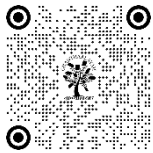


MAPPILAPPAATTU AND OPPANA: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTE ON MAPPILA SONGS AND PERFORMING ART

Babu C.T. Sunil ¹ 

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, India



Received 21 August 2023
Accepted 20 September 2023
Published 31 December 2023

Corresponding Author

Babu C.T. Sunil,
sunilbabujnu@gmail.com

DOI
[10.29121/shodhkosh.v4.i2.2023.2376](https://doi.org/10.29121/shodhkosh.v4.i2.2023.2376)

Funding: This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Copyright: © 2023 The Author(s).
This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

With the license CC-BY, authors retain the copyright, allowing anyone to download, reuse, re-print, modify, distribute, and/or copy their contribution. The work must be properly attributed to its author.



ABSTRACT

The Muslim population of Kerala state is known as the Mappilas. The community is formed due to commerce between the Arabians and the Malabarians. Indigenous culture had a significant effect on Mappila's arts and ceremonies. The Mappilas created a distinctive cultural pattern that encompassed a variety of artistic aspects, including their traditional song, *Mappilappaattus*, and one of the most exquisite performing arts, *Oppana*. Most scholarly research on Mappilas is historical and ignores anthropological elements like arts and rituals. Thus, this essay aims to offer an anthropological perspective on Mappila songs, known as *Mappilappaattu* and the performing art of Mappila women, known as *Oppana*. While examining the nature of *Mappilappaattus* and its many genres, this research highlights that the secularised *Mappilappaattus*, which was primarily romantic in substance, drew people from beyond the Mappila community. *Oppana* also had a secular and romantic tone, which appealed to the public. The popularity of *Mappilappaattus* and *Oppana* can be explained, for example, by looking at the history of Malayalam films. *Mappilappaattu* and *Oppana* were staples of Malayalam film from the beginning of the 1950s.

Keywords: Mappila, Arts, Mappilappaattu, Oppana, Culture

1. INTRODUCTION

Mappilas are Muslims of Kerala state, India. However, Mappilas are predominantly settled in the Malabar region. Though Mappilas are Muslims, they are considered to be an indigenous community because of the unique cultural characteristics of Mappilas. Their many rituals, songs, art forms, etc., are indigenous in nature. This indigenous nature can be understood if we contextualise the community formation of Mappilas. Mappilas as a community emerged as the outcome of Malabars' trade relationship with Arabians. There was a trading contact between the Arab coast and the Malabar region long before the third century, despite the fact that the commercial development of Arab traders across the Indian Ocean and the Malabar region was first documented in the third century (Ilias 2007: 439).

The Mappilas, a local community, is said to have arisen considerably earlier than Islam itself due to the mating of Arab males with native women (Logan 1887/1951). The distance between the Arab world and India, as well as the difficulties of travel owing to weather and other factors, forced a condition of short-term settlement for all commercial groups in India. This was the time when commerce diasporas emerged all across the world. The Arab trading diaspora was the most significant population that settled on Kerala's coast between the terminal periods of their commerce. They could not carry their ladies to trading destinations when they first settled in Kerala. Arab merchants, who used to reside for a brief length of time, formed relationships with Kerala's local women. This was because *Mut'ah* marriage existed among the Arabian and later Muslim Arabian traders. After the trade, the Arabian traders return to their homeland, leaving their temporarily married native women in Malabar. Therefore, Mappila as a community is an outcome of this trade relationship. The Mappila population adopted Islam as their religion when the Arab traders converted to Arab-Muslim traders. Still, they maintained a wide range of cultural distinctions as N.P Muhammed (1995) noted that they were neither purely Muslim nor purely Hindu (Also see, Karasseri 2009).

Additionally, the Muslims of Mappila were distinct from those of north Indian Muslims (see Engineer 1995), particularly in terms of their community language called Arabimalayalam (Abu 1970; Ilias and Hussain 2017) and arts and rituals. Mappilas continued their indigenous aspects in every part of their everyday life. The culture of native population and community influenced their rituals and art forms. Some scholars even contend that the Oppana performance owes a great deal to a traditional dance called *Thiruvattirakkali*, which is only done by Hindu women. In short, Mappilas have developed a unique culture in terms of rituals like *nercha*, Mappila songs called *Mappilappaattu*, Mappila community language named *Arabimalayalam* and many performing arts like *Oppana* performed by women and *Vattappattu* performed by Mappila men (Koppilan 2008). Scholars have extensively studied the Mappila community because of the unique cultural style of Mappilas and their protest against colonial powers like the Portuguese and British. However, as we can see, these academic works on Mappilas have not focused on any anthropological aspects of the Mappila community, especially their rituals and art forms. This paper will provide an anthropological description of Mappila songs called *Mappilappaattu* (paattu means song) and its performing art termed *Oppana*.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

As is indicated, because of the trade relationship of the Mappila community and different protests against colonial power, the Mappila community has been studied by historians extensively. More (2013) focuses on trade and the early history of Mappila community formation, while Prange (2018) looks at how the trade interaction made the possibility of what he calls *Monsoon Islam*. He also focuses on developing different ports and mosques in the Malabar region and spreading Islam. Stephen Dale (1980), a contemporary historian, perpetuated colonial history by claiming that all Mappila rebellions were motivated by Islamic religious fanaticism. The prospect of paradise motivates Mappilas to oppose colonial powers and Hindu *jenmis*. Dale did not focus on Mappila as a community; instead, he saw it as an Islamic society. Marxist historiography was later used by other historians, including Conrad Wood (1987) and K.N. Panikkar (1989), to study the Mappila rebellions that preceded the revolt of 1921. According to Wood (1987), the Mappilas revolts began in the third decade of the nineteenth century and were prompted by the British government's creation of a new political and economic environment. The Muslim tenants spearheaded the majority of these uprisings due to the colonial policy regarding land. Panikkar (1989) also argues that it is East Indian Company's monopolisation of spices, tobacco etc., led to the unemployment of Mappilas, and the colonial power imposed many taxes on agriculture, which was the reason why Mappilas began to protest against colonial power. British also introduced new land policies, which disturbed the Mappilas' relationship with the land. Therefore, Panikkar (1989) argues that Mappilas revolted against colonial power and feudal lords. Both Wood and Panikkar also talk about the role religion played behind the Mappila rebellions.

While most of the studies on Mappilas are historical in character, a few studies touch upon the cultural aspects of Mappilas. For instance, Miller (2015) discusses Arabimalayalam and illuminates many Mappila cultural activities, such as *Nercha* and *Maulood/Mawluds*. The pieces address a range of topics related to Mappila culture and its contemporary transformations. Miller takes a value-neutral stance and uses ethnographic techniques. In his early work, Miller (1976) also thoroughly overviews practically every element of Mappilas, such as Arab relations and the battle against colonialism. He places Mappilas in the sociopolitical and multireligious backdrop of Kerala society. There are plenty of works that focus on Mappila's fight against colonial power are written by community historians (for instance, Randathani 2007; Jaleel 2018). The only vernacular work that touches upon the Mappila culture is *Muslingalum Kerala Samskaravum*

[Muslims and Kerala Culture] by Kunji (1982/2008), who provides a historical account of Mappilas and other cultural aspects like dress, food, marriage, and also a short description about Mappilappaattu and Arabimalayalam.

As it is discussed, most of the studies on the Mappila community are historical and look mainly at the trade relationship and the Mappila's fight against different colonial powers. Except for the Vernacular work of Kunji (1982/2008), the only English work that touches upon the different aspects of Mappila arts is Hussain Randathani's (2018). *Mappila Songs and Performing Arts: Genesis and Synthesis*. However, there is plenty of vernacular literature on Mappilappaattu that this study can utilise as a secondary source. While Aboobacker and Mangad (2018) edited volume focuses on different themes of Mappilappaattu, such as the language of Mappilappaattus, melodic structure of Mappilappaattus, the unique characteristics of Mappilappaattus etc., Kutty (2007a) explains the historical transformation of Mappilappaattu. He also looks at the history of Mappilappaattu and its contemporary relevance (Kutty 2007b). A notable academic scholar on Mappilappaattu is Balakrishnan Vallikkunnu, who on the one hand, focuses on the historical root of the origin of Mappilappaattu (Vallikkunnu 2014) and on the other hand, concentrates exclusively on the individual Mappilappaattu famous poet 'Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar' (Vallikkunnu 2018).

Since the significant chunk of Mappilappaattu is written by Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar, there exist many studies on him focusing on different aspects of his literary style (for instance, Ahamed 2006). In short, no academic research written in English can be found on Mappilappaattu, but the vernacular literature shed light on some of the aspects of Mappilappaattu. Though Oppana as the performing art of Mappila women is very popular in the Mappila culture, except for one vernacular work on *Oppnana* (Puvvakkurussi 2010) and a short article on major Mappila visual arts (Adimali 2015), there is not enough academic or popular literature on Oppana. Therefore, methodologically, this study is exploratory in terms of characteristics. This study is part of my ongoing ethnographic research on Mappila communities, which has been carried out since 2017 in three Mappila settlement areas: *Chaliyam*, *Pookkoottur* and *Nilambur*. Apart from the secondary sources, this study also uses the ethnographic insights gathered through the direct observation of Oppana performance and ethnographic interviews conducted with the experts of Mappilappaattu and Oppana, especially those women above the age of sixty-five who could speak of their experience. In short, this study is exploratory in nature and would provide an anthropological analytical discussion on Mappilappaattu and Oppana. While examining the different genres in Mappilappaattus, in this article, we would emphasise that the secularisation of Mappila culture led to the acceptance of Mappilappaattu and Oppana among the general public of the Kerala population.

3. MAPPILAPPAATTU: THE UNIQUE MAPPILA SONGS

Mappilappaattu is the unique cultural song of Mappilas. Mappila songs have a distinct cultural character while yet remaining firmly related to Kerala's cultural customs and indigenous traditions. From childhood, every Mappilas are exposed to Mappilappaattu. Every Mappilappaattus have its unique rhythmic style, which is called *Ishal*. In other words, the melodic framework of Mappila songs is known as *ishal*, which is akin to Indian music's *tala* and *raga*. However, *Ishal* is also influenced by the folk songs of Kerala and the Arabian musical tradition (Neidiyandu 2012). Since Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar wrote a significant chunk of Mappilappaattu, he is credited with composing of many *ishals*.

Mappilappaattus are generally written in Arabimalayalam, which is the unique community language of Mappilas. Arabimalayalam means writing oral Malayalam by using Arabic and modified Arabic letters. Since Arabimalayalam has modified Arabic letters, the language can express all sounds of Malayalam as well as Arabic. Arabimalayalam has borrowed the words from many languages such as Malayalam, Arabic, Tamil, Persian and Thulu. Therefore, Mappilappaattu also has lots of Tamil, Persian and Arabic words. In fact, the language that represents the cultural aspects of the Mappila lifeworld, including religion, art etc. Mappilas from childhood are exposed to Mappilappaattu since many cradle songs are Mappilappaattu. Singing Mappilappaattu is part of the everyday life of Mappilas. Mappilas sing Mappilappaattu in many occasions, such as housewarming, Maariage etc. In my ethnographic interviews, many respondents told me that there was a Mappilappaattu competition for both the bride and groom side on the wedding day. On the wedding day, when the bride comes to the groom's house, the representatives of the bride and groom start singing Mappilappaattu. The one who wins the event has the right to hold the hand of the bride to accompany her to the groom's house. This tradition of Mappilappaattu competition on the wedding day has disappeared (Sunil 2022).

Since the lower castes converted to Mappila Muslims, Mappilappaattu is influenced by the folk songs of the working class. Vallikkunnu (2014) argues that the richness of Mappilappaattu is due to its working-class nature, and he emphasises that Mappilappaattu originated from this working-class culture.

In this article, we are more concerned with the different genres of Mappilappaattu and its religious and secular characteristics. Broadly, there can be two sections in the Mappilappaattu. One is written for spiritual purposes, and the other is secular literature. The religious poetic texts are called *Maalas* or *Maalappaattu*; others include, *Padappattu*, *Kissappattu*, *Sarkkeettu-pattu*, *Kathu-pattu* and *Mailanchippattu* or *Oppanappaattu*. The oldest available Arabimalayalam literature or Mappilappaattu literature is *Maalappaattu*. *Maalas* or *Maalappaatus* are sacred texts that are often recited in many occasions, especially in times of calamities and in the time of *nercha*; commemorating any saints in Islam or independent issues related to the life of the people. *Maalas* have religious content, but they are part of the Sufi tradition. Each *maala* represents the biography of one of the saints and is recited with spiritual bending. The recitation of *maala* will begin with 'in the name of Allah', then go on to the prophet, and lastly, explain any saint's heroic and spiritual life. Finally, the *malas* will conclude with a prayer.

Mohiyudheen mala is a famous *maala* authored by Kazi Muhammed -ibnu- Abdul Abeeb, the priest or Kazhi of Calicut Mazjid. *Mohiyudheen mala* is the oldest extant document in Arabimalayalam, composed in 1607 (Moulavi and Kareem 1978: 44). Reciting *Mohiyudheen mala* was a daily devotional ritual in every Mappila home, and it was immensely popular with the community (Kutty 2019). Kazi Muhammed-ibnu- Abdul Abeeb was a follower of saint 'Shaikh Mohiyudheen Abdul Quadir Jeelani' and a proponent of the Sufi tradition known as *Quadiree Thareequath*. The Mappilas were drawn to the Sufi tradition, which was consistently supported by the doctrinal group, the *Hadramawt*, locally known as *Thangals*. The Mappilas strongly believed that *Allah* or God loved saint Mohiyudheen and that praying via him is the best way to reach *Allah*.

Aside from *Mohiyudheen Maala*, the other prominent *malaas* include *Badar Mala*, *Rifai Maala*, *Shifayee Mala*, *Nafeesath Maala*, *Manjakkulam Maala*, *Mamburam Mala*, and so on. *Badar mala* is chanted when epidemic illnesses spread. And *Nafeesath mala* is frequently read during delivery time. Some non-sacred *maalas* also exist, such as *Pulikkottil Hyder's Vellappokka Maala* and *Moyinkutty Vaidyar's Kilathi Maala*.

Kissappattu (*Kissa* meaning tale) is a kind of Mappilappaattu that combines narrative telling with singing. The majority of the *Kissappattu* are also linked to the narrative of any of Islam's prophets or the lives and actions of *swahabees* (those who fought alongside prophet Muhammed and the disciples of prophet Muhammed). There is also romantic *Kissappattu*, which is non-sacred. *Kissathu Noorjahan* and *Kissathu Barbagiyan* are the most noteworthy figures in this area. Many *kissas* associated with prophets are amorous, particularly the *Yousaf Kissa*.

Padappattu is one variety of Mappilappaattu which describes about any of the struggles of Islam (especially the war related to Islam) or Mappilas (Ahamed 2014). *Badar Padappattu*, *Uhad Padappattu*, *Hijra Padappattu*, etc., are the major *Padappaattus* (see also, Karasseri 2014). There are also *padappattu* related to the history of Malabar and the struggle between the Mappilas and British colonialism (Vazhippara 2021), which is the reason why the Mappilappaattus were written by not only the Mappilas but the people from the other community who were nationalists. *Malappuram Padappattu* and *cheroor padappattu* were the most energetic forces behind the fighting of Mappilas against British colonialism (Husain 2018), and *cheroor padappattu* was confiscated by the colonial power.

While three genres in Mappilappaattu such as *Maalappaattu*, *Kissappaattu* and *Padappattu* have a religious nature, the other three genres in Mappilappaattu are secular and romantic. One of the unique Mappilappaattu literature is called *Kathupaattu* (Singing Letters/Correspondence), which can be read as prose or sung. It is classified as either romantic or non-romantic, but it has nothing to do with sacred matters. In the 1980s and 1990s, it was much more popular among the Gulf migrants. Another type of literature is called *Sarkeettu pattugal*, which is a brief travelogue narrative or a chronicle of an author's journeys to a particular place. The third one is more important in Mappilappaattu, which is called *Mailanchippattu*, also known as *Oppanappaattu*. While non-secular Mappilappaattus were part of the everyday life of Mappilas, they did not appeal to the general public or were popular only within the Mappila community. The secular Mappilappaattus attracted the general public, which is why Malayalam cinema started incorporating Mappilappaattus into the films from the very beginning of the 1950s. Many lyricists in Malayalam movies who wrote romantic and devotional Mappilappaattus were non-Muslims. *Vayalar*, *Idasseri*, *Krishnakumar*, *Kambalath Govindan Nair*, etc., are contributed to the richness of Mappilappaattu. One of the notable poets who wrote and composed many of the Mappilappaattus in movies is *P. Bhaskaran*. He has spent his considerable time in Malabar with Mappilas. This experience enriched him and allowed him to write many poetic and romantic Mappilappaattus. In 1954, the movie *Neelakkuyil* came with one of the appealing romantic Mappilappaattu known as *Kayalarikathu* (Kutty 2007b: 129). This was a historical movement in the history of Mappilappaattu. After this movie, Mappilappaattu travelled beyond the Mappila world. From the 1950s itself, when Malayalam cinema began to make its identity, Mappilappaattu became an integral part of movies.

By 1950, Mappilappaattu were more secularised and became more romantic in its content. Therefore, even if the movie is not based on Mappila theme, a good number of movies included one Mappila song along with often the Mappila women's performing art or dance called Oppana. In short, the popularity of the Mappilappaattu is because of the secular and romantic nature of the Mailanchippattu or Oppanappattu. The performing art of Mappila women, Oppana, is accompanied by Mailanchippattu, which is why it is also often called *Oppanappattu*, though both have internal differences.

4. OPPANA: THE PERFORMING ART OF MAPPILA WOMEN.

As part of ethnographic research, I went to watch Oppana performance at the district-level school cultural festival of the Calicut district in November 2021. Students perform different art forms in this popular school festival, which is a competition. Oppana is one of the popular events. Before the Oppana competition was started, there had gathered a good number of people to watch Oppana, not people from only Mappila communities. Oppana is the most popular Mappila dance form for Mappila women, and it is accompanied by romantic Mailanchippattus or Oppanappattus. Oppana is an integral part of Mappila's marriage. Mostly one day before the Marriage, Oppana is performed. This day of marriage is also known as *Mailanchi Kalayanam*. Mailanchi means *henna* and kalayanam implies marriage. Though Oppana is part of the marriage ceremony, Oppana is also performed during circumcision, shaving the baby known as *Aqiqqa*, the fortieth-day bathing of delivered women (Randathani 2018: 105).

In Oppana, the bride is adorned with elaborate decorations and jewellery, and she wears *Mailanchi* (henna) on her palms. The other performers also wear henna on their palms and around their ankles and feet. The bride with the wedding dress sits in the middle of the performance, and often other performers are with traditional Mappila dresses like white dhoti called *kaachimundu* (Adimali 2015: 504) and white shirt called *Kuppayam* with a scarf called *Thattam*. The ornaments used by the performers are called *Ilakkathali*, *Chankelass*, *Adippu*, *Karakkallu*, etc.



(Children with traditional Oppana dress posing before performing Oppana in the School Youth Festival. Photo copyright with author).

In Oppana, singers or performers dance around the bride rhythmically clapping their hands and shaking their heads. In between the performances, they often praise the bride through the Oppanappattu and make fun of her. The songs involved in Oppana are in a kind of communication or conversation style. The songs talk to the bride, often praising her and the bridegroom. On the one hand, songs often have romantic feelings, it also make suggestions that you should be an ideal woman like that of prophet Muhammed's daughter. Generally, in traditional Oppana, there are fifteen performers, including the leading singer. The school cultural festival brought a drastic change in Oppana. Indeed, the number of performers are reduced. In traditional Oppana, no musical instruments is used rather, the clapping creates a rhythm. But nowadays, musical instruments like harmonium, Tabala and Elathalam are used to attract the people (Randathani 2018).

Oppana starts with some lines of a prayer song named *Bismiyum Hamdum*. It starts slowly, and in the beginning, the bride's friends called Thozhimar come with the bride in walking and chanting the prayer song. Then Oppana slowly moves onto fast rhythmical steps. So broadly, there are three stages in Oppana or Oppana Ishal such as *Chayal*, *Chayal-Murukkam* and *Murukkam* (Puvvakkurussi 2010: 50). While *chayal* is slow based rhythm, the *Chayal-Murukkam* is the intermediary stage between slow rhythm and fast rhythm. So Oppana moves to fast steps with its rhythmic clapping.

The unique romance songs and fast steps of Oppana attract everyone who enjoys art. Though Mappilas have many performing arts such as *Daffu Muttu*, *Vattappattu*, *Kolkkali*, *Arabana muttu*, *Kuthu Ratib*, *Cheeni Mutuu*, etc., it is Oppana and Kolkkali which has attracted the masses. Since Oppana is a dance form with romantic songs, it's secular in character, and everyone can enjoy Oppana. Like secular and romantic Mappilappaattus, the acceptance of Oppana by the people beyond the community can be understood if we look at the history of Malayalam cinema. Like that of romantic Mappilappaattus, Malayalam cinema from the 1950s itself started incorporating Oppana. Certainly, it is P. Bhaskaran who is credited with his contribution to Oppana in Malayalam films also. *Oppana* and *Oppana* song first featured in Uroob wrote and P. Bhaskaran directed the 1956 Indian Malayalam-language film *Rarichan Enna Pauran* (Kutty 2007b: 130). In short, the popularity of Mappilappaattu and Oppana beyond the Mappila community can be understood if we analyse Malayalam cinema. From the 1950s, Mappilappaattu and Oppana were featured in Malayalam cinema because of their secular and romantic style or its appealing nature.

5. CONCLUSION

Mappilas are the Muslim community of Kerala state. The community emerged as the outcome of the Malabar's trade relationship with Arabian. Arab traders practised a temporary marriage with the Malabar women, and Mappilas emerged as a community through this relationship. Mappilas continued their indigenously influenced ritual and art forms. Mappilas developed a unique cultural pattern, including the community language called Arabimalayalam, ritual festivals called *nercha* and many art forms such as their cultural song called Mappilappattu and one of the beautiful performing arts called oppana. Because of the cultural uniqueness of Mappilas and their revolting nature against colonialism, historians extensively studied mappilas mostly focusing on the trade relationship and community and religious formation, and Mappilas' fight against different colonial powers and feudal lords. However, there is a research gap in the literature in the sense that hardly any academic study has looked at the anthropological aspects of the Mappila community, like their ritual and arts. Therefore, this paper has provided an anthropological note on the Mappila unique cultural song tradition called Mappilappattu and one of the most appealing performing arts of Mappila women, Oppana. While looking at the different genres of Mappilappattu, we have come to know that there exist two categories within it: one has a religious nature, and the other is secular and romantic. Those Mappilappaattus which are spiritual in nature, especially Maalappaattus and Kissappattus did not go out of the Mappila cultural boundary. It is the secularisation of Mappilappattu in the forms of Mailanchippattu and Oppanappattu enriched the Mappilappattu. These songs were secular and romantic in nature. Because of this nature, Mappilappattu began attracting people beyond the Mappila community, which is evident from Malayalam cinema history. Mappila women's performing art named Oppana also has these secular and romantic songs, and the Oppana itself is romantic in nature. Therefore, Oppana also attracts people from across the community, as evidenced by the history of Malayalam film. From the 1950s itself, when the Malayalam film industry began to make its distinctive identity, Malayalam movies began to include Mappilappattus and Oppana. In short, the secular and romantic characters of Mappilappattu and Oppana helped the arts go beyond the Mappila community's cultural boundary.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

None.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

None.

REFERENCES

- Aboobacker, K and Abdurahman Mangad. Ed. (2018). *Ishal Pootha Malayalam* [Melodic Structure of Mappilappaattu]. Malappuram: Grace Educational Association.
- Abu, O. (1970). *Arabi-Malayala Sahithya Charithram* [Literary History of Arabimalayalam]. Kottayam: Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangham.
- Adimali, Anshad. (2015). "Mappila Drishya Kalakal Oru Valokanam" [Mappila Visual Arts: An analysis], in Jameel Ahamed (ed.), *Kerala Muslim History Conference Proceedings*. Kozhikode: Kerala Muslim Heritage Foundation. Pp: 503-507.
- Ahamed, K. M. ed., (2006). *Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar Padanagal* [Studies on Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar]. Kondotty: Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar Mappila Kala Academy.
- Ahammed, A.P. (2014). "Padakalil Padinja Paattu Veeryam" [The Boldness in War Songs], in K.K. Muhammed Abdul Sathar (ed.), *Mappila Keezhala Padanangal* [Mappila Subaltern Studies]. Kozhikkode: Vachnam Books. Pp: 262-267.
- Dale, F. Stephen. (1980). *Islamic Society on South Asian Frontier: The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498–1922*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Engineer, Asghar Ali. Ed., (1995). *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective*. Delhi: Ajanta Publications.
- Husain, Sakeer. P. (2018). *Cherooor Padappattu*. Calicut: IPB Books.
- Ilias, M.H. (2007). 'Mappila Muslims and the Cultural Content of Trading Arab Diaspora on the Malabar Coast'. *Asian Journal of Social Science*. Vol: 35: 434-456.
- Ilias, M.H. and Shamshad Hussain. (2017). *Arabi-Malayalam: Linguistic Cultural Traditions of Mappila Muslims of Kerala*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Jaleel, K.T. (2018). *Revisiting Malabar Rebellion 1921*. Kozhikode: Lipi Publications.
- Karasseri, M.N. (2009). *Maapila Kalagalile Anushtanamsam: Mappila Kaladarsanam* [The Performing Symbols in Mappila Arts: The Aestheticism of Mappila Arts] Thrissur: Karala Sahithya Academy.
- Karasseri, M.N. (2014). "Badar Pdappattu" [Badar War Songs], in K.K. Muhammed Abdul Sathar (ed.), *Mappila Keezhala Padanangal* [Mappila Subaltern Studies]. Kozhikkode: Vachnam Books. Pp: 230-239.
- Koppilan, Iqbal. (2008). *Vattappattu*. Kondotty: Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar Smaraka centre for Studies and Research on Folk and Mappila Arts.
- Kunji, P.K. Muhammed. (1982/2008). *Muslingalum Kerala Samskaravum* [Muslims and Kerala Culture]. Thrissur: Kerala Sahitya Akademi.
- Kutty, V. M. (2007a). *Mappilappaattinte Carithra Sancharangal* [Historical Waves of Mappilappaattu]. Kozhikode: Lipi Publications.
- Kutty, V.M (2007b). *Mappilappaattu: Charithravum Varthamanavum* [Mappilappaattu: Past and Present]. Thiruvanthapuram: Kerala Bhsha Institute.
- Kutty, V.M. (2019). *Maalappattukal* [Maala Songs]. Kondotty: Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar Mappila Kala Academy.
- Logan, William. (1887/1951): *Malabar Manual*. Madras: Government Press.
- Miller, Roland. E. (1976). *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A study in Islamic Trends*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Miller, Roland. E. (2015). *Mappila Muslim Culture: How a Historic Muslim Community in India Has Blended Tradition and Modernity*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- More, J.B.P. (2013). *Keralathile Muslingal: Aavirbavavum Adyakala Charithravum, 700 AD-1600 AD* [Origin and Early History of the Muslims of Kerala, 700 AD-1600 AD, Translated by Shibu Muhammed]. Calicut: Lead Books.
- Moulavi, Ahammed C.N. and K.K. Md Abdul Kareem. 1978. *Mahathaya Mappila Parambaryam* [The Great Traditions of Mappilas]. Calicut: Al Huda.
- Muhammed, N.P. (1995). "Reflections on Mappila Heritage", in Asghar Ali Engineer (ed), *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective*. Delhi: Ajanta Publications. Pp 35-46.
- Nediyanaadu, Hassan. (2012). *Mappilappatinede Verukal Thedi* [An inquiry into the routes of Mappilappaattu]. Kozhikode: Vachanam Books.
- Panikkar, K.N. (1989). *Against Lord and State: Religion and Peasant Uprising in Malabar, 1836–1921*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Prange, Sebastian. R. (2018). *Monsoon Islam: Trade and Faith on the medieval Malabar Coast*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Puvvakkurussi, Hydros. (2010). *Oppana: Charithram, Padanam, avatharanam* [Oppana: History, studies and Performance]. Kozhikode: Vachanam Books.
- Randathani, Hussain. (2007). *Mappila Muslims: A Study on Society and Anti-colonial Struggles*. Calicut: Other Books.
- Randathani, Hussain. (2018). *Mappila Songs and Performing Arts: Genesis and Synthesis*. Kondotty: Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar Mappila Kala Academy.
- Sunil, Babu C.T. (2022). 'The Making of the Malayalee Public Sphere and the Exclusion of Mappila Women: Language and Communal Politics in Colonial Malabar', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 56 (2): 133–155.
- Vallikkunnu, Balakrishnan. (2014). *Mappilappaattu Vazhakkangal: Charithra Samooohika Pashchathalathil* [The Folkstyle of Mappilappaattu in Historical and Social Context]. Kondotty: Malabar Institute for Research and Development.
- Vallikkunnu, Balakrishnan. (2018). *Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyarude Kavyalokam* [The Poetic World of Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar]. Kozhikode: Vachanam Books.
- Vazhippara, Mohammed Shafeeq. (2021). *Malabar Samaravum Mappilappattum* [Malabar Revolts and Mappilappattus]. Calicut: Grace Books.
- Wood, Conrad. (1987). *The Moplah Rebellion and Its Genesis*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House.