

Gaze On The *Hindoo* Population Of Keralam: The Surveys During Colonial Period

P. S. Manojkumar

Department of History, Sri C Achutha Menon Government College Kuttanellur,
Thrissur

Abstract

The paper focuses on how the survey of the princely states of Travancore and Cochin and the district of Malabar viewed the Hindu population and what Hindoo was in the early decades of 19th century. The paper also views on how the term Hindoo and its definition of population content attempted to generate an idea of homogenization of people who didn't belong to Semitic religions. It also views on how the differences in terms of life patterns, religious beliefs and practices and social hierarchies in terms of jati latent in the societies of these regions were reflected in the surveys exposing the irreligiosity of the term Hindoo.

Key Words: *Hindoo, Survey, Jati, Travancore, Cochin, Malabar*

In 1792, by the treaty of Srirangapattanam, the English East India Company gained control over the Malabar region. It became part of the Madras Presidency as a district. Later through subsidiary alliance, the princely states of Cochin and Travancore came in to the surveillance and domination of the English East Indian Company. Once the power was consolidated and the Company officials started ruling the region which came in to their custody, the real problem regarding the knowledge about the people and the region upon whom/ which the administration was to be implemented surfaced.

The colonial institutions through which the colonizers attempted to know the colonized were, as Benedict Anderson has stated, predominantly the census, the map and the museum.¹ Bernard S Cohn has furthered the modalities for acquiring knowledge.²

For administrative convenience, the English East India Company was in need of maps and knowledge on population and geography. In this circumstance, number of geographical, revenue and military surveys were conducted. Clements R Markham has given a detailed picture on the initiation of Topographical Surveys in South India. He says:

...the maps of Indian districts had been based on military route surveys. The initiation of detailed topographical surveys, based on triangulation, is due to Colin Mackenzie, one of the most indefatigable surveyors and persevering collectors of information that ever served this country... It was Mackenzie who suggested the establishment of the Madras Military Institution, which, under the able superintendence of Captain Troyer, trained most of the surveying officers who, under Mackenzie and others, carefully surveyed the peninsula of India.³

The survey reports were originally designed to carve an outline for the knowledge base of the region where they have to rule.

Survey of Keralam

Clements R Markham has commented on the surveys conducted in Travancore and Cochin states. As can be read in Markham's book, these surveys fall into the first period of Topographical surveys conducted in India. Markham says:

Travancore and Cochin were surveyed by Lieutenants Ward and Conner between 1816 and 1821. Their memoir, in seven volumes, contains a journal, tables of triangulation, and descriptions of the districts, villages, forests, productions, and passes. Extracts from it, describing the hill tribes of Travancore, were published in the "Madras Journal of Literature and Science," vol. i, pp. 1 and 54.⁴

Lieutenants Benjamin Swain Ward and Peter Eyre Conner (Hereafter Ward and Conner) were the officers of Madras infantry. They were the charge officers who conducted detailed survey of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. The Travancore survey was started in July 1816 and was completed towards the end of 1820.⁵ They conducted survey of Malabar in July 1824.⁶ The compilation of the Memoirs of these Surveys was completed by them as a joint enterprise.⁷ The surveys though designed to ascertain the geography and the nature of improvements there on, also incorporated in them, the demographic dispersion and the social stratification in caste and religious levels thus giving a holistic picture of the society.

Survey of the Princely State of Travancore

The survey memoir is in two volumes. The first volume exclusively deals with the Travancore state. In this volume, there is a description on the religious institutions of Travancore. Ward and Conner states:

Unexposed to the violence of Moslem arms, the southern shore of Malayalam is more completely Hindoo than most other parts of India, but its religion differs from that of the neighbouring countries only in the greater extent of its superstitions.⁸

The influence of the Brahmins was high.⁹ The lower classes had their own temples but also accepted the deities of higher segments of society as their gods.¹⁰ They also worshipped inferior divinities and minute demons.¹¹

Even though Ward and Conner have used the word 'Hindoo' to denote the people of 'Southern shore of Malayalam', it is to be noted that it is a usage to denote an alienation from the 'Moslem'. For them southern shore of Malayalam is a land which is **not exposed to the arms of Moslems** (emphasis added). It is in this context that the word 'Hindoo' is to be seen. When the matter of people belonging to this category of 'Hindoo' comes, multi-level stratification is observed. There were variations in the observation of religious rituals and various deities were also worshipped.¹² Citing of such basic differences among the people in the observance of religion is important. This clearly indicates that they were not viewing the non-Muslim or non-Christian people of 'Southern shore of Malayalam' as people having homogenous religious identity. 'Hindoo' was taken as a term denoting a group other than Muslims, Christians and certain other categories. It was in no way a religion or a word imbued with religious connotations.

The non-homogeneity among the non-Muslim or non-Christian people of this region whom Ward and Conner called as 'Hindoo' is evident from the diverse religious and ritual practices these people observed during those days. As is evident from the discussions in the memoir various segments of society observed various religious practices. Among the non-Muslim or non-Christian people are the Brahmins, Kashathriyas, Ambalavasis, Nairs, various classes of Shudras, Ezhavas, Hill-tribes, Arayas, Pulayas, Parayas, Vettuvass, Nayadis etc. Ward and Conner have observed the difference between these groups with respect to power, prestige, enjoyment and denial of social spaces etc.

Citing the difference within upper caste people, Ward and Conner have commented on the structure of Brahmins of Keralam. Putter Brahmins were excluded from the performance of the ceremonies in temples.¹³ This difference and exclusion of certain people belonging to certain sects is not that peculiar to the Brahmins alone. Serious diversities among the so called Hindoo¹⁴ is evident when they comment on the religious practices of different sections in Travancore. It varies from the temple worship to the sacrificial ritual.

Pointing out the long catalogue of deities, Ward and Conner have stated as follows-

The long catalogue that yet remains (of which about two thousand peculiarly belong to the lower orders) is divided among the endless diversity of *Di Domestici* and *Di inferanals* (for they seem to think the agency of the devil very active amongst them) and local or sylvan deities who presiding over the business of rural life alike share their adoration.¹⁵

The variations in the spaces provided to the deities are also noted. While the gods of superior orders as *Vishnoo*, *Siva* and *Bhagavadi* are worshipped in temples, the gods of rural areas which presided the rural life were typified generally by rude stones placed in the midst of groves called kaws.¹⁶ Apart from these are the divinities peculiar to the hill tribes which were called as Shawars or the dead heroes fabled to have fallen beneath the sword of panchapandoos.¹⁷ These show typical variations in the arena of worship and belief systems.

The diversities and non-homogeneities within Hindoo were not confined to the religious practices, worship or anything related to the approach to divinity alone. It is further attested by the pattern of division of people.¹⁸ The authors were well informed and were convinced of the marked differences inflicted by the caste. To them, the people are alienated by the prejudice and institution of caste.¹⁹ The spaces assigned to various castes were noted by the authors:

Place of residence becomes more honorable as it approaches the vicinity of the temples; the idea of defilement as regards them is carried to a most offensive extent, and the Brahmins do not fail to encourage impressions so favourable to their own interest; no class below the Nair dare approach their neighbourhood, and draw water from the tanks adjoining them, or presume to bathe in those lavatories.²⁰

The population table presented in the memoir gives the details of people in caste and religious terms.²¹ The division of people as presented in this table starts with *Malliallum Brahmins of superior castes* and ends in people belonging to Hill Tribes.²² Other groups as per the table are, *Malliallum* Brahmins of inferior caste, Various Castes of Brahmins of the

eastern coast, *Chetties* and Nobles or *Prubookamars*, *Umbalawassys* or those castes connected with religious establishments, *Malliallum* Principal *Shoodras* or *Nairs*, Secondary class of *Shudras* or *Nairs*, *Mohamedans* of various denominations, Various castes of *Tamul* of Eastern Coast, Different classes of weavers, washermen, potters and barbers, *Konkanice*, *Rajpoots*, and *Mahrattas*, Artificers and traders of various kinds, Christians of every descriptions, *Showans* or *Eleewars* and various subordinate division of this class, Division of *Parriar* caste and Different predial slaves.²³ These social groups to them were non-homogenous groups having vast differences not only in their access to social spaces, but also in the very living/subsistence patterns.²⁴

These disparities in the nature of subsistence, according to them, reflected in their food habits too.²⁵ The vast differences in the food habits is traced as follows: for the people belonging to the upper segments of the society, "Conjee or rice soup forms the first meal; the second consists of rice, their condiments are of the most ordinary kind"²⁶ and for the lower segments, "Rice constitutes the food of the lower classes for but a portion of the year; their scanty store exhausted, great variety of the yam, cultivated tuberous roots, and sago produced from species of palm, afford a substitute- many of the hill tribes subsist almost entirely on arrow-root..... but the mountaineers are not alone reduced to this meager fare; that of all lower classes is frequently precarious, often wholesome and scanty; an indiscriminate appetite makes wild roots of every kind, particularly of aquatic plants, for which polayen is seen searching up to his neck the waters of the lake. Lizards, mice, etc., contribute to supply deficiencies."²⁷

The cost of living, each of the social segments was to meet, has been given:

The expense of a Nair family in tolerable circumstances will not exceed ten or twelve rupees a month, of a Showan probably not more than a moiety of that sum, which with a Polayen may still be reduced by half.²⁸

Thus, from the above discussions, it is clear that Ward and Conner have tried very clearly to depict the differences and non-homogenous nature among the non-Christian and non-Muslim people of Travancore, whom they called "Hindoo".

Moreover, they have tried to delineate the homogenous groups in the population table²⁹ presented in the text. The explanatory notes following this table pictures what they have internalised as homogeneity.

Commenting on Brahmins, they have stated that, "Though divided by caste, the population has a great similarity of manners."³⁰ In the case of Nairs, they have opined that, "The Nairs may be considered as constituting the soul of the population. They are all of the Shoodra tribe but split into various classes."³¹ About Ezhavas, they have stated that, "The Shogamars or Eelavars are not of the Shooder tribe. To the south this class is known as Shaunars; to the north as Teeans, denominations carrying with them but slight shades of distinction, and all may be considered as applicable to the same race."³² Regarding Hill-Tribes Ward and Conner had opined that, "A few wild but inoffensive mountaineers share amongst them the whole of the hilly parts.... Influenced by all the prejudices of castes, they are divided into several distinct tribes, who have little intercourse with each other, but their character is similar."³³ Regarding Praedial slavery and those belonging to this category, they

have stated as follows: "Those subject to predial bondage are known under the general term of *Sherramukkul* (children of slavery). Their name is connected with everything revolting, shunned as if inflicted with the plague: the higher classes view their presence with a mixture of alarm and indignation; and even towns and markets would be considered as defiled by their approach."³⁴ Vaituwans,³⁵ Polayens,³⁶ Parriars,³⁷ Vaiduns, Oolauders and Naidees³⁸ form the population of Praedial slaves.

The descriptions of various districts in Travancore in the memoir shows that there was a general pattern of settlement where the Brahmins, Nairs, Chetties and similar groups attained spaces within the limits of town. That is, those caste groups who were having social power resided within the town limits. The caste groups who lacked such social powers were denied with such social spaces in towns. The case of Shanars, who lived away from these comfortable locations, suggests the distinction between these groups. The lower segments of the society were denied urban life. They were supposed not to be present in these spaces or were not to approach the locations where the upper caste people resided.³⁹

Survey of the Princely State of Cochin

In the case of Cochin, the population of the districts, according to the census reports, comprised of Brahmins of various castes, *Chetties*, *Umbalawassy*, *Nairs*, *Weavers*, *Washermen*, *Barbers*, Various castes of Tamils from Eastern coast, *Konkanies*, *PuppadaChetties*, *Koodoomeccars*, *Smiths*, *Artificers*, *Carpenters*, *Moosulmen*, *Elavers*, *Polians* and *Parriars*.⁴⁰ Only exceptions are *Kunneeanur*, *Cochee* and *Codachayree* districts, where Jews were present.

It is interesting to note how Ward and Conner have confronted and categorized the population of the Princely State of Cochin. The district wise census data has been furnished. *Kunneeanur* district was densely populated and the density of population was 451 persons per square mile.⁴¹ The population in this district was divided into 64 castes.⁴² Christians were the largest group in the population. The Nairs, predominate the rest of population and came to one-fifth of the total population. *Ezhavas* were having similar but somewhat smaller proportion of population when compared to the Christians. *Konkanies* and *Mohamedans* comprised of three and two fortieths of the total population.⁴³ Among the Brahmins, larger portion was *Nambuthiries* and they held considerable amount of property.⁴⁴ In *Kodungallur*, the inhabitants were divided into 46 castes.⁴⁵ *Nairs* and *Ezhavas* were in similar proportion, each composing about one-fourth of total population of this district.⁴⁶ *Mohammedans* and *Polayens* were two-seventh of the population.⁴⁷ *Konkanies* had a population of one-twelfth of the total population.⁴⁸ While discussing the population of *Kodakara* (*Codachayree*) district, Ward and Conner states that there were 62 castes in this area.⁴⁹ Christians were the most predominant group and it came to one-fourth of the total population.⁵⁰ The proportion of Nairs, *Ezhavas* and praedial slaves were rather equal and came to around seven-fortieths.⁵¹ An interesting detection was the presence of *Naiddies* who were wandering about the inhabited parts.⁵² Coming to the case of *Mukundapuram* district, the general density was 248 people per square mile.⁵³ There were seventy five "castes forming as many distinct classes"⁵⁴ Among these *Ezhavas* were most predominant. They came to six-twentieths of the

population.⁵⁵ Nairs and Christians were equal in numbers. They came to four- twentieths of the total population.⁵⁶ The number of *Mohamedans* in this area was one- twentieth of the total population and that of Konkanies was half the number of *Mohamedans*. The population of praedial slaves was three times the number of *Mohamedans*.⁵⁷ In *Enamakkal* (*Yainamakul*) district, the total number of castes (used in the text as *classes*) was fifty nine.⁵⁸ Ezhavas were predominant in this region. They came above six- twentieths of the total population. The total number of Nairs came to about five-twentieths; that of Christians about three- twentieths and of praedial slaves came to a similar number.⁵⁹

A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar

Clements R Markham has commented on the Survey works conducted in Malabar. He says:

Malabar was surveyed by Lieutenants Ward and Conner between 1825 and 1829. Their memoir, in one volume, furnishes a special description of each taluk, including Wynaad, but Ward refers to the great work of Buchanan for fuller details.⁶⁰

The province of Malabar was divided into 18 *Taluks* or Districts containing 2222 *Deshoms* or Villages.⁶¹ The census taken in 1827 shows that the total population of the province was 10,22,215.⁶² The population was most dense along the coast and for some distance into the interior.⁶³ Citing the 1827 Census Report, Ward and Conner discussed the population of Malabar.⁶⁴ The 'Uttapady' region- an extent of 200 square miles-which was a part of this province, had "several hamlets occupied by a race of hill people called Madamars"⁶⁵, who cultivated "some of the slopes"⁶⁶. They migrated every three or four years to more desirable tracts.⁶⁷ Ward and Conner noted that, there were no compact villages or towns in Malabar, except long coast and that, that coast was inhabited by Moplha merchants and Mookwars or fishermen.⁶⁸ Tellicherry, Calicut, Cannanore and Ponnani were the principle towns and these were inhabited by various castes.⁶⁹ They have noted that the number of towns inland is few as Angadipuram, Mannar, and Palghaut.⁷⁰ Palakkad was extensive and a place of trade.⁷¹ The town of Palakkad was surrounded by 'Agerums or Gramams' occupied by Brahmins.⁷² They have furnished taluk wise details of population. The population in Kuvvoy taluk was 46,340 giving 88 individuals per square mile.⁷³ The whole consists of a variety of castes as Nairs, Teers, Moplhas, as also so many of the lower classes as Cherumars, Polians, mostly slaves.⁷⁴ In 'Calicut' Taluk, the population was split into 66 castes.⁷⁵ Among them Nairs, 'Namboories', 'Illovens or Teers' predominate.⁷⁶ In Cheracul taluk the population was 38,509. The constitution of population was Brahmins, Nairs, Teers, and Cherumars.⁷⁷ Compared with Nairs and Muslims, the number of Namboothiris was less.⁷⁸ Discussions on Ernad Taluk suggest that, the population was split into 50 various castes in which Muslims and those of the Nair caste predominated.⁷⁹ Among the others, Namboory Brahmins comes to one- fourth.⁸⁰ The Punnians were the low caste people and were slaves.⁸¹ In the Shernaud Taluk, among the population, almost one half was the Muslims and about one fifth the Nairs. The remaining population was composed of 42 castes.⁸² These include the sections as Polians, Churmurs, Punniars, etc.⁸³ In the Bettudnaud taluk, one seventh was Brahmins and Nairs. Almost one half was Muslims and remaining population was composed of 40 different

castes.⁸⁴ These castes include “Smith, Washermen, Artificers” etc.⁸⁵ But the larger portion of people were “Praedial Slaves as Churmurs, Polians, Parriars, etc.”⁸⁶ In Nedungad taluk, the population was 83044.⁸⁷ Here the Namboothiri Brahmins and Nairs were predominant.⁸⁸ In Wyanaud Taluk, the population (34272 people as per 1827 census) was split into 85 castes.⁸⁹ These included, “Nairs, Punnians, Coorchers, Chetties of various denominations, also Moola Kurumars”⁹⁰ etc. In Chowkaad, Ward and Conner has observed a predominance of Mukwars and Teers though their population was not higher than ‘Jonagurs’.⁹¹ They have also identified that, Brahmins and Nairs come to about one- fifth of the total population in this region.⁹² Among the others, frequently seen people are those belonging to (the wretched class)⁹³ Naidee groups.⁹⁴

The above furnished data based on the Census report of Malabar province, in the year 1827, can be taken as an evidence to prove that the discussions on Hindu religion did not gain momentum in the Malabar province during the census period and even when Ward and Conner were preparing the text of *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar* during the period in between 1825 and 1829. In this text, while discussing the population, not even once was the term Hinduism used. Instead, the heterogeneous *jatigroups* were given due mention and the society was viewed as caste society instead of religiously ordained society.

Idea of Hindoo as Projected in Survey Reports

Let us take the categorization in the above-mentioned population data to discuss the way in which Ward and Conner had conceived the idea of ‘Hindoo’.

It is very clear that they have made some arrangements to conceive the social disparities and castes in *Travancore* and *Cochin States*. A classification and categorisation of castes had been done by them for convenience. For example, take the case of Brahmins. It comprised of all the segments from those bearing the title ‘pad’ (ie., *Namboothiripad*) and having superior ranks in society, Poties (Brahmins south of Quilon), Akkaterypad, Bhattathiripad, Chomaderipad, Muttumadda Putter etc.⁹⁵ The learned among the Brahmins were Vaidians or Sandies.⁹⁶ *Numbuddy (Nambidi)*, *Mootoadda (Moothathu)*, *Aghapaudovel (Akapoduval)* and *Eleeadoo (Elayathu)* were treated as inferior castes of Brahmins.⁹⁷ Apart from the native Brahmins, there were some other groups in the Keralam society who claimed Brahmin ranks. The Putters were migrant Brahmins.⁹⁸ So were the *Embrantries (Embranthiri)* who had come to Keralam from Canara (Tulunad) region. In the discussions on Brahmins, all these castes together formed the Brahmin community. So, it is to be noted that Brahmin was not conceived as a homogenous category by the Surveyors. This is the case of Kshatriyas too. To Ward and Conner, Tumbeemars were the most eminent among Kshatriyas. *Teroomapaud (Tirumulpad)* was of less dignity. The Saumunders were of secondary estimation.⁹⁹ When it comes to the case of *Ambalavasies*, it has been conceived as a conglomeration of various castes. Varriar, Mauroyen (Marar), Shakkaiur (Chakyar), etc belongs to this category.¹⁰⁰ This is very much a fact in the case of Nairs. There was hierarchy among the Nairs and they were never homogenous groups. The higher order of Nairs was Madumby or Prubhookamars.¹⁰¹ Apart from these, there were several others among the Nairs- Kurtaos (Karthas), Kaymulla (Kaimal), Kurup, Mainawen (Menon) and Pulle

(Pillai).¹⁰² In the case of the lower segments of the society, the authors of Memoirs have categorized them as praedial slaves. It included *Sherramukkal*(Cherumas), *Vaituwans* (*Vettuvass*), *Polayens*, *Parayas*, *Vaiduns* and *Oolauders*.¹⁰³

It is clear from the above indications that Ward and Conner conceived social segments as *Brahmins*, *Nairs*, *Ezhavas*, *Ambalavasis*, Praedial slaves etc as separate homogenous classes or the groups that were not having any form of religious affinities within the society. Each of these groups had separate socio- religious identities within the society which were expressed by the social associations, belief systems and ritual practices. These groups themselves were constructed with various categories that did not share any common grounds of life as marriage, relations, inter dining etc. Thus for them, Brahmin was an entity in itself which is a hodgepodge of similar such identities. So was Nair, Ezhava, Praedial slaves, Christians, Muslims etc.

While discussing the population of various districts, they *classes* instead of castes. This very usage is an indicator of how they have conceived *Keralam* society.

Thus it could be logically understood that though Ward and Conner had used the term “Hindoo”, while discussing the societies of Travancore and Cochin, it was never an indicator of a Religion. On the other hand it was an umbrella term to denote the people who were not that familiar to them in the terms of Religious practices as Christians, Jews and Muslims. Further, it is to be noted that the groups which have religious status- such as the Christians, Jews and Muslims- were denoted as castes. This is an indication of how they conceived separate groups of identical castes. The deep-rooted differences between these social groups were identified by them. Thus, to them, ‘Hindoo’ was not a religion or a homogenous group sharing a common religious identity, but a conglomeration of different social groups who were non- Jews, non- Christians and non- Muslims. The sharp differences among these groups in the arena of subsistence, food habits, worship, sharing of social spaces, exclusion from social spaces etc. in the Princely States of Travancore and Cochin show the non-homogeneity within the ‘Hindoo’ conglomeration.

Relevance of Survey Reports of Ward and Conner

Ward and Conner were, in a way, constructing word Maps of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar through their survey reports. Though these maps were not visualized then, in strange ways as in the case of Cairo and Macca,¹⁰⁴ these served the functions of maps in the colonial hands. In the survey reports the land was no longer land alone. On the other hand, lands were seen in a different way, as they were never seen till the gaze of surveyors fell upon them.

The survey reports of Ward and Conner dissected the land in terms of geographical division, resources, inhabiting people, institutional sites, flora and fauna, settlements, domination and power elements over the land. A different form of imagination over possession was emerging through surveys, which problematised the traditional view of land. These reports reflected the possession and absences of possessions over resources and land. The power structure and social relations which existed in the traditional societies of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar centering the land and resources were exposed. That, the land and resources were in the hands of few is itself an indicator of the edged disparities that

existed in these societies. Brahmins, Nairs, Muslims and Christians were the groups who possessed land in these areas. The rest- of course, the majority of the population- was alienated from the rights over resources and land.

The silences maintained in the survey reports about the possession of resources seem to be an important indicator not only to the disparities among various segments of society, but also to the non-homogeneity among the people. The Polians, Parrians or the different classes of predial slaves were never mentioned in the discussions regarding the rights over resources and land. Except a few deities whom the authors had treated as inferior, they did not own anything else. Moreover, the statuses accorded by the surveyors- predial slaves- to these sections of the societies indicate that they too were in some way or other, the properties or possessions of the powerful people.

Apart from these, some sections of societies as *Naidies* were treated as the wretched of the people.¹⁰⁵ They were variously found as wandering about the inhabited areas or as taking alms sitting in streets or as begging for living.

The survey reports picture such a huge disparity that existed among the people whom they called as “Hindoos”. The disparities were not only resource oriented. It was something related to customs, ways of life, social relations, social spaces to which each and every category of people had access, deities the worship, the food they eat, etc. Everything was different. There were nothing to bind the people- religiously or culturally- who were non-Jews, non- Christians or non- Muslims.

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⁶*Idem.*

⁷*Ibid.*, p.vi.

⁸*Ibid.*, p.98.

⁹*Idem.*

¹⁰*Idem.*

¹¹*Idem.*

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 98-101.

¹³*Ibid.*, p.99.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p.98

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.99.

¹⁶*Idem.*

¹⁷*Idem.*

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p.120-21.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p.119.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p.100.

²¹*Ibid*,,p.120-21.

²²*Idem*.

²³*Idem*.

²⁴*Ibid*,,p.123.

²⁵*Idem*.

²⁶*Idem*.

²⁷*Idem*.

²⁸*Idem*.

²⁹*Ibid*,,p.120-21.

³⁰*Ibid*,,p.125.

³¹*Ibid*,,p.130.

³²*Ibid*,,p.144.

³³*Ibid*,,p.145.

³⁴*Ibid*,,p.149.

³⁵*Ibid*,,p.150.

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³⁷*Ibid*,,p.151.

³⁸*Idem*.

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⁴⁰Ward & Conner, *op. cit.*, p.207.

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⁴²*Idem*.

⁴³*Idem*.

⁴⁴*ibid*, p.202.

⁴⁵*ibid*, p.227.

⁴⁶*Idem*.

⁴⁷*Idem*.

⁴⁸*Idem*.

⁴⁹*ibid*, p.241.

⁵⁰*Idem*.

⁵¹*Idem*.

⁵²*Idem*.

⁵³*ibid*, p.253.

⁵⁴*Idem*.

⁵⁵*Idem*.

⁵⁶*Idem*.

⁵⁷*Idem*.

⁵⁸*ibid*, p.265.

⁵⁹*Idem*.

⁶⁰Clements R. Markham, *op. cit.*

⁶¹Ward & Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Thiruvananthapuram: Keralam Gazetteers Department, 1995, p.1.

⁶²*Idem*.

⁶³*Idem*.

⁶⁴*ibid*, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁵*ibid*, p.3.

⁶⁶*Idem*.

⁶⁷*Idem*.

⁶⁸*Idem*.

⁶⁹*Idem*.

⁷⁰*Idem*.

⁷¹*Idem*.

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⁷⁴ *Ibid.,* p. 31.
⁷⁵ *Ibid.,* p. 104.
⁷⁶ *Idem.*
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⁷⁸ *Idem.*
⁷⁹ *Ibid.,* p. 118.
⁸⁰ *Idem.*
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⁸² *Ibid.,* p. 128.
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⁸⁴ *Ibid.,* p. 136.
⁸⁵ *Idem.*
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⁸⁷ *Ibid.,* p. 150.
⁸⁸ *Idem.*
⁸⁹ *Ibid.,* p. 189.
⁹⁰ *Idem.*
⁹¹ *Ibid.,* p. 225.
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⁹³ *Ibid.,* p. 242.
⁹⁴ *Ibid.,* p. 225.
⁹⁵ Ward & Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States Vol1*, p.125.
⁹⁶ *Idem.*
⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p.128.
⁹⁸ *Idem.*
⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p.129.
¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p.129- 30.
¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.128.
¹⁰² *Ibid*, p.131.
¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p.148- 152.
¹⁰⁴ Benedict Anderson, *op. cit.*, p.170.
¹⁰⁵ Ward & Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States Vol 2*, p.125.