

Tracing the Socio-Historical Ramifications of Adivasis: Choorakettankudi an Inquiry

*A dissertation submitted
to Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in History*

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**Affiliated to the
Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam**

March 2018

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the project entitled “**Tracing the Socio-Historical Ramifications of Adivasis: Choorakattankudy an Inquiry**” is a bonafide record of the project work done by Albert Johnney, B. A History (Voc Model II) Forestry and Environmental History Semester VI (2015-2018) Pavanatma College, Murickassery, Idukki, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in History from Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam.

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DECLARATION

I Albert Johnney, do here by declare that the project entitled **“Tracing the Socio-Historical Ramifications of Adivasis: Choorakattankudy an Inquiry”** is a bonafide record of the project work done by me under the supervision of Mr. Jijo Jayaraj, Assistant Professor on Contract, Department of History, Pavanatma College, Murickassery, Idukki and that it has not been submitted earlier to any other university/institution for the award of any Degree or Diploma.

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This project entitled “Tracing the Socio-Historical Ramifications of Adivasi: Choorakettankudy an Inquiry” is a serious research attempt to find the socio-cultural and political life of Muthuvan tribes. It is my dream which has been initiated since my third semester onwards.

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INTRODUCTION

The project based on the study of the life style of Muthuvan tribes in Choorakattankudy. Generally Muthuvan tribes are scattered in several area of Idukki district like Devikulam, Adimaly ,Nedumkandam Panchayath. These Muthuvan tribes love to live peacefully in the lapse of dense forest. It is one of the few tribes who have still abstained from developing connection with the people of and outsiders. Agriculture is the main occupation of the tribes. But were very much addicted to the alcohol and another intoxicants.

The Muthuvans of Choorakattankudy tribes situated in 17th ward of Adimaly Grama Panchayath. They were migrated from Madura about years ago. It is believed that they got the name muthuvan, because they migrated to the mountain ranges by carrying the sculptures of madhura meenakshi on their back. The name choorakattan was brought by them and it was because when they came there were sufficient canes. When they started their habitation, The kani got a gun from the British government for his personal use, due to increased attacks from wild animals. But after several years government brought back the gun. The life style of Choorakatten Muthuvan tribes are entirely different from the life style of Muthuvans in generally. Nowadays they are interacting with the outsiders and adapting economic and social benefits from the local bodies.

This project is a study of many aspects of the life Choorakattankudy Muthuvan tribes. This project gives more preference to study the historical background of Muthuvan tribes, and why they migrated to hilly ranges. To know the socio-cultural practices followed by the muthuvans and analysis the cultural contribution of them. Generally the tribes face lot of problems.so I aim to find out the problems of choorakattan tribes and suggest the measures for solving the vital issues. Totally it is a study of the socio-cultural-political condition of the muthuvan tribes in choorakattankudy.

Area of Study

The muthuvan tribes are scattered in several areas of Idukki District like Devikulam, Adimaly and Nedumkandam panchayath. The project is based on muthuvan tribes of choorakattankudy in the 17th ward of Adimaly Grama Pachayath. Choorakattankudy is situated in 2 KM away from Machiplavu Government School. Mainly Mannan and Muthuvans are inhabited here. Muthuvan tribes are seen mostly than the Mannan. They are about 40 families. A forest office also placed here. Along with this I decided to collect some photos as an evidence for my project.

Objectives

1. To study the historical background of the muthuvan tribes
2. To understand why the community migrated towards the hills stations of high ranges
3. To know the socio-cultural practices followed by the Muthuvan and their relevance
4. To understand the problems faced by the muthuvans in general and choorakattankudy in particular
5. To suggest the measures for solving the vital issues faced by the Choorakattankudy tribes and to understand how the modern elements affected the tribal entity

Research Questions

1. How did the Muthuvan come to hill ranges of Idukki?
2. Which are the different tribes found in Idukki?
3. How can we differentiate the muthuvan from the rest of tribes?
4. What are the administrative structures of muthuvan?
5. What are the cultural losses faced by the tribe?
6. How the tribes overcome the loss?

7. What are the benefits that received by the muthuvan tribe of choorakattankudy from the government?
8. What are the problems faced by the tribes?

Review of Literature

The Travancore State Manual, Volume IV is written by **T. K Velupillai**. It is very authentic book published by department of kerala. The book provides how the term Muthuvan originated, and the way which they came to Idukki. The books also give the map of Travancore. It is considered as the primary document.

Idamalakudy Oorum Porulum is written by **P. K Muralidharan**. He was the teacher of Idamalakudy single Tribal School. Through this book he shared his personal experience and knowledge about the Muthuvan tribe of the kudy. The text gives light to the loosing culture of the kudy. The text explains the overall information about the Muthuvans of Idamalakudy. Which are unknown to the outsiders.

Athieevanathinte Gothra Paadangal is a tribal oriented book by **Kanchiyar Rajan**, the member of Kerala folklore academy. The book emphasis the life style of the hill tribes in Idukki. It includes language, art, believes, culture of Idukki tribes. According to this book, the Idukki tribe divided into two, first, the tribe related to Malayalam language.

Idukki Mannum Manashyanum is published by Eastern Newton School, Adimaly. The book mention about the wide history of idukki. And also provide small historical background of Idukki tribe. The text gives information from megalithic culture to the present situation of Idukki.

Idukkiyile Gothrakalakalum Samskaravum is written by **Kanchiyar Rajan and V. B Rajan**. It also introduced the origin and migration of Idukki

tribes. The text helps to understand the comparative study of the Idukki tribes. Through the text the writers point out the particular features of each tribe. The most of the features of the tribes are in the text is unique than other text.

Keralathile Adhivasikalayum Jeevithavum Samskaravum is written by **Sandha Thulasidharan**, teacher of G.V Raja sports school. Through this book she shared her ideas and researches for all tribes in Kerala. This text helps to understand the comparative study of the Kerala tribes. And this text provides historical background of 60 tribes in Kerala. This book is helpful for those who are looking for a research about tribal people.

The Scheduled Tribes is very authentic book written by **K.S Singh**. It is published by oxford India paperbacks. This book collected the material and produced write-up on all communities of India in a structured format. This text is the first comprehensive and systematic account of India's 461 tribal communities including their 172 segments which are distributed in many part of the country. The book gives information about introduction of the tribal community.

Chapterization

The presented study is a detailed research on the topic *Tracing the Socio Historical Ramification of Adhivasis; Choorakattankudy an Inquiry*'. The entire research work will run into three core chapters. The introduction and conclusion are given as separated part, where the methodological frame works are discussed. The basic argument posed by the researcher is discussed.

The first one is *Demographic History of the tribe; the scenario of Idukki*. It deals with the historical background and origin of the Kerala tribes. Among the Kerala tribes the chapter gives special preference to the Idukki tribes.

The second chapter is *An Inquiry into tribal society*. It consists of the socio, culture and political life style of muthuvan tribes. It also points out the present life of muthuvan tribes of choorakattan kudi. This chapter summaries the declining culture of the tribes which are unknown to the world.

The third chapter is *Conflict with the Present: Struggle and Revival the Case of Choorakattankudy*. This chapter tries to examine the general and particular problem of tribes. This chapter gives clear information about the particular problem of the muthuvan tribes in choorakattan kudi. This chapter based on the field study. The dissertation ends with conclusion.

Hypothesis

A tribe is an ethnic group having certain specific way of life. Like every other tribal groups, the Muthuvans of the Choorakettankudy also followed their customs and rituals and differed in many ways from that of others. They were the original inhabitants of the hill ranges for many years. But this process got disturbed with the influx of the outside population towards the forest. The establishment of the Forest Department augmented the process. The modernity as supposed by the modern society is forcibly imposed on the adivasis. The result was the loss of inherent identities of the group. The process got accelerated in 20th century and every attempt of the government damaged their custom and native every form of technology.

Methodology

The present study enquiring the tribal socio cultural set up in a historical context. The study goes on a narrative interpretative methodology. Both primary and secondary and tertiary data are used for the study. Primary data were collected from government sources especially from the Tribal Department, personal interview and journals etc. Oral interview method is used as the major methodology for searching information on social, economic, political context and the problems faced by the tribals. Unstructured interviews are conducted instead of traditional questionnaire method. The data were supplemented by discussions and observation. The interviews helped to gather deeper and more detailed information than impersonal survey method.

Scope of the Study

The project entitled *The Socio Historical Ramifications of Adivasis: Choorakattankudy an Inquiry* is the first attempt that anyone made in muthuvan tribes in Choorakattankudy. The topic is relevant and live in the academic sphere. The study helps to understand the decline culture of the primitive tribes. The inquiry enlisted the problems that are facing by the muthuvans. The local administrative bodies do not look after the problems of the muthuvan tribes in choorakattankudy. So this project is a medium that codifies the problems of muthuvan tribes. The study also put forward the remedial measures on the problems which they are facing.

Limitations

The complete absence or partial absence of the sources is the main problems of the project. The limited time reduced the depth of the research. The muthuvan language is normally difficult to understand wholly. Financial crisis is a hidden factor of the research that prevents the researcher from locating many sources. But however these problems will be solved through the further research in the higher studies.

CHAPTER I

DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE TRIBE: THE SCENARIO OF IDUKKI

ADI (Area of Dominant Influence) is a genetic term denoting hill men which subsumes a number of groups. Formally, the ADI community along with its subgroups was known as 'ahor' an Assamese word, which applied to all the hill tribes around the Brahmaputra. They disliked the term because it meant 'unruly' or 'savage'.¹ Tribes were settled in various places around the world before ages. As the time passes they were scattered into different regions. Natural living organism even the wind and the rain helped them to create and maintain their own rites and rituals. The later developed societies did not influence them. But the arrival of modern developed societies retreated them to the thick forest and mountain region. We can find certain same peculiarities in all tribal communities. There is no difference between the tribes in Africa, Australia and India. Because the dark colour, curly hair, strong, thick and short body and big lips are the common characteristics of all tribes. There are 622 tribal societies according to the government reports. Most Number of tribes settled in India is at Madhya Pradesh.

Most of the tribal settlement in Kerala is at Vayanadu, Idukki and Attapadi region. There are more than one thousand tribal settlements which are completely settled inside the forest or closely related regions of the forests. According to the report in 2001, there are 364189 tribes from 80 thousand families in Kerala. This is the 1.14% of the total population of Kerala. According to the studies conducted by AAD Louis, there are 48 gotras in Kerala.² According to P Somasekharan Nair, there are about 41.54 tribal gotras in

¹ K.S Singh, *The Scheduled Tribes*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1994, p. 17

² A. A. D Louis, *Tribes of Kerala*, Bharathiya Adimajathi Sevak Sangh, New Delhi, 2013, p. 27

Kerala.³ To the state government reports in 2002 states that there are 36 officially recognised tribal gotras in Kerala. They are ‘Adiyan, Aranadan, Eravalan, Malapulayan, Eurlan, Kadar, Kanicker, Kattunaikar, Kochuvelan, Koraga, Kudiya melkudy, Kurichyan, Malayvedan, Malakuruvan, Malasar, Malayan, Malayarayan, Mannan, Muthuvan, Paliyan, Pniyan, Ulladan, Urali, Malavettuvan, Thenkurumban, Thanchanadan, Choranaikar, Mavilan, Kurimparan, Vettukurumban, Malapanicker.’⁴ We can found the influence of Kannada and Tamil language in all tribal languages. Influence of Telugu culture can also be found. The influence of Tamil culture can be found in the middle of southern Kerala and also in the northern Kerala. Idukki is the second largest district where most scheduled tribes are settled. ‘Malayarayan, ulladan, malapandaran, Malayan and malavedan’ are the major tribal groups. Mostly two types groups began their settlements in Idukki, the tribal group from Tamilnadu and came through the mountain passes from ‘Idanadu, Malayarayan, ulladan and oorali were came from ‘Idanadu’ and muthuvan, mannan and malapulayan came from Tamilnadu.’⁵ It has been stated that the tribal groups in Idukki were came through the Velppara, Ramackal churam and Kodaikkanal and maintained a relationship with the local rulers. It shows their importance and therefore the names of forests and cities are closely related with the tribes. At the same time it has been believed that the tribes in high range were came during megalithic period to Idukki.⁶ This chapter refers about the beginning of the tribal culture and the main tribal settlement in Kerala and their history. Here it provides more importance to the 8 tribal settlements in Idukki. This chapter aims to explicit the fading history of tribal community in a short and crisp manner. According to D.N Majumdar ‘A tribe is a collection of families,

³ P. Soma Shekaran Nair, Paniyar, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1976, p. 15

⁴ An Amendment by the Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act 2002 (Act 10 of 2003) Vide Part – 8, Kerala Second Scheduled notified in the Gazette of India, dated, 8.1.2003

⁵ Kanchiyar Rajan and V.V Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalalakalum Samskaravum: A Study of Folklore in Idukki District*, Idukki District Panchayath, Kattappana, 2000, p. 4

⁶ *Idukki Mannum Manasum*, Nallapadam Eastern Newton School, p. 29

bearing a common name members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation.⁷ According to the imperial Gazetteer of India, ‘a tribe is a collection of families, bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is no usually endogamous, though originally it might have been so.

Historical Background of the Tribes

According to Lavis Morgan “Tribe is completely an organised society”. It is a social division in a traditional society consisting of families or communities linked by social, economic, religious or blood ties, with a common culture and dialect typically having a recognised leader.

Origin

Middle English; old French tribu or Latin tribus (singular and plural): perhaps related to tri: three and referring to the three divisions of the early people of Rome. So the word tribe is come from the Latin word tribus⁸. However, in generally tribes are social group comprising numerous families, clans or generations together with slaves, dependents or adopted strangers. It should be a group of persons having a common character occupation or interest⁹. Tribes in kerala are living on the hill ranges mainly on the Western Ghats, bordering Karnataka and Tamilnadu. The mountainous region of kerala is inhalected by the tribal communities. They are the descendants of the Negrito. A majority of these tribes of kerala built their settlement in the dense forest

⁷ M. Gurulingaiah, *The Tribal Culture Change and Mobility*, Anmol Publications Private Limited, New Delhi, 2007, p. 5

⁸ Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English, 9th Edition, A S Hornby, 2015

⁹ Giji George, *Adhivasi Samskaravum Mannan Samudhayavum*, Unpublished M.A Dissertation submitted to Mahatma Gandhi University, Devamatha college, Kuravilangad, 2014, p. 12

grounds and also on the top of mountains. There are 35 tribal communities in kerala.

They are different in their own traditions, rituals, art, ceremonies, dialect, habitual action, food habits and employment. They kept aloof from outsiders. They keep the importance of their culture, through avoiding communication with outsiders. Most of the tribes have autonomous power. They interact with other tribal settlement, even though they are self sufficient too. But the culture of each tribe are unique. So they did not prefer to marry from other settlement.

Tribal Settlement and the Major Tribal Groups

The settlement of tribes is divided on the basis of geography. Mainly there are seven geographical divisions. Kasargod, Vayanadu, Attapadi, Nilamboor, Parambikulam, Idukki and Thiruvananthapuram are the seven geographical divisions¹⁰.

In Kasargod district there are mainly two tribes, viz. korgar and maratties. The Vayanadu district consisted of seven tribal groups. They are paniyar, kurichyar, mullukurumar, kattunaykar, kadar, adiyar, kunduvadiyar, urali and kurumar. Irular, mudugar and kurumbar are the main tribes situated in Attapadi. Nilamboor, which situated in Malappuram district, consist of the tribes like “paniyar, kurumar, kadar and cholanaikar”. Kadar and irular who have the features of Negrito is placed in Parambikulam. Idukki district is considered as the abundant place for tribal settlements. In Idukki, Udumbanchola, Devikulam, Peerumedu, Thodupuzha are the main tribal taluk for tribes. Mannan, muthuvan, malayarayan, oorali, ulladan and kurupalayan are the main tribe inhabited in Idukki district. The kanikar and malavedar are seen in Thiruvananthapuram district.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Major Tribes in Kerala

Hills and forest are the habitual background of the tribes. The tribes are scattered all around the part of Kerala. But we don't have accurate information about the number of the tribes in Kerala. The reports states that, there are about 53 tribes residing over Kerala. Among these only 35 tribes are recognized as scheduled cast. And they get privileges from the government. According to P. Damodaran, "In Kerala about 45 scheduled tribes. According to Dr. Somashekar, who studied about paniyar tribes states that "There are about 54 scheduled tribes"¹¹. Especially cholanaikar, kurumbar, korgar, kadam, kattunaikar, are mainly known as primitive tribes. About 6% of Indian population are tribes. The main areas in which the tribes reside in Kerala are Idukki, Vayanadu, Attappady, and Nilamboor. The reports about tribes are not completely correct. It will be change according to the studies and analysis.

According to the census of 2001, there are 364189 scheduled tribes in Kerala¹². It is 1.4% of the total population of Kerala. The number of settlements belongs to almost 4082. And the total families are 92000. Among these the 23% are inhabits in forest. They don't have a clear contact with outsiders. In scheduled tribes 27% is paniya tribes. They are settled in Vayanadu, Kannur, and Calicut. Kanikar, malayarayan, kurichyar, kurumar, and irular are almost equal in their population. But mahamalsar and cholanaikar are less in number. In the beginning they are interested in hunting and gathering. But later they shifted to agriculture and daily wages. But at the same time some of them depend on forests¹³. The tribes are considered as scheduled group. There is a department established for the better development of the tribes. The department is headed by a director who is under a minister. Now-a-day, both central state governments have been giving grants to them.

¹¹ Manoj Mathirapalli, *Keralathile Adhivasikal Kalaum Samskaravum*, D C Books, 2013, p. 19

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Kanchiyar Rajan, *Noolmazha*, Sabhala Books, Kattappana, 2005, p. 28

The tribes of Kerala is divided into two, such as Adivasi and later Adivasi. The Adivasi includes “kadar, kurumar, kattunaikar, cholanaikar, koragar. They have been following the tradition since their beginning. Except the above mentioned five tribes the other belongs to later Adivasis. Actually the five are considered as real tribes. The others are recognized as a tribe through the orders amendment act of 2002, 2003¹⁴.

Kurumbar

They are very ancient tribes. They mainly see in Attappadi block of Palghat. They use both Tamil and Malayalam. They strictly follow the traditional rules of their clan. They are interested in shifting cultivation. They are following traditional social system. Their living place is known as ooru and is known as ooru Bhoomi. The head of the tribe is called Moopan. Bandari, kuruthalai, and mannurkaran will assist the moopan in administration¹⁵. The old kurumbas wear very minimum cloths and young women’s wear rings, chain, and ear ornaments made of brass, tin, aluminium, plastic and glass. Kurumbas worship both their traditional gods and the Hindu deities. They are famous for craft and magical performances and traditional herbal medicines. The families are nuclear and they observe matrilineal inheritance. The dead are buried on the third day of the death.

Cholanaikar

They are settled in Eranadu taluk in Malapuram district. They are migrated from Mysore forest. Cholanaikars are hill tribes. They live in caves. They do not interest to communicate with others. According to the census of 1996- they are 384 in number. They use the dialects of Kannada and Tamil. They speak the cholanaikan language. But around half of them can interact in

¹⁴ Sandha Thulasidharan, *Keralathile Adhivasikal Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, Mathrubhoomi Books, 2015, p.16

¹⁵ Sandha Thulasidharan, *Keralathile Adhivasikal Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 24

Malayalam. They worship ancestral spirits. They don't have any ideals or images. But go behind a big tree and whisper something. They do not intermarry with in other tribes¹⁶.

Kadar

They are commonly seen in Palghat and Trissure district. They are wandering people. Their main occupation is gathering the forest products. Ooru is their system of administration. The head is called Moopan. According to the government report, the total population of kadar is 2021. Kadaris listed as a primitive tribe by the government. Marriages between cousins are prevalent and there is no practice of dowry. Before going for gathering forest produces they appease the spirits by rituals. They celebrate Hindu festivals like onam and vishu¹⁷.

Kattunaikar

They are also known as Thenkurumar, and enukurumar. They settled in Calicut and Malapuram district. Their house is known as '*mana*'. Land is known as *Keri*. The head of the tribe is known as '*muttan*'. *Kuttichathan*, *karimkaliyamma*, *gulikan*, *udayanmar* are the main goddess of them. According to the reports, there are 12,155 Kattunaikar lives in kerala. Kattunaikar means king of Jungle, and have very little contact with the main tribal. They give little importance to funerals.

Ulladar

Ulladar and kochuvelan are the same tribal society. They belong to early Dravidian. Their language is the mixture of early Tamil and Malayalam. The reports show that there are 14,882 Ulladar lives in Kerala. They cannot be seen

¹⁶ Sandha Thulasidharan, *Keralathile Adhivasikal Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, Mathrubhumi Books, 2015, p. 139

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 83

in other states except Kerala. Ulladar communities are seen in the forest as well as coastal areas. Ulladars are found in the reserved forest in the Manimala range. They are also known as 'kaattalans'. Ulladars are nomadic agriculturists. Rice is their staple food. It is said that they are the descendants from a *Nambudiri* woman who on being proclaimed an out-caste, said, '*ullatana*' meaning 'that is true'. Their total number comes to 161 according to the last census, Minachil returning 88.

Kurichyar

They are the second largest tribal population in Kerala. They are seen in Vayanadu, Kannur, Calicut districts. They are expert in bow and arrow. They helped pazhassi in war against the Britishers. They keep untouchability with other tribes. The census of 1991 shows, the number of kurichya is 28,287 in kerala. It is 27.33% of the total tribal population in kerala.

Malabandaram

They are seen in Quelon and Pathanamthitta. They speak the mixture language of both Tamil and Malayalam. They had been practiced shifting cultivation 25 years ago. The census report o 1991 states that they are 2939 in number.

Mannan

It is the only tribal society which has been following kingship since its origin. They can see in Idukki, Ernakulum and Kottayam district. But majority of the tribes are placed in Idukki district. Kovilmala is the centre of all administration matters. They are strongly influenced by Tamil language. They

conduct festivals called ‘*kalavoot*’¹⁸. Reports say that, the number of Mannan is near to 7085. Their main occupations are agriculture and forest products¹⁹.

Paniyan

It is the largest tribal population in Kerala. They have a clear cut connection with the culture of African tribes. In Kerala they are settled in Vayanadu, Calicut, Malapuram and Kannur district. The total population of paniya is almost 67948. It is 21.17% of total tribal population. They used paniya language which included the Tamil Malayalam and Kannada element. The paniyan society has been following dowry system²⁰.

Adiyan

The word Adiyan means “slave” in Malayalam. The Adiyans are found in the Wayanad and Kannur district of Kerala. Most of them are agricultural labourers. The house of the Adiyan is called ‘*kullu*’. According to the senses of 2001, the number of Adiyan is 16715. It is believed that they were agricultural slave in the past. During the annual festival at the Valliyarkkavu temple in Mananthavady, Wayanad, the Adiyar people used to gather where they were sold and bought by landlords.

Aalar

They are only seen in Perinthalmanna taluk of Malappuram district. They carry the elements of early Dravidian culture. They live inside of the dense

¹⁸ Manoj Mathirapalli, Idukki Desham Charithram Samskaram, Geo Books, Kattappana, 2017, p. 33

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Sandha Thulasidharan, *Keralathile Adhivasikal Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 153

forest. They use as cave as their shelter. Aalar people are tribal's but not listed in the scheduled list of tribes in the state.

Aranadan

They settled in Malapuram district. They speak the mixture of Tamil Kannada and Tulu. They follow the 'makkathaya' system. The *cheriya* moopan and *valiya* moopan together carry the administration among Aranadans. In 1941 there were only 489 Aranadans in Kerala. But the report of 2001 says that the number of Aranadan decreased to 153.

Iravallan

Iravallance are inhabitant o the Chittur taluk of Palakkad district. This tribe was originally known as Villu-vedan. The present name may be the corruption of an early name Bravan because some of them subsisted by begging. Their total population in Kerala is 3139.

Irular

Irular are seen in Attappady, Nelliampathy in Palghat district. They speak the mixture language of Malayalam, Kannada and Tamil language. They are engaged in agriculture and cultivate paddy, raggi, dhal, turmeric etc. Forest produce collection is also a sources o income. They are also seen in Tamilnadu too. The Irular is strictly follows the lows and rules of the kudy.²¹

Kanikkaran

Kanikkaran are inhabitants of the area around Agastyajutam and Mehendregiri peaks of the Western Ghats in the Thiruvananthapuram and

²¹ Sandha Thulasidharan, *Keralathile Adhivasikal Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, op., cit, p. 52

Kollam district of Kerala. They are also seen in the Adimaly hills of Idukki. They are engaged in agriculture and collection of forest products.

Kani

Kani is nomadic tribes in Kerala. They were known for familiarising *kallana*, a typical elephant which are rare in Kerala. They are well aware about the herbal medicine known as *Jeevani*. The medical properties of the plant called *Arogyapacha* were also discovered through them.

Kochuvelan

Kochuvelan are inhabitants of the Ranny forest range in Pathanamthitta, Kottayam and Idukki district. They were known to be the priests who perform the religious ceremonies of Ulladar community.

Koraga

Koraga people, listed as primitive tribe, are found in Kasargod and Manjeswaram. The koragas are believed to be the ancestors of a defeated dynasty, which was driven to forests and subsequently became slave to the mighty. The koragas speak a language of their own which resembles to Tulu and Kannada. A large section of the koragas is engaged in basket making. The Koraga is isolated from other community due to unhygienic²².

Koda

Kodas are mainly found in the Nilgiri district of Tamilnadu, but a few families live in the Malapuram, the bordering district of Kerala.

Kudiya

²² Sandha Thulasidharan, *Keralathile Adhivasikal Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 133

They are seen in the Kannur and Kasargod district of Kerala district. Their main occupation is agriculture. The rest of the tribe is found in Coorg (Kodak) the neighbouring district in Karnataka.

Kuruman

They are seen in Wayanadu district close to forest but live good houses. All the different communities among them are jointly listed as kuruman in the scheduled tribe list of the government. They also collected honey and other forest products as they continue to live in the forest land. Now-a-days they are into all kinds of jobs and manual labour, wood cutting, climbing trees, working at tea and coffee plantations and in forest department.

Malappulayan

Malappulayan are seen in Chinnar and Marayoor area (Devikulam taluk) of Idukki district. Main occupations are goat rearing and collection of forest produce. And they are also engaged in cultivation. It is believed that they had migrated from Madurai. They cultivate sugarcane which is popular in the area. They are migrated from Tamilnadu²³.

Malavedan

Malavedans are found in the Pathanamthitta, Thiruvananthapuram and Idukki district in Kerala. The main occupation is hunting and collection of forest produce. Their subdivisions are known as *venadar*, *kannadar*, *mayiler*, *koviriyar*. They are following Kerala tradition.

²³ Kanchiyar Rajan and V.V Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalakalum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 208

Malakkuravan

The malakkuravans are found in Thiruvananthapuram, Pathanamthitta, and Kottayam district. They are engaged in hunting, collection of honey and agriculture. Women are engaged in fire-wood collection, fortune-telling and palmistry.

Malasar

Malasar people are seen in Palakkad and Thrissur district. This one nomadic people are now they are settled in colonies, provided by the government. Maha Malasar is a sub community among them who are found at some parts of Thekkadi in the Parambikulam forests.

Malayan

The Malayans are mainly found in the hilly district of Kerala. Most of the Malayans at present are agricultural workers and some of them involved in collecting forest produce. Those who speak Malayalam are called as Nattumalayan and those who speak Tamil are known as Malayan. A few of them are now in government services also. Their total population in kerala is 7542.

Mala Arayan

Mala Arayan is found in Meenachil and Changanassery taluk o the Kottayam district. Due to the education missionaries, they are well educated, socially and economically more developed than any other tribal communities in kerala.

Mudugar

Madugar are a native people group who live in the Attapadi hills in Palakkad district of Kerala, and some in Guddalore, Nilgiri and Dharmapuri district of Tamilnadu. The traditional occupation of the mudugars is collection and trading of forest products like honey, spices, medicinal herbs and wild foods.

Palaiyan

The tribal groups known in three names are seen in Idukki district. Their cultures seemed to be a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam traditions. Though all these three names are listed as separate communities in the list of scheduled tribes in Kerala, according to tribes of Kerala, all these three names are used for the same tribal community. The burial place of paliyan is called Idukkad²⁴.

Urali

Urali tribe is found in Idukki, Kottayam, and Kollam district. Urali the recent past most of them used to live on small huts made on tree tops inside the forest. They are engaged in cultivation and collection of forest produces. The uralis have a headman called kanikkaran for a group of hamlets. The entertain traditions of having come from the adjoining district of Madurai or Tinnevely. The information about the Madurai has been handed down from generation to generation in popular songs which they sing even now uralis believed. They don't have particular temple and other adoration centre. They believed in *maladaivas*²⁵.

²⁴ Kanchiyar Rajan and V.V Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalakalum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 190

²⁵ Kanchiyar Rajan and V.V Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalakalum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 141

Muthuvan

Another class of hill-tribes called the Muthuvans, mentioned along with the Urali and the Muthuvans is said to have emigrated from Madura. The general belief is that they were driven to the hill in the latter part of the 18th century by the Mahomedan invaders. When they left Madura they carried with them the Goddess Minakshi and brought the image to Neriya Mangalam. They live in huts built like those of the Uralis. The dress of the women is a white or coloured cloth ten or twelve cubits long. As with the other hill men and women the ornaments for the nose and ear are the brass. Wreath of coloured beads not less than three in number for the neck, 10 or 12 brass iron bracelets for the wrist and one called Mutakku for the upper arms, are also worn. Their males even now carry loads and females their babies on their back. Muthuvans talk a corrupt Tamil. Their occupation is migratory agriculture. Marumakkattayam is the law. The son also gets a portion. The migratory habits of Muthuvans cannot give them any landed property. The latest return of census gives a total of 808, of which 413 are found in the cardamom hills, 212 in Muvattupuzha and 183 in Todupuzha.

Major Tribal Groups Found in the High Ranges

Idukki the spicy district, which has got its own territories with its natural heritages and secrecies, is the second largest and prominent place in Kerala where the most number of scheduled tribes and tribal ambiguities exist. The beautiful high range district is geographically known for its mountainous hills and dense forests. Idukki is the district of migrants. The migration was started before many centuries. Most of the tribes in Idukki came before the some centuries. The many of the people were come to Idukki to lead their livelihood. The tribal's were collecting the forest products to attaining the food needs and engaged in the agricultural practices. In migrating period they mainly concentrated to living the hilly regions and inside into the forest for escape from the public and protecting their culture, life style, tradition, rituals, etc... Mannan, Muthuvan, Malapulayan, Malayarayan, Ulladan, Urali, Paliyan etc.. Are the

tribes live in idukki districts²⁶. According to the District Census Hand Book-Idukki, 2011 the total population of tribes in idukki is 55,815 in this include 27995 males and 27820 females. It is above 5% of the total population of Idukki.

In the view of modern Anthropologists the tribal's in idukki were belonging to the Proto-Austroloid ethnic groups. The idukki tribes can be divided into two; one is related with Tamil language, another is related with Malayalam language²⁷. There are mainly 9 types of tribes were living in Idukki; they are following:

Muthuvan

The muthuvan or mudugars are a tribe of hill cultivators, in Coimbatore, madhura, Malabar and Travancore. They are mainly found in Adimaly and Devikulam forest region in idukki. Muthuvan is a hill tribe mentioned along with the uralis and the Mannans is said to have emigrated from madhura. The general belief is that they were driven to the hills in the later part of the 18th century by the Mahomedan invaders. When they left madhura they carried with them (on their back or mutuku) the Goddess Minakshi and brought the image to Nerimangalam. Hence they say they were called muthuvans, ie..., those who carried something on their back. They lives at high elavations and consequentiyl look heart. The villages have no permanency owing to the system of shifting cultivation to follow. The huts are very small, rectangular and one-roomed with a single door in front. The men and women were carrying the small children's at back with using the dress on like can guru at the time of work and travelling.

The Muthuvans were speaking a dialect of between themselves Tamil and Malayalam. The muthuvan language has been classified as the part of Southern language. The muthuvan is one of the most educationally undeveloped tribal groups in idukki. They have only 24% literacy rate but recently they began

²⁶ Manoj Mathirappally, 'Kadariyunna Aadivasikal', Manoj Mathirappilli (ed.), *Mashithandu*, Vol. IV, September 2014, p. 18

²⁷ Kanchiyar Rajan, *Noolmazha*, Saphala Books, Kattappana, 2005, p. 19

sending their boys to school, where as the girls are generally not encouraged to do so. There was a few single classroom primary schools situated in the settlements. Many of the students achieved their education to be separated from their parents.

Muthuvan of the cardamom hills believe that they came from Madura on account of internal dissension in their native land. It might possibly have been at the time when the Telugu Naickans took possession of Bodinaickanur in the *fourteenth century A.D.* the muthuvans who came to the High Range in Travancore *via* Bodinaickanur carried their children on their back when they climbed up the Ghats, and hence they have come to be known as Muthuvans ('*Muthuku*' means 'the back'). This is the one version. Another version is that, when they left Madura, they carried on their back Goddess Minakshi and are, therefore, called Muthuvans. Their males even now carry loads and females their babies on their back.²⁸

Muthuvan in the cardamom hills worship the forest deities, kottamala swami and vadaganantha swami. They also worship male volent deities karuppu, mariamma and kali. They were also influenced by Hinduism and like the Hindus, worship son, god subrahmnia and goddess Minakshiamma. Before the marriage the boys do not sleep their home at night. They have a special place known as 'chavadi' for sleeping in every night. The socio-economic situations of the muthuvans are very bad. The sexual license before marriage is neither recognized nor tolerated unmarried young people are subjected to strict discipline. The orthodox marriage is between cross- cousins. Polygamy is also allowed.

Among muthuvans each village has its own headman and the village affairs are conducted by a council of elders. The village chiefs are called the

²⁸ N Kunjan Pillai, Travancore, *Census of India 1931*, Report, Volume 28, part 1, Government of India, New Delhi, 2015, p. 416.

Kularan and the *Sundarapandi*²⁹. The supreme chief of all the villages is called the *Mel-Vaka* and under him there is another dignitary called the *Muppan*. The offices of the *Mel-Vaka* and the, *Muppan* are hereditary and descend from the uncle to the nephew. When a man commits an offence, an *Orumura* is held in the village *chavadi*.³⁰

Mannan

Idukki is the second most populous scheduled tribes in the state. 1991 according to the census of India, 50269 people are in the 11516 families.³¹ The people are the most powerful people in the country. Mannans are found mostly in the cardamom hills to the south of the Panniyar River up to the south of the tract of land now submerged by the periyar reservoir. Mannans are nomadic agriculturists. Raggi is their staple food. In times of scarcity they eat wild fruits and roots. Fish is a delicacy to them and they also eat crabs, the flesh of black monkey, sandburs, and rats. The influence of the geographical environment on the Mannan is seen in his physical and mental characters, his economic condition, and his religious beliefs.

Girls are married after they attain puberty. The marriageable age is between 16 and 20 for males and over 14 for females. Marriage takes place between the children of brother and sister. The ceremony is conducted in the bride's house. The bridegroom bows to his parents and elders, and bride to her parents. The couple are then seated on a mat. The *thali* is tied round the bride's neck by the bridegroom's sister. A man marries a second wife if his first wife is sterile. Polyandry is rare, but is not altogether extinct. Widows are allowed to remarry. A man may marry the wife of his deceased brother.

²⁹ *Kularan and Sundarapandi*- Village chief

³⁰ *Orumura* - Panchayath

³¹ V. V Rajan and Kanchiyar Rajan, *Idukki Gothrakalayum Samskaravum*, Idukki District Panchayath, 2000, p. 31

Among Mannans village affairs are regulated by a council of elders with a headman chosen by the villagers. Chieftainship is hereditary and the nephew succeeds chosen by the villagers³². The chief has a lieutenant called *Rakshasan*, and under him there are other dignitaries known as *Valia Elandari*, *Elandari*, *Thandakaran*, and *Thannipatta* in the order of their rank. Mannans build huts, cultivate the land harvest the crops and store them in tree-houses for their village headman. These privileges are to some extent shared by *Rakshasan* and *Valia Elandari* also. If any work has to be done, the order is issued through *Rakshasan* also *Elandari* who get it executed through *Thandakaran*.³³ The jurisdiction of the village council extends over petty offences which are punishable with a fine. If a man is not amenable to decision of council, the matter goes on appeal to *Varayilkilu Mannan* whose decision is final. The system of village government among Mannan is gradually breaking down.

Agriculture is resorted to at first as an adjunct to the chase. Mannans, clear the land by burning the jungle, so the seed, rake up the soil, and reap a fairly good harvest. Shifting cultivation is the common practice, and each group takes possession of three times the area required for food production and cultivates one third of it every year.

Paliyans

The paliyans are tribal group were found in Vandanmet, Kumali, Anakkara, Chakupullam, Anyartholu, painvave regions. There were morethan 500 paliyan families were lived in idukki especially the Azhutha and Kattappana Block panchayath. They belived that were the followers of people come to collect the forest resources for the 'Pandya Kings' and their do not back to panda kingdom and like to settled here they have a long head, a lat nose a retreating orehead and moderately thick lips. They were living as in the midst cardamom ryots, they have been influenced by their country people in their

³² Ibid.

customs and manners. Many forms of art and folk songs were existed in paliyans and them also following together. The burial place of paliyan is called *Idukkad*³⁴.

They are migratory farmers and their main job was agriculture and cattle rearing. They have little farm lands and they also engaged in other jobs and manual labour. Their main job was to the collection of forest products. Recently they came into the society in searching of job and better education for their children's for lead a good standard of living. Their literacy and educational standard were considerably less. The paliyans has their own slang and dialect to speaking language were using as a medium of communication.

Paliyans have a kanikkaran for each hamlet. He is assisted by a *valia elandari*, a *veena mariya* and a *thandakkaran*. The first two are in charge of all unmarried boys and girls and are responsible for their good behaviour. They help the unemployed by finding work for them. When any dispute arises in a hamlet, the village council meets and discusses the matter. The parties are admonished and the dispute is settled amicably. If a man commits in cest, he is kept in stocks for a day and then let off.

Paliyans of Vandanmet say that, when they were living in Madura, a pantaram told them that they would find it congenial to go and live on the Cardamom hills in Travancore which were uninhabited and that accordingly they came and settled at Vandanmet. Another tradition current among paliyans is that a *Kallar* of Madura had two wives, and that when some dissension arose, his children by the second wife fled to sankurandamalai, fearing molestation.³⁵ Those who did not fall a victim to the marauders came to be known as Paliyans. They came to the Cardamom Hills *via* Bodinaicker. In memory of this connection, the kallars of Kallars of Madura refrain from doing any harm to the paliyans. These to tribes interdine but do not intermarry. A kallar will not allow

³⁴ Kanchiyar Rajan and V.V Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalakalum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 190

³⁵ N Kunjan Pillai, *Census of India 1931- Travancore*, op. cit., p. 416

paliyan guest o depart without being fed. The paliyans pride themselves in being called *kattukallars*. The kallars proper are known as *Nattukallars*.

A man is allowed to marry the wife of his deceased elder or younger brother. Polygamy is practiced when the first wife is barren, and the second wife is invariably the sister of the first younger brothers are said to have inter course with the wife of the eldest brother. The women were enjoyed high status in society and they got the right to property. In every 'paliya kudy' has a head of administrator been known as 'mooppan'.³⁶ They also worshiped the crests of hills, and also sastha, karuppuswami and mariamma. In early times they also depended the 'manthravadis' for curing the diseases.

Urali

The Urali tribe were lived in the Devikulam and Todupuzha block panchayath. Uralis used to be scantily clad, but owing to their contact with the planters they are becoming civilized. They are somewhat fair in complexion. They are several Dravidian tribal communities distinguished as Urali. They inhabit in the hilly areas of higrange in idukki. In the view of Anthropologists the Uralis has less height in typically rather than other tribes. They are nomadic agriculturists main job was shifting cultivation. Rice was their main food. In early times they most depend upon the hunting and gathering food resources. Now mainly they depend upon the settled agriculture and also engaged in other Manuel labours. Agriculture, forest resource collection, hunting, fishing etc... are the main works of daily life.³⁷

Their language is the mixture of mixture of Tamil and Malayalam dialect. They are educationally developed class compared with other tribes. There is a medicine-man called Pallathi – were known as vaidyan. The Uralis has extra ordinary talent in ayurvedic medicines and treatments. They

³⁶ Paliya headman known as *mooppan*

³⁷ V. V Rajan and Kanchiyar Rajan, *Idukki Gothrakalayum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 142

worshipped the natural forces and evils. Traditionally many rituals and customs were existed in the Urali tribes on the cases of birth, marriage, death, etc.

Uralis believe that they dependants of the king of Madura. Their duty was to carry umbrellas during state procession. "In ancient times many of the parts included in the Todupuzha taluk belonged to the king of Madura. Once when the king came to Neriyaamangalam, the ancestors of Urali are said to have accompanied him and were probably left there to rule that locality.

Uralis use the pellet-bow and the muzzle-loading gun. The chief weapons of the other tribes are the digging spud and the bill-hook. Agriculture is resorted to at first as an adjunct to the chase. Uralis clear the land by burning the jungle, so the seed, rake up the soil, and reap a fairly good harvest.³⁸

Marriage of girls takes place both before and after puberty. Sister is exchanged in marriage and a man has on sisters only less chance to marriage. Polyandry is very rare among this tribe. When a woman is about to become a mother, she does to free house and not assistance in helping of delivery.

Malayarayan

Among the scheduled tribes malayarayan out class all the other factions in socio- economical and educational aspects. Malayarayan are nomadic agriculturists.³⁹ They found in the woodlands of Todupuzha, Meenachil, and Changanassery, talks of the Kottayam division. They are class of hill tribes who are a little more civilized and have fixed abodes on the slope of high mountain ranges. The large numbers of them are Christians⁴⁰. The word 'malayarayan' means 'lord of the hills'. The malayarayan of Arakulam give it out that they are the offspring of Gautama and Ahalya. They style themselves as karingal Brahmans. They claim superiority over all the other tribes in social status. They

³⁸ N. Subramony Aiyer, *Travancore Census Report-1901*, p. 350

³⁹ V. V Rajan & Kanchiyar Rajan, *Idukki Gothrakalaum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 100

⁴⁰ Kanchiyar Rajan and V.V Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalakalum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 98

are called *Vazhiyammar*’ by the uralis of the Todupuzha range and Manimala range. The term literally means ‘Those who rule’.

On attaining puberty a girl is confined to a seclusion shed for a day. The next day she bathes and goes to the main hut. On the eighth day she again bathes in a stream, plunging three times. After the third dip she looks at the thali-tier. The girl and the thali-tier are taken home in procession, and there they are seated on a mat treated to a feast. Before girls attain puberty a thali-tying ceremony is performed, generally for a number of girls together at the age of 3, 5, 7, or 9. Marriage takes place after they have attained puberty. Marriage ceremony is conducted in the evening or at night. The bridegroom’s father gives presents to the couple. They are seated on a mat, facing east. The bride’s brother hands her a betel leaf which she tears off into two halves. Polygamy is resorted to if the first wife is barren. Fraternal polyandry occurs rarely. Widows remarry. Sons inherit father’s property, and in their absence it devolves on the daughters. If a man dies childless, his property goes to his brothers and in their absence, to his sisters⁴¹.

Their language is Tamil. They worship sasta of *Sabarimala* and *Periyar*. They know of no higher deities. Agriculture is their chief occupation. They possess some good knowledge of medicinal herbs, but believe also in the efficacy of the incantation called *chattu*. They follow the *Marymakkathayam* law of inheritance, but sons also get a portion of the father’s property, in population. The last census gives a total of 1,172 Mannans, 615 being males and females. The whole of this number is returned from the Cardamom Hills.

Ullatans

It is said that they are the descendants from a Nambudiri woman who on being proclaimed an out caste said ‘ullatana’. The ullatans and the nayatis are found in the low country as well as on the hills. At a remote period, certain ullata

⁴¹ <http://www.Indian-tribal-heritage.org>, accessed on 2-1-2018

families from the plains settled themselves at talpurakotta near sabarimala, and even to-day pilgrims to sabarimala consider this place as sacred⁴². Ullatana are found in the reserved forests in the Manimala range. There is no difference between them and the kochuvelan. They are also known as kattalans.

They believe that they are able to live in the forest without molestation from wild animals under protection they receive from the spirits residing on these hills. Ullatans lead a celibate life from the beginning of Danu to Medam, when they clear the jungle and cultivate the land. They do so because they are then in the domain of the hills deities whose wrath they should not provoke. If a pure life is not led, sashtra and other deities will be offended. It is said that a man who touched his wife during menses lost his eye-sight when he went to hoe the soil. Raggi is the chief grain grown. Rice is their staple food and they subsist on grain, wild yam, fruits and other products which the forest yields in plenty. Their dwellings which are made of reeds and bamboos are cosy and comfortable. An ullatan generally marries the daughter of his paternal uncle. Marriage takes place before the girl attains puberty. A preliminary *thalikettukalyanam* is celebrated when the girl is seven years old.

The marriage is conducted in the bride's house. The couple stand in marriage booth and the bridegroom presents to the bride a bundle of clothes, which she wears. A man may marry the wife of his deceased brother. Fraternal polyandry is also said to exist rarely. When a girl is sent to the house of the husband, a sum of 25 rasis, two brass vessels and a casket or *chellam* are given away as dowry. In population, their total number comes to 161 according to the last census, Meenachil returning 88.

⁴² Manoj Mathirapalli, *Idukki Desam Charithram Samskaram*, op. cit., p. 35

Malapantaram

Malapantaram, the most primitive of the primitive tribes of Travancore, lives scattered in the higher reaches of the Pampa and the Achankoil rivers and at Thalappara and Karumpalli in the forests of Shenkotta taluk. Malapantarams are found in regions where they are unaffected by the competition and influence of other people and, therefore, enjoy full freedom for the continuance of a nomadic life. Malapantarams are the least modified descendants of the pre- Dravidian race. They have no clan system, but there are two groups among them consisting of three or four families, having no distinct names. Each group is exogamous. A man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister. Thus double cross- cousin marriage is practised. The exchange of sisters in marriage is also in vogue.

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Malapulayan

Malapulayan are a group of people who are isolated from the order of community evolution⁴³. They live in 21 cottages with Devikulam taluk⁴⁴. There are a few malapulaya drinks in chitur block in Palakkad district. It is unclear

⁴³ V. V Rajan and Kanchiyar Rajan, *Idukki Gothrakalaum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 208

⁴⁴ Manoj Mathirapalli, *Idukki Desham Charithram Samskaram*, GEO Books Kattapana, 2017, p. 34

what is being named. They come from Tamil villages that live in five cities and eight in devikulam taluk.⁴⁵ It is also confirmed by the rusticistic beliefs among the rural villages and the Malapulaya. It is believed to be from the vicinity of Madurai. Their listeners are convinced that what can happen to the king's anger or the change in the political climate. There are also beliefs in the way that seem to be sought after. When the British reached the marthar mountains, they came to the estate industry and found out about the villages in five villages. The kumbhitan kudy, which comprises of 128 families, consists of 21 Malapuram panchayaths in marayur kanthalloor panchayaths. Ragi is the staple food of the former while the latter live on rice which they get in the shape of wages from their masters.

A girl, on attaining puberty, remains in the seclusion shed for 30 days, during which period she should not see any man. On the 31st day she bathes and returns home, when all the villagers are treated to a feast. Marriage take place after a girl attains puberty. Cross-cousin marriage is prevalent. Marriage ceremony is conducted at the bride's hut and lasts for three days. Malapulayas worship *kali*⁴⁶ *Chaplamma*, *Mariamamma*, and *Katlaparamma*. Men abstain from intercourse with their wives for ten days prior to any religious ceremony they have to perform. Man wear's cloth, 6 cubits by 2 1\2 cubits, and woman a coloured cloth, 16 cubits long. The diminished vitality of this tribe is due to the unhealthy environment in which it lives.

Malayapulayan's huts are 15 feet by 12 feet in dimensions and two-roomed without windows. They are made of *junglewood*, *bamboos* and *potha grass*. Bamboo-trellis forms the wall which is plastered with mud. The floor is raised, and the huts face east. The summer encampments of vizhavans are on the banks of the Idiyara River and are of a temporary nature. They have merely a lean-to-roof, one side of which touches the ground and the other is raised by reed-stakes. Here they remain from November to March, when they move on to

⁴⁶ *Kali*- The Hindu Goddess

their new clearings and put up more substantial buildings. These are two-roomed and are 20 feet long and 15 feet broad. They are made of jungle-wood and reeds and are thatched with reed leaves.

Malavetan

Malavetan is a small tribal forest community which had sustained on minor game in past. They are distinct from other tribes on account of their tradition, customs and ways of life. They now have little land and depend on daily labour for sustenance. Malavetans in idukki are also few in numbers. They are found in small numbers in Nedumkandam and Karimkunnam Grama panchayats only. The Malavetan are divided into five endogamous sections, *Cheruvetan*, *Chinkannivetan*, *Elichathivetan*, *Tolvetan*, and *valiavetan*. *Chervetans*, otherwise known as *vetuvans*, are found in and outside the Kumaranperur Reserve of the Ranni Range.⁴⁷ They comprise four exogamous clans: -

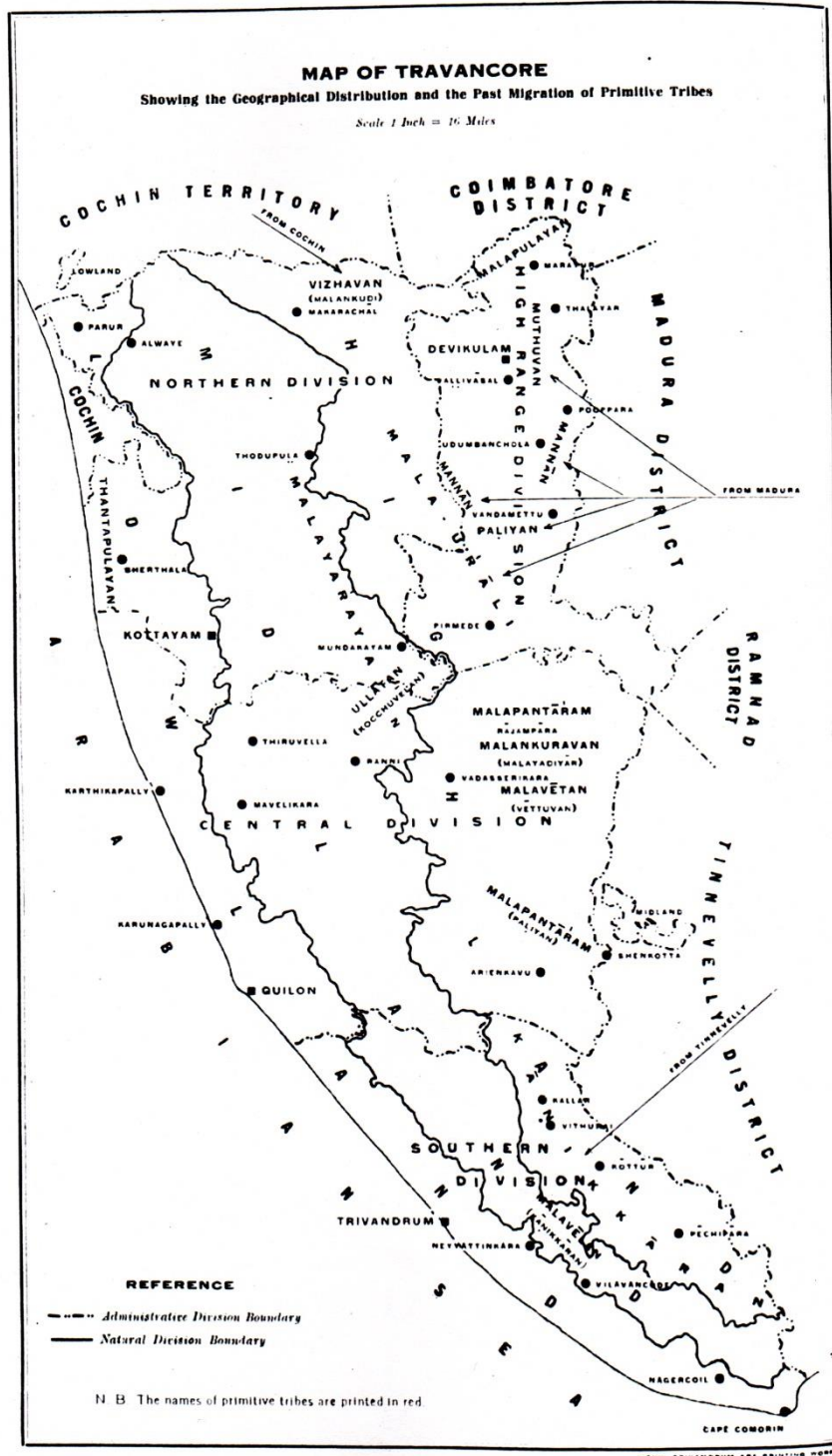
1. *Venatan-illom*
2. *Vendiri-illom*
3. *Churalayar-illom*
4. *Modanathan illom* -

Marriage between members of the same clan is prohibited. A man is free to marry a woman of the other clans. A woman after marriage continues to be of her own clan and the children belong to her clan.

Malavetans have a headman called *stani* in each hamlet, and he settles all their disputes. The office is hereditary and descends from the uncle to the nephew (sister's son). His influence is waning⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ N. Kunjan Pillai, *Census of India 1931-Travancore*, op. cit., p. 415

MAP SHOWING MIGRATION OF TRIBALS TOWARDS HIGH RANGE



Map 1.1: Map showing the tribal migration towards High range from different places, Travancore Census of India 1931, Report, Vol. XXVIII, Part I, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Government of India, 1931

CHAPTER II

AN INQUIRY IN TO THE TRIBAL SOCIETY

Idukki is the second largest tribal settlement in kerala. According to the kaneshumari in 1991, 50269 is the tribal population in idukki.¹ Most of the tribal settlement has their own beliefs, traditions, language, culture etc. But as the time passes, they have been losing what they have, especially in cultural elements. The intervention of modern trends and education exploited their traditions. Once the Muthuvan have a dialect of their own (Enavan peach).² Closely allied with Tamil, with a few Malayalam words. But it has no script.³ Now most of them are following Malayalam script. No one have interest to protect their language and culture. There has not much studies conducted on the tribal settlements and their cultures in idukki. It has limited in the features and editorials in the news papers. There have many hidden faces of tribal settlement in Idukki.

This chapter includes the socio-culture and political features of Muthuvan settlement of choorakattankudy, there has no Muthuvan are same, I tried to highlight the diminishing culture of Muthuvans in choorakattankudy. I collected the information from the interview with the aged Muthuvans. Even though their culture is diminishing, they love and respect and try to protect it. It has to be stated that they have their own administration. In their older powerful administration even the police cannot intermediate in their rules.

Urumalkettu, kondakettu, thalamutt and *ashapattu* are the historical rituals that are still celebrating. *Chavadi* depicts their unity in social lie. *Thinnaveedu* shows their respect and importance of women. *Ashapattu* is related

¹ Kanchiyar Rajan and V. B Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalakalum Samskaravum: A study of folklore in Idukki District*, Idukki District Panchayath, Kattappana, 2000, p. 4

² *Enavan-* Muthuvan dialect

³ <http://dawn journal.com>, Vol 2, January-June 2013, Accessed on 23/12/2017

with the marriage celebration. Kani indicates the supremacy Muthuvan king. *Poojari* leads the rituals of Muthuvans. Even though the significance of their culture and traditions are decreasing. This chapter represents the losing culture and traditions of Muthuvans.

Administration of the Muthuvan Social System

Kingship

The Muthuvan society is divided into number of *kudi*'s.⁴ The head of each *kudi* decides the life style of them. The entire *kudi* selects a head. He will be the centre of all *kudies*. He is called '*kani*'.⁵ The head would have special position and honour. His wife also has power among women.

In the beginning the head were called *muthan*⁶ and *muthi*.⁷ But the direct intervention of forest officers changed the name into *kani*. So it abolished the name *muthan* and *muthi*.⁸ The position of *muthan* and *muthi* is hereditary. It is specialised in one family. It has consistency', like a king ship. But the law of *kani* introduced by the forest officers changed the hereditary system. The selection of *kani* is very lucid. The Muthuvan who has much courage to speak to the forest became the *kani* of Muthuvan. Because commonly the Muthuvans did not like the outsiders. They were introverted in character. So the forest officers adopted courage as a measure of the selection of *kani*. Beside of this courage the *kani* should have knowledge in medicine, incarnation, the faith in religious matters etc. *Kani* has a wide and vast power among the Muthuvans. *Kani* has to lead the people in cultivation, birth, death, religions, marriage etc. He has to do

⁴ *Kudy* – meant hamlet in the Muthuvan language

⁵ *Kani*-Head of the *kudy*

⁶ *Muthan*-Male head of the Muthuvan

⁷ *Muthi*-Female head of the Muthuvan

⁸ Kanchiyar Rajan and V. B Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalakalum Samskaravum: A Study of folklore in Idukki District*, op. cit., p. 69

work for the public welfare without any favour. No one has authority to question the *kani*. Because the *kani* is acting according to the interest of all Muthuvans.

Panchayam

*Panchayam*⁹ is the meeting of Muthuvans with concerned representatives from the *kudy* is known as *panchayam*. It is called the decision taking body of Muthuvans. Muthuvans are different in their own rules and regulations. If anyone regulated the *kudy* rules, they would be called up and asked for explanations. The *panchayam* has the right for punish them, if the person cannot give a good explanation. Generally, all the Muthuvans accept the decision of *panchayam* mainly the members of the same clan are the key positions in *panchayam*. Other prominent members of the other *kudy* also participate in the *panchayam* and support in the process of decision making. It is not allowed for women to make opinion in *panchayam*. Muthuvans consider *kani* as the highest authority who decide on all matters related to them. The meeting is usually held at *chavadi*. A Festival celebration or the renovation of a *chavadi* also may come up in the agenda of the *panchayam*.

Concept of Lineage Among The Tribe

Matrilineal System

Kani, *poojair*, *manthrakaran*¹⁰ were the highest people in *kudi*. Eldest people also considered as honoured. But however women are not considered as equal to men. A woman does not have special power in public programmes, especially in the case of ruling of administration *kudi*. Males are the dominating power in *kudi*. The men joined together in *chavadi* for the discussion of common matters. Women are not supposed to enter there. Middle aged women do not tell their name if we ask them. They are ashamed to tell their names. Women never

⁹*Panchayam*- Decision making body

¹⁰ *Manthrakaran* - Hindu priests, who often recite prayers in the ceremonies

say their husband's name. Muthuvans are matrilineal community. The route of clan system is through mothers. The children inherits mothers lineage of clan. But there is many privileges for women to act in agriculture, cooking of food, protection of child are also the duties of women. Women are not supposed to follow dead bodies, because muthuvan have more fear in death and related function.¹¹ This fear compelled women and children to being for away from it. It has no relation with the social dignity of women. There is no "*poojarini* and *manthravadini*" even though there is less privilege vested in the wife of *kani*. But she is restricted in socially related programmes. Women are equal representation in festivals. They could do both singing and dancing.

Law & Order and Justice

Ooruvilakku

*Ooruvilakku*¹² is a punishment system of Muthuvans given by the *kootam* headed by the *kootam* headed by the *kani*. In English it means 'Isolation'. It is imposed on those who marry from the outside o the Muthuvan community, and also for having extra marital relationships with people from the same clan. Marriage with in the same clan is strictly prohibited. It is considered as a punishable offence and they will be sent outside the forest. The family members of those who are under *Ooruvilakku* are not allowed to contact their other relatives. If any *Ooruvilakku* happened in the kudy, it will inform all over the muthuvan community .If anyone contact with one, who under *ooruvilakku*, will also be punished. In Choorakattankudy, it happened in 18 years ago. During that time the *kani* was 'vannappan'. It was for against the marriage of same clan. But in the present time they are not interested in giving *Ooruvilakku*.¹³

¹¹ Personal interview with Mr.Veeran, aged 46, Kani, Choorakattankudy

¹²*Ooruvilakku*- Excommunication or isolation

¹³ Personal interview with Mr. Veeran, op. cit.

The *kani* of Muthuvan in Choorakattankudy explained another forms of punishment which are existing now also

“Nangal eppolum kootam koodarund. Kuttikalk Nangal shikshayaye adiyanu nalkunnath. Kuttikalk shikshanalkanaye bhandakaran und. Eathamedeal, muttel kuthi nirthal, ennivayanu mattu shikshakal. Koodathe policeinte edapedal moolam nangalk eppol valiya karyamaye shiksha nalkarilla.”

Culture: Rituals and Ceremonies

Urumalkettu

*Urumalkettu*¹⁴ is the ceremony for boy's conducted when they reached at the age of 10. Traditionally the Muthuvan men never used to cut their hair .They used white cloth for this purpose” .During this occasion that the boys are made to wear the long white cloth over the hair. *Ammavan* has the right to conduct this ceremony. They used to tie their hair under 3-4 meter long cloth worn over the head which is called “*Thalappavu*”.¹⁵ If Muthuvan removes the *thalappavu*, it means some sad thing has happened in the *kudi*, like death.¹⁶ But now-a –days the Muthuvan men cut their hair. In the words of *kani* in Choorakattankudy ‘The boys grows their hair for the ceremony of *urumalkettu* and after the ceremony they cut it’¹⁷. “During this ceremony the boy’s family invites all the members of the *kudi* for feast. The boys remove the cloth from the head within a week or month.

¹⁴ *Urumalkettu*- A ritual when a boy is made to cloth knot over the head for the first time

¹⁵ *Thalappavu*- turban

¹⁶ P. K Muralidharan, *Idamalakkudy - Oorum Porulum*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society Limited, Kottayam, 2014, p. 29

¹⁷ Personal interview with Mr. Veeran, op. cit.

Kondakettu

*Kondakettu*¹⁸ is the ceremony performed for girl when she reached at to the age of marriage. Normally it is the age near to “12 or 13”. “*Muracherukan* has the right to tie *konda* on his girl”. *Kondakettu* is a one week celebration among Muthuvans. The shape of *konda* is like a ball. The girl begins to wear *melpudava* on the same day. The Choorakothan women called it “*kandaimund*”. From that day onwards she is never allowed to open her *konda* in front of others, especially before men. A Muthuvan woman is made to open her hour at the time of her husband death. The colour of cloth that used for tie. The *konda* is black.

In the opinion of Muthuvan women;

“*Nangal nangalude 16-amathe vayasil kondakettum. Muracherukananu nangalk ethu cheythu tharika. Nangalk oru asionum eshtapedunnilla. Athukondanu ella sthreekalum orupole kondakettunnathu. Kulikumbol mathrame njangaaleth azhikarullu.*”¹⁹

Thalemuttu

*Thalemuttu*²⁰ is another important ceremony in girl’s life, which celebrate menarche. The muthuvan celebrate it like a marriage. Soon after this ceremony, the marriage of the girl used to be arranged.

¹⁸*Kondakettu*- A ritual when a girl is made to cloth knot over the head for the first time

¹⁹ Personal interview with Mrs. Patie, wife of formal Kani Mr. Vannappan, aged 86, Choorakettankudy

²⁰ *Thalemuttu*-celebration held at menarche of women

Chavadi

*Chavadi*²¹ is supposed to use as a resting place of Muthuvan community. *Chavadi* is also known as *sathram*.²² The *chavadi* is used by those people who come from another *kudi* aged man, children and unmarried men of *kudi*. Every evening the children get together in *chavadi*. The boys who have above the age of 10 use *chavadi* as their home. It continues prohibited by tradition. Even mothers also come to *chavadi* for seeing their son.

The *Chavadi* also considered as the guest house of outsiders. It is known as different names in different *kudies* .Such as *kozhivalan*, *mooliy on pala*, community hall, *sathram*.²³ It is made by leafs of tree .it is very beautiful when we looking from outside. But it's in side is not as much as clean and it's unhygienic. Bad smell spreads in the room''. *Chavadi* is a place for conducting meeting to decide on performing ritual ceremonies like *pongal*, *kooth* and organising political events thus we can see, it is a place of administration. But however in the case of Muthuvan tribes in Choorakattankudy, the *chavadi* is a losing memory for them. Still there is no existing *chavadi* for them. In spite of this, the government has built a concrete hall to them called community hall. I asked to the *kani* about the *chavadi*. He answered very sadly:

“*oru path pathinanju varsham munp chavadi nangalk annyadheenamaye. Innathe thalamurayk athinekurich krithyamaya dharana ella. Njangalude cherupathil ennum vaikunnerangalil virakumaye njangal kuttikal chavadiyil othukoodumayirunnu. Pinne thee kooti athinu chuttum erunnanu njangal varthamanam paraunnath. Kuttikaloru vyakhitham valarthiedukkan chavadi valare adhikam sahayikumayirunnu.*

²¹ *Chavadi*- A resting place of muthuvan

²² Kanchiyar Rajan and V. B Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalakalum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 71

²³ P. K Muralidharan, *Idamalakudy Oorum Porulum*, op. cit., p. 45

*Koodathe njangal oro 'panchayam' koodunnathum evide vachayirunn. Ippol ellam nashtamayirikkunnu"*²⁴

Chavadi is made by mud. The shape of *chavadi* is rectangular. There is on other form of ventilation in the room. There is a fire pit at the centre of *chavadi*, for providing warmth. Very night, when the members go to stay in *chavadi*, they carry fire wood. They do not like to keep furniture's in *chavadi*. Sleeping mats and their music instruments are things that only they keep in *chavadi*. The utilities o youth dormitories were to avoid the restricting role o children in their parent's sexual life.²⁵

The *chavadi* is normal empty during the day. It helps in making of the boys into mature Muthuvans. *Chavadi* has only one door according to pattiyanamma',²⁶

"Nangal pennungal chavadiyil kootam koodumbol pokarilla. Dhoore maarininnu kelkum. Enthenkilum abhiprayam paranal aanungalk dheshyam varum. Kuttikalk shiksha nalkunnath evide vachanu. Eathamidil, muttel nirthal, kaivellayil adi ennivayanu prathana shikshakal."

Thinnaveedu

*Thinnaveedu*²⁷ is a separate house which built for the Muthuvan unmarried girls, for their night stay. Women who are menstruating also use *thinnaveedu* for their stay."The women who are menses also called *Theendari*.²⁸ They are not allowed to see before the men. During the menses period women change their stay from home to *Thinnaveedu*. They believed that it helps to

²⁴ Personal interview with Mr. Veeran, op. cit.

²⁵ Personal interview with Ms. Valsa, aged 38, Teacher, Govt. Tribal School, Choorakattankudy

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ *Thinnaveedu*- a separate house built for Muthuvan unmarried girls

²⁸ *Theendari*- menses women

prevent affecting pollution to others. In some *kudi's thinnaveedu* have two or more compartments. One compartment is used by the women who are menstruating and other compartment is used by non menstruating women”.

Thinnaveedu is situated little away from the houses of *kudi*. It is hidden between the bushes and grasses. Very often the *thinnaveedu* also used by the purpose of delivery. Almost 30 days, the mother and baby live in here. During the pregnancy period no one can enter to *kudy* for visiting the women. They say

“*pennungal ellam ottayk sahikkanam. Oru pakshe prasava samayath ammaum kunjum marichu poyennirikam ennal ath njangalude aacharithinte bhagamaye kaanane njangalk kazhiyu*”

After the delivery, they made a small celebration, when they enter to *kudy* from the *thinnaveedu*. The administration of *thinnaveedu* is controlled by aged women. Normally it has only one door. It has the facility to fire pit at the centre, and constructed with out windows. They use mat for sleeping. Some of the Muthuvankudy called *thinnaveedu* as *vallaymapura*.²⁹ After the menses period the father of women put *manchalthanni*³⁰ water over her head. It is a part of their believes. But in the recent time Muthuvans are far away from their believes except some *kudies*.

Matrimonial Relations

Marriage

A Peculiar practice with the Muthuvans is that after the marriage is settled the bridegroom forcibly takes away the maiden from her mother's house when she goes out for water for fire wood and lives alone for a few days or weeks in some secluded part of the forest. They are then return, unless, in the mean while, they are searched or and brought back by their relatives no *tali* is

²⁹ *Vallaymapura*- *thinnaveedu*

³⁰ *Manchalthanni*- turmeric water

tied around the bride's neck but new cloth are brought by the bridegroom and present to the bride".³¹

Normally the marriage takes place between cross cousins. Traditionally the first girl child should go in marriage to paternal sister son. "*Kooth* is the main fest during the marriage time."³² "In olden days boys marry at an age of 16 to girls beyond 12. Lit long celibacy is not common. The widow can repeat her choice of partners as often as she likes but only with the consent of the clan." "The Muthuvan did not buy dowry"³³. Their marriage would be simple. They gave importance to gender equality. The place of marriage might be either *kovil* or *chavadi*. The priest would be *kani* or *manthravadini* or *karanavar*". The one of the speciality of Muthuvan marriage is *Ashapattu*.³⁴ The ceremony begins when the bride's friends hide the bride in the forest. The groom and his friends should find her out. Friends of the bride room in the forest and sing "*Ashapattu*" and miss guides the boys. When the groom fined the bride, the marriage ceremony begins." When I asked to the aged Muthuvan in Choorakattankudy about the marriage, he gave some more information.

*"Penninekandethy kazhinjal avide vachu thane kazhuthil
poomala aniyikkum. Pinne ooro kudykalilum avar kayari
erangum. Chila veetil ninnu mangal vellam thala vazhi
ozhikkum. Chila veetil ninnum chanaka vellavum. Ehellam
aagoshathinte bhagam aanu. Pinne cherukkan penninte dhehath
moonnu kaiviral mangalil mukki thekkum."*

But however this custom is not practiced in recent times. During the marriage days no one go for work .They enjoyed these days with dance and

³¹ T. K Velupillai, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. IV, Gazetteers Department, Government of Kerala, 1996, p. 419

³² *Idukki Mannum Manasum*, Nallapadam, Eastern Newton School, 2017, p. 31

³³ Kanchiyar Rajan, *Athieevanathinte Gothra Padangal*, Z - library, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011, P. 33

³⁴ *Ashapattu*- A song related to marriage

songs. In the evening the bride's father arranges a dinner at his *kudi*. The Muthuvan did not use tali in spite of this they use '*Pasimala*³⁵' for wedding.

Ashapattu

"It is a song related to the wedding ceremonies of Muthuvan tribes. It cannot be seen in other tribes. Normally it is sing by the friends of bride, when bridegroom has hidden in the forest. The song is considered as a clue, that given to the groom. Sometimes the song is mixed with sexual lines. But it is a part of their culture. Love is the main theme of *Ashapattu*. When the grooms find out bride, they stop the singing of *ashapattu*.

"Sinnaseru vayasile

Sinnattu manalilu

Sinnaseru manalilu

Koythirunthom

Urasinnapillayennu solli.....

Yea.....sengaaa.....sirasodiponniro

Varattukoolathile vaayaki nikkayile

Oru karadi manashi vanth kai ketty koopadle

Varayadi varathile randu manipirakku meyekanda

Oru chempira veshathilu shenthushikam thookinalo

Aathik akkarelu enhonna thee velicham

*Oru maamakalu chomannathinte mathash thee
velicham.*³⁶

³⁵ *Pasimala*- Tali

³⁶ Personal interview with Mr. Veeran, Op.cit.

Normally the marriage takes place between cross cousins. The Muthuvans follows “*Marumakathaya*³⁷ system.” The bride and groom are also known as *murapennu* and *muracherukkan* respectively. It should be a consanguineous relationship. The age of marriage is from 14 to 20. Traditionally, the first girl child should go in marriage to the paternal sister’s son. The *murapennu* is also called ‘*kuttalan*’ and the *Muracherukkan* is also called “*changaran*”.

System of Agriculture and Farming

Agriculture was the main occupation and main way to sustain life. Most of the Muthuvans do not have their own land for cultivation. The government do not give *patta* to them. The farming paved the way or cleaning and wiping out the forest for the cultivation like paddy, wheat, maize, *thena chennattu pullu*. In totally the above crops called *virippu*,³⁸ in their language. The wild animal, honey, folk tuber, were the main food items they used during the cultivation period. The ashes were the manure fertilizer for them. They grow two round of paddy in a year. After harvesting the paddy they convert into the rice and further produce *avell*. The main problem in the cultivation and farming was the attack form wild animals. Along with agriculture Muthuvans collect the wild tubers and honey form the forest.

As a solution for the problem facing from the wild animal they gathered together for destructing them. For protecting they made fire pits besides their yielding lands. There was a tradition in which particular shape of harvest being offered to Goddess. The forest area and grass land are the main cultivating site of them. They clear trees and shrubs and chopper and ploughing the place with spade and chopper. The bamboos were the main trees which they cut down for

³⁷ *Marumakathayam*- Literally refers to inheritance by sister’s children, as opposed to sons or daughter i.e. Matrilineal system

³⁸ *Virippu*-Traditional farming practice of Muthuvan

cultivation land. It is very hard to clear bamboo forest. They need special training for clearing the bamboo. The grass land are also very difficult to clear they burn it for an easy clearance usually the clearing of forest is a collective litigation. All of the Muthuvan, both women and men participate on it.” They have seven steps for cultivation, such as “*uzhavuvettu vithachukila, kalaneekal, kaval, koyth, methi, and vilavedupuultsavam*.”³⁹

When I asked to the *kani* of Muthuvan he said that “we start cultivation during the month of *meenam* and *medam*.”⁴⁰ Both male and female participate on it. We built tree huts hears to agricultural land, and appoint some people as a night security of the land in order to protect from wild animals. We normally follow shutting cultivation. Every year we move one place to another place.” In the memories of the aged women in Choorakattankudy, the crops which they used for cultivation are “*Arimodan, Chomalaperuazha, Adimoda, Idakadu, Maxchaperumala, Choramodunellu, Manumarigora, Kozhimaragora, Kozhimala*”⁴¹ etc. And she point out that” “*eppol nangalk kothi und pandathe chore kazhikkan*

Shifting Cultivation or the Jhum Cultivation

If has been started since the emergence of tribal’s in hill areas. In literals shifting cultivation also known as jhum cultivation or burn and slash cultivation. After three or four cultivation the tribal people moves from the old land to another land in order to get goods result from cultivation. That’s why we called it shifting cultivation. In Malayalam it is called ‘*punam* cultivation.’ It also helps to protect the soil. After few years they come back to the same place. The main drawback of the shifting cultivation is the clearness of the forest.

Festivals

³⁹ Kanchiyar Rajan, Athijeevanathinte Gothra Padangal, OP.CIT, P.93

⁴⁰ Personal interview with Mr Veeran

⁴¹ The traditional farming seeds

Muthuvankudy is a place for different kinds of festivals. The main festivals are conducted in Malayalam month of “*chithira*, *karthika*, and *thaimasams*. *Andupooja* is held in *chithira*. *Kooth* and *Kummiyadi* are the special programmes which held in during the festivals.”⁴²

Pongal

Pongal is a harvesting festival. The Muthuvan tribes in Choorakattankudy called it *keripongal*⁴³. It is the most celebrated festival among the Muthuvans. *Thaimasam* is a month for pongal. The main programmes before the pongal are maintainers’ of *kovil* and *kudi*. They start to clear the surrounding areas of *kovil*. They do not use meat and fish during these days. There is *kooth* and *Kummiyadi* each and every days of pongal. The Muthuvan celebrate pongal for one week.⁴⁴ Sometimes it goes more than one most of their *poojas* and prayers are related to forest and for it is survival. They considered certain places in the forest as gods place. Those places should be keeping as pure. Women are not allowed to enter these places. On pongal days men go in groups and perform pooja in such places.

During the days of pongal Muthuvan has lot of funs “Boys dressed up like women and make dance with others. Each *kudi* select a weak and people from other *kudi* come and celebrate with them.”⁴⁵

According to the memory of patie;

⁴² Kanchiyar Rajan and V. B Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothra Kalaum Samskaravum*, Op. cit., p. 86

⁴³ *Keripongal*- Harvesting festival of the Muthuvan

⁴⁴ P. K Muralidharan, *Idamalakkudy- Oorum Porulum*, op. cit., p. 33

⁴⁵ Ibid.

*“Utsavathinte samayath nangalk puthiya kuttaum muravum panambum ellamneyth dhevanu samarpikkum. Annu nangalk puthiya vasthrangal dharikkum. Elamdharikalum sthreekalum chernnu oru sthalam vrithi aaki avide pongalinu vendi thayarakkum. Pongal edan upayogikunnath pachariyanu. Annu aattavum paatumaye njangal sherikkum angu aagoshikkum. Stheekalk swathandhram kooduthal kittunnath ee samayathanu.”*⁴⁶

Karthika

*Karthika*⁴⁷ is an another important festival. It continues up to 3 days. “*Murukan, parvathi, Vishnu* are the main figures during this festival. In *karthika* days, that the Muthuvan clean their houses and all other furniture which is used for keeping water. They repast new mud on the wall of *kudi*. During the festival season they change their jewellery and dress. *Karthika* is a Tamil festival which associated with light.”⁴⁸ Besides of these the festival of *meenakshi* temple in Madurai is also important for them.

Religion and Faith

Muthuvan has three kind of religious faith. First one is associated with *kovil* and Hindu God’s. *Siva* and *Vishnu* and *bhadrakali* are the main gods of them. Second form of faith is related with natural gods, called “*Maladaivangal*”. *Maladaivangal* is the god which protects hill, forest and rivers. The Muthuvans usually pray to them for getting blessings. The third form of faith is related with the adoration of soul.⁴⁹ It is very ancient type of practice. They have believed the death after life since their beginning. So that they offer normal foods for their ancestors during the pooja time. Each *kudi* has separate *kovil*. They have lot of

⁴⁶ Personal interview with Ms. Patie, op. cit.

⁴⁷ *Karthika*- festival of light

⁴⁸ Kanchiyar Rajan and V. B Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalayum Samskaravum*, op. cit., pp. 86-87

⁴⁹ Personal interview with Mr. Soman, aged 40, Tribal Promoter, Choorakattankudy

temple in each and every part of the forest. They were expert in shifting cultivation. So whenever they reached a new place, they built a temple there.

Kovil

Kovil is very important place of Muthuvan, like '*chavadi*'. It is rooted by grasses. The '*mandapa*'; is a place related with *kovil* placed near to *kovil*. *Kovil* has a *Poojari* who offer prayers. *Kovil* has a large courtyard. They are not interested to visit the *kovil* in every day. So there is no particular time for offering prayers. As well as the presence of *Poojari* is also not necessary for all time. There is no as much as restrictions to visit the *kovil* for the outsiders. When I reached at Choorakattan *kovil*, they allowed me to visit the *kovil*. The inside of the *kovil* include the photos of *Krishna*, *Siva*, *Murukan*, *Bhadrakali* etc....

Normally the adoration of *Maladaivangal* does not allowed in the *kovil*.⁵⁰ It is done in the forest. The main pooja factors of *kovil* are pongal and vilaku pongal is made by using rice and jiggery. But now-a-days the importance of the adoration of *Maladaivangal* is weakened during the festival season, all members of the *kudi* comes and surrounded the *kovil* for offering prayers. The presence of CSI church in Choorakattankudy is an emerging thread to the belief of Muthuvans are new called Muthuvan Christians due to their belief in Christianity.⁵¹

Language

Muthuvan language is the mixture of both Malayalam and Tamil. The language that Muthuvan use as their communication does not have a script now-a-days most of the Muthuvan can follow Malayalam. Especially among the youth Instructions in school are also given in Malayalam. There for the younger

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

generation who attends the school can easily follow the Malayalam but in the case of older women they use only Muthuvan language and Tamil language.

In Choorakattankudy there is one LP school .During my investigation he teacher informed that “In the beginning I had to study the Muthuvan children know the Malayalam language but now everything has changed. Every one of the *kudi* know the proper pronunciation of Malayalam.”

According to the words of Muthuvan *kani*

*“Njangal randu kootar und. Onnu Tamil muthuvanum pinne muthuvanum. Tamil muthuvan ullath Kattamudy, Inchapetty, Plamalakudy, bysanvally ennividangalil aayirnnu. Mattullavar Choorakattamkudyilum Thattekannanilu aanu. Ethil Tamil muthuvanyadhartha Tamil bhaksha avarude samsarathil upayogikkunnu. Njangal malayalavum edakalarthunnu.”*⁵²

Even in Muthuvan language they use two words for denoting one thing.

Chavadi - Kozhivalan

Thinnaveedu - Valapura

Muracherukkan - Changan

Murappennu - Kuttalan⁵³

They have their own symbols for communication. For example if a women remove her *konda*, it shows the death of her husband. If a man removes his *thalappavu*, it also indicates the death of someone in the *kudi*. In recent times they do not use Muthuvan language before the outsiders. But at the same time they give practice for their children about the use of Muthuvan language”.

⁵² Personal interview with Mr. Veeran Supran, op. cit.

⁵³ Personal interview with Mr. Krishna Vannappan, aged 80, eldest man of the Kudi

“They speak a mixed dialect of Tamil and Malayalam, but neither the compound nor the component tongues sit comfortable on their lips, but none the less they make themselves sufficiently intelligible in communicating their crude ideas to their civilised brethren of the plains”.⁵⁴

Dress and Make-up

“The women usually wear ‘sari’. It is also called *kandaimundu*⁵⁵. There are two ways of draping the sari. One is ‘*melpudava*’ which is the dress of all unmarried girls and also the married who do not have children. The other way of draping sari is called ‘*marady*’. This is the usual Indian style of wearing sari. Muthuvan women do not wear slippers. If they are going to outside, they carry it on their hand and wear it. When they reach the outside of *kudi*⁵⁶ both women and men have long hair. If the men do it, known as ‘*urumalkettu*’. Same the way in women’s, it is called ‘*kondakettu*’. “The women always put a knot in their hair. They say” The hair without *konda* is considered as bad women.⁵⁷ All the men and women use jewellers. Both men and women do not like to wear neat and good dress. Muthuvan women always drape untidy wrinkled saris. Aged women usually have only one sari. Some of the aged women drape sari without blouse, in *melpudava* style. The widow does not use ear rings. Old Muthuvan women does not allow younger one to comb their hair, wear slippers and use umbrella. Women put flowers on their hair. “*Kattu chemanthi, Thumba, Aalanchi* are the flowers used for it.” They are interested in betel leaf chewing. Men wear shirt and long dhotis. The old men use a *Thalappavu*. Old men wear earrings with stone and glass. Mostly, men wash their cloths by themselves. Men are allowed to use slippers. The man who does not have *kadukkan* would be unmarried. Both men and women carry their children in ‘*marrapu*’.

⁵⁴ T. K Velupillai, *Travancore State Manual*, op. cit., p. 409

⁵⁵ *Kandaimundu*- A particular way of wearing sari

⁵⁶ Personal interview with Ms. Patie, op. cit.

⁵⁷ Kanchiyar Rajan and V.B Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalayam Samskaravu*, op. cit., p. 81

In the words of Vannppan;

*“Aanungal mudy neety valarthumayirunnu.
Thadi aarum thanne vaykarilla. Ennal njangal meesha vaykum.
Vaakathi koode kondu nadakunnath Njangalude sheelamanu.
Muruki chumapicha chundanu aanungalkum pennungalkum.
Nangal thalayile kett azhikare ella.”*⁵⁸

But now everything has been changing. They are started to use slippers. The education to use the neat dress the *urumalkettu* and *kondakettu* are two loosing practices among them. Now the younger generation cut their hair in different styles.

Communication and Entertainment

The major source of entertainment for the Muthuvans is movies. Now-a-days, the member of the *kudy*, both male and female separately gather in a house and watch movies after dinner. They are familiar with all the Tamil actors and they enjoy the jokes in these movies. Most of the houses have television most people in the *kudy* watch movies in a group. The boys play cricket and foot ball every evening. The *panchayath* has allowed a play ground to them. They spend lot of money during their festival seasons.⁵⁹ Tobacco chewing is a common practice among the Muthuvans, both men and women. They say that it is good or the cold climate. Alcohol consumption is common among few of them. Even boys also addicted to this bad behaviour. Muthuvan who consume alcohol say it relieves them from the chest pain after work. The Muthuvan have to go to the town to get the alcohol. Few Muthuvans have mobile phone connection. They have got net work in the forest. They enjoy films and shows through mobile.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Personal interview with Mr. Soman, op. cit.

Education

Normally the Muthuvan does not interest in education. They believe that the education is not good for their culture. Therefore the government had to take a serious initiation to facilitate education among tribes especially among Muthuvans. The government has provided lot of grants to them for attracting them to education. The main which is provided by government are “Incentive grants.” The grants which are given to parents whose children are studying in primary level. The price of grant is almost 500 Rs per month. “The Ayyankali Scholarship” for the student who is studies from 4th standard to 10th standard.” *Gothrasarathi*” is given to all students from *kudi*. And also giving E-grant scholarship for the students who are studying in High school and Higher secondary. Government also provides free entrance coaching to 80 students in pala brilliant collage.⁶⁰ Like other *kudies*, the Choorakattankudy also has a primary school named MGLC LP School. It is a single teacher school. The name of teacher is Valsa. She has been working for 17 years. The school started in 2001-August-9. In the beginning there was no student. So she suffered a lot of problems from the *kudy*. Because they were not interested to educate their child. When I asked to the teacher about the education she said that

*“Aadhya kalath kuttikal collegial vidillayirunnu. Njangal oru surveyilude kudiyle kuttikalude ennam eduthu. Ath eakadhesham 35olam undayirunnu. Pinned avarude mathapithakkalk lemsum grantum, staifentum nalkiyanu kuttikale konduvannath.”*⁶¹

The problem which facing the Choorakattan School like The unhealthy building and lack of maintenance facilities. The single teacher system is very difficult in practical, Then the salary of teacher are also very less compared with other teachers of government schools. The school has been providing mid-day-

⁶⁰ Personal interview with Ms. Manjusha, Tribal Extension Officer, Tribal Welfare Board, Adimaly

⁶¹ Personal interview with Ms. Valsa, op. cit.

meal. Every Tuesday and Thursday they are getting milk and they get egg in Wednesday too.⁶² Now-a-days the student of school goes to higher education after completing the primary education from *kudi*. The school teacher Valsa promoting them to go for higher education.

Housing

Muthuvans have a tendency to build their house in the interior of the forest, especially in places where people from outside cannot reach. The construction of *kudy* has its own uniqueness. The heights of all houses are equal to another one. The average length of the house is 20-25 feet and width is 10-15 feet. Commonly each house consists of two rooms.⁶³

The Muthuvan build the house in a particular way. In the beginning they prepare a bamboo frame on the plane foundation for the wall and then cover the frame with mud from the both side. This process makes the wall very smooth and strong. They use bamboo sticks for the roof and cover it with a tin sheet or grass or rattan leaves. The floors of the Muthuvan houses are made out of mud. They use cow during for flooring. They use the term '*samayal veedu*'⁶⁴ for denoting kitchen. They also have '*thalavasal*' and '*puravasal*'. *Thalavasal* is the main entrance and *puravasal* for emergency exits from wild animals. They do not have a toilet near to home. They used a particular place in the forest as a toilet. The main kitchen instruments are '*manchatti*, *arappukallu*, *thirikallu* etc. Now-a-days the government is taken initiation to the construction of houses for them. But it is made by concrete and cement floor. They do not satisfy with these. Because they say "The Cement Floor is very cold". They traditionally use rattan mat as the bed. They used folded jute sack as pillow and bed, so they keep the jute sacks they get from ration shop.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Kanchiyar Rajan and V. B Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalayum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 76

⁶⁴ *Samayal veedu*- word denoting kitchen

Death

The Muthuvan community strictly believe in death after life. It is the duty of 'Dandakaran' to inform all members of the *kudi* if any death has taken place. They place a white cloth over the house of dead person. They use white as a symbol of sadness, while we use black. When there is an incident of death in the *kudi*, everyone in the *kudi* gathers and mourns for the death. The mourning of women for dead person is called "*pathamparayuka*"⁶⁵. They speak about the good nature and good deed of the dead person. "None of the Muthuvan from the *kudi* would go for three days. The news of the dead spread all over the *kudi* through symbolically, that the old people remove their *thalappavu*. "If you find a muthuvan coming without *thalappavu*, it means he has some sad news to give"⁶⁶. The messenger has the duty to inform other *kudies* also. The *kani* of different *kudi*'s come for funeral. Only after the messenger reach back to the *kudi*, they would take the body to the burial place which is referred to as "*idukkad* or *kollikadu*".⁶⁷

Kollikadu

It is the common burial place of Muthuvan. It is situated in the forest. Consequently it is a vast area, but they are not interested to clean it. The burial place is covered with small bushes and herbs. It shows the fear of Muthuvan to reach here. The woman does not allow following the dead body to idukkad. The Muthuvan fears about the presence of ghost. Even in the recent time also they never change from their fear. They are far away from reasonable thought. It is not lazy to find someone who does not have believed in ghost. After bathing the body, they have some prayers. They bury their dead at a distance from their dwelling places. They bury the body with all the jewels. A white cloth is placed over the face of the body. Before burying the white cloth is handed over to the

⁶⁵ *Pathamparayuka*- The mourning of the widow

⁶⁶ Personal interview with Ms. Valsa, op. cit.

⁶⁷ *Idukkad* or *kollikadu*- The burial place

widow or widower. During the burial ceremony the head of the body is kept facing upwards and placed in the direction of north to south. They carry dead bodies on *koothukattil*.

Koothukattil

Koothukattil ⁶⁸is related to the burial ceremonies of Muthuvan. It is similar to the bed using for carrying the dead bodies. There are mainly two type *koothukattil*, such as;

1. The *kattil* which is made by single raw of wood for hanging the dead body.
2. The *kattil* which is made by more than one raw of woods for an easy carriage of dead bodies.⁶⁹

Both styles are depended on the position of the person who died. Usually the eldest son has the right to carry the dead body.

In the words of Kanakappan, older man,

*“Marichukazhinal nangal kumbidiel ennoru aacharam und. Ethinu shesgam shareeram njangal koothukattil eduth kollikattil kondupokum. Kuzhichitta shesham athinu mukalil 6 mutt kuthi nirthum. Pinneed aa muttinte mukaliloode kambum kolum ellam vach shavakuzhy maraykum. Pinneed oru kallu thalayku meethe vaykum. Pinneed aarum angott pokarilla. Vidhavaye nangal 16 dhivasathekk oru moolaykiruthum. Kulikkan onnum anuvadhikilla. Sthreecal orickalum kollikadu kandittilla.”*⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *Koothukattil*- Structure carrying dead body

⁶⁹ Kanchiyar Rajan and V. B Rajan, *Idukkiyile Gothrakalayum Samskaravum*, op. cit., p. 85

⁷⁰

Ghost

They do not have reasonable believes. It is not easy to find out any one without belief in ghost.⁷¹ Tuesday and Friday are the horrible days for them. After the dead of a person, they do not like to visit the burial place at least for 6 days. When asked to show *kollikadu*. They refused that with fear and also refused me to go there. *Muni* and *Nolli* are the main ghost of them. In their words, the dead person exists as *pay*⁷². *Pay* is the term they using for denoting ghost. The night travelling is not practicable among Muthuvan. A woman does not come out home during night.

They say,

*“kolliyan kooviyal annu maranam urapanu. Pand orikkal oru veedinte mukalil erunuu kooviyapol randuperu pidanju veenu marichu. Kolliyante koode aanu pay varunnath.”*⁷³

Handicrafts

They are rich in skill in creating the unique bamboo mats and handicrafts items with various designs which was unknown to the outside world. Their mats are so nice that one can sleep on it and if properly kept, it could be used for a very long time. They call the mat '*kannadipaya*'⁷⁴ due to its nice surface. As alternative items are available, the making of the handicrafts items are slowly disappearing. Bow and arrow *undavillu*, *thettali*, *mulam kuntham* are the main hunting tools of them. The Muthuvan women's are specialised in making cottas by bamboo. The all Muthuvans take initiation for making trench in order to get

⁷¹ Sandha Thulasidharan, *Keralathile Adhivasikal Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, Mathrubhoomi Books, 2015, p. 268

⁷² *Pay*- Ghost

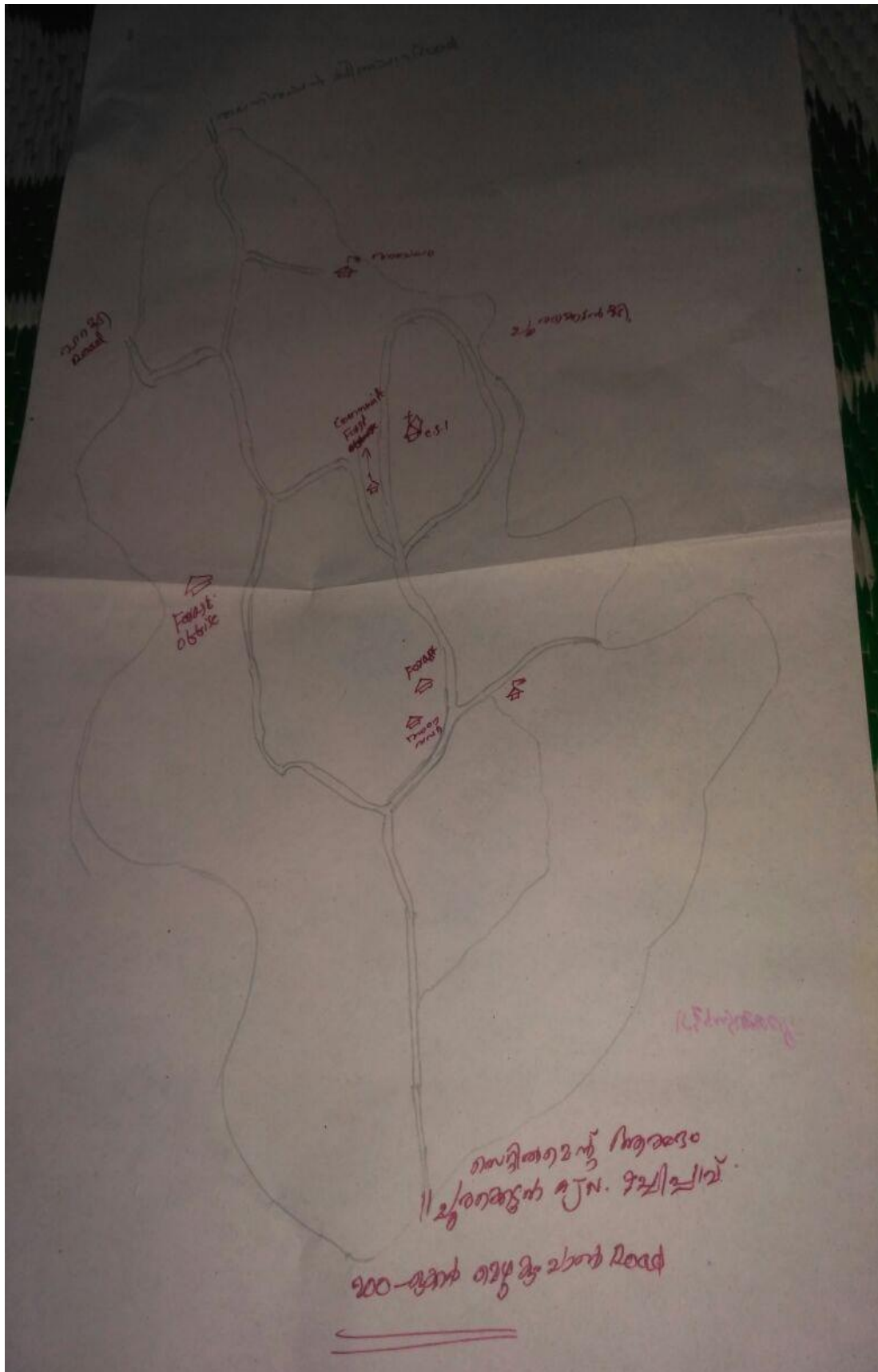
⁷³ Personal interview with Ms. Patie, op. cit.

⁷⁴ *Kannadipaya*- Mat made of bamboo

protection from elephant and other wild animals. Normally the length of the trench is above 2 km in Choorakattankudy. The trench is the finest example for their handicraft.

The Muthuvan culture is colourful with rituals and associated practices. The rituals and practices are unique when compared to other tribal groups of kerala in terms of their place of living and their system of dormitory. The Muthuvan prefer to live a secluded life, separated from the main stream land. They have their own system that takes care of *kudy*. At the same time, they are changing from the old customers. Cable TV and other modern items emerge to the *kudies*. The intervention of the outsiders negatively affected the life of tribes especially in the cultural field. The new generation do not have a clear idea about the old customers and practices of Muthuvan tribes. So it is necessary to protect the life style of Muthuvan tribes.

MAP OF CHOORAKETTANKUDY



Map 2.1: Map showing settlement area in Choorakettankudy, collected from the District Tribal Extension Office

CHAPTER III

CONFLICT WITH THE PRESENT: STRUGGLES AND REVIVAL

THE CASE OF CHOORAKETTANKUDY

Each tribal community keep their own features in customs, beliefs, and in life style also. Every group has say about their own special characteristics. It is visible in all matters like birth, death, marriage, delivery of women, festivals, entertainment and in survival also. But in the course of time, there was a lot of changes in the live and culture of tribal's. Those who lived in primitive life styles changed their lives to a civilized life. Many attempts to bring the tribal's into the mainstream led to the destruction of their culture. They also came to the idea of western culture. By this, there is a change in belief, customs and life styles.

This third chapter say about the major problem faced by tribal's especially the tribal's in choorakattankudy. The topics mentioned in this chapter are only obtained from field study. [The main source used for this is the interview method.] For the interview is used as the main source. So, the things mentioned are objective. Nobody cares about the problems faced by the tribal's in choorakattankudy. The political Patrice that comes only during the time of election is a curse for choorakattankudy. They offer many promises, but these are not implemented after the election. The major problems faced by them are, not granting patta, disturbances of wild animals, lack of drinking water, hospital, and also hey does not get any government job etc.

The Threat of Wild Animals

Wild boar, elephant and monkeys are the main animals that make threats. They make threat mostly in the farms. Even though they have made trenches for 3 km with the assistance of panchayath, elephant were coming out of the trench

to the kudies. They creaks the houses and destroys the farm lands. The present situation prevents the tribal's to collect fire wood from the forests. The most of the families in choorakattankudy depends upon farming. But the farm lands which are destroyed by the wild animals make their lives terrible. This leads to many suicides too. Along with this the panchayath is not getting ready to provide any actions for his losses¹.

The dead bodies them burry in the inside of the forest. But the elephants attack those who enter the forest. In the early periods, the British provided a gun² to the kani. But as the time passed the forest officers brought back the gun. Along with this, now it is considered as punishable offence to attack animals. Here is no discrimination for tribal's and common man. The forest officers are not ready to provide any facilities to protect themselves from the wild animals. The tribal's demands mainly two things. Firstly they demand for the compensation for the destructions caused by the wild animals from the panchayath and help from the government to drive away the wild animals. The tribal's carries dogs along with them even for going to collect honey and fire wood. The dogs are helpful in catching the small of elephants. If rarely hears the talks about tigers in the forest.

The Problem of Patta and the Ownership

There are 120 families living in the choorakattankudy who were of Mannan, muthuvan, malayarayan and Ulladar tribes. But the amazing fact is that none of them has their own patta. The panchayath provides houses for the tribes. But these houses are not suitable for any other purposes. Patta was not given since it was given in 1992 for some kudi in Mankulam. Instead of patta it was

¹ Personasl interview with Krishna Vannappan, aged 80, Muthuvan

² Personal interview with Mr. Veeran Supran, aged 46, kani of the kudy

given a document called “vanavasarakha”. It is not as much as valuable. When we talk about the patta problem to the TEO³, she said,

“The patta problem relies under the department of revenue, forest and tribal department. It’s considered to provide patta for those who own lands before 2005. It can provide patta for only acres. The first step is to join the Forest Right Committee. The committee members should be the ward members and the members of kudi. The decision and suggestions taken in FRC goes to the sub divisional committee. Here the decisions are taken by the Tribal extensional officer and forest officer. These decisions are moved to the collector. The patta distributed from here”⁴.

The authority tells that the provisions of patta are waiting due to these long procedures. But the actual fact is that if they are provided by patta, they may sell their lands and moves to other places. Due to the unavailability of patta they are prohibited to cut down the trees and to cultivate the lands. They are prevented from cutting down the trees which are planted by them. The lands which were cultivated since 1972, was occupied by the forest officers and planted trees. It was big news, but due to lack of necessary political support, the problem was left unimportant. The tribes were feared of to cultivate the lands without patta. The forest officer may come to occupy the lands. There were many who left the in such circumstances.

Restrictions Made by the Forest Department

In the first phases of migration, the tribes in choorakattankudy have more freedom in the forest. It was their part of life to collect the forest products. They cultivated in the inner forests. Budding and collection forest honey are their food style. They killed wild animals for food too. There was kudies in choorakattan

³ TEO- Tribal Extensional Office

⁴ Interview with Mrs Manju George, aged 30, Tribal Extension Officer, Adimaly

even before the arrival of forest officers came and denied to collect forest products. They demanded pass to get inside the forest. The trespassers were fined. Now they need the permission of forest officers to collect firewood and bamboo.

Actually the tribal's are interested in farming. They still love their traditional way of farming in the forests. They complaints that the forest officers allow the people to cut down the trees and prevent them from collecting firewood's. They are compelled to change their lifestyle due to the prevention of entering the forests. They come to the common public in search of other jobs. This makes them to be exploited by the other people. They were cheated by giving fewer wages. Along with this the young tribal generation have less knowledge about forests. The forests officers don't allow the tribal's to drive away the wild animals which enter their farm lands. Lack patta is considered as an opportunity by the forest officers. The tribal lands were occupied and they plant trees⁵.

The forest officers justifies their over intervenes is as a result of cultivating gunga inside the forest by the tribal's. Along with this, they state that the common people with the support of tribal's, enters the forest and cut the trees. Forest officers say that to avoid such crimes, it needs to be intervened. The case of occupying the lands by the forest officers still continues in the high court. All the members in choorakattankudy will say that, the influence of forest officers negatively affects their lives. It is necessary to maintain a difference in the authority of ruling between the kudi and forest officers.

⁵ Interview with Mr. Soman Chellappan, aged 40, Tribal Promoter, Choorakattankudy

Inadequacy of Hospital and Other Health Care Facilities

Almost 30 years ago there were no deadly diseases among Adivasis. The other diseases cured through the forest medicines⁶. There was no need for a hospital. But today, the diseases are common among adivasis. About 50% of people are feeling diabetes today. Sometimes, they are suffering by allergy, because they are going to work in the cardamom plantation. Now, there is no way to cure the children's diseases with herbal medicines. Even though the government has left over Rs.600 crore for adivasis, the adivasis of choorakattankudy have no hospital facilities. They are rushed to the government hospital of Adimaly by too many kilometres. Death toll often rises due to lack of road. In 6 months, 50 people have committed suicide in Adimaly. Many of this death cannot be brought to hospital in time. The adivasis of choorakattan need a small hospital because of this problem.

Drastic Decline in the Adivasi Population

There are only 120 families in the choorakattankudy⁷. But the most difficult fact is that they do not understand the importance of Adivasis. That means, today the inter caste marriages are most common among them. That's why many people come into the adivasi settlement. It causes the emergence of a mixed generation.

They do not support the customs and rituals of Adivasis. Their customs are new keep going to an end. The inter caste married couple had previously been discharged from their duties. This system was called '*ooruvilakku*'. The adivasis demand that the government never encourage inter caste marriage. Those women who got married from the set element were not come back to there. This leads to decrease in the number of adivasis.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Interview with Mr. Soman Chellappan Op. cit.

Suicide

Today, suicide among adivasis is very common. Soman, adivasis promoter of choorakattankudy says that, about 50 suicides took place during the last 6 months. Suicide has been observed among the young people. Unemployment and drunkenness are the major causes of suicide. However, due to loss of perishable loss in agriculture, elder persons may commit suicide. Agriculture falls due to the threat of wild animals. Most of the muthuvans depend on agriculture, and it is their main income⁸. The debts are paid by the income received from agriculture. They're not getting any financial help from panchayath and therefore, when the destruction crops leads to the suicide of people there.

Alcohol Consumption

'*Chavadi*⁹' was a great helpful way to personality formation of children. It was equal to an education centre. There was no bad behaviour among the children. Only those who were above 25 years of age were drunk. But now a day 15 years old children are drunk. This is because; they not give importance to education. Uneducated children become worse, because, of bad partnership. Not only Alcohol Consumption, Panparag, Hans, etc. are also used by children. The use of Alcohol increases the number of crimes also. The only solution for these problems is the compulsory education. Only then, there will be children with proper awareness.

Early Marriages

This is very common one in the choorakattankudy. At an early age girls got marriage, because, they do not go to higher education. The girls are getting married when they are 16 years old prior to the growth of knowledge and

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Chavadi- The resting place of muthuvan

maturity; the girls getting married create a lot of problems. The early marriage do not support by laws. So the police enter kudy.

Intervention of police often leads to conflict with Adivasis. In other words, today they are not even educated, that is because of the early marriage.

Unavailability of Public Space

The community hall was a unique feature of the muthuvan settlement. Community hall is also known as 'chavadi'. It was here that every-one was meted and celebrated. The tribal council choorakattan was performed in this 'chavadi'. But at the time passes, they lost their administrative structure.

This lost the opportunity of adivasis for their meeting. The demand for a community hall still exists among the adivasis. But the ward member or the administrative system does not give anything to them, so the lack of chavadi leads the child's behaviour becomes very bad.¹⁰

Shortage of Drinking Water

The lack of drinking water is the main problem faced by the adivasis of choorakattankudy. They have not yet got any drinking water project. They live in the top of will, but when the summer season; all the water dries up and causes water famine. They depend on a public pond for all the needs. They are collecting water by travelling a long distance. So, people cannot work at proper time. So, the lack of water leads to the destruction of crops. Lack of drinking water causes many health problems and severe diseases also. Today, it is very important that the need of drinking water in choorakattankudy through a proper planning and make sure that everyone gets water.¹¹

¹⁰ Personal interview with Kanchiyar Rajan, the member of Kerala Folklore Academy

¹¹ Personal interview with Mrs Pattiyamma, aged 60, Muthuvan

Issues with the Education System

The single teacher system now also exists in choorakattankudy. It started functioning here for 15 years. But since then the maintenance has never happened in the school. Education is given up to the 4th standard here. This is an old building roofed with clay tile. During the rainy season, no one is able to sit in the classroom. The panchayath or the government has no any responsibility for the school renovation. Over the years, only one book has been given to four classes for learning. Valsala is the only teacher there since the school started. However, the teacher has not been given increase in salary. The teacher comes here with a distance of about 3 km. After 10th class, children do not have a hostel facility to study and often they do not get admission. Though funding is given to education, it does not help them in education. They are generally less interested in studying. Their parents are also less interested to admit them in school. From the school they are expecting only their benefits. Moreover, after getting education they do not get any job. So it reduces the interest in education system.

Illiteracy

According to the 1991 census, nearly 70 percent of the tribals are illiterates. Although it cannot be denied that education can act as the instrument for betterment of the tribals ensuring greater participation for them in the development process, still there are certain factors which inhibit the tribals from taking to education. These factors include tribal superstition and prejudices, extreme poverty, nomadic lifestyle of certain tribes, lack of interest in alien subjects taught through an alien language and a lack of suitable teachers and other facilities in the tribal area.

Loss of Original Ethnic Language

In the early ages the “muthuvans” has the language mixed of Tamil and Malayalam. They were migrated from madhura. Even though they don't have

their own script, they were proud of their individuality. But the lack of script and emergence of education institutions lead to the disappearance of their language among the new generation. They didn't like to speak muthuvan language outside their community. Nobody comes forward to protect their language. Now, he muthuvan is only used and understood by the elders in the kudy.

Lack of Roads

Choorakattankudy situates 3 km away from machiplava. But they were not provided by better transport facility is the failure of the panchayath. They have only a road which was constructed by them. During rainy seasons these roads were unable for transportation. Till now, some places are not provided even 100 mtr of road. The benefits which are decided by the '*Oorukootam*' is also not provided officially by the panchayath. It is better to say that no authority is taking an interest to provided necessities facilities¹².

Problems with the Hygienic Issues

The tribal people depended on the forests from the beginning of migration to the forests 'virippu' was a medicinal food in those days. They cultivated it in the forests. But the over influence of forest officers prevented them from entering and cultivating in the forests. This negatively influenced their food habits¹³. They wanted to depend on the ration shops for food. They were compelled to have poisonous food from the tea shops. They did not have heard about 'cancer' before 40 years. But due to having poisonous food many were affected of cancer diseases.

In the earlier periods they used bio fertilizers in the fields. They used cow dung and green leaves for this. But they were compelled to use chemical

¹² Personal interview with Mr. Veeran Supran, aged 46, kani of the kudy

¹³ Interview with Mrs. Valsa Joy, aged 43, Teacher, L.P.S Choorakattankudy

fertilizers due to lack of yield and from land for cultivation. Due to the use of chemical fertilizers the water resources were get polluted. In the early days alcoholism was not prevailed among the tribal's. They used tobacco instead of alcohol. They usually used alcohol those who have above 25 years old were addicted to alcoholism. They use Hans and other harmful objects also. In the early periods they have their own ruling system. They also have police system too. Therefore the criminal offences were less among them. Alcoholism also was being controlled. But today the failure of this ruling system leads to many criminal offence. Now suicide was being a common thing among tribals.

Constitutional Safeguards

- Article 14 - equal rights and opportunities to all.
- Article 15 - prohibited discrimination against any citizens on the grounds of sex, religion, race, caste, etc.
- Article 15 (4) – enjoins upon the state to make special provisions for advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes.
- Article 16 (4) – empowers the state to make provisions for reservation any backward class of citizen not adequately represented in the service under the state.
- Article 46 – promote with special care educational and economic interest of the weaker sections and to protect them from social injustice and from all form of exploitation.
- Article 275 (1) –promises grant in aid for promoting the welfare of STs and for raising the level of scheduled areas.

➤ Article 330, 332, and 335 – it stipulate reservation of seats in the central legislative assembly and state legislative assembly and in government services¹⁴

Major Issues Affecting the Adivasis in General

Some tribes in Kerala have come to the mainstream while most of them are far from development and education. The cholanaikkan, Ernadan,,Alar, Adiyar, and Paniyar, are some of the poorest tribes. Many tribal villages on the hills are without proper roads and facilities like electricity, drinking water and primary health centers.

The socio- economic condition of the Adivasis as the most marginalised section of our society has been extensively documented.

Poverty and Illiteracy

Poverty and ignorance continue to keep them poor and less dignified. There are primary schools in several tribal settlements. Quality education which is available to the majority is not available to the poor tribal's. Tribal's children's can be encouraged to sent to towns and cities for better education and higher study a number of unwed mothers among the poor tribals in Vayanadu. Especially from the Adiya and Paniya tribe.

Land Base

The process of alienation of the land, traditionally held by Adivasis for cultivation, to the migrant farmers and money-lenders because of high indebtedness or other fraudulent practices, which started in the colonial period, continues unabated to this day. It is estimated that last two to three decades alone nearly half of their land under cultivation has been alienated in different parts of

¹⁴ Dr. Pravin Kumar, *Contemporary India* , Abhijeet Publications, Delhi, 2011, p. 49

country¹⁵. The committee recommended restoring land to the tribal's by the reopening and re-examining of orders in favour of the non-tribal's and the review of a large number of cases of illegal occupation by the non-tribal's. Thus the threat of erosion of the land base of the Adivasis in the country looms large calling for the requisite political will to protect their major sources of living.

Only about half of the claims of individual ownership rights and very on community forest resources have been accepted. Altogether, the impact of this measure on improving the land base of the tribals has been minimal. Conservation of natural resources like forest is critically for the protection of the livelihoods of the Adivasis because of their greater dependence on these resources when compared to other social groups. There is a threat of their displacement on account of indiscriminate exploitation of minerals abundant in the tribal areas as well as location of various projects in the tribal belt in the post-liberalisation era.

Certain measures initiated by the united progressive alliance. Government like the right to fair compensation and transparency in land acquisition, rehabilitation and resettlement act 2013 sought to provide safeguards such as getting the consent of the affected people as a pre-requisite for undertaking such as project and liberal compensation to those affected. But the ordinance brought by the present government seeks to dilute or do away with these safeguards. This issue has already evoked a fierce debate in the country and the outcome is eagerly awaited¹⁶.

Decline in Agricultural Productivity

This shows the weaker resource position of the Adivasi farmers and their inadequate access to public extension services and institutional sources of credit

¹⁵ www.focusonpeople.org, accessed on 20-2-2018

¹⁶ <http://www.indian-tribalheritage.org>, accessed on 2-1-2018

in an otherwise exploitative environment. Productivity in tribal agriculture has been changing over a period of time in different part of the country and the actors contributing to the observed. An intensive investigation into these aspects is essential for devising appropriate strategies for rising productivity. However, that in general water conservation through watershed development, minor irrigation and the use of high-yielding high potential for raising productivity in tribal agriculture. Because of unsustainable use of chemical inputs in certain areas of the green revolution, it would be tempting to romanticise the low-input agriculture and advocate organic farming for tribal areas.

The product of organic farming has a price advantage for achieving food security. Organic farming is profitable under a highly developed marketing framework for meeting the demand from the affluent section o consumers.

The ongoing research study on agriculture in tribal area in seven states of the country, sponsored by the ICSSR and coordinated by the centre or economic and social studies, promises to throw new light on the critical issues bearing of this subject emphasises the need or making a focused investigation in different parts of the country and recommending measures to restore and protect the existing land base of the Adivasis and to raise agricultural productivity.

Participatory Governance

Effective community action is a well known trait communities. This latent force can be harnessed to build up pressures from the tribal population for redressing their grievances, among other things, through their effective participation in elected panchayaths. Unfortunately, however, because of the way our democratic institutions are functioning, the needs of small minority group like the tribals are not met through the effective ventilation of their grievances.

In most o the remaining states, the tribal population is a small minority at the state, district and even block levels. This accounts for their low political

clout, so much so that evens the left parties are not quite visible in mobilising the tribal population around their pressing demands.

A silver-lining is the existence of quite a few committed NGOs without political motives of their own. Such agencies could be encouraged and supported from the highest policy level to take up the demands of the tribal population and mobilise them for effective collective action. The feeling of alienation is bred when there is a sense of neglect and discrimination¹⁷.

Displacement and Rehabilitation

After independence, the focus of the development process was on heavy industries and the core sector. As a result huge steel plants, power projects and large dams came up most of them in the tribal inhabited areas. The mining activities were also accelerated in these areas. Acquisition of tribal land by the government for these projects led to large scale displacement of the tribal population. The tribal pockets of Chotanagpur region, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh suffered the most. The cash compensation provided by the government was frittered away on wasteful expenditure. No settlements were provided for the displaced tribals within the industrial areas, who were forced to live in peripheries in slums or to migrate to adjoining states to work as unskilled workers in conditions of poverty. The migration of these tribals to the urban areas caused psychological problems for them as they are not able to adjust well to the urban lifestyle and values.

Loss of Control over Natural Resources

Before the coming of Britishers, the tribals enjoyed unhindered rights of ownership and management over natural resources like land, forests, wildlife, water, soil, fish, etc. With the advent of industrialisation in India and the discovery of mineral and other resources in tribal inhabited areas, these pockets

¹⁷ www.mainstreamweekly.net, accessed on 20-2-2018

were thrown open to outsiders and state control replaced tribal control. Thus began the story of unending miseries for the tribal's. With the impetus to the development process after independence, pressure on land and forests increased. This resulted in loss of ownership rights over land, owing to chronic indebtedness, unscrupulous landlords, moneylenders, contractors and officials. With the concept of protected forests and national forests gaining currency, the tribal's felt themselves uprooted from their cultural mooring and with no secure means of livelihood.

CONCLUSION

The project entitled “Tracing the socio-historical Ramification of Adivasis: Choorakattankudy an Inquiry” is a vast study about tribes, especially the Muthuvans tribes in Kerala, who came from Madurai. The study includes general and particular information on tribes. In generally it covers the study about kerala tribes. In particularly it point outs the overall information about Muthuvans tribes.

The muthuvan tribes are scattered in several areas like Devikulam, Adimaly and Nedumkandam panchayath. The Muthuvan tribe was migrated from Madurai. It is believed that they got the name Muthuvan, because they migrated to the mountain ranges by carrying the sculpture Madura Meenakshi on their back. These Muthuvan tribes love to live peacefully in the lapse of dense forest. It is one of the few tribes who have still abstained from developing connections with the people of the outside world. The muthuvan tribes are specialized in agriculture activities. They are very much addicted to alcohol and other intoxicants. The muthuvan tribes in choorakattankudy are not far away from alcohol. However the muthuvan tribes were exploited by mediators. So through my project I also found many reasons which caused for the exploitation of the muthuvan tribes in choorakattankudy such as intervention of outsiders, inter-caste marriage etc

The Inquiry specialized in mainly 3 topics. First one is the historical background of the tribe, second is the socio-cultural life style of the tribe and third is the main problems that are facing by the tribe. The tribes are scattered all over the parts of the kerala but we don't have accurate information on the number of tribes in kerala. So under this occasion my study takes a good effort to enlist the number of tribes in kerala as well as giving special importance to the life style of muthuvan tribes in choorakattankudy. Beside of this the study made a good research in the problems of muthuvan tribes in choorakattankudy.

Generally this study points out the information of 33 tribes. It helps to understand about the report of the tribe which is not completely correct. It will be change according to the studies and analysis. Tribe is a traditional society, with a common culture and dialect typically having a recognized leader. Usually the tribes are living on the hill ranges. It is believed that they are descendants of the 'Negrito'.

There are several tribal groups in kerala. They are different in their own tradition, rituals, art, ceremonies, dialect, habitual actions, food habits and employment etc. The most common thing is that they always kept aloof from outsiders. So they can keep the importance of their culture. The culture of each tribe is unique. Therefore they did not prefer to marry from other settlements. They have autonomous power also. The kingship of the Muthuvan society is rightly differ from other tribes. The muthuvan society is divided into number of kudi's and the head of the entire kudy is called kani.

Idukki district is considered as the abundant place for settlements. But the fact that there is no one is interested on the study of them. In the beginning they are interested in gathering and hunting. But as the time passes they shifted to agriculture and daily wages. So it helped them to communicate with outsiders and slowly they assimilated the western style culture what actually the outsiders are following. So therefore they are losing their traditional culture.

The tribes are considered as scheduled as scheduled groups. Thus they can get many privileges from government. There is a department established for the better development of the tribes. The department is headed by a director who is under a minister. Now-a-days both central and state government have been giving grant to them. The tribal extensional office is the primary place for permitting grant to them. There are mainly two types of adhivasis, Such as Adivasi and later Adivasi. The orders amendment act of 2002, 2003 determined. Which are belongs to tribe and non-tribe. According to this act there are mainly five real tribes namely, Kadar, Kurumar, Kattunaikar, Cholanaikar, and Koragar. They have been following the tradition since their beginning. Among the Kerala

tribe, the Mannan is the only one tribal society which has been following kingship, since its origin. Most of the tribes are strongly influenced by Tamil language.

Basically the Muthuvan in Choorakattankudy are developing. Farming is their main occupation. They are getting fertilizers and feeds from the government. The concrete roads, transport facilities, dispensaries and shops indicate their infrastructure development. Even though, there came many changes in their religious rites and rituals. They still continue religious certain rituals such as 'Kooth'. They also adore Gods like Shivan and Bhadrakali. There is a huge development in the field of education. Education up to 4th standard is provided in the Kudy itself. The high school education is provided in the Machiplavu Government School, 2 km away from the kudy. Educational facilities made changes in their language itself. They have changed their speaking language from Tamil Malayalam to pure Malayalam.

The life style of Muthuvan tribe is unique from other tribal settlement. In the beginning the head of the Kudy was called Muthan and Muthy. But the direct intervention of forest officers changed the name into Kani. The position of Kani is hereditary. The Muthuvan who has much courage to speak to the forest officers, when they enter to the forest became the Kani of Muthuvan. Because the Muthuvan did not mingled with the outsiders. The meeting body of the Muthuvan is called panchayam. It is the decision making place. The Muthuvan community has their own rules and laws. If anyone violates the kudy rules, they would be called up and asked for explanations. The panchayam has the right for punish them.

Muthuvans are matrilineal community. The route of clan system is through mothers. The children's inherit mother's lineage of clan. But however women are not considered as equal to men. Women do not have special power in public programmes, especially in the case of ruling administration of kudy. Ooruvilaku is a special feature of muthuvan society. It is given by kootam

headed by the kani. It is imposed on those who marry from the outside of the Muthuvan community.

Muthuvan has many rituals and ceremonies. Urumalkettu is the ceremony for boys conducted when they reached at the age of 10. At the same time kondakettu is the ceremony performed for girls when they reached at the age of marriage. Normally it is the age near to 12 or 13. Chavadi is considered as the unavoidable part of their culture. It is a rest in place of Muthuvan community. It helps to the physical and mental growth of children. Every evening the children get together in chavadi. It helps in making of boys into mature Muthuvans. Another part of Muthuvan culture is Thinnaveedu. It is a separate home which built for the muthuvan unmarried girls for their night stay. The women who are menses also called Theendari. Very often the Thinnaveedu also used by the purpose of delivery almost 30 days, the mother and baby live in here.

Manchalthanni water is considered as a holy water for using during the ceremony. After the menses period the father of women out manchalthanni water over her head. The muthuvan community has special customs and practices in marriage ceremonies. Normally the marriage taken place between cross cousin. They conduct marriage with great festivals. Kooth is the main fest during the marriage time. The Muthuvan community did not buy dowry that's why they are quite different from modern society. The place of marriage might be either kovil or *chavadi*. For chavadi is considered as the gathering place whole muthuvan community. The priest would be either kani or *mantravadhi*. They like to follow Hindu rules. One of the specialties of the muthuvan marriage is *Ashapattu*. It is a song related to the wedding ceremonies of muthuvan tribes. It cannot be seen in other tribes. The muthuvans follow Marumakathaya system. The bride and groom are also known as *murapennu* and *muracherukkan*. So the marriage system of muthuvan tribe is very complicated as well as interested compared with other tribes. The unique features of muthuvan community can be traced from their festivals. The muthuvan society is abundant for its festivals. *Kooth* and *kummiyadi* are the special events which held in during the festival. Most of

their *poojas* and prayers conducted in forest. So the outsiders cannot be entering to see it. They use kovil for offering prayers instead of temple and church. The photos of *Krishna,siva,muruga* and *bhadrakali* indicates that they are polytheistic.

The muthuvan community has their own language called Enavan peach. In the initial stage they were strictly followed mixture of Tamil and Malayalam language. But as the time passes they lost their traditional language system. They forced to shift to Malayalam language. The educational system and the intervention of outsiders also influenced their language. The absence of written script became the thread of their traditional language system. Now a day they use English language too. It means every language and culture may vary according to the situations and circumstances. Like other societies the muthuvan community also practices some symbols for communicating ideas. For example; if a woman remove her *konda* it shows the death of her husband. The dressing style of women is changing. In the beginning they were used *saries*. But the influence of modernity changes their dressing style into *churidars*. The men changed their dress from dhotis to pants. The long hair had been the identity of both men and women. If the men do it known as *Urumalkettu*, same the way in women it is called *kondakettu*. It was part of their tradition. But however fascination towards the film stars made them to change their traditional hair styles. Among the tribal communities the muthuvan was the one who did not support education. They believed that education was against their culture. But the activities of government among the tribes changed their mind towards the education. In the present day muthuvan community are interested to send their children to school. The government has been providing lot of grants for attracting them to education. Such as Hostel and Transportation facilities for students.

Muthuvans had been the tendency to built their house in the interior of the forest, especially in places where people from outside cannot reach. The construction of kudi has its own uniqueness. Mud and bamboo they used for the

construction of kudi. But now the concept of kudi has been changed to concrete houses. The presence of kudi is being ignored by constructing modern houses. The government provides fund for the development of kudi especially in the maintenance of houses. Most of the houses are concrete model. But in fact the elder people of kudy never accept this development. The burial practices of the muthuvan tribe also differ from other tribal community. They believe in death after life. They buried dead bodies in a particular place called kollikadu. It had been the sacred place of them for several years. But the new generations do not accept the sacredness of the kollikadu.

Like every tribal communities the muthuvan tribes in choorakattankudy are also facing many external and internal problems. Normally most of the problems that are facing by the tribes are equal. But this study is giving special preference to the particular problem of muthuvan tribes in choorakattankudy. One of the main problems is the over influence of forest department. The intervention of forest officers restricted the entrance of tribal people into forest. Thereby they lost their freedom and privileges to collect forest products. It badly affected the traditional way of farming of them. The agricultural products of muthuvan were attacked by wild animals. It forcefully compelled them to withdraw from agriculture to daily wages. In the past the muthuvans were healthy and fitness. Because they were depend on the forest products. Almost 30 years ago there were no deadly diseases. Most of the diseases were cured from the medicines from the forest. But the intervention of forest officers made them to buy food items through rationing system. It badly affected the good health of muthuvans. The absence of hospital facility creates fear and tensions among them. The inter caste marriage system caused decreasing the number of real muthuvan tribes. As well as they leads to lose their culture and tradition. The decline of chavadi affected the physical and mental growth of children. The lack of drinking water facility is another main problem faced by them. The single teacher school also facing maintenance problems therefore the muthuvans do not ready to send their children to school.

The immediate solution of these problems is the needs of hour. There are many political parties who reach choorakattankudy in order to get votes. But these parties not ready to help them. They simply put forward many offers to the tribes. But after the election it cannot be fulfilled. So the government should be take good initiation for rising their life style without harmful to their traditional culture. The forest department should be given *patta* for each family of the kudy. They should determine the place of cultivable land and allow tribe to enter to the forest. The forest department should be provided the better equipments for the protection of tribe from wild animals. The government has to give special preference to the tribal studies. It is better to appoint separate branches of study like other social science disciplines. There by the tribes can get more privileges from the side of administrative bodies. The language of muthuvan community is now in the path of decline. So it is necessary to enlist the language of muthuvan tribe in written form. A project should be started for the conservation of muthuvan script. For the social construction of the upliftment of the children the government should take preservation measures for the maintenance of the *chavadi*

Adivasi society has undergone rapid changes through ages. Same the way the muthuvan tribes in choorakattankudy are also facing many changes. The modernity influenced the life style of muthuvan tribes. The elements of western culture can be traced out from the hair style and dressings. Therefore the Government has to take good initiation to the preservation of culture and tradition. There by we can keep it for future generation.

GLOSSERY

Adivasi	: A member of any aboriginal peoples of India.
Adiyan	: Slave.
Ashapattu	: Song that are sung during marriage and menarche rituals, which describes the beauty and physical maturity of a girl.
Chavadi	: Dormitory for boys and unmarried men stay during the night. This place is considered as the vital part of the kudy.
Enavan peach	: It is the common dialect of muthuvan
Kandaimundu	: The term related to muthuvan, women a particular way of wearing sari
Kani	: The headman of the particular kudy.
Kannadipaya	: It is a kind of mat, made by bamboo.
Karthika	: It is a Muthuvan festival, also called festival of light.
Kattunaikan	: King of jungles.
Keripongal	: Harvesting festival of Muthuvan tribes.
Kochuvelan	: Priests who celebrated religious ceremonies of Ullada community.

Kollikadu or Idakadu	: Common burial place of muthuvan
Kondakettu	: It is ritual performed when a girl reaches the age of 11 to 12.
Kootam	: Clan
Koothukattil	: It is a structure, related to the burial practice of Muthuvan used for carrying dead bodies.
Kudy	: The word used for the hamlet in Muthuvan language.
Manchal Thanni	: The term used for denoting turmeric water.
Manthrakaran	: The Hindu priest of the kudy who offer.
Marumakkathayam	: Descent to the eldest son of the eldest sister. Probably one may items used by him to his nephew.
Muthan and Muthi	: The initial name of kani and his wife.
Muthuk	: Means back in Tamil and Malayalam. The name Muthuvan originates from this word since they carried Goddess Kannaki on their back and also refer to their name Muthuvan one who carries children on their back.
Ooruvilakku	: Refers total isolation imposed on a man, women or a family for violating the rules or norms of the kudy. The period of Ooruvilakku is usually eternal and is rarely withdrawn.

Patham Parauka	: The mourning of the widow during his husband death.
Paye	: It is a Tamil word, used for denoting ghost
Pongal	: The harvest festival. Muthuvan celebrated Pongal for a week. Each kudy celebrated it for 5 to 6 days in the month of January and February.
Pooja	: Prayer ritual at temple or performance of home.
Thalappavu	: A turban which is worn by men. Now a day this is not common and only few old men wear it.
Thali	: Necklace, tied around the bride's neck in Hindu wedding.
Theendari	: The women who are menses.
Thinnaveedu	: A place for girl's night stay and also used as a place for women stay during their menstrual periods. Valaymapura is another term used as a place for thinnaveedu by the muthuvans.
Uramalkettu	: It is ceremony for boys performed when the boys reach the age of 12
Virippu	: The traditional way of farming seeds is called virippu.

APPENDIX II

Photographs



Photo 1: A Temple(Kovil) in Choorakettan kudy, photograph taken by the researcher

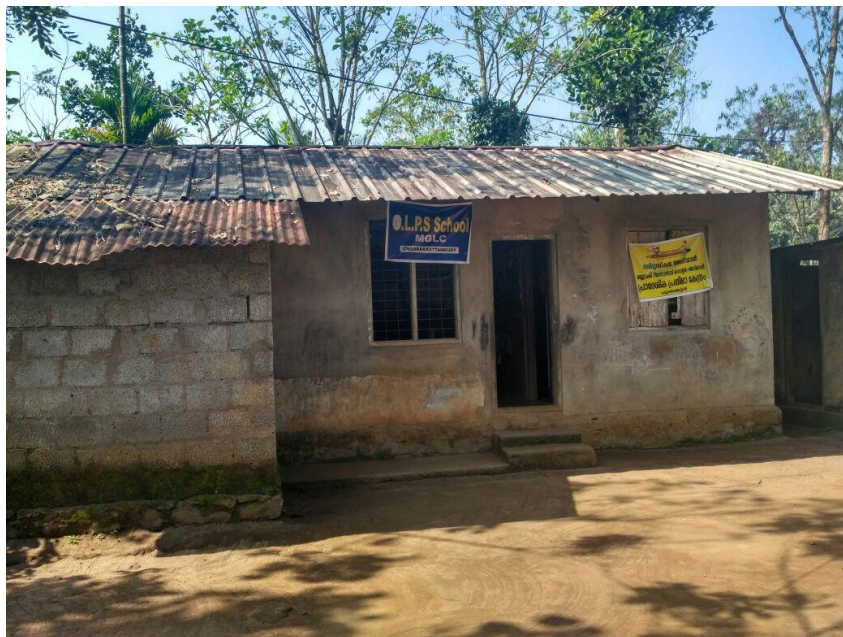


Photo 2: The single Teacher Tribal Scool, Choorakettankudy, the photograph taken by the researcher



Photo 3: An elder woman(Pattiyamma) in her traditional costume, photograph taken by researcher



Photo 4: Inside of a Kudi, Choorankutty, photograph taken by the researcher



Photo 5: Tribal Community Hall (Chavadi), Choorakettankudy, photograph taken by the researcher

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Interview with Mr. Veeran Supran, aged 46, Kani, Choorakattankudy

Interview with Mr. Kanchiyar Rajan, aged 59, Local Historian and General Council Member, Kerala Folklore Academy

Interview with Mrs. Manju George, aged 30, Tribal Extension Officer, Adimaly

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