CHAPTER IV
INTERPRETATIONS

The derivation of the word $Ki\frac{1}{2}i$ may be either from the Sanskrit root 'Ki\frac{1}{2}i' that means 'one which is black' (Tharanadha Tharkkavachaspathi: 2006 (rpt): 2021) or from the dravidian root 'Ki\frac{1}{2}i' that means burn with flames (T. Burrow, M.B. Emeneau: 105: 1966). One who (she) is in black colour is called 'Kili'. $Ki\frac{1}{2}i$ is black whereas $Gou\ddot{a}i$ is white and both of them are related to $\dot{s}iva$. Due to Sanskritaisation and the influence of pan Indian Mythology, the meaning one who is in black colour got currency among Kerala folk and as a result generally it is believed that $Ki\frac{1}{2}i$ is black in colour. And accordingly philosophical interpretations have been made that $ki\frac{1}{2}i$ is the goddess one who rescue the world from the darkness (Introduction: p.3). The origin myth of $ki\frac{1}{2}i$ that prevails in Kerala even today, and the various ritual performances as manifestations of $ki\frac{1}{2}i$ myth all over Kerala are evident that the name $Ki\frac{1}{2}i$ is derived from the Dravidian root $Ki\frac{1}{2}i$. There is no evidence either in myth or in ritual
performances that $K^\frac{1}{2}$i is black. The description of the appearance of $K^\frac{1}{2}$i, from top to bottom is available in $\text{É}°\text{ṭṭam}$ songs and in $\text{pinaÉÉottam}$. $\text{Pa·aya},i$ songs and various dramatic performances in which $K^\frac{1}{2}$i appears all over Kerala emphasises that the colour of $K^\frac{1}{2}$i is not black. The total appearance of $K^\frac{1}{2}$i in $k^\frac{3}{4}i\text{ṭṭu}$, $\text{paṣan°tt}$, $\text{pa·aya},i$, $\text{mu·iy®ttu}$, $\text{pÉÉanum Éirayum}$, $\text{πud^hixakk°lam}$, $\text{ni¸abali}$, $ki^\frac{1}{2}ìtti\text{iṭṭu ÉiyippapaÈ®viÉa}$ denotes that $Ka^\frac{1}{2}$i is not black in colour but red tone, mostly the colour of the flame. The $\text{É°ttam}$ songs of $\text{PuÉiya b^hagavaÉi}$ explains, in $\text{H°maku¸·a B^hagavaÉi}$ appeared just like $\text{ponninpa«ukka}$ (colour of ripened arecanut). It is quiet interesting to note that the ritual also support this fact. Exactly at the moment the $\text{ve½iccapidu}$ enters in the fire with all costumes and weapons before the shrine the $B^b^hagavaÉi$ who is decorated with huge 4 $\text{pa°Éam}$ (torches) around the waist and over the crown stand up and begins vigorous dance. This is the enactment of the episode explained in the myth while giving the description of the origin of the
goddess. It was described that while doing ritual to the fire pit $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ appeared in it with an appearance of flame. According to another version $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ was originated from the third eye on the forehead of the $siva$ which is also full of fire. In both cases, $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$'s origin is in fire and having all qualities of fire (Chapter I: p.20).

In Kerala, two types of worship are common: 1. The native worship system that prevailing in $kivu$ 2. The worship system that follows $\text{Éa}^{\text{a}}\text{Érasamuccayam}$ which is common in Brahmanic temples. Among those gods and goddesses who get worship in shrines, $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ always known as $B^nagavaÉi$ and which is the main deity of Kerala. The subject of the myth behind $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ in Kerala is $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i – \hat{\text{Éa}}\hat{\text{a}}\text{aka}$ fight which is unique because it is not seen anywhere including $\hat{\text{Éevib}}^{\hat{\text{a}}\text{igavaÉam}}$. Where as $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ the annihilator of $\hat{\text{Éa}}\hat{\text{a}}\text{uka}$ is got origin and got several manifestations, oral and performance all over Kerala. The clear demarcation between the temple where the goddess is installed and the $kivu$ where the deity is
invoked and appeared are basically part of these two different religious thoughts.

The socio political and economic system prevailed in Kerala was totally regulated by the feudal system based on the caste hierarchy. Each centre has its own space in the community and it keeps always its own identity. The identity of each caste is expressed through various folklore forms including religion. Most of the castes are having their own deities and various rituals to appear the God/ Goddesses.

But $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ is common to people belongs to almost all castes. Even though, all are devotees of $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$, in the case of physical appearance, performance etc. their expression is different from one to another. For $K^{\circ}laÉ{É}i^{\circ}i^{\circ}$, $SimÉ{É}ti^{\circ}i^{\circ}$, $P^{\circ}r^{\frac{1}{2}}iti^{\circ}i^{\circ}$ and Chera king $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ is the $KulaÉ{É}vaÉ{É}a$ and all Poojas are not done by themselves. The duty of all 'Karmas' are assigned to a particular community namely $piÉ{É}iÉ{É}aka/mÉsaÉ{É}u/a-igal$. But as part of brahminaisation most of the $B^{\circ}agavaÉ{É}i$ kivu became
temple through installation of Ê®vaÉa and series of tantra-rituals. In these temples, once in a year Éa®Éri/brahmin pays visit and do the needful ritual to resurrect/rejuvenate the Ê®vaÉa. In certain cases brahmin does pooja by changing rituals which are not appropriate to ti®Éric ritual. In Va·akkan pi¶¶u references are there that, Éacc®li OÉ®nan used to worship Ki½i in his Éaravi·u and it is common that each ka½ari having Ki½i as pa½aÈ®vaÉa. It is also be noted that the other form of Ki½i as Ka®ikili, Nçlanki½i, Ō·akki½i, Cu·alabhadraki½i are propitiated in the kivu of lower castes. So, irrespective of castes Ki½i is considered as the common Ê®vaÉa of Kerala.

The Ki½i worship follows 'SikÉ®ya pÉja' which comes under Ka½aÈarma, mostly in temples related Kodungalloorkivu where as BhagavaÉi kivus in village system of worship is entirely different from that of SikÉ®yakivus (Chapter III, p.112). The means to propitiate Ki½i in kivus of Pathanamthitta is pa·aya,i where as in Central Kerala it is the performance of
Mudiy®ttu. Hundreds of manifestations are there, for the expression of devotion towards $Ki^{1/2}i$ in Kerala. The rituals such as GuµuÉi, Éa, cramruÉu are only offering to $ki^{1/2}i$ and these are part of paµja 'ma' kara pooja. Kuzhikkattu paccha, the Kerala version of ÉanÉric proceedings is narrating the installation method and systems of worship to resurrect and sustain the power of God/Goddess. According to Kuzhikkattu paccha $ki^{1/2}i$ is one among the seven goddesses. In the introduction given by the author to Kuzhikkattu paccha it is stated that $ki^{1/2}i$ is an addition as $7^{th}$ È®vaÉa to six other pan Indian Gods as a special consideration to kerlaites. All these infer that $ki^{1/2}i$ is unique as far as Kerala people are concerned.

Majority of the popular $B^{h}agavaÉi kivus$ are ŠikÉ®ya in nature of worship, especially owned and officiated by different dynasties such as Madayikkavu, Kaliyamvallikkavu, Pisharikavu, Thirumandamkunnu, Sreekurumbakavu, Sreeporkkali etc. But it is seen that when the same $B^{h}agavaÉi$ received by pulayan or panan community rituals are entirely get changed. For eg. the
BhagavaÉi in Vazhayil kivu of pulayan community is the same BhagavaÉi of Pisharikivu (Eâyava½). But, the rituals and annual festivals are entirely different from that of Pisharikivu. Instead of ŠikÉ®yapÉja other pÉjas are performed by Malaya community for °·akka½i. A special note to be given here is that as part of aghanaisan few of the ŠikÉeya kivus deviated from the old tradition and followed brahmanic way of worship. One of the interesting facts to be noted that to fulfill this ki½i had been changed to Èurga in accordance with the sanction of astrologist. All these facts denotes that even though Ki½i is one and the same everywhere conceptually, by ritual performance, by way of worshipping each region and each caste has its own uniqueness.

Miminathukivu, Midiyikkivu, Ka½a swore Éukkal, AmmokoÉlam, Miminikunnu kivu, SapÉa MitrupÉam, CippiraÉukivu, ÉurvÉncÉmi kivu, Ki½iyimva½ikkivu, PiÄìÉkkivu, Éruvalayanidu kivu, Éumindimkunnu kivu, KodikkunnaÉÉu kivu, SrÈkurumbakkivu, ÊsinaÉÉu kivu,
Panayanar kivu, Éiuvvari kivu, are the main SikÉeyakivus in Kerala where ki½i is the È®vaÉa. All these are under the control of the rulers of the respective area. 'Paµca 'Ma' kara worship is following in these shrines. The p£jaries of this SikÉ®ya temples belongs to certain castes such as pi¶irakas, moosathu etc; do not belong to brahmin community and their worshipping system is part of Kauladharna. Among these pitarakas & moosathu are non-vegetarians. These also affirms the fact that ka½i worship is unique when it is compared to Hindu way of worship in temples and verities of propitiation of deities all over Kerala (Chapter III: p.111).

śikt®ya temples have not any idol as such and nobody knows except the respective pitarakas what the process of pooja does inside the sanctum sanctorum. After incorporating ki½i one among the È®vaÉas and prescribed specific procedure for the installation and perpetuation of ki½i the Éa²Éra way of pooja and other rituals are used to observe in Ki½i temples. Still, 'Kau½aÈarma' way of worship continued in these temples
in certain instances, $ki\frac{1}{2}i$ had been transformed as Ëurga by way of tantric rituals and these temples therefore followed the tantric rituals by displacing the earlier ritual practices. For instance, in some of the kivus 'kuṣṭṭuÉi' has been replaced by a particular ritual 'pÉmÉ·al' (Chapter II: p.45). Even though the situation is this, the people of Kerala still continuing the traditional ritual practices in śikt®ya temples besides the tantric rituals such as kalaśam and pooja. For $ki\frac{1}{2}i$, 'kuṣṭṭuÉi' is one of the unavoidable ritual practices that sacrifice animal or chicken and the blood is mixed with a solution of turmaric, cu¸¸ambu and water and offer it by way of splashing it towards the deity. The brahminic way of doing 'kuṣṭṭuÉi' is that prepare the above said solution and put pieces of flesh of tender coconuts in it. Sacrifice of animal/chicken is replaced by cutting melon. So Brahminaisation in native shrines is two fold. 1. Displace completely the rituals by transformation of È®vaÉa. 2. Assimilation of native ritual practices with certain modifications.
Annual festival of temple is known as 'ulsavam'. It may be for one day or several days. The 'Éi·ambu' (symbolic image of È®vaÉa) of È®vaÉa which is inside the sanctum – sanctorum is brought out side and exhibit either on the elephant or on the head of a ritual man (in the case of 'Éi·ambu nriÉÉam) and take rounds to the temple with the accompaniment of musical instruments. The closing ritual is the ceremonial bath of the È®vaÉa (Éi·ampu) in the near by tank (Chapter II: p.87).

But in BʰagavaÉi temples the annual festival is called as Ka½iya¶¶am p£ram, v®la, Éilappoli etc. Usually it falls on the day of birth star of the È®vaÉa and the procedure is different from one place to the other. Yearly once, the whole village people assemble before the kivu and participate in the ritual performance. Most of the cases performances are enactment of the myth of ki½i as seen in mudiy®ttu or pa·aya, i. Pongila, Éalappoli etc. are the means of propitiation. The method or process of propitiation in each kivu is different from the other and in most of the cases it is unique as obscene songs.
performed in $B^hara_ji$ festival at Kodungallurkavu and as part of 'CerÉalapÉram'. Even though, now all annual festivals of the temples are generally called as $ulsavam$ the festival in $ki\frac{1}{2}i$ temples keep its own identity in form, structure and function.

The ritual practice of native $È®vaÉa$ in Kerala is that it get deification in one place and then it travels and get so many places of worship. In certain cases it moves with any of the person (s) who is a devotee and get new places of worship. The description of the journey of the $È®vaÉa$ is seen in all $Éottam$ songs. For eg: Kunjar kuraÉi gets stanam by seeing Mootharajan and destroying his city. By seeing prosperity and obedience ÈevaÉa may stay at once and get place of worship. The virtue of devotee may be an attraction of the $È®vaÉa$ and settle there as their 'pa$aÈ®vaÉa$ ' as it is seen in the myth of $Muccil°¶¶u B^hagavaÉi$. She was pleased with the devotion of 'Muccil°¶¶u pa¶la Nair and resided in the central room of his house. It is also believed that $Srçkurumba$ had travelled in a Ma$ëakkalam$ from south to north, reached
northern part of Kerala and many places of worship had been established. Many more Ê®vaÉas especially MaxakkalaÉÉilamma were travelled in Maxakkalam and reached north Kerala and became deities of various shrines also emphasises the native feature of d®vaÉa (Chapter III: p.129).

The local mythology of ki½i narrates how it got places of worship in various parts of Kerala. For example; Sri. PiÀ¡ikivilamma reached in Panthalayani with Ravari Nayars, who belongs to merchants community from south Kollam and got place of worship at Pan¶alayani. From there she moved towards north and became the goddess of Lokanarkavu which was later owned by Kadathanadu dynasty. Even today, with out the presence of the representative of Ravari Nayars from Kollam the Ka½i¶am of PiÀ¡ikivu won't happen. So it can be assumed that the above said features are common to all Ê®vaÉas of the land. In contrary to this in the case of Hindu gods temples are being constructed and installation of the concerned Ê®vaÉa is being done by
ÉanÉries. The way of propitiation/ulsavam also is decided by ÉanÉries. Above given two system of features of È®vaÉa are different and quite contrary to one another. Hence, $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ as È®vaÉa comes under the first category which belongs to native system. And moreover, it is interesting to note that È®vaÉa also will be polluted as it happened to have any association with untouchable castes and never be allowed to get back in any of the temples of higher castes, thereafter. The myth of the È®vaÉa in vazhayil piÉi$^{\frac{1}{2}}$am exemplify this fact.

It is believed that each and every goddess have their own route place. A native È®vaÉa always has its own route of journey through which it travels from one place to the other, which is technically known as 'Vaina·a' in É°ttam of songs of Éeyyam. Kodungalloor is considered as the main centre of $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ and later it travelled with Ravari Nayars who were merchants to so many places and got places of worships. $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ went first $P^{o}rkkili$ and hence known as $P^{o}rkkili$ $B^{h}agavaÉi$. Then it travelled towards south and then towards north. It was not alien
that È®vaÉa moves with merchant community. P£mala bʰagavaÉi and iveryap£kanni reached north Kerala by travelling by country ships called 'Maפשרkalam' with those who did voyage for goods transaction. One of these such godesses in north Kerala is named after 'MarakkalaÉÉilamma'.

As described in the Kivilepi¶¶u Sr¶kurumba travelled in a Ma ngànkalam and reached north Kerala, where she got sÉanam in many places of coastal area of North Kerala, which are called as c¢rmbakivus (C.M.S. Chandera: 2004: 66)) . And there by c¢rma had been received by thiyya, mukkuva, asari communities.

'younger – elder sisters' and 'mother-daughter' kinships are attributed to ki½i is not an exceptional case as far as all other È®vaÉas of Kerala concerned. What all kinship devotees have is imposed on È®vaÉas also. Ki½iy£¶¶u is performed before the mu·ippu¤a where two crowns are kept; one for ki½i and other for durga. The
people believe that $ki^{1/2}$ is the elder sister and as $\ddot{E}urga$ is the younger one.

![Diagram of Maternal and Fraternal Relationships](image_url)

**Fig. No. 1**

In the myth and ritual of Sr\$kurumbakivu / c\$rma the 'younger – elder concept is very prevalent. The myth narrates the details of c\$rmba and $e^{1/2}$ayaval who travelled all the way from south to Kannur is narrated in ritual songs of c\$rmba. Separate idols are there for each Godess and ritual performances for these are different. iya\$\ddot{E}\$\ddot{E}an, the ritual man perform dances for both c\$ramba and $e^{1/2}$ayaval. Usual dress of iya\$\ddot{E}\$\ddot{E}an who represents c\$rmba/Ki^{1/2}$ is red cloth where as, while performing
'iriÈana' (a special ritual dance) for e½ayaval iyaÉÉin's dress is white clothes. No meat or arrack is offered to her. She is propitiated by offering flowers. In certain kivus annual performance for ki½i is in the month of kumbh'am, known as kumbh'aÉÉilappoli and in m¢nam another Éilappoli is festivated namely m¢naÉÉilappoli. iyaÉÉin smear sandal paste on chest, arms etc. during kumbh'aÉÉilappoli and for m¢niÉÉalappoli smear turmeric along with sandal paste.

It is believed that the 'elder- younger' concept of c çrmba is related to ka¸¸aki. Ka¸¸aki travelled towards west after total destruction of mudurai city along with the daughter of pi¸·ya king and reached Chera kingdom. It is believed that ka¸¸aki is ki½i and daughter of pa¸·ya king is elayaval (younger one). The same concept is everywhere in Kerala.

It is the conviction of the people that Vazhayil b'hagava¶i of muchukunnu is the younger sister of the b'hagavaÉi in PiÀirikivu. According to the myth
PiÀìikiivilamma with her two sisters reached panthalayani along with Ravari Nairs. From there bhaÉgavaÉi travelled with her two youngers. But on the way one among them became thirsty. She drank water from a pulaya lady (untouchable) and the other sister refused to take her along with. She stayed there itself as a goddess of pulaya community and that place was known as Vazhayil pathalam. The elder proceeded the journey and reached kongannur and then to Lokanarkavu. All these infer that ki½i is a native Godess of Kerala people.

Sacrifice of animal, cock or even human had been seen in almost all ancient societies. It is described that “first offered blood by killing human being, then gave the blood of elephant as human sacrifice was not possible, then gave the blood of goat instead of elephant sacrifice. Now it is substituted by blood of cock as human being, elephant and goat are not available (K.K.N. Kurup: 1980: 54). All devatas except SrÔkurumba / ki½i get performances as ¶eyyam. It is because, people believe
that without human sacrifice the wrath of the goddess would not be cooled down. So, Éilappoli, ka½am and guµuÉi are the ritual to propitiate ki½i. Generally, sacrifice of Cock and guµuÉi are the main offering to any of the Gods/Goddesses in Kerala. Till few years back Coack sacrifice had been done for Ki½i in PiĀiikiṿu temple and Kodungalloor. In Kodungalloor K°ikuµuÉi has been displaced by K°ikkallumÉ·al and the coacks offered in the temple are being put on the K°ikkallu and are being flew in the air ritualistically. Instead of sacrificing coack a melon is being cut. In ki½iyi¶¶akiṿu in Malappuram district coack is the main offering to bʰagava¶i.

In Paµja’makara pooja in all ki½i temples which are known as šikÉ®yakivukal, flesh is one of the offering to ki½i and sacrifice/offering GuµuÉi are unavoidable. šikÉ®ya pooja which is also known as 'Va¶akk®n bʰigam' is common to most of the Goddesses, not only to È®vaÉas, but to those who have caused to death by small pox or those who are true devotees of ki½i. So it is
assumed that without these two rituals, sacrifice and GuṣuÉi propitiation of ki½i could not be fulfilled. 'Even though, cutting of melon is done as symbolic representation of sacrifice of animal/coack. It is not integral part of the so called Hindu way of propitiation; But displacement of a ritual while incorporating the same to the Hindu system of worship.

Even though the concept of ki½i by mythology may be the same by ritual, by beliefs and by annual festival it is diversified in nature. The mythology behind ki½i is basically the Ki½i – Ėiṣuka fight and killing of Ėiṣuka at the end. People wanted to cool down ki½i who was furious, even at a stage that her wrath might have resulted into the total annihilation of the earth.

Considering the nature of worship in prevalence, the officiating authority and the person or community indulged in propitiating ritual ki½i kivus in Kerala fall into 3 categories 1. šikÉ®yakivus  2. Ki½i kivus  3. Native kivus.
Kivu | Officiated by | Native worship | Ritual person
---|---|---|---
šikEeya kivus | Rulers | šikÉ©ya p£ja Annual festival | Pitarakas moosathu / Adikal
Ki½i kivus | Caste community | Fertility rituals &Éilappoli | Member of the caste
Native kivus | Village community | Ritual performance to appear ki½i | Member of the officiating caste. But all the village people participate

**Table No. 1**

But as explained elsewhere the manifestation of the concept of ki½i is in diversified forms.

Ki½i worship in Kerala is not monolithic in nature. Ki½i concept had been travelled with the history of the people of the land and accordingly it had undergone changes, still undergoing, both in nature and context. A close examination of ki½i cult in Kerala would throw new light to understand the system of worship. Mainly 3 visible layers are there for ki½i worship. These are not
water tight compartments and therefore functionally overlapping each other.

\( Ki_{\frac{1}{2}} \) is worshipped by people of all areas and at the same time it is seen that most of the castes in Kerala perceived \( ki_{\frac{1}{2}} \) concept and expressed it in innumerable ways. The varieties of ritual acts and performances in rural / village areas of Kerala exemplify it. For example, padaya, i in pathanamitta is unique in the sense that the attitude and participation of the devotees, the pictures way of presentation and elaborate way of performance have no parallel anywhere else in Kerala.

In the same way every nook and corner of Kerala celebrate \( ki_{\frac{1}{2}} \), either as C\( \text{rmba} \) or \( ki_{\frac{1}{2}} \). The common myth behind these ritual is \( ki_{\frac{1}{2}} \ {\text{\textit{Ei}}} \text{i\text{\textit{uka}}} \) fight. So, it can be assumed that '\( ki_{\frac{1}{2}} – {\text{\textit{Ei}}}\text{i\text{\textit{uka}}} \)' story is a common theme popular all over Kerala and so many texts of rituals and performances were being created out of this common stem.
In between 'Ni¸abali' in north to Ki½i±y£¶¶u in south hundreds of tiny and elaborate ritual festivals are there in Kerala in relation to 'Ki½i –Èi±£ka' theme. All these rituals/performances are varied manifestations of the same theme in accordance with the nature and culture of the land. In the surface, these rituals / performances have no parallel. Even though the village shrines are officiated by certain caste and rituals are being conducted by representatives of different castes of the village, members of all castes have its own role to play and confirm its participation. Therefore this kind of ki½i worship is a real expression of folks in all respects.

In the long run of the history, during the reign of Chera kings, some how the myth of ka¸¸aki became popular and the concept of 'Ottamulacci' which is malevolent in nature spread all over the land. When ka¸¸aki got the status of a Goddess and merged with ki½i of Kodungalloor kivu slowly the malevolent 'Ottamulacci' faded away in the mind of the people. Another popular Godess, Sr¢kurumba which is the
goddess of small pox, parallel to miśiyamman of Tamil nadu was also merged with $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$. Kodungalloor temple is the centre of this new developed cult.

$Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ worship had disseminated and several $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ kivus were established all over Kerala. The main feature of worship in these kivus, directly or indirectly related to fertility. Élappoli and pongala are two important rituals in these temples. Élappoli is an enactment of the act how the wrath of $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ was cooled down by keeping vergins with 'Éalams' in both hands, in two rows, on the way in which $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ was returned. The other ritual pongila, kalamkanikkal in north Kerala is a fertility ritual, aimed at prosperity. So, once $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ is cooled down then she is no more malevolent and she is the way to prosperity. The yearly ritual for Srčkurumba/Ki$^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ is referred as Éalappoli denotes the importance of Élappoli as far as the Goddess is concerned. The Kivus where Élappoli is being conducted is another level of manifestation of $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ that falls in between the $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ of šikt©yakivu and of village kivus, generally known as 'B$h^a$gavaÉikkivu'. These such
Bhagavāki kivus are there all over Kerala which are officiated by certain castes especially Nairs. In Bhagavāki kivu pooja and other rituals are done by persons belonging to the officiating community.

Bhagavāhi kivu which are known as šikēya kavu belongs to another level where Pitaraka and few other communities do šikēya pooja. This group of Kivus are officiated by rulers such as kōlaēiri, simēēiri, porlathiri etc and they considered the Ēvata as the deity of their kingdom and even the Ēvaēa is known in the name that prefixed with the name of the kingdom. For eg. Éayipparaēa / madiyikavilacci is known as the ‘kōlaswaēpaēinkal Éyi’ (kōlaswaēpam means the kingdom of kōlaēiri). In these temples the Ēanēric rituals such as kalaśam and pooja are only peripheral where as šikēya rituals are at the core.

The above discussions infer that there are three layers of ki½i worship, one over the other, the village performances all over Kerala as the base and šikēya
worship officiated by rulers on the top and rituals

B⁹agavaÉi kivu officiated by certain castes in between. It
can be assumed that this phenomena is related to the
power and feudal setup based on caste hierarchy in
Kerala. The ki½i worship system in šikÉ®yakavu is
comparatively recent, and it is part of the political system
then existed in Kerala, because officiating power was on
the hands of ruling caste and right to performing pooja is
of tiny castes who were people, according to belief,
brought for serving this purpose. The process of
performance šikÉ®ya pooja is a secret knowledge of this
caste. The common people have no other right except to
be devotees.

Where as the ki½i kavu all over Kerala, in most of
the cases are officiated by different castes and rituals for
the È®vaÉa are being done by the same castes and it is
the place of worship of the common people, one way or
the other having some kind of rights/duried in the
fulfillment of the performance. Over this layer, actually all
other systematized, worshipping system of ki½i is set up.
The pan-Indian Hindu way propitiation based/on ÉanÉra is having a little or little influence on the above said way of worship.

The burial of those who caused to death by smallpox is done in a special way that a pit or laterite chamber is made east-west direction and body is kept inside that. Usual practice of burial or cremation by all castes of Kerala is that, keep head of the body towards south and feet towards north. The entire ritual at the time of burial and after-wards in this case are different from that of the usual practice. The died person becomes 'Bhā, ṣaṃjñērēi' and it gets similar rituals as kiṅi gets in Kiṅikavu or similar ritual practices followed in 'Vaḷakkṇvitil'.

Those who were oracles or some way or other related to kiṅi die and those who get few small pox pimples on his forehead, while death will be considered as Baṅ, ṣaṃjñērēi'. Those who die in sitting posture are
called as Samadhi $B^\text{ha}_\text{a} \cdot a=am\text{\'r\'\'\'i'}$ and buried in sitting posture itself.

The rituals those are being done by the side of the burial pit and annual ritual at the same place are similar to that of the ritual given to $ki^{1/2}_i$, especially $va\text{\'{j}akk}nvi\text{\'{\i}}$ ritual.

The belief of the people is that after death the concerned person who was diseased by smallpox or those who died with some sign of small pox on the forehead in the case of oracle or ritual person of $ki^{1/2}_i$ becomes part of $ki^{1/2}_i$ and attain the status of deity known as $B^\text{ha}_\text{a} \cdot a=am\text{\'r\'\'\'i'}$ who gets propitiation by lighting wicks daily and annual $vatakknvi\text{\'{\i}}$. Certain cases, small shrine is being eructed by family members and propitiation is also being done.

Religion is the attitude of 'man' towards the transcendental. In that respect $ki^{1/2}_i$ worship is a religion, especially a folk religion. As per the Hindu religion there are four possibilities for an individual after death.
1. J¢v¡tma may dissolve in the Pa¤amiÉma without any chances to rebirth which is called as MokÀa (salvation)

2. J¢v¡tma gets rebirth

3. J¢v¡tma become pr®Éam (spirit) and wander in the world

4. J¢v¡tma is received by the God (viÀ¸u) and in such cases it appears the world to receive the ŠriÈÈam.

But the belief related to kili is that after death there are 2 possibilities.

1. May become bʰa¸·a¤am£rÉÉi

2. May become Samadhi bʰa¸·aram£rÉÉi

In both cases kī½i accept the individual (spirit) with her and accordingly it holds the rights to get similar offerings given to kī½i. So the devotees of kī½i is having clear understanding about life and life after death and therefore kī½i worship is not mere a ritual but it is religion by itself, not contrary to but, complimentary to Hindu religion. This is why in the same family persons are
there who attained the status of $b^h a_s \cdot a_m \cdot E E_i$, and the rest of the persons may undergo the Hindu way of transformation, described above.

A close examination of the varied manifestation of $ki_{2i}$ concept reveals that it is very popular among caste groups that falls in between Brahmin and those castes which were come under untouchable communities. $Ki_{jiy} \cdot P a d a y_i, \dot{E} \cdot E k k a m, M u d i y_t t u, P i n a, N i \_a b a l i, \dot{n}u \cdot E h i \cdot a k^o l a m, \dot{E} \ddot{y} y a m$ etc. are mainly the worshipping system of the people who belong to the above mentioned group. All these castes are agriculturalists and who are having right over land either as land owners or as tenants. The interesting fact to be noted is that either the brahmins or the marginalized castes have no direct role in the above said performances.

$Ki_{2i}$ such as, $\dddot{O} d a k k i l i, C u \cdot a l a b^h a d \cdot a k^i_{2i}$ etc. which are familiar among them untouchable castes are not the same as the $ki_{2i}$ concept based $Ki_{2i} - \dot{E} a \ddot{x} u k a$ myth. These are not the same functionally also. Paraya caste
make use of their $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ for magical purposes also, which is alien to the $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ concept that existing among the caste society of Kerala. It is very rare that the same $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$, based on $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$-Èiruka myth is seen among lower castes. For eg. vazhayil pathalam where pulayas propitiate the same $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$. The origin myth of the È®vaÉa is evident that it is a borrowed one; the younger polluted sister stayed with them as there È®vaÉa.

Brahmins have no temples or shrine of $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ of their own, whereas they have either any varied form of $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ worship or their own myth and ritual in support of that. The only relationship with $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ to them is that they accepted $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ as the 7th goddess that having installation, kalašam and pooja according to ÉanÉra. Because the right over the land and power over the rulers they were able to impose their own concept of È®vata on $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ and establish their own ritual practice on that. Still, the people continued the traditional practice of worship as usual along with the tantric ritual. Even in Kodungalloor and other sikt®ya kivus on the first day of annual
festival the kivu is purified and the È®vata is offered with tantric rituals. Then only the ritual person(s) get the right to perform their own rituals. It is true that almost all kivus got installation and getting yearly, monthly or daily pooja. This is no more an imposition because people already accept it. The process of changes that happened in this regard can be considered either as part of Brahminaisation or Hinduaisation.

The units of the structure of the society were castes and each caste was functioning as labour group. The entire mechanism of the society was based on the production and distribution of agriculture and therefore the ownership or right over land played a crucial role in the establishment of social structure. In the caste hierarchy Bhahmins were on the top who had right over the land and also had religious power. Then comes the ruling caste. As social, economic and political power were concerned all other castes except untouchable castes were functioning as a group, those who had right over the land either as land owners or tenants. Actually these
caste groups were indulged in agriculture production. There were untouchable castes who had no role in production and distribution except giving labour.

So, it is seen that as a feudal society based on caste hierarchy, brahmin on the top, all other castes except untouchable castes functioning as one group and untouchables are on the peripheral as a separate group as shown in the figure No: (2).

![Fig. No. 2](image)

Earlier discussions elucidate that different manifestations of \( ki^{1/2}i \) are part of religious life of the people who belong to the caste group exists in between
brahmin and untouchable castes, who were agricultural producers. Their life and others life through them also become prosperous through the production from the land which was to them the mother earth. The only way to fertilize the land is through the appeasement of the mother Godess. This is the context in which the concept of $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ and all rituals that lead to fertility of the land and women originated.

So it can be assumed that the Godess, $ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ originated among the castes group which indulged in agriculture and it got different spacial texts all over Kerala. And later it was disseminated to the brahmins who were in the centre of structure of society and to untouchable castes who were in the peripheral.

A close examination of the rituals related to $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ worship brings out the fact that all the rituals can be categorized in to two groups. viz. 1. Rituals to cool down the $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ 2. Appease $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ for fertility. Éilappoli come under the first category (Chapter 3: p.121). The myth
behind $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ give the details of the origin of Éilappoli. According to the myth to cool down $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ 'Kanyakis' (virgins) stood in two rows carrying 'Éilam' on both palms, on the way of $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ to receive her. The enactment of the same is continuing in $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}ikivus$. The annual festival of all Srêkurumba kivus and few other $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}ikivus$ is known as 'Éilappoli' is the episode that considered as the core of all rituals. Éilappoli represents the whole ritual means the folk perceived $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ as one who is angry even to destroy the entire world and people also believe that ill happenings should be there due to the wrath of the Godess. So, the folk wanted to cool down $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ and make her tend towards fertility. Two kinds of Éilappoli are performed usually in $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ kivus. One is in 'Kumb$h$am' and other one is in the month of $mtnam$. The Éilappoli of kumb$h$am is performed for C$c$rma/ and $B^h$aÈraki$^{\frac{1}{2}}i$ and the $M^cnaÉilappoli$ is for the Godess, the younger one. Three types of Éilappoli are seen in $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}ikivus/Sr$ ôkurumbakavus. 1. Éilappoli 2. Ve$^{\frac{1}{2}}^{\frac{1}{2}}aÉilappoli$ 3. iyin$aÉÉiri$. Éilappoli is performed by maiden carrying
Éilam on both palms. Ve½⁄₂a Éilappoli is performed by mothers by holding their small children on their shoulder and taking Éilam on their right palm. iyixaÉÉiri is performed in šikÉ®yakavu. Old ladies perform this by holding vessel (u xu½i), filled with rice and hundred lighted wicks of lamp on head.

Éilappoli is common in Ki½ikivus and Sr̆kurumba kivu's except šikÉ®yakavu. The myth and presence of Éilappoli in Ki½i kivus are evident that Éilappoli is, by origin related to Kili. Kili worship is common to Kerala and annual festival in Ka½ikavu is referred as Éilappoli, lead us to a conclusion that Éilappoli is a unique ritual of Kerala. The enactment of the incident that happened to Ka½i while returning from the battle field after killing Èa¤uka is an unavoidable part of the performance as far as the people are concerned.

The table given below provide us a picture of the distribution Ki½i Èa¤uka theme and its manifestations in different areas of Kerala; Malabar (North Kerala), Cochin (central Kerala) and Tiruvithamkur (South Kerala).
Éiyipad®vaÉa, Ni, abali, ñuÈirakk°lam, Ka, yirki½i and Éilappoli are the main performance of North Kerala. Pina, Écryittu, Mu·iyettu etc are the performance available in the area of Cochin. Padaya, i, Ki½iy£¶¶u, Ékkam, paran®ttu are popular in different parts of Thiruvithamkur.

The theme for annual performance of Ki½i kivus may be divided in terms of context into two viz. war and post war.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>War</th>
<th>Post war</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ni, abali</td>
<td>Pa·aya,i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñuÈirakk°lam</td>
<td>Écyi¶¶u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éiyippard®vate</td>
<td>Ékkam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki½iy£¶¶u</td>
<td>Pina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paran®ttu</td>
<td>Ka, yirki½i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P£tanum tirayum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu·iyê¶¶u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table No. 2**

As all these are considered as performance as enactment of Kili Èaµuka confront it an be categorized according to theme, as war, post-war. ÉiyipadÈ®vaÉa in
Éeyyam represents the \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \). But, it does not enact any of the episodes. Where as ni¸abali is the enactment of \( Kili - Éiµuka \) fight. \( ñudìakk°lam \) also is the enactment of the fight between \( Éiµuka \) and \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \). But, Êilappoli is the enactment of post-war situation (To cool down \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \)) that vergins welcome \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \) with tilams in their hands.

Except \( Êiyipåad®vaÉa \) and Êilappoli all other performance are enactment of war between \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \) and \( Éiµuka \). In the case of \( Êiyipåad®vaÉa \) even though fight is not enacted the theme is elaborately described in \( t°ttam \) songs and create an atmosphere of fight. ' Êilappoli ' is the particular ritual act that to cool down \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \) is the core of the ritual performances in \( Srçkurumba kivu / Ki\frac{1}{2}i kivus \). In \( Srçkurumba Kivu \) the concept of \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \) is the merged form of \( Srçkurumba, Ka¸¸aki \) and \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \). Êilappoli is seen in \( kivus \) where \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \) is merged with \( Srçkurumba \) and \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \) in isolation also. So, it can be assumed that Êilappoli meant for \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \), not for \( Srçkurumba \). But, for \( Ki\frac{1}{2}i \) Êilappoli does not perform in south Kerala is an issue to be answered. Êilappoli is
performed in Kodungalloor Kivu from where merged form of Bha\(gava\text{\textbar}i\) disseminated, especially towards north. So there is all reasons to come to a conclusion that \(\text{\textbar}ilappoli\) originated in Kodungalloor as part of the rituals even before the merging of other two \(d\text{\textbar}va\text{\textbar}as\).

The table given below points out that the major performances related to \(K\text{\textbar}i\text{\textbar}i\) in central Kerala are pina, \(\text{\textbar}iya\text{\textbar}u\) and mu\text{\textbar}iy\text{\textbar}ttu. All these performances are either the enactment of war or the enactment of the episode after war. \(\text{\textbar}ina\text{\textbar}ottam\) narrates the whole story of the fight between \(K\text{\textbar}i\text{\textbar}i\) and \(\text{\textbar}a\text{\textbar}uka\). The theme of \(K\text{\textbar}i\text{\textbar}i\text{\textbar}y\text{\textbar}u\) performance also is \(K\text{\textbar}i\text{\textbar}i\) – \(\text{\textbar}a\text{\textbar}uka\) fight. All these shows that, in Central Kerala, the folk perceive \(K\text{\textbar}i\text{\textbar}i\) as a heroine who is dare enough to encounter \(\text{\textbar}a\text{\textbar}uka\) and killed by cutting his head. So, war is the central theme enacted in Central Kerala as seen in North Kerala.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North Kerala (Malabar)</th>
<th>Middle Kerala (Cochin)</th>
<th>South Kerala (Travancore)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ni\text{\textbar}abali - War</td>
<td>Pina – Post War</td>
<td>(K\text{\textbar}i\text{\textbar}i\text{\textbar}y\text{\textbar}u) - War</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rudiakk°lam - War | Thçyi¶¶u – War | Paran®ttu – War
---|---|---
Éilappoli – Post War | Mu·iy®ttu – War | É£kkam - Post War
Éiyipaxad®vaÉa – War | | Pa·aya¸i – Post War
Ka¸yirk½i – Post War | | |
P£tanum Éirayum - War | | |

**Table No. 3**

*Pa·aya¸i, É£kkam, Ki½iy£¶¶u and Paran®ttu* are the main performances popular in Travancore area. Among these *ki½iy£¶¶u* and *paran®ttu* are enactment of war where as *padaya¸i* and *É£kkam* enact post-war episode. In *pa·aya¸i* neither *Èa¤uka* appear on the stage nor any enactment in relation to the fight. *Padaya¸i* reveals the post war episode in which *Ki½i* with uncontrollable rage was tried to cool down by giving dance by different 'K°lams' such as YakÂi, MaruÉa etc. So, it represents completely post war episode. *É£kkam* also is an attempt to cool down *Ki½i*. All these show that
comparing to other parts of Kerala travancore area is more interested in enacting the post-war episode.

In North Kerala, especially in Kannur and Kozhikode district no post war episode of Ki½i myth is enacted; war is the theme of performance. Ni, abali and υuÉirakk°lam are vigorous in nature. The costumes and make ups are having special features that to cope up with the situation, especially the ÉaÍukka in Ni, abali. The annual festival of Ki½i kivu / Sṛkurumba kivu in north become the stage for ferocious enactment of the fight between Ki½i and ÉaÍukka is not a coincidence. It is because, North Kerala is the land of hero worship, where heroes become deities and where a specific genre in orality, va¶akkkan pi¶¶u in which the life of several heroes are praised, originated and still in existence. So, the mind set up of the people of North Kerala is to accept all heroic acts and even to elevate the heroes to the status of God/Godess. So, naturally Ki½i, the heroine who got triumph over the evil ÉaÍukka attract the mind of the folk and they would like to see again and again the valoric act of Kili. Even though
Éilappoli is the enactment of post-war incident it is only a ritual to appease Ki½i. This is the reason that the fight between Ki½i and Èixuka becomes the central theme of the festival. This is the reason for the enactment of war becomes the central theme of performance in Ki½ikivu of North Kerala.

Ka½ame«uÉÉu is performed as part of God/Goddesses worship, magical rituals, tantric rituals etc. mannan, ganakan, vannan, malayan, panan, velan, pulluvan, munnettin, pulayan, th¢yyattunni, th¢yadi Nambiar, theyyampidi kuruppu, kallatta kuruppu, Kerala brahmins are the castes traditionally engaged in Ka½ame«uÉÉu. Among the two types of kolam, the kolam that draw the figure of God/Godess is known as ë Epakka½am and the other one that draw columns and other forms is called as paÈmakka½am. BªaÈaki½ikka½am which is drawn for BªaÈaki½iÉÉ ëyi¶¶u, Brihmanippi¶¶u, Pa·aya,i etc. are popular all over Kerala except northern part. The Ka½am drawn as
part of the ritual at *Sr¢kurumba kivu* is not the figure of anyone of the Godess but, symbolic columns.

There are evidences to prove that *Ka½ame«uÉÉu*, especially '*£pakka½am*' is originated as part of the rituals in *ki½ikivu*. It was the first time that Subrahmanya drawn the ferocious form of *Ki½i* on the way through which *Ki½i* returned back from battle field, thinking that if she realize her own figure, her wrath would reduce and she will be cooled down. Apart from this the tradition of *Ka½ame«uÉÉu* is seen all over Kerala, in *Ki½i kivus* where as *Ka½ame«uÉÉu* is only an option as far as other Gods/ Godesses are concerned. For example, for the appeasement of šasÉivu or V®ttakko¤umakan, there are so many means of rituals apart from *Kalame«uÉÉu*. šasÉivu has its own cult related to Sabarimala. To propitiate šasÉivu teyyam is also performed. Tantric way worship also popular. In the same way VeÉÉakko¤umakan is propitiated in shrines by offering Éeyyam performance, by *Ka½aÉÉilaxiyum Pi¶¶um*. For these such È®vaÉis *Kalame«uÉÉu* and other
forms of rituals are in complementary distribution. From south to north, for $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ $Ka^{\frac{1}{2}}$ame$u\bar{\mathring{E}}\bar{E}u$ is an integral part of its rituals (exception may be there). The $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ who sits on the shoulders of $v\bar{\mathring{E}}a\bar{\mathring{a}}$ is drawn in Sarngara $B^{\bar{\mathring{a}}}$agava$\bar{\mathring{E}}i$ temple in Kollam and $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ in its symbolic form appears in $Ka^{\frac{1}{2}}$am drawn in $Sr\bar{\mathring{c}}kurumba$ kivu. Therefore $Ka^{\frac{1}{2}}$ame$u\bar{\mathring{E}}\bar{E}u$ is a feature of $Kili$ worship and later it might have disseminated to all other related performances.

Both $\bar{\mathring{E}}pakkalam$ and $Pa\bar{\mathring{E}}makka^{\frac{1}{2}}am$ are practiced in the worship of $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$. In all $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ kivus it is seen that $\bar{\mathring{E}}pakkalam$ is drawn. Initially sakti of the $\bar{\mathring{E}}\bar{\mathring{a}}\bar{\mathring{a}}\bar{\mathring{a}}$ is invoked in the $ka^{\frac{1}{2}}am$ and pooja are being done to the $ka^{\frac{1}{2}}am$, where as in Kodungalloor temple and $Sr\bar{\mathring{c}}kurumba$ temple and elsewhere $Pa\bar{\mathring{E}}makka^{\frac{1}{2}}am$ is drawn for representing $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ and 'Ku$\bar{\mathring{u}}\bar{\mathring{E}}\bar{i}$' is offered by cutting chicken or goat. All these point out that $Kalame$u$\bar{\mathring{E}}\bar{E}u$ is an integral part of $Ki^{\frac{1}{2}}$ worship and it has currency all over Kerala.
Different from that of Hindu way of worship in which all rituals are aimed at either propitiation or rejuvenation of Ė®vaÉa, Ki½i worship is unique because it aims at either to cool down the godess or to appease the Godess. After killing Ėźuka Ki½i's fury was at a stage even to destroy all the worlds. In the mind of the devotees the figure of Ki½i is in that stature. They wanted cool down Ki½i and then lead it to bless them with prosperity. So, any ritual act of worship of Ki½i aims at either cooling down or to appease it. Éilappoli, Kalame«uÉÉu, GuþuÉi, etc. are the ritual to cool down Ki½i where as pongila. Kalamkanikkal, Kalašam in various forms are to appease Ki½i. It leads the women and the earth fertile and as result the life of the people become prosperous. The concept of Ki½i in the mind of the people of Kerala is that it causes both destruction and protection. They envisage the ki½i who is raged and therefore they wanted to kept her benevolent by sprouting motherly affection in her, which leads to fertility in all levels.
A close examination of $K\text{\textfrac{1}{2}}$ worship reveals that it is not monolithic in nature, it comprises of varied worshipping systems that connected with caste system. As discussed earlier $K\text{\textfrac{1}{2}}$ worship in its root is being practiced by the folk belong to different castes. Poojari or ritual man belongs to the same caste, by whom it is officiated. For example in $Sr\text{\textfrac{1}{2}}kurumbakivu$ of thiyya community, the rituals are done by the thiyyan entitled $embron$ and another Thiyyan as oracle entitled as 'iyaÉÉan'. It is true to all $Sr\text{\textfrac{1}{2}}kurumbakivu$ officiated by other castes.

Another system that exists in $K\text{\textfrac{1}{2}}$ worship is that officiating community is different from the community entitled to do rituals. All $\text{\textfrac{1}{2}}kÉ®yakivus$ are officiated either by kings or by land lords. In these such cases there is specific persons belong to particular traditional castes. For eg. Pitaraka caste is instructed to do $\text{\textfrac{1}{2}}kÉ®ya pooja$ in the $\text{\textfrac{1}{2}}kÉ®yakivu$ at Koyilandy and madayikavu at Pazhayangadi.
Apart from this, recently all most all Kiṣikivu got installation of È®vaÉa and accordingly tantric poojas also introduced in these kivus. During Annual festival in the Kivu the first day ÉanÉri purify the temples and premises and does pooja accordingly to ÉanÉric tradition, than the Kivu is left to the officiating persons for the traditional rituals and festival. Re-installation (Pu¸¸ahpraÉis¶a) and different forms of Kalaša¶¶u also will be conducted as and when the astrologer recommends for the same.

The discussion given above reveals that the concept of Kiṣi in Kerala is heterogenic. According to caste and according to the place it takes different manifestations. In the same Kivu different ritual practices are followed by different castes as it is seen in the case of áikt®yakivu that brahmin does ÉanÉric pooja, pitaraka does áikt®ya pooja and other rituals by native folk. It is because different groups of people perceive Kiṣi according to their own needs and according to the reality around them.
'Ottamulacci' (one who has only one breast) was a dreadful belief among the people of Kerala. The word Orumulai paÉÉini with the same meaning is used in Cilappatikãram. To make the children obey, the elders use to tell them that 'Ottamulacci' was coming. Ka¸¸aki realized that her innocent husband, K°vlin was hanged by the king she was furious like anything and plucked and threw one of her breast towards madurai city and it was ruined. That malevolent concept of Ka¸¸aki was disseminated in Kerala and it has only the status of evil spirit that can be compared with the concept of 'YakÀi'.

People believes that 'Ottamulacci' use to appear in her dreadful form in the darkness of night and those who met her on the way will be killed. Olden days, anecdotes were reported that by seeing 'ottamulacci' so many people got fever and died with in few days.

To a section of people of Kerala Ka¸¸aki is a È®vaÉa dreadful in nature can be cooled down and becomes benevolent by appeasement. Evil spirit and È®vaÉa are
opposites and usually it would not get co-existence in a folk and therefore this phenomena is to be examined.

In Kerala there is no worshipping centre where Kaₜₜ as such, in isolation is considered as È®vaÉa and propititating it. Kaₜₜ is merged with ki½i and Sr çkurumba and that is the È®vaÉa worshipped in Kodungalloor and all Srçkurumbakivu. The 'Ve½iccappadu' with one anklet and the recital of Kaₜₜ story in Srçkurumba Kivu and bhagavaÉikivu as part of rituals are evidents for the presence of Kaₜₜ in these temples as È®vaÉa in a merged state. The 'iraÈana' ritual in Srçkurumbakivu by 'iyaÉÉin is also meant for Kaₜₜ (Chapter III: p.117).

It can be assumed that before the merging of Kaₜₜ with Ki½i and Srçkurumba Kaₜₜ as a menovelent spirit might have disseminated in Kerala in the lower level, among common people. Later, the merged form of Kaₜₜ was accepted by few castes and they propitiated it in their own Kivus with special rituals.
Still in the belief system of these castes it is in the latent from and for the rest of the people 'Ottamulacci' belief has been continuing. So this is an example for dual manifestation of the same concept, Kaṣaci and Ottamulacci.

As explained elsewhere Ki½ worship in Kerala is having multi phases. In lower level, all over Kerala Ki½ is worshipped as mother Goddess based on the Ki½-Èaṣuka myth in various forms. Hundreds of worshipping systems are still in existence in the rural villages of Kerala. Among these pa·aya,i and mu·iyettu are having several performing texts in different BhagavaÉi kivus. Special attention is to be given to the fact that all these performances and series of ritual are exclusively for propitiating Ki½i.

Another tradition popular in Kerala is Srḳkurumba Kivu, especially in north Kerala. The worshipping system in Srḳkurumbakivu is entirely different from that of Ki½i Kivu in villages of Kerala. Here, Ki½i who killed Èaṣuka
and rescued the earth, *Srṇkurumba*, the Goddess of smallpox and Kaṣaṣkṣaki are getting worship and still it is known as *Srṇkurumba Kivu*. 
Elaborate ritual songs are sung during the festival that narrates how it reached the northern part of Kerala. Not only that it narrates the origin of it from the third eye of śiva and the long voyage it conducted to reach the earth. Apart from the myth, the áikt®ya pooja that the ritual man does in Kivu, and in the burial place of 'b²aŠ·arm£rÉi' donates its strong bond with Kodungalloor Kivu. So, Sr¢kurumba kivu tradition is one of the offshoots of Kodungalloor Kivu.
Quite different from the above described two modes of worship, in ŚikÉ®ya kivu officiated by rulers special rituals are being performed by pitarakas etc. Which is also known as ŚikÉ®ya pooja, but different from that the ritual-man does in village kivus and for bhandiramÉies. So, Kivu worship as a whole consists of 3 layers viz., 1. Worship in village Ki½i Kavus. 2. Worship in Srãkurumba Kivus, 3. Worship in ŚikÉ®ya kivus.

Semantically and functionally all these three È®vaÉas are one and same because they were born in a similar situation and by appearance they are similar and their motives also the same that to annihilate the enemy. More over in deep level all these È®vaÉas are the same. That is the reason all these 3 È®vaÉas merged at Kodungalloor Kivu situated at Kodungalloor which was the capital of Chera kingdom during the reign of Cheran Chenkuttawan. Later, two modes of worship emerged from this tradition. 1. Srãkurumba kivu tradition among certain castes such as Mukkuva, Thiyya etc., which is
more than a worship; It attained the status of a kind of religion. 2. áikt®ya worship in kivus officiated by rules.
The evolution of $Ki^{3/2}i$ worship is as shown in the figure No. (4) $Ki^{3/2}i$ worship based on the $Ki^{3/2}i$ who killed $Èa¤uka$ was originally part of native religion which is popular all over Kerala, even today. Later Sr¢kurumba and Ka¸¸aki merged into $Ki^{3/2}i$, Kodungalloor as its centre and generated a new method of worship. The worship of $Ki^{3/2}i$ in Kodungalloor disseminated through two roots. 1.
šikÉ®ya worship in Ki½i Kivus. 2. Sr¢kurumba worship at local Sr¢kurumba Kivus. The dissemination of the first one was through merchant community (Ravari Nairs) and Sr¢kurumba worship was disseminated through different castes such as Tiyya, Mukkuva etc. The similarity of rituals in these two different types of worship is that in both cases šikÉ®ya pooja is observed. šikÉ®yap£ja in šikÉ®ya kivu is done secretly by specific castes whereas in Sr¢kurumba kivu ritual has a root among the people and the similar rituals are being done by the same ritual person does pooja in Kivu, as part of the death ritual. So, the Ki½i worship related to Sr¢kurumbakivu has been elevated to the status of folk region.