

Narratives of the Malabar Rebellion: Exploring Its Historicization

THESIS

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CERTIFICATE

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Abstract

This thesis introspects the possibilities of the existence of alternate branches of historical narration pertaining to the events of 1921 in Malabar. In various chapters of this research, events of the Malabar Rebellion that are represented in both fictional and non-fictional work; socio-political, cultural and literary history of Malabar before, during and after colonization; history of women writing and the significance of women writing in history will be analyzed by employing theories of postcolonial studies, historiography and cultural studies.

The first two chapters of this thesis intends to observe the depiction of Malabar before, during and after colonization by the British. The discussions on geography, socio-cultural history, political leanings, and hegemonical structures in operation, along with the literature review, set up the background knowledge of the socio-cultural composition of the population and the cultural production in the form of literature. This has aided me in arriving at the proposed objectives of this thesis. The next step in the thesis undertakes a comparative analysis of different scholarship on their similarities and diversions in representing the events from the same temporal and spatial location as that of the Malabar Rebellion in 1921. The primary sources for this chapter were identified, and the categories of comparison were selected. The detailed comparison of these texts informs and aids the identified research objective of discerning a dominant direction in historical narration that has been popularised.

The following chapters take up a further analysis of the influence of colonial interventions in multiple ways of representation observed in the fictional works taken up for this thesis. By examining the nature of social transactions between colonizer and colonized, a chapter in this thesis also explores the role of the creation of a conveniently disguised native dependency, imposed on the latter as a result of colonial administration and economic transaction. Here, it is observed how memorialization is guided and legitimized by historical

representations thus, pointing to the existence of an unequal power nexus. The historicization of the experiences and conflicts of social groups by their representation and the consequences of both acceptance and rejection of hegemonic forces can be observed in colonial narratives of the Malabar Rebellion. The next endeavour in this thesis is to critically examine a popular malayalam novel and its role in supporting the historical narration of a traumatic and violent event such as the Malabar rebellion. The novel engages with the social landscape and individual and collective experience of the event. Furthermore, the fictional narrative also serves as a significant tool in retrospective observation of the event from multiple disciplinary intersections and vantage points.

The last chapter of this research is based on the absence of a significant category in the representation of human experience from the historical narration, i.e., gender. The discriminatory nature of historical narration toward the subaltern groups is discerned from the previous chapters. Multiple layers of identity, both individual and collective, have emerged as the result of varied theoretical frameworks based on literary and cultural studies. My research attempts to demonstrate and explicate the possible existence of multiple tangents in the historical narration of the Malabar rebellion of 1921.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Malabar: Land and People

The land of Malabar rests in the southern part of the present Indian subcontinent. This strip of land was known in ancient and medieval times for its unique vegetation, landscape and diverse terrains. The borders of this land played an important role in shaping the history of the land. Nestled between the hills of the western ghats and the vast maritime potential that the Arabian Sea provides, Malabar enjoyed a shielded and exclusive presence in the grand scheme of events that unfolded across the globe economically and culturally. The Old Testament makes several allusions to spices like cinnamon and cardamom, indigenous to Kerala. In many earlier accounts, 'Malabar' was synonymous with 'Kerala'. The word Malabar could have originated from 'Male,' which was used by Arab travellers and merchants to refer to the Arabian Sea coastline of southern India. Another probable origin of the name Malabar would have been in the Dravidian language, where the word 'mala' means hill and 'bar' could have been a variation of 'varam', which means valley side. Thus, the hills of the western ghats can be seen as responsible for the name of the land.

The earliest mentions of Malabar in official/historical records appear in *Cosmas Indicopleustes* in the 6th century A.D., thus confirming that since ancient times, the land of Kerala has hosted travellers and merchants from many faraway civilizations. Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Israelites, Assyrians, Babylonians and Arabs were said to have had contact with the Malabar coast before the European colonization of the land, which aimed to expand territories and source spices unique to the coast of Malabar. Although the intentions behind these contacts were purely mercantile, the introduction of various religions, cultural practices, and intellectual

traditions helped shape the plural and composite nature of Malabar's socio-cultural fabric. Until the Sangam period, allusions to Malabar appeared in global trade and travel records, with these mentions predominantly focusing on economically beneficial information recorded for future use. One of the possible reasons for Malabar's cosmopolitan fabric could be the shift in strategy of the ruling classes from external trade parties, moving from the conquest of territorial land to establishing monopoly over port cities to gain control over the trade of exclusive and exotic resources that Malabar offered.

The Sangam period literature contains the first indigenous records of Malabar and its people. This period marked the classical Renaissance in southern India. Until colonization, mentions of Malabar in fictional representations were passed on and disseminated through oral traditions where the stories and narratives took the form of folklore or myths. Heavy documentation and a systematic classification of cultural production was a colonial advent, which, in retrospect, provided traction to colonial practices of historiography. The longer the period of colonization, the longer these practices of documentation and marginalization of oral tradition gained footing.

The Social Composition of Malabar - As Mentioned in Regional and Colonial Texts

From the accounts of several historians and sociologists like Sreedhara Menon, K.N. Panikkar, M.G.S. Narayanan and Rajan Gurukkal, it becomes clear that the land of Kerala, as early as the Sangam age possessed the fundamental elements necessary for the flourishing of a composite culture. The strict allocation of the population into castes and communities was conspicuously absent in Kerala. The rigours of caste and social exclusiveness were unknown, and the people enjoyed a considerable measure of social freedom and equality. Sreedhara Menon notes, "The dignity of labour was recognized everywhere, and no person was looked upon as inferior in social status on account of his occupation" (Menon 77). In earlier times,

communities like Parayas, Panas, Kuravas and others were not subjected to discrimination. They enjoyed privileges such as access to education and recognition from kings for their intellect and contribution to society.

Similar to any other civilization, the social, economic and religious hierarchies in Malabar underwent massive transformations owing to global transitions and trade transactions. Due to these infiltrations, the culture of port cities like Kochi, which served as a staple port, experienced a quick shift in long-standing values, practices, and mindsets. Most maritime histories and fictional narratives about power politics in these port cities commence with the Portuguese's entry into the spice trade. Ironically, these narratives conveniently downplay the existence of Arab and Chinese traders who came to Malabar from the 8th to the 14th centuries, long before the arrival of the Portuguese. It is worth noting how the attention was solely on what the colonial powers were doing; the natives along these pepper routes were only highlighted when they seemed to threaten colonial expansion.

Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier elaborately traces the evolution of social hierarchies and the aftermath of the reorganisations of the said hierarchies by examining the European arrival to Malabar and subsequent transactions with the native population. Their examination of the history of Malabar can be follows; a)comprehensive analysis of the arrival of the European traders seeking new resources and later for expansion of their colonies; b) investigation of Mysorean intrusions and resolutions; c) discussion on socio-religious reformist activities and d) finally, an inspection of the peasant movements and nationalist upsurge that was compounded by the aforementioned factors. The representation of the socio-political history of Malabar in *History of Kerala: Prehistoric to the Present* published in 2018, thus dissects the complex layers of hegemonic organization of Malabar. The observation is echoed by M G S Narayanan in his work *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*; where he posits:

The Portuguese naturally exploited such possibilities to their own purpose. Their voluminous correspondence reveals how they induced the Zamorin to chastise the overgrown Muslim vassals like the Marakkar of Kottakkal. Reports of travellers prove that Muslims had grown rebellious in the countryside. Such stresses and strains acquired a political expression by the beginning of the 17th century when the Zamorin formed an alliance with the Portuguese against the Marakkar and captured him and handed him over to his foreign tormentors. This was a turning point in the history of communal relations in North Kerala. Old ties of loyalty were loosened. Seeds of communal conflict were sown. The drift which started then continued for about a century and it was quickened by the Mysore invasions and the policy of the British government culminating in the Malabar rebellion and continuing in different forms up to the time of independence. (Narayanan 1972)

Like the rest of Kerala, the power structures in Malabar depended on the caste of birth and its relationship to land ownership. The leading members of society in Malabar were the Malayali Brahmins, or Namboothiris, a land-owning higher caste, who enjoyed control over the temples and the land. The Brahmins of Kerala, known as Namboothiris, occupied the dominant position due to the establishment of ownership over the temple properties, which made them absolute owners of the land. Their influence and agency in society stemmed from their proficiency in Vedic knowledge, expertise in calendars and ability to forecast weather. The economic classes in Kerala consequently had the Namboothiris (Jenmis) at the top as landlords, the Nairs in the middle as supervisors of cultivation, and finally, all the lower castes (Parayas and Pulayas) as tenants working under both supervisors and landowners. The landlords, also known as Jenmis, were held back from working on their lands due to the ritual status observed by Namboothiri Brahmins. The Nairs, also known as Kannikarans, were the supervisors who were employed by the Jenmis. They were responsible for collecting produce

shares and ensuring security. Sometimes, they also undertook the distribution of land under the ownership of Jenmi. They were considered part-owners of the land they oversaw and held authority over the peasants/tenants known as Verumpattakaar. The Verumpattakkar were generally lower-caste Hindus and Mappilas (the generic name used for Muslims in Malabar). The Verumpattam was a lease, and the holders of these leases paid the rent towards their lease in the form of produce shares from the land.

Brief History of Agrarian Unrests in India

Several factors can be credited to peasant uprisings in the Indian sub-continent, like exorbitant rents, unpaid labour, forcible displacements and evictions. These factors often culminated in massive debts and impoverishment of the peasant community. British economic policies were unfavourable to peasants as they protected the rights of the Zamindars/Jenmis (landowners) allowing them to levy high taxes on peasants. These rents were paid in taxes towards the British government and also as expenditure to support the luxurious lifestyle of the dominant economic social groups. Examples of many rebellions have been recorded that depict agrarian discontent and their transformation into violent events, such as, the Indigo Rebellion, Pabna Movement, Deccan Riots, Nagar Revolt, Pychy Revolt and Attingal Revolt, to name a few.

The Pabna movement of 1870 was a significant peasant uprising in the Pabna district of Bengal, now part of Bangladesh. This movement is often cited as one of the earliest organized agrarian protests against the oppressive practices of landlords and moneylenders during British colonial rule in India. The Pabna movement primarily responded to the exploitative land revenue system and steep money-lending practices that had placed an enormous burden on the local peasantry. The British colonial administration introduced the Permanent Settlement Act of 1793, which fixed land revenue rates at a high level, making it

extremely difficult for tenant farmers to pay their dues. The spark that ignited the Pabna movement was the region's widespread famine and food shortage in the late 1860s. Unable to pay rent, peasants were subjected to harsh evictions and punitive measures by landlords, setting the stage for the uprising.

The Indigo Rebellion, also known as the Indigo Revolt or Nil Bidroha, was a historic agrarian uprising that occurred in Bengal, India, during the mid-19th century. It was a significant protest against the exploitative practices of indigo cultivation imposed by British colonial planters on Indian peasants. The indigo plant was cultivated primarily for its blue dye, which was in high demand in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. British colonial planters in India forced Indian farmers, known as ryots, to cultivate indigo on their lands through coercive tactics and oppressive contracts. The critical grievances of the ryots included forced cultivation, low prices, harsh working conditions and abuse and coercion. One of the most notable incidents during the Indigo Rebellion was the "Indigo Riot of 1859," where ryots and their supporters clashed with the British planters and their hired goons. This event drew international attention to the plight of the ryots. The British government eventually took notice of the rebellion and appointed a commission led by W.W. Hunter to investigate the indigo cultivation system. The Hunter Commission's findings exposed the exploitative practices of the planters and led to reforms in the indigo industry, providing some relief to the ryots.

In 1875, peasants of Maharashtra, Pune and Ahmednagar revolted against the disparate economic conditions they were subjected to. The primary purpose of the rioters was to destroy the bonds, ownership and possession documents held by moneylenders, with attacks and outbursts specifically directed at them. There was no specific anti-colonial agenda to this uprising. Prior to the 1860s, the raw cotton requirements for British Industries were imported from America, but the American Civil War, which began in 1861, compelled British textile

industries to turn to India for its cotton requirements. This shift led to challenges for the cultivators, who faced difficulties due to declining agricultural prices, high taxation, and a sense of political helplessness. The commercialization of agriculture, driven by colonial land revenue policies, placed a burden on small peasants. It offered preferential access to credit for productive investments in the land, which benefited landowners and merchants. With the capital provided by the European merchants, local money lenders acquired unlimited titles over the land and labour of their debtors; giving them the power to destroy and enslave the debtor completely.

Other examples of significant events of agrarian uprisings in Kerala would be the Kurichiya Revolt of 1812 and the Pazhassi revolt (1793-97). The Kurichiya Revolt of 1812 is a pivotal event in the history of Kerala. It symbolizes the fight of indigenous people against colonial exploitation and land theft. Kurichiya Revolt (Kurichiya Uprising) is the name given to a significant tribal rebellion that took place in the region of Wayanad, Kerala, India, in the early 1800s. The Kurichiya tribe was one of the original tribal communities living in the thick forests of Wayanad that resisted the oppressive British colonial administration and the local landlords. One of the primary causes of the Kurichiya Revolt was the forced alienation of tribal lands by British colonial authorities and local landlords. The Kurichiya people have historically owned these territories for their own livelihood. The Kurichiya tribe was subjected to high taxes by the British, which made it harder for them to maintain their traditional way of life. In addition to taxes, they were made to perform laborious jobs like clearing forests and building roads as forced labour.

The Pazhassi Revolt of 1793, sometimes referred to as the Cotiote War or Cotiote Rebellion, represents an important period in Kerala's struggle against British colonial control. This uprising was a reaction to the repressive practices of the British East India Company and

its supporters in the Malabar area. It was led by Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja, a brave leader from the royal line of Kottayam. The British East India Company policies included exorbitant taxes, exploitation of the local populace, and meddling with the princely kingdoms' established institutions of government. The inventive employment of guerilla warfare techniques by Pazhassi Raja's soldiers throughout the uprising was one of its noteworthy features. To further advance his cause, Pazhassi Raja looked to form alliances with the Marathas and other local rulers. Tribal populations that were unjustly displaced and suffered the consequences of British colonial policy supported the uprising.

Although the Pazhassi Revolt of 1793 was ultimately put down by the British, it had a profound impact on the history of the area. It interfered with British rule in the Malabar region and showed how resilient the indigenous people were in the face of imperial persecution. The peasants had been the worst sufferers of the British Raj in colonial India. There has been much peasant unrest and occasional uprisings in the pre-nationalist era. (Peasants were predominantly lower-caste Hindus and Mappilas) About one percent of Hindus in Malabar are Namboothiri Brahmins, the highest caste. Until recently, before the British Intervention in Malabar, their influence had been disproportionate to their number. The many intrusions from both within the Indian subcontinent and Western cultures caused several upheavals in the hierarchies and social structure within Malabar.

1.2 History of Colonization of Malabar

Prior to the Portuguese expedition led by Vasco De Gama in 1498, the maritime trade in Malabar was exclusive to Arab traders. The primary interest of the Portuguese navigators was expanding trade, which over time materialized as an extensive imperialistic project. The first expedition by Vasco De Gama was a success as he managed to return with trade goods many times over the expense of his expedition. This exploration led to the establishment of

Portuguese emissaries in the region, who involved themselves in internal conflicts, such as those between Calicut and Cochin, in order to strengthen their alliance with their hosts. The presence of the Portuguese did not enjoy a long enduring dominion in India as the native population never ultimately conceded. The success of this regime was only limited until The Dutch and The English had not yet arrived and staked their claims on Malabar and its resources. The Dutch succeeded in replacing the Portuguese sway on the coast of Malabar primarily due to the vicious and problematic administration by the Portuguese. The Portuguese religious persecution of the St. Thomas Christians native to the Malabar region also worked against the administration in gaining popularity. Due to their lack of adequate military discipline and narrow-minded religious persecution, the Portuguese foothold faltered as the Dutch emerged as rivals for trade routes and spice monopoly.

The Dutch East India Company, formed in 1592, made its first expedition to India, arrived in Calicut and decided to enter into a treaty with the Zamorin of Calicut with the purpose of uprooting the Portuguese from the Indian subcontinent. The period of Dutch reign in Kerala is marked by the seizure of Cochin from the Portuguese in 1663. Though turbulent with many internal conflicts and competition from other European powers to the land and trade monopoly, namely, tiffs with Zamorin of Calicut, the rise of Travancore and the emergence of the French and the British in the coasts of Kerala, the Dutch put in place an effective system of administration. The contribution of the Dutch administration towards the population and their culture held a favourable position amongst the psyche of Malabar's population. They undertook the massive task of compiling information on the indigenous flora of Malabar, with *Hortus Malabaricus* by Governor Hendrik van Rheede remaining a significant work to this day. As a Protestant nation, the Dutch religious views were liberal. The administration was not overrun by corruption but rather strategically divided into the following categories: Military, Political and Religious. Also, the First Mysorean Interlude by Hyder Ali took place under the Dutch

East India Company's administrative regime. The first Anglo-Mysorean war ended in the Treaty of Madras. The war was fought between Mysore and the alliance against Hyder Ali by the Marathas, the Nizam and the Britishers. The second war was again between Hyder Ali and the Britishers, which resulted in the treaty between Tipu Sultan, Hyder Ali's heir and the British. Tipu Sultan had alliances with the French in the colony of Mahe, which became a reason for concern for the British administration, leading to the Third Anglo-Mysore War. This war resulted in the integration of the district of erstwhile Malabar under the Madras Presidency.

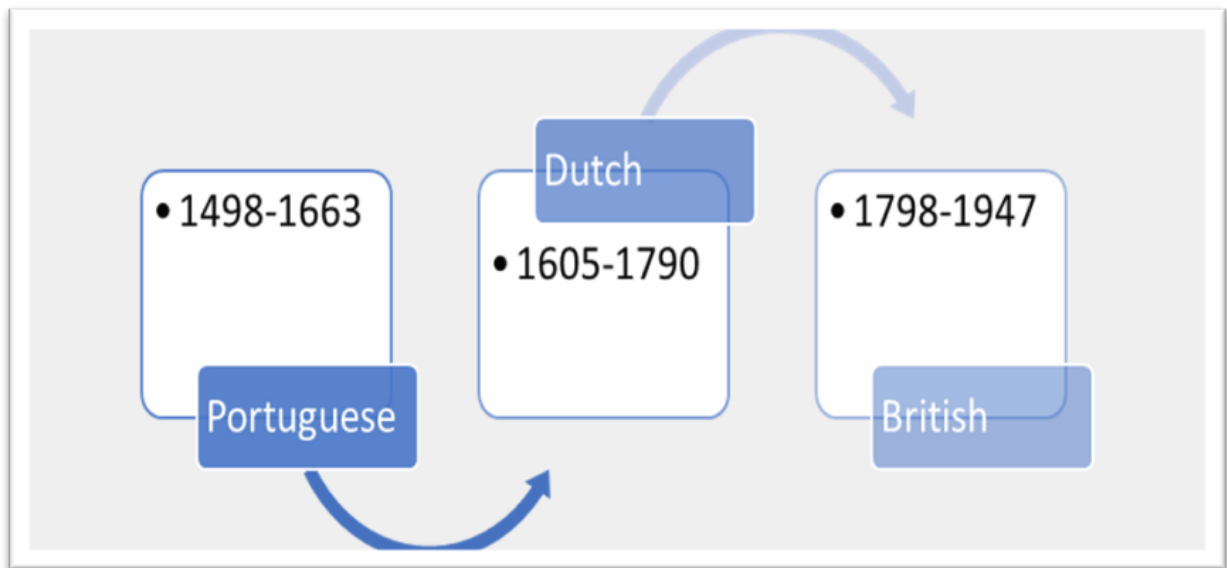
The Mysorean invasions from the North of Malabar played a vital role in the restructuring of the administration and social makeup of Malabar. It represents several bloody chapters in history laying the foundations for the British administration in Malabar. Hyder Ali was not interested in the expansion of Mysorean territory but in the wealth that the Zamorins of Calicut had amassed using the spice trade. By the time of the second invasion, the conflicting parties became the British and the Mysorean army. Historian Sreedhara Menon contemplates the Mysorean Interlude as follows:

It was brought about by the internal compulsions of contemporary Malabar politics as well as by the aggressive designs of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, the Muslim rulers of Mysore. The main factor which facilitated the conquest was the lack of unity and cooperation among the rulers of Kerala. The expansionist policies pursued by the Zamorin of Calicut sparked off a series of conflicts between Calicut and the neighbouring principalities and created political conditions favourable for the Mysorean intervention. (Menon 243)

Since medieval times, the ports of Malabar have been hosts to travellers and traders from many cultures. Many scholars on Indian Ocean studies have compiled and analyzed much information on these mercantile interactions. The Arabs are said to have arrived in the ports of

Malabar as early as the 9th Century A.D. The first phase of this relationship between the Arabs and the inhabitants of Malabar was based on trade and mutual cooperation. This relationship consequently led to the exchange of culture, religion and lifestyles. This cultural exchange is said to have been the origin of the Mappila community in Malabar. When Islam gained popularity in Arabia, the same happened in Kerala as a result of the missionary activities of the Arab traders visiting Malabar. By the end of the 13th century, Malabar witnessed an increasing closeness between Arab traders and the Zamorin Rulers of Calicut. The genealogy of the Muslim population in Malabar can be traced to the resultant melting pot of the Arab and native social interactions in Malabar.

1.3 British in Malabar



One of the crucial inversions or disruptions of this flow of power and influence in Malabar resulted from Tipu Sultan's invasion of Mysore (1760-1790), which resulted in terrifying social and economic consequences for the population. The constant struggle by invaders from the North to occupy land for economic gain and suppress the gaining momentum of the Indian independence movement, aiming for the administrative advantage over the

colony, led to the colonists' intervention in the Third Mysore War. This resulted in the region ultimately becoming an official part of the Madras Presidency. This tumultuous past, where the power dynamics have seen multiple rises and falls, made up the population which would bear the trauma of the 1921 Malabar Rebellion. Tipu Sultan of Mysore led the forces from Mysore to Travancore in 1789; the following two years witnessed massive destruction and loss of lives as the southern kingdoms defended themselves. An alliance was formed by the East India Company, Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Maratha Empire to stop Tipu and his forces from progressing by laying siege at Seringapattanam. In 1792, Lord Charles, Earl of Cornwallis, entered negotiations that led to the treaty of 18 March 1792. The treaty resulted in the dissolution of almost half of Mysore's territories, resulting in the East India Company taking over large portions of the Malabar Coast. It was only by 1800 that the administrative set up was stabilized in Malabar under the British. The first undertaking of the British administration towards the newly acquired land of Malabar was reorganizing the district. The families of land-owning social groups who were forced to self-exile during the Mysorean interludes returned and, with the newly installed judicial machinery in Malabar, were able to reclaim their ancestral property.

Contribution to Medicine, Missionary activities, Educational Reforms

The stabilization of the British administration saw several socio-cultural transformations in Malabar. Kerala's history underwent an unprecedented shift with the arrival of Protestant Christian missionaries at the start of the 18th century. They were the precursors of Kerala's social reform movements in their enthusiasm to advance education, end slavery and forced labour, fight for women's rights, and eradicate caste and untouchability. These Christian missionaries propagated scientific knowledge among some segments of society despite their primary goals being to convert members of the marginalized communities to Christianity or to

safeguard the interest of the British Empire. According to P. R. Gopinathan Nair's essay "Education and Socio-Economic Changes in Kerala 1793- 1947", the educational history of Malabar was relatively uneventful in relation to the neighbouring counterparts, Travancore and Cochin. The missionaries helped the inhabitants of Malabar shed some of their superstitions and develop a sense of equality and self-respect. Public health also saw an incursion of Western medicinal practices since the arrival of the British in Malabar. The administration set up hospitals primarily to establish protocols to treat the colonizers for venereal diseases, tropical diseases and injuries, and they contributed to training the native population in Western medicine. However, the economic support for the maintenance of these facilities to make them accessible to the native population was contingent on the population. These advancements that were brought in by the colonizers largely contributed to creating the middle-class population who were trained in Western ideologies but also had internalized racial inferiority into subservience, thus creating the ideal workforce for the colonial machinery of power and dominance.

1.4 Malabar in 1921

In 1921, Malabar witnessed the culmination of events of mass dissatisfaction and misunderstandings among various social groups. The history of social configuration in Malabar had experienced numerous shifts in the ebb and flow of power as and when external intruders tried to possess Malabar and its resources. The population of Malabar, comprising various social groups, found their collective destiny shaped by the trauma they endured during the events of the 1921 rebellion. The events of the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 have been recorded fervently for the past 100 years by various agents of the state and individual historians since the conflict arose. There were several outrages amidst the population of Malabar, specifically across social groups disadvantaged by existing economic and social disparities. The hierarchies

of caste and class had been toppled over and essentially inverted due to the Mysorean invasion. These spurts of violence were also aggravated and further selectively endorsed by the Indian independence movement that was gaining momentum at the same time.

Several historians like Stephen Dale studied the causal factors of the Mappila revolts in the British-occupied Malabar. According to him, the primary motivation of the Mappilas (Moplahs) was not economic grievances but the desire to secure paradise by dying in defence of the faith (Dale 1975). Parallely, the prolific scholar Hardgrave emphasizes multiple factors, such as agrarian discontent, the perceived threat to Islam, the Congress-Khilafat agitation, inflammatory newspaper reports, and the provocation by government officials and police. All these contributed to the "explosive combination" that produced the Moplah rebellion of 1921 in Malabar. In the *Cochin Saga*, Bistrow (1949) makes a note of the events of the rebellion as a "savage and murderous outburst of passion as I have never known" (Bristow 122).

1.5 Primary Sources

The immediate reaction to the events of Malabar in 1921 has been recorded in many newspapers and many British officers and native officials took upon themselves the burden of recording the events that transpired. The earliest source that attempts to document the events is C Gopalan Nair's *The Moplah Riots* published in 1924. The work is primarily a compilation, reflecting the author's understanding of the Malabar rebellion as derived from the newspaper reports. He prefaces his work by saying there is no attempt on his part to historicize. However, it is observed that his role as a bystander to the events of Malabar rebellion, and his writing is guided by the colonial underpinning of communal prejudices. The arrangement of his material in the text begins with a brief overview of history of the events that has led to the final event in Malabar rebellion in 1921. This text can be thus considered as a source of events that happened in Malabar before the year of 1921 and the official framing of the socio-political

composition of Malabar. The text contains multiple sources such as newspaper reports and extracts of public speeches that occurred during the year of the rebellion. This composition of sources thus can be concluded as an unavoidable documentation of the history of the Malabar Rebellion.

In 1922, undersecretary G R F Tottenham compiled several documents, as the British government expected the Khilafat movement to have an impact on Malabar. By the time the British administration took over Malabar as part of the Treaty of Seringapatnam, it had already witnessed many social transactions in the region. As Tottenham admits in the preface of his work, these documents are a compilation of correspondence between various departments of administration, the military, treasury and the judiciary. The compilation includes telegrams and wires, summaries and orders, as well as operational details of the British government's law and order machinery. The document compilation was based on the assumption that these records would help and guide future administrative institutions in administering Malabar. This work was later published as *The Mappila Rebellion, 1921-22*, in the year 1922.

Another noteworthy and substantial account of Malabar in 1921 from perspective of the British administration would be the work of R H Hitchcock. During the events, he compiled a confidential document which includes his description of the events, interpretations of the population of Malabar and official correspondences amongst the administrative and law enforcement branches of the government. This text titled *Peasant Revolt in Malabar: A History of the Malabar Rebellion, 1921* is critical for this thesis. Published in 1925, it explicitly reflects the colonizer's presumptuous gaze and perceptions of Malabar, and it reveals underlying doctrines of discrimination, marginalization and persecution. This text has been identified to further examine the nature of historicization process and the transformation in allocating a dominant direction in the process of historiography as the structures of hegemony changes with time. In this thesis, the identified significant shift within the hegemonic institutions that guide

historiography is the transition to political independence from the British government. The other texts that were identified for this analysis to observe parallelly are Mozhikunnathu Brahmadattan Namboothiripadu's *The Khilafath Reminiscences*, published in 1965 and *Malabar Kalapam* by K Madhavan Nair, published in 1970. These texts are the memoirs of active participants of the rebellion detailing their experiences and their understanding of the causal factors that led to the rebellion. Furthermore, they provide an alternative insight to the colonizer's perspective.

Three literary texts were taken up for this thesis that is set in the same temporal and spatial location as that of Malabar rebellion in 1921 to further the examination of the narratives on Malabar rebellion. The texts identified were taken up individually to analyze their significance in supplementing the historicized discourse on the rebellion. *The Jewel of Malabar* by Donald Sinderby published in 1927, *Sundarikalum Sundaranmaarum* by Uroob published in 1958 and "Duravastha," a poem by Kumaran Asan in 1924 are seminal texts that can shed light on the human experience of the rebellion as perceived by the authors. The socio-political ideologies of the time that the author is from, plays a significant role in the framing of the narrative direction the text displays. The above texts can be categorized as colonial, nationalist and subaltern in their gaze. *The Jewel of Malabar* written by Donald Sinderby is heavily influenced by his military background. His deployment in Malabar, informs the plot of the novel. The author's life in Malabar as an officer gives him a certain access to the region's complex socio-cultural makeup, which he employed in detailing the plot. This background enabled the author to bring in an Englishman's perspective on the nuances of the social life of the native population.

Sundarikalum Sundaranmaarum by Uroob was serially published in parts in Mathrubhumi weekly in 1954 and later published as a book in Malayalam in 1958. The translated version in English titled *The Beautiful and the Handsome* by Susheela Mishra in

1985 has been used for this thesis. Literary critics M. Achuthan and Prof. Tharakan have hailed it as a historical novel that is rich in the complexities and subtleties of Malabar and its population. The novel encapsulates the human experience of the Malabar rebellion by employing an ensemble of characters from many intersectional locations in society and from various temporal vantage points.

The poem "Duravastha" by Kumaran Asan, published in 1924, presents the reimagined story of a Namboothiri woman, She undergoes traumatic displacement from her community and experiences a subsequent philosophical rebirth as a 'caste- woman'. In this new identity, she finds domestic bliss and exercises greater agency over her body and her movements. The most celebrated reformer and poet, Kumaran Asan, represented an antharjanam's (Namboothiri woman) experience in his famous work "Duravastha," meaning 'Tragic Plight', by placing the Namboothiri refugee who was victimized during the rebellion as the narrator of the event. The poem is titled "The Tragic Plight" in English and was translated by Santha Bhaskaran. This poem can be considered the first fictional depiction of the rebellion that had distressed the population of not just Malabar but also the onlookers of this tragedy. The attempt at literary depictions of the Malabar rebellion of 1921 as this thesis would determine is far and sparse in numbers.

1.6 Scope

The discourses existing on Malabar rebellion's narratives have generated much content on the history of conflicts and the parties involved. The background of the conflict and the formation of the central narrative that takes precedence follow the pattern of cause and effect (Perpetrator-victim cycle considering the effects of trauma on the people in Malabar). There may exist an attempt to promote and legitimize certain discourses to safeguard colonial supremacy as well as their alliances with certain elite groups entrenched in caste and class hierarchy through the available fictional narratives and historical records. There also is a need

for deeper exploration into the ramifications of colonial interventions in the event and their construction of the Malabar rebellion in fictional works and otherwise. This thesis has reviewed works depicting the Malabar rebellion from the year 1921 to September of 2023. Primary texts analysed for this thesis represent the Malabar rebellion of 1921 and have clear reference to the conflicts identified for the study; namely the interactions between colonisers and colonised. The colonisation refers to above is not limited to the race but also class, caste and gender. Another aspect of this thesis is to enquire into the absence of women's role in participating in recording history. This objective was undertaken by studying the absence of a specific social group's women's voice in the history of the Malabar rebellion. There is an 'absence' of an antarjanam's narrative and indifference to their experience as a victim of rebellion in the interpretation of an important historical event. Here, 'absence' indicates the conspicuous absence in terms of the Namboothiri women narrating or penning down their own experiences of the incident. In the earlier narratives discussed, she is just the passive victim functioning according to the creative imagination of predominantly male authors; therefore, the agency lies with the men to recast and represent her.

1.7 Objectives

1. To understand and examine the ramifications of colonial interventions in the event and their construction of the Malabar rebellion in fictional and non-fictional works.
2. To probe whether there is an assiduous attempt to promote and legitimize certain discourses to safeguard colonial supremacy as well as their alliances with certain social groups entrenched in caste and class hierarchy through the available fictional narratives and historical records.
3. To interrogate the 'absence of' antarjanam's narrative and 'indifference to' their experience as a victim of rebellion in the interpretation of an important historical event.

1.8 Research Methodology

The proposed methodology to examine and analyze the findings for the objectives, as mentioned earlier, is to apply the theoretical frameworks of postcolonial studies, gender studies, cultural studies and literary criticism. Theoretical works employed to analyze and review the literature were that of Edward Said, Franz Fanon, Ania Loomba, Eliza Kent, Uma Chakravarti, Durbha Ghosh, Partha Chatterjee, Michel Foucault, Benedict Anderson, Homi Bhabha, Judith Butler, J. Devika, T.K. Anandi, Urvashi Butalia, Gauri Vishwanathan, Astrid Erll, Elizabeth Jelin, Hayden White and so on. As the thesis progressed, a clear pattern of classification emerged in the literature collected and perused for the literature review, and it became possible to select appropriate and targeted texts to pursue my objectives.

In addition to pedagogical contributions to studying postcolonial studies, the research on colonialist studies helps us to describe the representation of non-European others and focus on the consequences of colonialism on the colonized. These studies focus on the creation and participation of hierarchical structures across economic, social and cultural spheres in the colonies. These theories also help understand the intersectional nature of the interactions and transactions between the colonized social groups and the colonizer.

In the interstices of these social transactions, the literature review and the comparative analysis predicate the existence of a dominant narrative strategy, which is analyzed using theories of gender studies and theories of narratology to validate the existence of certain absent voices in the recorded history of the Malabar rebellion. Various themes that are explored in the thesis are examining the colonizer's role in dictating a dominant direction in the dominant discourse on the Malabar rebellion, analyzing the significance and scope of multiple vantage points in the discourse of history and its narration critically, exploring the possible tangents in recording, remembering and reimagining from an intersectional framework and shedding light on apparent absences in a vast plethora of represented voices of history in Malabar rebellion.

In order to pursue the aforementioned themes, theories on narratology and historiography are also employed.

1.9 Thesis Structure

The first chapter is an Introduction that contains a comprehensive overview of Malabar and its socio-cultural makeup throughout the occupation by external forces until the events of 1921. It also mentions the scope, limitations and objectives of this thesis. I also briefly trace the history of the colonization of Malabar. In addition, the chapter briefly mentions the primary sources of this thesis.

The second chapter is a detailed literature review of all the works, fictional and non-fictional, depicting events of the Malabar rebellion in 1921. The works pertaining to contributing factors towards the events in 1921 and representation of the aftermath of 1921 from multiple sources are also explored in this chapter. In addition, critical interventions towards the discourse on the Malabar rebellion are also included in this chapter. The literature reviewed has been categorized under appropriate themes that supplement the further analysis taken up in the subsequent chapters.

The third chapter is a comparative analysis of three records of events of the Malabar rebellion in 1921 in order to investigate narrative strategies employed to safeguard the supremacies of certain social groups in recorded history. The texts reviewed for this analysis are *The Khilafat Reminiscences*, *Malabar Kalapam* and *The Peasant Revolt in Malabar: A History of Malabar Rebellion*. The objective of this chapter is to detect and verify the dominant direction observed in historicization of the Malabar rebellion from multiple socio-political vantage points. These narratives are guided not only by their author's political ideology but also significantly elevate the understanding of individual experience of the rebellion from many intersectional spaces.

The fourth chapter uses literary representations to interrogate the hierarchies of power in Malabar before, during and after the Malabar rebellion. The objective is to analyze social transactions across various social groups and their evolution and adaptation to accommodate internal and external disruptions in power and influence. The text, *The Jewel of Malabar* is employed to address the objective of interrogating the hierarchical tropes and nature of the colonial engagement in Malabar.

The fifth chapter demonstrates historical fiction's role in reconciling society's collective psyche in the wake of a traumatic past. It is a study of the transformation of representations of the Malabar rebellion as it moves further away from the event in time and how the memory of trauma becomes more prominent. Through a critical analysis of the fictional work *Sundarikalum Sundaranmarum*, this chapter also deeply explores the role a creative work or narrative on an event can perform in historicizing the event for the later generations.

The sixth chapter interrogates the role of women in writing about historical events and how they are represented in texts depicting historical events. The objective here is to understand the factors that contribute to this absence of representation. By including a genealogy of Antharjanam writers, the background to this objective will be introduced in previous chapters.

The final chapter includes the observations and conclusions drawn from the study and the way forward.

In addition, an Appendix containing newspaper articles reporting the Malabar Rebellion has been compiled from different online repositories crucial to the event.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Before proceeding to the chapters corresponding to the objectives detailed in the previous chapter, I lay out a detailed review of the literature on the key concepts and discussions surrounding the gap in representation identified in the Introduction. The critical concepts taken up for this literature review are subaltern historiography, women's histories, postcolonial studies on social identity and cultural memory.

Discussion on Historiography and the Role of Literature in Historical Narration

The discussion on ancient Indian historiography points to the reasons for their critical insight, which are due to the following: lack of historical sense in chronicling, no temporal referencing, and deeper exploration of themes for philosophical guidance over recording incidents and experience. In his seminal work *A Textbook of Historiography: From 500 BC to 2000 AD*, E Sreedharan published in 2004 traces the evolution and development of historiography from Greek philosophy to postmodernism. He deliberates on the following phases of Indian historiography: ancient Indian historiography, medieval Indo-Muslim historiography, British imperialist or colonial historiography of India, and Indian nationalist historiography, followed by the Marxist phase and subaltern studies. His analysis of the perspectives on historiography corresponds to Shashi Bhushan Upadhyay's work from 2016, titled *Historiography in the Modern World: Western and Indian Perspectives*. Having arrived at the definition of subaltern historiography and the need and significance of this particular modality in pursuing the historiographic method, this elaborates on the possibilities of these voices and their historical significance.

Gyan Prakash surmises that the subaltern appears as a figure that resides outside authorised categories in dominant discourses and signifies a pure externality beyond reason.

He further states that the constitution of the subaltern as the external other is a ruse of dominance (Prakash 2000). As elucidated by E Sreedharan's work, a series titled *Subaltern Studies* that appeared in the past three decades has introduced to the project of participating in historiography that responded to the past positively elitist models. As Ranajit Guha's work elaborates on the figure of the subaltern, whose primary attribute is labour orientation, he has taken up the figure of the peasant to further his perspective on the prevalent elitism in the previous phases of historiography. According to Guha, the peasant never stumbled or drifted into rebellion. He rebelled consciously and only when his pleadings failed. (Guha 46)

Later on, the discussions on the subaltern started concepts of deconstruction wherein identity attributes are identified to explicate the subaltern experience. One of the significant contributions in this scholarship is that of Gayathri Chakravarty Spivak's *Can the Subaltern Speak?* published in 2009. She summarises her argument as follows: "If in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern female is even more deeply in shadow. As women are silenced by both colonialism and patriarchy"(Spivak 287). Gyan Prakash points out in *The Subaltern as Subaltern Citizen* that the foregrounding of gender, caste, race, etc, in this manner can aid in organising the theme of subalternity and help complicate the understanding of social and political power.

At this juncture of subaltern historiographic studies, I would like to locate women's histories to explicate their absence in the historiographic process, as the proposed objectives in the previous chapter suggest. In the introduction to *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*, published in 1990, the significance of feminist historiography has been demonstrated:

A feminist historiography rethinks historiography as a whole. It discards the idea of women as something to be framed by a context in order to be able to think of gender difference as both structuring and structured by the wide set of social relations. In this sense, feminist

historiography is a choice open to all historians. Not as a choice among competing perspectives or even as one among personal predilections of the sort which dictate interest in a particular region or a particular historical period. Nor is the issue here the tokenist inclusion of women or the numerical or even qualitative evaluation of their participation in this or that movement. Rather as a choice which cannot but undergird any attempt at a historical reconstruction which undertakes to demonstrate our sociality in the full sense and is ready to engage with its own presuppositions of an objective gender-neutral method of enquiry, as well as with the presuppositions of the social moments and movements it sets out to represent. (Sangari and Vaid 10)

The aforementioned perspective on feminist historiography is extremely important to analysing the absent voices from the representation of the Malabar rebellion. As I move forward, the discourses on using the representations of the experiences from the margins to supplement historical narration become more relevant to the proposed objectives.

Critical descriptions of the Malabar rebellion and the creation of social identities

Sumit Sarkar in *Modern India* observes that the origin of the Mappila riots in Malabar was rooted in agrarian discontent, and the unfortunate social stratification of the land ownership further fractured the divides of both economic and social demographics of the population already under the coloniser's administration.

Most Moplah martyrs were poor peasants or landless labourers The roots of Moplah discontent were clearly agrarian; there was a 244% increase in rent suits and a 441 % increase in eviction decrees between 1862 and 1880 in the Taluks of South Malabar. Hindu peasants also suffered, but the form of resistance differed. Large numbers of Hindu robber bands are reported to have been active in the Malabar villages in the 1860s and 1870s. In the absence of

a millenarian ideology such as Islam could offer, Hindu peasant disaffection could not rise above the level of social banditry. (Modern India,1989)

As observed by Sarkar, one can begin to understand the attempt of the British administration to create and direct a divide amongst the population of Malabar on communal grounds from observing the journalistic coverage of events in Malabar during the times of unrest.

Stephen Dale (1975) and Roland Miller (1976) derive the factors leading to the rebellion in Malabar in 1921 as the religious zealotry associated with the imperial perception of followers of Islam. Historians and scholars such as K. K. N. Kurup (1996) and K. N. Panikkar (2002) take a Marxist approach to recounting and contemplating the events of 1921 in Malabar. The agrarian communities' discontent and frustrations with the tenant population played a significant role in the events that transpired in Malabar in 1921. It is this inequitable access to resources and social capital that Kurup and Panikkar believe to be the motivation for resistance to the imperial forces. Along with the complex internal undercurrents of power in Malabar amongst the original population, the vitalised Indian independence movement provided a much-needed reinforcement to the anti-imperial efforts in the form of the Indian National Congress's Non-Co-Operation Movement and Khilafat Movement.

D. N. Dhanagre, in his article, "Agrarian conflict, religion and politics: The Moplah rebellions in Malabar in the Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries." Published 1977 concludes that "the communal sentiment or fanaticism" of the Moplahs was only the symptom and not the disease. The 1921 rebellion, like the uprisings that occurred throughout the nineteenth century, was, in essence, an expression of long-standing agrarian discontent, which was only intensified by the religious and ethnic identity of the Moplahs and by their political alienation, above all in the years between 1885 and 1920."

Another significant work that explores the various social identities and causal factors that contributed to the Malabar rebellion is *Caste, Nationalism, and Communism in South India: Malabar, 1900-1948* by Dilip Menon, published in 2007. The text provides valuable insight into the historical context of the Malabar region during the early 20th century by examining the socio-economic conditions, caste hierarchies, and the impact of British colonialism on the region. The themes discussed in the text are Malabar's caste hierarchies, how they shaped the lives of individuals and communities, and the disparities in landownership and economic situation based on caste. Dilip Menon investigates the rise of communism in Malabar and its impact on social groups based on their socio-economic location. The text also explores various revolts and uprisings in the Malabar region, including the Malabar Rebellion 1921. The text explores how a range of causes, such as caste discrimination, the growing momentum of the Indian independence movement and the emergence of communism in Malabar influences the events of agrarian discontent. Menon assesses the transformative impact of these movements on Malabar society. His work follows up on the socio-political state of Malabar even after gaining Independence in 1947. He discusses the challenges to traditional caste hierarchies and the advocacy for land reforms and social equality. Dilip Menon concludes by emphasising the intricate relationships between caste, nationalism, and communism in shaping the history of Malabar. His work highlights the enduring impact of these movements on the region's socio-political landscape and the ongoing struggle for social equilibrium.

A substantial discussion that arose from the discussions on the representation of the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 is the study of the documented colonial formulation of social identities reflected in official records and erstwhile history. M. T. Ansari, in his book *Islam and Nationalism in South Asian Contexts*, published in 2015 is a seminal intervention where he delves into the intricacies of the representation of 'fanatic Mappila' and the dissemination

of this figure in historical narration. The text examines the conscious and efficient construction of this figure in the colonial discourses and how this dissemination of the ‘fanatic mappila’ shaped the perception of an entire social group and has endured not just colonial modalities of historical narration but also has a constant role in contemporary criticisms on communal fundamentalism. The focus of the inclusion of this text in this review of the literature of the essay lies in Ansari’s adept utilisation of diverse sources, encompassing historical records, oral histories, and personal narratives, along with the examination of the construction of ‘fanatic mappila’ as the figure is ever present in representations and recording of the Malabar rebellion. This comprehensive approach enhances the depth and breadth of his narrative, providing readers with a subjective and pluralistic worldview on the unfolding events of the rebellion and its enduring significance.

Salah Punathil draws on the pre-existing studies on the Malabar rebellion to put forth his analysis on articulating Mappila Muslim identity construction in scholarship and their far-reaching consequences. In his essay “Kerala Muslims and Shifting Notions of Religion In The Public Sphere”(2013), argues that “a Muslim community that rebelled against the colonial state in northern Kerala earlier and came to be seen as aggressive, uncivilised and religiously fanatic, still faces strong resentment and distrust today, while the memory of subalternity remains present, too.”

In “The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Violence in India,” Ajay Verghese (2016) presents a meticulous analysis of the deep-seated historical factors that have contributed to ethnic violence in India. The book elucidates how the British colonial rule of nearly two centuries significantly shaped the definitions of communal identities of social groups in India, which is reflected in the communal discord in the country even in contemporary times. Verghese contends that the British formulated and executed policies and strategies that purposefully intensified existing religious and ethnic divisions for their administrative convenience. The

ignoble “divide and rule” strategy, employed to maintain control over the country's diverse population, played a pivotal role in this regard, as it deliberately pitted various social groups against each other, sowing the seeds of mistrust and competition.

Women's histories and the role in observing the absences and silences

The processes of historicization, historiography and the consequences of these in the people's collective consciousness are detailed in the previous sections. A significant gap in the agency of representation and representation that has been identified is that of gender in the above discussions. In order to examine the relevant absence identified for the proposed objective, a detailed discussion of themes such as the role of women participating in the historiographic process, the significance of the gendered experience for the decolonisation of history and how the discussion of violence and traumatic events silence the doubly subjugated experience of women and finally the departure of women's history and represented and imagined experience of women from the gaze of men.

The discussion of women writing in India and the significance of the self-expression of the gender is incomplete without the mention of *Women Writing in India: 600 B.C. to the Present*, published in 1991. The thoughtful and engaging anthology and the critical introduction by Susie Tharu and K. Lalitha are seminal contributions to the discourse on women's agency in socio-cultural productions. The acts of women reading and writing across different historical periods are acts of resistance and a challenge to the patriarchal restrictions internalised for centuries. The introduction to this text surmises that what women have contributed to writing could be considered significant sociological texts filled with impactful and nuanced observations.

In the essay ‘In Search of Our Past: A Review of the Limitations and Possibilities of the Historiography of Women in Early India’, Uma Chakravarty and Kumkum Roy put forth

the need for a systematic investigation of connections between the status of women and their participation in productive activities, both as producers and controllers of production. They propose that the result of such an investigation would contribute to a meaningful history of women and modify and re-evaluate historical analysis processes, which so far are focussed on relations and interactions of different categories of men.

Women were generally considered inmates of the social group decided by the socioeconomic divisions. The symbolisms prevalent in literature and lived experiences point to the social location of women, and their economic standing was consistently commodified based on their ability to procreate. The agency pertaining to the biological imperative of women's procreation thus created a need for safeguarding their bodies. This requirement of defending their physical bodies was facilitated by their male counterparts by attaching norms of purity and chastity. This agenda was furthered by regulating women's movements and denying them agency. In turn, this holding back of the agency delayed empowerment and held back the voices of the women's experience caused by the internalisation of these patriarchal designs. A predominantly patriarchal society did not consider the expressions of women's experience as a relevant source to gain historical insight into the Partition and Malabar rebellion events. As Joan Scott states in her essay "Gender as a Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *Culture, Society and Sexuality: A Reader*(2002). puts forth,

"Gender" also stressed the relational aspect of normative definitions of femininity. Those who worried that women's studies scholarship focused too narrowly and separately on women used the term 'gender' to introduce a relational notion into our analytic vocabulary. According to this view, women and men were defined in terms of one another, and no understanding of either could be achieved by an entirely separate study. (Scott 2002)

The violence on women's bodies functions as a tool in a multifarious manner. On the one hand, it is used to elicit compliance from women across any social group; on the other hand, it is also used as capital for the members of a specific domestic unit or community to safeguard the 'honor' or prestige of the clan. A 'woman's body becomes a token of standard norms, practices and procedures expected of a particular gender. This ensures that the community remains a closed system for economic and religious circuits, thus maintaining the community's 'purity' and 'sanctity'. This is the primary reason for large-scale violence on women's bodies, depending on their communal and class identity during times of conflict amongst various social groups. Many theories grounded in social inequalities expound on the pervasiveness of religion in the domestic units of families in society.

Upon detailed analysis of works existing on violence against women during historical events such as the partition of India, a pattern of delayed representation and self-expression emerges. Works of Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*(2017); Mahua Sarkar's *Visible Histories, Disappearing Women: Producing Muslim Womanhood in Late Colonial Bengal* (2008) and Ritu Menon and Kamala Bhasin's *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition* (1998) maps out the nature of women experience. The significance and contribution of these works to a more extensive discussion on historical narration can be analogous to the examination of the historicization of the Malabar rebellion undertaken in this thesis.

The events of the Malabar rebellion that have accumulated from the analyses of the official records compiled by G R F Tottenham and R H Hitchcock, along with the memoirs of K. Madhavan Nair and Mozhikunnath Brahmattan Namboothiri, are as follows :

a) The announcement of the Khilafath movement and the endorsement of the Indian National Congress of the same as a tangential agent of the Non-cooperation movement

- b) Pukkottur Incident, also referred to as the ‘war of pukcottur’ in some sources.
- c) The Mambram mosque raid in pursuit of Ali Musaliyar resulted in open conflict between Mappilas and the police.
- d) Multiple confrontations going back and forth between the Mappilas and the colonial administration, resulting in violence and crime across the native population of Malabar.
- e) Variyamkunnan Ahmed Haji takes charge of the rebellion and successfully removes the administrative authority of the British crown.
- f) Allied social groups to the British government were identified and convicted of dissent under the Khilafath state. Large-scale displacement, crimes and violence were inflicted on land-owning Hindu families.
- g) The British army deployed to suppress the rebellion and reinstate the Malabar district under the Madras Presidency’s domain.
- h) The rebellion concluded with the British army successfully restoring the British government and declaring and executing martial law.
- i) The return to the previous state of affairs where the primary conflict was the Indian independence movement versus colonial rule.

In the recent past, various tangents on the significance and causes of the Malabar Rebellion have emerged that further aggravate the presence of many intersectional dimensions to be explored when it comes to representing and reimagining the history of the Malabar Rebellion.

Chapter 3

Investigating the medium and provenance of socio-economic, political, cultural and legislative power in non-fictional depictions of the Malabar rebellion.

Introduction

As defined by Max Weber, one can identify exertion of power as a process of exerting influence over other/others to direct the course of their thoughts and actions and, consequently, attain one's goals and desires. The history of social configuration in Malabar had experienced numerous shifts in the ebb and flow of power as and when external intruders tried to possess her and her resources. The population of Malabar belonged to multiple social groups, but the events of the rebellion in 1921 tied their collective destiny to the trauma they endured in the events of 1921. The first crucial inversion or disruption of this flow of power and influence in Malabar resulted from Tipu Sultan's invasion of Mysore, which resulted in terrifying consequences for the population both socially and economically. With the constant struggle to occupy the land by invaders from the North to ensure economic gain and to suppress the gaining momentum of the Indian independence movement for the administrative advantage over the colony, the colonisers intervened in the Third Mysorean War, when the region finally became an official part of the Madras Presidency. This tumultuous past, where the power dynamics have seen multiple rises and falls, made up the population which would bear the trauma of the 1921 Malabar rebellion. As historical evidence suggests, the traditional customs of land distribution practised in Malabar followed the same pyramid as their caste system. The Brahmins of Kerala, known as Namboothiris, occupied the dominant position due to establishing ownership over the temple properties, making them absolute landowners. The economic classes in Kerala consequently had Namboothiris (Jenmis) at the top as landlords, Nairs (Kanakkers) in the middle as supervisors of cultivation, and finally, all the lower castes

and Mappilas as tenants (Verumpattakkar) working for both supervisors and landowners. Tipu Sultan of Mysore led the forces from Mysore to Travancore in 1789; the following two years witnessed massive destruction and loss of lives as the southern kingdoms defended themselves. An alliance was formed by the East India Company, Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Maratha Empire to stop Tipu and his forces from progressing by laying siege at Seringapattanam.

The events of the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 have been recorded fervently for the past 100 years. These events have been recorded by various agents of the state and separate individuals over the years since the conflict arose. There were several outrages amidst the population of Malabar, specifically across social groups at a disadvantage instead of the economic and social disparity. The hierarchies of caste and class had been toppled over and essentially inversed due to the Mysorean invasion. These spurts of violence were also aggravated and further selectively endorsed by the Indian independence movement that was gaining momentum at the same time.

This chapter focuses on creating a clear path to determine the existence of a hegemonic presence in the historical representation of the events of the Malabar Rebellion in 1921. I undertake this analysis by closely examining depictions of the events of 1921 from non-fictional sources detailing the event. The analysis of the primary and secondary voices/sources to discern a dominant discourse opens up the existence of unheard/undocumented narratives in the popular discourses about the 1921 rebellion in Malabar and is undertaken by a comparative study of colonial voice v/s subaltern sources. This chapter thus serves as a map to detect the several possible perspectives such as the colonial and nationalist interpretation of the same event from multiple social groups, thus demonstrating possibilities of alternative narratives and the intersectional nature of the historiography process. The chapter traces the time from the British annexation of Malabar to the emergency period declared in Malabar post-1921 rebellion as represented in *The Khilafath Reminiscences* -by Mozhikunnath Brahmattan

Namboodiripad in 1965, *Malabar Kalapam* by Madhavan Nair in 1971 *Peasant Revolt in Malabar: A History of The Malabar Rebellion* by R. H. Hitchcock in 1923.

Ideological allegiances of R. H. Hitchcock, Mozhikunnathu Brahmaddattan Namboothiripadu and K. Madhavan Nair

Mozhikunnath Brahmaddattan Namboodiripad was born in Cherpulassery , near Shornur in 1897. He was educated in the Vedic tradition and Sanskrit. He was an active participant in the Indian freedom movement and joined Congress like many before him. He was the president of the Congress Committee in his village. He actively partook in the reform activities of his community along with V.T. Bhattathirippad, E.M.S. Namboodirippad and M.R. Bhattathirippad. In the wake of his involvement in the Khilafat movement and rebellion in 1921, he was indicted and incarcerated. He suffered ostracisation from his community since his imprisonment. He refers to *The Khilafath Reminiscences* which was published in 1965 as his account of experiences and observations of how he was victimised during the rebellion in 1921. Madhavan Nair was born in 1882 in Malappuram. He was educated at Palakkad Victoria College, C M S College and Maharajas College in Trivandrum. He was the founding director of Mathrubhumi and served in many important positions in Kerala State Congress Party, KPCC and Indian National Congress Party. He actively participated in several movements for the Indian Independence movement as well as social reform movements in Kerala. The posthumous publication of *Malabar Kalapam* in 1971, almost five decades after the event, is considered a major source by researchers in the study of the Malabar Rebellion. The account of Madhavan Nair is rich in detailed accounts of his role in managing the Congress-Khilafath committee and the local leaders of the rebellion. His direct affiliation with the movements and reflections on the nature of the rebellion and its portentous significance make up the text.

The Khilafath movement in India was conceived by Indian Muslims and was endorsed by Gandhi. This was in response to the British Empire's role in disintegrating the religious and

spiritual authority of the Ottoman Khalifa over the Muslims all over the world. The prominent leaders in India's Independence movements supported and helped in the dissemination of the ideologies of Khilafath and contributed their efforts to the cause. The Khilafath movement was announced nationwide and support poured in from all corners of India. The presence of a unifying cause such as Khilafath was expected to fuel camaraderie among various social groups. In 1921, the Khilafath movement's presence transformed from a unifying force and started to boil down to multiple instances of violence and fuel conflict regionally as motivated by minor yet significant motivations. This transformation led to the suspension of the movement by Gandhi, as his ideology did not promote violence. The violent offshoots of this movement are one of the most violent outrages of communal conflict that Malabar witnessed in 1921.

R. H. Hitchcock was the district superintendent during the events of Malabar in 1921. R. H. Hitchcock was born in the East Midlands of Britain bordering Yorkshire in 1884. He was educated at King's School Canterbury and appeared for the exams to join the Imperial Indian Police Force in 1903. He was academically gifted and acquired the first position in the exam. He was first posted in Bengal but soon relocated to the spice capital, Malabar. He has received various commendations, including M.B.E. Hitchcock, who was involved in multiple operations intended to keep peace in the land of Malabar since 1916.

As a native of the erstwhile Malabar, Mozhikunnathu's and Madhavan Nair's commentaries on the events and their lived experiences possess rare and focused insights into the population's psyche. However, at the same time, Hitchcock's exhaustive commentary on the population and their interactions within and among the social groups are entrenched in the imperial gaze. In the post-independence period, the works of Mozhikunnathu and Madhavan Nair were published reflective of the nationalist framing of the events of the Malabar rebellion and, as such resound themes such as the nation-building woes as well as hopes for inter-religious unity.

Examining the texts for departures in descriptions of events of 1921 in Malabar

M T Ansari, in his seminal work *Islam and Nationalism in India South Indian contexts*, engage with some of the memoirs of the 1921 rebellion published in Malayalam, namely *The Khilafath Reminiscences* and *Malabar Kalapam* and juxtaposes them with the report of the colonial administrator Hitchcock's version of events and the causal factors in *Peasant Revolt in Malabar: A History of The Malabar Rebellion*. Stephen Dale and Roland Miller derive the factors leading to the rebellion in Malabar in 1921 as the religious zealotry associated with the imperial perception of followers of Islam. Historians and scholars such as K. K. N. Kurup and K. N. Panikkar take on a Marxist approach to recounting and contemplating the events of 1921 in Malabar. The agrarian communities' discontent and frustrations of the tenant population played a major role in the events that transpired in Malabar in 1921. It is this inequitable access to resources and social capital that Kurup and Panikkar believe to be the motivation for resistance to the imperial forces. Along with the complex internal undercurrents of power in Malabar amongst the original population, the vitalized Indian independence movement provided a much-needed reinforcement to the anti-imperial efforts in the form of the Indian National Congress's Non-Co-Operation Movement and Khilafat Movement.

One of the driving forces in solidifying the conflicts among the social groups in Malabar would be the Khilafat Movement. The Khilafat movement originated in The Ottoman Empire as a last-ditch attempt by Sultan Abdul Hamid II to protect the empire from Western Domination after the First World War. He sent his emissaries to empires all over the world, carrying his message to unify the Sunni Muslims all over the world under one spiritual and cultural leader. This message arrived in India sometime in the nineteenth century and started gaining the interest and sympathy of many religious preachers. This interest and unification led to the mobilization of Indian Muslims and the resultant formation of the All-India Khilafat

Committee. In the year 1920, Indian National Congress entered into an alliance with the Khilafat committee. In *The Khilafath Reminiscences*, Mozhikunnath Brahmadattan Namboodiripad begins the journey down his memory lane by stating the formation of organized manpower at the beginning of the year 1921, under the nom de guerre 'Moplah volunteer Corps'. These men were ex-servicemen who served the British Empire leading them in the first World War. Mozhikunnath sets the record such that the non-cooperation movement and the Moplah volunteer movement had not joined forces. His memoir of the events of the Malabar rebellion of 1921 starts with a detailed description of a meeting held in Trichur in the month of February 1921, where the Christian population of the area had active participation in inciting violence against the procession for K. Madhavan Nair, Gopalan Menon and Yakub Hassan whom the district magistrate reprimanded for their involvement with The Khilafat movement which had been endorsed by the Indian National Congress.

Ansari reproduces Madhavan Nair's depiction of how he classified the events of the rebellion chronologically. His representation of events originates from 20th August 1921, two days after Mahatma Gandhi visited Malabar and met with the local congress leaders.

R. H. Hitchcock at the same time, refers to the incidents in Trichur as follows in *Peasant Revolt in Malabar: A History of The Malabar Rebellion*: The local Hindu leaders, Madhavan Nair, Gopalan Menon and Moideen Koya invited a prominent Muslim leader from Madras to address the population on matters of the Khilafat movement. The leaders and the population were issued a warning from the Collector, E F Thomas, banning any Khilafat Movement-related gathering as he feared the meetings would spark off violence and result in riots. As cited in Tottenham's *Malabar Rebellion*:

He feared that an appeal to religion might prepare the way for something far more serious than the isolated expression of fanaticism that the ordinary Ernad outbreak represents.' 'There is immediate danger,' Thomas wrote, That the feelings of the more

ignorant Moplahs will be inflamed against not only the Government but also against the Hindu jenmis of the taluq...

In Hitchcock's own words, the narrative takes on the perspective of maintaining Law and order in a potentially volatile political climate.

Hassan and the Malabar Congress leaders declared their intention to defy the ban, whereupon they were arrested and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Their arrest brought an immediate storm of protest. In defiance of the ban on processions, a crowd of about 12,000 Mappilas, some armed with sticks and knives, gathered at a Calicut Mosque and proceeded along the Beach Road, where they were met by the District Magistrate and the police. The mob dispersed only after two hours of tense confrontation. (20)

A vital observation in reading both Mozhikunnath's and Hitchcock's narrative on the same event directs the readers in multiple directions regarding the agendas of the conflicting parties in the rebellion. Mozhikunnath represents the local voice from which the narrative is not just a vacuous recording of the events but also mindful insights that he had, as he belonged to one of the social groups in conflict; and was fully aware of the interstices in the socio-political power matrix. Meanwhile, in retrospect, Hitchcock's narrative has thus omitted the presence and role of the Christians in the mutinies that broke out in Trichur. C. Gopalan Nair, in *The Moplah Rebellion, 1921*, refers to the visit of Yakub Hassan as the first misstep from the local leaders that gave wind to the spark of tensions amongst the social groups in Malabar.

Another major incident of the rebellion was the Pookottur Incident on 1 August. By July 1921, Khilafat volunteers had multiplied exceedingly before the violence erupted in Malabar. In Pookottur, the Khilafat committee was headed by Vadakkeveetil Mammad (Muhammad), who was an employee of the Pukkottur kovilakom. He was accused of stealing a gun from the

kovilakam for the activities he partook in the Khilafat movement. In Mozhikunnath's version of events, the incident transpired as follows:

At the end of July, Mammad approached Tampan and claimed Rs 350 toward the balance of payments. At first, Tampan refused him. Mammad got his money through compulsion. This frightened Tampan. This frightened Tampan, and he fled from the region, fearing for his personal safety... Later on, Tampan gave a petition to the police against Mammad and others. He was charged with housebreaking and theft. On 1 August, Inspector M. Narayana Menon summoned Mammad to Pukkottur kalam to enquire about this case...Mammad exhibited his true Viswarupa there. This valiant fighter had not gone there to give an explanation to the Inspector. He wanted to compel the Inspector to explain. When Khilafat leader appeared, he was accompanied by 2000 soldiers; when he sensed the danger in the situation, the Inspector exhibited his resourcefulness... the rogue welcomed with a beaming smile those who came there to threaten him. He swore by the feet of Mambram Thangal that he would never do anything against Khilafat in the future... Following the Pukkottur incident, a state of emergency prevailed in the Ernad region. M Narayana Menon was not a small fry. His "Maya" is unlimited. He was the "suthradhara" of this tragic drama. In times of crisis, the suthradhara exhibited wonderful resourcefulness. This police official now decided to teach the Ernad Moplaha a good lesson for having insulted him.

This episode that has been recounted by M B Namboothiripad sheds light on the role played by a state actor with enough power to amplify and decide the course of events that followed a simple confrontation between a tenant and landlord.

Similarly, another interesting observation emerges in the analysis of the historical commentary from these texts. *The Khilafath Reminiscences* and *Peasant Revolt in Malabar: A History of The Malabar Rebellion* is the bare minimum representation of women in the events of the 1921 rebellion. The local voices on rebellion have not much to say about the role women

played in the rebellion as well as in representing the events for historical representation. This representational gap could have been the result of centuries of imitation and internalization of western patriarchal notions. On the other hand, the dominant voice, i.e., the colonial voice, repurposes the role of Mappila women as savage instigators against the crown/company/evangelist authorities, while upholding Hindu women as hapless victims.

R.H. Hitchcock's report (first published in 1925 as *A History of the Malabar Rebellion, 1921*) mentions the active participation of women in the "uprising" of 25 February 1896. Hitchcock also notes that Mappila women incited the men in Pukkotur, and he takes note of the participation of women during the 1921 rebellion. This categorical assignment of women's roles as Mappila instigators and Hindu victims by the colonial authorities could have been grounded in the centuries-old crusades by the Europeans for religious supremacy against the Islamic population. Consequently, events of the Malabar rebellion are extensively recorded from multiple perspectives but have failed to account for the experience of women, and the patriarchal voice of history has precluded the same from being recorded.

Various social groups can participate in the memory negotiations, following strategies that may be convergent or contrary to the policies of the state. These are diverse voices, and some are louder than others; silence or weakness may involve being farther away from the microphones of power, self-censorship, or a lack of moral legitimacy before others. (Jelin 2003)

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Michel Foucault maintains that memory is not a tangible element but is developed by society through its relations with history. History is a way in which "a society recognizes and develops a mass of documentation with which it is inextricably linked" (Foucault 1972). Accordingly, the past is often reproduced and treated in an epistemological sense in order to educate present generations. In a similar vein, speaking of

how Latin American countries changed from dictatorships in the 1970s and 1980s to democracies in the 1990s, Elizabeth Jelin identifies a power matrix between the past, the present, history, memory, identity, and knowledge. She argues that the past cannot be changed, but "its meaning...is subject to re-interpretations anchored in intentions and expectations towards the future" (Jelin 2003). In the essay, she further contends how the construction of memory-based narratives becomes problematic when connected to social and political events because hegemonic forces in power decide the orientation of such work (Karunanayake 2014). Thus, examination of these non-fictional accounts, which include both colonial and local voices that are interspersed in facts and memory of their experiences, has a role in manoeuvring the creation of a record of events that would later be considered as documentation of history. Astrid Erll suggests the following clarification to understand how cultural memory operates and it can become a retrospective tool in analyzing historical events:

Cultural memory provides versions of the process and meaning of history and shapes collective self-images as well as values and norms. Cultural and communicative memory are different modes of collective remembering, different 'uses of the past.' Both serve to constitute 'social autobiographies.' But the first locates historical events in the wide temporal horizon of nations, religious or ethnic communities, and tends to create myths, while the second is concerned with making sense in the more limited horizon of social communities (like family, friends or colleagues). Thus, a historical event like the First World War or German reunification can be remembered according to both frames: it can be understood as a significant part of national history, but it can also be remembered as an event which was experienced and had effects on small social groups and was woven into the autobiographies of their members

A significant revelation pertaining to the deviations in these records about the same historical event is the structuring of events interspersed with ideological assumptions and how

this structuring motivated the creation of dominant discourse in the historicization of the events in 1921 Malabar. This structuring is revealed in examining the entry points of events recorded as multiple vantage points into the same historical event. Ansari pointed out, "Most accounts place the beginning of the rebellion on 20 August 1921, when police attempted to capture Ali Musaliyar from the mosque while a massive crowd gathered around, forcing the surprised police to resort to firing in order to ward off an attack from them. Curiously enough, M.B. Namboodiripad argues that the rebellion started with the conflict between the Christians and the Hindus of Thrissur (also Trichur) on 16 February 1921."

A dominant direction in popularised discourses representing Malabar 1921 furthers colonialists' ideological paradigm about representing Malabar and its population. The analysis of the primary and secondary voices/sources to discern a dominant discourse opens up the existence of unheard/undocumented narratives in the popular discourses about the 1921 rebellion in Malabar. Thus, materializing the attempt to historicize the dominant colonial discourse on the events of Malabar in 1921. The chapter highlights that the framing of events in a timeline that serves the administration had an impact on the creation of the memory of the events. Another notable finding is the gender bias that has been a part of the historical narration of the Malabar rebellion from the colonisers' gaze. The post-independence discourse as demonstrated by the works of Madhavan Nair and Mozhikunnathu, is more detailed with the colonised's experience; which resonates with both the anti-colonial struggle and the intricate internal struggles of the social groups in Malabar and as such, is significant in the discourse on the subaltern historiography of the Malabar rebellion.

Chapter 4

A Postcolonial Reading of Donald Sinderby's *The Jewel of Malabar*: An Analysis of Colonial Engagement in Twentieth-Century Malabar

The Jewel of Malabar, a novel published in 1927 by the British soldier and writer Donald Ryder Stephens under the pen name Donald Sinderby, is an essential creative intervention in postcolonial issues like orientalism, dependency complex, and the appropriation of native history by the colonial master. Colonial historiography has been categorized as Orientalist, Evangelist, and Anglicist by Shashi Bhushan Upadhyay in *Historiography in the Modern World: Western and Indian Perspectives* (Upadhyay 2016). Notions of European superiority in race, religion, and scientific temperament were carefully embedded in the native psyche by Western literature and administrative policies, thereafter to be internalized for generations. *Jewel of Malabar* introduces the readers to Kamayla, a native Hindu girl with whom Sir John Bennville, a flamboyant British officer of the British army in Malabar, falls in love. Kamayla elopes with him but later becomes a Christian and takes up missionary activities. After her conversion, however, she comes under the patronizing influence of the missionaries and is told that her marrying Sir John would ruin his prestige and prospects; she proves her love and subordination to the British man by renouncing the material world and entering a convent. This relationship between the colonial master and a native damsel in distress is a central theme in the novel. The damsel, captured by native Moplah fanatics, creates an image of the larger nexus between native elites and colonial masters. In these dynamic, white colonizers protect certain natives from other natives to cloak imperial motives with humanitarian intent while gaining useful cooperation in the exploitation of the conquered territory's resources. The native elites are certain social groups who hold positions of authority due to their location in caste and class hierarchies. In Malabar, the social group to which

Kamayla belonged was a dominant caste and class. Thus, her family and community can be referred to as native and elite by the British army officers.

By examining the nature of social transactions between the colonizer and colonized, this chapter also explores the creation of a convenient disguise. This disguise makes the natives' dependency, imposed by interventions like administrative and economic policies, appear as symbiosis. Here, it is observed how memory, constructed by historical representations, serves to enlighten future generations. It comments on the experiences and conflicts of all social groups, thereby representing commentary on the various power relations and the consequences of both acceptance and rejection of these hegemonic forces. Against the backdrop of a dispute, these transactions become relics of the causal factors of the trauma sustained by the conflicting group. In the introduction to *Trauma*, Lucy Bond and Stef Craps echo Faulkner affirmation that "the past is never dead. It is not even past that we share this sentiment. The past is alive in the present, and its legacies continue to resonate in complex and controversial ways" (Bond and Craps 2020).

The report of the colonial administrator Hitchcock in *Peasant Revolt in Malabar: A History of The Malabar Rebellion*, and Stephen Dale (1975) and Roland Miller's (1976) analyses identify the chief factor leading to the rebellion in Malabar in 1921 as the religious zealotry associated with the imperial perception of the followers of Islam. Meanwhile, historians and scholars such as K. K. N. Kurup (1996) and K. N. Panikkar (1989) have adopted a Marxist approach to trace how the agrarian communities' discontent, and especially the frustrations of the tenant population, played a significant role in the events that transpired in Malabar in 1921. Inequitable access to resources and social capital is seen by Kurup and Panikkar as the motivation for resistance to the imperial forces. Further complicating the undercurrents of power inherent to the historically unstable political scene of Malabar arrived the vitalized Indian independence movement. The Indian National Congress's Non-

Cooperation Movement (1920-22) and the Khilafat Movement (1919-22) provided the much-needed reinforcement to anti-imperial efforts.

The chapter examines how *The Jewel of Malabar*, a fictional narrative set against a historical background, provided a tool for the creative reinforcement and maintenance of colonial power relations while "guiding" and "reinforcing" unsuspecting white sahibs as to the likely outcome of mingling between East and West. This chapter focuses on the nature of a social transaction between a native woman and a colonizer. It demonstrates the creation of a dependency that imitated a symbiotic arrangement, exploring how colonial narratives reflected this pretence in their depiction of Malabar's history. The thesis argues that *Jewel of Malabar* presents its European characters as righteous in their intent to introduce the colonized to Western culture and religion and the scientific outlook. This depiction stealthily maintains and highlights the white man's supposed superiority and his noble, humanitarian, and endlessly laborious mission of elevating 'the Other'. To explore some of the implications of the argument, the thesis draws on the works of leading postcolonial critical thinkers like Edward Said, Ania Loomba, Sudipta Sen, and Bhagban Prakash. It also incorporates insights from sociologists like Stephen Dale, Robert Hardgrave, Kapil Kumar, and Eliza Kent.

The chapter is broadly divided into four sections. The first section familiarizes the reader with the sociocultural events that led to the Malabar rebellion. The second deals with the underlying colonial assumption of social superiority followed by the colonial officers stationed in the Malabar Presidency during the rebellion. The third section reveals the complexities of a social transaction between the colonizer and the native using instances from the text. The final part examines the implications of these transactions in the context of "text/texts", concluding the chapter.

Historical Background of the Malabar Rebellion

The Malabar rebellion of 1921 was the culmination of outbreaks dating back to 1836. With each outbreak, "there came wild bouts of looting, killing, forcible conversion, and sexual violence". Malabar's complex social composition and land distribution system were further aggravated by the constant intrusions from the North, namely from Mysore, as it mounted ambitions of territorial expansion, sometimes with religious goals as well. The traditional hierarchies of caste played an essential role in class inequalities in Malabar. Before the years of disruption, Malabar's hierarchical social structure aligned with its caste system. British officers, whose primary motive was to fill the coffers of the British Empire, could also take up intellectual work. Some played a vital role in the production, dissemination, and framing of knowledge about the Orient in general and about political events in their colonies and the populace's activities. In so doing, they set themselves up as the authorities regarding history and agency. These representations reformulated existing forms of knowledge and gave rise to many stereotypes, further intensifying the binary between Europeans and Indians. The construction of the binary between the colonies and colonizers on the ground plays a pivotal role in the creation and proliferation of Orientalist discourse. The foundation of this discourse relies on two factors: the comparison drawn by the colonizers between themselves and their colonized subjects, and how the knowledge about native practices and ideas is susceptible to rearrangement. These intellectual bearings shaped the ideological framework that underpinned colonialism and functioned as the colonial underpinning to legitimize and fortify their role as the saviours of the indigenous, as depicted in colonial historiography. Said's *Orientalism* unfolds the construction of this contrast, highlighting how literary and narrative projects have material-political consequences. In *Orientalism*, Said initiated the much-needed discussion on the polarizing discourses that governed the psyche of both colonized and colonizers across the globe. The style of self-imagination based on distinctions, on Otherness, is the foundational principle of Orientalism. This Otherness included not only physical differences but also

sociocultural practices and history. The text centres on the idea of "us, Europeans, versus them, the non-Europeans." Said observes: "In a quite constant way, Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand." As Said puts it, the Orient was a "textual universe" (Said 1978). This textual universe was subjected to refurbishment with ideas from the Western consciousness and thus laid the cornerstone for colonialist historiography. However, in contrast to the idea of "Oriental Despotism," which took shape in the early years of British rule, a host of social and agrarian revolts in Malabar, the southwestern tip of India, disrupted the colonial imagination.

The Jewel of Malabar (1927) uses a simple plot to narrate the story of the Malabar rebellion of 1921, a story shaped by colonial assumptions about non-elite natives. The novel suggests that they can be manipulated to suit the colonizers' administrative advantage, with everyone benefiting because British rule looks to posterity and a clear historical conscience in its treatment of the colonized. This civilizing mission drapes the conquerors' pursuit of economic objectives. The story follows the provocative yet tragic affair of Sir John Bennville and a native Nair woman, Kamayla. The Moplah rebellion of 1921 forms the backdrop to their affair and significantly influences their life trajectories.

It is in post-independence discourses that the events of 1921 came to be identified as a rebellion and, therefore, an act against a government, with its events situated under the larger paradigm of the state. *Jewel of Malabar*, published six years after the conflict, referred to it as an uprising, a term that typically refers to acts of conflict among clearly discordant social groups in their quarrels over power and/or commodities. Colonial texts use the term for revolts that emerged in various parts of the British-occupied Indian subcontinent after the revolt of 1857. *The Jewel of Malabar* opens up a stimulating dialogue about the nature of the colonizers' fetish of maintaining racial purity, given how John and Kamayla's affair keeps growing until it

threatens his social status among the British. In *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, the racial undertones of fetishism are scrutinized in order to widen the scope of this generally reductive trope (Apter and Pietz, eds). According to Apter, Emily et al., "All the evil characteristics and habits with which the colonialist endows the native are thereby not presented as the products of social and cultural difference but as characteristics inherent in the race – in the 'blood' – of the native. In its extreme form, this kind of fetishization transmutes all the specificity and difference into a magical essence." Thus reinforcing taboos and stereotypes.

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1982), Michel Foucault observes that history is how a society recognizes and develops a mass of documentation with which it is inextricably linked. "Accordingly, the past is often reproduced and treated in an epistemological sense to educate present generations" (Karunanayike 2014). Elizabeth Jelin identifies a power matrix between the past and the present, history, memory, identity, and knowledge. She argues that the past cannot be changed, but "its meaning is subject to re-interpretations anchored in intentions and expectations towards the future" (Jelin 2003). Terry Eagleton, in *The Literary History: An Introduction*, remarks, "A piece of writing may start off life as history or philosophy and then come to be ranked as literature, or it may start as literature and then come to be valued for its archaeological significance" (Eagleton 2011). He concluded that there was no longer a coherent system or unified history to be opposed, just a discrete set of powers, discourses, practices, and narratives.

Decoding the Layers of John Bennville's Character Construction

Donald Ryder Stephens (Sinderby) used his stint in the British army to flesh out the character of John Bennville and thereby demonstrate to his readers the colonial experience of the "Moplah Rebellion." John Bennville is an officer with a high-born status in England. Along with his military accomplishments, he has an amiable disposition felt by all. He is well-read – a keen critic of literature, he will also relax with *A Short Survey of Malabar* after a military

engagement – and is well acquainted with the customs and practices of his station. Finally, he has a romantic and sensitive disposition marked by noble intentions. His criticism of Kipling's work is essential to Bennville's worldly reputation. In his introduction to *The Empire Writes Back*, Bill Ashcroft posits that literary texts by writers like Kipling are evocative of "Otherness" more than the representation of the circumstances in the colonized state and society. In *The Empire Writes Back*, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin invoked Sartre to observe:

Sartre classified this colonial movement as springing from the intellectual conditioning of the mother culture; he rightly assumed that any movement founded on an antithesis which responded to the Cartesian "I think; therefore I am" with "I feel, therefore I am" must be subject to a dialectical determinism which made all those who "are" obedient to laws formulated on the European historical experience.

(Ashcroft 2004)

The discerning gaze of John Bennville which is predominantly Eurocentric is instrumental in upholding the popularized objective of the civilizing mission of the imperialists. His character embraces the indigenous practices and hierarchies and resultantly validates the humanitarian presumption of the civilizing mission. The English reading public is thus provided with a record of a British officer's close-up impression of events of great historical importance and the implications he saw for the imperial presence in the colonies. The significance of this text can primarily allude to creating the representation of a British officer's valour and honourable worldview, which he intends to extend to the colonial readers as the diplomatic motto for the imperial expansion. The book's construction of Sir John Bennville also encompasses the Orientalist gaze in its entirety and represents the British imperial intentions for the colonies. By employing a single idealist hero, the narrative advocates colonial intrusion into the colonies as a medium for modernization. The modernization project of

colonies undertaken by the colonizers can be interpreted as a series of social and political transactions that add up to this: the colonizers' deeper penetration into native society, with a consequently greater hold on local resources, in return for the use of the colonizers' military strength. This bolsters and protects designated native elites against less favoured groups in the population. The employment of a single character to represent this massive undertaking has its share of complexities. Because he is the hero, supposed to stand out, the narrative vests the responsibility of John's actions on himself. But he also exemplifies Western civilization's self-professed superiority, a self-image that implies the matching idea of an exoticized East. Sir John Bennville is portrayed as a man with a heritage, a learned individual whose principles and beliefs extend from centuries of achievement and tradition as preserved through his noble upbringing and his extensive reading of the history of his ancestors, especially their military accomplishments. He is not only aware of the Mahdist wars (1891–94) of his predecessors in Egypt and Iran but also takes immense pride in their role as the saviours and propagators of the Christian mission during the Crusades. At the same time, John does not come off as just a bookish traditionalist man. He is depicted in such a way as to deeply reflect on the conservative predilections that accompany his religion, his position within the Imperial enterprise, and his status as a white man.

John Bennville constantly makes deliberate attempts to look and act beyond the ingrained racial biases perpetuated by Victorian sensibilities of propriety to act wisely and perform his duties in accordance with the obligations toward his mother country. He attempts to adhere only to the conduct of the military and gentility, and thus to normalize the presence of the colonizers. This allegedly normalized presence serves as a necessary step toward disciplining the natives and replicating among them the standards of civilization as set forth by the Eurocentric world. The self-reflections of Sir John add to the valorizing of the colonial enterprise and the legitimizing of colonial intent.

Exploring the Disparate Power Dynamic between the Colonizer and the Native by Examining the Character Kamayla

The British women in the colonies were generally the family of officers stationed there or were part of missionary activities. Their presence and functions again fell under the guise of the civilizing mission either for the Crown or for the Church of England. Kamayla is a Nair woman native to Malabar, and Nairs, as a caste, were part of the martial nobility. Her father was a wealthy feudal lord with land and servants, and her fiancé was a policeman who followed the warrior vocation of her community in a contemporary sense. Kamayla's presence in the text brings forth provocative instances regarding the colonizers' impressions of racial dominance, religious superiority, and scientific temperament. At the intersection of racial dominance and patriarchy, the author locates Kamayla, thus bringing in the realities of double colonization that she was subjected to and subsequently internalized by the end of the story. Kamayla's character is instrumental in provoking the ruminations by which John arrives at a certain scepticism about whiteness, an attitude unique among the book's British characters. Yet, he proves to be "extremely understanding" of his fellow officers' contempt toward him when his pursuit of Kamayla is discovered. His whiteness and religion cause his feelings to oscillate between native and ruler. His pursuit of Kamayla subtly reveals the innate underpinnings of racial discrimination embedded in the colonial psyche that he has internalized until his desire for Kamayla. In his moments of self-reflection, John realizes and acknowledges that onlookers, whether natives or colonizers, can't understand the depth of his feelings for Kamayla. He knows that his fellow Britishers, now content to make jokes about his attraction, will turn from him in disgust when they realize he loves her. In Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, she refers to the constant efforts on the imperialist agenda to hypersexualize colonial intrusion, and the figure of the native woman is distinct in racial iconography. Consequent to John Bennville's pursuit of Kamayla as an exotic romantic

interest, the author uses the time's dominant rhetoric on racial and intellectual superiority to shed light on the culture of the colonial project itself. The nature of the colonial projects can be classified primarily based on what requirements the colonizers sought out of the land and the people they colonized.

The responses of John's British superiors and peers were synonymous with the perception of their colonial subjects regarding the affair between John and Kamayla (Sinderby 1927). While his colleagues attempted to dissuade him from romanticizing the exotic on the grounds of his racial dominance and superior lineage, the native's denial of acceptance of this affair stemmed from her internalization of the racial inferiority that colonizers instigated. The Oriental idea that the native was not worthy of colonial trust and camaraderie resulted in accentuating the existing power relations, assigning a degrading status, and further hardening the common disapproval of the "Other". This fact further manifested itself in the idea that a man who treated the natives with too much civility and attention would claim himself to be in bad odour with the government and society (Prakash 1994). John's peers employed many terms of a derogatory nature, such as "black" and "nut face," to completely otherize Kamayla. The question in John's mind as to the nature of "whiteness" arises when he sees the death of Nahran, an Indian officer of the law who gives his life to save John (Sinderby 1927). Thus, the author conceives and represents colonial superiority as understood by John more subjectively to withstand dissent or criticism. In this instance, the nature of Nahran's sacrifice as a trope in the text mimics the colonizers' ideology of valour and honour. Thus, in his representation of the native elite, Sinderby achieves "colonial mimicry," by which a member of the indigenous social group is made to act by the standards and values of the conqueror. Homi Bhabha observed in his work that "colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same but not quite" (Bhabha 1984). Sinderby attempts to materialize the concept of the native elite and their need for allegiance from the

colonizers. His portrayal of this social group seeking help from their white saviour also contributed towards the creation of the fanatic Moplah figure in Orientalist discourse.

Colonial Interventions: A Catalyst to Redemption or Resistance

Robert Bistrow, in his 1959 text, *Cochin Saga: A History of Foreign Government and Business Adventures in Kerala, South India, by Arabs, Romans, Venetians, Dutch, and British*, which is a seminal account of several colonial and imperial enterprises, shares the perception of Moplahs as inherently violent and ruthless. Several educated native elites of the twentieth century, like Kumaran Asan, upheld this assumption. Kumaran Asan is widely known as a revolutionary poet and a part of the modern triumvirate of Malayalam poetry. His works are an articulate testimony of creative concentration and dramatic contextualization. He regarded the British as saviours who could save them from the treacherous loot and violence promoted by the Moplah rebels (Chandramohan 2016). His thinking provides a fine example of the internalization of the colonial agenda by the native elites, with them viewing the white man as their saviour from fanatic forces at play within the colony. This perspective makes them become unwitting allies to the British government, fortifying a power matrix that includes native elites. The racial superiority of the colonizers could be observed even in the interactions between a low-ranking officer of the British army, such as John Bennville, and a native elite with considerable resources and political influence, such as his friend Nahran.

Kamayla is introduced to the plot as the betrothed of Nahran, a native comrade of John. An encounter with Moplah rebels turns Nahran into a helpless victim who must be saved by John's troops, after which he dies from his wounds. Kamayla is also rescued and is seen by her saviours as an exotic damsel in distress; now, without her father or beloved to protect her, she's seen by John as vulnerable because she's not just a woman but a native. Kamayla provides a fascinating point of intersection where ideologies of race and gender are both in operation. In *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, the term for this specific form of subjugation of the

native woman is given as "double colonization". The damsel in distress is a popular narrative device; in this situation, the woman needs to be rescued by a man, and the motivation of the man moves the plot forward. The trope has been a part of narratives as far back as the Greek myths. As a British man serving the British monarchy, John Bennville's upbringing is infused with Victorian sensibilities of the docile nature of women who require the protection and endorsement of men. John's meeting with Kamayla in the text reveals the patriarchal overtones of his romantic nature, which could not reconcile with the customs and agency the native woman exercised. His romantic intentions and interventions into the life of Kamayla shift her perspective from that of Nair society to the Victorian British, from matriliney and recognized freedoms to patriarchy and internalized constraints. As Manu Pillai implies in *The Courtesan, the Mahatma & the Italian Brahmin: Tales from Indian History* (2019), the import of Victorian sensibilities into the colony was also the import of shame.

Consequently, it would mean that the woman's character is centred around the objectifying gaze of a man, and self-respect is replaced with docility. These Victorian sensibilities regarding modesty and feminine subordination further percolated into the native psyche, with careful dissemination of the same via British influence on the existing education system and the systemic shaming of the natives. The same pattern – a native woman depicted as a savage, a white woman depicted as the Victorian ideal of femininity – can be observed in *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad: the African mistress of Mr Kurtz is exoticized and fetishized while the the fiancée from England is a helpless woman struggling to support the Victorian ideals and symbolization of womanhood.

Similarly, the thematic concerns in the text resonate with a familiar dynamic: the interception of the subaltern gaze by racial superiority, implying that the colonized accept their supposed racial inferiority and come to see the colonizers' rule as a necessary intervention. Gayathri Chakravathy Spivak, in her seminal work "Can the Subaltern Speak?" interprets one

aspect of the colonized and colonizer relationship as that of the white male saviour needed to rescue helpless brown women from savage brown men devoid of the noble qualities associated with white men. This can be observed when Kamayla was kidnapped by the Moplah rebels.

Ania Loomba examines the intersection of race and class in the colonial context as follows:

There have been two broad tendencies in analyses of race and ethnicity: the first, which stems from Marxist analysis, can be referred to as the "economic" because it regards social groupings, including racial ones, as largely determined and explained by economic structures and processes. Colonialism was the means through which capitalism achieved its global expansion.

Racism facilitated this process and was the conduit through which the labour of colonized people was appropriated. The second approach, which has been called "sociological" and derives partly from the work of Max Weber, argues that economic explanations are insufficient for understanding the racial features of colonized societies. (Loomba 2015)

The novel form was not traditionally followed in Indian literary practices; it was a Western concept introduced via the colonial intrusion into the educational and cultural sphere of the native population. The first novel ever written in Malayalam is Chandu Menon's *Indulekha*, which explores the consequences of the colonial masters' insertion of patriarchy into the socio-cultural makeup of Malabar in the interest of greater administrative control. The Nair protagonist, Madhavan, who received training in the Westernized educational system and voiced disapproval of the Nair practice of *sambandhams* (the ability of women to cohabit without marriage) because he thinks it allows women to be faithless in their alliances. In a brilliant retort, Indulekha spells out to her beloved how the freedom that a Nair woman enjoys (freedom denied to *Namboothiri* women, who are destined to a life of imprisonment) does not make them of low character. She mentions the example of how her literacy, musical skills, and

many other accomplishments provide pleasure to all without in any way making her, a Nair woman, unfaithful to her husband. Madhavan does not entirely agree with her, and it is clear that he is uncomfortable with the extraordinary freedom that a Nair lady enjoys. Indulekha later argues that this freedom is something to be appreciated and preserved. Despite her deep convictions, she enters a monogamous matrimonial alliance with him, a patriarchal appropriation of the matrilineal system practised by the natives.

British colonialism did not allow for easy social or sexual contact with local people. Although, of course, this policy was hardly watertight or successful in India, it also reflected the nature of colonial administration, which functioned to a large extent through local authorities and existing power structures. Thus, it often incorporated rather than disturbed native hierarchies. (Loomba 2015)

Sinderby uses the instances of the consistent pursuit of Kamayla by John and his attempt to legitimize his relationship with Kamayla to subvert the existing "native mistress of the officer" construct in colonies. It is often mentioned in other works about colonial acquisitions of the native mistress taken on by colonial officers. These works position the liaisons between colonizing men and native women as part of the supposed symbiosis by which favoured native groups helped the colonizing power gain access to colonial resources while raising their own position in the conquered land. John's fellow Britishmen blame his romantic readings for his struggle with the idea of 'whiteness' and, simultaneously, with much else that follows from the creation of 'the Other'. His pondering makes possible his reverent epitaph for the fallen Nahran, who gave his life for John: "A brown body may hide a white heart, as Nahran's did. He was one of the whitest men I have ever met."

A close reading of the novel brings out the imperial enterprise's interaction with the uncivilized communities and how it benefits the colonizers. This construction of this binary division furthered the administrative advantage of the colonizers over the resources of the

colonies, human or otherwise. The novel also provides an insight into the construction of a sub-binary: natives, already divided from the colonized, are again divided between dangerous and non dangerous natives, with the first needing the colonizers' protection from the second. Construction of this sub-binary cast the colonizers' intervention in the insurgency as high-minded and necessary. Accordingly, we find Kamayla reduced to a native convert who still poses a threat to John's racial superiority, while the Moplah kidnappers are reduced to marauders plaguing the missionary activities of the West.

The text examines social transactions between colonizers and the native population to create a commentary revealing to readers of Britain's righteous mission of modernization by imperial expansion. Further, it plays on the intensification of the colonial sub-binary, with Hindus deemed vulnerable and in need of rescue from fanatic Moplahs. This binary helped create the hierarchical tropes in the sociopolitical scenario of Malabar, with implications that have never stopped being felt. This binary, created within the Indian subcontinent, helped the British administration retain the superior position and fabricated a pseudo-symbiotic relationship that furthered their role in governance. Thus, the emergence of a power nexus is reflected in the literature derived from Malabar. The land distribution in Malabar underwent multiple upheavals before the larger process of annexation under the British Presidency of Madras. These constant negotiations were an outcome of the Mysore wars and resulted in lasting discontent in the tenant population, which resulted in the rebellion of 1921. The final reconfiguration of the land distribution under the British authorities favoured not only the socially elite native circles and consolidated the intended positive intrusion of colonizers but also facilitated necessary alliances between themselves in defence of the savagery associated with the Moplahs.

According to Eliza Kent, colonialism pervaded not only the economic hierarchies but also the very social matrix of colonial India. Bigotry about race and religion was very much to

be taken into account by anyone dealing with the power structures of the colony. The interactions of John Bennville with the native people can be deconstructed as intrusions of the colonizers into the social fabric of Malabar. These interactions, though fundamentally intrusive, come with gestures that treat the civic sensibilities of the populace as serious matters. For instance, upon seeing a silver trinket with an Arabic inscription in possession of one of his subordinates, Bennville demands to know where it came from and then returns it to its owner, a Moplah woman. "We are here to protect them, not to loot them," he says (Sinderby 1927). This gesture and his general demeanour proclaim John Bennville's superior upbringing, education, and religious devotion and supposedly show the congruence of these qualities with the colonial enterprise and its mission. He accomplished this agenda of the colonizing mission by romanticizing the ways of Western civilization. Furthermore, this gesture reasserts the superiority of his generosity of spirit, upbringing, and religion.

John Bennville's interactions throughout the text romanticize the magnanimity of the Christian mission, though he isn't a traditional follower of the religion. The entire episode of Bennville's capture by the Moplah rebels is illustrative of the glorification of the courage and conviction of the white man, his superior intellect, and the nobility of his religion. Upon capture and subsequent confrontation with the rebel leader, John is seen scrutinizing the leadership and followers of the rebellion. The author focuses on his passionately self-critical examination, using phrases like, "John began to realize how such men duped the ignorant natives into sacrificing their lives and homes." This instance also sheds light on the colonists' understanding of the natives of their colonies. Another significant aspect of this instance is the juxtaposition of, on the one hand, John's personal beliefs regarding religion and, on the other, his superior disposition as an British officer defending the altruistic objective of the Crown. The rebel leader's demand that John Bennville stamp and spit on a cross in exchange for safety is another confirmation of the author's belief about the Moplah fanaticism. In this particular

episode, the text reveals the clear purposive gradation created by colonists, one understood and accepted by John: Moplahs as rampaging fanatics who must be put down, Hindus as victims who must be rescued. Robert Bistrow, in the *Cochin Saga*, records his experience of the Moplahs in Calicut as being uncivilized and idle. He commandeered them at will for service in forces under his command – Western records of the Orient record the abject status of the natives as opposed to their colonial masters. Many Moplahs were veterans of World War I, but it did them little good as the coloniser's gaze remained unchanged. Their determination to work and live as a community, their possible Arab ancestry, and the religious bigotry of a Christian empire all assigned them a prominent role in the narrative of the Orient as uncivilized.

As the affair between Kamayla and John intensifies and culminates in the elopement of John from his military duties, the text brings forth the voices of the missionary movement in the form of a padre and a nun. The padre, who is terrified at the prospect of John polluting his pure bloodline by entering marital congress with a native woman of colour, tries discouraging John's intention of marrying her. Even though the Church would gain another convert to the missionary movement, pollution of a white man's bloodlines is unthinkable for the padre. Meanwhile, the nun who knew Kamayla from her native place informed her of the loss of social standing that would befall John on marrying someone nonwhite and below his station. Eliza Kent, in her book *Converting Women Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India*, treats the missionary movement as more than a cultural extension of Western imperial expansion, where they successfully colonized the minds and the bodies of colonial subjects. Kamayla's desires are dismissed so that her colonial suitor's virtue and status need not be sacrificed, and thus, we see British ideas of womanhood upheld in this Nair woman's fate. The psyche of Kamayla here is riddled with discourses of racial dominance and internalized subordination. The "psyche of Kamayla " can be understood as that of a native woman who is caught up in the conflicts of indigenous social groups as well as the colonizer's intrusions.

Spivak comments on how native women were put at a disadvantage by indigenous practices and rituals and then saved by the white knights of the British Empire. This pattern can be observed in fictional and nonfictional works by the colonizers. The conversion of Kamayla from her original religion to that of the colonizers, seems too negligible in the eyes of the colonizers to absolve her from her position in the colonial racial doctrines. Though "Christianity was considered, for the greater part, an emancipating and liberating medium of 'colonial modernity'" (Sen 2014), the missionaries prioritized maintaining the superiority of their race and safeguarding the purity of the white man's bloodlines. Finally, this results in the tragic conclusion of John and Kamayla's romance, with her leaving John and receding into obscurity for him to retain his superior identity as a saviour.

Conclusion

The text examines the culture of the colonial project, focusing on the production of hierarchies and exploiting human and natural resources to serve colonial needs and articulates the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. The multiple facets of colonial intrusion were established on top of political and legal domination of an alien society, racial and cultural inequality, relations of economic and political dependence, and exploitation of colonies by imperial power. Thus, the text reflects the insidious project of maintaining a superior-savior status of the colonizer, thereby assigning themselves an elevated status. It also warns against all the impending indigenous influences that entice them into falling into lower ranks of race and religion. By critically analyzing this text, it can be observed that *The Jewel of Malabar* represents the colonial perspective and the cultural representation of non-European others and describes the entrenchment of colonialism in the communities that were colonized. The text was meant for the British reading public and intended to creatively apprise the experience of the Malabar rebellion. A novel would have played the role of preserving the idea of a faraway land and its inhabitants' nature in the minds of the reader and thus reinforcing the

nature of relationship between the colonisers and the colonised premised on Eurocentrism. The decisive demarcation created by the colonial mindset based on communal differences that was disseminated in the minds of the colonised still remains and manifests in acts of disruption and violence.

Furthermore, the interactions of John Bennville with the natives speak to ascertaining the creation of dependency among the native Hindus, who were terrified by the fanatic Moplahs during the uprising. Thus, although on a large scale, the colonial enterprise was disguised under a symbiotic relation, the resources of the colony and the Western civilizing mission were the active agents in this transaction. Further inquiry into this symbiotic relationship reveals an elaborate guise of a dominant-subservient dynamic, which is quintessential in colonies. The relationship between John and Kamayla exemplifies a social transaction between the colonised and the coloniser. This novel, which functions as a reimagined narrative from a coloniser perspective, and has provided the reader with an example of the Orientalist nature of colonial historiography of the Malabar rebellion. The examination of *The Jewel of Malabar* has aided the objective of investigating the presence of strategic alliance among the native elites and the colonisers and this alliance has guided the representations of the events in Malabar during the uprising of 1921. The existence of the aforementioned form of alliances are an integral part of any administration and as such any historiographic process would also expound the same.

Chapter 5

A Critical Enquiry into the Devastation of Malabar: *Sundarikalum Sundaranmarum*, a Literary Witness to the Transformation of Malabar after 1921

In recent times, much discussion has risen in comprehending the role of literature in serving as an afterthought to historical narration. The possibilities of pursuing the 'novel' as a tool to reflexively analyse history cannot be overlooked. The features of the novel, such as multiple modes of narration, flexibility in the construction of the form, and experimental possibilities with both temporal and spatial non-linearity, make it an invaluable resource to examine history. Milan Kundera referred to history as "the suprahuman force of an omnipotent society". The novelist's role in reimagining and representing the experience of catastrophic events is not only a creative undertaking but also an act of historicisation. Hayden White, in his significant contribution to literary criticism *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, puts forth the narratorial nature of history. "... history describes the story of the past by systematising itself in a 'reasonable' manner by including or excluding certain details". He further elaborates on his analysis as follows: "The events are made as a story by the suppression or subordination of certain of them and the highlighting of others, by characterisation, motif repetition, variation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies, and the like— in short, all of the techniques that we would normally expect to find in the employment of a novel or a play" (White 84).

As hailed by multiple critics, Uroob's novel *Sundarikalum Sundaranmarum* (The Beautiful and the Handsome) is one of the most significant historical novels written in Malayalam. It was serially published in the *Mathrubhumi Weekly* in 1954 and was later published as a complete novel in 1958. The novel presents the reader with a myriad of characters belonging to multiple generations of various families belonging to Malabar till the

end of the Second World War. The course of time recorded in *Sundarikalum Sundaranmarum* remembers and represents the pre-rebellion period through the characters' imagined flashbacks thereby providing a juxtapositioned reality with their present situation. The novel's timeline chronicles a series of national and international events - World War I, the Malabar rebellion, Khilafat, the Nationalist movement, the Communist upsurges in Kerala, the Quit-India movement, and the Hiroshima tragedy. These events collectively form the novel's backdrop, progressively proliferating the propagation of ideas such as nationalism, freedom, and anti-imperialism. The novel was translated into English by Susila Mishra under the title *The Beautiful and the Handsome*.

In his novel, *The Beautiful and the Handsome*, Uroob memorialises the traumatic events of the 1921 rebellion in Malabar. He employs the novel as a medium to explicate the nature in which trauma gets embedded in private and social memory. This novel, the latest introduction to the literary matrix of Kerala, was interestingly circulated sporadically through a magazine. A magazine, being a mosaic of elements that influences the reader on multiple fronts, such as politics, economics, and culture, provided a unique platform for the novel. Uroob covers a whole of thirty years in the text, using three generations of the indigenous natives of Malabar. Thus, encapsulating the reimagined events from multiple vantage points and recording a literary movement that focuses on archiving historical events. The novel, a relatively new form of literary expansion, added a fresh dimension to the memorialisation of historical events. It opens up avenues for future revisitations of the same event. Uroob's novel *The Beautiful and the Handsome*, by being situated in both history and literary expression, provides a solution to future readers to revisit the event from any point in time. Furthermore, arriving at the interpretation that multiple narratives based on a contemporary understanding of politics, culture, and language will, in turn, reveal multiple perceptions, intents, and power dynamics within the text.

The novel is set in the background of the Malabar rebellion of 1921, the Indian freedom struggle, and the Second World War. The host of characters in the novel presents unique and fascinating facets of the experience of events with such far-reaching consequences. The focus of this paper is to re-examine the reimagined experiences in the novel pertaining to the human experience that serves as a witness to the history and background, supplementing historical and official records of the consequences unleashed by the Malabar rebellion. The writers consciously or unconsciously portray the dominant trends of the society, and as such, reflecting the social changes, aspirations, and identity crises of the period. The reflections of the past are interspersed with creative reimaginings and colonial influences in literary and performative spaces. The novel *Sundarikalum Sundaranmarum* lives on as a touchstone to memories of the events of the Malabar rebellion. Consequently, its literary representations act as a witness to the conflict, recording the collective consciousness of Malabar's population. A subjective re-evaluation of a novel poses a significant challenge to the pre-existing techniques of historicisation and the principles of its operation. The processes of historicisation are guided and legitimised by multiple hegemonical apparatuses that ensure the existence of the dominant and prevalent alignment of history.

Various social groups participate in the memory negotiations, employing strategies that may be convergent or contrary to the policies of the state. These are diverse voices, and some are louder than others; silence or weakness may involve being farther away from the microphones of power, self-censorship, or a lack of moral legitimacy before others. Todorov proposes the distinction between "literal" and "exemplary" memory as a foundational framework for understanding these dynamics (Jelin 2003).

This paper is divided into the following parts to identify the role of the novel *Sundarikalum Sundaranmarum* by Uroob as a witness in recording a historical event. It analyses the role of perception and memory in recording the transformation that occurred in

Malabar post the events of 1921 rebellion. This transformation of the socio-cultural setup in Malabar is witnessed in the characters' experience represented in the novel (1910s to 1940s).

. The transformation of the socio-cultural setup in Malabar that is witnessed by the characters (1910s to 1940s).

. The reversal of power following the disruptive and cataclysmic events transpiring at both regional and global levels. (Socio-cultural and economic)

. The anthologised experience of the affected at the time served as a witness to the multifariousness of the pandemonium's factors against the colonial regime.

The Transformation of the Socio-Cultural Setup in Malabar that is Witnessed by the Characters (1910s- 1940s)

As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, the social hierarchy in Malabar, as observed by the European administrators, did not follow ownership rules like the rest of the world. The Jenmis were a group of landowners, consisting mainly of the Namboothiri Brahmins and were at the highest level of the social hierarchy. They were also given hereditary land grants by the rulers. However, the ritual status as priests prevented the Jenmis from doing any work on land nor supervising the land. Instead, they would grant 'kanam' to an individual from the Kanikkaran, the next level in the social hierarchy, in return for a fixed share of the crops produced. The Kanikkaran were members of the Nair community and responsible for the land's security, supervision and distribution of the land's produce. The Nair community was also famous for providing soldiers to the rulers and traced their origins to an ancestral warrior lineage. The Verumpattakkaran, generally comprising the Parayas, Pulayas, Thiyyas and Mappila communities, cultivated the land. These hierarchies were believed to be essential to the population as they kept the wheels of social order turning. The Mysorean invasion by Tipu Sultan brought on the first significant shift in these hierarchies.

The central characters in the novel, set in Malabar before the events of the 1921 uprising, belonged to the upper class and the affluent. They were recovering from the financial deterioration brought on by the First World War on a global scale and Tipu Sultan's invasion within the subcontinent. According to eminent scholars like Dilip Menon, during World War I, efforts were made to regulate rice imports from Rangoon and impose restrictions on rice sales and imports in Malabar, mirroring similar initiatives across the entire Presidency. The Collector of Malabar attempted to compel merchants in Calicut and northern ports to sign a bond granting him control over their exportable rice stocks. However, this plan failed due to merchants' reluctance to disclose their holdings or accept any constraints. Some merchants even complained about the return of their deposits and demanded interest on them. The government's hands-off approach toward private enterprise allowed merchants to maintain a near monopoly on distribution, a situation exacerbated by increased reliance on rice imports from Burma. The control exerted by Cutchi and Mappila merchants over food grain supply was further solidified in 1942, when the Japanese besieged Rangoon, cutting off access to other ports for Hindu importers. It was only in 1944, with the implementation of rationing, that their dominance began to wane (Menon 94). Though the families were trying to make do with their existing resources economically, it became increasingly difficult to hold on to their higher position in the social hierarchy. In fact, to keep pace with the changing times, several age-old customs and ritual practices were abandoned, and several unprecedented actions were initiated.

For instance, in the novel, readers can discern how elite householders were subverting pre-defined norms like marrying the younger girl, Lakshmikutty, before her older sibling, Kunjukutty. Economic despair forced girls of many families like Kunjukutty to remain unmarried. Lakshmikutty's marriage marks a significant deviation from conventional practices followed in Malabar. The priorities in this particular alliance shifted from family lineage, as previously established in the novel (pre-1921 when Raman Nair was rejected for Kunjukutty

due to his lineage being inferior), to a focus on financial well-being. Her prospective husband, Panikkar, was chosen for having a well-paying job abroad despite a bad reputation, including having illegitimate children. In a society that conformed stringently to social taboos, this deviation from convention adherence to practical considerations was unprecedented.

During the violent outages, many traditional social positions were abandoned to assume different ones driven predominantly by the need to survive the perilous rebellion. For instance, Kunjukutty lived with a man in an abandoned house for 11 days without any legitimate social sanction. Similarly, Bhargavi Amma helped an elderly Mappila woman hide her son, and many affluent families abandoned the homes, leaving behind markers of their social identity and faith, including family deities. Govindan Nayar's forced conversion to Islam led to a regression from a higher social standing, aligning him with rebels who were violently protesting historical, socio-economic discrimination. The focal points of the conflict predominantly arose from economic disparity, supplemented by social hierarchies and British authorities' intrusions. These factors proliferated the rebellion and, in turn, affected the narratives that emerged from this tumultuous historical event, leaving infinite scars in the history of Malabar.

It can be observed that the aftermath of the rebellion introduced a period of ideological reckoning, as witnessed in the novel. Diverse political opinions informed by contemporary global events and regional experiences in rebellion are significant propositions that Uroob introduces to the reader. Partha Chatterjee, in a chapter titled "Whose Imagined Community?" in his seminal work *The Nation and its Fragments*, refers to the confusions experienced by the colonised in spaces such as hostels, as described by Bipanchandra Pal's memoirs. Chatterjee directs his attention towards the compromises made by traditional institutional spaces, which allowed the native elite to coalesce with the colonisers' modernity. These conflicts further branched out, facilitating the percolation of progressiveness into the political mindset across various strata of the socio-economic hierarchies.

Characters such as Raman Kutty master, Kunjhiraman, Vishwanathan, Gopalakrishnan, Rarichan, Marakkar, and Narana Pillai each with their own diverse political ideals, were vocal about their beliefs. The interactions of these ideals authenticate the nature of this novel as a historical voice.

The Reversal of Power Following the Disruptive and Cataclysmic Events Transpiring at Both Regional and Global Levels

The plurality of experiences is a significant hallmark of Uroob's *The Beautiful and the Handsome*. He follows the same imperative in – observing the role of politics, economics, and religion as causal factors of multiple outbreaks in Malabar in the late nineteenth century, leading to the perilous events of 1921. Multiple layers of cultural, economic and political interlays are brought to life via fictional characters in the novel. K. N. Panikkar posits that one can observe the presence of these interlays in a colonised state, explaining how colonial intrusion had a decisive influence on existing subaltern ideological apparatuses. In such a case, an extensive recalibration of traditional cultural practices that stem from their native religion would not have been categorical. However, an economic intervention such as creating a 'middle class' could have helped establish a significant administrative advantage to the colonisers. A possible rationale for this shift was if there could be any possibility of gaining access to the native cultural matrix, it had to be supplemented with what the colonists could influence, i.e., economics. Thus, this new class's introduction had more profound implications, enabling the capitalising colonisers to commodify the native compliance.

The cultural-ideological struggle in colonial India assumed two dimensions, according to early scholars like K.N. Panikkar. The first involved a struggle against conservative elements of the native traditions, and the second was the capitalist and political influences of colonial culture. Over time, these directions of this struggle manifested into two distinct phenomena: a political movement and an attempted decolonising from the elitist colonised cultural

consciousness. The disjunction between these aspects of ideological struggle arose from the notion that politics delegitimises culture's 'divine' attribute, deeply embedded in the superstructure of religion and which is inherently present in the economic and social transactions of the native population. At this juncture, literary and performative expression of the human experience provides a nearly level platform, wherein both political and cultural phenomena can finally be addressed as subjective narratives that bring forth an array of variegated representations.

After the rebellion, the aftermath of the populace can be observed by interrogating the pre and post-socioeconomic statuses of the characters. Furthermore, across various social facets such as religion, gender, and class, one can discern a reverse flow of power as an aftermath of society's disintegration brought on by the violent effects of the rebellion. The practices associated with religious hegemony were toppled by the economic fissure created by foreign events and regional aftermath in social reformation and modernisation processes. The economic scars left by the rebellion were vast and long-lasting. The social hierarchies practised in Malabar were not only supported by the population's socio-cultural practices but also supplemented by the economic benefits of their roles. The economic disparity and resulting class discrimination were hailed as the foremost reasons for the 1921 outrage.

In Uroob's novel, women, from being secluded in the social hierarchy, have found significant spaces in the newly dawned modernised society. It is integral to note that Nair women and lower-caste women already had some semblance of agency as opposed to their counterparts in the northern states of India. This different attitude can be traced to the southern states' different perspectives on female sexuality with a strong emphasis on caste and hegemonic economic apparatuses in Malabar. For instance, Kunjukutty's pregnancy, following her displacement during Mappila outages, is treated differently than the cases of sexual violence victims in events of partition-driven violence. The discussions on Kunjukutty's son

and his paternity are a significant theme that Uroob employs to reveal the shift in the gaze of society towards discussions on women's bodies. The plot reveals to the readers the relationship she shares with Govindan, but the characters are unaware of this. They make the assumption that the Mappila rebels/ 'Khilafath people' (39) are responsible for her pregnancy. This becomes a salient point in Uroob's work as it points out the presumptions and prejudices surrounding Kunjukutty's status as an unwed mother. At the same time, the same characters find it a natural response to blame the Mappila community for such an infraction. It is evident from the literature on women's social position that blame for such incidents immediately and most certainly falls on women. But the nature of conflict and the experience deviates from public perception and discards convention in the face of trauma in order to ensure survival. Many discussions on the experience as both victims of the rebellion and their immediate family and friends' expression of grief and their perception of the events are enmeshed into the narrative by Uroob. Cultural taboos, such as adopting a child of unknown lineage or defending his possibly scandalous parentage as done by Raman Nair and his family, are rare sights of humanitarian progress that Uroob is trying to familiarise the readers with. Govindan and Kunjukutty being displaced and seeking refuge in a sacred serpent shrine is another fracture in the overall sense of propriety that existed before the rebellion. These strong characters, in their own right, have carved out their space and had much support from the newly generated economic arrangements post-rebellion. For instance, Lakshmikutty having her own assets outside of the previous social hierarchy was acceptable to society. In her own way, Lakshmikutty gained her agency back from a forcible alliance by compelling her husband to buy property in her name in return for her affection. Her insistence on owning land in her hometown was matched by her husband, who was previously shamed for his personal indiscretions. She returned from Singapore to her native village in Malabar at a juncture when the dilapidated economy needed her and, as a result, had to accept her actions socially. Radha,

on the other hand, was never socially privileged in class or caste, but her pursuing her career again became acceptable because of the modern outlook that society had to adopt post-rebellion. Apart from forcible conversions, women in this novel are also portrayed as having transcended traditional roles due to social and economic compulsions stemming from the aftermath of the rebellion in 1921.

The Anthologised Experience of the Affected at the Time Served As a Witness to the Multifariousness of the Factors Contributing to the Pandemonium Against the Colonial Regime

The lives of Kunjukutty, Vishwanathan, and Govindan Nayar form the underlying link among all the characters in the novel. At each time and space, these primary characters are met with the supporting characters representing each class, religion, and political hierarchies. This interaction forms a detailed and insightful analysis of the experience the Malabar rebellion had left its population with. Furthermore, the novel also manages to capture the resilience of these characters, who, in the face of a trauma that left them destitute and fractured their psyche, adapted to a new social identity. According to Dipesh Chakrabarty in the essay "Remembered Villages Representation of Hindu-Bengali Memories in the Aftermath of the Partition."

There are then two aspects to this memory that concern us here: the sentiment of nostalgia and the sense of trauma and their contradictory relationship to the question of the past. A traumatised memory has a narrative structure that works on a principle opposite to that of any historical narrative. At the same time, however, this memory, in order to be the memory of a trauma, has to place the event - the cause of the trauma, in this case, the partition violence - within a past that gives force to the claim of the victim. This has to be a shared past between the narrator of the traumatic experience and the addressee of the narration.

(Chakrabarty)

Kunjhiraman serves as the active political voice in the novel, upholding nonconformist values. The author uses Kunjhiraman as a mouthpiece to bring in global events and their repercussions, which reverberate through various fissures in the society of Malabar post-rebellion. He plays a significant role in narrating the effects of trauma following the incident and its influence on the formation of a new, compounded identity. This identity arises from the disintegration of the existing social tenets that functioned as the foundation of society in Malabar, combined with the physical and mental foray from colonisers, and the adjacent influence of nationalist ideologies.

Conclusion

Hayden White categorises the historical "work" into the following conceptual levels: (1) chronicle, (2) story, (3) method of plot development, (4) method of argumentation, and (5) method of ideological implication (White 5). In this analysis, it is considered that both story and chronicle are fundamental elements in historical accounts, each involving the selection and arrangement of data from the raw historical record. These processes are aimed at making the historical record understandable to several categories of audiences. The historical work, as he conceptualises it, serves as a mediator between the raw historical field, unprocessed historical data, other historical accounts, and the intended audience. (White 5) These levels of conception can also be observed in Uroob's novel about a pivotal chapter in Kerala's history. Uroob's take on life trajectories and his reimagination of Malabar's recovering landscape from a violent tragedy is quite hopeful in tone. His portrayal of characters with many dimensions, enriching their stories with flashbacks and interlinking many characters in the past and present is an excellent forethought that promotes a modern and liberal outlook.

This novel plays an essential role in authenticating the historical transformation witnessed in Malabar, particularly the political changes influenced by global events such as World War. Many similarities can be discerned in the worldview of Uroob, born in 1915, a few

years before the final events of rebellion broke out in Malabar, and Vishwanathan, a primary character in the novel, who was born amidst the chaos that followed in 1921. Uroob manages to capture the essence of an individual born in a profoundly disconcerting milieu through Viswanathan, who seeks to find the edge of the world. Vishwanathan, who was born out of wedlock and never knew his natural parentage, is reminiscent of the old traditions that were toppled over in the rebellion and marked the entrance of a new worldview that was accepted as the new convention in Malabar under the coloniser's authority. Raman Kutty Master's family, Lakshmikutty and her family, and Suleiman and family are the few pit stops in Viswanathan's life from birth till his final destination when he finds home in Radha. Uroob introduces readers to unusual examples of humanitarian progress, like the acceptance of an adopted child with unknown parentage and the defence of their potentially scandalous lineage by Raman Nair and his family, challenging many social taboos. Vishwanathan and the peers in his generation resonate with the ripple effect of the rebellion in terms of multiple political ideologies rooted in the ideas of nationalism. In other words, Uroob's historical novel traverses the transformation of Malabar's social landscape, the same as the population. Additionally, the narrative showcases the remarkable resilience of these characters, who faced a traumatic event that left them impoverished and mentally shattered yet managed to rebuild their identities and adapt to a new social environment. This new social environment is crucial as Uroob is demonstrating a new conceptualisation of the nation that was modern in worldview. The novel's recurring theme of reinvention of identity and social landscape is perhaps an invitation to the readers to decolonise their minds of the centuries of neo-colonisation. Uroob, like any other Renaissance proponents, celebrated life and incorporated romance and many expressions and forms of love in his novel. And as such, his portrayal of women from Malabar also reflects liberal views. The women in this novel have strong plot involvement and possess agency in managing and directing the trajectory of life. This reimagined experience of women by Uroob during and

after the Malabar rebellion is an excellent intervention that sheds light on the possibilities of unheard and absent voices about the experience of the Malabar rebellion.

Chapter 6

Examining the role of women's voices in representing and narrating history: a study in silences and absences of Antharjanam.

This chapter provides a detailed breakdown of the possible narratives on historical events as remembered and represented by multiple social groups. It maps out potential absences in the experiences and memories recorded and codified as history in the previous chapters. The present chapter identifies and deliberates on the repercussions of these "absences" in representation, with a focus on the intersection of caste and gender. It also aims to locate the space occupied by women writers while representing themselves and their subjective experiences of the ever-changing socio-cultural and political avenues of the early twentieth century particularly in the face of a traumatic event like the Malabar rebellion. Furthermore, the chapter explores how an analysis of women's writing in Kerala delineates the social transactions between a woman's character and society; thereby providing thoughtful and significant insight into the history of the region and its people. This analysis is achieved through an attempted tracing of the genealogy of Namboothiri women writers and their representation, thereby highlighting the subaltern nature of women's voices in recording historical phenomena in Kerala's collective memory.

Social Location of Women (Global, National and Regional)

There were two distinct phases of women's movement in India: the pre-independence and the post-independence periods. These movements emerged as social reform movements akin to their predecessors from across the world. The need for social reform in India was accelerated by colonial intrusion and the effects of their imposition on the education system of the erstwhile colony. Colonial India, in the mid-19th century, saw the gradual emergence of

the first generation of Western-educated Indian women who wrote in English. These women were the products of the complex 'modernising' process, which encompassed gendered social reform, advances in female education, a shift to English-language education, and interactions with Christianity and "Western" ideologies. One outcome of this "modernising" process was the participation of pioneering women in the production of fiction written in English. Indeed, the production of these literary texts coincided with the late 19th century emergence of Western-educated Indian women. The literary narratives written by these pioneering Indian women then focus on the contemporary female education project, the issue of female subjectivities, and negotiations with colonial modernity (Indrani Sen 2014).

Gender cannot be analysed primarily as a socio-cultural construct without taking into account its intersectional nature in the society of Kerala. The position of women within society's definable bounds necessitates an in-depth understanding of the multiple hierarchies based on religion, caste and class, thus, revealing the multifaceted power systems at play within any group. Several twentieth-century theorists, like Surinder Jodhka, Leela Dubey, and M.N. Srinivas, talk about the pervasiveness of caste in the domestic family units. They examine the specific dictates endowed upon women within each caste and class, and how the performance of these gender roles in turn determines their societal status. From birth, women are conditioned to be the hallmarks of honour for their families, community and society. Transitioning from their natal home to marital ones, similar if not stricter adherences were prescribed to the chastity of married women, which did not surpass even the death of the said husband. Those who did not adhere to the prescribed rules of purity were identified, called out, put to trials, and meted out rigorous punishments. Feminist critic Sandra Lee Bartky remarks in her essay "Foucault, Femininity and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power" that women have internalised this form of patriarchy over their bodies and lives for centuries (Bartky).

By the late 19th and 20th centuries, the public sphere emerged as a space where new forces contended with established socio-cultural forces for hegemony. Excluded from this sphere, especially from its institutions and ideas, were Namboothiri/Brahmin women, also known as "antharjanams". "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State", by Uma Chakravarti, explores the interplay between caste and gender, focusing on the reasons for the subservience of upper caste women. She argues that effective sexual control over women was necessary to maintain patrilineal succession and caste purity, an institution unique to Hindu society (Chakravarti). The Indian Independence movement, predominantly masculine, was hegemonised by men who attempted to decolonise their space and culture. However, certain ideologies internalised centuries before and after colonisation remained a residual saw-dust in the male psyche. Recent studies have tried to understand and record women writing as a qualitative method to understand history wherein the historically absent and the narratively displaced could participate in the process of historiography. Indian women's writing is primarily viewed as an exploration of gender expression in relation to both social and political transactions, as well as the structures of patriarchy that were original to the subcontinent before colonisation and later influenced the "nation". The construction of social groups is dynamic and ongoing; not one social group can be considered a closed circuit with factors like religion, hierarchies in economic status, common ideologies and lifestyles defining their boundaries. Amongst the interplay of these factors, gender emerges as a significant measure of locating and deliberating the welfare and dominance of these social groups. Discussions on the possibility of installing equality as a social reality for all genders have emerged all over the world in public treatises. One of the first written works that brought forth the discriminatory nature of society towards women was Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* published in 1792. Although her work and her position in public discourse are not categorically considered

feminist due to the ambiguity in her work regarding equality between the sexes, it responded to the discriminatory policies regarding education for women. Later on, the same debate was seen in J.S. Mill's essay "The Subjection of Women" published in 1869. The primary concern reflected in these works was discrimination that was conceptualised, proliferated and internalised by society. The theme of education opportunities was the first dialogue that was initiated; Mill advocated for the equal right to education for women as it would be beneficial for the overall well-being of society and both genders.

Women Writing in Kerala

Early modern writings from Kerala were not entirely original constructs but rather borne out of the existing traditional models of literature and the western intrusion and inspiration in the form of imperialism. This transition can be observed both in the form and the content that is depicted in the early modern writings as they try to recast the traditional content in more modern forms as inspired by their western counterparts and vice versa. As a result, these writings started featuring more diverse representations of women. From being represented as merely objects of desire and medium of procreation in *Sringara Kavya*, women have traversed a phenomenal distance to occupy roles that defy body caste and gender norms like Indulekha, the heroine of the novel *Indulekha*. Their arguments against oppression have sparked debates in literary magazines and social circles, consequently ushering in a watershed moment both in creative endeavours and transformation in societal outlook.

Although a contested term, the emergence of "social modernity" in Kerala was ushered in during the 19th century. Literary critic P. P. Raveendran remarks how the literary prose that emerged in the 19th century was dependent on a number of factors like "the rise and growth of social reform movements; the introduction of the school systems; the reformist work of the Christian missionaries; the intrusion of the notion of the everyday into the universe of literature; the advent of printed books, newspapers, and journals; the evolution of new literary genres

such as the novel; and the general move towards a secularisation of the institution of literature" (Raveendran XXII).

Women writing was also a by-product of the early modernization project along with transformation of literary landscape in Kerala. In the insightful foreword to *Inner Spaces*, K.M. George points out a significant anomaly in the literature of Kerala.

Despite the high level of literacy among women, the field of literature is conspicuously dominated by men. Women have produced far less literature than their level of education would warrant. Moreover, much of their work is either confined to regional circulation or condemned to the oblivion of periodical literature. (George et al)

In terms of other social groups in Kerala, many women from lower socio-economic hierarchies participated in literary production of the time. Under the leadership of Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP), Ezhava women played significant roles in contributing towards the social reform movements. There were numerous women-run magazines during the early 20th century like *Mithavadi* (1916), *Sanghamithra* (1921), *Sahodari* (1925), *Muslim Mahila* (1926), *Srimathi* (1920s), *Sthree* (1933) and *Malayalamasika*. *Malayalamasika*, set up by B. Kalyani Amma was the first women's magazine set up in Malabar. In these magazines, writers have highlighted the role of women in communities with respect to the experiences and histories of women from a unique and broader worldview. A transliteration of B. Kalyani Amma's speech published in *Sanghamithra*, "What is women's role in acquiring freedom?" depicts the sentiments of Ezhava women. Borrowing from Mikhail Bakhtin, "A text is not a text alone but it has a plurality of voices." Thus, women's writing as a category is not to be seen as a cumulative representation of the female subjectivity but rather the engagement of women's subjective experience with other identities and realities of these

identities. Any element of women writing can, therefore, be analysed and reflected upon as a distinct yet shared part of the larger cultural memory. (Bakhtin 10)

The 20th century saw an overhaul of several established structures of socio-political authority and gender relations. In the case of the Nair community, which was predominantly matrilineal, women's significance and role in management of the family-owned resources, rituals and social participation became reduced primarily to sexual reproduction (Arunima 53). By the early 20th century, Nair women, who earlier had a prominent role in terms of resource distribution, now succumbed to the dictums of an elder male member of the family (Karanavar), the head of the family. This shift discredited the agency of the women in exercising the inalienable rights to property. There existed a close relationship between Nair women and Namboothiri men, as the Namboothiris practised laws of primogeniture in marriage and inheritance. Only the first-born son of the land owning Namboothiri family could marry within their community and inherit the ancestral property. As a result the younger Namboothiri sons of the family would have "sambandhams" with Nair women without bearing any responsibility of the progeny borne out of these liaisons. The Namboothiris rationalised the system as an ideal marital arrangement along with propagating the popular belief that accepting a brahmin's property ('Brahmswam') was a sin. Thus, the transfer of property was considered an incongruent idea hence it was to be avoided (Buchanan 426).

The "sambandham" relations, both lauded and criticised by anthropologists, were a unique feature of the Nair community which afforded freedom to choose a sexual partner according to personal preference. However, with the introduction of Western education, the newly educated Nair men worked towards weeding out the seemingly licentious relationship associated with the Nair community. According to the Madras Marriage Act of 1896, the husbands were entrusted with the legal responsibility of providing for their wives and children, and it was declared that "sambandhams" had no legal standing if not registered.

Representation of Antharjanam in Literature

The representation of the plight of Namboothiri women also known as "antharjanams", was then taken by famous reformers like M R Bhattathiri and V T Bhattathiri under the activities of Yoga Kshema Samithi (YSS). An important observation by Nur Yalman in his essay, "On the Purity of Women in the Castes of Ceylon and Malabar", shows that the sexuality of women is a matter of social concern. P K Aryan Namboothiri, in his work *Naalukettil Ninnum Naatilekku*, comments on the two directions the establishment of YSS took in its objective. The first was to ensure the tradition of rituals that stood against the scientific temper of the time and the second was not to forfeit the superiority and the radical group who wanted to embrace the socialist and nationalist ideals. It was through the writings of M R Bhattathiri and V T Bhattathiri that the experiences of "antharjanams" saw the first ray of sunlight as opposed to "antharjanams" who were prohibited to be seen by anyone outside the immediate family. Later on, this tradition was taken on by Lalithambika Antharjanam, a creative genius and revolutionary in her own right. Born into a famous Jenmi family in the Kollam district of Kerala, her father, Damodaran, was a follower of the illustrious reformist group Yogakshema Samithi and had attempted to ensure his ideologies of reforms had translated into action. As a result, he made provisions for his daughter to be educated in Malayalam, English and Sanskrit. This progressiveness was based on his agency as a man, but on puberty, her father gave in to society's conventional pressures and married her off to another Namboothiri. Her experience as a woman exposed her first-hand experiences of gender discrimination practised in families and, by birth and by her caste. Thus, her literary expression can be seen as one of the first ventures in feminist writing that Malayalam literature witnessed.

In Lalithambika Antharjanam's short stories, "Power of Fate", "The Goddess of Revenge", "Admission of Guilt", "Within the Folds of Seclusion", "Life and Death" and "Manushyaputri", we see the varying aspects of Namboothiri women's lives and the social

degradation they are subjected to. These stories reveal the repercussions of transgressions of the restrictions placed on the purity (virginity for unmarried and chastity for married women) of women. Antharjanam sheds light on varied aspects of girls' upbringing and marriage, wherein the transfer of responsibility of her purity from her father to husband takes place. The widows are confined to their late husband's home if the economy allows and there is no difference as to their mobility since it was already limited within the ladies' quarters. Perhaps, it is the very reason that begets the name "antharjanam" which literally means inside people. These women were not allowed to be part of any auspicious event as they were believed to be sinners in their past lives, believed to have caused their inability to keep their husbands alive — a symbol of prosperity in their marital home. The women are expected to go through an intense and austere mourning period after which they return to their almost normal routine. The Namboodiri widows were subjected to many inhuman restrictions such as being strictly prohibited from making use of fashionable attire, ornaments or using of caste mark sandals. They were allowed to use only cow dung ashes. They had to perform sacrificial offerings facing south, not east, as women with living husbands do. They were also to restrict themselves from auspicious spaces and remain unseen during auspicious times to prevent their "sins" from polluting the others.

The trials for women engaging sexual agency voluntarily or involuntarily, resulted in extreme discrimination. It was intended to dehumanise the "fallen" woman and ultimately excommunicate her from the caste. In Kerala, the general subordination of women assumed a particularly severe form through the powerful instrument of religious traditions which have shaped social practices. A marked feature of Namboothiri society is its legal sanction for an extreme expression of social stratification. In this system, women and the lower castes have been subjected to humiliating conditions of existence. These trials were often publicised, serving punitive intents for the women and their families. The trials recorded in history have

had various motives, ranging from forgetting the umbrella, crossing the inner courtyard to the boundary wall, being seen or claimed to have been seen by a man other than her husband to actual voluntary prostitution. The stories "Power of Fate" (Fallen woman for no crime), "The Goddess of Revenge" (Fallen woman for engaging in sexual endeavours) and "Admission of Guilt" (Fallen woman, succumbing to sexual desire instigated by sexual advance from a stranger) delve into the similarities of these women's pasts. Their stories differ only in their responses to the events leading to their ostracization from their communities.

Devaki Nilayamgode, a pioneering feminist and literary figure in Kerala, India, born in 1920, defied societal norms as an "antharjanam" by actively engaging in literature and social activism. Her writings and advocacy, which focused on women's rights and gender equality, challenged patriarchal norms. She was a trailblazer who used her education and intellect to break free from seclusion, inspiring others to do the same. Devaki Nilayamgode's life and work serve as a symbol of courage and empowerment for women in traditional societies, leaving an enduring legacy in Kerala's cultural landscape. Her seminal work, *Antharjanam: Memoirs of a Namboodiri Woman*, marks a significant literary moment. Traditionally, "antharjanams" were often confined to domestic spaces and subjected to societal norms that restricted their mobility and public engagement. In this context, Nilayamgode's life and actions have become all the more remarkable. She poignantly depicts the insecurities faced by the Namboothiri women in comparison to their Nair counterparts, highlighting the strong binary between manliness and womanliness etched in the consciousness of a Namboothiri Illam.

Namboothiri families of the time firmly believed that the sound of the women's voices or merry making should not pierce the outer walls of their quarters. Even when the rules kept women's reactions in disciplined check, the entrance hall would still reverberate with the voices, witticisms and the booming laughter of Namboothiri men (Nilayamgode 62).

However through her own life- experiences, Nilayamgode subverted the traditional boundaries that confined "antharjanams" to their homes. She emerged as a trailblazer who defied the conventions of her time. Her decision to actively engage in literary pursuits and social activism marked a bold departure from the seclusion typically associated with "antharjanams". Her life serves as a testament to the transformative power of education and personal conviction. Devaki Nilayamgode's significance as an "antharjanam" is most evident in her role as a feminist icon. She utilised her education and intellect to advocate for gender equality and women's rights. Her writings and activism were informed by her own experiences, shedding light on the challenges faced by women, even those from socio-economically privileged backgrounds. In a society where women's voices were often stifled, she fearlessly used her words to support the concerns and aspirations of women. Her actions and words challenge stereotypes and underscores the potential for change, even when faced with societal expectations and restrictions. Devaki Nilayamgode stands as a symbol of resilience, courage, and a commitment to social justice. In conclusion, her social location and contribution as an "antharjanam" extends far beyond her individual achievements. Although Devaki Nilayamgode, stayed well within the framework of the heteronormative modern gender sensibility, she still represents a beacon of hope and possibility for women in traditional societies, demonstrating that one's background should not limit their aspirations or contributions. Her life and work continue to inspire generations of women to challenge norms, pursue education, and advocate for gender equality, leaving an enduring legacy in Kerala's cultural and social landscape.

Other examples of "antharjanams" foraying into socio-political movements include Parvathi Nenmanimagalam and Devaki Narikketri. Parvathi Nenminimagalam, born in 1947 in Irinjalakkuda in Thrissur district, became active in the Namboothiri reformist movements after her marriage. She soon rose to be one of the most outspoken and radical female voices

within these movements. Parvathi was one of the chief organisers of 'Ghoshabahishkaranam' (breach of seclusion) actions of the "antharjanams", which were of vital importance in their challenge to traditional restrictions.

She famously said, "If I have a word, we will attain freedom only through casting out the usual practice within which we remain frail. We should get rid of our fancy attire and adornments; it is necessary to cover the body, but it should not serve an ostentatious display. Women and men need no difference in clothing" (Nenmanimagalam). Thus challenging the expected expressions of womanliness and compliance of "antharjanams".

Devaki N., on the other hand, had a different perspective on freedom of expression and contribution in the social make up of their communities. In her essay, "Streekal Adukkala Upekshikkarathu" she says :

Food is the major source of health. It is prepared with a sense of independence. course, in the kitchen, Cooking is not servile labour. On the contrary, it is a task of much consequence. It is our foremost duty to acquire practical proficiency in scientific ways of preparing food. Persuasion is the best way of ridding society of bad habits, like drinking, which are harmful to both body and mind. Thus society has much to profit from efforts focused on the kitchen. In sum, the kitchen is the engine of the ship that is the community. Women are its captains. Esteemed readers, please do not misunderstand me: all that has been said does not mean that I am in favour of women limiting themselves to nooks and corners within kitchens, shut away from sunlight. Women must enter any high status deemed essential for humankind. They must be capable of doing any sort of work. Women must win full freedom to defend their sense of dignity and fulfil their commitments. One cannot but say that the kitchen is the foundation of the community and that women are chiefly responsible for how it is. From cottage to

palace, everyone can partake in reforming the kitchen. Indeed, reform_ that does not root itself in the kitchen cannot be long-lived. (Narikketri)

Devaki N. was later excommunicated from her community and retreated to Wardha Ashram. Her later life was spent in upholding the ideals of Communist Party in Kerala.

Depiction of Antharjanam in Literature during Malabar Rebellion by Kumaran Asan

"Duravastha" is a seminal text in my study due to its proximity to the occurrence of the Malabar rebellion. Kumaran Asan, a part of the modern Malayalam poetry triumvirate along with Ullor S. Parameswaran Nair and Vallathol Narayan Menon, championed modernity in Malayalam literature. While Ullor and Vallathol relied heavily on Sanskritised poetry, Kumaran Asan, a close disciple of Sree Narayana Guru had an exemplary sense of deep philosophical insight and profound poetic diction (G. N. Devy). The objective of this section is to study the representation of the volatile experiences of women in the said historical periods, marked by communalism and patriarchy. The writers, consciously or unconsciously portray the dominant trends of the society, social changes, aspirations, and identity crises of the period. The past reflections are interspersed with creative re-imaginings and colonial influences in literary and performative spaces.

Taking into account the broad spectrum of events that happened before and after the Malabar rebellion, I would like to situate "Duravastha" as an exemplar of resistance literature. Barbara Harlow, in her work *Resistance Literature* argues that "Literature of resistance sees itself as immediately and directly involved in a struggle against ascendant or dominant form of ideological and cultural production" (28-29). Most of the literature of resistance revolts against societal codes of subjugation and marginalisation. Asan, who belonged to an underprivileged social group uses "Duravastha" to unfold a three fold resistance portraying the story of an upper caste woman subjugated by caste and gender hierarchies. He subverts the Brahmanical hegemonies by appropriating the power to narrate and disseminate knowledge, traditionally

identified as the prerogative of Brahmins and upper-caste men since Vedic times. This text can also be read as a backlash against feudal and caste oppression prevalent in the society. Thus, the reconstruction of an event from the perspective of upper-caste women, who are also marginalized, thereby rendering them absent and unheard for centuries, represents an important contribution to the event. The emotional transformation of Savitri and acknowledgement of a Pulaya (lower-caste man) as a worthy partner fits into broader reformation aspirations of poets like Asan. In other words, Asan's use of Malabar rebellion as a theme, especially during the volatile times that followed, shows his resistance against the existing power structures. Michel Foucault rightly points out that, "If there was no resistance, there was no power relations. Because it would just be a matter of obedience. You have to use power relations to refer to the situation where you are not doing what you want. So resistance comes first, and resistance remains superior to the forces of the process, power relations are obliged to change with the resistance. So, I think that resistance is the main word, the keyword in this dynamic" (Foucault 167).

Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist theoretician in his essay "The Formation of Intellectuals" argues that intellectuals are central to the process of hegemonization. They are responsible for the production of knowledge in any period, as they circulate values embodying the meanings and aspirations to the broader society. This process creates a uniform worldview, which is deemed appropriate, and some aspects get legitimised through the performance of rituals and gender roles in both private and public spheres.

Within the Indian context in question, women are equated to land and power in the traditional hierarchies of religion and class. These practices, entrenched in the medieval patriarchal constructs, were also endorsed and proliferated by the British colonists. The minimal space and the marginalised nature of the said space had cornered women into not exercising their agency. Thereby, often retreating into practising the performance of their

gender with almost sacred diligence and becoming bearers of social honour for their families and communities. The aforementioned diligence is ensured via strict domestic and communal guidelines, which provide a uniform subservient identity to the women across any or all social groups. The performance of the gender roles is guaranteed and safeguarded by both physical and mental coercion. The deviation from any of the gendered requirements of lifestyle was met with harsh and unforgiving punishments to ensure that no repetition of the event would occur in future. These punishments also serve to indoctrinate and instil a strong sense of fear in the minds of future generations.

The Namboothiri women of Malabar, members of the social group of landlords at the top of the region's caste system, were twice guarded due to their socioeconomic location. For instance, Namboothiri women in Kerala were confined within their households at all times, and any movement outside their space was heavily guarded by entourage and, if possible, accompanied by family or trusted male members of the group. The predominantly patriarchal society did not take into account the expressions of women's experience as a relevant source to gain historical insight into the events of the Malabar rebellion.

The poem "Duravastha" poignantly presents the reimagined story of a Namboothiri woman's traumatic displacement from her community and her subsequent philosophical rebirth as a 'caste-woman'. In this new social group, she finds domestic bliss, and exercises more agency over her body and her movements.

In "Duravastha", Savitri seeks refuge in the hut of an untouchable man. She is shown as escaping the prying hands of the men of the community who were seeking revenge against her family and community over agrarian hierarchies and disputes. Her fear of men, specifically the threat of physical harm and dishonour, was the driving force that led to her fleeing the safety of her community and their space. For a woman raised to uphold her physical purity against even the thought of any unrelated man, cohabiting with a man of lower caste, is an

extreme step of rebellion and rehabilitation. In this situation, Savithri finds herself engaging in a romantic relationship in the home of someone far different from her socioeconomic identity. Another pivotal observation from this text would be the choice of using a woman as a central character to represent the invasion of land and intrusion into the social sanctimony of the landlords. The character Savitri symbolises her entire social group of landlords and the land belonging to each socio-economic group. The text "Duravastha" displays a kind of commonality in terms of violence experienced by women's bodies across multiple social groups. The protagonist, an untouchable, by providing asylum to the psychologically traumatised Savitri, who is fleeing conversion and molestation at the hands of the rebels, subverts the stronghold and power of the upper-caste men who had introduced unjust laws like mulakkaram (breast tax) on lower caste women. Savitri becomes a mouthpiece to connote how certain experiences encountered by women transcend the temporal boundaries of caste and class.

Despite their experiences and history, the space allotted to information on women's writings in history and women writing in the early 20th century remains minimal. The conceptualization and execution of the Indian Independence movement were carried out by men who attempted to decolonize their space and culture. However, as Partha Chatterjee argues, patriarchal ideologies internalised centuries before and after colonisation remained in men's psyches. Studies in the recent past by Janaki Nair, Victoria Browne, and Charu Gupta have attempted to understand and document gendered representations in writing as a qualitative method to understand history, allowing the historically absent and the narratively displaced to participate in the process of historiography. Indian women's writing is an exploration of the expression of gender in relation to social and political transactions and structures of patriarchy that were original to the subcontinent before colonisation and later in the nation of India. Jacques Lacan posits that "the subject" is often constituted through language; however,

Foucault puts forth his proposition that "technologies of the self" allow individuals to consciously behave, act, and think, thus fashioning their own identities. Therefore, an analysis of women writers is not just an analysis of their literary genius but also a critique of the formidable landscape and circumstances in which they managed to survive and evolve as cultural contributors. References to women writers' literary and non literary contributions are often confined to certain general statements that evince a conscious neglect of their importance. This marginalisation, verging on suppression of women's writings is a common phenomenon in the literary histories of the regional languages in India. To counter the denial of social decolonization, writers have to decolonize themselves from the constraints of social taboos and fears. The analysis of women's writing could thus pose the question of space occupied by women's voice as both a narratorial voice and representative category in the historiographic process. It is at this intersection of gender and socio-cultural production that I would like to look at the decisive absence of narratives by "antharjanams" on their experience of the Malabar rebellion.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The Malabar Uprising of 1921 is a historical event which has garnered immense attention, diverse positions across disciplines, and a plethora of creative representations in the last century. As seen in the thesis, the empire took an active and corroborative role in the event that unfurled right from the spatial conquest over Malabar after the Third Mysorean War (1790-2) and recorded it. The proposed objectives in the introduction chapter are demonstrated with the aid of an extensive literature review and critical exploration with various theoretical frameworks borrowed from postcolonial studies, literary studies and cultural studies. As the decades of representations and documentations of the events of Malabar in 1921 aggregate, multiple tangents of experience emerge, and it is at the intersections of multiple layers of complex human experience that this thesis is located.

The thesis begins with the first chapter titled 'Introduction', which highlights several significant aspects like the topographical, economic and socio-cultural aspects of Malabar, aided in identifying the gap of the study, namely- the patterns involved in discerning the dominant narratives from the multiple stakeholders. The chapter also includes sections that detail the colonial interventions in education, politics, education and law and order. A brief history of agrarian unrest in the colony prior to the Malabar rebellion that aids the study is also included. The final part of the chapter is a discussion on the primary sources identified for the objectives.

The thesis progresses to the second chapter, titled Literature Review, which begins with a discussion of the themes relevant to the identified objectives from the Introduction chapter. The critical concepts taken up for this literature review are subaltern historiography, women's histories, postcolonial studies on social identity and cultural memory.

The third chapter in the thesis is a comparative analysis of non-fictional sources on the Malabar Rebellion to peruse the extensive dominant direction in recording and representing a historical event that is driven by the state's ideological and political perspective. From the detailed analysis, it has been determined that the mainstream discussions and polemic have been influenced by factors that determine superiority in socio-political power. The remembrance of events is thus determined by not only the present actors of the time but also the absent voices, such as the social groups whose location is determined by caste, class and gender. Thus, a discussion of authority in voice also opens up a critique of the absent.

The furthering of colonialist ideologies is an ever-present obstacle in the field of academics, and the analysis in this chapter illuminates the need for considering various sources other than the tightly bound ones of history. As expounded by M. T. Ansari in his work, the combinations of multiple modes of representations and recordings further the quest of addressing the gaps in experiences of history and its knowledge. This chapter further opens up the scope of not just addressing the existing narratives under multiple lenses but also helps gain insight into the exclusion of voices depicting the experiences of the Malabar rebellion because of their form and content, thus opening up two tangential enquiries. One, as depicted in the fifth chapter, analyses a literary text by Uroob, *The Beautiful and The Handsome*, as a subjective reimagined experience of the events of the Malabar rebellion. The novel reimagines not just the possibilities of the human experience of the rebellion from several intersections of caste, class and gender but also the transformation of the socio-economic landscape. Thus, it explores the possibility of literary works such as novels functioning as a historiographical tool when literature is read as a social text. The second, depicted in the sixth chapter, is premised on the intersectional nature of the historical representation of the Malabar rebellion and the

ensuing exclusion of voices that become evident from the application of intersectional worldviews to study existing literature.

The fourth chapter, titled *A Postcolonial Reading of The Jewel of Malabar*, delves into the complex relationship between the colonisers and the colonised. The colonial intrusion had multiple dimensions, including political and economic domination over a foreign society, the perpetuation of racial and cultural inequalities, economic and political dependence, and the exploitation of the colony by the imperial power. Consequently, the text reviewed in this chapter, *The Jewel of Malabar*, depicts the covert intention of the colonisers to maintain a superior saviour appearance for themselves, elevating their own status. It also cautions against the influence of indigenous elements that might tempt them to adopt lower racial and religious standings.

By employing theoretical frameworks of postcolonial scholarship, it becomes evident that *The Jewel of Malabar* represents the colonial perspective and how non-European cultures were portrayed. It also illustrates how colonialism deeply entrenched itself within the communities it colonised and how their history is represented. Additionally, the interactions between John Bennville and the native population highlight the establishment of dependency among the native Hindus, who were fearful of the fanatic Moplahs during the uprising. Despite the appearance of a mutually beneficial relationship on a larger scale, the colonial enterprise was driven by the exploitation of colony resources and the Western civilising mission. A closer examination of this symbiotic relationship reveals a more intricate dynamic of dominance and subservience, which is characteristic of colonial situations. The relationship between John and Kamayla serves as an example of a social exchange between the colonised and the coloniser. This novel, functioning as a colonial testimonial, offers insight into the Orientalist, Evangelist, and Anglicist nature of colonial historiography of the Malabar rebellion. The text successfully depicts the native characters as ‘others’ on par with the Orientalist tradition. Similarly, the

religious supremacy of the evangelists and the superiority in thought is also established in the interactions between the colonisers and the colonised thus demonstrating the evangelist and anglicist nature of colonial historicization endeavours.

The fifth chapter attempts to observe the reimagined transformation of the human experience of history and the overhaul of the social landscape that also accompanied the collapse of many hegemonic institutions while navigating a disruptive and devastating historical event. In order to study the possibilities of the existence of multiple models of historical narration, the novel *The Beautiful and the Handsome* was identified. The novel attempts to fill in the gap of human experience and various intersectional complexities about the Malabar rebellion that are absent in non-fictional scholarship. This analysis further sheds light on possible gaps in narration as the framework of historiography cannot be free of hegemonic influences. The aforementioned gaps have resulted in the exclusion of entire social groups from participating in the historiographic process.

The sixth chapter interrogates the role of women in writing about historical events and how they are represented in texts depicting historical events. The first step in this chapter is to locate the social location of women. A brief history of women writing makes up the second part of the chapter. I have identified antharjanams as a unique intersectional social group whose location is determined by multiple strands of identity (caste, gender, and class). The chapter also observes the nature of the representation of antharjanams by themselves and others by reviewing the literature. A clear pattern of absence of their experience in the historical narrative of the Malabar rebellion emerges from the previous chapters. The chapter's objective is to observe the factors contributing to this absence of representation.

As observed in the thesis, although the inception of colonialist historiography began with the intent of popularising the achievements of Europeans stationed in the empire along with an unstinting self-praise for their handling of the natives and local rulers, they also lauded

their civilising mission as seen through the activities of contributing to the economy, building the infrastructure and modernising education, law and order. But this, in turn, had a significant result in the process of historicisation and historiography. Kapil Kumar, in a lecture entitled "Challenging Colonial Historiography: The Indian Scenario," notes that "the advent of colonial historiography in relation to Indian history cannot and should not be discarded as accidental by the apologists of colonialism, who by inventing various concepts and terminologies even today, justify not only colonial domination but also their interpretations and viewpoints related to the histories of the colonies that they had ruled over. Not only this, their interpretations arrived through the application of Western concepts and models continue to have their impact in history writing in India and many other nations." The events of the Malabar rebellion have been fervently recorded in literature and historical documents since it transpired. A substantial block of time and space was influenced and devastated by the events of the Malabar rebellion in 1921.

In a land riddled with conflicts, the population suffered losses that have left even future generations dealing with losses, tangible and otherwise. The narratives from both the region and outside the affected land have represented the events and the population of Malabar. The significance of a momentous event evolves over time, and the evolution of this significance raises much introspection and contributes constantly and substantially to the discourse. The temporal distance from the events of the Malabar rebellion and the advancements in the discourses that are presently available to relook, reimagine and record provides a wide range of enquiries into the experience and memory of 1921.

Specific Contribution

Apart from contributing to the existing literature on the Malabar rebellion of 1921. The thesis makes the following contributions.

- a) Demonstrating that multiple possibilities exist for sources while enquiring about historical events. The sources are not popularly categorised as historical evidences, but they can provide significant findings explicating the human experience and social landscape.
- b) The study of historical representation, both fictional narrative and non-fictional scholarship, can supplement the historiography process as the conventional historicization process has favoured the hegemonic forces.
- c) By analyzing the patterns of conflict amongst various social groups and studying the ever-present narrative of fundamentalism that was propounded by imperial strategies. These strategies and practices of otherization are systemically ingrained into the history and consciousness of those colonised by hegemonic forces.
- d) The thesis draws attention to the need to decolonise history from the rigid constraints of colonists' worldview. It also explores the various tangents of narratives that supplement the experience of history and such readings have become more significant in contemporary times.
- e) The presence of uneven power dynamics from the past has also contributed to the exclusion of many significant voices that have not had the agency to represent their experience or engage with the discourse generated about them.

Future Scope of the Work

The criticisms existing on this rebellion's narratives have generated much content on the history of conflicts and the parties involved. The background of the conflict and the formation of the central narrative that takes precedence follows the pattern of cause and effect (Perpetrator-victim cycle considering the effects of trauma on the people in Malabar). Thus, scholarship is limited to repeated attempts at studying the construction of the events and the social groups rather than exploring multiple possibilities of the experience of the events. An

attempt to promote and legitimise certain discourses to safeguard colonial supremacy, as well as their alliances with certain elite groups entrenched in caste and class hierarchy, may exist through the available fictional narratives and historical records. There is also need for a deeper exploration into the ramifications of colonial interventions in the event and their construction of the Malabar rebellion in fictional works and otherwise. This can serve as a significant trajectory to understand the events of the Malabar rebellion. The time period covered in this thesis is from 1921-2022; as such, the emergence of the latest works and the discussions surrounding the reevaluation of the historicity of the event starting from the ICHR decision on removing Khilafath activists from the Martyrs list and the centenary memorials conducted nationwide can be considered a future tangents to this thesis Another aspect of this thesis is enquiring about the absence of women's role in recording history. This objective was undertaken by studying the absence of a specific social group's women's voice in the history of the Malabar rebellion. There is an 'absence' of an antaranjanam's narrative and indifference to their experience as a victim of rebellion in interpreting an important historical event.

Here, 'absence' indicates the conspicuous absence in terms of the Namboothiri women narrating or penning down their own experiences of the incident. In the earlier narratives discussed, she is just the passive victim functioning according to the creative imagination of predominantly male authors; therefore, the agency lies with the men to recast and represent her. As a future direction for studies on the Malabar rebellion, maybe women's lived experiences of the event can be pursued as a source to demonstrate and augment historical narration, and the same can be applied to other disciplines' endeavours on the Malabar rebellion discourse.

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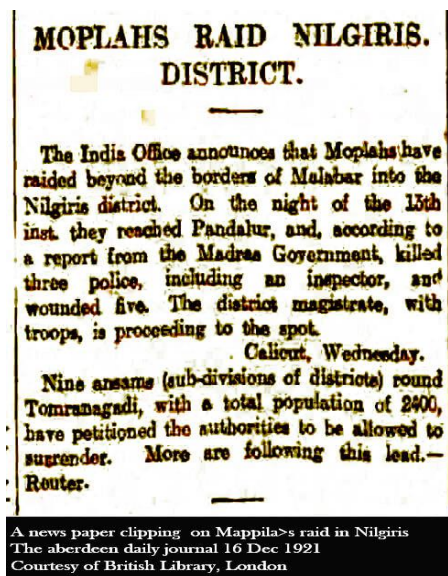
Appendix - 1

Figure 1: The Malabar Rebellion, Primarily a Holy War



Source: Daily Telegraph, Monday, 29th August 1921.

Figure 2: Moplahs Raid Nilgiris. District.



Source: Courtesy of British Library, London, Friday, 16th December 1921.

Figure 3: Frantic Charge of Moplahs.

FRANTIC CHARGE OF MOPLAHS.

LEINSTER PARTY'S HOT FIVE HOURS.

SNIPERS' VICTIMS.

TROOPS GALLANTLY LED BY BRITISH CAPTAIN.

Thrilling details continue to arrive concerning the battle against the Moplahs at Pukkatgur, in which 400 Moplahs were reported killed.

The British force—of Leinsters and police—numbered 125, and was ambushed while travelling in lorries.

During the fighting a frantic charge was made by the rebels with knives and swords.

Captain McEnroy, in charge of the British party, himself accounted for some Moplah snipers, and is stated to have led his men with gallantry.

HAND TO HAND.

MOPLAHS CHARGE THROUGH HEAVY FIRE.

Further particulars now received of the fighting between the British column from Calicut and the Moplahs at Pukkatgur show (says a Reuter Calicut wire) that the Leinsters and special police to the number of 125, under the command of Captain McEnroy, were going in motorcars and lorries from Calicut to Malappuram.

When the column reached Pukkatgur a large body of armed Moplahs concealed in the adjoining paddyfields and trenches suddenly opened fire. The British troops immediately replied, whereupon the rebels made a frantic charge, brandishing knives and swords.

Police Officer Wounded.

In spite of heavy fire they came on, and hand-to-hand fighting ensued, in the course of which Mr. C. B. Lancaster, assistant superintendent of police, was fatally wounded.

While the struggle was proceeding Moplah snipers kept up a sharp fusillade from trees, houses, and the paddy fields, and it appears that two privates of the Leinsters were killed by a sniper concealed in a tree.

The troops were gallantly led by Captain McEnroy, who himself accounted for some snipers.

After five hours the rebels were beaten off. A number of carbines, swords, and war knives were captured.

Check on Movements.

District magistrate at Malabar has issued a notice forbidding the harbouring of Moplahs from the Ernad, Walluvanad, and Ponnani districts, and prohibiting Moplahs from entering or leaving the martial law area without a pass.

It is understood here that the Moplahs, assembled at Tirurangadi, the main centre of the disturbances, have refused to negotiate with the authorities on the basis of surrender with all their arms. Ali Musaliar, a notorious rebel leader, is believed to be sheltering in the famous mosque at Mampuram, near Tirurangadi.

Source: Evening Standard

Figure 4: Moplah Plight Still Serious, Uprising Which Began In Late August Continue- Unabated

MOPLAH PLIGHT STILL SERIOUS

Uprisings Which Began In Late August Continue Unabated

CALCUTTA, India, Nov. 1 (By Mail).—The Moplahs in Malabar are still in a state of rebellion, and the British troops are still engaged in fighting them. The Moplahs have been reported to have killed a British officer and several British soldiers. The British troops are still engaged in fighting them. The Moplahs have been reported to have killed a British officer and several British soldiers. The British troops are still engaged in fighting them.

LIVES IN BARN LOFT DESPITE HIS WEALTH

NEW YORK, November 11.—A man who lives in a barn loft in New York City is a rich man. He is a man of great wealth, and he is a man of great wealth. He is a man of great wealth, and he is a man of great wealth. He is a man of great wealth, and he is a man of great wealth.

Everything About Cuticura Soap Suggests Efficiency

LIPPMAN'S
Jewelry and Optician
For Over Thirty Years
Your Credit Is Good

Source: AltoonaTribune, Page-7, Friday, 23th December 1921

Figure 5: The Moplah Revolt. Rebel Activity Continues.

THE MOPLAH REVOLT.

REBEL ACTIVITY CONTINUES.

THE DORSETS AMBUSHED.

Press Association—By Telegraph—Copyright.

DELHI, September 25.

Official reports from Malabar state that a column of the Dorset Regiments was attacked near Pandikkad. Two were killed and one wounded. The enemy lost one killed and 15 captured. It is believed that the guides (who have been arrested) planned the ambush.

A column was attacked near Nilambur. It lost one killed and seven wounded. Twenty rebels were killed.

Numbers of rebels are still reported around Manjery and Tuver.—Reuter.

Source: Telegraph, Monday, 29th August 1921

Figure 6: Moplahs Kill in the Name of the Prophet. Tribes of Indian Fanatics Use Sword and Noose to Obtain Converts to Koran



Source: Muskogee County Democrat, Page-8, Thursday, 22nd December 1921

Figure 7: Moplahs at Bay. Given 48 Hours in Which to Surrender

MOPLAH AT BAY.
GIVEN 48 HOURS IN WHICH TO SURRENDER.
BRITISH ULTIMATUM.

DORSETS IN SEVERE FIGHTING.
 The Moplahs are making their last stand. They are assembled at Tirunagudi, where the fighting began, and again which places two columns of British troops are converging.
 An ultimatum has been sent to the rebels demanding their surrender within 48 hours.
 Hundreds of refugees are fleeing from Mannarhat, but the inhabitants near the railway line to Calicut are gradually returning to their homes.

REBELS' LAST STAND.
 BETWEEN TWO BATTLES COLLENS.
 A communication sent from the India Office on Saturday afternoon, says:-
 A telegram from military headquarters, Madras district, states that the general officer commanding the district has left for Calicut.
 The first and Malappuram columns were due to meet at Tirunagudi, where the Moplahs were being held in a building, according to the report of the collector, from 200 to 1,000 rebels. Malappuram is quiet.
 The railway line to Calicut is guarded by troops, and the inhabitants near the line are gradually returning to their homes.
 Calicut and its neighbourhood are quiet.

DORSETS ATTACKED BY LARGE FORCE.
 In the engagement at Pannai last week, the rebels and a company of the Dorsets the Moplahs had 500 casualties. The Dorsets, who were guarding the railway, were attacked by a large force of rebels, sent on to pull up the rails. Eventually the Moplahs retired, carrying their dead and wounded with them.

REBELS TO BE STARVED.
 In order to avoid the violation of the Mosque at Tirunagudi, where the Moplahs rebels are entrenched, it is understood the authorities have decided to erect a barbed wire fence around the building, and then starve out the rebels.
 A report dated Alcot, received by London on Thursday, states that the interior of the Malabar district, other than the English area, is not under control.

PLOT SENSATION.
A SILENT CONSPIRACY.
 A conspiracy of Sikhs to assassinate a number of officials and others and to overthrow the British Government in India has been unmasked. The plot arose out of questions concerning Sikh affairs. The Public Prosecutor of the Punjab, who is also Deputy President of the Punjab Legislative Council, a Sikh, has resigned both offices as the result of the Sikh Shikha Committee's resolution that all Sikh Members should resign.

MOPLAH LEADERS CAPTURED.
PRISON INSPECTOR'S HEAD ON A POLE.
 All Malabar, the rebel leader, and thirty other Moplahs have been arrested. It is understood that the men who have committed less serious offences will be tried summarily.
 Information received at Calicut concerning the murder of Khair Bahadur Chackery, the retired inspector of forest at Malabar, who was a staunch supporter of the Government, states that the rebels struck his head on a pole which they carried through the house. Rebels also possessed Khair Bahadur Chackery's son, who, however, escaped.
 Government troops and rebels are reported to be engaged in large forces in the neighbourhood of Tirunagudi. Details are as previously available.
 It is believed, however, to be the beginning of the withdrawal of the rebels from the district.
 Mr. Willington expressed his appreciation of the Government to stamp out the rebellion.
 Cochin, Friday.
 A fight in which the rebel leader was captured at Tirunagudi lasted several hours. The Moplahs had 40 killed, while two British soldiers were killed and four wounded. Another leader has been captured at Tanur.

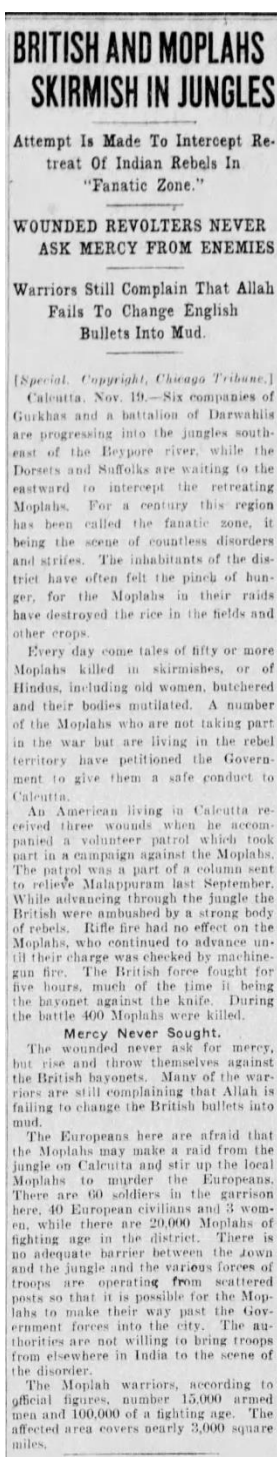
FIGHT FOR A MOSQUE.
MORRIS' SCENE OF DEATH.
WOUNDED REBELS LAYING AT BANGALORE.
 The first party of rebels, consisting of an officer and some men of the force, arrived at Bangalore on Monday from the Moplah country (says the Times Madras correspondent). Considering the long journey in a loaded country under a scorching sun, by day and torrid night, the health of the force is wonderfully good.
 The British part of the column, which had surrounded the mosque from which, after a three days' resistance, All Moplahs, the rebel leader, ultimately surrendered. After the rebel leader, who had fired out of window of the mosque, which was taken as a token of surrender, and the British force had moved fire, what was left of the rebel band came out with heads up.
 A good many of those killed received a number of rifle shots before they fell, their wounds being truly remarkable. There was good deal of fighting before the rebels surrendered, and beyond which the rebels' condition was such that they were unable to make desperate efforts to get in with their knives even when impaled on the bayonets.

HEAD THROWN INTO RIVER.
 The mosque, which was surrounded at a distance of 100 yards, appears to have been very full of them, including women, and was surrounded for some time. The Moplahs had been thrown into the river from the mosque walls during the night, and to accurate idea of the rebel condition is possible. After the surrender a remarkable collection of arms was gathered, from the latest sporting outside rifles to muskets, loading shot guns. The rebels ran short of food and melted some copper coins for bullets.

HATED PROPAGANDA.
LOD WILLIAMSON'S GRAVE VIEW OF MOPLAH OFFICIALS.
 Addressing the Madras Legislature (says the Statesman), Lord Willington referred to the position in Malabar. He emphatically declared that it was merely an attempt on the part of the authorities to enforce the ordinary processes of law that was the cause of the rebellion and widespread outbreak of violence, directed primarily against the Government and the whole civil administration over a wide tract of country.
 The malcontents and causes of the conflagration pointed irregularly to the existence of a widespread and distressing oppression, the leaders of which had been only waiting for an opportunity to attempt to overthrow the Government and exploit the religious sentiments of the people for their purpose.
NEW MALABAR ONLY.
 It was not Malabar alone that was sending propaganda throughout the United States the same conditions of propaganda was of work undermining constituted authority, spreading more hatred, and seeking to instil in the masses impatience and contempt for constitutional authority.
 In the Presidency towns itself labour disputes, developed under the same malignant influence, had led to a series of deplorable incidents, accompanied by loss of life and destruction of property, and necessitating the repeated intervention of the Crown forces.
GRANDER OFFENSES.
 The Government had resolved to enforce the observance of law and order in all parts of the Presidency, and would support district officers, if necessary, with military assistance.
 His Excellency went on to recall the warning he had previously given in correct manner, that the propaganda associated with Mr. Gandhi must inevitably culminate in chaos and disorder. He added that he had not foreseen how soon his forebodings would be justified.

Source: Taunton Courier Bristol and Exeter Journal and Western Advertiser, Page-1, Wednesday, 7th September 1921

Figure 8: British and Moplahs Skirmish in Jungle



Source: The Evening Sun

Figure 10: Many Beheaded Thrown in Well. Moplah Outrages Continue in India Despite Martial Law Declaration

MANY BEHEADED, THROWN IN WELL

Moplah Outrages Continue in India Despite Martial Law Declaration

CALICUT, India, Dec. 24.—(By the Associated Press.)—Despite the declaration of British martial law, the outrages of the Moplah uprising, which began the last week in August, still continue. The fair land of Malabar has been rendered desolate; railroads have been torn up; bridges destroyed; public and private buildings burned; government treasuries and private houses looted. Men, women and children have been slain and wholesale conversions have been made at the point of the bayonet.

The district magistrate has issued the following communique: "Information has been received that many forced conversions to Islam are being made in the eastern Arsons of Calicut, and that Mathumana Illom in Puthur Amson is one of the places where such conversions are being made on a large scale.

"A refugee states that he saw 26 Hindus shaven in Moplah fashion like himself and made to chant some verses. There are also about 20 women and children shut up in Illom. Women are also made to repeat verses, and are made to wear Moplah costumes.

"The following statement, recorded from Philathottathil Kelappan, who escaped with many wounds, shows the fate of those who refuse to embrace Islam: "Two wounds on the back of my neck were inflicted with a sword last noon by a Moplah. These wounds were given to me in the jungle near Illom. Several Moplahs were present with the man who cut my neck. About 50 persons have been beheaded and thrown into a well. I was also thrown above them. I caught hold of a creeper there, and got up, and slowly came here. Hindus are beheaded thus because they refuse to become Mussalmans."

Mahatma K. Gandhi, Indian Nationalist leader and non-participation advocate, refers in Young India to the Moplah outrages, saying: "The Mussalmans must naturally feel the shame and humiliation of the Moplah conduct about forcible conversions and looting, and they must work away so silently and effectively that such things might become impossible, even on the part of the most fanatical among them. My belief is that the Hindus as a body have received the Moplah madness with equanimity, and that the cultured Mussalmans are sincerely sorry for the Moplah's perversion of the teachings of the prophet."

Source: The Ogden Standard Examiner, Page-15, Sunday, 25th December 1921

Figure 12: The Moplah Rebellion. A Retrospect

THE MOPLAH REBELLION.
A RETROSPECT.

The Moplah war which has just come to an end deserves the name of a rebellion. No outbreak since the Mutiny can be compared to it. Moplahland has always been a storm centre, and outbreaks have occurred in it so frequently that as far back as 1837 special Acts were passed to cope with Moplah lawlessness. These Acts are still in force. The Moplah is so unlike not only his Hindu neighbour but even the Mohammedan of the plains that a special cause for his warlike temper has been sought in according to him Arab descent. It is said that Arab freerbooters descending on the Calicut coast forcibly married Hindu women, whose children were called Moplahs, or "Mother's children," because their fathers disappeared again into the unknown.

The home of the Moplahs is a narrow strip of seaboard cut off from the rest of India by mountains and fargowed by deep ravines and arms of the sea. The Moplahs always faced seaward towards Islam, and never landwards to India. In 1885 the Moplah movement in Kerala had repercussions in Malabar. They have always had great reverence for the Sultan of Turkey as Khalif, and before that death for him will insure entrance to Paradise. To-day it is the curtailment of Turkey and the dissolution of the Khalif's temporal power which have fired the always inflammable material of Malabar. The Non-Cooperators have stoutly denied this, and as ludicrous stories of the ruthless brutality of the Moplahs excited the ears of humane men, they tried to ascribe the outrages to agrarian discontent or the poverty which, it is true, is chronic in Malabar, but in the end they have had to acquiesce in the common verdict that the rebellion is directly traceable to Non-Cooperator Khalifate workers.

Bands of rebels entrenched themselves in mountain circledowns from which they emerged to harry the peaceful and defenceless Hindus who are in normal times their lords and masters. The pursuit of the mild Hindu is at all times a favourite pastime with the sturdy Moplah. Were to the grief of an oppressed tenant he can add the religious duty of the devout Mohammedan, there is literally no limit to his homicidal mania. The outrages committed on women and children, the mutilations and tortures which the Hindus have undergone do not bear repetition in print. The Moplahs have been solidly anti-Hindu and anti-British. They have given the authorities no assistance in putting down even the most ruthless rascals. They have burned and looted the property even of converts to Islam ever since they realised that under the slightest law rigid caste rules, which Hindus never frequently countenance the converts forbiddingly would be resubmitted to their estates if they could come alive out of the hands of the Moplahs.

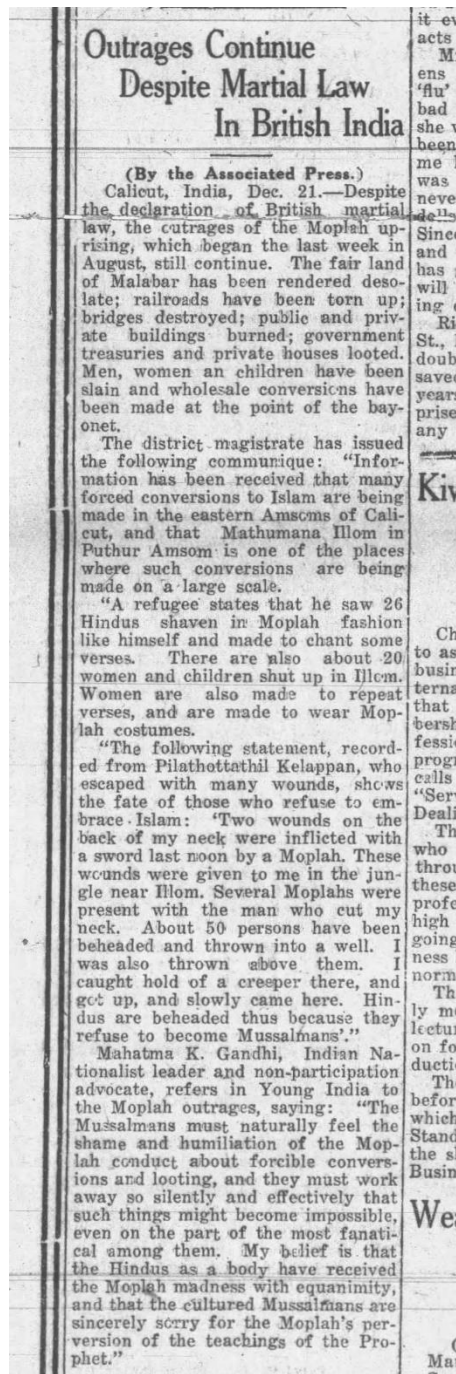
Details of the fighting have been scanty, because from very early days it became a war for the attrition of guerrilla bands. Up to the end of January the rebel casualties were: Killed, 2,299; wounded, 1,651; captured, 9,688; surrenders, 28,559. Events of importance were the capture of all Muziris in September and of Varanasi Haji in January. Several times it has looked as if the rebellion were over and the Hindus have been induced to return to the cultivation of their fields, and then fresh outbreaks of murder and looting have taken place, with a further not unimportant loss of nerve on the part of the Hindus, who realise perfectly how impossible for police or military it is to guard inaccessible villages scattered in many-folded hills. The rebel leader expects no fewer than twenty millions to follow him, and it is to be feared that for many days they will cling to their faithless and carry on dissolves. But the majority of the troops have been withdrawn, and it is hoped that the war will soon follow.

The present outbreak differs altogether from the 35 previous riots which have taken place under British rule. Hitherto the rioting has been spontaneous, epidemic, and local. The anti for Islam biased forth because some Hindu refused to be converted, and when superior force came to his assistance the Moplahs died for their convictions under the sure expectation of Paradise. Previous outbreaks lasted six days, where the present has lasted six months. For months before it began Khalifate workers had been inciting the Moplahs to rebel against a "Sarabai" Government, promising them freedom from taxation and complete self-government as soon as the Sultan of Turkey was restored to all his old dominions. The Moplahs, who have 500 non literate in English out of a population of 1,000,000, believed all they were told, and zeal to right the Khalif burned in their breasts. The spark which lit the conflagration was the defeat of the police in an attempt to arrest certain housebreakers on August 20, 1921. The opposition to the police was plainly organised and systematic. Within five days the civil authorities had lost control of all Moplahland, martial law had been proclaimed, a considerable engagement in which 400 Moplahs perished had taken place, the machinery of government was reduced to a number of isolated offices and police stations, and Ali Musaliar had declared himself king of a new State, Ernad. Although troops were quickly drafted to the disturbed area, and it was stated in the Assembly on September 5 that the situation was well in hand, it has on a matter of fact, taken more than six months to suppress the rebels, who had everything in their favour as far as the disposition of troops was concerned. The country into which they retired is a mass of uncharted jungle, another Gallipoli covered with impenetrable forest.

The work of reconstruction can hardly be said to have begun. The Servants of India, a very fine body of social workers, came forward as soon as they realised that thousands of people were starving and refused. They for many months ran 19 camps for about 20,000 refugees and endeavoured to teach them self-supporting work, but they have been sadly hampered by want of funds. For some reason it has been impossible to awaken even Hindu sympathy for the Malabar sufferers. The Congress Committee has also fed 18,000 refugees a day. But both these efforts have touched but a fringe of the suffering. When the terrified people can be induced to return to their fields the Government will provide seed and implements. But the day for that is not set. The Non-Cooperators must shoulder the blame for all this misery. The honest turbulence of the Moplahs give some Moplahland is to blame, but never before has there been a rising of such size or persistence. The Khalifate provided the battle-cry to which the fanatical Moplah responded along lines which Gandhi must have foreseen.

Source: The Guardian, Page-16, Friday, 3rd March 1922

Figure 13: The Outrage Continues Despite Martial Law in British India



Source: The Selma Times Journal, Page-2, Wednesday, 21st December 1921

Figure 15: Letter to editor from Variamkunnuth Kunhmed Haji

Pandalar Hill.
7-10-21.

Honoured Editor,—I request you to publish the following facts in your paper.

According to the Press reports from Malabar which you will have got. Hindu-Muslim Unity in Malabar has thoroughly ceased to exist. It appears that the report that Hindus are forcibly converted (by my men) is entirely untrue. Such conversions were done by the Government Party and Reserve Police men in muffling themselves with the rebels (masquerading as rebels.)

Moreover, because some Hindu brethren, aiding the military, handed over to the military innocent (Moplahs) who were hiding themselves from the military, a few Hindus have been put to some trouble. Besides, the Nambudri, who is the cause of this rising, has also similarly suffered. Now, the chief military commander (of Government) is causing the Hindus to evacuate from these Taluka. Innocent women and children of Islam, who have done nothing and possess nothing, are not permitted to leave the place.

The Hindus are compulsorily impressed for military service. Therefore, several Hindus seek protection in my Hill. Several Moplahs, too, have sought my protection.

For the last one month and a half, except for the seizure and punishment of the innocent, no purpose has been achieved.

Let all people in the world know this. Let Mahatma Gandhi and the Moulana know it.

If this letter is not seen published, I will ask for your explanation at one time.

Thus,

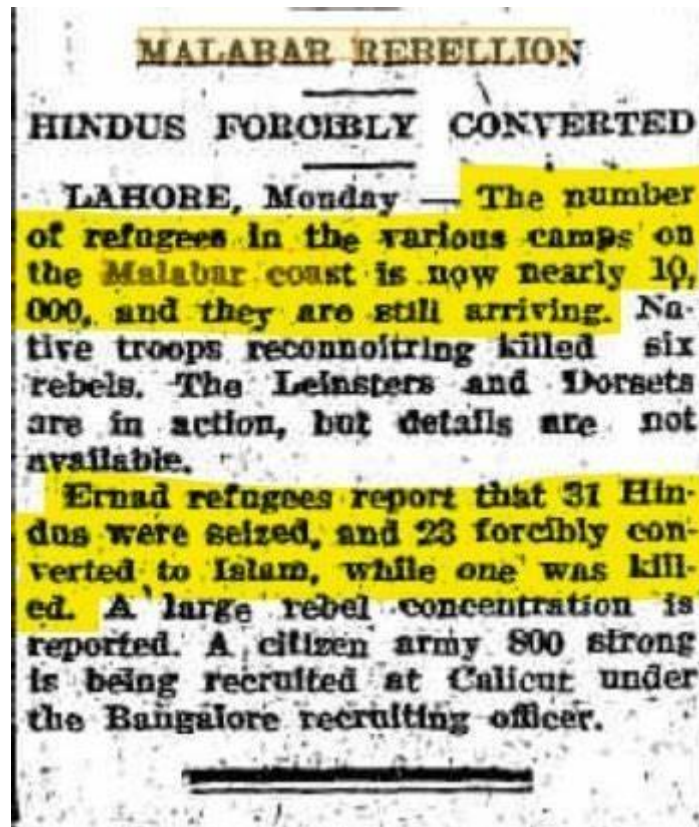
Variamkunnath
Kunhmed Haji.
(Signature Mark)
Pandalar Commander.

P. S. Copy may be given to other papers.
7-10-21

The letter written by Variamkunnath Kunhmed Haji which appeared in The Hindu on October 18, 1921.
■ HINDU ARCHIVES

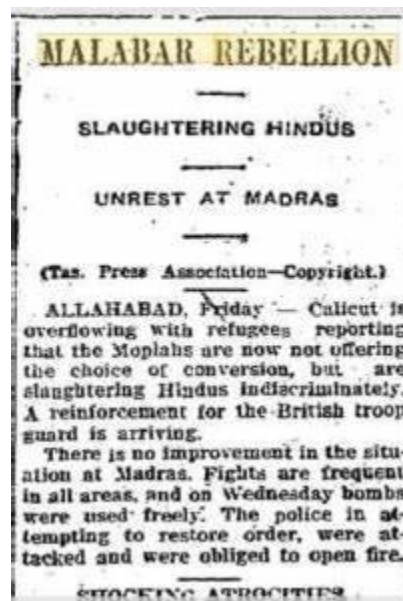
Source: The Hindu Archives, Tuesday, 18th October 1921

Figure 16: Malabar Rebellion. Hindus Forcibly Converted



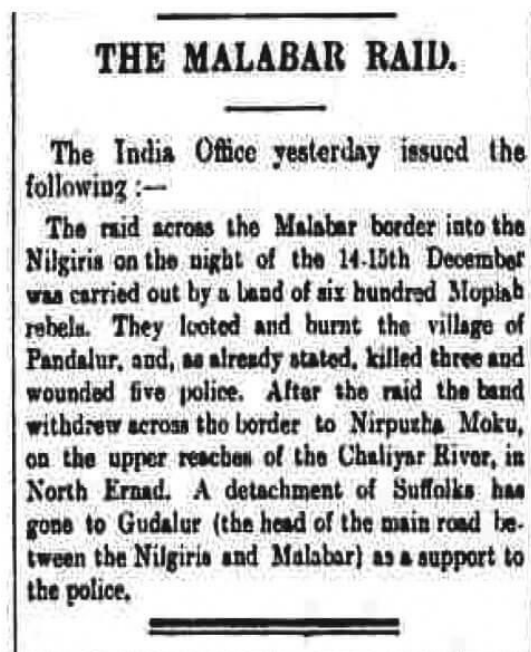
Source: World, Wednesday, 9th November 1921.

Figure 17: Malabar Rebellion. Slaughtering Hindus. Unrest at Madras



Source: World, Monday, 10th October 1921.

Figure 18: The Malabar Raid



A news paper clipping on Mappila raid in Nilgiris
The Yorkshire Post, 20 Dec 1921.
Courtesy of British Library, London

Source: Yorkshire Post, Tuesday, 20th December 1921

List of Publications

1. Vinai, Maya and Revathy Hemachandran. 2019. 'Understanding the Enigma of Muziris: In conversation with Sethumadhavan', *The Quest*, 33(1): 41–48.
2. Hemachandran, Revathy. "Book Review: *Jallianwala Bagh Literary Responses in Prose and Poetry* (2019) by Rakshanda Jalil." *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* (2020)(**Scopus Indexed**)

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.21659/rupkatha.v12n2.20>
3. Revathy Hemachandran & Maya Vinai. Locating Saguna: 'The Native Indian Convert in Postcolonial India. *Re- Markings*. 19.2.(2020): 101- 107. Print.
4. Vinai, Maya, and Revathy Hemachandran. "A Fine Balance: Interrogating the Changing Reconfigurations of Space in Middle-Class Apartments of Mumbai Through Literary Representations and Lived Experiences." *IUP Journal of English Studies* 16.1 (2021): 27-38. (**Scopus Indexed**)
5. Vinai, Maya, and Revathy Hemachandran. "Cosmopolitanism and Trade Relations: Analysing the port city of Muziris through Sethumadhavan's novel *The Saga of Muziris*." *The City Speaks*. Routledge India, 2022. 175-187.
6. Hemachandran, Revathy, and Maya Vinai. "Traversing the Inner Courtyard to the Public Sphere: Exploring Lalithambika Antharjanam's Short Stories as Narratives of Protest in Early Twentieth Century Kerala." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 25.5 (2023): 5. (**Scopus Indexed**)
7. Hemachandran, Revathy, and Maya Vinai. "A Postcolonial Reading of Donald Sinderby's *The Jewel of Malabar: An Analysis of Colonial Engagement in Twentieth-Century Malabar*." *Asian Review of World Histories* 11.2 (2023): 210-228. (**Scopus Indexed**) <https://doi.org/10.1163/22879811-bja10028>
8. Hemachandran, Revathy, and Maya Vinai. "Women in Conflict Zones: A Comparative Study of the Plight of Women During Partition and Malabar Rebellion." *IUP Journal of English Studies* 18.1 (2023). (**Scopus Indexed**)

List of Presentations

1. Presented a paper titled “A Comparative Study of the Representation of Spaces Occupied by Missionary Converts in Literature and Media through a Post-colonial lens” at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Penang in the ICL 2018 on 26th July 2018.

2. Presented a paper titled “Conditional Kinship: Mahe and Muziris Remembering their Overseas Visitors” at the national conference Contextualising Migration: Perspectives from Literature, Culture and Translation, Organized by GITAM University on Jan 6-8, 2020.

3. Presented a paper at the two-day National Conference *Celebrating Unheard voices of Charismatic Women in Indian Writing in English* organised by the Department of HSS, IIT Roorkee, in association with the Ministry of Culture, Govt. of India, on Dec 3-4, 2021.

Biography of the Candidate

Revathy Hemachandran is a research scholar pursuing her PhD in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at Bits-Pilani (Hyderabad Campus). She has completed her undergraduate and postgraduate studies in English Literature at the University of Delhi and Ambedkar University, Delhi. Her research interests are trauma narratives, representation of the Malabar Uprising in literature and popular culture, and cultural studies. She has published in various national and international journals of repute like *Asian Review of World Histories*, *Journal of International Womens Studies*, *Rupkatha Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, *IUP Journal of English Studies*, and *Routledge*.

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Biography of the Supervisor

Prof. Maya Vinai works as an Associate Professor in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at BITS-Pilani (Hyderabad Campus). Her current research is primarily focused on Indian Ocean World Studies (IOWS) with a specific focus on the Malabar Coastline. Her other research interests include Temple Art Forms in South India, Representation of Matrilineal Communities in Literature, Food and Culture in South Asian Literature, and the impact of Dutch and Portuguese Colonialism in South India. Her research work has featured in several national and international journals of repute like *European Journal of Creative Practices in Cities and Landscapes (CPCL)*, *International Journal of Maritime History*, *South Asian Review (SAR)*, *Asiatic- IJUM*, *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, *IUP Journal of English Studies*, and *SARE: Southeast Asian Review of English*. She has several book chapters with publishers like Penn State University Press (Anthropocene Series) and Routledge and a book titled *Interrogating Caste and Gender in Anita Nair's Fiction*.

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