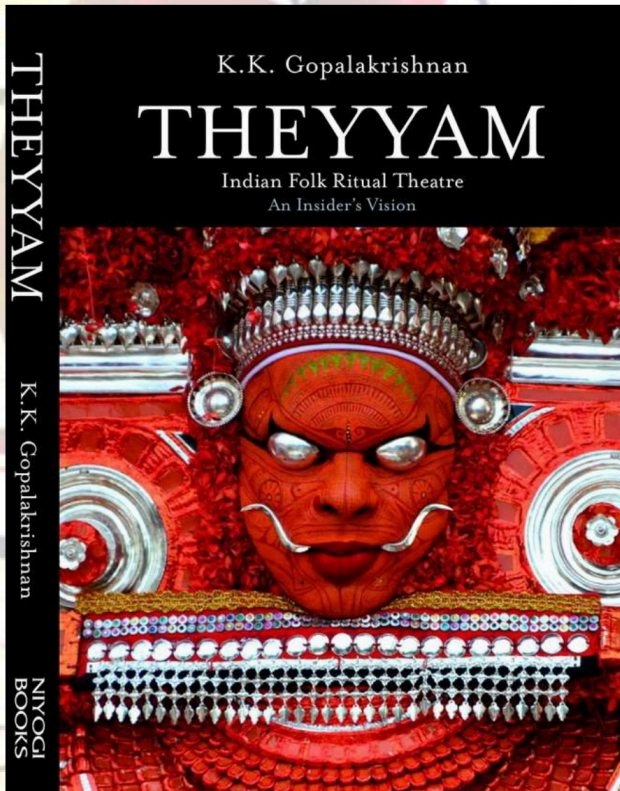


Annexure to
Theyyam: Indian Folk Ritual Theatre
***An Insider's Vision* by K.K. Gopalakrishnan**
Ancestor/ghost worship in Theyyam is an ideal example of Indian shamanism and is open to much potential research.

A table with brief details for quick reference



As an epithet, the locality-bound name is often attached to the title of the Theyyams concerned. This naming convention is significant as it reflects the regional variations and adaptations of the same Theyyam. Thus, the same Bhagavati or Chāmuṇḍi is known differently in another place with the same facial and attire or minor variations. (For instance, Karimanal Chāmuṇḍi and Matayil Chāmuṇḍi, and Thottumkara Bhagavati and Thuluvanathu Bhagavati, see chapter 5).

On the other hand, Valiya Bhagavati and Thaipparadēvata (generic names of mother Goddess Theyyams) represent the same perception, but sometimes with a few regional differences in the headgear/facial drawing/attire.

Against the Theyyam, given the name of the leading performing community and some of the significant venues. For instance, Viṣṇumūrthi is basically by the Malayar; but there are places where the Vaṅṅāns and Mavilar and others, too, serve the same. Most of the Chāmuṇḍis and Bhagavatis are predominantly performed by the Malayars and Vaṅṅāns, respectively. Nevertheless, the Vaṅṅāns and Mavilar perform some Chāmuṇḍis, and the Malayar and Mavilar play Bhagavati. Several communities serve Karim Chāmuṇḍi. This distribution of roles among different communities is a reflection of the social and cultural diversity of the region, and it adds to the richness and variety of Theyyam performances.

The Pulayas have recently started performing Theyyams such as Thekkan Gulikan and Viṣṇumūrthi at their places. This is a significant development in the Theyyam tradition, indicating its adaptability and inclusivity. The Kallanthat Bhagavati (performed at Kallanthat Kōṭṭam at Karatt, near Kunhimangalam by Pulayas) used to wear tall headgear. But recently, it has changed into a round/circular one. This change in the headgear is a clear example of how the Theyyam performances are evolving and adapting to contemporary aesthetics.

The last decade saw several such changes. Rituals are overtaken by performance for the sake of entertainment, especially during big festivals such as *perumkaliyāṭṭams*. This shift towards more entertaining performances is a response to the changing preferences and expectations of the audience, and it raises interesting questions about the balance between tradition and innovation in Theyyam. Spirits such as Mahaganapati and Poomala Bhagavati are worshipped at some Theyyam *kāvs* but do not have a *Teyyakkōlam* (Theyyam form).

The Theyyam(s) that accompany a significant Theyyam is also known as *Kooteyllor* (colloquial usage of *koote ullavar*, which means companion/fellow traveller), and their performance is known as *Kootiyāttam* (Kūtiyāttam; performance together).

I wanted to provide the details of attire, facial drawings, and headgear of the Theyyams below, but I dropped the idea as it turned out to be very complicated. However, these details are crucial for a comprehensive understanding of Theyyam. As mentioned in the book, the same Theyyam uses a variant in another place/side of a river, which would have been confusing for readers unfamiliar with this ritual art. Ancestor worship in Theyyam is an ideal example of Indian shamanism and is open to many potential research.

Sl. No.	Name of Theyyam	Performed by	Significant details in brief
1.	Alanthatta Daivathar	Vaṅṅān	A new Theyyam – see chapter 12 .
2.	Antallur Daivathar	Vaṅṅān	The main deity performed at Antallurkāv, which some believe as Rama
3.	Anka Daivaṃ	Vaṅṅān	Not a significant one, other than performing with Antallur Daivathar and Bappuran. Performed at Antallurkāv as Thira and at Pālot <i>kāvs</i> at Keecheri, Azhikode, (Thattassery) Nileschwaram as Theyyam.
4.	Ankakkaran (Karivanchal Daivathar) -Thira	Vaṅṅān Munnoottan	Ancestor worship. Deified in the memory of a known warrior from the Thiyya community. Performed at Vatakara and around and thus considered as a Thira as well. Vaṅṅāns' performance is known as

			Anakkaran and Munnoottans' as Karivanchal Daivathar.
5.	Anakkulangara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A warrior Goddess. An example of the deification of renowned women warriors. Performed at a few select centres in northern Kerala, mostly around Payyannur.
6.	Arathil Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess with tall headgear, based on the concept of Tiruvarkkattu Bhagavati, to whom customarily specific prayers are made by unmarried girls and women consequent to their wedding. Also, the primary Goddess of Arathilkāv of Cherutazham, Kannur.
7.	Arumbagam Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess based on the Kakkara Bhagavati concept. Mainly performed at Pattuvam in Taliparambu.
8.	Asurālan (Also known as Asrālan, Asrālan Tambāchchi and Asurakālan)	Vaṅṅān	<i>A marakkaladēvata</i> mainly performed at Trikkarippur Āyithikkāv. The popular belief is that Āyithi Bhagavati is the patron of Asurālan. Asurālan (also colloquially known as both Asrālan Tambāchchi and Asurakālan) is the Theyyam of the Mukayar (it is not popular, being confined only to about eight <i>kāvs</i> in Kasaragod district and two in southern Tulunāt. At the main centre, Payyakkalkāv (Trikkarippur), Asurālan is not performed; instead, there will be rituals by the <i>Velichchappātu</i> . Mukayar, also known as Moyon, is a distinct minority not included in the mainstream fishermen clan known as Mukkuva. While men go fishing in the sea and rivers around, their women, known as Moyi, sell the catch to various homes in their area.
9.	Asuraputhran Kāranavar	Munnoottan	Ancestor worship. The deification of a late senior uncle and thus also known as Kāranavar. Mainly performed in the northern areas of the Kozhikode district.
10.	Athiralan	Vaṅṅān	Performed at Antallurkāv with two kids and thus believed to represent Sita, the heroine of the epic <i>Ramayana</i> . But there are scholars who disapprove of this theory and opine that the Theyyam represents a warrior in the border. The costuming is also not akin to a female.
11.	Ayyappan	Velan	Related to the concepts of both Muthappan and Sasthavu.
12.	Ākko Chāmuṅḍi	Mavilan	The Mother Goddess of Kamballoore village. The preliminary ritual of formally taking the Goddess' spirit into the performer's body takes place at the Ākko Kāv on the morning of 10 Thulām. Ākko

Chāmuṇḍi's performance is on the next day at the Kamballoore Kottayil *taravāṭ* about a kilometre away. The Theyyams' rituals, after costuming and just before the performance is done facing northwards, are based on the concept that the spirit concerned came from the northern side. But in the case of Ākko Chāmuṇḍi, such rituals take place facing the east, on the presumption that the Theyyam's spirit came from Māyilati, Coorg, in the east.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-------------|--|
| 13. | Ālakkunnu Chāmuṇḍi | Mavilan | A regional Theyyam based on the concept of the Mother Goddess but has Viṣṇu divinity too and performed at Ālakkunnu, Kasaragod. |
| 14. | Ālamkulangara Bhagavati | Vanann | A woman killed by Śiva, exalted as a Goddess at Ālamkulangara, is considered the village's presiding Goddess. Performed at Arathil, in Pilathara, under Nampūtiri patronage. |
| 15. | Ālangattu Bhagavati | Munnoottan | A Goddess of Siva manifestation. Performed at Ālangattu, where she is their village Goddess. |
| 16. | Ālata Bhagavati (Ālamata Bhagavati) | Mavilan | A Goddess based on the concept of Kāli performed at Ālamatakkāv. |
| 17. | Āli Theyyam (Āli Chāmuṇḍi / Māppḷa Theyyam) | Vaṇṇān | A Muslim Theyyam. Āli, known for his black magic and misbehaviour towards Hindu women, was exalted as a Theyyam as per astrological prophecy by being annihilated by the Goddess Kāli. Performed at Arikkady <i>sthana</i> (of late, popularly known as Sri Bhagavati Āli Chāmuṇḍi temple) at Kumbala. (See chapter 8). |
| 18. | Āriya Bhagavati | Pulayar | A <i>marakkaladēvata</i> arrived in Cherukunnu along with Annapoorneswari. Performed at the <i>kāvs</i> of the Pualaya community in that region |
| 19. | Āryapponkanni | Vaṇṇān | A <i>marakkala devata</i> . Bappiriyam Theyyam, in the image of <i>kappithan</i> (captain of a ship), believed to transport Āryapponkanni through the river, accompanies Her during the performance. Performed in the Cherukunnu area. Also known as Kaithakkeel Amma, it is thought that the Theyyam migrated to Kaithakkeel in Taliparambu, Keecheri Vayalilekāvu. |
| 20. | Āti (of Ātivetan) | Vaṇṇān boys | A minor Theyyam, based on the concept of Goddess Pārvati. Also known as Karkkitothi. The general belief is that during the monsoon month of Karkkitakam, people are vulnerable to several diseases and bad vibrations, and the performance Āti (and Vetan) at |

21.	Āyiramthengil Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	home provides protection. Performed at various houses of the concerned communities during the monsoon month of Karkkitakam.
22.	Āyiramthengil Chāmundi (Kizhakkera Chāmundi, Kuttikkara Chāmundi and Neelankai Chāmundi)	Malayar	A Goddess based on the concept of Raktha Chāmundi (see chapter 5) and worshipped by the Moovari community. Known by four different names at four different <i>kazhakams</i> of the Moovari (mason) community.
23.	Āyithi Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A <i>marakkaladēvata</i> that had migrated to the erstwhile Chirakkal kingdom. In some areas, it is known as Payyakkal Bhagavati, Punnakkal Bhagavati and Uchoolikkadavath Bhagavati. It is mainly performed at a few places in the Kannur district, such as Āyirathikkāv (Trikkarippur), Nellikkathuruthy Kazhakam and Oriyil Kadappurath.
24.	Bammurikkan	Kalanāti Vaṅṅān	See Murikkan.
25.	Bappiriyān (In some places, including in Bhūta style, known as both Bobbariyan and Babbariyan)	Koppālar, Munnoottan, Vaṅṅān and Velan	A Muslim Theyyam, believed to be the captain (<i>kappithan</i>) of the boat/wooden raft where Āryapponkanni (see entry no. 6 above) was transported and considered a Muslim trader. In Tulu Nadu, the notion is of a Muslim warrior who got killed during a battle at sea. (See chapter 8) Some people believe that at the Antalloorkāḅ, Bappiriyān is performed based on the concept of Hanumān, the Vānara (monkey) god from the epic, the <i>Ramayana</i> .
26.	Vaṅṅān Bāli	Vaṅṅān	An example of animal worship. Also, an important character (the king of Kishkinda) from the <i>Ramayana</i> . It is generally considered the God of communities such as the carpenter, brazier and gold- and blacksmiths and performed at various <i>kāvs</i> and <i>tharavāṭs</i> .
27.	Bālicherry Bhagavati	Chingathan	A Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati.
28.	Bāraḅan	Vaṅṅān	Believed to be the mount of Paityayal Bhagavati, it applies rice paste over the body.

29.	Berikkara Bhagavati (Vareekkara Bhagavati)	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati. Primarily performed at the <i>sthanas</i> dedicated to Berikkara/Vareekkara Bhagavati at places such as Kozhummal and Peralam (near Payyannur).
30.	Bhadrakāli	Vaṅṅān and various other communities	A <i>marakkaladēvata</i> . Considered as the manifestation of Goddess Kāli, the divine power of Śiva. Performed at various Theyyam venues, especially at the Bhadrakāli <i>kāvs</i> .
31.	Bhairavan	Malayar Munnoottan Pānan (Pānar) Pulayar Vaṅṅān Velan	The idea of Bhairavan, with various stories about His origin, is prominent in the Śiva concept. The diverse communities that perform Bhairavan at various venues execute it with different perceptions detailed in each of the <i>thottams</i> concerned.
32.	Brahman	Vaṅṅān	Example of spirit worship. A Brahmin spirit is deified. Attiring is akin to a <i>veḷḷāṭṭam</i> with a black beard and moustache.
33.	Chālayil Chāmuṇḍi	Mavilan	A local Goddess based on the concept of Raktha Chāmuṇḍi.
34.	Chāthappan (Sasthappan)	Vaṅṅān	A forest God in the concept of Sasthavu, but considered a spirit, passionate about hunting too. Usually performed at the Mazhoo Putukkuti Illaṃ on Vishu (generally falls on 14 April and sometimes on 15 April), which is very auspicious for the Kerala Hindus since it marks their new year. This performance is known as Vishu-Kaḷiyāṭṭam as well.
35.	Chamakkāv Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Another name of Tiruvarkāttu Bhagavati (see chapter 5), Mother Goddess, when performed at Chamakkāv in Vellur, Payyannur. Also known as Valiyamuṭi Theyyam.
36.	Chandranalloor Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati. Also, the deity of some of the priest-cum-sorcerer families. Significant performances are at Chandranalloor at Pānichāl and Kālakāttullāṃ.
37.	Changan (and Pongan)	Vaṅṅān	A sort of <i>Porāṭṭ</i> , wearing masks made of areca-palm, considered as members of the entourage of Goddess Bhagavati. Performed at a few centres as entertainment during Kaḷiyāṭṭam.
38.	Chantu Payyamballi (Payyamballi Gurunadhan)	Vaṅṅān	The deification of the celebrity Kaḷarippayattu warrior of the 16th century. At the Sri Kurumba Manikkakāv in Thana, Kannur, Payyamballi Chandu is deified as Payyamballi Gurunadhan Theyyam and considered

39.	Chattiyoor Bhagavati	Mavilar	one who frees devotees from illnesses. Other venues include Chozhan Rayaroth, near Kathiroor.
40.	Cheerangottu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess born of Śiva's powers. Performed at Chattiyoomala, near Thirumeni in Kasaragod district.
41.	Cheerathu Bhagavati	Pulayar	Performed based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati at Atuthila Cheerangottu Bhagavati kāv and a few places in the vicinity.
42.	Cheerumba Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A <i>marakkala dēvatathat</i> came with Annapoorneswari, the deity at Cherukunnu.
43.	Cheerumba Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess worshipped at several places with no <i>kōlam</i> but performed as Theyyam at very few places in the south of the Kannur–Thalassery area.
44.	Chekkicherry Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Performed at a few places in Kasaragod, based on the concept of Kakkara Bhagavati.
45.	Chekkippara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Performed at a few places, such as Ānati Patinjātta in Annur (Payyannur).
46.	Chembilot Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess born of the powers of Śiva. Performed at a few places, such as Ānati Patinjātta in Annur (Payyannur).
47.	Chembilot Bhūtam	Karimbalar	The Goddess of a family/village and based on the concept of Thaipparadēvata. The performance at Ramavilyam Kazhakaṁ at Trikkarippur is well known.
48.	Chembilot Bhūtam	Karimbalar	The deity of the Karimbalar community and known for stealing ripe paddy plants. Climbing on the roof of nearby houses is a significant ritual. Performed in some of the villages in Taliparambu (Kannur).
49.	Cheralathu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	The deity of the Karimbalar community and known for stealing ripe paddy plants. Climbing on the roof of nearby houses is a significant ritual. Performed in some of the villages in Taliparambu (Kannur).
50.	Cherippāti Chāmuṇḍi	Malayan	A village Goddess believed to be born from the <i>trikkaṅṅu</i> (third-eye) of Śiva. At Kayyur, known as Kandathil amma.
51.	Cherippāti Chāmuṇḍi	Malayan	Chāmuṇḍi performed at the Cherippāti <i>tharavāṭ</i> in Kanhangad.
52.	Chetayarkulangara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A deity worshipped by the Maniyani community and believed to be earlier praised by the <i>Mukkuva</i> community. The most significant performance takes place at Chetayarkulangarakkāv in Vengara, near Pazhayangadi.
53.	Chirukantamūrthi	Pulayar	Ancestor worship by the Pulaya community.
54.	Chitteyi Bhagavati	Thiyya	Chitteyi, hailing from the Thiyya community, was an ardent devotee of Mahishasuramardhini, another manifestation of Goddess Devi. On her demise, her soul was believed to have merged with her dearest deity and thus deified as Theyyam. The first

			performance was at Chāmuṇḍikkunnu <i>kāv</i> near the river Chitteyi in Kasaragod.
52.	Chooliyar Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A war Goddess, a manifestation of Goddess Kāli killing Dārīka. Primarily performed at the worship centres of the Maniyani and Chaliya (weaver) communities.
53.	Chorakkalathil Bhagavati	Munnoottan	A war Goddess, mainly performed at Chirakkakkāv (Chirakkal Devi <i>kāv</i>) at Kotuvally, Thalassery.
54.	Chulāppil Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati. Performed at very few places, such as the Kotakkad Chulappilkkāv, near Payyannur.
55.	Chuzhali Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	Performed at Chuzhali near Taliparamba, Kaḷarivātukkal and Thekkumbat Kuuulom (Cherukunnu); based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati.
56.	Daivathar (Antalloor Daivathar, Kāppad, Daivathar, Mavilayi Daivathar and Patuvilayi Daivathar)	Vaṇṇān Mavilar	The Daivathar Theyyams are based on Viṣṇu. It is believed that all four deities are siblings. Nevertheless, the former two belong to the Thiyya community, and the latter belongs to the Nair clan. Mainly performed at the Antalloor, Kāppad, Māvilayi and Patuvilayi <i>kāvs</i> near Thalassery in the Kannur district. Only Kāppad Daivathar speaks, and it is believed that the tongues of the other three were pulled out by him. At Ālappatambu, near Māthil, Mavilar performs Daivathar. The performance is only at night; no lights other than <i>choottu</i> (a torch made of dried coconut leaves bundled together) are allowed. By custom, ladies, except those belonging to the Mavilar community, do not go to watch. Here the headgear is made of bell-metal; if it cannot be lifted at the first attempt by the performer, the performance stands cancelled.
57.	Dēvācharamūrthi	Pulayar	A deity came in from Chembakassery and settled at Chittikkot.
58.	Dēvakoothu (Dēvakanni)	Malayar (woman)	The sole Theyyam performance by a woman and held at Tayakkāv in Cherukunnu— see chapter7 .
59.	Deviyāl Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A regional Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati.
60.	Dharma Daivaṃ, the Theyyam of the family/ancestor — a common name	Vaṇṇān Munnoottan Pulayar	A deity worshipped since time immemorial in a family/locality. It may be ancestor worship based on

			the concept that Yama Dharma (Dharmaraja) is the God of death.
61.	Dhuumā Bhagavati	Koppālar Malayar Vaṅṅān Velan	Believed to be the first of the seven Goddesses who emerged from the <i>yajña</i> /sacrificial fire of Śiva to destroy the demon Dhuumar (Dhuumasura) and came to northern Kerala from Tulu Nadu along with a Nampūtiri and the Koppālar. It is also considered a <i>mantramūrtti</i> (a deity of a mystic spell) at Peringott Illam of Māthil, near Payyannur.
62.	Eḷam Karumakan (Ilam Karumakan)	Vaṅṅān Munnoottan	A forest Goddess. One among the 39 (<i>onnukurēnāpat</i>) Theyyams performed by Maṅakkāṭan before the Kōlathiri. Rarely performed.
63.	Embran Kurikkal (Embran Gurikkal) — Embran is another generic form of address for male Brahmins and affluent upper-class males as a mark of respect	Pulayar	Exaltation of a Nampūtiri soul. He cared for an orphan Pulaya boy by employing him as his helper in managing his cows. A local king killed both of them— first the boy for coming in his path, ignoring his caste restrictions, and then the Nampūtiri attempting to protect the boy. Performed along with Ippalli Theyyam, a deification of the Pulaya boy. Presented at the venues of the Pulaya community; of late, not frequent.
64.	Erinjikkeel Bhagavati (Elanjikkeezhil Bhagavati)	Vaṅṅān	A Mother Goddess in the Valiya Bhagavati concept. Performed at places such as Kannamangalam (Trikkarippor) and Azhikkode (Kannur).
65.	Etachira Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Mother Goddess in the concept of Valiya Bhagavati and performed at Timiri, Taliparamba.
66.	Etalāpurathu Chāmuṇḍi (Elladathu Bhagavati)	Vaṅṅān	One among the seven Chāmuṇḍis who emerged out of the sacrificial pyre of Śiva. The primary performances are at Pāroli, Patavilanchal, Eratta Chembeth and Chonokkanti <i>tharavāṭs</i> near Vengat in Koothuparamba. The Kulaparadevata for the Vaṅṅāns.
67.	Etapara Chāmuṇḍi	Malaya	A local name for Raktha Chāmuṇḍi (see chapter 5) performed at Edappara Chamunteswari <i>kāv</i> , Kannapuram (Kannur).
68.	Ettikkulathu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Mother Goddess in the concept of Valiya Bhagavati (Valiya Thampurātti) and performed at Ettikkuḷam, Rāmanthali (Payyannur).
69.	Galinchan	Koppālar	A holy spirit connected with fertility and agriculture, having a significant influence on Bhūta. Performed mainly at homes in the northern parts of Kasaragod during the monsoon month of Karkkitakam as

70.	Gandharvan (Ākashagandharvan/ Kenthron)	Malayar Vaṅṅān	protection from poverty and diseases of the <i>dull month</i> . Performed on special occasions and for other rituals such as <i>Kenthronpāttu</i> (by the Vaṅṅāns) and <i>Malayarkēṭṭ</i> (Malayars); <i>Kenthronpāttu</i> to protect pregnant ladies, <i>Malayarkēṭṭ</i> for saving a couple from childlessness. Main venues are homes; and conducted as an offering and part of prayers. Of late, the performance is limited chiefly to Kalathil kŭlōṃ, Thalassery and is fast vanishing.
71.	Gulikan (Kuliyān)	By almost all the Theyyam- performing communities	Popular Theyyam performed all across both as Theyyam and Thira wearing masks. The performing communities follow different <i>thottams</i> , performing with different perceptions. For instance, while the Munnoottan considers Gulikan as a spirit of Viṣṇu, the Malayar believe that Gulikan has emerged from the left big toe of Śiva. Gulikan is also considered the son of Saturn.
72.	Hanumān	Vaṅṅān	A Theyyam of recent origin at the Peringott Illaṃ, near Kankol in Payyannur.
73.	Iduppaiyil Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A regional Goddess based on the concept of Kakkara Bhagavati.
74.	Ippalli	Pulayar	Elevation of a Pulaya boy's soul shot dead and consequently deified along with his patron Embran Kurikkal.
75.	Kaikkōlan	Vaṅṅān	The deification of the Thiyyan, who refrained from placing the dried coconut in the pyre of Daivakanya and fled out of fear. (See chapter 6)
76.	Kaitha Chāmuṇḍi	Malayar	See Chāmuṇḍi in chapter 5 . Primarily performed in areas around Mattannur and Thalassery of Kannur district and Vatakara (as Thira) areas of Kozhikode district.
77.	Kakkara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess worshipped as another manifestation of Kāli. Since the main performance venue is Kakkarakāv in Pilathara, Cheruthāzham (Kannur), the prefix 'Kakkara'. In other villages she is known as Arumbilli Bhagavati, Checkicherry Bhagavati, Kārattu Bhagavati, Kooliyanga Bhagavati, Koyikkulangara Bhagavati, Chalithottukara Bhagavati and Mamballi Bhagavati; the prefix is the name of the village/area concerned.
78.	Kaḷariyāl Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess in the concept of Valiya Bhagavati. The main Theyyam of Kaḷarivatukkal is also known as

			Thaipparadēvata and Kaḷariyāl Bhagavati. Wears the tallest headgear.
79.	Kalichi	Munnoottan Pānar Pulayar	While Kalichi is a Goddess who wards off bad vibes and spirits for the Pulayar, for the Munnoottan and the Pānar, Kalichi is the Goddess of agriculture and prosperity. Performed 16 Karkkitakam onwards by visiting the houses. Kalichi is also considered a Karkkitaka Theyyam. In Kozhikode district, Kalichi is presented along with Kaliyan/Kālan (who subsequently marries her; both are <i>porāttu</i>) and Gulikan Thira in different attire.
80.	Kallanthattu Bhagavati	Pulayar	A regional Goddess of the Pulaya clan near Cheruthazham (Kannur).
81.	Kallurutty	Koppālar Malayar Velan	Koppālar consider Kallurutty as the sole daughter of Veerabhadran and Neelamma, endowed with the divinity of Śiva and Pārvati. For the Malayar, Kallurutty is a spirit that may adversely affect pregnant women of the locality and, therefore, must be appeased. In the Velan concept, Kallurutty is a forest Goddess passionate about hunting. Not a Theyyam in the mainstream performances. Kallurutty is also a Bhūtain Tulunāt.
82.	Kammaran	Vaṇṇān	Ancestor worship to please the wandering soul of Kammaran, killed while fishing in the river. Of late rarely performed.
83.	Kammatathu Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati. Performed at Kammatathukāv, Kasaragod.
84.	Kanancherri Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A Goddess of the carpenter community and worshipped as Valiya Bhagavati. Performed at Kāncherri Bhagavatikkāv (of late described as <i>kshetram</i> —temple) at Kadannappally in Kannur following the belief that the Goddess came from Eranam Mannammal Kanancherri Bhagavatikkāv along with a devotee of the area.
85.	Kannamman	Vaṇṇān	Kallitil Kannan was a glorious warrior of the Kōlathiri. While having lunch with his mother, Kannan got instructions from the Kōlathiri to go fight the enemies. He left without finishing his meal, a bad omen in his mother's eyes. Kannan got killed in the battle. His mother was inconsolable. Subsequently, Kannan's spirit appeared before her like a Theyyam.
86.	Kannamangalathu Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati. Performed at Trikkarippur Kannamangalam Kazhakam.

87.	Kanni	Velan	A Goddess of fertility and farming. Visits homes in the locality during the dull month of Karkkitakam.
88.	Kannikkorumakan	Vaṇṇān	Worshipping the soul of an outstanding warrior by the <i>Viswakarma</i> (belleter, blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith) community. The belief goes that a childless woman's prayers were answered in the form of the warrior, and she considered him to be God's son. Different types of Kannikkorumakan are performed at various <i>tharavāṭs</i> and <i>kāvs</i> with changes in headgear and facial drawings.
89.	Kannilkkarumakan	Vaṇṇān	A forest God, passionate about hunting (in the Oorppalli Daivam category), born from Śiva's eyes during his stint as a hunter (Kirata).
90.	Kantakkoran	Pulayar	Performed at places such as Korom Chengal Kōṭṭam, near Payyannur, of the Pulayar community. As part of the performance, Kantakkoran moves out, climbs the adjoining coconut trees, and plucks coconuts.
91.	Kantanār Kelan (Kantan Kelan)	Vaṇṇān	A god who is passionate about hunting. This is usually performed along with Vayanāttu Kulavan. The belief goes that Kelan, a servant employed by a locally prominent landlord family, was an alcoholic. When he tried to escape a forest fire by climbing a tree, he was bitten by a cobra, fell down, and consumed by the raging flames. Saddened by this sight, Vayanatukulavan, who was passing by, took Kelan's spirit along with him and thus, Kelan became a Theyyam. Performed at various places since it is a popular Theyyam. Thiyyas (primary) and Nambiar families, such as Makkuni (Azhikode) and Chammancherry (Pattuvam), among others, are among the significant worshippers.
92.	Kantappuli	Vaṇṇān	A tiger Theyyam, born to Pullikkarinkāli and Pulikantan.
93.	Kantākarnan Khantākarnan (Ghantākarnan)	Malayar Pānar Munnoottan	A deity of a mystical spell (Mantramūrṭti) born from the throat (<i>khanta</i>) of Śiva and came out through His ear (<i>karna</i>) to treat Bhadrakāli for smallpox. Another belief is that the deity wore ghanta (bells) on his ears (<i>karna</i>), Performed at several places.
94.	Karakkeel Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	Mother Goddess in the notion of Valiya Bhagavati and performed at Pilikkode Karakkeel.
95.	Karimanal Chāmuṇḍi	Malayar Vaṇṇān	Matayil Chāmuṇḍi performed at Karimanalkkāv at Ponnampāra near Māthil (Payyannur).

96.	Karim Bhūtam (Karutha Bhūtam)	Vaṇṇān	This mask-wearing Theyyam is a tribal god endowed with Śiva's divinity and considered the devil's son. (<i>Bhūtam</i> in Malayālam literally means devil, and <i>kari/karutha</i> stands for black.) Performed at Pattuvam Valiya Mōlōṃ, Atiyedath <i>tharavāṭ</i> and Edat Kunhikkantanad.
97.	Karimurikkan	Kalanāti Vaṇṇān	See entry no. 210 , Murikkan.
98.	Karinchāmuṇḍi	Cheruvār Karimpālar Mavilar Pulayar Vaṇṇān Velan	Widely performed. Among the Vaṇṇāns, mainly performed by the members of the Tadikkadavan family. (See chapter 5 .)
99.	Karinkāli	Kalanāti Karimpālar Pānar (Thiṛa) Vaṇṇān	A <i>Mantramūrṭti</i> , born from Śiva's third eye.. A Bhagavati Theyyam, also known as <i>Mantramūrṭti</i> Karinkāli.
100.	Karinkutti Chāththan (Karinkutti chchāthan)	Malayar Munnoottan Pānar Paṛayan Pulayan	See chapter 4 &, annexure C4-1.
101.	Karinthiri Nair (Karinthiri Kannan)	MunnoottanV aṇṇān	The deification of an outstanding warrior killed by tigers when attempting to save some cows. (See chapter 5 .)
102.	Karivanchāl Daivathār (Angakkāran)	Vaṇṇān	Patamala Nair, a fearless warrior, is deified as Theyyam. Primarily performed in the Talasserry and Koothupramba areas.
103.	Karivetan	Vaṇṇān	A warrior god endowed with the divinity of Śiva. Performed at various places during the annual <i>kaḷiyāṭṭams</i> and <i>peruṃkaḷiyāṭṭams</i> .
104.	Karivilli (Karivillon)	Munnoottan Vaṇṇān	A forest Goddess, primarily performed in the Talasserry, Koothupramba areas.
105.	Kariyāppil Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A Goddess worshipped as Thaipparadevata at Cheemeni.
106.	Kariyāthan	Vaṇṇān	A forest God (Oorppalli Daivam) zealous about hunting. Born to Śiva and Pārvati when they were disguised as a hunter couple. Performed at various places.
107.	Karkkatothi	Vaṇṇān	A Goddess of fertility who visits homes during the 'dull month of Karkkitakam to drive away all

			dishonourable elements and evil spirits. Of late, not performed much.
108.	Karumakan	Vaṅṅān	A forest god worshipped in the notion of Vettaikkorumakan. In some parts, deified based on the idea of Shasthavu.
109.	Karumakal	Vaṅṅān	A forest Goddess based on the Śiva concept and performed along with Olimakal.
110.	Karuvāl	Malayar Munnoottan Pānar Pulayar	A <i>Mantramūrtti</i> in the forest and considered as Kuttichchāthan's sister. The Karuvāl of Pulaya is related to the concept of pregnancy.
111.	Karuvon	Munnoottan	A forest God endowed with Śiva's divinity; rarely performed.
112.	Katambheri Bhagavati (Sarveshwari Amma)	Vaṅṅān	One of the deities' idols came from Aryakkara in a <i>marakkalam</i> and was kept in the hollow of the <i>katambu</i> tree (<i>Eugenia Racemosa/Nauclea Parviflora</i>) at Katambheri for safety. Once, a locally influential Nampūtiri chanced upon a young, beautiful, but naked woman playfully swinging on one of the <i>katambu</i> trees. He understood that it was Goddess Devi, the idol's spirit. So he gave his second dhoti to her to cover and preserve her modesty. Subsequently, as per astrological predictions, a place of worship was consecrated, and she was revered as Katambheri Bhagavati with an annual Theyyam. Performed at Katambheri Mōlōṃ and Chuzhali Bhagavatikkāv. Tallest muti Theyyam.
113.	Katāmkottu Mākkam (Mākkappothi)	Vaṅṅān	Ancestor worship at Chala Puthiyaveedu and later at Kunhimangalam too. Also known as Mākkappothi; <i>pothi</i> is the colloquial usage of Bhagavati. (See chapter 5.)
114.	Kathivannur Veeran	Vaṅṅān	One of the favourite Theyyamsds of the Thiyya community. (See chapter 5.)
115.	Kavatiyangānathu Raktheswari	Malayar	Another manifestation of Raktheswari. Performed at Kavatiyangānathukāv in Kasaragod and some of the Nampūtiri homes.
116.	Kavinisseri Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Mother Goddess based on the Valiya Bhagavati concept. Performed at Kavinisserikkāv, Cherukunnu.
117.	Kayaron	Vaṅṅān	A spirit imbued with the divinity of Viṣṇu and based on the concept of a 'war God'. Performed at Ramavilyam Kazhakaṃ at Trikkarippur.
118.	Kālachchāmuṇḍi (Kāla Chāmuṇḍi)	Malayar Velan	The last one among the seven Chāmuṇḍis emerged out of the sacrificial pyre of Śiva, believed to be born

119.	Kālappuli	Vaṅṅān	when the sweat of Śiva fell in that pyre. Rarely performed.
120.	Kālarātriyamma	Vaṅṅān	One of the Tiger-Theyyams; believed as one among the five children born to Śiva and Pārvati when they were disguised as tigers(see chapter 5). Performed at specific <i>kāvs</i> in the Kasaragod area and sacred places such as Ramapuramara, Eramam, Kandoth Meledath Sri Kurumba <i>kāv</i> , Paravanthatta Udayapuramara, Katannappally Kuttiyatara, Mātamangalam Pazhavathil temple, Paravoor Ivar <i>ara</i> , Eryam Ivar <i>ara</i> , Pariyaram Kottiyor Nanmatam and Pariyaram Eyyapuram.
121.	Kālichchan (Kālichekon)	Vaṅṅān Pulayar	Paradēvata of the Alḷaṭa lineage. Believed to be born of the third eye of Śiva. Primary performance at Matiyankūlōṃ.
122.	Kālimala Daivam	Kalanāti	Worship is connected with the concept of fertility. While the Kālichchan by Vaṅṅān represents Krishna as a cowherd, Pulayar represents the God who came down to earth from Śiva's Mount Kailash. Usually, two Theyyams in similar attire perform together. Pulayar performs on 1 st Thulām to mark the beginning of the second season in agriculture, post-Onam harvest. As a part of the performance, Kālichchan visits the entire area, including homes.
123.	Kānakkara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A forest Goddess based on the concept of Oorppazhassi.
124.	Kānankāttu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess performed at <i>tharavāṭs</i> such as Vannatil and Alanthatta in Payyannur.
125.	Kāppāttu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Mother Goddess performed at the Kannankāttu - <i>kāvs</i> (Maniyāni community). Also presented at all the Muchilōṭṭukāvs (see chapter 6 & annexure C6-1).
126.	Kāppalathi Chāmuṇḍi (Kāppalathiyamma)	Cheruvār Mavilar	A Goddess in the concept of Valiya Bhagavati, performed at Kāppadtu Kazhakaṃ, Payyannur.
127.	Kārāttu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Spirit of Kāppalathi, murdered by her siblings for living with a Mavilan and becoming pregnant, is deified as Kāppalathi Chāmuṇḍi.
128.	Kārakeel Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess in the concept of Kakkara Bhagavati and believed to be born of the third eye of Śiva.
			A village Goddess based on Valiya Bhagavati's concept and performed at Karakeelkāv, Pilocode.

129.	Kārakkuliyān	Malayar Pulayar	A slightly varied Gulikan Theyyam. The Theyyam jumps into the <i>kāra</i> thorny shrub/bush as a part of the performance; hence, it is known as Kārakkuliyān.
130.	Kāranavar (Kārnoor/Kāranooru)	Almost all the communities	In memory of ancestors, the majority of which are as Thira.
131.	Kāran Daivaṃ	Vaṅṅān	In the concept of Pālot Daivaṃ, as the divinity of Viṣṇu. Mainly performed at Karankāv, Kannapuram.
132.	Kārelu Chāmuṇḍi	Malayar	Based on the concept of Raktha Chāmuṇḍi.
133.	Kārikurikkal (Kāri Gurukkal)	Pulayar	Ancestor worship of the Pulaya community. Also, see chapter 5 , PulimaranhaThontachan.
134.	Kārthika Chāmuṇḍi (Araḃi Chāmuṇḍi)	Pulayar	Performed at Araḃi Kārthikakkāv near Nileshwaram on 10Thulām. The significant procession of the Theyyam is in a country boat (and hence known as thōṇi Theyyam as well; <i>thōṇi</i> means a country boat) to the Kālichchankāv on the opposite side of the Araḃi river, visiting the neighbouring homes and fields too. The local inhabitants credit the excellent fertility of their soil to the blessings of Kārthika Chāmuṇḍi.
135.	Kāviletheyyam	Vaṅṅān	Performed based on the concept of Ayyappan at places such as Chamakkāv, Vellur, and Kottanacherry — of late, changes have been noticed in the costuming at Kottanacherry, such as avoiding green in the facial drawing.
136.	Kāvumbhāyi Bhagavati	Pulayar	A <i>marakkaladēvata</i> of the Pulaya community. It is believed that the Goddess arrived with Cherukunnu Annapoorneswari.
137.	Kāya Bhagavati	Mavilar	An <i>ugramūrthi</i> , similar to Puthiya Bhagavati in appearance. Performed at places such as Kāyappoil and Kakkara (Kasaragod).
138.	Kāttumotantha (Motanthamma)	Chingathan Mavilan	A forest Goddess (<i>katu</i> means forest, and <i>matantha/motantha</i> represent goddess). Performed at several places in the Kasaragod district. For example, at Kamballoore, Motanthamma is the last Theyyam, according to the order of appearance.
139.	Kelankulangara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	The deification of a woman from the Periyātan Katinjappally family. She was found dead in a pond (<i>kuḷam</i>). She was on her way to the family's fields. A local man named Kelan found her corpse and tried to revive her. Thus, the name Kelankulangara Bhagavati. The other belief is that the Theyyam is a spirit that emerged out of Śiva's divinity. Performed at Kelankulangara (Kunhimangalam) and the

			Chamakkāv and Periyātan Katinjappally <i>taravāṭat</i> Vellur.
140.	Kizhakken Daivam	Vaṅṅān	A Theyyam based on the concept of Sugreeva, the monkey king and younger brother of Bāli, from the <i>Ramayana</i> . Performed at Valakkai (Taliparamba).
141.	Kizhakkerā Chāmuṇḍi	Malayar	Another manifestation of Goddess Raktheswari and worshipped by the Moovari (mason) community as their deity.
142.	Kodoth Chāmuṇḍi (Kototh Chāmuṇḍiyamma)	Malayar	The Mother Goddess of the Kodoth family (once the wealthiest landlord family in north Malabar who paid the highest land revenues) with the entire Kodoth village based on the concept of Thaipparadēvata.
143.	Kolāchān (Kolān)	Vaṅṅān	Ancestor worship by the Maniyani (Yadava) community. Mainly performed at Puliyanur (Cheemeni).
144.	Koliyāttu Chāmuṇḍi	Malayar	Based on the concept of Viṣṇumūrthi
145.	Konginichāl Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	The Goddess who emerged out of the bloodshed during Kāli's combat with the demons and later worshipped at Narambil as Narambil Bhagavati. At Ālakkote Konginichāl, this village goddess is worshipped as Konginichāl Bhagavati.
146.	Kooliyanga Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess whose performance is based on the concept of Kakkara Bhagavati at EramathMannummal and at the venues of the Viswakarma communities.
147.	Koliyāttu Chāmuṇḍi	Malayar	Consecration based on the Viṣṇumūrthi concept at the Koliyāttu family <i>kāv</i> at Kankol, Payyannur.
148.	Koolool Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Mother Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati; performed at Koolool.
149.	Koolunthāttu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati performed at Kannankāttu <i>kāvs</i> .
150.	Korachekoon	Vaṅṅān	The deification of Kunhikkoran, the <i>Kōmaram</i> of Vayanāttukuavan. He killed himself in a trance by poking the sword. Usually worshipped along with Vayanāttukuavan and Kantānār Kelan. Performed at Kunnaru (Ezhimala, Payyannur) of the Thiyya region and in a few areas of the Kasaragod district.
151.	Korakkottu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	An <i>Ugramūrthi</i> and a village Goddess sent to earth by Śiva passed through Korakkottu in Kasaragod.
152.	Koron (Kuravan/ Koragan/ (Kurankan)	Koppālar Mavilar	In the Kasaragod areas, a Kuravan (member of a tribal community) was deified. The Kuravan feasted on one of the cows he was assigned to take care of. He became a psychopath after giving a false statement

			before the Panchuruli Theyyam while answering questions about the missing cattle. Subsequently, his master killed him. Symbolically, the Koppālar's Koron Theyyams used to carry wild birds killed by them.
153.	Kothooli Bhagavati	Vanan	A regional Goddess based on the concept of Thaipparadēvata. Mainly performed at the Ramavilyam Kazhakaṃ, Trikkarippur (Payyannur).
154.	Koti and Chennayya (performed together) -Bhuta also	Paravan	Performed in the northern areas of Kasaragod where Bhūta's influence prevails. Such forms are regionally known as Tulu Theyyam. Koti and Chennayya are also effective forms in Bhūta.
155.	Kottayil Kannan Nambiar	Mavilar	Ancestral worship at the Kamballoore Kottayil family in memory of a great grand uncle named Kamballoore Kottayil Kannan Nambiar.
156.	Kotuvālan	Mavilan	An <i>Urvara devata</i> (related to fertility); Theyyam conducted for a good harvest.
157.	Kovvammal Bhagavati	Pulayar	A <i>Marakkala devata</i> , a Goddess, landed in a wooden yacht with Annapoorneswari, the deity at Cherukunnu, and worshipped at Kovvummal in Cherukunnu.
158.	Koyichār Veeran	Vaṇṇān	Veeran Theyyam worshipped as Koyichār Veeran at Rāmanthali (Payyannur).
159.	Koyikulangara Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A regional Goddess based on the concept of Kakkara Bhagavati.
160.	Kshetrapālan	Vaṇṇān	A God endowed with Śiva's divinity. After killing the demon Dārika, Bhadrakāli could not control her anger. So Śiva, convinced that any woman would calm down on seeing children's faces, created Kshetrapālan and Vairajāthan. A significant Theyyam at Matiyankuulom, Mannanpurathkāv, Kaḷarivatukkal, Mātāyikkāv and Keezhara koolom. (See Vairajāthan , entry no 345)
161.	Kunhikkoran	Cheron Mavilar	Ancestor worship in memory of Kunhikkoran, a respected warrior from the Thiyya community vanquished during a fight with a Pulaya warrior; performed in the interiors of Kasaragod.
162.	Kunjār Kurathi (VaṭakkanKurathi)	Vaṇṇān Velan	A <i>Mantramūrtti</i> on the concept of Goddess Pārvati's daughter. Performed at the <i>tharavāṭs</i> of some of the Nambiar, Vaṇṇāns and the Maniyāni from the Vannarath lineage.

163.	Kunthi	Vannan	At the Periya Thiyyākkāv (Kasaragod), Theyyams in the concept of Kunthi and her five sons (<i>Mahābhārata</i> characters) are performed.
164.	Kuntora Chāmuṇḍi	Velan	A popular Theyyam. (See chapter 5 .)
165.	Kurathi	Cheron Mavilan Malayar Koppālar Pulayar Velan	A <i>Mantramūrtti</i> worshipped by most sorcerers in the belief that Śiva and Pārvati are Kuravan and Kurathi. There are subtle differences in the performance concept and costuming by diverse communities. There are 18 variant types of Kurathi Theyyam, many of which are, of late, rarely performed.
166.	Kurikkal (Gurukkal)	Mavilar Pulayar Vaṅṅān	Based on the concept of Guru (Kurikkal), great warriors of yore.
167.	Kuruttuchāl Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess believed to be endowed with Śiva's divinity.
168.	Kutiveeran	Pulayar Vaṅṅān	A Theyyam on the concept of Veeran. Mainly worshipped by the Thiyyas and Pulayas and performed by the Vaṅṅāns and Pulayas.
169.	Kuttichchāthan	Malayar Mannan Munnoottan Pānar Paṛayan Pulayar	A significant <i>Mantramūrtti</i> who was worshipped by most sorcerers (including the Nampūtiris) and practitioners of voodoo/black magic. There are two kinds of belief; one connected to Śiva's divinity and the other to Viṣṇu.
170.	Kuttikkara Bhagavati	Malayar	A Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati. Performed at the Moovari <i>tharavāṭ</i> 's temple at Kuttikkara in Vengara, near Pazhayangadi.
171.	Kuttikkara Chāmuṇḍi	Malayar	Viṣṇumūrthi is called Kuttikkara Chāmuṇḍi at the Kuttikkara <i>ara</i> (Vengara, near Pazhayangadi) of the Moovari (mason) community.
172.	Kutuvakkulangara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati. Worshipped at the Kutuvakkulangarakkāv and unique to the Atiyoti community, a sub-caste of the Nair community.
173.	Malama Chāmuṇḍi (Malamachāmuṇḍi)	Vaṅṅān	A regional Theyyam based on the concept of Matayil Chāmuṇḍi (see chapter 5).
174.	Malaveeran	Mavilar	Chintan, a sorcerer with extraordinary divine powers, was known as Malaveeran (the area's hero). He met a tragic death while bathing in a river. Subsequently deified.

175.	Mambhalli Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess based on the concept of Kakkara Bhagavati.
176.	Mamgala Chāmuṇḍi	Cheron Chingathan Mavilar	A regional Theyyam based on Chāmuṇḍi.
177.	Manathana Bhagavati (Manathanappothi)	Vaṅṅān	Performed at three <i>kāvs</i> at Manathana in Kottiyoor and Azhikode, based on the concept of a daughter of the deity of Kottiyoor, Śiva. (Kottiyoor, near Thalassery, is believed to be the site of the famous <i>Daksha-Yaga</i> , the 20 th of Daksha, Pārvati's father.)
178.	Manavālan	Vaṅṅān	The deification of Manavalan and Manavāty is as a couple. Some believe it as in the concept of Rama and Sita of the <i>Ramayana</i> . Rarely performed.
179.	Manavāty	Vaṅṅān	See Manavālan above, entry no. 187.
180.	Manikkuntan (Manikantan)	Vaṅṅān	A spirit endowed with Śiva's divinity. Primarily worshipped by the communities, such as the belleter, blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith (Viswakarma) and performed at their places.
181.	Manippana	Mavilar	Worship of Varaha, a pig who earned divine blessings. However, this is not connected to the Varaha incarnation of Viṣṇu, unlike Panchuruli mentioned in chapter 5 .
182.	Manjaliamma	Vaṅṅān	Performed at Matiyankuulom.
183.	Manjacherri Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Performed at the Manjacherri <i>sthānam</i> in Trikkarippur, based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati.
184.	Marakkalathamma (Marakkalathil Bhagavati/ Shoolakutāriyamma)	Vaṅṅān	The Goddess reached on a <i>marakkalam</i> along with Cherukunnu Annapoorneswari and six other goddesses (Ayyithi Bhagavati, Aryapponkanni, Aryappomala, Aryakkara Bhagavati, Chuzhali Bhagavati) and worshipped at the <i>kāv</i> .
185.	Maruta	Vaṅṅān	A <i>Urvaradēvata</i> worshipped to banish <i>Chetta/Pōtti</i> (the devil's forces) and bring in <i>Seepothi/Cheevothi</i> (Sree Bhagavati) for prosperity in the family and for a good harvest.
186.	Marutiyotan Kurikkal (Marutiyotan Thontachan)	Pulaya	Another Theyyam in the Kurikkal/ancestor worship category. Kunhi Virunthan, a Pulaya warrior and sorcerer killed by the Nairs on the local king's advice, was deified and worshipped by the Pulaya community as Marutiyotan Kurikkal.

187.	Matathil Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Mother Goddess, based on Valiya Bhagavati, performed at the Cheruthāzham Matathil <i>kāv</i> .
188.	Matayil Chāmuṅḍi	Malayar Vaṅṅān	See Matayil Chāmuṅḍi in chapter 5. The performance at Alanthatta Matavāthil is very well known.
189.	Mānicherry Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess of the Mānicherry Thiyya family and based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati.
190.	Mānicherry Karuman	Vaṅṅān	Veeran Theyyam, akin to ancestor worship, at the Mānicherry Thiyya family.
191.	Mānikkappothi Mānikka Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	The deification of the soul of Manikkam, who was pregnant and was sucked dry to death by Chāmuṅḍi.
192.	Mārappuli (Mārppuliyān)	Vaṅṅān	Animal worship; one of the Puli (tiger) Theyyams. (see chapter 5)
193.	Māmāyakkalachi,	Pulayar	Performed to save the locality from the diseases and issues plaguing the 'dull' month of Karkkitakam. Performed as a group at an open ground of Mātāyikkāv on 16Karkkitakam and subsequently in the neighbourhood. Kuliyaans will be wearing a mask; others have facial drawings. The performance is also known as <i>Māriyāttam</i> , and the songs they sing are called <i>Mārippāttu</i> .
194.	Māmāyakkaliyan,		
195.	Māmāyakkuliyan,		
196.	Mārikkalachi,		
197.	Mārikkaliyan, and		
198.	Mārikkuliyan (together known as Māri Theyyams)		
199.	Menachoor Chāmuṅḍi	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess performed at Pānappuzha Puliyl <i>kāv</i> , Annur, Keloth (Katannappally) and Pācheni (Taliparamba).
200.	Meppāttu Daivathār	Mavilar	Based on the concept of Daivathār but performed by the Mavilan community with a unique headgear.
201.	Moolampetta Bhagavati	Anjoottan	A village Goddess performed at Kunnathoorpāti, a significant centre of Muthappan worship, along with that of Muthappan and Thiruvappan.
202.	Mootha Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A regional Goddess at Chuzhali village (near Taliparamba) endowed with Śiva's divinity and performed along with that of Chuzhali Bhagavati.
203.	Moothedathu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess endowed with Śiva's divinity performed at Edat (Payyannur).
204.	Moovālamkuzhi Chāmuṅḍi	Malayar	See chapter 5 .
205.	Mothalāl (Ardhanāreswaran)	Mavilar	Performed at Ettukudukka Teyyottukāv, near Kankol/Cheemeni, as a highly intimate performance of the village and the Mavilan community, with no artificial lights or publicity. Photography is also strictly banned. The committee concerned conducting the

Theyyam refrains from any promotion, except a minor press release about the starting and ending dates of the *kaḷiyāṭṭam* for their community's information. The performance at around 8:30 pm is for 26 to 32 days, as per astrological calculations, beginning from 17 Vrishikam.

The name/word *Mothalāl* stands for sovereignty; the Theyyam, believed to be the sovereign God of the locality, is also known as *Ardhanāreeswaran*, half-man half-woman, a Śivaite concept. The Theyyam attire is like a man on the upper half and a woman on the lower half.

- | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------|---|
| 206. | Muchilōṭṭu Bhagavati | Vaṅṅān | Ancestor worship, see chapter 6 . |
| 207. | Mukri | Mavilar | A Muslim Theyyam, see chapter 8 . |
| 208. | Mulayannoor Bhagavati | Vaṅṅān | A village Goddess modelled on Pookkunnathu Bhagavati and performed at Mulayannoor Kazhakaṃ in the Kasaragod district. |
| 209. | Munnāyareeswaran (Veḷichappāṭan) | Vaṅṅān | The deification of a Nair, the <i>veḷichappāṭ</i> (oracle) of Thuluvanathu Bhagavati, also bestowed with the title of <i>Munnayar</i> . Usually performed with Thuluvanathu Bhagavati. Performed at Mathāmangalam Pazhavath, Paravoor <i>ara</i> (Matamangalam) and Tuluvanam (Tulunāt) . Another belief is that a Thiyya man, the <i>veḷichappāṭ</i> of Pulikkantan Theyyam, happened to kill a cow at night with his arrow, suspecting it was a pig destroying the crops. As a punishment, he was shunted out by the locals, but in no time, he returned like an angry Theyyam and, with magical powers, gave life to the dead cow. Ever since then he became <i>Veḷichappāṭan</i> , a Theyyam. |
| 210. | Muntappurathu Bhagavati | Vaṅṅān | A village Goddess believed to be born from Śiva's third eye. Performed at Paravoor, Pānappuzha and Matamangalam. |
| 211. | Murikkan (Karimurikkan and Bammurikkan are known as Murikkandaivaṃ) | Kalanāti
Vaṅṅān | Forest Gods worshipped and modelled upon Lava and Kusa of the <i>Ramayana</i> . Revered in the tribal areas. Considered to be among the primary 39 Theyyams (<i>onnukurēnāḷpat</i>). |
| 212. | Muntayāṭṭu Bhagavati | Vaṅṅān | A village Goddess believed to be born from Śiva's third eye; performed at Muntayāt. |
| 213. | Muthala (Crocodile) | Mavilar | See chapter 5 . |

214.	Muthappan	Vaṅṅān (Anjoottan at a few places)	See chapter 5 .
215.	Muttil Chāmuṅḍi	Malayar	A village Goddess performed at Māttool Koomba Bhagavati <i>kāv</i> , Māttool, Pazhayangadi.
216.	Muttiyara Chāmuṅḍi	Malayar	Modelled on Raktha Chāmuṅḍi.
217.	Naithiyar (Ummachi)	Vaṅṅān	The deification of a Muslim lady (see chapter 8).
218.	Nambolan	Pulayar	The deification of the soul of Nambolan belonging to the Pulaya community. Nambolan was a faithful servant of a local landlord Nambiar family, killed by Tipu Sultan's army during his Malabar invasion. Performed at the venues of the Pulaya as ancestor worship.
219.	Nangolangara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Performed at Irināvu (Kannur) at the Nangolangara <i>kāv</i> (where there is no structure or deity) for a month from 10Thulām onwards, after sunset. The performances are offerings by infertile couples to be blessed with babies. No artificial lights are allowed here. The performance has minimum musical accompaniment.
220.	Narambil Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	The Goddess who emerged out of the bloodshed during Goddess Kālī's combat with the demons and later worshipped at Narambil. At Konginichal, she is praised as Konginichal Bhagavati.
221.	Narthakantan	Mavilar	A village God rarely performed. The Mavilar considers Narthakantan as one among the <i>onnukurēnālpāt</i> Theyyams.
222.	Natayil Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess modelled on Valiya Bhagavati. Mainly performed at Nileschwaram Matiyān <i>kūlōṃ</i> .
223.	Nāga Bhagavati (Nāgappothi)	Pannar Vaṅṅān	Snake worship; <i>naga</i> means snake. Performed at Karippal (Eryam, east of Mathamangalam), Pampātivayāl (Azhikode), at various <i>tharavāṭs</i> and <i>kāvs</i> and at many other places.
224.	Nāgacherri Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Performed at Sree Nagacherry Bhagavati <i>kāv</i> (renamed as a temple), Nileschwaram (Kasaragod); modelled on the concept of Thaipparadēvata.
225.	Nāgakanni (Nāgeni/ Nāgakanya)	Chingathan Pulayar Vaṅṅān	Snake worship; <i>kanni</i> means a young girl. Performed at select venues of the Pulaya and at another <i>nagakāv</i> .
226.	Nāgakantan	Vaṅṅān	Worshipping of a male snake. Performed at select <i>nagakāvs</i> .

227.	Nāgakkali (Nāgakāli)	Munnoottan	Worshipping a snake, in the concept of the daughter of Śiva and Pārvati. Performed at select <i>nagakāvs</i> .
228.	Nāttatukkam (Nāttumūrthi / Nāttupparadēvata)	Mavilar	A village spirit. Kālakāttu Nampūtiri concealed it in a copper pot but it came out on the 41 st day by breaking the pot. The furious Kālakāttu Nampūtiri pulled out its spirit and subsequently deified as Theyyam. The Theyyam is performed in the concept of both Parasurama and a Brahmin; for instance at the Kamballoore Kottayil family. Incidentally, Kālakāttu Nampūtiri is the hereditary <i>tantri</i> of the Kamballoore Kottayil ancestral temple.
229.	Neelamkai Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess modelled on Valiya Bhagavati. Performed at Pangatam (Kothaimukku), Payyannur.
230.	Neelamkai Chāmuṇḍi (Neelakkai Chāmuṇḍi)	Malayar	A Goddess modelled on Raktha Chāmuṇḍi. Performed at Pangatam (Kothaimukku), Payyannur.
231.	Neelakara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess believed to be endowed with Śiva's divinity.
232.	Neeli (Neeliyārkottathu Neeli/Neeliyārkottathu Bhagavati)	Vaṅṅān	See chapter 5 .
233.	Nellukuthippoṭhi (Nellukuthippoṭhi)	Velan	Performed at a few places, such as Kakkirikkan <i>kāv</i> (Thiyya community) at Azhikkode (Kannur). Pounding (<i>kuthi/kuthuka</i>) of paddy (<i>nellu</i>) is the performance's primary attraction.
234.	Nemam Bhagavati	Pambathār	A village god performed in some of the interior areas of northern Kasaragod.
235.	Nilamangalathu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess modelled on Valiya Bhagavati and performed at Nilamangalam in Kasaragod.
236.	Nilayoorkkāli	Vaṅṅān	A regional Goddess modelled on Valiya Bhagavati.
237.	Olimakal	Vaṅṅān	A forest Goddess performed along with Karumakal.
238.	Onappottan	Pānar	Performed at the homes of their concerned areas during the Onam season. <i>Pottan</i> means dumb as well. Onappottan would not speak. Of late, almost extinct in Kannur and Kasaragod; it is still performed in the Vatakara areas.
239.	Oorppazhassi (Urppazhassi)	Vaṅṅān	The deification of a great warrior named Dayarappan, a friend of Vettaikkorumakan, who later stayed at Oorppazhassikkāv. Oorppazhassi is an important Theyyam of the Nair community.

240.	Oravankara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A war Goddess performed at Mathamangalam.
241.	Otēnan (Thiṛa) (Thacholi Otēnan)	Vaṅṅān	See chapter 5 .
242.	Ottakkōlaṃ	Malayar (Vaṅṅān too at a few places, such as in the Payyannur and Nileswaram areas)	Another name for Thee Chāmuṇḍi ; see chapter 5 .
243.	Oyolath Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Performed at the Oyolath <i>kāv</i> (renamed as a temple) of the Puthur Kottyan family at Payyannur.
244.	Pallakkari Vetan	Vaṅṅān	Some of the Vaṅṅāns believe that Pallakkari Vetan is among the 39 Theyyams showcased by Maṅakkāṭan Gurukkaḷ. Considered as the cowherd of Goddess Kaveri Amma and usually performed during the <i>perumkalyāṭṭams</i> of select venues such as Kottanacherry.
245.	Panayār Kurikkal	Pulayar	Ancestor worship in memory of Panyan, an acclaimed Theyyam exponent from the Pulaya clan.
246.	Panayakkattu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess similar to the facial drawing and headgear of Puthiya Bhagavati performed at the Panayakkattu <i>kāv</i> of the Maniyāni community; more prominently shown in the Kankol area of Payyannur and considered as the local goddess. Panayakkattu Bhagavati rendered warm hospitality to Muchilōṭṭu Bhagavati when the latter visited Kankol; the former is performed in some of the Muchilōṭṭu <i>kāvs</i> such as Kārol Muchilōṭṭu.
247.	Panchuruli (Also Bhuta)	Koppālar Malayar Mavilar Pampathan Velan	See chapter 5 .
248.	Pannikulathu Chāmuṇḍi	Velan	A Goddess endowed with the divinity of Śiva. The deity is believed to have killed several demons during the war between the gods and the demons. Mainly performed in a few select places in the interiors of Kasaragod.
249.	Parāliyamma (Parāli Amma)	Chingathan Mavilar Malayar	One of the entourages of Goddess Kāli, during her visit to earth to kill the demons; is worshipped as

			Parāliyamma in the interior areas of the Kasaragod district.
250.	Parakkāli	Parayar	Another manifestation of Goddess Kāli. Perhaps Parayar's Kāli became Parakkāli.
251.	Paramakkāli	Malayar	The accompanying Theyyam of Panchuruli at Vellur Chamakkāv and colloquially known as Kutty Theyyam being performed by a teenager; literally, kutty means a child/ teenager). Not to be confused with the Kutty Theyyam that spins around throughout the performance. At the Chandera Kapothanillam (Trickarippur), the Paramakkāli (Paramakāli) is an <i>ugramūrthi</i> as a manifestation of Kāli, in a totally different attire with pantham (the rag-torches).
252.	Parathiveeran	Vaṅṅān	Veeran Theyyam in the style of Pātārkkulangara Veeran.
253.	Parava Chāmuṇḍi	Malayar Velan	A forest Goddess and a companion of Ayyappan during his hunting trips.
254.	Parakkutty (Parakkuttichchāthan)	Malayar	See Chapter 4, annexure C4-1 .
255.	Parutāli (Thuvakkāli)	Mavilar	A Theyyam modelled on Chāmuṇḍi performed at Parutālikkāv at Pudukkai of Nileshwaram. Also known as Parutāli Chāmuṇḍi, Parutāliamma and Thuvakkāli.
256.	Patakkethi Bhagavati (Vadakkathi 26than)	Vaṅṅān	A <i>valiya muṭi</i> Theyyam is endowed with Śiva's spirit but based on the concept of the third gender. Also viewed as a half-man half-woman divinity (<i>Ardhanareeswara</i>) and wears a moustache and beard. From a gun to a broom, everything around is a weapon for this Theyyam. It is mainly performed at Kunhimangalam Vatakkankovil and at places such as Kunnaru, Athiyatam, Kannothe and Ramavilwam Kazhakaṁ, among others.
257.	Pataveeran	Mavilar Vaṅṅān	Warrior worship. Basically, in memory of a legendary warrior of the area who got killed during combat.
258.	Patinjāre Chāmuṇḍi	Koppālar Velan	One among the seven Chāmuṇḍis that emerged out of the sacrificial pyre of Śiva.
259.	Paṭṭar	Vaṅṅān	See chapter 5 .
260.	Pazhayātil Bhagavati (colloquially Payattiyāl/Paitiyal)	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess mainly performed at the Panniyoor Payattiyāl Kōṭṭaṁ, Kuppam, near Taliparamba.

261.	Pāla Bhagavati	Malayan	Performed only at the <i>taravāt</i> of Pālai Parappan.
262.	Pālamkulangara Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A village Goddess modelled on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati; performed at Timiri.
263.	Pālanthāyi Kannan	Vaṇṇān	See chapter 5 .
264.	Pālappurathu Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	Mootha Bhagavati is worshipped as the village Goddess Pālappurathu Bhagavati at Palappuram.
265.	Pālayāteeswaran	Anjoottan	A god with the divinity of Śiva; rarely performed.
266.	Pālāttu Muthappan	Anjooottan	A hunter God.
267.	Pālottu Daivam (Pālottu Daivathar)	Vaṇṇān	See chapter 5 .
268.	Pānachira Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A village Goddess endowed with Śiva's divinity.
269.	Pāroppothy (Pārokkavil Bhagavati)	Vaṇṇān	Performed at Parokkāv of Kunnaru and considered as their village Goddess.
270.	Pātārkkulangara Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	Generally considered a Goddess of the Nair community and performed at various places from Kunhimangalam and further north as a village goddess.
271.	Pātārkkulangara Veeran	Vaṇṇān	The spirit of a Brahmin pilgrim who got killed by Puthiya Bhagavati in the heat of the moment. The Bhagavati took the ghost with her as an assistant. Performed at the Puthiya <i>kāv</i> along with Puthiya Bhagavati and at the Patārkkulangara <i>kāv</i> at Korom.
272.	Pāthālathil Bhadra	Pulayar	<i>Pāthālam</i> is the netherworld. Based on the belief that Goddess Bhadra, modelled on Goddess Kāli, went to the netherworld to kill the demons hiding there. Rarely performed.
273.	Pātimala Daivathar	Vaṇṇān	A hunter god based on the concept of Shāsthavu.
274.	Pālakkal Chāmuṇḍi	Mavilar	The incarnation of Viṣṇumūrthi and thus wearing the attire of Viṣṇumūrthi. Performed at Kamballoore Kottayil.
275.	Pena	Malayar	A <i>Mantramūrtti</i> (female).
276.	Periyāttu Kantar	Vaṇṇān	See chapter 5 .
277.	Perkulangara Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A village Goddess usually performed at the Nampūtiri <i>illams</i> and a few select places.

278.	Perumbhuzhayachan	Vaṅṅān	Performed in Kānayi, Taliparamba, Aroli and Sreekantapuram areas as the Valluva community's presiding deity.
279.	Plātakka Chāmuṅḍi	Paravar	A regional Goddess performed in the interiors of Kasaragod modelled on Raktha Chāmuṅḍi (chapter 5).
280.	Plākkulangara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Performed at the Plākkulangarakkāv near Taliparambu, based on the concept of Taipparadēvata.
281.	Polakuttichāthan	Malayar	See annexure C4- 2 of chapter 4.
282.	Poḷḷa	Pulayar	Ancestral worship by the Pulaya community.
283.	Pollālan Kurikkal	Pulayar	Ancestral worship by the Pulaya community.
284.	Pookkunnathu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A village Goddess initially took shelter at Pookkunnathu Dayaran and later moved out.
285.	Pookkunnathu Vairajāthan	Vaṅṅān	Modelled on Vairajāthan and performed at places such as the Kalliot Muchilōṭṭu (Kasaragod district) in the erstwhile Aḷḷaṭa kingdom. The belief goes that there were eight exploitative landlords in Aḷḷaṭa, and to destroy them all, Vairajāthan and Kshetrapālan came to Aḷḷaṭa.
286.	Pookkuttichāthan (Pookkutti Shasthan)	Malayar Mannan Pānar	Modelled on the concept of Kuttichchāthan. (See annexure C2- 2 of chapter 2.)
287.	Poomāruthan (Poomāran)	Anjoottan Vaṅṅān	See Poomāruthan in chapter 5.
288.	Poothruvāti (Mānicherry Daivam)	Vaṅṅān	A regional god, modelled on Kannikkorumakan, and performed at places such as Pariyaram, Mānicherry and Taineri of Payyannur. (At Mānicherry it is known as Mānicherry Daivam.)
289.	Pottan (Pula Pottan)	Malayar Mavilar Munnoottan Pānar Pulayar	See Pottan in chapter 5. The Pottan performed by the Pulaya community is known as Pula Pottan. Earlier Pottan Theyyam was performed by the Pulaya community only.
290.	Pottankayathu Bhagavati	Mavilar	A regional deity in Kasaragod and in the concept of a hunting Goddess.
291.	Poyyakkal Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A regional Goddess based on the concept of a spirit that emerged from the third eye of Śiva; performed in the Cheemeni area in Kasaragod.
292.	Prammancheri Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A regional deity. The belief goes that the Goddess has emerged from the third eye of Śiva. Performed in places such as Rāmanthali, Kunnaru and Payyannur.

293.	Puklath Chāmuṇḍi	Malayar	A regional Goddess performed by the Puklath family in the Kasaragod district.
294.	Pulachāmuṇḍi	Malayar Pulayar	Pulachāmuṇḍi represents Goddess Pārvati as a Pulaya woman. There are two types of Pulachāmuṇḍi: one performed by the Malayar (believed to be along with Pottan Theyyam) and the other solo by the Pulayar. Usually, during the performance, the Pottan Theyyam changes the mask and wears the mask resembling a woman to represent Pulachāmuṇḍi. The concept is linked to Śiva disguising himself as a Pulaya and his consort Goddess Pārvati transforming herself as the wife of the Pulaya.
295.	Pulamāruthan	Pulayar	Pulamāruthan is based on the concept of Nandikeswara, a vital assistant of Śiva, along with Pula Pottan (Śiva) and Pulachāmuṇḍi (Pārvati). In some places, the Malayar also performs this Theyyam, where the attire is almost like that of Pottan.
296.	Pulichāmuṇḍi (Puli Chāmuṇḍi)	Pānar	Māthu, the only sister of four brothers, was killed in the forest by a tiger. Subsequently, a magical voice enlightened her brothers and others that, on her death, Mathu became a Goddess since she was an ardent devotee of Goddess Bhagavati.
297.	Pulikkantan	Pulayar, Vaṇṇān	See chapter 5.
298.	Pulimaranja Thontachan	Pulayar	See chapter 5.
299.	Pulimāruthan	Vaṇṇān	See chapter 5.
300.	Puliyur Kāli (Pullur Kāliamma)	Vaṇṇān	See chapter 5.
301.	Puliyur Kannan	Vaṇṇān	See chapter 5.
302.	Pulli Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	An <i>ugramūrthi</i> who was blinded by Vellattu Daivathar due to her desire to feast on human flesh. (All Bhagavaties are goddesses.)
303.	Pulichāmuṇḍi	Velan	Based on the concept of Karinchāmuṇḍi but with different attire.
304.	Pullikkarinkāli	Vaṇṇān	See chapter 5.
305.	Pullikkurathi	Velan	A variant of Kurathi Theyyam, based on the concept of Goddess Pārvati.

306.	Punnacherry Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A regional one, based on the mother Goddess concept.
307.	Punnakkāl Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	It was primarily performed at Cheruvathur with Valiya Bhagavati and at Athiyadam (Pazhayangadi) with a <i>vattamuṭi</i> (but the <i>thottam</i> is the same), based on the concept of Āyithi Bhagavati.
308.	Punnunnan Thontachan	Vaṅṅān	The deification of the spirit of a great sorcerer from the Vāniya community. He was deceitfully attacked by another sorcerer, a Nampūtiri, for professional reasons and died in front of the Mathamangalam Muchilōṭṭu. The Theyyam mainly performed at Mathamangalam Muchilōṭṭu and, generally, considered the 'great grand uncle' of the Vāniya community. Thus, it was like a pyrrhic victory for the Nampūtiri sorcerer.
309.	Puthichchon	Vaṅṅān	A significant forest God, based on the concept of Oorppazhassi, performed at Kotakkad (Karivellur).
310.	Puthiya Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A popular Theyyam performed at various places. Believed to be one among the seven Goddesses who emerged from the sacrificial fire of Śiva and cured his smallpox. Subsequently, Śiva sent her to earth to cure smallpox. Thus, Puthiya Bhagavati Theyyam is conducted as an offering during the spread of contagious diseases. Once Puthiya Bhagavati chanced to kill a Brahmin, who became Pātārkkulangara Veeran Theyyam. Bhadrakāli and Veerarkāli are her close friends. Once the Kōlathiri saw these three Goddesses in a dream and ever since started conducting their Theyyams at several places under his rule.
311.	Puthiyakāv Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Bhagavati Theyyam is based on the Thaipparadēvata concept at the places of worship known as Puthiyakāv.
312.	Puthiyaramban	Vaṅṅān	The deification of a Kaḷarippayattu warrior from the Maniyāni community hailing from Puthiyaparambu, near Chirakkal, Kannur. Performed mainly at the Udinnoor <i>kulom</i> (of late known as Udinnoor Sri Kshetrapālakakshetram, a temple). The Theyyam is performed at night in the light of <i>Ōlachūṭṭ</i> —torches made of dried coconut leaves tied together and set alight at the pointed end. Other places of performance are Kannamangalam Kazhakaṃ (Trikkarippur), Kāppadtu Kazhakaṃ (Payyannur) and Puthiraramban <i>tharavāṭ</i> (Karivellur). <i>Kaṭuttilla</i> is the primary weapon of Puthiyaramban.

313.	Puuloon (Pullon)	Vaṅṅān	A hunter God in remembrance of Śiva's manifestation as a hunter. Mainly performed at Kotakkad (Karivellur). The belief goes that Puuloon reached Kotakkad along with his friend Puthichon Daivaṃ.
314.	Raktha Chāmuṅḍi	Malayar Munnoottan Pānar Vaṅṅān	See Chāmuṅḍi in chapter 5. In a few places, such as the Kokinichichal <i>kāv</i> , Raktha Chāmuṅḍi wears another headgear for some time to denote that Thaipparadēvata and Raktha Chāmuṅḍi are the same. <i>Thottams</i> of Raktha Chāmuṅḍi and Thaipparadēvata also have a slight difference. Raktha Chāmuṅḍi wears the Varaha (pig) mask at some places in between performances.
315.	Rakthajāthan	Vaṅṅān	Based on the concept of Vairajāthan.
316.	Raktheswari	Malayar Vaṅṅān	A Goddess modelled on Chāmuṅḍi. A 31thanam ³¹ le Theyyam for many sorcerers. Kavitiyanganam Raktheswari by the Malayar and Purathattu Kālakāttu Raktheswari by the Vaṅṅāns are famous Theyyams. The headgear, <i>vattamuṭi</i> , is like that of Kakkara Bhagavati.
317.	Sarveswari	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess modelled on Valiya Bhagavati.
318.	Someswari based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	The Goddess of Neriyottu Svarūpaṃ, near Taliparamba, a fiefdom under the Kōlathiri.
319.	Soothratheyyam (Brahmarakshassu)	Pulayar	The deification of a Brahmin after his death. The Brahmin was wounded while helping one of the Pazhassi Rajas in combat. A peculiarity of this Theyyam is that the performance is not with the support of <i>chenta</i> ; instead, another small primitive tribal percussion instrument called <i>thuti</i> (made of a hollow wooden cylinder and the skin of a goat or monkey) and a gong are played. Mainly performed on 10Thulām at the Nāga 31thanam of the Puthiyil Bhagavatikkāvs of the Turuthi Aringalayan family in Pappinessery, Kannur.
320.	Sree Porkkali	Pānar	The family Goddess of the Pazhassi/Kottayam kingdom (Kannur). Performed at their Porkkalikkāv according to the concept of Bhadrakāli.
321.	Tampuratti	Pulayar	A Goddess modelled on Kāli and worshipped by the Pulaya community. (Muchilōṭṭu Bhagavati is also described as Tampuratti but not connected to this context; literally, Tampuratti means the queen and the female royal family member. Women from

			prominent Nampūtiri families are also addressed as Tampuratti out of respect.)
322.	Thaipparadēvata	Vaṇṇān	A mother Goddess; performed across north Kerala, often by different local names. Thaipparadēvata is also an effective term in the perception of Theyyams.
323.	Thalachchiravan	Vaṇṇān	The deification of the Muchilōṭan, who poured oil on the pyre of Dēvakanya, as desired by her (see chapter 6). Usually, the same performer who dons Puliyyur Kannan Theyyam appears as Thalachchiravan after changing the headgear (<i>kōlathinmel kōlam</i>).
324.	Thekkan Gulikan	Malayar	Another manifestation of Gulikan Theyyam. As part of the performance, Thekkan Gulikan wears a tall headgear, falls backwards, and walks by on wooden stilts.
325.	Thekkan Kariyāthan	Vaṇṇān	A renowned warrior, along with Thekkan Karumakan, emerged from the earth on either side of the steps of Karoorkotta and endowed with Viṣṇu's divinity. Though not a very popular Theyyam, it is performed at various places such as Thekkumbat <i>kūlōm</i> , Kankol, Pariyāram, Mathamangalam, Aroli and Cherukunnu.
326.	Thee Kuttichāthan (Theekutichchāthan)	Malayar	See annexure C4-1 of chapter 4.
327.	Thiruvappan	Vaṇṇān	Performed along with Muthappan, who is considered to be the personification of Viṣṇu and Śiva's divinities, respectively known as Thiruvappan and Vellāṭṭam/Muthappan. At the Muthappan shrines, performed together by two separate artistes and generally addressed as Muthappan. Thiruvappan wears a fish-shaped headgear, and Muthappan wears a crescent-shaped one. Also, see chapter 5.
328.	Tiruvarkkāttu Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	See chapter 5.
329.	Thontachan (Thondachchan)	Pulayar Vaṇṇān	Some of the Theyyams performed as part of ancestor deification are usually known as Thontachan. For instance, Pulimaranja Thontachan by the Pulayar and Vayanāttu Kulavan by the Vaṇṇāns (see chapter 5).
330.	Thuvakkāli	Māvilār Vaṇṇān	Depending on the venue, there is a variety of attires for this Theyyam. Considered as one who protects cattle, agriculture and human beings from diseases.
331.	Thorakkarathi (Thurakkarathi)	Velan	A Goddess of fertility and one of the spirits from the entourage of Goddess Kāli. Also considered as the maid of Kuntora Chāmuṇḍi (see chapter 5). <i>Olakka</i>

			(wooden pestle used to pound paddy) and <i>muram</i> (flat, shallow basket, sieve to separate the grains from the chaff) are the weapons wielded by Thorakkarathi.
332.	Thottumkara Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	The deification of the spirit of a Thiyya woman who lost all her 14 children and later died due to the local ruler's cruelty. She died on the <i>kara</i> (bank) of a <i>thotu</i> (stream) and thus the prefix <i>Thottumkara</i> .
333.	Thulu Veeran	Anjoottan	Performed at Mavicherry (Payyannur) in memory of an expert warrior from Tulunāṭ who came to Payyannur.
334.	Thuluvanathu Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess who came in from Tulunāṭ and is worshipped based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati.
335.	Thurithimal Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A regional Goddess modelled on Kakkara Bhagavati.
336.	Uchchabeli (Uchchelu koothu)	Malayar Pānar	It is a rare Theyyam, more like an offering or sacrifice (<i>beli</i>) to save the devotees from evil spirits/evil eyes. While the performances at the <i>kāvs</i> concerned are during the beginning of the <i>kaliyāṭṭam</i> , at <i>taravāṭsit</i> is during the month of Karkkitakam. The Theyyam performance is at noon (<i>uchcha</i>), following a series of ritual songs. During the performance, the Theyyam inflicts wounds on his hand and sprays blood around.
337.	Uchchār (Uchchāran Theyyams)	Pulayar	Theyyams such as Uchchār Bhagavati, Uchchār Guligan, UchchārMāri and UchchārPottan are known as Uchchār/Uchchāran Theyyams; they are considered as the gods/goddesses of fertility.
338.	Uchchagulikan	Koppālar	A deity of the Atiyoti clan, another branch of the Nair group, of the Pālat family at Pilicode, Kasaragod district.
339.	Uchchitta	Malayar Munnoottan Pānar	A Goddess who facilitates smooth delivery/childbirth if prayed to with devotion. Thus, considered the Goddess of pregnant women and childless couples. Also, the Goddess of some of the traditional sorcerer families. One among the <i>onnukuṛēnālpāt</i> Theyyams showcased by Maṅakkāṭan Gurukkaḷ. Worshipped as Vadakkini Bhagavati as well.
340.	Ullattil Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess in a fit of pique. Performed at the Ullattil Bhagavati <i>kāv</i> , located inside the Kanjiranghat Śiva temple near Taliparamba.
341.	Ummachi	Vaṅṅān	See Ummachi (and Yogyar Akampāṭi) in chapter 9. Vattippoṭham (at Ramanthali) is another Theyyam known as Ummachi as well.

342.	Uthirayāl Bhagavati	Chingathan Vaṇṇān	A mother Goddess linked to the fertility of land and modelled on Puthiya Bhagavati. There are two variant forms, Rudral Bhagavati – performed by the Chingathans—and Rudiramanti Bhagavati—performed by the Vaṇṇāns. The Vaṇṇāns perform at the <i>illams</i> (Nampūtiri homes) too.
343.	VadakkenVāthukkal Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	Mother Goddess performed at the Kulappurathu Mannianveetu (Maniyāni) modelled on Valiya Bhagavati.
344.	VaikkānathuChāmuṇḍi	Cheron	A spirit that emerged from the Milk-Ocean notorious for spreading diseases affecting agriculture and livestock. To be rid of this menace, concerned villagers worshipped Vaikkānathu Chāmuṇḍi as a Goddess and deified her as Theyyam.
345.	Vairajāthan	Vaṇṇān	Śiva created Vairajāthan and Kshetrapālan to clam down Bhadrakālī by evoking the motherhood in her when she returned to Kailash, the abode of Siva, after killing Dārika. Vairajāthan and Kshetrapālan went to Aḷḷaṭa kingdom to kill all the eight local wicked lords. Subsequently Vairajāthan went to the house of Kambikkānathu Nair at Cheruvathur and stayed there for sometime. See Kshetrapālan above (entry no.160)
346.	Valayangattu Thontachan	Pulayar	Pulaya community's ancestor worship in memory of their caste's brave warrior.
347.	Valiya Bhagavati (Valiya Thampuratti)	Vaṇṇān	A generic name for the significant Mother Goddess Theyyams. (The Malayālam word <i>valiya</i> means grand, elder, important and senior, among others.) Valiya Bhagavati is a powerful term in Theyyam perception.
348.	Valiyavalappil Chāmuṇḍi	Pulaya	A Goddess of crops; performed on 1 st Thulām (Tulām) at the Kottumpuram Valiyavalappil Chamundeswari <i>sthānam</i> at Timiri, near Cheruvathoor, along with that of Kālichchan. The Chāmuṇḍi sowing rice seeds in the nearby paddy field, with percussion accompaniment, is a part of the ritual. After that, the local farmers sow seeds for their second crop post the Onam harvest.
349.	Vallākulangara Bhagavati	Vaṇṇān	A village Goddess performed at Thavitissery <i>kāv</i> at Eramam (near Mathamangalam) modelled on the Taipāradēvata concept, but the headgear is decorated with an areca spathe, unlike other Taipāradēvatas.
350.	Vannāthippothe (Vannathi Bhagavati)	Chingathan Mavilar	The deification of a Vannathi (Vaṇṇān lady) who died at the hands of Uthirayāl Bhagavati.

351.	Vantu (Vantudaivam)	Mavilar	A deity modelled on Devi and worshipped at Vantuppara and a few other places such as Karimanalkkāv near Māthil, in Kasaragod district. (Literally, <i>vantu</i> means black beetle.)
352.	Vatayanthoor Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Performed at the Vatayanthoor Kazhakaṃ in Nileshwaram (Kanhagad) based on the concept of Kāli.
353.	Vatyan Poḷḷa	Pulayar (At a few centres, such as the homes of the Thiyyas, the Vaṅṅāns also perform)	Ancestor worship by the Pulaya in memory of a great warrior of the Kōlathiri kingdom and, more importantly, one who fought against the British. (Poḷḷa is also a title bestowed on the Pulaya clan's head by the Kōlathiri, from Madāyikkāv.)
354.	Vayalicheri Bhagavati	Chingathan	A village Goddess worshipped; and performed at the Vayalicherikkāv (carpenter caste) at Matamangalam (near Taliparamba), based on the concept of Valiya Bhagavati.
355.	Vayanāttu Kulavan	Vaṅṅān	Also known as Thontachan. See chapter 5 .
356.	Vārikkara Veeran	Vaṅṅān	During Tippu Sultan's invasion from the Punnakkal field, a renowned warrior Varikkarapata Nair got killed, and his spirit was deified as a Theyyam. According to veteran Poṭikkaḷam Parambil Kunhiraman Peruvaṅṅān, this Theyyam was probably revived about five decades ago, after a long gap.
357.	Vātilan	Mavilar	Ancestor worship at a few places in the interiors of Kasaragod in memory of a supplier of buttermilk who hailed from the mason community (Moovari/Kōlan).
358.	Velutha Bhūtam	Vaṅṅān	A regional God endowed with Śiva's divinity, performed in Taliparambu, Āyiram Thengu and Pazhayangati areas.
359.	Veera Chāmuṇḍi	Vaṅṅān (at the Matayikkāv) Chingathan (at the Kunhimangalam Veera Chāmuṇḍi kāv; since the past many years not performed at this kāv.)	Worshipped by the Kōlathiri as a Goddess based on the concept of Raktha Chāmuṇḍi (see chapter 5).

360.	Veeran	Almost all the communities	Ancestor worship. Performed commonly modelled on a variety of concepts.
361.	Veerabhadran	Mavilar Vaṅṅān	The performance concept is Vairajāthan for the Vaṅṅāns; for the Mavilar, the idea is of a hunter god.
362.	Veerarkāli (Veerāli)	Vaṅṅān	A manifestation of Goddess Kāli. Performed at the Puthiya Bhagavatikkāv before the performance of Puthiya Bhagavati.
363.	Veezhala Bhagavati (Kottumpurathu Veezhala Bhagavati)	Vaṅṅān	A Goddess modelled on Muchilōṭṭu Bhagavati deified at the Pulimbi <i>illam</i> (a Nampūtiri home) at Vellur in Payyannur. The belief goes that a senior male member of the family received <i>darshan</i> (divine sight) of Muchilōṭṭu Bhagavati on a <i>veezhala</i> plant (Wawrung-Embelia Ribes).
364.	Velutha Bhūtam	Vaṅṅān	An entourage of Śiva. A significant performance occurs at Parakkāv (Kunnaru). The Theyyam applies rice paste all over his body.
365.	Veranchirakkavil (Veeranchira) Bhagavati	Vaṅṅān	Regional Goddess modelled on Valiya Bhagavati and performed at the Veeranchirakāv, Atiyadam.
366.	Vetan	Malayan boys	A minor Theyyam performed at the homes of the concerned communities during the monsoon month of Karkkitakam.
367.	Vettaikorumakan (Vettakkaran)	Anjoottan Munnoottan Vaṅṅān	An <i>OorppalliDaivam</i> . See chapter 5.
368.	Vettakkāran	Pulayar	A <i>porāttu</i> with emphasis on entertainment in between significant Theyyam performances, depicting a <i>shikari</i> (hunter with a country gun) and performed at the Pulaya community venues such as Korom Chengal Kōṭṭam (Payyannur). During the performance, the Vettakkāran enacts shooting wild animals such as pigs; teenage boys with black clothes tied around their heads act as animals.
369.	Vindhur Bhūtam (Vindhoor Bhūtam)	Malayar	Spirits related to fertility and agriculture. It is a <i>porāṭṭ</i> performed at Tayakkāv in Cherukunnu before the appearance of Dēvakooth.
370.	Vishakantan	Vaṅṅān	See chapter 5.
371.	Viṣṇumūrthi	Malayar Vaṅṅān	See chapter 5.
372.	Vyron (Vairon)	Pulayar	A spirit who is worshipped to protect pregnant women from her evil influence.
373.	Yogyar Akampaṭi	Vaṅṅān	See chapter 5.

Other Theyyams, lesser or regionally known and rarely performed:

1. Achan
2. Adar Bhūtam
3. Adukkath Chāmuṇḍi
4. Adukunnath Bhagavati
5. Agni Bhairavan
6. Ālakunnu Chāmuṇḍi
7. Ammamar
8. Anagum Bhūtam
9. Anchanagum Bhūtam
10. Anthi Kuttichchathan
11. Anthithira
12. Appa Kallan
13. Arakkoor Chāmuṇḍi
14. Arayillam
15. Ādimooliyadan
16. Ānādi Chamundeshwari
(Ānandappothi)
17. Ārorateyyathar
18. Astamachal Bhagavati
19. Āttakkari
20. Balolan
21. Bamberian
22. BhandaDaivam
23. Bhūtam (Bhūtathar/Pūtam/Sree Bhūtam)
24. Chāthu (S/o of Katamgottu Mākkam)
25. Cheeru (D/o of KatamgottuMākkam)
26. Chendaliyan
27. Chengolan
28. Cheriya Bhagavati
29. Cherumoodu Bhagavati
30. Chirattakotti
31. Chirukantan
32. Chomappan
33. Chonnamma
34. Chulli Kshethrapaleshwaran
35. Chullikkarinchāmuṇḍi
36. Daivachchekon
37. Dandinganath Bhagavati (Kaḷarikkal
Bhagavati)
38. Dēva Rajavu
39. Dhavur Karimkali
40. Dhooliyamkavil Bhagavati
41. Dharma Bhagavati
42. Echikulangara Bhagavati
43. Eeshwaran
44. Eettil Bhagavati
45. Ekkappilayamma
46. Elambachi Bhagavati
47. Elayor
48. Ele Bhagavati
49. EllerinhiPuthiya Bhagavati
50. Embetti
51. EramathChāmuṇḍi
52. Erathan
53. Erichchudala
(ErichchutalaKāliyamma)
54. ErinhipuzhaChāmuṇḍi
55. EzhiotKārāttu Kutty
56. Ezhuthankodi
57. Ganapathiyar
58. GuruDaivam
59. Gurunathan
60. Ilaya Thamburatty
61. Iravāri
62. Irimakal
63. Ivar Bhagavati
64. Kakhaghati Chāmuṇḍi
65. Kālabhairavan
66. Kāvil Bhagavati
67. Kāvottu Bhagavati
68. KadapurathChāmuṇḍi
69. Kadavil Bhagavati
70. Kadayamvayal Bhagavati
71. Kalapoliyan
72. Kalathil Veeran
73. KalikkatharaDaivam
74. Kaliyamballi Bhagavati
75. KallangaraChāmuṇḍi
76. Kaniyāl Bhagavati
77. Karimakal
78. Karimgulikan
79. Karuvalakki (Karukalaki)
80. Karuvan Bhagavati
81. Karuvanthottu Bhagavati
82. Karyamkali Bhagavati
83. KatangotMākkam,
84. Kathiyot Bhagavati
85. Kayapangottu Bhagavati
86. KelathChāmuṇḍiyamma
87. Kinnimāni
88. Kizhakkeveettil Chāmuṇḍi
89. Kodikethi Bhagavati
90. Kodikethi Daivathar
91. Koodeyullor
92. Kooppol Chāmuṇḍi
93. Kootta Bhagavati

94. Korakkottu Bhagavati	143.	Nāga Thamburatti
95. Koroth Nāga Bhagavati	144.	Nāgakottu Bhagavati
96. Kottaram Gulikan	145.	Nāgarajavu/Nāgarajan
97. Kotten	146.	Nārkōlath Chāmuṇḍiyamma
98. Kotteri Bhagavati	147.	Nātuvāzhunnamma
99. Kottilangattu Bhagavati	148.	Nedumbaliyan
100. Kulathu Bhagavati	149.	Neelakkarimkāli
101. Kumbakottu Chāmuṇḍi	150.	Neelamkālippoṭhi
102. Kundamkalayan	151.	Nellikkal Bhagavati
103. Kundamkuzhiyappan	152.	Nilagazha Bhagavati
104. Kunhiraman Gurukkaḷ	153.	Nilayoorkkāli
105. Kurinthanippoṭhi	154.	Olassa Poomala Bhagavati
106. Kuttikol Thamburatti	155.	Oravankara Bhagavati
107. Kuttippurath Bhagavati	156.	Pācheni Bhagavati
108. Kutty (Kutty Theyyam)	157.	Pachchila Bhagavati
109. Kutuma	158.	Pālakkal Chāmuṇḍiyamma
110. Mānjeri Muthappan	159.	Pāshanamūrthi
111. Malakkāri	160.	Pāthāmūrthi
112. Malakkitaran	161.	Pātikkuttiyamma
113. Malappilan	162.	Paichel Bhagavati
114. Malarāya Daivaṃ	163.	Paittati Poovandaivaṃ
115. Malliyotan	164.	Pallikki Nair
116. Maloorkayam Bhagavati	165.	Panganathu Chāmuṇḍi
117. Manakkottu Amma	166.	Paniyan
118. Manathana Neelan	167.	Parakutty
119. Mandalath Chāmuṇḍi	168.	Paramel Bhagavati
120. Mangadath Bhagavati	169.	Patamakakki Bhagavati
121. Mangara Chāmuṇḍi	170.	Patinjāṭṭa Chāmuṇḍi
122. Manikutty Sasthappan	171.	Patinjaran Paradēvata
123. Manniyottu Chāmuṇḍi	172.	Patten Chāmuṇḍi
124. Manthragulikan	173.	Pattuvath Chāmuṇḍi
125. Mathirālappoṭhi	174.	Payattiyāl Chāmuṇḍi
126. Mavila Chāmuṇḍi	175.	Pazhichayil Bhagavati
127. Mavilai Daivathar	176.	Peralath Bhagavati
128. Mayilon	177.	Periyāṭṭu Chāmuṇḍi
129. Mayyakkal Bhagavati (Māyakkattu Bhagavati)	178.	Perumuṭikavil Bhagavati
130. Mecheri Bhagavati	179.	Peruvamba Chāmuṇḍi
131. Melgurunadhan	180.	Pethalan
132. Moderathanni Manikkam	181.	Pillathinni
133. Monthikōlam	182.	Poḷḷakkara Bhagavati
134. Moovar	183.	Ponmalakkaran
135. Mukri Pokkar	184.	Poomāni
136. Mulavinnoor Bhagavati	185.	Poozhathai Ponnamma
137. Mullikottachamma	186.	Poronṭhi
138. Murayadaivaṃ	187.	Poyyil Bhagavati
139. Muthircha	188.	Pulichchon
140. Muthucheri Daivathar	189.	Pullikkurathi
141. Muthur	190.	Pullippoolon
142. Mutthachippoṭhi	191.	Pullippoṭhi

192.	Pulliyāla Bhagavati	216.	Soolan
193.	Pullon	217.	SreeBhūtam
194.	Puramkālan	218.	Thattankoti
195.	Puthiyaparambath Bhagavati	219.	Thoovakkari Muthappan
196.	Rākshasamāla	220.	ThotumthottaChāmuṇḍi
197.	Roopakāran	221.	Uchakkutti Sasthan
198.	Roopakāri	222.	Uchoolikadavath Bhagavati
199.	Rudirapalan	223.	Ularkunnath Bhagavati
200.	Rudrakkāliyamma	224.	Vasoorimāla
201.	Ullālthi	225.	Vatakkān
202.	Uthirālan	226.	Vatakkankoti Veeran
203.	Uthira Chāmuṇḍi	227.	Vattakkayath Chāmuṇḍi
204.	Uthiramāla	228.	Vaṭṭippūtam
205.	Uthirapālan	229.	Vayattupothi
206.	Vātilan	230.	Vellāttu Bhagavati
207.	Vaireekhanthakan	231.	Vellarangara Bhagavati
208.	ValooranDaivaṃ	232.	Vellatakath Bhagavati
209.	VantoorDaivaṃ	233.	Vengakkot Bhagavati
210.	Varamūrthi	234.	Vethālam
211.	Varatiyan	235.	Vettachekon
212.	Rudranga Bhagavati	236.	Vimānagandharvan
213.	Ruthirapparava	237.	Yakshan
214.	Sambradāyam	238.	Yakshi
215.	Sanchāra Gulikan		

Notes:

1. A few types of Theyyam, known as Kutty Theyyam, are performed regionally. The attire and nature of the performance vary from place to place. Some of the Munooottans of the Thalassery area perform a peculiar sort of Theyyam, also known as Kutty Theyyam. The speciality is spinning around at various speeds throughout the performance. Only specially trained youngsters perform this feat.

