

**ENVIRONMENT, LIVELIHOOD PATTERNS AND
SOCIAL CHANGE: THE CASE OF COASTAL
MALABAR, 1800-1990**

*Thesis Submitted to the
University of Calicut for the award of the Degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

ANJUMON P.



**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
2025**



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DECLARATION

I, Anjumon, P. hereby state that the thesis entitled '**Environment, Livelihood Patterns and Social Change: The Case of Coastal Malabar, 1800-1990**' submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History is done by me and that has not previously formed the basis for the award of any other degree or title before.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The present study 'Environment Livelihood Patterns and Social Change the Case of Coastal Malabar, 1800-1990' is carried out with the help and timely advice of my research supervisor, teachers, friends, staff of different libraries and traditional fisherman of various coastal villages. They are to be properly acknowledged before the presentation of the thesis. I express my sincere thanks to my supervising teacher Dr. K.S Madhavan, Professor, Department of History, University of Calicut; His guidance has been instrumental in fostering my research enthusiasm. Without his unwavering support, understanding, and encouragement, particularly during challenging moments of my PhD period, I would not have been able to complete this research. His motivation has been a crucial factor in the Completion of my research work.

Thanks are also due to the faculty members of the Department of History, particularly to the Head of the Department, Prof. (Dr.) M.R Manmathan. My appreciation also goes to the former Heads of the Department, Prof. P. Sivadasan, Dr.Muhammed Maheen, Prof. V.V. Haridas, and Prof.M.P Mujeeb Rahiman. I am also thankful to K.N Ganesh, former Professor, Department of History, University of Calicut and C.P Abdul Majeed, Retd Archivist, Regional Archives, Calicut as well as the previous Librarians, Meenechi and Sajnechi. I am thankful for the support provided by the staff of the History Department Library, the CHMK Library, Malayalam Library and the Folklore Library, whose friendly demeanor and assistance have been invaluable throughout my research Period.

I would like to convey my profound appreciation to the staff of the Various Fisheries Departments in Kerala, particularly to Dr. Swathi lekshmi, Senior Scientist at CMFRI, Siju and Sanju the Assistant Fisheries Directors of Kerala. Additionally, I extend my thanks to Fr. Jose Kaleekal, a prominent leader in the fishermen's movement in Kerala, who generously provided me with books for my research, as well as to T. Peter (late), the chief editor of the 'Alakal' newspaper and the General Secretary of the National Fish Workers Forum.

I express my sincere thanks to my friends and relatives for extending assistance in different stages of this PhD work. Dr. Haridasan K.P (Late), Ajilakumari, Arun Thomas, Hareesh Thankam, Priyesh, Akshara Manoj, Arun Maneedharan, Shibilal Edakkara, Jibin Baby, Christy Alex, Jaya teacher, Shimna, Kumar Sahayaraju, Jineesh, Sarath, Ardra Soman, Sreeja, Sajeesh, Jishinth, Braity, Ramanath, Sudheesh, Sajinesh, Shyju, Nisha Daleesh, Sreya, Devananda, Dalija, Daleesh, Sruthi, Sadique, Kabeer, Fahad and Divya Rajesh deserve the special mention among them. It was their continuous support and encouragement that forced me to keep the work moving and reach in this final and successful conclusion.

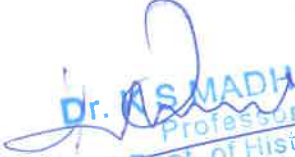
I am also thankful to Rajesh, Bina Photostat and typing service provider, Villunniyal, Calicut University for typesetting of the work. I want to extend sincere thanks to my family, especially my Father, Mother, Wife, Brother, Sister, Aliyan, Chikku, Vallyachan, Moothamma, Cheriyaaman, Father in law and Mother in law for the support and love, their help and mental support at times when I faced challenges and hardships during my research work.

Anjumon P.

ABSTRACT

The present study aims to investigate the socio-cultural history of traditional fishermen and coastal people of Kerala. The period of the study is AD 1800–1990. Fishing was an important occupation during the ancient period. The research on fishing in India began in the early AD 1800. During this same period, Malabar transitioned from the Bombay presidency to become part of the Madras presidency. The Madras presidency has established numerous departments for administrative ease, each focusing on distinct areas. Some of such departments are the Marine Department and Fisheries Department. According to reports and figures published by the Madras fisheries department, it can be understood that the fishing sector yields substantial income for the government. During the colonial and post-independence periods, the fishing sector underwent various stages of mechanisation. The government was forced to enforce certain limitations on the fishing sector during 1989 to 1990 due to the mechanisation implemented in the fishing industry.

The research aims to find out the changes in the coastal environment of Malabar and the changes in the lifestyles of the coastal people involved in the period of 1800-1990. The introduction outlines the objectives, research questions, methodology, review of literature and chapterization. The first chapter, entitled “History and Culture of the Kerala Coast”, recorded important features of the coastal environment and the formation of coastal settlements. The second chapter, "Fishing Villages in South Malabar," discusses the different fishing villages of South Malabar, especially Kozhikode and Malappuram districts. The third chapter, “Fishing Communities of the Malabar Coast”, studied the customs and ritual practices of the different religions of the Malabar coast, like Hindu, Muslim, and Christian. The fourth chapter, “Traditional Knowledge of Coastal Peoples in Malabar”, explores the traditional knowledge of coastal peoples, and songs of the coastal areas that have been transmitted orally are also included in this chapter. The final chapter, "Modernisation and Transformation of the Malabar Coast," documents the impacts of modernity on the coastal environment and its inhabitants. The conclusion outlines the study's findings.


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While the fisheries sector generates substantial income for Kerala, the fishing community working behind it has become a marginalised group without any social or economic advancement. Similarly, the mechanisation in the fishing sector has allowed monopolists to enter the market, resulting in traditional fishermen losing access to their fishing grounds. The government plans several schemes with the aim of socially uplifting fishermen. However, the socio-economic status of fishermen can be improved only if the officials ensure that the said schemes are made available to the fishermen in a timely manner.

Keywords : Coastal Environment, Coastal Settlement, Fishing Villages, Fishing Communities, Traditional Knowledge, Mechanisation of Fishing fields.



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സംഗ്രഹം

കേരളത്തിലെ പരമ്പരാഗത മത്സ്യതൊഴിലാളികളുടെയും തീരദേശ ജനതയുടെയും സാമൂഹിക-സാംസ്കാരിക ചരിത്രമാണ് ഈ പഠനത്തിലൂടെ അന്വേഷിക്കുന്നത്. 1800 മുതൽ 1990 വരെയുള്ള കാലഘട്ടമാണ് പ്രസ്തുത പഠനത്തിനായി തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തത്. പ്രാചീനകാലം മുതൽ നിലവിലുള്ള ഒരു മുഖ്യ ഉപജീവനമാർഗ്ഗമാണ് മത്സ്യബന്ധനം. എഡി 1800 ന്റെ തുടക്കത്തിലാണ് ഇന്ത്യയിൽ മത്സ്യ സമ്പത്തിനെ കുറിച്ചുള്ള പഠനങ്ങൾ ആരംഭിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഏകദേശം ഇതേ കാലത്ത് തന്നെയാണ് മലബാർ ബോംബെ പ്രസിഡൻസിയയിൽ നിന്നും മദ്രാസ് പ്രസിഡൻസിയുടെ ഭാഗമായി മാറുന്നത്. മദ്രാസ് പ്രസിഡൻസിയുടെ രൂപീകരണത്തോടെ ഭരണ നിർവ്വഹണത്തിന്റെ എളുപ്പത്തിനുവേണ്ടി നിരവധി ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റുകൾ രൂപീകരിക്കപ്പെട്ടു. ഇത്തരത്തിൽ രൂപീകരിക്കപ്പെട്ടവയിൽ പ്രധാനമാണ് മറൈൻ ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റ് & ഫിഷറീസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റ്. മദ്രാസ് ഫിഷറീസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റ് പുറത്തിറക്കിയ റിപ്പോർട്ടുകളും സ്റ്റാറ്റിസ്റ്റിക്സ് കണക്കുകളും വഴി മത്സ്യബന്ധനം ഗവൺമെന്റിന് മികച്ച വരുമാനം നേടിത്തരുന്ന ഒരു തൊഴിൽ മേഖലയാണെന്ന് മനസ്സിലാക്കാൻ സാധിക്കും. ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് കാലഘട്ടത്തിലും തുടർന്ന് സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യാനന്തരവും മത്സ്യബന്ധന മേഖലയിൽ നിന്നു കൂടുതൽ ലാഭം ലക്ഷ്യം വച്ചുകൊണ്ട് ഘട്ടം ഘട്ടമായി യന്ത്രവൽക്കരണം നടത്തി. മത്സ്യബന്ധന മേഖലയിൽ നടപ്പാക്കിയ യന്ത്രവൽക്കരണത്തിന്റെ ഫലമായി 1989- 1990 കാലഘട്ടത്തിൽ ഗവൺമെന്റിന് മത്സ്യബന്ധന മേഖലയിൽ ചില നിയന്ത്രണങ്ങൾ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടതായി വന്നു. ഈയൊരു കാലയളവിനുള്ളിൽ (1800-1990) മലബാറിലെ തീരദേശ പരിസ്ഥിതിയിലും തീരദേശ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ജീവിതരീതിയിലും ഉണ്ടായ മാറ്റമാണ് ഈ പഠനം കണ്ടെത്താൻ ശ്രമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്.

ഈ ഗവേഷണ പ്രബന്ധം ആമുഖം, ഉപസംഹാരം എന്നിവ കൂടാതെ അഞ്ചു അധ്യായങ്ങളായി തരംതിരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഗവേഷണ ചോദ്യങ്ങൾ, ഗവേഷണത്തിന് ഉപയോഗിച്ച രീതിശാസ്ത്രം, സാഹിത്യ അവലോകനം, അധ്യായഘടന എന്നിവയാണ് ആമുഖത്തിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നത്. “കേരളത്തിന്റെ തീരദേശ മേഖലയുടെ ചരിത്രവും സംസ്കാരവും” എന്ന ആദ്യ അധ്യായത്തിൽ കേരളത്തിന്റെ തീരദേശ പരിസ്ഥിതിയുടെ സവിശേഷതകളെ കുറിച്ചും തീരദേശത്തുണ്ടായി വന്ന അധിവാസ കേന്ദ്രങ്ങളുടെ രൂപീകരണത്തെക്കുറിച്ചും രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുന്നു. “ദക്ഷിണ മലബാറിലെ മത്സ്യ ഗ്രാമങ്ങൾ” എന്ന രണ്ടാമത്തെ അധ്യായത്തിൽ ദക്ഷിണ മലബാറിലെ പ്രത്യേകിച്ചും കോഴിക്കോട് മലപ്പുറം ജില്ലകളിലെ മത്സ്യ ഗ്രാമങ്ങളെ കുറിച്ചാണ് വിശദീകരിക്കുന്നത്. “മലബാറിലെ മത്സ്യതൊഴിലാളി സമൂഹങ്ങൾ” എന്ന മൂന്നാമത്തെ അധ്യായത്തിൽ ഹിന്ദു-മുസ്ലീം-ക്രിസ്ത്യൻ മത വിഭാഗത്തിൽപ്പെട്ട മത്സ്യതൊഴിലാളികളുടെ ആചാരങ്ങളും അനുഷ്ഠാനങ്ങളുമാണ്


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കണ്ടെത്തി രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളത്. “മലബാറിലെ മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ പരമ്പരാഗത കടലറിവുകൾ” എന്ന നാലാമത്തെ അധ്യായത്തിൽ മലബാറിലെ മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ പരമ്പരാഗത അറിവുകളും തീരദേശത്ത് വാമൊഴിയായി നിലനിൽക്കുന്ന പാട്ടുകളുമാണ് ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളത്. അഞ്ചാമത്തെയും അവസാനത്തെയും ചാപ്റ്റർ “ആധുനികത മലബാറിലെ തീരദേശ മേഖലയിൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കിയ മാറ്റങ്ങൾ” എന്നതാണ് ആധുനികതയുടെ ഭാഗമായി ഉണ്ടായി വന്ന മാറ്റങ്ങൾ ഏതുതരത്തിലാണ് കടലോര ജനതയെയും മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളികളെയും ബാധിച്ചത് എന്നാണ് ഈ അധ്യായത്തിൽ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളത്. പഠനത്തിന്റെ കണ്ടെത്തലുകളാണ് ഉപസംഹാരത്തിൽ നൽകിയിട്ടുള്ളത്. മത്സ്യബന്ധന മേഖല കേരളത്തിന് മികച്ച വരുമാനം നേടി തരുമ്പോഴും അതിനു പിന്നിൽ അധ്വാനിക്കുന്ന മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളി സമൂഹം സാമൂഹികമായും സാമ്പത്തികമായും ഉയർച്ചയില്ലാതെ അരികുവൽക്കരിക്കപ്പെട്ട ജനവിഭാഗങ്ങളായി മാറിയിരിക്കുന്നു. അതുപോലെ മത്സ്യബന്ധന മേഖലയിൽ നടപ്പാക്കിയ യന്ത്രവൽക്കരണം ഈ മേഖലയിലേക്ക് കുത്തക മുതലാളിമാരുടെ കടന്നുവരവിന് കാരണമാവുകയും ഇത് പരമ്പരാഗത മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ തൊഴിലിടങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാതാക്കുന്ന സാഹചര്യം സൃഷ്ടിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ സാമൂഹിക ഉയർച്ച ലക്ഷ്യം വെച്ച് സർക്കാർ നിരവധി പദ്ധതികൾ വിഭാവനം ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ പ്രസ്തുത പദ്ധതികൾ മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളികൾക്ക് ഗുണകരമായ രീതിയിൽ സമയബന്ധിതമായി ലഭ്യമാകുന്നുണ്ട് എന്ന് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥർ ഉറപ്പ് വരുത്തിയാൽ മാത്രമേ മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ സാമൂഹിക-സാമ്പത്തിക നിലവാരം മെച്ചപ്പെടുത്താൻ സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ.

സൂചകപദങ്ങൾ: തീരദേശ പരിസ്ഥിതി, തീരദേശ അധിവാസ കേന്ദ്രങ്ങൾ, തീരദേശ ഗ്രാമം, തീരദേശ സമൂഹം, പരമ്പരാഗത അറിവുകൾ, മത്സ്യബന്ധന മേഖലയിലെ യന്ത്രവൽക്കരണം.


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INTRODUCTION

The people of the coastal region are a marginalized community in Kerala. There are so many castes and occupational groups that did not find any place in the recorded history of Kerala and the traditional fishermen community were one of the such marginalized groups. The documentation of marginalized communities history in India began in the 1980s with the rise of subaltern studies. Ranajit Guha used the term Subaltern to refer to peasants who were not integrated into the industrial capitalist system. After the introduction of subaltern studies marginalized voices have gained recognition in literature, cinema and academic research.

The term subaltern was first introduced by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, in his famous work “Prison Notebooks” to mention the subordinated class. In India the term subaltern is used to denote the community who are isolated from the mainstream because of their caste, colour, class, religion, and gender. Coast and coastal people have not been given attention in the academic histories in Kerala. Coastal environment have a crucial role in sustainability of different species including human being. Likewise the coastal peoples of Kerala earned their livelihood through fishing and related jobs since ancient period onwards. This study intended to record the changes of coastal life and coastal environment after the advent of modernity.

Research Problem

The study entitled “Environment Livelihood Patterns and Social Change: The Case of Coastal Malabar 1800-1990” is an attempt to discuss the changes in the coastal environment and social life of the coastal communities of Malabar. The fisheries sector forms a vital source of employment in Kerala and plays a crucial role in sustaining the state economy. Since ancient time onwards, fisheries become an important source of livelihood in Kerala. Even though such importance, why do the traditional fishermen of Kerala who work behind this occupation still remain a marginalized group? Despite the progress in the fisheries industry, why have its

benefits failed to bring constructive changes in the social and economic sphere of the fishermen community? What was the different context of collective agitation of fishers that occurred in Kerala up to the post-colonial period? How has the mechanization of the fisheries sector aimed specifically at the coastal region affected the coastal community of Kerala? This dissertation attempts to answer these important questions in detail.

Hypothesis

Fishing has been traditional occupation since ancient period. In ancient times, Kerala has been part of *Tamilakam*. So it can be assumed that the geographical area “*Neythal*” which is mentioned in the *Sangam* Literature is about littoral plains of Kerala. So the history of “*Neythal*” can be considered as the history of coastal Kerala. This Literature has references on fishing tools like boats, nets, baits and the fishes they caught. So that fishing can be considered as the ancient and still continued profession in Kerala. But the scientific studies about these fishing region began only in the British period.

The British rulers recognized the commercial possibilities of fishing. So they introduced new techniques and technologies in the field of fishing over a period of time. This paved the way to mechanization of fishing industry. During the colonial period and post-independence, the government promoted fishing with mechanized boats. The primary concern of the government was to increase the quantity of the fish catch and exporting it for foreign exchange. At the same time, the government of the concerned department have not conducted any relevant studies regularly, with regards to the harmful effects of these changes and difficulties faced by the traditional fishing folks. It is assumed that deliberate neglect of the issues related to traditional fishing folk, contributed to the marginalization of that community. This study tries to examine critically of this issues.

Aim and Objectives of the Study

- To explore the role of the Coastal environment in the sustainability of social beings including humans.

- To understand the origin and development of settlements in Coastal region since ancient times.
- To acknowledge the social life of fishermen in the fishing villages of Kerala.
- To understand contribution of women in the fisheries sector.
- To explain the various customs and rituals related to the coastal peoples.
- To know more about the traditional knowledge of fishing folk.
- To identify the challenges and changes of the fishing sector during colonial and post-independence period.
- To understand the introduction of mechanization and its impact on the lives of traditional fishermen and coastal environment.
- To identify the difficulties due to climate change and natural disaster in the coastal areas.

Review of literature

There are number of studies which deal with the coastal life. *Kadalarivukalum Neranubavangalum* Written by Robert Panipilla, documents the experiences and traditional knowledge pertaining to the Coastal environment, The marine ecosystem, and the communities that depend on the Sea for their livelihoods. Robert Panipilla is a native of Vizhinjam and he is an independent researcher from the fishing community. When the Biodiversity Board in Thiruvananthapuram district created the Marine Biodiversity Register, Robert was its coordinator. He was also invited to the United Nations Ocean Summit held in New York. Robert Panipillai was also invited to an expert discussion organized by the Ditchley Foundation, which aimed to formulate positions regarding ocean-related issues for the G7 leaders' summit, comprising the seven largest economies in the world. His experience notes are very helpful to understanding about the sea and the coastal ecosystem.

Kadalmuthu Written by A. Andrews, a native of Port Kollam New Colony, is a traditional fisherman and leader who has constantly fought for the comprehensive development of the fisheries sector and to improve the living standards of fishermen. He has served as the founding leader of the *Swathantrya Mathsya Thozhilali Union* of Kollam District, Former General Secretary of the *Kerala Swathantrya Mathsya Thozhilali Federation*, and as the Kollam District Secretary of the Federation for 32 years. He published his experiences while fishing in the Sea under the title "Kadalmuthu", in this book he provides the knowledge about Coastal ecosystems, such as different natural reefs. And this book gives the details of how does a reef form in the sea, what organisms depended on reef, how to catch fish from the reef and how to understand the position of the reef from the sea.

Kadalil Ente Jeevitham, T.K Rafique, who was a traditional fisherman from Chaliyam. The book "*Kadalil Ente Jeevitham*" is a collection of his experiences at sea that he posted on Social media site "Facebook" and was published by his friends after his death. How to anchor a canoe at sea, how to cook there, what kind of fish can be caught when the tide comes in, what are the dangers at sea, how ships pose a threat to fishermen, how to catch fish during the monsoon, and other related topic are discussed in his "Facebook" post.

Kadal Rekhakal written by Soman Kadalur. He is a multi-talented individual though he is better known for his contributions as a writer in Malayalam. He is also recognized as a Teacher, Painter, Poet, and Researcher. His book, 'Kadal Rekhakal,' serves as an excellent resource on knowledge about Sea. It explores the human experiences found in both the deep sea and along the shore, covering topics such as marine fish, sea climates, various sea creatures, ocean currents, and fishing techniques. Throughout his writing career, he focused primarily on the sea and the lives connected to it. His works document maritime traditions, beliefs, knowledge, and the different methods of sea hunting. Additionally, his other two books, '*Kadal Ormakal*' and '*Pullian*' highlight the lives of fishermen in the Kadalur area.

Kadalarivukal edited by C.R Rajagopal and T.T Sreekumar, gives the details about different jobs that exist in the coastal area, customs and traditions of the

Arayan Community and the festivals of coastal region. Also this book documents the artistic expressions of the coastal peoples and the ability of traditional fishermen to know the direction based on the stars in sea to the land. This book is very helpful in understanding about the characteristics of the coastal region.

Castes and tribes of Southern India, written by Edger Thurston, is seven-volume work, was one of several such publications resulting from the Ethnographic Survey of India project which was formally instituted by the Government of British India in 1901. The Survey was intended to record details of the manners, customs and physical features of Indian castes and tribes. This book clearly describes the fishing communities of India, such as Mukkuva, Araya, Dheevara, Valan, Nulayan, Parathava Mukaveeran, Bovi and Arayavati, and their fishing equipments, Fishing method, dressing style, customs and rituals. The information about the fishing community in Malabar was collected by Rao Bahadur Govindan, an officer of the Madras Fisheries Bureau, who belongs to the Araya community in Calicut. Therefore, it can be assumed that the information in the book is dependable.

Peoples of India: Kerala, written by K.S Singh, reveals the continuity of identities and traditions, which go back to pre-historic times, In terms of morphological and genetic characteristics of populations, language, and material culture, local forms of religion, festivals and rituals. In this book he described the fishing communities in Kerala like Araya, Mukkuva, Dheevara and Valan. He also divided the mukkuva community for the religious base Christian-Mukkuva, Hindu-Mukkuva, Muslim-Mukkuva. He categorized the Mukkuva community in this way to clarify the customs and ritual practices of fishermen belonging to different religious group.

The Mappila Fisher folk of Kerala, A Study In Inter Relationship Between Habitat, Technology, Economy, Society And Culture Written by M.R.G. Mathur, this book provides the good details of Muslim fishing community. In this book he records Muslim fisher folk in Malabar called as the Mappilas, who are mostly converts from the Mukkuva castes. So sometimes they are called Puisseans or Puthiya Islam. They have resided mostly in coastal areas of Kozhikode, Malapuram, Trissur,

Kannur districts. The Mappilas follow the social rites prescribed by the Quran and Hadith. However their life style, economic activities as well as their rituals are very similar to that of Hindus. This book is very helpful to understand the customs and tradition of Muslim fishermen in Malabar region.

The Political Economy of Commerce, Southern India 1500-1650, written by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, explores the relationship between long distance trade and the economic and political structure of southern India in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This book gives the details about the Malabar ports, Portuguese trade, and commercial contacts.

Foreign Notices of South India written by K.A Nilakanta Sastri, which emphasis several travel accounts of Arabian, Chinese, and Portuguese. The accounts of Arab travelers like Sulaiman, Masudi, Yaqub, Idrisi and Ibn Batuta recorded that the coastal towns of Malabar and its importance in ancient time. Ma Huan a Chinese traveler who visited Malabar in 15th century gives an interpreting account of the life of Mappilas. Also the European travelers like Marco Polo, Duarte Barbosa and Francis Buchanan had given contemporary picture of the Malabar Coast.

Methodology and Sources

The study mainly focused on the analysis of Oral sources, which can be considered as the primary sources. Similarly, previously conducted local historical studies in the different coastal regions is used for this research. It also makes use of British documents, publications of Kerala government and different reports issued by the concerned departments.

Interviews are backbone of this study. I interviewed the various persons who related to the fisheries sector for present study like, traditional fishermen, working women of coastal region, boat drivers, Fisheries officers and Fisheries school teachers information given by Secretary and Presidents of various fishermen Co-operative society, local writers of fishing villages and fishermen trade union leaders are also used. Artists of coastal region, school children of coastal villages, independent researchers of coastal region and different religious leaders in coastal areas are important informants.

The Documented sources for this study have been collected from Tamilnadu State Archives Egmore, Kerala state Archives Thiruvananthapuram, Regional Archives Kozhikode, CMFRI Cochin, Fisheries Office West Hill, Kozhikode and Kerala History Archives Department of History, Calicut university.

Secondary sources Like Books, Magazine and News papers are collected from the Libraries such as CH Muhammad Koya library Calicut University, Department library Malayalam, Calicut University, Department library Folklore, Calicut University, Department library Women Studies, Calicut University, Department library History, Calicut University, Deshaposhini library Kozhikode, District library Kozhikode, Muhammed Koya library Parappanangadi, Kerala Sahitya Academy library Thrissur , Folklore Academy library Kannur, Kerala University library Thiruvananthapuram, State Public Library Thiruvananthapuram, Kuttipuzha krishnapillai municipal library Aluva, Sarvodaya library Mannur Rail-1953, Njanodayam vayanasala Prabhodini -1955, C.H Kanaran smaraka library Nadakkavu, Prabhodini vayanashala, S.K Pottakkad library Kozhikode, Appan thambhuran vayanasala Thrissur, Athmabhododay library, Manakkadavu, KCHR library Thiruvananthapuram, KIRTADS Kozhikode and Velukutty Arayan Samaraka Library, Karunagapally.

Chapterization

The First Chapter is entitled ***History and Culture of Kerala Coast***. An ecosystem is formed when biodiversity and environmental factors combine. The sea is home to the largest habitat on earth. The sea and the coastal environment are vital factors that contribute greatly to the survival of species and humans. If the sea is a habitat for living things, then the sea is man's greatest occupation. The sea is not only a place of work but also a storehouse of food resources and, first and foremost, an affordable means of transportation. And what the coastal environment is all about, depending on what factors the coastline and the environment exist. The beginning of this chapter explains why the sea is a storehouse of human resources.

Next, the history of the period when man became dependent on the sea is recorded. After describing the coastal populations, it records how the natural

features of the coast were utilized by man. For the first time in the world, foreign trade was conducted through Coastal areas. Thus many ports were built on the shores of ancient Kerala at different times for commercial purposes. Thus the ports built during different periods and their historical significance are recorded. Subsequently a cultural exchange through local and foreign traders records the social and economic changes brought about in the coastal areas of Malabar.

Most of the religions have come to Kerala from the coastal areas. Islam, Christians, Parsis, Sindhis and Jews are the religions that came to Kerala in this way. This chapter covers how the circumstances in which these religions arrived are different. Social and cultural change meant the influx of religions and the way in which those religions were adopted by the majority religions in Kerala. These changes are embodied in the example of the construction of different places of worship.

Second chapter is ***Fishing Villages in South Malabar***. Kerala is a state with a coastline of 590 km. Kerala covers 10% of India's coastline. Due to this, Kerala is far ahead of other states in terms of fisheries. Kerala contributes one fifth of the total fish production in the country. Fisheries also play an important role in sustaining the economy of Kerala. Most of Kerala's wealth structure comes from seafood. The people who have adopted fishing as their livelihood have a crucial role to play in sustaining this economy of Kerala.

In most of the ancient history of Kerala, we can see fishing communities making a living. There are many different fishing communities in Kerala today belonging to Mukkuva and Dheevera. Examples are Arayar, Valan, Mukaya, Parathavar, Nulayan, Mukaveeran, Bovi and Arayavati. Apart from these, there are many Muslim fishermen and Christian fishermen in Kerala. Occupationally there is a unifying nature in this fishing community but the social life and rituals remain different within this community. In this chapter we discuss the different fishing villages of Kerala and its features.

Third chapter is ***Fishing Communities of Malabar Coast***. The coastal people of Kerala are an economically and socially marginalized community. Most of

the coastal people have adopted fishing as their main source of livelihood. Fishermen in Kerala fall into three main categories. They are Hindu, Muslim and Christian. Their social structure depends on the religions they belong to.

Fishermen in Kerala have their own customs and rituals. Fishermen from Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities have become sub-castes and are engaged in fishing. Examples are the Catholic fishermen who converted from the fishing community to Christianity, and the Puzhians who converted from Hinduism to Islam. Hinduism has the largest number of sub castes. Such distinctions make the coast a region where different rituals exist. This chapter seeks to know about the different categories of fishermen in Kerala and their socio-cultural life.

Fourth chapter titled as *Traditional Knowledge of Coastal Peoples in Malabar*. Traditional fishing workers have their own knowledge. Many people still fish with the knowledge they are learned through experience and knowledge passed down through tradition. They knew about the availability of fish and direction through various knowledge based on wind, star, and current. Traditional fishermen all over Kerala have such rich knowledge.

This chapter first deals with how traditional fishermen use this knowledge for fishing and so on. Sea songs, which are found only in the coastal areas, are a part of the life of the fishermen. There is an opinion that the sea songs were made to get a strain in the midst of hard work. The traditional fishermen have a vast knowledge about fish. This chapter also covers their knowledge of different types of fish and how to catch them.

Final chapter is *Modernization and Transformation of Coastal Malabar*. This chapter tries to reveal what kind of changes modernity has brought about in the coastal region and the life of the coastal communities. There have been many changes in the fishing sector since mechanization. In 1953, India started mechanization in the fishing sector with the Indo- Norwegian project. The main objectives were to increase income, manage fresh fish efficiently, and raise the productivity and quality of life of fishermen. This chapter tries to say for the first time what advantages and disadvantages the coastal communities have had through this project.

With the mechanization of the fisheries sector, several fishermen movements was emerged. This chapter attempts to write about the situation in which non-partisan political organizations like the *Kerala Swatantra Mathsya Thozhilali Federation* (KSMTF) came into being, their rights struggles and their importance.

Co-operative zones have been established to implement the development activities of fishermen. This chapter discusses the activities and impact of the institutions formed in this way. Changes in the coastal education sector were initiated through the fisheries schools and the changes brought by the other schools in the coastal sector and the social workers who worked for social reformation in coastal region also included this chapter. Finally, this chapter intends to tell about the difficulties caused by the unscientific construction in the coastal area as part of development and climate change in the lives of the coastal people. Finding of the study is presented in the conclusion.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KERALA COAST

Introduction

An ecosystem is formed when biodiversity and environmental factors combine. The Sea is home to the largest habitat on earth. The sea and the coastal environment are vital factors that contribute greatly to the survival of species and humans. If the sea is a habitat for living things, then the sea is man's greatest occupation. The sea is not only a place of work but also a storehouse of food resources and, first and foremost, an affordable means of transportation. And what the coastal environment is all about. Depending on what factors the coastline and the environment exist. The beginning of this chapter explains why the sea is a storehouse of human resources.

Next, the history of the period when man became dependent on the sea is recorded. After describing the coastal populations, it records how the natural features of the coast were utilized by man. For the first time in the world, foreign trade was conducted through coastal areas. Thus many ports were built on the shores of ancient Kerala at different times for commercial purposes. Thus the ports built during different periods and their historical significance are recorded. Subsequently a cultural exchange through local and foreign traders records the social and economic changes brought about in the coastal areas of Malabar.

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These changes are embodied in the example of the construction of different places of worship.

Coastal Environment

An ecosystem is a living (biotic) community and its non-living (abiotic) environment such as forest, grassland, desert, wetland or coastal area. Ecosystem can broadly be divided into two aquatic and terrestrial. Aquatic ecosystem comprises of freshwater and marine ecosystems. The Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal constitute the marine ecosystems of peninsular India.

Kerala's coastal regions belonging to Arabian Sea.¹ Geographically Kerala is categorized into three areas, viz. the coastal lowlands, the fertile midlands and the highlands.² Coastal lowlands are again divided into beaches and offshore areas. Kerala coastal plains are wavy platforms and the raised beaches above the water level. They are the lands emerged from the seas and are adjacent to the main land. In Kerala we have sandy beaches, muddy beaches, rocky beaches and beaches with corals.³ In which coast having long sand belt is more common.

71% of earth surface is covered with water and 85% of production is contributed by marine ecosystems.⁴ Oceans have 300 times more habitats than terrestrial one. Traditional fishermen have divided the sea into three zones based on depth. The three zones are Theerakadal, Puramkadal, and Azhakkadal. Each of these zones has distinct flora and fauna.

Most important portion of a sea is its coastlines which are boundaries between land and water that surround earth's continents and islands. Coast or coastland as a broad swath (belt) of land and sea where fresh water mixes with seawater. The coastal waters are not only rich in biodiversity but also support the livelihood of a large number of peoples dependent on the coastal ecosystem, particularly the fishing communities.

¹ M.A Oomen, *Keralas Development Experience.II*, Institute of Social Studies, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi 1999, p. 281.

² K.N Ganesh, *Kerala Samooham: Innu Nale*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, Kottayam, 2012, p. 15.

³ N.V.P Unnithiri, *Paristhithisasthra Veekshanam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2001, p. 180.

⁴ V.S Praseetha, *Azhakkadal, Nigoodathakalude Albhudhalokam, Sasthragathimasika*, June, Thiruvananthapuram, 2019, pp. 41-42.

Bays, estuaries, different types of coastal wetlands such as backwaters and lagoons, river deltas, mudflats, salt marshes and mangrove forests are closely associated with the near shore-coastal waters.⁵ The important features of coastal plains are their flora and fauna.

Systematic development of the Kerala coast was a consequence of the transgressive - regressive marine regime aided by Fluvio-Marine interactive process mainly during Holocene times (10000 years BP).⁶

Flora and Fauna

Sea is a reservoir of variety of plants and animals. Continental shelf, continental slope and deep sea these three different parts of sea houses different organisms. About 140000 species have identified from marine habitats. Around 1000 new organisms are being discovered every year.⁷

Planktons are the key component of marine food web. Planktons are of two types zooplanktons and phytoplankton. Most of the planktons are microscopic. It includes the minute diatoms to jelly fishes having a few centimeter sizes.

Phytoplankton

Phytoplanktons are the surface floating microscopic photosynthetic organisms. They are the first component in marine food chain. Commonly seen in green, bluish green, yellow and brown colour. Diatoms, Flagellates, Coccolithophores, Blue-Green Algae, Green algae are the major Phytoplankton. Green algae are commonly seen near shore, it gives a greenish colour to the water.⁸ A plankton can produce 256 progenies a day and in three days they becomes 1.5 core. Phytoplanktons are the favorite food of whales. Phytoplanktons have a strong influence on productivity and fish-harvest.

⁵ Srikumar Chattopadhyay, *Geography of Kerala*, Concept Publishing Company Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 2021, p. 23.

⁶ Rajan Gurukkal, Raghava varier. (ed.), *Cultural History of Kerala*, Vol-I, Cultural Publication Department Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p. 43.

⁷ N.Balakrishnan Nair, *Kadalaru Albhuthalokam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p. 40.

⁸ Interview With Manu Philip (35), Botany Scholar, University of Calicut, 23/3/2018.

Zooplanktons

Zooplankton comprises the single celled Protozoan to few meters long jelly fishes. These organisms shows their presence from the surface of the sea to the greater depth. Zooplanktons are of two types, Holoplanktons and Meroplanktons.⁹ Former continue their whole life as Planktons Copepods, Crills, and Jelly fishes are examples. Whereas Meroplankton exist as Zooplanktons only during their initial stages of life. Sea urchins, Starfish, Sea crab, Sea prawn and Octopus are examples of Meroplankton.

Benthos

Benthos are the sessile marine organisms. It includes both plants and animals. Benthos plants are seen near to the shore only. Whereas benthos animals can be seen in every part of sea. Algae are the important groups of benthos plants. They flourish near the shore. They are the major food of many organisms. Algae are classified Ascholorophytal, Schizophytal, Chrysophytal, Phaeophytal and Rhodophytal. Crab and pearl oyster live in these algal blooms. Some algae are edible. In Japan 10 lakh algae are collected for food. But in India algae are used as food only in Tamilnadu.¹⁰

Mangrove forests

Mangroves are another important environmental features of the coastal areas. *Kandalkadu* is vernacular word to Mangroves in Malayalam language, otherwise known as “Root of the sea”.

Mangroves are crucial part of coastal vegetation in Kerala. Mangroves are usually growing in shores of Sea, Lake, Rivers, Port, Marshy land and Deltas. A Mangrove swamp is a costal wetland ecosystem that is made up of small trees shrubs, brush woods and it grows in saline or brackish water and where sediments is composed of accumulated deposits of mud. Stands of Mangroves also protect the coasts from natural calamities. The roots of the plant trap the slit in the estuarine

⁹ K.V Thomas, *Kadal Albhuthalokam*, Chintha Publication, Kozhikode, 2010, p. 71.

¹⁰ N. Balakrishnan Nair, Op. Cit., p. 41.

water and it can survive any adverse situation. Different varieties of fishes, water creatures are inhabited there. Most migratory birds coming to Kerala for migration prefer Mangroves. Phenolic birds like *Chennelly kozhi*, *Mazhakocha*, *Kulakozhi*, *Chinnakoku*, *Thutherippan*, *Chinna kocha* and *Karimkocha* are live in the Mangroves.¹¹

There are a species of turtle, small water creatures and crabs that are only found in the Mangroves. The Mangroves protect the wild life from invasive species. The coastal life of Kerala is home to pine shrimp, which is high demand in the international seafood market.¹² Even though the fish are laying in the sea, then its babies come to *Kandalkadu* with tidal waves.

Since the environment of the Mangroves is favourable for the growth of shrimp, they will stay in the Mangroves until early adulthood and return to the sea for breeding. Given the above, the role of conservation of Mangroves in coastal areas can be understood. India's Mangroves are only seven percent of the world's Mangroves. Sundarbans are located in the eastern part of India with an area of 4200 km. It is one of the largest Mangroves in west Bengal and it is listed on UNESCO's world heritage list.¹³

There are 59 species of Mangroves in India. Orissa has a 219 km wide Mangrove forest. The Mangroves are spread over 150 km on the banks of the river Cauvery, 900 km from Gujarat and 60 km from Goa. The Krishna Godavari River is spread over 580 km of the plains. A century ago, in Kerala, there were about 700 sq km of forests. According to the Kerala Forest Information Bureau, we can understand this, but today only 17% of the Mangroves are left.¹⁴

When the tsunami struck the Kerala-Tamil Nadu coastal belt, it was the Mangroves that protected the Pichavaram coastal area in Tamil Nadu. That's when

¹¹ "Pokudan Kandal School Thudangumbol", Siraj Live, 14/07/2015.

¹² Interview With Mohan Das (52), National Award Winner Fish farming, Kadalundy, 14/9/2018.

¹³ R.P Singh, *Environmental Studies*, Concept publishing Ltd, New Delhi, 2012, p.180.

¹⁴ K.V Vijayaraghavan, *Paristhithiyum Kandal Kadukalum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2008, p. 1.

the world began to see the importance of the forests.¹⁵ 25000 hectares of Mangroves found in Bangladesh. In the Philippines, there is a law protecting 40 meters of Mangroves on the river and coast. The importance of Mangroves is understood by law to mean that the forests should be protected within 100 meters of the sea.

In Malabar region, the Mangroves are found mostly in Dharmadam, Edakkad, Pappinissery, Muzhuappilangad, Vadakara, and Ponnani. Traditionally, the birds like *Maina*, *Kuyil*, *Kaka* and *Kadalundi Aala* are a part of this region, which are traditionally visited by the Kadalundi region.¹⁶ According to security men of Kadaundi community reserve the reserve is home to around 110 species of birds of which 53 are migratory.¹⁷ Mud beds and sand dunes that form part of the tide and tide are found in the Kadalundi region.

Kadalundi puzha, the border of Malappuram and Kozhikode district contains 60 hectares of Mangroves. There are 9 types of Mangroves founded by here. From the sand dunes, the birds are able to get enough insects and earthworms to feed the birds. Fish growth during tidal periods and during descending fishes provides an environment for birds to feed. *Kadukka* cultivation is another profession that focuses on Mangroves. In north Malabar it was known as *Kallumakaya*. It was one of the high demanded food item in Malabar.

The presence of Mangroves has increased the availability of fish resources. There are many families living here doing fishing and marketing. The salt water of Mangroves is very suitable for *Kadukka* cultivation.¹⁸ Today the coastal peoples were understand the value of Mangrove forest. Beyond the dense Mangrove forests, no sea range can wreak havoc. This is why vegetation afforestation under the name of green belt is being implemented in whole coastal areas of Kerala. This belt which is made of Mangrove, is more beneficial than the sea wall and has other advantages.¹⁹

¹⁵ Interview with Sivadasan. K (56), Chairman, Community Reserve, Kadalundi, 7/04/2018.

¹⁶ K.V Vijayaraghavan Nair, Op. Cit., p.2.

¹⁷ Interview with Ayyappan (70), Security Guard, Community Reserve Kadalundi, 07/04/2018.

¹⁸ Chandran Muttath, *Kallummakkaya*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2014, p. 32.

¹⁹ How Citizen Groups In Kerala Are Planting Mangroves As The First Line Of Defence Against Coastal Flooding, *The Hindu*, 17/08/2019.

The presence of Mangrove forests planted through the green belt project provides relief from environmental problems. It also provides fire wood, honey, and medicines to the coastal peoples.²⁰ The preparation of green belt also provides an environment for fish, prawns and turtles to grow.

Coastal Life in Ancient Kerala

The formative years of the Kerala History and culture is believed to be started in the first 5 centuries of AD.²¹ Till 10th century AD Kerala was the part of Tamilakam.²² Since Sangam Literature stood out on prominence in the era this time span is believed to be termed as the Sangam age.²³ According to the Historians like Raghava Varier there is a gap between the date of creation of Sangam Literature and the retrieval of the same in the form of scripts.

After that, instead of addressing the collective whole of the literature as Sangam literature, the anthologists divided the title as Tamil Classics and Pazhamtamil Pattukal or classical Tamil texts. However they (Sangam literature) played a great role in the identification and understanding of the literature in the South Indian Peninsula which included the literature and culture of Kerala too.

The ancient peoples of Tamilkam had their own mode of understanding and associating the nature with their geographical knowledge. According to the Tinai concept the Sangam landscape was divided into five.²⁴ Since these landscapes were preserved and taken great care with the environmental perspective in thought these Tinai were also considered as micro-eco zones.²⁵ Kuriñchi, Pālai, Mullai, Marutam, and Neythal Tinai were the five different codifications for the landscapes. Since it is five aspects of different landscapes in unison they are also termed as *Aintinakal*.²⁶

²⁰ Interview With Sobhana (68), Native Women of Thiruthy, 10/05/2018.

²¹ A. Sreehara Menon, *Kerala History*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2007, p. 75.

²² Jacob Nayathode, *Sanghakalathe Janajeevitham*, Chintha Publication, Thiruvananthapuram, 2016, p. 17.

²³ Raghava Varier, Rajan Gurukul, *Keralacharitham*, Vallathol vidhyapeedam, Sukapuram, 2011, p. 68.

²⁴ K.N Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011, p. 2.

²⁵ T.K Gangadharan, *Kerala History*, Calicut University, 1992, p. 24.

²⁶ K.Dhamodharan, *Sampoornakrithikal*, Prabhat Books, Calicut, 2012, p. 78.

Kurinji comprises the landscapes covering the mountains and its ranges. Kanavar, Vedar and Kuravar were the inhabitants of the region. Hunting and gathering in the forest were their main occupation. They employed slash and burn agricultural practices and cultivated millets and maize.²⁷ Rhizomes, tubers, peppercorns, legumes, honey were the major food crops.²⁸ Bow and arrow were the finest weaponry of the Kurinji peoples, mostly the Vedars / Vettuvars.

Mullai covers the lush bounty of the forest. The people who inhabited the place were known as Ayar, Idaiyar and Kovalar. They were mainly shepherds and cow herders. The Ayars and Idaiyans cultivated kodomillet, little millet (chama), legumes, gingerly and horse gram. They practiced shifting cultivation and agriculture was the major occupation of men and for women it was herding.²⁹ They collected milk, yogurt, buttermilk, butter and took them to the market for selling. They bought clothes and other amenities with the cash hence obtained. Bull fighting was the major entertainment of the people of Mullai Tinai. Palai was the dried up 'waste land' which emerges when the Kurinji and Mullai landscapes wither off in the heat of summer. Maravar, Kalavar, and Eyiners were the inhabitants of the place. Palai landscape was not particularly fit for cultivation. Hence inhabitants were heavily involved in way laying and highway robberies and made that to be their livelihood.³⁰

Marutam (crop land) was an epitome of nature's bounty. The land covers crop lands, water bodies the vast province of agricultural land. Ulavar and Toluvar were the main inhabitants of the place. Arinar and Vinaivalar were the examples of the farmers. They also included people who were employed in handicrafts. They were mainly carpenters and blacksmiths. Trade was carried out through land and water means.³¹ Kadaiyars and Pulambans were the main tradesmen. Other than paddy the Marutam people also cultivated sugarcane made baskets and engaged themselves in weaving.

²⁷ V.R Parameswaran Pillai (trns), *Purananooru*, Kerala Sahithya Academy, Trissur, 1969, p. 15.

²⁸ Jacob Nayathode, *Op. Cit.*, p.29.

²⁹ Nattinai-Song 266 & 289. <https://nandinikarky.com/2020/04/28/natrinai-266-borm-to-be worn/>

³⁰ Raghava Varrior, Rajan Gurukul, *Op. Cit.*, p. 77.

³¹ K.Damodharan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 119.

Neythal landscapes throws light on the lives of age-old seafarers of the South Indian Peninsula.³² According to the Tinai concept the landscape associated with the Neythal Tinai is the coastal area. Parathavar, Meenavar, Alavar, Alathiyavar, Valayar, Nulaiyar and Umanar were the inhabitants of the coastal region. They were also known as Thuraikar.³³ Fishing was their main occupation.³⁴ Coastal trade, pearl diving, salt manufacturing, coral collection and fishing net making were their main occupations. They made toys using the substitutes they got from the sea. Coral bangles were prominent among them. Women often went away to trade these products they made to other places. Salt and dried fishes were included in marketing.³⁵

Many archaeological evidences dating back to the age were retrieved from the coastal shores which included the fishing hook made from ferrous supplements. These strengthen the argument that these shores were the harbours where Neythal Tinai existed.³⁶

Tamilakam had five major political territories called Mandalas. Tondai, Chola, Pandya, Chera and Kongunad were the five provinces. All these five Mandalas held hands with the Tinai concepts in many of its places. Tondai Nadu was located in the Northern most part of Tamilakam with Kanchipuram as its capital. Also the coasts of Tondai Mandalam were prominent in its trade through the sea at that time. Archaeologists excavated the local tint coins with ship as its symbol and the ancient Roman coins from the place.

Mahabalipuram was a coastal city at that time and remained the same till the eighteenth century as per the songs of Thirumangai Azhvar.³⁷ This leads to the assumption that these five Mandalas were sound in the heavy influence of the

³² Ilamkulam Kunjanpillai, *Samskarathinte Nazhikakallukal*, National Books, Kottayam, 1964, p. 18.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 18.

³⁴ *Ibid*.

³⁵ Melangath Narayankutty (trns), Mullaipattu, p. 119.

³⁶ T.K Gangadharan, Op. Cit., p. 47.

³⁷ P.K Gopalakrishnan, *Keralathinte Samskatrikacharithram*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 113.

Neythal coasts in the Sangam era. Many of the Neythal regions were historically relevant for their trade and commerce with other countries en route sea.

Towards the South of Pennar River till river Vaiga stretches the Chola Mandala. Here the relevance of Neythal coasts is marked by the port city named Puhar. It was also identified as Kaveri Poompattinam. Puhar port was the major harbor and spot of traders and merchants in the Chola Kingdom.³⁸

Pandyan country extends from the south of Chola Rajya to the territories of Madurai, Ramanadhapuram, Tirunelveli district till the Nanjilnadu of Kanyakumari. The Korkai region towards the mouth of Tamraparni river was the major harbor of Pandyas. Also their flag symbol was fish.³⁹

Kongu Nadu is located towards the western part of Chola and Pandya dynasties and was evidently a mountain range.⁴⁰ It is also believed that the world famous beryl gemstones were available in Kongu Nadu. It was a hilly terrain and hence points out to the Kurinji Tinai.

The provinces including the state of Kerala were termed under the category 'Cheram' in the Sangam age.⁴¹ Venad, Karkanad, Kutanad, Kudanad and Puzhinad were the region's in Chera dynasty. The 209th song in Perunnthongai explains about the division and boundaries of the Chera province.⁴² The song means that, towards the South of Pazhani, to the West of Tenkashi, to the North of Kozhikode, the eighty miles land stretch east to the seashore is the Chera land.

The major port town in Chera province was Muchiri (Muzhiri). Kodungallur of today was termed as Muchiri in the past. It was a Neythal coastal region with varying landscapes. It is also mentioned that rice and fish were in abundance over

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁴⁰ P.K Gopalakrishnan, *Keralathinte Samskarikacharithram*, cited by M.Arogyaswami, *The Kongu Country: Being the history of the modern district of Coimbatore and Salem from the earliest time to the coming of the birth*, University of Madras, 1956, p. 101.

⁴¹ P.K Gopalakrishnan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 121.

⁴² *Ibid.*

the province in the work *Puram*, a Sangam literary text.⁴³ The region of Cheras was formed by the association of many places as per the citation of *Puram* text. Here it is the 'Tinai' which is referred as the 'Places'.

The Malabar province of today was included in the Kudanad region. It is believed that it is from this socio-cultural inklings of the inhabitants in the Neythal Tinai in Chera dynasty, the history of coastal population in Kerala sprouted.

Elamkulam Kunjanpillai substantiates that the sangam literature dates back to the 1500 year old and included a massive amount of literature that had its origin in Kerala. Therefore we can assume that the Neythal Tinai in the whole Tinai concept might have had its roots in the coastal regions of Kerala.⁴⁴

The important factions of the people in Neythal Tinai was the Parathavar. In the literature of Sangam age; the people representing the Neythal Tinai are also the Parathavar. It can be assumed that there were a particular section of 'leaders' who happened to control the people of the coasts.

The Pulanban, Thuvan, Chepan, and Konkan were the titles attributed to the headman of the village.⁴⁵ Some chiefs were also entitled with the name of the coastal people in reverence. Poets used to address the Pandya King as 'Meenavan' and 'Kumari Chepan' with great respect in their poems.

The inhabitants circling the Neythal Tinai had fishing as their major occupation. They employed fishing hooks, chisel, fishnets and mast. They were used in small and probably large boats too. Since boats and fish hooks were used it could be assumed that they also had carpenters and blacksmiths. And the chisel, hooks were made out of iron. In order to make the tub/boat it required the hands of proficient carpenters.⁴⁶ Another striking feature is the presence of fishing net (Neythal factor) In the 290th poem in the *Akananuru* anthology, it tells about the story of the crane's mate that gets trapped in the fishnet that the fishermen set up. It is believed that the net was made out of rope.⁴⁷

⁴³ V.R Parameswaran Pillai, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Akananooru, 290th Song, <http://vaiyan.blogspot.com/2016/09/agananuru-290.html>

In Silapathikaram (lines from 106 to 112), in a particular song mentions about cluster or troupes of tubs and boats.⁴⁸ The Sangam literature also comprises of songs that depicts about the children was wait in patience for the boats to be ashore. This substantiates that even at that time people in the South did know about the mechanisms and aid of boats.

Before going out for fishing, the fishermen performed certain rituals that had set time when they set out for big catch. They termed it as *Pozhuth*. It means the right moment (Muhurta). They went out with fire torches at night and returned in the break of dusk.⁴⁹

The common deity of the fishermen clan was Kadalon. They worshiped Varuanan. In actual it was the tusk of the shark was worshiped by the coastal people. They held festivals and celebrations in respect to the deity.⁵⁰ Adorning the deity with gardenia flowers (*Punnapoo*) and dancing around the deity people of the coast worshiped their God. They also lit lamps in conch shells with fish oil. They offered salted dried fish for the deity. Shark and Mackerel were common names in the poems referring to the Neythal Tinai in Sangam literature.

Other than fishing the people of Neythal coasts often employed themselves in salt manufacturing. Long stretches of shores and fields lower than sea level were highlighted features of the Southern coasts. Therefore it could be assumed that the form of salt manufacturing by collecting sea water in the above mentioned landscapes were practical even in the Sangam age.⁵¹

There are many places in Kerala with names resembling to the meaning of salt water and salt-mines. And they still exists. But we cannot analyze the same with the land nature of today.⁵² The constant threats faced by the people with the high

⁴⁸ Nenmara Viswanathan Nair (trns.), *Chilapathikaram*, Kerala Sahithya Academy Trissur, 1975, p. 344.

⁴⁹ Ilamkulam Kunjanpilla, *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵¹ Akananooru 30th Poem, AN: 100.

⁵² Settlement Register of Pazhanjannur Desam, 1882, VI, II, See The Place Name 'Padannayil' Near Chaliyam Seashore.

tides and low tides and hasty currents resulted in the destruction as well as the creation of new regions. The term Neythal is quite common in many coastal regions in the South.⁵³ Paravthavar understood salt was far more an essential commodity than fish. Sangam poems reflected on the imagery of sea shores where salt dunes were heaped.

The Sangam age was a very prime period of trade and merchandise. Other than geographical settings Tinai also represented five eco-zones for various livelihoods. In the beginning all Tinais were fraught in the mere aspect of production for their own benefit. The utilization of fishing nets contributed in the large scale fishing and trolling. The availability of hoes, spades, shovels and scythes boosted the paddy cultivation and storage in Marutam and Mullai Tinais. Exchange relations between the Tinais were set up with the growing heads and utilization of resources. The people of Sangam age understood it well that they ought to give and take materials and ideas from one Tinai to the other.

Forests and the sea were the major origin spots for the socio-cultural development of people.⁵⁴ The shift from cultivating for survival to agriculture for exchange in between the Tinais resulted in this movement. The geographical conditions of ancient Kerala contributed significantly to these changes.

According to K.N Ganesh, Kerala is a sloping region from the Western Ghats to the coast. Also geographically, Kerala can be divided into hilly or mountainous terrains, landscapes and coastlines. Here again the coastal region can be divided as seashore and land adjacent to the shore. With this bifurcation, it is easier to understand the exchange and communication that took place between the hilly terrains and coastal regions. Also some mountain slopes extend to the shores in Kerala, examples of the same are Varkala and Madai. Also Ezhimalai and Thankasserry are examples for the hilly terrains extending to the sea.⁵⁵

⁵³ Neythalur, Place name of Kozhikode District. (Elathoor)

⁵⁴ Sineesh Velikuni, *Neythal, Soman Kadaloorinte Kalayum Kadalum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Kozhikode, 2014, p. 17.

⁵⁵ K.N. Ganesh, *Keralasamooaham Innu Nale*, National Bookstall, Kottayam, 2012, p. 15.

The plain terrains that were present between the high landscape of Mullai and Kurinji areas and low terrains of Marutam and Neythal regions were the major land of exchange and commerce. They employed in barter system without the aid of money. Also rice and salt were sold for the same amount with this system. The produce from the mountains and hilly terrain were brought to trade via rivers and land to the shore and hence were taken from the shore to faraway places.⁵⁶ This process was known as redistribution. This type of distribution happens only after the commodities get stationed in one place. After collecting the same, reallocating and trading these commodities to other places is redistribution.

The rise of towns and cities is marked by the growth of trade and merchandise at the Sangam age. It was the trade that connected the Umanars (salt merchants) of the coast and the merchants of the hills. Umanakila, Pathavakila and Umancharthu were the mercantile organizations of the coast. The place of barter were known as Niyamam, Avanam and Patinam. They were evening and morning markets named Allalavanam and Nalangadi respectively. They weren't usual common markets. Parathava women used to take salt as head load and sold them in these markets according to the songs in Sangam works.

However, salt was traded in larger quantities to other Tinai with bullock cart as means of transport. The imagery of bullock carts carrying salt heaps were a common one in the Sangam Tamil land. They were transported in larger quantities in sacks. The salt merchants considered Palai lands as the prime threat to their merchandise. The Maravar community in Palai attacked the salt merchants too. Therefore they were often escorted by soldiers and goons to ensure safe travel from one Tinai to the other.⁵⁷

Sangam works draws light to the existence of people who used to collect toddy from coconut and palm trees. They were recognized as Chantors. It is assumed that Parathava women used to consume a type of liquor named Muneer in their

⁵⁶ K.Dhamodharan, Op. Cit., p. 81.

⁵⁷ Raghava Varier, Rajan Gurukkal, Op. Cit., p. 79.

leisure hours.⁵⁸ The beverage was made by mixing toddy from palm, sugarcane juice and coconut water. The Neythal in Kerala were prominent with the presence of coconut trees. However coconut merchandise weren't setup at that point of the time in large scale. Greater significance were attributed to coconut water.

There were nomadic tribes who didn't confirm to particular Tinais. Example for the same is the Panan community. They were the set of people who recited songs and ballads from home to home-place to place at that time. They also employed themselves in fishing as per the records in Madhuraikanchi.⁵⁹

There weren't much of caste discrimination as such among the people on the basis of the work they did. Paravars, Uzhavars, Kuravars were also differentiated as easy as Wayanad is differentiated from Kozhikode as a place.⁶⁰

During the Sangam period the settlements in Kerala may have been concentrated in "Thura". We can see the different Thuras like Ezhimalai, Vakai, Panthar, Manthai, Thondi and Muziri in sangam literature. The Nadu's were formed as a result of the growth of these settlements. The Nadu's were formed in different geographical region.⁶¹

Eranadu, Valluvandau, Nedumpurayurnadau, Keezhmalanadu and Kalkanadu grew around the coastal areas of Bharathapuzha and Periyar. Venpoli Nadu Odanadu Munjunadu and Nantuzhanadu are the lands that grew up in the southern part of Periyar.⁶²

The Mushaka kingdom situated in Ezhimalai region. Purakizhu Nadu and Kurumbranadu situated near by Ezhimalai region. Ramanadu, Polanadu and Parappanadu were grew up to the shore of Chaliyar river. Venadu was the southern most kingdom of the Chera Empire. The Nadu's were needed the coastal areas for commercial activities. In this case we can assume that the inland "Nadus" must have occupied the coastal areas.⁶³

⁵⁸ Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai, Op. Cit., p. 20.

⁵⁹ Jacob Nayathode, Op. Cit., p. 46.

⁶⁰ T.H.P Chentharassery, *Kerala Charithradhara*, Mythri Books, Thiruvananthapuram , 1978, p. 32.

⁶¹ K.N Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2015, p. 27.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

In the medieval period many Nadu's were formed as a result of the growth of the new settlements that transcended the boundaries of the old ones. In this type of Nadu's, the local chief were become the new Naduvazhi. We can see the Naduvazhis were controlling the activities of port. The Chembakassery Naaduvaazhi is an example of how the new feudal lords the coastal recognized the need for ports. (Purakkad).⁶⁴ There are several ports flourished ancient and medieval time in Malabar. Those ports can be divided as ancient and medieval ports.

Important Ancient and Medieval Ports of Malabar Coast.

The Northern districts of Kerala were known as Malabar in early times. The term 'Malabar' had been used in multiple ways and the earliest references could be found in the travelogues of the Arabs. The origin of the word 'Malabar' could be ascribed to the travelers who visited the land even since the ancient time onwards. Cosmos Indicopleustes, the Egyptian merchant who believed to have visited the land during AD 522 - AD 547, used the word "Male" to call the land and it was a great emporium of trade. It was repeated with slight variations by the travelers up to twelfth century AD. The Arab travelers had the credit of calling the land as Malibar.⁶⁵

Al-Biruni was the first to call the land as Malabar. The later Arab travelers used words like Manibar, Mulibar and Munibar to denote the land. The same term had been used by the Europeans who visited the land in the succeeding period. They used Minubar, Minibar, Milibar, Mulibar, Melibar, Melibaria and Malabaria. These terms could be identified as the corrupted form of the word Malabar which was an outcome of the combination of Malayalam and Persian terminologies. The term *Mala* is of Malayalam origin with having the meaning heap or hill or mountain. Bar is a Persian word bearing the meaning land or country and Arabic Barr meant a continent.⁶⁶ The origin of the term Malabar was an outcome of the trans-marine contact maintained by the land and geographical features were of great role in naming the region.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶⁵ M.T Narayanan, *Agrarian Relations In Late Medieval Malabar*, Northern Book center, New Delhi, 2003, p. 16.

⁶⁶ T.V Krishnan (trns), *Malabar Manual*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2017, p. 21.

Several ports flourished in the Malabar Coast from Sangam period. Important among these ports were Muziris, Ezimala, Tyndis, Barace, Nelcynda and Naura.⁶⁷ The ports of Malabar can be divided by mainly two types. They were ancient ports and medieval ports. The classical writers give details of Malabar Coast. Which were the commercial centers that developed contact between Malabar and foreign countries.

Muziris was most important ancient seaport in Malabar. It was recorded in different names in classical texts. The port recorded name as Muchiripattanam in Valmiki Ramayana and Tamil texts recorded it as Muchiri. The Jewish copper plate of Baskara Ravi Varman was mentioned a place name Muyirikode. It also another name of Muziris. During and after second Chera kingdom, Muziris was known as “Mahodhayapuram and Mahodhayapattanam”.⁶⁸

Pliny in his *Natural History* had mentioned Muziris as the capital of the Cheras. After stating that Muziris was “The first emporium of India”. Periplus considered “Muziris as a city at the height of prosperity”.⁶⁹ A verse in the *Akananooru* refers to “The beautiful large ships of ‘Yavanas’ laying at Muziris to receive the cargoes of pepper paid for Roman Gold”. With this source we can assume that Muziris was a major trading centre of Greco-Romans in early times and this trade contact helped to Muziris as become a pattanam.⁷⁰

Muziris was the first settlements of the different religions like Christ, Jews and Islam. We can see earliest Mosques and churches in Muziris. Parinar recorded the trade and exchange systems in Muziris. He refers “Fish is bartered for Puddy, which are brought from the houses to the market; the gold, received from ships in exchange for articles sold is brought on shore in barges at Muziris, where the music of the surging sea never ceases and where Kottuvan

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Ibrahim Kunju, *Studies In Medieval Kerala History*, Kerala Historical Society, 1975., Thiruvananthapuram, 1975, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Wilfred.H.Scoff, *The Periplus Of The Erethrean Sea*, Longmans, Green and Co, London, 1912, p. 44.

⁷⁰ Rajan Gurukkal, *Rethinking Classical Indo Roman Trade Political Economy Of Eastern Mediterranean Exchange Relation*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2016, p. 162.

presents to visitors the rare products of the seas and mountains” we can understand with this lines importance of Muziris as a port of ancient Malabar. Later this port was transformed in to a famous town.

Nelcynda was another important port mentioned in the early accounts. it was situated 500 stadia south of Muziris.⁷¹ Pliny recorded that Nelcynda at that time belonged to the Pandyan Kingdom. It has been argued by some scholars as Niranam or Neendakara.

Tyndys was an ancient sea port mentioned in Greco- Roman writings. According to the Periplus of the Erithrean Sea, Tyndys was located north of Muziris port in the country of Cerobotros and a major emporium.⁷² There are references to a port with the name Tondi on Kerala coast in the classical Tamil texts. It was under control of Chera rulers. But no archaeological evidence has been found for Tyndys. Some historians of Kerala assumed that it was Kadalundi or Ponnani.⁷³ Kadalundi is more match for this name. Because the place name is the result of the mixture of two words Kadal + Thundi = Kadalundi. Which mean “Raised by the Sea”. Some historians assumed that the Tyndy port is situated between Ponnani and Panthalayini.⁷⁴

Barace (Bacare) was next important trade centre situated in the mouth of river ‘Baris’ to the south of Muziris.⁷⁵ Foreign traders used to stay in the place and bought local produces like black pepper. The author of Periplus refers that “large quantities of pepper were brought down to Barace from interior which is called Kottanara.”⁷⁶ Some historians like Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai, assumed that this place was Purakkad. The literal meaning of Purakkadu is “Out of forest.”

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ W.H Scoff, Op. Cit., p. 204.

⁷⁴ Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Keralam Anjum Arum Nootantukalil*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-Operative Society Ltd, Thiruvananthapuram, 1961, p. 93.

⁷⁵ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Sancharikalum Charithrakaranmarum*, DC Books, Kottayam, 1996, p. 21.

⁷⁶ W.H Scoff, Op. Cit., p. 204.

Naura is another ancient port in Malabar. According to W.H Schoff which was Kannur. He said that several roman coins were discovered in Kannur. And he recorded that the coins is the time of Tiberious, Claudious and Nero.⁷⁷ William Logan suspects that this is Nittur in Kottayam taluk of Thalassery.⁷⁸

Ezhimala is another important port of medieval Malabar.⁷⁹ The Region of Ezhimala was located to the northern part of the Malabar. It is mentioned in sangam songs as land of high mountains. The geographical condition of Ezhimala influenced to the growing of its condition of trading activities. The travellers like Dimishqi and Abdul Fida mentioned Ezhimala. Abdul Fida recorded that Ezhimala is “a big mountain projecting into the sea and is visible to the navigators from a distance. It is called Ra’s Hayli.”⁸⁰ According to Ibn Batutha Hili is large and well built, situated on big inlet which is navigable for large vessels.

Matayi or Marahi was one of the earliest trading centres of Malabar. The major medieval port town known as ‘Marahipatanam’ in the Mushikavamsa Kavya was identified as Matayi.⁸¹ It was a royal city of Ezhimala. Ibn Batutha recorded this region as a “large and well built town situated on a bay navigable for large ships.

Matayi is described by Duarte Barbosa as a Mappila centre and there were, however, Jewish and Hindu merchants engaged in various business.⁸² Matayi was a busy trading centre in the medieval period, but since the coming of Portuguese they had neglected Matayi and selected kannur as the main commercial centre.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁷⁸ T.V Krishnan (trns), *Malabar Manual*, Op. Cit., p. 268.

⁷⁹ M.G.S Narayanan, *Mooshakavamsa As A Source of Kerala History*, Prabhatham, Tiruvananthapuram, 1970, p. 190.

⁸⁰ S.M.H Nainar, *Arab Geographers Knowledge of Southern India*, University of Madras, Madras, 1942, p. 40.

⁸¹ Vikasanarekha, Matayi Grama Panchayath, 1996, p. 9.

⁸² M.L Dames (ed), *The Book Of Durate Barbosa* , Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, London, 1967, p. 8.

Valapattanam or Valabapattanam was the early port of Ezhimala dynasty, situated on the south bank of Valapattanam River. The formation of Valapattanam port was related with tradition of Ezhimala dynasty. According to tradition, Vallabha Perumal, the eleventh of the Perumal built a shrine and a fort to protect it on the banks of the 'Neytara', as river was then called River Valapattanam. It was mentioned by a number of medieval travellers. Dimishqi and Ibn Batutha mentioned it as Buddfattan.⁸³ Ibn Batutha noted that it was under Raja Kawayl (Kolathiri).⁸⁴ Ibn Khurdadheen mentioned it as Babattan.⁸⁵

Dharmapattanam was a one of the famous port cities of Malabar. The word 'Dharmapattanam' had been used as a synonym of 'pepper' in *Amarakosam*.⁸⁶ Another opinion is that, the word 'Dharmapattanam' means "the place of charity".⁸⁷ Cheraman Perumal took his last farewell of Malabar and sailed for Mecca. According to *Tuhfat-al-Mujahidin*, Malik Ibn Dinar founded one of his nine Mosques, but not a trace of building remains.

During the medieval time it was a busy port, it was mentioned as 'Dahfattan' by Dimishqi and Ibn Batutha. The pepper of Dharmapattanam had been highly valued by the Chinese customers and was exported from Dharmapattanam to Calicut.

Pantalayani Kollam was another important medieval port of Malabar. It was a busy trading port, which was visited by Chinese and Arabs. According to Ibn Batutha, Fandaryana, a large and a fine town with orchards and bazaars. The Muslims occupy three quarters in it, each of which has a Mosque. Fandaryana or Fanda rina has been identified as Pantalayani Kollam.⁸⁸

According to *Tuhfat-al-Mujahidin*, Malik Ibn Dinar founded one of the Mosques at Fandarina.⁸⁹ Odoric of Pordenon (1318-22) reported that "in the

⁸³ S.M.H Nainar, Op. Cit., p. 29.

⁸⁴ M.P Kumaran, *Kolothupazhama*, Kerala Sahithya Academy, Trissur, 1988, p. 134.

⁸⁵ S.M.H Nainar, Op. Cit., p. 261.

⁸⁶ Amaram Parameswari, *Amaralokam*, Cited In M.P Kumaran, *Kolothupazhama*, (Mal) Trissur, 1998, p. 612.

⁸⁷ S.M.H Nainar, Op. Cit., p. 29.

⁸⁸ Parappil Muhammed Koya, *Kozhikkotte Muslingalude Charithram*, Focus Publication, Kozhikode, 1994, p. 84.

⁸⁹ Raghava Varier, *Madhyakala Keralam; Swaroopaneethiyude Charithramanangal*, National Book Stall Kottayam, 2014, p. 83.

city of Fandrina, some of the inhabitants are Jews and some are Christians. It was a centre of spice trade and also as an entre port on the Malabar Coast.

Kozhikode was one of the famous medieval port town of Malabar. There are few traditional theories of the regarding the origin of the name of Kozhikode. Keralolpathi says that the Kozhikode is sometimes called 'The code fort'. Visscher and Gundert interpreted the term to mean 'so much land as the sand of cock'. Growing from its perch called be heard ever. K.V Krishnan Ayyer says that "Kotu" is a synonym for strong hold or Fotress and Kozhi is a corruption of 'Koyi' which itself is derived from Koyil.⁹⁰ Then the town is called by 'koyil kotu' or koyilkotta. The fortfield palace of Zamorian. K.M Panicker also gives a similar explanation of the origin of the name Kozhikode (Kovil kotta or place fortress).⁹¹ K. Achyuthamenon give the different explanation, to him the obvious meaning of the word appears to be the King's Harbor fortress (Ko = King + Azhi = Harbour + Kode or Code = Fortress).⁹²

The name of Kozhikode's (Calicut) Zamorin "Poonturakon" is inscribed on the rock of the Muchanthi Mosque. The word "Thura" is related to the sea so we can assume that the name Kozhikode is derived from the Sea Coast. Some historians say that the Zamorin originated from Samudrathiri, which means "Master of a large sea coast". Whatever the meanings, the Zamorin-era Kozhikode is undoubtedly developed by the coastal business.

From the 9th to the 12th century AD, the coast of Calicut was under the rule of the Porlathiri's. K. Balakrishna Kurup says that Kozhikode city had started to be formed at least in a smaller amount during this period.⁹³ Before the time of Prophet Muhammad, the Arabs had come to Kerala for trade especially in Malabar. The lifetime of Prophet Muhammad was around the 6th century AD. So that we can assume that the Kozhikode coastal area was well-known for the Arab's even before

⁹⁰ K.V Krishna Ayyer, *Zamorians Of Calicut*, Norman Printing Buero, Calicut, 1938, p. 83.

⁹¹ K.M Panikker, *A History Of Kerala 1498-1801*, Annamali University, Annamalai Nagar, 1960, pp.7-8.

⁹² K. Achyuthamenon, *Ancient Kerala*, Komattil Achyuthamenon, Thrissur, 1961, pp. 89-144.

⁹³ K. Balakrishna Kurup, *Kozhikodinte Charithram*, Mithukalum Yadharthyangalum, Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 2000, p. 159.

6th AD.⁹⁴ The data about the port of Calicut has been obtained from the travelogues of medieval travelers as well as from the books of local authors.

Calicut was regarded as the city of truth.⁹⁵ Since the Calicut port has gained the loyalty required for trade and commerce, it can be inferred that a number of local and foreign vendors and trade centers have sprung up near the Calicut port. It is the presence of these business associations that made the port of Calicut famous in the world and made Calicut as a city with many markets.

From AD 1324 to 1772 about a dozen famous foreign travellers visited Calicut and recorded their experiences. Ibn Batuta, a Moroccan traveller, has visited Calicut 6 times from AD 1324. He also listed Kozhikode as one of the major ports in Malabar. Batuta says that the Mohammedan merchants of Calicut are very wealthy and they have the financial ability to buy the bulk of the goods there in the *Uru*.⁹⁶

In AD 1403, the Chinese traveler Ma Huan visited Kozhikode. He said that pepper and coconut tree are in plenty here. Many farmers here have up to 1000 coconut trees. Ma Huan also mentions that those with 3,000 coconut trees are considered as the richest here. Ma Huan records that the king of this place was of Nair caste and his clerk was a Muslim. He noted that most of the citizens of the king of Calicut were Muslims and that there were 20-30 Mosques here. When a ship reached Calicut, the Overseer of the king along with a *Chetti* would come and estimated the goods in the ship. It took a day to estimate the cost of the goods.⁹⁷ According to Ma Huan, the price of gems and corals was shipped to China were also estimated by the Chettis. Various place names and goods names exist in Kozhikode as evidence of Chinese trade. They are *Chinakotta*, *Chinachery*, *Chinapalli* and *Chinachatti*.⁹⁸

In AD 1442, at the behest of the Persian emperor, a traveler named Abdul Razzaq visited the Zamorin at Calicut. The port of Calicut was recorded by traveller

⁹⁴ Parappil Muhammed Koya, Op. Cit., p. 57.

⁹⁵ S. M Muhammed Koya, *Mappilas of Malabar, Studies In Social And Cultural History*, Sandhya Publication, Calicut University, 1983, p. 49.

⁹⁶ Mahdi Hasan(ed), *The Rihla Of Ibn Batuta*, Cited In p. 195.

⁹⁷ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Sancharikal Kanda Keralam*, Op. Cit., p. 194.

⁹⁸ Raghava Varier, Rajan Gurukkal, *Kerala History*, Op. Cit., p. 223.

as quite safe. As in Tarmos, many foreigners flock to this place. Kozhikode port is easily accessible with valuable items from sea trade like Abyssinia, Sinbad and Sandiber. There were small and large ships that came in from Arabia and Hijaz. They were allowed to anchor as much as they like to stay at the coast. There were two Mosques along the coast. The local Muslims came here for prayers on Fridays.⁹⁹ Abdul Razzaq says security and justice is being maintained in the city of Kozhikode and that the responsibility of security is with the customs officers. In case of sale, a portion of 40 should be paid as a tax. If not, there will not be any tax. Abdul Razzaq also reported that there was no such thing as seizure and looting of the ship at Calicut port.¹⁰⁰

In AD 1444, after Abdul Razzaq, Italian traveler Niccolo Conti visited the port of Calicut. He named Kozhikode as a naval city. He noted that there were many warehouses in the city. Pepper, Arrack, ginger, and *Ilavarnnam* were abundant in the markets. According to him the town was 8 miles in circumference and was a noble emporium of trade of all countries.¹⁰¹

The Russian traveller Athenian Niktin, who visited India in 1468, has recorded about Kozhikode. He was a merchant who sought markets to sell his goods. He noted that the Kozhikode region was rich in hill products like, pepper, ginger and other spices.

The period from AD1500 to AD 1800 was a period of colonial rule in Malabar. It was during this period that the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English began to consolidate power in Malabar. It is said that the arrival of Vasco da Gama to Calicut began the colonialism in the Malabar region.

Barbosa is a Portuguese officer who came to Kerala with the Portuguese captain Cabral and lived here from AD 1500 to 1516. He studied well about the Malayalam and the Malayalis during this period. He came to Calicut in AD 1502

⁹⁹ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Sancharikal Kanda Keralam*, Op. Cit. 195.

¹⁰⁰ Padmanabha Menon, *History Of Kerala*, Vol.I, Cochin Government Press, Ernakulum, 1924, p. 232.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

and recorded about Koyas. He says Koyas are responsible for overseeing the port's exports and imports. They were Muslim officials called as the Kozhikode Koya or Shabandar Koya.¹⁰² He also recorded that when a foreign ship reached the Calicut port, Shabandar Koya and a Chetti go into it and estimated the commodities in the presence of *Tharakans*. From this we can understand that Shabandar Koyas doing the job what the port officers doing today. It also shows how powerful the Muslims were in trade.

We get information about Calicut port from the reports of Pirard de Lavlin, a French merchant who reached Calicut in AD 1607. He said that Calicut is the most busiest port city in India. I didn't see any other place with these much business and exports and imports. The merchants from all over the world comes to Calicut with their commodities. The merchants were attracted to Calicut because of the security and freedom they get here.¹⁰³ The Zamorin allowed the complete freedom of action for all communities. Calicut was an open city with no walls or fortifications in that time. He also recorded that the fishermen and Thiyyas (Caste) were the working class near Calicut port.¹⁰⁴

Pietro della valle, a duke of Roman, who visited Calicut in AD 1623 after Lavlin said about the Angadis in Calicut port. He noted that there were native and Portuguese goods in the Angadis roofed by the coconut leaves.¹⁰⁵ From his reports it may be the Valiyangadi, Gujarat street or *Pattuthervu*.

Dr. John Friar, An English who made tour through out India from AD 1672 to 1681. Friar reported like this after visiting Calicut, "This city became rich from the long time foreign trade. The markets are filled with spices here. The workers had been loading these spices into foreign ships from morning to evening. There is quality and low quality goods. The merchants gave low quality commodities when the Portuguese asked goods for low price. Opium also traded in Calicut. The natives liked the opium very much. Spices and the gems were available for cheap rate in

¹⁰² Velayudhan Panikkassery, Op. Cit., p. 245.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

¹⁰⁴ K. Balakrishna Kurupp, Op. Cit., p.111.

¹⁰⁵ Velayudhan Panikkassery, Op. Cit., p. 316.

exchange of Opium. The trade in Calicut port faced a temporary slowdown when the Portuguese shifted to Goa. But it gained prosperity again when the Muslim merchants and the Dutch brought huge commodities.¹⁰⁶

Canter Visscher, a Dutch priest from AD 1717 to 1723 in Kochi recoded about Calicut. Calicut is an independent port. Pepper was bought from Calicut by the English, The Dutch, The Portuguese and the French. There is a French fort also in Calicut. Wisner reported about the common people in Malabar. He explained about the Paravans, Muhammadiyans and Nayars who lived at the coastal area. Paravans are the fisher folks lived in Malabar. Paravans are also found at the place known as "Makar" laid in between Tuticorine and Cylone. Collection of Mussels from the sea was another important job. Muhammadans of Malabar was another group. Wisner said that Merchants and even the sea robbers were there among them. When talk about the sea robbers, that was their means to live. Wisner also said that their life was very difficult. The infamous robbers, captain kid and captain green had committed robbery in Calicut port. These incidents lead to drawbacks for the trade in the Calicut port.¹⁰⁷ Nayars were available as security for the native and foreign merchants. Wisner recorded that the armor bearing Nayars were common in the streets of coastal Kerala, which shows that Calicut port also became a place for the robbery of sea robbers in AD 1700.

Hamilton recorded that a sailor saw Captain Green in Calicut. James Forbus, a higher official of English East India Company, who visited Calicut in AD 1772-73 recorded that Calicut was threatened by the sea robbers. He also recorded that the human life in Calicut was too difficult during the monsoon season, even the coconut trees were fallen by the hit of huge waves.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

¹⁰⁷ K Sivasankaran Nair, *Keralam Duchukarude Drishtiyil*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2005, p. 66.

¹⁰⁸ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Op. Cit.*, p. 316.

In the 1880's Calicut was considered to be one of the largest port in madras presidency.¹⁰⁹ The sea bridge was built for trade in Calicut port in 1871¹¹⁰. Small boats, *Urus* and *Patheamari* were reached near this bridge for trade. Many places of Calicut was gone under sea in 1877. Three pillars and the foundation of the sea bridge also float away.¹¹¹ The remains of Sea Bridge can be seen even now in the Calicut beach. But that was the remains of the sea bridge built in 1912.

The sea trade of Calicut was shifted to Beypore over the times. Beypore port was used for exporting and importing of goods and also for journey. So that the sea trade was completely stopped in Calicut.¹¹² Kozhikode was never developed under urban planning. The historical evidence can only be inferred from the fact that the city, which served as the centre of the Kuttichira and Puzhavakk, has grown steadily through its long-standing sea trade.

Beypore is a port city which has been used regularly for trade and travel since the collapse of Kozhikode Port. Beypore is believed to have been referred to in the Bible as Ophir in ancient times. It can be assumed that Beypore port existed before Kozhikode developed into a port city.

The Arabs in their travelogues mention a port city called Shaliyat. It has been recorded that there is a port at Kozhikode called Tom Pirus Chali. Chaliyam is a coastal town located close to Beypore. Therefore, from the circumstantial evidence, it can be inferred that Ophir and Saliyat are Chaliyam and Beypore.

According to the Old Testament, in the year BC 970, King Solomon of Jerusalem took gold, ivory and spices from the port city of Ophir. Ophir is considered to be Beypore as the closest port to Malabar for their availability and export, and by the similarity of place names.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Margret Frenz, *From Contact To Conquest: Transition To British Rule In Malabar, 1790-1805*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ T.B Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrikam*, Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 2011, Op. Cit., p. 60.

¹¹¹ T.V Krishnan, (trns), *Malabar Manual*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2017, p. 57.

¹¹² T.B Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrikam*, Op. Cit., p. 60.

¹¹³ William Wilson Hunter, *A History Of British India*, Vol.I, Longmans, Green & Co, 2010, p. 25.

Chaliyam, also known as the other side of Beypore, was a town that weaved world-class silk. The name Chaliyam is derived from the fact that the Chaliyans lived there.¹¹⁴ By the 7th century AD, the Islamic preacher Malik Dinar and his group came to Chaliyam and also built Chaliyam Puzhakkara Mosque was one of the first Mosques in India.¹¹⁵ There is no doubt that the Dinar and his entourage came to Chaliyam through the port. Therefore, Beypore port is likely to be registered as Chaliyam. It can be assumed that the silk was exported from Chaliyam to the Arab countries through Beypore port.

Beypore Port was a major contributor to the export of goods during the period before the commencement of rail transport in Kerala. It is a fact that the glory of the Kozhikode port set Beypore apart from medieval commercial history.

However, Beypore had a feature that no other port in Kerala had. It was the shipbuilding tradition of Beypore. Al-Biruni mentions that the ships were built in Kozhikode and sold them abroad.¹¹⁶ It is safe to say that Ophir was the world's first wooden shipyard. The kings of Malabar started shipbuilding to expand trade relations with Arab traders in Islamic countries.

Beypore is undoubtedly said to be a port that has found a different place in the commercial history of Malabar. Beypore is world famous for its "Uru" making and various uses of seafood. The first railway line started by the British in 1861 was from Tirur to Beypore.¹¹⁷ Although the rail ended at Chaliyam, the British aimed to export cargo through the port.

The manure processing plant known as "Kadalundi Mills" established by the British in Chaliyam in 1920 is a proof of this. Sardine was the fish needed for making organic manure. At that time, the availability of Sardine fish was plentiful in

¹¹⁴ S.K Vasanthan, *Kerala Sanskara Charitra Nighandu*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2016, p. 539.

¹¹⁵ Muhamamed Sadham, *Chaliyathinte Charithra Chalangal*, Majilis Offset, Chemmad, 2013, p. 69.

¹¹⁶ Interview With Narayanan Mesthiri (80), Chaliyam, 12/03/2019.

¹¹⁷ T.B Seluraj, Op. Cit., p. 205.

Chaliyam and Beypore.¹¹⁸ The factory, which was built at a cost of Rs 5 lakh at that time, had electric bulbs, oil-powered engines, steam engines and an analytical laboratory with modern facilities.

Fish oil and manure produced here were exported through Beypore port. The products were mainly exported to Europe and Ceylon. Large exports were also made to cities in North India.¹¹⁹ For this purpose a sea bridge existed at Beypore port. The cargo was delivered in ordinary boats to be loaded on small ships.¹²⁰ Boats made in Beypore were used for this purpose.¹²¹ At that time, the use of large trees such as "Ayani" was used for the construction of boats and small ships.

There were boat manufacturing centers in many parts of Malabar.¹²² But the large "Uru" remained the only feature of the Beypore port. Beypore is still relied upon for travel and to export goods to and from Lakshadweep.

Ponnani is an another important medieval and modern port in Malabar district. The ancient port of Muziris was under the control of the Syrian Christians in southern Kerala.¹²³ That is why Arabs and Muslims settled in Ponnani like Kozhikode port. The Zamorin had invaded and conquered many nattu territories and he expanded his territory. With this, Ponnani became the second capital of the Zamorin.¹²⁴

The naval chief of the Zamorin, Kunjalimarakkar, was preparing for battle at Ponnani port. Similarly, the Zamorin relied on the port of Ponnani to import horses from abroad. The port of Ponnani was also used to export the medicinal plants of Malabar to Europe. Due to such needs, Ponnani port remained as active as other ports.

¹¹⁸ Interview With Abdulla (67), Native Fisherman, Chaliyam, 12/03/2019.

¹¹⁹ Shafi Kadalundi Ithihasangalude Nadu, Haritham Books, Kozhikode, 2011, p. 24.

¹²⁰ Interview With Haneefa (52), Khalasi, Chaliyam, 12/03/2019.

¹²¹ Interview With Narayanan Mesthiri (80), Chaliyam, 12/03/2019.

¹²² K.N Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Op. Cit., p. 18.

¹²³ W.H Scoff, Op. Cit., p. 54.

¹²⁴ C.Ashraf (ed), *Ponnani Oru Ithihasa Paithrikathinte Suvarnarekha*, Ponnani Poura Samooahasabha Publication, Ponnani, 2018, p. 9.

In the 15th century, ships carrying pepper sailed from Ponnani to Thirunavaya via Bharathapuzha. The Zamorin defeated Valluvakonathiri and captured Mamangam with the help of the Koya-led navy.¹²⁵ "*Kamba vediyum Kappalottavum*" (Vibrant shots and Sailing) came as part of the Mamangam festival to revive the memory of that war.

It can be inferred that foreign traders, including Arabs, came here because of the sea in the area.¹²⁶ Ponnani port also had a port-centric shipbuilding similar to that of Beypore. Large collections of timber were brought to Ponnani port via Bharathapuzha from the forests of Anamalai, Mannarkkad and Silent Valley. These were used for shipbuilding and house building.

Kozhikode and Ponnani have grown and developed into two important centers of coastal trade. Like Kozhikode, we can also see the places where the traders who came for trade settled in Ponnani. Similarly, many Arabic words are used here like local language as evidence of Arabic connection. Ponnani has been an export port even during the British rule.

Ashin Dasgupta records Ponnani as a port where pepper was traded. Chinese junk full of goods also came here.¹²⁷ When they returned, they carried with them spices, iron, and clothing.¹²⁸ As Ponnani was a port, the Portuguese, Dutch, French and English tried to make it their center. In the middle of the eighteenth century, there was a Dutch delegation and a group of troops in Ponnani. The residential house, made of clay and palm leaf, was located near the harbor.¹²⁹

William Logan, the British Collector of Malabar, mentions Ponnani in his Malabar Manual. The main exports from here were timber, bamboo, coconut and coir, and salt and rice were imported. Of these, the estimated value of the export

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹²⁶ T.V Abdurahiman Kutty, *Charithramurangunna Ponnani*, Thirurangadi Books, 2017, p. 136.

¹²⁷ Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar In Asian Trade 1740-1800*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1967, p. 14.

¹²⁸ R.K Mukharjee, *A History of Indian Shipping*, Indian shipping; a history of the sea-borne trade and maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times, Longmans, Green & Co, London, 1912, p. 188.

¹²⁹ Husain Randathani, *Makhdhoomum Ponnaniyum*, Ponnani Jumamasjid Committee, 2010, p. 24.

products of copra, pepper and timber was Rs. 425576 and the value of the imported salt grains was Rs.101260. Exports and imports were 39203 tonnes per annum.¹³⁰

All these are proofs of how active the Ponnani port was in trade. Francis Buchanan, a British official, said that the Mappilas of Ponnani were very wealthy and were the owners of many "*Pathemaris*" which went to Bengal, Madras and Surat with commercial resources.¹³¹

Buchanan's view was correct. Pathemari was once the main source of livelihood for the coastal people of Ponnani. Until the middle of the 18th century, the Muslims dominated the maritime trade. Ponnani was more easily connected to the hinterland than any other port. Goods were exported from Tamil Nadu through Palakkad Pass. From this it can be understood that the Ponnani port was the end of the trade routes from the interstates and various shores.

In 1895, 20 feet high boundary stones were laid on the north-western cape and on the south Ponnani coast to demarcate the port. The stone to the north was gradually shattered. But in the south, the boundary stone can still be seen as a monument. The ship was anchored between the two.¹³²

During 1894-95 14 ships arrived at Ponnani port. The first wharf in Kerala was built at Ponnani Port. During 1952-53 there were 54 ships, in 1953-54 60 and in 1954-55 seventy ships came to Ponnani. With the development of road freight routes, the number of "*Pathemaris*" proportionally decreased at Ponnani. As a result, Ponnani lost its importance as a port by the 1980.

From Ancient time onwards Malabar made trade relations with foreign countries through ports. This made change in both cultural and trade matters. Different religious groups entered in to Kerala through foreign trade relations and this made cultural exchanges between Christians, Hindus, Islam and Jews groups. Islam spread in Kerala by the growth of Muziris as an important port. The adjacent

¹³⁰ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1951, p. 77.

¹³¹ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through The Countries Of Mysore and Malabar*, T.Cardel and Davies publication, London, 1807, p. 420.

¹³² T.V Abdurahiman, Op. Cit., p. 41.

areas of Cochin mainly Kodungalloor played an important role in the spread of Jews and Christian religion. Islam religion spread in the Northern part of Calicut because of the foreign trade relations with Arabs and the close interaction with Zamorins. Most of the Mosques are made in the banks of Calicut ports Like Muchunthi Mosque, Chaliyam Puzhakkara Mosque, Koyilandi Cheriya palli.

Formation of Markets in South Malabar Coast

Markets are one of the main features of medieval Kerala. Some markets in Kerala are as old as classical Tamil songs. The market was formed around the earliest port cities. The main evidence for this is *Kodungallorangadi* and *Valiyangadi* in Kozhikode.¹³³ The main feature of these early exchange centres was that they were located in geographical areas where the goods could be easily transported. The earliest markets were formed on the banks of the lake, rivers and sea.¹³⁴ These were emerged in the period between AD 1100 and AD1500. For one thing, the markets were an essential part of the survival of the rulers. Foreign and commercial relations with the countries were essential for the establishment of ports. Initially, the market was the place to sell the produce of the various lands, but later it became the home of both local and foreign traders.¹³⁵

The rulers constantly encouraged the market and the traders. This may be evidenced by the fact that the natives conferred special rights on traders.¹³⁶ The existence of feudal rulers in the middle Ages depended on poultry production.¹³⁷ At first, the goods were delivered like the barter system, but they were later paid in cash. The expansion of the markets and the monetary system was linked to the growth of output. In the beginning, goods were leased. As more and more production reached the markets, it became a major fund-raising platform for the rulers.

¹³³ M.R Raghava Varier, *Madhyakala Keralamswaroopaneethiyude Charithra Padanagal*, Op. Cit., p. 65.

¹³⁴ N.M Namboothiri, *Malabarpadanagal Samoothirinu*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvannthapuram, 2013, p. 152.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Dr. M Gangadharan, *Vanijyakeralam*, DC Books, Kozhikode, 2013, p. 50.

¹³⁷ K.N Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Op. Cit., p. 62.

From the 9th to the 12th century, the Porlathiri ruled from the Kozhikode coast to the Sahyadri. It was during this period that the *Nadus* emerged and developed. There was a gorge which stretched from Kallai to Varakkal. From the west side of the railway gate south of the present Kozhikode railway station, it ran along the eastern side of Gujarati street.

The river and the surroundings that were supposed to facilitate the passage of the river from the Kallai river were known as the *Puzhavakk*.¹³⁸ Porlathiri's initiatives helped to improve the trading process by bringing in pepper from the inland, mountain slopes and the Chaliyar via Kallai. It is believed that the Porlathiri Palace was built in Kuttichira near Kozhikode beach. Muslim merchants in Calicut sold their goods to merchants from overseas countries such as Arabia, South-East Asia and China and made a huge profit.¹³⁹

The relationship between producers and traders has grown during this time.¹⁴⁰ Apart from Muslims, the Vaniyar and Chaliyar were the first to be associated with commercial centres. In the Middle Ages, as craftsmen were formed into distinct peoples, the streets of the area were filled with craftsmen. It was around the turn of the 15th century that markets were popping up all over Kerala.

In the Kozhikode area, most of the market was known as street. Kalavanibha Theruvu and Chakravanibha Theruvu were the first commercial centers. The main Angaadis are the Puzhavakkath, the Marakkar Kadavu, the Pandarakkadavu, the Puzhavakku, the China bazaar, the Pattu Theruvu, and the Cherutty Theruvu. Rice traders and moneylenders from Kutch reached Kozhikode during the same period.

Their place of residence was also known as Gujarati street.¹⁴¹ The main commercial centre of the coast was the Valiyangadi which stretches from the sea to the present day Robinson Road. K.V Krishna Iyyer says that the city of Kozhikode was established in 1304 in its proper sense. It can be assumed that the Valiyangadi

¹³⁸ K. Balakrishna Kurup, *Kozhikodinte Charithram*, Op. Cit., p. 159.

¹³⁹ P.P Muhammed Koya Parappil, *Kozhikotte Muslingalude Charithram*, Op. Cit., p. 294.

¹⁴⁰ K.N Ganesh, Op. Cit., p. 159.

¹⁴¹ K. Balakrishna Kurup, Op. Cit.p. 159.

was established around the same time. It is believed that a Gujarati trader guided Vasco de Gama to Calicut in 1498.

Even before Vasco de Gama, Gujarati people had come to the Calicut market for business. The goods were collected at the time.¹⁴² The delicate spices, wood and ivory attracted foreigners. The merchandise shipped to the marketplace will be shipped off the coast. From there it was shipped overseas. In the early days, goods were transported to the market in bullock carts. The warehouse was where the goods were stored. One of the main features of the Valiyangadi is the rows of Pandikasala.¹⁴³ They were owned by the king and were owned by local and foreign merchants.

There was a copra bazaar, a coconut bazaar, a tobacco market and an arrack street. Hundreds of loading and unloading workers worked here day and night. Stores were places of mutual trust and solidarity with workers, traders and farmers.¹⁴⁴ On the west of Valiyangadi, there was a centre selling horses. Horses were brought from the Arabian countries and sold to the Chola country.

The horses were traded not only to Tamil Nadu but also to Karnataka and Andhra. Apart from this, the merchants of spices, gems and textiles were also shipped to neighboring places by Calicut traders. It can be inferred that the medieval trade groups, namely Anjuvannam, Manigramam, Nanadeshis were there in Calicut. Chambakalakshmi assumes that the Arabic word 'Anjumaana' refers to foreign merchants. This "Anjumaana" was later known as Anjuvannam.¹⁴⁵

The coastal towns of Kerala were the main centres of the Anjuvannam and the Manigramas.¹⁴⁶ It must have been a part of the world system in the early days of Calicut. There were Chettiars in Pandalayani Kollam and surrounding areas.¹⁴⁷ The

¹⁴² "Kozhikodine Nenjilettiya Gujarathisamooam", Mathrubhumi Daily, Kozhikode, 20/11/2020.

¹⁴³ "Alozhinja Angadi Pandikasalakal Marayunnu". Mathrubhumi, Daily 25/03/2019.

¹⁴⁴ P.P Muhammed Koya Parappil, Op. Cit., p. 295.

¹⁴⁵ Interview With Vijayasingh, Senior Gujarathi Businessman, Kozhikode, 26/04/2018

¹⁴⁶ R. Champakalakshmi, Trade, Ideology And Urbanization, South India, 300 BC To AD 1300, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996, p. 41.

¹⁴⁷ K.N Ganesh, Op. Cit., p. 64.

Chettiars were one of the trading groups that traded directly with the Chinese. The Payyannur song mentions the trading relationship of the Chetties.¹⁴⁸ It was such trade groups that played a key role in the rise of the market. The main factor that contributed to the existence of Valiyangadi was the presence of the different sections of the craftsmen. The Fishermen, Chaliyar, Odayis, craftsmen, were there in Calicut.

But others were considered slaves who were the mainstay of agricultural production, even though they were not considered labour intensive. In addition to these, there were also craft groups such as *Mushari, Thattan, Perum Kollan, Vannan, Veluthedan, Velan, Chakalan and Vaniyan*.¹⁴⁹ Until the 15th century, there were no *Angadis* numbered east of the Puzhavakku. The entire trade was concentrated in Kuttichira region, Halwa Bazar, Valiyangadi and Puzhavakku.

The French navigator Francois pyrard de laval visited Kozhikode in 1607 and it is recorded that Valiyangadi was a major trading center of rice.¹⁵⁰ The merchants brought rice to Valiyangadi by sea from Karnataka. The merchants from Bhatkal in Karnataka used to sell rice and settle here. Bhatkal mosque near Valiyangadi and a road called Bhatkal Lane are proof of this.¹⁵¹ After the Mysore invasion in 1792, the control of Malabar and Kozhikode came under the British. During the rule of the British, the Valiyangadi grew and flourished.

In the year 1847, the collector of Malabar, H.V Connolly converted Kozhikode into a modern marketplace. It was coconut husks which roofed the Angadis of Malabar. Connolly's correspondence with Bell, the Revenue Secretary, in June 1847, gives us more detail about the Valiyangaadi.

The Connolly's letter asks that the roof of the market, which is covered with coconut husks, be at risk of fire and should be replaced immediately. Since the vendors of Valiyangadi were poor, Connolly had demanded that the vendors be allowed to pay Rs 1000 as a five year interest free repayment. Doing so, Connolly says, will help keep the market afloat while avoiding a catastrophic disaster. In the

¹⁴⁸ Raghava Varier, Op. Cit., p. 83.

¹⁴⁹ P.Antony, *Payyannur Pattu : Padavum Padanavum*, DC Books, Kottayam, 1994, p. 28.

¹⁵⁰ Raghava Varier, Rajan Gurukul, *Kerala Charithram*, Op. Cit., p.120.

¹⁵¹ P. Dhamodharan, *Flashback Kozhikode*, View Point Publication, Kozhikode, 2010, p. 65.

letter, he has demanded an allocation of Rs 300 per year for repairs to other markets in the area. Connolly says he had the support of the people of Valiyangadi and they are enthusiastic and progressive.¹⁵²

Connolly says the culvert has not been covered in the Kozhikode market. He said that he is starting work on it from today onwards. He has also stated that the budget for the above mentioned needs should be included in the budget. He says getting financial aid is not a good step, except cooperation from the people. It is reported that after ten years, the Valiyangadi Road has been repaired with 336 prisoners at a cost of 10 ana per person. It was built by Collector Robinson in 1856.

The road from Valiyangadi to Gandhi Road is known as Robinson Road. In 1887, the Valiyangadi was expanded to accommodate the influx of people, traders and bullock carts.¹⁵³ The goods trade has always maintained the Valiyangadi Market. Warehouses for the Pepper known as black gold, and coconut products like copra, dried copra, coconut oil, oil cake, coir and spices such as ginger, turmeric, lemongrass, cane and cashews, remained active until the 1880s. Realizing the potential of the rice market, many Halai Memon Muslims migrated to Calicut in 1932.¹⁵⁴

They imported rice from Rangoon, Burma and Thailand. The old people say that their huge warehouses were located in Valiyangadi. Huge warehouses as '*Pandyaalas*'. As the local markets strengthened, the strength of the Valiyangadi began to wane.¹⁵⁵ In the small towns of the district, there were hill product outlets. Exporters and rich people started to get goods directly from here.

Workers say it has been more than 30 years since the work was reduced in Valiyangadi.¹⁵⁶ Earlier there was almost 50 loads were exported per day and now that had been reduced to one or two. In the absence of vehicular traffic, goods were imported by water. Large boats, wooden ships known as *Uru*, and barge were also used. The golden age of the markets was the arrival of the Arabs and Europeans.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ T.B Seluraj, Op. Cit., p. 84.

¹⁵⁴ P.P Muhammed Koya Parappil, Op. Cit., p. 207.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Vijay Singh (84), 26/04/2018.

¹⁵⁶ "Alozhinja Angadi Pandikasalakal Marayunnu", Mathrubhumi, Daily, 25/03/2019.

This indicates that most of the markets were grown and developed around the sea. The collapse of ports and the emergence of automobiles have also contributed to the collapse of centuries-old markets.

Gujarati street

The Portuguese sailor Durate Barbosa recorded that there were lot of Gujaratis in Malabar. They belonged to the castes like Sett, Bhattiya, Marwadis and Baniya. North Indian Muslims also came and settled at coastal areas of Kozhikode for the trade activities. According to Vijay Singh Padhamshi, (Famous Gujarati business man and leader of trade union) Gujaratis were arrived at the port of Kozhikode at least two centuries before Vasco da gama's arrival.¹⁵⁷

They mainly settled at the eastern part of Valiyangadi. Gujaratis build their *Pandikasala* at Valiyangadi and Silk Street. They followed trade at the ground floor and they lived at the above. Their settlements were called as Gujarati street.¹⁵⁸

Gujaratis exported the goods like pepper, coconut, copra and ginger from Kozhikode. They imported and sold cotton, sugar and crops in Kozhikode. They also had trade contact with Europeans.¹⁵⁹ They had contact with *Uru* building at Beypore. They settled the other coastal places like Kodungallur Ponnani Kannur and Vadakara.¹⁶⁰ The majority of Gujaratis reached here from Kutch region and they also called as *Kutchikar*.¹⁶¹ And some Muslim merchants were called as Alay Muslims.¹⁶² When they lost their interest in trade they turned money lending. *Hundika* system in Malabar was considered as the contribution of Gujaratis many local merchants of this region depends on their *Hundika* system.¹⁶³ Once they owned 70% of commercial activities of Valiyangadi Kozhikode.¹⁶⁴ Vijay singh told that he

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Vijay Singh (84), 26/04/2018.

¹⁵⁸ "Kozhikodine Nenjilettiya Gujarthisamooam" Mathrubhumi, 12/11/2020.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ N.M Namboothiri, Op. Cit., p. 151.

¹⁶¹ P. Damodharan, Flashback, Op. Cit., p. 65.

¹⁶² T.V Abdulrahiman Kutty, Charithram Urangunna Ponnani, Op. Cit., p. 132.

¹⁶³ "Vascodagamaku Munpe Vannavar", Mathrubhumi, Nagaram, 16/11/2009.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

has seen price list of cash crops of last decades of 18th and beginning of 19th century from old book of account. The first quality Burma rice had 4 Rs only. The measurement of pepper was “Kandy” in Kozhikode. One Kandy is 315 kg. The price list given below.

Pepper Rs 60-80 /Kandy,

Ginger Rs 40-50/Kandy

Copra Rs 35-60/Kandy

Coconut Rs 35/1000 Nos.

Coconut oil Rs 60-70/Kandy

Sugar Rs 15/Kandy

The foreign companies of Kozhikode like Pears lesli, Aspinwall, English and Scottish company, Spenser, Walkart brothers got their exporting items through Gujaratis. Gujaratis bring Hill crops from Tamilnadu also for the exporting of foreign companies it is believed that the coastal areas of Kozhikode became main centres of this trade activities.

The Gujarati merchants sold gold coins in Malabar in the beginning of the last century. The imperial bank of Mumbai offered Gujarati merchants 24-carat gold coins weighing 8 grams for Rs 13 and 6 *Anas* each.¹⁶⁵ Imperial bank would send 50 such coins in a cigarette pack to the Gujaratis in Malabar. The gold smiths in Malabar would buy these coins from the Gujaratis for Rs 13 and 14 *Anas* each. Through this trade, the Gujarati merchants earned a profit of 8 *Anas* per coin. In those days, getting 8 *Anas* more was a profitable business.¹⁶⁶

Lots of Gujarati merchants had goods ships and passenger ships. The companies like merchants steam navigations, Malabar Steam Navigation and Sindhya Steam Navigations had headquarters at Kozhikode. Sabarmati and Saraswati were the passenger ship of Sindhya Steam Navigation Company. Once a week these ships travelled through the ports of Mumbai, Goa, Mangalore,

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Kozhikode and Cochin. Peoples of Kozhikode used to travel on these ships to other places. Vijay Singh remembered that the cost of Kozhikode - Mumbai travel was 10 or 15 rupees only.¹⁶⁷

Sri Balakrishna Lalji temple of Gujarati Street was constructed on 1869.¹⁶⁸ Gujarati schools also started at the same time. The place where Gujarati street situated now is previously owned by the Keyis of Thalassery. The place were rented by Keyis from zamorions. it was assumed that Keyis rented this place considering the importance of trade.¹⁶⁹

Mosques of south Malabar Coast

The Mosques are one of the main attractions of the coastal areas of Kerala. The first Mosques in Kerala are all established in coastal areas. The Arab book Kashful Asnar al-Atwari Malaibar testifies that Malik bin Dinar and his team came to Kodungalloor in AD 629 for religious propagation. In the same year the group erected a Mosque at Kodungallur.¹⁷⁰ The Mosque was called Cheraman Juma Masjid.¹⁷¹ Cheraman Juma Masjid is the first Mosque in India. The Mosque was built in the style of architectural style in Kerala.¹⁷²

After the Cheraman Mosque, nine more Mosques were built. Two among them are now out of Kerala. Kulom (Kollam), Hili (Madayi), Fakanur (Barkur), Manjalur (Manglore), Kanjarkut (Kasargod), Jurlafan (Sreekandapuram), Darmaftan (Darmadam), Pandarinah (Panthalayani, Kollam), Shaliyat (Chaliyam) are the remaining Mosques. Among these, Fakanur and Manjalur are now in part of Karnataka.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ V. Mithran, Walking Down The Gujarathistreet Of Kozhikode, On Manorama, July 13, 2019.

¹⁶⁹ Interview With Shyemji Sundardas (76), Rice Merchant Kallai, 26/04/2018.

¹⁷⁰ T.Muhammed, *Mappila Samudhayam, Charithram Samskaram*, Islamic Publishing House, Kozhikode, 2013, p. 25.

¹⁷¹ Muhammed Sadham, Chaliyathinte Charithrachalagal, Op. Cit., p. 17.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁷³ P.A Seythumammed, *Kerala Muslim Charithram*, Al Huda Books, Kozhikode, 2010, p. 66. M.P Kumaran, Kolothupazhama, Op. Cit., p. 59.

It's said that Kollam Mosque was built after the Mosque in Kodungalloor. It is known as in the name "Big Mosque and Jonaka Mosque". The Mappila Muslims in Kerala also known as the Jonaka or Jonaka Mappila.¹⁷⁴ With the exception of the large Mosque in Kollam district, the rest of the Mosques were built in modern Malabar.

It is said that the next Mosque was built in a place known as Hili. Later understood that it's Madayi. Barbosa recorded that, Muslims, non-believers and Jewish also lived in Madayi.¹⁷⁵ The inscription shows that the Madayi Mosque was built in Hijara 518 (AD 1124).¹⁷⁶ Madayi Mosque was built by Malik Bin Habeeb. This historical Mosque was built by the permission of Kolathiri. The antiquity of the Mosque can be inferred from the folk song "Makkathe pallikoppicha palli - Malanattiloru palli Madayi palli."

The next Mosque was established in place known as Chirikndadam. William Logan recorded in Malabar Manual that it was Sreekandapuram in Chirakkal Taluk.¹⁷⁷ Sreekandapuram was recorded as Jafarttan in Thuhfathul mujahideen.¹⁷⁸ The travels of Abraham bin Yiju, a Jewish merchant who lived in Manglore in the 1130 and 1140. He visited Sreekandapuram and recorded the place name as "Jaffartun".¹⁷⁹ The roof of the Mosque was made by the small tiles which used for building construction in ancient Kerala. The ancient architectural style is found in this Mosque even today.

The next Mosque was built in Dharmadam after Sreekandapuram. "The Dahfatan" as recorded by Dimishki (1325) and Ibnu Bathutha (1342) is the Dharmadam.¹⁸⁰ Dharmapattanam is the port city near to Kottayam market.

¹⁷⁴ Hussain Randathani, *Mappila Muslims*, Other Books, Calicut, 2007, p. 19.

¹⁷⁵ Thomas karthikapuram, (trns) , *Mappila Muslingal*, Other Books, Chemmad, 1976, p. 48.

¹⁷⁶ M.P Kumaran, Kolothupazhama, Op. Cit., p. 59.

¹⁷⁷ Raghavacharya, *A Topographical List of the inscriptions of the Madras*, Collected Till 1915, Madras, 1919, Vol-II, p. 1042.

¹⁷⁸ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Op. Cit., p. 152.

¹⁷⁹ K.C Hamsa, (Trns), *Tuhfathul Mujahideen*, Alhudha Books, Kozhikode, 1999, p. 46.

¹⁸⁰ Amitav Gosh, *In An Antique Land*, Penguin India, Gurgaon, 2019, pp. 232-235.

Dharmapattanam is popularised as the synonym of pepper.¹⁸¹ It was a popular port in ancient Kerala. It is mentioned as Darmapato in Portuguese and Darmapatom in British records.¹⁸² Barbosa described Dharmadam as the wealthy city of Muslims.

The evidence for the construction of Mosque in Dharmadam is available in the *Keralolpathi* and other legends. It is said that the Cheraman Perumal stayed 3 days in Dharmadam.¹⁸³ Muhammad Kunji recorded that the Malik dinar and his group were reached Dharmapattanam.¹⁸⁴ Logan states that here is a place which holds the name in the memory of the Cheraman perumal's venture to Makkah. "Poyanaadu" is the name of the place. Only the ruins of the Mosque built by Khuthub bin Habeeb is remained in Dharmadam.

After Dharmadam, the next Mosque was established in Panghalayani, which is situated north to Koyilandi. This port city is called as "Fandriha" in Ihfatul mujahidin, "Fantarina" by Bathutha and "Pantaramani" by Portuguese. Panthalayani was the capital of the king in Payyanad. Malikbnu Dinar built a Mosque here and engaged one of his sons as the Khasi. The panthalayani Mosque was built in the model of the mosque in Makkah. Panthalayani was the main center for the trade with Arabia in medieval times.¹⁸⁵

Malik bin Habeeb built another Mosque in Chaliyam after Panthalayani. Chaliyam is considered as a place of emigration by the Jewish since BC 970. Abunfida recorded that there was a lot of Jewish in Shaliyath.¹⁸⁶ The Chaliyam Mosque was built in Hijara 22. This Mosque also known as the Puzhakkara palli as it situated in a riverbank.¹⁸⁷ Portuguese demolished the Mosque to built a fort in

¹⁸¹ S.M.H Nainar, *Arab Geographers Knowledge of Southern India*, Madras University Publication, Madras, 1942, p. 25.

¹⁸² M.P Kumaran, Op. Cit., p. 42.

¹⁸³ Herman Gundert, *Keralolpathi ; The Origin of Malabar*, Pflleiderer and Reihm Publication, Switzerland, 1868, p.74.

¹⁸⁴ P.K Muhammed Kunji, *Muslingalum Keralasamskaravum*, Kerala Sahithya Accademi, Trissur, 2008, p. 49.

¹⁸⁵ Raghavavariar, *Madhyakalakeralam Swaroopaneethiyude Charithramanangal*, Op. Cit., p. 113.

¹⁸⁶ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Sancharikal Kanda Keralam*, Op. Cit., p. 141.

¹⁸⁷ Muhammed Sadham, *Chaliyathinte Charithra Chalanangal*, Op. Cit., p. 69.

1531.¹⁸⁸ Zamorin conquered the fort in 1571 and demolished it. With the stones of the demolished fort he rebuilt the Mosque.¹⁸⁹

Malik bin Habeeb stayed 5 five months in Chaliyam for religious propagation. Local people converted to Islam to escape from the caste distinctions of Hinduism. Many Namboothiri families also converted to Islam attracted by the Islamic ideology. Mammatharayan illam, Puzhakkara illam, Emmassarayar illam and Pokkaakkala illam were those famous namboothiri families.¹⁹⁰ The complete leadership of the Malabar Muslims were the Chaliyam based Kozhikode khasis. From this it can be deduced that the region of Chaliyam was a stronghold of Islam.

Malik bin Dinar masjid at Thalankara in Kasaragod is the eighth Mosque in Malabar which was built by Malik bin Dinar and his team. The Mosque is more than 1400 years old. It is said that this Mosque was built in AD 644, Hijara 122. The Kasaragod Mosque is built as similar to the Kodungalloor Mosque. The foundation stone was made by the stones brought from Arabia. Engraved doors, windows and *meesar* showing the merits of Kerala architecture in the Mosque.¹⁹¹

Islam had spread to the coastal areas where the first eight Mosques were built. It can be seen that the trade tradition of Islam changed certain villages into cities in Kerala. Paliyan kotta (Eranad Taluk), Thirurangadi, Parappanangadi, Paravur, Thikkodi, Kakkad were the cities grown like this. Paravanna, Ponnani, Tirur, Puthangadi were the places where Islamic religion spread.¹⁹²

The medieval rulers, including the Zamorin, created a favorable situation to develop Islam. The rulers need the help of local Muslims to trade with the Arabs. Realizing that the trade with the Arabs would facilitate economic growth, the Zamorin handed over the local Muslims overseeing the port of Calicut. The local Muslims, Koyas came to be known as Shabandar Koya when the Port came under

¹⁸⁸ K.C Hamsa, *Tuhfathul Mujahideen*, Op. Cit., p. 94.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁹⁰ P.P Muhammed Koya Parappil, Op. Cit., p. 46.

¹⁹¹ “Malik Dinar: Kudiyirikkum Palli”, Mathrubhumi, 13/7/2017.

¹⁹² K.C Hamsa, Op. Cit., p. 87.

the control of the local Muslims.¹⁹³ The Zamorin has insisted that one must embrace Islam from the Hindu fishermen.¹⁹⁴

The local Muslims, Marakkars were responsible for overseeing the Zamorin's navy. It is true that the Zamorin was invincible in the sea because of the valour of the Kunjali Marakkar.¹⁹⁵ The Zamorin has provided all kinds of assistance to the Muslims who have come for trade. As a result, Mosques have been built around for a long time in Kozhikode, Ponnani, Parappanangadi, Chettipadi, Koyilandi, Chombal and Vadakara.¹⁹⁶

In medieval period, Muslims lived in the commercial hinterland of the seashore and in the remote village markets. Their main occupation was trade. Muslim merchants sold products from Egypt, Persia, Arabia and Gujarat. Mappilas transported horticultural and horticultural crops to other places from Kerala. The ports of Calicut, Kannur, Ponnani and Valapattanam were under the control of Muslims. After the formation of settlements along the coast, Muslims migrated to remote areas and established Shrines of worship.

During the medieval period, mosques were established along the coastal areas of Malapuram and Calicut districts. If the earliest mosques were built as part of religious propaganda, they were built for the prayers of Muslim traders who came to trade. Mosques are located at Calicut beach, Koyilandi, Chombal Kappad in Calicut district. The main mosque in Malappuram district is at Ponnani.¹⁹⁷ Mosques were established in the coastal areas of Parappanangadi and Tanur.

Details of these coastal Mosques and their founders can be found in the accounts of travelers who visited Calicut in the 14th century. Ibnu Bathutha, a Moroccan traveler, who visited Calicut port and city and stayed there for months in 1343-46. Kozhikode is the busiest port in Malabar. He records that the merchant

¹⁹³ M.G.S Narayanan, *Kozhikode Charithrathil Ninnun Chila Edukal*, DC Books, Kozhikode, 2011, p. 43.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁹⁵ K.M Panikker, *Malabar and Portuguese*, Voice of India, New Delhi, 1929, p. 140.

¹⁹⁶ P.P Muhammed Koya, *Op. Cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁹⁷ T.V Abdul Rahman Kutty, *Op. Cit.*, p. 56.

ships of China, Ceylon, Persia and Yemen, met with businessmen and country representatives from all over the world.¹⁹⁸ Bathutha also recorded that the prominent among the Calicut merchants is Nakhuda Mishkal and he established a Mosque in the city, Miskal Mosque in Calicut.

Ma Huan is a Chinese traveler who came to Calicut in the 15th century. He records that there are twenty or thirty Mosques in Calicut. Ma Huan visited Kozhikode in 1408. He recorded that the people here gather once a week in the Mosque and that there were no trades from that morning.¹⁹⁹ Ma Huan might have recorded about the "Khutub", the special prayer offered by the Muslims on Fridays even today in the Mosque.

Abdul Razzaq, representing the Sultan of Khurasan in Persia visited Calicut in 1442. He lived here for two years. He described Kozhikode and the Muslims here in his travelogue "Mathala Ussath Daini".²⁰⁰ During that time, There were prayer hall and "*Thanneer panthal*" for the merchants in the west part of the Valiyangadi. It was built by a rich person named Khaluba. The present Khalifa Masjid is built in the same place.

The Mosque in Puzhavakk also built in this way. It was the main trade centre in that time. The prayer hall which built for the boatmen and workers who came here with the merchandise reconstructed as the Mosque now. In many parts of Kozhikode district, there were Mosques with *Thannerpanthal* for the workers. These Mosques were known as "*Srambia*".²⁰¹ The names of the places Srambia in the district of Kozhikode are given like this.

Other two ancient Mosques located near Valiyangadi in Calicut district are the Muchunthi Mosque and Kuttichira juma-ath Mosque. Both the above mentioned Mosques and the Miskal Mosque have some features in common. Although there is

¹⁹⁸ Velayudhan Panikkassery, Op. Cit., p. 165.

¹⁹⁹ S.M. H Nainar, Arab Geographers Knowledge of Southern India, Op. Cit., p. 143.

²⁰⁰ P.P Muhammed Koya, Op. Cit., p. 219.

²⁰¹ J.B.P More, *Origin And Early History of The Muslim of Keralam*, Other Books, Calicut, 2011, p. 84.

no Mughal influence in South India, the mosques are built in Mughal style.²⁰² However, the mosques of Calicut resemble Hindu temples. Just as there is a shrine in the temple and a place for *Pradakshinam*, the Mosque has “mi arab” and prayer hall. Both the Temples and Mosques have stone pillars. Mostly wooden floors are used as ceilings. They are similar in the wood carvings also.

The foundations of the temples and mosques were made of granite. There are pools in both places. The *Iruthappadi* and porches that were built next to the pool also the same. Lotus, spear and other flowers were carved on the wooden walls of the Mosques. The architectural resemblance can be traced back to the fact that mosques and temples were built by carpenters.

The Zamorin granted the carpenters and masons for the construction.²⁰³ It also shows the Zamorin's attitude to Islam. Muchunthi Mosque is the oldest Mosque situated on the coast of Calicut. The Mosque is estimated to be 1100 years old. William Logan noted in the Malabar Manual that there is an inscription on the Mosque. But Logan could not understand its contents.

The first half of the inscription consists of 32 lines of Vattezhuthu script of old Malayalam language in the 13th century. In the next half there can be seen many names in Arabic. The name of the Mosque is "Muchiyan" Mosque. It may be established by the major Arabian merchant named "Muchiyan".²⁰⁴ Thus in the sense of the Mosque of Muchian transformed to "Muchinte" and to Muchunthi Mosque.

At present there is a house named "Muchiyantakam" near to the Mosque. The Vattezhuth inscription related to Mosques in Kerala is not found anywhere else. The stone inscription here is similar to the "Jootha Pattayam" and "Veera Raghava Pattayam" of Bhaskara Ravi. The Zamorin's permission to run the Mosque is recorded in the Stone Inscription.²⁰⁵ Religious studies was conducted here up to the 17th century under the guidance of famous religious scholars. Students from Laksha

²⁰² P.P Muhammed Koya, Op. Cit., p. 210.

²⁰³ V.V Kunjali (ed.), *Calicut In History*, Calicut University, 2004, p. 19.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁰⁵ P.P Muhammed Koya, Op. Cit., p. 213.

dweep, Kayal Pattanam and inland areas of Malabar came here for studies. It was recorded in Arabic on the roof of the Mosque that some renovation work had done to the Mosque.

Another ancient Mosque in the coastal areas of Calicut is the Kuttichira Juma ath Mosque. There were no correct documents about the time of its establishment. Based on travel documents, manuscripts and Mosque inscriptions, the Mosque can be dated to a thousand years old. Ibnu Batuta in 1342 and Abdul Rasaq in 1442 recorded that there were two Juma ath Mosques in Calicut.²⁰⁶ It was recorded on the roof of the Mosque that the Mosque was renovated by Badaruddeen shareef hussain in AD 1468. It was recorded on the middle of the "Misara" that the present "Misara" to perform "Khutuba" is renovated in AD 1678.

It was renovated by Shaikh Ibrahim bin Nahuda, a native of Bhatkal. Nahuda, the captain, built the "Misara" as a vow to avoid danger during his voyage. Kuttichira was the headquarters of the 'Khasi' people of Malabar after Chaliyam. The religious and social activities of the Koyas of Calicut also controlled here. Juma ath Mosque had the duty of the religious court.

The Miskal Mosque, built in Kuttichira itself, is the third historic Mosque on the Kozhikode coast. It was built in between 1300 and 1340. It was built by a captain named Nahuda Miskal.²⁰⁷ Mostly wood is used instead of stone to built the Mosque. There is no other Mosque in Kerala which built by using these many woods. Miskal Mosque is a model of Kerala architecture. Under the leadership of the Portuguese Captain Alfonso de Albuquerque, the Mosque was set on fire in 1510.

This incident was recorded in "Thuhfatul Mujahedeen". It was recorded that later the Mosque was renovated in AD 1548 (Hijara 1028) and in Hijara 1088. It also recorded that Shabandar Jamaluddeen Anthabi and Shabandar Umarul Anthabi were the people who renovated the Mosque.²⁰⁸

Another historical Mosque is at Kappad in Calicut District. Arabs and

²⁰⁶ Velayudhan Panikkassery, Op. Cit., p. 204.

²⁰⁷ J.B.P More, Op. Cit., p. 84.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Europeans have come to Kapad since ancient times. The name Cheena Cheri, which is located nearby, may have been derived because it is the centre of the Chinese. Similarly, the family names like "*Arabithaazhath*" and "*Pandikashalakkal*" may be the evidence of the Arab-Chinese contact here.²⁰⁹

The Kappad Juma at Mosque provides further proof of this. It was believed that the Mosque was built by the Religious propaganda group who came here two centuries after Malik Dinar. Here the inscriptions are found in some type of inscription on the Meesan stone (*Meesan kallu*) of the grave. According to Mosque authority, the Arabs who visited here commented that this was a "Kufi" script.²¹⁰ Single wooden doors, pillars, their carvings all show the antiquity and historical significance of the Mosque. It's sure that the Mosque is minimum 593 years old.

Other than this Mosque, there are 10 more Mosques like Karincheera Mosque, Makham Mosque, Cheriya Palli Mosque, Parapalli Mosque, Hydrose Mosque, Masjid Thaqva of Kappakadavu, Vayal Mosque and Erur Mosque.²¹¹ These Mosques are evidence that the Mosques have emerged as a result of trade and commercial contacts centered around the coast.

Koyilandi Juma ath Mosque is another important Mosque in Calicut district. It's known as the China Mosque. It's because the Mosque was established by the Chinese Muslims who came to Panthalayani Kollam. The Mosque dates back more than six centuries. The Mosque is mentioned in the description of Ibn Battuta.²¹² In a 150-year-old inscription, the name and the family name of the people who run the Mosque is mentioned.

Another ancient Mosque is located on the coast of Kozhikode is at Chombal in Vadakara. The shores of the Chombal have been used as a small port since the 11th century.²¹³ The Mosque in Chombal is known as "Kunjipalli"(Small Mosque). It

²⁰⁹ P.P Muhammed Koya, Op. Cit., p. 216.

²¹⁰ Interview With Saythali Koya (66), Senior Citizen, Kapad, 24/08/2019.

²¹¹ Interview with Abdul Rahman (67), Member of Palli committee, 24/08/2019.

²¹² Interview with Kammukutty (64), Mahallu Committee Vice President, Kapad, 24/08/2019.

²¹³ Raghava Varier, *Madhyakala Keralam, Swaroopanaeethiyude Charithrapadanangal*, National Book stall, Kottayam, 2014, p. 85.

was said that the Mosque was built by the "Valiyakath Karaketti" family. It is said that this family has more than a thousand years of Islamic tradition. The native peoples believed that the "Kunjipalli" at Chombal is the birth place of Sainudheen Makhdoom II, who wrote the *Thuhfat-ul -Mujahedeen* and *Fath-ul-Mueen*. He died in the 16th century and his grave is located at Kunjipally.²¹⁴

Though there are not many Mosques like in Kozhikode, some of the most famous Mosques and early Islamic settlements exist in the coastal areas of Malappuram district. Ponnani, Parappanangadi, Tanur, Kutayi, Paravanna, Chettippadi were those places.²¹⁵ Among these Ponnani and Parappanangadi were early ports. Ponnani developed as a port in the medieval period but Parappanangadi could not maintain its status as a port. However, Parappanangadi, as a fishing village gained prominence.²¹⁶

The first Mosque of Ponnani was built by Soofi saint Farid Auliya name as Thottungal Palli. The Mosque is said to have been built in the 12th century. Later, the spread of Islam in Ponnani took place in the first year of the sixteenth century. With the advent of the Makhdoom dynasty, Ponnani grew to the level of a spiritual city of knowledge. People came to Ponnani from far and wide to study religion. People came from Indonesia, Ceylon, Egypt and Syria to study religion. The presence of the Makhdooms earned Ponnani the title of *Cheriyā Mecca*. The Hydrosi are also the Muslim sect that helped Ponnani to achieve this.²¹⁷ In AD 1510, the Makhdoom dynasty established the Ponnani Great Juma ath Mosque. The students were studying religion while sitting around a kind of chandelier (lamp). This religious study is called *Oth Study*.²¹⁸ After graduation, students receive the degree of Musliyar Pattom. This Islamic curriculum was also known as the *Vilakkathirikkal*. The Great Juma ath Mosque is also notable for its architectural style. The tower of the Mosque is carved out of wood and the words of the Qur'an,

²¹⁴ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Op. Cit., p.11.

²¹⁵ T.V Abdul Rahiman Kutty, Op. Cit., p.11.

²¹⁶ Interview With Valakada Ashraf (63), Mahallu Committee President, Chaliyam, 17/06/2019

²¹⁷ K.N Ganesh, *Locality Culture in Kerala History; The Case of Tirurangadi*, University of Calicut Publication, Thenhippalam, 2013, p. 64.

²¹⁸ C. Ashraf, *Ponnani Oru Ithihasa Paithrikathinte Suvarnarekha*, Op. Cit., p. 64.

verses, carvings of proverbs and stone pillars are remarkable.²¹⁹

The Mosque also has a rainwater tank built of granite for rainwater harvesting. The Mosque was built in two floors. There are 17 stairs from the inner Mosque to the first floor. From here there are another 15 stairs to the second floor. There is a hall here called "*Arathat*". This is known as "*Randarathat*". Another feature is the domes of the Mosque. These are the symbols that symbolize the pride of the Mosque.

Another historic Mosque in Ponnani is the Misri Mosque.²²⁰ The Egyptians are also known as the Misris who came at the invitation of the Makhdooms in the war with the Portuguese. The Mosque was established by the Egyptians for prayers. The Mosque is estimated to be 500 years old. The Mosques established here provide an insight into the influence of the Arabs and other Islamic countries on the rise of Islam in Ponnani.

The Mosques at Tanur and Parappanangadi can be traced back to the propagation of the Islam.²²¹ Many Muslim families live around these Mosques. The construction of the Tanur Valiya Kulangara Mosque took place during the second phase of the propagation of Islam. The carvings and construction methods of the Mosque indicate that the Mosque is centuries old. The year the Mosque was built is not exactly recorded. The Mosque is said to have been used for "*Dhars*" since Hijara 670. There is a library adjacent to the Dars of the Mosque. Precious books and manuscripts are kept here.²²²

The Valiya Juma ath Mosque is a testament to the rise of Islam in the coastal region of Parappanangadi. The Valiya Juma ath Mosque is believed to have been established in AD 691. The Mosque was destroyed as a result of the constant sea swell.²²³ The present Mosque was built under the leadership of the Sufi saint

²¹⁹ T.V Abdul Rahiman Kutty, Op. Cit., p. 61.

²²⁰ "Misripalli Nalkunna Paithrika Sandesam" Siraj Live, 08/03/2019.

²²¹ Interview with Shaji Parappanadan (43), Blogger, Parappanangadi, 16/03/2019.

²²² Interview with Abdul Rahiman, Mahallu Committee Member, Parappanangadi, 16/03/2019.

²²³ "Pazhamayude Proudiyumayi Anangadi Valiya Juma Ath Palli", Media One TV, 06/06/2018.

Avukoya Muslyar.

There is an Arabic inscription on the minaret of the Mosque. It was recorded that Kunjikoyamutty, the son of Kammukutty Marakkar, built it in Hijara 1253. Here is an ancient sword made of wood used during the Friday Qutb. The Mosque also has a room called the treasury to store the Mosque's treasures. Tanur and Parappanangadi are some of the earliest recorded towns in Tuhfat-ul-Mujahideen.²²⁴

Foreign and internal migration of South Malabar Coast for trade.

Jifris

Sheikh Jifri who came to Kozhikode from Yeman, at the time of Manavikraman Zamorin. He was the founder of Jifri clan in Malabar. He was a Saint, Soofi scholar, Religious Preacher and Sheikh. Zamorins of Calicut allowed to him for Coconut plantation of Aanamad, large place at Kuttichira and Maliyekkal house (now Jifri house) were given to him and he was exempted from all kinds of taxes.²²⁵

Later Jifri peoples settled at Kozhikode, Ponnani, Maliyekkal (Mampuram), Kappad, Vatakara, and Koyilandi. A number of Islamic communities reached and settled at Kozhikode through internal migrations. First they settled at the coastal regions, later they moved to the other places.²²⁶ The migrated Muslims were not only a rich merchants, they were farmers and handymen also. After the coming of Jifri group in Malabar, the different Muslim merchant groups reached here to the same period. They were called the different name like Navayaths or Batkal Muslims, Omanis or Pattani Muslims, Dawoodis or Bohra Muslims.

²²⁴ Interview with Muhammed (62), Native of Parappanangadi, 16/03/2019.

²²⁵ P.P Muhammed Koya, Kozhikkotte Muslingalude Charithram, Op. Cit., p. 90.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Batkal Muslims or Navayaths

Batkal Muslims or Navayaths reached Malabar Coast as the owners of boat and captains of ship. When Ibnu Batuta visited Kozhikode port he recorded about a community named as Hanover. That is Batkal Muslims.²²⁷ They were originated from Batkal near Kunthapura.²²⁸ Navayaths were the people who involved in oceanic trade and later they transformed as the merchant society of Malabar, especially Kozhikode. They reached for commercial activities and found settlements there. They settled in group in a particular place.

Textiles and hotel businesses were the important livelihood of Batkal Muslims, once they have the monopoly of Malabar textiles. Batkal merchants inspired the Muslims of Kozhikode to step in to the textile business.²²⁹

There is a footpath behind the Valiyangadi which named Batkal lane and Batkal Muslims settled there. There were lots of textile shops and hotels of Batkal Muslims. Muslims imported special dresses such as *Batkal Kachi*, *Kindan*, *Soopu*, *Saran*, *Ponchapp*, *Pullithuni*, *Kasavuthattam*, *Karakakyi*, *Churul* and *Mathavu*. These dress are mainly used by the Muslim women of Eranad and Valluvanad. Kozhikode Muslims also used this dress. They imported the dresses from Bombay, Banaras and Kanchippuram. They also have the collection of Karnatic white dress, kallithuni, jubba, different kinds of thalappu and hats.²³⁰

Batkal Muslims played important role in hotel businesses of Malabar. They introduced the food items like *badam sarbath*, *kaskas*, *naranga paneeyam*, *gothambu kanji*, *kichidi*, *upma* *godan sweet* and *malpuri*. They also introduced a Biriyani which named as Batkal biriyani.²³¹ There is a Mosque of Batkal Muslims was situated in Kozhikode Valiyangadi. The beautiful Misaras of juma ath mosque and Misqal mosque of Kuttichira were also built by the rich Ship owners of Navayaths.

²²⁷ Khalid Omar, *Muslim In The Deccan: A Historical Survey*, Global Media Publications, New Delhi, 2006, pp.17- 18.

²²⁸ "How Prosperious Bhathal Town Earned Terror Tag" The Times Of India, Daily, 30/08/2013.

²²⁹ P.P Muhammed Koya, Op. Cit., p. 202.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Dhaknis or Pattanis

Dhaknis or Pattanis were the Muslims who were migrated from Bijapure and Mysore to Thalasserry. The founder of Malabar Pattanis was Sheikh Mahmood of Golkonda. He settled at Thalasserry as a Khatheeb of Ali haji Mosque. From Thalasserry they spread to the other places of Malabar. Kozhikode, Nadakavu, Vatakara, Kottaparambu were some of the important places of their settlements.²³²

They spoke Urdu and they do not have any hereditary work. At the same time they engaged in trade. It was said that the “*Pattala Palli*” was built by Dhaknis, who came along with Tipu’s Malabar invasion. At the first time the Mosque was known as its builders name “*Pattani Palli*”. Later Tipu’s soldiers used it and it was known as “*Pattala Palli*”. Dhakhni Muslim’s Madrasa of Nadakavu and its office building were the historical evidence of Pattani’s migration.²³³

Dawoodis or Bohra Muslims

Around the 300 years ago some Muslims from Gujarat and Kutch migrated to Malabar and settled here. They are called as Bohra Muslims.²³⁴ First they reached and settled at Kozhikode they engaged in trade and commerce..

They expanded their trade activities in the ports of Maldives, Ceylon, Bombay, and Kutch. They exported a kind of sea coral from the port of Kozhikode. It was used to polish the marbles. Other than sea corals they exported a type of sea fish named as *Otha*. They had the monopoly of *Aalath* business. *Aalath* is a type of coir used for ships and big boats. They started the first *Aalath* office or local coir factories of Kozhikode.²³⁵ Bohars Muslims showed their interest in the business of wood, coconut, coir and hill crops.

The name Dawood Bhai Mulla Jivaji Kapasi is engraved in the psyche of

²³² Vinod. K , Jairath, *Frontiers of Emaded Muslim Communities In India*, Routledge Publications, New Delhi, 2011, p. 120.

²³³ P.P Muhammed Koya, Op. Cit., p. 230.

²³⁴ Vinod K, Jairath, Op. Cit., p. 120.

²³⁵ “How The Bohra Enriched Kozhikoden Cultural Heritage”, Online News, V Travel, 19/11/2019.

Kozhikode city.²³⁶ He is from the Bohra community who had won the hearts of city residents. Born in Jamnagar in Gujarat in 1930, Dawood came to this city for business activities. He was involved in the export of coconut, coir products and other items and also showed keen interest in education.

Dawood was the managing committee member of Gujarati School, vice president of Urdu Prachar Sabha, secretary of the Bohra Jamaat and an office-bearer of the MES. As a mark of respect, a road near the South Beach had been named after Dawood. Memon or Alayi Muslims were another north indian sects who settled at Malabar.

Memons or Halai Muslims (Alay Muslims)

Halai or Memon Muslims are one of the another powerful merchant groups in Malabar. They reached and settled at Malabar from Kutch, Bhatava, Bavanagar, Uppaletta, Deraji and Sindh.²³⁷ They spoke Kutch language, a mixture of Sindh and Gujarathi.

There were different Memons in Malabar, i.e., Katchi memon, Sindh memon, Deraji memon, Pooriya, and Tharatti. They had the monopoly of Malabar rice trade till 1950. They exported 20000 to 30000 sack rice from Rangoon, Burma and Thailand through ships in one trip.

The agencies of memon companies of Bombay, Karachi, Bihar, and Sindh were worked in Malabar.²³⁸ There were lots of *Pandikasalas* in Malabar. They used this *Pandikasala* as their rice godowns. Other than trade and commerce Kutch Memons interested in religion also. They rebuilt Moonnakkara Juma ath Mosque near Valiyangadi, Kozhikode.²³⁹ During the Ramadan period they also distributed free rice to the poor families.

Parsis

Parsis are those people who came from Baroochi of Gujarat to Kozhikode. Parsis arrived at Kozhikode in AD 1850 as a result of commercial activities of

²³⁶ P.P Muhammed Koya, Op. Cit., p. 206.

²³⁷ T.V Abdul Rahiman, Charithramurangunna Ponnani, Op. Cit., p. 136.

²³⁸ P.P Muhammed Koya, *Kozhikkotte Muslingalude Charithram*, Op. Cit., p. 207.

²³⁹ P.Dhamodharan, *Flashback*, Kozhikode, Op. Cit., p. 65.

Kozhikode and they engaged in different kinds jobs such as Timber trade of Kallayi, Tile factory of Feroke, Coir industry of Beypore and Soda making industries of Kozhikode. Hirji soda was one of the famous Parsi soda company of Kozhikode.²⁴⁰ Also, there were lots of buildings that Parsis constructed in 1920 at Kozhikode.

The capital of the Parsis from Manglore, Coimbatore and Kerela were Kozhikodu. The one and only fire temple (Agnikshethra) of Kerala is situated in Parsi Anjuman Bagh, sweet street, Kozhikode. Paris families come to Kozhikode for burial rituals.²⁴¹

Parsis were also known as Zoroastrians. The birth place of Zoroastrians is Persia. They were attacked by native Muslims of Persia and they forced to come to Gujarat as refugees. This migration took place between AD 8th century and AD 10th century. Primarily, they were merchants and for that purpose they spread over different parts of India.²⁴² Thus, they came to the Malabar also. The arrival of native and foreign merchants and their occupation and culture resulted in the development of settlements and markets in coastal Malabar.

Sindhi

Sindhi's were the people who reached Kozhikode from a place called Multan in Pakistan. They were also known as Multanees. Traditionally they were indigenous bankers. They were settled at the silk street near Kozhikode beach. Their arrival of Malabar has two different phases. At first, they came as the merchants. Then they came as a result of partition after Indian independence.²⁴³

The first Sindhi reached at the Kozhikode in 1938. His traditional occupation was banking, but he started 'copra' business. This copra commercial centre (Copra Pandikasala) has survived in court road, Kozhikode for a long time. Sindhi reached Kozhikode after heaving about Malabar from the merchants of Mumbai. Sindhi's started private banking in 1939 in Malabar. Silk street was the centre of money

²⁴⁰ "Kozhikode Has The Only Parsi Temple In Kerala", Net, Aug 26-2013. ("The Marshalls Keep The Parsi Flame Alive In Kozhikode, Parsi Khabar.Net, 2013.

²⁴¹ <https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/kerala/2013/Aug/24/the-marshalls-keep-the-parisi-flame-alive-in-kozhikode-509831.html>

²⁴² Interview with Darium.P.Marshall (66), Senior Citizen of Parsi Religion, Kozhikode, 24/06/2019.

²⁴³ The Sindhi Community Of Kozhikode, Welcome.Kerala.Online Page:Jan,2011.

transition in earlier times. Later, it the centre shifted to Kozhikode and spread to Mahe. After 1950, a temple named as Sindi darbar uprised at Silk street.

The Sindi darbar was the home of Pesumal Hal Bagvan Das. He wanted to change his home as a temple after his departure so that Sindi followers transformed that home as Sindhi darbar.²⁴⁴ The God of sea, Jule Lal is the important God of Sindhis. Even they worshiped some other Hindu deities also, but God of sea was their main God. They were also influenced greatly by the learning of Guru Nanak and they worshiped him.²⁴⁵

Chettis

The trade of western coasts including Kerala were controlled by the yadavas of Gujarat even before the age of Christ. They organized and built trade centres in the coastal region. The leader of the group is called 'Sheshti' or 'Sethi. Sheshti belongs to the Sanskrit language and the Chetti is native Dialect.²⁴⁶

Seth and Settu were the different forms of the same word. In Konkan and Karnataka they were called Shetti. And in Tamilakam they were called as Chetti. The payyanoor pattu of 13th century mentioned the name Nambu chetti. So it was assumed that the Chetties reached Malabar even before 13th century.²⁴⁷

Lot of Chetti families lived in Chettipadi, a coastal region of Malappuram district. As a part of textile industry. The Chettis are actively engaged in Kozhikode, Feroke and Ramanattukara. Their settlements centered near Palayam, Kozhikodu. A Mariyamman kovil of Chettis is located near Palayam. Ashin Das Gupta mentioned about a Chathu Chetti, who engaged in trade with Dutches, in his work Malabar in Asian Trade.²⁴⁸

Chettis collected and stored the materials like diamonds, pearls and spices in

²⁴⁴ The Peoples and Land Of Sindh, Online Page, 14/02/ 2011.

²⁴⁵ Interview with Gopal (70), Sindhi Merchant, Kozhikode Beach, 19/06/2019.

²⁴⁶ K. Sivasankaran Nair, *Vaniyathillude Parathanthryam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2002, p. 45.

²⁴⁷ S.S Murukesan, *Keralathile Tamil Chettikal: Swanthavum Bhashayum*, Ramambika Books, Kozhikode, 2010, p. 77.

²⁴⁸ Ashindas Gupta, *Malabar In Asian Trade, 1740-1800*, Op. Cit., p. 24.

Malabar coast. Foreigners and the local people bought goods from Chettis. They crafted bells with reefs and sold it. The silk street of Kozhikode was the main trading centre of Chettis.²⁴⁹ From the earlier times onwards they settled in coastal region, later they spread over interior areas. Chettis lived in the places of Meenchanda, Beypore, Kallayi, Kannancheri in the Kozhikode district. The 'Settu' families living in Ponnani.

Chettis never engaged in trade from a permanent place. They have their own ships and capital. Their commercial activities centered in the South Asia. They reached different parts of world with their commercial goods such as Kayalpattanam, Kaveripoompattanam, Burma and Malakka. They exchanged their good with Chinese. They sold out a major share of Kerala spices at China. Barbosa recorded the Chettis as money lenders.

The merchant Nambu Chetti of Payyannur Pattu told to this son Ilamthari arayan that "where ever you go to the trade, you can have support and security of Anjuvannam, Manigramam and Pattanaswami. These line focused in the close relationship of Chettis with Jews and Christian Merchants.²⁵⁰

Conclusion.

The sea has brought about great changes in the social, economic and cultural spheres of man. The earliest foreign trade was by sea. There is evidence that the ports of the South engaged in trade relations with countries such as Greek, Rome, Egypt and Mesopotamia. These trade relations are evidence that the sea has been an important means of transporting goods since ancient times. *Anjuvannam*, *Manigramam*, *Nanadesikal* were some of the important trade groups.

In ancient times, the sea only served as the means of trade, but in the Middle Ages, it also became a means of paving the way for the influx of different religions into Kerala. During the Middle Ages, Islam, Christianity and Jews came to Kerala through Arabs, Portuguese and Dutch who came to the port areas of Kerala for trade.

²⁴⁹ N.M Namboothiri, *Malabar Padanangal*, Op. Cit., p. 101.

²⁵⁰ P. Antony (ed), *Payyannur Paattu*, DC Books, Kottayam, 1994, p. 28.

This influx of different religious sects paved the way for a cultural exchange in Kerala. Later, the Arabs started coming to Kerala only for religious propaganda, following the Arab traders.

In Kerala, Islam became very popular in the coastal areas of Malabar. Although the first Mosque was established in Kodungallur, most of the places of worship associated with the advent of Islam are found in the coastal areas of Kozhikode and Malapuram districts. Christianity took root in Thrissur and South Kerala. Jews settled in Mattancherry, part of Ernakulam district, and in some parts of Malabar.

Many domestic migrations to the Malabar region took place by sea for trade. Most of these migrations came from Kutch in Gujarat, Porbandar, Sindh in Multan and the coastal areas of Karnataka. As a result of these migrations, the coastal areas of Kozhikode and Malappuram became major trading streets.

Gujarathi street, Valiyagadi, Pattuthervu, and Chakkaravanibhatheruv are example of this. There were also many Alai Memon Muslim pantries on the shores of Kozhikode from Karnataka. Like this, Ponnani is the most famous town in Malappuram district. On the banks of the Ponnani, pantries still exist as evidence of the old commercial culture. It can be seen that Islam is very popular in Parappanangadi, Paravanna and Tanur.

Many ports have sprung up in the coastal areas of Malabar over the years. The ports of Malabar can be classified as ancient ports, medieval ports and modern ports. Ports were mostly built and used during the ancient and medieval times, when maritime trade was very important. The port was essential for the growth of trade relations centred on the coast. Places that once housed ancient and medieval ports are now often referred to as markets or towns. It can be seen that sea bridges were built during the British rule to promote coastal trade in Malabar. The importance of ports was lost as new means of cargo were discovered. This has also severely affected coastal commercial establishments. This change forced the people who had migrated to the coastal areas for trade to relocate.

CHAPTER II

FISHING VILLAGES IN SOUTH MALABAR

Introduction

Kerala has a coastline of 590 km, which accounts for 10% of India's total coastline. Due to this, Kerala is far ahead of other states in terms of fisheries. Kerala contributes one fifth of the total fish production in the country. Fisheries also play an important role in sustaining the economy of Kerala. Most of Kerala's wealth structure comes from seafood. The people who have adopted fishing as their livelihood, have a crucial role to play in sustaining this economy of Kerala.

In most of the ancient history of Kerala, we can see fishing communities making a living. There are many different fishing communities in Kerala today belonging to Mukkuva and Dheevera. Examples are Arayar, Valan, Mukaya, Parathavar, Nulayan, Mukaveeran, Bovi and Arayavati. Apart from these, there are many Muslim fishermen and Christian fishermen in Kerala. Occupationally there is a unifying nature in this fishing community but the social life and rituals remain different within this community. In this chapter, the different fishing villages of Kerala and its unique features are discussed.

Fishing Villages of Kerala

The fishing villages have a distinctively different appearance as compared to other villages in Kerala. The fishing villages are characterized by a very high density of population along the coast and are made up of a large number of houses clustered together and occupying the coastal fringes of the state. Unlike the rest of Kerala, which gives a clean appearance, the fishing villages are characterized by extremely congested houses and lack of basic facilities. In general, the houses are hutments or semi-permanent structures made with mud and thatched roofs or tiles, varying according to socio-economic status.¹

¹ Arati kelkar khambete, Traditional fisher folk of Kerala an article about their socio economic organization and the special relationship they share with the sea and the environment, 2012.

When Mathsyafed started functioning in 1985, there were 222 fishing villages in Kerala and now there are as many fishing villages in 9 districts.²Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Alappuzha, Ernakulam, Thrissur, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Kannur and Kasaragod are the districts in which Coastal fishing villages exist.³

Thiruvananthapuram district has the largest number of fishing villages. In Thiruvananthapuram district there are 42 fishing villages from South Kollamkode to Edava. South Kollamkode, Paruthiyoore, Poovar, Karyamkulam, Kochuthura, Puthiyathura, Pallam, Pulluvila, Adimalathura, Chovvara, North Vizhinjam, South Vizhinjam, Kovalam, Pananthura, Poonthura, Bimapalli, Cheriyaathura, Valiyathura, Kochuthoppu, Valiyathoppu, Shankhumukham, Kannanthura, Vettukkad, Kochuveli, Pallithura, Valiyaveli, Vettuthura, Puthanthopp, Vettiyaathura, Mariyanad, Puthukurichi, Perumaathura, Thazhamballi, Poonthura, Anjuthengu, Mamballi, Kaayikkara, Arivalam, Vettur, Chilakkoor, Odayam and Edava are the fishing villages in Thiruvananthapuram district.⁴

Most of the coastal villages end here as ‘Thura’. We can see that the word ‘Thura’ is used in most places in the history of Kerala to refer to ports. The word ‘Thura’ is also used to denote positions of authority. Examples are ‘Thurayilarayan’ and ‘Thuramaraykkan’.⁵Here the name ‘Thura’ means dwelling place.

This is what Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava varier say in the first part of the ‘History of Kerala’ “According to the evidence available from some of the major manufacturing areas in Malabar, Lands or ‘Thurakal’ were formed by workers such as Ashari, Musari, Thattan, Perumkollan, Vannan, Veluthodan, Velan, Chakkalan, Vaniyan and Chaliyan.”⁶

² Rekha Vasumathi, *Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham*, Kerala Basaha Institute, Trivandrum, 2013. p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p.81.

⁴ Vikasana Rekha, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997.

⁵ N.M Namboothiri, *Malabar Padanagal Samoothiri Nadu*, Kerala Basha Institute, Nalanda, Thiruvananthapuram, 2008, p. 127.

⁶ Raghava Varier, Rajan Gurukkal (ed), *Kerala Charithram*, Vallathol Vidhyapeedam, Sukapuram, 1991, p. 120.

In *Malabar Padanangal*, N.M Namboothiri has recorded the words 'Thurakaryasthan' and 'Thurasthani'. It is recorded that the administration of the ports of the Zamorin was vested in the Thuravatta Stupa. He noted that the 'Thurasthaani' here is known as Shabanthar Koya, Kozhikode Koya or Koya. From this it can be seen that the word 'Thura' was used in many places to denote different meanings according to time and local variations. According to V.V Haridas Zamorian sent order letter to the *Thura Athikarikal* of Ambadi Kovilakam to conduct the *Ezhunnallath* festival of 1740. Here *Thura Athikarikal* means administrators of the port.⁷ It can be understood that the word 'Thura' has the most related meaning to the sea.

After Thiruvananthapuram, the nearest coastal district is Kollam. Kollam district has a coastline of 30 miles long.⁸ This is 6.3% of the Kerala coast. Kollam district contributes one third of the fish production in Kerala.⁹ This includes 60% of shrimp. Development experiments for training and mechanization of traditional fishermen in modern technology were first initiated in Kerala.

The fishing villages selected in 1953 for the Indo-Norwegian project were from Kollam district. Areas like Shakthikulangara, Neendakara and Puthanthura were selected for this. Statistics show that fish production in these three areas is far ahead of other fishing villages. The average fish production is 5275 tons and there are about 3,000 mechanized fishing boats operating here.¹⁰

There are 27 fishing villages in Kollam district. South Paravur, North Paravur Mayyanad, Eravipuram -North, Eravipuram-South, Pallithottam, Port, Mudakkara, Vadi, Thanthasseri, Kanimel, Shakthikulangara, Neendakara, Puthanthura, Karithura, Kovilthottam, Ponmaba, Pandaarathuruthu, Vellana thuruthu, Cheriyaazheekkal, Aalappad, Kuzhinhura, Parayakadavu, Dhrayikkad, Azheekkal, Maruthur Kulangara, Kulasekharapuram are the fishing villages in

⁷ N.M Namboothiri, Op. Cit., p. 172.

⁸ A.Sreedhara Menon, *Gazetteer of India, Kerala*, Quilon, Government Press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1964, p. 5.

⁹ <http://kerala.gov.in/knowkerala/klm.htm>

¹⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kollam_district#cite_note-test-35

Kollam District.¹¹ Here also many places end with the name ‘Thura’. The names ‘Thuruth, Kadav and Azheekkal’ are related to the sea.

The name ‘Thuruth’ can be seen at some places in Malabar. Beypore has two island-like places that lie by the sea. They are also known as *Kappa Thuruthu* and *Pattarmad Thuruthu*. Boat construction takes place on such Islands. Next is the name ‘Kadavu’. In ancient times, water transport was possible by traditional boats. At that time, the centres of travel and freight could be seen ending in ‘Kadavu’. It can be assumed that the old *Kadavu* was the equivalent of modern boat jetties. With the advent of bridges and roads, travel through ‘Kadavu’ has decreased and there are many places in Kerala where the name ‘Kadavu’ exists only. It can be seen that most of them were the main ‘Kadavu’ of old.¹²

Next is the name Azhikkal. The place where the sea and the river meet, mainly called ‘Azhi’. The area where the sea and the river meet is called the ‘Estuary’. This is also the geographical feature of ‘Azheekal’ in Kollam district. It can be seen as a land where the sea and the lake meet.¹³

Alappad is another prominent fishing village. It is famous for its geographical location and the presence of a particular coastal population. The Alappuzha region is said to have formed from the *Chakara*, a rare phenomenon of the sea, dating back to the 1st century AD.¹⁴ There are indications that the coastline of Kerala has never been the same as it is today. Historian K.N Ganesh observes that the constant sea attacks and high tides of the sea have caused the destruction of many parts of the region and the emergence of new areas.¹⁵

Alappuzha is now known as an area that has been eroded by the sea for ages and is now only half a kilometre wide. It was believed that it had a width more than 4 kilometres in last century. According to the Natives of Alappad, a lithographic

¹¹ <https://www.keralacoast.org/fishing-villages-kollam.php>

¹² Interview with Abdullah Arayanvalappil (78), Native fishermen Chaliyam, 24/08/2018.

¹³ Donald W Pritchard, What is an estuary: physical view point, American association for the advancement of science publication, Washington D.C, 1967, pp. 3-5.

¹⁴ Soloman Neto (ed)., Samagra Vikasana rekha, Aalapad panchayat, 1997, p. 10.

¹⁵ K.N Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2018, p. 6.

map decades ago had shown the area of Alappad Panchayat as 89.5 square kilometre and it has now shrunk to a measly 7.6 square km due to sea erosion caused by the mining. It is said that sand mining is the main reason for the destruction of Alappad coast.¹⁶Neendakara, Chavara and Alappad, the coastal areas in Kollam district, are one of the richest areas in the world with a rich collection of metallic sand. From Neendakara to Azheekal, there is a 25 km long sand deposit at a depth of 800 m.

In 1909 German scientist Herr Shomberg discovered the brilliance of black sand in coir products that are exported to Germany from the Travancore Backwaters.¹⁷This sand contains 8% monazites. Fifteen minerals such as Thorium, Barium, Lanthanum and Yttrium can be classified from it. These are called rare minerals. Other than this, around 25% to 55% Ilmenite is found from the black sand. It is estimated that it contains 3 Crore tons of Titanium ore and 30 million tons of Rutile ore. These minerals are used in Petromax's mantle manufacturing, oil refining, aircraft and rocket manufacturing, and many other chemical industries. Despite such mining activities, a village is nearing extinction due to excessive sand mining.¹⁸ Malayalam writer Indugopan states in his preface to the novel that, *Manal Jeevikal* is directly based on the real life incident of black sand mining in Alappad.¹⁹

Another feature of Alappad is the local fishing community named Alappaattarayar. It is believed that the Alappattarayars migrated from Kaveripoompatnam. The 'Poompandaaras' who lived by making Bouquet at the south street of the temple in Kaveripoompatnam, are believed to be the ancestors of the Alappattarayar. It is said that they later adopted fishing as a family occupation due to the circumstances.²⁰

Alappuzha is the next coastal district after Kollam. Alappuzha has 29 fishing

¹⁶ Alappad: A tale of lost land to mineral sand mining (article), business standard, 11th January 2019.

¹⁷ Jency Nadayil, Impact Assessment of Mining At Alappad, Kollam, Kerala, International Research Journal of Engineering and Technology (IRJET) Volume: VIII, Issue: VI, June 2021.

¹⁸ K.P Gayathree, Aalapatte Araya Jeevidham: Samakalikathayum Swatha Roopikaranavum, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of Malayalam, SSUS Kalady, 2015, p. 42.

¹⁹ G.R Indugopan, *Manaljeevikal*, Chintha Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 2014, p. 12.

²⁰ Soloman Neto (ed)., Samagra Vikasana Rekha, Aalapad panchayat, 1997, p. 10.

villages and is the second largest coastal district after Kannur. Alappuzha district has a coastline of 82 km.²¹ Purakkad and Ambalapuzha are some of the famous coastal fishing villages of Alappuzha district. Purakkad is very famous for the phenomenon ‘Chakara’ which occurred in some part of the western coast of Kerala. Purakkad, Kochi and Njaraykkal are the main places for *Chakara* in Southern Kerala. A Dutch sailor named John Splinter *Stavorinus* is noted about the place ‘Porkka’ and its marine facilities.²²

Captain Cope mentioned about the *Chakara* in the book “A New History of the East Indies” like this, “ There does not seem to be any other place in the world equal to the situation in St. Andrea (almost 6 miles north to Alappuzha) The waves that come with great force calm down here for a moment. Ships can anchor here as if it were the best port.”²³

From such descriptions it can be seen that ‘Chakara’ was not a phenomenon confined to fishing. Purakatt is also famous for its descriptions of the naval tradition.²⁴ This is how Durate Barbosa, a 16th-century Portuguese man, wrote about Purakkad. “Purakkad has a king of its own. Many foreign fishermen live here. They have no other occupation in the winter except fishing. And they will not. Their job is to plunder the seas under their control during the summer. They have smaller types of boats, such as double-deck ships. They row skilfully. Ships anchored at sea are looted with such armed boats. Thus the plunder is shared with their king.”²⁵ Through this description one can get a rough idea about the naval capabilities and adventure of the Purakkad fishing community. Barbosa’s note suggests that Portuguese ships feared Purakkad fishermen in the 16th century.²⁶

²¹ <https://irrigation-kerala.org/coastline-kerala>

²² Velappan nair, Padinjara theerathe meen koythu, Mathrubhumi weekly, 10th August 1975.

²³ Raju Narayana Swamy, *Mathsya sambathu akshya pathramo..?*, (ND), p. 154.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ T.T Sreekumar (ed)., *Naatarivukal Kadalarivukal*, Dc Books, Kozhikode, 2004, p. 70.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Later, the area was much discussed with the Malayalam film ‘Chemmeen’ depicting coastal life. ‘Chemmeen’ is a 1956 novel written by Thakazhi Shivasankara Pilla.²⁷ This novel is based on the traditional beliefs that existed in the coastal region of Kerala. It was made into a film by Ramu Kariat in 1965. In 1965, the film won the President’s ‘Golden Lotus’ for best picture. This is the first time a South Indian film has received this recognition.²⁸ Although the question remains as to how honest the film ‘Chemmeen’ was made with the life of the Arayars in Alappuzha, Chemmeen still stands out from the rest of the films as it portrays some of the serene images of coastal life.

In the same year that the novel ‘Chemmeen’ was published, Dr.V.V Velukutty Arayan wrote a book named ‘*Chemmeen : Oru Niroopanam*’. In this book, Velukutty Arayan says that the story background, story culture and reality depicted in ‘*Chemmeen*’ are not in harmony with reality and that Thakazhi’s own imaginations are very misleading. According to Thakazhi, the film was a literary work and the characters were fictional. The controversy arose due to the inability to contain this distinction. ‘*Chemmeen*’ is still far ahead of other films set against the backdrop of the sea.²⁹

The following are the other fishing villages in Alappuzha district which stretch from Valiya Azheekal to Pallithodu. Tharayil Kadavu, Kallikkad, Aarattupuzha, Pathiyankara, Thrikkunnappuzha, Pallana, Thottappilli, Punthala, Purakkad, Ambalapuzha, Neerikkunnam, South Punnapra, North Punnapra, South Vadakkal, North Vadakkal, Kanjiramchira, South Thumboli, North Thumboli, Chettikkad, Kattur, Pollathai, Chethi, Chennaveli, Arthunkal, Thaikal, Ottamasseri, Azheekkal, South Pallithod, North Pallithod.³⁰

After Alappuzha, the next coastal district is Ernakulam. Ernakulam district has 20 coastal fishing villages from Chellanam to Saudi fishing harbour Cochin.

²⁷ Thakazhi Sivasankara Pilla, *Chemmeen*, Dc Books, Kottayam, 2023.

²⁸ Renu Saran, *History Of Indian Cinema*, Diamond Pocket Books Private Ltd., EBooks, New Delhi, 2014.

²⁹ Velukutty Arayan, *Chemmen: Oru Niroopanam*, Dr. V.V Velukutty Arayan Foundation, Cheriyaazheekal, 2006, p.13.

³⁰ <https://www.keralacoast.org/fishing-villages-alappuzha.php>

Ernakulam district has a coastline of 46 km. Fort Kochi is the largest fish producer in Ernakulam district.³¹

Maruvakkad, Kandakadav, Kannamali, Cheriya Kadav, Manasseri, Fort Cochi, Azheekkal, Ochanthuruth, Malipuram, Ilamkunnappuzha, Njarakkal, Nayarambalam, Edavanakad, Pazhangad, Ayyamballi, Kuzhupilli, Pallipuram, Cherayi, Munambam are the other fishing villages in Ernakulam District.³² According to the Marine Census 2005-2006, the total population of the fishing village in Ernakulam district is 77762 and the fish production is 54801 tonnes.³³

The nearest coastal district after Ernakulam is Thrissur. There are 18 coastal fishing villages in Thrissur district. Azheekod, Eriyad, Edavilang, Vemballur, Kulimuttam, Perinjanam, Kayppamangalam, Chenthrappinni, Cheppallipuram, Nattika, Thamikulam, Vadanappalli, Engandiyur, Blangad, Manathala, Kadappuram, Edakkazhiyur, Manathalamkunnu are the main fishing villages in Thrissur district. These are located in the 54 km long coastal areas of Thrissur district.³⁴

After Thrissur, the coastal districts are Malappuram and Kozhikode, also known as South Malabar. After these, Kannur and Kasaragod are the other coastal districts. Kannur is the largest coastal district in Kerala.³⁵ It has a coastline of 82km. There are 11 fishing villages at Payyannur, Kannur, Edakkad, Thalasseri blocks in Kannur district.³⁶ Madayi, Mattul, Ramanthali, Chirakkal, Pallikkunnu, Azheekod, Edakkad, Muzhuppilangad, Dharmmadam, New Mahi, Kodiya are the Panchayats where these fishing villages located.³⁷

Kasaragod district is the last coastal district of northern Kerala. Apart from Malayalam, Kasaragod district, which shares a border with Dakshina Kannada, also

³¹ Rekha Vasumathi, Op. Cit., p.100.

³² <https://www.keralacoast.org/fishing-villages-ernakulam.php>

³³ Rekha Vasumathi, Op. Cit., p.101.

³⁴ <https://www.keralacoast.org/fishing-villages-thrissur.php>

³⁵ A.Sreedhara Menon(ed), *Cannore District Gazetteer*, Printed By The Superintendent of Government Presses, At The Government Press, Trivandrum, 1972, p. 4.

³⁶ <https://www.keralacoast.org/fishing-villages-kannur.php>

³⁷ *Ibid.*

has people who speak Thulu, Kannada, Byari, Marathi, Kongini and Urdu.³⁸ Kasaragod is the last formed district in Kerala. It was formed in 1984 May 24. Before that it was a part of Kannur district.³⁹

There are 16 fishing villages in Kasaragod district at Manjeswaram, Kasaragod, Kankanad, Nileswaram blocks. Mangalpadi, Meenachil, Kumbala, Chenkala, Chermad, Bedadukka, Madhur, Mogral Puthur, Uduma, Ajanur, Pallikara, Cheruvathoor, Padanna, Valiyaparamb are the Panchayats where the fishing villages in Kasaragod district located. Mukayar and Mukhaveera, the major fishing communities of Kerala, are mostly found in the coastal areas of Kasaragod district. Kasaragod district has a coastline of about 70 km.⁴⁰

Ambikasuthan Mangad, a novelist, wrote a novel titled “*Marakkappile Theyyangal*” based on the coast of Kasaragod district. “Marakkaapp” is a coastal town in Kasaragod district. Ambikasuthan Mangad in his book “*Marakkaappile Theyyangal*” presents the tragic view of coastal uniqueness being exploited in the face of consumerism.⁴¹

Coastal customs, practices, laws and prohibitions can be seen in the novel. Bowing is a regular sight on the coast. The people of Marakkapp offers ‘Bali’ on the day of the *Kadalattvavu*, all those who have died. Coastal people say that the sea was shaking that day because the souls of the dead were trying to come ashore from the sea. Some of these beliefs are prevalent on most shores. Similarly, the Theyyams like ‘Kalichekon’, ‘Puliyur Kali’, ‘Nandachaur Bhagavathi’ and the deities ‘Brahmarakshass’, ‘Poomala Bhagavathi’, ‘Kuthirakaali Bhagavathi’ and ‘Shree Kurumba’ are deeply rooted in the belief of the coastal people.⁴²

The faith of the coastal people in their traditions and customs is also reflected in their judgments. Evidence of this can be found in the court of sea and the

³⁸ K. Balakrishnan, *Kasargodan Gramangalilude*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2009, p. 23.

³⁹ District hand book Kerala Vol I, Department of information and Public-Relation, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 2008, p. 23.

⁴⁰ K. Padmanaban, *Mukkuvarum Theeradesha Samskrithiyum*, Pusthaka bavan, Payyannur, 2016, p. 24.

⁴¹ Ambikasuthan Mangad, *Marakkaappile Theyyangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2021, p. 12.

⁴² C.K Ranajit, *Kadalum Kadal jeevithavum Malayala novelil*, Poorna Publications, Kozhikode, 2015, p. 53.

punishments. Most of the punishments are in the form of offerings to temples. It is common in real life for a sea court to decide to offer one hundred and one cups of tender coconut water to Sri Kurumba Bhagavathi.⁴³ It is through such views that it can be seen that the coastal people do not have a life abandoned by tradition. We can see that sea courts are still exist in most of the coastal areas of Malabar.

Fishing Villages in South Malabar

Malappuram and Kozhikode districts are known as the South Malabar and Kannur and Kasaragod are the North Malabar. Malappuram is a district with many unique features unlike other districts in Kerala. Malappuram district has a coastline of 70 km.⁴⁴ The fishing villages in Malappuram district are in the Panchayats of Parappanangadi, Vallikkunnu, Thanalur, Tanur, Purathur, Vettam, Ezhuvathiruthi, Perumbadapp and Veliyancode located in the five blocks of Tirurangadi, Tanur, Tirur, Ponnani and Perumbadapp.

Malappuram district has the largest number of Mappila fishermen in Kerala. The Mappila fishermen here used to be known as *Puyslans* in the past. The *Puyslans* are degraded Muslims. *Puyslan* is the vernacular expression of the New Islam. Apart from fishing villages in Malappuram district, there are Mappila fishermen in the coastal villages of Kozhikode and Thalasseri, Aayikkara, Puthiyangaadi, Mattul, Ettikkulam, Padanna, Kanjangad, Kumbala, Manjeswaram in North Kerala.⁴⁵

The fishermen of Malappuram district, which shares a border with Kozhikode district, have their own customs, rituals and beliefs. Fishermen of Kozhikode and Malappuram are equal in terms of sea knowledge, regardless of religious beliefs.⁴⁶ There are 23 fishing villages from Palapetty to Kadalundi beach. In the same Panchayat in Malappuram district, it has been observed that there is more than one fishing village located alternately within two to three kilometres. The

⁴³ Ambikasuthan Mangad, *Marakkaappile Theyyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 24.

⁴⁴ M. Vijayan Unni (ed)., Census of India, series 10, Kerala, 1981, p. 12.

⁴⁵ K.Padmanaban Op. Cit., p.17.

⁴⁶ Interview with Moytheen koya (70) Pareechintepurakkal, Native fishermen of , Ariyallur, 28/04/2018.

coastal region is the most densely populated area and therefore it can be assumed that multiple fishing villages have sprung up in the same Panchayat.

Palappetti, Veliyancode, Puthuponnani, Thekke Kadappuram, Mukkadi, Marakkadavu, Meentheruvu, Palli valapp, Purathur, Koottayi, Paravanna, Thevar Kadappuram, Puthiya Kadappuram, Osan Kadappuram, Pandara Kadappuram, Edakadappuram, Korman Kadappuram, Elaran Kadappuram, Parappanangadi, Arayan Kadappuram, Ariyallur beach and Kadalundi beach are the fishing villages in Malappuram district.⁴⁷

Palapetty is a fishing village located in the Perumbadappu Panchayat of Malappuram district. Palapetty Fishing Village is located 15 km south of Ponnani. Perumbadappu is also a Panchayat which borders Malappuram district and Thrissur district. Five wards in Perumbadappu Panchayat are fishing villages along the coast. Puthiyiruthi West, Ariyur West, Palappetti East, Poovankara and Palappetti West are those coastal wards.⁴⁸

According to the 2007 - 2008 Marine Census, there are about 800 Families in these areas. Most of the people in these coastal villages have adopted fishing as their main source of livelihood. It is estimated that about 90 fishermen in these 5 wards are landless. The 350 fishermen in these wards are insured by the Fisheries Board. There are many families living here in a joint family system, mostly working in traditional fishing methods and looking after the family. This fishing village has a coastline of about 6.20 km.⁴⁹

Veliyancode is the nearest fishing village after Palapetty. This fishing village is located at the Veliyancode Panchayat in Perumbadapp block. 4 wards of the Panchayat is in coastal line. Around 870 people live in these 5 wards. It has 5.30km Beach. The existing fishing villages are in Ummer Khasi, Ayyottichira, Veliyancode town and Pattumuri wards.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ <https://www.keralacoast.org/fishing-villages-malappuram.php>

⁴⁸ M. Prakashan, (ed)., Vikasana Rekha, Veliyancode Grama Panchayat, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996.

⁴⁹ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/palapetty.pdf>

⁵⁰ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/veliyancodu.pdf>

Veliyancode Grama Panchayat, situated on the western border of the Arabian Sea, is famous for its fishing centre and marketing centre. There were several *chappas* here on the shore where the Fisheries Department had more than 3 acres. These *chappas* were focused on storing salt coming from ports such as Thoothukudi and delivering it to other non-fishing areas.⁵¹

These coastal areas had a large fish drying industry. The dried fish was also stored in these coastal *chappas*. The officers in charge of such *chappas* were called ‘Petty officers’ by the natives. From here, tons of fish were processed and exported. This sector was dominated by small and medium capitalists.⁵²

Most of the fishing workers in Veliyancode are women. This is a different matter from other areas. In the early days women were also engaged in occupations related to fishing. According to the 1991 census, 2920 of the people living in the Panchayat involved in fishing and marketing were women.⁵³

There are multiple fishing villages in Veliyancode Panchayat. In the early days, fishing was done in a very adventurous way using local boats. Among the boats used at that time, the main tools were 4 bamboo poles made of *Pathal* and *Mukk* and the Chukkan (Oars) made of wood.⁵⁴

The Mat (Paya) made of thick cloth and was controlled by bamboo, used to keep the boat afloat without the use of rods. It had been called as *Oodikunna paya*. A group of ten people in two boats went fishing. These were known as ‘Valakkar’. These people used 50 kg nets and 25 kg ropes, stones and float.⁵⁵

In the early days, fishing in all areas was controlled by private individuals in the area. The fishermen were severely exploited by them. Workers had to be satisfied with the meager wages paid by the employers even during the fish-rich season. No fisherman had the courage to give figures relating to wages. Organizational unity is still rare among workers.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Vikasana Rekha, Veliyancode, 1997, p. 30.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ Interview with Sulaiman (65), Pandikasala, Native fisherman, Veliyancode, 4/01/2019.

⁵⁵ Interview with Muhammadali (60), Aajiyarakath, Native fisherman, Ponnani, 4/01/2019.

⁵⁶ Interview with Moydheenkutty (72), Thareekanakath, Native fisherman, Ponnani, 4/01/2019.

Fishermen used to borrow money from boat owners during times of famine and poverty. Borrowing this money was called '*Pattu*'. If the indebted worker became ill or died, the responsibility would be passed on to the minor children. The condition was that these children would then have to work as slaves under the masters.⁵⁷

There was a provision that workers must work every year under one employer. The fixed date for this agreement was *Midhunam*¹⁵. Many fishermen have been injured and killed during such working hours. The fishermen had informed each other by pointing in the mirror and raising the flag in case of sea rage. The truth is that until the 1980s, fishing workers were the victims of capitalist exploitation.⁵⁸

After Veliancode, the nearest fishing villages are Puthuponnani, South Kadappuram, Mukkadi, Marakkadavu and Meentheruvu. All these fishing villages come under the Ponnani Municipality. Puthuponnani is a fishing village comprising of 3 coastal wards of Ponnani Municipality. There are about 860 houses in these three wards. Puthuponnani fishing village has 3.5 kilometre coastline. Majority of them are traditional fishermen. Parankivalapp, Munsifal office and Cherupalli are the wards in this coastline.⁵⁹

The Thekke Kadappuram is a fishing village comprising of two coastal wards of Ponnani Municipality. 620 houses are located there. It has around 2km coastline in these two wards. Thekke Kadappuram is one of the traditional fishing grounds.⁶⁰ The natives say that most of the land on the south bank was under the control of a prominent person named Porookka. He is said to have given 10 cents of land to more than 25 people during the land reform. In the 1960s, there was the first coastal movie theatre called Sophie. The theatre was started by a man named Stephen. The theatre disappeared in the 1970s. Puthuponnani and Mylanchikad wards are presently part of Thekke Kadappuram fishing village.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Interview with Kunjimarakkar (78) Marakkarakath, Native fisherman, Ponnani, 4/01/2019.

⁵⁸ Vikasana Rekha, Veliancode, 1997, p. 31.

⁵⁹ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/puduponnani.pdf>

⁶⁰ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/thekkekadappuram.pdf>

⁶¹ K.A Ummerkutty, Kadalora Jeevitham Samskaram, in C.Asharaf (ed)., *Ponnani Oru Ithihasa Paithrikathinte Suvarna Rekha*, Ponnani Poura Samootha Saba, Ponnani, 2018, p. 218.

Mukkadi is another fishing village located in the Ponnani Municipality. About 495 families live here in 2 coastal wards. Historians suggest that fishing has been practiced in this area for as long as 2000 years. Its name is believed to originate from the term ‘Mukkuvanpadi’ which refers to a community of fishermen.⁶²

There was a Muzaffari bungalow here which was many years old. Next to it you can see the remains of a stable. Later, this bungalow became a salt storage centre brought from Thoothukudi. A boundary stone in Mukkadi marks Ponnani’s limits for seafarers. Another boundary stone existed on the other side of the sea until the 1970s, with the lighthouse stands between the two.⁶³

Francis Buchanan makes some references to the fact that the name Mukkadi is derived from the presence of a fisherman. It is recorded that he visited Ponnani on December 14, 1800. He records that he had seen many small huts in Ponnani and that were belonged to a lower caste among the Hindus. He notes that most of them were converts to Islam.⁶⁴

Marakkadavu is another fishing village in the Ponnani Municipality. It is an important centre for traditional fishing in Ponnani. Marakkadavu is one of the important fishing grounds of the fishermen. Marakkadavu fishing village has a coastline of 2.8 km. The coastal area is in two wards, Murinjazhi and Mukkadi.⁶⁵

Nayadi Colony, a coastal town near Marakadavu, is very famous. This coastal area is part of the Mukkadi fishing village. Nayadi Colony is the only non-Muslim settlement on the coast of Ponnani.⁶⁶ It’s located to the south of MES College. The Nayadis are Dalits who were brought from Punnayoorkulam Attupuram in the 1930s by the British and rehabilitated by a lease.⁶⁷ Nayadis had a past of wandering around with no way to live, enslaved to social

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ C.K Kareem (trns.), *Francis Buchanan in Kerala*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1981, p. 76.

⁶⁵ Interview with Abullakutty (73), Aalyamaakanakath, Native fisherman, Ponnani, 4/01/2019.

⁶⁶ Interview with Balakrishnan (61), Puthooru valappil, Native of Nayadi Colony, 6/01/2019.

⁶⁷ K.A Ummerkutty, Kadalora Jeevitham Samskaram, Op. Cit., p. 217.

upheavals. Jayamohan's book "Noorusimhasanangal" chronicles the lives of Nayadis and the attitudes of society towards them.⁶⁸

With the rehabilitation of the coast, new aspects of freedom were opened before them. Only Ponnani, Azhikkal, Puthuponnani and Mukkadi were inhabited at that time. With the increase in population, the Nayadis began to associate with the families of Muslim fishermen, which revolutionized their lives. They grew up like brothers and sisters with Muslims. The majority of the people in Nayadi Colony were educated under the Education Protection Scheme which was given to the lower castes after independence. This Nayadi colony has become a sanctuary for illiterate fishermen to read and write.⁶⁹

During the Gulf exile, coastal fishermen relied on Nayadis to read letters and reply back. Muthappan is the family god of Nayadis. There is a Muthappan temple here which is traditionally worshiped. In addition to traditional work, Nayadis also engaged in fishing. They used to fish with their families with their own made special fishing nets.⁷⁰

From Ponnani estuary to Puthuponnani as they live in an area of 7 km west of Tipu Sultan Road, most of them are associated with fishermen. It is the most populated coastline in Kerala. Initially, fishing was done in a traditional way. At that time most of the workers were residents of Marakkadavu, Thekkekadavu and Puthuponnani beach.⁷¹

They used Kambavala, Chavittuvala, Thattuvala, Peythuvala, Pachavala for fishing. In these areas, the workers were called 'Valakkars', and there was a practice of fishing overnight by a group of people for three or four days in the deep sea with large baits. The *Valakkar* were going by pulling the poles and cut the waves. They withdrew from this method as labor was high and profits were low.⁷² Later came the *Koruvallam*, which employed 25-30 workers. Excluding oil costs and commissions,

⁶⁸ Jaya Mohan, *Nooru Simhasanagal*, Mthrubhumi publication, Kozhikode, 2014.

⁶⁹ Interview with Moosa (79), Chembukudiyantakath, Native of Nayadi Colony, 6/01/2019.

⁷⁰ Interview with Sadasivan (54), Kakkattu, Native of Nayadi Colony, 6/01/2019.

⁷¹ Edger Thursten, Madars government Museum, Bulletin, Vol II, NO I Anthropology, Superintendent, Government press, Madras, 1897, p.164.

⁷² K.K Ramachandran Nair, Kerala District Gazetteer: Malappuram, Kerala Gazetteers Publishers, Thiruvanthapuram, 1986, p. 353.

workers get 60%. On non-fishing days, the price of oil goes up to the fishermen. If they get fish, they have to pay off these debts. Damage to the engine, boat and net must be compensated from 40% of the amount received by the owner. Fishing began in the 1960s with mechanized boats. As part of the Indo-Norwegian project, Ponnani became an area with more fish stocks.⁷³

Until five decades ago, the fishing industry was strong in Ponnani. The fish was marketed on foot and by bicycle in the neighbourhood. The rest was dried and exported. There were ample facilities for boiling and caring for prawns on the fish street and on the beach, and the whole family, both men and women, was engaged in this work.⁷⁴ The highest netting in Malabar was in the coastal areas of Ponnani. Gradually netting, fish processing and drying were mechanized.⁷⁵

Padanna Community

The Padanna community is a Hindu community living in the coastal areas of Ponnani. They lived in group in the coastal areas like Biyyam, Kallikkad and Kadavanad. Padannan community is one of the four sub group of Kanakkan community.⁷⁶ Their main occupation was operating ferrying. Traditionally, they used *Kevu Vallam*, *Charakku Thoni* and Cruise ships. Apart from Ponnani, these communities used to lead traditional canoe and cargo boats on waterways like Tirur, Kozhikode, Guruvayur, Kochi and Thiruvananthapuram.⁷⁷

From Ponnani, they exported coir, dried fish and coconut to the required markets. The community had the traditional right to transport the Alvancherry Thampras to Thiruvananthapuram by boat. Their other livelihood is fishing and net making. The women of the Padanna community were traditionally engaged in shrimp farming in the backwaters.⁷⁸

⁷³ T.V Abdurahiman kutty, *Charithraurangunna Ponnani*, Ashrafi book centre Thirurangadi, 2017, p. 122.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ K.S Singh, *Peoples of India: Kerala, Part III*, Anthropological survey of India, 2002, p. 1113.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ C.Asharaf, Matham Jathi Vamsam, in C. Asharaf (ed)., *Ponnani Oru Ithihasa Paithrikathinte Suvarna Rekha*, Ponnani Pura Samootha Saba, Ponnani, 2018, p. 127.

After Meentheruvu, the next fishing village is Pallivalappu. This coastal fishing village is located in the Mangalam Grama Panchayat in Tirur Taluk. Pallivalappu has 2.25km long coastal line. 720 families live here in 2 wards. There is a fish landing centre and two ice plants in this fishing village.⁷⁹

After Pallivalappu, the next fishing village is Purathoor. The three wards of Purathoor Grama Panchayat are coastal wards. There are about 1147 houses in these 3 wards. Pandazhi, Edakkanadu and Azhimukham are the coastal wards. It has 5km coastline. Fishing and fish marketing are the main sources of livelihood for the people of this fishing village.⁸⁰

In the olden days, the traditional method of fishing was practiced by the fishermen of Purathur. In the early days, deep sea fishing was done using *Peythan* net and Bait. Currently, fishing is mainly done using modern equipment.⁸¹

The main sources of fish in the area are mackerel, herring, *Kora*, *Chemban*, *Chooda*, manta and crab. Fishes such as Shrimp, *Methall*, trout and *Mullan* are also found here in Small quantities. Fishermen say that the availability of fish here is very low at present. There is also a Fishermen's Co-operative Society based at Purathur for the development of fishermen.⁸²

The next fishing village after Purathoor is Koottayi and Paravanna in Vettam Grama Panchayat in Tirur block.⁸³ These were fishing villages where fishing was the main source of livelihood. Vettam Panchayat has 9 km long coastline. Apart from this, Vettam is a Panchayat with a length of 13 km consisting of Tirur-Ponnani river, Canolly canal and Backwaters. Most of the wards in the Panchayat are fully or partially populated by fishermen. More than 250 women were engaged in fish processing in the Panchayat. Fishermen say that about 50 years ago, there were many *chappas* on the coast associated with fish processing. It is said that men also worked here in connection with fish processing.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Vikasana Rekha, Pallivalappu, 1996.

⁸⁰ Vikasana Rekha, Puthoor, 1996.

⁸¹ Interview with, Khadar, (70) Chakkarakarantekath, Marakkadavu, Native fisherman, 25/06/2018.

⁸² Vikasana Rekha, Puthoor, 1996.

⁸³ Vikasana Rekha, Vettam, 1996.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

There were mainly three Fishermen Development and Welfare Co-operative Societies in Vettam Panchayat. Pallivalappu Fishermen Development Co-operative Society, Paravanna Fishermen Development Co-operative Society and Koottayi Fishermen's Co-operative Society. Palli Valappu later became part of the Mangalam Panchayat. Currently, Koottayialso a part of the Mangalam Gram Panchayat.⁸⁵

Koottayi fishing village has 2.1km long coastline. It's recorded that there are 775 houses in 3 wards in this coastline.⁸⁶ There is also a Fisheries Colony in Koottayi which is home to many fishermen. The women's pickle manufacturing unit operated here. In the early days, shrimp nuts were made at Koottayi and Paravanna. These were also exported to foreign countries. The Madras Fisheries Record of 1916 shows that fish was exported from Koottayi, Paravanna to Colombo and other Indian states. Due to the continuous shortage of fish, the export sector later collapsed.⁸⁷

The Paravanna fishing village alone has a 4 km long beach. Paravanna is listed as an Islamic centre in the book *Tuh-fatul Mujahideen*.⁸⁸ It has the largest number of Muslim fishermen. The coastal wards of Vettam Panchayat are Thevara Kadappuram, Vadakkanpadiyam and Paravanna town. Apart from Paravanna, Vakkad and Asanpadi are also coastal areas with a large number of Mappila fishermen.⁸⁹ The ancestors of most of the Muslims in the coastal areas of Paravanna and Vakkad are converts from the Hindu community and hence the influence of Hinduism can be seen in some of the rituals here.⁹⁰

After Paravanna the next fishing villages are Thevara Kadappuram, Puthiya Kadappuram, Chiran Kadappuram, Osan Kadappuram, Pandara Kadappuram, Eda Kadappuram, Kormman Kadappuram and Elaran Kadappuram. All of these are

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Vikasana Rekha, Kootayi, 1996.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ C. Hamsa (trns.), *Tuffat ul Mujahidheen*, Al hudha Books, Calicut, 1999, p. 42.

⁸⁹ Vikasana Rekha, Paravanna Grama Panchayath, 1996.

⁹⁰ Interview with Mundan (79), Odamcheriyil, Native of Paravanna, 28/06/2018.

included in the Tanur Panchayat of Tanur Block.⁹¹ These fishing villages are so close together that the religious and other rituals are similar across them, especially among the majority of the Mappila fishermen. The coastal areas of Tanur are well documented in the historical records under the single name of Tanur as all the fishing villages have the same character.⁹²

Tanur Panchayat was formed in 1964 by the merger of Tanur Town and Tanur Grama Panchayat.⁹³ It is believed that the name Tanur was derived from the word ‘Thaniyur’, which means ‘town with a lot of Thani trees’ and later became Tanur, probably due to the dense growth of *Thani* trees. To prove this there are some place names. *Thannichottil* is an example for this.⁹⁴

Palakuttiyazhi, the southern boundary of Tanur, was a wide river that flowed along the estuary. Over time, the Depths became ‘*Chira*’ and ‘*Chira*’ turned into fields. Such geographical changes are being observed in most parts of the coast. Some of the fields in Tanur still have names like Vankath Chira and Valanchira. Tanur has a view of religious harmony similar to that found in some other coastal areas.⁹⁵

Tanur was under the rule of King Vettam during his reign.⁹⁶ During the reign of King Vettam, three or four Muslim traders, said to have been sent by Cheraman Perumal, arrived and asked for a woman to cook for them. The king said that the women of the royal family had gone to bathe, and that they should take the first lady after bathing. Legend has it that the king’s niece was the first to arrive after the bath, but the king obeyed. The king provided them with housing and facilities. This house is today known as the “Pazhayakath House”.⁹⁷

⁹¹ K.P.C Bava, et.al, (ed), Vikasana Rekha, Tanur Grama Panchayat, Thiuruvananthapuram, 1996.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Interview with Pazhayakath Karanavar, (71), 21/02/2019.

One of the titles in the Sobhaparambu temple at Tanur, “Aven” is given by the Vettath Raja. But after the collapse of the kingdom at Vettam, the “Aven” title was given by the Pazhayakath family, the present-day Muslim clan, as remnants of the dynasty. The fact that the Aven title in a Hindu temple is given by a Muslim family can be considered as a testament to the history of a bygone era and religious harmony. This religious harmony is evident in the fisheries and employment of Tanur.⁹⁸

Tanur is a Panchayat, which is made up of several small fishing villages. In Malappuram district only two Government ice plants are available now, one at Tanur and the other at Ponnani, with a capacity of five and ten tons per day respectively.⁹⁹ Tanur Panchayat consists of 7 fishing villages. A fishing village is only partially part of the Panchayat. That is Thevar Kadappuram fishing village. Some part of it belongs to Vettam Panchayat.¹⁰⁰

Chiran Kadappuram is the first of the 7 fishing villages. It includes 10th & 11th wards of Tanur Grama Panchayat. It has 3.5km long coastline. According to the information available from Kerala State Development Corporation Limited, the population of Chiran Kadappuram is 2368. There are about 1190 houses in the area. Most of the people in this area are fishermen using traditional fishing methods. The fact that there are two LP schools in this fishing village is very helpful for the students of the coastal area.¹⁰¹

After Chiran Kadappuram, the next fishing village is Ossan Kadappuram. 13th ward of Tanur Grama Panchayat is here. There are almost 400 houses. It has a coastline about 2km long. There is a fish market and 6 ice plants here. The fishermen in Chiran Kadappuram depend on this market and the ice plants.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Interview with Pazhayakath Cheriya Karanavar, (68), 21/02/2019.

⁹⁹ C.K Kareem. (ed.), District Gazetteer, Malappuram, Government press, Ernamkulam, 1986, p. 357.

¹⁰⁰ Vikasana Rekha, Vettam Grama Panchayat, 1996.

¹⁰¹ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/cheerankadappuram.pdf>

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

Pandara Kadappuram is the next fishing village. It is located in the 16th ward of Tanur Panchayat. It has only 1km long coastline. As of 2003-2004, the village had a population of 2,714.¹⁰³ Next is Eda Kadappuram. It has almost 2km long coastline. The 12th ward of Tanur Panchayat is a part of this fishing village. Almost 2024 fishermen families are living here. Most of them are traditional fishermen.¹⁰⁴

The next fishing village is Koraman Kadappuram. The coastline is about three kilometres long and has a population of over four thousand. The 1st and 22nd wards of the Panchayat is located in this fishing village. The wards are Ottupuram and Chirakkal.¹⁰⁵

Next is the fishing village of Elaran Kadappuram. This fishing village is part of Tanur Panchayat and has two wards along the coast. Wards 15 & 17 are part of this fishing village. It has a coastline of 3.25 km and this fishing village has a LP School, UP School and a High School.¹⁰⁶

Fishermen are concentrated in 9 wards on the western border of Tanur Panchayat. More than 95% of them are Muslim fishermen. According to locals, the fishermen here have been exploited by Middle-Class Capitalists for years.¹⁰⁷

Fishermen from Tanur also took part in the 1921 Malabar Rebellion as part of the Indian independence movement. One of them, Cheriya Moytheen Kanakath Kammaji, a native of Eda Kadappuram, was shot dead in a clash with the British Army. Fishermen used tools, such as rudders and rods, to fight the British gunmen. Kutti Ahammad Kutti Haji is one of the prominent person during the independence movement.¹⁰⁸

Tanur was one of the early settlements of the Portuguese and after the peace of 1513 with the Zamorin a chapas was founded here. St Francis Xavier visited the

¹⁰³ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/pandakadappuram.pdf>

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/edakkadappuram.pdf>

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/korankadappuram.pdf>

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/elarankadappuram.pdf>

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Kuttyali, (70) Arayantapurakkal, Tanur, Native fisherman, 25/06/2018.

¹⁰⁸ K.P.C Bava, et.al, (ed.), Vikasana Rekha, Tanur Grama Panchayath, Op. Cit., p. 22.

place in 1546 and converted the local chieftain. Evidence suggests that Tanur was one of the important trading centres of the colonial era. The French had a colony on the banks of the Tanur. This place was known as 'French Chappa'. The French Chappa was a commercial centre of five acres. Most of the coconuts were exported from here. The area remained under French rule for some time after independence.¹⁰⁹

There is some other evidence that the coast of Tanur was a commercial centre. Various records of the Madras Government show that Tanur was a major trading centre and fishing village at that time. The fish was exported from Tanur to places like Singapore, Malaysia and Colombo. According to locals, Saithalikutty, a native of Tanur, was a prominent businessman of the time.¹¹⁰

In 1883, the annual import was Rs. 7247 and the export was Rs.90345. Chandaparambu, near the present day fish market, was another trading centre of Tanur. Located on the western side of the Tanur railway station, this place had an extensive market every Tuesday. In the market where goods were brought and sold in bullock carts, everything except animals was available. There were several warehouses here as evidence of trade.¹¹¹

Known as a fishing centre and a commercial centre, this fishing village has a rich transport history. A road ends at Kodungallur on the south of Beypore river via Tanur, Ponnani and Veliyancode. The other starts from Tanur and reaches Palakkad via Puthiyangadi, Thirunavaya, Omalur, Trithala, Kavilappara and Lakkidi Kotta. From Palakkad it reaches Coimbatore and Kollengode via Chittoor-Thathamangalam. The other is a coastal road built during Tipu Sultan's rule. It is still known as Tipu Sultan Road.¹¹²

If you look at the fishing history of Tanur, in the early days fishing was done using *Cheruvallangal* (a type of traditional fishing boat). Fishing with

¹⁰⁹ C.K Kareem. (ed.), *District gazetteer Malappuram*, Government press Ernakulum, 1986, p. 859.

¹¹⁰ Interview with, Abdul Khader, Arayantepurakkal (68), Mangalam, Native fisherman, 23/04/2018.

¹¹¹ Vikasana Rekha Tanur, Op. Cit., p. 18.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

Chundanvallangal (Beaked boats) began about thirty years ago. Fishing with Beaked boats was the beginning of many changes in the field and the traditional method of fishing was to provide income to the workers themselves. If fish were not available in those times, it would not have been spent on any item other than the cost of daily necessities. At the time of their landing, the rat boats had a daily fuel consumption of 3,000 to 5,000, so if they did not get the fish, the fishing families would starve.¹¹³

Tanur Osssn Kadappuram is the main fishing centre of Tanur Grama Panchayat. The fish available to the fishermen is marketed here. The fish is traded through an intermediary known as *Havala*. *Havala* receives a small percentage of the proceeds from the sale. Five per cent of the proceeds from the sale of fish (in the 1990s) are paid as a commission to *Havala* for financially assisting fishermen in purchasing fishing equipment.¹¹⁴

The fish from here is mainly sold at fish markets in other urban areas and at private markets in the Panchayat. Fishermen are often exploited during the availability of prawns as they are not aware of the fluctuations in the market price. In addition, the fishermen could only get 5 to 10 per cent of the total sales amount deducted in the name of “*Pidutham*”.¹¹⁵

There have been some changes in the employer-employee relationship since the *Chundan* boats landed. In the early days, fishing gear was owned by the owners. But then the fishermen started buying fishing equipment including *Chundan* boats in groups of 10 to 25 people. In this everyone will be entitled according to their share. And distributes income.¹¹⁶

Until about thirty years ago, 5 types of boats were used for fishing in Tanur. Fishing was carried out using mechanized boats, beaked boats, fibre boats, out-board engine boats and small boats without engines. The main fish caught from the sea here were mackerel, herring, *Kora*, *Avoli*, *Ayakoora* and various fishes. Many fish

¹¹³ *Ibid* .

¹¹⁴ Interview with, Cheriya bava (60), Aikoonte purakkal, Mangalam, Native fisherman 23/04/2018.

¹¹⁵ Interview with, Ahammed kabeer (59) Arayapadath , Mangalam, Native fisherman 23/04/2018.

¹¹⁶ Vikasana Rekha, Tanur, Op. Cit., p. 19.

that used to be plentiful in the past are not available in Tanur today. Herring, *Etta*, *Ayakoora* and *Neymeen* belong to this category.¹¹⁷

Puthiya Kadappuram is a fishing village in the Nirmaruthur Grama Panchayat in the Tanur block. Nirmaruthur was initially a part of Tanalur Grama Panchayat. Puthiya Kadappuram fishing village has a coastline of 2.5 km. There are about 420 houses in this fishing village. In the early days, fishing was done using barges, Fibber boats, mechanized boats and small boats. About 35 people worked on the barges. Four were employed in Fibber boats and motor boats, and three in small boats. All of these had a distance limit. The small boats used to go fishing in the sea for 5 to 10 km and the distance limit for motor boats was 25 to 30 km. For a Fibber boat it is 35 to 40 km. In barges, fishing was allowed for 40 to 45 km in the deep sea.¹¹⁸

Fishing is done at night and during the day. One worker here worked an average of eight to 12 hours. In the early days, there were many people in most of the fishing villages of Tanur Grama Panchayat who made a living by selling the fish auctioned from here by bicycle and on foot.¹¹⁹ After Tanur Grama Panchayat, the nearest Panchayat is Parappanangadi Grama Panchayat. Five wards of Parappanangadi Panchayat existed on the coast. Parappanangadi is currently a Municipality. Since the formation of the Municipality, there have been 17 wards along the coast.¹²⁰

Parappanangadi Municipality can be divided into five zones according to the topography. 1. Coastal, 2. Plain, 3. High plain, 4. Wetland, 5. Medium sloping area. Spread over an area of 22.25 sq km, Parappanangadi has 3 borders, sea and river. It is bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea, on the east by the Kadalundipuzha and Keeranellur rivers, on the south by the Poorappuzha and on the north by the Vallikunnu Panchayat. The area was under the jurisdiction of the King of

¹¹⁷ Interview with, Kunjimon, Kakante Purakkal (60), Thevara Kadappuram, Native Fisherman, 12/10/2018.

¹¹⁸ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/puthiyakadappuram.pdf>

¹¹⁹ Interview with, Vasu, Arayanvalappil (68), Paravanna, Native man, 29/02/2018.

¹²⁰ Vikasana Rekha, Parappanangadi Grama Panchayat, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996, p. 13.

Parappanad from Poorappuzha to Chaliyam and included Velimukku and Olankkara.¹²¹

The western boundary of the panchayat is Arabian sea. This area extends for a distance of 6.8km from Valiyaal in the north to the Poorappuzha joins sea in the south. About 3180 people live in the coastal area of Parappanangadi. This is a large area densely populated by fishing families. Even today, most of the workers here go fishing with traditional knowledge.¹²²

In the early days, Kadungani nets made of Coir fiber and Sack fibre (*Chakiri naru and Chakku naru*) were used for fishing in the area. Kadungani nets were made by older men. Later cotton yarn nets came into use in these areas. It was mainly women who were involved in the making of such nets, known as “Noolmurukkuka” (Yarn tightening). This shows that men and women of all ages have been involved in fishing and allied activities. In the past, the locals used to go fishing in local boats with cloth rags, which depended only on the wind. When the wind blew, they used traditional knowledge to control the boat by pulling the rudder and poles.¹²³

Alukkal Beach, Parappanangadi Beach and Arayan Beach are the major fish landing centres in Parappanangadi. Alungal Beach and Ottummal Beach were some of the early commercial centres of the place.¹²⁴ In the 1930s, goods were brought from parts of Kozhikode and Kochi through the Palathingal Pandiala Kadavu. The goods brought in big country boats were brought to Parappanangadi and the surrounding areas by bullock carts. The salt, which was brought by sea in *Urus* (dows) was collected in “Upputtil” in the “Chappapadi” and sold through land.¹²⁵

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹²³ Interview with, Kammadali, Kuttuvintepurakkal, (85), Native fishermen of Parappanangadi, 13/03/2018.

¹²⁴ Interview with, Ashraf, Chunkakarantepurakkal, (55), Native fishermen of Parappanangadi, 13/03/2018.

¹²⁵ Vikasana Rekha, Parappanangadi Grama Panchayat, Op. Cit., p.15.

On January 2, 1888, the railway line from Chaliyam to Tirur was extended to Kozhikode. This facilitated the transfer of goods using Parappanangadi rail transport. As the easterners relied on the Parappanangadi railway station, the connection between the hinterland and Parappanangadi became stronger. The fish caught at the Parappanangadi fishing grounds were exported to other areas through the railway station. Fishing is still the main source of livelihood for the people of the coastal region of Parappanangadi. Dried fish has been exported from Chappadi since ancient times. *Chappas* are warehouses where fish are dried and stored. It was also known as the Fish Chappa.¹²⁶

Chappadi got its name because there were many such Chappas where fish were dried and stored.¹²⁷ We can see that this export trade has made Parappanangadi a popular fish export hub. There are several streams that connect the coastal areas of Parappanangadi with the hinterland. Streams were also one of the most important means of transportation in the early days. *Kallungalathodu*, *Valanthodu*, *Murithodu*, *Kanjithodu*, *Athilthodu* are the streams which connect the coastal areas with the hinterland.¹²⁸

Although Parappanangadi was a fishing centre, there were also people who made a living from industries such as *Choodi*, *Beedi*, Handloom and *Copra*. Coir-picking was adopted as a sub-occupation in the homes of low-income people. Agencies of the Kozhikode based companies had set up warehouses here to sell coir made from coconut husk. The goods collected on a weekly basis were transported by bullock cart to Kadalundipuzha and later to Kozhikode by boat. Today the craft has collapsed and the warehouses used for it have completely disappeared.¹²⁹

Another important industry in Parappanangadi was *Beedi* making. As an organized working class, the *Beedi* makers worked in this coastal area. The

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹²⁷ Interview with, Kunjachan, Kondachantapurakkal, (67) Native fishermen of Parappanangadi, 13/03/2018.

¹²⁸ Interview with Siddique, Arayanvalappil, (55) Native fishermen of Parappanangadi, 13/03/2018.

¹²⁹ Interview with Aaminakutty, Vaisyakarante purakkal (73), Native of Parappanangadi, 13/03/2018.

Mallissery Beedi Company, which had many branches, was one of the prominent institution in this arena. Many families earned their living from this occupation.¹³⁰

Chettippadi is a coastal area near Chappappadi, the fish drying centre in Parappanangadi. Chettippadi was a street that tells the history of handloom weaving. The weaving mill, located on the old street in Chettipady, exported towels and cloths to neighbouring countries. Along this coast, you can also see some people who migrated from Andhra Pradesh and took up pottery making as a profession in various parts of Parappanangadi. People from this category still do traditional work here. Many settlements have sprung up in Parappanangadi through trade and the way in which Hindus have become hostile to Islam.¹³¹

According to K.N Ganesh, Kadalundi river appears to have played a major role in the traffic of goods as well as the growth of trading centres adjacent to it. In mediaeval times the river formed the boundary between Ernad and Valluvanad and several major *Angadis* such as Parappanangadi, Tirurangadi, Parappur, Vengara, Urakam, Manjeri, Malappuram and Anakkayam exist on the bank of the river.¹³² The river carries goods from the western Ghats to the coastal centres that include Kadalundi, Chaliyam and Beypore, and this can be used as channels for bringing goods into Calicut. The rise in the Calicut trade with the Arabs and Chinese in the early medieval period and later with the Europeans, might have facilitated increased traffic along the Kadalundi river. This in turn could have led to the development of the 'Kadavu' system outlined above and the emergence of trade settlements along the river.¹³³

The coastal Muslim households in the Parappanangadi region and also in other parts of Malabar have been called as 'Akams'. British records show that many of the *Akams* had become powerful landlords, particularly in Paramba lands and

¹³⁰ Interview with Nadammal Puthiyakath Moytheen (83), Native of Chettipadi, 13/03/2018.

¹³¹ Vikasana Rekha, Parappanangadi Grama Panchayat, Op. Cit., p. 16.

¹³² K.N Ganesh (ed.), *Locality and Culture in Kerala History: The Case of Tirurangadi*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, Thenhipalam, 2010, p. 89.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

traders.¹³⁴ This included families such as Kizhakkiniyakath, Erammakakath, Karthammakkakath, Puthiya Nalakath, Naduvil Puthiyakath, Vadakke Cholakkakath, Thekke Cholakkakath, Avaran Marakkarkath and so on. Among them Kizhakkiniyakath or Naha family, who would go on to become the political and social leaders of Parappanangadi, were among the largest landlords in the area.¹³⁵

A part of the beach area in Parappanangadi is still called Naha's beach (Nahayude Kadappuram), and their old houses are also near the beach, showing that they might have started their career as sailors. Some of them are also called Marakkar, which also show their status as sailors. Like this there were two groups called '*Angadikkar*' and '*Kadappurathukkar*'. '*Angadikkar*' who depends on non-fishing activities and '*Kadappurathukkar*' who depends on the sea. '*Angadikkar*' belong to Naha family, Markkar family and other middle class families.¹³⁶

Till 1990's in Parappanangadi, there were two categories of fishing community simultaneously, they are known as '*Puislan*' and '*Choondapanikkar*', Sakamalluka family, Kuttyyadi family, Thalanjeri family and Kanjggante family (Purakkal) are some of them. Their geographical positions are very near to traditional fishing communities; they were residents of eastern part of geography from sea side. *Choondapanikkar* were not considered as a traditional fishing community because fishing was not considered as their family occupation. Some of the family members chose fishing as their occupation and majority of the family members engaged in other occupations like Business, drivers and electric works. Now this occupational group completely disappeared from the village.¹³⁷

Ariyallur beach and Kadalundi beach in Vallikkunnu Grama Panchayat are the next fishing villages after Parappanangadi. Kadalundi beach fishing village separates the boundary of Kozhikode district and Malappuram district.¹³⁸ The western side of Vallikkunnu Panchayat has around 5 kilometres long coastline.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹³⁸ K.Gopalakrishnan Nair, (ed)., Vikasana Rekha, Vallikkunnu Gram Panchayat, 1996, p. 15.

Almost 4728 people are there in Ariyallur fishing village. Thus fishing village located in the wards Ariyallur south and Madhavananda.¹³⁹

The Kadalundi fishing village in Vallikkunnu Panchayat has 3.90km long coastline. It includes 4 wards of the Panchayat. They are Kadalundi Nagaram north, Ariyallur North, Anangadi and Kadalundi Nagaram South. Here lives almost 3878 people.¹⁴⁰ The western boundary of Vallikkunnu Panchayat is the place where the Kadalundi river, which starts from the Anamudi of the western Ghats and flows through many Panchayats in Malappuram district, meets the Arabian Sea. The next coastline of the river is Kadalundi Panchayat. Vallikkunnu Panchayat can be divided into 9 zones on the basis of topography.¹⁴¹

These include high plains, small slopes, medium slopes, plains, valleys, floodplains, coastal plains, creeks, and seabed. Evidence has been found that rivers were flowing through most parts of Vallikkunnu Panchayat. Remains of huge trees can be found while digging pits at Madambadam, Chali, Muthiyam, Kakkathodu, Kundanppadam, Punchapadam and Kunnappallypadam.¹⁴²

There is also a large collection of salt water and Mussels up to the wide gorge called 'Chali'. Another feature is that 75% of the Panchayat is coastal loamy soil. About 15 streams in the Panchayat join as Kadalundippuzha. Due to the fall of the Kadalundipuzha into the Arabian Sea, salt is present in the streams of this Panchayat and in the wells of the houses near the shore. The '*Chalis*', the aforementioned large wide stream, flows through acres of land. *Kotta Chali* is 20 acres, *Mudiyath Chali* is 6 acres and *Kodakkad Chali* is 6 acres. Crab, shrimp, *Erunth* and other river fish are common in Chali.¹⁴³

The eastern part of Vallikkunnu Panchayat is an island formed centuries ago by the '*Aada Chali*' surrounded by the tributaries of the Kadalundipuzha. R.K Gopalakrishnan Master, also known as RKG Master, in his novel 'Printhal' talks

¹³⁹ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/malappuram/ariyalloor.pdf>

¹⁴⁰ K. Gopalakrishnan Nair, (ed)., Vikasana Rekha, Vallikkunnu Gram Panchayat, Op.Cit., p. 16.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Interview with Thankam, Kalathil house (74), Native Women of Anangadi, 14/03/2018.

about the landscape, life, landlord relations and the formation of colonies on the island, also known as Balathiruthi and Cheriya Thiruthi.¹⁴⁴ After Kadalundi beach fishing village, many fishing villages were started in Kozhikode district. The fishing villages of Kozhikode district range from Kadalundi Grama Panchayat to Azhiyoor Grama Panchayat.¹⁴⁵

Fishing Villages in Calicut District

Kozhikode is an integral part of the coastal history of Kerala. Historical records show that Kozhikode was a coastal town that grew and developed through sea and sea trade. The coastline of Kozhikode district is 72 miles long. There are 34 fishing villages along the coast of Kozhikode. Each fishing village is socially and culturally simultaneously similar and diverse.¹⁴⁶

Chaliyam, Beypore, Kappakal South Kadappuram, Vellayil, Puthiyakadavu, Thoppayil, Kampuram, Puthiyangadu, Pallikandi, Puthiyappa South, Puthiyappa North, Elathur, Kannan Kadavu, Edakkadavu, Ezhukudikkal, Valiya Mangad, Cheriya Mangad, Virunnukandi, Koyilandi, Kollam Mudadi, Vanmukham, Thikkodi, Meladi, Iringal, Vadakara, Vadakara South, Kuriyadi, Vadakara North, Mattungal, Madappalli, Madakkara, Chombala and Azhiyur are the fishing villages in Kozhikode district.¹⁴⁷

The fishing villages of Kozhikode started from the Chaliyam fishing village in Kadalundi Grama Panchayat. Kadalundi is a village located 18 km south of Kozhikode city. Like an archipelago, Kadalundi has 4 borders, surrounded by rivers and the sea. The eastern part of Kadalundi is bordered by the Conolly Canal, the northern part by the *Vadakkumbad* river, the southern part by the Kadalundi River and the western Arabian Sea. The five wards of the Grama Panchayat are located in the coastal areas. They are Chaliyam Beach North, Kadalundi west, Vakkadavu, Kappalangadi and Kadukka bazar.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ R.K Gopalakrishnan, *Printhal*, Mudra Books Chelari, 2017, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ <https://www.keralacoast.org/fishing-villages-kozhikode.php>

¹⁴⁶ A. Sreedhara Menon. (ed.), District Gazetteer, Superintendent of Government press, Thiruvananthapuram, 1962, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ Rekha Vasumathi, Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham, Op. Cit., p.104.

¹⁴⁸ P.P Ramachandran, (ed.), Vikasana Rekha, Kadalundi Grama Panchayat, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996.

More than 6,000 people live in these 5 wards. Chaliyam is also the most populous fishing village in Kozhikode district. The main feature of the coastal areas is the immigrant population. Most of the fishing villages in Kozhikode, Ponnani and Parappanangadi have been mentioned for their trade. The name of a village here comes from the people who worked and lived there.¹⁴⁹

‘*Shaliyas*’ are the weavers who arrived from abroad during the reign of the Zamorin. By the time the name Shaliyas reached Malabar, it had become Chaliyas. Before, a city named Shaliyat is mentioned by Abul Fida who says that it is one of the port cities of Manibar (Malabar).¹⁵⁰ The area was later known as Chaliyam as it was a densely populated area of weavers known as *Chaliyans*. Ibn Battuta, a famous Arab traveller, recorded the silk weaving of Chaliyam. He records that the silk garments made by the weavers of Chaliyam were exquisite and had gained popularity in various parts of the world.¹⁵¹ Chaliyam is one of the first places in Kerala where Islam was introduced. Therefore, most of the locals and fishermen in Chaliyam are Muslims. The Puzhakkara Mosque, built during the reign of Malik bin Habib, is a historical remnant of the Islamic origins of Chaliyam.¹⁵²

The Coastline road at Chaliyam

During the battle between the Zamorin and the King of Cochin, at the request of the Zamorin, Tipu Sultan, King of Mysore, came to the Zamorin's aid. Although the Zamorin won the war, Tipu captured most of Malabar as the Zamorin broke the treaty with Tipu. Later, Tipu Sultan built a fort on Palakkad and Feroke and a coastal road for military operations.¹⁵³

Tipu Sultan came to Malabar at a time when casteism was rampant. Tipu Sultan strictly forbade such evils created by the landlords and the elite classes to

¹⁴⁹ Rekha Vasumathi, Kadal manushyan, Op. Cit., p. 103.

¹⁵⁰ S.M.H Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India, The Knowledge of India Possessed By Arab Geographers Down To The 14th Century A.D. With Special Reference to Southern India*, Other books, Calicut, 2011, p. 69.

¹⁵¹ Shafi, *Kadalundi Ithihasangalude Nadu*, Haritham Books, Calicut, 2011, p. 14.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

establish their power over the poor and sought to implement caste equality.¹⁵⁴ The road connecting the Chaliyam-Kadalundi areas with the Parappanangadi-Tanur area of Malappuram district is still known as the Tipu Sultan Road. It is said that Tipu Sultan used a tunnel to reach his fort from Chaliyam. Some of the evidence currently excavated in Feroke supports this claim.¹⁵⁵

Kadalundi Mills

Kadalundi Mills is an organic manure processing plant built during the British rule. Kadalundi Mills was established in the 1920s. The British company decided to set up such a factory here to facilitate the availability of herring fish, the raw material required for the production of manure, on the Malabar Coast and to facilitate the transportation of products and other raw materials required for production.¹⁵⁶

The factory, which was started with an investment of Rs 5 lakh, had about 75 electric bulbs, oil-powered engines, steam engines and a modern analytical laboratory facility. Such a factory was functioning in Kadalundi Grama Panchayat before electrification. The company was mainly based at Kadalundi railway station. Apart from fish, other raw materials for making fertilizers such as bones and cakes were also imported by rail. The bones were brought here from South India. The cakes were brought from Pollachi, Chettipalayam, Erode, Shaktidurg, Edappadi, Selam, Thiruppathur and Krishnagiri.¹⁵⁷

Beypore port was the prominent one during that time. The company's fish oil and manure were shipped on large vessels from Beypore port. Most of the fish oil was exported to Europe and Ceylon. Some of it was also sent to northern India.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁵⁵ The Hindu, "Excavation shed light on farokhabad fort, Tipu sultan's Malabar capitals", 29/09/2022.

¹⁵⁶ P.P Ramachandran,(ed)., Vikasana Rekha, Kadalundi Grama Panchayat, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996, p. 44.

¹⁵⁷ Shafi, Kadalundi Ithihadsangalude Nadu, Op. Cit., p. 23.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

On the Kadalundi River, cargo was transported to foreign ships anchored at Beypore port by small boats due to the difficulty of large ships approaching the shore. Once upon a time, most of the workers in Kadalundi depended on this company for their livelihood.¹⁵⁹

Fishing industry In Chaliyam

PB Umbichi Haji is an indispensable name when writing about the fishing village of Chaliyam. Umbichi Haji was born in 1854 in Chaliyam. His life experiences reveal so much about the plight of the fishing village as well as the potential of the fish market.¹⁶⁰ From the fishing village of Chaliyam, which is surrounded by famine and poverty, migration to Malaysia, Burma and Ceylon in search of work took place via *Pathemari*, which carries goods to Beypore port. It is just 31 km from the Indian coast to Ceylon. At the age of sixteen, he could not bear the hardships of home and crossed the Chaliyam kadavu and reached Kozhikode on foot.¹⁶¹

The *Pathemari*, which carried goods from Beypore to Kochi, Gujarat, Thoothukudi and the west coast, was diverted from the Kozhikode coast. So on a voyage he boarded a *Pathemari* and first sailed to Kochi and from there to Ceylon in a cargo ship. Umbichi arrived in Ceylon in the 1870s. Ceylon was known as the Venice of the Malabari's.¹⁶²

Umbichi arrived in the port of Colombo at the age of sixteen and met a merchant named Arunachalam Chetty and started selling fish through him. Umbichi Haji, who started wholesale by buying large quantities of fish with the proceeds from that sale, had good days later. He changed from a mere worker to an all-knowing capitalist of Ceylon.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁶⁰ Prappil Muhammed Koya, *Kozhikotte Muslingalude Charithram*, Focus publication, Kozhikode, 2012, p. 445.

¹⁶¹ Shafi, *Kadalundi Ithihadsangalude Nadu*, Op. Cit., p. 34.

¹⁶² K.P Ashraf, *P.B Umbichihaji*, Thanmayathul Islam Association Publication, Chaliyam, 2015, p. 30.

¹⁶³ Prappil Muhammed Koya, *Kozhikotte Muslingalude Charithram*, Op. Cit., p. 445.

After this he returned to Chaliyam and made an agreement to export dried fish from Chaliyam and Kozhikode to Ceylon. As soon as he arrived in Colombo, he organized the business in such a way that the dried fish traders in Chaliyam could get money, and the ordinary workers came to trust him.¹⁶⁴

He also tried another business besides exporting dried fish. He became an unrivalled businessman in Colombo as he started composting small fish from the coastal areas of Malabar and exporting them to Japan, England and other European countries.¹⁶⁵

Similarly, another important source of income and trade was the dried fish known as 'Kumbalamas' which was imported from the island of Mali. It was made by boiling, drying and chopping *Chura* fish into small pieces like pickles. Umbichi & Company was the only importer and supplier of 'Kumbalamas' to Ceylon. This product had a good market in Ceylon as it was mainly added in the cooking of Ceylon. He had his own large *Pathemaris* to import it.¹⁶⁶

Historian S. Muthiah records that Umbichi was one of the most prominent Muslims in South India who migrated to Ceylon from South India. This is clearly stated in his book *Indo-Lankans There to Hundred Years Saga*. The gold trade, the diamond trade and the foreign exchange became part of his business. Madras was the headquarters of the foreign Exchange.¹⁶⁷

He replaced the British currency with gold coins imported from Ceylon and sold large quantities of British pounds in colonized India and Sri Lanka. In addition to the British, coins from other foreign countries with which India and Sri Lanka had trade relations were bought in lieu of gold and distributed to the needy.¹⁶⁸

The business success of Umbichi Haji has benefited both the fishing village of Chaliyam and Sri Lanka. He created many jobs in India and Sri Lanka. He built charities, places of worship and an orphanage. His contribution is the Chaliyam Umbichi Haji High School, which is still dependent on the children of fishermen and

¹⁶⁴ Interview with, Moytheen Koya, Padinjarayil (63), Native of Chaliyam, 19/03/2018.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with, Moytheen Kunji, Kaithavalappil (73), Native of Chaliyam, 19/03/2018.

¹⁶⁶ K.P Ashraf, P.B Umbichihaji, Op. Cit., p. 35.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

others in the Chaliyam Fishing village. The school started as Madrasatul Manar in 1927 and was renamed as Chaliyam Umbichi Haji Higher Secondary School in honour of Umbichi Haji after his death in 1959.¹⁶⁹

The first airport in Colombo was built on 200 acres of land donated by Umbichi Haji. The airport is now known as the Bandaranaike International Airport by former Sri Lankan President Bandaranaike. The Government of Sri Lanka has honoured him with the title of “Justice of Peace”, meaning “Judge of Peace” for his work for peace in the ethnic conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils in Ceylon. A street named after him still exists in Colombo. The city is popularly known as Umbichi Place.¹⁷⁰

Blue Mussel And Kadukka Bazar

After fishing, plucking “Blue Mussel” was the main source of income for the area itself. Blue Mussel is also known as “*Kallummakkaya*” in most parts of Malabar. “*Kallummakkaya*” is a very delicious dish. There are many families in Chaliyam who have been cultivating blue Mussel for centuries as their main source of livelihood. On the shores of the Arabian Sea, on the site of a Portuguese fort, there is a rocky outcrop about two and a half miles [2.5 km] across the sea. Chaliyam, located at a distance of 1 km from *Pulimutt*, is also known as *Kadukka bazar* as it is the market for blue Mussel. As fishing made a living, the area once had more than 600 workers and more than 150 suppliers. But today there are more than 50 workers and only a handful of suppliers in the industry.¹⁷¹

T.K Rafeequ, who died while collecting blue Mussel on May 25, 2019, is an indispensable name in the history of the blue Mussel trade in the Kadukka Bazaar. Although a fisherman, he wrote about his daily sea experiences on Facebook. Each of his Facebook posts was a sharing of fresh sea experiences that were somehow not available anywhere.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Shafi, Op. Cit., p. 35.

¹⁷⁰ Prappil Muhammed Koya, Kozhikotte Muslingalude Charithram, Op. Cit., p. 446.

¹⁷¹ Interview with, Muhammed Koya (61) Kappakarantakath, Native of Chaliyam, 19/03/2018.

¹⁷² <https://www.facebook.com/RafeequTk.Rafeequ.5?mibextid=ZbWKwL>

Blue Mussel grows in large cliffs under the sea. Like grapes, large blue Mussels can be seen clinging to rocks from under the sea. In the early days, workers collected blue Mussel by tapping on rocks as there were no safety devices. The plucked blue Mussel was packed in sacks tied around the waist and carried in boats. The sacks / nets that collect blue Mussel from the sea floor are called “Mal”.¹⁷³

With the advent of face masks, workers in the area were able to see the seabed clearly. There are huge stocks of blue Mussel in the rocks. Some blue Mussel could not be plucked by hand because it was stuck in the stone. They were plucked with the help of chisel. Some blue Mussels contain pearls.¹⁷⁴ Most of the workers risked their lives to collect blue Mussel by drowning in the rocks. They do this by surviving large crabs, sea snakes, lizard sharks, poisonous fish, and unexpected waves. Rafeequ records that he often had to put more than six stitches in attacks by crabs and sea snakes. From all this we can understand that blue Mussel plucking is a very adventurous profession.¹⁷⁵

According to Rafeequ, Malpe beach near Udupi in Karnataka is the largest market for blue Mussels. Malayalis and Tamils come here to collect blue Mussels during the season. Although blue Mussels are found in many parts of Kerala, they are twice as much grown and plucked in Malpe than in Mussels.¹⁷⁶

The blue Mussels are plucked while wearing gloves on the hands. Plucking by hand can injure the hand. It is pierced with a chisel, which is not available by hand. The plucked blue Mussels are exported in Lorries to the markets in Kerala and then to Goa by the agents. The blue Mussel, which is plucked from the rocks of the sea, is original and it is good and delicious. Blue Mussels grown in the river have no taste.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Interview with, Ummer Koya (63), Pokkilintakath, Native of Chaliyam, 19/03/2018.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with, Hamsa Koya (68), Cherichinte purakkal, Native of Chaliyam, 19/03/2018.

¹⁷⁵ T.K Rafeequ, *Kadalil ente jeevidham*, Mathrubhumi books, 2020, p. 23.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁷⁷ [https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=2112539135697714&id=100008249436281 &mibextid=Nif5oz](https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=2112539135697714&id=100008249436281&mibextid=Nif5oz)

His descriptions show that the rocky blue Mussel area is also home to many other sea creatures. Red snapper fishes weighing more than 10 kg and *Hamur* fishes mainly live in these caves. Large and small sea snakes, lobster and other large fish inhabit the rock. Some of these fish pose a threat to employment. They are usually driven by hand chisels and rods. Large edible red snappers were also caught with rods. Sea red snapper weigh at least five kilograms.¹⁷⁸

He had previously written about the dangers of picking blue Mussels. Rafeequ succumbed to his death in such an accident. The ship was anchored at Beypore harbour and is likely to see large blue Mussels after the rocks. This shallow area is very dangerous. In the past, the undersea water suddenly changed and the water became turbulent.¹⁷⁹

Rafeequ wrote that the moment he saw death in front of him, despite wearing a mask, he could not find a way out of the rocks. He said he escaped unharmed because he swam to the spot where he saw a faint hint of sunlight on the sea floor that day. It is a traditional knowledge that one can easily climb up and swim in a place where there is sunlight.¹⁸⁰ Despite knowing all the details under the sea, he died at the age of 42 when he was hit by a sharp part of the ship in an unexpected wave and current while plucking blue Mussels from the bottom of the ship. Each of his Facebook posts was a treasure trove of marine knowledge.¹⁸¹

Blue Mussel, which was once popular in the Kadukka Bazaar, is now in short supply. That is why today only a few young people dive into the sea and pick up blue Mussels. They are looking for other jobs someday. This is due to the large shortage of blue Mussels in the sea. In Chaliyam, a worker named Shabeer went to pick blue Mussels at one o'clock in the morning and when he stopped working at 12 o'clock in the afternoon, he found blue Mussels worth only Rs. 320 in the market.

¹⁷⁸ https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=2257350477883245&id=100008249436281&mibextid=Nif5oz

¹⁷⁹ T.K Rafeequ, *Kadalil ente jeevidham*, Op. Cit., p. 17.

¹⁸⁰ https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=2321048038180155&id=100008249436281&mibextid=Nif5oz

¹⁸¹ <https://www.facebook.com/RafeequTk.Rafeequ.5?mibextid=ZbWKwL>

Shabeer says that in such a situation, it is difficult to do this job and support the family, so everyone went to other areas in search of work.¹⁸²

Niyas, who has been selling blue Mussel at the Chaliyam Kadukka Bazaar for years, also has something to say about the huge drop in the arrival of blue Mussels. Niyas says he is reluctant to sell seed blue Mussels (small ones used for farming) in the place where he used to get a blue Mussel much larger than our palm.¹⁸³

Scientific studies on blue Mussels deficiency suggest environmental problems and climate change. Chaliyam Mulla is a place where plastic waste is dumped into the sea today. This is where the blue Mussel was plentiful. Diesel and kerosene emitted from outboard engines and excessive sand exploitation are the main reasons for the decline in blue Mussels, according to the study. There were many women in the Kadukka bazaar who were engaged in the work of peeling the blue Mussels and taking out the meat. According to Subaida, a local woman, their livelihood has also gone extinct due to a significant shortage of blue Mussels.¹⁸⁴

After Chaliyam, the nearest fishing village is Beypore. Beypore is one of the most famous fishing ports in Kozhikode district. The area covered by wards 1, 16, 14, 12, 11 and 10 of the Panchayat is a fishing related area. About 3,000 fishermen and allied fishermen are employed in the area.¹⁸⁵

Beypore, one of the top fishing harbours in Kerala, came under development in the 1960s. In the early days, fishing was done in Beypore using local boats and small bait boats. In the 1960s, with the advent of mechanized boats, fishing in the village began on an industrial scale.¹⁸⁶ Fishing has been going on in Beypore Harbour for about eight months. Beypore is famous for its shrimp, squid and *Etta*.

¹⁸² Interview with Shabeer (35), Worker of Blue Mussels field, Kadukka bazaar, Chaliyam, 14/03/2018.

¹⁸³ Interview with Niyas (37), Worker of Blue Mussels field, Kadukka bazaar, Chaliyam, 14/03/2018.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Subaida (68), Native women, Chaliyam, 28/03/2018.

¹⁸⁵ A. Sjeevan (ed), Vikasana Rekha, Beypore Grama panchayat, 1996, p. 13.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Beypore exports fish to various parts of Kerala, abroad and to neighbouring states. There are about fifteen ice plants and workshops in Beypore related to the fisheries sector.¹⁸⁷

Other than this, the blue Mussels and *Erunth*, which collects from the Gotheeswaram Sea area in Beypore are also major export resources. The *Mahallu Committee* and the *Araya Samajam*, a community organization, are located in this fishing village where both Hindus and Muslims engage in fishing.¹⁸⁸

The next fishing village after Beypore is Kappakkal Fishing Village. The village is under the control of Kozhikode Corporation. The fishing village is in wards 32 and 33 of the corporation. It has almost 2km long coastline. More than 1883 people lives here. Around 700 people insured in fisheries board from this fishing village. Most of them are traditional fishermen.¹⁸⁹

Thekke Kadappuram is another fishing village under Kozhikode Corporation. Almost 3 wards are there in the coastline in this fishing village. Around 3945 people lives here. The village has a coastline length of 1.75km, out of which 0.5km is protected. This fishing village has two ice plants and a fish market. The fishing village has an LP school and a high school.¹⁹⁰

Marad in Beypore Panchayat is the next fishing village after Thekke Kadappuram. It has 4 coastline wards. Almost 3.50km long coastline is there. More than 2218 people lives here. This is an area that is very densely populated by fishermen. There are many Hindu and Muslim fishermen lives in the coast. There are more than 9 ice plants and two fish markets in the hinterland. The office of an Araya Samajam, established in 1965, is also located along the coast.¹⁹¹

Vellayil is the next fishing village under Kozhikode Corporation after Marad. It has the 50 and 51 wards as coastline. Puthiya kadavu, Thoppayil, Kamburam,

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Koyamon (65), Maamantakath, Native fishermen of Beypore, 25/09/2019.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Babitha, (37), Secretary of Fisheries Co-Operative society, Beypore, 25/09/2019.

¹⁸⁹ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/kapakkal.pdf>

¹⁹⁰ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/thekkekadapuram.pdf>

¹⁹¹ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/maradu.pdf>

Puthiyangadi, Pallikandi, Puthiyappa south, Puthiyappa north are the other fishing villages under Kozhikode Corporation.¹⁹² Vellayil fishing village has almost 4668 people living here. It is a very famous fish landing centre. Here the boats get an average of 1800kg fish. It has a fish fed office and fishermen co-operative group.¹⁹³

All the fishing villages under the Kozhikode Corporation are located nearby. All of these are of the same nature in terms of employment and industry. After Vellayil the next fishing village in Kozhikode Corporation is the Puthiyakadavu. Puthiyakadavu is the second most populous coastal village after Chaliyam. During the period 2003-04, 5999 people lived in this fishing village and its fish production was 6260 tons.¹⁹⁴

The fishing village after Puthiyakadavu is Thoppayil. The 52nd ward under the Corporation is the coastal area of the Thoppayil fishing village. This fishing village has a coastline of only 500 meters. However, it is one of the most densely populated fishing villages. About 4951 people live in the fishing village of Thoppayil.¹⁹⁵

After Thoppayil, then Kampuram is a fishing village. About 2120 people live here. The Kampuram fishing village has a coastline of 1 km. About 200 houses are located in this fishing village.¹⁹⁶ Puthiyangadi is the next fishing village. The 55th ward of Kozhikode Corporation included in this fishing village. Almost 2794 people lives here. As it is a fishing village near Kozhikode, there are 23 ice plants and two fish markets in Puthiyangadi.¹⁹⁷

Puthiyangadi is a coastal town which was engaged in other occupations besides fishing during the reign of the Zamorin. In Puthiyangadi, in the past, there was a street of the famous Valamkai Chaliyar. There is also a place name Kollarukandi in Puthiyangadi fishing village. This is evidence that blacksmiths

¹⁹² <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/vellayil.pdf>

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Rekha Vasumathi, Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham, Op. Cit., p. 103.

¹⁹⁵ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/thoppayil.pdf>

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/puthiyangady.pdf>

lived here in the past. A Koya road passes through it. Earlier it was known as the Theruvath Koya Road. Until the advent of the fishing centre, Puthiyangadi beach and street were the main fishing and trading centres.¹⁹⁸

After Puthiyangadi, the next fishing village is Pallikandi. The coastal area of this fishing village is the 33rd ward of Kozhikode Corporation. There are about 467 houses in this fishing village. The beach of this fishing village is just 400 meters. Most of the people here are traditional fishermen. This fishing village has a fish landing centre and two ice plants. About 1548 people live in this village with fishing occupations.¹⁹⁹

After Pallikandi, the next fishing village is Puthiyappa. Puthiyappa fishing village is classified as Puthiyappa North and Puthiyappa South. Puthiyappa belongs to Elathur Grama Panchayat. Wards 18 and 19 of the Panchayat are the coastal areas of Puthiyappa North fishing village. This fishing village has a coastline of about 2.5 km and a population of 2789. Puthiyappa is an important fishing village in Kozhikode which has adopted fishing as its main source of livelihood. Puthiyappa is also the largest fishing harbour in Kozhikode. There are 6 ice plants in Puthiyappa North.²⁰⁰

The next fishing village is the southern part of Puthiyappa itself. Puthiyappa South comes under Kozhikode Corporation. The coastal villages of this Panchayat are comprised of 1st and 17th wards. There are more than 2,000 houses in the Puthiyappa South fishing village. There are 4159 people living in this fishing village. Puthiyappa is also home to the largest fish landing in Kozhikode district. During the years 2003-04, 10054 tonnes of fish was caught here.²⁰¹ Puthiyappa has been an important centre for dried fish and manure since ancient times. Workers say

¹⁹⁸ Gangadharan Puthukudi, *Kozhikode Pattana pradeshangalile Aavasa kendrangalku chuttum, oru pradeshika vamooshi charithram*, Geethanjali offset printers, Cheruvannur, 2014, p. 254.

¹⁹⁹ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/pallikkandy.pdf>

²⁰⁰ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/puthiyappa.pdf>

²⁰¹ Rekha Vasumathi, Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham, Op. Cit., p. 103.

the area, which used to have lakhs of transactions, has collapsed due to low fish arrivals. Many women workers worked in the area for their livelihood, cutting, sorting and drying fish.²⁰²

Puthiyappa is a place where 100 to 150 loads of dried fish are transported daily. Dried fish was usually exported from Puthiyappa to Coimbatore, Thugganapalli, Madurai, Erode, Salem, Mangalore and Tholppetti. The dried fish here are *Netholi*, *Vembili*, *Chenan*, Herring and Mackerel.²⁰³ The workers say that Puthiyappa was once a place where mackerel and herring were abundantly dried. The white coloured *Netholi*, which was used for drying, has now disappeared. As herring and mackerel have become more expensive, the workers say they make more profit by selling them fresh in the market rather than drying them.²⁰⁴

After Puthiyappa, the nearest fishing village is Elathur. The coastal wards are wards 1, 20, 21, 22 of Elathur Grama Panchayat. There are about 1284 houses in this fishing village. There are 5310 people living in this fishing village. In the employment sector of the Panchayat, there are many who have made fishing their livelihood. Apart from fishing, taking blue Mussel was the main source of livelihood here. At one time, about 500 families adopted the Elathur Blue Mussel harvest as their livelihood.²⁰⁵

In the early days, women's banks were set up in each district to implement various schemes for self-employment of women fishermen in the coastal areas. The Women's Bank established in Kozhikode district was in Elathur Grama Panchayat. The bank has provided loans to women fishermen to find self-employment in fish processing, net weaving and fish marketing.²⁰⁶

There were rivers and streams in Elathur Grama Panchayat which join the sea. The wards 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 are located near the river bank. Many fishermen are here who took fishing for living. *Ayala*, *Mathi*, *Chala*, *Kora*, *Netholi*, *Avoli*, *Ayakura*, *Adu*, *Mullan*, *Thalayan*, *Chamban*, *Shark*, *Chooda*, *Mantha*, *Njandu*

²⁰² Interview with Radha (57), Working women of Dried fishing field Puthiyappa, 12/12/2018.

²⁰³ Interview with Ramachandran (67) President of Fisheries society Puthiyappa, 12/12/2018.

²⁰⁴ Interview with Ramanan, (71), Arayachantakath, Native of Puthiyappa, 12/12/2018.

²⁰⁵ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/elathoor.pdf>

²⁰⁶ Vikasana Rekha, Elathoor, 1996, p. 14.

(Crab), *Manung*, *Ayiram Pallan*, *Squid*, *Kakkuntha* and *Kanameen* are the main fishes found in the Elathur fishing village. Most of these fish are in high demand in the market.²⁰⁷

The next fishing villages after Elathur are Kannankadavu and Edakkadavu in Chemencherry Grama Panchayat. Chemencherry is a peninsula surrounded on three sides by water. Chemencherry Panchayat is rich in 7 km of coastline, 12 km of rivers and 8 km of streams. A large section of the Panchayat members depend on the fisheries sector for their livelihood. There are about 1976 people living in Kannankadavu and 2263 people living in Edakkadav depending on the coast.²⁰⁸

Most of the people in Chemancheri Panchayat were engaged in traditional fishing for their livelihood. Until the middle of this century, there had been no significant change in this method of fishing. In the past, the locals used to go fishing in small boats on the sea. In those days, fishing was done by one to four people boarding a boat, using bait and casting hand-made nets. Later, new boats were introduced that could accommodate more people. Pulling the poles and tying the mat according to the direction of the wind facilitated human labour during these times.²⁰⁹

Fishing in *Odas* took place after the *Midhunam* and *Karkidakam* months. Only fish like *Etta*, *Sootha* and *Avoli* were caught. Around this time, a method of fishing with *Kandadi* nets in small boats was introduced. Many fish were caught from these coastal villages without having to go far out to sea. The elders of the area say there were no days without a catch back then, even though it was not possible to venture far into the sea to exploit deeper fish resources.²¹⁰

The old fish market did not have the storage facilities it has today. fishmonger Abdullah says that since there were no facilities to storage for the fish, so that good quality fish was available here at lower prices. The most widely available fish here was herring. In addition to food, herring was also used to make

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/kannankadavu.pdf>

²⁰⁹ Vikasana Rekha, Chemencherry, 1996, p.33.

²¹⁰ Interview with Ramachandran (71), Pandikasala valappil, Mudadi, Native fisherman of Mudadi, 13/02/2019.

fish oil. There were 3 such fish oil extraction units at Azheekal, Munambam and Thuvapara. The units that extracted fish oil in this way were called press. This is how the place name “Press Valappil” in the Thuvapara area came to be. The fish waste obtained after extracting fish oil was used for cultivation with rich organic manure.²¹¹

The fish was exported from here with or without salt. There were many women in the fish market along with the men of this village. The fish caught by the men in their own houses were sold by the women from house to house. Until recently, there were traders in Chemencheri Panchayat who tied baskets on both sides of the bamboo and carried the fish on their shoulders and even carried them to distant lands. Currently this view is rare. The introduction of bicycles and motorcycles into this type of fish marketing led to changes.²¹²

Today, the fish stocks in this fishing village are very low. In the past, Chakara used to be present in this area for days. Shrimp Chakara and Herring Chakara are very rare in the area today. Or even if there is, it is limited to one or two days. Sharks, *Tirandi* and *Etta*, which used to be abundant in the area, are now extinct. According to the traditional workers, the fishery has been depleted due to the adoption of a method of fishing in which small fish and eggs are also extracted.²¹³

Uniroyal Marine Export Public Limited is one of the leading fish processing and export companies in Kerala and operates in Chemancherry Panchayat. The institute was started in 1994. The fish is processed and exported to foreign countries. The processed fish is mainly exported to the US, Japan, Germany and France. Shrimp, Ayakoora, Koonthal, Ayala, Thalayan and Squid are some of the fish processed and exported. Initially, more than 310 people worked here.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Vikasana Rekha, Chemancherry, Op. Cit., p. 33

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²¹³ Interview with Gangadharan, (68) Mukrikandi valappil, Native fishermen of Quilandy, 13/02/2019.

²¹⁴ Vikasana Rekha, Chemancherry, Op. Cit., p. 34.

Next fishing village is Ezhukudikkal fishing village in Chengottkavu Grama Panchayat. The coastal wards are Arangadath, Poyilkavu, Mangad and Edakkulam which are the wards 1, 13, 14, 16 of the Panchayat. It has 3km long coastline. Around 2276 people lives here. Most of them are traditional fishermen. There are many people in the Panchayat who make a living from fish marketing.²¹⁵

After Ezhukudikkal, next fishing villages are Valiya Mangad, Cheriya Mangad, Virunnukandi and Koyilandi which comes under Koyilandi Corporation. Valiya Mangad fishing village has 2km long coastline. 1434 people lives here. The next one is Cheriya Mangad fishing village. 1989 people lives here in around 325 houses. Most of them are traditional fishermen. Next is VirunnuKandi, which is located in the 36th ward of Koyilandi Corporation. 3 ice plants works here. It has 1.75km long coastline.²¹⁶

After Virunnukandi, it comes Koyilandi fishing village. It has 3km long coastline. 3407 people lives here in 3 wards. A fishing port is being built here. There are three ice plants and a fish market in this fishing village. Koyilandy is the second largest fish landing village after Puthiyappa. In Koyilandy alone, 9012 tonnes of fish were caught during 2003-2004. Fish landings in Cheriya Mangad, Valiya Mangad and VirunnuKandi, which fall under the Koyilandy Municipality, are much higher than in other fishing villages.²¹⁷

After Koyilandy, the next fishing villages are Mudadi and Vanmugham. These fishing villages are located in the Mudadi Grama Panchayat of the Pantalayani Block. The coastline of the Kollam-Mudadi fishing village is 2 km long. The fishing village is inhabited by 3,345 people. Next is Vanmugham fishing village. Vanmugham-Kadalur is the most famous fishing village in Panthalayani block. It has 4.5km long coastline.²¹⁸

Fishing is the main source of livelihood in Kadalur village. After fishing, other means of subsistence are plucking blue Mussels and catching crabs. Workers in this land mainly pluck blue Mussels from the submerged areas of Kodikal,

²¹⁵ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/ezhukudikkal.pdf>

²¹⁶ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/quilandy.pdf>

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/vanmughom.pdf>

Avimukham and Pallithazham. Kadalur is as famous for blue Mussels as Kadukka bazar in Chaliyam.²¹⁹

Soman Kadalur, a teacher, poet and writer, writes about blue Mussels in Kadalur from his experiences. “In the 1960s, a *Mal* with a thousand blue Mussels cost five rupees. A Palm sized blue Mussels can fetch up to Rs 6. The blue Mussels are plucked from the sea at 6 am until the *Mal* is full. Sometimes this work is done by submerging in the sea until evening.” Due to famine, people from Payyoli and other eastern parts came to this area to collect blue Mussels.²²⁰

In the depths and ditches where the red stone stands near the sea, the blue Mussels grow in clusters on the rock. Kallummakkaya is widely found in the rocks at *Vadakkeda*, *Perada*, *Parakkallu* and *Karekombu* in Kodikkal area. The rocks like Kombankallu, Kappalintaduthu (Earlier a ship sank here), Karekkallu, Kombupar in Nanthi area and Palolikallu and Kunikkallu in Avimukham were the places where people came to collect Blue Mussels.²²¹

Earlier palm leaf baskets were used to collect the blue Mussels. This beautiful and neat baskets were tied to the waist. Later the “*Mal*” which was made up of coir was used instead of baskets. This *Mal* is made like nets. Later they used ropes instead of coir to make the *Mal*. Today, sophisticated facilities are being used by blue Mussels pickers. Face guard covering eyes and nose, hand gloves, finger tap which protect them from finger injuries. They can close their ear to avoid ear pain.²²²

The dive to the bottom of the sea to collect blue Mussels lasts about three minutes. During these 3 minutes, the maximum number of blue Mussels that can be plucked will be collected and loaded into a boat or *Mal* and will sink again. This

²¹⁹ Soman Kadalur, *Kadal Rekhal*, Leeds Books, 2012, Kozhikode, p. 107.

²²⁰ Soman kadalur, *Kadalormakal*, Green books, Thrissur, 2014, p. 27.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²²² Interview with Niyas (37), Worker of Blue Mussels field, Kadukka bazaar, Chaliyam, 14/03/2018.

will be repeated as follows. This underwater work is done by the workers on the basis of traditional knowledge.²²³

It is through the use of such traditional knowledge that one can survive the waves and currents that form at the bottom of the ocean. The strong current from the bottom of the sea is called *Valu*. These are the traditional knowledge that makes the fishermen to ascend from the depth of the sea when *Adivalu* comes and to dive into its depth when the tide comes.²²⁴

Many people from Kadalur go to Mangalore, Malappa, Uppala, Manjeswaram and Hosankadi to pick blue Mussels. Here are a lot of blue Mussels. Here you can pluck as many blue Mussels as you want without restrictions. If you collect a large sack of Blue Mussels from here, you will get Rs. 6000. From this 1500 rupees should be given to the mosque committee or the temple committee by the agent at the sea shore. 500 rupees should be given to the people of the seashore as commission. The remaining 4000 rupees will be for the worker. The merchants get Rs 10,000 when they reach Goa. In big hotels and bars in Goa, a plate of blue Mussels costs Rs 250. A single blue Mussel costs 10 rupees.²²⁵

Like blue Mussels, Kodikkal Kadappuram at Kadalur is also famous for Shrimp and Crab (*Njand*). These were exported from here to foreign countries. The crab and shrimp grow at the rocks near the sea shore. The biggest crab here is known as *Kudukka njand* (Crab). It is known as the river crab even though it lives in the sea. It may be because of its similarities with the river crab. It has a greenish black colour and large legs. The large crab can weigh up to two kilograms. Fishermen can get up to Rs 900 from the agent for a crab weighing 850 grams to 1kg. Crabs weighing 550 grams cost Rs 600 and those weighing less than 550 grams cost Rs 250. The main food of the crab is small fishes and mould from the sea rocks.²²⁶

There are workers who take the crabs caught from here to the crab company in Elathur. Crabs sold here are exported to countries such as Japan and the United

²²³ Interview with Shabeer (35), Worker of Blue Mussels field, Kadukka bazaar, Chaliyam, 14/03/2018.

²²⁴ Soman kadalur, Kadalormakal, Op. cit., p. 29.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.31.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.30.

States and to other states. The crab is also transported from this company to large hotels. The other crab species found here are *Kakkoladan njand*, *Mukkannannjand*, *Kallu njand* and *Kurukkannjand or Pullinjand*.²²⁷

Thikkodi is the next fishing village after these fishing villages in Moodadi Grama Panchayat. Thikkodi Grama Panchayat has 4 wards along the coast. This fishing village has a coastline of 2 km. Thikkodi Coast, with a population of about 2591, is also a good fish landing centre. During the period 2003-04, 6811 tonnes of fish were caught here.²²⁸

In the early days, fishing was done in the traditional way using a net made of yarn, *Ayilavala*, *Vaminvala*, *Chavuttivala*, *Chattuli* and *Veesuvala*. The fishermen of Thikkodi used to fish from the river and Chira with Baits, Machetes, Sticks, Water troughs and *Ottals*. Many years ago, a lot of green fish and dried fish were exported from here. The fishes like *Ayala*, *Nank* and *Mathi* were dried or kept in salt and exported to other states from railway stations.²²⁹

There is a lighthouse in the fishing village which was established during the British rule. Fishermen relied on the Kadalur Point lighthouse, the stars and the islands facing the sea to know the direction from the sea. The coastal region of Thikkodi is well known for *Thirandi* hunting. Fishermen catch about ten species of *Thirandi* from this shore. "*Pullan Thirandi*" is the main type of *Thirandi* available to baits and nets here. As the name suggests, you can see a lot of white spots on the grey body. Under the tail of the *Thirandi* there is a deadly poisonous thorn attached to the body. Stabbing this thorn can lead to death.²³⁰

During the season when Kaballam occurs in the sea, it comes to the shore as if it had been intoxicated. Some of the *Thirandis* floated above the water and were hunted with chisels. Attach a sharp chisel to the end of a long stick of coconut tree. A rope is attached to the chisel. The sign of *Thirandi* coming over the water is called

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²²⁸ Rekha Vasumathi, Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham, Op. Cit., p. 104.

²²⁹ Vikasana Rekha, Thikkodi Grama Panchayat, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996, p. 32.

²³⁰ Soman kadalur, Kadalormakal, Op. Cit., p. 41.

“Thuyi”. This is a kind of white line. If he sees it, he will aim at it from the boat and throw the chisel. When *Thirandi* is convinced that the chisel has been struck, the chisel is freed from the coconut stick. Then the chisel is pulled to the shore with a rope.²³¹

The next fishing village after Thikkodi is Meladi and Iringal in Payyoli Grama Panchayat. There are 2 wards in Payyoli Grama Panchayat which are part of the Meladi Coast. The fishing village has a coastline of 2.30 km. Meladi is one of the densely populated fishing villages. About 4680 people lived in this fishing village.²³²

There are 3 wards of Iringal fishing village in the coastal area. Iringal has a coastline of 4.80 km. About 2091 people lived in this fishing village. Payyoli is also a Panchayat famous for Kunjali Marakar’s name. The fort was built by Kunjali Marakkar at Iringal Fishing Village, west of Iringal Rock, facing the Murad River. After this, the place came to be known as Kottakkal. The Kottakkal quay is a place where boats can land at sea in any weather.²³³

The next fishing villages are Vadakara South and Vadakara North in the Vadakara block. Vadakara has been known as a port city since ancient times. It is an important commercial centre and also a fishing village. Vadakara has been a favourite destination of Arabs and North Indian Settu’s since ancient times. The main streets here are *Adakkatheru*, *Edodi*, *Peruvattam* and *Thazhe Chakkara Theruvu*.²³⁴ More than 5,000 people depend on fishing for their livelihood in the two fishing villages of Vadakara South and North. Most of the people here are traditional fishermen.²³⁵

After Vadakara, the next fishing village is Kuriyadi and Mattungal in Chorode Grama Panchayat. Kuriyadi is one of the most densely populated coastal

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²³² Vikasana Rekha, Payyoli Grama Panchayat, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996.

²³³ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/iringal.pdf>

²³⁴ Vadakarayude Paithrika Thaalam, Deshabhimani Vaaranthara pathippu, Sunday 2nd July 2023.

²³⁵ Rekha Vasumathi, *Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham*, Op. Cit., p. 104.

fishing villages. There are 4882 people living in this fishing village. The Arabian Sea is about 3 km west of the Panchayat. Other boundaries include rivers and streams. It is also the largest employment sector in the Panchayat. About 3072 people live along the coast. Most of the people here are traditional fishermen.²³⁶

The next fishing villages after Chorud are Madappally and Madakkara. These are included in Onchiyam Grama Panchayat. Madapalli has a population of about 3800 and Madakkara has a population of 1950. There were 3239 tons of fish landing at Madakkara. After agriculture, fishing is the main occupation in Onchiyam Panchayat. Onchiyam is a coastal region where fishing, marketing and processing took place. Fish oil extraction and manure production were done along the coast.²³⁷ After Onchiyam, the next fishing villages are Chombala and Azhiyur in Azhiyur Grama Panchayat. Azhiyoor is also a Panchayat which separates Kozhikode from Kannur.²³⁸

Chombal Fishing Harbour is a popular fishing destination. William Logan records Chombaya or Chombal as a small port city in the Malabar Manual.²³⁹ But these were used as a harbour for small boats and canoes. It is said that Pathemaris came to Chombal. Chombal is famous for Fishing and Blue Mussels.²⁴⁰ In the past, many people used to make a living by collecting BlueMussels here. Naturally, a large number of blue Mussels grew on the cliffs off the coast of Chombal.

Conclusion

Fishing villages are a geographical area that plays a major role in the sustaining economy of Kerala. There are 222 fishing villages in Kerala. We can see that the most of the Fishing villages are Large and Small port towns and trade centres in past. In Malappuram district, Ponnani and Tanur are main example of this. Ponnani is known as a port town in Medieval Kerala. Tanur is the place where the

²³⁶ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/kuriyadi.pdf>

²³⁷ P.P Kumaran, (ed)., Vikasana Rekha, Onchiyam Grama Panjayat, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996.

²³⁸ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/azhiyoor.pdf>

²³⁹ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol.1, Superintendent, Government press, Madras, p. 71.

²⁴⁰ <https://www.keralacoast.org/pdf/kozhikode/chombola.pdf>

main fisheries experimental centre during British period was located. Even now those places are known as important fishing Harbours in Malappuram District. After the Malappuram District we can see the several port cities in Kozhikode district such as Beypore, Kozhikode and Vatakara. Not only these port cities have become fishing Harbours but also new fishing harbours grew up around these areas. In the British period, a new fishing experimental station got opened in West-hill. That time fishes like Sardine and Mackerel were abundance in Kozhikode and surrounding coastal villages. Apart from the fishing, other sub-occupations existed in fishing villages depending on the geographical features.

We can see that old Janmi system still exists in the coastal region. In the olden days, the fishermen were exploited by *Hundikakar* and *Dhallals* (Brokers). Even today, the owners of big trawlers in the fishing field continue to exploit the traditional fishermen. The reality is that since the time immemorial, fishermen have not been able to earn income based on their work. Such exploitation destroyed the economic security of the fishermen community and denies them a better living situation.

CHAPTER III

FISHING COMMUNITIES OF MALABAR COAST

Introduction

The coastal people of Kerala are subjected to an economically and socially marginalized community. Majority of the coastal population depend upon fishing as their main source of livelihood and the fishermen population comes under three categories and they are Hindu, Muslim and Christian. Most of the coastal people have adopted fishing as their main source of livelihood. The religious groups they belong to play a significant role in determining their social structure. And they have their own rituals and customs which they follow. Fishermen from Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities have become sub-castes and are engaged in fishing. Examples are the Latin Catholic fishermen converted from the Hindu community and settled at coastal areas of Kerala and the *Puyslans* who are converted from Hinduism to Islam. Hinduism has the largest number of sub castes. Such distinctions make the coast a region where different rituals exist. This chapter seeks to know about the different categories of fishermen in Kerala and their socio-cultural life.

Hindus

Northern Kerala has the largest number of Hindu fishermen. Rekha Vasumathi noted, as of 1990, Hindus constitute 41.25% of the fishing population in Northern Kerala. Fishermen, commonly known as Hindus, can be seen scattered in several sub castes. The Hindu fishermen are known as Arayan, Katarayan, Valan, Mukkuvan, Nulayan, Mukaya, and Marakyan.¹

The caste system and social evils like untouchability imposed kept certain caste groups and Hindu workers at a certain distance from the upper castes. As a result of renaissance movement, all these sub castes came to be known by the

¹ Rekha vasumathi, *Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham*, Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2013, p. 2.

common name of *Dheevera*. Herman Gundert has given the meaning of the word “Dheeverar” as “Clever Fishermen” in his Malayalam dictionary.² The fishing community has a social structure where men are the heads of the family. Fishermen are a cohesive community with no racial differences. Hindu fishermen have been religiously organized through organizations such as Karayogam and Araya Samajam.³

Christians

Christians are mainly engaged in fishing in Thiruvananthapuram, Alappuzha, Ernakulam, Mahe, Thalassery and Pallikkara. As of 1990, the percentage of Christian fishermen is 33.50 %. It has been less than a century since the arrival of Christian fishermen in North Kerala. The Latin Catholics are the major Christian fishing community in Kerala. Johan Nieuhof, a Dutch traveller and writer mentioned that fishermen are called Paravans.⁴

The Paravans, who lived in the coastal villages, decided to convert to Christianity on the advice of John Dcruz, a Malayali, to free them from oppressive rule. It is estimated that between 15000 to 20,000 Paravans were converted to Christianity under the leadership of the Portuguese priest Stephen Gamma.⁵ As a gratitude to John Dcruz, the name Dcruz began to be used by the converted Paravans. In 1540, Francis Beaverius arrived in India. He also helped many Paravans to convert to Christianity. In some parts of Kerala, Christians belonging to the Latin Catholic sect are known as ‘Mukkuva’. Christian fishermen are engaged in the most adventurous fishing method in Kerala. They had been fishing in the deep sea with *Catamaram* long before the machine was attached to the fishing boats.⁶

² K.M Udhayabhanu, *Kerala Navodhanavum Dheeverarude Jeevithavum*, Lipi Publications, Kozhikode, 2021, p. 35.

³ Rekha vasumathi, *Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham*, Op. Cit., p. 3

⁴ K. Sivasankaran Nair, *Keralam Dutchukarude Drishtiyil*, Kerala Bhasha institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2018, p. 63.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁶ *Ibid.*

The social environment and personality of Christian fishermen revolve around their church. The priests of the churches lead the villages not only in religious matters but also in social and economic matters. In the past, it was the church and the priest who even decided which party the fishermen should vote for.⁷ Fishermen pay up to five per cent of the price of the fish they catch to the church. Some churches have an annual monopoly of Rs 50 lakh to Rs 1 core. It is with such a steady income that the huge churches are built and maintained. The obligation to collect monopolies is determined by the annual auction.⁸

There are many Christian women fish workers from South Kerala who regularly trade in the nearby markets and houses. While the men are the heads of the households, the women workers try to earn enough for the family by selling fish.⁹

Muslims

The Northern districts of Kerala have the largest number of Muslim fishermen. As of 1990, 25.25% of the population in Kerala is Muslim. Malappuram, Kozhikode, Kannur and Kasaragod districts have the highest number of Muslim fishermen. The community is associated with the mosque. Most of them do not use alcohol as it is religiously forbidden.¹⁰

Many fishermen in Kerala have converted to Islam from the Hindus. Those who converted to Islam were known as “Puyislans” (Neo Islam). During the reign of the Zamorin, the Zamorin stipulated that a member of the fishing family should convert to Mohammedanism. Although there are many differences among the three fishing communities in Kerala, there are many similarities also. The hardships and challenges they faced are the same in all religions.¹¹

⁷ Rekha vasumathi, *Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham*, Op. Cit., p. 1.

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ Interview with Mariyam Thresya, Fish selling women, Vizhinjam, 19/02/2018.

¹⁰ Mathew Erthayil, *Keralathile Mathsyathozhilali Prasthanam Samooohika Sasthra Paramaya Oru Vishakalanam*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2002, p. 23.

¹¹ Lakshmi Nandakumar (trns), *Malabarile Mappilamar*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2022, p. 26.

Fishermen Myth and Reality

'Mukkuva ' (Fishermen) is the name used to refer to the peoples living in the coastal areas where fishing has been their livelihood since ancient times. Fishermen are mentioned in the Epics, Myths and other ancient works of India.

In the Mahabharata, there are references to coastal communities. Veda Vyasa is the son of Mathsyagandha and Sage Parasara.¹² The fishermen considered Veda Vyasa, who wrote the Mahabharata, as their predecessor. Vyasa Jayanti is still celebrated in Kozhikode and other coastal areas.¹³ Where the origin of the Yadu clan is mentioned on Vishnuparva refers to the fisherman who drowned in the water, sailed in a boat and caught fish and pearls.¹⁴

Fishing folks are described in Sanskrit texts as Kaivartan, Dasan and Dheevaran. The word fisherman means one who has a habit of driving or Pearl-bearer, and a fisherman used to dive in the water to catch the fish before the development of modern equipment. Similarly, medieval travelogues indicate that pearling took place along the Coromandel Coast and elsewhere. The name 'Fishermen', which was once used to represent work, must have later become a caste name.¹⁵ In many parts of Kerala, we can see the tendency of working names later becoming caste names. Ashari, Thattan, Thachan, Chetty and Kammalar are examples of this.

Skandapurana, Amarakosa, and Abhijnanasakunthalam are the other Sanskrit texts referring to fishermen. There is a hymn in the Amarakosa which refers to the fishing community. That's "Kaivartha Dasha Dheevarau". Kaivartha means one who hurts the fishes, Dasha means one who bites and eats the fish and Dheevara means one who catches fishes with cunningness.¹⁶

¹² S.C Agarwal, *History of Indian fishery*, Daya Publishing house, Delhi, 2006, p. 3.

¹³ Interview with Radhakrishnan (63), President, Bharatheeya Mathsyas Pravarthaka Sangam, Kerala, 13/06/2019.

¹⁴ Mridananda swami, *Harivamsam*, Ramakrishna math Publication, Thrissur, 2006, p. 84.

¹⁵ T.C Parameswaran Moosath, *Amarakosham*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2001, p. 220.

¹⁶ K. Padmanaban, *Mukkuvarum Theeradesha Samskrithiyum*, Pusthaka bavan, Payyannur, 2016, p. 32.

The fisherman is also mentioned in the Skandapurana and the Parasurama story. In the Skandapurana, there is a reference to “Kaivartha”. In the story of Parasurama, it is mentioned that Parasurama, who came to bathe in the sea, saw the fishermen and cut off their bait and made *Poonul* and gave them Brahmanism. Although the Puranas cannot be considered as history, the writings in these Puranas can be considered as a confirmation of the existence of a fishing community at that time.¹⁷

The word “Dheevara” can be found in the sixth volume of Kalidasa’s *Abhijnanasakunthalam*. The fish swallows a king’s lost ring and the fisherman gets the fish and when he cuts it, he gets the ring. The fisherman who tried to sell the ring is caught by the sepoy and portrayed as a thief. This is what the fisherman says to the captured soldiers. “Aham Shakravatharabhyantharavasi Dheevara”. This means that I am a fisherman who lives in Shakravatara. He is ridiculed by the mayor (Nagarathipan) for saying that he lives by fishing with nets and baits.¹⁸ This reference suggests that at the time of this work, fishermen who lived by fishing were stamped as lower castes.

After the Puranas, it is in the works of the Sangam that the references to fisherman can be found. In *Akananuru*, there is a reference to the Parathavas who hunt in the open sea and live in small huts and their fishing methods. Here, Parathavas mean fishermen. There is also talk of women from the coastal areas in *Mullaipattu*. Same reference is there in “*Pathittupath*” and “*Nattina*”.¹⁹

In Malayalam folk songs, Thottam songs, Northern songs and Mappila songs fishermen are mentioned. *Mangalampattu*, the traditional song of the Pulayas, describes the fishermen’s journey to the north.²⁰ There are also fishing references in *Thottampattu* related to Poorakali. The story goes that Sambhara, the Asura king, throws Cupid, who was born from Krishna and Rugmini into the sea. A fish

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁸ A. R. Rajarajavarma (trns), *Abinjana Sakunthalam*, E-Book Publication, <https://malayalameboks.org>, 2011, p.137.

¹⁹ K. Padmanaban, Op. Cit., p. 35.

²⁰ M.V. Vishnu Namboothiri, *Pulayarude paattukal*, NBS, Kottayam, 1993, p. 219.

swallows him and that fish was caught by the fishermen, who presented the fish to the King.²¹

Fishermen can be seen in the Porattukali of the Chaliya community and in the Chimmanakali of the Pulaya and in the ceremonies related to abortion in the Paraya community.²² There are also references to fishing in the Parayas own Mariyattam.

The fisherman is also mentioned in the Malayalam Sandesha Kavya *Kokasandesha*.

“Kattodolamkaliyarathonimelettimandum
Pattinmelevalayumuliyumkaipidichashramena
Ettamvamberinachurakumeenkontukontittumukko-
Rarudevannananjathumkondathravaikayavendum (Hymn 80)²³

This is a description of a boat that sails in the high waves of the sea, and a fisherman who kills a shark with a net and a chisel in his hand. Similarly, we can find fishing references in the origin of Kerala and in the ‘Valaveesu Puranam’ written in the eighteenth century.²⁴

As all the ancient texts contain such references, it is not possible to trace a definite period to the beginning of the fishing communities in Kerala. These works point to the fact that fishermen have been present in Kerala since ancient times. However, there are claims that fishermen are immigrants. They are like this. According to Herman Gundert, fishermen are immigrants to Kerala. He records that the fishermen were those who arrived by international migration along with the Ezhavas and Mukavars.²⁵

²¹ K. Padmanaban, Op. Cit., p. 36.

²² M.V Vishnu Namboothiri, *Folklore Nigandu*, Kerala Basha institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1989, p. 100.

²³ <https://thalilakkam.in>

²⁴ T.T Sreekumar, *Valaveeshupuranam*, Et.al., C.R Rajagopalan (ed)., *Kadalarivukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 58.

²⁵ H.Gundert, *A Malayalam and English Dictionary*, Basel Mission Book & Tract Depository, C. Stolz Publication, Mangalore, 1872, p. 825.

Historian L.A Krishna Iyer, in his book “Social History of Kerala”, states that fishermen came from Ceylon.²⁶ The coastal region of Malabar had fishing and trade with Ceylon even in the 18th century. The fishermen are also listed in the “Cochin State Manual” as migrants from Ceylon.²⁷ Historians claim that the Indus Valley fishing community migrated by sea to Ceylon, Nicobar and Indonesia, some of which settled in Kerala. This argument is not entirely correct based on the evidence from the Sangam period. This is because of the strength of a strong culture in the fishing community.

Fishermen follow the tribal customs, beliefs and worship of the aboriginal people of Kerala. But the fishermen may have migrated to Kerala from some countries and it is more likely that they have merged with the culture of the locals here along with the rituals of the fishermen of Kerala which are similar. There is still a system of domestic migration in Kerala depending on the availability of employment. Such a reference can be seen in the *Mangala paattu*.²⁸

Fishermen In Malabar

Ponnani, Tanur, Parappanagadi, Chaliyam, Beypore, Vadakara, Kozhikode, Koyilandy, Thalassery, Dharmadam, Azhikode, Nileswaram, Kanhangad, Bekkalam, Kottikulam, Keezhoor, Kasargod and Kumbala are the major settlements of the fishing community in Malabar.²⁹

With the division of labor in ancient society, different tribes were formed within each clan. In the folk tradition, the tribes are divided into Illandan, Kiriyaandan and Kulandan. House divisions can be seen in all communities such as Pulayar, Malayan, Valan, Valluvan, Mukayan, Karimpalan and Kurichiyar.³⁰

This house segregation also existed in the fishing communities of Malabar in

²⁶ L.A Krishna Iyer, *Social History of Kerala*, Vol-II, Book Centre Publication, Madras, 1968, p. 25.

²⁷ C. Achutha Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, Cochin Government press, Ernamkulam, 1911, p. 204.

²⁸ K.Padmanaban, Op. Cit., p. 43.

²⁹ Interview with Moytheen koya (70), Pareechintepurakkal, Native fishermen of Ariyallur, 28/04/2018.

³⁰ K. Padmanaban, Op. Cit., p. 44.

the early days. Fishermen are classified as Moonnillam and Nalillam. Of these, Moonnillams are said to be fishermen and Nalillams are said to be Arayar. There is no consensus on this among the fishermen themselves.³¹ There is an opinion that there is Nalillam resides in North Kerala and only Moonnillam in the south. Ponnillam, Chembillam, Kachillam, Karillam are these four Illams. The Illams of Moonnillam are Chembillam, Kachillam and Chathillam.³² These two groups claim each other to be socially superior. Moonnillams and Nalillams lived in adjacent areas and did the same work, but there was no interaction in community matters and employment matters to some extent.³³

Among the fishermen there is a *Sabha* called the *Rajyam*. They are also known as Nadu and Desam in many places. The head of this *Sabha* is called Kadavan. Deshams and Nadus were active in the Kasargod area of Malabar. The interconnected areas of Kasargod, Keezhoor, Bekkalam and Kottikulam are also known as *Naludesham* and *Nalunadu*. These are known as *Anchunadu* and *Ezhunadu* depending on the number of *Rajyam* respectively.³⁴

These divisions can also be seen in Kozhikode and Koyilandy. In Koyilandy, Ezhukudikkal, Valiyamangad, Cheriyaamangad, Koyilandy, Puthenkadappuram, Koothampalli, Arayanteparambu, Kollam and Thanneermukham are called nine kingdoms. On the shores of Kozhikode, the interconnected 7 Deshams. Edakkal, Thodiyil, Kampuram, Kunnummal, Munnalil, Puthiyangadi and Puthiyappa are known as the Ezhurajyam. These are also important fishing villages today.³⁵

The head of the fishermen is known as *Arayan*.³⁶ They also known as *Thurayilarayan* in Kasaragod area. Even though the Arayans are considered to be different castes, it is conceivable that a fisherman's title in the coastal areas may

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³² P.C Kartha, *Aajaaranushtaanakosham*, DC Books, Kottayam, 1998, p. 85.

³³ Karunakara Menon Pannikottu (trns), *Dhakshinentyayile Jathikal*, Vidhyavilasam, Kozhikode, 1915, p. 243.

³⁴ K.Padmanaban, Op. Cit., p. 45.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45

³⁶ N.M Namboothiri, *Malabar Padanagal Samoothiri Nadu*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2013, p. 182.

have been due to the unity of those who lived and worked together, or to the fact that racism did not have strong roots in the coastal areas at that time.

Among the fishermen, there were some who did other occupations besides fishing. They were known by many local names, such as *Kavuthiyar*, *Panimakkal* and *Navuthiyar*. These groups practiced Shaving, Prescribing posthumous ceremonies, and Spraying (Thalikuka) during the Menstruation and after the 'Pula'. They are known as *Aduthon* in the Koyilandy area, *Paniyans* in the *Nattika-Thalikulam* area and *Arayavaathi* in the old Kochi area. In this section there were also workers named *Manakkan*.³⁷

Customs of Fishermen

Panthal kazhikkal, *Kodi udukkal*, and gathering at home are different wedding practices among fishermen. When a girl reaches the age of maturity there was a custom named '*Thirandukalyanam*'. Associated with Childbirth there were many customs like '*Pulikkudi*', '*Neyyu sevikkal*', '*Thala neetal*', '*Pungan*', '*Pallakaanal*', '*Appam chudal*' and '*Valayma*'. After the death, '*Paayakaakkal*', '*Paayamadakkal*', '*Chavadiyanthiram*', '*Nalpathiyonnadiyanthiram*' and '*Akanalneekkal*' also performed by the fishermen.³⁸

Panthal Kazhikkal was an old custom in the fishing community. It is also known as *Panthal kalyanam*, *Panthal mangalam* and *Kettukalyanam* depending on the areas. The ceremony was performed when the girl came of age and before the actual marriage. In many places, this ceremony was something that lasted for about a week with a good feast. It is said that this custom existed in Malabar till about 20 years ago.³⁹

The ceremony is held in the backyard or in the temple premises by keeping a tent. The ceremony is led by the male head known as *Achanmaar* and the female head known as *Ammaar*. The amount of money known as "*Thali panam*" should be presented for the wedding. The female heads were invited by giving a *Kettuvakkal*.

³⁷ K.Padmanaban, Op. Cit., pp. 46-47.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54.

³⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/share/p/eQVXuBWtQaVHmP3z/?mibextid=oFDknk>

They will be given a bundle of betel and 10 betel nuts at the time of this invitation. The *Thali* will be tied to the girl by the *Ammaar* in most of the places. After this ceremony, the girl is not allowed to go out for a week.⁴⁰

There are two types of marriages between fishermen, namely, *Kodiudukkal* and *Veetilkoodal*. There was a marriage between them called *Vechirikkal*. In this type of marriage they need only the permissions from the parents of both bride and groom and the head of the community. No dowry was given for such marriage and the wife stays at her own house even after the marriage.⁴¹

Thirandu Kalyanam (Menstrual Ceremony)

Menstrual ceremony is a function celebrated in most of the communities in Kerala. This ceremony is also known as *Thirandumangalam* and *Rithumangalam*. The words '*Theendaaruka*', *Theendaarnnirikkuka* (To be unclean), *Thodanvayya* (Not to be touched) and *Purathaavuka* (expelled) are used to indicate the age of puberty of a girl.⁴²

Vaalaayma is celebrated in Malabar without any caste distinction. The only change is that the ceremonies are different according to the caste distinction. When the girl reaches puberty, she is moved to another room or hut.⁴³ This hut is known as "*Theendaripura*".

The women perform some special dances and song when a girl reaches the puberty in fishermen community. There was also a custom to offer *Adakkayum Vettilyum vekkuka* (Betel and Betel nut) in the temple at the seventh day of puberty. Pouring water on the girl's head for seven days also a ceremony. The *Ammaars* lead this ceremony. Aunty of the girl and Kavuthiyans execute this ceremony in some places.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ K. Padmanaban, Op. Cit., p. 52.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴² Interview with Kamalam,(68),Native women, Kadalundi,18/09/2018.

⁴³ P.C Kartha, *Ajaaranushtaanakosham*, Op. Cit., p. 99.

⁴⁴ https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Castes_and_Tribes_of_Southern_India/Volume_1/Introduction

There was some restrictions during the Menstrual days like not to go for fish sale in those 7 days, not to fetch water from the well, not to touch the sea. The girl goes back to her own house after the seven days. These days, rice is powdered and fried, mixed with onion, Jaggery and cumin and given to the child. Apply turmeric and oil. And the “*Mukkoott*” will be applied on the body. “*Mukkoott*” is a mixture of turmeric, fenugreek and mustard powder mixed with oil. It is also given to postpartum women.⁴⁵

Maternity Ceremonies

Pulikudi (Sourdough), *Neyyusevikkal* (Eating ghee), *Pallakanal* (Visiting the pregnant), *Appamchudal* (Bread making), *Eetinu kodukkal* (Feeding), *Veliyakuli* (Great bath), *Muttath keeyal* (*Descent into the yard*) are some of the ceremonies performed before and after the delivery.⁴⁶

Pulikudi or *Punngan* is a ceremony performed at the 5th of 7th month of pregnancy. It is also known as ghee eating. It is a ritual performed by the heads like *Ammaar* and *Kavuchi* and a few women relatives who visit the husband's house. This is a ritual to take the woman to her house for delivery. The *Ammaar* and other women put on new clothes and offers rice for three times to the pregnant lady. Taking home by offering the rice on the lap is another name for this ritual. They even served feast on this day.⁴⁷

From the time the wife becomes pregnant until the third day after giving birth, the husband must grow his hair long. This is a custom. This was called pregnancy hair. During the ninth month, the husband's family bakes bread for the pregnant woman. The bread thus brought was distributed by the pregnant woman's family to their relatives.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Interview with Matha (72), Valiyakath, Native women, Puthiyappa, 12/11/2023.

⁴⁶ Edger Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol V, Government Press, Madras, 1909, p. 115.

⁴⁷ L.K Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes And Caste*, Vol-I, Higginbotham & Co., Mount Road, London, 1909, p. 271.

⁴⁸ Edger Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Op. Cit., p. 115.

In south Malabar and Cochin, The birth of a son is announced by three loud shout and the birth of daughter by three hard blows on the floor.⁴⁹ They observe 16 days of untouchability in connection with childbirth. In some areas these are 12 days.

The names given to the money giving ceremonies associated with childbirth are *Eettinukodukkuka*, *Pettichiykkum* (The delivered woman) and *Kavuchikyum Kodukkuka*. The great bath is the bath by smearing turmeric on the 4th day after the delivery. *Muttath Keeyal* (Descent into the yard) is performed on the 19th day but it is not in practice nowadays. Instead the function conducted on the 28th day as 28th day of birth. The husband's family take back the mother and child to their home 3 months after the delivery. This ritual is known as in local language "*Pettoleyum Kunjineyum Kootikondupoval*".⁵⁰

Funeral Ceremonies

There is a ritual in which women sit in a room without going out on a certain day as part of the mourning when close relatives die. This is known as the *Paya Kaakal*. It will last for 12 days. On the fourth day, there is a ritual of offering sacrifices, Betel and Fish. Betel leaves and fish will not be used in the dead house until that day.⁵¹

On the twelfth day after the death, the relatives return to their home. This ceremony is called *Paya Madakkal*, (Mat folding). After the 12th day they perform 41st day ceremony. Close relatives come to the house on that day. After this all the ceremonies will be finished related to the deceased person. "*Angeyorkkuvekkal*" is a ceremony which performed to commemorate the deceased person. A ritual named "*Akanaalneekkal*" was performed among the fishermen. *Akanalneekkal* is a magical act performed to cure death in bad days. The *Akanal* removal was practiced by the Vannan, Malayan, Velan and Kaniyan communities.⁵²

⁴⁹ L.K Anantha Krishna Iyer, Op. Cit., p. 271.

⁵⁰ K.Padmanaban, Op. Cit., p. 61.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68

⁵² Vishnu Namboothiri, *Folklore Nigandu*, Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2010(1989), p. 2.

Fishermen in Foreign Records

The author of the *Periplus of the Eritrean Sea*, while describing the city of Thodithi, records the people who worked at sea. If you listen to some lines from the weaving song written by Keerathanar in Kudavayil, you can get a rough idea about the antiquity of the fishing communities. The lines of the weaving song are as follows.

*“Azhakurevalakalodukoodinedumthimilil poi
Perumkadalparappilecheeraameennadungumarukodumthozhil
Cheythuvannathanthaykkuppukoduthuvangiyanellinte
Ari kondundaakkiyapunjiripolevenmathirandachoruayalameen
Kozhumeenkashanangalodkoodiilayamakalvilmbikodukkunna
Idamaanuvantheraarannaporayante (cherante)thondipattanam”.*⁵³

This is the occasion when the father, a fisherman, who had gone fishing in the bay, and his young daughters were serving rice with Ayala fish curry.

The Greek traveller Ptolemy, who lived between 95 and AD 162, records the “Karayar” sect. They are also known as Parathavars. Their main source of livelihood was the oyster industry in addition to fishing. Ptolemy’s record is a testament to the fact that the coastal people found employment by understanding the availability of different resources according to their local differences.⁵⁴

The Persian scholar Al-Biruni records the people who lived by fishing. After talking about the Chaturvarnya system in India, it is said that the Sudras of the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra classes can be further divided into eight categories. But we can see that his classification was based on the work they did. He also includes fishermen, along with laundrymen, shoemakers and weavers,⁵⁵

The Coast of Kerala can be seen in the descriptions of the Chinese traveler

⁵³ Ilam Kulam Kunjan Pillai, *Keralam Anjum Aarum Noottandukalil*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1961, p. 101.

⁵⁴ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Sancharikal Kanda Keralam*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2012, p. 42.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Chou Ju Qua. The Arabs exchanged goods with the Chinese which includes salt and pearls. Salt production is considered to be one of the main sources of livelihood of the coastal people after fishing.⁵⁶

Marco Polo, a Venetian traveler, also wrote about the people of the coast in his travelogue. Marco Polo noted that there are many pearls in the sea between “Malabar” and Sri Lanka. From the beginning of April to the middle of May, many pearls were available here. These oysters can travel up to 100 km off the coast. During the months of September to March, they are located at a distance of 400 to 500 km.⁵⁷

Merchants came in boats of various sizes to collect the pearls. The pearls were collected by tying a bag around the waist and sinking in the sea. He noted that if hundreds of oysters were broken, only one pearl would be found. This suggests that pearling was a job that required a great deal of work and could only be done by those who had a deep knowledge of the sea.⁵⁸

Freire Jordanus of Severick was a Catholic missionary who arrived in Kerala in the early 14th century. He also talks about the pearl trade. He points out that there are people who live off the coast and that about 8,000 boats and canoes are used for pearl fishing. He also says he collected pearls for three months in a row.⁵⁹

Wang ta Yuan, a Chinese traveler, has also documented the collection of mussels. The people of the coast used to go in many boats to collect pearls. There will be five people on each boat. The mussels were taken from the bottom of the sea and returned when the boat was full. We can see from the travelogues of travelers who visited Kerala at various times that pearling was one of the main occupations of the coastal people after fishing since the Sangam period. Similarly, pearl mining was considered to be a lucrative occupation rather than fishing, as it may have been a life-threatening occupation done by the coastal people.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

Mahuwan is one of the famous Chinese travellers, who visited Kerala in 1409 AD. He has visited cities like Kozhikode and Kochi and recorded information. He classifies the people here into five main categories. They are Nairs, Mohammedeirs, Chetti, Kolings and Mukkuvas.⁶¹ Mahuwan, recorded the fishermen as the poorest of the poor. Authorities have banned their homes from being more than three feet high. They were also not allowed to wear long dresses. If fishermen see a Nair or a Chetti coming from a distance, the fisherman should lie on the ground until they pass by. Also he mentioned Fishing and load work are the main sources of livelihood for fishermen.⁶²

Niccolo Contie was an Italian traveler who visited Kerala in the 15th century. What he said about the fishermen of Kochi is very interesting. As we sailed along the river we saw strange animals fishing on the river bank. These animals will strategically encircle the fish that come in groups with the flames. Of these, males and females were recorded as having same physical characteristics of humans. This is how Velayudhan Panikkassery observes it.⁶³

This description of Niccolo Contie may seem surprising. In areas like Vypin, Ponnikkara, Raman Thuruth and Ernakulam, fishermen used to fish in the backwaters at night with the help of fire as they do today. The foreigner may have seen the men and women who were fishing in nominal clothes and asked the fellow passengers on the ship what it was. He understood what they said in sign language in the manner described earlier.⁶⁴

Fei Hsin, a Chinese traveler who arrived in Kerala in 1436, describes the fisherman. The beaches are full of houses of the poor. They are poor but perfectly polite. For men and women, only a small cotton cloth is worn around the waist. On occasions when going out, a cloth is wrapped around the head. The main occupation of the people of the coastal areas is fishing. Those who catch fishes are called fishermen. They live in small huts built in coastal coconut groves. They get very low

⁶¹ K.P Gayathree, *Aalapatte Araya Jeevitham Samakalikhayum Swatha Roopikaraavum*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of Malayalam, SSUS Kalady, 2015, p. 63

⁶² K.A Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices Of South India, From Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, The G.S Press, Madras, 1939, p. 304.

⁶³ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Sancharikal Kanda Keralam*, Op. Cit., p. 178.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*

prices for the Fish. They are starving even when they are not able to catch enough fish. When they see strangers, they hide in the roof. This is the information that Fei Hsin provides about the fisherman.⁶⁵

Barbosa was a Portuguese official who came to Kerala in 1500 AD and lived in Kerala till 1516 AD and studied Malayalam and the way of life of the Malayalis. M.L Dames noted his book “The Book of Durate Barbosa” gives a vivid description of 16th century Kerala. He talks about Thiyyas, Mukkuva Fishermen and Mukayars.⁶⁶

Pirad de Laval, a French merchant who visited Kerala in the 17th century, wrote about fishing in Kozhikode. The main occupation of the people of the coastal area is fishing. Each fisherman catches as many fish as he wants from his favorite place. He also notes that fishing is considered a very decent occupation.⁶⁷

The king also goes fishing as a pastime. When the king goes to sea, there will be 12 dignitaries in addition to the captain. Each of the dignitaries is rewarded with a silver chain and the captain’s a gold chain who go with the Zamorins. As the boat approaches the shore, one of the dignitaries ties the biggest fish to a rope and carries it to the palace kitchen. Pirard de Laval also notes that a number of fish were shared with priests, friends and the poor.⁶⁸

Hamilton was an Englishman who toured Kerala from AD 1688 - AD 1723. It is recorded that he came as a guest of the Vadakara rulers but had to pay a bribe to get good fish. In the section on untouchability in Kerala, he even mentions the fisherman. Thiyyas, Mukkuvas, Pulayas and others are considered lower castes. When a Nair walks down a road, the oncoming Thiyyas, fisherman, and the Pulayar will be killed immediately by the Nair if they do not stay within a certain distance of being untouched. If Nair does not kill them, the king will kill Nair. This is what Hamilton writes in the book ‘A New Account of the East Indies’.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ M.R.Raghava varier, *Trade Relations between Kerala and China 1200-1500 AD*, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 51, 1990, p. 693.

⁶⁶ M.L Dames, *The Books Of Durate Barbosa*, Vol II, The Halkuyt Society, London, 1921, p. 61.

⁶⁷ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Sancharikal Kanda Keralam*, Op. Cit., p. 318.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

Johan Nieuhaf was a Dutch chief who visited Kerala in the 17th century. He was in Kerala from 1653 to 1670. He records that the common people of Malabar were Pulayas and fishermen. The fishermen were also called as Paravans. Fishermen, who are blacker and uglier than Nairs, live on land and engage in fishing as well as rowing and other mercenary work. Fishermen's social status is lower than that of Thiyyas. The Paravans are a group among the fishermen. They are generally lazy, collecting oysters from the sea. They are the best divers in the world and are trained in it from an early age.⁷⁰

While the men go to work at sea, the women and children sit on the shore collecting pearls from the mussels. Johan Nieuhaf also records that the Paravans are Christians and he states that the unbelievers joined the Roman Church with the help of the Portuguese because of the persecution of the Mohammedans.⁷¹

This is how Francis Buchanan, an English official who came to Kerala in the late eighteenth century, described the life style of fishermen in Malabar. The Fishermen live in the coastal region of Kerala. Their main occupation is fishing. At the same time, they are engaged in carrying Palanquin and rowing boats. Some of them also cultivate coconut. Although they became Muslims in the southern parts of Malabar, they did not quit their jobs. Fishermen look down on such converts. They do not recognize themselves as Sudras and consider the Ezhavas to be superior to them.⁷²

They have a community leader named Arayan. The problems between them are resolved with the help of a committee consisting of some of the leaders of the Araya community who are given the status of a traditional position. *Sadya* is important in their simple wedding style without any big religious ceremonies. Divorce can only be granted if the woman is found guilty of infidelity. Very few of them have an education where any kind of meat and intoxicants other than beef is not forbidden. Kali is their family goddess. Inside a small hut, a piece of cobblestone is placed and worshiped as a temple and as an idol of Goddess Kali. Four times a

⁷⁰ K. Sivasankaran Nair, Op. Cit., p. 63.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷² C.K Kareem,(trns), *Francis Buchanante Keralam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996, p. 17.

year, the goddess is pleased with the slaughtering of chickens and offering of fruits. One of them is a priest. They do not believe in reincarnation but believe in the devil and evil spirits who cause disease and suffering. They depends on the community of *Kaniyan* to get rid of the devil. Fishermen have a tradition of burying the dead.⁷³

From Buchanan's description, it is possible to learn all about the lifestyle and rituals of the fishermen of his time. In Herman Gundert's 'Malayala Rajyam', referred to the Mukkuva and Mukaya community.⁷⁴ According to T. Nadaraja, the fishermen (Mukuvar and Mukavar) came to 'Malayalam' (Kerala) from 'Ezhava Island' with Thiyya and Ezhava. In this reference, "Ezhava Island" is referred to as Ceylon. Before Hermann Gundert also argued that the fishermen were from Ceylon.⁷⁵

Muslim Fishermen and Christian Fishermen

The fishermen are classified into three groups in the book "Peoples of India: Kerala" which was edited by K. S Singh. He classified them as Hindu fishermen, Muslim fishermen and Christian fishermen. Although this distinction is religious, it is important to understand the differences in the customary beliefs of different communities doing the same work.⁷⁶

Mukkuva-Christian

The Mukkuva of southern Kerala were converted into Christianity in mass during Portuguese period In India.⁷⁷ The Mukkuva belonging to the Roman Catholic, Latin community are distributed all along the coast from Cochin southward. Under the Verapoly Metropolitan, the Latin Catholic have six diocese, Alappuzha, Cochin, Kollam, Thiruvananthapuram, Vijayapuram and Kozhikode.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18

⁷⁵ T.Nadaraja, *The Legal System of Ceylon in Its Historical Setting*, E J Brill Publishers, Leiden, 1972, p. 47.

⁷⁶ K.S Singh, *People of India : Kerala*, Vol-III, Anthropological survey of india, New Delhi, 2002, p. 978.

⁷⁷ K. Sivasankaran Nair, *Op. Cit.*, p. 64.

The Basel Missionaries, led by Herman Gundert, had purchased a large hill station from the Purameri Kovilakam, the descendants of the Kadathanad rulers. This place was later known as Pathirikunnu. There was a church and a school here. There were new dwellings. Thus, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Christian community had a sanctuary here. William Logan records Chombal as a small port in the Malabar Manual. Today, Chombal Harbor is a fishing port with Hindu, Muslim and Christian fishermen in the area. All these fishing communities are called fishermen here on the basis of occupation and not on the basis of caste.⁷⁸

K. Padmanabhan records that it has been less than a century since the arrival of Christian fishermen in North Kerala. Apart from Kozhikode, Christian fishermen are concentrated in Mahe, Thalassery and Pallikkara. Most of the Christian Catholics in Kerala are Latin Catholics who are believed to have converted in the 16th century during the reign of St. Xavier.⁷⁹

Christian fishermen are considered to be the most adventurous fishermen in Kerala. Even before the mechanization of fishing gear, they had the courage to go long distances in the deep sea with the Catamarans during windy and rainy seasons. This is clear from the experience of a fisherman named A. Andrews.⁸⁰

The dialect spoken by the members of the Mukkuva - Christian community has both Malayalam and Tamil words. This dialect is spoken only within their community. Malayalam is used for communication with others and the script used is also the same. Those in the border of Tamil Nadu state are well versed in Tamil.⁸¹

The social division in the Mukkuva-Christian community is based on kinships. During the time of conversion, the Portuguese style of family titles like Netto, De Souza and De Costa were adopted and are still continued but this pattern is slowly undergoing change. They have started readopting the local pattern of using house names in order to identify the kin group. These house names may be after the type of land, the name of trees and the name of the first born child. The return to this

⁷⁸ Manorama Daily, Chandanapuzha Neenthi kadannal Azhiyoorethi, 4th August 2017, Kozhikode.

⁷⁹ K. Padmanaban, Op. Cit., p. 16.

⁸⁰ A. Andrews, *Kadal Muthukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2020, p. 80.

⁸¹ D. Anilkumar, *Kadapora pasa*, Pravda books, Thiruvananthapuram, 2019, p. 11.

traditional pattern is in conformation with the local practice by other castes and communities.⁸²

Traditional dress style of Christian-Mukkuva

The casual wear for the men is Mund or Lungi, the Bloin dress wrapped around the waist and a *Thorthu* (towel) thrown over the shoulder or tied around the head. While engaged in fishing, the man usually wear a towel over it and a banyan. On special occasions, while going to church or town, the man wear the *Vellamundu* (Dhoti) and shirt. The educated and well to do have started wearing pants. Some of the men are found to wear a crucifix or a medal tied to a black string around their neck. Figures of saint or a cross are also tattooed on the forearm or outer palm.⁸³

The Mukkuva-Christian women folk wear a loin cloth extending a little below their knee. Usually a colorful Lungi is worn. The upper garment is called 'Rouka, which is an elongated blouse, the sleeves extend up to the elbow. They do not wear a head cover but a towel is usually thrown over the left shoulder across the chest while going to church and on other special occasions.⁸⁴

Most of the women folk wear full Saree and Blouse. The women also wear a crucifix tied to a black string around the neck. They also wear rosary with the crucifix attached to it. Glass and plastic bangles are worn. Young girls clad in Blouse and Skirts also wear anklets and gold chains. Woman of old generation tattooed their faces and forearms. Both elderly men and women wear also found to wear "*Uthariyam*" (Religious scapular) .⁸⁵

Mukkuva-Muslim

Muslim fisherfolk live mostly in the northern districts of Kerala.⁸⁶ Sometimes they are called *Puistan* or *Puthiya Islam* (New Islam) but now this terms are considered as derogatory. The ethnographic account indicates that in the southern parts of the Malabar province, most of the Mukkuvas have become Muslims. The

⁸² K.S Singh, *People of India : Kerala*, Op. Cit.,p. 981.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 979.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 980.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ <https://www.ayurvedajournals.com/article/fishermen-rituals-in-kerala-01>

madras census report of 1891 records that conversion to Islam is common among this caste. In the Gazetteer of Malabar in 1908, is also written that the Mukkuva has supplied many converts to the rank of Muhammadanism.

L.K Anantha Krishna Iyer opines that the Mukkuva being obliged to keep to the caste, and unable to bear the social disabilities, many become converted to Islam, and were thus elevated in the social scale.⁸⁷ The Mukkuva-Muslims are mainly found in the coastal areas of Malabar region like Ponnani, Tanur, Parappanangadi, Chaliyam, Kozhikode, Kannur and Thrissur. The Mukkuva - Muslims use *Kutty* and *Ali* at the end of their name, which are also used by the Mappila - Muslims.⁸⁸

The Mukkuva -Muslims main economic resources is sea. The resources are controlled by the government. Still their main occupation is fishing. They employ fishing labourers from the same community. A few of them were daily wage casual labourers. Their link with market exists directly as well as through middlemen. The middlemen of fishing field was mainly called "*Tharakan*". The transaction is done in cash.⁸⁹

The Mukkuva Muslim community, an area of fishermen is known as "*Mahal*" and each "*Mahal*" has one "*Jamat*". There will be an executive committee. The term of the committee lasts for one year. The main function of the *Jamat* is to look after the welfare of the community. The *Jamat* cannot impose any punishments now.⁹⁰

The Mukkuva-Muslims profess Islam. They belong to Sunni sects and have faith in Shafi School of thoughts. The scarred specialists are the "*Khasi* and *Mukri*" who hail from the same community or from other Sunni or Shafi community. The role of the *Khasi* is to give religious teaching, maintain Mosque, officiate at *Nikah* and other social functions, look into the divorce cases, and solve the religious disputes. They observe all Muslim festivals such as *Valiyaperunnal*,

⁸⁷ L.K.Anantha Krishna Iyer, Op. Cit., p. 267.

⁸⁸ K.S Singh, *People of India : Kerala*, Op. Cit., p. 991.

⁸⁹ Interview with Haneefa(52), Tharakan worker(Broker), 12/11/2020

⁹⁰ Interview with Majeed (58),A.P Abdul Kareem Haji (65), Secretary, Siddique Palli, Mahallu Committee, Chaliyam, 12/02/2022.

Cheriyaperunnal, Nabidhinam and Milad-e-sharif. These are of religious and socio-religious significance.⁹¹

Marriage System of Mukkuva-Muslims

The Mukkuva-Muslims practiced endogamy, but now they marry other Muslims, especially with the Mappila depending up on their economic status. Financially sound Mukkuva-Muslims prefer to call themselves as the Mappila. They prefer to marry father's sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter. They can also marry parallel cousins. The age of marriage has increased from 14 -19 years to 18-24 years to girls and from 20-24 years to 22-28 years for boys. *Mehar* (bride-price) was one of the important part of their marriage. The *Mehar* half of in gold, is given to the girl's father by the bridegroom at the time of *Nikah*.⁹²

They follow patriarchal rule of residence after marriage. Either husband or wife can take divorce with social approval. The reasons for divorce are adultery, maladjustment, impotency, cruelty and insanity. The divorce can be obtained with the approval of *Jamat*. But in some cases they also approach court. In case of judicial divorce, the compensation and liability of children will be as per the court's decision. Divorcee, widow /widower can remarry. The levirate and sororate marriages are allowed.⁹³ For marriage, divorce and remarriage they follow Muslim customs and traditions. *Sunnathkalyanam, Mudikalachil, Patra* are another traditional customs of Mukkuva-Muslims. These customs are practiced based on the Mukkuva Children.

Arayar

The name Arayan was generally adopted as a result of the renaissance of the Valan, Mukuvan, Nulayan, Mukayar and Ayavarathi were the communities engaged in traditional fishing in Kerala. Before being known as Dheeverar, the entire fishing

⁹¹ K.S Singh, *People of India : Kerala*, Op. Cit., p. 995.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 992.

⁹³ Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes In Southern India*, Printed By The Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1906, p. 114.

community was called Arayans.⁹⁴ Although similar in lifestyle, we can see cultural diversity in them.

Arayan is denoted among fishermen community as in three different contexts. The word Arayan comes in three main forms. One is as a Hindu fisherman. The second is the caste group 'Arayan'. The third is as a Head or Authority of communities such as the fisherman. These are used differently in each region and can be found along the coast.⁹⁵

Vishalakshi observes that the history of the Arayans is as old as the Indus Valley Civilization. Minas or Minavar, Paravas or Parathavar played a major role in nurturing the Indus Valley Civilization. Today's Arayans and fishermen are believed to be descendants of the Minava - Parathava sect. India, then known as the Indus, had four kingdoms, Meenad, Paravanad, Maramkothinad and Elnaad. Vishalakshi observes that fishing was the main source of livelihood for the first two countries and that they were engaged in overseas trade. They also said that the flags of their country were engraved with the shape of a fish.⁹⁶

Although there is no evidence that the Arayans were associated with this sect, it is clear that fishing was the occupation of the Minavar and Paravar clans. There have always been people who lived by fishing. But all these communities are known by different names according to time and place. We can see this discrimination in names even in the coastal areas of present day Kerala. Therefore, it is not possible to completely rule out the Arayans' connection with the Indus valley culture.⁹⁷

The word Arayan can be found in the Gundert Dictionary and in Padmanabha Pillai's Shabdatharavali. Arayan is another form of the Dravidian word 'Arasan' meaning 'Ruler'. Evidence is available that the term Arayan has existed since the Sangam period. Tamil historian S. Viyyaapuri Pillai mentions

⁹⁴ K.M Udhayabhau, *Kerala Navodhanavum Arayarude Jeevithavum*, Lipi Publications, Kozhikode, p. 36.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*

⁹⁶ Seydu Muhammed (ed), *Kerala Charithram*, Vol- I, Kerala History Association, The Government Press, Ernakulam, 1973, p. 993.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*.

‘Mootharaiyar’ in the poem ‘Naladiyar’ in his book ‘History of Tamil Languages and Literature’.⁹⁸ He says that some rock inscriptions from the 7th century AD to the 9th century AD mention the family of the ‘Mootharayar’ and that the ‘Mootharayar’ did not have any significance before the 7th century AD. N. Subramanian, quoting S. Viyyapuri Pillai, clarifies that the reference in the works can be regarded as evidence that the ‘Mootharayar’ was prominent in the Sangam period. Mootharayar is probably the head of the Neythal inhabitants, the Minavar and the Parathavar. This is because we can see the status of ‘Arayan’ in the later history of fishermen. In any case, we can say without any doubt that ‘Mootharayar’ is one of the most important fishing professionals.

This is how K.N Ganesh observes the positions of Arayan, Mootharayan and others. “The Brahmin patriarchal hegemonic forces are making intense efforts to destroy the communities that have emerged from the tribal system. It is also an attempt to make Kerala society a part of the social order based on the growing Brahminical supremacy and feudal system all over India. The caste system is the result of this. The working classes that grew up in the Brahmin villages and temples became castes. Attempts are being made to include people in the resource sector who are not directly controlled by Brahmins and temples in the caste hierarchies. If caste was the form of division of labor in the food grains sector, then caste was used as a means of socially and ideologically oppressing the people of other segments. The Arayans are superior in the social structure of the fishermen. Ranks such as Arayan and Mootharayan are given by the rulers”.⁹⁹ His reference to the status of ‘Mootharayan’ exists in Kerala on the basis of caste hierarchy.

According to Anantha Krishna Iyer, there is a tribal division among the Kadalarayan in the form of “Kattottillam, Karottillam, Chembottillam, Ponnottillam”, and in addition to this division, there are four types of titles among the sea urchins: “Shankhan, Bharathan, Amukkuvan and Mukkuvan”.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ K.N. Ganesh, *Kerala Samootha Padanagal*, Prasakthi Book House, Pathanamthitta, 2011, p. 22.

¹⁰⁰ L.K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Tribes And Castes of Cochin*, Vol -I, Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, 1981, p. 264.

Padmanabha Menon comments that the Arayan, who known as the Kadalarayan, is Shankhan, and Valan is Bharathan. Amukuvan is a group of Arayans. He says that they are also called Amukuvars because of the priests work without drowning.¹⁰¹

In Kerala, Arayas can be classified into Kadal Arayan, Mala Arayan, Alappattu Arayan, Nattarayan and Kolarayan. C.K Karunakaran assumed that the Mala Arayans and the Kadal Arayans belong to the same tribe. Bhaskaranunni also observes that a group of people separated from the Arayagothra and settled as kings on the rocks and on the sea.¹⁰² We can see the Mala Arayas in the rituals associated with Sabarimala. The name Alappattarayan is derived from the addition of the name of the area. This part has its own customs, rituals and festivals. The Araya community can be found largely at the districts Kozhikkode, Kannur and Kasaragod in Malabar. This community is comparatively less in Malappuram district.¹⁰³

Kadaleruka-The Customs and Beliefs of the Arayans : First voyage to the Sea

The first voyage was one of the most important events in the life of the Arayans. From the age of about 14, Arayar began his career as a boatman. It was called as *Kadaleruka*.¹⁰⁴ The work of the sea begins with the work of draining the water from the hulls of the boat with a wooden 'Marod'. They were known as the 'Quarter Partners'. In ancient times, the person, who go on a boat first time in his life, had a fish tied around his neck and a ceremony was held on the shore.

According to locals, there are no special ceremonies in the coastal areas of Kozhikode before the first voyage. When you feel the need to go to work then start to go regardless of time and age. Everyone is encouraged to go to sea for a living. Tea and sweets will be bought for those who go. Some who go to sea for the first time show up at temples. Similarly, those who go fishing in the bay for the first time will have vomiting for about a week. This is due to the inability to adapt to the

¹⁰¹ K.P Padmanabha Menon, *Kerala History*, Vol III, Asian educational service, New Delhi, 1993, p. 460.

¹⁰² P.Baskaranunni, *Pathompatham Noottandile Keralam*, Op. Cit., p. 416.

¹⁰³ Interview with Radhakrishnan (63), President, Bharatheeya Mathsya Pravarthaka Sangam, Kerala, 13/06/2019.

¹⁰⁴ Vidhyasagar,(ed)., *Nammude Naatarivukalum Pazhanchollukalum Kadamkathakalum: Nammude Prakrithi*, Vol- I, Kottayam, 2011, p. 16.

sea climate. There is no prescriptive drug that will stop the flow of emotions, though their effects can be curtailed. Sea water will be provided instead. In some places salt water is drunk before going to sea. This is done to prevent vomiting.¹⁰⁵

Construction of a new Boat and Launching into the water

We can see that the working class builds and maintains their tools all around a great deal of faith. The Arayans who work at sea are not different. We can see that the fishermen gave the sea a mother goddess concept. The word '*Kadalamma*' is used by the coastal people to describe the sea. The sea is the mother that provides the fishermen with the resources they need to make a living. Fishermen believe that the Mother sea will not cheat.¹⁰⁶

We can understand their faith and respect for the sea from the simple ceremony they perform even before they go fishing. They go fishing only after taking some water from the sea and pouring it into their mouths and bowing to the sea. Similarly, in the early days, they kept their tools on the beach itself. They believe that the things in the sea are truthful. Only the truth has a place there. We can see that devotion to work and sincerity are behind such beliefs.¹⁰⁷

Similar beliefs exist in the construction of new boats. There are several stages to building a boat. Each stage is associated with smaller ceremonies. The first task is to find the right timber for the boat. The most commonly used trees for boat building are mango tree, Cheeni, Chembakam and Ayani. The strongest of these is wood Ayani. Therefore it is considered to be the most suitable wood.¹⁰⁸

Once the wood is found, the carpenter will be called. The carpenter carves wood with a chisel to look good. They seek the help of astrologers to find a good day and time. Work will not start on the first day. Another day after the ceremonies are over, the elders carpenter calls the workers and starts the work. The astrologer is in charge of the ceremony.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Mohanan (65), Fishermen, Puthiyappa, 13/06/2019.

¹⁰⁶ K.V Sheeja, *Arayarude Chadangukal*, Et.al, C.R Rajagopalan (ed)., *Kadalarivukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 58.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Ganesan (52), Fishermen, Varakkal, 13/06/2019.

¹⁰⁸ Ratheesh Kaliyadan, *Kadalarom*, Journalism academy institute Thiruvangur, Kozhikode, 2008, p. 61.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*

On the day the boat is launched, the carpenter is provided with money and clothing. And everyone who came to the ceremony was given a coconut. They hold the coconut in their hands and walk around the completed boat three times. Then it should be thrown and cracked in a specially prepared place on the side of the boat. They believe that if the coconut water falls on the boat, the “Bad luck” is over.¹¹⁰

After this, the boat is launched into the sea in celebration. In some places, a *Nercha* is made at the temple before the journey to earn a good income. It is customary to give the *Nercha Prasadam* to those who come to the boat launching ceremony. Piously received flowers will be put in the boat. This is done for the sake of god.¹¹¹

Aandu pathinaalu

Many important days of the Arayans were celebrated during the month of Karkitaka, the most important of which was the *Aandu pathinalu*. It is celebrated on the Malayalam month 14th of Karkidakam. The milk is poured in to the sea on that day. This ceremony is performed for the sake of omnipotence. In addition, the “*Samkrama Thenga*” (Coconut) will be thrown and put into the sea. Pooja is performed in the Arayan kavus on *Aandu pathinaalu*.¹¹² The Arayans keep the pious they get in their boats. Most of the temples on the coastline closes at the beginning of Karkidaka month and reopens at the end of the month.

Illam Nira

Illamnira is a ritual performed for fish abundance. The *Illamnira* ceremony will start on the 28th of Karkitakam. Sankranti, 28 Kavuchi (Karkitakam 28) cleaning leftovers and brooms are put in an old pan. Then he breaks the cord around the baby’s waist and puts in the pan and smearing the baby with oil. The girls are smeared with charcoal. Then the girls carry this pan in their head and walks towards the sea. The boys follow them and break the pan with a stick and they take bath in

¹¹⁰ Interview with Aalikutty (60), Khalasi, Chaliyam, 19/06/2019.

¹¹¹ Interview with Radhakrishnan (63), President, Bharatheeya Mathsya Pravarthaka Sangam, Kerala, 13/06/2019.

¹¹² Ratheesh Kaliyadan, *Kadaloram*, Op. Cit., p. 62.

the sea. This ritual is performed in the belief of sending the evil spirits out of their home.¹¹³

Normally, the coastline temple closes for 15 days during this time. Some temples are different in this. The Shree Kurumba temple at Elathur Estuary closes for 30 days. A ritual named *Sheepothivekkal* is performed on 29th of Karkitaka. Then the rice is mixed and Payasam is prepared. Afterwards, offerings will be made to Bhagavathi in the prayer room at home. They believe that through this Lakshmi Devi will come home and get omnipotence.¹¹⁴

Chakara: To be part of the faith of the Arayans

Arayans says Chakara means dead land. Chakara is a Tamil word meaning quiet place. This is a special phenomenon found only in the Arabian Sea of the coast of Kerala. Some parts of the sea are calm when the sea is rough. They call the place Chakara.¹¹⁵

Chakara means the mud of the sea comes ashore when the sea is rough. If there is a Chakara, there will be a lot of fish in the sea. If Chakara is formed, it is believed that the sea is calm. Getting the fish abundantly in the Chakara is known as Chakara harvest. The Araya community in Malabar does not hesitate to give alms on such days. Money, clothing and food are usually donated.¹¹⁶

The Birth

Birth is very important as the first step in human life. Ritual is very important at every stage of a child's development from birth. The coast is an area where rituals are performed in a very different way at the time of birth. There is no single form of custom in coastal areas. They vary by region.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Interview with Radhakrishnan (63), President, Bharatheeya Mathsya Pravarthaka Sangam, Kerala, 13/06/2019.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*

¹¹⁵ Ratheesh Kaliyadan, *Kadaloram*, Op. Cit., p. 63.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*

¹¹⁷ Interview with Thankamma (65), Native women, Chemancherry, 28/06/2019

After the birth of a child, the family will inform the “*Naattukavuthiya*” of their community. That day they visit the child and go back. That day itself the father’s family visits the child. That day they won’t bring any special items. On the 3rd day the “*Naattukavuthiya*” comes and cleans the interior and exterior of the house. They will be rewarded with one bowl of rice and four pennies. On the same day, the husband’s family come and bring dresses, cradles, clothes and soap for the mother and child. The worker women will get 25 rupees on that day. On 15th day, Betel leaves, Betel nut, Money, Soap and Powder will be brought. The husband will give a hundred or two hundred rupees to the worker woman.¹¹⁸

The father’s sisters will come to tie an ornament made up of gold or silver on the waist of the baby on the 28th day. They also tie an eight knotted black string along with it. It may vary as seven knots or twenty eight.¹¹⁹ This is a ritual that is done to remove the harm that comes to the baby. The gift they bring touches the child’s tongue. During the 90th day, the family gives the child jewelry and clothes to wear.¹²⁰

In the third month, the mother and baby are taken to the husband’s house. The ceremony is attended by a sister of the husband and a native. She is greeted with a bowl full of rice and a chandelier as she steps into her husband’s house. *Sadhya* and Sweets will be given to those who come from the wife’s house. From the third month onwards the baby is given things like Muthari and Saaboonari. Rice feeding ceremony of the child is conducted on the sixth month. It is conducted at the temple by keeping the child on the father’s lap and the uncle gives the food to the child. The child is named on the same day. The name is given for the first born child by the uncle itself.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Ratheesh Kaliyadan, *Kadaloram*, Op. Cit., p. 63.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹²⁰ Interview with Matha (72), Valiyakath, Native women, Puthiyappa, 12/11/2023.

¹²¹ Interview with Chathankutty(81), Thammakaram poyil, Native men, Puthiyappa, 12/11/2023

The Marriage

Marriage was given great importance by the Araya community and other coastal people of Malabar. People from all community in the coast attend the wedding. The wedding ceremonies held among the coastal people are very different from others and it is believed that such ceremonies strengthen their married life. When a man starts looking for a woman, if he finds out that there is a woman in a Place, two women go from the residence of the man to the home of the women they have selected for marriage in order to engage in discussions regarding marital affairs. It will be groom's mother and aunt. However, for the marriage to occur, the "*Illam*" of both the bride and groom must be matched.¹²²

The concept of *Illam* is associated with familial segment with in clan groups that existed since the Sangam period. In his talk on "*Boomiyum Jaathi vyavasthayum*" (Land and Caste System), Dr. K.S Madhavan observes the concept of *Illam* in this way. During the Sangam period, a community doing a particular occupation lived as a clan group in an area. Their abode was known as Kudi. Depending on the size and other characteristics, it can vary from Cherukudi, Uru and Perumkudi. Those who live in such a hut settlement live on the basis of their clan affiliation.¹²³

They preserve the genealogy of their ancestors. This Clan groups has a concept of '*il*'. Those who are inside this '*il*' are known as an "*Illam*". The Adivasis and the Pulaya community are engaged in marital relations in view of the division of this "*Illam*". He says that understanding the "*Illam*" means understanding the race of the father and mother.¹²⁴

We can see some similarities of the above clan groups in the Araya community as well. Like the old tribal communities, the 'Kadal Arayans' were the

¹²² Seydu Muhammed (ed), *Kerala Charithram*, Vol- I, Kerala History Association, Op. Cit., p. 1293.

¹²³ https://youtu.be/HUKSMEz5NZg?si=CMvKD_Mp_UlrO6u

¹²⁴ https://youtu.be/HUKSMEz5NZg?si=CMvKD_Mp_UlrO6u

ones who formed the settlements on the basis of occupation in a particular area. They are unable to engage in any occupation other than one associated with the sea. The above mentioned *Illam* concept also exists within the Araya community. Given these possibilities, it can be said that the Arayans were a clan groups.

The Arayans of Malabar have the same concept of *Illam* as other fishermen, belonging to the fishing community. There are four main types of *Illams*: *Ponnillam*, *Chembillam*, *Kachillam* and *Karillam*. If the marriage of the man and the woman who planned the marriage is from the same *Illams*, then the marriage will not take place. They were seen as their own blood relatives or siblings.¹²⁵

Marriages take place between two different *Illams*. That is, marriage between *Ponnillam* and *Chembillam* is permissible. If the *Illam* matches after the females go to see, the two males go to see the female. That will be the groom's father and uncle. Today the marriage takes place with the permission of the girl. But earlier they were not asked for any permission. The decision will be taken by the head of the family. The groom's family gifts dresses on the celebrations like Onam and Vishu before the marriage, if the marriage is fixed.¹²⁶

The marriage takes place in two days. First day of the marriage, they conduct a tea party. On this day there will not be any feast. Tea, wheat gruel are the main attractions. It is clear that the wedding day used to be a lot of fun. On the day of the wedding the bride's relatives give a garland to the bride and for groom it will be given by groom's sister. This garland helps to identify the bride and groom. Here, the bride and groom meet each other for the first time on the wedding day only. In some places they meet each other only in the first night. Before the marriage, the groom's mother feed the groom by mixing Banana, Rice and Pappad. When the bridegroom comes home, the bride's mother invites the bridegroom to home and gives him water. The *Thaliket* was held after such receptions.¹²⁷ Edakkal Arayasamajam secretary Sri Prem Kumar says that no one is giving importance to the concept of *Illam* now.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ P. Baskaranunni, *Pathombatham Nootandile Keralam*, Op. Cit., p. 416.

¹²⁶ Ratheesh Kaliyadan, *Kadalarom*, Op. Cit., p. 65.

¹²⁷ Interview with Baby (65), Native women, Edakkal, 11/02/2018

¹²⁸ Interview with Prem Kumar (55), Edakkal Arayasamajam, Secretary, 11/02/2018.

Funeral Services

In the event of the death of one of the Arayans, the Arayans' organization informs the natives and relatives. Relatives buy three types of *Mundus* for the deceased. It can be Mallamund or White cloth. One cloth is spread on the bed and the other is spread on the corpse. The third dresses the corpse. The corpse is lying on the south-north side. The lamp is then lit and the dead man's wife is seated at the feet of the corpse.¹²⁹

If the father dies in Araya family, eldest son will do the funeral rites and if the mother dies, the youngest son will do the funeral ceremonies. On the third day after the death, a "*Pulakuli*" is performed and "*Sadya*" is given to relatives and outsiders.¹³⁰ If someone dies on the coast, the Arayans will not go to sea that day.

Temple Rituals and Ceremonies of the Arayans

There are several coastal temples in Malabar along the coast from Kozhikode to Kasaragod. All these temples are owned by different fishermen. The main temples in Kozhikode district are under the control of the Arayans and Mukkuvas.

The most famous temple in Kozhikode district is the Puthiyappa Sri Bhagavathi Temple. The temple is run by the Araya Samajam. According to Sri Radhakrishnan, State Secretary, Indian Fisheries Association, there are similar temples in Beypore, Vellayil, Puthiyakadavu, Kampuram, Thekkekaraparamb, Kunnummal, Edakkal, Moonnaalingal, Thikkodi, Koyilandi and Madappalli.¹³¹

The Mother gods are mainly worshiped by the coastal people. They are also known by different names like Bhagavathi, Cheerumba and Kurumba depending on the local varieties. While in most of the Kozhikode region it is known as the Bhagavathi Temple, there is a Cheerumbakavu in Thikkodi, Koyilandy. In Kannur and Kasaragod, these mother deities are popularly known as Cheerumba and

¹²⁹ Interview with Sobha (58)Native women, Edakkal, 11/02/2018

¹³⁰ Interview with Dhamodharan (72) Kinattungalakathu, Puthiyappa, 12/11/2023.

¹³¹ Interview with Radhakrishnan (65), State Secretary Bharathiya Mathsya Pravarthaka Sangam, Vellayil, 13/02/2018.

Kurumba. The famous Kodungallur bhagavathi is also known as Koorumba. It is said that people from this area participate in the Bharani festival in Kodungallur.¹³²

Although the legends of the temples vary from place to place, they are all associated with the sea. There are such temple festivals and ceremonies among the Araya communities in South Kerala. “Parishamveppu” is a ceremony led by Alappatt Arayar. From this one can understand the connection between Alappatt Arayan and Chengannur temple.¹³³

Valas

The Vala community is an important fishing community in Kerala. Travancore and Kochi are the main centers of the Valans. Their main occupation was coastline fishing and net fishing. It is said that in the past they also did the work of carrying palanquin.¹³⁴

The women in this community were known as “Velathis”. Valan is described in the Shabdatharavali as a caste whose occupation is netting. Anantha Krishna Iyer has recorded the Valas as one of the four sub castes of the fishing community of Kochi.¹³⁵

The Shallow Net Fishing Group, also known as the Valayer, is mentioned in a study of fishermen of the Coromandel Coast. It is possible that the word “Valayan” was derived from the word “Vala” (net) and became “Valan”. Thurston recorded that the “Valayans” who are fishermen in Sangam works. It is recorded that the “Valayans” were Arayan heirs and engaged in boat rowing by order of Perumal.¹³⁶

The head of the Vala community is known as Aravan. The king sent Aravan through *Thitturam*. Aravan appoints one to three “*Ponampans*” from each country to facilitate his exercise of power. Each “*Tharakootam*” are known as “*Murikal*”.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ K.M Udhayabanu, *Kerala Navodhanavum Dheevavarude Jeevithavum*, Op. Cit., p. 39.

¹³⁴ Padmanaba Menon, *Kochi Rajya Charithram*, Mathrubhumi Books, 2021(1914), Kozhikode, p. 123.

¹³⁵ L.K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, Op. Cit., p. 231.

¹³⁶ Edger Thurston, *Castes And Tribes Of Southern India*, Op. Cit., p. 282.

When the King of Cochin returned to the palace by boat from Tripunithura, Aravan was told to travel in front of him with a sword in his hand. Communally, Aravan had the same powers as the “Kadakkodi” of Malabar. Ceremonies such as weddings and cultural celebrations required Aravan’s consent and presence.¹³⁷

The main Vala community centers are in Kottayam, Vaikom, Kayamkulam, Cherthala, Kochi, Paravoor, Njarakkal, Vypin, Kottulikkad, Maliyankara, Palluruthi, Kodungallur, Moothkunnam, Ayyampalli, Chavakkad, Mala, Elamboor, Vadakara, Azgeekkod, Cherukara, Madakkara, Pazhayangadi, Mattul and Neeleswaram.¹³⁸

Valas in Malabar have a life background of less than 100 years. K. Padmanabhan records that in the early days 214 Vala families migrated to Kannur district of Malabar. About 60 of these families lived in Madai. It’s said that the Valas also migrated to Panappuzha, Mattul, Makreri, Chirakkal and Kannadiparamb.

¹³⁹

Those who used to live in Neeleswaram, the main Vala community center in Kasaragod district, came to Neeleswaram after staying in Mavilakadappuram and Padanna. The Valans in places like Puthuvaippu, Mala, Nairambalam and Kottulikkad, were also known as Arayans.¹⁴⁰

In North Kerala, Valas are also known as “Kochikkar”. In the past, strict rules and prohibitions existed among the Valas. Those who violated communal customs were punished. Although there were some rituals, this community was economically and socially backward.¹⁴¹

The Valas perform Kalampattu in their place in connection with the festival. The ceremony in which the women clear the *Kalam* with the excitement of the Pulluvan song. In 1911 an organization called “Vala Samudhaya Parishkarini

¹³⁷ K. Padmanabhan, *Mukkuvarum Theeradesha Samskrithiyum*, Op. Cit., p. 19.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with T.V Prasanthan,(42) Native of Marakkappu Kadappuram, Nileswaram, 14/03/2024.

¹⁴¹ K.Padmanabhan, *Mukkuvarum Theeradesha Samskrithiyum*, Op. Cit., p. 20.

Sabha” was formed in Thevara near Kochi for community reform activities. By the order of the Government of Kerala dated June 26, 1978, The Valas was included in the common name of Hindu fishing community “Dheevara” among Arayan, Mukuvan, Nulayan, Arayavathi, Mukayan and Veeran.¹⁴²

Mukaya

The Mukayars are an important fishing community in Malabar. They are a community that maintains a community structure similar to that of the Mukkuva community. The main occupation is fishing in rivers and seas. Earlier they also did the job of boat rowing.¹⁴³

The Canara district of Karnataka is a major center of the Mukaya community in northern Kerala. The district shares a border with Kasaragod. In Kannur and Neighboring areas there are also some fishermen known as Mugavans or Mugayans who are the same as Mugayars of the South Canara region.¹⁴⁴ Mukaya communities can be found in the coastal areas of the Malabar region from Kozhikode to Kasaragod.

Like the fishermen in Kerala, the Mukayars were the strongest group engaged in coastal fishing in Mangalore. It is said that the Mukayars of Kasargod had the occupation of carrying the palanquin of King Bellal. According to the Malabar Gazetteer, the Mukayars are listed as fishermen north of Kannur and fishermen in the South Canara.¹⁴⁵

Edgar Thurston records the Mukayars as Canaries fishermen. In the Shabdatharavali, it is recorded that Mukayar and Mukavan are a kind of fisherman. The Mukaya lived mostly in the areas under the control of Kolathiri. Today, however, Mukaya is located in the coastal areas of Kasargod district. The Mukaya

¹⁴² G.O.ms.No.304/78 GAD.

¹⁴³ Karunakara Menon Pannikottu, *Dhakshinentyayile Jathikal*, Vidhyavilasam, Kozhikode, 1915, p.227.

¹⁴⁴ A. Sreedhara Menon (ed), *District Gazetteer Of Kerala*, Cannanore, The Superintendent of Government Presses, Trivandrum, 1972, p. 191.

¹⁴⁵ C.A Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer*, The State Editor, Kerala Gazetteer, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997, p. 126.

community can be seen in Manjeswaram, Kumbala, Kasaragod, Kanjangad, Neeleswaram, Kadankod, Thrikkariappur and Pazhayangadi.¹⁴⁶

Chombal, Madappalli, Vadakara, Elathur, Chemancheri, Puthancheri, Koyilandi, Ulliyeri, Thorayi, Korapuzha, Puthiyara and Puthiyappa are the main Mukaya community centers in Kozhikode district. Mukaya community is rare in south Kerala. The men in the Mukaya community is known as “Moyon” and the women as “Moyyi”.¹⁴⁷

Mukayar are also classified into three groups as Thai Mukayar, MalayaMukayar and Thulu Mukayar. Those from Vadakara Kozhikode area are Thulu Mukayar. It is assumed that the Mukayar from Chithari azhi to Pazhayangadi azhi are Malaya Mukayar and Uchil to North are Thulu Mukayar. Earlier, there was no marital relations between these two groups. They were also considered as the migrated groups. It is said that the Mukayars in places like Vadakara, Madappally are likely to have migrated from the north. The famous Puthiyappa Parambath Sri Bhagavathi Temple in Kozhikode is owned by Mukayar. The Mukaya community of Puthiyangadi has the absolute authority over the temple and the community. Vaidyar and witches are said to have originated in this community.¹⁴⁸

The Tharavads of Mukayar

Mukayar’s *Tharavad* concept exists under the names of *Nadu*, *Cheri*, *Kotta*, *Thara* and *Tharavad*. The Mukayar initially lived in groups at Bovikanam near Kasaragod. They are known as ‘Bhovi’ in Tulu. The Mukayar of this region is said to have been the family servant of the Kanathur Nayans. It is believed that the Mukayar of Bovikanam migrated to other lands with the disappearance of Nair rule.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ K.Padmanabhan, *Mukkuvarum Theeradesha Samskrithyum*, Op. Cit., p. 24.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with U.T Shanmughan (50), President Mukaya Samajam, Puthiyappa, 18/11/2019.

¹⁴⁸ K.Padmanabhan, *Mukkuvarum Theeradesha Samskrithyum*, Op. Cit., p. 25.

¹⁴⁹ M.M Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeevanam*, Malayala Padana Gaveshana Kendram, Thrisur, 2005, p. 23.

There is a ‘*Tharavad*’ known as the ‘*Muttath Mayors Tharavad*’ still at Bovikanam. This is the first *Tharavad* of Mukayas. ‘*Valiya tharavad*’ is the oldest ancestral home of the Mukayas of Kannur District. Muzhappilangadu, Mavilayi, Makreri, Pinarayi Chavasserry, Dharmadam, Thillangery and Pathiriyadu are the major settlements of Mukayars in Kannur District.¹⁵⁰ As mentioned earlier, there is presumptive evidence that there are 44 *Tharavads* and clans among the Mukayars from the words of Aryakkara Bhagavathi, the Mukayar deity. It says ‘Malaam Mogen 44’.

Each *Thavazhi* of Mukaya has their own *Tharavad*. It was a family consisted of the head, sister and nephews. The head holds the power and wealth. The decisions of the head is the final. Mukayas had not only *Thavazhi* but also *Upathavazhi*. They were known as *Kiriyas*. When the *Thavazhi* struggle to do things related to god, *Kiriyas* fulfill it.¹⁵¹

Some of the Mukayas dwellings have chambers and *Tharakal* announcing the presence of God. Most of the ancestral homes have a particular room for this. *Daivapalaka*, *Aatudham*, *Prasadapaathram*, and *Bhandaram* were kept in it. Apart from the family deities Bhagavathi and Chamundi, other deities such as Kallurutty, Panchuruli and Gulikan are also worshiped in the temples.¹⁵²

The main priest is known as *Mulya* and the helper who arranges food items like, *Gundu kadamb*, *Dosa*, Chicken curry, Fish curry, Liquor and Toddy for Poojais known as *Othumulya*. The annual offering called “*Vilambu*” is the main ritual of the Mukaya family. On that day, all the rituals of the community come together. The “*Vilambu*” begins with a chicken slaughter. That was brought by the Mukaya families as an offering.¹⁵³

There is a custom of performing the *Kolam* in the ancestral house according to the decision of the family or by vow. On that day there was a custom of offering

¹⁵⁰ P.K Sukumaran Nair, *Samudhaya Nirnayapadanagal*, Series 1, Norman Priting Buero, Kozhiikode, 1994, p. 42.

¹⁵¹ M.M Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeevanam*, Op. Cit., p. 24.

¹⁵² Intereview with Chandran, Karanavar of Mukaya, Nilewswaram, 14/03/2024.

¹⁵³ M.M Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeevanam*, Op. Cit., p. 25.

the milk porridge to the dead girls of the family. It was known as *Kanyavilambu*.¹⁵⁴

The Mukayars have a self-sufficient ancestral system. They visit the family during the special days, hardships and as a part of rituals. Their marriages were mainly fixed in the special engagement ceremony occurred in their family houses. Like this the *Tharavad* becomes a main part of the Mukaya community. *Udumbichithodukayil, Edakkal, Kuzhippavayalil, Purayil, Imbarakandithazhathu, Palliyarakkal, Puthiyottukandi, Ariyalil, Ummechumkandi and Vilakkumadathil* are some of the main *Tharavad* names of Mukaya at Puthiyappa in Kozhikode.¹⁵⁵

Thanas

Thanas is one of the places where unwritten rituals are traditionally observed. *Kazhakams, Palliyara, Kavu, Mundu and Kottakal* are the hallmarks of the spiritual culture of Malabar. *Paattulsavam, Purotsavam, Theyyam, Kaliyattam* are some of the important rituals performed in Thanam.¹⁵⁶

The Mukaya community has eleven Bhagavathi Thanas in Kasargod district and two in Kannur district. *Manikoth, Neeleswaram, Kadamkkod, Koyenkara, Aaduru, Vidla, Karla, Merayi, Vavanjur, Udyavara, Adukka* are the *Thanas* in Kasaragod district. *Udyava* and *Adukka* are now in Karnataka state. Bhagavathi is the main god in these Thanas. Each Thana has different stories about the Bhagavathi.¹⁵⁷

Kadanthod Sree Punnakkal Bhagavathithana is the important one among Mukaya Thanas. It is also known as Sree Nellikal Thana as it is located near Nellikavu.¹⁵⁸ It is in this Thana that the Mahasabha annually re-examines the customs and precepts of the Mukaya community. All the priests from the 11 Thanas of Kasaragod district will be present there. Song and festival are the annual festivals

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Interview with U.T Shanmughan (50), President Mukaya Samajam, Puthiyappa, 18/11/2019.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ M.M Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeevanam*, Op. Cit., p. 30.

¹⁵⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/share/AJ4geLpnBW1tZzW8/?mibextid=oFDknk>

here. On Tuesdays and Fridays, there is a special *Vilakk* and *Sankranti Pooja*. Manikoths believe that they were of Brahmin descent and became Mukaya.

Punnakal Bhagavathi Thanam is the second most important Mukaya Thanam. It is also known as the Manikyamangalam Punnakal Bhagavathi Thanam as it is located in the Manikot area. The main deities of Mukayars are *Padinjarechamundi*, *Punnakkal Bhagavathi*, *Uchuli Bhagavathi*, *Ayitti Bhagavathi*, *Beeranmar*, *Vishnu murthy* and *Gulikan*. It is said that the ancestors of Manikoth Mukayar lived on the beach near Kanhangad. Their main deity was Kadaprathu Bhagavathi.¹⁵⁹

Here, for the Pooram-festival, the Bhagavathis go to the Chamundikunnu river for Holy bath (divine baptism) accompanied by ritualists and *Kudakkar*. On the day of Pooram, Chooliyar Bhagavathi, Padaveeran and Thoovakkali, the deities of the Shaliya community, accompany the procession. This is a testament to the religious harmony of the Mukaya community.¹⁶⁰

Next is Nileswaram Bhagavathi Thanam. The Mukayans were loyal servants in the palaces of the Nileschwaram kings and rulers. The Mukayas, who used to earn a living by measuring paddy and carrying palanquin in the palaces, eventually built Thanams on the banks of the river and worshiped them. *Paattu* and *Pooram* are the main festivals here. *Samkramanam*, *Vishu*, *Chovva*, *Velli*, *Nira*, *Puthari*, *Pathamudayam* and other customs are common here.¹⁶¹

Koyonkara is located at the southernmost tip of the Mukaya Thanams. Aryakkara Bhagavathi or Payyakkal Bhagavathi is the main deity of Koyonkara Bhagavathi Thanam. The Mukayars in Koyonkara are 9 *Illams*. The authorities of these Thanams are six *Karanavars*. They are *Thelapramkaranavar*, *Karyathkaranavar*, *Puthiyadavankaranavar*, *Vengattkaranavar*, *Puthiybrankaranavar* and *Koyonkara karanavar*.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Chandran, Karanavar of Mukaya, Nileschwaram, 14/03/2024.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Interview with Naveen (30), Member of Mukaya Community Nileschwaram, 24/06/2024.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

Adoor Bhagavathithanam is located 20km east to Kasaragod city. This is one of the most ancient Thanam. The anointing of the tender coconut water is a rare and divine ritual. It is performed as a part of *Nadavalli* Festival. In the past, devotees believed that the only way to get rid of smallpox was to anoint the goddess with tender coconut water. Kaliyattam is performed in this place every year.¹⁶³

Next is *Vidla Bhagavathi Thanam*. Earlier it was also known as *Arekkal Guthiyamma Thanam*. It is said that Vidla Mukayars are the loyal servants of Vidla palace. It is said that the king and his entourage threw gold ornaments and coins into a well, set fire to the palace and hid on Kalincha hill for fear of Tipu's attack.¹⁶⁴

Another one is *Karle Bhagavathi Thanam*. It is located at Karle of the Arikkadi village in Kumbala in the Kasaragod district. The deities are *Uchilott bhagavati*, *Punnakkal bhagavati* and *Aayitti bhagavati*. There are sub deities like *Beerans*, *Gulikan* and *Vishnu*.¹⁶⁵

Ritualists in the Mukaya Community

Achans

If we look at the social way of life in Kerala, we can see that people with expertise and knowledge in any field are being treated with certain positions. Giving this position signifies the respect, recognition, and commitment of the community.¹⁶⁶

The *Achans* are the ones who are appointed by the community for various rituals in the Mukayar Bhagavathi Thanams. *Achanmar* are also known by some other names in local variations like *Archakas*, *Devapathrikal*, *Kalashakaran* and *Moolyas*. They are often seen shaving their heads. It is mainly found in northern Kerala.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Interview with Chandran, Karanavar of Mukaya, Nilewswaram, 14/03/2024.

¹⁶⁴ M.M Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeeyanam*, Op. Cit., p. 71

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁶⁶ Vishnu Namboothiri, *Folklore Nigandu*, Op. Cit., p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ M.M Sreedharan, Op. Cit., p. 71.

When newly ordained to the position of Achanmar, they conduct a meeting and perform a ceremony of honoring by name. This meeting is known as '*Karippodi Sabha*'. The oldest person among the heads is selected for naming ceremony. He says the name three times. Then others in the meeting wishes by saying "Let the verse that came from your face be as clear as rubies".¹⁶⁸

Archakas

Archakas are known by some other names in local variations. They are *Poojari*, *Athithiriyar*, *Madayan* and *Moolya*. Traditionally, descendants are ordained as Archakas. During the festival, the Archakas clean the worship room, idol and weapons of the temple, prepare offerings and perform incense.¹⁶⁹ They also perform a dance by holding the Bhagavathi idol on their head.

Pathrikas

Mukayar believed Pathrikas are representatives of God. They are also called as *Nirthakaran*, *Ayathan*, *Velichappadan* and *Komaram*. They are known as the mediator between God and the devotee. Velichappadan dances with the weapons of the gods associated with them.¹⁷⁰ The words of *Velichappad* is known as *Uriyattukal*. The devotee takes it as God's words.

They are the ones who judge the problems that can arise in Thanam and the society. They give blessings and instructions. It is with the vision of the Goddess that one gets the status of Velichappadan. The enlightened person is granted the position by offering rice. The sacred bracelet of gold and the mustard on the ear are worn as a symbol of ritual gain. There will also be a special style of *Kettichutt* dress for festive occasions.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ P. Baskaranunni, *Pathommbatham Nootandile Keralam*, Kerala Sahithya Accademi, Thrissur, 2019 (1988), p. 418.

¹⁷⁰ Silver Jubilee Souvenir, Puthiyappa Sree Bagavathi Dharma Paripalana Araya Samajam, Kohikode, 1985, p. 120.

¹⁷¹ M.M Sreedharan, Op.Cit., p.71

Karanavars

Karanavars are an integral part of the moral and cultural life of the Mukaya community. Karanavar's determination according to ancestral age can be seen in all communities. Karanavar's words will be final in the Mukaya community. They are the ones who take care of the welfare of Bhagavathi Thanam.¹⁷²

The Karanavars carry the weapons and ornaments of the gods from the treasury to the main Thanam and back. Their permission is sought in matters of religion and community. They also known as *Muktheswarans* in northern Kerala. The position of Karanavar is also called as '*Achathana*' or '*Achathanam*' in some Tharavads.¹⁷³ They do all the customs of the Karanavas.

Kadalkodathy or Kadakodi a Traditional and Social institution of Fishing Villeges in Malabar (Sea Court)

From time immemorial, diverse organizational systems for dispute resolution have existed in Indian villages. The most important of these are the caste Panchayats. Such organizations have existed in South India since the Sangam period. They were called "Manrams".¹⁷⁴ Each village had its own "Manram" and all the *Tharas* and *Kootams* in Kerala were such organizations.

Traditional fishermen are a people who have been making a living by fishing with traditional knowledge and skills since prehistoric times. There was an organization of the above type among the fishermen of Kerala. Its name is Kadakodi or Sea Court. Such formal and informal systems were vigilant in the comprehensive management of natural resources, including resource management. These were intended to impose, enforce and adjudicate fishing restrictions beyond the actual courts. Although they all have the same characteristics in terms of regulation and operation, the structure of the sea court organization is different.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Vishnu Namboothiri, *Folklore Nigandu*, Op. Cit., p. 8.

¹⁷³ M.M Sreedharan, Op. Cit., p. 72.

¹⁷⁴ K.A Nilakanta sasthri, *History of South India*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1958, p. 127.

¹⁷⁵ Ratheesh Kaliyadan, *Kadaloram*, Op. Cit., p. 14.

There are sea courts from Kozhikode to North Kasaragod. These are different in each region. Some sea courts are communal while others are secular. It was a sovereign organizations that settled all communal and professional disputes from Kavvayi to the north. Ambikasuthan Mangad's novel "Marakkapile Theyyangal" (Theyyams in Marakkappu) records the features of the sea court at Kasargod.¹⁷⁶ In the coastal areas south of Kavvayi, only the problems at sea were considered. In Malabar, in Malappuram district, there was a *Sabha* called "Nattukoottam" which was similar to the sea court.¹⁷⁷ But the "Nattukoottam" did not have the strict legal system and prohibitions as in the case of the sea court.

Kadal kodathi in Kozhikode District

The members of the court are selected from the temple committee, the church committee and the owner of the runners in the area falling within the jurisdiction of the sea court. Normally every Sea Court consisted of a president, a soldier, and 19 members. The Kozhikode Sea Courts have a structure consisting of President, Secretary, Vice President, Joint Secretary and Treasurer.¹⁷⁸

Community Sea Court

Sea courts associated with temples can be found in Puthiyappa, Koyilandy and Vadakara, but Kasargod district has the highest number of such community courts. Kasaragod is also the place where the debt is strongest at present. In Kasargod district, fishing is mainly done by the Araya community. Here you can see temples in every village along the beach. Here the chief worker of the temple is called Kshetreshans or Achans. They are the judges of the Sea Court system here.¹⁷⁹

The messengers of the temples are known as the Kadavans and they are the messengers of the sea court. The public meeting of Kadakodi was attended by fathers, debtors and temple trustees. The General Assembly of Kadakodi is the body

¹⁷⁶ Ambikasuthan Mangad, *Marakkapile Theyyangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2016, p. 24.

¹⁷⁷ C.K Kareem, Kerala District Gazetteers, Malappuram, The Government Press, Ernakulum, 1986, p. 67.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Dhamodharan (72) Kinattingalakathu, Puthiyappa, 12/11/2023.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with V.K Prabhakaran (58), writer, 15/10/2020.

that has the power to make laws to regulate fishing. The day-to-day administration of Kadakodi is made up of Achans and members of the temple administration.¹⁸⁰

Secular Kadakodi

Districts like Kozhikode and Kannur have secular debts. Different religious sects are engaged in fishing in these districts. All religions are members of the Kadakodi here. Prior to the British rule, the positions of power of the creditors were local, causal, and administrative. From the time of the British rule, they became the governing body with the status of President, Vice President, Senior Fishermen and Messenger. The Federation was formed by merging all the debtors in the North. There will be a general meeting and an executive committee at each corner.¹⁸¹

There is also a Working Committee Federation consisting of members elected from each Kadakodi. The convener of the working committee is called a Sepoy. Another feature of Kadakodi in the North is that it has expanded its membership not only to fishermen but also to other sections of fishermen.¹⁸²

Kadakodi Rules

Strong laws enacted by fishermen to regulate and nurture fisheries remain part of the debt. In the past there were many laws but now there are mainly two laws in force. These are the night fishing ban during the south-west monsoon and the monsoon fishing ban. Similarly, restrictions are being put in place to avoid interfering with Chakra. The ban on Kasargod marijuana is being enforced in connection with Chakra. All these laws were formulated with the aim of avoiding risks and ensuring equality.¹⁸³

Kadakodi had strong rules and procedures for resolving disputes. It was an indisputable fact that all disputes related to fisheries should be settled first at Kadakodi. The trial at Kadakodi was very long. Therefore, the judgments of the

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Radhakrishnan (63), President, Bharatheeya Mathsya Pravarthaka Sangam, Kerala, 13/06/2019.

¹⁸¹ Interview with V.K Prabhakaran (58), writer, 15/10/2020.

¹⁸² Interview with Dasan, Koyente Valappil, Native Fishermen of Cheriya Mangadu, 9/12/2020.

¹⁸³ Interview with Ashraf Valakkada (63), Secretary of Kadalkodathy, Chaliyam, 13/06/2019

debtor were accepted among the workers. There were no written rules regarding the debt ritual. Sea Court rules are based on traditionally passed beliefs and prohibitions. Rules for debt consolidation have been around since ancient times. They have local variations. Yet in many ways they are the same.¹⁸⁴

Every member of the community is aware, knowingly or unknowingly, of the debt law. It is the responsibility of every individual to uphold it. It would be another offense not to appear before the church if notified of Kadakodi. There is a way between them to summon the fisherman to the temple-centric Kadakodi. Green palm leaf is pierced in each boat. This is called “*Odathiltholuvakkuka*”. When he saw this palm leaf, the boat did not come down. On that day, all the right-handers and runners will gather at Kavil. Prior permission should be obtained in case of inconvenience to appear at the appointed place and time on receipt of notice of debt. In the early days, the tide was high, circling the shore.¹⁸⁵

It is imperative that those who speak at the Kadakodi stand up and speak. In the old days, people who spoke in Kadakodi were not allowed to wear shirts. Similarly, there was a rule that others should be silent when speaking by hand, by speaking louder, or by other senior locals. No one was allowed to speak without the permission of the *Sabha*. Similarly, the plaintiff and the defendant were given a fixed amount of time to explain their case. After this time he was not allowed to speak or argue at the Kadakodi.¹⁸⁶

Compensation for the destruction of fishing boats and equipment, the seizure of fish by another person, disputes over the release of caught fish, breach of contract, and money laundering between brokers and brokers are common concerns.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Haneefa (52), Tharakan worker (Broker), 12/11/2020

¹⁸⁵ E.Unnikrishnan, *Cheermakavile kadal kodathi*, Et.al, C.R Rajagopalan (ed)., *Kadalarivukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 58.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Dhamodharan (72) Kinattingalakathu, Puthiyappa, 12/11/2023.

¹⁸⁷ V.S Sivaprasad, *Kadakkodi*, Et.al, P. Sahadevan (ed), *Kadalarom*, FIRMA, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 97.

The Functioning of the Kadakodi

If the court joins, the plaintiff and the defendant must deposit a certain amount in the court. This is called “*Naduvil vakkuka*”. This amount should be given as allotment to the temple and church committee. After that the question, the answer and the examination of the witness will begin. The amount paid in court is used differently depending on the local difference. The cost of convening the *Kadakodi* meeting and the cost of the sepoy’s fare will be deducted from this amount. The sepoy will notify all boat owners coming under the jurisdiction of the Sea Court, including the time, place and date of the increase.¹⁸⁸

Once the Sea Court has made a decision, it can appeal against the verdict if necessary. An appeal against the judgment of a Sea Court in an area will be made by a bench from the North and South Sea Courts of this Court. The Court of Appeal is a combination of these three courts. The three courts will then study the case and give a verdict. The people of the area elect the office bearers by the General Body. Only those who had their own boat and net could be in charge.¹⁸⁹

Prohibition

The court bans those who refuse to comply with the sentence at trial by a Sea Court. It is a condition that the fish brought by the forbidden go to sea should not be bought by those on the shore. If the banned person brings the fish to the shore, the fish is auctioned off. The proceeds from the auction will be held by the Treasury of the Sea Court.¹⁹⁰

The Evolution of Kadakodi

Changes in the fisheries sector after the 1970s led to the decline of the Sea Court. Important among these were the emergence of the Fisheries Act, the proliferation of Co-operative societies in the fisheries sector, the introduction of

¹⁸⁸ Ratheesh Kaliyadan, *Kadaloram*, Op. Cit., p. 14.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Radhakrishnan (63), President, Bharatheeya Mathsyas Pravarthaka Sangam, Kerala, 13/06/2019.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with V.K Prabhakaran (58), writer, 15/10/2020.

motorized boats into the traditional fisheries sector, the invention of ring seine nets and the widespread migration of fishermen from South Kerala using fishing nets.¹⁹¹ Similarly, the incompetence of the executives and the bias in the sea court judgments have led to the decline of *Kadakodi* in some places. Political interference also led to the destruction of the Sea Court.

With the advent of ring seine nets the ownership of fishing boats was transferred from net owners to groups. Between 25 and 30 fishermen started buying boats and nets. This enabled the workers to move from individual fishing to collective fishing. This change caused the seafarers to lose their reputation.¹⁹²

Billions of people in Vadakara have realized the changes in the fisheries sector and have undergone changes themselves. As a part of this, the membership of *Kadakodi* was extended to all sections of the fishermen. Although the federation was formed by uniting all the *Kadakodis* of Vadakara to focus more on the problems of the fishermen, the *Kadakodi* of Vadakara could not cope with the changes.¹⁹³

Despite these changes, the debt to Kasargod remains strong today. This is due to its organizational base. Kasargode *Kadakodis*, the temple-centric ones are the “Achans” who act as judges here. That is why *Kadakodi* here has a religious atmosphere. Another important factor that keeps Kasargod *Kadakodi* is that all the workers here are of the same caste.¹⁹⁴

Community Organizations of Fishermen

In the coastal areas of Malabar, there are various religious organizations of fishermen. The most important of these are the Araya Samajam and the Mahallu Committee.

¹⁹¹ J.B Rajan, *Maarunna Mathsya Mekhala Pranthavalkarikapedunna Mathsya Thozhilalikal*, KILA, Thrissur, 2019, p. 63.

¹⁹² V.S Sivaprasad, *Kadakkodi*, Op. Cit., p. 97.

¹⁹³ Interview with V.K Prabhakaran (58), writer, 15/10/2020.

¹⁹⁴ V.S Sivaprasad, *Kadakkodi*, Op. Cit., p. 98.

Samajams

After the sea court, samajams are currently prevalent in Kozhikode, Kannur and Kasaragod districts. There are four main samajams in Kozhikode district. Dharmaparipalana Arya Samajam, MukayaSamajam, Dheevera Samajam and Ezhava Samajam. Like the communities in the Koyilandy area, there is a temple committee and a church committee.¹⁹⁵

Kadakodi was primarily aimed at resolving and adjudicating issues. Communities fulfill it but communities do not have the acceptance and power of a Kadal kodathi. The main function of the organization is to provide compensation and assistance to anyone in the event of an accident within the boundaries of the community. If someone dies on the beach and the bereaved family has difficulty with posthumous expenses, the societies will help cover the cost. Even the announcement of death in the area was made by the societies.¹⁹⁶

The governing bodies of the Samajam's change from time to time. The governing body of the Araya Samajam in Puthiyappa will change on March 31. It's not the same everywhere. These are decided by the General Body. The Samajam collects a certain amount every month from the members. This is the right of Samajam. Only then will societies help when any danger or problems arise.¹⁹⁷

In most societies of Kerala, the social norms that existed in the past have almost completely disappeared. *Kadakodi* in Malabar is one of the disappearing social institutions. In most areas, the court-martial has become a forum for debate. As in the past, the majority do not agree to obey the decisions of the causal and community committee. In the past, when a matter was settled in a Sea Court, the defendants would not have reached the police station or the courts. Similarly, the police had left the issue of fishermen to the sea court. Meanwhile, the involvement of revenue officials and the police in the functioning of the sea court has led to the destruction of the court in many places.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Shanmughan (52), President, Mugaya samajam, Kozhikode, 18/06/2019.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with V.K Prabhakaran (58), writer, 15/10/2020.

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Radhakrishnan (63), President, Bharatheeya Mathsya Pravarthaka Sangam, Kerala, 13/06/2019.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with V.K Prabhakaran (58), writer, 15/10/2020.

Many incidents that could have turned into a communal issue, such as the Marad riots, have been resolved in the Kadal kodathi. Government and police officials have realized that only a Sea Court can find a solution to a problem that could turn into a communal problem on the coast. Therefore, the decision taken by the government itself is to create a situation in the coastal areas for the reconstruction of the sea court. As a result of such efforts, Sea Courts are emerging for the second time. This shows that it is essential for organizations like the Kadal kodathi to exist in order to effectively address social issues and impose certain restrictions on communities.¹⁹⁹

Araya Samajam

When Dr. Velukutty Arayan formed the “Araya Vamsha Paripalana Yogam” in 1916 in his native Cheriyaazheekkal to organize and gain strength for the Araya community in South Kerala, it became a historic event. This was the first attempt to bring together fishermen who existed as several sub castes. Following this he formed the Samastha Kerala Mahajana Yogam in 1919 including the Arayans from Kanyakumari to Kasaragod.²⁰⁰

Inspired by such activities, many Araya societies were formed in the coastal areas of Malabar. The first Araya society in Malabar was formed at Kasargod. After that the Araya society was formed in 1961 in Puthiyappa. There are many differences between the Araya Samajam in Malabar and the Velukutty Arayan’s Samajam.²⁰¹ The Araya Samajam in Malabar used to focus on the temple with the aim of uniting the Hindu fishing workers.

Sri Bhagavathi Dharmaparipalana Araya Samajam is located on the coast of Puthiyappa in Elathur Panchayat, Kozhikode Taluk, Kozhikode District. The area is also densely populated by the Araya community. The first aim of the society was the unity of the Araya community in Puthiyappa. When the society started, the main

¹⁹⁹ V.S Sivaprasad, *Kadakkodi*, Op. Cit., p.100

²⁰⁰ Interview With Sukumaran (62), President, Araya Samajam, Puthiyappa, Kozhikode, 24/06/2019.

²⁰¹ Mohandas Vallikavu, *Dr. V.V Velukutty Arayan*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012, p. 2.

objective was to establish schools and charitable institutions among the Arayans and to provide financial assistance to the financially backward. There are several Araya Samajams in the coastal areas from Marad to Kasargod.²⁰²

Mahallu Committee

The Mahallu Committee is an organization of Muslims like the Araya Samajam for Hindus. There will be Mahallu Committees in all the districts of Kerala. If it is a place where 40 people pray on Fridays, then the Mahallu Committee is formed with a mosque there. The area around the mosque is where the Mahallu Committee operates. The committee has no written rules or constitution.²⁰³

Although there are no written rules, committee members are obliged to obey unwritten rules. Mahallu committees were there even during the period of Malik Ibnu Dinar. The main objective of the committee is to solve the surrounding problems and do small scale service activities.²⁰⁴ In the early days, labor disputes at sea were brought before the Mahallu Committee and settled. The democratically elected Mahallu committees will be for three years or five years, depending on the region.²⁰⁵

Conclusion

The coastal region of Kerala is home to a large number of people who follow different rituals. Coastal people have adopted fishing as their main source of livelihood irrespective of caste or creed. Traditions, practices and their diversity can be seen in the fishing industry of Kerala, which includes Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Rituals vary but everyone is equal when it comes to traditional sea knowledge.

²⁰² Silver Jubilee Souvenir, Puthiyappa Sree Bagavathi Dharma Paripalana Araya Samajam, 1985.

²⁰³ Interview with P.Abooakker Haji (64), President Mahallu Committee, Beypore, 19/10/2023

²⁰⁴ Interview with A.P Abdul Kareem Haji (65), President Mahallu Committee, Chaliyam, 29/10/2023.

²⁰⁵ Interview with Majeed (58), Secretary, Siddique Palli, Mahallu Committee, Chaliyam, 12/02/2022.

South Kerala, especially Thiruvananthapuram and Kollam, has the highest number of Christian fishermen. Here the social environment and personality of the fishermen revolve around the church. The church and the priest have an important place here. Fishermen regularly pay churches a certain amount of the price of the fish they catch. It is because churches receive such a steady income that they survive and are preserved.

In the Muslim-majority areas of North Kerala, the fishermen were concentrated in Mosques. The Muslim fishermen were organized into Mahallu Committees. Mahallu committees are not unique to the coastal region. They were concentrated in Mosques in other areas as well.

North Kerala is home to a large number of Hindu fishermen. Many temples can be seen in the coastal areas of Kozhikode, Kannur and Kasaragod districts. Most of these are Arayan temples. Most of the Hindu devotees are known as *Cheerumba* and *Koorumba*. Hindu fishermen have a tradition of organizing around the temple. Arayasamajam, Dheeverasamajam and Mukayasamajam are examples of this.

Another feature of the coastal areas of Malabar is the “*Kadalkodathi*” formed by different religious sects. The People’s Sea Court is an organizational body for dispute resolution. This organization is very important among the fishermen. Although there are no written rules, fishermen are aware of what the unwritten constitution of the sea court is. The Sea Court had the ability to deal with trivial matters that could turn into communal issues. Today, the sea court system has collapsed in many places. The advent of modernity and the influx of monopolies into the fisheries sector have all led to the destruction of the traditional sea court. Some sea courts are still active in Kasaragod districts due to their confinement within the framework of religion.

CHAPTER IV

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE OF COASTAL PEOPLES IN MALABAR

Introduction

Traditional fishing workers have their own knowledge. Many people still fish with the knowledge they are learned through experience and knowledge passed down through tradition. They knew about the availability of fish and direction through various knowledge based on wind, star, and current. Traditional fishermen communities all over Kerala have such rich knowledge. This chapter first deals with how traditional fishermen use this knowledge for fishing and so on. Sea songs, which are found only in the coastal areas, are a part of the life of the fishermen. There is an opinion that the sea songs were made to get a strain in the midst of hard work. The Traditional fishermen have a vast knowledge about fish. This chapter also covers their knowledge of different types of fish and how to catch them.

Traditional Knowledge of Fishermen

Fishing is a traditional occupation. Fishermen still make a living from the knowledge passed down from their ancestors. Therefore, we can understand that the folklore of a traditional fisherman is directly related to their life. Fishermen excel in meteorological and astronomical knowledge. Likewise, every traditional fisherman is aware of the winds, the currents in the sea, the colours of the fish, the location of the fish, and the technology of the fishing gear.¹ There are some local differences to this traditional knowledge of fishermen. In some places these are similar. We can understand the traditional marine knowledge of the fishermen of the adjoining states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.

¹ K.S. Purushan, *Parambaragatha Mathsyamekhalayum Nattarivukalude Prayogavum*, in, P.Sahadevan (ed), *Kadalarom*, FIRMA, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 12.

Fishermen in Kerala record their knowledge of fish availability as follows.

- Fish availability is likely to decrease if the water flows from the north and fish availability is likely to increase if the water flows from the south.
- Westerly winds are likely to increase fish availability and coastal winds are likely to reduce fish availability.
- In freshwater, fish are scarce.
- Fish are plentiful when the waves are low.
- As the water temperature rises, the fish migrate to the deep sea for cooling.
- Many small fish can be caught from the surface on days when the sea is calm after the rains.²

North-easterly winds are expected to cause sea level rise in the next few days and fish stocks will decline. Workers can also identify fish availability by looking at the symptoms of the flock. White cranes flying close to the surface are an indication of a shoal of sardine. Similarly, if the colour of the sea is light blue, fish availability will decrease. Three days after the turbulent eruption near the coast, the fish will be available in large numbers. Fish stocks coming from the southwest are mainly Sardines and Mackerel. When the north wind blows, the fish turn deeper. When the south wind blows, you can get a fish called Pomfret. These are the sea knowledge of the fishermen of Karnataka.³

Fishermen in Tamil Nadu adjacent to Kerala have different knowledge about fish availability. Fish availability decreases during high tide, squid availability increases during the summer months, fish availability increases during the new moon days, fish availability decreases on full moon days, and foul smell from the sea is an indication of depletion of fish. During the month of April, when the south

² Interview with T. Peter (60), General Secretary, National - Fish Workers Forum, Thiruvananthapuram, 03/04/2018.

³ P.S. Swathy Lakshmi, Thadheseeya Sangethika Arivukal, in, P. Sahadevan (ed), *Kadaloram*, FIRMA, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 36.

wind blows, you get a lot of fish. It is a traditional knowledge of the Tamil Nadu fishermen about the availability of fish during the months of October-November when the north winds blow but the fish are available in large numbers.⁴

Andhra Pradesh is the largest fish producing state in India. The knowledge of the fish availability of the fishermen there is as follows. As the density of salt in the sea increases after the rains, a wide variety of surface fish can be found. The availability of tuna fish will increase if the northeast wind blows, if the wind and the waves are in the same direction, a lot of surface fish will be available. During the months of October-February, relatively low water temperatures, calm seas and north-easterly winds are considered favourable conditions for increasing tuna availability. As the water temperature rises, so does the availability of fish such as shrimp and squid.⁵

Sea Urchins (Kadal Paarukal)

Sea urchins are the basis of Marine biodiversity. Sea urchins are also home to a wide variety of fish. Sea Urchins are therefore the workplace of traditional fishermen. Fishermen are the ones who know the most about the Sea Urchins.⁶ Robert Panippilla says that there are different types of Urchins in the sea, like Coastal urchins, Deep sea urchins, Floor urchins and Sand urchins. There are many types of Stone urchins. All of these are diverse habitats, such as Ponds, Mountains, Rivers, and Wetlands on our shores.⁷

Sunlight does not reach everywhere in the ocean. Coastal Urchins are located in the shallows of the ocean, where they are exposed to direct sunlight. It will have a very special habitat as it gets sunlight. According to local variations, the rocks urchins are known as granite urchins and cut stone urchins. The most basic species of marine life is found in urchins.⁸ Granite urchin is found in most of the coastal

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶ *Kadalile Paaridangal*, Koodu Masika, Thiruvananthapuram, May 2016, p. 32.

⁷ Robert Panipilla, *Kadalarivukalum Neranubavangalum*, Chintha Publication, Thiruvananthapuram, 2018, p. 121.

⁸ K.K. Sivadas, *Kadalil Thuzhanja Mukkal Nootandu*, Granthalokam, Thiruvananthapuram, June 2022, p. 68.

areas of Kerala. They are most common in districts like Kozhikode and Kollam. Fishermen determined the location of urchins off the coast using the ‘*Mar*’ scale. Fishermen used some landmarks to identify urchins. A. Andrews, a senior fisherman, notes that foreign-built forts and a church built by St. Thomas on the shores of Kollam were eventually washed away and later became the urchin of more than 250 fish.⁹

The other is called ‘*Pottapparu*’ by the fishermen, are made of clay like man-made. These are safe places for fish like shrimp. Next is the *Vetukal paarukal* (cut stone urchins). These are Urchins with lots of holes. It is home to many horns and eels. In addition to these, sea creatures such as shrimps, small crabs, sea snakes, brittle stars and nudibranchs, both small and large marine life, live here. The main food of the fish is the small creatures in the Urchins. All Urchins will have such an ecosystem.¹⁰ The largest habitat in the deep sea is rock urchins, which lie close to the sea floor. These are also known as floor urchins in the language of the workers. In the same area, except for solid rock, you can see urchins made of pieces of rock. These are known as ‘*Challipaarukal*’.¹¹

Only traditional fishermen are aware of such a large marine habitat. For the sea to survive as a biosphere, such habitats must exist. The basis of the term fisheries is the different types of seabed Urchins. Modern fishing gear, such as trawlers, pound and dredge the Seabed,¹² these tendencies can lead to the destruction of urchins and harm to fishing.

Development activities carried out without clear knowledge of the marine environment can also lead to the extinction of marine urchins. In connection with the Vizhinjam project, 66 hectares of sea was reclaimed. There are 33 coastal urchins in the area. Robert Panippilla says that when these are covered with soil, a large number of habitats are destroyed.¹³ The fact that there is no in-depth knowledge of

⁹ A. Andrews, *Enniyal Theeratha Nombarangal*, A. Andrews, Portkollam, 2006, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Robert Panipilla, *Op. Cit.*, p. 38.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ V.K Sunilkumar, Kadalile paaridangal, Koodu Magazine, May, 2016, pp. 33-34.

the sea, its habitat, its species and its significance in public societies shows that there is no opposition to such actions. Being aware of such habitats is essential for the survival of fisheries and the protection of fishermen's workplaces, as the coastal waters are the most productive and vulnerable to human intervention.¹⁴

Kappal Paarukal

The drowned ships may become urchins. Robert Panippilla records that there are two ship urchins at Shankhumukham and Anjuthengu. From his words the ship urchin at Anjuthengu was the Dutch ship 'Wimmemum' which drowned in 1754. It drowned exact 43 meters below the sea level. The ship is still 8 meters high, anchored at the bottom of the sea. A huge ecosystem was formed around the ship. Many Fish groups are living around this ship like Hydro corals, Giant black coral whip, Butterfly fishes Giant grouper, Bevaccuda, Carnax and Red snapper.¹⁵

Another Ship urchin was discovered by Thomas, a native of Poonthura and a senior fisherman. In the 1970s, he witnessed the sinking of a ship at sea. But on another voyage he could not tell exactly where the ship sank. It is difficult to find such an exact location because of the deep sea. He spent two or three months each year trying to determine where the ship sank. About three-and-a-half years later, he found a place where the ship sank and formed a large habitat. By then, the ship had become a large urchin with plenty of fish. Ships and boats have sunk and become urchins in most of the coastal areas of Kerala.¹⁶

Kanicham Nokkal

Kanicham nokkal is the process of determining the position of urchins by looking at landmarks. This method is used to locate the natural urchins and ship urchins in the sea. The fishermen mainly used the hills, big buildings and the tower of mosques in the shores for *Kanicham Nokkal*. It is interesting to note that the location of the urchins is so many nautical miles from the shore that fishermen can find without the use of equipment such as GPS.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Robert Panipilla, *Kadalarivukalum Neranubavangalum*, Op. Cit., p. 84.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

All the traditional fishermen of Kerala had such knowledge. It is in southern Kerala that the discovery of urchins by landmarks and direction is mainly referred to as '*Kanichamnokkal*'. The fishermen say they could not see the '*Kanicham*' because of the winds and rain clouds and returned without fishing. For positioning in the language of fishermen, the signs are categorized as '*Nerukanicham, Keelakanicham, Rakanicham*'.¹⁸

Sea Currents (Neerozhukkukal)

Water flow and flow are the main features of the sea. Traditional fishermen have a clear idea about such water flows.¹⁹ Fishermen have the experience to determine whether the change in wind and water according to the seasons is favourable or unfavourable for fishing. The flow of seawater is called *Neeru* (Streams). There are two streams of water called '*Karanir*' and '*Puranir*'. *Karanir* is a body of water that flows from the shore to the deep sea. *Poranir* is a stream that flows from the sea to the shore.²⁰ In addition to these, there are 6 types of streams that are classified in relation to the direction.

Karaneer and Puraneer

Karaneer flows from East to the West, flows in the Malayalam months *Idavam, Midhunam* and *Karkidakam*. The availability of fish will be less in these months. At this time the fish are caught in the mud of the sea and lie upside down in the depths. *Karaneer* is also said to be the cause of the sea rage.²¹ *Puraneer* flows from the West to the East after 12 pm in the afternoon in *Chingam* and *Kanni* months. The sea crow appears on the top of the water during the *Puraneer*. It is a clue for the availability of fishes. It's because of that the fishes, which hides in the deep mud, comes out. The fishes like *Adavu, Manund, Mullan, Kamban* are available in this time.²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁹ Soman Kadalur, *Kadalneerarivu*, in C. R. Rajagopal, T.T. Sreekumar (ed), *Kadalarivukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ P.R.G. Mathur, *The Mappila fisher folk of Kerala, A study in inter relationship between Habitat, Technology, Economy, Society and Culture*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, p. 89.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Northern Stream and Vadaggara Stream

Northern Stream flows from North to South. Although there is northern stream throughout the year, the flow is strongest during the months from *Kanni* to *Meenam*. During this time, Mackerel, Porcupine and Shrimp are found in abundance.²³ When there is northern water, the sea water will be turbid. The sea will be calm this time, even in turbulent colours. It is also said that the snare of the fisherman's bait is easily broken when there is northern stream. Clouds move from north to south when there is northern stream.

Vadaggara stream flows from north-east to South-west, found during the months of *Chigam* and *Kanni*. The sea will be calm and the fish's moves from the deep sea go the sea shore. It calms the turbulent sea. Fishing would be easy as the fishes come on the top water in the calm sea. In this time the colour of the water will be yellow or brown. Vadaggara stream pushes the mud from the deep sea which helps for *Chakara*.²⁴ Fish such as shrimp, crab, *Kora* and *Koli* are plentiful during this time.

Thengara Stream and Vadavartha Stream

Thengara stream flows from Sout-east to North-west. In the Malayalam month of *Idavam*, *Midhunam*, *Thulam*, *Vrushchikam*, *Dhanu* and *Makaram*, these occur continuously during the southwest monsoon. In this case the sea will be turbulent. Therefore fishing is impossible. Chakra is also possible due to the accumulation of silt on some land areas. Fishing with bait is impossible at this time, because bait breaks easily in *Thengara* stream.²⁵

Vadavartha stream flows from North-west to South in *Thulam*, *Vrushchikam*, *Dhanu*, *Kumbham* and *Meenam* months. During this current, the fish are trapped in the deep ocean. Therefore, at this time, the fishermen are fishing by increasing the length of the ropes of the nets.

²³ Interview with Kunjachan (67), Kondachante Purakkal, Native Fishermen, Chappapadi, 18/05/2019.

²⁴ Soman Kadalur, *Kadal Rekhakal*, Leeds Books, Calicut, 2013, p. 29.

²⁵ Vidhya Sagar, Nammude *Nattarivukalum Pazhanchollukalum Kadamkathakalum: Nammude Prakrithi*, Vol.I, Kottayam, 2011, p. 19.

Southern Stream and Thembrayil Stream

Southern stream flows from South to North. These occur continuously during the South-west monsoon in the months of *Thulam*, *Vrushchikam*, *Dhanu* and *Makaram*. The water will be clear at this time. At this time, mackerel and Herring are caught. *Thembrayil* stream flows from South-west to North-east during the *Chingam*, *Kanni* and *Vrushchikam* months. It occurs mostly in the deep sea, which is also known as '*Themmavellam*'.²⁶ During this time fishes won't be available so that fishermen won't go for fishing.

Different Waves

Different types of waves are formed in the sea depending on the movement of the wind. A wave is a movement of seawater by the pressure of the wind. The waves have been given many local names by the fishermen's sea knowledge.

Karakadal Waves, Varanakadal Waves and Vayyakadal Waves

Karakadal waves usually appear during the months of *Midhunam* and *Karkidakam*. It got its name from the fact that it appears near land. These waves, which reach a height of about three people, are powerful enough to overturn fishing boats. Varanakadal waves are waves that form over the ocean during the rainy season. Fishermen do not go fishing during these waves. *Vayyakadal* urchin's waves are unpredictable and fastest waves. They can be formed in *Idavam* and *Chingam*. Fishermen often refer to them as *Chathiyar* (Cheaters) as their formation and progress are unpredictable. It is impossible to escape if a fishing boat gets caught in this wave.²⁷

Padikadal Waves and Idakadal Waves

Padikadal waves are waves that occur at a distance of 200 to 300 feet from the shore. Fishing is impossible when this wave hits. 'Koyal water' (10 times colder

²⁶ Soman Kadalur, *Kadal Rekhakal*, Op. Cit., p. 29.

²⁷ M.M. Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeevanam*, Malayala Padana Gaveshana Kendram, Thrissur, 2005, p. 113.

water than ice) is produced in the catchment area where *Padikadal* waves occur. If the boat capsizes in this wave, the workers will die due to freezing in the ocean water. During the months of *Midhunam* and *Karkitakam*, the wave is found about half a furlong from the shore.²⁸ *Idakadal* fastest waves waves formed during *Idavam* month. They can grow up to three people in height. *Idakadal* waves during monsoons are the most dangerous. They appear about a furlong from the shore and also known as ‘Muriyampotti’ among fishermen.²⁹

Puramkadal Wave and Koala

Puramkadal waves are waves that form in the fishing area. They are formed during the months of *Idavam*, *Mithunam* and *Karkitakam*. The boat is likely to capsize in these waves. This is another time when fishing is impossible. Koala is one of the most turbulent waves in the ocean. Koala is formed during the months of *Mithunam*, *Karkitakam* and *Chingam*.³⁰ These form vortices just like waves.

Thalivali and Kamban Sea Wave

The ‘*Thalivali*’ is the wave seen in the month of Chingam. These are the waves that hit back and forth. Although fishing is difficult, experienced fishermen still go fishing during this time. *Kamban* sea waves are the longest waves and occur at depths of up to 12 feet during most months. During the *Mithunam* and *Karkitakam* months, the fisherman stays away from fishing due to their strength. The *Kamban* Waves become terrifying when the wind and flow blow fast in different directions.³¹

Cheriya Waves and Yamakadal Waves

The sea is generally calm when the wind blows in the same direction. At this point the waves break. The breaking of the waves is called ‘*Kadalpottal*’ and the disappearance of them is called ‘*Njariyal*’. During this time the small waves will

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 114.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

³⁰ *Ibid*.

³¹ *Ibid*.

suddenly enlarge and slowly disappear. The *Yamakadal* wave is a wave that rises to a height of 100-105 feet and returns to the same point. Fishing boats can be easily overturned by such waves. During the full moon, the waves become stronger and this interferes with fishing.³²

The Phenomenon of the Kallakadal

The strong wave formed due to the changes in climates over the sea is called as *Kallakadal* by the fishermen. During high tide, the waves strengthen on the coast and cause great damage to the coast as a result of the combination of the *Kallakadal* and the spring tide. Such waves can cause fishing boats to collide and sink, inundating coastal and homes. They are called *Kallakadal* because they come unexpectedly and cause damage.³³

Fishermen Knowledge of the Stars

Fishermen look at the position of certain stars and know the direction in the sea. The stars used for navigation have special names among the Muslim fishermen of Malabar, such as *Kapalmeen*, *Kabarmeen* and *Kibilameen*. The fishermen of Southern Kerala are also very brilliant in finding the direction by looking at the stars. Fishermen in Malabar call the group of 7 stars that rise at midnight *Kapalmeen*. They look like a boat, with four at the back and three at the front. They rise at the North-East direction and sets at the North-West direction. They are brighter than the surrounding stars.³⁴

The next constellation is called '*Kiblameen*'. These are the three stars that rise in the direction of Muslim prayers. Imams of Islam pray in a north-westerly direction, imagining the location of the *Ka'bah*. '*Khabarmeen*' are stars that rise in an easterly direction across the '*Kibblameen*' they consist of three or four stars. Such stars are very helpful to the fishermen of Malabar in understanding the direction

³² Soman Kadalur, *Kadalormkal*, Green books, Kozhikode, 2014, p. 17.

³³ "Adutha Ezhudivasam Vyapaka Mazhakku Sadhyadha; Kallakadal Prathibasam Undakumenn Munnariyippu" Madhayamam News, Daily, 24.09.2024.

³⁴ P.R.G Mathur, *The Mappila fisher folk of Kerala*, Op. Cit., p. 120.

from the middle of the sea to the shore.³⁵ Fishermen in South Kerala also depend on the stars for direction from the sea.³⁶ According to Robert Panippillai, there are star clusters such as *Kappalvelli*, *Kurishuvelli*, *Kaniyavelli*, *Uli*, *Ulikol*, *Mulakkameen*, *Malayameen*, *Arameen*, *Chottuvelli* and *Vidiyavelli* as guides for fishermen.

Chottuvelli and Vidiyavelli

Chottuvelli and *Vidiyavelli* are the two constellations on which fishermen mainly rely for time. *Chottuvelli* is the only bright star shining in the west after sunset. You can barely see it for two or three hours. *Chottuvelli* usually appears between 8 and 9 p.m. In the past, traditional fishermen fishing in the Middle sea used to look at this star to set the time for dinner. Like *Chottuvelli*, *Vidiyavelli* is a brightly lit single star. In Tamil, *Vidiyuka* means dawn.³⁷ Fishermen fishing at night look at the star and realize that it is dawn.

Arameen

Arameen is a beautiful group of six stars. This is why they are called *Arameen*. When *Arameen* arrives, the waves of the sea will be strong. Fishing can be difficult as the waves are strong. Fishermen leaving for the sea for night work observed the *Arameen* and set the time for the boats to set sail. At the time of the rise of the *Arameen*, the seabed fish such as *Kora*, *Parava*, *Chilaw* and *Murav* were found in large numbers.³⁸ The fishermen calls such types fishes, which are available during *Arameen* as *Hole fishes*.

Malayameen

Malayameen is considered to be one of the best fishing stars in the world. Fishermen say that the changes in the seawater at the time of the emergence of the *Malayameen* cause the fish to wake up and move on. So by the time *Malayameen* emerged, the workers had gone out fishing. When *Malayameen* emerges, the fish

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³⁶ P.T Mathew, *We Dare The Waters: The World And World View Of Mukkuvar*, Department of Christian Studies, University of Madras, 2001, p. 73.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Ajith Kumar, Mukkuvarude Kadalarivukal, Koodu Magazine, May 2016.

move inland and when inanimate, move inwards. In the past, traditional fishermen used to land a fishing boat called '*Chalathadi*' at this time. Ray fish, one of the migrant fish is available during the rise of *Malayameen*. The traditional fishermen set out to catch ray fish with special bait during the *Malayameen*. A fish called *Kirimeen* was also caught in abundance during this time.³⁹

Uli, Ulikol -Mulakameen

Uli, Ulikol or *Mulakameen* is a group of 3 stars arranged in rows at the same distance. The distance between the three stars is about a cubit in view. Therefore, the fishermen called it as *Mulakameen*. Fishermen relied heavily on it for their journey to and from the deep sea. At the same time, fishermen relied on this star for timing.⁴⁰

Kappal Velli and Kurishuvelli

Kappalvelli is consists of seven stars, located far north of the sky. Fishermen have been imagining these stars in the shape of a ship. The first visible star in these is the ship's anchor. *Kappalvelli* were very helpful to fishermen who travelled at night to urchins at various points in the sea and to shore. *Kurishuvelli* is the main constellation south of the sky. The constellation consists of four stars in the shape of a cross. When the *Kurishuvelli* rises, its head is seen upwards and at the set it is seen upside down. Westerners call the *Kurishuvelli* is the Southern Crux.⁴¹

Eranavelli and Kaniyavelli

Eranavelli is two coloured stars that are close to *Arameen* and *Mulakameen*. Fishermen rely on them mainly for directional navigation. *Kaniyavelli* is a star that is highly exaggerated by fishermen. This star does not move and located in the northern part of the sky. They can be seen in the same place every day of the year. It can only be seen at sea or on the beach. Fishermen rely on them at night to locate the

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ P.N Ravishankar, *Traditional Knowledge in Marine Fisheries of Kerala*, ICAR - Central Institute of Fisheries Technology, Kochi, India, p. 52.

⁴¹ Robert Panipilla, Op. Cit., p. 155.

urchins at the seabed. Fishermen call them 'Kaniyavelli' because they look for 'Kanicham' to locate Urchins.⁴²

Traditional Fishing Equipments

The Sangam texts reveal that fishing has been an important source of livelihood since ancient times. From works like 'Pathupattu' and 'Ettuthonkai' you can find references to fishing gear such as Bait, *Eriyuli*, Net and Small boats like *Ambi* and *Patak*.⁴³

Fishing with Hooks and Nets has been around since ancient times. This is evidenced by the mention in song 290 of *Akananuru*, that Crane's mate was trapped in a Net.⁴⁴ According to the Madras fisheries Bulletin of 1937, there are different types of fishing Hooks and Nets were used in Malabar Coast. Fishing hooks like Harpoons, Angling, Long-Lining, *Cheriy Beppu* or *Aayiram Choonda* and *Valiya Beppu* or *Sravu Beppu* are very common in Malabar Coast. The Nets like Shore Seines, Boat Seines, Drift Nets, Gilling Nets, Tangle Nets and Caste Nets also same.⁴⁵ All these nets had Many Sub Nets based on the Hole size and length.

The Nets like *Chavittuvala*, *Kambavala*, *Karamadi*, *Chhodavala*, *Natholivala*, *Ayalakollivala*, *Kudukkuvala*, *Koruvala*, *Mathikollivala*, *Chalavala*, *Peythuvala*, *Thadumadi*, *Ranivala*, *Rampani vala*, *Echamvala*, *Ozhukuvala*, *Paravavala*, *Pattuvala*, *Thirachivala*, *Ayalavala*, *Mathivala*, *Ottuvala*, *Chemmeenvala*, *Chittakothuvala*, *Thadavada*, *Karichalavala* and *Nooluvala* are example for this.⁴⁶

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Raghava Varier, Rajan Gurukkal, *Keralacharithram* Vol-I, Vallathol Vidhyapeedam, Sukapuram, 1996, p. 84.

⁴⁴ Akananooru Song-290.

⁴⁵ James Hornell, The Fishing Methods Of Madras Presidency, Part II, Malabar Coast, Report No.1 Of 1937, Madras Fisheries Bulletin, Vol.No.27, Printed By The Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1938.

⁴⁶ Interview with Ahammed (70), Arayante Purakkal, Senior fishermen, Parappanangadi, 19/08/23.

Important fishing Nets and Hooks used in the Malabar Region.

Ayilachala Vala and Ozhukku Vala (Floating Net)

Ayilachalavala is a net with 500×300 links. As the name suggests, this net is used to catch Mackerel and Herring. Depending on the size of the net during the construction of the nets, they are also known as *Kadamvala* and *Moorivala*. It is also the most marketable net among out-of-state workers. *Ozhukku Vala* is an important net used to catch *Ayakoora*. It is also known as *Chekalavala*. *Moorivala* is made by joining three 1000 hole nets.⁴⁷ 12 *Moorivala* is joined to make a *Ozhukku Vala*.

Thirandi Vala

This is also known as *Vakuvala*, used to catch *Thirandi* fish. The net is designed for 28 to 35 points. It's used to catch the fishes like *Avoli* and *Etta*. Thirandi nets are mainly thrown into the sea during the month of *Makaram* at a depth of two to three people. This net is not used during the months of *Mithunam*, *Karkidakam* and *Chingam*.⁴⁸ During the month of *Makaram*, the east wind blows and a lot of Thirandi fish arrive. During this time the fishermen uses this net.

Nethal Vala and Herring Nets

The Nethal net is similar to a Mosquito net. It will be 1000 meters long. It has 'Butt' for the top to float and *Manmanikal* (Clay) for the bottom. If the presence of Nethal is detected, the net is bent and the *Nethal* is caught. This means that the fish are hooked up with a net and then dragged to the boat using a bottom-mounted 'Beanch machine'. Herring nets are also known by different names such as *Vettukili* and *Kolli*. It catches not only Herring but also all other fishes like *Ayala*, *Chura*, *Poovalan chemmeen* and *Avoly*. The net is used between 2 to 3 furlongs long. The net will be about 1000 meters long.⁴⁹ Although all kinds of fish can be caught in Herring nets, Herring *Kandadi* is the only net that can be caught Herring. The head of the fast-coming Herring is caught in the net.

⁴⁷ M.M Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeivanam*, Op. Cit., p. 123.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴⁹ Interview with Bava (72), Puthuponnannikarantakath, Senior fishermen, Puthuponnani, 17/01/2019.

Malan Net and Kuthuvala

Malan net is a net used to catch fish called Malan. Malan fish, which travel in groups in the water, are caught by twisting their nets. *Kuthuvala* is approximately 56 metres long and three and a half metres down. It may have been tied with a rod across the middle of the net. It breaks the waves, pushes them to the shore, and throws them from both sides, trampling the bottom of the net into the water. The net will catch when the water recedes. Some species of small fish that run along the waves are caught in nets. This net is still used in some villages.⁵⁰ Fish such as *Kathiran*, *Koori*, *Payil*, *Valodi* and *Kovuka* are obtained in this way.

Veeshuvala and Vadivala

Veeshuvala is a type of net that is circular in shape and falls into the water in the same shape as the bottom when blown. At the bottom are small bells made of lead. When thrown and pulled, the bottom part is tightened so that the strings are tied from the bottom to the top of the net. In the past, this net would be used from the shore and in the sea in a boat.⁵¹ Today, however, only shoreline work exists.

The *Vadivala* is made of the smallest form of *Koruvala* (*'Mattuka'* means the pieces of net are joined together). They are about 8-9 feet long and 72 inches wide. The stalk of the nettle tree is cut to the length of the *Mukkalmaaru* and the net and the roof of the net are added and tied to the net at approximately three quarters of the length. Two people take it by the hand and swim 15-20 yards west from where they are floating on the shore. Hold both ends of the net and slowly swims to the shore. When it reaches the 'ground' position, it bends and the nets are pulled out of the water and pulled ashore. This method of fishing is called '*Vadivalakoruka*'.⁵² The boat is not used for this.

⁵⁰ Soman Kadalur, *Kadal Rekhal*, Leeds Books, Kozhikode, 2013, p. 44.

⁵¹ Interview with Suresh, Elappantakath (45), Marad, Native fishermen, 09/04/18.

⁵² Ratheesh Kaliyadan (ed), *Kadalarom*, Journalism and Academicians Institute, Thiruvangur, 2008, p. 25.

Nonavala

Vadivala, *Nonavala* and *Koruvala* are all one in shape. The only difference is the size. *Nonavala* is three to four times larger than *Vadivala*. The nets and poles are arranged in a small boat tied at both ends of the raft about 75-100 feet long. The boat can barely carry four or five people. Arrange the net and place one end of the *Kamba* in someone's hand on the shore and then stretch the *Kamba* to the west. The net will be lowered at the end of the pole. The netting will be circular. The rest of the boat will reach the shore by stretching the *Kamba*. After that, people will pull the *Kamba* from the shore on both sides. Finally, the net is pulled ashore. This method of fishing is called '*Nonavala valikkal*'.⁵³ This method still exists today.

Neetuvala

Different types of Neetuvalas are commonly used in Malabar. There are different types of loops made of yarn size suitable for each species of fish and different types of mesh extension nets. In the past, *Neetuvalas* were made of yarn and '*Vak*'. (*Vak* means jute used to make sacks). Nets made of yarn were used to catch small fish such as Mackerel, Sardine, *Vattachala*, *Karichala*, and *Keerichala*, while nets made up of *Vak* used to catch large species of fish such as *Sravu*, *Tirandi*, *Neimeen* (*Araka*), Catfish (*Eatta*), and *Choora*. Using this, the yarn is made, and the strings are glued together, and the elongated strings of the '*Pananchi*' are glued together to make a net. After boiling with lime, eight to ten strong men climbed into the wooden rod and the nets '*Aayikkum*'.⁵⁴ (*Aayikkum* means the knots of the nets were tightened.)

Kampavala

Approximately 300-350 *mars* in length with two pieces of net tied with rope. The mesh size of the net is about half to two *mars*. In the middle are nets made of yarn. This is called '*Kalla*' and the rope net is called '*Enam*'. The part where the net

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ P. Sahadevan, Mathsyamekhalayile Naatarivukal, in, P. Sahadevan (ed), *Kadalarom*, FIRMA, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 140.

is attached will be the smaller diameter loop. The latter are nets with smaller but larger loops. The pole is tied where it ends. The number of *Kampa* will be increased or decreased according to the circumstances. The length of a *Kampa* is about 40-50 *mars*.⁵⁵ *Kampavala* came into existence after *Vadivala*. *Kampavala* was mostly found in Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam and the southern coast of Alappuzha. The use of *Kampavala* has ceased in areas where seawalls have been constructed. *Kampavala* employs 10-20 people.⁵⁶ *Kampavala* will be placed in a mooring boat (Sorting means loading).

The *Enam* is sorted in four columns. The *Kampavala* will be set without seeing or seeing the fish. After placing one end of the *Kampa* net on the shore, the boat will move westwards and *Enam* will fall from the end of the *Kampa* (It means the net will be lowered from the boat into the water). There will be two skilled workers on board the boat in addition to the *Thanduvalikkar*. If the net is cast by looking at the fish, the net will be bent. Otherwise a large part of it will encircle the reservoir.⁵⁷

At the end of the *Enam* fall, the net (*Kalla*) made of yarn will be lowered. The '*Enam*' is attached to the net, and there is a net-like structure with a rope on either side of the net to connect the rod and the *Enam*. The method of connecting the net (*Kalla*) to the *Enam* is called '*Enam Touching*'. This would have been done on land. Then there is the work of pulling the people standing on the shore from both sides. The boat reaches the net (*Kalla*) again and rests on the rope tied to the bottom of the *Kalla*. It has been pointed out that '*Kalla*' is made of yarn.⁵⁸ No matter how small the fish will not pass through the links of the net. The mouth of the net is arranged like a kind of nest; once inside the net, the fish cannot exit.

The bottom of the *Enam* is likely to rise above ground level as more people

⁵⁵ P. K Unnikrishnan, Kadalum Naatarivum, in, P. Sahadevan (ed), *Kadalarom*, FIRMA, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p.19.

⁵⁶ Interview with Sulaiman (50), Arayante purakkal, Director, Arayan Kadapuram Sahakarana Sangam, 18/05/2019.

⁵⁷ P. Sahadevan, Mathsyamekhalayile Naatarivukal, Op. Cit., p. 142.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

pull harder from the shore as the raft approaches the shore. If it rises like that, the fish caught in the net may go out of the pot. To prevent this, when the net is closer to the shore, two men stand on either side of the net in the chest depths of the water. Then the '*Mada*' (Bottom) of the *Enam* is trampled to the ground level, which is called '*Mada tread*'.⁵⁹

Disco Net (*Choodavala*) and Kurangu Vala

In the Kollam and Thiruvananthapuram regions, 'Disco Net' refers to the Shrimp Net belongs to the *Neettuvala* category. The stretch nets used to stretch three pieces together. In the northern parts it is known as *Choodavala*.⁶⁰ Earlier it used to catch only *Netholi*, but now it used to catch all types of small fishes and shrimp.⁶¹ A person will go down into the water with a net tied at the end he bend the net by seeing or not seeing the fish, and those who are in the boat will take the fish out of the net.

Kurangu vala is same like *Nonavala*. It was available at South and Northern parts of Kerala. It has only a small difference from *Nonavala*. Kamba was used at the end of the 'Kutty' part (*Kaivala*) of the *Nonavala*. In, *Kurangu vala* the Net starts from the 'Kutty' part and it will be only two or three *Muzham* long when it comes to the contraction.⁶²

Veppuvala (*Mudipeythu vala*)

Two boats come together to lower the net whether the fish is seen or not. When one boat puts the net in the sea, the other boat takes one side of the net and bends the two boats. Then, two three boats make noises by hitting the water with a stick and oar to gather the fish in the net. The net is then dug with a hook. The net is cut in the middle of the net and put in both boats. It also has a mechanism to allow the nets to be tied together at the intersection. The other boats act to block the fish

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁶⁰ J.B Rajan, *Maarunna Mathsya Mekhala Pranthavalkarikapedunna Mathsya Thozhilalikal*, KILA, Thrissur, 2019, p. 63.

⁶¹ Nikita Gopal, *Traditional knowledge in marine fisheries of Kerala*, ICAR, Kochi, 2018, p. 24.

⁶² P.Sahadevan, *Mathsyamekhalayile Naatarivukal*, Op. Cit., p. 143.

groups not to escape. When the Fishes caught the other boats will lift the top part of the net.⁶³

Pachuvala (*Valottavala*)

In the past, *Pachu vala* were used for deep sea fishing. In this net can catch big fish like Neymeen (Araka), *Choora* and *Sravu*. Nine to ten people will go on the boat that uses *Pachuvala*. This net was also used for catching *Thirandi* fish. This net will one day be completely submerged in the sea. In the early morning, the boat leaves the net and goes ashore. It will be taken back the next day. It stretches to the bottom at the base and stone is tied at length at both ends with a pole tied to the head of the pole to see the mark of the net standing on the surface. This rise is an important sign of understanding the location of the net. Signs to determine the location of the net and the depth of the water include the shoreline trees and the building.⁶⁴

Bamin vala and Sravu vala

A Bamin vala consists of 30 *Moorivala*, measures 550 x 100 loops, each 6 inches in size. The net stretches from east to west in a single boat. Bamin nets are capable of withstanding wind and current. In the presence of the fish, the net uses and attracts the fish by tapping the boat. A Sravu net is a combination of 10 *Moorivala*. A *Moorivala* can have 100 x 50 links. This net is spread while the Sravus are available abundantly during the Malayalam months of *Kanni Thulam* *Vrishchikam* and *Dhanu*.⁶⁵ These nets are usually blown in favour of the wind.

Muyyan vala and Poyittam vala

Muyyan Vala is used to catch Shrimp, *Ayala* and *Mullan* fishes. It's a combination of 65 *Moorivala*. It has two parts known as *Aravala* and *Mulvala*. It uses from two boats. Poyittam vala is a kind of *Koruvala*, which has 100 x 100 links. Its base is relatively short and its top is wide. This net is used to catch shrimp

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ P.Sahadevan, Mathsyamekhalayile Naatarivukal, Op. Cit., p. 139.

⁶⁵ M.M Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeevanam*, Op. Cit., p. 124.

and similar small fish. The net was spread by 4 to 8 people in 2 boats. The net is spreads only 8 feet deep. This net is usually cast during the southwest monsoon. These nets target the fish that come to the surface when the sea level rises during the monsoon season. Poyittam vala is used mainly in the Malayalam months like *Chingam* and *Kanni*.⁶⁶

Avoli Vala

The *Avolivala* is two-linked and a sack with two rope wings. The net is spread during the *Chingam* and *Kanni* months. The net is swung and loaded by 4 people at a depth of 10 to 20. When the presence of fish is detected, the fishermen make a noise by knocking on the boat with the Oars. This is a technique to scare fish. When the fish seek refuge under the boat, the fishermen throw the bamboo mat into the sea. When the fish moves, it casts its net in favour of the direction of travel.⁶⁷

Materials Used in Net Making

Pong (Float in various types of Nets)

The top of the net is made of a type of sugarcane called 'Oak'. The net is cut to a length of about three-quarters of an inch and has a long rope at one end. This oak is tied at a distance of one inch. Another pong (wood of carp) is cut in half a circle about two inches in circumference and tied with ropes at a distance of ten yards from the net, measuring the depth of the sea extending into the net. It is also known as *Mutty* (Knuckle) and was used for all kinds of stretch nets.⁶⁸

Oaks (20-25 oaks) were used in place of the knots for the *Valayott* nets (large fishing nets). Knots can be tied to *Koru* nets but can vary in size. The knots were about an inch long and about a foot in circumference. From half a *Mar* to one *Mar* the net was tied to the roof. The pongs of the *Kampavala* are made by cutting the

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁶⁷ K. Padmanaban, *Mukkuvarum Theeradesha Samskrithiyum*, Pusthaka bavan, Payyannur, 2016, p. 134.

⁶⁸ E.J Peter, 'Oru Mathsya Thozhilaliyude Kadalarivukal', in, C.R Rajagopalan (ed)., *Kadalarivukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 84.

planks of the wooden planks of the *Palamaram* (*Alstoniascholaris*) into a channel about a foot wide and one inch long and making a hole at both ends. This will not always remove from the *Enam*.⁶⁹

Yarns -For a variety of tools

In the early days, the *Koruvala* were made of cotton yarn. Yarn threads were available for purchase in the market at that time. One pound that day is two *Kizhi* (Piece). It is boiled and dried. There will be ten pieces in each *Kizhi*. A spinning top-like device was used to twist the threads of the yarn. It was called '*Thiruvattum Suchiyum*'. Each piece of yarn is placed in this spinning top and wrapped in the shape of a ball by tying the yarns in the order of three, four, five and six. Each type of net was tied by twisting the twisted strands. Thread was used to fasten by a tool made of iron that was a little bigger and heavier than a *Thakkili*. It was called '*Thiri kotta*'. Workers used a variety of methods to tighten the yarn. In the southern regions, the head of the thread was tied at the end of the thread and twisted at the Thigh of the leg so that the thread could be twisted.⁷⁰

Fishing Hook

Man has been using fishing hook to catch fish since prehistoric times. The world's oldest fish hooks were discovered in sakitari cave in Okinawa Island (Japan) dated between 22380 and 22770 years old.⁷¹ Evidence suggests that fishing hook was used in Egypt 5000 years ago. Fish was popular food in ancient Egypt.⁷² We can see that the bait used by man has changed over time. The fishing hook used by the caveman was either a sharp piece of bone or a piece of wood. A hole was made in the centre and a string was tied through it. The custom of the time was to put a piece of bone inside the prey, put it in the water, and pull the prey-swallowing fish with a string. One such bait has been excavated by archaeologists in France.⁷³

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Michael Price, "World's Oldest Fishhook found on Okinawa", Science, 16th September 2016.

⁷² Ana Ruiz, The Spirit of Ancient Egypt, Algora Publication, New York, 2001, p. 39.

⁷³ George Joseph, *Mathsyam Muthal Manushyan Vare; Mathsyangal*, Knowledge India publishers, Nadakavu, 2014, p. 152.

During the Bronze Age, metal began to be used as a substitute for bone and wood piece. Still the bait was a sharp piece of metal at both ends. Later during the Industrial Revolution, baits began to be mechanized. The traditional baits used for fishing in Kerala are hand bait or single bait, *Bepp* or *Ayiran*, Chain bait, *Neeri Bepp* bait and ValiyaNeem bait.⁷⁴

In the past, fishermen used to catch small fish with bait. Over time, the bait also began to catch large fish such as *Etta*, *Ayakkoora*, *Thirandi*, and *Sravu*. The bait is made of iron. The bait is usually 3.2 inches long and it has five main parts. These are eye, shank, bend, bait and point. Fishing hook tied to a long string. The end of the bait is hooked and then placed in water. The hook is trapped in the mouth of the fish that swallows the prey. This is how fishing is done. The bait is tied to objects that can float in the water. The bait is used to accurately reflect the movement of the bait by the fish carving on the bait and to adjust the depth of the bait from the water surface. By absorbing the movement of the 'Pong', the angler can accurately understand the pressure of the fish and the trapping of the fish. A kind of palm fond is used as a bait stick. Therefore, this palm is called '*Choondapana*'.⁷⁵

Kai Choonda or Otta Choonda (Hand Bait or Single Bait)

It is Bait mainly used by the fishermen of Malabar. These were traditionally used by the Mukaya community. The fibber of the palm was used as a string for the bait. Small pieces of lead are tied to the Bait. This is to keep the bait still and to keep the bait upright when the fish are caught. These lead blocks help to act as a cushion when the bait is heavy.⁷⁶

BepporAyiran andChangala Chooda (Chain Bait)

Bepp is a cord made of cotton yarn about 1500 feet long. These are also called long baits due to their length. It takes four people to fish with this bait. To

⁷⁴ Interview with Aboobekker (72), Thiruthiyil, Mudhham Beach, 18/05/2019.

⁷⁵ Interview with Dasan (60) Ealappantakath, Maradu, 09/04/2018.

⁷⁶ M.M Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeeyanam*, Op. Cit., p. 122.

prevent the bait from rotting in the salt water, the fruit of the palm tree is crushed and the bait is dipped in it and dried in the sun. Do this once in 3 months. The chain bait is three times thicker than the bepp bait. Its lines are made of chains or thicker strings. A chain of about 100 Baits can be seen up to 6,000 feet long.⁷⁷ This Bait is mainly used to catch Sharks.

Traditional Fishing Vessels

Catamaran

Catamarans are one of the oldest and most important traditional fishing boats. The word catamaran is derived from the Tamil word ‘Kattumaram’, which means ‘logs bound together’. Catamaran was used along the coasts from Orissa to Kanyakumari. In Kerala, trees like *Anjili*, *Punna*, Mango tree, Jackfruit tree, *Ilav Pains* and *Thani* were used to build boats.⁷⁸ The criteria for selecting wood are firmness, the life of the tree when exposed to moisture and the weight in water. The Catamaran is made up of two or three logs of wood tied together with coir ropes.⁷⁹ The rope is tied around a cross piece of wood in the shape of stumped bull horns placed at the end of the logs.⁸⁰ Small gapes are purposefully left in between the logs to allow the water to drain thus reducing the impact of waves.

There are two types of Catamarans. One is smaller with a crew size of two and is used for hook and line fishing such anchovy, sardine and the prawn nets. Hook and line fishing is more common in the South Kerala because of multi special and dispersed fishing. In the hook and line fishing, the gear is made of hook with a line attached to it. The bait lures the fish. The fish gets caught in the bait while attempting to eat the bait and can not free itself. The gear is very selective in action

⁷⁷ P.R.G Mathur, *The Mappila fisher folk of Kerala*, Op. Cit., p. 141.

⁷⁸ Raju Narayanaswamy, *Mathsya sambathu akshya pathramo..?*, p. 135.

⁷⁹ James Hornell, *The Fishing Methods Of Madras Presidency, Part II, Malabar Coast*, Report No.1 Of 1937, Madras Fisheries Bulletin, Vol.No.27, Printed By The Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1938, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Navya, Parambaragatha Mathsya Bandhana yanagalude Nirmanavum Paripalanavum, Et.al., P.Sahadevan (ed), Kadaloram, FIRMA, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 19.

in catching different species and different sizes of fish. The hook is very important and the size of the hook, the type of the hook used, the type of bait used determines the selectivity of the catch.⁸¹

Wooden Boats

Other traditional fishing boats are commonly referred to as wooden boats instead of Catamaran. There are two main types of wooden boats. These are single-deck boats and moored boats. *Ottathadi vallam* is a dugout Canoe between 10 to 15 mtrs long, carrying upto 15 members. It is made by scoping out large logs of soft woods such as Anjili or Mango tree. Depending on the size, a single boat can be divided into three types: 1. *Odam* 2. Boat 3. *Bep boat*. *Odam* is also known as *Vanchi*. The *Odam* is a single boat more than 10 meters long. There are 7 to 11 people fishing in the *Odam*.⁸² The boat is a single wood boat up to 9 m long. Three to six people fish in the boat. Single wood boats up to 8 m in size are known as beep boats.

Large single-wood boats were used for fishing in pairs with '*Kollinets*'. Smaller boats used to fish with *Udak vala*, *Ozhukuvala* and Baits. Single wood boats were guided and controlled by oars, poles, and mats. The mooring boat is made by tying ropes between wooden planks. Large mooring vessels currently in use in Kerala are 11 to 12 meter long, 1 to 1.5 m wide and 0.8 m deep and less than 11 m long. Nine to eleven people in the large one, and three to six people in the small one are fishing in this.⁸³ The mats, oars and poles are also used to control the *Kettuvallam*.

There are many types of fishing gears on *Kettuvallangal*, such as *Udakk Vala*, *Ozhukku Vala*, Baits, *Veeshu Vala* and *Theeramadi*. Such boats are called *Thara Vallangal*, if the wooden planks are attached to the *Kettuvallam* using '*Thara*'.

⁸¹ Aarti Kelker Khambete, Traditional fisher folk of Kerala - An article about their socio-economic organization and the special relationship they share with the sea and the environment, India water portal org, 13th August 2012.

⁸² Navya, Parambaragatha Mathsya Bandhana yanagalude Nirmanavum Paripalanavum, Op. Cit., p. 76.

⁸³ Aarti Kelker Khambete, Traditional fisher folk of Kerala - An article about their socio-economic organization and the special relationship they share with the sea and the environment, India water portal org, 13th Aug 2012.

Holes are often drilled in the hulls and hulls for connecting the planks. A traditional compound called '*Kitch*' is used to close such holes and prevent water from seeping in. The boat was coated with *Chala* Ghee, Cashew Ghee and Tar to protect the Boat and make it sail faster. To increase the yield of the tree, traditional methods were adopted, such as dipping it in the sun, applying it with Nectarine oil, and applying *Marotica* oil. The glue known as *Pantham* was used to make the *Kettuvallam*.⁸⁴ *Pantham* is a mixture of Pine tree sap and Coconut oil.

The Large *Kettuvallangal*, typically 28 to 32 feet long, are used for fishing throughout the year. This type Canoes will last for 15 to 20 years without any damage. There are many *Arakal* (Compartments) inside the *Kettuvallam*. Such chambers are known as 'Kalli' (Cells). From the row to the stern, there are 8 cells made of bamboo. They are, 1. *Kukkankalli*, 2. *Thammankalli*, 3. *Edakkalli*, 4. *Kumbidikalli*, 5. *Nallakalli*, 6. *Mumbakalli* or *Kambakalli*, 7. *Vittalakalli*, 8. *Kumbidikalli*. Each cell has different roles.⁸⁵

The *Thuzhakkar* (Oarsmen) on the *Kettuvallams* are seated on different decks. The boat is controlled by a *Kukkanakar* or *Amarakkaran* sitting in a row namely *Kukkaan Kalli*. He also instructs the fishermen to know the direction of the wind and the flow of water according to the availability of fish. It is the duty of the person in *Thammanakalli* to pull the net. The *Idakallikaran* spreads the net in the *Idakalli*. The job of a *Nallathandukaran* is to spread the mat by looking at the wind. The net is kept in the *Kumbidikalli*. The fish deposit is also in the last column of the same name. *Idakalli* is used when the *Kumbidikalli* is filled. *Kumbidikalli* also houses the wooden poles used to make noise by knocking on the boat to scare the fish. The cell that holds the anchor is called the *Vitla kalli*.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Navya, Parambaragatha Mathsya Bandhana yanagalude Nirmanavum Paripalanavum, Op. Cit., p. 76.

⁸⁵ M.M Sreedharan, *Mukayar: Vamsheeyatha Samskaram Athijeevanam*, Op. Cit., p. 121.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Fishes

The sea is a part of our lives. In India, 35% of the population consumes fish as food. Kerala contributes about 15% of the fish used in this way. More than 26,000 species of fish known worldwide and 2700 species are found in India. This means that India contributes 11% of the global fish diversity. There are about 1200 species of marine fish in Kerala and among this, 700 species of fish were readily available each season.⁸⁷

Fish has been a favourite food of Keralites since ancient times. About 70% of the fish produced in the state is used by the locals for food. Per capita fish consumption in the state is much higher than the national average. At the national level, only 25-30% of the animal protein is obtained from the fisheries sector, while in Kerala it is 70-80%.⁸⁸ This big difference underscores the importance of the state in the fisheries sector.

The fisheries department of Madras Presidency records the names and quantities of fish caught off the coast of Kerala from 1907 onwards. We can see the availability of fishes in Malabar at the time of Malabar was ruled under the Madras presidency. The list of the fishes is given below in Four Tables.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ T.D Velayudhan, *Keralathile Mathsyangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2012, p. 1.

⁸⁸ Raju Narayana Swamy, Op. Cit., p. 60.

⁸⁹ V. Govindan, Madras Fisheries Bureau - Bulletin No. 9, Fishery Statistics and information, West and East Coasts, Madras Presidency, Printed by The Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1916, pp. 42-44.

Table I

Sravu	Thirandi	Etta	Kora
Makara Sravu.	Chundantherandi	Valiaetta	Pallikora
Kallan Sravu	Kottivalantherandi	Chulliyetta	Karimkora
Mandi Sravu	Methevandi	Velletta	Puyyaplakora (Manjakora)
Karimandi Sravu	Patentherandi	Uvvuvanetta	Chuvapp kora
Netuva	Pannantherandi	Karietta	Karim kora (Muttikora)
Kannankodi	Chentherandi	Kurunthaletta	
Pullian Sravu	Katintherandi	Shoorietta	
Vattitholan	Neitherandi	Konkalietta	
Kakkasravu	Mookantherandi	Navetta	
Koithala		Thannetta	
Mookansravu		Vayaletta	
Manakottan		Navetta	
Poosravu		Uriyanetta	
Kurinchisravu		Velletta	
Udumban Sravu		Manhaletta	
Chorasravu		Karuthanetta	
Vela Sravu			
Valli Sravu			

Table II

Shrimp	Mantha	Mullan	Matthi
Konchinaran	Nankmantha	Odamullan	Noliyanmathi
Kara	Padamantha	Kannadimullan	Koondadimathi
Poovakan	Vellamantha	Pullimullan	Kannan mathi
Tiger	Vattathimantha	Thuppakkimullan	Chalanmathi
Villain	Ayirampallan	Karamullan	Karichala
Pullan	Ola manthal	Kandammullan	Keerichala
Kayanthan	Nallamanthal	Nallamullan	Nallachala
Kariykkadi	Valamanthal	Thalimullan	
Chittachi		Chippamullan	
Vellakonjan			
Thakkalichemmen			
Doctor chemmen			
Kadalchemmeen			
Chittakonju			

Table III

Ayala	Avoli	Koonthal (Kanava)	Manangu
Kannan ayala	Vellavoli	Kakkoontha	Nedumanang
Chembanayala	Karuthavoli	Olakoontha	Cherumanang
Ayalapara			Neymanang
			Valanmanang

Table IV

Crab	Other Fishes	Other Fishes	Other Fishes
Puzhanjendu	Chemballi	Karuthavoli	Karin chemmeen
Pullinjendu	Ayakkoora	Veluthavoli	Thinda
Kannannjendu	Vameen	Poomeen	Adavu
Kallunjendu	Mezhumeen	Kolan / Narimeen	Chemban
Kuzhinjendu	Palameen	Murumeen	Keshakudi
Kurishunjendu	Vala	Thalayan	Koyla
Kolachinjendu	Kolakayyan	Neymeen	Nongal
	Para	Olameen	Veluri
	Malan	Eri	Kanimeen
	Thirunda	Aranameen	Kethal
	Ambatta	Parattimeen	Parameen
	Keeran	Kaduva	Pattimeen
	Aral	Irimeen	Koli
	Heppans	Pullikalava	Kanayan
	Silk	Snapper	Sootha
	Paini	Valnthan	Peya
	Thinda	Khurana Angel Fish	Kaduvappara
	Chaburi (Makaran)	Pashumalsyam	Kolachi
	Muyal Malsyam	Star fish	Muru (Amor)
	Cat fish	Keerimeen	Neymeen
	Kadalmushi	Koyan	Koomeen
	Earth fish	Karattu	Parameen
	Bameen	Thumbamalsyam	Palameen
	Edi meen	Puzhutha	Murumeen

Sravus

Sravus are fish that are found all over the ocean. The main food of carnivorous Sravus is small fish. Sravus reproduce during the rainy season. It is said that there are about 2000 species of Sravus in general. Today, however, only about 400 species of Sravus can be seen. Excessive Sravu hunting has led to the extinction of Sravus. The government has banned the capture of nine species of Sravus to prevent extinction.⁹⁰ Pulliyan, Poova Sravu, Veluman Sravu, Maalankanni, Mullan Sravu, Komban Sravu, Kozhithala Sravu, Udumban Sravu, Kallan Sravu, Makaran Sravu, Kannan Kadu, Chada Sravu, Vela Sravu, Neduka Sravu, Jeevan Sravu, Kayakatti Sravu, Kayanthan Sravu, Thanni Sravu, Kaakka Sravu, and Paamban Sravu are the different species of Sravus available in Kozhikode and Malappuram districts.⁹¹

Sravus are the most olfactory fish. If a drop of blood falls into the water, Sravus can detect it up to 200 meters away and reach it quickly. The Sravu's mouth is like a crescent moon at the base of its head. They use their sharp teeth to catch, bite and crush their prey. The prey is swallowed whole or in pieces. There are Sravus that give birth and lay eggs. Sravu eggs are laid by Sravus in a pouch-like area. These bags are attached to things like curly ropes and cling to seaweed or other objects on the seabed. Such bags in the shape of a money purse are called 'Mermaid's Purse'.⁹²

Sravu meat can be eaten raw, frozen, salted, dried and canned. Its meat is widely used in Kerala. Sravu soup is one of the most sought after food items. The soup is made with Sravu wings. A kilogram of Frozen Sravu wings costs is 600 U.S Dollar in Singapore. The Sravu's wings are sliced with a sharp sword for soup. After cutting off the wings, they are thrown alive into the sea. This type of activity is called 'Finning'. Sravus are often hunted for soup. The Indian Ocean is known as the Death Zone for Sravus. The oil extracted from Sravu liver is rich in vitamin A.

⁹⁰ Ratheesh Kaliyadan (ed), *Kadalarom*, Op. Cit., p. 122.

⁹¹ T.D Velayudhan, *Keralathile Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 51.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

The skin of blue Sravu and bear Sravu is made of quality leather known as ‘Shagreen’. Sravu skins are also used to make Swords, Bags, Shoes, and Jewellery boxes.⁹³

The following are the important Sravus (Sharks) found off the coast of Kerala.

Hammerhead or Swordhead Shark

The Hammerhead is a species of Sravu commonly found on the Malabar Coast.⁹⁴ An arch-shaped mouth is visible at the base of the head. The first dorsal fin of this Sravu is of good height. The second wing is smaller. ‘*Amsa Chiraku*’ will be short and wide. The upper part of the body is brownish olive and the underparts are greyish white. The inside of the wings are black. The ‘Hammerhead’ is a Sravu that can swim very hard. They range in length from 50 cm to 60 cm. They give birth to 29 to 37 babies in a single birth. Their main food is small fish, squid and crustaceans.⁹⁵

Udumban Sravu and Kannan Kodi Sravu

The Udumban Sravu, a shark species found along the Malabar Coast, is generally reddish white but can also appear with black and white spots.⁹⁶ Under the Wildlife Conservation Act, catching them is punishable by up to six years in prison.⁹⁷ Fishermen say lizard Sravus weighing up to 1,500 kg are trapped in the nets. They are released into the sea. This species is very similar to the Hammerhead Sravu. They prey on electric shocks. They feed on small fish, trout, squid and shrimp. The breeding season is once a year. There are 300 babies in a single birth. They are caught by catch with Trawl nets, Purse seine nets, Ring seine net and largemesh gill nets.⁹⁸ The oil extracted from the Udumban Sravu is known to be highly nutritious, as it is particularly rich in Vitamin A.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Interview with Dasan (60) Ealappantakath, Maradu, 9/04/2018.

⁹⁵ T.D Velayudhan, *Keralathile Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 52.

⁹⁶ Interview Vasu, Arayan Valappu (65), Paravanna, Native Fishermen, 21/02/2018.

⁹⁷ <https://keralamarinelife.in/Contents/kadal%20fish.pdf>

⁹⁸ CMFRI, Pamphlet No-70/2019(*Thimingala Sravukale Samrakshikuka*)

Paal Sravu and Pooi Sravu

Paal Sravus are Milk sharks, found at a depth of 30 to 75 m off the coast. They can grow up to a hundred centimetres in size. The common name ‘Milk shark’ comes from a belief held in India that eating this shark’s meat enhances lactation.⁹⁹ They are mostly caught with fishing gear such as *Ozhukkuvala*, Trawl nets and Baits.

Pooi Sravu, These are known as Spade Nose Shark in English. The head and chin are relatively flat. It is also known as the ‘Man-catching’ Sravu. They grow to a maximum length of 102 cm. They are mostly found in the ocean up to 50 m deep. They can have two to eight pups in a single birth. Their main food is small fish and crustaceans. They are nicknamed ‘Man-catchers’ because of their ability to attack humans.¹⁰⁰

Kalla Sravu and Neduka Sravu

The exterior of the *Kalla sravu* is brown and the underside is white. They are carnivorous and their main food is large fish. They are one of the most olfactory species of Sravus. They are one of the most dangerous species of fish in the sea as they feed on humans. For internal organ surgery, the thief’s wing is dried and fibre is used. Their teeth are used to make jewellery. The dried wings cost more than Rs.1500 per kg. The Neduka Sravu is a species of Sravu found above 30m in the open sea. These are also known as *Vela Sravus* at a young age. During the months of *Karkitakam* and *Midhunam*, the *Vela Sravu*’s *Chakara* occurs.¹⁰¹ The Neduka Sravu is blue and green in colour. The main food of this carnivorous Sravu is small fish.

⁹⁹ Rudy Van Der Elst, *A guide to the common sea fishes of southern Africa*, Penguin random house, South Africa, 1993, p.46.

¹⁰⁰ <https://keralamarinelife.in/Contents/kadal%20fish.pdf>

¹⁰¹ Ratheesh Kaliyadan (ed), *Kadalarom*, Op. Cit., p. 124.

Moorisravu (Bull shark)

This species is called ‘*Moorisravu*’ because of its rounded body, flat nose and unexpectedly aggressive nature. These are known as Bull Shark in English. Bull sharks are found in all seas. These Sharks are travelled in long-distance. These species reach coastal seas, rivers, lakes and sometimes streams. They can live in both seawater and freshwater. They reduce the amount of urea in the body by about half and adapt to fresh water.¹⁰² They climb over waterfalls in rivers.

It can grow up to 34 meters in length and weigh up to 318 kilograms. Common fish, other Sravus, turtles, birds, dolphins, terrestrial mammals and prawns are the main food of the moose. These species, which inhabit the shallow sea, are the most dangerous species of Sravu as they attack on humans. They breed in estuaries. The gestation period of this Sravu is 12 months. In India, the presence of *Moorisravu* has been reported even in rivers such as the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. They feed on the carcasses flowing in the river Ganges. Most of the bull sharks are commonly caught by the hook and the lines, long lines and drift gill net in India.¹⁰³

Great White Shark

The giant white Shark is a species found in all major oceans. These are known as *Bheeman Vella Sravu* in Malayalam.¹⁰⁴ These sharks are notable for their size, grow up to 6 meter in length and weigh up to 3300 kg. They are found in large numbers along the coasts of the United States, South Africa, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Chile, as well as in the Mediterranean Sea. The teeth of the White Shark are like those of a hawk. These appear in several rows. They bite at least 14 kg of meat at a time from attack. White Sharks are the largest fish of prey. They feed on other Shark, Tuna, and *Thirandi*, as well as marine mammals such as dolphins, whales, sea pigs, seals, sea lions, turtles, and seabirds. The life span of great white sharks is estimated to be as long as 30 years and more.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² George Joseph, *Mathsyam Muthal Manushyan Vare; Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 43.

¹⁰³ ICAR-CMFRI, Marine Fisheries Information Service Technical and Extension Series No.257, 2023.

¹⁰⁴ Interview Vasu, Arayan Valappu (65), Paravanna, Native Fishermen, 21/02/2018.

¹⁰⁵ https://animaldiversity.org/accounts/Carcharodon_carcharias/#predation

Tiger Shark

The Tiger Shark is a species of fish known as the 'Sea Tiger'. They have black stripes on their bodies similar to those of tigers. They are found in the deep sea and coastal waters. They can grow up to 4 meters in length and weigh up to 600 kilograms. It is considered as dangerous species of fish due to its presence in ports, river estuaries and coastal waters. Humans hunt them extensively for meat, liver and wings. Therefore, the number of tiger Shark has decreased significantly. They are currently considered an endangered species.¹⁰⁶

Basking Shark

The Basking Shark is the second largest fish species after whale Shark. They are 12 to 27 meters length and weigh 17 tons and were caught off the coast of Canada. They move slowly across the ocean surface to feed on sea algae.¹⁰⁷ They are called Basking Shark because they feel like they are enjoying the sun. They are in the habit of filtering food from seawater. The main food is plankton, small fish and invertebrates. Up to 1800 tons of water can be passed through the mouth in an hour and filtered.

They forage on the surface of the coastal waters. They also flock in search of food. Groups of up to 100 are also common. The Basking Shark is a Shark that does not harm humans. This is a species of Shark that is widely hunted for food. Their liver, which is rich in semen, is one of the main attractions for hunters. Their skins are also used as leather. In China and Japan, they are used to make soups and cartilage. They are endangered due to over-hunting.¹⁰⁸

Blue Shark

It is found in the seas near all major continents except Antarctica. In the tropics, they are found along the coast. In the tropics they are found in the deep sea.

¹⁰⁶ George Joseph, *Mathsyam Muthal Manushyan Vare; Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Adam G Klein, *Basking Sharks*, ABDO Publishing, Minnesota, 2005, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ George Joseph, *Mathsyam Muthal Manushyan Vare; Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 51.

Its maximum length reported that 417 cm and weight up to 200 kilograms.¹⁰⁹ The upper part of the body is dark blue. The sides are light blue and the underside is white. Therefore they can be easily identified by their colour characteristics. Squid are their main food. Oysters, prawns, crabs, bony fish, small Shark and seabirds are all important food items for Blue shark. These are the pups that give birth to their young. There are four to 135 babies in a single birth. Blue Sharks are not a dangerous fish. They rarely attack humans. They are widely hunted by humans. About 20 million Blue Sharks are caught each year. Their meat is edible. The skin is used for making leather and the wings are used for making soups.¹¹⁰ They also get a lot of oil from their livers.

Hammer Head Sharks

The unusual shape of the head gives it the name ‘Hammer Head Sharks’. Hammer Head Sharks are found in high temperature oceans all over the world. They can grow up to six meters in length and weigh up to 450 kilograms. During the day, they congregate and hunt. In the evening, they hunt alone. These Sharks also feed on Squid, Fish, Crabs and Octopus. They prey on the very bottom of the ocean. Their flat heads are used as a weapon. They stab the *Thirandi* onto the sea bed with the flat head then eat it.¹¹¹

Whale Shark and Catshark

Whale Shark is the largest fish species. They are called whale Shark because they have a habit of sifting food like whales. A whale shark can grow up to 22 meters in length and weigh as much as 70 tons. They are found in single or clusters on the sea surface. They have mouths large enough to swallow a whole human. But under normal circumstances, they do not attack humans.¹¹² They feed on seaweed by sifting through the cheekbones. They have a habit of coming to the sea surface to sunbathe. Whale Sharks appearing on the deck are a nightmare for sailors.

¹⁰⁹ J.V Leonard Compagno, Shark of the world, Vol II, FAO of the United Nations, Rome, 2002, p. 114.

¹¹⁰ George Joseph, *Mathsyam Muthal Manushyan Vare; Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 53.

¹¹¹ Field identification of the major elasmobranchs along the Indian coast, Training manual on advances in marine fish production in India, ICAR-CMFRI, Kochi, 2019.

¹¹² Koodu Nature Magazine, May, 2016, p. 4.

Shark liver oil is produced from the liver of whales. Its meat is edible. The soup made from their wings is very valuable. Their skin is used to make leather, bones to make manure, and teeth to make jewellery. It is a protected species under the Indian Fisheries Protection Act, 1972. The IUCN has listed the whale Shark as one of the endangered species. Catshark have a long, slender body. They are also known locally as *Udumbu Sravu*. Its upper surface is brown and the bottom is cream coloured. They have many black spots on their body. These spots can be seen on the tail and wings. They have four barbells below the nose. This may be why they are known as Catshark .¹¹³

Mookkan Sravu

The *Mookkan Sravu* is one of the most abundant and small species of Sravus off the coast of Kerala. The upper part of the body is yellowish dark brown and the under parts are white. They can grow up to 200 meters in length. They give birth to two to four young. They feed on small fish, octopuses and small Sravus. Their meat is edible and used to make winged soups. Their liver is also used for oil production.¹¹⁴ Other species found off the coast of Kerala are *Poova sravu*, *Veluman sravu*, *Malankanni*, *Mullan sravu*, *Chicken head sravu*, *Makaran sravu*, *Kannan Kadu*, *Chada sravu*, *Vela sravu*, *Jeevan sravu*, *Kayarkatti*, *Kayan sravu*, *Thannu sravu*, *Kakka sravu* and *Pamban sravu*.¹¹⁵

Thirandis

Thirandi is another important species of marine fish. These fish are notable for their flattened shape. Thirandi fish is also known as ‘Thirachi’. The trunks range in length from 40 cm to 5.2 m. Chokan Thirandi, which is widely available in Malabar, is only 40 cm long. The Giant Devil Ray, found in the Atlantic Ocean, is more than 5 meters long and 7 meters wide. Coastal areas like Thikkodi, Kodikal and Nandi in Kozhikode district are famous for hunting. Fishermen have caught about 10 species of Thirandi off this coast. *Poocha thirandi*, *Kakkathirandi*,

¹¹³ <https://keralamarinelife.in/Contents/kadal%20fish.pdf>

¹¹⁴ Devidasan, *Keralathile Mathsya Vyavasayam*, Mathrubhumi Weekly, 26th January 1958, p. 27.

¹¹⁵ T.D Velayudhan, *Keralathile Mathsyalangal*, Op. Cit., p. 58.

Neythirandi, *Thannithirandi*, *Kummayathirandi*, *Padonthirandi*, *Panathirandi*, *Chattavalanthirandi* and *Vaidyuthathirandi* are the main types of *Thirandi*. *Kottuvalanthirandi*, *Methirandi*, *Chetherandi*, *Poyyatgirandi*, *Manathirandi* and *kuthuthirandi* are examples for this.¹¹⁶

The method of hunting is different from other fishing methods. This is mainly due to the special type of Trawl. The *Thirandi* net is made using a thick thread of silk, the first of which is the thorn in the *Thirandi*'s tail. When thought to be an enemy, its thorn gets caught in the net. The construction method of the net is such that the thorn is trapped. The net is spread along the rocks near the sea. The net is spread at night and the next day the fish are caught.¹¹⁷

During the dry season, they come to the shore as if intoxicated. Some will float above the water. Fishermen used to use chisels to hunt the floating *Thirandi*. Attach a sharp chisel to the end of a long stick of coconut. The rope may have been tied to the chisel. The sign of the rising tide is called '*Thuyi*'. It's a kind of silver lining. When he sees it, he aims at *Thuyi* from the boat and throws the chisel. If it is found that the chisel has hit the *Thirandi*, the chisel will be freed from the coconut stick. Then the chisel is pulled to the shore by a rope.¹¹⁸

There is a special way to cut it, just like holding a threshing machine. The tail is cut off with a sharp knife, and the intestines and ghee are removed. It eats all its parts except the spine. It is called '*Kathirittkeeruka*' to dismember *Thirandi*'s body. In the past, *Thirandi Curry* was important in most wedding houses. Similarly, on the last day of death, there will be *Thirandikari*. The proverb is '*Thirandi curry kootichavutheerkkanam*'. Like curry, the meat is used for frying.¹¹⁹ The following are the *Thiradi* specie available in the coastal areas of Kerala.

¹¹⁶ K.Padmanaban, *Mukkuvarum Theeradesha Samskrithiyum*, Op. Cit., p. 205.

¹¹⁷ Soman Kadalur, *Pullian*, DC Books, Kozhikode, 2023, p. 43.

¹¹⁸ Soman Kadalur, *Kadalormkal*, Op. Cit., p. 45.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Pulli Thirandi

Pulli Thirandi is the most important item available to *Valakkar* and *Choondakar* (Netters and Baiters). In the local language, these are also called '*Pullan Thirandi*'. They have white spots on the grey body. The body of the *Pulli Thirandi* is almost semi circular. Their bodies are wider than their length. In these, the adult Thirandi has a tail up to two meters long. Under the tail there are deadly poisonous thorns attached to the body. Thirandi usually weighs 150 to 200 kg. They are the strongest in the herd and are capable of breaking bait. As the bait breaks, the rope is pulled out and then dragged to the shore. *Pulli Thirandi*, which are good swimmers, are also capable of jumping high on the sea surface.¹²⁰

Kakka Thirandi

Kakka thirandi is a species of *Thirandi* are found in the *Puramkadal*. These are caught in the net. These are not available on the bait. These are black with sharp face. Their tails are not very large but the underside of the tail has thorn. *Kakka thirandi* is the thickest of the Thirandis. These are some of the most delicious meats in the world and can fetch around Rs 400 to Rs 500 per kg in some seasons.¹²¹

Padon Thirandi

There are three or four types of Thiradies in this category, including *Sadhapadon*, *Chembadon* and *Koonapadon*. The *Chembadon* is a good sized Thirandi. They are red and yellow in colour. *Sadhapadon* is a Thirandi with no more spots or other excessive colours. *Koonapadon* is slightly taller like a hump on the outside. They are also called 'leaf-tailed' because of the leaf-like skin on the tail just below the body. They hide their venom in leaf-like areas. Padon catches Thirandis with nets and baits.¹²²

¹²⁰ Soman Kadalur, *Pullian*, Op. Cit., p. 226.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Ney Thirandi and Thanni Thirandi

Ney Thirandi is a Grey Thirandi species, which have more ghee than other Thirandis. Coastal people believe that they come from the deep sea to the sea to melt the ghee in their bodies. When you see the *Ney Thirandi* lying on the beach, it looks like a stone stuck in the sand. *Ney Thirandican* weigh up to 5 kg. Their stab wounds take a long time to heal. *Thanni thirandi* is a rare species of Thirandi. These can be a good size. When these are cut, they turn white. They are caught with bait.¹²³

Kummaya Thirandi and Attavalan Thirandi

Kummaya Thirandi is a tasteless Thirandi. Their bodies look like they have been plastered. The curry will also tastes the lime. They are salted and used to remove the taste of lime. They are not used much in food as they are not tasty meat. It can weigh up to 20 kg. *Attavalan Thirandi* is a species of Thirandi found on the coast. They are also known as *Olapadavan*, *Valan Thirandi* and *KodiValan Thirandi*. The tail is leaf in shape. These are found in the Red Sea, India, Arabia, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, the Malay Archipelago, and Singapore.¹²⁴

Mantha

Mantha is one of the most unique fish and also known as *Manthal* and *Nank* due to local differences. Their body is flat and long like a tongue, which is why they are called Tongue Sols in English. Mantha fish commonly found in coastal areas are vegetarians. They live in mud. *Manthas* are classified as *Padamantha*, *Nankmantha*, *Vellamantha*, *Vattathimantha* and *Aayiram pallan*.¹²⁵

Nankmantha is the smallest in the *Mantha* category. These are very rare. They are black on the top and white on the bottom. *Padamanta* is another manta that is found on the shore. These are larger in size than other Mantas. They are commonly found in the muddy part of the sea. *Vellamantha* are white-skinned. They

¹²³ Ratheesh Kaliyadan (ed), *Kadaloram*, Op. Cit., p. 125.

¹²⁴ Soman Kadalur, *Kadalormkal*, Op. Cit., p. 43.

¹²⁵ Interview with Babu, Choyichantakath (50), Maradu, Arayasamajam secretary, 09/04/18.

tend to be thinner and longer. *Vattathimantha* is the fattiest of the Mantha category. *Aayiram pallan* is a fish found in the deep sea. These belong to the *Mantha* category. However, they do not have the appearance of *Mantha*. This is an endangered species.¹²⁶

Although various types of manta are found along the Malabar Coast, the most commercially important is the one known as ‘Malabar Tongue Sol’. They live on the sea floor close to the shore. Its breeding season is from October to January. *Mantha* breeds only once a year. The *Manthal* sized 10 cm to 13 cm is available in nets.

The phenomenon of mantas appearing suddenly on the coast is called ‘*Manthayilakam*’. Fishing nets and troll nets are used for fishing. *Manthal* fish are abundant during the Malayalam month of *Chingam* and *Kanni*. Mantel fish are used raw, dried and salted. Due to the low fat content in the body, salted and dried mangoes can be stored for a long time without any damage. Mantle is also used to make manure. About 18,800 tonnes of mantle is captured in Kerala every year.

Kora

Kora is a type of fish available in the sea shore where the sea is about 50 m. deep. They are vegetarian and commonly found in between the red rock holes. They are reproducing by laying eggs. Their eggs take 21 days to hatch. They found abundantly in monsoon season. The air bag of Kora fish is used to make icing glass. Icing glass is used to purify beer.¹²⁷ Kora fishes are classified as *Karim Kora*, *Pallikora*, *Puyapla Kora*, *Chuvanna Kora*, *Padathikora* and *Kuttan Kora*.¹²⁸

The upper part of the *Palli kora* is silver and the lower part is white. In the language of fishermen, lizards range in size from 22 *Pakam* to four *Pakam*. Can grow up to 75 cm in height. *Puthiyapla Kora* is dark yellow at the bottom and red and yellow stripes at the top. These are also known as *Kilimeen*. They grow up to 32

¹²⁶ Interview with Suresh, Elappantakath (45), Marad, Native fishermen, 09/04/18.

¹²⁷ T.D Velayudhan, *Keralathile Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 136.

¹²⁸ Interview with Akber Sadique (37), fishermen, Kadalundikadavu, 23/09/2023.

cm. Their average length is 25 cm. They are mainly found in muddy and sandy beaches up to 5 to 80 m deep. This commercial fish is dried, canned and processed. Kerala produces 30750 kg per annum. *Karingora* is another Kora found in the rocks. These are also known as *Muttikora*.¹²⁹ The colour of it is black and white.

Patathikora

Patathikora is a fish of *Kora* species that is very rare in Kerala. This fish is known as different names like Medicine *Kora* and 'Sea Gold' in Kerala. Their English name is Gol fish. The value of Padathi Kora is increased by its stomach part, which fishermen call '*Palunk*' in Malayalam. The body part namely *Palunk* is used for major surgeries like heart surgery. It is said that the body of a 20 kg fish has around 300 grams of *Palunk*. One gram of *Palunk* is worth lakhs. Moreover, this fish is said to be a very medicinal fish. In September 2021, Chandrakant Thar, a fisherman from Palghar, Maharashtra, got Rs 1.33 crore for the 157 Gol fish he caught.¹³⁰

Mullan

Mullans are small fish that roam the seas, are known as Pony Fish, Slipmouth or Slimies in English. This fish is locally known as *Odamullan*, *Kannadimullan*, *Pullimullan*, *Karamullan* and *Chakkaramullan*. *Kannadimullan* also known as the Common pony Fish and the *Nallamullan* is the biggest among them. It has 12 cm to 16 cm length and can be lived up to 4 years.¹³¹

Chakkaramullan is commonly available in Kerala and is in high demand. It's called Slendel Band Pony Fish in English. Its body has three-four lines formed from black dots. Eight to ten bands found across its back. Their salted fish is a favourite in the market. The *Chakkarullan*, also known as the Orange fin pony fish, is a common fish found in Kozhikode. They range in length from 5.5 cm to 9.5 cm. The breeding

¹²⁹ T.D Velayudhan, *Keralathile Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 139.

¹³⁰ "Ponnumeene... Moonnu Meeninu Vila Randekal Laksham" Mathrubhumi news, Daily, 27th April 2023.

¹³¹ Interview with Dasan, Elappantakath (60), Marad, Native fishermen, 09/04/18.

season is only once a year. They lay up to 6100 eggs.¹³² At night, large groups of them scatter light on the surface of the ocean. These are easy to catch at this time.

Shrimp

Shrimp is one of the most commercially important fish. Shrimps account for 10% of Kerala's total fish production. There are 300 species of shrimp in the world and 30 types of shrimps in the Sea and backwaters in Kerala. Among the coastal states of India, Kerala is the source of the largest number of shrimps. Shrimps are mostly available in Kozhikode, Ponnani, Cochin Harbour, Munambam, and Sakthikulangara in Kerala.¹³³ Even before, the using trawl nets, an average of 51,382 tonnes of shrimp was available annually.

Shrimp was first exported abroad in 1953, when 13.26 tonnes of frozen shrimp were shipped to America for Rs 57000.¹³⁴ In 1981, 40,614 tonnes of shrimp were exported to Japan alone. Most of the shrimp exports were to countries like America and Japan. In 1993, Shrimp exports were worth of Rs.1537 Crores.¹³⁵ It stood as a record for a long time. *Karachemmeen, Naranchemmeen, Poovalan, Kazhanthan, Choodanchemmeen, Karikkadi, Kuzhikkara, Tiger, Villain, Pullan, Chittachi, Vella Konjan, Thakkali Chemmeen* and *Kadal Chemmen* are different types of Shrimps available In Malabar region.¹³⁶ From the 1953 to 1990, women's in coastal areas were worked in Shrimp industry. But the modernization of fishing sector has led to the loss of their work.¹³⁷

Choor

Choor is the most sold fish in the world market after Shrimp. They are classified under various names in Kerala. Among them, the most commercially

¹³² Interview with Kasimi, Seemamuntakath (63), Ninamvalappu, Native fishermen, 09/04/18.

¹³³ E.V Radhakrishnan, Keralathile Karikkadi Mathsya Bandhanam, CMFRI, Cochin, 1990.

¹³⁴ R.M.M Varma, Kadalamma Kaniyunnathum Kaathu, Mathrubhumi Weekly, January 16-22, 1983.

¹³⁵ T.K Govindhan, *Mathsya Samskaranam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1985, p. 28.

¹³⁶ Chakara Varavayi, Kaumudhi Daily, 12th June 1993.

¹³⁷ Interview Vasu, Arayan Valappu (65), Paravanna, Native Fishermen, 21/02/18.

important Choora fishes are *Vattakannan choora*, *Ayala choora*, *Neymeen choora*, *Manja choora*, *Varayan choora*, *Urulan choora* and *Kadutha choora*. The tools like *Choonda*, *Ayiram choonda*, *Ozhukkuvala* and Trawl lines are used to catch Choora. They are mostly caught in *Puramkadal*.¹³⁸

Tuna fish is a healthy and nutritious food that offers many health benefits. It is an excellent source of protein, omega-3 fatty acids and essential minerals. Including tuna fish in diet can promote heart health, boost the immune system, help to lose weight and improve brain function.¹³⁹

Nethal

Nethal is one of the small fish caught from the *Karakkadal* in the Malayalam months of *Chingam* and *Kanni*. Other months they are stayed from *Puramkadal*.¹⁴⁰ These fish also known as *Methal*, *Kozhuva* and *Netholi*. There are twenty types of *Netholi* in India. But in Malabar mainly caught two types, *Nalla Methal* and *Karimethal*. *Nalla Methal* is White colour, used for fry in home and hotels. It is highly nutritious fish. *Karimethal* is black colour. Its tasteless fish so it is mainly exported for making fish Manure. It is rarely used as food. The fishing gear like *Peythuvala Chalavala Ozhukkuvala*, and *Netholi vala* are used to catch *Nethal*.¹⁴¹

Ayala

Ayala is the most abundant fish in Kerala. These are known as Mackerel in English. The word Mackerel is derived from the Danish language. The term refers to the black spots found on the sides of a Mackerel's body. *Ayala* is mainly a surface fish. It is found in both coastal and distant seas. In Kerala, this fish is known as *Chemban Ayala*, *Kannan Ayala* and *Ayala Para*. They have a maximum length of 35 cm and an average length of 25 cm. It lays between 94,000 and 110,000 eggs per year for breeding.¹⁴² Their main food is animal and plant plankton. They feed on

¹³⁸ T.D Velayudhan, *Keralathile Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 177.

¹³⁹ Choora Mathsyathinte Aarogya Gunagal, Malayalam info Article, 21/06/2023.

¹⁴⁰ P.R.G Mathur, *The Mappila fisher folk of Kerala*, Op. Cit., p. 60.

¹⁴¹ Interview with Aboobekker (72), Thiruthiyil, Mudham Beach, 18/05/2019.

¹⁴² Interview with Aattamon, Vadakkepurath (42), Chaliyam, Native fishermen, 04/01/2019.

shrimp and other small fish. Ayala is a fish that helps to alleviate the malnutrition of 110 crore Indians. It is also the national fish of India and India is the largest Mackerel producer in the world.¹⁴³

Peythuvala, *Dragnet*, *Ozhukkuvala* and *Veeshuvala* are used to catch Mackerel. Ring nets also used for catching them for commercial purpose. About, 6% of the sea fishes produced in Kerala is Mackerel. As a result of overfishing, there is a gradual decrease in the average length of the catch from the sea. The tendency to capture Ayala before reaching adulthood adversely affects fishing. If left unmanaged, they can be the reason for Mackerel scarcity.¹⁴⁴

Sardine (Herring)

Herring was once a common fish in Kerala. In South Kerala Sardine is known as *Matthi* and *Chaalain* North Kerala. In English these are known as sardines. They were found in abundance off the coast of the Italian island of Sardinia. This is why they are called sardines. There are many types of sardine in Kerala. Malabar sardine, *Noliyanmatthi*, *Kundadimatthi*, *Kannanmatthi*, *Chalanmatthi* and *Nallamatthi*. The good Herring is called '*Palchalai*' in Tamil and the *Chalamatthi* is called '*Poondusurinda*'.¹⁴⁵

Noliyan Herring is mainly found in the coastal areas. They are flattened. Noliyan Herring is most available during the *Midhunam* and *Karkitakam* months. '*Koondadimatthi*' is a species of Herring found in coastal areas. They are flat and short in shape. Kannan Herring is a rare species of Herring. Their eyes are larger than those of other Herring. They are flattened and have many thorns on their body. *Chaala* Herring is a smaller Herring than the common Herring. The sides are green. Most of these are available during the months of March and April.¹⁴⁶

Herring has always been known as the common fish. These are often referred to as '*Kudumbam Pularthy*' and '*Makkale Potti*'. Herring travel in groups in the sea.

¹⁴³ T.D Velayudhan, *Keralathile Mathsyangal*, Op. Cit., p. 180.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Subair, Kammuntakath (48), Quilandy, Native fishermen, 14/01/2019.

¹⁴⁵ Interview Vasu, Arayan Valappu (65), Paravanna, Native Fishermen, 21/02/2018.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Suresh, Elappantakath (45), Marad, Native fishermen, 09/04/18.

Nets like *Vettukili*, *Kolliand* *Matthikandadi* were mainly used to hunt them. The *Matthikandadi* is about 1000 meter length. The nets used to be made of linen in the old days and later Silk and Nankees. Currently *Peythuvala*, *Ozhukkuvala* and *Veeshuvala* are also used for Herring. Herring is caught from the sea at a depth of 10 to 15 m.¹⁴⁷

Early information on Herring is available from Francis Day's book 'Fishes of Malabar' and records under the Madras Fisheries Bureau. Francis Day records that Freyo Odiric, an Italian missionary who sailed off the coast of Ceylon in 1320 AD, was stranded at sea for days before being able to reach the shore due to a large herd of Sardines.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, it is recorded that in 1856, 150 Kandi Sardine Ghee was exported from Malabar. From this we can imagine how abundant was Herring on the shores of Malabar.¹⁴⁹

In 1915, Bhore, Diwan of Cochin, wrote a letter to the Malabar Collector detailing the availability of fish in Malabar. The letter states, 'Herring, which is found in abundance in Kochi and Travancore, is causing a lot of problems. What do you do the extra Herring found in Malabar? How do you deal with this problem?' From the reply to this letter, we can understand how fish drying and fish hatcheries (*Meen Chappakal*) came to be on the shores of Kozhikode.¹⁵⁰

Sardine Drying

In the absence of ice, ice plant, and cold storage, the herring, which was abundantly available, was stored as dried. The fish were kept in the sun and dried for food and manure. Dried and raw herring was used as fertilizer for coconut trees. This type of fish has been dried and exported to most of the coastal areas of Malabar. In 1907, a divisional officer in Thalassery introduced some rules for drying herring, which were approved by the government. According to the rules, only selected areas were allowed to dry herring. Only those licensed by the government

¹⁴⁷ Interview With Kunjachan, Kondachante Purakkal (67), Chappapadi, Native Fishermen, 31/10/2018.

¹⁴⁸ Saamskarika Malayalam, Malayalam Vaarika, 28th July 2020.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ T.B Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrikam*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2011, p. 36.

were allowed to dry Herring in such places. This type of Herring was dried in sparsely populated areas.¹⁵¹

In the city of Kozhikode, herring was dried on the beach from the sea bridge to the beach cemetery. In 1913, Kozhikode got the highest number of herring. Herring was also dried in coastal areas like Chaliyam, Parappanangadi, Ponnani and Tanur. It was in connection with this drying of herring that fish chaps began to appear on the shores of Malabar. In 1913, Cholera was rampant in the city of Kozhikode, during which time flies and bees multiplied in the city. They were also found in large numbers in the fish drying area. The rulers and the people at that time suspected that the germs were carried by flies. It can be seen from the letter of the then Malabar Collector that the fish oil factories which came into existence in 1913 somehow controlled the fly infestation. The first Fisheries Research Station in the country was established in 1921 at West Hill, Kozhikode. At that time there were about 500 factories operating on the Kerala coast extracting fish oil from the canal.¹⁵² All of this points to the abundance of herring available.

Nutritional Value of Herring

Herring is a fish that is high in omega-3 fatty acids, which are beneficial for preventing heart disease. It increases good cholesterol, which protects heart health, and lowers bad cholesterol levels. In addition, omega-3 fatty acids help lower triglyceride levels and blood pressure. They help prevent thickening of the artery wall and maintain a proper heart rhythm.¹⁵³ Herring is rich in protein which is essential for the growth and repair of body cells. They also help in weight control as they are extremely low in carbohydrate content. On an average, 37 grams of protein at a time comes from Herring. Herring contains calcium and phosphorus which are essential for bone and tooth strength. Regular consumption of herring helps maintain bone and tooth strength and helps prevent osteoporosis.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁵³ “Mathiyude Janithaka Rahasyam Kandethi CMFRI; Inian Samudra Mathsyamekhalayil Nazhikakallu”, Mathrubhumi, 07.09.2023.

¹⁵⁴ Mathrubhumi Supplement, Harisree, October, 2011, p. 5.

Meen Chappakal

Meen Chappas are palm leaf sheds that have been active in the coastal areas of Malabar since 1877.¹⁵⁵ Fish caught in traditional boats in the past would not be sold on that day. It was mainly used for drying and storing the excess fish. The word *Chappa* in the *Shabdatharavali* means the place where fish is dried. The word *Chappa* was also used in the past to mean hut and *Chaala*. The ‘Slope’ or ‘*Chayp*’ may refer to the sloping barn. The *Chappas* were built like small huts neatly on the top and sides. Some ancient *Chappas* had no sides. They were built in such a way that the roof itself was straight down. Used as pillars of *Chappa* was the abundant birch tree that grows along the coast.¹⁵⁶

The one meter deep tank will be made of white plaster in a square on the ground floor below the *Chappa*. Adjacent is a ‘Nilampathi’ floor paved with stone and lime. This is to salt the fish. Put salt and fish on the ground, knead well with a shovel and deposit in the tank. One or two weeks later, they were shipped to their destinations. Some processing is required before salting the fish. That mission was undertaken by women. *Chappa*’s occupation was the main source of income for women in the coastal areas. When the herring was plentiful, its head and intestines were separated and brought to the *Chappa*. *Kora*, *Chemban*, and other groups of small fish can be salted and tanked without doing anything. Each fish had its own method of processing. The jaw of the *Ayla* was detached and the intestine was removed. *Thirandi* was torn and his intestines were removed. Then cut the *Thirandi* into 4 pieces. It was called ‘*Kathirittkeeruka*’.¹⁵⁷ Then salt is added. Large Sharks’ intestines are removed and cut into pieces. The small Sharks’ intestines were removed and salted without being cut into pieces.

The salted fish was also exported to distant lands in a special way. The dried fish was exported in the form of a square box with palm fronds. These boxes made of palm leaves were known as ‘*Vallam*’. They were tied with coconut husks and

¹⁵⁵ Ramdas, Jathiyude Vargaparamaya Adithara, Chintha Varika, 22th May 2023.

¹⁵⁶ Soman Kadalur, Kadalormakal, Op. Cit., p. 23.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

ropes. In this way, each pack was loaded by the workers and transported to the nearest transportable places and from there in vehicles. The train was the main mode of transport for most of the fish. The dried fish was transported by train from Kadalundi, Tanur, Parappanangadi, Kozhikode (West Hill) and Quilandy railway stations.¹⁵⁸

Remains of Chappa, a native fish tank, can still be seen in most of the coastal areas. Similarly, a place in Parappanangadi which used to have a lot of *Chappas* is called 'Chappapadi'. The Chappas disappeared as a result of developments over time. With the advent of roads to the coast, increased transportation and electricity, green fish began to be shipped by lorry. As a result, traditional fishing grounds and the occupations that depended on them disappeared from the coast.¹⁵⁹

Proverbs related to the sea that exist on the Coast

The spread of traditional beliefs and knowledge is possible only through their folk practices. Only a generation that lives in harmony with nature can acquire such knowledge and pass it on orally to the next generation.

1. *Thirakaladangiyyitt meenpidikkanokkumo?*
Once all the crises are over, nothing can start.
2. *Kadalil kaayam kalakkuka*
Indicates a failed attempt.
3. *Uppolam varumo uppilittath*
Perfection does not come from contact alone.
4. *Irayittaale meen pidikkaanokkoo*
It takes effort to achieve the goal.
5. *Aattilkalanjalum alannukalayanam*

We need to keep a clear record of what we use and not waste an item even if we do not need it.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Rajan Puzhakkal (69), Native Fish Merchant, Kadalundi, 11/04/18.

¹⁵⁹ Vikasana Rekha Parappanangadi Gramapanchayath, 1996, p. 16.

6. *Njandukaryundenkil randukaryvenda*

This proverb means that if you have a delicious curry you don't need anything else. The importance of crab can also be understood through this.

7. *Aattilirangiyavane aazhamariyoo*

Personal experience is required for the work to gain clarity and authenticity.¹⁶⁰

8. *Iruthoniyil kalvechal nadupuzhayil veezhum*

When approaching anything with two minds, it can lead to danger.

9. *Karayil pidichitta meen pole*

Indicates the discomfort that occurs when arriving in an unfamiliar situation.

10. *Aazhamullidathe choonda idaavoo*

Before doing something, one should think about its pros and cons or else the effort will fail.

11. *Samudrathil mungiyalum pathrathil kollaavunnathe kittoo*

Plan things to the best of our ability.

12. *Nanchenthinu nannazhi*

Absolutely very little is enough.¹⁶¹

13. *Vanjiyippozhum thirunakkarathanne*

No matter how many explanations are given, the situation is unsatisfactory.

14. *Chemmeen chadiyal muttolam pinnemchadiyal chatteelu*

Indicates to what extent a person will go.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Dasan, Elappantakath (60), Marad, Native fishermen, 09/04/18.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Vasu, Arayan Valappu (65), Paravanna, Native Fishermen, 21/02/18.

15. *Udanjasankhil ootharuth*
No matter how sacred, the thing is not fulfilled by the useless object.
16. *Upputhinnavan vellam kudikkum*
They will have to suffer the consequences of their actions.
17. *Nadukadalilum naya nakkiye kudikkoo*¹⁶²
The instinct did not change until death.
18. *Kalathe thoni kadavathethum*
Showing accurate behavior.
19. *Chirattayile vellam urumbinu samudram*
Those who live without seeing the outside world and believe that their own world is bigger.
20. *Than chathu meenpidichal koottaanaru*
Employees cannot enjoy the fruits of their labor unless they protect their own health.
21. *Meenukal vendatha poochayundo?*
Everyone needs attractive accessories.
22. *Ayalathala aliy anum kodukkaruth*
Don't give what we want to someone else. Or else it will trouble us in the future.
23. *Akkareninnon thoniyurutti*
It manifests itself as procrastination in insignificant situations.
24. *Akkare chellanam thoniyum mukkanam*¹⁶³

¹⁶² P.S Sivaprasad, *Mathsya Mekhalayile Pazhanjollukalum Naatuprayogangalum*, in, P.Sahadevan (ed), *Kadalarum*, FIRMA, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 124.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

What you have on hand should not go and what you have on the outside should be taken.

25. *Ozhukkuvellathil azhukkill*

The mind that is constantly engaged in work will not be defiled.

26. *Kadalkizhavan*

Someone who is always a trouble for all.

27. *Kadalilekk nokki mizhichuninnal samudram thandanaavilla*

Be active. If you think about work, work will not be finished.

28. *Vattonittu valaye pidikkuka*

This proverb testifies to making great gains with small or insignificant things.

29. *Valayil ninnu poyalum kulathil ninnu povukayilla*

Even if we lose what we have, we can regain it without losing it completely.

30. *Muzhi malanjilinte swabhavam*

The head of the *Malanjil* fish is like the head of a snake and the tail is like the tail of a fish. Show your head when you see a snake and show your tail when you see a fish. A personality refers to acting in two ways.

31. *Ozhukunna thonikorunthu*

Encouraging it when bad things happen.

32. *Kai nanayathe meenpidikkuka*¹⁶⁴

Indicates making gains without suffering.

Kadalora Paattukal (Traditional songs of Kerala coast)

Coastal songs are an integral part of coastal culture. The songs were composed on the coast as part of rituals and to alleviate the workload. Work-related

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

songs are also known as *Thoram paatukal* or *Thozhil paatukal*. The songs sung by the Khalasis in Beypore for their hard work are known as Amba and Jabab. Pathemari songs are songs that existed in Ponnani, another coastal region of Malabar. *Thottam paatukal* are sung in connection with the festival at the *Kavu* of the fishermen of Kozhikode district. These are also part of the coastal culture. The other is Kolkali songs. Kolkali is an art form formed on the shores of Malabar. Apart from these, there are many songs sung by coastal mothers and children for entertainment.¹⁶⁵

Fishermen's songs can be divided into two main types one is a *Thottam paattukal*, and the other is a *Thozhil paatukal*. *Thottam pattu's* are very popular among fishermen in Malabar. Some of the songs sung by the fishermen are *Bhagavathipattu*, *Marakkalapattu*, *Kulipattu*, *Kalistrotram*, and *Chilambuvanibham*. The *Bhagavathipattu* is one of the most popular songs sung by fishermen. These are mainly sung for the pre-festival. The '*Bhagavathi paattu*' is sung at home for three days after the death of a ritualist among the fishermen. They also perform the song on the 41st day of the deceased's death.¹⁶⁶

Sacrifices are performed at fishermen's places in Malabar, especially in Kannur district, during festivals and at the conclusion of festivals. *Kalistrotram* is a song sung in connection with this sacrifice. Thanks giving is upon us, which means the holiday season is in full swing. *Chilambuvanibham* is another song sung by fishermen in connection with Sreekurumba. The song tells the story of Kannaki and Kovilan in Silapathikaram. Kannaki and Kovilan are not mentioned in this. However, there is a reference to the Pandya kingdom and the Pandya king.¹⁶⁷

Kulippattu is one of the Bhagavathi songs of the fishermen. There is a ritual called *Pooramkali* in connection with the *Poorothsavam*. This is a song sung on the fainal day of the festival by the *Aayathans* and other locals after bathing and cleaning their weapons and ornaments at the pool. Fight songs are another part of

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Muhammed Kutty (73), Mollakkantakath, Former Pathemari worker, Ponnani, 06/08/2019.

¹⁶⁶ K.Padmanaban, *Mukkuvarum Theeradesha Samskrithiyum*, Op. Cit., p. 150.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

fishermen's ritual beliefs. The workers who have to work in the middle of the sea sing to save themselves from ghosts and to forget the danger. In it we sing praises to the dead grandparents and remember their battles and victories.¹⁶⁸

Another *Thottampattu* is the *Vadanapally devi* song. The work festival is held here on the eighth day of the month of *Makaram*. In connection with that comes the work of fishermen. This is a song that is sung with clapping when it comes to drums and pipes.¹⁶⁹ Marine medicine was a medical practice that existed along the coast. Coastal dwellers approached *Aayithan*, *Manthravadis*, *Vishaharis*, *Tangals*, and *Kalarikars* for treatment. Some hymns have been found from such priests. These were written on palm leaves. Such songs and mantras can be categorized as part of the coastal rituals as it is a part of the coastal culture. It is learned that sea medicine existed in places like Vadakara and Chaliyam.¹⁷⁰

Thozhilpaattukal (Occupational Songs)

Fishermen who have made fishing their livelihood in Kerala have their own work songs in vogue. Such songs were popular in North and South Kerala. Such songs were sung to alleviate the hardships of work and to create a pleasant atmosphere. The songs were mainly sung by the traditional fishermen as they rowed their boats into the sea and pulled their nets. The worker says that as traditional fishing methods modernized today, the oral *Thozhilpaattukal* also disappeared from the shore.¹⁷¹

Fishermen's *Thozhilpaattukal* are also known as *Elom paattukal*, *Ailasa paattukal* and *Thanduvali paattukal*. Fishermen sing it while loading the boat and pulling the net. These are sung by a group of workers in the form of front song and back song. The Elam song is mostly about recurring mouths. All the songs in North Kerala and South Kerala are not the same. Local differences can be seen in them.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁶⁹ C.R Rajagopalan, *Kadalpaattukal*, in, C.R Rajagopalan (ed), *Kadalarivukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 113.

¹⁷⁰ Ratheesh Kaliyadan (ed), *Kadaloram*, Op. Cit., p. 44.

¹⁷¹ C.M Musthafa Haji, *Mappila Khalasikal Katha Parayunnu*, Pratheeksha Book, Kozhikode, 2011, p. 37.

¹⁷² C.R Rajagopalan, *Kadalpaattukal*, in, C.R Rajagopalan (ed), *Kadalarivukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 113.

In South Kerala, it is said to sing Elam. The forerunner is the one who starts the Elam Idal. Others are followers. From Anchuthengu on the Thiruvananthapuram-Kollam border to Pozhiyoor on the southern Tamil Nadu border, sea songs are still active in 32 *Thuras*. A variety of such sea songs are being updated every day. These are passed down orally from generation to generation. As a result, many songs have disappeared from the coast today.¹⁷³

The diversity of the song varies according to the occupation. All the songs are sung here as the *Catamarams* are pushed down into the sea. Another method of fishing, the song sung during bending is known as hand begging. Fishing is the practice of lowering one end of a net fixed to the shore and making a semicircle in the sea to catch fish. Songs are also sung here to catch the fish. Such songs are known as mantra songs. *Kurukkazhikal* song is a song sung to ward off enemies and other spells. A song is sung to get a net full of fish known as *Oorupaattu*. If there are peers in the boat, they sung *Theripaattu*.¹⁷⁴

Sinthupaattu and *Dhukkapaattu* are among the Latin Christian communities of fishermen in South Kerala. These are in some parts known as *Ammana* songs. The songs are believed to be about three centuries old. *Sinthupaattukal* were composed by Constantine Joseph Beschi, an Italian who evangelized from 1718 to 1742.¹⁷⁵

Amba and *Jabab* are a *Thozhilpaattu* that exists in Beypore, the coastal region of Malabar. It is not the fishermen who are singing *Amba* and *Jabab* here. These were sung by a group of workers called the Khalasis. They are another most important working class people of the coastal region of Beypore and Chaliyam. They mainly sing this song while pushing the big wooden ship (*Uru*) from the Shipping yard to sea. The songs begin with the glorification of Allah and Prophet.¹⁷⁶

Amba vaythari has no specific syllabus. Use good words that are then made along with devotional lines and include funny and sarcastic remarks. It all depends on the nature of the people who call *Amba*. The Khalasis sang *Amba* and *Jabab* and

¹⁷³ “Paattinte Kattamarathileri”, Dheshabimani Varanthara Pathippu, 14th July 2019.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Robert Panipilla, *Kadalarivukalum Neranubhavangalum*, Op. Cit., p. 134.

¹⁷⁶ Oru Khalasiyude Jeevithapaathakal, Mathrubhumi Nagaram, Kozhikode, 12/09/2017.

pushed objects weighing 50 tons or more. *Amba* is mandatory for Khalasis. Without the *Amba*, the Khalasis would not move even a small object, so the *Amba* can be inferred as a signal to hold on.¹⁷⁷

Meen Paattu

Meen paattu is a type of song practiced by Mugaya community in Kerala. This song sung at the time of temple festival. The communities like Mukkuvar, Valan, Valluvar, Parayan and Karimpalan in northern Kerala are also sung this song. These song deals with the different types of fishes and fishing methods prevailed in northern Kerala. The Manikoth Punnakkal Bagavathy temple in Kasargod was practiced a ritual namely *Meen kova Varavu* in the part of their temple Festival.¹⁷⁸

Pathemari Paattukal

Fishing was the main source of livelihood for the coastal people of Malappuram district. But Ponnani and Azhikkal were different. Along with fishing, working in *Pathemari* was the main source of livelihood for the people of the area. The fact is that the majority of the workers here were once *Pathemari* workers. *Kadalpattu* is an active branch of literature in Ponnani via *Pathemari*.¹⁷⁹

Freight is a very difficult occupation in Pathemari. Tens of tons of goods weighing 100 to 200 tons were transported from Ponnani to ports such as Bombay and Gujarat.¹⁸⁰ That is why most of the sea voyages were on a narrow path between life and death. At night, the workers would not sleep because the wind would change the course of the night. It was natural for the wind to blow from the north at any time. If the direction changes the mat will have to be changed, or the result will be a tragedy.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ C.R Rajagopalan, *Kadalpaatukal*, in, C.R Rajagopalan (ed), *Kadalarivukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 113.

¹⁷⁸ C.R Rajagopalan (ed), *Ennum Kaathu Sookshikenda Naatarivukal, Nammude samskaram, Paatarivukal*, DC Books, Kozhikode, 2021, p. 844.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Umbayikka (78), Senior Srank of Pathemari, Ponnani, 06/08/2019.

¹⁸⁰ Shebin Mehabub, *Thufan Mukkiya Pathemarikanavukal*, Madhyamam, 27th November 2017.

¹⁸¹ Interview with Poolakkal Babu (54), Singer and Poet, Ponnani, 06/08/2019.

Music is a way invented by the workers of *Pathemari* to keep them awake as the night wind changes its course. They sing Hindi songs, Mappila songs and folk songs en masse. When they got tired of singing the songs themselves, they found a way to make songs out of their own lives. Their misery, vanity, love, romantic frustration, struggle, resistance, hope and desire all became songs. This is how the sea song movement was formed in Ponnani. They sang sea songs in the style of *Mappilappattu* and Hindustani music.¹⁸²

Pathemaris, who was going to Bombay with goods, returned to Ponnani with songs, musical instruments, Qawwali, Ghazals, Stories, Poems and Films. In those days, Hindi movies and songs were released one or two years after their release in the theatres of Kerala. But in Ponnani it was different. New movies and songs from Bombay quickly reached Ponnani in *Pathemari*.¹⁸³

Dargahs, including the Haji Ali Dargah in Bombay, were the meeting place of Qawwali groups from various places. The workers of *Pathemari* used to go to the Dargah and listen to songs. They composed songs in their own language to the tune heard in the Dargah and performed in Malayalam at the Dargahs in Bombay. Ponnani was also a favourite destination of musicians, Ustads and Qawwali-Ghazals from northern India and places like Kochi and Kozhikode.¹⁸⁴

Halaimemon Muslims and Sets from Gujarat came to Ponnani for trade decades ago.¹⁸⁵ It was through them that Hindustani music first reached Ponnani. Like sea songs, Hindustani music and Mappila songs were performed at most of the ceremonies in Ponnani. Fellowships of artists and connoisseurs have been active in Ponnani since ancient times. *Pathemari* workers, Fishermen, Beedi strikers and even dignitaries were part of Ponnani's music. In the past, there were many music clubs in Ponnani that used a variety of musical instruments such as Tabla, Choir harmonium, Violin, Guitar, Flute and Drum. Chandrathara Arts Society, Town

¹⁸² Shebin Mehabub, *Kadal Padiya Pattukal*, Pendulam Books, Nilambur, 2018, p. 47.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Poolakkal Babu, Singer and Poet, Ponnani, 06/08/2019.

¹⁸⁵ T.V Abdurahiman Kutty, *Charithramurangunna Ponnani*, Ashrafi Book Centre, Tirurangadi, 2017, p. 136.

Music Club, Naujawan, People's Music Club, Janakiya Kala Samithi, Vasant Bahar, Kalpana Music Club, Blue Birds, Apsara theaters, Udaya Kala Samithi, Prag Voice and Voice of Ponnani are some of the art societies that have developed and maintained songs in Ponnani.¹⁸⁶

On the banks of the Ponnani, women also wrote and sang songs. They were known as the '*Pemperennothi Kavichikal*'. They perform songs for weddings. The song is sung with a small leaf rhythm along with the clapping of hands. The song is called '*Kayyottumpattu*' and the group is called '*Kayyottum Patteru*'. During the period 1950-60, *Pathemari* workers went on strike in Ponnani against the exploitation of boat owners.¹⁸⁷ It was through Pat that the *Pathemari* workers continued their struggle. The anthem included the exploitation of the capitalists, the trade union movement and their own country.

Kolkali is an art form that originated in the coastal areas of Malabar. This art form is performed by singing songs. The Mappilas, who are fishermen, saw *Kolkali* as a pastime during their leisure time. Coastal *Kolkali* forms are associated with *Kalari* practice. In the coastal areas of Malabar, from time immemorial, people of all religions have had *Kalari tharas*.¹⁸⁸

There was also *Kolkali* in their vicinity. From this it can be seen that the Hindu-Mappila communities were mainly involved in the development of *Kolkali*. In the coastal areas of Malabar, *Kolkali* men traditionally wear the costumes worn by men as fishermen. The costume is made up of a piece of cloth, a green belt, a handkerchief and a knot on the head. In some parts of the districts like Kannur, Kozhikode and Malappuram, *Kolkali* still exists in a new form and appearance.¹⁸⁹ Some of the songs that related to Sea and Coastal life were given below.

¹⁸⁶ Shebin Mehabub, *Kadal Padiya Pattukal*, Op. Cit., p. 46.

¹⁸⁷ Shebin Mehabub, *Mayilanji Chuvappikunna Oppana Ravukal*, Madhyamam, 2018.

¹⁸⁸ Muhammed Kohinoor, *Kolkali Reethikalum Tharathamyavum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹ Yasir Kozhikode, *Vadakkan Mappila Kolkali Paattu*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2013, p. 14.

പത്തേമാരിപ്പാട്ട്

കേട്ടോളിംസോദരെകൂട്ടർപൊന്നാനി
സ്രാകൻമാർചെയ്യുംഅന്യായമേ
ബന്ധുകുടുംബങ്ങളെതോൽപിക്കുവാൻ
സ്വത്തുണ്ടാക്കാനഹങ്കാരമേ
സാരങ്ങൾഅധ്വാനഭാരങ്ങൾചേർക്കുന്നു.
സാരമല്ലാത്തമരങ്ങളുംപേറുന്നു.
തൊഴിലാളിഎട്ടോളംതപ്പിട്ടുകോരുന്നു.
സ്രാകൻമാർമെത്തയിൽആനനുംകൊള്ളുന്നു.
വെള്ളംവറ്റുന്നില്ല. കണ്ടാലുംസ്രാക്എണിക്കുന്നില്ല.
സ്രാക്പറഞ്ഞുമലപ്പക്ക്പോണെന്ന്
സാരമില്ലതൊഴിലാളിതെമ്മതിളകുന്നു.
സങ്കടത്താലെകരക്കുവൻപോകുന്നു.
നാലുപേരുംകൂടിച്ചുറ്റിനടക്കുന്നു.
കണ്ടല്ലോഇറുച്ചപ്പൊടിഅതടൻ
കൊണ്ടല്ലോസംഘംകൂടി
സാരംപറയുവാൻഘോരസമുദ്രത്തിൽ
സാധുക്കൾമുങ്ങിമഞ്ചിൻറടിവാരത്തിൽ
വിട്ടല്ലോഇറുച്ചപ്പൊടിഅതടൻ
ചെന്നങ്ങാട്ടമൂടി
അന്ന്സുഖമായിഊണുകഴിഞ്ഞ്
സന്ധ്യക്ക്പാവങ്ങൾഒന്ന്ചരിഞ്ഞ്
സുബഹിക്ക്തെങ്ങരക്കാറ്റുഅണഞ്ഞ്
സ്രാകിനെനാട്ടിവിടികൂട്ടമായ്
ആലാത്തിവേഗംപിടി.
സാരംപറയുവാൻസംഗതിപ്പുറെയുണ്ട്
സമ്പാദ്യംസ്രാകിന്റെതല്ലപ്പുറുകൊണ്ട്

വാർത്താച്ചുരുക്കിടുന്നു.ഞാനാദ്യംമറന്നിടുന്നു.¹⁹⁰

മഞ്ചലപ്പാട്ട്

തെക്കേദേശംനല്ലോതകൊല്ലാപുരത്തമ്മ
സന്തോഷപ്പെട്ടാടേവിപറയ്ന്ന്
കാണുന്നൊടംകളികളുംനോക്കുമ്പം
മുക്കവക്കളിനല്ലെകളിയായിക്കാണന്ന്
ഏതൊരുജന്മത്തിലുണ്ടായവരെടോ
എങ്ങനെയുണ്ടായങ്ങറിയില്ലെചങ്ങാതി
ആതിയരയനുംമുഴുവനുംമുക്കവൻ
മീൻകളിനല്ലെകളികൾകളിക്കുവാനും
തോണിക്കളിയിലുംമുവനവരെടോ
കൊമ്പൻപുതുതിരപൊട്ടിയുലരുമ്പം
അവരുടെതോണിക്കുമായോവങ്ങില്ലല്ലോ
അവരുടെതോണിക്കളിയൊന്നുനോക്കെടോ
കളിയോടംകേറുമ്പംകുന്നിയാവെയെന്നുപറയും
ആവോടോമെങ്ങിനെയിവിടെനടത്തേണോം
ഈലോകംഭൂലോകംകടലിലെദിക്കിലും
ഇവിടന്നുനേരെവടക്കോട്ടയക്കണം.
കൊല്ലാപുരത്തമ്മകൊടുമ്പുറത്ത്
പന്തറക്കുതന്നെയെന്നുള്ളിപ്പോരുന്നാ
കളിയോടത്തിനത്തന്നെവിളിക്കുന്നതുണ്ടെടോ
ഐവർമുക്കവക്കട്ടുള്ളടുക്കുന്നാ
ഐവർമുക്കവക്കട്ടികളുള്ളതില്
രണ്ടോളംമുക്കവപെൺകട്ടിയുണ്ടല്ലോ
മൂന്നാള്മുക്കവനായിട്ടുമുണ്ടതില്

¹⁹⁰ Shebin Mehabub, *Kadal Padiya Pattukal*, Op. Cit., p. 64.

നന്നായിക്കളിക്കുവാനയക്കുകവേണിവര
കളിയോടുകൊടുക്കുന്നല്ലോരനുവാദം
പാറുവലയുംകളിയോടോവായിറ്റ്
ഏഴുകടലുംസമുദ്രിരയിൽനിന്ന്
ഏഴുകഴിയുംമീഞ്ഞ്റുപ്പുണ്ടോ
കിട്ടുന്നമീനുംപിടിക്കുന്നമീനൊക്കെ
കളിച്ചുപിടിച്ചുണ്ണിങ്ങു്ശീലിച്ചോ
നേരെവടക്കോട്ടുകളിയോടൊന്നത്തേണം
എന്ന്പറഞ്ഞു്നടത്തുന്നനേരത്ത്
ചോദിച്ചുക്കുവകട്ടികളങ്ങനെ
ഞങ്ങളു്നേരെവടക്കോട്ടുപോയാല്
നിലയില്ലാക്കടലിലങ്ങാണ്ടുപോവുല്ലേ.
അന്നേരംപറയുന്നകൊല്ലാപുരത്തമ്മ
കൊമ്പൻപുതുതിരയെത്താപൊട്ടിയാലും
നിങ്ങളുംനിങ്ങളെകളിയോടത്തിനുംവലക്കും
എന്നമൊരുനാശംപിടിക്കുകട്ടികളെ
എന്നവുംകീർത്തിയുംസിദ്ധിക്കുകട്ടികളെ
നിങ്ങളുപോയിട്ടുചേരിതിരിച്ചാല്
പാലായിവന്നെന്റെനാമംസ്മരിപ്പിക്കട്ടെ.¹⁹¹

വടക്കൻമാപ്പിളകോൽക്കളിപ്പാട്ട്

ആനേമദനപുകനീതേനാളെഅടങ്കൽ
വഴിപ്പെട്ടാർഎന്നെഇന്നാളെ
ബാനപുരിഹസ്സൽജമാലോടിപോൽ
ബദറുൽമുനീറുറുപയക്കംഎപ്പോൾതേനാർ
ചിറകുന്നപയക്കംകേട്ടുദ്ദേഹം

¹⁹¹ M.Vishnu Namboori, *Nammude Pandthe Paatukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2007, p. 43.

തളർചകൊണ്ടുരയുറപ്പൊന്നൊട്ട്... കാനം
മലാബന്തർഅടങ്കൽദേശകുപ്പം
കിടന്നോടൊന്നൊരുപാർസാഹർസുറുക്കാന
ചമയമാക്കെ... പാതിലെയിൽത്താൻ
ഒരുങ്ങിനിൽക്കാം... ഉറച്ചസമയത്തിൽ
ഉമൈഎത്തണം... ഉദിമുൻപതിനാടും
കടന്തിടണം... ശർത്തിപ്പടിതമ്മിൽ
പറഞ്ഞു... ശൗഖകടൽരണ്ടുപതപച്ച...
സുർജാൽമുഖംപൊത്തിമണത്തുപാരം...
സൂച്ചിത്തിരുപേരുംപിരിഞ്ഞനേരം...
നേരത്തുടൻറാവിനിസാമുദ്രീനാം
നമ്പുനവർനീണ്ടിട്ടുരത്തൊന്നാകാരം
ഖസ്റിന്റെമീർവാത്തുമേൽ... ഖാമായിഇവ
സിർകുരത്താർതമ്മിൽ..വസാരപുരി
തന്നിൽഒരുസയ്യാദ്... സമ്മാക്കവൻനാമം
അബൂസ്വയ്യാദ്ബാരസ്സുരംദർക്കാർദിനംഅവീട്ടിൽ
ബകവേകൊടപ്പതാൻചിലവുകിട്ടിൽ.¹⁹²

ചീറമ്പപ്പാട്ട് - കരിമ്പാലർ

ഒന്നതുണ്ടോകേൾക്കെന്റെഓടന്മാരെ
ഞങ്ങളോരുദൈവമരക്കലത്തില്
ദൈവമരക്കലംകരയണഞ്ഞില്ല
നിങ്ങളോരുഓടവുകൊണ്ടുവായേ
നിങ്ങളോരുഓടത്തിൽകരകേറട്ടെഎന്നും
തിരുമക്കൾപൊൻമക്കള്.
അന്നും തിരുമക്കൾഓടന്മാര്ഞങ്ങളോരു

¹⁹² Yasir Kozhikode, *Vadakkan Mappila Kolkali*, Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2013, p. 104.

ഓടത്തിൽകേറിക്കൂടാ.
മത്സ്യംമണം പാരമുണ്ടല്ലിപ്പോൾഎന്നുംതിരുമക്കള്
ഓടന്മാര്, ഇത്രനാളുംമത്സ്യമണം
പാരമുണ്ടെങ്കില്ഇന്നതടങ്ങീട്ട്
നീങ്ങിപ്പോട്ടെ.നിങ്ങളോരുഓടവും
പാത്തിയിലുംമത്സ്യംമണംപാരമുണ്ടാവില്ല.
എന്നുംതിരുമക്കൾപൊന്നക്കള്
ഓടന്മാരോടൊത്തുകരകേന്ദ്യശ്രീപാലായ്
ചെന്താമരകരയണക്കണ്.ഓടന്മാരോടം
കരയണക്കണ്ഇരുവരും
കൂടിയെഴുന്നള്ളുന്ന്
ആര്യക്കരമ്മലെയുന്നള്ളുമ്പോൾഅന്നം
തിരുമക്കളോടന്മാര്പോന്നെന്നുംചൊല്ലീട്ട്
പോയാൽപ്പോരാഞ്ഞങ്ങൾക്കുനല്ല
വരമരുളേണം.
കോട്ടിക്കൊളത്ത്ശംഖുപാലൻ
മുത്തുമുക്തനിപേരുംചുരികയും
കൊടുത്തവർക്കുമുക്കുവപള്ളിയില്
കേൾക്കവിട്ടാരുതല
പറിക്കുമ്പോഴല്ലേയിപ്പോൾതിരുക്കുരിപ്പം
നിങ്ങളുണ്ടാകുന്നേകോട്ടിക്കൊളത്ത്
ശംഖുപാലൻമുക്കുവനേഎന്ന്പേരും
ചുരികയുംകൊടുത്തവർക്കുഇരുവര്
പൊൻമക്കള്എഴുന്നള്ളുന്ന്.
ആരിയക്കരമ്മലേഎഴുന്നള്ളീറ്റ്
അരക്കാതംവയ്യായെഴുന്നള്ളുമ്പോൾഇരുവര്
കാൽകൂറ്റംകേൾക്കുന്നുണ്ടഅന്നം

തിരുമഹാകാർദ്ദേവനംനമ്മൾക്കൊരനവധി
വരവുണ്ടല്ലോഎന്നുംതിരുമഹാകാർദ്ദേവന്
കാൽക്കാതംവയ്ക്കുകയെന്നേരംതുരുവർ
കാൽകൂറ്റംകേട്ടോളുന്.
അന്നുംതിരുമഹാകാർദ്ദേവനംനമ്മൾക്ക്
ഇടവഴിയല്ലായിപ്പോൾ
നമ്മൾക്കൊരാപത്തറിവില്ലാന്നതുരുവർ
ദേവിമാരുംഎഴുന്നള്ളുല്ലോആര്യക്കരിമ്പന
മുകളിലേക്ക്.¹⁹³

മരക്കലപ്പാട്ട്

ശക്ത്യാനമ്മൾമേവുസമുദ്രത്തിങ്കൽ
ഒപ്പമൊരുക്കളുക്കപ്പലുണ്ടിന്
കെല്പുകൾനോടിവരുന്നുനേരേ; വെക്ക
വെടിയെന്നുപറഞ്ഞവനുംവെച്ചുവെടി
കപ്പലൊടുക്കംചെയ്യാൻ; കൂമ്പിൻനേരതായ
വെടിയനേരം
കമ്പംവന്നുകൂടിച്ചമഞ്ഞുതായി.
ഡംഭംപെരുത്തുള്ളമുക്കുവൻതന്റെ
വമ്പാർന്നുള്ളപ്പത്തൊമ്പതുകപ്പൽ
കൂമ്പംപെരുമാൻപാമരവുവീണ്ടു.കണ്ടു
ഭയപ്പെട്ടങ്ങരയൻതാനും; തണ്ടാളരാം
ദാശന്മാരോടുചൊന്നാൻ, നാശമകപ്പെട്ടു
നമുക്കിന്നോർത്താൽദോഷം
മരക്കലമഖിലത്തിനും; വമ്പാർന്നുള്ളകപ്പൽ
പലകപിളർന്നു

¹⁹³ M.Vishnu Namboori, *Nammude Pandthe Paatukal*, Op. Cit., p. 77.

അംഭോനിധിതന്നിലമരുമിപ്പോൾ;
സംഭവ്യമായന്നുഭയംനമുക്കുമുന്നേ
ഇടക്കടലിലോടുമാറില്ലാത്തുനയമായ
കപ്പലൊന്നുമെന്തും; ഇന്നിക്കണ്ടുകപ്പൽ
മായാവൈഭവത്താൽ
വന്നിങ്ങടുക്കുന്നതെന്നറിയേണം;
എന്നുപറഞ്ഞവൻനിന്നതുപോതേ,
ചന്ദ്രമുഖിയാളാംഭഗവതിതാൻ, സന്ന
മീവൻതന്നെവരുത്തിടേണം.എന്നുനിനച്ചു
മുത്തരയൻമെയ്യിൽതന്നെവിതച്ചു
തൃക്കുറിപ്പന്നേരം; ചിത്തമറിയാതെ
പിഴച്ചതിനുംഒത്തൊരടയാളംകൊടുത്തു
ദേവി; ദൃഷ്ടാന്തങ്ങൾകണ്ടുഭയംപൂണ്ടിട്ട്
സാഷ്ടാംഗമായഗീണസ്തുതിച്ചുരയൻ.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Chirakkal T Balakrishnan Nair, *Kerala Bhasha Ganagal*, Kerala Sahithya Academy, Thrissur, 1993, p. 422.

അംബയുജബാബു

ഓ.....ടിനാ.....ബേ.....ഐസാ.....

ഓബലമാലേഐസാ.....

പോരട്ടങ്ങനെഐസാ.....

മീനാച്ചിമോളേഐസാ.....

ആലാളത്തു്തങ്ങളെഐസാ.....

ഓബലമാലേഐസാ.....¹⁹⁵

ഏലാംപാട്ട്

ഓവലയ്ക്കു്ഏലേലൈകരവലയാം

അയലസാം

പാരവലേഏലേലൈവീസിതടാ

അയലസാം

പട്ടനല്ലേഏലേലൈറുക്കക്കാരി

അയലസാം

പാവങ്ങടെഏലേലൈചേലക്കാരി

അയലസാം

മുട്ടാങ്കിഏലേലൈഇട്ടാളടാ

അയലസാം

ഓടിവന്തു്ഏലേലൈഅണഞ്ചാളമ്മ

അയലസാം

ചങ്കങ്ങാരു്ഏലേലൈപാനയമ്മ

അയലസാം

പാനതന്തേഏലേലൈകാടലമ്മ

അയലസാം

¹⁹⁵ V.H Dhirar, Mapla Khalasikalum Dhabarum, in, C.R Rajagopalan (ed), *Kadalarivukal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 73.

കാട്ടാനപ്പുലേലൈകൂട്ടമ

അയലസാം

കരടിപ്പുലിപ്പുലേലൈകാനകമോ

അയലസാം

കാലകത്തപ്പുലേലൈകൈവളയാം

അയലസാം

തങ്കകണ്ടപ്പുലേലൈഇവങ്കയില്

അയലസാം

ഇവങ്കളിട്റപ്പുലേലൈമാഞ്ചിരമോ

അയലസാം

മഞ്ചനല്ലപ്പുലേലൈമദനങ്ങാരഅയലസാം

നാങ്കകൊണ്ടപ്പുലേലൈവലവളയ്ത്തോം

അയലസാം

ഏങ്കവലപ്പുലേലൈകനത്തവല

അയലസാം

ചിത്തരനോപ്പുലേലൈഓടവല

അയലസാം

എങ്കളുട്റപ്പുലേലൈകാലമുണ്ട്

അയലസാം¹⁹⁶

ഭദ്രകാളിതോറ്റം

‘എന്റെനല്ലമുക്കുവനാരെന്നിന്നോടൊന്നഥ

ചൊല്ലട്ടെന്എന്നുംകാണാത്തൊരു

കപ്പലല്ലൊന്നമുടൈകടവിലടുത്തിടുണ്ട്.

കാലമൊട്ടുതന്നെവൈകുമുവ്കപ്പൽ

പിടിച്ചിങ്ങുതരണമല്ലോ.ആവാക്കുകേട്ട

¹⁹⁶ Robert Panipilla, *Kadalarivukalum Neranubhavangalum*, Op. Cit., p. 126.

മുക്കുവനാർമേൽമാളികയിൽകേറി
കണ്ടപ്പൊഴുപ്പലിന്റെയുമുൻപടിക്കൽ
പള്ളിവാളിന്റെമിന്നലുകാണാം.
അപ്പൊഴൊണ്ടുപറയുന്നല്ലോ
ശംഖുതിരുപ്പണിമുക്കുവനാർ
അയ്യോയെന്റെനല്ലമുക്കുവത്തിയെ
അങ്ങുമൊരാകുന്നനാട്ടുകത്ത്
കൊടിയോരെയോനല്ലദേവിയാരുടെ
മന്ത്രവാരയോയെന്നമണിക്കപ്പൽഇക്കപ്പലു
നാമോപിടിച്ചാലല്ലോനമ്മയൊക്കെകൊല
കൊല്ലമെല്ലൊനമ്മുടെനാടുമുടിക്കുമല്ലോ’¹⁹⁷

Conclusion

Everyone in our society is accustomed to live according to the characteristics of their environment. Traditional fishermen have a deep knowledge of the sea, just as the tribal peoples know about the forest and the farmers know about agriculture. Coastal people used to pass on their inherent knowledge to the next generation in their own indigenous language. They have rich knowledge about the locality of fish in the sea even when the ocean currents changes, knowledge of the stars, winds and about the currents in the sea.

Fishermen, irrespective of any states in India, have their own traditional knowledge. *Karanir*, *Puranir*, *Vadakkanneer*, *Thekkanneer*, *Vadakaraneer*, *Tengaraneer* and *Temprayilneer* are the names given to the sea currents by the fishermen of Kerala. They have high knowledge of where to fix their net even in the time of changing currents in the sea. Making use of this traditional knowledge they use different kinds of hook and nets in the process of fishing.

Similarly, there are many different kinds of waves that go from the *Theerakadal* to *Azhakadal*. Fishermen call them *Varanakadal thiramala*, *Idakadal*

¹⁹⁷ Deepu V Kurupp, *Badrakaali Paatu, Charithram, Samooham, Samskaram*, Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2015, p. 41.

thiramala, Vayya kadal thiramala, Padikadal thiramala, Thalivali, and Kamban thiramala. Some waves are only visible during certain months. Fishermen in South Kerala call a particular wave as '*Kallakadal thiramala*'. This is the name given to the waves that suddenly rise in the calm sea. In such waves, fishing boats are wrecked and fishing equipments are lost. This causes huge losses to the fishermen.

Traditional fishermen have a lot of astronomical knowledge. By looking at the stars they realize the route in which they need to travel. *Kaniyaveli, Chottuvelli, VidyaVelli, Aarammeen, Malayameen, Mulakkameen, Kappalvelli, Kurisuvelli*, are the names given to different stars by fishermen. They also have traditional tools in fishing. Nets and baits are the most important fishing gears used by them. They have separate nets for catching each type of fish. *Avolivala, Ayilachalavala, Nethalvala, Malanvala, Mathivala, Sravuvala and Thirandivala* are examples for them. *Kadumganivala, Ozhukkuvala, Veeshuvala, Kuthuvala, Nonavala, Neettuvala, Kambavala, Choondavala, Kuranguvala, Veppuvala and Paachuvala* are used to catch all types of fishes. All these nets have local name variations.

Fishing community is rich with the knowledge of different types of fishes. The local names of fishes, its locations, and times at which it appears in a particular area are known to the fishermen. Fishermen say that from January to May they catch '*Ayala, Matthi, Nethal, Chooda, Mullan, and Mantha*' and from June to August '*Chemeeen, Ayala, Matthi, Nethal, Chooda, Mullan, Chamban*' and from September to December '*Ayala, Matthi, Nethal, Koonthal, Mullan, Sravu, Avoli and Ayakoora*.

Kerala has been exporting large quantities of fish to foreign countries and other states since time immemorial. This is due to the hard work of the fishermen. In the past, there were *Chappas* along the coast, where fish was dried and kept in abundance. Such *Chappas* existed in all the coastal areas of Kerala. The works in *Chappa's* were the main source of livelihood for many Local women in the coastal areas. Coastal people have their own songs, proverbs, and other pastimes. All of this came from their daily lives. The songs are used by the coastal people to ease the hard work. *Thottam paattu, Sinthu paattu, Amba and Jabab, Pathemari paattu, Kolkali paattu Kaikotti paattu* are still a part of the coastal culture and fishermen's sea knowledge.

CHAPTER V

MODERNIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF COASTAL MALABAR

Introduction

This chapter deals with the changes modernity has brought about in the coastal region and the life activities of the coastal communities. There have been many changes in the fisheries sector since mechanization. Mechanization in the fisheries sector was initiated in 1953 with the Indo-Norwegian project. The main objectives were to increase the income of the traditional fishermen, manage the raw fish efficiently, and improve the productivity and quality of life of the fishermen. This chapter tries to present the advantages and disadvantages of this Indo-Norwegian project.

Sophisticated nets such as Trawl nets and Purse seine nets were used with mechanization. These had many good and bad results. It was during this period that the demand for fish processing arose. The chapter investigates how such needs were managed and what changes it brought about in the fisheries sector.

Next, the individuals who worked for the social upliftment of the coastal communities and their work methods and achievements are discussed. With the mechanization of the fisheries sector, several fishermen's movements emerged. Prominent among these is the *Kerala Swathanthra Mathsya Thozhilali Federation* (KSMTF), a non-partisan political organisation. Fishermen organised and starting strikes under this organisation. This chapter attempts to write about the organization's struggles and their importance by organising and conducting struggles.

This chapter also discusses the working methods of the co-operatives that came into being in the 1960s to implement economic development among the fishermen and the organisations that came into being for the development

activities of the fishermen. Also, the beginning of education in the coastal region was through fisheries schools. In the coastal areas from Kaipamangalam to Kumbala in the south of Malabar, fisheries schools were established for fish workers. After this, this chapter discusses whether there have been any changes in the education sector in the coastal region.

Finally, the main problems faced by the people in the coastal region, such as climate change and the changes caused by unscientific development activities in the coastal region, are discussed. Among these problems, coastal erosion due to sea attacks, mining, unscientific construction of Breakwater in coastal areas and unscientific Harbour constructions are important. This chapter also records the difficulties these problems cause in the coastal environment and the lives of fishermen.

Fisheries in British Malabar

During the colonial period, the importance of the fisheries sector rose. In 1803 Patrick Russell published the book “Descriptions and figures of two hundred fishes: Collected at the Visakhapatnam on the coast of Coromandel”. This book is considered to be the first study on fishes in India.¹ This was followed in 1822 by Buchanan Hamilton’s publication of the “Catalogue of the Fishes of the Ganges”.

Realising the economic benefits of fisheries, the British government collected statistical data on fish and classified them. This resulted in the publication of Francis Day's “Fishes of Malabar” in 1865. This book is a comprehensive directory of marine fishes available in Malabar.²

In 1877, 33 fish curing yards were established on the Malabar Coast as part of the development of the fisheries sector. Fish curing yards are modern processing plants for fish which gave a drastic change in the marketing of fish and in

¹ Patrick Russell , *Descriptions and figures of two hundred fishes : collected at Vizagapatam on the coast of Coromandel*, W. Bulmer and Co., Shakespeare Press,London,1803.

² Francis Day, *The Fishes Of Malabar*, G. Norman, Maiden Lane, Covest garden, London, 1865.

processing.³ Fish curing yards were introduced by the British government at a time when it was difficult to process fish, like Herring, which were readily available on the coast of Malabar.⁴

After the establishment of fish curing yards, Vadakara, Koilandi, Elathur, Puthiyappa, and Kozhikode, Beypur, Chaliyam, Parappanangady, Tanur, Paravanna, Kootai, Ponnani, Puduponnani, Veliyangode, and Palapetty became important fishing centres and fish export centres in Malabar. From Tanur, Paravanna, Ponnani, Kozhikode, and Vadakara, there was a constant export of fish to Colombo. Fishes were exported to Palakkad and Coimbatore from Elathur and Puthiyappa. There are of fish being shipped from Veliyangode to Travancore. Fish mainly reached the inland areas these fish centres.⁵

Similarly, Fish Experimental Stations at Tanur, Chaliyam, and Westhill were also started during the British government.⁶ Fisheries Bureaus were established in 1898, based in Madras. With this, the fisheries sector in the regions, including Malabar, came under the Madras Fisheries Bureau, and Sir Frederick Nicholson was appointed as the first Director of the Madras Fisheries Bureau. It was during his leadership that co-operative movements and fisheries schools were emerged in the fisheries sector of Malabar.⁷

Mechanization in the fisheries sector

The fishing sector in Kerala has undergone changes through development activities during various periods. The traditional fishermen depended on the fishing sector as their main means of livelihood, and therefore development experiments to

³ C.A Innes, Madras District Gazetteer, Malabar, Vol.I, The Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1951, p. 374.

⁴ T.B Seluraj, *Kozhikodinte Paithrikam*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2011, p. 36.

⁵ V. Govindan, Madras Fisheries Bureau – Bulletin No. 9, Fishery Statistics and information, West and East Coasts, Madras Presidency, Printed by The Superintendent, Government press, 1916, PP. 42-44.

⁶ <https://www.fisheries.tn.gov.in/History>

⁷ K.M Udhayabhanu, *Kerala Navodhanavum Dheevavarude Jeevithavum*, Lipi Publications, Kozhikode, 2021, p. 51.

train the traditional fishermen in modern technology and mechanization were started in Kerala for the first time.⁸

The Technical Corporation Program (TCMP) of 1947 and the Technical Assistance Program (TAP) of FAO were the earliest projects started in Kerala with foreign funding. (TCM) program aimed at the distribution and promotion of innovative equipment like marine diesel engines, nylon nets and insulated ice boxes. Through FAO's Technical Assistance Programme, fishermen were trained in modern fishing techniques, development of suitable fishing equipment and construction of new fishing harbour. When the Indo-Norwegian Project started fishing in 1953, there were 11 mechanised boats, but after ten years, these increased to 380 in 1953-64, and from 1,400 trawlers in 1955 to 2,500 in the 1970s and to 4,200 in 1990. The recognition that trawling is the most suitable method for exploiting the fish resources of the ocean floor has led to the proliferation of trawling boats in a short period of time.⁹

The changes in the bottom of the sea caused by Trawling fishing methods are being discussed all over the world today. About 20 times more destruction than deforestation is happening on the bottom of the sea. In the context of the Earth Summit convened in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, several action plans were developed, collectively referred to as Agenda 21.

We can see that the Agenda's chapter 17 Highlighted the importance of safeguarding marine biodiversity and promoting for traditional fishing practices that are free from pollution.¹⁰ Trawling is a primitive and unscientific fishing method that takes only what is needed and throws the rest into the sea as waste. Only 20% to 60% of the species caught in trawler nets are actually taken for purpose, which resulting in the destruction of 25 lakh species in Kerala on an annual basis, including 60,000 tonnes of small fish, 5,000 tonnes of juvenile prawns, 3,000 tonnes of juvenile squids, and 700 tonnes of fish and squid eggs. An average of 750 square meters of seabed is ploughed

⁸ P. Ibrahim, *Fisheries Department in India*, Classical Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1992, p. 46.

⁹ J.B Rajan, *Maarunna Mathsya Mekhala Pranthavalkarikapedunna Mathsya Thozhilalikal*, KILA, Thrissur, 2019, p. 20.

¹⁰ https://www.un.org/depts/los/consultative_process/documents/A21-Ch17.htm

up when a trawl net is pulled. Due to this, Seabed productivity and fish habitats are being severely damaged.¹¹

Most of the coasts of Malabar are rich in biodiversity to become the feeding ground of marine animals. It is not possible to protect such areas even without controlling the movement of boats and ships in areas where marine animals have the necessary prey.¹² We can understand that trawling is done in such areas can cause the loss of employment to the traditional workers.

Reform and Social Change among Fishermen

Aiming at the restoration of the Arayan community, community organisations were formed among the fishermen in the early days. The fishermen communities, like Arayan, Valan, Mukkuvan, Marakkan, Nulayan, and Dheeveran, were all fragmented due to caste differences. Reform activities were carried out through programs such as Education, Co-Operative Society, Mixed Food and Inter Caste Marriage.¹³

Pandit Karuppan was the first renaissance hero who started working for the upliftment of the Araya community. In 1909, he established the *Kalyanadayani Sabha* at Anapuzha in Kodungallur, and after that, *Sabha* started working in the area on the model of this congregation.¹⁴ After starting the *Kalyanadayani Sabha* in Anapuzha, he led the formation of *Valasamudaya Parishkarana Sabha* in 1910. Following this, organisations such as *Valaseva Samithi* at Vaikom and *Samudhaya Sevini* at Paravur were also formed under his supervision. His work was not limited to the Araya community. In 1909, he started the activities of the organisation '*Kochi Pulaya Maha sabha*' along with Krishnathi Ashan. It continued to function till 1920.¹⁵

¹¹ B. MadhusoodhanaKurupp, Kadal Mathsya Sambathinte Paripalana Murakal, Janapadham, September 2004, p. 13.

¹² RajiPuthukudi, Theerathadiyunna Thimingalungal Kadalil Nadakunna Valiya Maatathinte Soojana, Mathrubhumi, 28/11/2023.

¹³ E. Rajan, *Keralathile Navodhana Prasthanathinte Charithram*, Charithram Books, Thrissur, 2019, p. 359.

¹⁴ Ajay Sekhar, Pandit Karuppante Kaavyathmakamaya Rashtreeya Jeevitham, Bhashaposhini, December 2021, p. 84.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Aiming at this kind of social reform, he formed several local Sabhas in Kochi with the Vala-Dheevara community, and in 1913 Edakochi *Njanodayam Sabha*, *Kumbalam Sanmargga Sabha*, *Ayyambilli Sudharmodayam Sabha*, *Prabodhana Chandrodayam Sabha* in North Paravur, and *Samudhaya Chandrika* in Cherai are examples of this.¹⁶

At the same time, he worked tirelessly with Velukkutty Arayan, who worked to unite the Araya, Vaala, Marakkar and Mukkuva communities in Travancore into a single community. His message at the fifth anniversary of the “*Vala Mahajana Sabha*” was to overcome the sub-caste system and become a single community for the Araya people.¹⁷

PanditKaruppan exposed the cruelties of caste discrimination through his writings, *Jathikummi*, *Udhyanavirunnu* or *Oru Dheevarante Aavalathi* and *Balakalesham* are examples of this. *Balakalesham* is a drama describing the difficulties faced by children belonging to the community to get school education. It was an early initiative to use literary and dramatic media for social change.¹⁸

Dr. Velukkutty Arayan is a social reformer who worked in all fields for the reform of the Araya community after Pandit Karupuppan. He was a multifaceted talent who worked in various fields as a freedom fighter, critic, labour leader, writer, and lecturer. Even when Travancore and Malabar were separated into two regions before the formation of the state of Kerala, Velukkutty Arayan addressed audiences as far as Mangalore. Dr. Sukumar Azhikode recorded that he preached at the Malayali MahajanaSabha and the Kerala Club in Mangalore.¹⁹

¹⁶ Pooyyapilli Thankappan, *Pandit Karuppan; Viplavam KavithayilumSamooohyaRangathum*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, Kottayam, 2016, p. 63.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ V.R Krishna Iyyer, “Poruthi Jwalicha Jeevitham”, in, Thengamam Balakrishnan (ed), DR. Velukkutty Arayan Smaraka Grantham, DR. V.VVelukkutty Arayan Foundation, Cheriyaazheekal, Karunagapally, 2006, p. 11.

¹⁹ Sukumar Azheekode,”Oru Pazhya Ormayude Thilakkam” in Thengamam Balakrishnan (ed), DR. Velukkutty ArayanSmaraka Grantham , DR. V.V Velukkutty Arayan Foundation, Cheriyaazheekal, Karunagapally, 2006, p. 13.

Realising that newspapers have a great role to play in the social change of the Araya community, which was backward in the society, Velukkutty Arayan started publishing Arayan Newspaper in 1917.²⁰ And in 1919 Velukkutty Arayan formed an organisation, *Samastha Keraleeya Araya Mahajana Sabha Yogam* in Thiruvananthapuram. As part of the work of this organization, he travelled and gave lectures in the coastal region of Kerala from the southern tip to the northern tip.²¹

In 1922, he launched a publication called *Araya Sthreejana Masika* for the education of women and raising their status in society.²² In 1921, he wrote an article titled “*Vidhyarthivetta*” protesting against the brutality of the Travancore army against the students who were on strike at Thiruvananthapuram Maharaja's College. Following this, Arayan's newspaper was confiscated and his name was removed from the nominated assembly members.²³

In 1940, he organised the Sea workers' strike and won that strike. *Velukkutty Arayan* was the creator of the *Akhila Thiruvithamkoor Navika Sangham*. When modern technologies entered in fishing, he investigated how to utilise it, and in 1949, he organised the first fisheries conference in Kerala. For this, he also released pamphlets titled “*Kshamanivaranopayam*”. Magazines such as “*Fisheries Magazine*” and “*Theeradesham*” were also published by him for the fishing community.²⁴

P.K Deever is the leader who emerged from the Araya community after Velukkutty Arayan. A disciple of Pandit Karuppan, Deever's real name is P. Krishnan. Along with the name P. Krishnan, the caste name Dheever was also

²⁰ K.M Udhayabhanu, *Kerala Navodhanavum Dheeverarude Jeevithavum*, Op. Cit., p .52.

²¹ Thayyil Madhavan, Kadalkattettu Nilkunna Doctor Velukkutty Arayan, in Thengamam Balakrishnan (ed), DR. Velukkutty Arayan Smaraka Grantham , DR. V.V Velukkutty Arayan Foundation, Cheriyaazheekal, Karunagapally, 2006, p. 16.

²² E.Rajan, *Keralathile Navodhana Prasthanathinte Charithram*, Op. Cit., p. 373.

²³ Pinarayi Vijayan, Ariyapedathepoya Samoothya Parishkarthavu, in, Thengamam Balakrishnan (ed), DR. Velukkutty Arayan Smaraka Grantham , DR. V.V Velukkutty Arayan Foundation, Cheriyaazheekal, Karunagapally, 2006, p. 34.

²⁴ Rajesh Chirappadu, Rajesh.K.Erumeli, DR. *Velukkutty Arayan*, Chintha Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 2021, p. 58.

added. Later, P Krishnan Deever changed his name to P.K. Deever. He devised a land reclamation project to scientifically study Sea erosion in coastal villages. The project was published in a newspaper named *Minnelakodi* and the studies still have that reputation.²⁵

At a very young age, P.K Deever started working for community reform and the upliftment of the Dheeveras and started his community service in association with various small and large organisations such as *Samastha Kerala Araya Mahajana Sabha* and *Kerala Mathsyas Pravarthaka Khema Sangam*.²⁶

He was one of the earliest journalists of the Araya community and worked for a long time as the editor of Arayan newspapers which was started by Velakutty Arayan. After that, in 1927, he also started publications like *Dharmakahalam* and *Veerakesari*, and his struggle against the eviction of Vala families at Vaipin Dweep in Ernakulam and his struggle against the eviction of fishing families in connection with the Kochi port project are important events in his political career.²⁷

In 1927, *Araya Vamshodarani* was formed in Alappuzha Engandiyur under the leadership of Deever. Pandit Karuppan and Kuzhitthara Kumaran were also among the founders. The activities of the organisation spread to Travancore, Kochi, and Malabar. Rao Bahadur Govindan helped the activities in the Malabar region. Rao Bahadur Govindan was also the first graduate of the Araya community in Malabar.²⁸

In 1894, Rao Bahadur Govindan was appointed personal assistant to the superintendent of the Madras Museum. The museum superintendent was Sir Edgar Thurston. He assisted Thurston in the writing of his Famous work “Castes and Tribes of Southern India”. It was Govindan who collected the information about the fishermen in Malabar. When Sir Frederick Nicholson became director in 1905, Govindan served as his personal secretary.²⁹

²⁵ Gopalan Ettumanoor, *Deever Enna Karma Dheeran*, National Bookstall, Kottayam, 1993, p. 25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁷ E. Rajan, *Keralathile Navodhana Prasthanathinte Charithram*, Op. Cit., p. 376.

²⁸ Gopalan Ettumanoor, *Deever Enna Karma Dheeran*, Op. Cit., p. 27.

²⁹ K.M Udhayabhanu, *Kerala Navodhanavum Dheeverarude Jeevithavum*, Op. Cit., p. 50.

Satisfied with Govindan's work, Nicholson sent Govindan to Germany and Norway to study fisheries technology. After his studies, Govindan toured European countries and learnt about advanced fishing technologies. After completing his studies, Govindan returned as Assistant Director in the Fisheries Department and took up the responsibility of implementing the Nicholson report.³⁰

Fisheries schools

Based on the Nicholson report, Rao Bahadur Govindan, who was the Director of Fisheries in Malabar District, which was a part of Madras State, started schools under the name Fisheries' School for the children of fishermen in the western coasts of the District and South Karnataka.³¹ 20 Day Schools and 6 Night Schools were started like this. The education was free here. Fisheries Technology was introduced as a subject of study in the school, and books and slates were provided free of cost to the poor students. Educated people from the fishing community were appointed as teachers in this school. Calicut Fisheries Training Institute was established to train the teachers thus appointed.³² The fisheries school in Malabar district was started mainly in Chaliyam (20th October 1919)³³, Kozhikode (1919)³⁴, Quilandi³⁵, Kottakadappuram (3rd March 1921)³⁶, Parappanangadi (1st July 1924)³⁷, Nattika (5th August 1924)³⁸, Puthan Kadappuram (31st December 1926)³⁹, Kundazhiyur (1927)⁴⁰ and Veliyangode. (15th September 1928)⁴¹ Tanur (1913)⁴²

³⁰ F.A Nicholson, Notes on fisheries in Japan, The Superintendent, Government press, Madras, 1907.

³¹ S. Kumara Swamy Reddiar, Report of the committee on fisheries, The Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1924.

³² Manjima Kayyazhuthu Masika, Government fisheries Up school, Vellayil, Kozhikode, 2011.

³³ Vikasanana Rekha, Kadalundi Grama Panchayath, 1996, p.29.

³⁴ James Hornell, Fishery Reports, Bulletin No XV, Madras Fishery Department, The Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1923.

³⁵ Manjima Kayyazhuthu Masika, Government fisheries Up school, Vellayil, Kozhikode, 2011.

³⁶ G.O.NO.355, Dated, 03/03/1921, Development Department.

³⁷ G.O.NO.2249, Dated, 11/12/1936, Development Department.

³⁸ G.O.NO.2045, Dated, 22/08/1938, Development Department

³⁹ G.O.NO.03, Dated, 03/01/1927, Development Department.

⁴⁰ G.O.NO.347, Dated, 11/03/1927, Development Department.

⁴¹ G.O.NO.1455, Dated, 31/08/1928, Development Department.

After independence in 1968, during the second E.M.S government, 10 Government Regional Fisheries Technical High Schools were started: Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School Valiyathura Thiruvananthapuram, Dr. V.V Velukutty Arayan Memorial and Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School Karunagappally Kollam, Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School Arthunkal Alappuzha, Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School Thevara Kochi, Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School Chavakkadu Puthan Kadapuram Thiruvatan Thrissur, Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School Tanur Malappuram, Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School Beypur Kozhikode, Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School Girls, Quilandi Kozhikode, Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School, Azhikal Kannur and Government Regional Fisheries Technical High School (for Girls) Kanhangad, Meenapees Kadapuram, Kasaragod.⁴³

Co-operative movements in the fisheries sector

Co-operative societies started working in Malabar, a part of Madras province, from 1909 with the enactment of the Co-operative Act of 1904. Sir Frederick Nicholson started the Co-operative movements for the economic security of those involved in fishing. He is known as the father of the Indian Co-operative movement.⁴⁴ When Rao Bahadur Govindan became the Director of Fisheries in Malabar, Fishermen's Co-operative Banks started functioning in Kerala for the fish workers.⁴⁵ After independence, under the leadership of the EMS government in 1957, deliberate efforts to strengthen the Co-operative movement in the fisheries sector were started. Keeping this goal in mind, the department of fisheries has formed Co-operative groups working in a three-tier system in the fisheries department. The first of these were the primary Co-operatives operating at the village level. The task of primary groups was to encourage fishermen to increase

⁴² <https://www.fisheries.tn.gov.in/History>

⁴³ <https://keralacalling.kerala.gov.in/?p=2266>

⁴⁴ K.M Udhayabhanu, *Kerala Navodhanavum Dheevavarude Jeevithavum*, Op. Cit., p. 51.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

production. At the second level, marketing teams working on a district basis were formed.⁴⁶

The responsibility of district-level marketing groups was to provide financial assistance to primary groups to purchase mass production equipment, to take over the fish produced by them and market it. The state level marketing federation was responsible for supervising the activities of the primary groups and district level groups.⁴⁷

With the formation of the Co-operative movement, Credit unions (Vaayippa sangangal) were formed in the coastal areas to free the fishermen from the exploitation of the Money lenders, excluding the middle men and providing loans to the workers. The Credit unions (Vaayippa sangangal), whose members are poor fishermen, were unable to raise funds on their own, no financial institution came forward to help them, and in this situation, the unions lost credibility, and the workers had to borrow money from the middle classes.⁴⁸

In 1970, the state government appointed a committee to study the failure of Co- operative movements in the fisheries sector and to give suggestions for the revival of the organisations. The committee suggested that the primary Co-operative societies should be dissolved or closed down. The committee also proposed the formation of new primary service Co-operative societies at the village level. After this welfare groups started working.⁴⁹

Welfare groups

Co-operative movements failed to bring about improvement in the lives of the fishermen. Following this, Fishermen Welfare Societies were formed

⁴⁶ P.M Panikkar, *Keralam Aarupathittandukal*, Chintha Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011, p. 185.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁴⁸ Rekha Vasumathi, *Kadal Manushyan Jeevitham*, Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2013, p. 81.

⁴⁹ P.M.Panikkar, *Keralam Aarupathittandukal*, Op. Cit., p. 186.

under the Kerala Fishermen Welfare Society Act passed in 1980.⁵⁰ In 1980, village-level societies were formed instead of Co-operative societies in the fishing sector and fisheries officers were appointed to take charge of the teams.⁵¹

But the government has failed to mobilise the necessary funds for the development and welfare activities of the village groups. In this situation the welfare groups were abolished in 1987, and the government realised that cooperatives were necessary for raising funds for the welfare groups, and based on this realisation, 222 coastal fishing villages were reorganised into 81 fishermen development welfare groups, and activities started on a Co- operative basis.⁵²

Mathsyafed

Fishermen Welfare Societies were registered under the Co-operative Societies Act, 1964, and the Kerala State Co-operative Fisheries Development Federation (Mathsyafed) was started as their apex federation on 19th March 1984. The objective of Mathsyafed was to formulate and implement schemes to improve fish production, processing, and marketing in the traditional fisheries sector with the aim of overall upliftment of the fishermen. Most of the government level development projects are implemented through Matsyafed.⁵³

IFDP (Integrated Fisheries Development Project)

Since 1985, the Integrated Fisheries Development Program has been implemented with the help of NCDC (National Co-operative Development Corporation). The aim of programme was to make fishermen owners of fishing equipment, protect fishermen from exploitation by middlemen, and ensure a fairer price for the fish they catch.⁵⁴ The objectives of the project are to improve the

⁵¹ John M Chalakkal, *Keralathile Sahakarana Prasthanam*, Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1987, p. 114.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² P.M. Panikkar, *Keralam Aarupathittandukal*, Op. Cit., p. 186.

⁵³ Mathsy Mekhala Directory, Kozhikode District, Kerala Government Fisheries Department Publication, 2011.

⁵⁴ P.M.Panikkar, *Keralam Aarupathittandukal*, Op. Cit., p. 186.

quality of life of the fishermen. As a result of the project, at least partially, the scheme of providing money loans to the fishermen for the purchase of boats, nets, and engines at low interest rates will be implemented, and equipment will be jointly owned by the fishermen. The NCDC scheme has succeeded to some extent in its efforts to bring in and end the exploitation of middlemen.⁵⁵

Rise of Fishermen's Movement

Mechanization in the field of fishing has severely impacted the quality of life of traditional fishermen. The trawlers that have appeared as part of mechanization are constantly ploughing the bottom of the sea regardless of the depth of the coast. This has led to the destruction of the marine habitat and the reduction of fish availability in the coastal sea. They also considered the coastal sea as their permanent place of employment, as the fish stocks never dwindled in such fishing methods.⁵⁶

Unscientific fishing with trawlers was aimed at making more profit. There are mainly three types of trawlers were used in Malabar. They are surfed trawling, mid-water trawling, and bottom trawling. Surface trawling used on the surface of the sea. Bottom trawling aggregates the bottom of the sea. They were first used during World War II to remove miners under the sea.⁵⁷

Traditional workers began protesting against the mechanised fishing when unscientific and illegal fishing by trawlers reached the point where their jobs would be destroyed. At the end of the 1970s, the traditional fishermen started strikes and organized resistance, and the encroachment of boats into the coastal waters reserved for traditional fishermen to catch fish led to conflicts between Boatmen and traditional Fishermen.⁵⁸ Between 1970 and 1985, about fifty fishermen were

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Silver Jubilee Souvenir Puthiyappa Sree Bagavathi Dharma Paripalana Araya Samajam, 1985, p. 98.

⁵⁷ A. Andrews Port Kollam, *Arabian Samudrathinte Hridhaya Thudipukal*, A. Andrews Port Kollam, 2017, p. 148.

⁵⁸ Anyamakunna Parambaragatha Mathsya Mekhalayum Vaytharanikalum, Janapadham, 2004, p. 10.

killed in such conflicts, and more than 100 people were injured. As a result of such conflicts, various committees were formed to study the ban on Trawling. Babu Paul Committee, Kalawar Committee, Balakrishnan Nair Committee -I and II are the committees that studied the ban on trawling at different times till 1990.⁵⁹

Strikes and Protests

The earliest attempts to unite the unorganised fishermen in the coastal areas of Kerala under one unit took place in southern Kerala through the District Level Fishermen's Unions. The activity later led to the creation of state organisations.⁶⁰

The fishermen's unions, started in Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Alappuzha and Kochi, were Coordinated in 1977 and formed an organisation called "Latin Catholic Fishermen's Federation" (LCFF). Father Paul Arakal, Father Albert Parashivila, VC Antony and Kallada Lawrence were the first office bearers of the organization.⁶¹

In 1978, the organisation submitted 22 demands to the then Chief Minister, including regulation of mechanized boats. Mechanized boats should only operate within a certain distance in coastal waters. A complete ban on trawling should be imposed during the breeding season of the maggots, June, July, and August. The main demands were banning fishing with small mesh nets as they trap small fish.⁶²

The fishermen formed a national organisation in the same year. The name of the organisation was "*Kattamaram Nadan Valangalile Mathsya Thozhilalikalude Rashtreeya Vedhi*" (Kattamaram Country Boat Fishermen's Political Platform) and it was formed by the representatives of the states of Kerala, Goa, and Tamil Nadu at a meeting in Madras. State as problems caused by mechanization affect every coastal state in India equally.⁶³

⁵⁹ Mathew Erthayil, *Keralathile Mathsyathozhilali Prasthanam Samoohika Sasthra Paramaya Oru Vishakalanam*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2002, p. 38.

⁶⁰ N.K.G Pillai, E.Vivekanadan, Et.al, *Samudra Mathsyaamekhala Paripreksyam-I*, Kerala, CMFRI, Kochi, 2009, p. 13.

⁶¹ Mathew Erthayil, *Keralathile Mathsyathozhilali Prasthanam Samoohika Sasthra Paramaya Oru Vishakalanam*, Op. Cit., p. 43.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Governments need to be given guidance by the central government. The organisation was founded with the intention of putting pressure on this. A.J Vijayan from Kerala worked as the general secretary of the organisation.⁶⁴

During the protest against mechanised boats, on December 30, 1978, a mechanised boat that exceeded the distance limit hit the local waters, and a fisherman named Babu died.⁶⁵ At the end of the protest, the then finance minister, K.M Mani, accepted the demands of the federation, and the Satyagraha was temporarily put to rest.⁶⁶

Kerala SwathanthraMathsyaThozhilaliFederation (KSMTF)

On March 20, 1980, the Governing Body of the LCMF met, and the name of the organisation was changed to the *Kerala Swathanthra Mathsya Thozhilali Federation*. The change of name was done in recognition of the need to strengthen the organisation and unite at the state level by strengthening the representation of fishermen belonging to all religions.⁶⁷

The main objectives of the organisation were to work for the socio-economic political advancement and education of the traditional fishermen engaged in fishing and marketing in the coastal and inland areas and to work for rights and benefits from the government. The term 'Independent' was given to the organisation as its existence is not dependent on any political party. After the name change, Father Albert Parashivila was elected as president, Sheila Rosario as vice president, and Joyichan Anthony as general secretary.⁶⁸

After its establishment, the organisation organised more than 50 seminars for more than 3000 members, and after these seminars, the organisation raised a demand to ban mechanised trawling during the fish breeding season of June, July,

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Notice -1 Cheriyaazheekal Dineshante Kolayalikale Nilaku Nirthande..?, 1983.

⁶⁶ Mathew Erthayil, *Keralathile MathsyaThozhilali Prasthanam Samoothika Sasthra Paramaya Oru Vishakalanam*, Op. Cit., p. 44.

⁶⁷ Notice-2, Kerala Swathanthra Mathsya Thozhilali Federation Purappeduvipikunna Prasthavana, 1983.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

and August. Along with this, 38 demands were given to the government, such as banning seining, banning fishing within 20 km of the coast, and plans were made to achieve them. Realising that the demands of the Kerala Independent Fishermen's Federation were important, the government passed a bill related to fisheries in 1980. This bill came to be known as the 'Kerala Sea Fisheries Control Act, 1980. And to 20m deep, traditional fishermen were given absolute right in the coastal waters.⁶⁹

On 24 May 1981, the Left government banned trawling in Kerala during the monsoon. But within ten days an amendment was issued by P.S Srinivasan, the then Minister of Fisheries, excluding Neendakara, which was the main centre of machine boats, and the Kerala Independent Fishermen's Federation started an agitation against this, led by Fr. Thomas Kechari, Joichan Anthony, T. Peter, Jose Kaleekkal, Pulluvila Lodai, A.Andrews and Sister Philamin Marry. A fishermen's strike was held earlier in the Kozhikode Collectorate to declare their support in this strike. In the wake of this strike, it was decided to set up an expert committee to study the ban on trawling, and the Kerala Independent Fishermen's Federation was able to create public awareness about the dangers of mechanised fishing through this strike.⁷⁰

In 1983, the Kerala Swathantra Mathsy Thozhilali Federation was divided into two, and the All Kerala Fishermen's Federation was formed under the leadership of Father Parashivila. As a part of this, Father Jose Kaleekkal, T.P Krishnan, and Joseph were elected as office bearers of KSMTF. Several strikes, like Picketing and Satyagraha, were organised under their leadership. At the same time, activities of the organisation spread to north Kerala. The union movement was led by the workers of 'Eshosabha' who had been doing social work among Hindu-Muslim workers for many years.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Mathew Erthayil, *Keralathile Mathsyathozhilali Prasthanam Samoochika Sasthra Paramaya Oru Vishakalanam*, Op. Cit., p. 46.

⁷⁰ Notice-3, Kerala Swathanthra Mathsy Thozhilali Prasthanam Samarathilek.

⁷¹ Mathew Erthayil, *Keralathile Mathsyathozhilali Prasthanam Samoochika Sasthra Paramaya Oru Vishakalanam*, Op.Cit., p. 50.

In 1982, Father Mathew Erthayil started the union work under the name of *Malabar Swathantra Mathsyathozhilali Union*, and in 1983 many unions of the organisation became active in Kozhikode and Kannur districts. In Malabar, K.K Velayudhan was elected as the president of the union and Seithali as the general secretary. In southern Kerala, Christians were numerous, while in Malabar, the majority were Hindu Muslim fishermen. With the formation of the union in Malabar, KSMTF was able to grow as an organisation with the power to conduct state-wide protests against mechanised fishing.⁷²

In 1984 KSMTF started an agitation for the immediate implementation of the decisions of the Babupaul Commission, and as part of this, on 10th April 1984, a petition containing 17 demands signed by Ten thousand workers was submitted to the then Chief Minister K. Karunakaran. KSMTF workers in various districts went on strike, and fishermen were arrested in Thiruvananthapuram (300), Alappuzha (500), Kollam (600), Ernakulam (300), and Kozhikode (500).⁷³

As part of the strike, Kozhikode fishermen pushed the office of the Deputy Director of Fisheries and detained the officials for several hours. The Vigour of the fishermen's strike here for Kozhikode received the full attention of the movement and the media and the support of the fishermen's trade unions of CITU, AITUC, and UTUC. As part of the 1984 strike, the traditional fishermen were able to win pensions, and the children of fishermen got Lamp sum grant.⁷⁴

In 1985, the fishermen's organisations raised the demand of banning monsoon trawling and unleashed strong agitations. They also planned a strike to “fill the jail” through strike programs. As a result of the severe strike, the second

⁷² Jose Kaleekkal, Thomas Kocheri, Et.al, *Oru Samara Kadha*, KSMTF Publication, Thiruvananthapuram, 1988, p. 94.

⁷³ Mathew Erthayil, *Keralathile Mathsyathozhilali Prasthanam Samoohika Sasthra Paramaya Oru Vishakalanam*, Op. Cit., p. 52.

⁷⁴ Ottammasseri George, *Theeradesha Janagalkku Vendi Vaidhikarum Kanyasthreekalum Mathsyathozhilali Nethakalum Chernnu Nadathiya Porattangal Oru Padanam*, KSMTF Alappuzha Zilla Committee, 2018, p. 29.

appointed committee, the Kalawar commission report was released, and according to the committee's report, the number of existing mechanised boats operating on the Kerala coast should be reduced from 2500 to 1145. By recommending regulations to ban nets with less than 35 mm mesh and not allow trawling within 22 km from the coast, we can understand that the commission was convinced that trawling was a destructive method and that such fishing was of a destructive nature and the arguments of traditional fishermen were correct. Although not a total ban on monsoon trawling, the commission's findings encouraged the KSMTF to continue vigorous protests.⁷⁵

In 1987, the Professor Balakrishnan Nair Committee-1 submitted a report on the issue of trawling in which the report recommended a ban on all types of Trawling in Kerala waters during the months of June, July, and August. The KSMTF started strikes to implement this commission's report and in 1988 Chief Minister E.K Nayanar issued an order banning monsoon Trawling in Kerala's coastal waters for 42 days from July 20 to August 31. With this, KSMTF has achieved the long-standing demand of a ban on Trawling.⁷⁶

Mechanization has led to a drastic reduction in fish stocks, which has worried traditional fishermen. Trawling boats were not the sea-friendly fishing methods used by traditional fishermen. It was destructive in nature. It was only when the traditional workers lost their jobs that the fishermen mobilised and waged their rights struggles in an organisationally class-conscious manner, first under the LCFF and then under the KSMTF. After mechanization, several commissions studied the fishermen's demand for a ban on monsoon trawling, but it was the Balakrishnan Nair-II Commission in 1988 that recommended making monsoon trawling mandatory.⁷⁷ Prohibition of Trawling through implementation, the struggle became a success, validating the arguments of traditional fishermen for years.

⁷⁵ Jose Kaleekkal, Thomas Kocheri, Et.al, *Oru Samara Kadha*, Op. Cit., p. 152.

⁷⁶ "Anyamakunna Parambaragatha Mathsya Mekhalayum Vaytharanikalum", Janapadham, 2004, p. 12.

⁷⁷ P.M.Panikkar, *Keralam Aarupathittandukal*, Op. Cit., pp. 212-213.

Coastal Environmental Issues, Climate Change and Human Activities Polluting the Sea and its Impacts

Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century, marine pollution has risen uncontrollably, from industrial wastes containing hazardous chemicals. Oil, plastic, and other solid wastes started pouring into the sea, and these chemicals gradually reached the bodies of sea creatures, including fish, and through them became part of the global food chain.⁷⁸

It was only at the beginning of the 20th century that the world realised its horrors. In the 1950s and 1960s, the United States dumped its nuclear waste in the Irish Sea. In 1967, the British oil tanker Torrey Canyon capsized in the sea, and in 1969, the Santa Barbara oil spill off the coast of California made the world think about the future of the ocean. 117,000 tons of oil was spilled in to the sea in 1,000 square kilometres in the Torrey Canyon disaster.⁷⁹

All land on Earth is surrounded by oceans, so all activities on land affect the oceans. 80% of marine pollution originates from land.⁸⁰ Every year, more than 80 million seabirds die due to plastic waste entering the sea. Also, More than 8 million tonnes of plastic waste enter the ocean every year.⁸¹ 80% of solid waste in the ocean is plastic. Plastic Island has even been created by stacking. Plastics that end up in the ocean are broken down into tiny particles over a long period of time. As the fish feed on this kind of waste that can only be seen through a microscope, the plastic particles are transferred to human-like organisms. They reach and cause diseases like Liver and Thyroid in humans.⁸²

⁷⁸ Koshy Mathew (ed), *Voice Of The Strom*, Published By The Chairperson, National Fishermen's Workers Forum, Cochin, 1988, p. 71.

⁷⁹ <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-39223308> Torrey Canyon oil spill: The day the sea turned black.

⁸⁰ *Thaalam Thettunna Theerakadalum Theera Mekhalayum*, Kerala Sasthra Sahithya Parishath, Thrissur, 2018, p. 12.

⁸¹ https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/Ocean_Factsheet_Pollution.pdf

⁸² *Thaalam Thettunna Theerakadalum Theera Mekhalayum*, Op. Cit., p.15.

An example of waste causing human death is the Minamata disaster in Japan in 1956. Chisso Corporation was the cause of this disaster; they released mercury along with chemical waste into the sea. It has spread to food resources consumed by humans, such as fish, clams and mussels in Minamata Bay. 1784 people died after eating fish from this sea.⁸³

Coastal ship breaking centres contribute to marine pollution. 95% of ships are made of steel. The paint used on this steel contains chemicals such as Arsenic, Zinc, and Trolium. A ship uses hundreds of tonnes of this type of paint. India, China, Bangladesh, and Pakistan have the largest number of shipyards, with the Alang shipyard in Gujarat being a major source of such pollution.⁸⁴

Cruise ships are the leading polluters in the oceans. Cruise ships travelling through the seas in a week throw five and a half lakh tonnes of human excrement into the sea. Each ship discharges about 38 core litres of sewage into the ocean every year. Sewage from cruise ships is divided into two categories, black water and grey water, black water, which is used for cleaning and medical purposes on board contains dangerous bacteria and virus. It will reach the human body through the fish and other sea food.⁸⁵

Grey water is waste water from washing dishes, showering, laundry, and cleaning. Grey water contains dangerous minerals and Coliform bacteria that absorb oxygen and destroy the marine ecosystem. A ship discharges 100,000 litres of Grey water and 110,000 litres of Black water into the sea in a day.⁸⁶

The sea is also polluted by cargo ships. When the cargo is unloaded, water is filled inside them to maintain the balance of the ship. This is known as "Ballast

⁸³ <https://www.env.go.jp/en/chemi/hs/minamata2002/ch3.html>

⁸⁴ Debasish De, Ship Breaking In India: Environmental And Occupational Hazard January,27,2006, <https://www.sspconline.org/opinion-analysis/ship-breaking-india-environmental-and-occupational-hazard>

⁸⁵ "Kadaline Kollum Kappalukal", Digest, 07/10/2017.

⁸⁶ <https://www.marineinsight.com/environment/8-ways-in-which-cruise-ships-can-cause-Marine-pollution/> 8 Ways Cruise Ship Can Cause Marine Pollution.

water". This filling water contains microorganisms and small organisms in the water-filling area. This filling water is also pushed out in other ports.⁸⁷

Micro organisms in the ejected water thus change the nature of the water in the ejected area. This leads to the destruction of the entire habitat in that area. One such concern has been raised by marine scientists at Vizhinjam harbour, home to more than 100 different marine species.⁸⁸

Marine researchers describe the nets that are abandoned or lost by fishing boats using trawlers as Ghost nets. In such nets, creatures such as small fish, dolphins, sea turtles, sharks, sea birds, and crabs are caught and killed without food for days. Millions of sea creatures are killed every year.⁸⁹

In response to concerns and demonstrations about the increasing environmental degradation in India and globally, and in light of the resolutions established at the United Nations "Conference on the Human Environment" held in Stockholm, Sweden in 1972, the Central Government enacted the Environment (Protection) Act in 1986.⁹⁰ The Act describes its objectives and reasons as follows.

Environment Protection Act, 1986 and Coastal Regulation Zone

1. The Parliament of India had passed the Environment Protection Act, 1986 and under the said Act, a Notification was issued for regulation of activities in the coastal area by the Ministry of Environment and Forests.
2. The CRZ has been defined in the said Notification. Coastal Regulation Zones (CRZ) are declared by the Indian Government vide the said Notification issued in the month of February 1991, for the First time.

⁸⁷ V.R Vinaya Raj, Ballast Water Vazhi Vanna Asian Kelpum Cholerayum, Vellathite Loka Sancharam, Manorama Online, 23/06/2021. <https://www.manoramaonline.com/topics/environment/ballast-water.html>

⁸⁸ Marine survey documents rare sea slugs off Vizhinjam, The Hindu Daily, 28/07/2016.

⁸⁹ P.V Sudheer Kumar, Kadalaamakalkayi Neythal, Koodu Masika, May 2016, p. 31.

⁹⁰ The Environment (Protection) Act, 1986 No. 29 of 1986 https://www.un.org/depts/los/consultative_process/documents/A21-Ch17.htm

3. CRZ has been divided into Four Categories. CRZ -1, CRZ -2, CRZ -3 and CRZ -4.
4. CRZ-1: These are ecologically sensitive areas. This area plays a vital role in maintaining the ecosystem of the coast. It lies between high tide and low tide line. In this area the exploration of natural gas and extraction of salt are allowed.
5. CRZ-2: It includes the areas developed up to the shoreline of the coast. Unauthorized structures are not permitted to construct in this zone.⁹¹
6. CRZ-3: It contains rural and urban localities which fall outside the 1 and 2. In this zone, only certain activities related to agriculture even some public facilities are permitted.
7. CRZ-4: It includes the area of the aquatic area up to territorial limits. In this zone, fishing and allied activities are allowed.⁹²

Challenges faced by Coastal people

Global warming and Ocean warming

The Indian Ocean is home to about 2.6 billion people, and one-third of the Indian population lives near the coast, so any change in sea temperature directly affects the lives of a large number of people in the country. Ocean warming leads to stronger cyclones and rough seas. This leads to the destruction of marine vegetation and thus to ocean pollution.⁹³

Most of the coastal areas of Kerala are exposed to sea attack, and families who are exposed to sea attack have to live in camps for a long time after losing their

⁹¹ Clament Lopez, Selven, *Theeradesha Niyanthrangalum Theeradesha Janagalum*, Mathysa Thozhilali Samudhaya Vikasanavedhi, 1996, p. 7.

⁹² J.B Rajan, *Maarunna Mathysa Mekhala Pranthavalkarikapedunna Mathysa Thozhilalikal*, Op. Cit., p. 191.

⁹³ K.Sahadevan, Smitha.P.Kumar, Kaalavastha Maatam Oru Yuga Prathisanthiyanu, in, K.Sahadevan (ed), *Kadal Kara Kaalavastha Kadaledukunna Keralam*, Transition Studies, Thrissur, p. 23.

abode.⁹⁴ Even a small storm disrupts coastal life. Drinking water is also contaminated. Plastic and garbage are entering homes. Lack of basic facilities for daily life is just one of the problems.⁹⁵

Due to global warming, sea level is rising by 3.3 milliliters per year. This may seem like a small amount on an annual basis, but over a decade, a century, this amount of water level rise can lead to a major disaster. The places that are land today will be taken by the sea.⁹⁶ As 41 rivers in Kerala meet the sea and backwaters, the seawater will enter more places during high tides, and the saltwater will enter the rivers, and clean drinking water will disappear, and agriculture will be destroyed. Similarly, the poisonous algae that are harmful to human health will increase in large numbers, and all this is a challenge for mankind as a whole.⁹⁷

Black sand mining

Sand mining is one of the most harmful effects on fisheries and the environment. Sand mining has occurred in Kerala to the extent of wiping out a village. Sand mining is the main cause of coastal erosion along the Alappad-Neendakara coast.⁹⁸ Sand is currently being mined at Thottapalli in Alappuzha. This work is going ahead, ignoring the protests of environmentalists and locals.⁹⁹ We can see that Before the places like Ponmana, Vellanathuruthu villages in Kollam district have been wiped out by sand mining.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Vipindas, *Nashtapedunna Theeragalum Manushyarum*, in, Siddique Rabiyyath, *Kadalalarude Jeevidhavum Athi jeevanavum*, Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2021, p.81.

⁹⁵ Interview with T. Peter (60), General Secretary, National Fish Workers Forum, Thiruvananthapuram, 03/04/2018.

⁹⁶ Roxy Mathew Koll, M.Suchithra, “Kadalinte maatangal gouravathileledukanam” in, K.Sahadevan (ed), *Kadal Kara Kaalavastha Kalededukunna Keralam*, Transition Studies, Thrissur, p. 44.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ K.C Sreekumar, *Aalappad: Samaramallathe Mattu Vazhikalilla*, in, K. Sahadevan (ed), *Kadal Kara Kaalavastha Kalededukunna Keralam*, Transition Studies, Thrissur, p. 123.

⁹⁹ Stir against mineral sand-mining at Thottappally to complete 1,000 days on Tuesday, *The Hindu Daily*, 04/03/2024.

¹⁰⁰ S.Mhummed Irshad, *Theeranashtam: Chodhyam cheyyapedunna Kerala Samoochika Vikasana Mathrika*, in, K. Sahadevan (ed), *Kadal Kara Kaalavastha Kalededukunna Keralam*, Transition Studies, Thrissur, p. 107.

Coastal erosion

Coastal erosion has occurred in Kerala due to natural phenomena and human activities. Currently there is 215.9 km of seawall along the coast of Kerala. According to the NCSCM report, 63 percent of Kerala's coastline has been subjected to soil erosion. Only 8% of the remaining 37% coastal area is seen as sustainable. 80% of Kerala's sea coast is full of silt. As these are easily damaged, it can be understood from the report that there is an immediate need for safe ways for the coastal zone.¹⁰¹

Sandbars and bio fences can reduce the power of the wind and waves and protect the shoreline.¹⁰² We need to understand what the biodiversity was and try to revive it.¹⁰³ Veliyamkode, Ponnani, Tirur, Parapanangadi, Kadalundi, Elathur, Cheriamangad, Thikkodi, Ayanikkad, Murad, Vadakara, Madakara, Puthyappa Angadi, Thrikaripur, Nileswaram, Kanhangad, Kasaragod and Manjeswaram have the highest coastal erosion in Malabar.¹⁰⁴

Overexploitation

Wetlands, Mangrove Forests, Swamps, Sandbars, Backwaters, Seashores, Estuaries and Coastal habitats located along the Kerala coast are all in varying stages of degradation.¹⁰⁵ The state's mangrove forests are the habitat most adversely affected by human intervention. A few decades ago the area of mangrove forests in Kerala was about 70000 hectares. But by 1990 it had reduced to 50,000. Massive clearing of mangroves for development activities has adversely affected coastal biodiversity and has contributed to the instability of the region.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ A. Bijukumar, Dineshan Cheruvatt, Et.al, *Theeradesha Samudra Aavasa Vyavasthakal*, in,Vs Vijayan, Lalitha Vijayan,(ed),*Susthira Keralathinu Oru Haitha Rekha*, Dc Books, Kottayam, 2019, p.121.

¹⁰² T. Peter, Mathsya Bandhana Mekhala Neridunna Prathisanthi, Koodu Masika, May 2016, p. 24.

¹⁰³ Roxy Mathew Koll, M. Suchithra, "Kadaline Karuthanam" Mathrubhumi, 06/06/2021.

¹⁰⁴ Shebin Mehaboob, Kalangimariyunna Kadalum Kadalora Jeevidhavum, Keraleeyam, January, 2018, p.18.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with T.Peter (60), General Secretary, National fish workers forum, Thiruvananthapuram, 03/04/2018.

¹⁰⁶ A. Bijukumar, Dineshan Cheruvatt, Et.al, *Theeradesha Samudra Aavasa Vyavasthakal*, Op. Cit., p.121.

Unscientific constructions

Unscientific harbor construction, Breakwater construction, and Seawall construction are among the major challenges facing the coastal region. Unscientific Breakwater construction has contributed to rising seas and consequent coastal erosion.¹⁰⁷ Unscientific harbour construction taking the lives of traditional fishermen who venture out to fish has become a regular news item. Muthalappozhi in Thiruvananthapuram is such an endangered place.¹⁰⁸

For the last 40 years, coastal residents have been under the threat of sea level rise not only during monsoons but also throughout the year. According to a study report by the Fisheries Department, there are 3367 houses within 10 meters and 18685 houses within 50 meters of the seashore.¹⁰⁹ None of these are built near the beach. As a result of years of sea level rise, the distance between the sea and the house has been decreasing. Since 1977, 2km of sea has come ashore in Ponnani alone. At present, the sea is receding 20 to 40 meters every year in this area, and in most coastal areas, this trend is causing a miserable situation where the distance between the sea and fishermen's houses is not even 20 meters.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

The mechanization of the fisheries sector as a part of modernity has led to the rise of monopolies and middlemen, disrupting the lives of traditional fishermen. The fisheries were exploited without limit. The problems in the workplace led to the creation of a class consciousness of fishermen beyond caste and religion among the traditional fishermen. In the past, revival activities among fishermen in the coastal area have been very helpful to the fishermen community in this situation.

¹⁰⁷ Srikumar Chattopadhyay, *Geography of Kerala*, Concept Publishing Company Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 2021, p. 249.

¹⁰⁸ A.J Vijayan, *Vikasanam Nirmikunna Duranthangalum Mathsya Bandhana Prathisanthikalum*, in, Siddique Rabiyyath, *Kadalalarude Jeevidhavum Athi jeevanavum*, Kerala Basha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2021, p. 69.

¹⁰⁹ A.Bijukumar, K.V Thomas, Et.al, *Theera Soshanam: Avalokanavum Karma Pathadhikalum*, in, Vs Vijayan, Lalitha Vijayan, (ed), *Susthira Keralathinu Oru Haitha Rekha*, Dc Books, Kottayam, 2019, p.187.

¹¹⁰ T.V Abdul Rahiman Kutty, *Kadalkanan Nadakkanam Onnara Kilometre*, Madhyamam, 2017, pp. 24-35.

Co-operatives and welfare groups were opened with the aim of the economic security of the traditional fishermen, but the ineffectiveness of their management and the low wages of the fishermen did not lead to the economic upliftment of the fishermen.

Factories and passenger-cargo ships that have come as part of modernity have started to pollute the Sea on an unprecedented scale, and unscientific development activities and resource exploitation have grown to affect the world's coastal inhabitants. Mechanization introduced new technologies to fishing and the sea, but they were all inherently destructive.

CONCLUSION

The sea is the largest habitat on earth. If the sea is a habitat for sea creatures, it is also a workplace and a source of food for man. From time immemorial, there have been people who have depended on the sea for their livelihood. The *Sangam* literature provides information on people who depend on the sea in the southern states, including Kerala. *Neythel* region of *Ainthina* was coastal region. Fishing and salt production were the main sources of livelihood for the people of the area.

The sea has brought about great changes in the social, economic and cultural spheres of man. The earliest foreign trade was by sea. There is evidence that the ports of the South engaged in trade relations with countries such as Greek, Rome, Egypt and Mesopotamia. These trade relations are evidence that the sea has been an important means of transporting goods since ancient times. This trade with foreigners brought the kings and merchants to a high level financially. *Anjuvannam*, *Manigramam*, *Nanadesikal* were some of the important trade groups emerged during this period.

In ancient times, the sea was the only means of trade, but in the Medieval period, it became a means of paving the way for the influx of different religions into Kerala. During the Middle ages, Islam, Christianity and Jews came to Kerala through Arabs, Portuguese and Dutch who came to the port areas of Kerala for trade. This influx of different religious sects paved the way for a cultural exchange in Kerala. Later, the Arabs started coming to Kerala only for religious propaganda, following the Arab traders.

In Kerala, Islam became very popular in the coastal areas of Malabar. Although the first mosque was established in Kodungallur, most of the places of worship associated with the advent of Islam are found in the coastal areas of Kozhikode and Malapuram districts. Christianity took root in Thrissur and South Kerala. Jews settled in Mattancherry, part of Ernakulam district, and in some parts of Malabar. Many coastal people in Kerala converted as they were attracted by the

rituals of the new religions. This religious propaganda started from the coastal areas and later spread to the hinterland of Kerala.

During the same period, many domestic migrations to the Malabar region took place by sea for trade. Most of these migrations came from Kutch in Gujarat, Porbandar, Sindh in Multan and the coastal areas of Karnataka. As a result of these migrations, the coastal areas of Kozhikode and Malappuram became major trading streets.

Gujarathi street, Valiyagadi, Pattuthervu, and Chakkaravanibhatheruv are example of this. There were also many Alai Memon Muslim pantries on the shores of Kozhikode from Karnataka. Like this, Ponnani is the most famous town in Malappuram district. On the banks of the Ponnani, pantries still exist as evidence of the old commercial culture. It can be seen that Islam is very popular in Parappanangadi, Paravanna and Tanur.

Many ports have sprung up in the coastal areas of Malabar over the years. The ports of Malabar can be classified as ancient ports, medieval ports and modern ports. Ports were mostly built and used during the ancient and medieval times, when maritime trade was very important. The port was essential for the growth of trade relations centered on the coast. Places that once housed ancient and medieval ports are now often referred to as markets or towns. It can be seen that sea bridges were built during the British rule to promote coastal trade in Malabar. The importance of ports was lost as new means of cargo were discovered. This has also severely affected coastal commercial establishments. This change forced the people who had migrated to the coastal areas for trade to relocate.

The ports, which in the early days had the arrival and departure of ships, are now confined to small domestic exports. In Kozhikode district, Beypore port is the only port used today for travel and exports. Although Ponnani Port was once famous in Malapuram district, Ponnani has lost its status as a port city in modern times.

The sea has always been able to create huge changes with its presence even in a small area. Those changes continue today. It can be said with certainty that the

economic security and cultural diversity of Kerala came about by sea in the early days.

The fishing industry is one of the important factor which influences the sustainability of Kerala economic system. There are 222 fishing villages in Kerala. Among the 56 fishing villages are in Kozhikode and Malappuram district. The market price for the sea fish is very high in inlands, but the common fishermen did not get any benefit from these high market price. The majority part of the money goes to the owners of the boat and the Brokers (*Dhallal*), who acted as the negotiate between the fishermen's and the trader. In short, the beneficiaries of the fishermen's labour is there two groups, the fishing labours get insufficient wages that do not guarantee financial stability to them.

Following the mechanization of fishing, the traditional fishermen forced to work in mechanized boats for cheap wages. They approach money lenders in the cost to mend their boats and nets and the money lenders take the advantages of the communities miserable condition. Additionally, the fishermen borrow money from the boat owners, who there is no fishing jobs. This debits forced them to work without pay in the further days. So it can be sad that fishing is not a job that helps to meet the both ends. There will be lots of fishermen in most of the villages, who seeks jobs.

The fishermen don't have the opportunity to save money in the season where works are available. This condition leads them to struggles during the off season. This situation should be addressed by the welfare organization and cooperative societies. On contrary, these institutions are failed to perform up to the expectations. This also worsens their condition. The development of Malanad and Idanad can been in the lifestyle of the inhabitants. But such changes cannot be seen in the coastal region. Lack of adequate housing, safe drinking water, hospitals, and quality educational institutions are the examples for the challenges the coastal region faced. Some of the young people in the new generation of fishing communities tries to find better job opportunities outside the traditional fields. But, for those who seek better opportunities other than fishing don't have much facilities in the coastal region. So it

is the duty of the relevant organization to take appropriate actions to improve the working conditions and living conditions of coastal people.

The coastal region of Kerala is home to a large number of people who follow different rituals. Coastal people have adopted fishing as their main source of livelihood irrespective of caste or creed. Traditions, practices and their diversity can be seen in the fishing industry of Kerala, which includes Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Rituals vary but everyone is equal when it comes to traditional sea knowledge.

South Kerala, especially Thiruvananthapuram and Kollam, has the highest number of Christian fishermen. Here the social environment and personality of the fishermen revolve around the church. The church and the priest have an important place here. Fishermen regularly pay churches a certain amount of the price of the fish they catch. It is because churches receive such a steady income that they survive and are preserved.

In the Muslim-majority areas of North Kerala, the fishermen were concentrated in Mosques. The Muslim fishermen were organized into Mahallu Committees. Mahallu committees are not unique to the coastal region. They were concentrated in Mosques in other areas as well.

North Kerala is home to a large number of Hindu fishermen. Many temples can be seen in the coastal areas of Kozhikode, Kannur and Kasaragod districts. Most of these are Arayan temples. Most of the Hindu devotees are known as *Cheerumba* and *Koorumba*. Hindu fishermen have a tradition of organizing festivals or samajams (organisations) around the temple. Araya samajam, Dheevera samajam and Mukaya samajam are examples of this.

Another feature of the coastal areas of Malabar is the “*Kadalkodathi*” formed by different religious sects. The People’s Sea Court is an organizational body for dispute resolution. This organization is very important among the fishermen. Although there are no written rules, fishermen are aware of what the unwritten constitution of the sea court is. The Sea Court had the ability to deal with

trivial matters that could turn into communal issues. Today, the sea court system has collapsed in many places. The advent of modernity and the influx of monopolies into the fisheries sector have all led to the destruction of the traditional sea court. Some sea courts are still active in Kasargod districts due to their confinement within the framework of religion.

Everyone in our society is accustomed to live according to the characteristics of their environment. Traditional fishermen have a deep knowledge of the sea, just as the tribal peoples know about the forest and the farmers know about agriculture. Coastal people used to pass on their inherent knowledge to the next generation in their own indigenous language. They have rich knowledge about the locality of fish in the sea even when the ocean currents changes, knowledge of the stars, winds and about the currents in the sea.

Fishermen, irrespective of any states in India, have their own traditional knowledge. *Karanir, Puranir, Vadakkanneer, Thekkanneer, Vadakaraneer, Tengaraneer, Temprayilneer* are the names given to the sea currents by the fishermen of Kerala. They have high knowledge of where to fix their net even in the time of changing currents in the sea. Making use of this traditional knowledge they use different kinds of hook and nets in the process of fishing.

Similarly, there are many different kinds of waves that go from the *Theerakadal* to *Azhakadal*. Fishermen call them *Varanakadal thiramala, Idakadal thiramala, Vayya kadal thiramala, Padikadal thiramala, Thalivali, and Kamban thiramala*. Some waves are only visible during certain months. Fishermen in South Kerala call a particular wave as "*Kallakadal thiramala*". This is the name given to the waves that suddenly rise in the calm sea. In such waves, fishing boats are wrecked and fishing equipments are lost. This causes huge losses to the fishermen.

Traditional fishermen have a lot of astronomical knowledge. By looking at the stars they realizes the route in which they need to travel. *Kaniyavelli, Chottuvelli, Vidyavelli, Aarammeen, Malayameen, Mulakkameen, Kappalvelli, Kurisuvelli*, are the names given to different stars by fishermen. They also have

traditional tools in fishing. Nets and baits are the most important fishing gears used by them. They have separate nets for catching each type of fish. *Avolivala, Ayilachalavala, Nethalvala, Malanvala, Mathivala, Sravuvula and Thirandivala* are examples for them. *Kadumganivala, Ozhukkuvala, Veeshuvula, Kuthuvula, Nonavala, Neettuvula, Kambavala, Choondavala, Kuranguvula, Veppuvula* and *Paachuvula* are used to catch all types of fishes. All these nets have local name variations.

Fishing community is rich with the knowledge of different types of fishes. The local names of fishes, its locations, and times at which it appears in a particular area are known to the fishermen. Fishermen say that from January to May they catch “*Ayala, Matthi, Nethal, Chooda, Mullan, and Mantha*” and from June to August “*Chemeen, Ayala, Matthi, Nethal, Chooda, Mullan, Chamban*” and from September to December “*Ayala, Matthi, Nethal, Koonthal, Mullan, Sravu, Avoli and Ayakoora*.”

Kerala has been exporting large quantities of fish to foreign countries and other states since time immemorial. This is due to the hard work of the fishermen. In the past, there were *Chappas* along the coast, where fish was dried and kept in abundance. Such *Chappas* existed in all the coastal areas of Kerala. The works in *Chappa's* were the main source of livelihood for many Local women in the coastal areas.

Coastal people have their own songs, proverbs, and other pastimes. All of this came from their daily lives. The songs are used by the coastal people to ease the hard work. *Thottam paattu, Sinthu paattu, Amba and Jabab, Pathemari paattu, Kolkali paattu Kaikotti paattu* are still a part of the coastal culture and fishermen's sea knowledge.

The impacts of mechanization have far reaching effects than coastal region. It also influences the Kerala's food sector. Fish is one of the delicious food in the dining table of the Keralites. The mechanization of fishing transformed fisheries sector and it become largely commercial. The fishing boats stays at the sea for more than ten days, some of them remains there for 15-16 days. As a result, fish available

at the market labeled a 'fresh' have been stored on the boat for more than 10-16 days. Fish caught on the first day are preserved with ices but when more valuable fish are caught, the ices shifted to them. The chemicals like formalin and ammonium, which used to preserve fish is always kept in the boat. This long kept fish become contaminated and due to bacterial infection are particularly "Staphylococcus aureus". This Bacteria causes gastroenteritis problems. Eating stale fish can cause Diarrhea, Cholera and Typhoid. The presents of the Bacteria Typhurium, which caused Typhoid can be seen even in cooked fish. This highlighted the seriousness of eating such fish.

More than 42% of the fish and related food items rejected by the United State and European Union due to contamination. Even though these products gone export quality lists, these products were rejected. Since 2010 Indian fish and related food s items was rejected by United State at least 10 times. This pinpoints the consequences of the mechanized fishing, it influences the *Malanad*, *Idanad* and the Coastal regions. Simultaneously even today even today, if the people want to get fresh fish, they have to rely on traditional fishermen who return within 24 hours after catching fish.

Mechanization and modernity brings drastic changes to the coastal region. Yet these are failed to deliver any kind of positive socio-economic impact in the life of common fishermen. Even after the modernization, the common fishermen continue to face socio-economic and educational backwardness. There are lots of developments in Midland of Kerala due to modernization. It influences the living condition of the people positively. On contrary, only the Boat owners and Brokers of the fish trade reaped the benefits of the coastal development.

Fishing is a dangerous job which demands lots of physical strength. But the fishermen who risked their life are underpaid. More than that, different development project which was aimed the development of the coastal region resulted the loss of both their livelihood and homes.

Lack of grass root development in the coastal region, the fishermen community remained as marginalized even after years. The community is facing increased natural disasters continuously. So they need adequate assistance programs. It is the duty of the government to ensure that the programs delivered on the proper hands.

Likewise, it is important to reserve a specific percentage of seats in higher educational institutional and implementing a designated cut-off relaxation in entrance exams would help in the fishermen's children to advance academically. Now fisheries related subjects in the academic arena is very limited. The children of the fishermen were forced to take family responsibilities after SSLC and Plus Two. The children's are compelled to take sea jobs and look after their families even after completing the primary education. These challenges should be properly addressed, otherwise fishermen community would not be able reach a sustainable progress.

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GLOSSARY

Achanmar	-	The head of Hindu fishing community and sea court.
Arayan	-	Fishermen of Kerala commonly known as Arayan
Ayala	-	Mackerel.
Cheerumbha	-	The mother god of Hindu fishing community.
Chemmeen	-	Prawn.
Chetti	-	A merchant community who lived in South India.
Choonda	-	Bait.
In board engine	-	Small Boat Attached Machine.
Kadalkodathy	-	Sea Court.
Kallakadal	-	The phenominon of sudden waves.
Kandal	-	Mangrove forest.
Kanicham Nokal	-	Looking in the direction from the Sea to Land.
Kappal paaruvu	-	Sunken Ship become reef.
KSMTF	-	Kerala Swathanthrya Mathsya Thozhilali federation.
LCMF	-	Latin Catholic Mathsya Thozhilali federation.
Maal	-	A Type of rope basket made as coconut husk.
Mathy	-	Sardine.
Meen	-	Fish.
Neeru	-	Sea Current.
Njandu	-	Crab.
Out bord Engine	-	The Machine untied after fishing.
Ozhukkuvala	-	Floating net.
Paarukal	-	Natural Reefs.
Pathemari	-	A Type of wooden ship used as Cargo boat in Ponnani region.

Bibliography

Pemberennothi kavichikal	-	Women poets in Ponnani region.
Polappu	-	Symptom.
RS	-	Rupees
Sranku	-	Driver of Fishing boat and Pathemari.
Sravu	-	Shark.
Tharakanmar	-	Broker.
Thiramala	-	waves.
Thura	-	Port or nearest place of Coast.
Uru	-	A type of wooden boat built at Beypore.
Vala	-	Net.

Appendix I

Sl. No.	Fishing Villages of Kozhikode District	Grama Pachayath/ Corporation/Block
1	Chaliyam	Kadalundi Grama panchayath
2	Beypore	Beypore Grama panchayath
3	Kapakkal	Kozhikode Corporation
4	Thekkekadapuram	Kozhikode Corporation
5	Maradu	Beypore Grama panchayath
6	Vellayil	Kozhikode Corporation
7	Puthiyakadavu	Kozhikode Corporation
8	Thoppayil	Kozhikode Corporation
9	Kampuram	Kozhikode Corporation
10	Puthiyangady	Kozhikode Corporation
11	Pallikkandy	Kozhikode Corporation
12	Puthiyappa South	Kozhikode Corporation
13	Puthiyappa North	Kozhikode Corporation
14	Elathoor	Elathoor Grama panchayath
15	Kannankadavu	Chemancherry Grama panchayath
16	Edakkadavu	Chemancherry Grama panchayath
17	Ezhukudikkal	Chengottukavu Grama panchayath
18	Valiyamangadu	Koyilandi Corporation
19	Cheriyamangadu	Koyilandi Corporation
20	Virunnukandy	Koyilandi Corporation
21	Quilandy	Koyilandi Corporation
22	Mudady	Mudady Grama panchayath
23	Vanmughom	Mudady Grama panchayath/ Panthalayani Block
24	Thikkodi	Mudady Grama panchayath
25	Melady	Payyoli Grama panchayath
26	Iringal	Payyoli Grama panchayath
27	Vadagara South	Vadagara Block
28	Kuriyadi	Chorode Grama panchayath

29	Vadagara North	Vadagara Block
30	Mattungal	Chorode Grama panchayath
31	Madappally	Onchiyam Grama panchayath
32	Madakkara	Onchiyam Grama panchayath
33	Chombola	Azhiyoor Grama panchayath
34	Azhiyoor	Azhiyoor Grama panchayath

Appendix II

Sl. No.	Fishing Villages of Malappuram District	Grama Pachayath/ Corporation/Block
1	Palapetty	Perumbadappu Grama panchayath
2	Veliyancodu	Veliyancodu Grama panchayath
3	Puduponnani	Ponnani Municipality
4	Thekkekadappuram	Ponnani Municipality
5	Mukkadi	Ponnani Municipality
6	Marakkadavu	Ponnani Municipality
7	Meentheruvu	Ponnani Municipality
8	Pallivalappu	Mangalam Grama panchayath
9	Purathur	Kootayi Grama panchayath
10	Koottayi	Kootayi Grama panchayath
11	Paravanna	Vettam Grama panchayath
12	Thevarakadappuram	Vettam Grama panchayath /Tanur Grama panchayath
13	Puthiyakadappuram	Niramaruthur Grama panchayath
14	Cheerankadappuram	Tanur Grama panchayath
15	Ossankadappuram	Tanur Grama panchayath
16	Pandakadappuram	Tanur Grama panchayath
17	Edakkadappuram	Tanur Grama panchayath
18	Koramankadappuram	Tanur Grama panchayath
19	Elarankadappuram	Tanur Grama panchayath
20	Parappanagadi	Parappanagadi Municipality
21	Arayankadappuram	Parappanagadi Municipality
22	Ariyalloor Beach	Vallikunnu Grama panchayath
23	Kadalundy Beach	Vallikunnu Grama panchayath

Appendix III

District-wise distribution of Coastline of Kerala			
Sl. No	District	Length of Coast Line (in Km)	Percentage to Total
1	Thiruvananthapuram	78	13.2
2	Kollam	37	6.3
3	Alappuzha	82	13.9
4	Ernakulam	46	7.8
5	Thrissur	54	9.2
6	Malappuram	70	11.9
7	Kozhikode	71	12
8	Kannur	82	13.9
9	Kasargode	70	11.9
Total		590	100

Source- Fisheries Department Kerala (<https://fisheries.kerala.gov.in/en/marine-fisheries>)

Appendix 1V



Making Meen Chappa at Ponnani, Personal Collection



**Traditional Meen Chappa at Chappapadi,
Parappanangadi. Personal Collection**

Appendix V

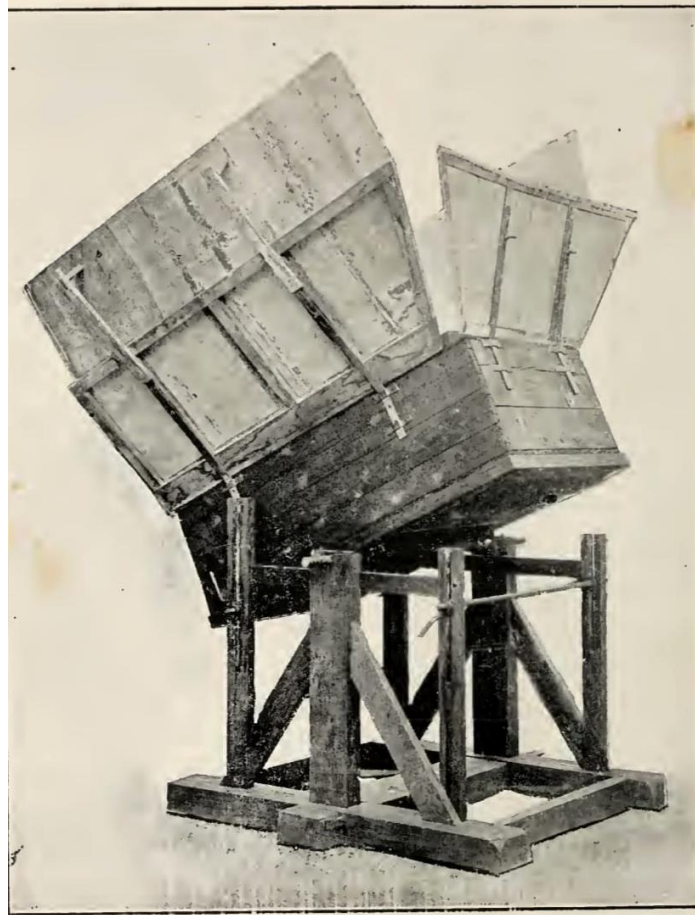


“Rising Sea Level Pose Threat to Homes” Ponnani, Personal Collection



Coastal Road Near Ariyallur Damaged in Sea Erosion, Personal Collection

Appendix VI



Photograph of Solar Oven, Chaliyam

Source: Madras Fisheries Bulletin, Vol-XIII, No.3



Mukkuvas of Malabar

Source: Cochin Tribes And Castes, 1909.

Appendix VII

**അഖില കേരള സ്വതന്ത്ര മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളി
പൊന്യേഷൻ - കൊല്ലം ജില്ല**

**86 ജൂലൈ 24 വ്യാഴം
പണിമുടക്ക്, ഹർത്താൽ,
ഹൈവേ പിക്നിംഗ്**

പ്രമാണ: ഐ.സി.ഡി.ആർ. പരിശീലിത സിന്ദർബ്ബാ! കല്ലട ലോറൻസ് സിന്ദർബ്ബാ!!

K.S.M.F Strike Notices-1

കേരള സ്വതന്ത്ര മത്സ്യത്തൊഴിലാളി ഫെഡറേഷൻ
 രജി: നമ്പർ. 155/83

രജി: നമ്പർ. 155/83

സമരത്തിലേക്ക്

തൊഴിലാളി സഹായകര,

[illegible]

K.S.M.F Strike Notices-2

Appendix VIII



**“Meen Kova Varavu” A Temple Festival Ritual of Mukaya Temple
Mannampurathukavu, Personal Collection**



**Big Fishing Boats Parking in Karuvanthiruthy Kadavu at the Trawling Season,
Personal Collection**

Appendix IX



Group of Fishermen Making Fishing Net at Tanur, Personal Collection



Traditional Fish Processing (Dried) Yard at Puthiyappa , Personal Collection

Appendix X



"Calicut Fisherwomen. "

Fisherwomen of Calicut,1901, Source- Basel Mission Archives



THE KATARAYANS.

The Katarayans of Malabar, Source:Cochin Tribes And Castes,1909.

Appendix XI



**Vijay Singh Padhashi, Senior Gujarathi Businessman, Gujarathi Street,
Personal Collection**

Appendix XII

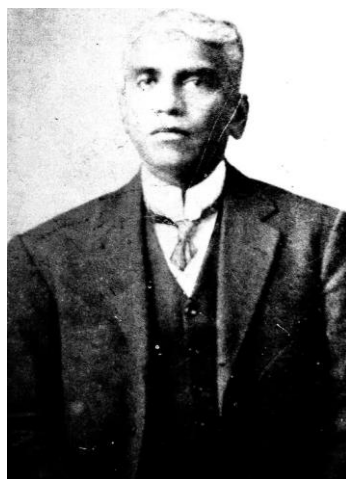


Parsi Anjuman Baug, Kerala's only Parsi fire temple, Kozhikode, Personal Collection

Appendix XII



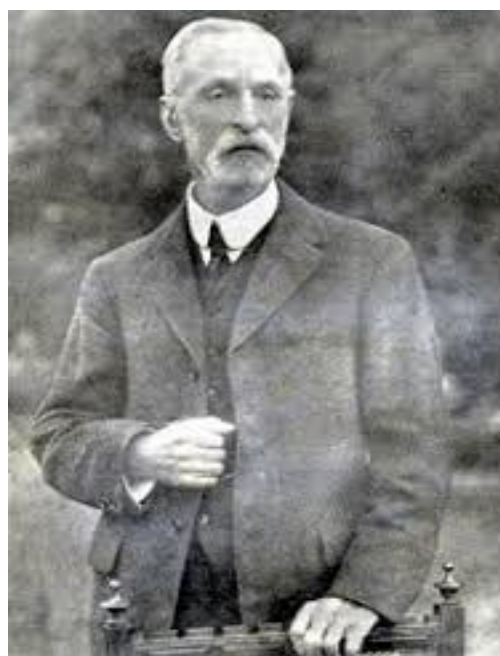
**Dr. V.V Velukutty
Arayan**



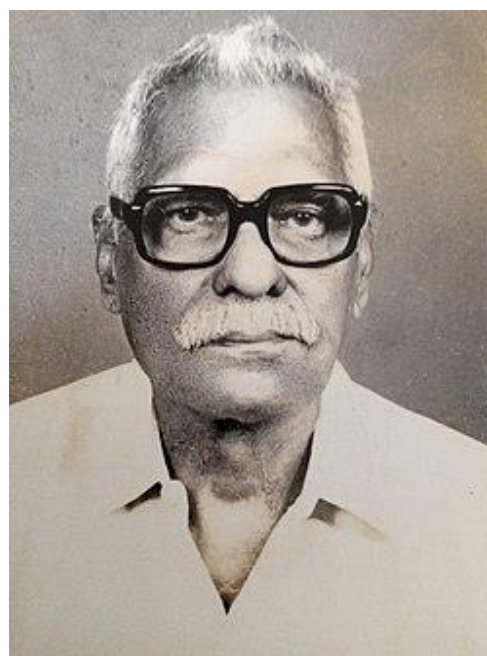
Rao Bahadur Govindan



Pandit Karuppan



Sir Federich Nicholson



P.K Deever

(Source- Wikipedia)