

# Appendices

## Appendix 1

**Table 2 : Table of mañcāti, 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 mākāṇi
4½ mā	4 mā mukkāṇi
4 mā mukkāṇi	5 mākāṇi
5 mā	5 mā mukkāṇi araikkāṇi
5 kāṇi	kāl 1 mākāṇi araikkāṇi muntiri
5 arai	7 mā muntiri
5 mā mukkāṇi	kāl 7 mā mukkāṇi
6 mā	8 mākāṇi 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 mākāṇi muntiri
7 mā arai	½ 3 māvum araikkāṇi muntiri
7 mā mukkāṇi	½ 4 mā muntiri
mañcāti (8 mā)	¾
1 vīcam	¾ 1 mā mukkāṇi araikkāṇi muntiri
onṇaraikkāl	¾ 4 mā

muttu	cevvu
on̄naya 3 v̄icam	Mā araikkāṇi muntiri
on̄nēkāl	On̄ru 3 mā kāṇi araikkāṇi muntiri
on̄nēkāl v̄icam	1½ mukkāṇi muntiri
on̄naya kāl araikkāl	(1) mākkāṇi araikkāṇi
on̄nēkāl 3 v̄icam	1½ 1 mā
on̄narai	1½ 3 mā mukkāṇi
on̄narai v̄icam	1¾ 1½ mā muntiri
on̄naraiyē araikkāl	2
on̄naraiyē 3 v̄icam	2 irumā mukkāṇi
on̄rē mukkāl	2½ mukkāl v̄icam
on̄nē mukkāl v̄icam	2½
on̄nē mukkāl araikkāl	2½ reṇtu mā mukkāṇi
on̄nē mukkāl 3 v̄icam iṭai	2¾ mākkāṇi
2	3
2 v̄icam	3 mūv̄icam
2½ (v̄icam)	3¼ araikkāl kāṇi
2 mūn̄ru v̄icam	3½ mākkāṇi araimā
2¼	3¾ mukkāl v̄icam
2 kāl v̄icam	4 araikkāṇi muntiri
2¼ araikkāl	4 araimā araikkāṇi
2¼ mūn̄ru v̄icam	4¼ nālu mā araikkāṇi
2½	4½ mūṇumā mukkāṇi
2½ mākkāṇi	4¾ mūṇrumā
2½ reṇtu v̄icam	5 mummākkāṇi araikkāṇi
2½ mūn̄ru v̄icam	5 eṭtu mā
2¾	5½ mūṇu mākkāṇi araikkāṇi muntiri
2¾ v̄icam	5¾ 3mā ½mā araikkāṇi
2¾ araikkāl	6 nālu mā
2¾ mūn̄ru v̄icam	6 mākkāṇi
3	6¾
3 v̄icam	7½ v̄icam
3 araikkāl	6 mā
3 mūv̄icam	7½ araikkāl

<b>muttu</b>	<b>cevvu</b>
3½	7½ araikkälē mukkäl vīcam
Muṇ käl vīcam	8 nāṇ mā
3½ araikkäl	8½ (mā) mukkāṇi
3½ mūṇru vīcam	8¾ araikkäl
3½	9 mūṇru vīcam
3½ mākāṇi	9½ kāṇi araikkāṇi
3½ araikkäl	9¾ araikkäl
3½ vīcam	10 nālu mā
3¾	10½ mukkäl vīcam
3¾ mākāṇi	10¾ mummā
3¾ araikkäl	11¼ kāṇi
3¾ mūṇru vīcam	11½ araikkäl
4	12

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

mañcāti	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

<b>mañcāti</b>	<b>cevvu</b>
10	1 mā
12	vīcam
15	1 mā
16	$\frac{3}{4}$ vīcam
20	mukkāni
24	araimā araikkāni
30	araimā
40	kāṇi araikkāni
60	kāṇi
80	araikkāni muntiri

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

<b><i>kaļañcu</i></b>	<b><i>cevvu</i></b>
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 $\frac{1}{2}$ mūṇrumā (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 arumāvaraiyuṭan 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

<b>kalañcu</b>	<b>cevvu</b>
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	arumā araiyuṭaṇē araikkāṇi
1000	ārumā
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***

<b>āṇi vakai</b>	<b>māttu</b>
2	2 <i>vetṭu</i>
2½	2 <i>pulli</i>
3	3 <i>vetṭu</i>
3½	3 <i>pulli</i>
4	4 <i>vetṭu</i>
4½	4 <i>pulli</i>
5	5 <i>vetṭu</i>
5¼	3 <i>pulli</i>
5½	2 <i>pulli</i>
5¾	1 <i>pulli</i>
6	4 <i>vetṭu</i>
6¼	<i>pullatiyum kīlcāyppum pōkkaṭitu</i>
6½	<i>pulliyē meyyākum</i>
6¾	<i>pullatiṭimēl veṭṭākum</i>
7	3 <i>vetṭu</i>
7¼	1 <i>cāyppu</i>
7½	2 <i>vetṭu</i>
7¾	1 <i>pulli</i>
8	2 <i>cāyppu</i>
8¼	<i>veṭṭu mēl viṭṭām</i>
8½	<i>pullatiyām</i>
8¾	5 <i>vetṭu</i>
9	4 <i>vetṭu</i>
9¼	3 <i>vetṭu</i>
9½	2 <i>vetṭu</i>
9¾	1 <i>vetṭu</i>

<b>āṇī vakai</b>	<b>māttu</b>
10	uvamai uṇṭō (uncomparable)

**Table 6: Table of Quality of pearls**

Quality of pearls
varai (lines)
karai (stains)
kuru (red dots)
cuppiram (white specks)
tiraṅkal (wrinkles)
pāṭan (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**

<b>Kinds of pearl – listed in inscriptions</b>
vatṭam (round pearls)
anuvatṭam (roundish pearls)
oppu muttu (polished pearls)
kuru muttu (small pearls)
nimpōlam
payiṭṭam
ampumutu
karatu (crude pearls)
iraṭṭai (twin pearls)
cappatti
cakkattu
kuṭirnta nīr (brilliant water pearls)
civanta nīr (red water pearls)
puñca muttu (pearls in clusters)
tōl tēyntaṇa (pearls with rubbed surface)
tōliṭantāṇa (pearls with cracked surface)
ippi parru (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 MONTIGNY<sup>170</sup>

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 value 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 of pearls require much knowledge and practice, even more than precious stones in order to determine their quality and perfection.

1st, the largest pearls are selected by the merchant, then weighted and valued individually by chau. Other large ones 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.

---

170. Assistant Professor in Anthropology, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris

For example (aftter 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 aftter 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 weighting one grain and then multiplying this amount by the square of the number of grains that the pearl weights.

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 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 4<sup>th</sup> 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 chevvû of their weight, which is 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 chevvû), weighing 4 *manchâdi*, it gives the following calculation:  $4 \times 4 = 16$ ; then  $3/4 = 12$  *manchâdi* x 11 star pagodas (local money of the time and price per chevvû) = 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'lî*.

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 Mumbai pearl trader, M. Siddarth Sarkar, member of the pearl traders' association, last year:

1. The weight in gram =  $g \times g2 \times 25 =$  number of chau
2. Ca = 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 chevvû 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 Shaikh 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-Kozlowska, 1987: 43)<sup>171</sup>.

### Bibliography:

1. Bovanandampillai S 1925 *Dictionnaire tamoul-tamoul*. Madras.
2. Boot A. De 1609 *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia*. Hanoviae.
3. Fardan H. Al (s.d.) *kitab al-la'lî*. (Arabic- English), no editor.
4. Gillman H.W. (cf. Vane)
5. Herdman W.A., 1906, Report to the Government of Ceylon on the Pearl Oyster Fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar. London.
6. Jeffries D 1751 *A treatise on Diamonds and Pearls*. London.
7. Kunz G. F. and C. H. Stevenson 1908 *The Book of Pearl. The History, art, Science, and Industry of the Queen of Gems*. London: Macmillan & Co Ltd.
8. Lorimer J.G. 1970 *Gazeteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omân and Central Arabia*.
9. England: Gregg International Publishers, 4 vol (t.I, II) (1<sup>ère</sup> ed. 1908-1915).
10. Montigny-Kozlowska A 1987 *Le partage des biens d'un ancien dirigeant de Qatar* in M. Gast (dir) *Hériter en pays musulman. Habus, Lait vivant, Manyahuli*, Paris: CNRS (pp: 43-54).

171. This paper was presented in 'Diving Memories in Qatar Forum of Qatar National Day, 2010', available in [www.academia.edu: \[https://www.academia.edu/40186832/Weights\\\_and\\\_measures\\\_pearl\]\(https://www.academia.edu/40186832/Weights\_and\_measures\_pearl\)](https://www.academia.edu/40186832/Weights_and_measures_pearl), accessed on 13.04.2022

11. Montigny A 2009 L'énigme du chau, une unité de valeur relative de la perle orientale *Revue de l'Association Française de Gemmologie*, n°169: 11-12.
12. Said Hakim Mohammed 1410 A.H./1989 A.D. *Al-Beruni's book on Mineralogy. The Book Most Comprehensive In Knowledge On Precious Stones*. Islamabad: Pakistan Hijra Council.
13. Tavernier J-B 1679 *Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*. Paris (4 vol.).
14. Vane G. Esq The Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon *Journal of the Ceylon branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. X n°34: 14- 40.
15. British Archives: I.O.R.: V/23/238, microfilm

## 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



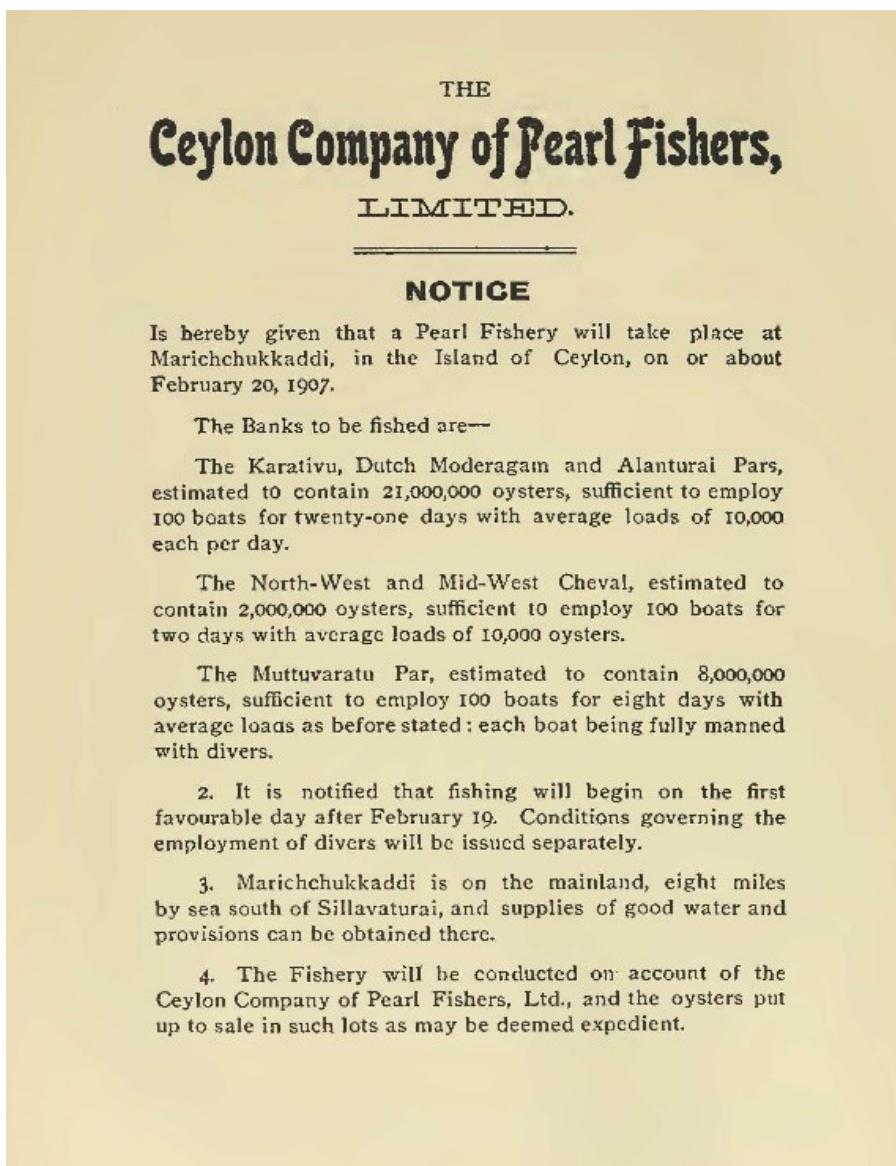
Image 9



Image 10

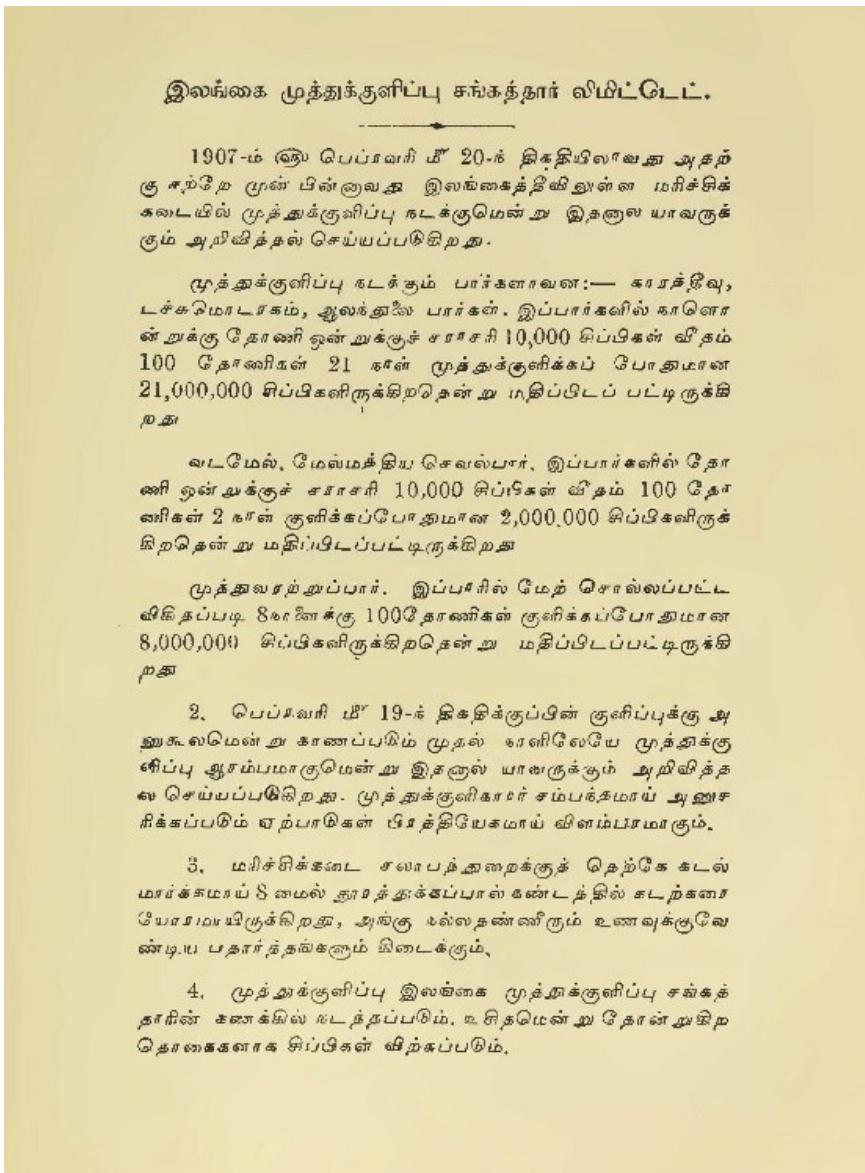
**Image 8 – 10:** Muttukkanakku palm leaf manuscript held in GOML collection, MSS. No.: TD2877. Image Courtesy GOML, Chennai

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



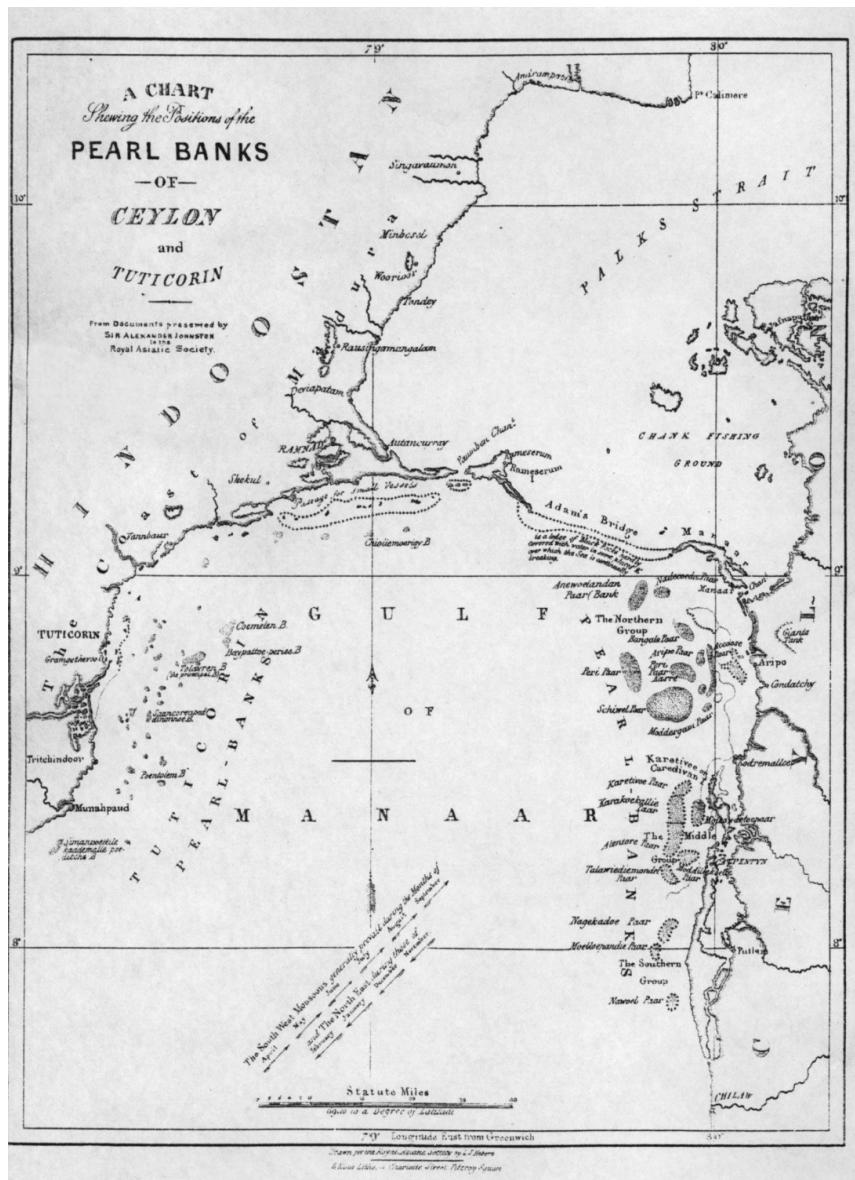
**Image 11:** English advertisement for Pearl Fishing, *The book of pearl*, Pg. No. 110, George Frederick Kunz and Charles Hugh Stevenson, After The Century Co., 1908

**2.b Advertisement in Tamil for pearl fishing as appeared in the book ‘The book of pearl’**



**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 Steuart, 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 19<sup>th</sup> century**

**Image 14:** Pearl bank report submitted to British government - 19<sup>th</sup> century. Image Courtesy *Tamara Fernando*

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

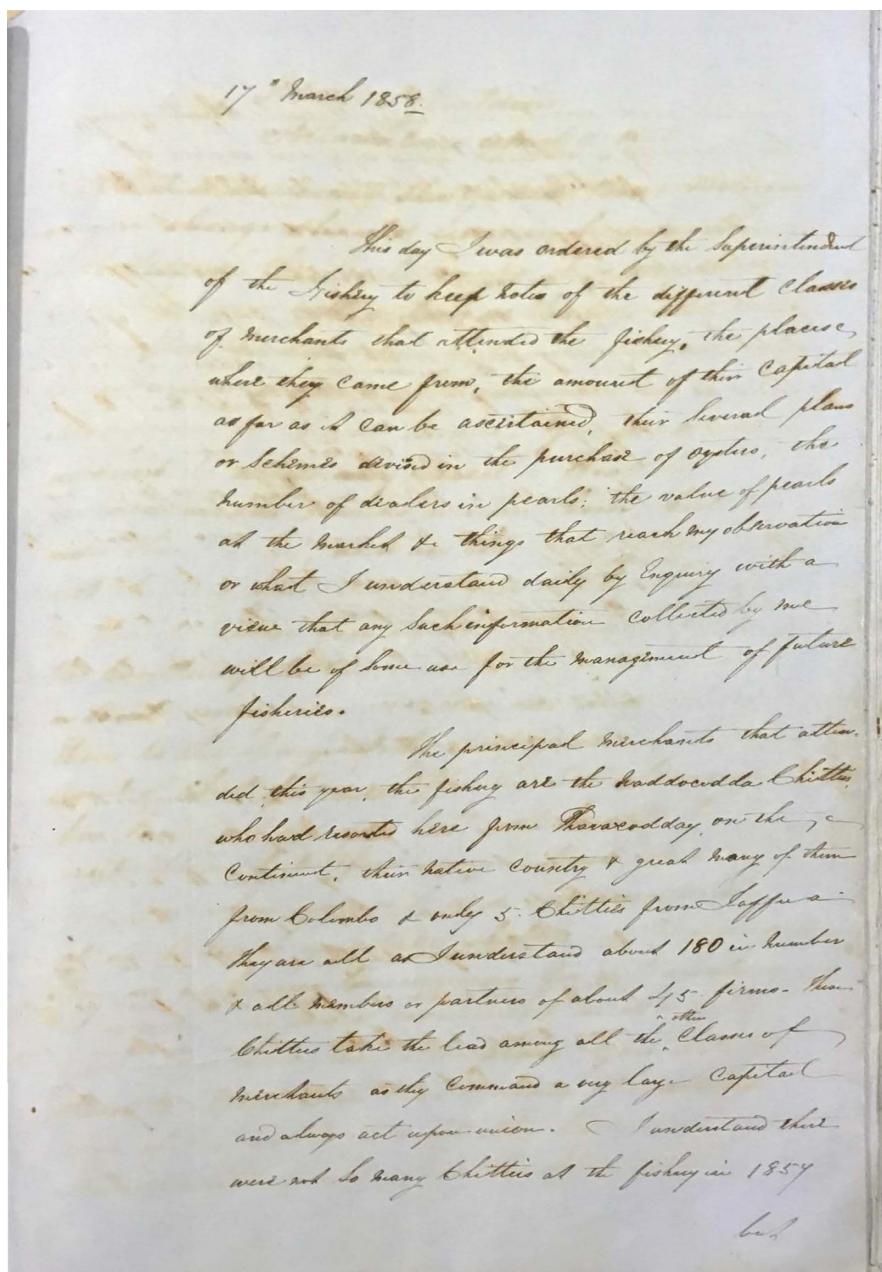


Image 15: Pearl bank report submitted to British government - 19th century. Image Courtesy Tamara Fernando

## 5 Kind of Pearl as documented in the report

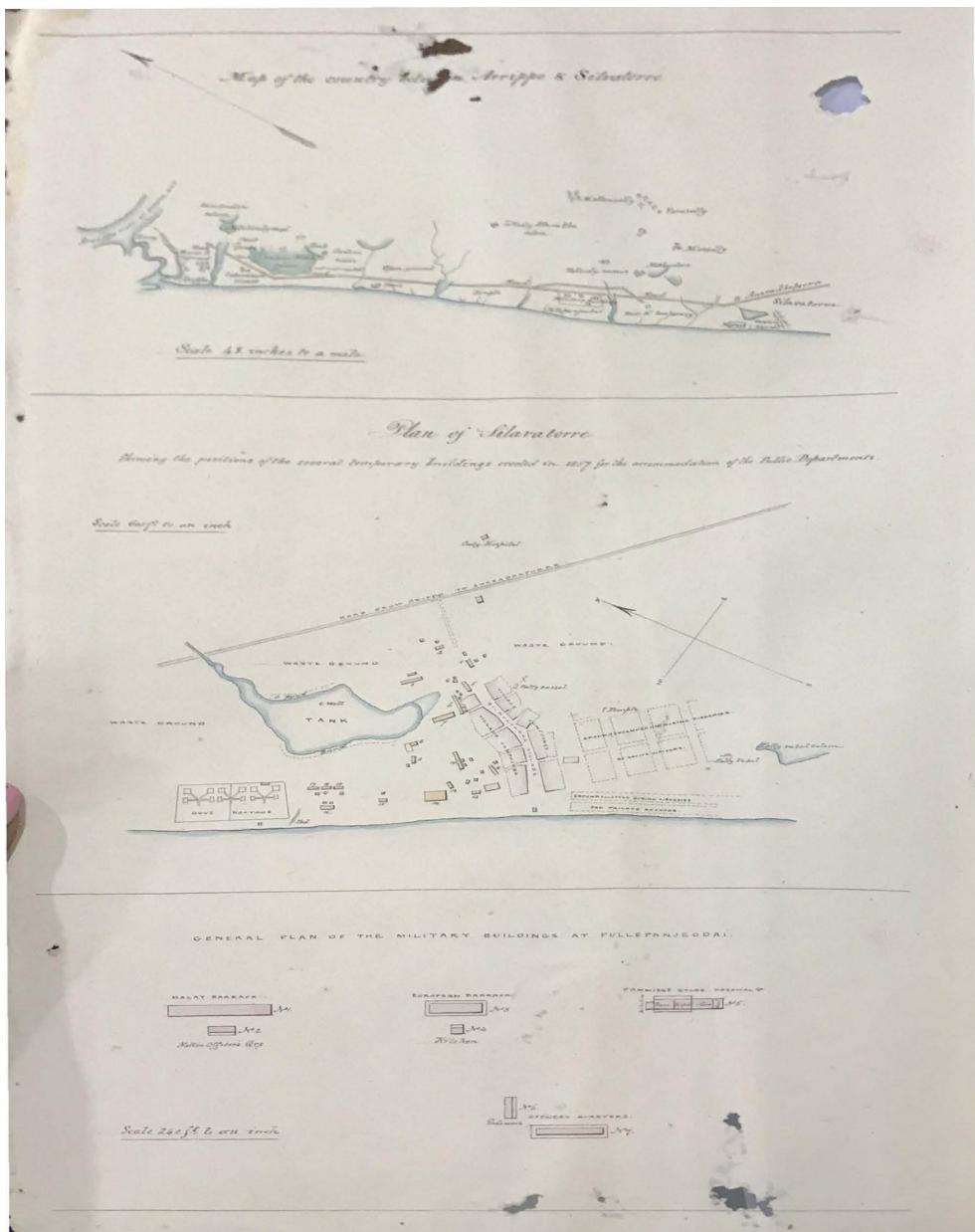
Served 100, 200 & 400 Estimated Sometime  
 by the mode of the weight sometimes  
 by dead weight

Kuruvvel	(குருவெல்)	double Pearls
Kallippur	(கலிப்புர்)	Literally "abundance"
Jeeral	(ஜீரல்)	Small
Kurral	(குரல்)	little
Khol	(கூல்)	Small as powder
Masu Khol	(மாஸுக்கூல்)	Small as powder & direction
Small Pearls	(குறிச்சிக்கூல்)	

This list of classes is  
 always estimated by dead weight  
 in Kalangis and Manjads, the  
 Pearl being of little value separately  
 The Pearls having been  
 thus sized and classed are next  
weighed, each class separately  
 by sizes - The weights used are  
 Kalangis and Manjads -  
 A value is then set upon  
 each class, separately by sizes -  
 according to the weight - This value  
 of course varies with the Market  
 price of Pearls at the time of  
 valuation

**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: தெரேஸ்பூரம், 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*