

Appendices

Appendix 1

**Table 2 : Table of mañcāṭi, vīcam and cevvu of pearls
(Muttukkaṇakkalla line no.1-166)**

muttu	cevvu
1 mā	1 kāṇi
1½ mā	½ mā
2 mā	1 mā 2 mākāṇi
2 mā mukkāṇi	1 mā mukkāṇi
3 mā	2 mā araikkāṇi
3 kāṇi	2 mākāṇi araikkāṇi muntiri
3½ mā	2 mā mukkāṇi araikkāṇi
3 mā mukkāṇi	3 mākāṇi
4 mā	3 mā mukkāṇi
4 mākāṇi	4 mākkāṇi
4½ mā	4 mā mukkāṇi
4 mā mukkāṇi	5 mākāṇi
5 mā	5 mā mukkāṇi araikkāṇi
5 kāṇi	kāl 1 mākkāṇi araikkāṇi muntiri
5 arai	7 mā muntiri
5 mā mukkāṇi	kāl 7 mā mukkāṇi
6 mā	8 mākkāṇi 3 muntiri
6 mākāṇi	9 mā araikkāṇi
6 mā arai	½
6 mā mukkāṇi	½ arai vīcam
7 mā	½ 1 mā
7 mākāṇi	½ 2 mākkāṇi muntiri
7 mā arai	½ 3 māvum araikkāṇi muntiri
7 mā mukkāṇi	½ 4 mā muntiri
mañcāṭi (8 mā)	¾
1 vīcam	¾ 1 mā mukkāṇi araikkāṇi muntiri
onṇaraikkāl	¾ 4 mā

muttu	cevvu
onṇaya 3 vīcam	Mā araikkāṇi muntiri
onṇēkāl	Onru 3 mā kāṇi araikkāṇi muntiri
onṇēkāl vīcam	1¼ mukkāṇi muntiri
onṇaya kāl araikkāl	(1) mākkāṇi araikkāṇi
onṇēkāl 3 vīcam	1½ 1 mā
onṇarai	1½ 3 mā mukkāṇi
onṇarai vīcam	1¾ 1½ mā muntiri
onṇaraiyē araikkāl	2
onṇaraiyē 3 vīcam	2 irumā mukkāṇi
onṇē mukkāl	2¼ mukkāl vīcam
onṇē mukkāl vīcam	2½
onṇē mukkāl araikkāl	2½ reṇṭu mā mukkāṇi
onṇē mukkāl 3 vīcam iṭai	2¾ mākkāṇi
2	3
2 vīcam	3 mūvīcam
2½ (vīcam)	3¼ araikkāl kāṇi
2 mūṇru vīcam	3½ mākkāṇi araimā
2¼	3¾ mukkāl vīcam
2 kāl vīcam	4 araikkāṇi muntiri
2¼ araikkāl	4 araimā araikkāṇi
2¼ mūṇru vīcam	4¼ nālu mā araikkāṇi
2½	4½ mūṇumā mukkāṇi
2½ mākkāṇi	4¾ mūṇrumā
2½ reṇṭu vīcam	5 mummākkāṇi araikkāṇi
2½ mūṇru vīcam	5 eṭṭu mā
2¾	5½ mūṇu mākkāṇi araikkāṇi muntiri
2¾ vīcam	5¾ 3mā ½mā araikkāṇi
2¾ araikkāl	6 nālu mā
2¾ mūṇru vīcam	6 mākkāṇi
3	6¾
3 vīcam	7½ vīcam
3 araikkāl	6 mā
3 mūvīcam	7½ araikkāl

muttu	cevvu
3¼	7¼ araikkālē mukkāl vīcam
Muṇ kāl vīcam	8 nāṇ mā
3¼ araikkāl	8½ (mā) mukkāṇi
3¼ mūṇru vīcam	8¾ araikkāl
3½	9 mūṇru vīcam
3½ mākāṇi	9½ kāṇi araikkāṇi
3½ araikkāl	9¾ araikkāl
3½ vīcam	10 nālu mā
3¾	10½ mukkāl vīcam
3¾ mākāṇi	10¾ mummā
3¾ araikkāl	11¼ kāṇi
3¾ mūṇru vīcam	11½ araikkāl
4	12

**Table 3: Table of mañcāṭi and cevvu of pearls
(Muttukkaṇakkalla line no.167-229)**

mañcāṭi	cevvu
araikkāṇi muntiri	60
kāṇi araikkāṇi	40
araimā	30
araimā araivīcam	24
mukkāṇi	20
mukkāṇi muntiri irumuntiri	16
oru vīcam	12
oru mā arai mā	10
2 mā	7 ½
2 ½ mā	6
3 mā	5
3 mā mukkāṇi	4
4? Kālaṭuttu	3
7 māvarar	2
1 mā	1 mukkāl araikkāl
½ mā	1½ vīcam
2 mā	1¼
mukkāl	1
1	mukkāl
1 ½	arai
2	kālē araikkāl
3	¼
3 ¾	4 mā
4	3 mā mukkāṇi
5	3 mā
6	araikkāl
7	araikkāṇi
8	1 mā mukkāṇi araikkāṇi

mañcāṭi	cevvu
10	1 mā
12	vīcam
15	1 mā
16	$\frac{3}{4}$ vīcam
20	mukkāṇi
24	araimā araikkāṇi
30	araimā
40	kāṇi araikkāṇi
60	kāṇi
80	araikkāṇi muntiri

**Table 4 :Table of kaḷañcu and cevvu value of pearls
(Muttukkaṇakkalla line no. 230-314)**

kaḷañcu	cevvu
8	30
12	25
15	20
16	18 $\frac{3}{4}$
20	15
24	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
25	12
30	10
35	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ vīcam araikkāṇi muntiri
40	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
45	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ mūṇṇumā (tirakkāṇa) muntiri
50	6
55	?? 9 mā
(60)	??
65	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ mōvum araikkāṇi muntiri
70	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ araimāvum araikkāṇi muntiri
75	4
80	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
85	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ muntiri
90	3 arumāvaraiyuṭaṇ araikkāṇi
95	3 mummā araikkāṇi
100	3
120	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
150	2
160	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ araikkāl
200	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
240	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
250	1 nālu mā

kaḷaṇcu	cevvu
300	1
320	$\frac{3}{4}$ vīcam
400	$\frac{3}{4}$
480	araikkāl
600	araimā
700?	$\frac{1}{2}$ 8 māvuṭaṇ araimāvum muntiri
800	kālaraikkāl
900	aṛumā araiyuṭaṇē araikkāṇi
1000	āṛumā
1200	$\frac{1}{4}$
1500	4mā
1600	3mā mukkāṇi
2000	3mā
3000	2mā
4000	1mā

Appendix 2

Table 5: Table of āṇi gold with distinct measure māttu

āṇi vakai	māttu
2	2 veṭṭu
2½	2 pulli
3	3 veṭṭu
3½	3 pulli
4	4 veṭṭu
4½	4 pulli
5	5 veṭṭu
5¼	3 pulli
5½	2 pulli
5¾	1 pulli
6	4 veṭṭu
6¼	pullaṭiyum kīlcāyppum pōkkaṭitu
6½	pulliyē meyyākum
6¾	pullaṭimēl veṭṭākum
7	3 veṭṭu
7¼	1 cāyppu
7½	2 veṭṭu
7¾	1 pulli
8	2 cāyppu
8¼	veṭṭu mēl viṭṭām
8½	pullaṭiyām
8¾	5 veṭṭu
9	4 veṭṭu
9¼	3 veṭṭu
9½	2 veṭṭu
9¾	1 veṭṭu

āṇi vakai	māttu
10	uvamai uṇṭō (uncomparable)

Table 6: Table of Quality of pearls

Quality of pearls
varai (lines)
kaṛai (stains)
kuru (red dots)
cuppiram (white specks)
tiraṅkal (wrinkles)
pāṭaṇ (artificial joining for shining)

(the English translation and descriptions that go with the names, (within the bracket) are as given by the editors of the relevant South Indian Inscription volumes)

Table 7: Table of Kinds of pearl – listed in inscriptions

Kinds of pearl – listed in inscriptions
vaṭṭam (round pearls)
aṇuvaṭṭam (roundish pearls)
oppu muttu (polished pearls)
kuṛu muttu (small pearls)
nimpōlam
payiṭṭam
ampumutu
kaṛaṭu (crude pearls)
iraṭṭai (twin pearls)
cappatti
cakkattu
kuḷirnta nīr (brilliant water pearls)
civanta nīr (red water pearls)
puñca muttu (pearls in clusters)
tōl tēyntaṇa (pearls with rubbed surface)
tōliṭantana (pearls with cracked surface)
ippi paṛru (shell pearls)
arāviṇa
pāṇiccāy (pearls resembling toddy in colour)
parumuttu (probably, big pearls)

Kinds of pearl as mentioned and listed in Tamil inscriptions selected from South Indian Inscription volumes. 2 (vol. I - No. 3, 78; vol. II – No. 34, 44, 59); 5 (No. 520, 521).

Appendix 3

Weights & measures related to the oriental pearl trade: the origin of the chau

- Anie MONTIGNY¹⁷⁰

The processes involved in calculating and evaluating pearls for selling are in relation to weights and measures' history. Like in most of the countries of the world the weights and measures changed depending of countries and places. In spite of the creation of the international weights and measures office in 1875, it could take time before the standardization. But only in 1907, at the 4th general conference of Weights & Measures held in Paris, that was approved the proposition of the International Committee of the integrity of the metric system in the adoption of the appellation of the metric carat to designate a weight of 200 milligrams for the commerce of diamonds, pearls and precious stones (Kunz & Stevenson, 1908: 327).

The valuating of the oriental pearl (I mean from the Red Sea, the Arabian Gulf and former Ceylon and not all the pearls from marine water origin) was not made in carat or grain but in chau . These, carat, grain, chau, are not a weight but a mass value after squaring the weight of the pearl.

Thus, to valueate pearls, we have 2 aspects to consider:

- The value of the weight,
- The valuation of the pearl depending of its size, shape, color, quality (its water and luster) and the market's prices.

This is the most difficult aspect since these valuations to pearls require much knowledge and practice, even more than precious stones in order to determining their quality and perfection.

1st, the largest pearls are selected by the merchant, then weighted and valued individually by chau . Other large one would also be weighted and valued but in size groups after being passed through grade sieves (al-tassat).

To weight the pearls was a delicate matter in the past since the merchant could use a different weight from Bahrain, Qatar, Bombay, Poona... It means that the same pearl had not the same value in all the countries, because weights' variation.

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For example (after Lorimer, 1970):

in Qatar, 1 mithqâl = 66 habbat = 160 grains

in Bahrain, 1 mithqâl = 66 habbat = 150 grains

in Bombay, 1 mithqâl = 24 ratti = 74 grains

in Poona, 1 mithqâl = 24 ratti = $68 \frac{3}{4}$ grains.

(Notes that in India, calculation was in ratti not in mithqâl; but observe that the qatari mithqâl was the most advantageous for the purchaser if the seller would be fair).

The valuation of the pearl was and still is in western countries made after the carat and/or the grain; and in the Gulf, in India and former Ceylon the unit was and still is (for the Gulf) the chau; in fact the carat and the chau are a mass unit.

From Kunz & Stevenson (1908: 330-1) who wrote a wonderful book on pearls, the usual method of estimating the value of pearls is by establishing a base value for those weighing one grain and then multiplying this amount by the square of the number of grains that the pearl weighs.

For instance, if the base value of one grain pearl should be fixed at \$ 1, a pearl weighing 2 grains would be worth \$ 4 ($2 \times 2 = 4$), or \$ 2 per grain; one weighing 5 grains would be worth \$ 25, or \$ 5 per grain, etc.

This method of estimating pearls by squaring their weight has been credited by many authors. For instance David Jeffries who published a treatise on diamonds and pearls in 1750-1753; or the traveller and jeweller Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (mid 17th century) and more especially Anselmus de Boot, who was probably the 1st westerner to employ this method and who wrote a treatise on precious stones in 1609. Before that date Kunz & Stevenson did not find any mention of the computation of the value of diamonds and pearls by squaring their weight and multiplying the product by a base of any money.

But we can say that each author has its own method of valuation. For instance de Boot makes the carat (equivalent to 4 grains) his unit of comparison, increasing his base value by $\frac{1}{3}$ for pearls weighing 11 carats (44 grains) or over.

As Kunz & Stevenson (1908: 335) put it, it is probable that this system is of oriental origin and it may have come to Europe through some of the oriental traders, with the precious stones, as did the use of the carat.

The word *carat* is from arab origin since it comes from *qîrât* which is the carob grain. The grain was the smallest unit of mass measurement once in use and its weight is 0,053 g. One of the oldest treatises of precious stones and related to pearls is Al-Beruni's book on mineralogy written in 4th H/10 A.D. Al-Beruni also mentioned how complicate the valuation of pearls is. He just gives examples of pearls' prices related to *qîrât* after different authors astronomers / philosophers like Al-Kindi (3H/9A.D.)) (Said, 1989: 105-107). Kunz & Stevenson (1908: 334-5) mention a sanscrit treatise even older, of 1st H/7. A.D.

In former Ceylon (actual Sri Lanka) and India the system of pearl-grading and valuing seems very ancient. Only the value of superior pearls was and is computed from the square of their weight. The value of the inferior pearls is determined by their weight. The same system exists in the Gulf. Pearls are first grouped according to size, then divided in 10 grades by passing them successfully through ten brass sieves; each sieve having holes of different size for graduating. Sometime, merchants had different measures with one set of sieves for selling, another for buying!

Usually 12 classes of best pearls are recognized, then divided by quality, shape and luster and weighed. In Ceylon the unit of weight was the *manchâdi*, the seed of *Abrus Precatorius*, a small, red berry of practically uniform weight when ripe. H.W. Gillman (1887: 32-35) of the Ceylon Civil Service reports the weight of the *manchâdi* to be 3.35 grain troy (that's means a mass unit). Fractional parts of a unit are obtained by using the grain of rice, called *kundumani*. A brass weight, the *kalanchû*, is also employed; it equals 67 grains or 20 *manchâdi*.

But the best pearls are valued as so much per chevû of their weight, which is $\frac{3}{4}$ of the square of the weight in *manchâdi*.

Thus, to find the value of the pearl called *a'ni* (which is the 1st class of pearls estimated in chevû), weighing 4 *manchâdi*, it gives the following calculation: $4 \times 4 = 16$; then $\frac{3}{4} \times 16 = 12$ *manchâdi* x 11 star pagodas (local money of the time and price per chevû) = 132 star pagodas or 462 Roupies. This is an example.

In fact many way of calculation of the mass value are given by the different authors. And it seems very difficult to find out a uniform denominator.

For instance J.G. Lorimer, who computed the data collected by the British officers around 1900, made a round figure in order to have a fix fractional figure.

Since long time the merchants have a set of tables showing the calculations for different weights. In the Gulf this is the *kitab al-la'î*.

The actual calculation is very interesting and referred to the past. This is why I should mention my recent discovery: the origin of the word *chau* (Montigny, 2009).

To calculate the value of pearls several methods are in use today. This was given me by a Mombay pearl trader, M. Siddarth Sarkar, member of the pearl traders' association, last year:

1. The weight in gram = $g \times g^2 \times 25$ = number of *chau*
2. $Ca = \text{carat}$; 5 carats = 1 g; 4,5 carats = 1 *mithqâl* $Ca \times Ca \times 88/135$ = number of *chau*.

A new set of tables was published by Hussein Al Fardan. The interesting aspect is that the calculation is now first made in carat, then, the equation 88/135 gives the *chau* of the weight, like H. Al Fardan published it.

Now I come to the origin of the word *chau*. In a paper written in 1858 by M. Gillman, reprinted by G. Vane in 1887 as an appendix, we have the connection between the word *chew* (which is written differently by authors: *chau*, *chaw*, *chew*, *chao*, *shaw*...). M. Vane was the acting treasurer of the pearl fisheries in Ceylon. His paper from 1887 was written after his own reports made for 1855-1860 and 1863 fisheries. These reports are a microfilm at the British Library archives in London (I.O.R.: V/23/238).

In these reports he does speak about the *chau*. He mentions it under the name *chew* (I.O.R. p. 12) and later on as *chevo* explaining that it is a local valuation for pearls. In his published paper 30 years later, he repeats the same two words (Vane, 1887: 22) and do the connection with Gillman's appendix. Kunz & Stevenson (1908: 347) did the same and speak about the number of *chevvû* or *chows* as they are sometimes called... , and add: the *chevvû* is only a nominal weight; but there is in India a real weight unit which bears this name .

In Gillman's paper I also notice that all the words relating to pearls' names and their qualities were written simultaneously in English and other local language with the exception of the word *chevvû* which is transcribed in Latin characters. After some researches I made contact with a colleague, Joseph Moudiappanadin, professor of Tamil language at the Institute of the Oriental Languages (INALCO in Paris). He, himself had difficulties in finding this word since it disappeared from tamil-tamil dictionaries after 1925. But the definition of the word is very clear: the *chevvû* is a unit of measure for the pearl weight (Bovanandampillai, 1925). It seems that already in 1858, when G. Gillman wrote his paper, the word was disappearing, since he did not transcribe it in Tamil characters. He probably recorded it after earring pearl traders

employing that word. And because the British influence and the obligation of the English language as the first language, the word shevvû vanished.

Another interesting point that Saddarth Sarkar mentioned to me is that the word chau is in use in Gujarati language. It has the meaning of valuating a person: to have chau, means that somebody has the full capacity of doing...

The sliding and the transformation of the word chevû in chau is interesting on more grounds than one, chiefly from the historical point of view. We know that the links between Indian continent and the Gulf were very important since long time. Even before the coming of the Portuguese in the area, the maritime trade was very active. Some years the pearl fishermen from the Gulf use to go to Ceylon for pearl diving that was usually organized in February or March. As other evidence of the close relations between the Gulf and the Indian continent: on some scales (al-mizân) in use for pearls in the Gulf countries, we can find the engraved name of Ahmedabad. Its trading activities made it a very rich city already before the Mogul Empire.

And we know that the late Shaîkh Jassim bin Mohammed bin Thanî was, among other qualities, a very active trader in pearls. After his death in 1913, through the transmission of his patrimony, we learned that he had the value of 6 lakhs of Rupees in Bombay (Mombay) (about 1020 000 Rs of 1905) (Montigny-Kozłowska, 1987: 43)¹⁷¹.

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Appendix 4

1 Muttukkaṇakku Manuscripts



Image 1

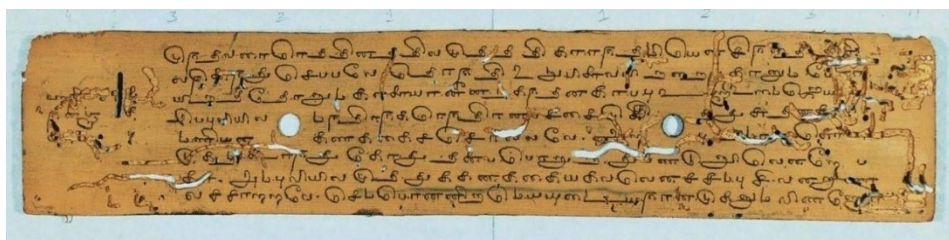


Image 2

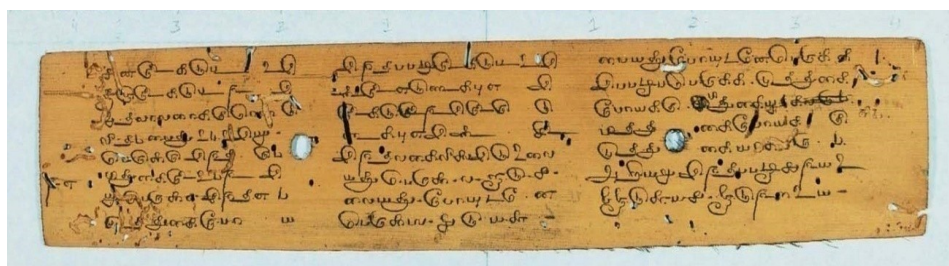


Image 3

Image 1 – 4: Folios of Muttukkaṇakku held in IFP collection, Mss .No.: RE33705. Image Courtesy French Institute of Pondicherry



Image 4



Image 5

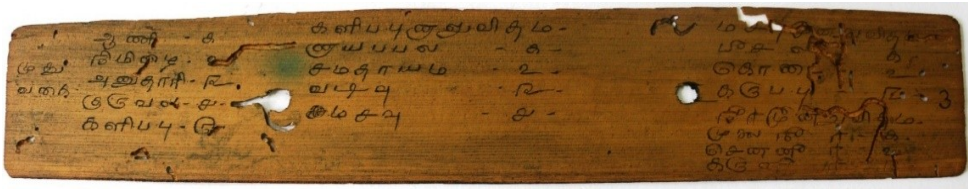


Image 6



Image 7

Image 5 – 7: Folios of Muttukkanakku held in ORI collection, Mss .No.: 8086B. Image Courtesy Oriental Manuscript Library, Thiruvananthapuram

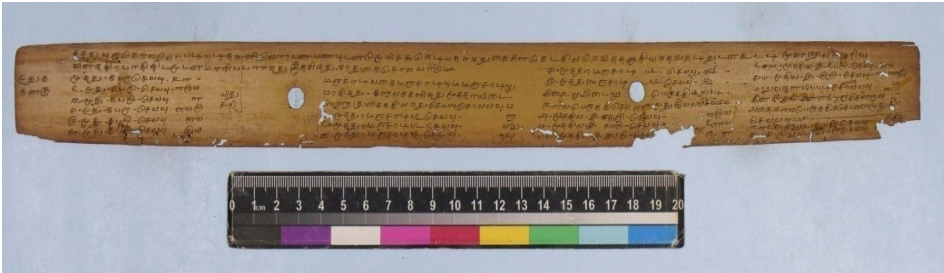


Image 8

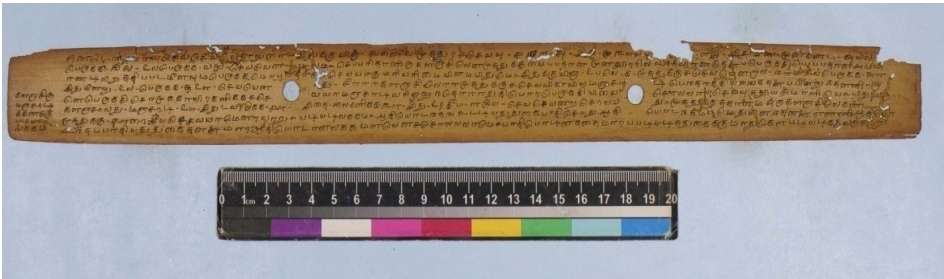


Image 9

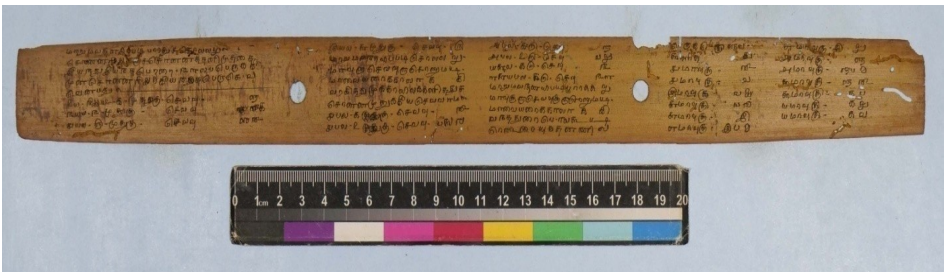


Image 10

Image 8 – 10: Muttukkanakku palm leaf manuscript held in GOML collection, Mss. No.: TD2877. Image Courtesy GOML, Chennai

2.a Advertisement in English for pearl fishing as appeared in the book 'The book of pearl'

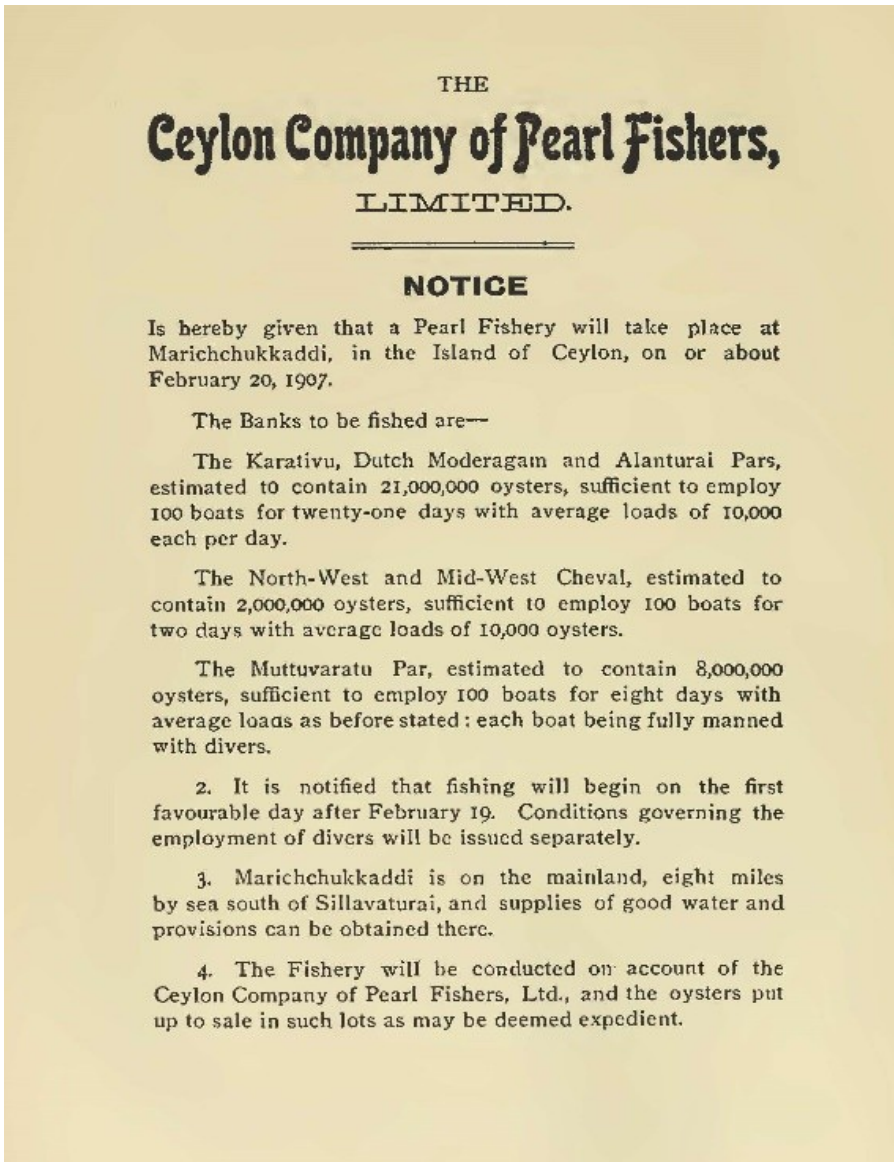


Image 11: English advertisement for Pearl Fishing, *The book of pearl*, Pg. No. 110, George Frederick Kunz and Charles Hugh Stevenson, *After* The Century Co., 1908

2.b Advertisement in Tamil for pearl fishing as appeared in the book 'The book of pearl'

இலங்கை முத்துக்குளிப்பு சங்கத்தார் லிமிட்டெட்.

1907-ம் ஆண்டு பெப்ரவரி மீ 20-ல் திகழியிலாவது அதற்கு சுற்றே முன் பின்னாவது இலங்கைத்தீவில் உள்ள மரிச்சிக் கடையில் முத்துக்குளிப்பு நடக்குமென்று இதனால் யாவருக்கும் அறிவித்தல் செய்யப்படுகிறது.

முத்துக்குளிப்பு நடக்கும் பார்களாவன:— காரத்தீவு, டச்சுமொடாகம், ஆலந்துலை பார்கள். இப்பார்களில் நாளொன்றுக்கு தோணி ஒன்றுக்குச் சராசரி 10,000 சிப்பிகள் வீதம் 100 தோணிகள் 21 நாள் முத்துக்குளிக்கப் போதுமான 21,000,000 சிப்பிகளிருக்கிறதென்று மதிப்பிடப் பட்டிருக்கிறது.

வடமேல், மேல்மத்திய செவல்பார், இப்பார்களில் தோணி ஒன்றுக்குச் சராசரி 10,000 சிப்பிகள் வீதம் 100 தோணிகள் 2 நாள் குளிக்கப்போதுமான 2,000,000 சிப்பிகளிருக்கிறதென்று மதிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

முத்துவரத்துப்பார், இப்பாசில் மேற் சொல்லப்பட்ட விதிப்படி 8000க்கு 100 தோணிகள் குளிக்கப்போதுமான 8,000,000 சிப்பிகளிருக்கிறதென்று மதிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

2. பெப்ரவரி மீ 19-ல் திகழிக்குப்பின் குளிப்புக்கு அனுசூலமென்று காணப்படும் முதல் லாளிலேயே முத்துக்குளிப்பு ஆரம்பமாகுமென்று இதனால் யாவருக்கும் அறிவித்தல் செய்யப்படுகிறது. முத்துக்குளிகாரர் சம்பந்தமாய் அனுசரிக்கப்படும் ஏற்பாடுகள் பிசுத்தியேகமாய் விளம்பரமாகும்.

3. மரிச்சிக் கடைய சலாபத்துறைக்குத் தெற்கே கடல் மாரக்கமாய் 5 மைல் தூரத்துக்குப்பால் கண்டத்தில் கடற்கரையேராமையிருக்கிறது, அங்கு உல்லாதண்ணீரும் உணவுக்குவேண்டிய பதார்த்தங்களும் கிடைக்கும்.

4. முத்துக்குளிப்பு இலங்கை முத்துக்குளிப்பு சங்கத்தாரின் கணக்கில் நடத்தப்படும், உரிதமென்று தோன்றுகிற தொகைகளாக சிப்பிகள் விற்கப்படும்.

Image 12: Tamil advertisement for Pearl Fishing, The book of pearl, Pg. No. 111, George Frederick Kunz and Charles Hugh Stevenson, After The Century Co., 1908

3 Pearl bank (Paar) map of colonial period

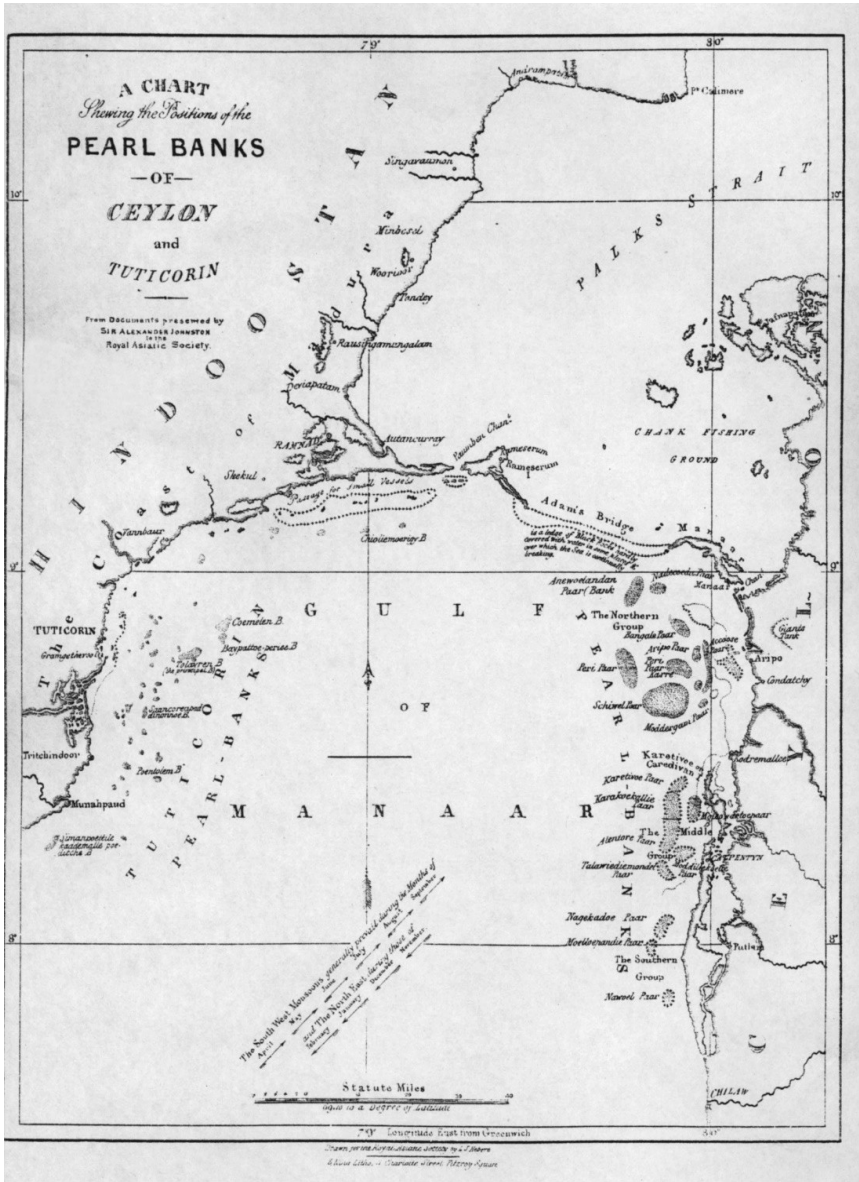


Image 13: Pearl bank (Paar) map of colonial period, Account of the Pearl Fisheries of the North-West Coast of the Island of Ceylon, Pg. No. 462, James Stuart, Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland , 1834, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1834), pp. 452-462 After Cambridge University Press

4.a Part of a report on pearl banks submitted to the British government, Colombo (Sri Lanka) in 19th century

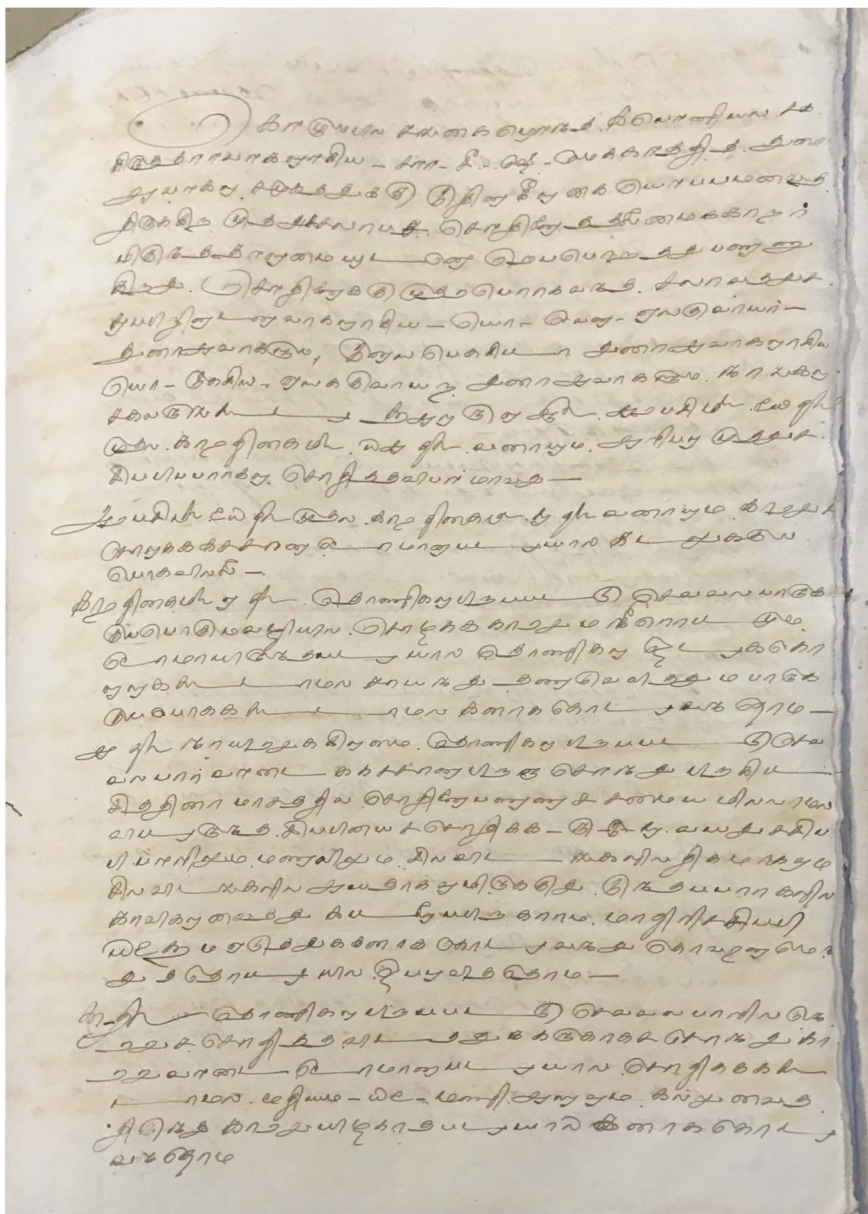


Image 14: Pearl bank report submitted to British government - 19th century. Image Courtesy Tamara Fernando

4.b Part of a report on pearl banks submitted to the British government, Colombo (Sri Lanka) in 19th century

17th March 1858.

This day I was ordered by the Superintendent of the Fishery to keep notes of the different classes of merchants that attended the fishery, the place, where they came from, the amount of their capital as far as I can be ascertained, their several plans or schemes devised in the purchase of oysters, the number of dealers in pearls, the value of pearls at the market & things that reach my observation or what I understand daily by Enquiry with a view that any such information collected by me will be of some use for the management of future fisheries.

The principal merchants that attended this year the fishery are the Maddoodda Chittis who had resorted here from Maracoddy on the Continent, their native country & great many of them from Colombo & only 5 Chittis from Ceylon. They are all as I understand about 180 in number & all members or partners of about 15 firms. These Chittis take the lead among all the ^{other} classes of merchants as they command a very large capital and always act upon union. I understand there were not so many Chittis at the fishery in 1854

but

Image 15: Pearl bank report submitted to British government - 19th century. Image Courtesy Tamara Fernando

5 Kind of Pearl as documented in the report

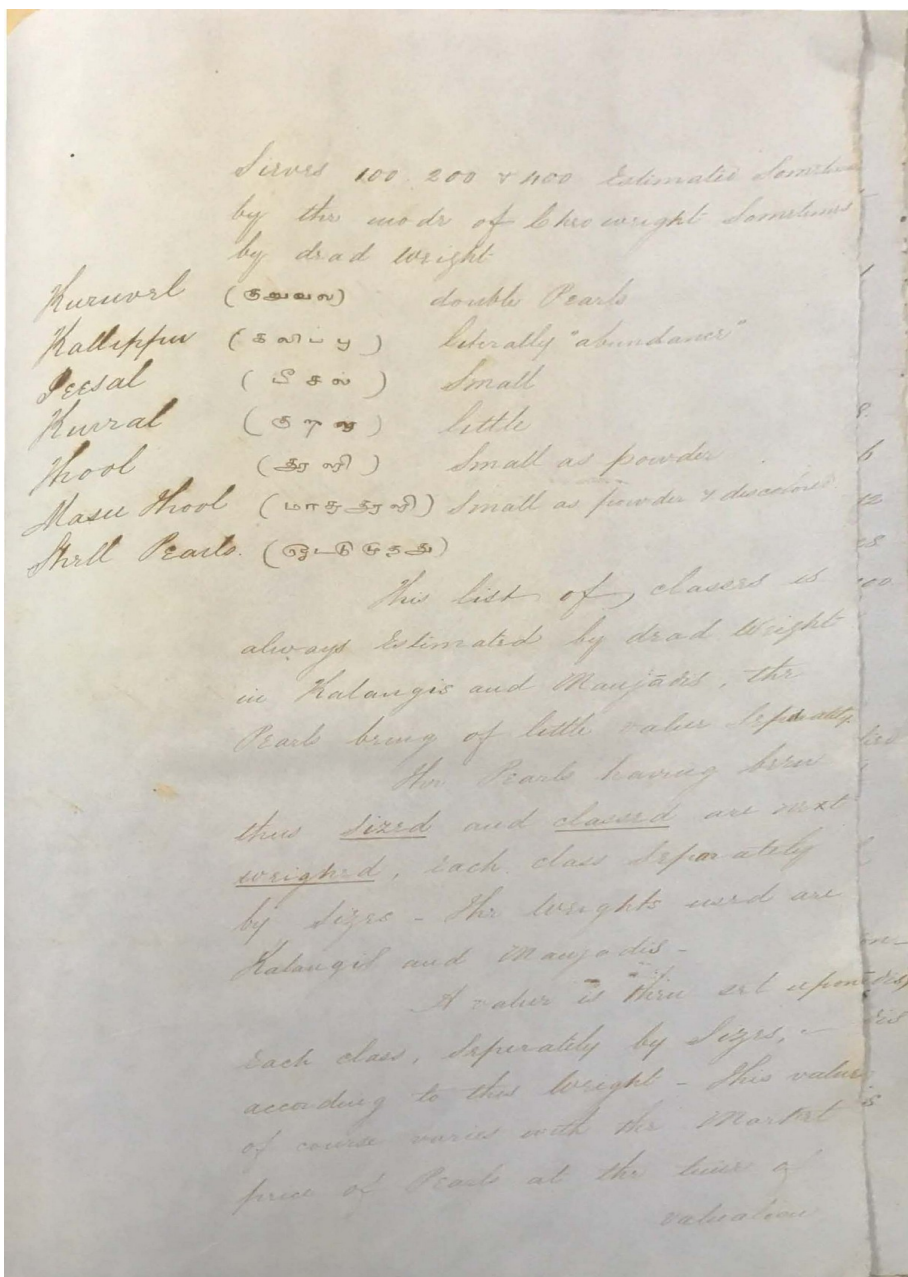


Image 16: Pearl bank report submitted to British government - 19th century. Image Courtesy Tamara Fernando

6 Paar map as documented in the report

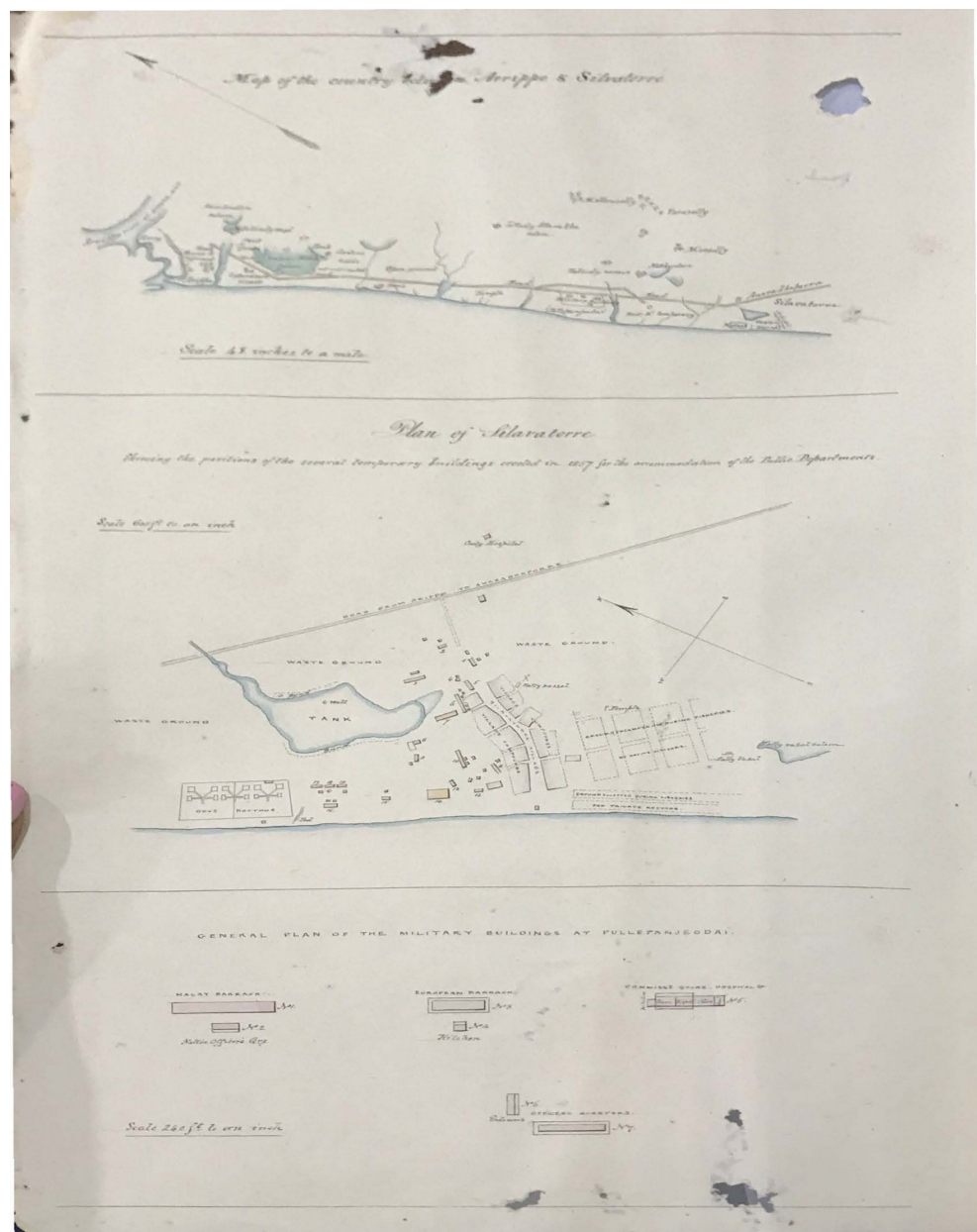


Image 17: Pearl bank report submitted to British government - 19th century. Image Courtesy Tamara Fernando

7 1952 – 1962 இல் முத்துக்குளித்தவர்கள்: தெரேஸ்புரம், தூத்துக்குடி,
People who dived for pearls between 1952 – 1962,
Therespuram, Thoothukudi



a. ஆறுமுகம், 85



b. முத்தையா, 90



c. தனுஷ்கோடி, 90



d. வேலையா. 98

Image 18 (a-d): Pearl divers, 1952 – 1962. Image Courtesy *Muthu. V. Prakash*



a. சண்முகவேல், 80



b. முக்கம்மாவும் அவரது குடும்பத்தினரும்

Image 19 (a,b): Pearl divers, 1952 – 1962. Image Courtesy Muthu. V. Prakash