

‘Mappila’: Identity and semantic narrowing

Joseph Koyippally Joseph

Abstract:- Mappila, the generic name for the Kerala-settled West Asian diaspora which gradually got integrated with the indigenous community, has undergone semantic narrowing to mean the Muslims of North Kerala (Illias 436 fn. 4) since the twentieth century. However, neither all Muslims of North Kerala are mappilas nor is North Kerala the only place of Muslim mappilas. Moreover, there are also non-Muslim mappilas in Kerala. The West Asian trade settlements which came up in the southern, central, and northern Kerala established communities in those regions through marital alliances with the local community, and are qualified by words referring to their religious affiliations such as ‘Jewish’ (*Yuda mappila*), ‘Christian’ (*Nasrani mappila*) and ‘Muslim’ (*Jonaka mappila*) (Maliackal 300; Županov 99). The meaning of the term got narrowed when the Muslim mappilas began asserting their identity due to political reasons that threatened their identity.

Etymological explanation of the word ‘mappila’ is sociologically illuminating. The meaning of the word, a combination of *ma* and *pillai* (Logan 191; Mayaram, Pandian and Skaria; Miller, Mappila 30-32; K. P. Menon 534-37; Thurston 458; Miller, Encyclopaedia VI.45), is not yet satisfactorily explained. Although *pillai* [‘son’] is generally accepted as a term of endearment and intimacy, an honorific title, and a title of Nairs, the meaning of *mais* is debated. *Ma* has different meanings in the source languages of Malayalam. In Sanskrit, its meanings could be ‘mother’ [‘mother’s son’] or ‘great’ as abbreviation of *maha* [‘great son’], and ‘not’ [‘not son’] i.e., ‘son in law’, probably a foreigner in matrilineal Kerala. In the first sense, mappila is a child born to Arab fathers in local costal woman, as mother, *ma*, was to take care of the child, *pillai*, as the fathers never claimed for the children (Day, 1863: 366). As a title of honour it was used by the Nayers and Christians in Travancore and probably by the early Muslim immigrants (Logan, 1951: 191). The Dravidian word *mappila* means bridegroom (Moore, 1870: 13), who to the community of the bride is ‘not son’, but an endeared one. Tamil retains this sense and it connotes a marital relation, and got to mean the descendants of west Asian traders who married local women (Miller, Hindu-Christian Dialogue 50). It was extended to the locals who accepted customs of the migrants. The editor of *The Travels of Ludovico d’ Varthomare* regards mappila as a derivation of the Arabic colloquial *ma fellah* [not farmer]. It highlights the west Asians’ occupation as trading as distinct from agriculture (Badger 1890: 123).

The term also has religious connotations. The word, as a corruption of *marga pilla* could be derived from Sanskrit and Pali where *marga* meant ‘path’ i.e., Buddhism, the popular faith of the pre-eighth century AD Kerala and was founded on the eight-fold path (*ashtangamarga*). Those who joined the new *marga* [‘path’] were derisively called *marga vasi*, even after the arrival of Western Christian missionaries in the sixteenth century. It is also said that mappila is derived from *mahapillai* [‘distinguished Pillai’], a distinguishing title meant to integrate the west Asian traders into the caste-ordered Hindu society of Kerala. Caste—a birth-bestowed categorization of people into different occupational classes and associated privileges—was a socio-political necessity in Kerala, since the advent of the Brahmins in Kerala in the eighth century. As understood from *Keralaopathi*, the Brahminical migration was a part of the Hindu assertion against the Buddhist and the Jain egalitarian social order, which was by then popular in Kerala (Alexander). As the Brahmin missionaries ended Buddhist supremacy and enforced Brahminical social order, they had to coopt local ruling class as Kshatriyas, the pliable locals as Sudras, and brand rebels as outcastes. As they had annihilated the Buddhist and Jain trading class, they were forced to bestow the Vaishya status to the West Asian traders even as they were kept them away from power. The West Asian merchants needed more operational space in the host-land and pragmatic local traders found the religion of the less oppressive West Asian traders as means to outmaneuver Brahminical persecution. This view is strengthened by the use of *palli*, the Pali word for Buddhist place of worship for Christian and Muslim places of worship; the local beliefs like “*Kailasa vasthukkal asuddhamayal, Paulosu thottal athu shudhamakum*” [“Paul’s touch depollutes temple wares”]; the practice of having Christian families living next to major temples to touch and cleanse the oil brought to the temple by low-caste oil-producers (Varghese K 898); localized Christian and Muslim collaboration with temple festivals etc. Yet another Christian interpretation is that mappila was derived from *ma-palli* (mother church).

Yuda mappila or the Jewish traders of Kerala were classified after their settlements at Kadavumbagam, Thekkumbhagam, Parur, Chendamangalam, and Mala. This small community, which never insisted on the title,

was nevertheless called mappila. As they have left for Israel after the formation of the Jewish state, only a few of their synagogues remain as reminders of the Yuda mappilas of Kerala. Although in the past, the Syrian Christians of Kerala insisted on the privilege of using the surname Mappila, now few Syrian Christians use it as a surname. However, Malabar Muslims, who also do not use it as personal surname, use it as generic name to assert their political identity. Their identity struggle dates from their contact with the Persian-originated North Indian Muslims since the days of the Madurai conquest by the Delhi Sultanate under commanders like Malik Kafur (1311), Khusrav Khan (1314), and Ulugh Khan (1323), and later, to their opposition to western colonization that threatened their occupation as traders. It is also interesting to note that the Muslims of Lakshadweep who belong to the same stock as the mappilas of Malabar, do not refer to themselves mappilas as they do not need to assert their identity since they are in a majority there. Neither *Tuhfat al-Mujahidin* of Zainuddin Maqdoom [1530-83] nor *Fathul Mubeen* of Qazi Mohammad [1616-], the two early texts of the Mappila community, use it to refer to local Muslims. It is also not found in early Arabic literary work or in Arabimalayalam literature as referring exclusively to Kerala Muslims. In Arabia, they are still known as *Malabari*, [“person from Malabar”], a name for Kerala.

Gundert's *Malayalam Dictionary* defines mappila as West Asian Semitic migrant settlers in Kerala. It is probable that the West Asian community of Kerala got split into different religious groups between the eighth and the eleventh centuries, when Islam became prominent and controlled the trade through Arabia, with which they traded. The absence of mappila Christians in the north Kerala could be attributed to the dominance of the Muslims in Malabar society and trade. Other than Arabs and Persians, people of many other nationalities also have settled in Kerala forming inter-racial communities. Kerala's coastal population is formed by diasporic Greek, Roman, and Chinese maritime traders (Mathur 1), Sri Lankan Buddhists, Ahichchatra Brahmins, and Dravidians. A fourteenth century Malayalam poem, *Unnuniyadi Charitham* notes the presence of people from Gujarat, Malva, Andhra, Orissa, Barbara, Chola country, Pandya country, Karnataka, Greece, China, Turkey, etc. in a local market. However, the title mappila is claimed only by the west Asian communities.

This trade diaspora with separate religious identities claimed further legitimacy through the legend of the conversion of Cherman Perumal into their faith. Here, the earlier similar Buddhist claim becomes relevant in the background of their conversion to these mappila communities. Although some historians ascribe this conversion to 1122 AD (M. Narayanan 76), Muslims claim it to have taken place in 822 AD (Maqdoom 39; Logan 192-95). *Keralolpathi* explicitly mentions that it was not Cherman Perumal, but Palli Bana Perumal who went to Mecca after embracing Buddhism (Gundert 29). This tradition was first recorded by the Portuguese writer Durate Burbosa in the early 16th century, and it was accepted by Berros, the official Portuguese historian. It accepts the tradition of the mappilas but identifies Mecca with Buddhism, by which it only meant the holy land of the religion that was not Brahminical. Syrian Christians maintain that they were bestowed with the honorific title ‘mappila’ by the Chera king Vallabhan Kotha, whose Chengannoor edict known as ‘*Mampalli Sasanam*’ in 149 KE [1051 AD], calls Persian Christians *ma-palli-kkar* (people of the mother church). The Persian Christians who fled persecution (AD 717-822), reached Quilon in AD 822, established mother churches under Bishops Sapir Eso at Kodungalloor and Proth at Quilon. They claim that Ayyanadikal, the ruler of Venad gave Sapir Eso two Copper edicts, and with the king's permission, they constructed mother churches (*ma-pally*) including the one at Chengannur. The document, now preserved by the Orthodox Church at Kottayam and by the Marthoma Church at Thiruvalla, contains some Arabic signatures. Whether these witnesses were Arab Muslims as Illias (Mappila Muslims and the Cultural Content of Trading Arab Diaspora on the Malabar Coast 442-43) claims, is debatable since Arab Christians also had similar names and language at that time.

Unlike Muslims, the Syrian Christians had been using it as a surname. A relevant litigation (No. 498 on 1 July 1912) filed by some Nair leaders at Chavakkad Munsif Court defending their removal of the title mappila from the name of some Syrian Christians of Pavaratti Church was dismissed by the *Musif* MR Sankara Iyer who ruled that Christians are traditionally called mappila or *maha-pilla*. The review petition [642 of 1913] at Calicut District Court was also dismissed with the note that it was like removing of the surname Nair from a Nair. The second appeal [1533 of 1915] was also dismissed by the Madras High Court. However, it appears that the Syrian Christians have given up using this upper-caste denoting term to refer to themselves when Muslim generic use of the term became common. This seems to have happened in the wake of the British oppression of the Moplah rebellion and the term gathered negative connotation about it. When Christians dissociated with it, Muslims asserted it. Local Christians who dropped it preferred to be called generically as *Nasrani*, ‘Christian’. Officially, they were first designated ‘Syrian’ by the Dutch who used it in order to distinguish the Syriac-using traditional Christians from the newly evangelized Christians who used Latin as their liturgical language.

Muslims regard mappila as “the first community to come to the fold of Islam because they were more closely connected with the Arabs than others” (Randathani, Genesis). Although Arab merchants are regarded as “the progenitors of the Moplahs” (Swai 61), this patrilineal, non-Urdu-speaking community who brought Islam first

to India in the 7th century AD, were largely ignored by the Indian Muslim historians (Dale, Hadrami Diaspora; Dale, Mappilas; Miller, Mappila; Panikker). It is probably because the mappilas, who followed the Shafi school of Sunni Islam, are culturally and genetically closer to Arab Muslims than to the Indo-Persian political and theological perceptions of the North Indian Muslims. Genetically, theologically and politically, the mappilas are related to the Arabian Muslims of Hadramawth, Hejaz, Hormuz, Egypt, Maghrib, and Levant. Illias classifies mappilas into: “*Malabaris* (composed of indigenous Muslims majority of whom are local converts) and *Pardesis* (consisting of Thangals [constituted mainly of Saiyids of Hadramawth], Pathans, Kutchi Memons, Bohras, Rawthers [Tamil trading Muslims], and others who are believed to have come from outside Kerala” (Illias 446). They included Arab settlers, the descendants of Arab men and local women, as well as converts to Islam from lower Hindu castes (Innes 26). Kerala Muslims of Byari, Keyi, Dakhni, Labbay, Rawther, Thulukkar, Marakkar, Koya, Ossan, Pusalani communities etc. are not directly related to the mappilas. Islam spread rapidly among the low caste-people in the inland areas of south Malabar (Hitchcock 9), and among tenants who lived in poverty cultivating the land of landlords (Swai 61). The traditions like matrilineal succession (Kurien, Colonialism 402), veneration of Hindu saints, temple-shaped mosques, use of ‘*tali*’ pendant by married women (Miller, Mappila), and their ‘*nercca*’ rituals (Burman 1214) which combine Islamic and local folk traditions betray the local roots of mappila Muslims. The People of Malabar wear *mundu* with Muslims tying it on the left, unlike the Hindus who tie it on the right, and kept it in position using a waist string and Muslim women wear a loose white blouse, coloured *mundu* which they secured in place with a broad belt, covered heads with scarf (Miller, Mappila 251).

It appears that the title mappila had not been popular among the Muslims until the British used it (as in ‘Mappila Rebellion’, ‘Mappila Outrageous Act’, ‘Mappila School’, ‘Mappila Range Inspector’ etc.). The Muslims accepted it as a privilege. The title of the *Mappila Review* started by Muhammad Sahib, a London-educated District Educational Officer, bears testimony to it. Gradually, not only Malabar Muslims themselves, even Kerala Christians started describing Malabar Muslims as mappila. For example, Prema Kurien, a Syrian Christian herself, who collected materials for a study during 1989-90 identifies Christians as *Nazranis* and Muslims as mappilas (Kurien, Colonialism 402). Had the use of the word mappila been not popular among Muslims until the British used it, it was not until the Dutch used it that the Syrian Christians became ‘Syrian’. However, as the community had already split under the Portuguese as pro and anti-Roman, the term disappeared from their identity politics especially as the pro-Roman faction emphasized a more universal identity in the early part of the twentieth century. This is quite unlike the case with Kerala’s Muslims who apparently use it despite the pan-Islamic cry to erase local identities.

The Kerala Mappila Kala Akademi [Academy for Kerala Mappila Arts] set up in 2001 defines *mappilapattu* [‘mappila songs’] as “a folk Muslim song genre rendered to lyrics in colloquial mappila dialect of Arabic-laced Malayalam, by the mappilas of Malabar” (Vallikkunnu and Tharamel 7-14), appropriating the term mappila as Muslim. Artistically and emotionally mappilapattu “punctuate the rhythm of the everyday social life of the Malabar Muslims. Its songs enrich mappila folk art forms like kolkali, oppana, aravana, daffumuttu, and mappilapattu etc. The community also promotes Arabi Malayalam—Malayalam language written in Arabic script—as a marker of its identity. Just as with the case of the use of the term in negative light by the British in the latter half of the nineteenth century, here also it bears the tag of a poem composed for Muslims. The Muslims accepted the challenge and asserted their cultural identity and used it for social transformation, communal solidarity, and anti-European struggle, and as an essential part of identity politics.

As seen from *Tufhatul Mujahiddeen*, Muslims enjoyed some autonomy, prestige and economic power under the Zamorins of Calicut till the advent of the Portuguese in the late fifteenth century. The Portuguese violently suppressed the mappila traders’ opposition and defeated the combined Muslim forces of the traders of Malabar, Basra, Damascus, Tunis and Egypt to break the Arab-mappila monopoly over the international spice trade (Shokoohy 144; Subrahmanyam 293-94). This made the mappilas move towards interior Malabar as agricultural tenants, low in status and desperately poor (Dale, Mappilas 54-82), giving sense to the ‘*ma fellah*’ identity formation under colonial oppression. Although it was primarily their anti-Portuguese sentiment that made them support the Malabar invasion of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan since 1765 (Elgood 164ff), the desire to assert their political identity also played its part. It is also evident that the brutal assertion that wrecked the socio-political economy of Malabar went overboard at times, as described by a Muslim officer in the Mysore army:

Nothing was to be seen on the roads for a distance of four leagues, nothing was found but only scattered limbs and mutilated bodies of Hindus. The country of Nairs was thrown into a general consternation which was much increased by the cruelty of the Mappilas who followed the invading cavalry of Hyder Ali Khan and massacred all those who escaped without sparing even women and children; so that the army advancing under the conduct of this enraged multitude Mappilas instead of

meeting with continued resistance, found villages, fortresses, temples and every habitable place forsaken and deserted. (Varma 508)

The mappilas who were tenants under the Portuguese benefitted from Hyder-Tipu invasion as they became owners of the property left behind by the land-owning upper-caste Hindus who fled to Travancore (Narayanan and Veluthat 275). Low-caste Hindus who were converted to Islam escaped caste oppressions (Kunju 79) and also became property owners. As tenants defied the few Hindu landowners who remained or came back by remitting land tax directly to the government (Dale, Mappilas), the Hindu dominance of Malabar collapsed. As Travancore was salvaged itself with the help of the East India Company (EIC) army, the wronged upper caste Hindus aligned themselves with the British. There have been efforts to read the mappila rebellions in British Malabar which culminated in the Mappila Revolt of 1921 differently. TL Strange Report [1852] ascribes these to fanatic and ambitious priests and his recommendations led to the Moplah outrages Act XXIII and XXIV of 1854 and a special police force for Ernad (Logan 570-71). The District Collector Conolly called it a fanatical outbreak, and others as outcome of the use of religion in Indian nationalist movement (Hitchcock; Tottenham; M. Nambutiripad; K. Nair; G. Nair; K. Menon), violent expression of communal agrarian discontent and grievances propelled by anti-British feeling (Gangadharan; Logan; E. Nambutiripad; Dhanagare; Hardgrave Jr.; Wood; Panikker) and a political move to establish an Islamic kingdom (Dale, Mappilas). Panikker calls these as peasant unrest caused by the British who had wrecked mappila economy by imposing heavy rent and tenurial contract, and by abolishing tenant rights (Panikker 1-48). By 1921, nearly one-million Malabar mappilas (Miller, Mappila 40-45), lived along the coast of the urban centres of Ernad, Valluvanad and Ponnani taluks of the south British Malabar. The mappila region is known in British records as “fanatical zone” and the British identified “poverty, agrarian discontent and fanaticism, of which the last is probably the chief” (Innes 89) as the three main causes of the revolt.

Muslim identity, challenged in the wake of the Portuguese who took away their trade and attacked the kingdom of Calicut, became strengthened as a form of resistance and through indoctrination. Even after the Portuguese left, they had to engage western powers like the Dutch, the French and the English. It was in this process of assertion of their identity that the mappila title became synonymous with a socio-political assertion in Malabar. The mappilas, threatened with eviction at the hands of Hindu *janmis* and the British courts, came together Mappila Revolt of 1921 to establish the Moplah Caliphate of Ernad and Valluvanad (Gopal 103). This also brought identity question to the center of the discourse. This largely ignored term acquired new importance as a mark of identity for the subaltern mappila as it united the community against imperial Britain. The British called this localised movement which culminated in a police raid on Tirurarangadi mosque on 20 August 1921 which left 2337 rebels killed and 45,404 imprisoned, as ‘Mappila Revolt’ and its leaders as ‘mappila Muslims’. Nearly 10,000 people were killed and many more were sent to the prisons in Port Blair (Kurien, Kaleidoscopic Ethnicity 51) and many migrated to Karachi and live there as Malabari mappilas. The British intelligence must have read this rebellion in the light of the Wahabi *Ihkwān* movement that helped Abdulaziz Ibn Saud to capture Nejd, Hijaz and Hail around that period, and divide ‘Arabia Felix’ into several small convenient principalities.

This identification was further strengthened as mappilas opposed the British who suppressed the Revolt of 1921 which came to be read in the backdrop of the pressure-politics of the North Indian Muslim League’s demand for Pakistan. The mappila-backed Muslim League of Kerala which started in Malabar in 1930s, supported the Pakistan Movement (More and Manickam), and even proposed a separate Muslim majority province in South Malabar called ‘Moplastan’ in 1947 in the Madras Legislative Assembly. However, this idea does not figure in National Muslim League’s proposal for Pakistan. However, some mappilas did migrate to Pakistan when it was formed (Miller, Mappila). Mappilas, who had “more in common with the Muslims of far-flung Hadramawt or Sumatra than those of North India” (Illias 436), later carved out Malappuram district in 1979 from the proposed Mappilastan area (Nossiter 251–252) much to the chagrin of the Hindu fundamentalists (Chiriyankandath). Although the idea of Mappilastan was rejected, bolstered by the Mappila Revolt and the politics of the Muslim League, mappila identity led to the formation of Malappuram even as Mappilastan is kept alive in the demand for statehood for mappila-dominated Malabar (Kurien, Colonialism 399).

Similarity in the customs and habits of the mappila Christians and Muslims—the first nativised community of Christians and Muslims in South Asia—suggests their West Asian origin. Local stories of both these communities have stories of Cheraman Perumal converting to their religion, and the legendary Uppukootan of the *Parayipetta Panthirukulam* [The pariah-born dozen] (Randathani, Mappila Muslims 207), and have similar mother tongues, customs, and culture as evident in their traditional songs and art forms. Syriac language of the Syrian Christians is very near to the language of the Arab Muslims, and many of their localized religious terms are also similar as in Muslim’s *skafir* and Christian *kavyar* found in the *Canons of Synod of Diamper* [1599]. These antedate the forced conversion of Christians during the invasion of Tipu Sultan in Central Kerala.

The term also hides as much alienation as integration. Even if the term was first used to bestow a caste on West Asian traders, its subsequent sense as 'not son' clearly demarcated the boundaries beyond which it could not integrate. They were permanently marked as 'other' even as they asserted their otherness. They have been richer economically and even politically dominant at times as the case of Muslims under Tipu and Christians under western colonial rule. They did not have to assert their identity until they felt subjugated, as was the case of the Muslims under the Portuguese. Unlike the Kerala-settled Marwari community which has acquiesced itself to the Brahmanical order of Indian society, the mappilas remain 'not-son' and remain outside the Hindu-mainstream.

Works Cited

- [1] Alexander, P. C. *Buddhism in Kerala*. Madras: Annamalai University, 1949.
- [2] Benor, Sarah Bunin. Jewish Language Research Website. 19 September 2003. 4 November 2012. <<http://www.jewish-languages.org/jewish-malayalam.html>>.
- [3] Burman, J. J. Roy. "Hindu-Muslim Syncretism in India." *Economic and Political Weekly* 31.20 (1996): 1211-1215. Web. 4 March 2015. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4404148>>.
- [4] Chiriyankandath, James. "Hindu nationalism and regional political culture in India: A study of Kerala." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 2.1 (1996).
- [5] Dale, Stephen Frederic. "The Hadrami Diaspora in South-Western India: The Role of the Sayyids of the Malabar Coast." (eds), U Freitag & W Clarence-Smith. *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- [6] —. *The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498-1922: Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1980.
- [7] Dhanagare, DN. "Agrarian conflict, religion and politics: The Moplah rebellion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries." *Past and Present* 74 (1977): 112-141.
- [8] Elgood, Robert. *Firearms of the Islamic World: in the Tared Rajab Museum*, Kuwait. IB Tauris: Kuwait, 1995.
- [9] Gangadharan, M. *The Malabar Rebellion*. Kottayam: DC Books, 2008.
- [10] Gopal, Ram. *Hindu culture during and after Muslim rule: survival and subsequent challenges*. MD Publications, 1994.
- [11] Gopalakrishnan, P. K. *Keralathinte Samskarika Charithram*. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerla Bhasha Institute, 1991.
- [12] Gundert, Hermann, ed. *Keralolpatti: The Origin of Malabar*. 2nd. Mangalore: Basel Mission Press, 1868.
- [13] Hardgrave Jr., RL. "The Mappilla rebellion, 1921: Peasant revolt in Malabar." *Modern Asian Studies* (1977): 57-99.
- [14] Hitchcock, RH. *A History of the Malabar Rebellion, 1921*. Madras: Government Press, 1925.
- [15] Illias, M.H. "Mappila Muslims and the Cultural Content of Trading Arab Diaspora on the Malabar Coast." *Asian Journal of Social Science* 35.4/5 Special Focus: Arabs in Asia (2007): 434-456.
- [16] Innes, CA. *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar I*. Madras: Government Press, 1908.
- [17] Kunju, A.P. Ibrahim. *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*. Trivandrum: Sandhya Publications, 1989.
- [18] Kupferschmidt, Uri M. *The Supreme Muslim Council: Islam Under the British Mandate for Palestine*. Leiden: Brill, 1987.
- [19] Kurien, Prema. "Colonialism and Ethnogenesis: A Study of Kerala, India." *Theory and Society* 23.3 (1994): 385-417. Web. 4 March 2015. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/657949>>.
- [20] —. *Kaleidoscopic Ethnicity: International Migration and the Reconstruction of Community Identities in India*. Rutgers University press, 2002.
- [21] Logan, William. *Malabar Manual*. Vol. 1. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1951.
- [22] Malieckal, Bindu. "Muslims, Matriliney, and A Midsummer Night's Dream: European Encounters with the Mappilas of Malabar, India." *The Muslim World* 95.2 (2005).
- [23] Maqdoom, Shaikj Zainuddin. *Tuhfat-al Mujahidin*, Trans. IS Muhammad Husyn Nainar. Madras: University of Madras, 1942.
- [24] Mathur, PRG. *The Mappila Fisherfolk of Kerala: a Study in Inter-relationship between Habitat, Technology, Economy, Society, and Culture*. Anthropological Survey of India, Kerala Historical Society, 1977.
- [25] Mayaram, Shail, MSS Pandian and Ajay Skaria. *Muslims, Dalits, and the Fabrications of History*. Permanent Black and Ravi Dayal, 2005.
- [26] Menon, KP Padmanabha. *A History of Kerala*. Vol. 1. Ernakulam: Cochin Government Press, 1924.
- [27] Menon, KPK. *Kazhinja Kaalam*. Calicut: Mathrubhoomi Books, 1986.
- [28] Menon, M Gangadhara. *Malabar Rebellion, 1921-1922*. Vohra Publishers, 1989.
- [29] Miller, Roland Eric. *Hindu-Christian Dialogue: Perspectives and Encounters*. Motilal Banarsidass, 1993.
- [30] —. *Mappila Muslims of Kerala, A study in Islamic Trends*. Madras: Orient Longman, 1976.
- [31] —. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Brill, 1988. 17 February 2012. <Books.google.com>.

- [32] More, JB Prashant and M Manickam. *Freedom movement in French India: the Mahe revolt of 194*. n.d.
- [33] Nair, GG. *The Moplah Rebellion, 1921*. Calicut: Norman Printing Bureau, 1923.
- [34] Nair, KM. *Malabar Kalapam*. Calicut: Mathrubhoomi Books, 2002.
- [35] Nambutiripad, EMS. *The National Question in Kerala*. Bombay: Peoples' Publishing House, 1952.
- [36] Nambutiripad, MB. *Khilafat Smaranakal*. Kozhikkode: Navakerala Co-operative Publishing House, 1965.
- [37] Narayanan, Aju K. *Kerlaththile Buddhamathaparamaryam Naattarivukaliloode*. Kottayam: SPCS, 2012.
- [38] Narayanan, M. G. S. and Kesavan Veluthat. "A History of the Nambudiri Community in Kerala." *Agni*. Ed. Frits Staal. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983. 256-78.
- [39] Narayanan, MGS. '*Political and Social Condition of Kerala under the Kulasekhara Empire (800 AD to 1124 AD)*'. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Kerala, 1972.
- [40] Nossiter, Thomas Johnson. *Communism in Kerala: A Study in Political Adaptation*. Royal Institute of International Affairs, n.d.
- [41] Panikker, KN. *Against the Lord and the State: Religion and Peasant Uprisings in Malabar 1836–1921*. Delhi: OUP, 1989.
- [42] Pavanan. *Baudhaswadheenam Keralathil*. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute, 2008.
- [43] Randathani, Hussein. "Genesis and Growth of the Mappila Community." 3 November 2009. Jaihoon.com. 1 November 2012. <<http://www.jaihoon.com/456.htm>>.
- [44] —. *Mappila Muslims: A Study on Society and Anti Colonial Struggles*. Other Books, 2007.
- [45] Sastri, KA Nilakanta. Sastri, KA Nilakanta (2005) [1955], *A History of South India*. (ed.). Chennai: OUP. Chennai: OUP, 2005[1955].
- [46] Shokoohy, Mehrdad. *Muslim Architecture of South India: The Sultanate of Ma'bar and the Traditions of the Maritime Settlers on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts (Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Goa)*. Psychology Press, 2003.
- [47] Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Career and Legend of Vasco Da Gama*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- [48] Swai, Bonaventure. "East India Company and Moplah Merchants of Tellicherry: 1694-1800." *Social Scientist* 8.1 (1979): 58-70. 4 March 2015. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3520242>>.
- [49] Thurston, E. *Castes and Tribes of India*. Vol. IV. Madras: Government Press, 1909.
- [50] Tottenham, GRF. *The Mappila Rebellion, 1921-22*. Madras: Government Press, 1922.
- [51] Vallikkunnu, Balakrishnan and Umar Tharamel. *Mappilappattu: Padhavum Padhanavum*. Kottayam: DC Books, 2006.
- [52] Varghese K, George. "Writing Family Histories: Identity Construction among Syrian Christians." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2004): 897-900.
- [53] Varma, Ravi. *Tipu Sultan: As known in Kerala*. n.d.
- [54] Wood, C. *The Moplah Rebellion and its Genesis*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1987.
- [55] Županov, Ines G. *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th-17th centuries)*. University of Michigan Press, 2005.