CHAPTER I

SOURCES AND METHODS

‘Food’ has always been an integral part in the construction of social history of day-to-day life. It is a fact that many a time a culture articulates itself and gets recognized as unique through its culinary practices. To be specific, food as a medium plays an imperative role in making a culture different and distinct. The etymological representation of the term ‘culture’ indicates rules, customs, shared plans and behaviours that are formulated from the interactions in the society. According to E. B. Tylor ‘Culture’ is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, custom and rituals, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.’\(^1\) The representation of food, in a symbolic manner, almost always reveals the dominant ways of a society. Through an analysis of its habits and food ways, it is possible to understand a series of meanings which are associated with the making of identities, the establishment and maintenance of social relationships, and the cultural changes in a society.\(^2\) The study evaluates how the social and religious powers used food practices as a medium to demarcate the concept of pure from impure, the so-called upper castes from the ‘lower’ castes, and the colonizer from the colonized. This chapter is a critical endeavour to locate the historiographical position of Gastronomy; it also tries to analyse the available sources those equip the researcher with a data that is essential for such a study.

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History of Gastronomy: A Theoretical Analysis

This section purports to make detailed analysis on the theoretical frame of culinary history. By the middle of the twentieth century, European historians recognized the importance of food in understanding the development of civilization. Theoretical inspirations got from the work of the French school of historiography, generally known as Annales that interests in food, dress, emotion sex, mentalities etc. attracted the attention of historians and that these subsequently became focal points of historical inquiries. The emergence of food history as serious academic pursuit has been led by the French scholars of Annales School. These French historians turned away from the history of great men and began to address the history of society through new sources and approaches.

As a historian of medieval society Marc Bloch sought to explain feudalism through various social institutions by examining the distribution of property, social groups, and the form and functions of the state. In feudal society, Bloch portrayed the rhythm of society through a description of its custom and habits.

On the other hand Febvure, by contrast, pursued the relationship between the individual and community with an eye to popular belief. Febvure’s commitment to cross research in food history finally saw fruit in 1954, by the publication of French Encyclopaedia. The fourteenth volume of the Encyclopaedia dedicated to everyday life, contains the history of food consumption.

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6 Ibid.
Later Fernad Braudel made the most important contribution to the *Annales* School of historiography. His work *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip Second* is considered as monumental work in history of historiography. The introduction to this work describes the three levels of time (Long duree). His work gave unique conceptual frame work in the methods of *Annales* historical analysis. Braudel extended his interpretive frame work of early modern Europe in three volumes. The first volume *Structures of Everyday Life* focused on what Braudel defined as Para historic, a conceptual category under which he placed such material needs as food, housing and clothing, along the structural categories of demography, technology and towns and urban life. It is detailed history of the material life over the rule of things, the rules of the people, further reorienting Braudel’s vision of human action and thought. For Braudel these material aspects of the past were central to the history of civilization. He identified the material culture of the food served as window in to the history of everyday life.

The studies of Braudel food became significant part of the study of economic growth and stagnation, something, exemplified through food crisis and consumer revolution. The influential Fernad Braudel saw history in sweeping terms, for instance, how humans changed such natural conditions as the land, vegetations, and animals by introducing stock breeding and agriculture. As a social historian he drew his work from other disciplines as sociology, geography, psychology, and linguistics as well as anthropology. So the study of history of cuisine emerged in response to the quantities hegemony of Braudel. Historian

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9 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
Jean Louis Flandrin, along with Francoise Sabban and Maurice Aymard, perceived the intellectual value and symbolic and social analyses of food system of culture.\textsuperscript{13} Focusing on history of sexuality and family, Flandrin’s early works are far more attentive to social practices within the household, and his methodology more closely associated with social anthropology than with the economic models.\textsuperscript{14}

Flandrin, his students and collaborators sought to explain the history of culinary practices, eating habits, and food regime of various eras and civilizations through the close readings of the cookbooks, literary sources and medical text.\textsuperscript{15} By the end of the twentieth century, scholars had widened their view of food as part of historical experience. The noted French gastronome Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, reminds us of the important role of taste with its inherent link to hierarchical notions of cultural refinement in any discussion in the formation of a cuisine. For Brillat-Savarin, gastronomy is the epitome of taste.\textsuperscript{16} These studies created an alternative avenue of research that was backed by structural theories of culture. Claude Levi-Strauss famous dictum is that ‘food is not only good to eat but to think’ of it quoted.

In academic writing, structuralists were amongst the first group of scholars to pay sustained attention to the concept of taste. The major influence was that of Claude Levi-Strauss for whom cooking constitutes a crucial cultural code.\textsuperscript{17} Levi-Strauss structural focus propelled the emphasis away from how food serve is served. In fact he regards the gustatory code as the most significant code, since its decipherment permits the anthropologist to view human society,
with all its variation, as a structure producing meaning.\textsuperscript{18} The gustatory code therefore reveals a common structure that contains meaning. The structuralist approach has enriched their understanding by its clear recognition that taste is shaped culturally.\textsuperscript{19}

However, this approach often fails to understand that taste cannot be defined exclusively by a static structure and that tastes change and develop over time. Food, Barthes tells us, is ‘not only a collection of products that can be used for statistical or nutritional studies.’ It is also, and at the same time, a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations and behaviours.\textsuperscript{20} Food itself already presents a complex grammar, ‘a rich symbolic alphabet through its diversity of colour, texture, smell, and taste; its ability to be elaborated and combined in infinite ways; and its immersion in norms of manners and cuisine.’ Mary Douglas disagrees with Levi-Strauss’s notion of a universal gustatory code. While Douglas takes into consideration disparities in social relations; she tries to explain hierarchies and the social exclusions implicit in them by treating food categories as codes. According to Douglas, it might be better to consider the food itself as a code, rather than follow Levi-Strauss and treat language in this way.\textsuperscript{21} By making food a code, social relations would be more adequately explained. In spite of these nuances, Douglas remains true to structuralist thought, since she still treats food categories as an essentially static code containing meaning.\textsuperscript{22} She overlooks the change in meaning and the categories themselves over time. Scholars such as Stephen Mennell have taken issue with precisely this idea of a monolithic, static structure.\textsuperscript{23} Mennell argues

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
that the notion of an unchanging structure cannot fully explain the continuous flow of events. He sees food preferences, as other cultural patterns, as historical realities. Even in tribal societies, human diets evolve. According to Mennell, any understanding of this changing pattern in taste requires a historical analysis. He is emphatic in emphasizing the distinct historical processes that shape different cultures. He refuses, for example, to equate national cuisines with fixed cultures. Through a discussion of the French and the English cuisines, Mennell attempts to demonstrate that no single factor determines the similarities and differences between them.\textsuperscript{24}

Applying Norbert Elias’s ‘figurational’ or ‘socio genetic’ approach to the history of cooking and eating in England and France, Mennell introduces the concept of hierarchy in cuisine.\textsuperscript{25} Within a developing social formation, modes of individual behaviour, cultural tastes, intellectual ideas, social stratification, political power, and economic organization are closely related to each other in complex ways that change over time in ways that Mennell seeks to explore. Mennell’s chief disagreement with the structuralist school of thought lies in the latter’s use of structure to emphasize the homogeneity of the groups they study. Mennell argues that these uniformities are exaggerated and that it is necessary to look at the evolving conflicts and competitions among social groups to understand the development of cuisine. Mennell traces the evolution of culinary practices from the middle ages to modern times in Europe, a period that witnesses the transformation of a common eating culture to that of national cuisines. Mennell indicates that upper class tables in Italy, France, and England were furnished with dishes prepared by methods and by recipes that were common property across the continent. According to Mennell the crucial transition from the medieval to the modern times, occurred with the invention of the printed book, which had an enormous effect on the world of...
Mennell’s suggestion to increasing social differentiation as a result of print is significant in this context. Through the medium of cookbooks, which were among the earliest of printed texts, food became a mode of expressing social differentiation. The impact of printing also produced increased social stratification.

Printing improved literate and urban culture, gradually demolish the traditional cultures of the less educated classes. Although printing gave rise to more marked national differences in cuisine, Mennell refuses to offer any single factor as responsible for the making of national cuisines. It was the social and economic conditions in each country that determined the evolution of individual cuisines. Mennel believes that French Revolution and the proliferation of French restaurants at that time had a significant role in the development of ‘Haute cuisine.’ Chefs who cooked in courtly kitchen earlier became associated with these restaurants. As a result, French cuisine captured commanding social heights in England in the 19th century, and haute cuisine, defined over time by national differences, became the marker of class differences in English society. The distinction between professional and domestic cooking also resulted in gender divisions, since domestic cookery was seen in both countries as primarily the preserve of females.

Pierre Bourdieu discusses the theory that the food consumption pattern of different social classes is determined by the experiences. Stephen Mennell goes one step further and examines the reason why a particular social group embraces certain food practices and whether social and cultural more plays any part in this. Pierre L. Vanden Berghies study ethnic cuisine suggests that a community strengthens its social connections through food sharing both in home and public

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These arguments are relevant in studying the concept ‘food ways’ in the context of colonial society. In the last few decades the culture of food in the colonial societies has become increasingly important in world historical analysis.

The imperialism and colonialism have been crucial contributors to the making of national cuisines. Any national cuisine will have complex and multiple origins. Jeffrey M. Pilcher, discussing the emergence of Mexican national cuisine, has shown how a complex culinary history has contributed to a range of Mexican national identities where the most common culinary metaphor for the Mexican nation and how various struggles of class, gender, ethnicity, and region have helped forge this national. Arjun Appadurai has also argued that contemporary Indian national cuisine, fostered by the production of recipe books by middle-class Indian women, has blurred both ethnic and caste boundaries it denotes the life world of an individual. In discussing the historiography of colonial food ways in India, get inspiration from the works of scholars like A. R Venkatachalapathy, and Utsa Ray and Cecillia Leong-Salobr, and Arjun Appadurai. In his essay on coffee drinking in colonial Tamil Nadu, Venkatachalalapthy maintains that coffee became a cultural marker of the colonial middle class. Utsa Ray in her work *The Culture of Food in Colonial Bengal* argues that the construction of modern Bengali cuisine emerges in Bengal through the process of indigenizing the modernity by middle class.

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Sources

Since food and food ways in a historic study constitute quite broad and diverse fields of research, the present study uses a rather diverse collection of sources. The sources of information are primarily grouped in to two thus the archival sources and written sources, within which it may include the traditional literary sources like pattukal and Northern Ballads. Biographical literature, diaries, photographs, advertisements, cook books, magazines, household guides, novels and fictions published during the colonial era etc., present excellent documentations of the everyday forms the database. The study mainly traces the linkages of the changing ingredients and culinary habits that constituted the food and eating patterns of the people of colonial Malabar.

Family Records

The family records kept by many feudal households that help to reconstruct the social, economic and political, cultural and religious aspects of that period. In Malabar many of these feudal households have preserved their own family documents either in the form of palm leaves or manuscripts. Most of these documents collected and published by the Department of History University of Calicut under the title ‘Calicut University Historical Series’, this series includes Kavalappara pappers, Vanjeri Granthavari, (Chronicles of Vanjeri) and Koodali Granthavari. The Kavalappara and Vanjeri records belong to Southern part of Malabar, and the Koodali Granthavari is from the Northern part.

The Kavalappara papers deal mostly with the period from 1746 to 1934 related to the political, social, economic and religious aspects of the history of

34 M. T. Narayanan, Agrarian Relations in Late Medieval Malabar, Northern Books Centre, Delhi, January, 2003, p. 4.
35 Granthavari literally means lines written or inscribed on a Palm leaf. Gundert defines it as: a register of agreements made by the Jenmi (land lord), which must be taken to mean simply a register of documents executed by his tenants to a Jenmi, For details see, Raimon, Perumbadappu Granthavari (A translation of a record – Granthavari), Government of Kerala, Thiruvanthapuram, 2005, p. 1.
36 Ibid.
medieval Kerala. Kavalappara family is located in the Kavalappara Desam in Karrakkat Amsam of former Valluvanad taluk. In Kavalappara family records it can be seen abundance of references about the Brhamanabhojanam and oottu conducted by the Moopil Nair of Kavalappara for the Brahmins.

Vanjeri Granthavari helps to trace socio-religious aspects of the period between 1541A.D to1886 A.D. Another record is palm leaf manuscripts of an aristocratic landlord family called Vanjeri illam of Palakkad district. This record covers a span of roughly three and half centuries from 1541A.D to 1886A.D. Like Kavalappara Papers and other family records of the period this Granthavari also help us to know the real nature of the social and ritual hierarchy maintained by the upper caste of Malabar. In the feudal set up, power was manifested through symbols of loyalty, norms and rituals. Reference of Pattini a custom prevailed in medieval Kerala means refusing to eat food as form of struggle against the local rulers by Brahmins. If the local rulers committed mistake against the interest of a Brahmin, they observed fasting at a particular place indefinitely until the ruler apologises. The place where the Brahmins gathered for fasting was known as pattinipura. Usually these pattinipura were constructed in the temple premises. On the day of fasting by the Brahmin, they would stop offering nivedyams to the deities of the temples. Vadakkunatha temple at Thrissur is one of such sites attached with a pattinipura.

Important ritual and festive occasion in the Koodali Bhagavati is recorded in the document of Koodali Granthavari (1580A.D to 1837A.D). The family account book of Koodali tharavadu gives details of the expenses incurred in for supplying coconut oil, gingili oil etc;for the Tira. The festival in the Koodali tharavadu was called arattu. Document No.26 section E of Koodali

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39 M.G.S. Narayanan, Vanjeri Grandavari, University of Calicut, Calicut, 1987, Document No. 43 A.
Granthavari deals with the expenses incurred in the arattu of the Koodali Kavu.\textsuperscript{41}

The ritual practices like oottu and varam were associated with temples and Nair thararvadus of Malabar. Ootupura was a separate place attached to all Kovilakams, Thararvadus and famous temples of Kerala. The main purposes of these oottupuras were to give food to the Brahmins. Offering of food to the Brahmins had been glorified in medieval society of Kerala because; the Brahaminical ideology could maintain the belief that Brahmins were the representatives of God on earth. So people believed that giving Sadya\textsuperscript{42} to the Brahmins could fulfil their wishes. Moyarath Sankaran, a social activist in North Malabar, recalls huge feasts conducted for the Brahmins by wealthy families of Iruvanad in North Malabar in his autobiography.\textsuperscript{43} Family records are very useful sources to understand the practices associated with food and eating. The records from various temples are also an important source to this study, the records gives the price of the food items used in the daily temple rituals, like food offering to the principle deity in temple. They show the amount of the feast conducted in special days of the temples. The Varakkal Granthavari gives the details of the expenditure for rituals conducted on a special days. For instance, it records the expenditure of naivedya for the deity and also the expenditure of the rituals like Sivarathri, Namasakaram, Thriputhrai etc. It also describes the expenditure of 20 types of various rituals practiced in the temple.\textsuperscript{44} The Thrikandiyur Devaswom records also give the details of various rituals and their expenditure.\textsuperscript{45} These records also help understand how power relations of the political authorities and religious authorities maintained through the symbolization of food and food

\textsuperscript{42} Sadya the term denotes the Brahamin food, for details see, H. Gundert, Malayalam and English Dictionary, Asian Educational Services, Madras, 1872, p. 292.
\textsuperscript{43} Moyarath Sankarn, Ente Jeevitha Katha (Mal.), Kairali Publications, Calicut, 1995, p.4.
\textsuperscript{44} SL. No.94, Bundle No. 114, File, No. 33/151, Dated 17.07.1894.
\textsuperscript{45} SL. No. 20, Bundle No. 2, 1804, Dated, 21.07.1923.
ways. The *Cragannore Devaswom* record give detail description of various feasts conducted in important temple in Kodungullore taluk.\(^{46}\) These records also reveal the colonial interventions in the temple administration. There was no direct colonial intervention in ritual and custom, but they controlled the management and administration. These power centres maintained the hierarchy of society and caste rules by symbolization of rituals and beliefs.

**Colonial Archival Records and Governmental Sources**

The study of modern history is concerned with the archival materials which are unique with regard to their authenticity. Archival sources are the reports, proceedings and other created and received documents that in connection with the governmental activates. The first attempt to compile a comprehensive history of Malabar was the result of the British colonial requirement to understand the local history of the region in order to improve its administrative performance. William Logan, who was the collector of the British Malabar in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, should be credited with the first attempt to write a complete history of the region. *Malabar Manual*, which was published in 1879, was the first scholarly attempt to compose a history of this region based on both legendary and other available source materials. Logan’s history of Malabar was based on a wide variety of sources.\(^{47}\) These included medieval inscriptive evidence, traveller’s accounts, factory reports and land deeds. Logan’s Report of the Malabar Special Commission is another very important collection of data on all aspects of agrarian relations, land tenures, credit and production.\(^{48}\) It was Logan who for the first time studied a relationship between crop regimes and variations in agrarian relations, for the first time.

\(^{46}\textit{Caraganore Devasowam} \text{Record, 1939.}\)

\(^{47}\text{William Logan, }\textit{Malabar Manual,} \text{Asian Educational Service, Madras, 1956, p. 23.}\)

Any study of food in colonial Malabar should begin with revenue proceedings of Malabar district in Madras presidency. These documents, chiefly stored in the Madras state Archives at Chennai and the regional archives of Calicut in Kerala. These records are helpful to understand the colonial state policies of agriculture and introduction of new food crops in the colonial states. These documents along with other official documents on scarcity and famine are also evidences of the staple diet of the general population in colonial Malabar. The letters from collectors of Malabar to Bombay presidency asking them to facilitate the import of rice to Malabar district reveals the food condition of that period.\textsuperscript{49} The famine reports and famine relief works records is useful materials to realize the food habits of the society.\textsuperscript{50} Along with these records, it can be used the records of transportation system developed in the colonial period. It is noteworthy to explain development of railways and its impact on social and economic sphere. The railways were the linking element between the indigenous national markets to local markets. This made the export system much effective with great varieties of vegetables and fruits that came to domestic spaces, and became a part of colonised cuisine. The thorough examination of the railway records, especially the goods movement also helped to trace the changes of gastronomic history. The history of railways in Malabar dates back to 1861 which lies in between Tirur and Beypore.\textsuperscript{51} The railways opened up new trade and brought out integration between local and regional markets. An official report on the goods traffic of the South Indian Railway in 1885 reveals the variations in the export and import of various goods in Madras presidency. The item Chilly exported to Tanur via Virudupatti, Chidambaram, Pondicherry and Tirur. Likewise, Potato exported through Mettupalayam, Tuticorin, and

\textsuperscript{50} Malabar District Gazetteer, Vol. XX, No. 64, October 1887, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{51} K. N. Ganes, \textit{Kerathinte Innalkal} (Mal.), Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvanthapuram, 2000, p. 16.
Bangalore to reach other district of Madras presidency.\textsuperscript{52} Onion and Tomato were mainly imported from Bombay to the various places of Malabar and hence it was called as Bombay onion or Bombay *ulli*. Railways have important role in westernisation process also. It can be marked by the railway refreshment stalls opened in various parts of the country. The Railway refreshment stall opened in the all major railway stations in Madras presidency. Separate railway refreshment stalls opened for the Europeans and the natives. An official paper related to railway refreshment stall in Madras from the Fort St. George Gazette, 1878; this document reveals that the serving of liquor in the railway refreshment stall had been strictly in the European manners. To supplement this document another document from revenue records of 1883 related to the supply of liquor in railway refreshment rooms of Shoranur.\textsuperscript{53} Railways and other transportation facilities helped to relax the rules of pollution regarding eating and drinking. Railways have significant role in process of westernization and creating cultural identities of Malabar Society.

**Jail and Hospitals Records**

The primary purpose of food became the nourishment of the body based on the scientific reasons. These discourses surrounded revolved mainly around the diet and nutrition. These discourses on nutrition in British period at Malabar can be traced out the records from the diet of jails and hospitals. The ration of prisoners was an important problem for Europeans at that time. The discourses on nutrition based on scientific calculation and rationalization. The colonial discourses on nutrition can also be read through the glass of the ‘Civilizing mission’ to make morally good citizens. The experiments on diet by Europeans started by the Institutions like hospitals and Jails. The tender notices issued by the jail superintendents of Calicut and Cannanore, from the Malabar District.

\textsuperscript{52} The Fort St. George Gazette, *South Indian Railway Official Papers, Related Principal Staples of Goods Traffic*, 6 January, 1886.

\textsuperscript{53} R.D. Files 1438, Bundle No. 24, 1883.
Gazette in 1878, are important data in the construction of the history of diet in the jails during the British period. These notice describe the separate types of diet in the case of European and Native prisoners.\textsuperscript{54} For instance, tea and coffee was only for European prisoners. The autobiographical account of I. Tyrrell, \textit{From England to the Antipodes and India—1846 to 1902} published in 1904 is a useful material to understand the diet in the jails Cannanore, Malappuram and Calicut. The \textit{ragi} was the staple diet in the jails during that period.\textsuperscript{55}

Hospitals records that have been collected from the Malabar Gazette, in the period of 1885-1887 reveal the changes in diet at that time. Allopathic treatment was introduced in Malabar as a by product of the colonial rule. They started many hospitals in Madras presidency and Malabar district. The hospital records of Calicut, Malappuram, and Cannanore in the year of 1878 reveal the arrival of new food items like bread and various types of soups. Various General hospitals of Malabar district served bread and soup (potato soup).\textsuperscript{56} Bread and soup were the food items of Anglo Indians, and they provided it to the patients in the hospitals. The natives considered it healthier than their common food items. In lunatic asylums they supplied Brandy to the patients along with their medicine. Slowly allopathic introduced new knowledge among a group of people who earlier relied completely upon \textit{Ayurvedic} medicine and diet. The newly acquired knowledge of medicine and diet changed our dietary practices.

The institutions such as hospitals and jails were established in the state by the coloniser in the second half of the nineteenth century. The rulers found it necessary to lay down a precise difference between the rulers and ruled. The European society directly or indirectly maintained cultural difference between

\textsuperscript{54} Malabar District Gazette, Vol. XXI, No. 4, 15 October, 1887, p. 87.

\textsuperscript{55} I. Tyrrell, \textit{From England to the Antipodes and India—1846 to 1902: With Startling Relevations or 56 Years of My Life in the Indian Mutiney, Police and Jail}, A. L.V Press, Madras, 1904, p. 171.

\textsuperscript{56} Malabar District Gazette, Vol. XXI, No. 64, \textit{The Hospital Diet in European and Natives, Hospitals in Cannanore}, Calicut and Malappuram, January, 1887, p.157.
the East and West through their policies and actions. It is evidenced by the colonial institutions like the clubs, rest houses, hotels and bungalows that became exclusive leisure and recreation centres for British colonialists in India. These institutions with their customs and code of behaviour carefully guarded colonial home against the encroachment of the colonized environment. It was said that the clubs were seen as an integral part of the civilizing process in Britain. These clubs also were used for the accommodation for travellers and restaurants were in short supply. The beach hotel at Calicut as early club for Europeans and it became as hotels for Europeans. The emergence of new public sphere helped the investment of business enterprises like hotels and coffee clubs. These hotels and coffee clubs marked a separate identity of Indian and European Culture. Mambally bakery in Thalassery 1839 was the first Bakery in Malabar and Kerala also. These hotels and clubs demarcated the boundaries between colonizers and colonized.

The print capitalism along with the reading habits among the newly educated middle class became possible with the emergence of newspapers and various magazines. The native newspapers records were other important source materials to understand the social response of the people in colonial situations. By the mid-nineteenth century the reports of the Vernacular Press in India had collected, translated and documented the ideas expressed every year in the vernacular press in the different provinces. The most important newspapers published from Malabar were Kerala Sanchari, Kerala Patrika, Mitavadi, Manorama and West Coast Spectator (English). Kerala Partika started in 1884 from Kozhikode under the editorship of Chengulath Kunhirama Menon. Mitavadi was edited by the prominent Thiyya leader C. Krishnan. By the year 1893 there were five vernacular newspapers published from Calicut.

1.1 News Papers published from Malabar -19th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NNPR59</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Editor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kerala Pathrika</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Calicut</td>
<td>Chengulath Kunhirama Menon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala Sanchari</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Calicut</td>
<td>Vengayil KunjiramanNayanar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manorama(KozhikodanManorama)</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Calicut</td>
<td>Puliyampatta Kunnikrishna Menon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithavadi</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Calicut</td>
<td>C Krishnan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Coast Spectator</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Calicut</td>
<td>Poovandan Raman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Reports of the Vernacular Press in India

The study about the report of the native newspapers presents a clear picture of the socio-economic, political and cultural polices of the government. It is capable enough to reproduce the reaction of people against it. For example, a report published in Kerala Sanchari, discusses about the need of caste refreshment rooms for native elite class people.

The native passengers of Malabar requested Madras Railway Company to allow them separate refreshment room. As it is reported in Kerala Sanchari “Native gentle man frequently cannot get food and that even if food is to be got there is no convenient place set apart from take it. As they thus to take meals in public, most of the native gentle man prefer rather to starve during the journey. If a compartment in one of the carriages of the railway were to be arranged and set apart for the use of caste natives they would be able to get a meal conveniently and without being seen by the people of low castes, and the railway company would not incur any loss there as many would use such a caste refreshment saloon carriage.60

59 Native News Papers Records, Madras Archives, by the Mid Nineteenth Century The Reports of the Vernacular Press in India had Collected, Translated and Documented the Ideas Expressed Every Year in the Vernacular Press in the Different Provinces and these Records are Known as Native News Paper Records(Here after NNPR).

60 NNPR, Kerala Sanchari, Calicut, 04-10-1891.
This report reveals that the orthodox Hindus of that time were not ready to reject the caste rigidity that existed in the practices of food.

**Travelogues**

The travelogues of various periods, is an important study material about the pre-colonial and colonial Malabar. The accounts of Ibn Battuta Marco Polo and Jordanus give valuable descriptions of Malabar spices, especially that of pepper and their mode of cultivation. The accounts of Durate Barbosa give similar descriptions about the aforesaid region. The descriptions of Durate Barabosa give details about the Kingdoms of Malabar and their mode of organization. They also portray the lives of *Nairs* and the Royal families of Malabar. Francis Buchanan undertook a field survey of Mysore, Canara and Malabar in the last decade of eighteenth century and the beginning of nineteenth. Buchanan’s accounts remain as an important source of information regarding the agricultural production system, habits, manners and customs of Malabar.

**Literary Sources**

The colonial discourse analysis was initiated as an academic sub discipline of literary and cultural theory which is found in Edward Said’s *Orientalism*. Said shifted the study of colonialism among cultural critics towards its discursive operations, showing the intimate connection between language and forms of knowledge developed for the study of culture and the history of colonialism and imperialism. The concepts and representations used in literary

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texts, travel writings, memories and academic studies can be used as a means for understanding the colonial discourse.\textsuperscript{65}

In the Malayalam literature one can trace out the reflections of the changing attitude of people in the sense of food habits and life styles. K. N. Panikkar states that the making up of the cultural world of the middle class drew upon the possibilities inherent in the new literature introduced by colonialism in India to a great extent.\textsuperscript{66} The new literary policy of colonialism reflected in new cultural idols within the middle class Indians. The Indians tried to follow colonial ideas in the literature through the means of theatre dress, food and conversation. The developments of printing in the colonial period played a key role in the dissemination of the culture propounded by the modern education.\textsuperscript{67} The writings of Tapti Roy point out that the culture of publishing and reading of the printed texts was seeded in India as part of everyday modernity that was introduced by Europeans. It grafted indigenous traditions of intellectual activity and learning.\textsuperscript{68} The novels were the by-products of these literary genres.

**Malayalam Novels and Fictions**

Novels began to appear in the South Indian languages during the period of colonial rule. The emergence of Malayalam novel was the result of the confrontation between native society and the colonial modernity. The literary awareness was achieved through the process of familiarity with western literary genres and western type education prompted the early Indian novelists to adopt the European mode of narration and depiction in the novel. Several novels came into vernacular languages from English. O. Chandu Menon tried to translate

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid, p. 161.
Henrietta Temple written by Benjamin Disraeli. Later he realized that native readers were not familiar with the characters of that novel on the basis of their attire, customs, and manners. The novel Indulekha, published in 1889, was the first ‘featured’ novel of Malayalam within the context of modern culture that engendered by the colonialism and explored the ways in which it contributed to the making of cultural taste in Malabar.

The story of Indulekha is set amidst of the social and ideological changes in Malabar in the nineteenth century, as a consequence of the administrative, economic and social polices of colonial environment. The core of this novel is based on a Nair tharavad in which the author portraits the forces of change and continuity that struggles for supremacy. Chandu Menon has conceived three main characters in the novel-Madhavan, Indulekha and Suri Nambuthripad - to reflect the cultural traits prevalent in Malabar society. The character Madhavan is portrayed as an English educated, socially progressive, and politically alive person who pursues European customs and manners at home. He adapts European dietary habits. Madhavan is a representative of the English educated middle class of the 19th century colonial Malabar. The characters of the novel are the products of English education and orthodox tradition in Malabar. Madhavan represent the identity of sharing food with other castes in the perspective of modernity but the situation of the then society was entirely different.

Joseph Muliyl’s Sukumari, is a novel that projects an enclosed world of Christians trying to negotiate new forms of self, family and community and is replete with anecdotes of mobility and salvation. Sukumari is set entirely in the city of Cannanore with its fort, army barracks, armoury and camp bazaar. Apart from descriptions of the colonial presence the text celebrates commerce over the

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moribund spaces of agriculture.\textsuperscript{71} There is a description of the various mercantile groups from all over India and the world: Parsis, Gujarati \textit{Seths} and Baniyas.

The protagonists of the novel live in Varanasseri where the most prominent inhabitants are from Portugal. It is a Portuguese merchant who gives the hero, Sathya Das, a house and field as well as household goods to start a new life. The response of the natives to the new food products are introduced in this period is portrayed in the fictions and novels published at that time. The novel \textit{Vasumathi} written by Murkoottu Kumaran in 1932 conveys unstated messages of the colonial conditions and changing reflections in the society.\textsuperscript{72} This monumental work reveals how food turned to a metaphor for illustrating human conflicts in modern life between sexes, generations, and social classes. J. Devika argues that the newly introduced genre of the novel too was involved in the self-fashioning of a new middle class.\textsuperscript{73} The references of club and their allied culture in \textit{Vasumathi} actually comments on modern self-fashioning.\textsuperscript{74} Colonial administration, caste oriented social set up, western education, the political struggles against monarchy and colonial powers, the National freedom fight, the social renaissance, the urbanization and its aftermaths, familiarity with other cultures at a global level - all these influenced the growth and development of the novels of the colonial period in different ways. So through a close reading of these novels we can trace a lot of historical facts.

Other than novels an excellent way to understand the making of middle class identities in colonial India is to read the accounts of their everyday life and public life contained in biographical works.\textsuperscript{75} By examining, among other sources, the autobiographical literature produced by individuals belonging to the different

communities and well known public figures in colonial Malabar, one can understand the middle class interface with caste in the region.

**Autobiographies and Memories**

Autobiography is a peculiar genre, which purports to be both literature and history but is not entirely one or the other. As Jennifer Jensen Wallach has observed, life writing has the potential to enrich our historical understanding in ways that cannot be replicated in any other single source material. But to understand the kind of impact that autobiography can have, we must complicate our thinking about the nature of historical understanding. Further, we must pay careful attention to issues of literary style, for there are certain aspects of historical reality that can best be captured by artfully wrought literary memoirs. In a sense, autobiographies are memories of the past and are concerned with the expression of the self. Autobiographies invariably record details of contemporary life that are too small and for ordinary to have been found worth mention in any official records as well as their own reaction and attitudes all types of events. European social historians especially of Britain and France utilized autobiographical account of the nineteenth century working class and oral sources to reconstruct their history.

The present study draws on autobiographies and memories written in Malayalam language extensively as sources. Most of these autobiographies and memories are written by the educated middle class and are pointers to the new discourses that are emerging among the middle class, and changing their tastes and habits. For instance, in the writings about Appu Nedungadi, the writer of *Kunthalatha*, his niece recollects that the fellow men and children of their house call him *tea ammavan* or ‘tea uncle.’ She says that the tea drinking habit first introduced by him in the family. She also remembered that in the early period

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77 Ibid.
they have two separate kitchens, one for vegetarian is a common for family members.

The Europeans were hosted with non-vegetarian food, so they have separate kitchen. In that kitchen the butlers prepared many type salads and other European food items that items no heard by the natives of that area. In his autobiography E. M. S. Namboothiripad also shares the experience of his childhood in his *illam*. At that time in Namboothiri *illams*, people did not have the habit of drinking tea or coffee.\(^7\) V. T. Bhattathiripad gives a description about the miserable condition of the Namboothiri Brahmins of Kerala. It is considered as a reliable source of the customs and practices of the Namboothiri Brahmins of Kerala.\(^7\) Moyyarath Sankaran’s *Ente Jeevitha Kataha* (My Life Story) deserves a special mention in this regard. In his autobiography, Cherukadu Govinda Pisharadi, a well known writer from South Malabar, narrates an interesting episode.\(^8\) He visualises rituals and customs of the society of Malabar at that time. These rituals speak about how the food used as a medium for social stratification. *Sundarikalum Sundaranmarum*, written by Urub and *Jeevitha Samarm*, autobiography of C. Kesavan also a good source to aware the society of the 20\(^{th}\) century.\(^9\) *Nashta Bodhangalillathe Oru Anderjanathinte Athamakatha*, memories by Devaki Nilayamgod, gives a clear picture of the Namboothiri *illams* and the life of *Anthrjanams* over there\(^8\). She recalls her childhood memories in the *illam*. *Cast Me out if You Will*, a memoir of Lalithambika Anthrjanam, provides a lot of information about the Namboothiri women and their *illams* in the 19\(^{th}\) century.\(^9\) How gender discourse surrounded around food cuisine in private and public sphere was pictured autobiographies these eminent

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\(^7\) E.M.S. Namboothiripad, *Aatmakatha* (Mal.), Chintha Publications, Thiruvanthapuram, 1895, p.56.


women’s in Malabar. Kanipayyur Sankaran Namboothrippad, a prominent figure of the early twentieth century in his memoir *Ente Smarananakal* (1965) describes his shift of a delightful childhood life in *illam* to the modern enterprises of hotels. Thikkodiyan, in his *Arangu Kanatha Nadan*, writes about his attending of a village school in the early part of the twentieth century. Upper caste boys like him were segregated from the lower castes, and how the master, in order to avoid pollution, would not beat a low caste student, but instead would throw the stick on him from a distance. C. Krishnan recounts how, when he was in Madras Presidency College, the college Canteen maintained two rooms for upper castes from Kerala, where the lower castes including *Thiyyas* were not allowed. He, along with others, drew the attention of the principal to this problem, following which a separate room was kept aside for the *Thiyyas* and others. Mozhikunnath Brahmadattan Namboodiripad, a rare Hindu hero of the Malabar Rebellion writes in his Memoirs of his excommunication by the community for having indulged in inter-dining during political work. C. Sankaran Nair’s biography is also an excellent documentation of the congress party attitude about untouchability and cast system. In his biography he remembers caste pollutions he experienced in his travels in North India. Autobiographies and memoirs clearly documented the social and cultural history of that society.

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Magazines and Periodicals

The early 19th century was a period of reform throughout the country. Education in the colonial period focused on basic learning, refinement of domestic skills, moral education, and the study of religious texts. Education was also a crucial factor that set the middle class apart from the lower class. Magazine and periodicals were another important sources material to understand new recipes and cuisine in the 20th century. It was in the beginning of the 20th century that women’s magazines in Kerala began to appear. Lakshmibai, Sharada (the first women’s magazine to be published by women) and Mahila (started in 1921 and went on to run for twenty years without any serious breaks) are some well-preserved magazines in the archives. All the (available) volumes of Sarada, Mahila and Lakshmibai were referred to for this thesis. Analysis of these magazines helps to understand how the social interaction of native Indian ladies and European ladies is promoted through this medium. These magazines reflected the aspiration of the middle class Indian ladies and tried to uplift their status by following the manners and habits of western ladies. They also contained number of ads and photographs and were capable to convey the social changes related the consumption pattern of Malayalee during the colonial period.

Photographs and Advertisements

As a social science, nineteenth-century ethnography inculcated a positivistic approach to the study of culture. It relied upon a notion of systematic, rigorous, and progressive accumulation of knowledge, as well as an ideal of social quantifies ability through the compilation of statistics and structural analysis of kinship, myth, and ritual practice. The photographs and advertisements are used as source materials also used as for this study. These sources are not a part of conventional archives and hence they need new approaches. The photographs help to recall images to explain the historical events. For example one of the interesting photograph from Mathrubhumi
Weekly is a photo of a mixed dining conducted by Bombay Malayalee association in 1932. Another interesting photograph from Indian Ladies Magazines is ‘Three women’s of Malabar clean cleaning coffee,’ which was taken by Kelien and Pearl at Madras. This photo shows the impact of commercialisation of agriculture on women’s labour. The commercialisation of agriculture had a great impact on Indian agriculture production. In the hilly areas of Malabar especially Wayanad, Europeans started number of tea and coffee plantations. Before the commercialisation of agriculture rice husking was one of the main occupation of the lower caste women of rural Malabar. The picture gives a new dimension to the study of culture of food in Malabar. It indicates the changing nature of British understanding and the changing nature of colonial governmental policy. The photographs communicate a shared historical experience between colonized and colonizer.

The collections of Basel Mission archives have a number of photographs on the society of Malabar. These photographs combined to create a rich account of changes and social life in that society. The first missionaries arrived in Malabar belonged to the Basel Evangelical Mission society in 1839. The Protestant Basel Mission, established in 1839, founded churches and schools at Cannanore, Tellicheri, Calicut, and Palakkad, with a branch established at Chombala-South of Tellicheri, and Kodakal, near Vettattapudiangadi. The Basel Mission gave sufficient encouragement for female education. The Basel missionaries were the pioneers of female education in Malabar. They started a number of girls’ school in all important towns in Malabar.

These photographs convey the unstated messages of assumed gender formation and Victorian ideals in our domestic sphere. Most of these

89 Mathrubhumi Weekly, 11 October, 1932.
photographs collected from various magazines and periodicals of that period and also used some collection of Basel mission archives. Along with these photographs the study also employs the advertisements to trace the social history of eating modernity in Malabar.

Advertisements are some other important historical documents used in this study. Over centuries ago Happers weekly commented that advertisements were a true mirror of life, a sort of fossils of history. The rise of mass circulation of magazines provided new media for advertisements to reach consumers. In the 20th century many new products ranging from soap to cigarettes were introduced by the industries. The role of advertisements in popularization of beverages like tea and coffee among the Indians is an example. The new food items such as chocolates, biscuits, vanaspathi and oats entered into our consumption menu through these advertisements.

After the First World War the tea cess committee launched for the encouragements of consumption of tea among India. They widely used advertisements for the promotion of the habit of drinking tea among the Indians. The tea market board in India published a number adds in all vernacular newspapers and magazines for the promotion of tea among the urban middle class elites. Through these advertisements aid to trace the social and cultural history of society they addressed. However, along with these new literatures there were the cookbooks and the recipes columns published in periodicals as well as domestic manuals.

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Cook Books and Household Manuals

The printing press and other early technologies made a new genre of cookbooks possible. Bruno Laurioux, in his study of medieval cookery, says that ‘if historians are to interpret cookbooks correctly, they must first carefully examine textual traditions and separate the various layers of each manuscript’. After 1857 the wives of colonial officers started to reside India. They were the main writers of these cook books. These cook books and household guide mainly addressed how to maintain the demarcation between the white and natives. In these cook books they created a mini Europe in the Colonized land. The cookbooks and household guides of the colonial era, providing a specific instruction on how to run a household, manage servants and prepare and serve food. The recipes included in these books are quite aloof from the native cuisines. The memsahibs’ intention is clear that they keep clear cut demarcation from the natives to forbid their diet.

Wyveran’s (Kenny-Herbert) famous cook book *Culinary Jottings* published from Madras in 1885 clearly describes the Indian influence on the English food. Similarly the British introduced their own food habits in India. The forgoing analysis makes the source and the importance of this study

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94 Anonymous, *The Indian House Keeper: Being Complete set of accounts of Domestic Expenditure for the Year*, Allahabad, The Pioneer Press, 1894, p. 120.
98 Ibid.
clear. A number of studies on food history have come up considerably during the past decades and the main focus of these studies is the western World.

The present study of the history of food includes how, when and where different types of food have been consumed and the identities associated with the food consumption. The purpose of the study is to explore how the social and religious powers used food as a symbol to communicate power in the social system and how it was used as an identity maker to differentiate between class and caste. The analysis of the sources helps to answer the questions like how people connect what they eat to their social, religious and political identities. It also tries to answer how food maintained ritual purity of home, and how the ritual customs like fasting determined the difference between men and women. So the food practices can reveal how gender relations are maintained in domestic sphere in each culture. This study also addresses how ‘Modernity’ and ‘Westernization’ processes alter the middle class discourses on food and cuisine.

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