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# The Syndrome of Radical Regression 

or
The Anatomy of Cultural Schizophrenia

## R．Nandakumar

This essay is concerned less with art per se than with a pheno－ menon of what I have called cultural schizophrenia ${ }^{1}$ that was and in many ways still is，typical of the cultural scene of Kerala starting from， tentatively speaking，the late sixties of the just concluded century and having a bearing on the art practice of the region．Whatever little art that is discussed，namely two sculptures by a Malayali artist，comes towards the close of the essay and these sculptures are no more important to my context than as two examples to illustrate the largely meta－aesthetic concerns of my argument．In other words，the subject of the present study is categorically not those two sculptures．I believe that works，no matter how they are＇rated＇，can offer interesting sidelights about，not to say insights into，certain social phenomena in the context of which the works themselves could be better under－ stood．

Anybody who is fairly familiar with the contemporary Kerala society would not have missed to observe the self－professed and overstated ＇radical＇stances of cultural attitudes that are characteristic of the mindset of certain groups or sections of society．More often than not these attitudes and stances unsuspectingly mask a decadent， retrogressive and in many respects，fascist psychic disposition which of course passes for exactly its opposite by virtue of its claim to be ＇radical＇．In the course of my argument it is hoped to throw some light on the social undercurrents of the period which，if not causative of，
were at least coeval with the phenomenon symptomatic of a morbidity verging on social neurosis.

A brief outline of the period highlighting its more discernible social and cultural trends can offer a background to the scenario under consideration. In the social and political life of Kerala of the early seventies preceding the infamous National Emergency, corruption was writ large in the whole range of political practice. A corrupt bureaucracy, political instability, an already weakened Left movement and communalism have eroded public faith in democratic institutions. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thoughts assuming the sobriquet of Naxalism were gradually gaining ground as a movement, with its dastardly misadventure of a strategy aimed at individual annihilation of the 'class enemy'. Instances of sporadic violence and political murder had rocked the social life of Kerala and spread panic among the people. Unemployment among educated youth had already become an ominous social scourge. The period also saw the consolidation and marshalling out of the various views and notions about modernism prevalent in Malayalam literature that were as yet vague and rather loosely defined.

In this situation the initial exhilaration associated with modernism which incidentally, was largely literary in orientation with its existentialist baggage of alienation, angst and absurdity was not to have lasted long. The common theme of disillusionment understood in the existentialist parlance was now experienced more and more as located within concrete, objective societal forces and no longer as a subjective predicament of some transpersonal universal condition. There was much talk about social commitment, radical consciousness and the interface between art and ideology. But all this was in marked contradistinction to the socialist-realist aesthetics and its voluntarism and instrumentality as advocated by the senior generation of writers of the Progressive Writers' Group most of whom were out of sorts with the new intellectual environment.

Then the onset of the dark times - the National Emergency. Police atrocities and political witch-hunting primarily directed against the banned ML factions virtually let loose a reign of terror. Gagging of the press leading to speculations and rumours about the rampant extrajudicial killings in fake encounters, custodial detentions and deaths, intelligence surveillance and so on held civil life hostage. There was a conspicuous lull in cultural activities as all forms of expression that were suspected of protest and dissent were ruthlessly suppressed by an indiscriminate censorship.

Understandably, once the Emergency was withdrawn there was a spurt of art- and culture-related activities, almost amounting to a euphoric spree. That was the time when the print-reading, art-fancying, culture-mongering middle class elites got a shot in the arm - poetry reading sessions, film screenings, literary camps and workshops and so on were the order of the day. And everything was swallowed up by the culture industry and rehashed through the inflated and pompously vacuous verbiage of literary journalism that became a surrogate for serious critical enquiries with any amount of concern and commitment. There was an outcrop of little magazines which made the most of a peculiar 'radical' syndrome, being essentially a fall out of the preceding intellectual environment, emotional climate and mental ferment during the Emergency. When the ban on the ML faction was lifted, the erstwhile sympathisers and fellow travellers, more than the cadres, were more into 'culture' in a big way, becoming rather apathetic to politics. The cultural front they formed was rather amorphous and freewheeling in regard to ideological affinities and it functioned without any direct political leadership or control and could accommodate any number of self-styled ex-Naxalites who incidentally were, as the joke goes, more in number than Naxalites ever were. Suicides and psychic disorders were a common feature among the youth who once owed allegiance to the ideology or were active as cadres.

Social recruitment in such situations functions through group affiliations for identity purposes in terms of the appropriation of and identification with certain cultural symbols that are themselves a kind of templates for enculturation. In the intellectual climate and emotional ferment that prevailed in Kerala in the eighties as described above when it was open season for a particular brand of self-appointed rabid radicalism, nobody missed to get on board the crowded bandwagon as these cultural templates were well within anyone's reach. When the threats of the Emergency receded and became a thing of the past, it became the pretext for a self-indulgent and wishful glorification of the pet theme of imagined 'sufferings' at the hands of the Establishment - the displaced father figure. The public rhetoric of radicalism as it was in the air then was streaked with the moralistic and self-righteous undertones of a 'social criticism' which was well in tune with the elitist discourse of culture; and it was inscribed with the thematics of such a glorified 'suffering' in which a certain moral anxiety was posited as a grand political design of 'radicalism'. The exact nature of this 'social criticism' should be seen rather not in the content than in the tone, tenor and temperament of its loud disclaimers, overstated denouncements and intemperate disavowals.

Hidden beneath the compulsive-obsessive nature that marks these 'radical' stances of glorified persecution mania was a feverish anxiety and insecurity for which fear of success was an unconscious problem solving - with the persecutor always being the important other, sublimated into the image of the Establishment in the post-Emergency narratives. The collective anxiety and moral fears in which such a pathology of the self found expression created a social situation that proved to be conducive to a valorised pseudo-political rhetoric with its implications to 'radical' art, whatever that be. It offered the precondition for the creation of a particular self-image of the artist exemplified in the figure of the 'rebel in rags' - a kind of bohemian cum ascetic cum revolutionary - which was itself a cultural stereotype as the product of dominant representations. It is this self-image of the artist, bound by the rigid contours of a provincial ego and re-enacted through the accepted cultural stereotype of the 'radical', that many of the self-styled Radical artists of Kerala tried to appropriate for themselves in the eighties. The curious psychic predilections and personality traits formed during that period lingered on well into the eighties and mid-nineties through the process of enculturation and group affiliations as described above. So much so that the sculptor whose two works are discussed towards the end of this paper, though had no truck with any political practice at any point in his life, later claimed political links specifically with the Naxalite movement and played out the appropriate role of an ex-Naxalite even until the late eighties. The general thematics of 'suffering' with which the 'radical' discourse is inscribed now assumes the undertones of sacrifice, renunciation, abstention, stoicism, asceticism, etc., the implications of which are as important to politics as to art.

To speak in broad terms, one may say that in such a situation all manifestations of inter-subjectivity as expressed in modes of social behaviour among large social groups during this period was marked by a strained, withheld and hamstrung emotionality. This had to do with conflicted social role-identifications - that is, the conflict between the auto- and allo-identifications with whatever is the given social role. The isolationist and defensive attitude that thus results takes resort to a conscious and self-willed disavowal of the role with which the person is socially identified. And this role, which though by itself is distanced from and disowned by him, each wants as a mark of the extent to which the other is distanced from him, through the other's, not his, particular role-identification. Unless such a distancing factor is tacitly imputed to the other, each would be at a loss to come to terms with the projected singularity or exclusiveness of his/her self-
image - a self-image that is held to be at variance with his/her recognizable social role. The manifestations of such a conflicted subjectivity born of the intra-subjective disjunction between the social role and self-image take on a predictable and familiar pattern of cultural counterphobias conditioned in terms of the templates mentioned earlier as a matter of habit repeating itself compulsively in a range of situations.

Theory apart, it is amusing to consider here a very pedestrian aspect of a particular behavioural pattern that is found common enough among the Malayalis - interestingly perhaps, too common to be taken note of. Two Malayalis not apparently known to each other or let us say, not 'properly' introduced to each other but recognising to be belonging to the same class or group, while coming across or walking into each other in passing on the road, it is an all too familiar sight how each is at pains to avoid eye contact with the other by averting glances; and the accompanying body language is an accepted behavioural code in similar situations. This is the manifestation of a kind of shrinking into oneself lest he should be 'exposed', that is, known for what he is. It is as if each is trying to say not so much "I don't want to know you" as "I want not to know you lest I should be known by you". He will pretend to be indifferent to the other, to be casual and unconcerned about the other, whereas he will in point of fact be preoccupied with mentally encountering and weighing himself up against the other all the while. The tacit understanding implied in such behavioural modality is that not seeing the other amounts to not being seen by the other. There is no other society in which inter-personal relations in normal situations assume the strained nature of encounter when people are heard so often to say: "You don't know who I am." / "Whom do you take me for?" or "What do you think of yourself?"/ "Who do you think you are?" and so on. Many other aspects of such behavioural pattern that are peculiar to the Malayali stand better explained in the light of the foregoing observations, though there are no empirical data in support of it - like, his proverbial apathy for falling in queue, his view of social decorum as an unwanted philistine pompousness, a lack of concern for the other in public situations which almost amounts to an uncivil rudeness and so on. There won't be many other societies that do not have either a natural and easy mode or habit of addressing the other person in one to one communication, using specifically the second person pronoun for 'you'.

This urge to distance oneself from the other is provided with an idealistic rationale by an inward-looking defensiveness and at the
same time, is prompted by the breaking down of the natural modalities of interpersonal behaviour in social intercourse. Within a situation of conflict between an oppressively domineering superego and an ego that is weakened by its inability to stand up to the norms it has set itself (under the dictates of the superego), success as an ideal in the value constellation of social discourse assumes a curious personal dimension. In this subconscious fear of success as problem solving, it embodies an ambivalent relation to success that veers between a defence of and an apology for failure. The pursuit of success is internalised as its own negation seeking its representation in the symbolic field through a self-willed courting of failure in terms of identification with the social symbols of failure that are themselves culture-specific signifiers. (Interestingly, the symbology of this cult of failure as it is inscribed within the narratives of 'radical' culture shares an invisible border with the existentialist notions of meaninglessness and absurdity that were quite in the air in the immediately preceding period and with the woolly and romantic popular assumptions of the perennial bohemian ideal.) As the pursuit of success is always riddled with the unconscious fear of not being up to it and hence as its elusiveness is countered with a denial of success, it creates curious equivocations between self-overestimation and self-pity. In other words, failure is internalised negatively as a vindication of success which itself is "a mode of presenting what one is in the mode of not being what one is." When through negative projection the other is created, that becomes itself an abstraction of a value configuration the point of which is a vindication of the flippancy of success and its pursuit. Though it is the ideal that progressively fails the " l ", success for the other is always suspect. This antithesis implicit in the value configuration embodied in the other is conceived as against the terms of a vague moralistic self-righteousness such that the other can now be transposed to the world at large, the cultural scene, social evil or the current state of affairs of anything from the immediate world of experience. What is to be noted is that this value configuration is built around an obsessive preoccupation with the success/failure dichotomy which repeats itself as that of real/phoney, genuine/bogus and so on, as it is inscribed in the conflicted terrain of the ego/superego versus the identity theme. As for example, the rueful personal note in the famous lines by the poet Changampuzha Krishna Pillai though written half a century before the period under discussion, when he says: "To have an honest heart in a humbug world was my failure". Though poetically rather unexceptional, it is revealing how neatly the structural break up of this confessional lament falls into a familiar
schema of binaries in the I/world constellation around the implied theme of success:

| world | $>$ phoney |
| :--- | :--- |
| I | $>$ genuine |
| success | $>$ phoney (the world) |
| failure | $>$ genuine (I) |

To come back to our main argument. By providing an idealistic alibi for the incompatibility between what he does compulsively (in an attempt to cope ritualistically with the degradation of the situation) and what he does not by wishful abstaining (through negative internalisation of the ideals that fail him), it becomes a palliative for the fear of success. The extent of this phenomenon can be seen in the widespread prevalence during this period of a celebration of the symbols of failure that were accorded an exalted extra-cultural status that fed into a discourse of the cult of failure. ${ }^{3}$ Moreover, the feverish and frenetic nature of their avowed allegiance to these cultural symbols of failure which they cling on to with a fanatic obduracy almost as if once deprived of them they will sink into non-existence, is itself evidence of its morbidity.

There is an engrained Oedipal trait underlying this phenomenon which can be looked at in broadly Lacanian terms. All the moral fears, anxieties and prohibitions that the subject confronts in the external social order engendered an ego-defence mechanism that has to draw on the same dictates of the superego that he cannot rise up to and has to be endorsed by the superego itself which he cannot identify with. Incapable of sociable expressions of emotional reciprocity, this inability is internalised through the inhibition that displaces it with a compulsive moral anxiety. By projecting the apprehensions of guilt in not having loved the object of loveable identification, that is, the egoideal, onto the superego itself, he enters into an ambivalent and yet cathartic encounter with the dictates of the superego as the Paternal Law, to absolve himself of the guilt of not being worthy of love. It may also be remembered that the Paternal Law itself has now fallen into disgrace following the social decline of the Paternal Imago which was the accumulated social experience of a series of structural changes that were under way following the disintegration of the joint family system, matriliny and so on. As it is the social decline of the Paternal Imago, so it is not any individual father as such but the totality of all system-maintaining institutions of authority on the macro-structural level. (Together with this was also the fact that in the particular moment under discussion all the gate-keeping and system-main-
taining institutions of the public sphere were rampantly corrupt). This particular trait in the individual psyche is greatly reinforced on the macro-structural level which repeats the situation through the structural perpetuation of repression in terms of the received practices of deviance and asocial behaviour and all other available forms of negation as that of authority, of middle class morality etc., that have a place in the public rhetoric of 'radicalism'. It is not going too far to suppose that the characteristic mindset of the ML faction the cadres of which were by and large former members of the student wing of its parent party, the CPM, or who owed allegiance to it in some way, was informed by this psychic trait especially in its conflict with the parent party which now represented for them the Establishment.

When the ideal of success that the subject sets himself is at the same time decreed by the Paternal authority which commands: "Thou shalt pursue success," it puts him in a state of acute confusion and conflict - his own cherished ideal being dictated to him by an authority that forbids him from identifying with it. This prompts him to negate the very ideal of success or in any event, to establish his ideal of success as different from that given him. But paradoxically, while negating one ideal (of success) decreed by the Paternal Law, unknowingly he finds himself conforming to its counterpart - that of 'suffering' in the form of abstention (being a vestigial version of the archetypal renunciation) which itself is a precondition dictated by the Paternal Law for achieving success. This is the typical double bind where the elements reciprocally reinforce even when their relation is contradictory, that is in this case, the prohibitory measures as a precondition for achieving success in themselves being a prescriptive approximation of failure. An idea of 'suffering' or 'sacrifice' expressive of an 'ascetic' abstention from the pleasures of life as a prerequisite for success - a process of chastening through austerity construed as denial of pleasure that should make him worthy of the hard-won success - was part of a general attitude to life of the middle class. However, the peculiar self-delusions about austerity as they are recycled in the discourse of the everyday did not amount to anything more than instilling a kind of guilt in feeling good a mistrust of the feeling-good factor in everyday experiences that inhibits one from enjoying them.

For the traditional aristocracy and the landed gentry this inhibition also served as a timely response to the unprecedented economic boom in the state caused by what is called in a pejorative sense as Gulf money, the beneficiaries of which were mostly the minority communities and the traditionally underprivileged. Confronted with the
moral fears and cultural shock engendered by this social situation and to salvage the lost mundane authority and economic status, the traditionally privileged class had to fall back on its ideal self-image in which the concept of austerity was invoked to attest to its cultural capital. What the Gulf money and its accompanying economic well-being, particularly among the under-privileged sections, in effect created was a cultural divide between the 'high' and the 'low' cultures with its corresponding discrimination of social status between the traditional rich and the neo-rich. The latter were invariably associated with the 'fast buck' and easy success and were the butt of social ridicule and scorn, particularly on account of their lowbrow tastes and values reflected in their preference for the flamboyant, the gaudy, the ostentatious and the banal. All this could be countered only by invoking the ideal of simplicity; and austerity was the price to be paid for asserting oneself against the banality of quick success and easily won recognition. The rigours and austerities to be maintained for this came particularly under the dictates of the Paternal Law. In the attitude typical of this worldview, youth is the period that must be chastened, through austerity and rigours that should guard him from falling for the temptations of flippant enjoyment. Thus austerity which in the patriarchal discourse gives legitimacy to the pursuit of success is internalised in its inverse form as the negative expression of success and is posited as a value in itself by assuming the 'spiritual' dimension of renunciation against the sin of success (which is also, paradoxically, denial of pleasure for the sake of success), being always the generalised aspect of the other. As a corollary to this is the assumption that when a person is credited with success it has more to do with an acceptance of his/ her social role than with a vindication of his/her self-image, thereby making the disjunction between the two more acute. Moreover, if such an acceptance of the social role is the precondition for success by way of recognition or 'fame', it has all the more reason to be suspect as it has to come from the public sphere which is the ideologically demarcated site of articulation of the other, representing low culture, philistinism and the Establishment.

One can notice the persistence with which, through repetition compulsion, such a person will turn any situation ranging from simple matters of everyday experience to those involving value preferences as in matters of art, into one where he or she can act out his or her moral anxiety in a similar manner. Their response, no matter its merits, asserts itself as if with a vengeance to prove a point about themselves in their being different from the other, thereby scoring over the other. The recurring pattern typical of such responses especially in regard to artistic
value preferences could not help but express itself in a one-against-the-other manner, where one of the elements being invariably a symbol of exalted failure is privileged over the other which is a symbol of worldly success (the norm being denial of recognition and the winning of it respectively, from the Establishment and the public sphere). The cultist associations that surrounded some of the typical figures who have assumed a phenomenal, almost iconic status in this context depended on how easily those figures would lend themselves to be accommodated in such an unstated schema of binaries in tacit opposition to their implied other as a foil. Characteristic of this syndrome is the mythical aura accrued to figures of the likes of Ritwik Ghatak and John Abraham, where the implied other was sought in the persons of their contemporaries more well-established in popular estimation (or by consensual validation) like Satyajit Ray and Adoor Gopalakrishnan or G. Aravindan, as the case may be. It is difficult to believe that what made John Abraham the kind of cult figure that he was, has anything to do with his achievement as a filmmaker. It appears on the contrary, that what facilitated it was largely the role of the 'radical renouncer' or of the 'rebel in rags' he played out that offered an easy approximation to the archetypal symbol of failure which was at the same time that of spiritual elevation. Such that he can be pitted against the more successful filmmakers of his time, thereby outgrowing his own filmic creations to become an icon of the exalted cult of failure for the Malayali. In the umpteen eulogies and personal accounts, mostly fictitious and blown up to mythical proportions, the manner in which the image of the late Abraham configures as a representation would bear this out. In what appears to be typical of this attitude and true to its pathology of the self, a recent Malayalam poem that I came across at random describes Abraham in the lineaments of the archetypal image of the artist as prophet, where the eulogy is balanced by its opposite by way of a tacit 'social criticism' in bitterly mock-ironic terms:

Abandoning himself to starvation
When he courted failure squarely
When he clad his lean and emaciated self in rags .. ${ }^{4}$
[emphasis added]
Another, perhaps more explicit case in point is the curious way in which the Carnatic vocalist, the late M. D. Ramanathan has assumed an iconic status beyond all proportions in Kerala (and only in Kerala, for that matter, among the other south Indian states where Carnatic music is prevalent) precisely during this period. It is amusing that the adulation of Ramanathan in its over-zealous assertion has inevitably to be validated and vindicated by the overwrought vituperation

fig. 1 K. P. Krishnakumar, Rabindranath Tagore, cement concrete, 1983
against other well-received contemporary musicians, though neither of these is grounded in a musically informed sensibility and musically inclined attitude with any affinity for musical aesthetics. What is intriguing about the gleeful adulation of Ramanathan is the fact that in terms of enculturation and sensibility music was the least characteristic of their cultural expression as a group or class. This curious phenomenon can be better understood by looking at how some apparent features of his singing style that appealed to them most, lend themselves to an all too easy approximation to their cultural correlates. The more noticeable among these cultural correlates that his style addressed itself to were those that invoked the ideal of austerity. Moreover, all this was well-according with the image of his musicianship that was projected in such a way that it presupposed its implied other in the image of a more successful musician, say M. S. Subbulakshmi or M. Balamuralikrishna who by definition appealed only to the lowbred and the lowbrow. ${ }^{5}$

The collective anxiety in which such a 'pathology of the self' expresses itself created a social dynamics bordering on neurosis which had its implications more for a particular brand of cultural practice (because of the amorphous nature in which culture itself is construed and the freewheeling manner that surrounds its practice) than for any other activity including the political. Though essentially in no way different from the dilettante attitudes of the time, it had or so it was believed, an intellectual edge on the more privileged 'official' highbrow culture represented by the state and its cultural establishment as it was 'radical', however fanciful its anarcho-sectarian claims were. That is why when many were compulsively adapting themselves to the renouncer-rebel-radical prototype appropriated by the cultural dandyism of the 'radical' bandwagon of Kerala, they were doing so no more out of any conviction than by conforming to certain acceptable social representations in the narratives of culture. This popular representation could accommodate the contradictions between nihilism that "flourishes best when it has an absolutist adversary, real or imagined, as a foil" ${ }^{6}$ and romantic idealism. The representations of this prototype as a cultural signifier within the discursive space of political practice (the interface between culture and politics) invoked the renunciatory ideal to redeem politics as it were from concerns that are worldly and materialistic (the more so as politics involves the pursuit of power which is another form of success) and at the same time, to derive authority from its approximations to a certain spirituality as the negation of success-related pleasure. One of the early examples of this is the character Kumaran Master in the 1974 film Utharayanam by the late G. Aravindan and its prototype in the character of Guruji in his widely popular cartoon series. In many respects the kind of spiritual soap that was a characteristic strand of Malayalam modernist writings that embodied such a romanticised representation of the ascetic ideal, on the one hand and the latter-day valorised radical rhetoric of a cultural practice, on the other found a point of convergence. ${ }^{7}$

## 2

With the social and cultural background as outlined above now we will look at two sculptures done by the late K. P. Krishnakumar who spearheaded the so-called Radical movement in Kerala in the late 1980s. Though the whole thing fizzled out in a few years and now looks anachronistic after the lapse of so short a span as a decade since it was disbanded, much has been made of it in the meantime. To my mind, the whole 'Radical' business carried with it nothing more than
the cosmetic sensationalism of a cosy campus polemic streaked with the lumpen bravado of the 'radical' rhetoric that was so much in vogue in Kerala during the preceding decade as mentioned earlier. To understand it is to understand what the dubious distinction of being a 'radical' is all about in Kerala - the land of Radicals Rampant particularly, in the eighties. It is, again, to understand the essential nature of repression of the Malayali psyche of the given period - a psyche defined by the rigid contours of a provincial ego. The isolationist and confrontationist postures put on by these people and the rabid counterphobias they swore by, seen in the context of these aspects, were nothing but the ego-defence mechanism that took recourse to a free-for-all kind of 'radical' dandyish culture argot, peculiar to the cultural scenario of the post-Emergency Kerala. And it still lingers on, though in a less explicit manner.

In the broad framework of the perspective and its premises as outlined above the two sculptures by the late Krishnakumar offer an interesting case study. The first is a full figure portrait of Rabindranath Tagore done in 1983, a little more than life-size and in cement concrete, that is erected in front of a housing colony near Santiniketan coming under the Tagore Society for Rural Reconstruction, founded by the extremist turned Gandhian, Pannalal Dasgupta. In the first place, the sculpture does hardly justice to the idea of public art by conceding the significance and relevance of its subject - a portrait of Rabindranath Tagore installed in front of a housing colony named after him in fulfilment of the wishes of the people and as envisaged by the founder of the housing project. However, Krishnakumar had different ideas about Rabindranath Tagore. Having had come under the overwhelming impact of the personality factor of Rabindranath while a student in Santiniketan, Krishnakumar, true to his Malayali self, would understandably have developed a resistance typical of the encounter with the important other. It was in fact Prof. Sarbari Roychowdhuri of Santiniketan whom the organisers approached for commissioning the work and it was at his instance that the work was entrusted to Krishnakumar who was a student of his (considering that it would be a financial help to him). However, getting hold of the opportunity he did not miss to turn it into one of giving vent to his unconscious motivation of 'radical' denigration of the other. As for the organisers the sculpture turned out to be a disaster as it disappointed and outraged both the residents and the people of the locality. Far from suggesting that it should have subscribed to the public image of Rabindranath in tandem with the perceptions of popular narratives meant for cultural consumption, what is meant is that there is something about the sculpture that smacks of motivated and malicious insinuation and
vilification not only of its subject but of all that he symbolised to those people．And that it is patently in bad taste．There are portraits that record the silent encounter of two personalities as it transpires between the artist and his sitter during the actual process of painting，in the form of a tussle of will or a clash of ego．A great example of this from world art is Goya＇s portrait Don Andres Del Peral（1798）where we have to remember that the sitter，Peral，was himself a craftsman painter and gilder at the court of Madrid and that his nervousness and uneasiness before the probing gaze of Goya is quite understandable．The palpable tension of the painting＂arises from the tug of war Goya enacts between his desire to produce a portrait fit for inspection at the Royal Academy of San Fernando．．．and his equally strong wish to explore the full ambiguity of his relationship with a man anxious not to give too much away under the painter＇s unsentimental scrutiny．＂${ }^{\text {［emphasis added］}}$ But in all this Goya does not deprive his sitter of human dignity even when he reveals a lot of the private person that his sitter was．

To say that the sculpture under discussion tries to demystify the personality cult surrounding Rabindranath Tagore does not somehow wholly meet the case．There are portraits of Tagore that are the least flattering or glorifying for that matter，as Portrait of a Poet by Ramkinker． This sculpture belongs to the early phase of Ramkinker＇s style when his work both in painting and sculpture showed distinctive affinities with the cubist idiom which at that time，that is，in the thirties of the last century，had exercised considerable influence on Indian artists generally．This can be seen in the overall treatment of the mass and the planes of this work which at the same time is not simply a matter of formal adaptation of that idiom．Here the cubist idiom lends itself to a generalized treatment of facial features in a conceptual manner， thereby lifting the portrayal from that of the particular person that Rabindranath was－though that aspect is too obvious to need acknowledgement－into an iconic representation of the poet．This aspect of the cubist context to his preoccupation comes into play in ascribing a certain metaphorical correspondence to the various imagery with the natural elements，as for example，that of the beard with water， the nose with thunderbolt，etc．In fact，this is revealed by the artist in the inscription he had left on the backside of the work，though it is not necessarily meant for the viewer to read．In a recent full figure portrait of Rabindranath by Sarbari Roychowdhury，it is at the same time a romantic celebration of a youthful cultural icon of the Bengali and a warm personal tribute by an artist to another artist．What informs the portrait sculpture of Rabindranath in front of the housing colony is a conspicuous lack of empathy，warmth and well－meaning appreciation for its subject that in
its nervous，overwrought and presumptuous assertion shows through the underlying compulsive obsessive nature of its motivation．It embodies the experience of an encounter of one＇s self－importance vis－à－vis the other whose importance is presupposed as a matter of right．The personal undertones of this curious collective Oedipal trait engrained in the perception of the important other are all the more evident considering the complex and problematic relation with the symbol that Rabindranath was－patriarchal figure who combined in his persona the roles of the hero and yogin and hence more importantly， who symbolised the mediation between the opposites，success and renunciation，worldly fame and spiritual elevation．

The other sculpture by the same artist called＇Thief＇is evidently a self－portrait．It was done in the sculptors＇camp at Kasauhli in 1984 and exhibited in October next year in the Rabindra Bhavan Gallery in the show called Seven Young Sculptors．As a self－portrait，its visual sensationalism notwithstanding，it offers a study in contrast of the complex correlation between the projection of the self and the acceptance of the other，when seen beside the former work within the framework of my premises．It is called＇Thief＇in English．In all probability， he might have been prompted by the corresponding word in Malayalam ＇kallan＇which can mean anything between a thief，liar，impostor and impersonator as the case may be．The connotations of the word are implied to have a bearing on the theme of self－exposition or self－ exposure．Here，he is presenting the paradox about himself for the world to see that though he is truthfully true to his true self，he is still ruthlessly unsparing and calls himself an impostor or liar．That is，the great crusader against lie in art，as it is known to the world，is allowing himself to be called＇liar＇before the same world！In other words，his bona fides（of the self）in lieu of his credentials（of the self－image）are being laid bare．The portrayal which purports to be a sculptural metaphor of his exposed self in its＇essential＇nakedness is another form of resolution of the contrary aspects of the＇genuine l＇and the ＇phoney world＇of Changampuzha in its correlation with the theme of success．It is a representation like which his presentation of the self is or is thought to be in the general identity theme vis－à－vis the other．But all the same，it is nothing but a presentation of his mode of being in the mode of not being what he is．In fact the implied eponymous nature of the work is a glorification of the same self－image thus＇exposed＇that is behind the ironical mock－humility of calling it as＇liar＇in the resolution of the true／false dichotomy．We have to remember that the ego is a fiction that is complicitous with its own deceptions，in the Lacanian sense．The eternally youthful image of the self，charged with＇creative＇

fig. 2 Sarbari Roychowdhury, Rabindranath Tagore, bronze, 2005

fig. 3 Ramkinker Baij, Portrait of a Poet, plaster of Paris, later cast in bronze, 1938

fig. 4 Another view of fig. 1

fig. 5 K. P. Krishnakumar, Thief, painted fibre glass, 1984
potency (read male virility), is also that of the conqueror of the Indian art world! Now the contrast with the portrait of Tagore makes sense and there is no need to labour the point further.

In conclusion, I quote a passage from Linda Nochlin about a selfportrait by Lucien Freud, Painter Reflecting, of 1993, in which the aged figure of the artist is depicted with sagging muscles, exposing himself in all his senile nudity, palette knife in hand and stepping into the tattered shoes of van Gogh:

Like Picasso, the candidate [Lucien Freud] for the art world's leading role is a real man - seducer of women, progenitor of children (legitimate and not), volcanic of temperament, unlimited by the rules that tie poor ordinary people down to moral behaviour, an artist who feels free to look where and how he will, who can consort with all types, from aristos and high Bohemia to marginalia and riff-raff ... Freud seems in this self-portrait literally to "repeat" the mythology constructed about him; ...a portrait of the artist is not a "self" but a representation; just taking your clothes off, instead of putting them on, doesn't make it any less a fictive construction. ${ }^{9}$

## Notes

1. I have adopted the concept and the term 'cultural schizophrenia' from S. N. Ganguly, Tradition, Modernity and Development: Study in Contemporary Indian Society, Macmillan (New Delhi 1979).
2. "Negation is a mode of presenting what one is (or what is) in the mode of not being what one is (or negation of what is)."
Anika Lemaire, Jacques Lacan, tr. David Macey, Routledge (London 1977) p.73. Lemaire is explaining Freud's concept of negation: "The subject matter of a repressed image or thought can make its way into consciousness on condition that it is denied. Negation is a way of taking account of what is repressed; ..."
3. Malcom Easton in his discussion of the artists' community in Paris and the Bohemian idea of the nineteenth century shows how the Bohemian philosophy and way of life associated with "heroic genius" was epitomised in the Chatterton legend. A scathing attack aimed at demolishing the Chatterton legend as expressed in the play of the same name was by Henry Murger through the character Melchior in his Un Poite de gouttiers (1851). Murger mentions about the phenomenal influence that the play had on "faint-hearted and over-ambitious minds ... with their prickly selfesteem", as the play "represents in dramatic form nothing less than the apotheosis of pride and mediocrity, with suicide as its conclusion ..."

Easton concludes his discussion of Murger: "In the story of Melchior, Murger shows how Vigny's continual harping on the hardships of genius had led, in his weakest imitators, not to heroic resignation but to an enthusiastic cult of failure." [emphasis added]

Malcom Easton, Artists and Writers in Paris: The Bohemian Idea, 1803 1867, Edward Arnold Ltd (London, 1964), p. 129 - 30.
4. K. G. Amarnath, "John Janmam" (Malayalam), Nokkukoottam, no. 1 (April June 2002).
5. For a discussion of these aspects at some length, see:
R. Nandakumar, "A Social History of Music in Contemporary Kerala", Essays on the Cultural Formation of Kerala, ed. Dr. P. J. Cheriyan (Trivandrum, 1999), pp. $251-255$.
R. Nandakumar, "Kezhvi Sheelangalude Samuhyasashtram" (Malayalam), Kerala Padhanangal Quarterly, no. 6 (January 1997), pp. $217-252$.
6. "Many artists...react to the prospect of being devoured by the system by adopting a nihilist attitude. Nihilism flourishes best when it has an absolutist adversary, real or imagined, as a foil. When consumerism is understood to be an all-encompassing, omnipotent system, it serves very well as a foil."
Terence Maloon, "Changing Perceptions: Further Reflections on the AvantGarde", paper presented at the international seminar on the occasion of the Seventh Triennale India 1991(unpublished).
7. Novels like Aswathamaby Madampu Kunjukuttan and Khasakkinte Ithihasm by O. V. Vijayan can be considered as examples of this.
8. Richard Cork, "Collaboration without Compromise", Studio International, vol. 195, no. 990 (1/1980), p. 11.
9. Linda Nochlin, "Frayed Fraud", Artforum, vol. 32, no. 7 (March 1994), p. 57-58.

## A New Notion of Space Malayalam Novel in the Late Nineteenth Century

## Rohith P

The innovations in the literary/aesthetic culture of Malayalam during the late nineteenth century reflect and re-present the cultural changes that redefined and reconfigured the existing social and community relationships in Kerala. This was realised not by a mere modification or alteration of existing aesthetic artefacts, but by the adoption and, most often, adaptation of new, especially Western aesthetic objects. Consequently, this new media of artistic expression exhibited ruptures from the traditional aesthetic sensibility. By and large, it was the novel that epitomised this newly emerging aesthetic culture in Malayalam literature. This rupture in the aesthetic realm was coeval with and sometimes anticipated shifts in the socio-cultural, economic, political and the familial landscape of Kerala. Both the tendencies were more-or-less born out of the colonial influence. Colonial modernity, by means of agents such as Christian Missionaries, Western/English education and the colonial governance, provoked immense reactions which also led to the restructuring of the Malayali society. The compartmentalized hierarchical caste structure started to be challenged both from within the caste Hinduism and from outside by the Missionaries and the colonial government. Such activities and influences enabled the economically, socially and educationally oppressed to come up and challenge the existing system. This aspect of the social life and its implications are no more evidently reflected than in the novels written during the period.

With its putative claim of realistic representation, the novel based itself on the life and people of contemporary society. The
contemporary communities with all their vices and virtues grabbed a major portion of the new aesthetic object, the novel. The realistic mode in fashion, along with the new way of treatment, required the writers to adhere completely to the spatial and temporal aspects of their settings. It is this newly found emphasis on the spatial and temporal elements in the novels published during the second half of the nineteenth century that forms the basis of this study, which enquires into the changing community relations, the challenging of the traditional world order, the emerging individualism and the breaking up of hegemonic relationships that restructured and modernised the society of Kerala.

The fascination shown by the writers for the spacing and timing of their works in their respective societies is true of most Malayalam novels published in the second half of the nineteenth century with the exception of Kundalata (1887). The actions and people of these novels too were specifically regional, and the proximity these works enjoyed with the external spatial and temporal elements enabled the authors to take up the question of social reform. The novels written during this period succeeded in capturing this transitional aspect merely by placing their narratives in the background of contemporary societies/communities.

The novels taken up for discussion here are all specifically regional. Indulekha (1889) by Chandu Menon is based on a South Malabar Nair taravad, Saraswativijayam (1892) by Potheri Kunhambu, depicts the Pulayas of North Malabar and Ghatakavadham (1877) by Ms. Collins, talks about a Syrian Christian family in Southern Kerala. The concept of literary space and time as reflected in these novels provides the reader with a new kind of space-time relation, one which is inseparable and intertwined. The spaces of these works are regions of nineteenth century Kerala-Southern, Northern Malabar and Southern Travancore respectively-and the temporal dimension of these works is defined by physical particularities thereby making the situations described tangible. The phrase, "regions of nineteenth century Kerala," explains this new relation between the spatial and temporal aspects as opposed to the "once-upon-a-time ambience" displayed in the prenovel genres.

Space, unlike place, is a social construct and it may appear paradoxical to assert that the place of these narratives remains the same while their spaces are different. Place is more a matter of geography, whereas space is social as well as temporal and it is determined by the composition, particularities and perception of the period and population. The stress on the spatial and temporal aspects
is warranted if we understand that most novels of the time were in one way or the other a criticism of the then society in a rather conscious way.

Spacing of these early novels in regions of nineteenth century Kerala is significant as it allowed writers to explore issues related to colonial modernity. Despite thematic commonalities, say for instance, the plight of women, these novels do not present us with a uniform, homogeneous aesthetic artefact. This aspect of these novels plunges us into the question of their writers geographic and social milieu. Novel writhing in Kerala was not confined to any particular region during the early stages of its development. Along with their geographic variations, early novelists differed immensely in their social as well as caste backgrounds. While Chandu Menon belonged to the Nair community, Kunhambu was a Tiyya. The author of Ghatakavadham, chronologically the first attempt at novel writing in Kerala, Ms. Collins, was an English woman. She is the daughter of an English missionary, Rev. Hoxworth and wife of Richard Collins, who later became the principle of CMS college Kottayam. It could have been this protestant background that enabled her write against the unchristian aspects of the local version of Christianity popularly known as Syrian Christianity.

However, novelists of the second half of the nineteenth century were aware of the paradigm shift in narrative/artistic space and time from one that is universal to one that is region specific. Hence most of them have taken care to inform the readers about the importance given to spatio-temporal elements. In his preface, Kunhambu says, "What moved me to write this book was reflecting on the unhappy situation of the Pulayas of Malabar who are in a far worse state than the Parayas of Madras and elsewhere" (xii). Rightly, the miseries and hardships of the Pulayas of Malabar that Saraswativijayam expresses correspond to the temporal specificities of the locale, which are different from elsewhere. The same emphasis on spatial and temporal aspects can be discerned in the prefaces of both Indulekha and Ghatakavadham. In the preface to the first edition of Indulekha, Chandu Menon qualifies his narrative as "ee kalangalil nadakkuna matiri" (like the things that happen in our times). The same is reiterated in the preface to the English translation: "modern Malabar is depicted in his pages and the language of Indulekha is the living Malabar of the present day."

The narrative of Indulekha is located in South Malabar and the author provides a spatial description of the taravad. In a letter to Dumergue, his translator, Menon writes, "the events are supposed to have taken place in our own times in some part of South Malabar. The
scene of the principal events in the story may not inappropriately be fixed at some place not far away from Native Cochin." The actions of Saraswativijayam likewise are closely bound to its settings for in the beginning of his work, Kunhambu writes, "there was once a Brahmin by the name of Kanakasekhara illathu Kuberan Nambudiripad ... He was about forty-five years of age at the time that the events in this story took place. Not many years have passed since he died. His illam was situated in North Malabar" (1). The preface to Ghatakavadham declares, "Some of the events related in this book namely the death of the Pulaya child and some events in the life of Poulose have actually happened." Meenakshi Mukherjee considers Ms. Collins' novel different from most of the early Indian novels for the kind of particularization and naming of specific objects. She remarks:

The landscape and atmosphere of Kerala is evoked in concrete detail-the splash of an oar as a visitor approaches the house, the swish of wind through paddy fields, the shade of the mango tree under which children sit on reed mats and squeeze juice out of ripe mangoes, the yard of the landlord's house lush with tendrils of yam climbing jack trees, yellow flowers of the pumpkin and cucumber, 'deep purple leaves of the cheeras standing in contrast to the green ridge of goorkas. (qtd. In Realism 22)

This adherence to the spatial and temporal settings is usually comprehended and read as symbolic of the emerging notion of nationalism throughout the country. True, the physical space in novels like Indulekha, also represents shared principles and values. For instance, all through his travel Madhavan comes in contact with people with similar values and convictions. In this sense, novels like Indulekha suggest that cultural, social and political imagination precedes the physical imagination of nation. However, upper caste works like Indulekha suggest that the closeness to and embeddedness in the spatio-temporal particularities, along with shared principles and values, keep the characters of such works as a united force as against the traditional set-up where compliance was enforced and ensured through force and domination. The narration through the urban landscapes (modern as well as secular) outside the region enables these narratives to imagine and anticipate a culturally homogeneous, pan-Indian community.

However, the notion that novel writes nation as Anderson observes in his Imagined Communities does not hold true for Malayalam novels written by and on the lower castes. To comprehend
the notion of nation among such communities one must go beyond Anderson. In the words of E. V. Ramakrishnan, as against the upper caste novels in which the notion of belonging to a well defined territory alternates between region and nation, novels on the lower castes imagine community not in a concrete space, but through religion (4). Nation as such is abscent in these works. This may perhaps be due to the preoccupations of their authors which were evidently social rather than political. This is obvious when one realises that unlike Menon whose primary concern is the emerging nation and position of the Nair subject in it, Kunhambu and Collins endeavour to rid their subjects' societies of the social injustices prevalent in them. In other words, to them, as Dilip Menon observes, nation could be imagined only after individuals, families and homes could be imagined into existence (Not Nation, 71-72).

The juxtaposition of two kinds of political/legal space monarchy versus modern governance, the rule of might versus the rule of law- can be discerned in the novels written during this period. The dichotomy between the monarchy and the modern governance is clearly brought out in Saraswativijayam. One of the characters juxtaposes the Malabar and Travancore regions in this light: "It is because the King is a mleccha that we are faced with all these problems. He makes no distinction between Brahmanas and Chandalas: everyone is punished alike for their crimes. Ah for the old times! Even today Travancore is better in this respect" (21). This assertion by a Brahmin character though hints at the progressive nature of Malabar in relation with Travancore, historical evidences suggest otherwise. However, again, such passages point to the regional variations in the political landscape of Kerala. As against Malabar that was under direct British rule, Travancore was still a princely state. The different political spaces are occupied by different entities. While the space of monarchy negates the possibility of the citizen by subjugating individualistic tendencies, the modern state frees the subjects under the monarchy and individualises them. But the Malayali novelists of this epoch were quite unsure about the way in which the individuality of their characters is to be portrayed. Though the protagonists of these novels resemble the picaro in their wanderings, their specific personal experiences are more-or-less absent in these works. The only exception seems to be Indulekha where the protagonist's adventures are described to a small extent. This could be due to the imposed impersonal nature of the lower caste existence. For the oppressed-the lower caste and women, their personal experiences correspond to the experiences of their
communities. Thus the ordeals of Maraton, Poulose and Subhadra were not unique but reflect the position of their respective communities.

The early moments of the national struggle for independence, though integrated the movement against the caste system, abandoned it in favour of family reforms. However, Malayalam novels written during this period responded positively to the activities aimed at bringing about social as well as familial reforms. But the novels that were based on the reformation of the family structure, like those in Hindi and Tamil, gained popularity in the language (Clark, 16). Those, which narrated the conflicts between castes, failed to attract popular as well as critical attention. This may be due to the fact that the reforms in the family organisation that were carried out in Kerala during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries were mostly confined to the Nair community. Most novels belonging to this group were based on the Nairs and they were among the first to enjoy the fruits of Western education in Kerala. Even the Brahmin community which was at the top of the social hierarchy lagged behind inn reforms due to the closed nature of their living. As expressed by a writer, "long may they remain as they are, untouched by what we here called "progress" (qtd. in Jeffrey 12)

Modern characters of these social novels transgress the traditional space assigned to them and revolt against tradition; they in fact can attain success only by violating the traditional territory. The particularities of various regions within Kerala's geography and the influence of their socio-cultural landscapes on their respective subjects are significant in comprehending the subtlety with which Malayali writers challenged the existing hierarchies. Madhavan's decision to educate Shinnan in spite of the karanavar's opposition, for instance, violates the traditional space of an anandaravan or nephew in the taravadu. Madhavan's challenging of his authority, however, caused the karanavar, Panju Menon, to vow that he will not consent to the marriage of Madhavan with his maternal cousin Indulekha. Even then, Indulekha's resolve to take Madhavan for her husband blunts the wrath of Panju Menon. Rightly, in the novel, conservative characters blame English education for youngsters' violation of traditional rules: "As far as having taught them English goes," says Panju Menon, "it is a grave mistake and nothing else. See how much a better girl Indulekha would have been if she had not learned English. ... Those who don't know English imitate the bad manners of those who do" (75). Soori Nambudiri, yet another conservative character voices the same anguish when he says, "If women study English, they cease to be clean, that is the evil of it" (106).

It is interesting to note here that in novels like Indulekha that are based on the feudal society, the revolting/reforming subjects are mostly from among the Nairs. The locale of Indulekha, "south Malabar [...] not far from native Cochin," comprises of the feudal, agrarian belt of Palaghat, Ponnani, Ernad and Valluvanad taluks of British Malabar.

Quite contrary to the exploitative feudal agrarian belt of South Malabar, the geography of North Malabar is socio-culturally and ritualistically immersed in everyday forms of resistance like that of teyyam. Consequently, the revolting subject in such a geography, quite appropriately, could be a Pulaya. Saraswativijayam begins with the transgression of the traditional individual space by a lower caste youth. If Madhavan and Indulekha break traditional boundaries with the help of modern Western education, the Pulaya youth, Maratan, learned just enough to read and write. But his acquaintance with the white man in Anjarakandy and the classes he received from the Christian teachers change his life. The verses sung by him contain the idea that all are equal:

Just as there is oil in a sesame seed
God is within all of us
Oh guru who reveals this truth to us
I bow before you daily.
As we enjoy earthly pleasures
Our bodies undergo transformation
Oh guru who gives us a vision of heaven,
I bow before you daily. (4).
He received this idea from his Christian teachers. The song contains the idea that God is in everyone, an idea which was vehemently opposed by the traditional framework and quite contrary to the belief current in the nineteenth century society. Though the song soothed his weary mind, the Nambudiri is taken aback by the news that the singer is a Pulaya, his slave.

Ghatakavadham, like the two above-mentioned works, starts with an attempt by the Pulayas who were working for Kosi Kuryan to defy the traditional space. They refuse to work on a Sabbath day. On their insistence to grant respite, Kosi Kuryan, the Syrian Christian landlord tells them that Pulayas don't have souls. In his rage, the landlord kills the child of Poulose, a Pulaya Christian and inflicts heavy punishments on them. The words of Poulose after the death of his child are noteworthy: "now onwards my hands won't work for you nor will I take your food." (22). This is a clear indication of him transgressing his slavery. The Pulaya pays Kosi back by saving his child from
drowning in the river. This act of the old man softens the heart of Kosi. Unlike the other two novels in which the oppressive class are basically upper caste Hindus, in Ghatakavadham the oppressor is a Syrian Christian who is holding a Savarna-like status in that society. The narrative of Ghatakavadham is specifically regional also in that the conflict in the novel is between Syrian Christianity and Protestantism. However, despite the stated authorial intention of demonstrating the Pulaya Christian's transgression of their traditional, imposed identities, the author seems to have been caught in a paradox. This becomes obvious when we know that along with the savarna-like status of the Syrian Christians, the heroine is given a savarna background by tracing her maternal ancestry to a Brahmin family.

The novelists are almost united in the view that the emancipation of women can only be achieved through education which will allow them access to public space. Though the female characters have very limited access to the public sphere in the said novels, it is the contention of the novelists that education will eventually lead to the widening of this possibility. Chandu Menon expresses this as one of his goals in writing Indulekha. He says, this is "to illustrate to my Malayali brethren the position, power and influence that our Nair women ... would attain in society, if they are given a good English education" (XIX). The entry of these characters into modernity, however, is not a simple, natural and homogeneous process with no extraneous influences. For the upper caste Nair subject-male and female-while entry into modernity is mediated by English education, it is not so even with upper caste Brahmin female subject. As with Subhadra, their entry into modernity is realised not just through English education but also by means of Basel mission and Christianity. This dual mediation is even more visible in the case of the lower castes for whom the entry into modernity is facilitated by the intervention of Whiteman/ missionary, English education and even in some cases the upper caste. The mediation of higher caste subjects made their entry into modernity extremely problematic.

There is a marked difference between the spaces described in the novels that deal with the upper castes and lower castes. While the upper caste novels concern themselves with actions taking place in some well furnished dwellings, those works that relate the tale of the lower castes depict their actions in the field. In both Saraswativijayam and Ghatakavadham, the main actions take place in the fields. Maraton is allegedly killed in a field and the case of Poulose is also not much different. The fields are represented as sites of injustice and inequality. In Saraswativijayam, the field again comes up
for discussion during the trial of Subhadra. Here also, the field is seen as a space of uncivilized and uncouth men and one of the Nambudiris is chastised for his activities in the field (55). Working in the fields is considered ignominious by the Brahmins. It is from here that the characters, especially the oppressed, run away into spaces of modernity. In novels like Indulekha and Marthanda Varma, actions take place in and around well furnished mansions. Barring the incidents in the railway station and in the zoo, almost the entire story of Indulekha takes place inside some palatial house.

The point that the incidents of upper caste novels happen in and around mansions and that of lower caste in the fields which are epitomes of oppression and inequality needs further enquiry. For me, this difference in the locale of these two kinds of novels is significant as it illustrates the manner in which the writers relate the issue of narrative milieu with the dichotomy of exteriority and interiority of their respective subjects. These works, in no uncertain terms, declare that the English/Western educated upper caste subjects are particularly fastidious about their interior spaces. The meticulousness with which Indulekha and Mariam keep their interior spaces, be it the study or the household, with hardly any tinge of extravagance and with extreme modesty testify this. To them this interiority also signify a means of registering their protest against the unruly hierarchical exteriority. Contrast this with the lower caste subject in novels like Saraswativijayam and Ghatakavadham to whom an interior space was not available to escape from the exteriority marked with injustice. Perhaps, the novelists were aware of the fact that in the traditional socio-cultural landscape the space of lower caste is destined to be exterior. The space of interior where emotions and sentiments have a place was not available to them.

An additional fact about the violation of traditional space is that it compels the characters to travel through different places, which in these works are centres of modernity. The travels that the characters of these works undertake provide the reader with an interesting dichotomy of rural and urban spaces. The novelists of nineteenth century regarded countryside as a land of traditions and customs where injustices flourish, and it is in such rural landscapes that the oppressed-Poulose, Maratan and Subhadra-receive unjust punishments and the authoritarian decisions of Panju Menon prevail. It is from such rustic places that the characters of the early novels escape to more modern and urban places. In this process of traversing secular geographies, the traditional hierarchical space gets
transgressed. Madhavan's decision to take Shinnan with him to Madras finally leads to his journey to Bombay and then to Calcutta. In Ghatakavadham, Poulose too moves away from his homeland after the death of his child. Though the details of his travel are not given, like others, he too returns successful and causes Kosi to repent. This is because the possibility of their success in the traditional framework is very meagre. Thus, Maratan travels to Cannanore and then to Calicut to be educated. Once out of the traditional restriction, which suffocates them, they are free as any other person. Maratan's journey through Calicut to Madras to return as a judge signifies this. In the same way, Subhadra also travels through a similar geography to attain selfsufficiency. After the smarthavichaaram, she is taken to a missionary establishment and from there to Cannanore and again to Calicut. As showed by the writers, the underprivileged can grow into autonomous individuals only outside tradition, as it stifles and restricts them and consequently prevents them from becoming independent secular selves.

Dissatisfied with the injustices of the traditional polity, modern characters try to move away from it. Thus Madhavan moves to Madras and then to Bombay and from there to Calcutta. Similarly, Maratan leaves his village to Calicut and Cannanore and then to Madras. Poulose and Subhadra too move away from their respective rural backgrounds to centres of modernity. Dilip Menon, in his study of lower caste novels in Malayalam, observes that the social mobility of modern characters are marked by spatial mobility too (Not Nation 63).

The journeys these characters undertake present them with opportunities to come into contact with the progressive ideas of the outside world. Also the cultures of the alien land make them aware of the existence of alternative cultures and ways of life (a trend which is relevant to present Kerala, with the growth in the mobility of the population and increasing migrations and the exposure to foreign cultures through the media of print, television and cinema). This fact is true in the case of Kunhambu himself, who is inspired by the media. He says, "Last May I read exhortatory articles in some English newspapers from Madras that it was absolutely necessary to provide education to the Parayas and this would improve their situation considerably. ..." (XI-XII).

However, the direction the educated upper caste subjects take in their travel is evidently different from that of the lower caste. As suggested by the journey of Madhavan, the former come out of the interior to travel across the nation in order to claim the nation. Whereas,
interestingly, the lower caste subject always goes out of the traditional exterior to new exterior to redeem his interiority. The journeys of Maratan, Poulose and Subhadra demonstrate this aspect. Interestingly though, their journeys are different from that of Kuberan despite the fugitive nature of his journey. While the upper caste Brahmin, Kuberan, traverses the holy, religious geography and attain spiritual redemption, the traditionally oppressed travel through modern, urban secular spaces in order to grow beyond the tradition-imposed exteriorities.

The necessary conditions for these journeys are provided by the economic freedom of the individuals in the society. Earlier, none of these characters would have shown the courage to risk a rift with their feudal society. In the time described in these novels, the society in Kerala was moving away from feudalism towards a more individualistic and new economic system which offered everyone equal chances of survival. They could live without any danger from the feudal lords or from the impositions of the traditional authorities. The transitional aspect of the time is obvious from the act of Poulose who could not feel absolute freedom even after he fled from his native place and consequently, kept his wife in his old house to give details about the landlord's activities. But his thoughts are proved false towards the end of the work.

Travel is a recurring motif in all these works. But there is a marked difference in the journeys undertaken by the traditional and modern characters. The former always move around with a huge procession. This is true of such characters like Kuberan, Soori and Kosi: "One day Kuberan Nambudiripad, his daughter, her children and their servants were returning to the illam from her husband's home. Kuberan Nambudirpad ... the antarjanam ... the children ... the female servants ... the male servants ... the washerman ... This was the order of the procession" (Saraswativijayam 2). Again in the same novel, the preparations for the Nambudiri's travel to Kozhikode are described thus:

He arranged for the washerman to launder the clothes necessary for the journey; the palanquin bearers to clean the palanquin; two pattar boys to cook for him and look after his bodily well being; Kuppan Pattar to carry the writing equipment and keep the accounts; and Raman Menon to carry the oil and liniments needed for his bath (27)
In Indulekha, Soori Nambudripad's journey is described thus: "in accordance with the latest arrangement, the Nambudripad and Cherusheri ... set forth with their retinue" (128). Kosi too has his retinue.

But in the case of the latter, they undertake the travel alone. Madhavan is alone in his journey to North India, Maratan too travels alone; the reader is not given any information about the company kept by Poulose. This may be due to the collective and closed nature of the earlier times and the more individualistic and open nature of modern times; Madhavan, Maratan, and Poulose are all alone in their enterprises, whereas Kuberan, even when he is a fugitive, is attended by his servant Kuppan.

Travel, to the upper caste subject, most often, is a matter of conscious choice. Madhavan's journey, though forced by unhappy circumstances, is not mediated. All through his journey, he had complete control over his journey, which was no doubt made comfortable by his chance acquaintance with Babu Govind Sen. In this respect, despite his distress over Indulekha's alleged infidelity, Madhavan resembles a young wealthy adventurous tourist in his appearance: "He travelled unattended and decided to dress after English fashion. His luggage consisted of a portmanteau in which he had packed two or three suits, a chest containing his beloved guns and a few cartridges, and a despatch box which held his money and books. He also carried a six-chambered revolver in his coat pocket." Furthermore, the manner in which Chandu Menon describes Madhavan's stay with Govind Sen is touristic in all respects: "Enchanted by the vision of turret chambers, ornamental ponds, jewelled beds, libraries, and pleasure gardens, he felt as if he had quit the earth for some realm of bliss hitherto unknown, and he remained for ten days, enjoying the hospitality of Babu Govind Sen."

Quite contrary to this, the journeys of lower caste subjects are forced and in most cases not even the result of conscious individual choice. Unlike the journey of Madhavan, the journeys of Maraton and Subhadra result out of their helplessness and are mediated by European missionaries. For the educated upper caste subject, journeys to distant urban locations are at the same time recuperative and exploratory. For the lower caste, these journeys are predominantly voyages inward, though assisted by external factors, to discover and redeem their individual selves. Consequently, the sites they visit do not enjoy as much significance as the outcome of their journeys. Perhaps, this explains the absence in novels of itineraries of their journeys. While the upper caste subject travels only after completing his education, it is the travel away from their villages that provides the lower caste with opportunities to learn and modernise themselves. Hence, in the case of the latter, their journeys are always associated with educational institutions. This aspect of their journeys is evident
from the fact that these links with the secular outside are crucial in creating conducive conditions for the protagonists to return enlightened and empowered.

To conclude, the changing perception among readers about literature along with the changing concerns of writers democratised the subject matter of Malayalam literature. Thus the emerging trends of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be read in terms of the realization of a new notion of space in the literary imagination. These spaces get constructed, defined and redefined in relation to social categories such as caste and gender, through education, travel and reform movements. The geographical and cultural specificity of the novels enabled them to deal with issues of space with a democratic outlook.

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# History, Memory and Memorials in Everyday Life of Kerala 

## Scaria Zacharia

## Scene 1

I am in front of the municipal office of Talassery, a small town in North Kerala. I am with a young researcher working on the contributions of Hermann Gundert to Kerala society.

Talassery, traces back its present stature as a prestigious cultural centre to the colonial period. The colonialists, especially the British, used it as the district head quarters and intervened in the cultural life of the locality. In the past eminent native scholars and creative writers have contributed to the cultural life of the town, but my young friend is inquiring about various places and events related to Hermann Gundert. This is his first visit to the town, but he has the list of important spots to be visited- Hermann Gundert's statue at the heart of the town, Gundert's Bungalow on a small hill called Illikkunnu, the Basal Mission School at the centre of the town and the recently started Gundert Memorial School.

He visited these spots and learned a lot about the life and works of Gundert through interactions with the local people. He relies very much on the popular memory transmitted through generations as the Purana of Talessery. Still he is not able to understand Hermann Gundert's presence in the everyday life of Talassery. The local legends as available on the tongue of the ordinary citizens of Talassery and various literary compositions about Gundert do not satiate the researcher. He is asking for more 'wonderful' stories. A researcher or a journalist or any individual engaged in composing a convincing presentation on Hermann Gundert must ensure a narrative with 'flow', 'home' and 'pleasure'. ${ }^{1}$ As part of the narrative logic these qualities have to be ensured. For example, one has to offer discursive logic for the transformation of Gundert
the Christian missionary into Gundert the savant of Kerala studies. Gundert is represented in contemporary Kerala narratives as a German genius, who intervened in the history of Kerala studies and modernized it. This 'representation' has to be narrativized by providing factual and logical underpinnings. The narrative logic makes use of 'causation' as a convincing element in this process. To narrativize Dr Gundert's contribution to Kerala Studies, the pre-colonial cultural fabric of Kerala has to be presented in such way that it necessitates the intervention of a foreign genius. To substantiate the modernizing effect of Dr Gundert's interventions, the cultural products introduced by Dr. Gundert have to be presented as specimens of progress and modernity. These are the narrative compulsions to ensure the 'flow' of historical descriptions. The logic, causation in understanding of history has narrative underpinnings prompted by the language. Every historical narrative, including texts like inscriptions has a language game embedded in it. Many careful historians have discerned the generic and linguistic specificities of historical documents. But very few have taken care to understand the 'language play' embedded in the document. The tone and texture of the document, which prompts action, inaction, contemplation or humour, has to be described by exploring various possibilities of understanding. Dr Herman Gundert in the popular memory of Talassery is a German scholar who discovered the value of local knowledge and preserved it for generations to come. He is often described as a scholar going out to the ordinary people to gather valuable information. It is this consideration by Gundert of the ordinary people of Kerala and their everyday life that is cherished in the popular memories. Gundert's books, especially his dictionary, collection of proverbs and historical writings bear testimony to his interactions with the ordinary people and his habit of learning from their everyday life. A very pertinent example is the publication of 'Keralolpathi'. Dr Gundert collected and carefully textualised Keralolpathi, the legends about the origin of Kerala, by layering several textual traditions. What did the text mean to the producer? What was and is it to the Kerala consumer? Is it a document of the past events? Or is it a free flowing narrative about the past? Or is it simply a popular Kerala text? Anyhow, in textualising Keralolpathi, as we understand today he ensured the 'flow' of narrative and it made the work very much acceptable to the larger Kerala audience. Keralolpathi belongs to a genre that is generally identified as Ulpathi Purana 'origin myth'. Origin myths provide the appropriate 'stimulus and response' for historical communication in traditional Kerala community. Puranic mode is the 'Home' for historical communication in Kerala. Hermann Gundert's publication of Keralolpathi and the wide welcome response it received may have to be
understood in the relevant communication network. Let us call this the pragmatics of historical compositions by Gundert and their sustenance till this date.

Dr Herman Gundert distinguished himself as a patron of Kerala culture by providing open space for negotiation and manipulation. The structures of his dictionary and historical compositions are the best examples. Let us call this the flexibility or ambivalence of his compositions. In his dictionary there is space for regional and social variants of Malayalam language. The visibility of Mappila Malayalam (native Muslim Malayalam with a lot of Arabic words) has enhanced its value as a reference book.

Puranic mode in its everyday use is flexible and creative. Puranas are growing through additions, explanations and interpretations. Each community, differentiated in several ways, imposes its determinations on the puranic knowledge. The same is true of the 'knowledge' about the past. Remember that the Parasurama story connected with the origin of Kerala has been interpreted in several ways during different periods by different interest groups. The hermeneutical process is part of the historical understanding. History as we see it here is evolving through various negotiations and manipulations.

## Scene 2

We are now in Kochi, the nerve centre of business Kerala. Kochi has many historical monuments from the pre-colonial and colonial period. One of the recent additions to the must-see list of the cultural tourist is Kerala History Museum at Edappally on the way to the international airport. Here in the row of exhibits one can see Dr. Hermann Gundert at a prominent position. The role of museums and protected historical monuments in the construction, manipulation and maintenance of memory has to be clearly understood. The visual narrative of Kerala supplemented in the museum by verbal narrative sites him as one of the father figures of Kerala renaissance. Dr. MGS Narayanan, an eminent South Indian historian and the former chairman of the Indian Council Historical Research (the apex body for historical research at the national level), has described Gundert as one of the Acharyas, 'master teachers', of Keralites. Dr Gundert, for a short while worked for the British government in Northern Kerala as school inspector. He propagated modern ideas through his publications in the form of school textbooks and periodicals. Gundert's monumental works selectively remembered today by the people of Kerala foregrounds Gundert as the master guru.

The academic institutions and organizations through their syllabi and prizes further project Gundert as the master guru. For example, the Dravidian University, Kuppam (Andhra Pradesh), has a Dr Herman Gundert chair for Malayalam studies. The Dravidian Linguistics Association has instituted Dr Herman Gundert prize for the best lexicographical study in Dravidian languages. The Association for Comparative Studies conduct an annual Dr Herman Gundert commemoration lecture.

## Scene 3

We are in Kottayam, the central Kerala town famous for its publication houses. DC Books which is running the largest chain of bookshops in Kerala, has its headquarters at Kottayam. They proudly declare to the visitors their pleasant experience of publishing Gundert's works on the occasion of his death centenary. The publications, which were very well received, included the most wanted books of Gundert. This list of Gundert's books published by DC Books include his Malayalam-English dictionary, Malayalam grammar, historical books, folklore collections, the Malayalam Bible and a few religious tracts.

The Malayalam-English dictionary originally published in 1871 in Mangalore by Basel Mission has gone through more than 10 editions by different publishers. These are simple reprints of the original publication except in two cases. Even today this is the most authoritative historical dictionary of Malayalam. Lovers of Malayalam praise Gundert's lexicographical skills. Both literary varieties and everyday speech are represented in his dictionary. Serious students of Malayalam Language also use his grammar of Malayalam as a reference work. Other popular works of Gundert that available for sale today are his historical works, Keralaolpathi and Kerala Pazhama. Both of them deal with the past of Kerala. Keralolpathi as he himself testifies won him many admirers among Keralites. This is a compilation of the origin stories of Kerala. He has cleverly used several manuscripts to texualise the printed version. This provides a solid puranic foundation to Kerala history. The other work Kerala Pazhama deals with the colonial period, especially the advent of the Portuguese in Kerala. He has gathered rare materials from foreign and indigenous sources to compile this work. Hermann Gundert's collections of Malayalam proverbs, Malayalam folk songs, official correspondence etc. are used extensively for folkloristic and historical studies.

DC Books has published these books in Hermann Gudert Series (HGS) spanning 6000 pages. Five volumes of Tuebingen University Library Malayalam Manuscript Series(TULMS) also are available in

DC Books. They are part of the manuscript collections of Gundert preserved in Tuebingen University library. All these publications keep Gundert's memory live in the Kerala society. These popular publications of Gundert provide him the enviable status of a linguist, historian and folklorist. This is how Gundert is remembered today in Kerala. Gundert's works as published by DC Books are the best monuments of his life and works. These monuments as edited works reconfigure Gundert's memory according to the needs of Kerala today.

Monuments including Publications, as the public representation of history help to create 'dominant memory'. The dominant memory of Gundert as perpetuated by the reprints of his publications through major publication houses is that of a linguist, historian and folklorist.

## Reflections

If one were to go by the biographical data of Gundert, he should remember him as a Basel Missionary who spent the best of part of life for propagating the Bible and teachings of Christianity. This memory has been slowly erased through public action. The term 'public action' is critical. It refers to the space of civil society in between the family and the state. Gundert's memory has been sustained, transformed and manipulated by the citizens to suit their values and everyday life. They have cleverly transformed him into a symbol of modernization. One of the prominent historical monuments of Gundert's life in Kerala is Gundert's bungalow in Illikkunnu. Today this building houses NTTF, a prestigious technological centre. The public action has converted a residential building, a heritage site, to a technical institution without evading the memory of Gundert. People have accepted this 'manipulation' as it corroborates their memory of Gundert as a pioneer of modernity. Gundert memorial school, an English Medium school with modern facilities, the latest addition to the memorials of Gundert in Talassery, is another testimony to the negotiation of the memory of Gundert. All these initiatives take place in the public sphere without the intervention of the state or any religious institutions.

The typical missionary literature produced by Gundert is impressive both in quantity and quality. The polemics he developed in the typical missionary style has been erased ftom public memory. The best example is his polemics on Nalacharita or prophet Mohammed. What has happened in this case, it seems to me, is much against his personal wish, but rather according to the wish of the modem citizens of Kerala.

Gundert considered all his linguistic labours as the groundwork for the translation of the Bible. He worked hard for several years to Translate the Bible from the original languages to literary Malayalam. But during his life time different portions of his translations were published as booklets. A one-volume edition of his translation of the Bible was published only in connection with his death centenary celebrations in Kerala. This volume, published by the DC Books as part of the Hermann Gundert Series (HGS), was the last item to be sold out among the centenary publications. Those who bought it for literary reasons love to read it. But for ordinary Christians, devoted Bible readers, it doesn't taste like Christian literature. From the very time of its first publication in the 19th century, the typical evangelists did not accept Gundert's Bible translation. The Bible Society of India combined Bible translations of Benjamin Bailey and Hermann Gundert to produce its unified Malayalam version. Today no ordinary reader of this Malayalam Bible will recognize that it has a bottom layer of Gundert's linguistic labors.

Gundert had a special vision about Bible translation. He started translating the Bible in a dialogic mode - dialogue between the Bible and the culture of Kerala society. Today translation studies have discovered that translation, as a mode of communication must concentrate on the linguistic, literary and cultural system of the target language and society. Dr. Gundert was living in an age when everybody spoke of the faithfulness to the original and source culture! So Gundert's very first tract of the Bible titled Satyaveda Itihasa, Epic of the True Religion the mission authorities in Europe disapproved. This tract, now available in print, as part of the multi-volume HGS published by DC Books, speaks of Gundert the missionary who thought of evangelization as an engaging dialogue between cultures and religions. As a linguist he worked out a language for religious dialogue in multicultural, multireligious societies. He can be aptly described as the master builder of religious language infused with Asian cultural pluralism. But today nobody represent him in Kerala as a Christian missionary engaged in dialogue with Kerala culture. Shall we call this amnesia? No, I'd call it selective memory. A selection which is based on the common sense of everyday life of Kerala today.

The visitors to Talassery, Kochi or Kottayam, for that matter to any Malayalam speaking area in any part of the world, will come across similar representations of Hermann Gundert in the popular memory. This is facilitated by the paradigm of everyday life in Kerala, especially in North Malabar. Memory can be imagined as a text produced by an individual or a community. Both the production and consumption of the memory of Gundert is connected to the 'everyday life' of Kerala. (For a
detailed discussion of this model see Richard Johnson et al., The Practice of Cultural Studies, Sage, 2004) ${ }^{2}$


The arbitrary static notions of history, memory and memorials are replaced by the circuit of memory. The dynamics of memory is today understood as a contest between facticity and fiction. The human faculty of memory, which has come under closer physical scrutiny in the light of new discoveries in neuroscience is to be reckoned as the site of contest engaged in the representation of the past. The past as it is expressed in historical narratives and in monuments has to be understood and explained as a creation facilitated by the brain, language and Everyday Life. In the case of Dr Hemann Gundert, the democratic Kerala of today with its pluralistic culture and modernist impulses represent him as a pioneer of Kerala's renaissance. This selective memory has been prompted and made possible by the 'Everyday Life' of Kerala. We call it 'dominant memory', as we don't imagine that memories of the past are either monolithically installed or accepted everywhere. In the field of history there are competing constructions of the past, supported by different interest groups. Certain memories and memorials loudly amplified through everyday life achieve centrality and wide acceptance in the contemporary mediatized society. In a state like Kerala, where almost every child attends school, dominant memory in integrated and propagated through syllabi, textbooks and examinations. History is also a business. With the massive contemporary growth of historical tourism, both domestic and international, historically significant persons, places and objects become a resource, be it physically or ideologically, for the
leisure and tourist industries. As part of these tourist interests, popular historical narratives with 'flow', 'home' and 'pleasure' are produced about historical persons and places

## Notes:

1 'Flow', 'home' and 'pleasure' are three key-words in contemporary interpretation of popular culture. All natural barriers and oppositions are transcended through poetic or discursive logic in ensuring the flow of narration. This 'flow' is the distinctive marker of popular television serials, popular feature films, detective stories etc. Popular culture also is marked by 'home' - the impres sion that that the reader or consumer feels that he is quite at home with the subject. This common sense facilitates the natural flow of the message of the artifact. 'Pleasure', as the denotation of the word implies, is the happiness derived by consuming a cultural product.
2 'Everyday life' denotes routine practices of daily existence. However, in contemporary discussions 'media and everyday life' and 'consumption in everyday life' appear more frequently emphasizing forms and meanings of popular culture. The expression assumes that culture is ordinary and not the province of an elite group. This ordinary life is a complex field of contested cultural meanings. In our discussion we try to show how ordinary people subvert or deflect the memory of cultural personalities and cultural practices through creativity in everyday life. For more details see Ben-Highmore, Everyday Life and Cultural Theory, Routledge, 2001.

## Caste, Community, Conflict: The Cultural Contexts of Kerala Renaissance in Thalamurakal

## Ajay Sekher

ABSTRACT While narrativizing the plurality of struggles that a family in Palghat in eastern Kerala put up for generations in confronting caste inequality, the novel by $\mathrm{O} V$ Vijayan profoundly invokes and interrogates a range of issues from Brahmanism, Nationalism, modernity, Dalit Bahujan movements and so on. The paper tries to contextualize the fictional text in the larger socio cultural discursive contexts and ideological formations to specifically look at fiction's handling of the caste question. The narrative strategies of representing and articulating subaltern subject experiences and micro-politics and history as a resistance to the Meta-narratives and mainstream homogenizing hegemonic discourses are dealt with in detail.
"Like a viper caste retreated in to the darkness of sleepy memories" (150).

O V Vijayan's Thalamurakal ('Generations') has been widely read as a fictional narrative attempt to recreate and reread the history of caste society, bringing out its ironic subtleties and eternal paradoxes. It narrativised the intricacies and complexities of the varna- caste system under the hegemonic ideology of Brahmanism as manifested in the life struggles of the inquisitive and rebellious male generations of the Ponmudi household in Palghat region of Kerala. In their critical confrontation with caste generations of men from this family struggled with their individual game plans that included conversion, sanskritisation and upward exogamy. The Sanskrit scholarship and Brahmanyam of Krishnan uncle and the defiant conversions of Gopalan as Imtiaz and Chamiarappan as Theodore; respectively to Islam and Christianity
proved futile and absurd. The seduction of Brahmanism, the quest to achieve it and the futility of achieving it as well as the change in faith, everything is enacted in the continuous struggles of Ponmudi. The central character Chandran, the grandson of Chamiarappan marries a German woman Rosemary Wagner and their son Theodore Vel Wagner survives the struggle and curse of generations as a racial hybrid human being who exceeds and endures caste.

As the novel opens the young Chandran is struggling with the notions in Valmiki Ramayanam in Ponmudi tharavadu (7). The opening chapter itself is named "Rama Banam" the arrow of Rama, the Aryan God, the iconic protector of Varnadharma and caste; the executioner of Shambuka, the Shudra sage. He wonders how the tribal Valmiki could sing the story of the refined and elite Rama, subtly evoking the history of Brahmanic ideological invasion, cultural hegemony, the sociological process of tribe into caste and off course the ongoing processes of Sanskritisation - Hinduisation.

At this stage young Chandran is also aware of the caste identity, the Avarna Ezhava identity of his household. He is also aware of the conversion of his grand father Chamiarappan into Christianity as Theodore, following the torture at Kalpathy Sathyagraham in the hands of uppercaste Brahmins. ${ }^{1}$ His play mate Chelly the dalit boy tells him that learning Sanskrit is dangerous since Rama kills those Dalit Bahujans who learns Sanskrit like Shambuka (8) and that is why he is also afraid of going to school. Thus the long hisoty of denial of educational, economic, cultural, symbolic capitals and human rights to the vast majority of Dalit Bahujans in India under the hegemonic anti human ideology of Brahmanism and its social engineering is again evoked and overtly established here as a contemporary question subverting social justice and human rights even in the present. Chelly also hates his very name that reminds him of these age old fears and injustices and Chandran has no hesitation whatsoever in rechristening him "Jesus Christ" after his rationalist grandfather's defiant praxis. Chandran also raises basic questions about Caste identities before his grandfather (8).

Krishnan uncle was the youngest brother of Chamiarappan's grandfather. His quest for Sanskrit and Brahmanic knowledge was a valorous attempt to explore, expose and disseminate the epistemological enigmas and knowledge/power monopolies. Using his own community's limited knowledge of Ayurveda (traditional medicine in Kerala) and astrology as a launching pad he strives to gain the core of Brahmanic scholarship. He ventures out to Kashi/Banaras with a
borrowed sacred thread from his colleague and ends up in the mere futility of Brahmanic knowledge, that has deteriorated in to a hegemonic hermeneutics and epistemology within its protective codes like Manusmruti.

Moving away from his caste occupation he studied Sanskrit poetry and grammar. It was the time of the reign of Manusmruti. His gurus couldn't quench his thirst for Sanskrit. Then it happened - the acquaintance with Chathunni Vaidiar. As an exception to chathurvarnyam; in central Kerala there were some Avarna Vaidyar (practitioners of indigenous medicine, especially Ayurveda) households who were also Sanskrit scholars. Chathunni Vaidyar belonged to such a tradition. For Avarna Vaidyars (physicians) patient's caste was no bar. They could touch, caress and heal. There was no pollution and defilement but they embraced the Dhanwanthari oil. In the hands of these Aswini devas Sanskrit became herbal pastes and saffron, healthy generations. In the hands of Brahman it stagnated in cunning purity pollution riddles (12).... "Beyond the writing and articulation of Sanskrit I want the world to know that an untouchable who holds Brahmanyam could do whatever a Namboodiri wearing a sacred thread is capable of " (13).... Breaking his silence Chathunni Vaidyar said. "Sanskrit is not the language of the Aryans, Vedas and Upanishads do not belong to him. Flesh eating rapist, nomadic Aryan couldn't have sung 'Neti, Neti', 'chathurvarnyam mayasrushtam' this is not Geeta, invading some small human race on the verge of extinction he could had indoctrinated their sacred texts with the venom of his selfishness and arrogance." These words of Chathunni Vaidyar lead the curiosity of Krishnan uncle to the Indus-Gangetic planes where the history of Aryan invasion and Dravidian retreat reclined rested (14). ${ }^{2}$

So it was an intellectual and cultural challenge for Krishnan uncle. His inquisitive spirit and explorative potential was the metaphoric articulation of the search of various oppressed and marginalized people, in generations of struggles to regain their lost human rights and egalitarian dignity. In this historic enquiry the keen insights and critical observations of Chathunni vaidyar influences him very much. Vaidyar himself is influenced by the changes in the power structures and equilibrium. He is aware of the white lords and their lord Jesus Christ "a down trodden" carpenter of the old Roman empire who cured common people by touch (14).

Jesus Christ was not a white man but brown like us. A poor carpenter who earned with his hands.... Our people have also begun learning foreign tongues. In Kongunadu and in south Venadu depressed castes have followed this master carpenter of Nazareth (15).
Thus colonial intervention and the option of conversion is brought in at this early moment in the narrative itself. For lowercastes in Kerala conversion has been an option ever since the missionary intervention in the eighteenth century. ${ }^{3}$ This touching cure actually subverted the foundations of Brahmanic nightmare of the deadly polluting touch and provided an alternative world view:

It is memory, not the lack of it. The Caste hegemonic attitude lying deep in the mind. That sees others as degraded and untouchables. Cure without mercy made the Ashtangahrudaya dry out. Herbs and roots contracted underneath the green. Let us return to Christ. When the diseased followed him he touched them, with out hesitation and contempt and gave them back their life and health. In the hands of Namboodiri Ayurveda is mere verse... (16).
The knowledge/power monopolies and its controlled use for social engineering and dominance are explicated here. How, humane tribal/ folk practices of knowledge like indigenous medicine, gets absorbed in the scholastic Sanskrit Brahmanic epistemology and metamorphoses in to a hegemonic instrument of governmentality is explicit here again in direct contrast to the liberation touch theology that Jesus offers. This great touch was a great instance in our cultural history to abolish Caste, but unfortunately the Brahmanic fear of pollution still survives in disguise in all religions in our land. There are only Caste Hindus, Caste Christians, Caste Muslims, Caste Sikhs ... in India. ${ }^{4}$

Sense of supremacy and the fear of the loss of hegemony, mere purposes of power have been in operation in all these knowledge/ power discourses:

The learned are hoarding Sanskrit language. That is the fortress of violence. Remember the story of Ekalavya. There that divine language lays dying. We could have revitalized it, unless our Brahmins prevented it (18)
So Krishnan's quest should be read and accommodated in this broader perspective. It is not an infatuation for Brahmanism, but a great redeeming endeavor having epic proportions. That is why he insists to
have the old sacred thread of his Brahman friend, rather than going for a new one. "I could have bought a new thread, but I need one that had experienced the futility of Brahmanism, a thread that is soaked in the futile sweat of a futile life sans good deeds. My intention is to redeem it. (19)". But later in the narrative we find that this quest in to the treasure house of Sanskrit Brahmanic tradition also ends up in a futile juncture in Kashi where he curses the Manusmruti before his final exit.

Through the intimate and subtle portrayal of this scholar and his search the narrative problematises the history and present of Sanskritisation. It precariously articulates the paradoxes and the puzzle of this social process and provides a critique of a supposedly upward social mobility. In the contemporary Indian social milieu it is all the more relevant and insightful in the context of Hinduisation and Sanskritic homogenisation of Bahujans and even Adivasis, carefully carried out systematically to materialize not only neo hegemonic but fascist goals. ${ }^{5}$

The same question of Hinduisation is again hinted at in the development of Bali myth by Chandran in his identifications with the racial experience of his German partner Rosemary Wagner. The south Asian and Indian cultural question of caste is given a global dimension in juxtaposing it to the ethnic and racial cleavages and violence in Europe especially in the holocaust. The extermination of one human race by another is juxtaposed in Chandran's conscience as the subordination and marginalization of one group of people by another, epitomized in the myth of Maha Bali, the old Subaltern leader of the south Indian people, by the cunning of Vamana, the incarnation of Vishnu the Hindu god. The accidental coincidence in the anecdotes of Rosemary's father's refusal to kill Jews and Chandran's own father Velappan's acquittal of young revolutionaries against official obligations and orders; also vitalizes this cross cultural identification:

The holy tale of the retreat and reemergence of Maha Bali. The subaltern emperor, the loving barbarian, just ruler. The Vedic Brahmins say that Vishnu reincarnated as Vamana, not to bless these good virtues but to eliminate them. Poor slaves and peasants worship Vamana by erecting the mud idols of Bali. It was in the form of a pyramid. Broad base and pointed head, the humility of the Neanderthal man....in the run up to evolution and progress he sought the peace of the under world. That is the tale of Bali and Vamana distorted in and through time....Neanderthal man, Neanderthal emperor, the Paraya emperor who found peace in the depths of the earth. In the violence of evolution Maha Bali melted and sunk deep
in to the underworld. His return shows the merging of the beliefs of Arya and Dravida (27).

The invocation of Bali myth has been central in all Dalit Bahujan appraisals from Phule to Periyar. ${ }^{6}$ It could also be found in narratives like Mavelimantam, (a novel by K J Baby in Malayalam voicing the tribal question in Wayanadu) as a subversive and counter hegemonic discourse, a primal myth of survival and resistance. Here it is also given a universal and simultaneously local dimension in calling Bali subaltern, barabarian, Neanderthal and Paraya at the same time. The Parayas belong to one of the earliest human settlers of the peninsula and are the most widely and abundantly distributed caste category through out South India. The epithet Paraya emperor also points towards the anti movement of Sanskritisation enacted by Krishnan uncle; the notion of Dalitisation dramatized in the Paraya alliance of Pavithran the elder son of Chamiarappan in Tholannur Paraya slum only to be narrated later. But this pilot epithet provides a striking reconnection to the reader only when this unusual episode is exposed at an advanced state in the narrative. It is taken up further down in the paper.

From this myth of merging, Chandran and Rosemary move to the tentative solution of the racial amalgam and the notion of the redeeming hybrid child as a way out of the eternal labyrinth of caste and race. It also takes the form of an earnest plea for ethnic merging and exogamy reminding us of Dalit Bahujan thinkers like Ambedkar. ${ }^{7}$

Only a hybrid child could save us from this crisis, a pure offspring of lust...let Gita and the Furor bunker shiver in the rhythms of our union (28).

The strategic role of Gita in the perpetuation and legitimisation of Brahmanic hegemony and its Varna system has been reiterated again and again in the narrative exposing its anti Bahujan ideological history. Along with the Manusmruti it served as the key sacred text that prohibited Varna amalgam and Bahujan learning for centuries and legitimized Caste and Varna as god given.

This caste regime in its total manifestation is narrativised in the tale of Sumati grandma whose humiliation before a caste lord in the field reveals the inhuman perversions of purity and pollution, caste distance ('Shudrappadu' and 'Ezhavappadu') and purifying rituals:

Something forced her to obey the shouting. Through the long tunnel of five millennia that command pierced her ears. The
decree and command of Caste. Unable to defend it she began her retreat. One Ezhavappadu, fourteen feet. Her eyes on her feet, Nair's on her bouncing breasts. With the fourteenth count she fell back to the muddy field (29).
This common shame and experience of injustice unite the untouchable Avarna Ezhavas and Pulayas in a common solidarity against the Savarna caste lords. Pangelappan, the father of Sumati and his Pulaya assistant Rakkanakan join hands to avenge this disgrace;

We both are in this same mud, we must wash this off. You are my brother from now on (30).

This broader alliance and brother hood has initiated social transformation in the land. The common experience of caste injustice and not economic injustice was the sharing link in this proto type of today's Dalit Bahujan alliance. The non economic cultural and social characteristic of caste is again developed in the episode of Sivakamy, the Brahman concubine of Ponmudi's Appu Karanavar. There was no deficiency of wealth and prosperity for him, but still he felt something missing. It was not the economic capital but the symbolic and cultural ones. So he literally bought a Brahmin concubine and tried to learn the Gayatri mantra from her. But his uncouth tongue and speech organs failed him (31-2). This episode also provides an analysis and critique of orthodox Marxist positions of pure economic category of Class as the sole site of inequality and exploitation. It foregrounds the cultural and social materiality of caste and its non economic historical discursive contexts and genealogy.

If Appu Karanavar failed to reconcile Caste with economic capital and material power, Krishnan uncle too was a total failure in his experiments with cultural, educational and symbolic capitals of Sanskrit Brahmanic and Vedic knowledge. He throws away the Gita and Manusmruti to the Ganges (38). Thus it could be well argued that the narrative rejects the notion of Sanskritisation and suggests its anti movement of Dalitisation illustrated in Pavithran's silent intimations in the Paraya slum.

The era of symbols has not ended yet. The genitalia of time were still fertile. The seascape of saintly signs, departing and dying waves of the Ganges became the great pain of space and water. What have I thrown away? Opening the third eye of the downtrodden, Krishnan uncle said to Bhavathrathan, "Manusmruti!" (38).

In Hong Kong in his flat Chandran is narrating all these memories and tales of generations' confrontation of caste to his beloved Rosemary Wagner the German beauty who is going to give birth to their child Vel. Chandran describes Manusmruti as "the Mien Kef of the Brahman" (38). But Rosemary aptly picks up the contradiction in this discourse: "I am pointing towards the contradiction in narrating the five thousand years of Indian cultural continuity and the lack of it at the same time" (38). And this is precisely the central contradiction and irony of the narrative itself and that of the cultural history of India. This unique blend of "culture" and barbarity is the core conflict of India abbreviated in a four letter word caste. It is also the underlying narrative element that gives the vital creative tension to it. It also problematises the narrative voice by making it double voiced, self referential and auto telic. This central contradiction of caste is further developed here:

The secrets of caste are embarrassing. Failing in the contest those castes who had fallen in to the down trodden status on one side; and on the other side caught up in a mysterious physics Parayas searching for the inner secrets of earth, the magical humans who resumed research in the asylum of untouchability and exclusion, those who could exchange bodies. The nuclear physicists of my ancient hamlet (39).

Though untold it could be the same caste that could have lead Pavithran to the Paraya slums in Tholannur and made him enter in to their strange arts. He too indulges in the ancient and silent pursuit of his ancient brethren. Rationalist and communist Chamiarappan thus lost his hope in his elder son and he educates his brother Mayappan's son Gopalan in England. But even in the London pub where Marx enjoyed his beer and books he is haunted down by the shadow that he thought he had shed away in his homeland. His girl friend Millie asks him about caste;

One noon Millie accidentally asked about Castes. In the cheerful spirit of the beer Gopalan was threatened. "We could talk something else" he said. "Did anything hurt you, something on untouchability and pollution?" she asked. The enigmatic threat of caste peeping into the pub of Carl Marx. Entering the pubs violent youth attacked Jews and communists. But his personal pain took Gopalan's attention away. He was not bothered of all this. The light of the empire is everywhere; where ever you go you are second rates. Need to come out of this skin cover of the downtrodden. Could convert to Christianity, but it was not a solution. Though colonialism
modernised its colonies it did not even touch Varnasrama and caste. Varna and Caste they became the chief instruments of colonialism to govern the masses of India, as they became the topic of Millie's study. (42).
Contemporary historiography had already established this notorious compromise of colonialism with Brahmanism and patriarchy in India. ${ }^{8}$ The so called interventionist regimes and even missionaries collaborated and compromised to a great extent in retaining the old power structures and hegemonies, apart from tremendous educational and evangelical endeavors. That is the double labyrinth of caste and Christianity in India. Though Christianity has no caste Christians have caste in India and in Southeast Asia. The narrativisation of Caste Christianity in Kerala in The God of Small Things could be an illustration here, where you have an equation developed that equates Savarna with Syrian. ${ }^{9}$ Though Islam has no caste Indian Muslims are the most caste sensitive. We also have bloody riots every year between upper caste Sikhs and Dalit Bahujan Sikhs. Thus the dilemma of Gopalan in the London pub was not quiet that simple:

In his apartment, alone Gopalan thought of escaping the Hindu slavery. Christianity was of little help. Old uncle Chamiarappan's conversion to Christianity could not even touch caste. The strong bond between caste and the empire closed the doors of liberation. Being a subject of British India had only emphasized his subalternity. No more of this, now need to inhale the air of equality and be free at last (43).
He converted to Islam and became an ardent campaigner of it. He became Imtiaz Hassen. As an anti British campaigner he got asylum in Germany. But his selfless love for his beloved Jessica Bloom, a Jewish woman ends his life in the endless torture of a Nazi concentration camp.

Another important aspect of the narrative is that though it is a long fragmented narrative by Chandran as told to his beloved Rosemary in their Hong Kong apartment in a few hours before they lose themselves in the cyclone Angela; it comes to him from the generations of grandma stories of Ponmudi. All these family lore as preserved and handed down from generation to generation orally through the intimate and affectionate narratives of grandmas also came to Chandran through his Devaki grandma. Actually he was born and brought up in it in the old Ponmudi ancestral home, and as a sensitive child he picked up and developed its core conflict of Caste which seemed unresolved.

Thus generations of narratives and narrators and voices and perspectives converge in Chandran and his own voice seems lost in this polyphony．${ }^{10}$ It gives the novel a unique narrative structure but again the focal point is that of Caste and the Avarna struggles in confronting it．The grandma narratives and family lore converge in Chandran to be codified，edited and rendered in a standardised form that gathers and recreates the unwritten and often excluded Avarna domestic history．${ }^{11}$ It is also a textualisation of the unwritten other histories in the medium of the fictional narrative，creatively erasing the boundaries of history and fiction，extending the peripheries of the narrative and margins of epistemologies．

This unique unison is again exemplified in the frequent historical references to the practice of Caste，and untouchability． Discrimination in public spaces and places of worship like that of Vaikom temple in central Kerala and the history of struggle for temple entry and equality of worship is slightly evoked：

The disturbed generations of Ponmudi were not ready to retire and rest．They knocked at the doors of closed darkness where Krishnan uncle had knocked before．Not for the nuances of Vedic chants but to ridicule the Gayatri mantras of concubines． The omnipresence of injustices and the mundainity of injustices caught their conscience．They blackened the ＇Brahman only＇boards of cheap railway restaurants．The impatience of society was all pervasive accommodating these small protests．Over the sanctum sanctorum of Vaikathappan， Thotutaya Sivan，Chatayan，the ancient snake charmer，the Adi Dravidian trembled in wrath．His hand shook the towers and pillars of the temple and the untouchable devotees who were waiting outside for generations felt this tremor（52）．

Another historic reference is that of the Avarna struggle for using public roads，for the basic freedom of movement．It is again connected to another historic struggle at Kalpathy in Palghat itself as briefly mentioned at the beginning；${ }^{12}$ and the details could be relevant at this juncture．

Kalpathy road also belongs to the public roads in general that are built and maintained on public fund raised by taxing people like me．So I too want to walk on it，my Thalacheruman（chief Pulaya assistant）too．．．leading a group of educated Avarna youth Chamiarappan entered the Kalpathy road．．．he looked back and saw a mob in the formation．He was unmoved．The
rationalist and the divine dogma confronted each other． Chamiarappan felt bamboo roads falling on his back and the head being pierced as in fever．Nothing more．．．＇what Suppamani is he through？＇（in mixed Tamil and Malayalam）．．． languages can interbreed．It is only denied to Human clans by Geetha and Manu（59－60）．

Marking Chamiarappan and his fellows with stones as if they are dead， the Brahmans retreat．Recovering from this long unconscious state he declares that he is no longer Chamiarappan，but Theodore．So all these historical references in the fictional narrative registers and reinforces the construction of epistemological sights and resources about the Bahujan struggle in the making of Kerala and Indian society a democratic one，that is overshadowed and erased in the celebrated nationalist historiography and popular hegemonic notions about social transformations monopolized by the Brahmanic Savarna mainstream movements of Nationalism in India．${ }^{13}$ The grass root level democratization of our society was carried out through the formation of untouchable Avarna subjectivity and their mobilisation into democratic groups called communities as materialised in Kerala．Thus the democratisation of Kerala is the politics of Avarna subjectivity and communitisation．${ }^{14}$ This was a struggle against the internal colonisation of caste as sharply in contrast to the popular Savarna mainstream version of the nationalist movement，the breeding ground of imagined and chauvinist Hindutva revivalism that is taking fierce proportions in to the formation of an Indian Fascism．${ }^{15}$

This struggle to defy and escape Caste is also connected and contrasted with the greater questions of race and ethnicity in the story of Gopalan，son of Chamiarappan＇s brother who becomes Imtiaz in Europe．He marries Jessica Bloom a German Jew，as mentioned earlier and is exterminated as he prefers to share his beloved＇s destiny in her last days（61）．Velappan，Chamiarappan＇s son in law also experiences caste in self rule with in the British police force．He confesses to his wife that＂caste system in the service is more severe than outside＂（264）．Though he could not confront the internal caste system of the British service，he addresses the old debts：

As an Avarna Velappan experienced a more extreme form of humiliation than the slavery of his motherland．．．in the tea shop there are separate seats for Savarnas and Avarnas．．．Avarnas must wash the glasses clean after use．．．（95）．
When he became Subedar Major in the MSP he revisits this tea stall and hits back at the Savarna man who asks him to wash his glass．As
he leaves the shop the crowd gives him way. Later he comments to Pankajakshy that it was the same crowd that lynched Chamiarappan in the Kalpathy street. The difference was only that there was the crown of British emperor on his shoulders:
'Don't the country need freedom?' Asks Pankajam. 'whose country you mean?' 'I don't know. Father used to say that we should see greater truths forgetting minor disputes. He is in congress, does that harm us in some way?' ... there was a force behind my hand that beat Chappan Nair and the crowd that give me the way. The justice of British emperor. The crown on my shoulder (96).

Its complexity puzzled Velappan as he arrests the nationalists from Congress. This realisation of internal colonisation of caste and Brahmanic Hinduism as against the British imperialism is a major concern in the novel. As now being theorised and understood widely for the Bahujan masses of India the empire was only that of caste and Brahmanic hegemony. The European colonisation and its politico economic exploitations were only secondary to them and too often welcome relief. The western intervention and the options of religions were opening a revolutionary liberation discourse from the Bahujan thinkers in India, whether from Mahatma Phule or from Narayana Guru. Phule equated his Baliraj with that of the kingdom of Christ and Narayana Guru has declared that it was the British who gave him the right to knowledge, as against the Ramraj where Shudra ascetic Shambuka was beheaded by the lord himself. ${ }^{16}$ The radical realisation of this problematic of internal imperialism of caste and Brahmanic Hinduism as against the western imperialism and the urgent need to tackle the former is also articulated in the poetry of not only rationalist revolutionary poets like Sahodaran Ayyappan but also in Asan who is considered a considerably Hinduised and Sanskritised poet in Malayalam. Building upon this tradition of internal critique and voicing the multiplicity of subjectivity in the nationalist appraisals Thalamurakal also registers this difference of experience and the individuality of Kerala's so called renaissance in sharp contrast to the renaissances of the rest of the country which were largely Hindu reformist attempts lead by Arya and Brahmo Samajs, as for example Bengali renaissance. The cultural revolutions as it could be more appropriately called in Kerala in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the sole result of Avarna movements that experienced, identified and struggled against this internal caste imperialism in the light of modernist western missionary interventions projecting to the forefront for the first time the question of
social justice and egalitarian human dignity as exemplified in the Narayana Guru movement that mobilised the Ezhavas in a process of democratic communitisation. It also initiated further radical movements like Sahodara movement and Ayyankali movement that effectively continued the liberating democratic process further down to the social hierarchy. Thus the fundamental dissent and dissociation point was the experience of Caste Empire at the heart of the nationalist discourse by the Avarnas that uniquely positions Kerala's social transformation in sharp contrast to the rest of the country.

These greater questions of colonial intervention, internal imperialism, homogenising Meta narrative of nationalism, modern western missionary interventions and questions of colonial justice are thus effectively narrativised in the subtle but meaningful ambiguities and intense dilemmas of Velappan the colonial servant who hesitates to arrest a nationalist Congress man (96-7).

Chamiarappan confronted this interanal empire of caste with his rationalism, again signifying and textualising another major ideology that struck the Avarnas and Ezhavas in particular at the wake of the last century. This was articulated in the rationalist movement of Sahodaran K Ayyappan who interpreted his teacher Narayana Guru's message as 'No Caste, No Religion, No God, but Dharma, Dharma and Dharma' and initiated a series of inter caste dining and marriage practices in central Kerala. ${ }^{17}$ His conversion was only a symbolic act of his exercise of will and his liberty of thought and belief (98). Soon after his entry into the fold he identifies caste in Christianity:

There is caste discrimination in Christian church; though the parsons not ask to avenge for it. They have their separate assets and estates. The catholic church of the southern elders and the Basal Mission of the north Malabar both are trying to woo me into their folds. Even the Pentecost church which lacks followers too is not sparing me. Pastor Timothy is their man. Though they lack money they talk directly to God. A church without church (147).

The choice of conversion gave the untouchable bahujans at least a temporary way out of caste hegemony, though it constructed new hierarchies in more paradoxical reality formations within the promised spaces of Christinaity, Isalam and Sikhism. ${ }^{18}$ In Travencore there were even conversions to Sikhism. It was a great act of defiance and a challenge to the Savarna hegemony as we locate them in their context. Though it gradually gave way to new elitist claims and monopoly claims, the environment created a radical turmoil in the social sphere that
anticipated the above mentioned cultural revolutions in Kerala. The narrative elaborates with the help of a striking image of the caste viper retreating and lying dormant in to the dark depth of collective unconscious:

These conversions couldn't kill caste as such. Like a viper caste retreated in to the darkness of sleepy memories. Scanty skinned Christians claimed their origin in the Brahmin illams. According to Raghava Menon's account if their forefathers were Brahmins then the carpenters, porters and toddy tapers of highlands were also once Brahmins. Mere mathematics! (150-51)
As mentioned earlier this option of conversion gave a platform for collective bargaining to untouchable Avarnas. And it was instrumental even in the declaration of temple entry in Travancore. The evangelist educational missionary intervention played a critical role in this social appraisal by the Avarnas in Kerala:

The temple entry declaration of Travancore that weakened the Nivarthana Prakshobham (A collective political movement by Ezhavas, Muslims and Christians in early twentieth centrury for proportionate share in public service and education according to population) though not directly influenced the baptisms of Palakkadu. Conversion only remained in Ponmudi and certain other elite households. Many had just by lot taken a name like Thodore. Seeking a social lacuna for entry established churchmen from Travancore and Germany came to Ponmudy as an open door. Only when the Christian priests came the people switched over to Christian attire and prayers. Having no other way some became paid pastors and preachers (152).

As caste is narrativized in the context of conversion and colonial intervention as a metamorphosing creature, like a snake shedding its skin and retreating deeper and deeper in to the darker worlds of human unconscious; in the story of Imtiaz and Jessica it is connected to the greater questions of ethnicity, nationality, race-the still burning issues that created the holocaust and Nazi regime. The same notions of cultural and racial supremacy, monopoly and elitist claims were operating behind the Aryan supremacy theory of the Fascists, providing parallels with that of caste Brahmanism. Gopalan later turned Imtiaz was running away from the curse of his country that was caste; only to be ended up in the butchering grounds of another greater curse of the world that of race:

The Nazi soldier asks, "Who is she?" Imtiaz said, "Yes, she is my wife." The Nazi spits on Gopalan's face. Imtiaz is shreaking in the whipping. "You, who belongs to the vulgar castes, who defied the Aryans, do you have a wife? Say mate, the female one that multiplies the number of vulgar castes, or simply say whore, the Nazi roared... "Which whore has given birth to you?" Gopalan didn't reply. The question was repeated with the pain of whip falling on his face. The sergeant who was enjoying it from inside said, enough. Picking the collapsed man from the ground the soldier continued his torturous questioning. "Who is the pig who impregnated your mother?" "I was running away from India" realising its futility, Gopalan said, "from Caste." The whip once again began its rise and fall. From another time and space Chamiarappan cried, "No, no!" (241-42).

Decades after Gopalan's nephew and Chamiarappan's grandson Chandran writes about this story of the Ezhava Muslim who died in Nazi Germany for his Jewish woman, as he works on the caste conflicts of India for an international human rights publication (301). There are several junctures in the narrative where Chandran as a young man is presented being haunted by the memories of this Trans continental exile from caste that proved futile. The implication of this is that the caste question is not just a question of memory, but a contemporary political and immediate reality in the post independent present of India. The signification is certainly that of the sustenance of hegemony.

From his childhood itself Pavithran the elder son of Chamiarappan was in the company of the Parayas in the village, who were considered further below the Ezhavas in the caste hierarchy. Though till his old age Chamiarappan couldn't understand this 'downward' oriented action of his son, and he blamed him as an idiot, towards the end of his life the rationalist also practices this down ward oriented operations as he works among the scavengers of Palghat suburbs. This radical realisation of the underprivileged margins of caste system and the coming down to their fate and material reality, as in sharp contrast to the upward mobility towards the Savarna social space is striking and again reminds us of the praxis of 'Pulayan Ayyappan' as mentioned earlier. It is not an interventionist and paternal kind of patronising upliftment effort but a humble democratic act which could be described as Dalitisation as against the failed attempt of Sanskritisation enacted by Krishnan uncle in Ponmudi. ${ }^{19}$ Both upward and down ward movements are signified in the text in confrontation with the caste question. While Krishnan uncle represents the upward
mobility of Sanskritisation and its futility, the down ward movement of Pavithran to the Paraya slums and later Cahmiarappan to the Thotty slums of scavengers represent the anticipated decentering democratic movement of Dalitisation.

As a fictional narrative text from the material context of caste Brahmanism in India, Thalmurakal is anticipating the latter, a more democratic, decentered, humble and humane transformation of society that inculcates the margins without patronising pride but with a democratic and egalitarian humility. The narrative itself seems puzzled in this dual dilemma in the irrational psyche of Pankajakshy:

The memories of Ponmudi overflowed. From the sacred thread of Krishnan uncle to the occult arts of Paraya slum by Pavithran. To where has Ponmudi traveled? (319)
Along with the conversion debate, the role of English language in subduing the reign of caste too is given voice, in the story of Stella Stanley a dalit convert to Christianity, who masters the masters' language with a vengeance to overcome the Sanskrit epistemology and its world view. ${ }^{20}$ She is the daughter of Chelly, the child hood companion who tells Chandran about the arrow of Ram, and was intern baptized by Chandran as Jesus Christ. As Chandran becomes a journalist she writes him asking for support. She wants to write in all the leading journals about the caste imperialism of India. As Chandran concludes like the colonial justice and the law and order of the crown, that of 'MSP as a national movement', English language also materialized in the speaking of the subaltern, in giving a vent to the voice less in India by de legitimising Sanskrit as the language of knowledge/power and also abolishing its meta referential authority. Chandran writes to his parents:

Look mother and father, I took it as a joke what father used to say about Malabar Special Police that it was the national movement. But I understand its meaning now. If there is any role for a language in abolishing caste system, it is English. Like MSP, English also becomes an instrument of our national movement (340).
At this advanced state of the narrative the multiplicities of voices seem to converge on a focal point of racial amalgam and organic human continuum as Chandran and Rosemary Wagner sacrifice themselves in the cyclone to bring into the world their hybrid child Theodore Vel Wagner (344). The name of this future child is again significant, articulating a plurality of identity, a multiplicity of praxis and ideology, a
polyphony of cultures, civilizations and ethnicity. Theodore is the Christian name of Chamiarappan his grandfather bearing the traits of his rationalism and defiance of caste. Vel is a common south Indian name invoking the old Dravidian god Velan or Murugan, a popular deity of Bahujans from Cankam period to the present. And Wagner is his mother's sir name connecting his umbilical code to the blue blooded races of Europe. A movement from external political realities and socio economic formations to personal and individual reconciliation and transformation could also be identified in this evocative denouement.

Thus after taking up fundamental and unavoidable questions of caste, conversion, communitisation and Dalitisation the basic questions of democratisation of Indian polity, economy, society and culture at most, the narrative retreats or shrinks to the level of domestic and individualistic reconciliation or a resurrection at the organic and micro political or even bio political level. This broad movement from the socio culturally political to the micro and intimately political could be again identified in the whole gamut of Vijayan's writing, especially his historic critique of the Left and progressive politics in Kerala. It could again be contextualized and read in the subduing of radical ideology and eroding of faith in collective struggles and movements in a maturing writer and representative subjectivity in the wake of the commodification of the third world Left under corporate global capital. Again it also poses questions on the effect of aging and illness on subjectivity and agency of articulation. Yet the chunk of the argument and critique aims at the progressive mainstream discourses that evade the socio cultural and historic reality of caste and ethnic stratification of economy and politity in India, and the everyday material reality of multiplying and metamorphosing Brahmanic hegemony.

## Endnotes

1 The reference to Kalpathy struggle is a fictional rendering of the historic event in early twentieth century Palghat. For autobiographical accounts of this struggle see C. Kesavan, Jeevitasamaram (Kottayam: NBS, 1990), 182; and also the corresponding chapter in P. Kesavadev, Ethirpu (Trivandrum: PBH, 1999).
${ }^{2}$ All the subsequent translated extracts from the text are mine from the DCB, Kottayam edition of 1998.
${ }^{3}$ See M S S Pandian, "Church and Social Change in South Travancore," Economic and Political Weekly 25 (1990) 1767-8. Also Dick Kooiman, Conversion and Social Equality in India: The London Missionary Society
in South Travancore in the $19^{\text {th }}$ Century (NewDelhi: Manohar, 1989) and Gauri Viswanathan, Outside the Fold: Conversion, Modernity and Belief (NewDelhi: OUP, 2001).
4 See I Ahmed, ed. Caste and Social Stratification Among Muslims (NewDelhi: Lal, 1978) and "A Different Jihad: Dalit Muslims' Challenge to Ashraf Hegemony" (EPW, xxxviii, 46, 2003, 4886-91) for detailed accounts of dalit bahujan Muslims and their experience of inequlity from caste Muslims. For the same question in Christianity see Ajay Sekher below.
5 Sumit Sarkar, "The Fascism of Sangh Parivar"(EPW, Jan 30, 1993, 163-7), Also see Stany Pinto, "Communalization of Tribals in South Gujrat" (EPW, Sep 30, 1995, 2416-19).
6 See Gail Omvedt, Dalit Visions below.
7 B R Ambedkar, "Annihilation of Caste" in Valerian Rodriguez ed. The Essential Writings of B R Ambedkar (New Delhi: OUP, 2002, 263) and Castes in India: Speeches and Writing of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, Vol I (Bombay: Govt of Maharashtra, 1982). For a critical evaluation see Gopal Guru, "Understanding Ambedkar's Construction of National Movement" (EPW, Jan 24, 1998, xxxiii, 4, 156-7).
8 Tanika Sarkar argues that the colonial rule and the church compromised considerably with the Hindu Brahmanic patriarchy and uppercaste norms in retaining hegemony, Arunoday Guha is concerned about the double labyrinth of Christian Dalit hood that betray the victims their constitutional rights. The futility of Re conversion is the thrust of the argument in Biswamoy Pati since caste, not religion is the key factor. See Sarkar, Guha and Pati below.
$9 \quad$ Ajay Sekher, "Older than the Church: Caste and Christianity in the God of Small Things" (EPW, Aug 16, 2003)
10 The concept of polyphony is developed from Bakhtin's notion of the dialogic nature of language and the hetero glosia. See David Lodge, After Bakhtin. Essays in Fiction and Criticism (London: Routledge, 1990)
${ }^{11}$ For a detailed account on the 'Avarna Renaissance' in Kerala that ascribes the instrumental role to the untouchable Avarnas see Puthupally Raghavan, Viplavasmaranakal-III (Kottayam: DCB, 1995)p. 10-11. Also see P Chandramohan, Social and Political Protest in Travancore: A Study of the SNDP (1900-1938), M Phil Dissertation, JNU, New Delhi, 1981 and M S Jayaprakash, "Sree Narayana Guru and Social Revolution in Kerala" (Meantime, v, 10, Sep 5, 2003, 8-11). And also Reghu below. For details of Ezhava social mobility and communitization see Fiippo and Caroline Osellas, Social Mobility in Kerala: Modernity and Idenity in Conflict (London: Pluto, 2000).

12 For first hand accounts of these historical events see Kesavan and also Kesavadev below.

3 For the conceptual category of Avarna Renaissance in Kerala see Puthupally above, where he identifies the movements and leaders of Kerala renaissance emerging from the untouchable Avarna communities in the late nineteenth century. And for a critique of Savarna Brahmanic Nationalist renaissance in especially north India see J Reghu, "Kolonialisavum Jativimarsavum" (Madhyamam, Nov 28, 2003, 28-32).
14 J Reghu, "Understanding Community: Viswakarmas" (EPW, Dec 13, 2003, xxxvii, 50) p. 5304 contextualises the process of communitisation and understands community in distinction to class and caste. It also discusses the role of Ezhava communitisation and other Avarna communitisation processes in the modernization and democritisation of Kerala as used by Narayana Guru in delegitimizing the meta referential structure of Brahmanic hierarchical Hinduism. Also see his "Adhunika Keralavum Samudayavatkaranavum" below.
${ }^{15}$ Jotirmaya Sharma, Hindutva: Exploring the Idea of Hindu Nationalism (NewDelhi: Viking and Penguin, 2003) identifies four important ideologues of Hindutva; Dayananta Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo and V D Savarkar- all north Indian Brahmanic/Savarna mystic god men becoming powerful icons of religious regeneration. Also see the review article by K N Panikkar, "Protohistory of Hindutva" in The Hindu, Mar 2, 2004, 13.
16 Gopal Guru, "Liberating Jotiba Phule" (EPW, Aug 30, 2003, xxxviii, 35) defends and contextualizes Phule's reading of colonialism from Dalit Bahujan perspective and says it is possible to give multiple readings of colonialism. The historically marginalized sections who were made to suffer from cumulative disadvantages would be skeptical of the 'nationalist promise' and at times be supportive of imperial attempts that were making some space for these sections. Phule, Periyar and Ambedkar saw the opportunity side of colonial modernity. It is in this sense that one can understand Phule's attempt to compare Baliraja with Jesus Christ. Also see Sahodaran Ayyappan's interview with Narayana Guru, where he welcomes the western intervention. See Ayyappan below.
${ }^{17}$ K A Subramanyam, Sahodaran Ayyappan (Kochi: 1976), M K Sanu, Sahodaran K Ayyappan (Kottayam, DCB, !986). Also see Raghavan and Kesavadev below for impressionist images of Ayyappan the rationalist.

18 Rowena Robinson and Sathianandan Clarke eds. Religious Conversion in India: Modes, Motivations and Meanings (NewDelhi: OUP, 2003) specifically deals with conversion to religions like Sikhism, Islam and Christianity.
19 Rudolf C Heredia, "Subaltern Alternatives on Caste, Class and Ethnicity" (Contributions to Indian Sociology, 34, 1, 2000, 37-62) takes up in detail the notions of Dalitisation and Mandalisation and anticipates a subaltern hermeneutics.
20 S Anand, "Sanskrit, English and Dalits" (EPW, Jul 24, 1999, xxxiv, 30, 20536) elaborates the hegemonic purposes of language and pedagogy in India.

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## Changing Use of Urban Land in Kerala－A Case Study of Cochin

## Lancelet T．S．

## 1．1．Introduction

Earth as a home of man is continuously affected by changes due to natural and man－made causes．A close examination of several geographic studies shows that the importance of land use changes in different regions of the world．So that the significance of these stud－ ies have escalated due to their growing importance in planning and management of urban areas．A closer examination of several urban studies on changing urban land use and land cover patterns，activity system，land value，land policy etc．are noteworthy for regulating and managing urban land use problems．Land use pattern bears an inti－ mate relation with the natural surrounding and shows how far man has been able to make the best use of various opportunities offered by the Physical landscape．The landuse studies also help in understanding the spatial relations and interaction taking place between different land uses．

The present Land use pattern of Kerala reveals that the rural agricultural lands situated near the urban areas are converted into urban use as a result of extension of urban areas and agglomerations． The lands in urban areas are always scarce due to an ever－increas－ ing demand for land in order to accommodate various urban land uses．

In such a situation there is severe need of proper planning for land use and land management．Without planning there can be a risk of misap－ propriation in the allocation of land，giving rise to improper land utiliza－ tion，improper environmental situation，and other related problems．

Rapidly increasing population is creating pressure on land for urban use and promoting construction in risk areas，such as der－ elict lands，flood prone areas，bad lands etc．this kind of incompatible areas give rise to risk of various forms．This is sure to create havoc in the near future as seen from the sinking buildings and waterlogged resi dential areas in Cochin．Land use is always strongly linked with advances in human technology（Alonso，W．1964）decision on estab－ lishment of＇Specific and utilization type was taken by European coun－ tries during the middle Ages is still reflected in the pattern of land use．

## 1． 2 Area under Investigation

Cochin is located in the western part of Ernakulam district of Kerala state．It is bounded on the west by Lakshadweep Sea and on the other three sides by Ernakulam district．The study area extends between $9^{\circ} 53^{\prime} \mathrm{N}$ to $10^{\circ} 05^{\prime}$ North latitude and $76^{\circ} 12 \mathrm{E}^{\prime}$ to $76^{\circ} 23^{\prime \prime}$ East longitude along South－Western Coast of India．The study region has an area of 275.85 sq．kms．

Table－ 1

| Constituent Area | Number and Name | Area in Sq．Kms． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No．of Corporation | 1 Cochin Corporation | 94.88 |
| No．of Municipal town | 1 Thrippunithura <br> 2 Kalamassery | $\begin{aligned} & 18.69 \\ & 27.00 \end{aligned}$ |
| No of Census towns | 1 Mulavukad <br> 2 Kadamakudy <br> 3 Cheranalloor <br> 4 Eloor <br> 5 Thiruvanikulam <br> 6 Maradu <br> 7 Thrikkakara | $\begin{aligned} & 19.27 \\ & 12.91 \\ & 10.59 \\ & 21.95 \\ & 10.49 \\ & 12.35 \\ & 27.46 \end{aligned}$ |
| No．of Panchayats | 1 Elamkunnathupuzha <br> 2 Njarakkal | $\begin{gathered} 11.66 \\ 8.60 \end{gathered}$ |

Source：Census of India，Provisional Population totals－ 2001

Consists of Cochin Corporation, municipal towns of Thripunithara and Kalamassery with eight adjoining census towns and two panchayaths (Table 1).

On the basis of population the study area can be classified into three zones.

1. Highly urbanized Zone of Cochin Corporation having 596473 populations according to 2001 Census.
2. The second zone is municipal towns of Thripunithara and Kalamassery having a population of 59881 and 63176 respectively according to 2001 census. It comprises an area of 18.77 sq. kms and 27.00 sq. kms respectively.
3. The third zone consists of eight census towns with two adjoining panchayats(local bodies) in the urban core, which is also having urban characteristics. These towns and panchayats together have an area of 135.22 sq . kms and it is encircling the central city in a semicircular shape. So the actual boundary of the study area includes North by Nayarambalam, Ezhikkara, Kottuvally, Alangad, and Kodungalloor Panchayats, East by Edathala, Kunnathunadu and Vadavukodu panchayats, and South by Kumbalam and Challanam panchayats of Ernakulam district. Lakshasweep Sea and the adjoining backwaters cover the Western boundary of the study area. Generally the entire area is characterised by urban and semi urban land use pattern, and this region was identified as the planning region of Cochin Development Authority Area called Cochin Central City (Figure -1).

### 1.3 Historical growth of Cochin

The City of Cochin emerged as a modest harbour town since the last six decades. Cochin has developed as one of the 11 major ports of India and the nerve centre of industrial and commercial activities. Truly speaking, it has an ideal location with protected lagoons directly accessible to the seaport. Its hinterland is bountifully blessed by nature for urban concentration. The port and the Cochin city have primarily influenced the economic development.

### 1.4 Physiography of Cochin City

Cochin is divided into three well-defined zones. They are Coastal Zone, Backwater Zone and Elevated Zone.
Coastal zone has an elevation between $0<3 \mathrm{mts}$ above msl, Between backwaters and the sea is the long and narrow stretch of sandy seaboard densely covered by coconut palms.


Backwater zone has an elevation between 3-5 mts above msl. There are chains of lagoons and backwaters running parallel to the sea and extends as far as Njarakkal in the North and Mattanchery in the South. These lagoons are navigable by all country craft boats throughout the year.

Elevated zone has an elevation between > 5 mts above msl covering the coast, the plains and the ridges in eastern region. The North Eastern portion of the study area consisting of Edappally, Cheranalloor and Elamamkara areas have a slope ranging between 0 to $5^{\circ}$. And the slope between $5-10^{\circ}$ is present in the North Eastern portion such as Eloor, Kalamassery, Thrikkakara, Tudiyur etc. The areas coming under this category are good for construction purposes due to higher and stable terrain.

The main characteristic features of Cochin are the rivers, backwaters and low-lying wetlands. The Cochin backwaters form part of the Vembanad water basin of central Kerala. The canals and channels provide the cheapest means of transportation especially for bulk goods to and from the city. The backwaters are rich in their marine foods, which are the means of livelihood for a large portion of the population. Further it presents great potential for recreation for foreign and domestic tourists.

### 1.5 Urban land use pattern in Kerala

The Kerala state exhibits a very diversified land use pattern depending upon the variations in terrain, soil and availability of water.

1. Classification of landuse (Centre for earth science studies) 1989: Based on the studies by (CESS 1989, 1998 KSLUB 1995) the land use pattern in Kerala can be classified under six broad groups (i) Built up (Urban area) (ii) Agricultural land (iii) Forest land (iv) waste land (v) water bodies (vi) Others.

A sizable area of the coastal belt in Kerala is under urban landuse. The three City corporations such as Trivandrurn, Cochin and Kozhikode with 19 municipalities are located in the coastal belt covering 687 sq-kms area in 1991. The special feature of urban areas is that the settlement have a pattern of mixed tree crops and coconut palms inter mingling with the built up areas of residential and industrial land uses covering over the sandy ridges and laterite terrain.

Agriculture is the dominant landuse type throughout the coastal belt in rural areas. The crops grown comprise rice, coconut and arecanut palms, mixed tree crops, vegetables, Plantation crops like rubber and pepper etc. The clay dominated over the plains and valleys are used for rice cultivation. More than one harvest is obtained in most of the fields. In some fields, fish farming specially prawn has been introduced in rotation with paddy cultivation. Agricultural lands are widely present in low-lying areas in urban centers.
2. Classification by Kerala Land Use Board in 1995 categorized six broad land uses in coastal areas. They are: Built up land (15\%); Agricultural land (76\%.), Aquaculture (2\%); Other water bodies (14\%); Sand Beach $(6.5 \%)$ etc. The dominant land use was agricultural land with ( $76 \%$ ) and Wet lands of ( $14 \%$ ). The low-lying areas are waterlogged during monsoon and they are mostly inundated by seawater throughout the state. Locally they are known as kaipad in Kannur district, kole land in Malapuram district, pokali lands in Ernakulam districts and punja land in Alapuzha and Kollam districts.

Analysis of the district landuse pattern in coastal zones of Kerala shows that, Ernakulam district has high urban development. Kannur district ranks first in agricultural land. Alappuzha and Kasargode districts shows almost equal sand / beach area. The availability of wetlands in Ernakulam district helped higher aquaculture ( $14.51 \%$ ). The general land use pattern of Ernakularn district shows a high amount of built up area, agricultural area and water bodies including wetlands.

According to 1951 census, cultivators and agricultural labourers were highly concentrated in Ernakulam district due to the availability of agricultural land. But 2001 census reveals that workers other than household industries increased almost in all urban centres with the development of information technology and industrialization.

### 1.6 Distribution of land use / land cover in the study area

The Cochin central city has a severe pressure on land use as a result of rising population, diversification of economic activities, and exploitation of resources, port functions and economic development. These circumstances and opportunities have led to scarcity of urban land. The nature of land in the study area is very unstable. Large areas of the study area are getting out of urban uses as a result of flooding, sea erosion, and other natural calamities, on the other hand new lands are emerging both by natural and man made actions. First, New lands are forming along the coast as a result of wave deposits and sea accretion. Second, various measures have been taken by the government to increase the supply of land in urban areas. Some of the measures are reclamation of land by filling the streams, marshy lands and water bodies of the backwaters under developmental schemes, and converting cultivated lands especially paddy fields to urban lands. These activities are adding new lands for urban uses.

The changing land use pattern can be studied with the help of the data obtained from three periods, such as 1914, 1968 and 1985. The land use may be classified for these periods in the following six
major categories. They are Beach, Built up land, Agricultural land with mixed crops and settlements, Wetlands, Open space and Water body.

## Built up land

Built up areas with high concentration of buildings and houses were seen only in the coastal zone of the study area especially in Fort -Cochin and Mattancherry in 1914. These areas were the traditional spice trade centres of Kerala. But during 1968 the built up areas were spreading into almost all parts of the backwater zone due to the encroachment of urbanization. In elevated zone the built up areas were formed from the predominantly settlements with tree crops (semi built up areas) as a result of heavy concentration and pressure upon urban land due to industrialization, urbanization and economic development. The most elevated portions of the study area (>5mts above msl) were also converted into built up area with 59.50 sq. kms.

## Agricultural land with mixed crops and settlement (semi-built up area)

The amount of land under agricultural use with settlement in the Central City accounts 64.62 Sq.kms of the total geographical area in the study region. The scenario in most of the settlement areas is that it is mixed with tree crops. In the rural coastal stretches, on the other hand it is more often cultivated for single crop or dually used for crop-ping and fish farming. The conversion of agricultural low lands especially paddy fields into urban land are done both by public and private agencies in developing parts of the city. In the elevated zone, plantation areas (agricultural landuse) are present along with industrial land use.

## Beach area

Beach area accounts to 0.50 Sq . Kms. representing 0.18 percent of the total area within the study region. The beach is located in a narrow strip of land running in a north-south direction on western margin of Cochin. According to the Department of Science and Technology and Environment, and the Coastal Zone Management of Kerala, the coastline of Cochin is straight with very little beach and the sea waves strike and break away the sea wall leading to less opportunity for the formation of broader beach. Hence there is very little beach found in front of the sea walls.

## The wetlands

The wetland of Kerala coast includes mangroves, swamps, paddy fields, and marshy lands and open seafront. The studies related to the economic importance of wetlands on bio-diversity (Shankar,
et. al 1988), have revealed that there are ten wetland groups identified in Kerala coast. Among the coastal districts, Ernakulam with Cochin Central City ranks first in the distribution of wetlands. The wetland region in the study area belongs to tropical marine ecosystem consisting of many microorganisms, phytoplankton and zooplankton and micro algae. In 1914 the wetlands were covered with 62.25 Sq. kms. $(23.29 \%)$ of the total geographical area in the study region (A project report on Coastal land use, CESS, 1995).

## Open space

The Open space or the vacant land in study region is present in Wellington Island, south of Edakochi and Maradu, which occupy (1.42 $\%$ ) of the total geographical area in the study region.

## Water bodies

The water bodies are another major land cover existing In the study area including canals, backwaters, rivers, lagoons and streams. They altogether form $21 \%$ of the total geographical area with 56 sq . contributing much to the inland water transportation in Cochin region.

### 1.7 Aims and objectives

There are seven objectives for the present study.

1. To assess the physical factors affecting the pace, direction, pattern and structure of urban growth in the study area.
2. To study the geomorphological influence on land use change.
3. To analyze the socioeconomic factors responsible for urbanization and land use change.
4. To find out the spatio-temporal change of land use pattern from 1914-2004.
5. To find out the role of port influencing the urban landuse change in Cochin City and to assess the impact of Cochin port on the nature and type of industrial distribution.
6. To assess the wet land reclamation activities and land use change.
7. To examine the impact of industrialization and urbanization on environment and land use change.

### 1.8 Hypothesis

1. Physiography is the crucial factor influencing the pace, growth, direction and pattern of urbanization.
2. Urbanisation is reducing the land under back water system at a
rapid rate and at this speed of urbanization there is a risk of total reclamation of land from the backwaters.
3. Location of the Cochin port plays a pivotal role in the land policy, land value and infra-structural development in Cochin Development Authority Area.

### 1.9 Scope of the study

The urban land is a scarce resource and it is required for various activities in which people are engaged in urban areas. The urban land use regulation and its management have a profound effect on the present and future planning of socio economic activities. The physical growth of the city and its internal land use changes must be planned to suit the social and economic needs of the people. As a million City, Cochin planning authority has a great deal of issues to tackle, such as migration, housing, civic amenities like education and health facilities, public transportation both road and inland water transport for mainlanders and islanders, and enhancing opportunities of employment.

This type of studies will help in identifying suitable land use for healthy growth of population and their future expansion in the million cities like Cochin. The nature of land use data are which are systematically analysed ising both statistics and in a composite map format to show landuse changes and relationships help in understanding and formulating plans for the future urban growth and to achieve optimum utilization of land.

The main objectives of development plans in Cochin were to achieve a balanced spatial pattern of economic development and attainment of hierarchy of settlement pattern.

The rapid rate of urbanization and urban spread in Cochin region during early sixties caught the attention of the state government. The planning in Cochin commenced by the agencies of the state government with the establishment of a regional office of the Department of Town Planning and Architecture in 1962. In 1972 this department renamed as Department of Town Planning. They started preparing development plans and detailed town planning schemes. Preparation of master plans for Cochin urban area, preparation of GCDA (Greater Cochin Development Area), development plans for Cochin report 1991, structure plan 2001 etc. The present study has made use of many statistical methods and GIS tools to make detailed analysis. Hence this study is relevant and very useful tool to city planners and decision makers to understand the character of landuse change in the past, and it will help them to make future decisions in a better manner.

### 1.10 Methodology

## Data Sources :

## 1. Secondary data :

The secondary data related to the study area for the physical characteristics like climate, drainage, soil, ground water, vegetation, geology, land use and minerals were collected from various offices like Economics and Statistical Department. State Planning Board Trivandrum ; District Planning Office Ernakulam; Soil Survey Department; Ground Water Department, Geological Survey of India Trivandrum; and Meteorological Department - regional office Trivandrum etc. The existing land use data and data regarding urban infrastructure was collected from the office of Kerala State Land Use Board; Greater Cochin Development Authority office, Cochin Corporation office, and Cochin University of Science and Technology etc.

The Data regarding urban and demographic changes were collected from Directorate of Census Operations, Trivandrum-1 and the Centre for Development Studies Trivandrum. The coastal land use data of the study area was obtained from Centre for Earth Science Studies Trivandrum. The information of growth and evolution of Cochin City and its hinter land analysis was collected from Cochin Archives and Kerala History Association Library Ernakulam. The infrastructural details regarding urban growth pattern of Cochin City like transport, industry, Airport, Water transport, Seaport and centers of recreation were collected from concerned departments.

SOI toposheet of 1:63360 (1914), 1:50000 (1968) and 1:25000 (1985) was collected from Survey of India office Trivandrum. With the help of the satellite imagery of IRS, IC, LIS-III FCC 1; 10000 (February 2000) from NRSA, was used to study land use change. The rate of change in wetland reclamation was investigated with the help of people's participation for resource map of Cochin (2004).

## 2. Primary data : -

The collection of ground data through intensive field cheek ups was carried to understand existing land use and their socioeconomic dynamics: the investigator personally visited all local bodies and important industrial units in the study area. The data on land value were collected by visiting each municipality and village coming under the study area through real estate agents and senior citizens engaged in land marketing.

The data on the location of industries and its relation with Cochin port was collected through the primary data by questionnaire interviewing 31 questions. The aim was to know the location of industries in relation to, raw materials, market, finance, pollution control infrastructure of Cochin port and so on. The investigator interviewed all PRO's of the sample industries like marine, chemical, agro, mineral, forestbased etc. Random sampling was done for the of sample industries.

### 1.11 Analysis:

1. The maps regarding spatio-temporal change in land use pattern were prepared by the use of GIS Arc View software. Changes in land use pattern with each physiograhic zone were calculated in percentage and necessary cartographic techniques were applied.
2. Three sample areas $2 \times 2$ Sq. kms. were selected from three different zones and detailed analysis was made regarding the changes in landuse during the past 100 years (1914, 1968, 1985 and 2000). The total geographical area was calculated and physiographic influence on these changes were assessed and appropriate cartographic techniques were applied.
3. The pace and direction of urban sprawl was calculated using graphical method and the rate of urban area calculated.

### 1.12 Limitation of the data

1. For the preparation of land use maps 3 toposheets of different periods were used referring to 1914, 1968, and 1985, the frequency in periodic data could not be kept due to lack of sources of data.
2. For the recent data, LISS III FCC Imagery of 2000 from NRSA was taken.
The use of two different types and sources data satellite imagery and toposheet) for spatial analysis was another factor of limitations to the study. Moreover there was no alternative but to work together with toposheet data and satellite data although they have different nature of data acquisition.
3. The other problem was that Cochin port and the head quarters of Southern Naval basin with Naval academy are located within the study area. These areas are considered restricted areas. Hence it was very difficult to get proper and necessary data for the study.
4. The other data relating to wetland reclamation and environmental impact on land use change suffers from obvious setback because of scarce documentary evidence.

### 1.13. Organization and findings of the study

The introductory part of the study includes Research design, concepts and geo-economic background of Cochin. The core chapters were strongly associated with objectives and hypothesis. Direction, pace and structure of Urban growth in Cochin focuses on the factors like transportation, industry, availability of dry lands, International Airport, pull of satellite towns, influence of tourist spots, Location of industries and Urban Centers etc. Hence it is proved that the direction of Urban Sprawl in Cochin city is mainly towards North East direction.

According to physiographic conditions the Cochin region lies in midland about $0-10 \mathrm{msi}$. About one third of the study area located in the coastal region is low land and the rest is mid lands and backwater zone. Among thirteen administrative units of the study area eleven urbanized and two continued as rural. The dissected landforms consisting of backwaters, lagoons and number of small and big islands acted as natural barrier for further growth and development in low the lands. These physical restrictions prevented growth in low lands and promoted urban growth towards North East direction of the study area. (Fig. 2)

Another chapter shows the role of Cochin port in urban land use changes. This chapter clearly reveals the role of Cochin port in location of industries and urbanization of Ernakulam district. It deals with the distribution and relationship of industries with Cochin port.

This chapter explains how historical circumstances resulted Cochin Port as an important trading and urban center. Cochin port is one of the largest seaports of the East. And it is one of the potential seeds for future development of this region. The study shows the nature of industries concentrated, and their relation with Cochin port. It was observed that about $70 \%$ of industries located in the elevated zone on the north eastern parts had a very strong relationship with the Cochin port. Their concentration in this zone was due to good infra-structural facilities including fresh water, stable soil (laterite) and rock structure, labour, market and transport facilities, etc. Thirkkakara census town is the most important town in the elevated zone with the highest concentration of industries.

Among the ten industries surveyed $80 \%$ of the industries showed an intense interest in exporting their manufactured goods to foreign market with high dependence on Cochin port. The remaining $20 \%$ have local market depended upon trucks and lorries for distributing their goods. Simultaneously $50 \%$ of the industries are importing their raw materials through Cochin port from other foreign countries.


Fig. 2

Regarding administrative locations, $30 \%$ of industries are located in Cochin corporation and $20 \%$ in Thrikkakara, another $20 \%$ in Kalamassery and again 30\% in Eloor region. The study also brings to focus the role of Cochin port as the main economic hub putting light on the hinterland of Cochin port, marketing facilities and export items from Cochin port, etc.

The study on industries also deals with the environmental issues such as waste disposal, recycling methods, and pollution control laws for environmental protection.

The core chapter is on Saptio-Temporal Change of land use over a period of around 100 years (1914-2004). This chapter attempts to assess the factors affecting land use change, especially urbanization, and occupational change. It also deals with the distribution of various land uses of Kerala state and Ernakulam District in general and Cochin in particular from 1914 to 2004. The impact on environment in areas where landuse change occurred has also been studied. (Fig. 3)


## Fig. 3

The rate of urbanization has been increasing from $0.28 \%$ to $52 \%$ during 1914-2004. The present high rate of urbanization is associated due to industrialization and infrastructure development with the construction of bridges, opening of new roads and highways etc., which contributed much to the growth of urban development in the study area. During 1914 agricultural area with mixed crops was the prominent land use accounting to $54 \%$ of the total geographical area of 144 Sq.Kms.

But at present agricultural area with mixed crop has drastically reduced to 39.25 sq.kms. forming only $14.2 \%$ of the total geographical area.

Another indicator of land use change is the reduction of wet lands from $23.29 \%$ in 1914 to $14.2 \%$ in 2004. This is because of the reclamation of land for urban uses. The process of reclamation increased in the succeeding years leading to 2.49 sq. kms more dry land in 2004. This is due to the reconstruction of Cochin Naval Base, Naval academy and for the construction of new building associated with Cochin Port Trust.

The last chapter was prepared with the help of toposheets and LISS III FCC (2000) to identity the major physiographic changes in all the three zones of the study region. 9 sample areas were selected 3 in each of the three zones respectively.

## 1. Changes in coastal zone :

It was discovered that there is tremendous accretion of new land added to the Coast. According to marine geographers and Coastal Geomorphologists this change has occurred from the last hundred years. This place is near the mouth of river Periyar and Chalakudi River. During monsoon season a large number of streams and tidal canals drain silt into the backwaters and gradually connect with the sea. The investigation carried out by geological survey of India found that the mud banks are predominantly covered with clay, sets of laterite and alluvial formation deposited by present and past rivers and streams. According te geologist the interaction of various forces of nature such as current, tides, waves, ground swell, river discharges, occasional cyclones, exceptional storms and seismic disturbances are believed to be responsible for the formation of mud banks. There were two main changes resulting from physiographic processes between 1914-2000. ( Fig. 4)

1) Changes in the shape of coastline
2) Formation of new land called 'Puthuvaippu'.
2. Backwater zone shows a reduction of agricultural land especially paddy lands. During 1914 this zone was enriched with paddy and other cash crops like spices. Due to the urban encroachment and cornmercialization through Cochin port the cultivable land was converted to urban built-up lands. The concentration of medium and large-scale industries are found in the northeastern part of the Cochin urban area due to the availability of fresh water and comparatively low valued land. The growth of industries in this region slowly enhanced trade and commerce. This is one of the reasons for the reduction in agricultural lands. The pres-


Fig. 4
ence of backwaters and canals helped in the development of backwa-ter-tourisrn resulting in most of the islands and islets converting into tourist hotels and resorts. This also helped faster development of urban land in backwater zone than any other zone.

## 3. Elevated zone

The physiographic influences on land use change in the elevated zone are mostly in the size and shape of the wetlands. The main reason of change is due to reclamation of land for agricultural and residential purposes. The width of the streams has been reducing drastically in certain places due to the extraction of underground water for industrial purposes. Due to the conversion of agricultural land into built up land, a good amount of natural vegetation is being destroyed. This will result in severe environmental problems such as landslides, soil erosion, rock erosion etc.

### 1.14. Major findings of the study

The major changes in land use in the this region are

## Due to Physical factors.

1. Emergence of new land near the coast by accretion.

## Due to Cultural factors

1. Changes as a result of governmental measures and real estate agents.
2. Changes occurring as a result of urbanization and pressure of population on land.
3 Changes occurring as a result of industrialization and environmental impact.

## Abbreviation:

Kms. - Kilometers
Msl - Mean Sea Level
FCC - False Colour Combination
LISS - Lansat Satellite Imaginary.
CESS - Centre for Earth Science Studies
KSLUB - Kerala State Landuse Board
GCDA - Greater Cochin Development Authority

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We are republishing three valuable short write-ups penned by Rev. Richard Collins and Dr A. C. Burnell for the Indian Antiquary (1875). They are valuable documents for the historical study of early Christianity in Kerala.

## MALABAR CHRISTIANS MANICHEANS IN THE MALABAR COAST

The Pahlavi Inscriptions at the Mount and at Kottayâm are not, if we accept Mr. Burnell's own interpretation, Manichæan.* They simply, therefore, connect the Malabar Christians with Persia during some period of the Sassanian dynasty. Now this connection with Persia we are, I think, already pretty clear about, without supposing it to have been in the hands of Manichæans. There are Syrian documents which tell us that the Christians of Malabar were early connected with Urrhoi or Edessa. They speak of men of note reaching Malabar from Bagdad and Babylon too, as well as from Syria. We have no difficulty in understanding that these men would know the Pahlavi language, which was the court language of Persia at that time. And the nature of the Pahlavi Inscriptions, so far as they can be understood, would seem to indicate that the writers were rather Eutychians or Nestorians than Manichæans.

I can quite follow Dr. Burnell when he says that "all the trustworthy facts up to the tenth century" "go to show that the earliest Christian settlements in India were Persian." But I cannot follow to the sudden conclusion that they "probably, therefore, were Manichæan or Gnostic." The connection of the early Christian Church of South India with Urrhoi or Edessa is enough to account

[^0]for any amount of Persian antiquities now discoverable, without the supposition that the only Persian arrivals were Manichæans.

The testimony of Abû Zaid, in 805 A. D., as to the presence of "Jews and people of other religions, especially Manichæans" in Ceylon, is no doubt valid. But even this mention of Manichæans is to be received cum granow salis. For it is a remarkable fact that through the Middle Ages the term of opprobrium in fashion, in relation to any despised company of Christians, was Manichæan. See a very valuable note on this subject in Elliott's Horæ Apocalypticor, in an appendix to vol. II., on the charge of Manichæism against the Paulikians. Mr. Elliott says : "At the rise of Paulikianism, and afterwards, Manichee was the opprobrious term most in vogue. The Eutychian and Monophysite were reviled as Manichees; the Iconoclast as a Manichee. What else then the Paulikian dissident ? The charge once originated, the bigotry of the apostate churches in Greek and Roman Christendom pretty much ensured its continuance. "So at least through the Middle Ages." In a note to this Mr. Elliott adds, "In latter times Pope Boniface VIII, even condemned as Manichees all that asserted the prerogative of kings as independent of and not subject to the Pope." $\dagger$ Abu Zaid would only therefore have been following the fashion of the time if he called Eutychian, Nestorian, or any class of Christians he might meet in the East, Manichæans. The only safe conclusion we can draw from his testimony is, I fancy, that there were Christians in Ceylon.

Again, as to the name of the place Mânigramâm, where Iravi Korttan, who was probably a Syrian or Persian Christian, settled, I think it is very unlikely to have received its name from the heresiarch Manes. The meaning of Mânigramâm is more likely, I think, to be village of students. The Mâni was the Brahmachâri or Brâhman student. Another form of the same root is the common word in I suppose all (certainly in many) Tamil villages for any scholar -Mânâkkan or Mânawakan, the origin being no doubt the

[^1]Sanskrit Mânava, a child. Moreover the name Grâmam, if my memory serves me, was applied in Malabar chiefly, it not solely, to villages of Brâhmans. However, here I write under correction, since at the present moment I cannot verify my belief in the matter. But I may add that from the description in Mr. Whitehouse's most exhaustive little book of the Mânigramâkar, I am confirmed in my belief that they were Brâhman converts-or at least partial con-verts-perhaps to Iravi Korttan himself. Mr. Whitehouse points out that they were "connected with native law-courts," and that they became "trustees and protectors of lands and churches." They wore also, under Knân Thômâ, appointed to "regulate and manage all that related to the social position and caste questions" of certain "artizans." This is all very natural if they were Brâhman converts, but why Manichæans should be chosen for such positions it is hard to imagine. Mr. Whitehouse farther points out that the corpse of the last priest of the Mânigramakar at Kâyenkulam was burntevidently a reversion to the Hindu customs of their fore-fathers. Still further he tells us that in the neighbourhood of Quilon their priests, who were called Naimarachchan (by the way quite a Hindu appellation) were buried in a "sitting posture" and this is the way in which certain very high caste Nambûris are buried to this day. I am inclined to think, therefore, that there is more evidence that the Mânigramakar were high-caste Brâhmân converts, who originated from Mânigramâm, the student-village, which may have been one of the chief seats of Hindu learning at the time, than that they were Manichæans; which supposition appears to me to rest solely on the fact that the name of the place begins with Mâni.

Again, there was the troublesome character Mânikavâchakar,* who did much evil as a sorcerer in the early days of the Christian Church in Malabar. Now I do not think that this man had any connection whatever with the Mânigrâmakar, though his name does begin with Mâni. He was in all probability a Tami1 sorcerer: and I am not aware that the Manichæans were ever given to sor-

[^2]cery-at least there is no hint of the kind in Bishop Archelaus's disputation with Manes himself, nor in the Treatise of Alexander, Bishop of Lycopolis, nor in any subsequent description of the Manichæans I can find Mânikavâchakar is a surname still existing among the Tamils. The name is to be found to-day in Jaffna, and no doubt elsewhere. Other Tamil names have a similar origin. For instance one of our own native pastors has for his original family name Chînivâchakar, the meaning of which is not far to find, Chîni being 'sugar,' and vâchakum 'speech;' Chînivâchakar therefore means sugar-tongued; and Mânikavâchakar is 'Jewel-tongued,' Mânikya or Mânika being a 'ruby,' or generally a jewel. Mânikavachakar is therefore a purely Tamil name, and the man who bore it was, I think, simply a Tamil sorcerer. I may as well here confess that I myself once suspected that this man might have been Thomas the Manichee, of whom there has been some ground for supposing that he was once in Malabar. But I now think that the name and character of Mânikavâchakar is a sufficient answer in the negative.

I conclude, therefore, that neither Mânigramam, not Mânikavâchakar, nor the Pahlavi records, point with the least degree of probability, to Manes and his followers.

There may indeed have been Manichæns in South India and in Ceylon ; but I do not think we have found any certain trace of them at present, and we shall most certainly be misled if we begin to look up all the words beginning with Mâni. There is no ground whatever for supposing that Knân Thômâ was Manichæan; nor does it follow that because Mâr Sâphôr and Mar Aphrôttu came from Babylon that they were Manichæans. The Episitle of Manes to India might give some colour to the supposition that he had followers in some part of the country, but if neither the Mânigrâmakar, nor the perverts of Mânikavâchakar, nor the writers of the Pahlavi Inscriptions were Manichæans, where are we to find any trace of the sect on the Malabar coast?

With regard to the Apostle Thomas's visit to Malabar,

Dr. Burnell says there is "no warrant for supposing that St. Thomas visited South India-an idea which appears to have arisen in the Middle Ages, and has been since supported on fanciful grounds by some missionaries." But it appears to me that the grounds for supposing that the Manichæans were the "first Christian missionaries" to India—at least to Malabar-are much "more fanciful." For this fact we absolutely have no evidence. For though Sulaimân may have found Manichæans in Ceylon in 850 A. D. (which nevertheless I have shown to be somewhat doubtful, this does not deny the probability of there having been Christians already in Malabar. Indeed we have evidence, quite as trustworthy as that of Abû Zaid, that there were Christians in Malabar long before 850 A. D. And even with regard to the advent of St. Thomas himself, the evidence is certainly not so 'fanciful' as that Mânigrâmam is the 'village of Manes.' Cosmas in the 6th century found Christians in Malabar; but he says nothing of Manichæans. Pantænus speaks in the 2nd century of a Gospel of St . Matthew being in India, and of the visit of an apostle; and Manes was not then born. The report that St. Thomas had been martyred in India was known in England at least as early as the 9th century. The Syrians themselves speak or the care of the Edessans for them. And Eusebius and other Church historians tell us that St. Thomas was the Apostle of Edessa. It is remarkable too that Pseudo-Abdias, in his account of the Consummation of Thomas, adds to the original that St. Thomas's bones were taken by his brethren after his martyrdom, and buried in Edessa. Even though we allow that this is a myth, we cannot but ask, Whence did Abdias receive this idea of Edessa?

My own strong impression is that St. Thomas was the Apostle both of Edessa and Malabar, and that hence their connection arose. The Persian colonists thus become no mystery. The Pahlavi language, according to Max Müller, originated in an Aramæn dialect of Assyria, and may well therefore have been known and used so far north in the Persian Empire as Edessa; and from Antioch, which is not many miles from the ancient Edessa,
the Malabar Christians have received their Bishops from at least a very remote period. As Edessa was also the see of Jacob Albardai, the reviver of Eutychianism, I suspect that the Church of Malabar, or at least many of its members, have been Eutychians since the 6th century. But this is too wide a subject for me to enter on now.

Dr. Burnell seems to think that some causes must have arisen to "transform the old Persian Church into adherents of Syrian sects." But surely there is no necessity whatever to raise such a question. The Church of Edessa early became subject to Antioch, and beyond this there is no evidence of change. The name Syrian was, no doubt, first given to these people by Europeans. They never, I believe, call themselves Syrians, but Nasrâni Mâppilla.

It only remains for me to add that having read through Dr. Burnell's paper with increasing astonishment at the slender grounds, as they appear to me, on which he seeks to establish the fact that the earliest Christian sects in India were Manichæans, and having supposed that the Pahlavi Inscriptions were to make it all plain, my astonishment came to a climax when I read, "If these Pahlavi Inscriptions were Manichæan, they would be in a different character. It seems to me not unlikely, however, that relics of the Manichæans may yet remain to be discovered on the west coast of the Peninsula, where they once were very numerous." (The italics are my own.)

The Manichæan origin of Christianity in South India, then, is a thorough miserrimus dexter_and we may safely shelve the subject till the "relics of the Manichæans" actually do come to light.

All this does not, however, diminish one jot the interest one feels in the discovery of the Pahlavi Inscriptions at the Mount and at Kottayâm. I tender my very best thanks to Dr. Burnell for his antiquarian researches, and trust they may be long continued.

The true value of these Pahlavi Inscriptions is, I venture to think, that they testify to the fact, which I believe I was the first to bring forward, that there was a very early connection between the

Church at Edessa and the Church of Travancore and Cochin.
Richard Collins
Kandy, Ceylon, 18th March 1875.
(The Indian Antiquary, May 1875 pp 153-155)

# MALABAR CHRISTIANS MANICHÆANS ON THE MALABAR COAST <br> <br> A. BURNELL <br> <br> A. BURNELL CORRESPONDENCEANDMISCELLANEA 

## The Editor of the Indian Antiquary

Sir,-In your last number (for May) the Rev. R. Collins has printed some desultory remarks- "Manichæans on the Malabar Coast"- in which he disputes certain positions advanced by me in a monograph on the Pahlavi inscriptions of South India. In the course of his remarks Mr. Collins revives some notions respecting the socalled Syrians of Malabar which I had imagined to be obsolete in consequence of it being well ascertained that, besides being incredible in themselves, these theories entirely want evidence to support them. I shall now show that Mr. Collins has not made the case any better than it was. He has not adduced new facts, and his argument is disfigured by several misunderstandings of the books he quotes.

The attribution of the origin of South Indian Christianity to the Apostle Thomas seems very attractive to those who hold certain theological opinions, but the real question is, On what evidence does it rest? Without real and sufficient evidence, so improbable a circumstance is to be at once rejected. Pious fictions have no value in historical research. Mr. Collins refers to Abdias and Pantænus. Thanks to Dr. Wright, we now possess the Acts of Judas Thomas in an old Syriac text which cannot be very far from the original form of the myth. Dr. Wright (vol. i. p. xiv) attributes
this text to some time not later than the 4th century, and Dr. Haug connects the original text of this palpably Gnostic book with Bardesanes, who lived about the end of the second century. But this historically worthless composition (for it was written more than a hundred years after the events it relates), and which is the production or some ignorant and credulous man, even if it could he received as evidence, would only connect St. Thomas with the extreme north-west of India. Prof. Whitney and Dr. Haug,* with many others, look upon the pretended apostolic labours of St. Thomas $\dagger$ in India or China as a pious fiction, and, as there is no better evidence than what I have mentioned above, it is impossible to do otherwise than assent to the conclusion at which they have arrived. Nobody nowadays believes in the visit of Brutus to Britain, yet it rests on as good evidence as the mission of St. Thomas to South India, or even to India at all. Mr. Collins also refers to the story of Pantænus in support of his "strong impression" that St. Thomas was "the apostle both of Edessa and Malabar." He says: "Pantænus speaks in the second century of a gospel of St. Matthew being in India, and of the visit of an apostle." It would be difficult to misrepresent more completely the story of Pantænus, which we know only by the late hearsay recorded by Eusebius and St. Jerome, and not directly. Both expressly give the story as hearsay . "It is said " that Pantænus reached India, and found there a Gospel of St. Matthew (written in Hebrew characters) with some people "to whom the apostle Bartholemew had preached." Mr. Collins makes out that we have the words of Pantænus, and that "an apostle" (the italics are his own !) had preached in India,thus leaving the reader to infer that it might have been St. Thomas, as no particular person is mentioned. The story is late hearsay, and therefore valueless for proof. But even if this could be got over, it says nothing, about St. Thomas, and, as I have already mentioned

[^3](in my paper), India was in the early centuries A. D. the name of nearly the whole East, including China, and thus the mention of India proves nothing. Probably Southern Arabia was intended $\ddagger$ It is not till after several centuries more had passed that we again come to legends which connect St. Thomas with South India, and it is obviously useless to refer to these. Mr. Collins mentions Syriac documents; it is to be regretted that he did not quote them with precision, and say by whom they were written and whence they come. When he does so it will be time enough to consider their value.

As I have said, Mr. Collins has a strong impression that St. Thomas was the apostle both of Edessa and Malabar. He grounds this, apparently, on a motion that the "Pahlavi language, according to Max Mülller, originated in an Aramæan dialect of Assyria." I was much astonished at this, for I felt sure that that illustrious philologist could not have said anything of the kind. What he does say (Science of Language, Ist Series, 5th ed. p. 235) is as follows:"We trace the subsequent history of the Persian language from Zend to the inscriptions of the Achæmenian dynasty; from thence to what is called Pehlevi or Huzvaresh (better Huzuresh), the language of the Sassanian dynasty (226-651) . . . . this is considerably mixed with Semitic elements, probably imported from Syria." I might refer to the researches of Dr. Haug and others, and the views of the Parsi scholars, headed by their very learned Dastur Peshutun Behramji Sanjana, as regards the nature of this Semitic element (which was written but not spoken), but Prof. Max Müller's actual words show how utterly wrong Mr. Collins is. Even if he were right, what he assume (as above) would not support his "strong impression."

From whatever point of view the question be considered, the result is the same, -there is no evidence at all that St. Thomas ever preached in India proper, and the story has every mark of

[^4]being a vague fiction originally, but afterwards made more precise and retailed by interested parties.

This being the case, the only safe conclusion is that assertedthat the earliest Christian mission to India was probably Gnostic or Manichæan. Leaving aside the first, I will only again point out that the account of Al Nadim is an historical document based on original sources. Perhaps I carried too far my doubts about Manes having preached in India ; the word for 'preach' is ambiguous, but I see Spiegel (Eran. Alterthumsk. II. p. 204) accepts his journey there as a fact. At all events, Manes was a most zealous missionary, and certainly sent disciples to India. As to the meaning of India, there can be no doubt in this case. The Arabs used it in a perfectly defined sense. Thus the Manichæan mission to India in the 3rd century A.D. is the only historical fact that we know of in relation to Christian missions in India before we get as low as the sixth century.

Mr. Collins points out that Manichæan was a term of abuse among the early Christians. This is a fact;* but Abu Said was a Muhammdan, not a Christian, and if he had wished to abuse the Christians he would have called them all (orthodox and unorthodox) simply Kafirs. The Arabs of the 9th and 10th centuries were, however, possessed of too much culture and too little bigotry to interest themselves in the perpetual and trumpery squabbles of the so-called Eastern Churches. They had a distinct name for the Manichæans-Manani. Mr. Collins also urges a new derivation of Mânigramam, viz. from manava or Mani. Either word might be used in the sense he assigns, but what reason has he for supposing that it was so used in the 8th century? The derivation is in itself not probable. It is evident from the so-called Syrian grant that Mânigramam was not a Brahman village, and of conversions there is nowhere the least mention. Whatever the Mânigramakar were, Mr. Whitehouse's account (as quoted) gives little reason to sup-

[^5]pose that they were orthodox Christians. Mr. Collins also urges that Mânikavâchaka (in the Sanskrit form of his name) was not a Manichæan; I cannot imagine how anyone could over have supposed that he was. This eminent Tamil reformer is known historically; one temple, at least, founded by him exists still in the Tanjore province, and several of his works (on Saiva doctrine) are popular even now. He deserves better than to be called a "Tamil sorcerer," whatever that may mean.

Mr. Collins appropriates Dr. Haug's very important explanation of the inscriptions as Nestorian. This fact of their origin, taken together with the use of Pahlavi, seems to me to explain the whole matter. These inscriptions certainly are of about the year 800 A.D., and at that time the Nestorian missionaries were very active: the cross and inscription of Si-ngan-fu (in China) was erected by some in 781 A.D. But at that time Pahlavi was nearly extinct in Persia. Why then should Nestorian missionaries use a difficult language foreign to themselves and hardly used at all, except that it was the language of the people to whom they preached in South India. The inscription at Si-ngan-f $u$ is in Syriac and Chinese (see Col.Yule's Marco Polo). The ambiguous Persian names of the witnesses of the so-called Syrian grant of about 825 A. D. preclude the supposition of Syrian or of orthodox Christians. Again, why should Nestorian missionaries have used the formula we find in these inscriptions if the people to whom they preached hold Trinitarian doctrines at all. The most probable conclusion is that the Nestorians came to Malabar as missionaries to unorthodox Persian settlers.

For these reasons I still hold to the conclusions at which I originally arrived; they appear to me to be the only reasonable and probable conclusions, except new facts he discovered which may put the whole matter in a new light. The history of the Travancore Christians affords an ample field for research to many living in Travancore who have both opportunity and leisure for the work. Since the last fifty years there have been endless tracts and books
written on the subject; I have read most, but failed to find any new facts in them, or evidence of original research. Had a real investigation ever been made, it would not have been left to me to bring to light these inscriptions. I can only hope that this subject will be better treated in future, but I cannot myself assist,-I have other work to do. Dr. Oppert has the matter in hand.
A. Burnell, Ph.D.

Coonoor. (Neilgherry Hills), 18th May 1875. (The Indian Antiquary, June 1875 pp 181-183)

## MALABAR CHRISTIANS

## MANICHAANS ON THE MALABAR COAST <br> RICHARD COLLINS CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary"

Sir,-In the Indian Antiquary for June (vol. VI. p. 183) Dr. Burnell answers some remarks of mine on "Manichæans on the Malabar Coast," printed at p. 153, and I observe that he represents my argument as being "disfigured by several misunderstandings" of the books I quote. This, I wish to show, is not the case.

1. And first with regard to the account of Pantænus:-I accept Dr. Burnell's criticism in so far as it points out an inadvertence on my part. I regret that I wrote "Pantænus speaks," instead of "Pantænus is reported to have said," and that I have spoken curtly of his mention of "an Apostle." The fact is I had so fully discussed elsewhere (Missionary Enterprise in the East, pp. 6673) Eusebius's account of Pantænus's visit to India, his finding a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, and a report of a visit of "one of the Apostles," whom Eusebius states to have been Bartholomew, but whom I supposed, for reasons there stated, to have been,
possibly, not Bartholomew, ${ }^{*}$ but Thomas, that in the short space of a letter, and the cursory summing up of a number of facts, I simply stated the result as presented to my memory, instead of quoting the ipsissima verba of Eusebius. But though I have inadvertently made Pantænus speak, instead of Eusebius for him, his testimony through Eusebius is still virtually what I stated, as to the existence in India of a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew in the second century, and the visit of "an Apostle," whoever that Apostle may really have been: for were it indeed Bartholomew who visited India, he was still an Apostle.
2. Again, with regard to the history of the Pahlavi language, I can only suppose Dr. Burnell has an earlier edition of Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language than my own. In the 6th edition (Dr. Burnell quotes the 5th), vol. I. page 242, I read "This Language (the Pehlevi) though mixed with Iranian words, is decidedly Semitic, and is now supposed to be the continuation of Aramoean dialect spoken in the ancient empire of Assyria, though not the dialect of the Assyrian inscriptions. Formerly, Pehlevi was, considered as a dialect that had arisen on the frontiers of Iran and Chaldæa, in the first and second centuries of our era-a dialect. Iranian in grammatical structure, though considerably mixed with Semitic vocables. Later researches, however, have shown that this is not the case, and that the language of the Sassanian coins and inscriptions is purely Aramaic." I have not, therefore, misunderstood Max Müller. Nor am I yet aware that I am "utterly wrong" in what I have said as to the probability of the Pahlavi language

* I have stated in Missionary Enterprise in the East that "the name of Bartholomew nowhere occurs, either in tradition or church history, except in that one passage of Eusebius, and a passage in Socrates, which is manifestly a mere echo of it." There is, however, an apocryphal account called the Martyrdom of Bartholomew, of much later date, and which coincides in a great measure with what Pseudo-Abdias says of him : but its placing his sphere in India may be simply again a mere echo of Eusebius's passage which is under consideration. There is not a word as to Bartholomew's being in India in Dr. Cureton's Syriac Documents referred to below.
having been known in the north of the Persian empire, and even at Edessa.

3. With regard to the "Syrian documents," which I have "not quoted with precision," I thought that they, were pretty well known to every one interested in the history of the Syrian Christians of Malabar. These documents are the accounts the priests themselves possess of their early history. Translations of portions of two of them I have myself published (Missionary Enterprise in the East, pp. 68-72). Extracts from them are also to he found in other books. Whether these documents be regarded as throughout historically valuable or not, it is at least remarkable that they connect Malabar with Edessa. For instance, in one of them we read as follows:"Now in those days there appeared a vision to an archpriest at Urahâi (Edessa), in consequence whereof certain merchants were sent from Jerusalem by command of the Catholic authorities in the East to see whether there were here any Nazarenes or Christians." $* * * * \quad$ "After this, several priests, students, and Christian women, and children came hither from Bagdad, Ninveh, and Jerusalem by order of the Catholic archpriest at Urahâi arriving in the year of the Messiah 745 in company with the merchant Thomas." I am not without warrant, then, for connecting the early Syrian Church in Malabar with Edessa. Why do the priests cherish this tradition, and why do they retain the ancient name of Edessa, Urahâi or Urrhoi, -a name known now to only a few scholars-if there is no foundation for their statement?
4. To return to Eusebius's account of Pantænus, Dr. Burnell revives an objection, which has been used only too often and too recklessly-Dr. Barton amongst others-as a leaping-pole for historical obstacles, that "India was in the early centuries A.D. the name of nearly the whole East, including, China." This statement has a foundation of truth: but to use it whenever the name India is mentioned by early historians is simply to sweep India out of the argument by a petitio principii. According to this argument Megasthenes, for instance, though he called his book Indica, may
have visited Fuh-chan. The same argument may be used as successfully against Al Nadim's account of Manes as against Eusebius's account of Pantænus.

Further, Dr. Burnell disputes the evidence of Eusebius about Pantænus on the ground that it is "late hearsay," and therefore "valueless for truth. "If this canon, again, is to be upplied in so unreserved and sweeping a sense in our judgment of the statements of history, it is astonishing how much will appear to us "valueless for truth" : history must then be re-written, and in a very small volume too. How many, for instance, of Cicero's charming anecdotes must be expunged; everything introduced by fertur or decitur, or sape audivi or accepimius, must be regarded as either "pious" or impious "fictions." Surely we must be allowed some discrimination. When "hearsay" is really " late hearsay," and when the thing related is an improbable account of some obscure person, or wants colateral evidence of its truth, we may indeed justly doubt. But Pantænus was not so obscure a person that Eusebius is likely to have made a mistake about his journeys. One thing, at least, is clear, namely, that Clemens Alexandrinus, the pupil and immediate successor of Pantænus in the chair of the Catechetical school at Alexandria, was pretty well versed in Indian matters, which he is generally supposed to have learned from Pantænus. He knew enough to write as follows:- "The Indian Gymnosophists are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers and of these there are two classes, some of them called Sarmanæ,* and others Brahmans. And those of the Sarmanæ who are called Hylobii (í $\lambda o ́ \beta \imath o \imath) ~ \dagger$ neither inhibit cities, nor have roofs over them, but are clothed in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. Like those called Encratites in the present day, they know not homage nor the begetting of children. Some too of the Indians obey the precepts of Buddha (Bovitta), whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity, they have raised to divine honours." Clemens

[^6]was also acquainted with the then extant writings of Megasthenes, as further on he says, "The author Megasthenes, the contemporary of Seleukos Nikator, writes as follows in the third of his books, on Indian affairs :- 'All that was said about nature by the ancients is said also by those who philosophize beyond grace : some things by the Brahmans among the Indians, and others by those called Jews in Syria'" (Clem. Stromata, I. 15, translated in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. IV. pp. 398, 399). India, then, was pretty well known and understood in Alexandra in the time of Clemens; and Eusebius, of whom it is said that "he knew all that had been written before him," must have been a more obtuse, ignorant, or careless man than we generally give him credit for if, with the Stromata of Clemens before his eyes, he could make a mistake as to when and what India was, and as to where Pantænus went. More over, I would venture to ask, is it fair to say that Eusebius's testimony as to the journeying of Pantænus is founded on late hearsay, when Clemens died in A.D. 220 and Eusebius was born in 264 ? Indeed it is far from improbable that Clemens, who scarcely ever seems to have been without a pen in his hand and who wrote in his Stromata, "My memoranda are stored up against old age, as a remedy against forgetfulness, truly an image and outline of those vigorous and animated discourses which I was privileged to hear, and of blessed and truly remarkable men," amongst which remarkable men he apparently placed Pantænus first (see Clem. Stromata, bk. I. ch. i.)-it is, I say, far from improbable that Clemens left notes, in addition to what we find in the Stromata, of Pantænus's account of India, and that from those notes Eusebius drew his information.
5. Dr. Burnell remarks that Eusebius's account of Pantænus "says nothing, about Thomas." This is true. But it says something about Christians having the original Hebrew version of St. Matthew's Gospel in the second century in some part of India, and that before Manes had come into existence; and my object is not primarily to contend that St. Thomas came to India-though I have something more to say about that too-but that the early Christian
sects were orthodox, and not Gnostic or Manichæan, as Dr. Burnell supposes. All that I maintain about St. Thomas is that there is better evidence that he was the first missionary than that the hearsiarch Manes, or any follower of his, founded sects which have since become Christian. Let us observe that the fact that Eusebius mentions the existence of a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew among the Christians whom Pantænus visited in India furnishes very strong presumptive evidence that his story is true. For the earliest Gospel, used by what has been called the "Hebrew party" in the Church, as distinguished from the "Hellenic party," was this very original Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldee, version of St. Matthew; and if one of the Twelve, or any of their immediate disciples, visited India, this is the Gospel they would be certain to bring, (See this subject of the Hebrew Gospel ably handled in the Edinburgh Review for April 1875, in a critique on Supernatural Religion). Of course we have no certain proof that the Christians Pantænus found were in Malabar, and not in Arabia, Abyssinia, or China, all which places went equally under the denomination of India in the time of Eusebius, according, to Dr. Barton and Dr. Burnell. But there is a presumption of tolerable stability that they were somewhere in India. And we have proof in the evidence of Cosmas Indicopleustes, evidence which I am happy to find is accepted by Dr. Burnell, that there were Christians in the 6th century in Ma1e, or Malabar. And as the church found by Cosmas was evidently the same that still exists in Malabar, there is little difficulty in believing that the Christians Pantænus met in the second century were their forefathers. The Christians reported on by Cosmas were not Manichæans, or he would not have spoken of them as "faithful,"' nor would he have found a "Bishop," who had been "consecrated in Persia." If Pantænus came across the same church, the members of that church were orthodox in the second century.
6. Dr. Burnell seems to "have strong impressions" as well as myself. His last impression appears to be that unorthodox Persian settlers, i.e., Manichæans or Gnostics, used the Pahlavi language in Malabar till the ninth century, and that then Nestorian
missionaries converted them, through the instrumentality, at least partly, of the Pahlavi language, which they retained, although it had died out in Persia. But how does this coincide with Cosmas's evidence in the sixth century? He, being a Nestorian, would not have taken Gnostics or Manichæans for orthodox Christians. And that Nestorians in the ninth century should have written Inscriptions at Kottayam in a language they did not know, is not, surely, so likely as that orthodox Christians from Persia should have written them during the Pahlavi period. There is no reason why men knowing the Pahlavi language should have been Gnostics or Manichæans, and not Christians.

And when I find the Syrians connection their early history with that of Edessa : when I find Cosmas reporting the existence of a Bishop in Malabar in the sixth century, consecrated in Persia: when I find in the Council of Nicæa, in A. D. 325 a Bishop signing himself "Metropolitan of Persia and the Great India". When I find Pantænus -not speaking- but being spoken of as having found a Gospel of St. Matthew somewhere in India in the second century- I think I have some ground for an impression that there was orthodox Christianity somewhere in India between the 6th and 2 nd centuries, and also some grounds for suspecting that was Malabar. And when I am told by Dr. Burnell that he has found a Pahlavi Inscription to the Trinity at Kottayam, I seem to connect that in the most natural way, in my own mind, with the story of Edessa in the Syrian legends, and the Indo-Persian Bishops of Cosmas and the Nicene Council.

In opposition to this, and in support of the supposed fact that there were only Persian Gnostics or Manichæans in Malabar for eight centuries, Dr. Burnell adduces the following statements:that "Al Nadim says that Mani 'called on' Hind, Sin, and the people of Khorâsân, and 'made a deputy of one of his companions in each province'" : that Manes wrote an Epistle to the Indians: that the Arab geographer Abü Said says of Ceylon, "There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandib, and people of other religions, especially Manichæans : that there is a place in Malabar called

Manigramum, where Iravi Korttan settled : and, in fact, though not in so many words, that no one knew Pahlavi among the Persian settlers but Gnostics and Manichæans ; of which it may be briefly remarked that the coupling of Khorâsân with Hind would seem to draw one's attention to the north of India : that no result of Manes's preaching or Epistle remains in India either now or in history, though Christians still owning, the Eutychian Patriarch of Antioch do remain: that the Manichæans; of Ceylon were, as I have before shown, not improbably Christianis; and that the Mânigrâmakar* bore no resemblance whatever to Manichæans,

In short I most confidently place against one real historical notice on which Dr. Burnell lays so much stress, namely, AI Nadim's statement that Manes "called on Hind and Sin, and the people of Khorâsân," Eusebius's account of Pantænus, which is equally worthy of credit, and which, moreover, is backed by Cosmas's testimony in the 6th century, and the existence of Christians now.

Lastly, with regard to the statement by the Syrians of Travancore as to the connection of the Apostle Thomas with the early Indian Church, I do not claim for it absolute historical certainty; but I do claim for it a place above the region of mere "pious fictions." In the first place, if it be a fiction, that fiction certainly existed in the fourth century; for the Acts of Thomas, to which Dr. Burnell refers, is mentioned by Epiphanius, who was made Bishop

* The epithet Manichæan, in and about the ninth century, was not merely used, as Dr. Burnell supposes, by one sect of Christians in abusing another ; but it was a term that had got to be used indiscriminately for any Christians who were not at the feet of the great Bishop of Rome.
* If the name Mânigramaum be spelt more correctly with the dental than with the cerebral $n$ (Dr. Burnell spells it with the latter), then in the purest and most primitive Tamil it would describe a village ceded as a free gift by royalty. It may therefore have first received its name, when ceded to Iravi Korttan, if it had not the name previously (as I myself at present think) as a Brahman village. Certainly the Mânigramakar were Brahmans, according to Mr. Whitehouse'a account, whether converts or not. They were, however, in some way connected with the Syrian Church
of Salamis about A．D．368．The original version of the Acts of Thomas is attributed by Photius to Leucius Charinus：though I am quite willing to accept Dr．Haug＇s theory，as stated by Dr．Burnell， that it was written by Bardesanes about the end of the second century．This gives it a considerable antiquity．Now，in all the Apoc－ ryphal Gospels and Acts there is a certain groundwork of historical truth．This was necessary to obtain credit for the fabulous super－ structure．The object of the writer was to impose upon his readers some new doctrine，in most cases the worship of the Virgin Mary， celibacy，or some other practice contrary to apostolic teaching． Hence he took historical names well known in the Church，and their prominent historical surroundings，especially where they lived and where they went．For instance，in the Prot－Evangelium of James，among abundant fables，we find the historical facts of Herod，the Magi，Bethlehem，the ox－stall，\＆c．So in the Gospel of the Pseudo－Matthew，such facts as the enrolment at Bethlehem， the departure to Egypt，the return to Judaæ，and the home in Galilee are the historical groundwork．In the same way，with regard to the Acts of Thomas，while the main object of the writer is evidently to inculcate the doctrine of celibacy，and while he is profuse in fable， and even in decency，to gain his point，he must have some histori－ cal groundwork to obtain credit for his story；and there is the high－ est probability that the groundwork he studiously took was not only the correct name of the Apostle，Judas Thomas，but as in the case of pseudo－apostolic histories of Christ，the correct mention geo－ graphically of his sphere．The writere had nothing to gain in send－ ing the Apostle to India，but much to gain if the Apostle whose name he forged was well known，at the time he wrote，as having been the Apostle of India．

Nor，it should be well observed，is there any the least ante－ cedent improbability of the truth of the Apostle＇s mission．The Apos－ tles，one and all，were commissioned by a Master，whose words they were not likely to forget，to＂go into all the world．＂And assur－ edly，endowed，as they were，with the＂gift of tongues＂for this especial work，they could not tarry at home．

If then，the author of the Acts of Thomas gives us the right clue to the Apostle＇s sphere，all subsequent accounts are in har－ mony ：－the testimony of the Syriac document on The Teaching of the Apostles，which was brought to light by Dr．Cureton，and is most probably of the Ante－Nicene age，in which we read－＂India ．．．．．．received the apostles＇ordination to the priesthood from Judas Thomas，who was guide and ruler in the Church which he had built there，［in which］he also ministered there＂（Ante－Nicene Library， vol．$x x$ ．）：－the testimony of Eusebius ：－the testimony of Al－ fred＇s ambassadors to the shrine of Thomas ：－the testimony of the Syrians themselves ：－and the connection of the Syrians of Malabar with the Christians of Edessa，of which church St．Tho－ mas is said to have been the first apostolic overseer and director （Ante－Nicene Library，．vol．xx．Syriac documents，p．6）．

I apologize for the length of my letter．I have felt it incum－ bent upon me to give authorities at length．And if I have added nothing new，I am more ambitious to be correct than original．

Richard Collins，M．A．
Kandy，Ceylon，23rd June 1875.
（The Indian Antiquary October 1875．pp．311－314）

Editors Note：
These notes discuss many historical points of current interest．We invite scholars to continue this discussion in the light of the state－of－the－art of historiography and christian studies today．

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[^0]:    * See Ind. Ant. vol. III. pp. 308-316

[^1]:    $\dagger$ Conf. Gibbon, Hist. vol. VI. pp. 47, 57, vol. VII. pp. 136, 138, 142 \& c. ;
    also Elliott's Hore Apocalyptica, vol. II. p. 306 (3rd ed.).

[^2]:    * Not indeed mentioned in Dr. Burnell's paper, but described at length in Mr. Whitehouse's Lingerings of Light.

[^3]:    * In his review of my monograph (as originally printed) in the Augsbury Gazette.
    $\dagger$ Whitney, Oriental and Linguistic Studies, vol. II.

[^4]:    $\ddagger$ As the author of Supernatural Religion (4th edition), vol. 1. p. 471. understands it. Where I am I can refer but to few books, so I take his extracts from Eusebius and St. Jerome.

[^5]:    * It is well known, and does not rest on Elliot's Horæ Apocalypticæ, a book devoid of scientific value.

[^6]:    * श्रमण
    $\dagger$ वान प्ररथ

