, of curds, of thread (for lamp wicks) for turmeric and for Dakṣiṇa. All these offerings in kind include money in the form Šānti dakṣiṇa (dakṣiṇa for the priest conducting it). These offerings could also be made solely in money equivalent to the articles involved in that particular type of Valipāḍu and a dakṣiṇa.

The income component 'miscellaneous'

There is a 'miscellaneous' item which consists among many things, money or paddy accruing to the temple with regard to fines as punishment etc. showing the power the Ūrāṇma had over the people working for it. In the 1924-25 Nālvaḷi one can see an entry that says that one 'Janaki' and 'Karthiayani' were fined 7 chakrams for having talked loudly in the Uraḷpura (paddy dehusking room) while

pounding paddy required for Nityanidānam.

### Paddy-money expenditure

Coming to the Paddy/Money expenditure components, one can categorize them under eight major items -

The Expenditure component [AP] (Expenditure on rituals and related activities)

The first one (AP) is expenditure with regard to performance of the daily rituals (Nityanidānam). The expenditure involved with regard to rituals during the annual grand festival (Tirutsavam) has been excluded from this and listed separately to make it more revealing for analytical purposes. This temple has to incur the expenditure on rituals of these temples too. The estimate on rituals is called Akattupaḍitaram. One can take a glance at the varying expenditure on Nityanidānam in the four major subsidiary temples (Upakṣētram and the main temple, Śri Subramaṇia Swāmi Temple in Table 5.1.

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TABLE 5.1

## Paddy expenditure for Nityanidānam

Name of the Temple	Area (acres)	Period	Deity	Expenditure of paddy for Nityanidanam
1. Nērikattu Aiyankōikkal Kṣētram	—	30 days	Šāsta (folk deity)	3 para
2. Edavetti Kriṣṇaswami Kṣētram, Thodupuzha	1.50	30 days	Vaiṣṇavite	10 .3 para
3. Pariyāramāṅgalattu Murtittukavu (2 temples)	—	30 days	(a) Bhagavati (folk deity) (b) Vaisnavite	6 para
4. Nēluru Taṛavattattu Kṣētram	2.36	30 days	Šaivite	3.3 para
5. Kummannoor Nadakkamkunnēl Bhagavathi Kavū#	—	30 days	Bhagavathi (folk deity)	2.73 para
6. Śri Trikidangoor Subramaṅia Swāmi Kṣētram	3.27	29 days 1 day	Šaivite	210 para, 9.38 Idāṅṅali 3 para. 16 1/8 Idāṅṅali

Source: Compiled from Nālvalis, 1929-30, 1930-31 and 1933-34.

# Incorporated into Kidangoor Devaswom only in 1950. This estimate is based on the Nalvali of 1955. In 1950, it was realised by the private management of the temple that it was impossible to maintain the temple any more with their material resources and is gave it to the Kidangoor Devaswom for management.

For certain monthly festivals of these subsidiary temples, extra paddy and money are kept aside. For example, in the year 1933-34, for the monthly festival of Pariyaramangalam Temple' an additional Rs. 2.79 was allowed.

The Expenditure component [Sh] (expenditure on wages/salaries/udama)

The next major item of expenditure [sh] consists of the wages paid to the different temple functionaries not only in the Śri Kidangoor Subramaṇia Swāmi Temple but also functionaries in the 17 subsidiary temples. The different functionaries have been mentioned in the previous chapter. People on daily wages have also been included under this category. Wages paid of whatever type are put together under this category. 'Māriam' (Pulaya) who performs the function of Puṛamtūppu or sweeping of the exterior of the temple gets 3 para paddy as monthly wage according to the 1933-34 Nālvaḷi. The same job done in 1964-65 gets paid not in paddy but in money as Rs. 8. In 1955 it was 5 Para or (20 chakrams = Rs. 0.70). This is just for a comparison.

Expenditure component [St] (expenditure on articles purchased and travel expenditure)

Another major item of expenditure is [st] which consists of all kinds of expenditure on articles purchased for purposes of the temple like stationery items for official purposes. The Nālvaḷi of 1924-25 gives us a series of stationery items.<sup>2</sup> and their prices bought from a stationery store in Kottayam and in 1933-34

stationery being bought from the Ālappuḷa 'Munro Shop for Stationery'.

This includes incidental expenditure like seen in Nālvali 1924-25, an entry that says 14 chakrams were spent for offering betel leaves and arecanuts to the Devaswam Commissioner Rājarāja Varma Tampurān when he had come to Kidangoor on inspection rounds.

Another expenditure brought under this category includes travelling expenditure incurred when articles had to be bought from far off places or when the Mutalpidis of the different Dēśavalis had to travel to and fro, travel expenses incurred by the manager when visits were made to the Alappula Taluk, Jenmikaram Settlement Office etc. When travel was made through boat, the Vallā Kūli (boat charge) and Ūnṇu Kūli (rowing charge) were to be incurred. The 1929-30 Nalvali gives the boat and rowing charge was 2 chakrams and 11 kaash (10 paise).

Expenditure on transportation of goods and articles like an entry in the 1929-30 Nālvali, which mentions paddy collected from the Dēśavali Kāvālam brought in one 'Ulahannan's boat and brought, through the Meenachil river to the Nelpura Pūmukham (courtyard of the temple granary) a total quantity of 3258 Para and 1 5/8 Idāṅṅalīs of paddy. The "unloading charge" was 5 Paras for every 100 paras of paddy unloaded. Expenditure of this kind are also included under this item of expenditure.

Yet another expenditure that comes under [st] is the expenditure on food for the elephants brought for special purposes

to the temple; entry regarding medicine from a diseased elephant. The mention is made in Nālvali 1933-34 of spending Rs.12 and 27 Chakrams and 4 kaash (13 thirteen British Rupees) for collecting articles and herbs meant for treatment of the elephant named "Velayudhan". Food for peacocks (maintained in the temple premises as the "vehicle" of the deity) and in 1955 Nālvali there is a mention of expenditure incurred for extraction of oil from a dead peacock for which Rs. 2 and 8 Chakrams (or 2.28 British Rupees) were charged.

Electricity came to the temple only in 1952 and till then kerosene and coconut oil lamps were used on a wide scale. Expenditure incurred with regard to this is also included under this item [st]. 1929-30 Nalvali makes a mention of 9.5 Tudam of coconut oil kept aside for use for a period of 3 months worth Rs. 2 and 3 chakrams and 6 kaash (2.12 British Rupees) in lamps kept at the bathing ghat, granary and office (Kacahri). Kerosene used for lighting purposes was 138 Tudams worth Rs. 1 and 18 Chakrams (or 1.63 British Rupees).

The Devaswom incurred expenditure "of 10 Paras of paddy and new dhoties" together with money worth 25 Panams (or Rs. 3.50) in terms of a right of the Kāranavan (head of the family) in whose family there has been a death. This is called Pulakuḷi Vaka Pativṛ Anubhavam.

Devaswom also incurs expenditure on 'eleemosynary purposes' Dharma Cēlavṛ Vaka. There is mention in Nālvali 1933-34, and in Nalvali 1941-42 of money kept aside for making donations giving

(Dharma Soujanya) articles of money worth Rs. 29 for a year. In the 1933-34 Nāḷvali, there is an entry that says one sack of rice worth 5.5 British rupees were allowed under the written orders (Kalpana) of the Yōgam (Ūrāṇma) to North-Indian "landlords" who were seeking refuge due to the 'scarcity' situation (owing to the Depression) along with 300 people for a meal which was altogether worth Rs. 5 and 15 chakrams and 8 kaash.

All the above expenditures come under the item [st] for our analytical purposes.

The expenditure component [Utsavam] (expenditure on the grand annual festival)

The next major item of expenditure is on Utsavam. This being the most important ritual (annual) and most expensive. A look at the money/paddy spent on this festival for different years is very interesting. The money spent on it reflects the budgetary position of the temple in that particular year. One can look at the whole scene of the festival as an instance of 'potlatch'<sup>3</sup> where the festival is made grand to show the material power of the persons involved. It could also be seen as an investment in 'Cultural Capital' Further elaboration of this is given a little later.

Expenditure component [U] (Expenditure in aid of the Ūrāṇma)

Another expenditure item categorized is expenditure on the Ūrāṇma (U) in terms of allowances made in paddy and money, in terms of special rights during the festival, expenditure for them through



the Brahmaswamvāram (feast for the Nambūdiris once every month). Under the right of Sabhajēvitam Śānti Aḍukkavatu' the Ūrānma members depending on the number of members in each of the Illam (Nambudiri family), are allowed a specific number of paras of paddy. The 1924-25 Nālvali (Nelly Mātram) has entries showing this. Under the above mentioned right, Madhuramcōira Illam gets 40 Paras, Mādhavappalli Illam gets 60.98 Paras, Kohhōrpally Illam gets 80 Para and 5 Idānṇali rice so on.

**Expenditure component [M] (Expenditures on repairs and Renovations)**

The next item of expenditure is on Maramat (M) - repair, renovation, Kalaśa adjustment etc. This includes expenditure on repair after destruction by an 'unstable' elephant attack etc. (which happened quite often during the festivals). There was one major Maramat undertaken in the year 1929-30 just before the Utsavam which came up to 78% of the total expenditure for that year. Maramat undertaken in the subsidiary temples have not been included under (M) but has been included under the next item of expenditure below.

**Expenditure component [D] (expenditure incurred in the subsidiary temples of the Dēśavaḷis)**

This is (D) or expenditure related to the Dēśavaḷis. This includes money expended on articles purchased, repairs done etc. in the temple of the Dēśavaḷis.

Expenditure component [K] (expenditure on legal issues)

The last item of expenditure is (K). This is expenditure on court dealings which includes fees for the advocate etc. An idea of expenditure on court dealings gives us a clue to the "conflicts" over ownership of landholdings.

The above was an explanation of the different categories (components) of paddy/money incomes and paddy/money expenditure.

TABLE 5.2  
Paddy/money - Yearly total incomes and total expenditure

Year (1)	Paddy (Para)		Money (Rs.)		(5) - (4)
	Income (2)	Expenditure (3)	Income (4)	Expenditure (5)	
1. 1924-25*	9,872.00	10,272.80	9,684.20	9,214.13	-470.07
2. 1928-29	13,447.94	10,476.78	25,952.60	23,469.76	-2482.84
3. 1929-30	4,430.65	5,007.19	18,385.70	18,646.43	260.73
4. 1930-31	7,989.35	8,937.32	8,650.48	9,047.18	396.70
5. 1933-34	16,576.22	15,846.29	11,825.58	12,708.68	883.10
6. 1941-42	6,566.99	5,691.00	27,067.38	27,782.76	715.38
7. 1952-53	981.11	1,285.70	116,337.70	134,454.52	18116.82
8. 1955	3,289.48	2,682.20	29,511.88	27,085.27	-2426.56
9. 1961-62	3,027.98	2,687.93	18,501.56	24,323.71	5822.15
10. 1962-63	2,443.63	4,253.85	29,229.15	122,717.96	93488.81
11. 1963-64	2,904.95	2,720.30	35,124.15	29,953.59	-5170.56
12. 1964-65	237.12	2,342.37	58,645.94	38,927.09	-19718.85
13. 1965-66	882.60	1,012.55	36,309.75	41,959.63	5649.88
14. 1972	—	—	59,043.25	60,199.99	1156.74
15. 1975	—	—	50,075.92	72,118.58	22042.66
16. 1978	—	—	82,920.45	78,084.39	-4836.06
17. 1980	—	—	95,638.81	90,521.18	-5117.63
18. 1982	—	—	115,647.40	200,202.18	84554.78
19. 1983	—	—	175,497.20	176,443.74	946.54
20. 1985	—	—	198,012.15	217,142.52	19130.376

Source: Totalled up from the respective Nālvalis and compiled.

\* This year had two Nālvalis maintained (a) paddy alone  
(b) money alone.

Intervals between the years is not uniform since the accounting methods used in certain years are different from the general pattern and comparison is therefore not possible. 1924-25 was the oldest Nālvali available and so this is the first entry. The year 1929=30, 1930-31 are deliberately chosen to see what effect the 'Depression' had on the paddy/money incomes and expenditure in the temple. The year 1933-34 was chosen to look at the year while the 'effect of the depression was waning'. The years 1941-42, 1952-53 and 1955 are merely chosen to represent the decades of the 40's and the 50's. Perusal of the Nālvalis of the 40's did not show any major events or changes in the temple economy, hence only one representative year of the 40's has been chosen. Five consecutive years beginning from 1961-62 have been taken for consideration because the effects of the Land Reforms were beginning to be seen already during this period. The Nālvalis of 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971 were not available for use. 1972 comes next, which is the year just after the Land Reforms enactment, and so an interesting year to look at. This marks the beginning of the Post-Land Reform period of our study.

The above Table gives us a bird's eye-view of the budgetary position of the temple economy during these twenty years before and after the Land Reforms. One is not able to come to any definite conclusions by just looking at this 'aggregate' table. To get at

the heart of its working one has to conduct an income and expenditure analysis. The income and expenditure totals have to be decomposed into the items respectively the income and expenditure as explained in the above paragraphs. This was done for the years 1924-25, 1929-30, 1933-34, 1955, 1964-65, 1972, 1975, 1978, 1982 and 1985 (10 years in all).

TABLE 5.3

Decomposition of paddy income

Year	PADDY INCOME (Para)						
	Mi	S	A	L	V	Misc.	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1924-25	9872 (100%)	--	--	--	--	--	9872
1929-30	3642.27 (82.2%)	--	--	--	694.53 (15.68%)	93.00 (2.10%)	4430.65
1933-34	14511.32 (87.54%)	--	225.25 (1.36%)	--	943.3 (5.70%)	896.35 (5.41%)	16576.22
1955	2198.8 (66.84%)	--	--	--	1090.31 (33.14%)	--	3289.48
1964-65	217.50 (91.77%)	--	--	--	19.62 (8.28%)	--	237.12
1972-85	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Compiled from the respective Nālvalis

Mi - income from Land Revenue; S - income from Government;

A - Income from Rent and sale of articles; L - income from auction;

V - income from voluntary donation

Misc. - Miscellaneous

Table 5.4

## Decomposition of paddy expenditure

Year	PADDY EXPENDITURE (PARA)								
	AP	Sh	U	St	Utsavam	M	K	D	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	6	9
1924-25	2617.83 (25.48%)	3498.14 (34.05%)	780 (7.59%)	—	3376.83 (32.87%)	—	—	—	10272.8
1929-30	1025.89 (20.49%)	1323.75 (26.44%)	815.22 (16.28%)	28.3 (0.57%)	—	695.80 (13.9%)	9.35 (0.19%)	1108.87 (22.15%)	5007.19
1933-34	4801.79 (40.3%)	1818.55 (11.48%)	394.9 (2.49%)	926.13 (5.84%)	1954.50 (12.33%)	53.8 (0.34%)	33.9 (0.25%)	5651.72 (36.67%)	15846.29
1955	2679.56 (99.9%)	—	—	—	—	—	—	8.64 (0.10%)	2682.2
1964-65	2312.04 (99.9%)	—	—	21.33 (0.91%)	—	—	—	—	2342.37
1972-85	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Compiled from the respective Nālvalis

Ap - Expenditure on rituals; Sh - Expenditure on wages; U - Expenditure on Uranma;

St - Expenditure on articles purchased; M - Expenditure on repair and renevation;

K - Expenditure on court dealings; D - Expenditure on desavali temples.

Table 5.2 and 5.3 clearly shows that paddy income stopped with the year 1964-65. After this i.e. from 1972 all income was solely in terms of money.

Looking at the amount of (Mi) for the different years we see a very steep fall in paddy income, in the year 1955. This could be a sign of alienation of Devaswom lands or it could also be that [Mi] (income from Land Revenue) was being remitted more in terms of money than in terms of paddy. This could be because the tenants kept the paddy with themselves to counter the scarcity of food and money owing to the Depression and postponed remittance of (Mi) to the temple until better times came by. So, in 1933-34, we see a

large number of tenants remitting under Kudiśika or arrears and the Mi was high relative to 1929-30. By 1964-65, the enactment of the Land Reforms, had taken deep roots making the income from Mi paltry and in 1972-85, one can see that there was no revenue in terms of paddy.

Moving over to the Expenditure analysis, Table V.4, the item contributing highest towards the expenditure of paddy in the year 1924-25 was [sh] or wages paid to the temple functionaries. Wages were predominantly paid in kind rather than money. The Utsavam the second highest expenditure item (32.87%) redistributed 3376.83 paras of paddy. Expenditure on Akattu Padittaram [AP] for rituals came third (25.48%). In the year 1929-30, the same order of expenditure holds - expenditure of paddy was most in the case [sh] paying wages. Paddy for rituals was only second. The data for paddy expended for Utsavam could not be clearly ascertained from the Nālvali. There is a major change in the year 1933-34. Here, the highest item of expenditure unlike the [sh] in the previous years was [AP]. Paddy was predominantly being used only for rituals including the Utsavam. [AP] is the major item of expenditure of paddy for the year 1955 (99.9%) and 1964-65 (99.09%). Paddy was used for rituals and not for payments.

Now, a look at Table 5.3 and 5.4 helps in analyzing income and expenditure in terms of money for the years considered. This gives an idea of how paddy (kind) gets gradually replaced by money as monetization process sets in.

**TABLE 5.5**

**Decomposition of Money income**

Year	MONEY INCOME						
	Mi	S	V	L	A	Misc.	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1924-25	6361.7 (65.69)	216 (2.33)	1511.5 (15.6)	66 (0.6)	1533 (15.8)	—	9688.20
1929-30	1762.08 (9.58)	736.6 (4.00)	11539.55 (62.76)	244.97 (18.3)	2794.49 (15.2)	1308.01 (7.11)	18385.70
1933-34	8497.6 (71.85)	100.38 (0.85)	1455.4 (12.31)	367.5 (3.10)	—	1695.14 (14.33)	11825.58
1955	16518.77 (55.97)	—	11207.38 (37.98)	417.12 (1.41)	1241.19 (4.21)	127.42 (0.43)	29511.88
1964-65	35157.84 (59.95)	513.51 (0.88)	20536.33 (35.01)	1747.00 (2.98)	691.26 (1.18)	—	58645.94
1972	—	28756.15 (48.69)	22643.00 (38.35)	2813.50 (4.77)	4840.60 (8.20)	—	59043.25
1975	—	27723.64 (55.36)	15206.68 (30.37)	700.00 (11.48)	6346.11 (12.67)	99.49 (0.2)	50075.92
1978	—	27182.15 (32.78)	39448.98 (47.57)	6377.5 (7.69)	9709.62 (11.71)	202.2 (0.24)	82920.45
1982	—	27182.15 (23.5)	74911.35 (64.77)	1751.5 (1.51)	11802.4 (10.21)	—	115647.40
1985	—	27382.15 (13.72)	151426.65 (76.47)	2050 (1.04)	17353.35 (8.76)	—	198012.15

Source: Compiled from the respective Nalvalis

Mi - income from Land Revenue; S - income from Government;

A - Income from Rent and sale of articles; L - income from auction;

V - income from voluntary donation

Misc. - Miscellaneous

Table 5.6

## Decomposition of Money Expenditure

Year	MONEY EXPENDITURE										
	Ap	Sh	U	St	Utsavam	M	K	D	Loan	Misc.	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1924-25	1241.71 (13.48)	1081.26 (11.73)	161.94 (1.76)	1446.69 (15.70)	2866.73 (31.11)	1440.31 (15.63)	976.49 (10.6)	--	--	--	9214.13
1929-30	906.29 (4.86)	758.51 (4.07)	335.88 (1.80)	1335.63 (7.16)	--	14562.47 (78)	429.9 (2.31)	317.75 (1.7)	--	--	18646.43
1933-34	3012.06 (23.10)	1014.94 (7.99)	73.63 (0.58)	1644.33 (12.9)	1668.66 (13.13)	122.54 (0.96)	4377.53 (34.45)	629.12 (5.00)	--	165.87 (1.3)	12708.68
1955	10988.66 (40.57)	3434.77 (12.69)	175.53 (0.65)	4468.23 (16.4)	6617.02 (24.43)	952.96 (3.52)	134.39 (0.5)	313.71 (1.16)	--	--	27085.27
1964-65	12165.30 (31.25)	6631.01 (17.03)	1212.00 (3.11)	1144.83 (2.94)	13989.94 (35.94)	3601.68 (9.25)	182.33 (0.47)	--	--	--	38927.09
1972	11601.2 (19.27)	15296.01 (25.41)	4930 (8.19)	7333.17 (12.18)	18139.96 (30.14)	305.4 (0.51)	--	1915.00 (3.18)	--	671.25 (1.12)	60191.99
1975	2265.25 (3.14)	12860 (17.83)	--	3847.83 (5.33)	23433.5 (32.49)	22304 (30.93)	--	6110 (8.47)	--	1298.00 (1.8)	72118.58
1978	578.7 (0.74)	13105 (16.80)	--	8708.75 (11.15)	33031.31 (42.3)	978.64 (1.25)	1142.00 (1.46)	3020.00 (3.87)	17000 (21.77)	520.00 (0.67)	78084.39
1982	750 (0.37)	29515.85 (14.47)	--	7565.98 (3.78)	60818.9 (30.38)	98466.46 (49.18)	614.00 (0.01)	2471.00 (1.23)	--	--	200202.18
1985	1138 (0.52)	26895.00 (12.39)	--	60348.48 (27.79)	96243.04 (44.32)	--	--	4926.00 (2.27)	27500 (12.66)	92.00 (0.04)	217142.52

Source: Compiled from the respective Málvalis

Ap - Expenditure on rituals; Sh - Expenditure on wages; U - Expenditure on  $\bar{U}$ ranma;

St - Expenditure on articles purchased; M - Expenditure on repair and renevation;

K - Expenditure on court dealings; D - Expenditure on desavali temples.



One can begin by comparing Table 5.3 and Table 5.5. This is to first of all see how remittance of [Mi] (or revenue from land) shifted towards payment in money rather than paddy from around 1955. This can be clearly seen when the two columns sharing [Mi] in paddy and the other in money are compared.

Before the year 1972, remittance of [Mi] had totally stopped and (Mi) which till then even in terms of money (as seen from Table 5.5) was the source of at least 60% of the total income and the highest of all sources of income [Mi] was the chief resource base that the temple economy until 1964-65 based itself on.

Looking again at Table 5.5 the second highest source of income, ofcourse considerably less than (at least by half) income from [Mi] is income from [V] upto the year 1964-65. In the depression year 1929-30, all the items had behaved differently compared to the previous years prior to and after the Depression. In this particular year [Mi] generated only 9.58% of income as money which can be clearly explained by the general depression in the world system (economy) leading to severe scarcity of money and goods. This fall in income from [Mi] was compensated for a 62.8% incoming through [V] - voluntary donations, offerings made in different kinds etc. to keep the temple economy going. Incidentally this seemed to resemble the state of the temple economy that was to come from the year 1972 i.e. the post-Land Reform period - [Mi] ceased being a source of income for the temple having alienated its lands to the tenants (at least 52% of them being christians) on account of the enactment of the Land Reforms which did not leave untouched the Devaswom properties.

This was a major structural change related to the temple functioning. [Mi] ceased to become the major resource base which it was until the year 1964-65 and it was replaced by an income source which had a tremendous potential of strengthening the financial position of the temple economy.

There is a second source which is a considerably low contribution to the temple income compared to [V]. This is the income accruing from the Government annually (i) Rs. 14038.15 as Jenmikaram Compensation Allowance and (ii) Rs.14708 as Interim Annuity. This is an almost constant amount as seen from the table.

In any case, the crucial variable is [V] which becomes the core of the temple economy. This is very significant for the temple. [V] becomes the material base of the temple. The natural response was to enhance [V].

One can take a second look at the rate with which the percentage contributed by [V] increases from 1972 to 1985 showing the temple's response to the Land Reforms its survival strategy).

A careful scrutiny of the money expenditure reveals that a major item of expenditure has been on [AP] or on the temple rituals (crucial for ritual integration of the society). In the years 1924-25 and 1964-65, expenditure on 'Utsavam' was higher than that expenditure on [AP]. Taking them together (Utsavam also being a temple ritual), one notices that this has that those have been the major source of expenditure. Payment [sh] to the temple functionaries was very secondary with respect to expenditure on

[AP] and 'Utsavam'. One can argue that [sh] in money has not shown itself as a major item of expenditure because the rest of the [sh] were paid in kind (paddy) as seen from Table 5.6. But this argument holds good only until 1964-65. Here, we see that [sh] has not shown an increase, even after payment was being made totally in money, i.e. in the post-Land Reform period. It was only in 1972, immediately after the Land Reforms that it rose to 25% from the previous 17% in 1964-65. But after this one can see that [sh] as an expenditure item has been sharing a falling tendency. This can be very revealing.

The survival strategy which is very much predictable was as follows -[V] (Voluntary donations) had to be increased by all measures and [sh] and [st] had to be reduced. Expenditure item [st] was not reducible leaving only these two variables for ample manipulation. In 1972, the old list of temple functionaries had become redundant and a 'Srikāriam' office was set up in the temple with a person in charge.

Reduction in [sh] led to conflicts among the temple functionaries (especially the inner ones -- Muttad, Vārier etc.). The Nālvalīs of 1972-85 do not mention these Ambalavasis anymore as rightful receivers of offerings to the deity - Anubhavakkār or Kārānmakkar but they are given Śambalam/Udama (or wages) just as other outer temple functionaries. One can see this from the respective Nalvalis. Neither were wage rates inside the temple revised with respect to the general wage rates leaving the functionaries dissatisfied.

The temple inspite of being based on a functional interdependence of independent agents is not an ill-disciplined collection of people. Certain authority does exist and certain norms for this authority existed. These norms which varied from temple to temple are legitimised by conventions in the history and on a very fragile consenses. So changes in the social and political environment of the temple could accept this delicate system easily and conflicts would emerge. When the 'share' of an individual or group is threatened, conflict is only natural. For this it becomes clear that the only authority the individuals in the temple recognise is that of the deity's. (Appadurai 1981: 47).

The Mūttad had and the Kulaññara Mūttad) had an additional function care takers of the Devaswom treasury. This function seemed to have been disregarded by the management leading to unaccounted money and gold transactions for private purposes. As a disapproval of the state of affairs the Mūttad gave in a resignation from the role of a Muttad in the temple in March 1982<sup>4</sup> stating the reasons for the resignation as a dissatisfaction with the money received as monthly income which was hardly enough to make ends meet and unhappiness with the misuse of the treasury with almost 900 gms of gold taken away and not recorded anywhere from the Muttad hold.

Along with these structural changes, a new group of persons - the 'Donors' came to play an important role. The 'Donors' were mainly of the Nair, Goldsmith and Tamil Brahmin castes. The rituals during Utsavam and on the ordinary days get sponsored by these Donors. It was just not the rituals that get sponsored but the oil

meant for lighting lamps on special occasions, fireworks, cultural entertainments like Kathakali, Ōttamtullal, Pāthakam etc. which initially were conducted under the aegis of the Devaswom, have become sponsored by different donors.

The motivations of these 'Donors' could have been different. Some sponsor say for example a Srībhutabeli pūja during the Utsavam not because they can really afford to sponsor it but was done as as a promise to the deity for having helped during a crisis in life. But the major share of donors are business people (of mainly these three castes) who use the occasion as an advertisement and to gain societal regard.

Another strategy adopted for increasing Voluntary Donations adopted was to change the Ārāṭṭu route - whcih was the carrying of the image of the deity on the final day of the Utsavam on elephant back by the Mēlśānti (head priest) along the roads of the village so that the people could make offerings to the deity from their homes (it is akin to the deity visiting the houses of the villagers). These offerings are called Paṛa Vaippu. A specific amount in money is paid on account. Offerings in kind are also made. Paṛa Vaippu was done only during the return journey of the deity to the temple which was in the early hours of the morning.

Now, the route has been changed to accommodate collection of offerings from greater number of houses. The procession now leaves much earlier, almost at noon (while it only left after sunset previously) and returns early morning the next day.

After 'land', rituals seem to have occupied the place of the chief resource base of the temple. Every ritual seemed to have a 'Donor' behind it to incur the expenditure involved. It is at this juncture that one sees the Kerala temple resemble the Tamil Nadu and Andhra temples who always have a strong patronage from a section of 'Donors'. Ofcourse these donors of the Kerala temple are different from the donors of the ancient Tamil Nadu and Andhra temples in that they do not donate as part of an investment.

The Tirupati inscriptions dealt essentially with a list of religious endowments of land and money. The temple during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was favoured with the patronage of the Vijayanagara rulers. Between 1456 and 1570, the temple was granted more than a 100 villages and large quantities of money as endowments whose income was utilised for the performance of rituals in the names of more than 300 'Donors'. The land endowments had two functions - to yield an income to maintain a specified ritual service in the name of the 'Donor' of the land and to provide a productive place to invest funds granted to the temple for the performance of services in the name of the 'Donor' of the money. (Stein 1960: 163-4).

Stein classifies the 'Donors' into three groups - the State Donors, Temple functionaries and local residents and merchants. Throughout the sixteenth century, the 'Donors' granted money to the temple because their endowments were to be invested in the lands of the temple. In short, the temple economy was strongly supported by a section of patrons of 'Donors'. (Ibid: 165).

In the Tiruvalla Copper Plates mention is made of land donations. They were donations of different forms and for different purposes. But the nature of donation seemed to paltry in terms of monetary value from that of the donations made in the Andhra and Tamil Nadu temples. For example, looking at the list of donors of the Tiruvalla temple. (Veluthat 1978: 42-3) There an entry of one Virachōla Kīlan Alikal who made donation of a Tiruvilakku (lamp), a Vaniyan (merchant) from Ceylon made a donation of a Tiruvamirtu (food offering), Rāman Kōtavarman made a donation equivalent to the expenditure in oil expenses etc. This just shows the contrast in the scale of donations made in the Brahmanical Kerala temples and that of similar temples in the other States.

The temple only partially integrated the non-Hindus and the Pulayas into the system. The cultivating skills of Christians and Pulayas were exploited to ensure returns to be used for rituals and redistribution to the upper strata (Ūrānma and Kārānma). The redistribution incorporated only members of the society with a certain ritual status. This was lacking with respect to the Christian community and the Pulayas. This being so, in the post Land Reform period after the temple had lost its assets in land, it could not incorporate Christians to give a prop to its disintegrating economy. The only resort were the Hindu 'donors'.

The main reason behind the temple performing the integrated functions was its ability to incorporate members of different communities into one community of worship. (Spencer 1968: 292). Patronising of temples was used as a strategy for creating

allegiances on the local level in Tamil Nadu during the Vijayanagar Age. (Appadurai 1977: 55-9). One can see a similar motivation behind the sponsoring of rituals in an institution like the temple through which social political and economic status could be enhanced.



## NOTES

1. Oral communication from Alathingal Raman Pillai, Age 84 years.
2. To mention a few - based on the (1924-25) Nalvali (for money)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Rs.</u>	<u>Price</u>	
		Chakram	Kashu
1. Leather Book 1 no.	10	6	8
2. Ink bottle	3	8	-
3. Perumalchetty Pencil	-	7	-
4. Mashi Gulika (ink pellets)	-	2	-
5. Ordinary pencil	-	1.5	-
6. Nib (4 nos.)	-	2	-
7. Feather pen (2 nos.)	-	5	-
8. Holder (2 nos.)	-	4	-
9. 12 Rathel paper	-	14	-

3. See Helen Ulrich 'Hindu Potlatches: Ceremonial Reciprocity and Prestige in Karnataka' in Ulrich (ed.) Competition and Modernisation in South Asia, pp. 27-59.
4. Oral Communication with **Narayanamangalathu Moothad** family headman and reading a copy of the resignation.

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study aimed at analyzing the temple-society articulation in a transitional village. Here, the village was not defined in the geographical or territorial sense but in terms of a 'temple domain' which comprised of lands situated in various villages under the control of the temple. The temple was seen to have played a role similar to that of a 'segmentary state' with its own domain or area of control. The village was viewed as a self-sufficient unit based on simple division of labour with the temple being the major institution and the focal point of the system. This institution expressed itself as a decentralised structure of power having political, economic, ritual and cultural dimensions serving to integrate the village economy.

The Indian village has its own peculiar institutional arrangements with regard to the production, consumption and distribution of produce among its members. It requires a set of tools different from the ones used in formal economic analysis adopted in studying the capitalist societies. This study therefore, was conducted with a substantivist stance using the fundamental approach of the Polanyian school which views the economy as being 'embedded' in the social fabric of the village society. The 'embedded' economic substratum expresses itself in specific forms of transaction like reciprocity and redistribution. This is precisely what one sees in varying forms in any Indian village society in transition. In the Kerala context, the temple as an institution is seen to be the structure of power which legitimizes rights and obligations (or reciprocal transitions) of economic

significance and thereby influences the allocation of resources, the level of income and the distribution of wealth. The object of study on hand is a society based predominantly on reciprocity articulating through its major institution - the temple.

The formalist analysis was rejected because formalist definition of social value is equal to just a sum of the private values. Its biggest limitation, was that it ignored social change. The substantivist approach on the other hand viewed the economy as a component of culture rather than an end-satisfying sum of individual labour. One realizes that terms like demand, supply and price are to be substituted with concepts like requirements, resources and equivalencies (Barter ratios) to understand these kind of societies which have their own institutional arrangements instead of the market. However, one observed that the substantive approach also has its own limitations and is not suited for all situations. In our study, for example, a blending of the substantive approach with the system - subsystem approach was found beneficial for a more comprehensive understanding of the temple-village economy situation.

We began our analysis by looking at the institutional arrangements with regard to agrarian production because integration becomes possible through land and labour. The chief resource base of the temple being land and distribution of rights over land varying across tenants belonging to different castes, an analysis of tenurial patterns had become necessary. This gave us an understanding of the varying access to the means of production and the pattern of allocation of land to different sections of the

society. The jenmi-kudiyān sampradāyam being the traditional land system in Kerala, an understanding of the landlord (temple)-tenant relation became important. In other words, what is required is an understanding of the rights and obligation of the landlord and tenant based on reciprocity or functional interdependence and not one of market transactions. The different types of land tenures have been looked at as a relationship based on 'conditioned reciprocity' between landlord and tenant. Some tenures are of a temporary nature or tenancy-at-will (like Verumpāṭṭom) and some of a more permanent kind (the Kānapāṭṭom and Mārāpāṭṭom). Since different tenures signify different landlord-tenant relationships, it was felt necessary to find the dominance of certain kinds of tenures on these Devaswom lands.

The first quest was to enquire into the relationship between the size of holding and the caste of the tenant. It was found that the Christian tenants had the largest number of holdings. The Nair tenants followed next. The other tenants who cultivated the Devaswom lands were the Ezhavas, Nambūdiris, Ambalavāsis, Tamil Brahmins (Iyers), Kṣatriyas, Vellāla Pillai and Muslims. The Christian tenants dominated every size category including the largest size category (20 and above acres). The total acreage held by the Nair tenants was 715 acres while the Christian tenants held 813 acres. But the average size of holding of Nair tenants was twice the average size of holding of the Christian tenants. This is because the number of Christian tenants is much higher than the number of Nair tenants. It is interesting to note that the temple lands were cultivated by Christian tenants more than the Hindu tenants.

An attempt was made to find out if there existed any relationship between the land tenure - type and the caste of the tenant. In other words the attempt here is to find out if tenants of a particular caste had cultivated the lands under conditions of a particular tenure. For example certain service tenure like the **Kūttu Virutti** are performed by a particular caste. It was found that the dominant tenures were the **Thēttam** and **Kāṇapāttom** tenures. This is significant because they suggest a superior relationship between the landlord (temple) and tenant. These tenancies show a mortgager-mortgagee relationship and not a master-slave relationship as signified by a tenancy-at-will type of tenure. Dominance of these superior types of tenancies show upon the wealth status of the tenants. It has been seen that inferior tenancies like **Veṛumpāttom** (tenure under which full assessment is made) are almost nonexistent. The service tenures like the **Kūttu Virutti**, **Anubhōgam** and **Adima** are mechanisms by which integration exclusively through labour was achieved. The service tenures were predominantly cultivated by Hindu tenants since the conditions of lease required specific services to be rendered to the temple and the Uranma. Based on the tenure under which the tenant cultivated, they occupied a hierarchy of economic positions. A simple lease holder held a lower economic position than a permanent lease holder ( who were wealthy landholders). But this does not always have to be so. Some tenures are caste/ritual based. So, the dominance of a particular tenure signifies the economic and social position of the majority of tenants initiating the Devaswom lands. The attempt to unravel the relationship if any between a particular tenant caste and a particular land-type revealed that the superior type of land (which is the most fertile) were held by the Christians. This could

be because the Christian tenants were in a better economic position to bargain with the  $\bar{U}r\bar{a}nma$  with respect to the other tenants on account of their higher economic status by the early twentieth century. It could also mean that the Christians being the more 'needier' of the tenants and therefore more willing to cultivate peripheral land which was under the  $\bar{U}r\bar{a}nma$ . They were willing to take up new lands for cultivation by clearing forests, reclaiming land from water bodies etc. These lands being cultivated for the first time would be more fertile. The relationship between the land type and tenure here seemed negative.

The temple helped integrate the landed class, tenants, sub-tenants and the tillers into a production-distribution system based on this and obligations from the base to the top. The lands redistributed by the temple to different sections of the society on specific conditions of lease received in return fixed shares of produce in terms of  $P\bar{a}t\bar{t}om$ ,  $Mi\check{c}\check{c}av\bar{a}ram$ ,  $Jenmibh\bar{o}gam$  etc.  $P\bar{a}t\bar{t}om$  and  $Mi\check{c}\check{c}av\bar{a}ram$  being assessments and  $Jenmibh\bar{o}gam$  more a form of tribute than assessment. This is when, one realizes the necessity of viewing this kind of economy with a substantive stands rather than using a formalist perspective.

The produce from the Devaswom lands got pooled in the temple granary in terms of  $P\bar{a}t\bar{t}om$ ,  $Mi\check{c}\check{c}av\bar{a}ram$  and other forms of revenue. More than half of the Devaswom tenants were Christians. It is this section of tenants that provided most of the produce. The redistributed shares accruing to the members of the leisure class ( $\bar{U}r\bar{a}nma$ ) and the sterile class (Artisans etc. not directly related to the production of agrarian produce) were estimated to spot the

beneficiaries. Paddy and money redistributive charts were prepared to get a structural and functional view of the process of redistribution. More than half of the producing class were Christians but the redistribution incorporated exclusively the Hindu non-producing sections of the society. Almost 40% of the total produce redistributed was received by the superior caste, the Nambudiris, around 30% by the Ambalavasis, 29% by the Nairs and only 1% by the Artisan caste. It is the leisure class that benefitted most from the redistribution since it is structured in such a way as to benefit them which means that political status of the centre of redistribution is vital in deciding the shares received by different sections of the society. For example, if it is a feudal set up as seen in our case the shares would be favourable to the 'Feudal lord' and so on. The analysis of redistribution shared the functional interdependence that the temple institution maintained to help reproduce relations of production (or stability). Redistribution is but an organised demonstration of rights and obligations and reflects the integrative role the temples play in the village economy.

With the Land Reform (by 1969-70) the temple had lost its chief resource base that was land and was compensated only by a paltry sum of money by the State. Land Reforms acted as the exogenous 'disturbance' threatening to disintegrate the village economy or the temple domain. For understanding the response of the temple to the Land Reforms and its integrative role thereafter, the post Land-Reform period was studied. This was in aid of finding at the factor that could have substituted land as the maternal basis. The Land-Reforms brought about a major structural change to the

temple domain. A comparative analysis of the paddy/money incomes and paddy/money expenditure was conducted for the pre and post Land Reform periods. Of the major component of income, the income from land (almost 90%) was the highest in the pre-Land Reform period. While in the post Land reform period the highest share of income was from the component 'Voluntary donations'. This is significant because it reflected the rise of a new group of people called the 'donors' who were to become important to the temple economy in the post-Land Reform period. This set a trend of 'commercialization of rituals' with the donors sponsoring every ritual and increasing competition amongst them for sponsoring the costliest ritual especially during the annual ground ten day festival.

Indigenous social institutions like the temple had a very important role in integrating the various elements of the village community into a structural whole through the ritualistic and economic status it enjoyed in the Kerala society. In an agrarian society Land is the chief resource base, the hold over which ultimately determines the nature of social organization. A drastic change in the production relations therefore radically alters the micro system of the hierarchy of power, with certain social institutions losing the grip over the economy which gets slowly disembedded following the development of the capitalist mode of production. Kerala temple appears to be one such example of a social institution which over time lost its importance as a major integrating force in the village economy. However, although this particular role of the Kerala temple has ceased to exist, its ritualistic and ideological significance gives it a prominent position as a socio-religious institution in the village society



even today. But its survival is based on the donations from the public and not on its own agrarian surplus.

The redistributive role of the temple merely remains symbolic representing the collapse of the old socio-economic structure with the temple at its apex.

## APPENDIX I

### Historical Background of the Sri Subramania Swami Temple, Kidangoor

The political structure of the present day Kerala in olden days was characterised by segmentary autonomous administrative units, each ruled by a Sāmanta Kṣatriya. Nothing can be conclusively said about the existence of a centralised Government comprising all these units at any point in history.

According to the oral tradition of the village Kidangoor, the temple was built by a Kṣatriya Sāmanta called Manayil Adiyōdi who is supposed to have migrated to 'Tekkan Venḍanād' (the old name for Kidangoor) from north Kerala. Nothing is conclusively known about the period of this event or the factors behind it. It is said that the Adiyōdi family returned to north Kerala when their sway over the regions had come to a close. Their descendents are believed to be still existing.

The temple was built on the southern bank of the Meenachil river at a sharp bend with Lord Vishnu as the chief deity. Subsequently another deity Lord Subrahmanya was also consecrated. Since there were few temples worth the name nearby, people from far and near came to worship there. Consequently the temple complex was slowly enlarged by building additional structures like Balikkalpura and Nālambalam. Structures like 'Maṇḍapam' and 'Naḍapura' characteristic of Brahmanical temples in Kerala are absent here. It is worth enquiring whether this implies that Brahmins had no

sway over the temple affairs in the initial phase. But it appears that control of the temple was later taken over by the Nambūdiri Ūraṇma. Due to lack of space, it is the Mukhamanḍapam situated between the present Maḍapalli door and southern wall of the Srikoil that is used for Vēda chanting by Brahmins.

The history of the emergence of the Brahmin settlement in Kidangoor is still not clear for dearth of evidences. The legend is that a rift among the Nambūdiris of the Panniyur Settlement over treatment of Paṛadēsi Brahmins who had migrated to Kerala led certain Nambūdiri families to leave the settlement and go southwards. A section of these Vēdic Brahmins were welcomed by the Adiyōḍi family to settle down in Kidangoor. Nambūdiris by degrees, gained total control over the temple and the Adiyōḍi family had to leave the place after giving away the temple and its lands to a governing committee of Nambūdiris. This committee comprised the senior members of the Nambūdiri families, Kongorpally, Ōniōpullattu, Čeruvalli, Tiruṭi, Čālatiruti, Malamēl, Malavelippuṛam, Muryothumalamēl, Nellipuḷa, Kallampally, Vadāna, Ōčeričēruvalli, MādhavappaṬi and MadhuramČira, all of which still exist.

It was the establishment of the Nambudiri rule that the name of the village was changed from Tekkan Veṇḍanāḍ to Kidangoor, following the erection of a mud wall between the Vadakkumkoor and Tekkumkoor states with a 'Kidangu' (i.e. a deep trench). The

remnants of this fort can be seen even today.

The establishment of smaller temples in different regions under the administrative control of the Śri Subramania Swāmi temple began from very early times. Temples at Uttamasivapuram, Ayyankōikkal, Murtittukāvu, Edavetti, Kāvālam, Mēvaḍa, Elanji etc. gives testimony to this fact.

A short description of the native perception of the history of the region and the temple is provided in Unni (1979: 202-11).

APPENDIX II

Land Register Entry System

..... Taluk ..... Pakuti

Survey No.	Revenue No.	Vastuvinte		Milan/ Purayidam	Inam	Andu Number	Thandaperu Number	Andonnukku		Kudiyavante Poornanaya Peru
		A	C					Adayam Mellu P/B/W	Panam Rs/Cb/R	
957	4	0	84	Purayidam	Kanapattam	<u>1105</u> 2857	72	4/5/12	1/ 2/4	Merikkattukara, Vettukattil Kunjamma Parvathamma
61	3	0	87	Nilam	Venpattam	<u>1086</u> 2725	134	12/6/-	-/5/-	Alunkal Madattil Muttu Krishnayyan

The settlement register follows the same pattern as in the land register but has extra columns after the column Nilam/Purayidam which shows the 'Tarataram' (Land type 1-13), another column that shows the number of coconut trees with a sub-column showing the coconut tree type (1-8), a next column showing the number of arecanut trees and yet another column showing the number of jack trees. The final column shows the amount of Settlement Pattom payable by the tenant.

The Jenmikaram Register follows the same pattern as in the Land Register but deals with only lands on kanappattam tenure. The final column shows the jenmikaram payable by the tenant.

APPENDIX III

Area (in acres) based on the Jenmikaram Register

No. of holdings	Taluk	Pakuti	Area	
			Acre	Cent
62	Meenachil	Elakkad	31	63
1	"	Uzhavur	-	36
488	"	Kidangoor	382	81
2	"	Kidangoor	1	26
226	"	Puliyannur	365	68
5	"	Bharanganam	2	40
674	"	Meenachil	790	47 3/4
24	"	Ramapuram	148	79
43	Thodupuzha	Karikkodu	34	15
153	"	"	1232	38
1	"	Thodupuzha	2	11
91	"	Manacaud	59	35
133	Muvattupuzha	Piravam	66	49
7	Vaikkom	Kadunthuruthi	4	99
1	Changanacherry	Vazhappalli East	1	70
1	Thiruvalla	Kurattisseri	5	77
81	Ambalapuzha	Pulinkunnu	31	45
363	Kottayam	Akalakunnam	477	13
11	"	Kottayam	8	7
1	"	Kummanam	-	52
3	"	Thirubarppu	7	80
2	"	Panachikkattu	10	57
3	"	Nattakam	3	82
12	"	Ettumanoor	23	80
3	"	Imanam	11	18
132	"	Vijayapuram	95	56
243	Kunnathunad	Rayamangalam	181	82
2763			3982	08

APPENDIX IV

**Jenmikaram from the Desavalis in Paddy and Money**  
(based on the Jenmikaram Register)

Pakuthy	Jenmikaram in Paddy			Jenmikaram in Money		
	Para	Edangazhi	Veesh	Rs.	Chakram	Kashu
Kidangoor	1337	2	16	388	37	14
Elakkad	194	8	4	28	24	12
Uzhavoor	4	2	8			
Puliyannoor	261	6	8	370	11	1
Bharananganam				8	9	11
Vijayapuram	159	8	-	-	18	5
Piravam	616	3	4	66	12	-
Akalakunnu	524	2	-	377	18	6
Ramapuram	19	3	-	190	16	-
Meenachil	247	9	4	781	23	11
Karikkod	126	1	12	823	26	14
Thodupuzha	18	9	8	4	5	15
Kaduthuruthy	65	3	8	3	8	4
Manacaud	238	6	-	27	9	5
Kottayam	115	1	-	2	13	11
Vazhappally East	60	-	-			
Pulinkunnu	362	8	12	41	21	4
Rayamangalam	1430	6	8	75	3	5
Kurattisseri	20	-	-	6	10	8
Kummanam	6	-	-	1	12	14
Aimanam	107	-	8	3	13	6
Thirubarppu	203	-	-	3	6	2
Panachikkad	87	9	8	4	27	7
Nattakam	27	7	4	3	1	-
Ettumanoor	54	8	8	11	9	14
	6279	91	120	3214	331	169
	or 6288.70 para			or 3225.98 British Rs.		

## APPENDIX V

### Formulating some main tenures

There are simple leases subject to the payment of full rent, some liable only to the tax of Rajabhogam called favourable tenures which actually means recognition of full proprietary rights and between these two the conditions of tax are combined in different ways and each combination gives a reduced rent named Michavaram. Michavaram and the Rajabhogam are generally inseparable elements. Michavaram is a varying quantity while Rajabhogam is a constant quantity. No Michavaram will be found chargeable without Rajabhogam. The latter alone can exist without the former.

If (A) denotes full assessment, (D) Demand actually payable to the Devaswaom and (N) for Naduvakoor, one can express these tenures as the following:

Venpattam tenure >  $D = A$  (full assessment)

or if N is allowed  $D = A - N$

N can have different values locality specific.

A Viruthy tenure would be subject to a simple Rajabhogam (R) which can be expressed as  $D = A/8$  or  $A/6$ . (as the rate may be 1/8 or 1/6 of full assessment).

For the rest a combination of Michavaram and Rajabhogam would be payable >  $D = R + M$ .

The tenure can be expressed as  $D = R + A/2$  or  $A/3$  (1/2 or 1/3 of full assessment.)

The above can be of two types:

- (a) When Michavaram is a certain portion of the assessment.
- (b) When it is a residue after deduction of interest (like in Kanapattom or Otti)<sup>1</sup>

The Otti tenure can be expressed as  $D = R + A - I$ . Where I is the Interest on the Kanartham or Otti Artham. An Otti tenure could become a pattom tenure through a process of revision in case of alienation of the lands by sale. The mortgage amount recognised in the accounts is reduced by 25% and the interest on this percentage is added to the tax. This process is repeated at each alienation which must eventually extinguish the capital and convert the property into venpattom (pattom) subject to full assessment. This process of revision is called Otti Vilakam.

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<sup>1</sup> From Revenue Survey and Settlement of Travancore (Reprinted in 1905) Publication List No. 1038, Central Archives, Trivandrum.



APPENDIX VI

Nālvali Entry System

Examples based on 1924-25 (Paddy only) Nālvali

Chingam 1	Varavu			Čelavu		
	Para	Idaṅṅali	Nāli	Para	Idaṅṅali	Nāli
Sabhajēvitam Śānti Aḍukkavatu Ōniōpulattu Illatēkku Cellēdatil (to the Ōniōpulattu Illam under the right of Sabhajēvitam)	-	-	-	50	-	-
Kīlītu Ayyankōikkal Kṣetrathil Kalakam Nadathiyirunnu Āle Mātti Pakaram Nerikkāttu Oru Mārāne Niyōgiččadinum Nityanidāna Pūjavakakku Elpičča Vakayil (expenditure on daily rituals in the subsidiary temple of Ayyankōikkal and for having changed the temple in charge)	-	-	-	1	-	-

Note: 4 Nāli = 1 Idaṅṅali  
10 Idaṅṅali = 1 para

APPENDIX VII

Decomposition of the Paddy Expenditure for the Rituals  
(Daily and monthly)

For Nityanidānam (daily rituals)

Uṣapāyasam	=	1.5	Idānnali rice
Edirte pūja	=	3	"
Pandiradi pūja	=	6	"
Uc̄ca Pūja	=	12	"
Attāla pūja	=	4	"
For Namaskāram	=	3.75	"
For Yekṣhi	=	0.25	"
Nivēdyam for Śāsta	=	0.25	"
Nivēdyam for	=	0.25	"
Uttamēswarattu Dēvaṇṇ			
Rice for Appam	=	0.50	"
Total rice	=	3 para	1.5 Idānnali

For Māsa Viśēṣam: (a) on the Karutta Vāvu  
(monthly rituals)

Pativu Vāvu Namaskāram			
For 1 Namaskāram	=	1.5	Idānnali rice
For 6 "	=	9.75	"
Kūruvaka for			
the priest	=	1.5	"
Brāhmana Bhōjanam	=	3.7	"
Vaiśyam Tūkkam	=	0.75	"
For Nivēdyam	=	3.75	"

For Māsa Viśēṣam: (b) on the Velutha Śāṣṭi

For Śāstinamaskāram	=	4.5	Idānnali rice
Kūruvaka for the			
priest	=	0.5	"
Nivēdyam for Yakṣhi	=	0.25	"
Nivēdyam for			
Vadakkumdēvan	=	0.50	"
For Vaiśyam Tūkkam	=	0.25	"
For Brāhmana Bhōjanam	=	1.25	"
Nivēdyam for			
Subramanian	=	1.25	"

APPENDIX VIII

Barter Ratios and Prices (British Rupees) for 1903 & 1919

Sl.No.	Item	1903	1919
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Mature jackfruit (1 no.)	-	0.05 para paddy
2.	Tender jackfruit (1 no.)	-	0.04 para paddy
3.	Raw mangoes (1000 nos.)	1.23	2.00 para paddy
4.	Curds (1 para)	0.70	0.80 para paddy
5.	'Chama' paddy (1 para)	0.70	1.50 para paddy
6.	Horsegram (1 para)	-	1.44 para paddy
7.	Tamarind (1 kg)	26.87	0.12 para paddy
8.	Gingelly (1 para)	0.21	4.97 para paddy
9.	Big Pappadams (1 kg)	-	0.50 para paddy
10.	Cloth for lamp wicks (1 kg)	0.13	0.37 para paddy
11.	Small pappadams (1 kg)	-	0.50 para paddy
12.	'Kadali' plattains (1000 nos.)	1.40	1.43 (in British Rs.)
13.	Bananas (1000 nos.)	0.80	12.00 "
14.	Plantains [Padattukai] (1000 nos.)	1.80	3.94 "
15.	Plantains [Kannankai] (1000 nos.)	1.40	3.21 "
16.	Plantains [Poovankai] (1000 nos.)	1.81	- "
17.	Plantains [Palayantodan] (1000 nos.)	1.40	3.21 "
18.	Yam (1 kg)	0.10	0.09 "
19.	Cherukizhangu (tubers) (1 kg)	0.01	0.07 "
20.	Kachil (another tuber) (1 kg)	0.04	0.08 "
21.	Pumpkins (1 no. or 2 kgs)	0.14	0.14 "
22.	Thadiyankai	2.46*	0.08 "
23.	Cucumbers (1 kg)	0.07	0.07 "
24.	Brinjal (1 kg)	0.02	0.02 "
25.	Bitter Gourd	0.04*	0.08# "
26.	Drumsticks	not used	0.13 "
27.	Snake Gourd	"	0.09 "
28.	Green chillies	0.10**	0.53# "
29.	Mustard (1 para)	1.49	1.86 "
30.	Cumminseeds (1 para)	1.66	7.37 "
31.	Urad Dal (1 para)	1.33	2.39 "
32.	Green gram (1 para)	11.60	2.75 "
33.	Tur dal (1 para)	not used	2.85 "
34.	Coriander seeds (1 para)	3.50	2.42 "
35.	Methi seeds	not used	- "
36.	Small lime (100 nos.)	0.56	1.65 "
37.	Gooseberries (1 para)	0.10	- "
38.	Crystal salt (1 para)	-	0.78 "
39.	Dry chillies (1 kg)	not used	- "
40.	Coconuts (100 nos.)	2.86	6.60 "
41.	Coconut oil (1 para)	1.12	2.55 "
42.	Jaggery (1 kg)	0.08	0.50 "
43.	Sugar (1 kg)	0.29	0.87 "

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
44.	Pepper (1 kg)	0.87	-
45.	Ginger (1 kg)	0.12	0.13 "
46.	Dry ginger (1 kg)	-	0.22 "
47.	Gingelly oil (1 Idannali)	-	0.61 "
48.	Cows ghee (1 Idannali)	0.42	1.69 "
49.	Turmeric (1 kg)	0.01	1.18 "
50.	Sandal wood (1 kg)	-	1.14 "

\* for ten numbers

\*\* for one Idannali

# for one kg.

## APPENDIX IX

### Units of Area/Measure/Currency

#### Conversion Table for Measure

1 Travancore para	=	13.1 litres
4 Nāli	=	1 idannali
10 Idannali	=	1 para
1 Thulām	=	100 palam
1 Palam	=	0.08 kgs
5.5 Palam	=	1 Rāthal
2.2 Rāthal	=	1 kg
1 Čodana	=	12 idannali

#### Conversion Table for Currency

1 Panam	=	4 chakrams
16 kasu	=	1 chakram
28 chakram	=	1 Sircar Rupee
28.5 chakram	=	1 British Rupee

#### Conversion Table for Area

100 cents	=	1 acre
1 acre	=	0.40 hectare

## GLOSSARY

Abhiśēkam	consecration by pouring oil, ghee, rice etc. on the head of idols, Kings etc.
Adiĉĉutalikkāru	scavengers
Adima	see as Kudijenmam
Aḍiyantiram	occasion or ritual
Agampadikkāru	people accompanying the 'procession' (Kaimal, VARRIER etc.)
Agattupaḍittaram	ritual estimate
Alakkuvakakku	for laundry purposes
Ālavattam	fan made of peacock feathers
Ammānāttam	a type of ball play by the women folk of Kerala in olden days
Araṇṇukarvaka	for the stage entertainers
Ārāttu	final day of the ten day Festival
Arikōppu	articles of rice (broken rice, unbroken rice etc.)
Āśāri	carpenter; of the carpenter caste
Āttaviśēśam	annual festival
Attālam	supper
Avakāśam	honour or right
Ayittam	taboo (untouchability and unapproachability)
Brahmaswamvāram	of the brahmins; lands belonging to the Nambūdiries
Ākkyār	belongs to the Ambalavāsi caste
Āumattu	loading
Cāmaram	flywhisk
Āelavu	expenditure
Dānam	gift (of land)
Dēpa Yašti	torch
Dēvaswom	belonging to the deity; here, belonging to the temple
Dēvaswomvaka	of the temple property

Dhāra	a ritual consisting of pouring water, oil or ghee continuously over the idol's head
Ēpiṣṣavarkku	on whom the responsibility was thrust upon.
Edirtepūja	the second (after the Uṣa pūja) of the five pūjas performed daily
Elunallippu	the deity taken in procession
Eluttumpadi	by way of letter
Garbhagṛham	sanctum sanctorum
Grāmakṣētra	village temple
Grāmam	village (brahmin settlement)
Iḍaṅṅali	a measure equal to 4 nālīs
Ilattālam	a percussian instrument
(E)Īlavās	largest caste group of Kerala belonging to the 'backward' category
Inām	land granted free to persons holding particular offices or performing services
Inam	tenure type
Jenmikaram	the commuted value of the rent fixed by the State for the lands covered by the Travancore Jenmi-Kudiyān Act of 1896 and Travancore, Cochin, Kanam, Tenancy Act of 1955. The rent is collected by the State and paid to the concerned Jenmis.
Jenmam	customary birth right on land
Kacahri	office
Kadavu	bathing ghat
Kanakkapillai	accountant
Kalaṣam	purificatory ritual
Kalaṣavari	paddy extracted from tenants as part of revenue in aid of the purificatory ritual
Kalavaṛa	store
Kānapāttam	a lease for a period of twelve years, held in mortgage on payment of a certain amount in cash or kind.
Karamolivu	favourable tenure (tax free)

Karanam cāttam	somersault
Kāranavar	male head of the matrilineal family
Kārānma	temple servants, generally four, placed by Uralars for the management of lands; tenants who hold the land for a long series of years and possess a freehold.
Kāval	guard for security
Kilsānti	subordinate priest
Kollan	blacksmith; of the blacksmith caste
Kombu	musical horn
Kōppu	articles
Kottikal	drum beaters (of the Mārār caste)
Kodiyēttam	hoisting of the temple flag from the flag post ('koḍimaram') marking the beginning of the festival.
Kṣētram	temple
Kṣatriya	name of the warrior caste in the Hindu caste system
Kudijenman	also known as Aḍima; free-hold right enjoyed by members belonging to lower caste through grants from the original landowners
Kuḍiṣika	arrears
Kudiyān	tenant (usually a Jenmikaram tenant)
Kudiyānavanmārkkū	for the tenants
Kumbham	mid-February - mid-March
Kurattiāttam	gypsy dance
Kūttambalam	structure built at the performance of kūttu by the cākkyār
Kuṭima	tenancy
Kūttu	ancient theatrical dance form rendered as service to the deity by the cākkyār
Lēlam	auction
Mādampi	local 'baron' or land lord

Madapalli	temple kitchen where the food offering (Nivēdyam for the deity) is prepared
Maddalam	musical instrument (percussion)
Madilakam	the temple premises
Mālika	upper storey of the building
Maniadi	ringing the bell
Marammat	repair and renovation
Mārāpāṭṭam	a permanent lease (lease for not less than 30 years duration)
Mārār	a caste of Antarjāti. see also Kōṭṭikal
Māsam	month
Māsaṁviśēṣam	monthly festival
Mēlpaḍi	the above
Mēlśānti	the head priest
Mudalpaḍi	revenue collector of the Dēśavalies
Murajapam	nonstop chanting of the Vedas
Muttuśānti	standby priest
Nālvaḷi	daily account register
Nambiār	a variation of the Nayar caste
Nambūdiri	Malayalee brahmin
Navakam	a type of ritual
Nelly	paddy
Nelpura	granary
Nellukutty	beating or dehusking paddy
Nnanummēlkaḷi	acrobatics on rope
Ōṭṭamtullal	a theatrical rendering of a story as part of entertainment (Mono-acting) in the temple premises
Ōṭṭaty	the Nambūdiris who chant the Vedas.
Paṅḍīraḍi	the third pūja (after the Edirte pūja) of the five pūjas performed daily
Paṅḍāravaka	belonging to the State



Pāṇḍāravaka Otti	favourable tenure of Government sort lands having the characteristics of mortgate
Pāṇḍāravaka pāṭṭam	non-favourable tenure of Government sort lands on which full rate of land revenue is charged
Pāl Pāyasam	rice pudding made with milk
Pāthakom	story telling based on mythologies as part of entertainment
Pītham	stage/platform
Poliččelutty	renewal of the Kāṇapāṭṭom tenure
Puramtūppu	sweeping of the outer premises
Rājabhōgam	a light quit rent; share that is due to the King
Rakṣābhōgam	dues paid for rendering of the service of protection
Sadya	feast
Ṣēvukakkāru	store keepers
Somānattungal pāṭṭu	hymns sung by the Mārār before the Paṇḍirāḍi and Dēparādhana pujas
Sribeli	procession with the deity around the outer prakara
Sribhūtabeli	a special ritual performed from the second day of the festival
Srikōvil	inner prakara
Sthanakkāru	artisans
Ṣudhi	purification
Svayampākam	self cooking
Tali	sprinkling water for purification after sweeping
Tāluk	a revenue sub-division of a district which consists of numerous villages
Tantri	agamic instructor (generally hereditary)
Taram	types; the types of land classification for the purpose of land revenue settlement
Tattān	goldsmith; of the goldsmith caste
Uččapūja	the fourth pūja (after the Paṇḍirāḍi pūja) of the five pūjas performed daily.

Udyōgasthanmārkku	for the temple functionaries (outer functionaries)
Ūr	village
Ūraḷar	member of the Uranma
Ūrānma	corporate management of the temple comprising of the heads of the Nambudiri families
Ūrānma Dēvasvamvaka	lands belonging to the private temples
Uśa pūja	the first puja (just after Abhisekam) of the five pujas performed daily
Utsavam	the grand festival
Uruttuḷcenda	a musical instrument (similar to the cenda) with tightened belts for speedy rendering
Ūttupura	feeding hall
Vāllēru	target striking with knife as part of entertainment
Varavu	incoming
Vārier	of the Ambalavāsi caste performing the role of scavenging the inner temple premises
Vāstu	structure or building
Vēlakali	exhibition of martial arts by the Nair caste as part of service and entertainment
Verumpāṭṭam	non-favourable lease or tenancy-at-will
Vēśadhāri	fancy dress as part of entertainment
Virutti	service tenure of Travancore
Viśnu	one of the most important deities of the Hindus

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" - 1924-25 money alone  
" - 1928-29  
" - 1929-30  
" - 1930-31  
" - 1933-34  
" - 1941-42  
" - 1952-53  
" - 1955  
" - 1961-62  
" - 1962-63  
" - 1963-64  
" - 1964-65  
" - 1965-66  
" - 1972  
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