Imagination, Experience, Memory and Narrative:

Representation of Calicut and Its People down the Ages

Thesis submitted to

Jawaharlal Nehru University

in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
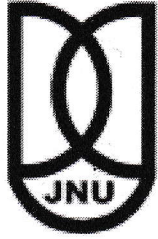
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Haseena P.V.

CENTRE FOR ENGLISH STUDIES

SCHOOL OF LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND CULTURE STUDIES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI-110067, INDIA

2017

Centre for English Studies

School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi-l10067, India

Date- 20.09.2017

CERTIFICATE

This thesis titled **"Imagination, Experience, Memory and Narrative: Representation of Calicut and Its People down the Ages"** submitted by **Ms. Haseena P.V.**, Centre for English Studies, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

(Prof. Saugata Bhaduri)

SUPERVISOR

Professor Saugata Bhaduri
Centre for English Studies
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

(Prof. Udaya Kumar)

CHAIRPERSON

Chairperson
Centre for English Studies
School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi-110067

Date **20. 09. 2017**

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

The thesis titled **"Imagination, Experience, Memory and Narrative: Representation of Calicut and Its People down the Ages"** submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

20.9.17

(Haseena P.V.)
Ph.D Student
CES/SLL&CS
JNU

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The study of city/urban space got larger importance in recent decades. Numbers of studies are addressing contemporary problems and challenges of cities like, transport, housing, sanitation, pollution, governance, etc. in developed and developing countries. A vast quantity of studies on region and locality also explored interesting pictures of hitherto unnoticed aspects about various cities. Recently published numerous research works on different historical cities produced a lot of intellectual engagement about interconnected issues of urban societal system. Sociologists' and cultural theorists' engagements are very significant here. A separate branch of knowledge 'urban sociology' was developed in the early part of the 20th century. Besides this, discussions on 'urban culture' became one of the most important areas of academic discourses. Sociologists largely try to explore the issues of 'urbanism' and the process of urbanization in different countries in comparative analysis. The advancement of the new discipline 'urban planning' brought a number of issues of cities to policy level debates.[1] A relatively new social category 'urban community' became prominent in this branch of study. New urban public spots or recreation centers like parks, community centers, malls, etc. emerged as meeting places of various social groups. Literary and film festivals and various art exhibitions, academic/institutional spaces, etc. also became popular modern urban spaces.

A large number of studies on historical cities is seen in contemporary social sciences and cultural studies.[2] In India diverse aspects of the most of the colonial townships/port or capital cities like Bombay, Delhi, Surat, Madras and Calcutta have been thoroughly studied by the scholars. Issues like town planning, trade and commerce, emergence of public space, health and sanitation, education, print and modernity, institutionalization of governance, etc. of the colonial period are extensively discussed by these studies. Different streams of national movement and

---

[1] At present 'urban planning' has become an academic discipline covering vast areas like land use, planning, transport, environment, sanitation, employment, recreation, communication, etc.

[2] See, for instance, Dossal, Mariam. *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875.* Delhi: OUP, 1991; Patel, Sujatha and Alice Thorner. *Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India.* Delhi: OUP, 1996 and *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture.* Delhi: OUP, 1995; Thomas, Rosie. *Bombay before Bollywood: The Film City Fantasies.* Albany: Suny Press, 2013; Nair, Janaki. *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century.* Delhi: OUP, 2005; Yagnick, Achyut and Suchitra Sheth. *Ahmedabad: From Royal City to Mega City.* New Delhi: Penguin, 2011; Graff, Violette. *Lucknow: Memories of a City.* Delhi: OUP, 1999. and Ikegame, Aya. *Princely India Re-imagined: A Historical Anthropology of Mysore from 1799 to the Present.* Oxon: Routledge, 2013.

popular movements in cities of India are still occupying an important place in social sciences and cultural studies. Apart from these colonial cities, the life and culture of a number of other non colonial cities like, Ahmadabad, Lucknow, Chandigarh, Cuttack, Mysore, Bangalore, etc. are also studied by the scholars at large.

The narratives on various cities project numerous interesting cultural elements. Now it is easy to identify a number of narratives on European and third world cities especially on colonial cities. Most of the narratives comprise nostalgic memories of cities experienced by the writer/author. At present increasing interests are seen in the writings on direct experiences in different cities mainly on its multifaceted faces. It is important to note that a particular literary genre 'urban narratives' had emerged in the 19th century itself. But the focus of the 19th century is changed largely and this genre transformed to a more fluid form by the end of 20th century. The day to day life of the people of the city is vital part in most of the contemporary writings. But in the case of historical cities the focus is not fixed in any of these aspects. At the same time the studies of South Asian colonial cities especially its port cities occupies a central place. The emergence of the new set of urban population and the conflicts of various elites got important space in these studies.[3] Along with these most of the narratives explored aspects like colonial modernity, the emergence of the new native urban population and its associated cultural complexities, etc.

The writings on Calicut city started more than seven centuries before by outsiders. Most of these narratives made high impact among people. This writings covered the city's natural wealth, harbour, trade potentiality, native people, rulers, social systems, etc. and these were circulated across the world from the 18th century onwards through translations and publications. The particular form of the diary writing tradition of Arabs in the 10th and 11th centuries influenced the Arab geographers to record their daily experiences while travelling. Time and space of the narratives of the medieval accounts are important as they are the supporting factors for examining the continuity and coherence of the most of the narratives.

The present work is an effort to explore the 'historically' developed multiple aspects of narratives and also the modern/contemporary memory and representation of the societal life of

---

[3] See Broomfield, J.H. *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth- Century Bengal.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

the city of Calicut/Kozhikode. The pre-colonial or medieval notions of oriental cities and societies were later transformed wholly into more empirical and analytical explanations of the social life of the city during the colonial time. Here, in this study, the changing priority of the narratives in different historical times becomes the central objective of the analysis. The medieval mariners' perception fundamentally covers the superficial observation of the coastal/harbour societies of the various regions, but the more planned and long-term colonial interventions constructed the 'systematic' frame of coastal and inland social analysis. Later, in the mid 19th century, colonial urban modernization and conscious intervention for the "improvement" of the urban landscape configured wider governmental systems under the larger urban social systems. Gradually, but steadily, the transformation of colonial system created strong urban populations in the coastal cities across British India, including Calicut. Simultaneously clearer narrations of the city started to come out in the public milieu.

Primary Source Material

When we go to the details of the sources, we can divide the primary source materials into four types. The first belongs to the medieval or pre-colonial periods, the second is from the 16th century to the end of the 18th century especially the mercantile colonial period, the third includes literature of the 19th and early 20th century, and the fourth comprises narratives of urban writers and memoirs of the city since the 1930s.

The larger imagination of eastern richness – spices, timber and ivory – which is associated with the landscape of Malabar, the gradual connecting of Calicut as its capital and Zamorin as the King of Calicut are centered in the early Arabic and European narratives. Fundamentally these texts rejected the geographical and cultural diversity of the larger imagined Malabar and confined the socio political landscape to the city of Calicut. In the 1290s, the Venetian traveller Marco Polo described the region of northern Kerala as the "great province of Malabar", but one other European traveller of the 15th century Niccolo Conti's narratives concentrated on the city of Calicut, and its people. He described Calicut as a maritime city and an emporium of all the valuable spices of the east. Niccolo Conti's descriptions of other south Indian cities like Pulicad, Mylapur, Chandragiri, Quilon, etc. stress on specific geographical and economic features. At the same time his description of Calicut city stresses the specific rites and customs of its people, though at that time Calicut was the most important centre of the spice

trade. The medieval period Russian traveller, Athanasius Nikitin also referred to the city as the largest port on the shores of the Arabian Sea. The Arab travellers prior to Europeans wrote a large number of narratives on Malabar, especially Calicut. The 13ᵗʰ century Arab traveller Ibn Battuta visited Calicut many times and concentrated on the port of Calicut, the ruler of the city, the prosperity of the Arab traders, their vessels, wealth, influence in society, etc. in his narratives. In the mid 15ᵗʰ century, another Arab traveller, Abd ur Razzaq, tried to explain the specific features of the Calicut port by comparing it with other ports of Arabia and South Asia. Razzak's narration stresses on the "the honesty of the people". In these narratives the Zamorin's people of the city of Calicut are presented in terms of their peaceful cohabitation with the other trading people. The specific focus on Malabar in the Arab accounts and the general geographic accounts of the European travellers essentially manifested themselves in the multiple narratives about Calicut in medieval times. Later the colonial geographers, traders, revenue survey officers and colonial officers concentrated only on the diversity of the larger Malabar landscape. The tropical climate and its natural products as well as the heavy monsoon in the land of Zamorin are always marked as the major points of these narratives. Even though the travel accounts or the Arab/European accounts mainly focused on the significance of the major ports of the Indian peninsula, they produced a variety of narratives from the 13ᵗʰ to the 15ᵗʰ century Calicut city. Undoubtedly the city reached its zenith in economic prosperity in these periods.

Coming to the second group of primary sources, we can observe the accounts of two Europeans in the early years of the 16ᵗʰ century: Ludovico di Varthema and Duarte Barbosa. Varthema was the first traveller to Calicut during the initial phase of colonial intervention on the Malabar Coast. His Portuguese interest was very visible in his observation on the native Hindus and Muslims. Varthema emphasized on the relation between the Arab-Muslim traders and the Hindu rulers of the Calicut city. As a traveller during the Portuguese invasion (1505-1507), Varthema concentrates on the religious composition of the cities of Malabar, especially Calicut. He wrote a full chapter on Calicut in his travel account.[4] Varthema was very curious about the native population of the city of Calicut and their peculiar social relations. He stresses on the dignity of the king in the city and compares his exceptionalism with the other rulers of southern India. Joan-Pau Rubies analyses Varthema's observation on Calicut city:

---

[4] *The Travels of Ludovico Varthema.* Trans. Badger, George Percy. London: Hakluyt Society, 1863. pp.135-168.

Rather than for its political analysis, a narrative like Varthema's stands out (as it did when it was received in Europe) for its ethnographic contents, for its capacity to portray a diversity of human customs. Varthema confines his treatment of these themes for the whole of South India to his description of Calicut, claiming that in most other places (including Vijayanagara) `they live after the manner of those of Calicut'. This narrative strategy of assuming an ethnological synthesis, shared by later observers like Duarte Barbosa, shows at the same time the degree of trans-cultural similarity that the traveller was prepared to acknowledge and the degree of local difference that he was prepared to sacrifice. Why Varthema and Barbosa chose Calicut is easy to understand: this was the city where Vasco da Gama had originally landed, and in the years during the first Portuguese expeditions it was considered the most important economic and political centre on the Malabar coast. The Portuguese, in fact, first organized their trading system in India as a war against Calicut, with the assistance of allied kings such as that of Cochin, and in rivalry with the Muslim merchants (both native and foreign) who dominated its trade. Varthema's description of Calicut is indeed a model for a full (if rather unsystematic) treatment of ethnological information, inserted into a wider narrative based on the adventurous progression of the traveller through different places.[5]

The narrations of both Conti and Varthema essentially focus on the 'features' of the people of the city and its suburbs with special focus on the Christian prejudicial notions of pagan worship in Asian societies.

It is important to note some native literatures of the above said period. There are no textual sources available in the *kavya* tradition on Zamorins or the city of Calicut unlike the northern region Elimala (Ezhi Mala) Kingdom. *Mushaka Vamsa Kavya* is one of the important texts on the Elimala Kingdom. This 11th century account is considered as one of the extraordinary historical works and identified as the excellent one in the *kavya* tradition, similar to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini.* This work gives a short reference to Vallapattanam port and city,

---

[5] Rubies, Joan-Paul. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625.* Cambridge: CUP, 2000. p.155.

which was a town located south of Ezhi Mala, northern part of Kerala. The 13th and 14th century travellers like Ibn Battuta and Marco Polo also mentioned this northern port. It is observed that *kavya* traditions emerged in various urban premises and court sphere in India. But hardly any single poetic work is identified on Calicut. At the same time one *sandesa kavya* (messenger literature) provides a few references on the city. *Sandesa Kavya* is a significant genre in Sanskrit *kavya* literature. It is a form of literature written in the form of sending messages via a messenger from one person to other. One *kavya*, *Kokila Sandhesha Kavya* (The message of the cuckoo) needs to be mentioned here. This Sanskrit poem was written by Uddanda Sastrikal in 15th century and 23 *slokas* of this text are praising the city and people. He got the title, 'Uddanda' from the Zamorin court. The poet's descriptions of Calicut are marked as some of the best verses of the poem and he celebrates the city as a whole rather than any particular site or temple. M.G.S. Narayan noted that this conventional description does not give us much useful information. This *kavya* narrates about the city as follows:

> Where in every house there is a freshly whitewashed balcony, on every balcony there is a bed laid out for love with scented flowers, upon every bed there is a pair of lovers mastered by passion, and within every couple the mind-born God of Love who conquers all ranges at will.[6]

After that we can find various versions of *Keralolpatti* (origin of Kerala) regarding the foundational myths of Zamorins and the Calicut city. *Keralolpattis* are primarily a collection of the tales and myths of the arrival of Brahmans to Kerala, i.e. the emergence of the Perumal Kingdom, Cheraman Perumal's conversion to Islam and partition of the Chera Kingdom, building of Calicut city, Zamorins' conquering of other kingdoms, greatness of Calicut, etc. As noted by the official chronicler of Zamorins' history, K.V. Krishna Iyer, the third portion of the *Keralolpatti* have seven chapters largely giving detailed information about the Zamorins.[7] It is observed that these legends are developed to support the emerging Brahman controlled land relation of medieval Kerala. Historians point out various discrepancies about the stories and their sequences and consequently it is not considered as an authentic one in historical writing. We can see that this was prepared as a continuation of the Sanskrit literary work *Keralamahatmya.* But

---

[6] "Calicut- Kokila Sandesha." Sanskrit Literature. *Venetiaansell.worldpress.* 15 Aug. 2011. Web.
[7] Krishna Iyer, K.V. *Zamorins of Calicut: From the Earliest Times Down to A.D. 1806.* Calicut: Norman Printing Bureau, 1938. p.313.

Kerlalopatti was written in Malayalam and assumed that it was latter compiled by Thunchath Ezhuthachan in 16th century. This is historically an important period in Kerala on the context of Portuguese invasion to Malabar Coast. The presentation of the myths and legends covers the period up to the arrival of Portuguese ('Parangees') to the Malabar Coast. Also this text largely concentrates on the region of Malabar and its historical antecedence and it gives less reference on the historical regions of southern part of present Kerala. The Basel Mission's printed version of this work translated it as the 'Origin of Malabar' instead of the actual word translation 'Genesis of Kerala' during second part of 19th century.[8] It is important to note that *Keralolpattis* give some important stories about the origin of Zamorins and their honesty and the city of Calicut. M.G.S. Narayanan noted some of the 'foundation legends' behind the royal family and the city by using *Keralolpatti* legends. According to *Keralolpatti* chronicle (Genesis of Kerala), the last of the Kerala King (Cheraman Perumal) partitioned the kingdom among his dependents (feudatories) and secretly left for Mecca with some Arab traders, embraced Islam, and lived for a few years in obscurity and peace in Arabia.[9] Before leaving for Mecca Perumal gifted some unwanted lands in the seashore to his trustworthy follower Manichan Eradi. He also gave a broken sword and an advice, "die and kill to conquest" (chattum konnum adakikolluka). Manichan Eradi received it with at most respect. It was enough for a wise brave soldier to start his career. Later he acquired the help of the Arab Muslims also. At first he built a fort and started living there.[10] One story of the foundation of the city in *Keralolpatti* is as follows:

> A Chetty from the eastern sea shore went to Mecca in ship for trading purposes. As he carried too much of gold in the ship, the ship was about to sink and reached Kozhikode harbour and set its anchor there. He took a box full of gold to Samuthiri as thirumulkazcha and told him the news about the damage to the ship. On hearing this, the Raja told him to keep the gold there. The merchant made a granite structure in the Samuthiri Kovilakam [palace] to keep all the gold. He had all his wealth brought from the ship and placed them before the king, giving him the details of the amount. And the gold was kept in the granite structure in an

[8]   *Keralolpatti (The Origin of Malabar).* Mangalore: Basel Mission Book & Tract Depository, 1868.
[9]   Narayanan, M.G.S. *Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited.* University of Calicut: Calicut University Press, 2006. p.58.
[10] Narayanan, M.G.S. "The Growth of a City." *Calicut in History.* Ed. Kunhali. V. University of Calicut: Calicut University Press, 2004. pp.41-42.

auspicious time. He took leave of the king and continued his journey. After some time he came back to take the gold from there, made the thirumulkazhcha, opened the granite structure, took the gold and offered half the gold to king. But the king refused and told him to take entire gold himself. The Chetty was convinced that no other king or swarupam was as honest as Samutiri. He requested Mangattachan to give him permission to conduct trade for this port. Mangattachan informed the king and the king was pleased to give consent to this. The mansons were called and land was measured with the help of the thread, the location was fixed and people was installed for constructing nagaram on the sea shore. Construction with stones began in auspicious time, pillars were erected and the market was built. Chetty sat there after making necessary gifts, started actual process of trade… After this several people established market centers and started trade. Ships started sailing to Mecca and there is no country, city, or *koyma* in the world where income, expenditure, account and profit from the trade are conducted so well as in the city.[11]

Even though many problems are there in considering the *Keralolpatti* as a major source for recreating the past of Kerala, especially the emergence of the Zamorins, it is still recognized as an important account in the historical reconstruction of the region. Colonial historiography also valued it as an unavoidable source book in this historiographical tradition of Kerala. Though William Logan in 19th century called it as "legendary nonsense", he accepted the narratives to corroborate historical antecedence. K.P. Padmanabha Menon noted that these are the "uncollated collections of different versions of myths". But the foundational myths are still articulating in different ways through the social memories of the people. Even today the claim of the honesty and its representation in any sort of narration is associated with these myths. The important thing is that these myths try to merge the Islamic influence in the city and region in more contented way. On the other side the popular narration of the emergence of Islam in the south western coast always connects with the Cheraman Perumal's conversion and his journey to Mecca. The present study uses these myths from the *Keralolpatti* for the analysis of the cultural harmonization of the region.

---

[11] "Keralolpatti Granthavari – The Age of Kings." V, Kunhali, ed. *op.cit.,* p.11.

A number of popular tales, legends and myths regarding different social and cultural forms in the various pre-modern regions of Kerala were collected in late 19th century by Kottarathil Sankunni. The documented tales were published under the title in Malayalam language as *Ithihyamala* (*Garland of Legends).* Out of the 126 stories, a few are connected to the northern side of Kerala, mainly the city of Calicut. One of the stories titled 'Kozhikkottangadi' (Kozhikode Market) narrates the story of the glory of Calicut city. Once, the ruler Samotiri/Zamorin had severe shoulder pain. A number of physicians prescribed various medical treatments, but nothing led to any relief. In the meantime one scholar came to the court and listened to the nature of the pain. He simply suggested putting one wet cotton piece on his right shoulder. Gradually Zamorin recovered from his pain and got full relief. Then the next day the Divanji/minister, who was not there at that time, came to the court and heard what happened. He became disturbed and ran quickly to the market, where he found a beautiful lady and told that he wanted to tell something important to her, but had forgotten to bring the 'mudra'. He requested her to stay there till he comes back with the 'mudra'. She promised Divanji that she would stay there till he comes back. The Divanji went to the court and told Zamorin that the main reason of the pain on his right shoulder was due to the dancing of the Goddess of wealth and prosperity. The panacea suggested by the physician caused unhappiness to the Devi, and the Goddess left his shoulder and the palace. But he met the Goddess on a street in the city of Calicut and compelled her to stay there until he comes back. After this conversation Divanji suddenly went back home and committed suicide. The Goddess is still waiting for Divanji and it is believed that this is the reason behind the prosperity of Calicut city. This narrative is associated with the glory of Calicut during medieval times. The prosperity in trade and commerce is always highlighted in various narratives. The combination of king, traders, citizen etc. was projected through the economic prosperity of the Calicut port in many narratives. The values of truth, honesty, hospitality, etc, of the people of Calicut are also reflected through numerous narratives.

The historical records of medieval period not only consist of compiled legends and tales or any form of oral traditions. A couple of royal and land lord families and temples prepared detailed *Granthavaris.* These reports not only contain the events related to familial or temple matters, but also cover detailed information about various socio-political events of that time. Mainly it is a record of numerous data on the economic matters of wealthy families. This form of writing represents the transformation of recording from the oral traditions to written traditions

and poetry to prose. *Kozhikkodan Granthavaris* are rich with the information of royal family matters, festivals, and income and expenditures of Zamorins. This writing tradition was an outcome of the larger surplus accumulation of various social groups. Huge surplus accumulation compelled the wealthy *Janmis* to record the sources of income and its expenditures. This forms of writings continued up to the 19th century. The rich collection of *Kozhikodan Granthavaris* largely supports the researches on the history of Zamorins but it provides little information about the city of Calicut. The present study uses these sources for the corroboration of simultaneous travelogues and colonial accounts along with the examination of the various myths and legends of the medieval period. Instead of using the original manuscripts of these sources (most of the available *granthavaris* are not yet published except a few like *Venjeri Granthavari*, *Koodali Granthavari*, etc.) I here have tried to make use of some of the important contemporary research works and publications directly connecting to the *Kozhikodan Granthavari* like *Samuthiri Charithrathile Kanapurangal* written by N.M. Namputhiri.

The colonial travel writing on Malabar started to appear as part of the larger 'East Indies' literature from early 16th century onwards and it continued up to the end of the 18th century. 'Principal port towns' of this region became one of the major attractions for the East Indies chroniclers. The native idea of port and sea were slowly challenged. The king of the city, Zamorin, started to address himself as 'Punthurakkon' in this period. The suzerainty over the ports was started to be considered as the political supremacy of the local rulers. The three century long colonial history of the city and region are portrayed in the wide range of travelogues. Perhaps historically this was the most crucial period for this region; Malayalam had developed as a writing (prose) language (Grantha Malayalam script), the religion based community formation had begun and caste based social relations got clear shape on the basis of land relations. Simultaneously some 'resistance literatures' against colonial invasion also emerged in this region in Arabic language and interestingly some of them originated from the proper city itself. The regionally influential traditional Muslim scholars made powerful resistance narratives through these writings. From the early part of the 19th century onwards the writing style and its format were changed. For the purpose of studying the inhabitable and cultivable land and land relations British conducted various land revenue surveys, pre-planned journeys having specific objectives, organised consultation and revenue settlements, etc. All these efforts subsequently came out as different publications under the title of *reports*. None of

them are suitable to consider as historical accounts. Hence a proper account on the city and its history was absent for about seven decades in 19th century. The District administration started to bring out the district gazetteers from mid 19th century. William Logan's District Gazetteer *Malabar* is the first comprehensive and systematic textual account of 'the people' and 'the land' of Malabar.[12] Logan's construction of societies past and present of Malabar into 'The District', 'The People', 'History' and 'The Land' made a comprehensive framework for whole disciplinary and cultural engagements.[13] Colonial territorialisation of the living space of different social groups for revenue purposes made larger *other* histories and cultures of *subject* societies. The development of *History* and *Ethnography* as new subjects of social study in the 19th century reflected the colonial textual tradition in several ways. Number of new markets apart from the medieval port cities were listed by Logan and tried to explain the ethnographic features of markets and living cultural and ethnic spaces. The early colonial category 'principal port town' disappeared and market and exchange centers got prominence in Logan's account. Above all the idea of the city started changing and a new meaning to the city started to take shape. The socio-economic unit 'town' became a sociological binary of the 'village' in his writings. This socio economic unit was marked by the number of 'inhabitants' in a particular area and later it was clearly defined by the census work modalities. All areas other than towns (*nagaram)* are listed as villages (*desam)* and revenue villages (*amsam*) are considered as the basic units for the rural area. Different from this, towns are simply defined as a place with a municipal body notified under 'Town Improvement Act'. This was largely decided on the basis of the income of the people inhabiting the city and revenue generation from other sources. Logan took the settlement pattern mainly 'dwelling' pattern to look in to the nature of both villages and towns. He raised the major issue of the relationship between the towns and native people by making the argument, "Hindu Malayali is not a lover of towns and villages".[14] He demonstrates his arguments as follows:

---

[12] William Logan was a Malabar district collector, magistrate and a Fellow of Madras University. He published an exhaustive volume of *Malabar Manual* in 1887. It received larger attention from different disciplines of knowledge and also identified as one of the 'model' and 'pioneering' work in the *Manual* tradition of modern India. Logan's *Malabar Manual* is latter known as Logan's *Malabar*.

[13] Logan's *Malabar Manual* is a thorough work in three volumes on Malabar region. The first volume, which is the main body, is divided in to four chapters. The second volume is its Appendix. The third volume, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar,* is an "essential primary source for tracing the British affairs in Malabar".

[14] Logan, William. *Malabar Manual.* Vol. I. 1887. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Gazetteers, 2000. *op.cit.* p.82.

His [Malayali] austere habits of caste purity and impurity made him in former days flee from places where pollution in the shape of men and women of low caste met him at every corner; and even now the fleeing is strong upon him and loves not to dwell in cities.[15]

The core of his argument is further tried to be developed in a different way. He had an understanding that the housing structures of each caste were developed to maintain the caste purity and to prevent the higher caste from caste and gender pollution. Also even within the city the higher castes maintained an enclave form of settlement structure for preventing the pollution. He wrote that "the foreign Brahmans, the Eurasian population, and to a certain extent the Muhammadans also, live in streets of houses built in continuous rows".[16]

We can understand that this notion of district administration was not seen in the early decade of the 20th century as C.A. Innes in his *Malabar Gazetteer* did not limit his idea of town within the caste purity. As a distinguished Settlement Officer, Innes was much aware about the human and political geography of the district. The reports of various revenue and village surveys were available to him at that time unlike Logan. The *Settlement Scheme Report of the Eight Plain Taluks of the Malabar District,* 1929 shows how a town is historically developed in this district.[17] As similar to this, Innes recognized the historicity of the existing major towns and he considered that the new market centers and settlement centers emerged within various taluks on the basis of new demographic patterns. In short it is understandable that the ideas of purity did not play any major role in the urban processing. When he prepares the district manual the caste based census of the district was available. Besides the district manuals of Logan and Innes, no other land revenue reports of Malabar provide any textual sources on the study of Calicut in the 19th century.

It is necessary to go through the changing pattern of political discourses of Malabar district from early 20th century onwards to understand the changes in the Calicut Municipality

---

[15] Logan, William. *op.cit.,* p.82.

[16] *Ibid*., p.86.

[17] MacEwen*,* A.R. *Settlement Scheme Report of the Eight Plain Taluks of the Malabar District*. Madras: Government Press, 1929.

and its population. The constitution of Malabar District Board (here after MDB) and its further institutional changes became a turning point in the formation of public space in Calicut city. Slowly MDB became one of the major political institutions of the district and location of Calicut city as its head quarter created a new political space in various governmental discourses. From 1920s onwards clashes between the nominated elite members and elected members started on various issues. Further to this the national movement addressed the 'maladministration' of MDB, a nominated members' majority body. The city centric nationalist newspaper *Mathrubhumi*'s pages were rich with critical columns in this period. The archival copies of this paper are a rich source of information for examining the changes of the public space in the early part of the 20th century. At the same time one other newspaper *Mitawati*, published under the aegis of city based Tiyya leaders, was heavy loaded with the information of changing dialogues of different communities and political issues. Researches on Calicut city are unfeasible without the precious pages of these newspapers. The present research makes use of both these newspaper collections for the understanding of the early 20th century public space of this municipal town.

Diverse historical factors influence the social integration and shaping of the mentality of the people. The distributions of the various social groups, their cultural life, etc. are major aspects among these. It is necessary to examine the relations of various social groups of the city with Arab, colonial and native socio-economic forms through many centuries. At least up to the end of 1920s the life of the city was largely influenced by the people who migrated from the southern taluks of the district and existing non Malayali population. Politically and economically the city terrain was largely connected to the southern regions of Malabar and the other parts of the Presidency districts like Coimbatore, Salem, etc. We can locate a typical city population in Calicut city in the early years of the 20th century. The native discourses of anti-colonial movements and organized national movement in the 1920s formed clear dialogues with specific community and class distinction in the entire Malabar. At the same time, Calicut focused for liberal social spaces in colonial relations. The most important aspect was that the city population itself tried to create a distinctive socialising process since the 1920s. These new ways of socio-cultural actions created a vibrant public domain throughout the 20th century. Action for liberal engagements within the rigid caste and community fragmentation was made possible through the working class movement and art and cultural activism in the last century.

From 1920 onwards the district administration started depending on the late 19th century formulated understanding of caste and community categorization. In the city, contrary to the rural areas, British made a comprehensive population classification according to the various survey standards. It is very clear that colonial ethnography and its knowledge repositories had supported colonial policy-making throughout the late 19th and early 20th century. Various community platforms started bargaining for numerous demands from the municipal administration of the city. The dialogues between municipality and various community groups paved the way for a sort of community based political polarization. Izhavas, Tiyyas and Mappilas of the city were organized ideologically and started engaging for more governmental support and political representation. At the same time the space of community rivalry and clashes was always absent. The outbursts of the Mappila rebellion, which lasted six months, were distanced from the city. Sporadic clashes of Mappilas and police/army were simply interpreted within the ethnographic frames at that time. The British officials noted that 'ignorant' and 'village' Mappila Muslims were behind the rebellion and city Mappilas were not involved in the outbreaks. Also the British successfully convinced the city Muslims about the consequences of the rebellion. The British were very much annoyed about Gandhi's visit to Calicut for the campaign of Khilafat Non Cooperation Movement in the 1920s. The huge participation in the public meeting at the beach compelled the British to think about controlling any sort of gathering in the city. The nature of 'rural protests' was very much circulated in the city space through the circulation of nationalist dailies. British took much precaution for preventing any sort of mobilization of Mappilas in the city as they experienced the urban protests in Calcutta during the Swadeshi Movement. The government papers and newspapers are the sources of references of this government response to the city mobilizations in the first two decades of 20th century. But interestingly from 1930 onwards the political changes mainly the transformation of Congress to the socialist ideology changed the nature of city mobbilisation under trade union and peasant movements along with Congress Socialist and later Communist Parties. The rich repository of these sources and their publication provide much information about the first half of the 20th century Calicut. The biographies and autobiographies of the then nationalist leaders are also needed to locate the narrative pattern of the city. After independence the narrative pattern was shifted to a form of literary engagement.

A range of literary works are the abundant sources for exploring the city and its life. Almost all city based narratives are heavily loaded with the writers' own experiences in the city through many years. S.K. Pottakkad's *Oru Desathinte Katha* (The Story of a Locale) is an inevitable literary work of the satellite area of Calicut. How the urbanization slowly merges the village, Athiranipadam and its memories are beautifully portraying in this novel. This Jnanpith Award winning work is an excellent piece of autobiographical writing in Malayalam literature. *Oru Theruvinte Katha* (The Story of a Street) by the same author sketches the lives of the people in the street. The novel portrays the city's heritage street Mitai Theru (Sweet Meat Street) and depicts the author's lived experiences in the city. The novel *Sulthan Veedu* by P.A. Muhammed Koya portrays the gradual changes in the aristocratic families of the city Muslims. Issues like joint family, matriliny, various customs and practices of traditional ethnic groups, etc. are subjected to scrutiny in this novel[18]. M.T. Vasudevan Nair and N.P. Muhammed's joint novelette *Arabiponnu* is also a remarkable one on the changing life of the people of the city. N.P.'s other works *Maram, Ennapadam, Daivathinte Kannu,* etc. are also important to mention.

Existing Research in this Area

Like many other countries, due to the impact of colonial rule, two types of cities emerged in India: political cities and industrial cities (a few cities achieved both industrial and political features). The community/social divisions of the cities have always attracted social scientists due to various reasons. The classifications of working class/lower class and capitalists/upper class in the industrial cities and local citizens and the political class in the political cities are regular social divisions. When we look at multiple aspects of cultural forms in a city, they reflect undercurrents of various formulations. Apart from formal cultural forms like festivals, customs, worship, social organisations, beliefs, etc. the historically evolved social forms should be explored on the basis of how a particular city addresses the various aspects of life.

We can see a large number of historical studies on colonialism in Malabar; most of them place the city of Calicut as the gateway of colonialism to Asia. Also, the discovery of the trade route to Malabar through the sea connected the region with other international trade networks. Calicut thus got a large space in European narratives. Most of these narratives mention the city

---

[18] Koya, P.A. Muhammad. *Sulthan Veedu.* Trichur: Kerala Sahitya Academy, 1974.

only as a conquered space and they never go to the larger impact of colonialism over social life. The articulation of memory and narratives of the city can always be seen in the literary and cultural exercises of modern time. The understanding of the process of urbanization, the 'rural' and 'urban' divide, imagination of the 'city life' etc. have widely attracted historians and sociologists apart from the larger economic changes and the discourses of development. In India, prior to colonialism, the urban process had widely circulated the picture of the widening dissemination of cultural activities in society along with labour and social stratification. The 'decline' of the urban centers communicated the decline of this social progress along with its economic implications. The construction of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Karachi in India by colonialism created a larger potentially urban class in the Indian subcontinent. Along with this larger urbanization, the other urbanization processes in Surat, Calicut and Visakhapatnam in the 19th and 20th centuries also need to be looked at through inter-disciplinary cultural understandings. Narratives and memorial accounts on lives in the cities are abundant in Indian literature. The general changes in the life of the people primarily due to the colonial administration are focused on in these works. The most important thing is that such studies by and large address the issues of changes among the local population and how colonial and non-colonial factors created a culturally stratified society according to various priorities. Importantly narratives on traditional monarchic cities like Baroda, Trivandrum, Hyderabad, Mysore, etc. generated a story of cultural changes in the various strata of social life. In the modern period issues of political changes in these cities communicate issues of social changes too. The condition of under development or backwardness of the cities is always related with the legacy of the political heritage of the cities.

There are large numbers of research works regarding the urban cultures of various cities in India. Most of the works concentrate on the urbanization process, urban sociology, urban economy, urban planning, urban history, problems of urbanization, etc. Diverse issues like social conflict, violence, communalism, criminal issues, etc. are also discussed widely.

Recent studies on city life of Calicut generally try to locate some specific historical sides of the city. Studies like M.G.S. Narayanan's *Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited* try to explain the historically communicated aspects of the qualities of the people in the city like their hospitality, intercommunity interaction, distinctive socialisation, etc. Some other studies like

K.V. Krishana Ayyar's *The Zamorins of the Calicut: From the Earliest Times Down to A.D 1806* and N.M. Namboothiri's *Malabar Padanangal: Samootirinadu* try to examine the role of the Zamorin rulers in the city. These two works also give us a picture of the social life of the city, its settlement patterns, stories behind various events, etc. V. Kunhali's *Calicut in History* provides a collection of research papers on the city of Calicut. In 1966 the Municipal Corporation of Calicut published *Calicut City Centenary Celebration Souvenir* containing various aspects of the history of Calicut, mainly the role of the city in the last several centuries. In 1991, MGS Narayanan edited a volume, *Malabar*, as part of the Malabar Mahotsavam, covering different aspects of Malabar history which connect Calicut as the capital of the Malabar landscape. T.B. Seluraj's *Kozhikkodinte Paithrukam* (2 vols.) and P. Zakir Hussain's *Kozhikkode Orormppusthakam* are two recent studies on Calicut city. Seluraj's work gives interesting colonial accounts of the city in a story-telling way. But Zakir Hussain's edited volume compiles the memories of various eminent people. Thaha Madai's *Jeevitham: Mamukkoya/Kozhikide* (2 vols.) is a literary memoir of Calicut between 1970s to the present.

How is this research going to be different?

Most of the available researches on urban centres address various urban problems: issues like drinking water, sanitation, housing, employment, transportation, communication, etc. get significance in these types of research. The focusing on urban problems always produces notions of development of the urban social groups sidelining the issues of various cultural elements. Few studies focus on the historical particularities of different towns from a cultural studies perspective. Contrary to other urban understandings, the present study mainly focuses on narratives of the people in the city viewed in historical parameters, through textual analysis. Generally the narratives can be divided into two: the narratives of an imagined city landscape and people, and the narratives of the lived experience in the city. The present study will utilize both these types of texts to explore the various undercurrents within the narratives.

In late 19th century, a few studies came out from various government agencies on the specific problems of Calicut city. Parallel to this, a few reports were submitted in this period covering the specific nature of the people of the city. From the late 19th century onwards, the

British district administration gradually looked into the attitude of people to anti-British struggles, their festivals, beliefs, education, public convenience, social interaction, etc. After his retirement, the then District Collector William Logan remembers his experience in the city through correspondence with his friends. Some of the archival materials of the first half of the 20th century provide interesting issues and happenings in the city. A.K. Gopalan in his autobiography remembers the peculiar kindness of the city's working class population which he experienced in his early political life. By critically taking these narratives into account, this dissertation will try to examine the distinctive lived experiences in the city in different times.

Most studies on narratives of the city, like Ruth Finnegan's *Tale of the City: A Study of Narrative and Urban life*, examine the various perspectives on city narratives, personal and urban images, and varieties of tales of the various layers of city people. Theoretical works like *Space: The City and Social Theory* give us the various internal dimensions of life in the city. Different from these existing studies, the present study looks at how the local or micro level aspects of the city influence the structured city life.

Objectives of this Research

For social scientists, the city is a space of various social complexities, but for cultural theoreticians the city is a space of the origin and growth of various cultural forms. The main task of this study is to explore the primary form of urban narratives, concerning Calicut, at various times of history. Such urban narratives initially focused on the spatial features of the city and later shifted to features of the social systems. Here the forms of the landscape, its people, social and cultural forms, memories, imagination, etc. are needed to be explored using interdisciplinary methods. The cultural forms should be considered in totality and this totality has to undergo a spatial-temporal analysis. It should focus on the complex undercurrents of the changes in urban priorities within the historical urban space. Beyond the question of urbanism the issue of socialization of city people has to come to the centre, which will further make the introspection on urban cultural transformation possible. One of the important tasks is to make a clear distinction between the cultural forms and the socialization process of the modern city and the medieval city and the coastal and inland city. Compared to the colonial built cities the medieval cities always possessed distinctive peculiarities. Like this the coastal cities also retain specific cultural distinctions from the inland cities, e.g. Mumbai from Pune, Madras from Bangalore and

Calicut from Aligarh, say. The colonial Indian cities, especially coastal cities of the medieval and early modern periods, are entirely different from the classical 'cultural' and 'religious' cities like Magadha, Pataliputra, Kanouj, etc. More than their political importance, the medieval coastal cities tried to create a dynamic cosmopolitan cultural space in the Indian subcontinent. The growth of the city of Calicut as a major trading centre in the medieval period produced a sizable middle class population in the rigidly caste hierarchic societies. One of the other important tasks of this study is to understand how a traditionally rigid caste based society gradually transformed into a potentially liberal space through centuries.

The present study will try to locate the narrations on the growth of the historical distinction between local/village and non village/city societies. Here the main point is to look at how the narration of the city clearly perceives the predominant village, family and community forms. The narratives of the city shift from mere economic and political aspects to the more popular city life. The modern city is identified as a centre of expectations and imaginations in these narrations. The distinctiveness of the city in various forms is seen in the narratives. The internal and external imaginations of the city communicate a variety of perceptions.

How the memory and nostalgia about a city later becomes a literary form should be explored on the basis of reality and experience. The trend of narrating one's experience of city life has also some problems. Almost all narratives on Calicut have come from those who are from non Calicut areas. The vitality of the narration mainly focuses on the lived experience of the narrators in Calicut, especially their accommodation to the lives of Calicut. How the people from various sectors within the city tried to absorb the cosmopolitanism through their relation and connection with external people and forms is to be examined here. These narratives also always try to bridge a spatial connection between the non city life of the surrounding villages and the city. K.P. Ummer, the Malayalam actor, noted that the space in the Calicut city always tried to interlink the local lives of the people through liberal cultural exchanges within the community and political space. It further amalgamates the possible liberal space in the city. This can be seen in all narratives on the city in the 1970s.

One of the most important aspects of the narratives on Calicut is that they always negate the growth of urbanization and contrary to that they concentrate on the popular life of the city. Elitism is deliberatively absented from these narratives. The negation of urbanism or the effort to

locate the city as a space of social coexistence similar to the typical Malabar bazaar and villages get prominence in the standard city narratives. This effort plotted the city not only as a space for economic changes but as a space of lived experiences. The prominent settlement areas were deliberately connected with the city not for urban purposes, but as a centre for cultural interaction.

The early theatre and film actors from the Muslim community always utilised the city space as a safe place to escape from religious retractions. The small groups sharing various interests got a space within the city based on their taste and preferences. The narrations of Kallayi and Kuttichira in the micro narratives always connected the Muslim community with the city narratives. Their life style especially their active roles in the city of Calicut have got an unavoidable space in the city narratives. Most importantly their active presence in the cultural life of the city provides a strong grip to them to engage with the liberal social space. Their role in sports, theatre, literature, music, etc. generates a powerful discourse for their social inclusion. When we debate over the specific ethical side of the people in Calicut, it leads us to their liberal and social ethical values, and this dissertation will bring into focus that too.

The primary objectives of this study can be listed as follows:

- To explore how the Arab and European travel writing traditions created different images of the city of Calicut.
- To examine the way of the construction of 'otherness' through colonial textual tradition.
- To explore how the modern state building of the British structured an institutionalised urban socio-political system in Calicut.
- To find the role of anti-colonial and popular movements in the shaping modern city space.
- To examine how a specific 'Kozhikodan' identity is galvanised in the popular discourses.

Chapterisation

The dissertation begins with the current "Introduction" that lays before the reader the tracts of the research and end with a "Conclusion" that will enumerate its findings, respectively. In between these two units, lie the five main chapters of the study.

The first chapter titled, "The Pre-colonial and Colonial Imaginative Configuration of the City of Calicut and Its People" looks at the pre-colonial and colonial imagination of various city narratives, especially Arab and European narratives of Calicut city. Most of the Arab narratives, especially travelogues, were composed between 13th and 15th centuries and they focus on the city's population. This chapter will try to locate how the travelogue intentionally projects the port city with larger imagination and expectations. Most of the travellers explain the lived experience in the city during their visit, in the style of reporting to the ruling classes and various trading classes. The reporting and information circulation process of Arab narratives should be explored in the cultural context of the emergence of the city. The 16th and 17th century colonial narratives tried to locate the city population and the city differently from Arab narratives. This chapter will also try to explore how the changing narratives imagine the city and its population.

The second chapter, "Colonisation, Travel Narratives and the Making of Otherness" explores how the colonial travel narratives conducted the observation on Calicut as a part of larger wealthy province. This chapter also tries to make an effort to critically examine the general tendency of the colonial travel writing and how they construct the image of an exotic land and discourses on 'otherness'. It also critically examines how the Europeans translated the medieval Arab travelogues within the European Christian theological terminologies and dialects. Along with the travel writing the emergence of European paintings and cartographic exercises also created a clear distinctive idea about the Malabar and Calicut especially on the king and the people of the city.

The third chapter, "Colonialism, Urban Reconfiguration and Representation of Calicut", explores how the colonial systems created a modern urban society within the traditional urban settings through various forms. This chapter will mainly focus on how the new cultural forms come and indulge as the dominant cultural forms by overthrowing the existing powerful city cultural system in Calicut.

The fourth chapter, "Emergence of Public Space and Making of the Identity of Kozhikodan" will try to locate how the specific identity of the *kozhikkodan* comes to the central debates. The special recognition about the city's population, their food and clothing, family and social life, ethical and value aspects, etc. would be looked through the lens of a cultural exploration of the city's people.

The fifth chapter, "City of Present: Changing Narratives in Contemporary Mediums", will focus on how the contemporary, especially post 1980s, imagination has tried to look at the city and people of Calicut. Here we can locate the fundamental transformation of the city and its population both in representation and reality. Various forms of representational mediums are needed here to explore these changes.

The study will end with a "Conclusion" that will try to tie up the different findings in the course of the research, towards building up certain final statements as to the constructing of the city of Calicut in narrative accounts down the ages – from the medieval to the contemporary times.

CHAPTER I

The Pre-colonial and Colonial Imaginative Configuration of the City of Calicut and Its People

European travel writing, a corpus spanning several centuries, has been hugely influential in producing and circulating knowledge about the rest of the world and fuelling aspirations for expansion and conquest. Travel and travel writing, and the imaginative geographies they conjured, were crucial to the discursive formation of empire, especially by their insinuation and cementation of crude binaries such as the West/the Rest, attached to which were the clearly pejorative formulations of civilized/savage, scientific/superstitious, and so on … In the context of travel and travel writing, the most significant of these were traveler/travellee, observer/observed, and narrator/narrated.[1]

The chapter here tries to explore the narrations of how a traditionally rigid caste based society gradually transformed into a potentially liberal space of social life through several centuries. It also examines the imagination of various city narratives, especially Arab and European narratives of Calicut city. Most of the major Arab narratives, especially travelogues, come between 13th to 15th centuries and they focus on the city's population especially non Arab sects, market centers and the ruling class. It is necessary to establish how various travelogues intentionally project this port city with larger imagination and expectations. Almost every traveller explains the lived experience in the city during their visit. The travellers followed a style of 'reporting' to the ruling classes and various trading classes with specific objectives and aims while composing various aspects of the city. They also compare the native population with other parts of India and other continents. Some of the narratives made curious observations of the life of the people mainly their day to day life and the particular nature of royal practices along with the grand narratives on natural resources. The reporting and information circulation process of Arab narratives should be explored critically in the cultural context of the emergence of the

---

[1] Kuehn, Julia, and Paul Smethurst, eds. *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*. New York: Routledge, 2009. p.1.

23

city population in Malabar Coast through larger overseas trade and later colonial invasion. The 16th and 17th century colonial narratives tried to locate the city population and the city itself differently from Arab narratives and categorically set a frame of the cultural and political supremacy over the coastal societies. Three sets of people give diverse narratives on the city of Calicut – Arabs, independent voyagers and colonial encounters. The veracity of the corpus of texts are important in many ways; most of them evidently manifest the picture of the changes within the city through the transformation of trade relation and political conquering and the cultural encountering over the city and region at large.

Calicut:

Calicut is one of the oldest urban city/bazaar centers on the western coast of India surrounded by small hills, paddy fields, water logged area and garden lands. It occupied the position of a major trading centre in the economic and political history of the medieval world and later in the colonial times it became one of the major colonial economic and political centers. Calicut, the taluk and city, is located in the central part of colonial Malabar district. Unlike other regions of Malabar, the population of the Calicut taluk is concentrated on the western side, in coastal villages. Geographically, all other taluks of Malabar are connected to Calicut in many ways. Calicut was the capital of the Malabar district under the colonial Madras Presidency. Colonial rulers gave more political importance to Calicut city, as it was the sixth largest city and the principal port town of the presidency, during the colonial regime. The evolution of Calicut as a major political centre in the early 20th century marks its economic and political significance on the western coast of southern India. The integration of various local societies into the colonial centric governmental system and the evolution of a monolithic political unit under the colonial political structure created a potential urban population in Calicut. It further enhanced the internal social fabric towards having a more liberal political space in the urban community structure. As per the latest census estimation, 58.79% of the total population of the city comprise Hindus, 38.37% Muslims and 2.7% Christians. Among Hindus 24.5% comprises Nairs and 27.3% Tiyyas. Even though the region was ruled by a Hindu ruling class, Zamorins, for many centuries, the economic dominance of the Muslims in the city was always identified in higher scale.

Anthropologists and sociologists also noticed the distinctive equal distribution of the different castes and religious sects as an important feature of Calicut.[2] Marc Gaborieau noted that:

> Ports of the southwestern coast of Kerala where Muslims have always been the subjects of Hindu rulers present another type where the community of Muslim merchants, settled in a separate part of the town, had acquired a sort of monopoly of the maritime trade, as was the case, for instance, in Calicut (Bouchon 1988) and Cannanore.[3]

We need to critically approach the 'historically' developed multiple aspects of narratives, memory and representation of the societal life of the city of Calicut/Kozhikode. The pre-colonial and medieval notions of oriental cities and societies are later transformed subtly into more empirical and analytical explanations of the social life of the city. Here, in this study, the changing perspectives of the narratives become the central objective of the analysis. The medieval mariners' perception fundamentally covers the superficial observation of the coast/port societies of the various regions, but the more planned and long-term colonial interventions constructed the 'systematic' frame of coastal and inland social analysis. We can see a clear evolution of perspectives from different priorities in different time and space, to a larger extend this chapter covers the travelogues from 13th century to late 18th century to look the transformation of the narrative pattern of an oriental city and its society by different travellers across the world. The stress of this analysis is not on the text but on the form and nature of the narratives. Here the textual value of a particular narrative is determined by the changing pattern of writing approaches on the 'other' people.

Malabar in history often denotes a place of rich spices, a place that was on maritime trade routes in ancient and medieval times, and the entry point of European colonialism into the Indian subcontinent. Throughout the medieval period, Calicut was marked as the centre of the Malabar landscape. Before 12th century A.D. we have no evidence of a city or harbour in Calicut.[4] The place Calicut or Kozhikode got larger attention through the traders, voyagers, Muslim and

---

[2] Gaborieau, Marc. "Indian Cities." *Hdo: The City in Islamic World.* Ed. Salma K. Jayyusi. Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli, and Andre Reymond. Vol. 2. Leiden: Brill, 2008. p. 191. and Osella, Fillippo. "Migration and the (Im) Morality of Everyday Life." *Migrant Encounters, Intimate Labor, the State and Mobility across Asia.* Ed. Sara L. Friedman, and Pardis Mahdavi. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. p.50.
[3] Gaboriau, Marc. *Ibid.*
[4] Narayanan, M.G.S. *op.cit.,* p. 58.

Christian missionaries, trading companies, etc. from the medieval period onwards. The perceiving of the region, people and culture through a larger global lens by the Arab travellers and traders, the visions of renaissance Europeans, trading corporations and missionaries, can be seen in the narratives on Calicut city in different historical times. By the time of Vasco da Gama's arrival to Calicut in 1498, it had become one of the largest commercial emporiums in Asia from a small harbour and its adjoining market place. It was identified as the "City of Asia" in European countries.

Travel and Travel Literature:

It is important to answer to a major question for examining the specific nature of travel writing i.e. what is travel writing? This question leads us to raise one other significant aspect of the nature of the travel. Travel is the movement of an individual or a group of people from one place to other by any means of transportation. Nishi Pulugurtha clearly illustrates travel literature as:

> Travel writing is an interdisciplinary genre that, in recent times, has become an important area of study. Closely linked to issues of imperialism, diaspora, multiculturalism, nationalism, identity, gender, globalization, colonialism and postcolonialism, it brings into play ideas of transculturation, the idea of the centre and the margin, border crossings, hybridity, location and displacement. Travel entails a movement away from a familiar place and location to an unfamiliar one, a new place, one that is different from one's home.[5]

In the medieval historical context the word and its connotation represent larger socio-cultural meaning. When we look into the particular nature of travelogue, we can find out numerous features of various travellers in different times. A kind of mix up of various issues and concerns are seen in the writings, but at the same time larger frames of picturisation of living experience of the different societies are visible in many literatures. Even though some of them are crossing the limitation of the mythological past of the various regions, it strongly laid its fundamental arguments in its legends and histories. The travelogues from 14th century to 18th century

---

[5] Pulugurtha, Nishi. Rev. of *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, eds. Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund. *Postcolonial Text* 6.2 (2011):1.

generally cover a wider picture of the changes in the city and its suburban regions and at large the transformation of the larger western coast of southern India. The clear demarcation between *nagara* and *grama* is seen in a linear historical narration. In a different way how the *nattumpuram* (locale) distances from a particular settlement and exchange centre with larger political and economic concentration is seen in these diverse narratives of western coast.

From 10th century itself Arabs started a kind of writing pattern which consists of the narratives of the travel experiences continuing up to the 17th century.[6] It developed as an independent literary genre in Arab writings in this period. Apart from the curiosity most of the writers tried to come across on the diverse discourses of the other society and elucidate various substances of the cultural symbols. The categorization of the 'holy' and 'alien' land always shows us an exotic picture of the other society. Most of the travel literature breaks the imaginative picture of the reader on the exotic land in a different manner. Four types of objectives are always seen in the travel literatures before 18th century; trade, missionary, adventure/curiosity and colonialism. The circulation of the narrative sequentially constructed multiple images of a particular society and landscape. This particular modality of formulation generates a conceptual frame of ethnic classification, cultural plurality, political centrality, etc. Also it paved different ways for larger shaping of the figurisations of other world. The study and analysis of the cultures of different regions by travellers disseminate the initial set of pictures of diverse societies. The vast treasure of the travelogues represent a historiographical marking of the idea of approaching the time and space with a clear vision of societal change. The nature of the comprehension is significant as it shows a clear sight to the understanding of the internal societal changes. In other means the method and approach of the writers determined the nature of the comprehension. It is very clear from Ibn Battuta's and Ludovico di Varthema's approach. Narrating a cultural practice and concluding this particular feature do not always make a sequence and rationality. Here we want to see the level of the previous knowledge of the travellers about landscape and its people. Often the predecessors account on the particular region led the traveller to make conclusion with his own experience.

---

[6] Zumthor, Paul, and Catherine Peebles. "The Medieval Travel Narrative." *New Literary History* 25.4 (1994) 809-824. Print.

The city or market centre of Calicut has always been communicating in many senses at least for eight centuries through travel writers. The city is generally identified as the main market centre for the natural goods and the political capital of the kingdom of Zamorins in the popular medieval and colonial discourses. It is difficult to locate a larger township and sizable city population before mid 19th century. But the 'town'/harbour and its 'rulers', 'natural commodities' and 'inhabitants' are often referred to as most hospitable in many of the narratives with specific idioms. Here narratives try to connect the memory of lived experience in the city. Also the identification of the city as a place of diverse features is always making multiple meanings to the entire narratives. Arab travellers made the early accounts of Calicut as a cosmopolitan city and its city population with specific socio-cultural features. Apart from the simplistic and casual narratives primarily most of the Arab narratives clearly looked the 'other' population and region in an inquisitive perspective. One of the significant sides is that it linked the theology with the narratives. Theology as a powerful institution in the medieval time laid a strong base for Arab narratives. Other significant thing is that the Arab travelogues have always given a detailed narration of the land and society of the Muslim population of their travelling regions. The copious narratives of Ibn Battuta clearly demonstrate its high length in its non fictional horizontal narration on various bazaars.

It is very significant to see how voyage literature becomes one of the major representational mediums in medieval period. The particular literary genre explained the multiple aspects of the various local societies in a larger view within the medieval political and geographical visions. Although this literature covers different historical sequences it lacks the spatial undercurrents of various societies. Even though it follows a particular calendar for the narration in dairy basis, the regionally distinctive spatial timings are absented in the genre. The experiences of the writers, majority of whom were political missionaries and traders, and the economic importance of the locality determined the contents of the text.

A premature travel literature is seen in European literary domain from BC 2nd century onwards which unveiled the accounts of 'unknown' worlds. In the medieval world the volume of this particular literature is increased largely as Arabs contributed abundant literature of the Asian-African continents. Arab Travel genres are rich composition of information about the various regions with special references on various city and bazaars. It covers people, landscape,

flora and fauna, cultural forms, language, climate, etc. and significantly it gives a larger picture of various socio-economic conditions of different periods. Historiographically it is considered as one of the most significant sources for the reconstruction of the histories of various regions. Travel genre in Arabic literature is not only rich with its numbers but it largely contains the diverse pictures of the numerous regions across the world. This particular genre produced an eclectic vision of the other side of the world mainly port cities and major empires in Asia and Africa. A distinctive type of archiving is seen in this writing by focusing the specific features of the socio-political life of the people. Most of the literatures are seen in the prose style in diary format. Even though it followed a diary format in its writing, it does not give priority to the sequence of the various narrated issues. The writings of Richard Haklyut in 16th century and Captain James Cook in 18th century built strong foundation for travel literature in Europe. In modern and contemporary times travel narrative has become one of the key areas of literary works in all languages with diverse pictures, sounds, visuals, etc. At present we can access all most all rich collections of literatures of the travellers in Europe and Arabian countries covering various regions and time with different priorities. Landscape mainly desert and forests, cattle resources, herbs, etc. were more informatively narrated by most of the travellers. We can say that looking other regions and society and explaining them in a different style with diverse objectives is significant.

As a major port center Calicut gained its accomplishment only from 14th century onwards due to its active trade link with the Arabian traders. The diversity of merchants, value and quality of trade goods, favourable political climate, etc. attracted traders to Calicut.[7] The natural wealth of the region and the distinctive city circumstances supported Calicut for its development as a trade emporium. The strong multicultural circumstances of Calicut are frequently reported by various travellers with specific socio-cultural parameters. Many of them clearly identified the peculiar nature of the interactions of the traders, rulers and local communities. Apart from the specific cultural features of various religious and caste fabrics the city itself represented a society of plurality and flexibility in many ways. The medieval depiction of Muslim and non Muslim, especially the categorization of infidel is openly moved away from many of the narratives and got stress for the Hindu political class and Muslim trading class. Also the presence of majority

---

[7] Nilakanta Sastri, K.A. *Foreign Notices of South India: From Megasthenes to Ma Huan*. Madras: University of Madras, 1939. p. 210.

Hindu population and a large Muslim population in the city is generally associated with the distinctive community fabric along with diverse caste composition. The role of the king was of a powerful agent, who controls the trade with wealthy Muslim traders is significant. Also the pattern of trade agreement and its transparency and security are always connected to the state authority and traders' responses.

Identification as a historic city has always given certain specific cultural values to the urban centers at large and it bares multiple cultural forms for its representation through centuries. When we look the city of Calicut as a major centre in the western side of the south Asia, it is associated with the larger political and economic changes in various centuries. We can see that the identification of Calicut as a historical city is started from 15th century. From colonial period onwards British clearly tried to explain the historical background of Calicut city through their gazetteers and survey reports. The identification of the city is never connected to the ancient meaning at any ways. Even if the city is identified as a medieval trade significant one it is largely related to the rich cultural settings. The city was formerly one of the most prosperous cities of the Indian subcontinent with its trade goods and larger maritime trade activities. The 'prosperity' was always associated with many myths and stories through several centuries. One story is always connected with the conversion of the native king to Islam and his pilgrimage to Mecca and the arrival of Arabs for trade to the Malabar cost mainly to the city of Calicut. The trade goods like pepper and cotton and its demand in the world market connected the port of Calicut to the several sections of the traders across the world. The long unfortified city opened its seashore and bazar to the traders for centuries.

The beginning of the observation of the larger region of Malabar was seen in the early Greco-Roman travel literatures. The sea route to 'Far East' mainly to the west of India and Ceylon by Mediterranean powers was first opened in the ancient time.[8] Though the available references on the port of Calicut were seen in 11th century, we are getting a clear picture of the city only from mid 14th century onwards. The Arab travellers from 9th century to 14th century wrote a large number of narratives on Malabar, especially on Calicut. Suleman visited Kerala coast in 9th century and spent sometimes in Quilon on his travel to China. The travelogue of

---

[8] Schoff, Wilfred H. "Navigation to the Far East under the Roman Empire." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 37 (1917): 240-249. Print.

Suleman was the first in this series. The striking point is that he did not mention the city and harbour of Calicut in his memoirs. It is assumed that the city may not be existed at that time. Later Al Biruni visited Malabar Coast in 11th Century, but the first detailed narration of a city is seen in the writings of Ibn Battuta in 14th Century. Al Biruni made detailed narration of the Elimala and Pantalayani ports of north to Calicut and Ponnani, Kodungallur and Kollam ports of south to Calicut, but he did not mention the Calicut city, especially the harbour. He gives some vague ideas of the ruler of the city of Calicut and the ship making practices under the then king. After visiting major cities of southern India he visited Calicut and board the ship to China from there. He noted that there existed a few colonies of Arabs in the coastal areas and the rich traders of the city were familiar with the other languages. We can locate numerous writings on the landscape and people of the region of Malabar in varied forms in Arab travel and geographic literature from this period onwards. Political and trade leaning texts produced significant elements of the life of the harbour and hinterland people of various localities. The crucial thing is that most of the accounts tried to narrate a picture of the distinctive features of social organizations, cultural practices among different caste groups, costal social settings, etc. Ibn Battuta, 14th century Moroccan traveller, visited Calicut many times and concentrated on the port of Calicut, the ruler of the city, the prosperity of the Arab traders, their vessels, wealth, influence in society, etc. in his narratives. Battuta's *Rihla* is an embodiment of the more than three decades of his journey to the different continents. We can simply define that *rihlas* are a form of travel literature based upon the experiences of travellers in the form of personal narratives, comments, opinions and description of landscape, culture and religion in the medieval time. A large number of facts and figures of the socio-political conditions of the Afro-Asian regions are narrated in his *rihlas.* The style of the description of the various elements of the societies correspond not only the historical antecedence of the particular time but also it represents a particular form of understanding on the diverse land and society. We can see that the original Arabic texts of Battuta were widely translated into different European and Asian languages from 19th century onwards. One of the significant parts of his recollection is that he tried to report both Islamic and non Islamic societies having diverse interests.

There are few things we need to explore on the basis of the textual account of Ibn Battuta especially how he made a narration on the various aspects of city and its social features mainly social relations between various communities. Here we need to bear in mind that Battuta was not

a travel writer in typical sense. His Rihlas (*Tuhfat al-Nuzzar fi Ghara'ib al-Amsar wa-'Aja'ib al-Asfar*) were compiled after his long travel to different continents during the period between 1325-1354 in his different capacities as a sailor, quazi, politician, poet, botanist, diplomat, adventurer, etc. and prepared only after his journey due to the initiation of the then Moroccan ruler. Battuta's *rihlas* are a linear narration of numerous topics like, physical geography, natural history and environment, trade and commerce, diplomacy, religion, politics, customs, etc. The most interesting thing is that he expanded the type of narration from the religious parameters to larger worldly frames. Battuta visited Calicut in the period, 1341-43 and noted that this port is one of the major trading centers of the western coast of India. Following the request of Delhi Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq to visit China as his ambassador, Battuta stopped at Calicut. The effort to narrate this sea born city on his way to China is significant in many ways; Battuta is the first traveller who provided a detailed description of the city. Battuta's account noted that the city was busy with trade with many countries and he could see a number of foreign traders especially Arabs, Africans and Chinese in the port and street. The description to locate a cosmopolitan trade circumstances in the city and his approach is crucial while comparing to other cities. He was sure that the city clearly reflects numerous favorable features of the trade especially the significant role played by the local ruler to encourage trade by accommodating various religious sects. Battuta was more excited when he reached Calicut and notes, "one of the great ports of the district of Malabar and in which merchants from all parts are found."[9] He continues:

> … the raja (Sultan) is a heathen called Zamorin.….The heads of merchants called in this town is Ibrahim, the Shabundar, from Bahrain, an accomplished man of great attributes, at his house the merchants meet and at his *sumud* they dine … In Calicut lives the ship master, Misqal, whose name is widely known. He possesses great riches and many ships for trading purposes in India, China, Yeman and Fars.[10]

He further notes that, "the greatest part of the Mohammedan merchants of this place are so wealthy, that one of them can purchase the whole freightage of such vessel as put in here; and

---

[9] Lee, Samuel. *The Travels of Ibn Batuta: Translated from the Abridged Arabic Manuscript Copies.* London: The Oriental Translation Committee, 1829. p.172.

[10] Husain, Mahdi. *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta (India, Maldive Islands and Ceylon): Translation and Commentary.* Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1976. p.189.

fit out others like them". [11] His surprise that Arab Muslims have power to mange an international trade emporium under a Hindu ruler is seen everywhere in his narration. He gladly provides the picture of what type of welcome he received in the town.

> When we arrived in this town Ibrahim, Shabundar, the *qazi,* Shaik Shihab-ud-din and prominent merchants, as well as the deputy of the heathen ruler named *Qulaj* came to meet us and they had drums trumpets, horns and flags on their ships. We entered the harbour amid great ovation and pomp, the like of which I have not seen in these parts….We stayed in the harbour of Calicut in which there were then thirteen ships of China…..We stayed three months awaiting the time for departure to China and were guests of the heathen ruler. [12]

The appreciation of the joyful welcome given by the local harbour people to the traders and travellers to their city, to a larger extent it was their traditional custom, is a core part of his narratives. Then he goes to the narration of a particular custom of the city:

> It is in the custom of the country of Malabar that whenever a ship is destroyed whatever is saved from it goes to the treasury. Such is not the custom in this town alone. Here the lawful proprietors collect whatever is thrown up by the sea and therefore the town is flourishing, and great is the influx of foreigners. [13]

The emergence and development of Calicut city as a result of Indian Ocean trade got minimal reference in Battuta's *rihlas*. Arabs brought the city to the world system by incorporating their commercial activities from Abbassid period onwards. Gradually the city became a commercial and settlement centre not only for Arabs but also for people from North African countries, China, etc. They imported various goods demanded by the city people, native traders and *rajas* to the port of Calicut in the favourable wind time and waited here to collect the export items from the hinterlands through middle men. Battuta noticed the busy market and different people of the globe who were coming here for trade. It was very much clear from Battuta's reference that the city had become a stopover for the traders between the south west and east west monsoon. The quite long stay of overseas traders in the city produced a multicultural space in the city terrain.

---

[11] Lee, Samuel. *Ibid.,* p.172.
[12] Husain, Mahdi. *op.cit.,* p.189.
[13] *Ibid.,* p.192.

The 'heathen' ruler's trade policy and religious attitude promoted the growth of plural cultural space in the city. Subsequently out of the walled city of the Zamorins palace a multi ethnic culture was shaped. This continued many centuries up to the beginning of the twentieth century. S.K. Pottakkad, renowned Malayalam writer had narrated the active existence of the Afghans and other Arab people in all over Calicut city in the early 20th century.[14] Mamukkoya in his memoir recollected that in the early decades of the 20th century a number of Omanis used to come to Calicut with their traditional goods and stayed in the city to fill their cargos.[15] Under the British rule also the old Arab trade was continued in many ways in a minimal level. The long historic trade connected the city with Venice, Alexandria, Aden, Jidda, Hormuz, Sind, Malacca and Canton. Through the trade with Malabar, Arabs and native traders became very rich. Arabs concentrated their trade in Kozhikode in 13th century and other groups like the Jews, Syrians Christians and Chinese had already established themselves in ancient ports such as Ezhimala, Kodungallur, Kollam, and Vizhinjam. As they had already settled in Calicut, the Arabs did not show the same interest in Cochin which developed two centuries later. Portuguese and Dutch avoided Calicut and settled in Cochin which was less subject to Arab influence comparing to Calicut. Portuguese then shifted their head quarters to Goa and prospered through their friendship with Vijayanagara Empire. The Bahmani Sultans of Deccan and their successors depended on Calicut to maintain their relationship with West Asia.[16]

In the mid 15th century, another Arab traveller, Abdur Razzak, Ambassador of Persian King Shah Rokh, tried to explain the specific features of the Calicut port by comparing it with the other ports of Arabia and South Asia. Razzak's narration stresses on the "the honesty of the people". It was very clear that from the beginning itself, the city was occupied by Arabs and the trade was controlled by the native Muslims and their descendent Arabs. In the Arab narratives the Zamorin people of the city of Calicut are presented in terms of their peaceful cohabitation with the other trading people. The specific focus on Calicut in the Arab accounts and the general geographic accounts of the European travellers reflect the pattern of narratives about Calicut in medieval times. Chinese traveller, Mahuan and Persian traveller Abdur-Razzak keenly observed

---

[14] Pottekkad, S.K. "Pazhaya Kozhikode." *Kozhikkode Orormappusthakam.* Ed. P. Zakir Hussain. Kozhikode: Olive Publications, 2012. pp. 48-49.

[15] Madayi, Thaha. *Jeevitham: Mamukkoya/Kozhikkode.* Kottayam: D C Books, 2009. p.17.

[16] V, Kunhali, ed. *op.cit.,* p.39.

that the city was safe for the traders and their commodities. The king's army and port head Koya maintained special security arrangements for the trading activities. Razzak observed that:

> Calicut is a perfectly secure harbour which like from every city and from every country. In it are to be found abundance of precious articles brought from maritime countries… It contains a considerable number of Mussalmans who are constant residents and have built two mosques. Security and justice are too firmly established in this city, that the most wealthy merchants bring their considerable cargoes, which they unload and unhesitatingly send into this market without thinking in the meantime of any security or checking the account or keeping watch over the goods. When the sale is affected, they levy a duty on the goods of one-fortieth part; if they are not sold, they make no charge whatsoever. At Calicut, every ship, whatever place it may come from or wheresoever it is may be found, when it puts into this port is treated like other vessels and has no trouble of any kind to put up with.[17]

Following the travel writings of Arabs and Chinese, numerous European writings on the city of Calicut and the region of Malabar started to come in Europe. These were subsequently circulated across all European countries in 16th and 17th century. The city with rich socio-cultural features underwent dominant Christian and colonial understandings. The king and his subjects of Calicut were visualized through the medieval Christian lens. The customs, rituals, idols, paintings and drawings, building structures, etc. were narrated within the dominant European notions of the "heathen" section of the people. The Arab category 'infidel' was substituted with 'heathen' from 16th century onwards. This change clearly reflects not only a cultural transformation but it broadly reveals the paradigm shift of the dominant ideologies of the medieval time. There was a conscious intention among European voyagers to estimate the specific cultural forms of Asian society. Apart from the understanding of the region and society this effort leads them to frame certain parameters to value the same. Along with the economic and political colonization cultural encountering was visibly orchestrated in European milieu in 16th and 17th century. The attempt to understand Jewish and Islamic religions and their belief system in the 16th century Europe was shaped under the

---

[17] Major, R.H., ed. N*arrative of the Journey of Abd-er-Razzak, Ambassador for Shah Rokh*. London: n.p. 1847. p.14.

Catholic dogmas. The effort to isolate Jewish people subsequently caused their brutal suppression in Western Europe. At some point of time Jewish were expelled from Spain and Portugal. Infidelity was considered as a most hatred characteristic among the European Christians. Their expedition to India and engagement with Mughal Empire and other small political units should be examined within this context. The high influences of medieval theology over Europeans caused the shaping of ideas about the non Christian world. Except the 'Holy Land' all non European terrains were considered as 'pagan land' and utilized for missionary activities. Their perceptions were demonstrated through various representational mediums. Travel texts widely influenced the shaping of the image building at that time. The image setting, "Devils in Calicut" was completely a byproduct of Ludovico di Varthema's writing of the city[18]. Jenifer Spinks writes that:

> …Calicut went on to develop a distinctive imaginative presence in northern European print culture, particularly through the works of authors (though not always travelers) including Sebastian Munster, Pierre Boaistuau, Willem Lodewijcksz and Jan Huygen van Linschoten.[19]

The holy/sacred spaces were not seen in Calicut city and instead there was wider sense mostly for the ritual space. Temples and *kavus* are major ritual spaces and royal palace complex and *bazaar* are the major power centers of the city. The latter correspond to the exchange and power control within the state capital city and ruler was identified as the controller of the port of the heavy Asian trade. The picturisation of Zamorin by Europeans is developed as the supreme power of the ocean trade and through the regular figurisation of the Asian pagan social illustration. The representation of the city through the king and his control of the spices goods were strongly come in the European imaginative discourses. The king and his patronage of the trade communicate wider socio-cultural discourses. Arabs looked the inter community relationship and social fabric of the city while Europeans concentrated on how the supreme king manages the city and its rich harbour. Control of the port and spices trade in an unfortified harbour was sustained through the traditionally evolved strong cultural discourses in Calicut. The King certainly became a strong protector of the trade dealings in his emporium.

---

[18]   The early European traveller Ludovico di Varthema provided a description of the devilish engravings in Zamorins palace under the title, 'Devils in Calicut'. Latter it influenced the artistic images of the painters across Europe and number of painting depicted the same under the head 'Devils in Calicut'.

[19]   Spinks, Jenifer. "The Southern Indian "Devil in Calicut" in Early Modern Northern Europe: Images, Texts and Objects in Motion." *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014): 16. Print.

Arabian Sea and its trade emporium were marked as a space of prosperity and authority of the medieval period in many of the picturisations. The larger imagination of eastern richness – spices, timber and ivory – which is associated with the landscape of Malabar, the gradual connecting of Calicut as its capital and Zamorin as the King of Calicut are centered in the early Arabic and European narratives. Fundamentally these texts rejected the geographical and cultural diversity of the larger imagined Malabar and confined the socio political landscape to the city of Calicut. The 13th century Venetian traveller Marco Polo described the region of northern Kerala as the "great province of Malabar", but the late 15th century European traveller Niccolo Conti's narratives concentrated on the city of Malabar, Calicut, and its people. He described Calicut as a maritime city and an emporium of all the valuable spices of the east. Niccolo Conti's descriptions of other south Indian cities like Pulicad, Mylapur, Chandragiri, Quilon, etc. often stress on specific geographical and economic features. At the same time his description of Calicut city stresses the specific rites and customs of its people, though at that time Calicut was the most important centre of the spice trade. The 15th century Russian traveller, Athanasius Nikitin also referred to the city as the largest port on the shores of the Arabian Sea. Later the colonial geographers, traders, revenue survey officers and colonial officers concentrated only on the diversity of the larger Malabar landscape. The tropical climate and its natural products as well as the heavy monsoon in the land of Zamorin are always marked as the major points of these narratives. Even though the travel accounts or the Arab/European accounts mainly focused on the significance of the major ports of the Indian peninsula, they produced a variety of narratives on 14th and 15th century Calicut city.

But at the same time Chinese accounts of Chau Jhu-kua, Wang Dayuan, etc. give some pictures of 13th century Calicut. Wang Dayuan was a trader who wrote numerous aspects of the different port cities of India's western coast along with detailed narration of the Southeast Asian port towns. Chau Jhu-kua narrated the specific features of the ruler and commodities of the city of Calicut. One other Arab traveller Ahmad Ibn Majid had given the idea of the commodity transactions of the city mainly various roads and sea channels inside the city. It is very important to look the clashes for the monopoly of trade and end of the free trade, which was the central part of the socio-political economy of Malabar. The Chinese Muslim merchant Ma Huan visited Calicut in A.D. 1403 and described the trade emporium of the city, where traders from all over the word come and engage in trade. He noted the presence of a Chinese fort in the city and an

active trade and commerce with the south Asian countries by exchanging the western product. His writing is significant in many ways. He noted that:

> The king belongs to the Nair class, and, like his brother of Cochin, is a sincere follower of Buddha, and as such does not eat beef; his overseer, being a Muhammadan, does not eat pork. This led, it is said in times past, to a compact being made between the king and his overseer, to the effect that if the king would give up eating pork the overseer would give up eating beef. This compact has been most scrupulously observed by the successors of both parties up to the present day. The king at his devotions prostrates himself before an image of Buddha every morning; which being over, his attendants collects all the cow-dung about the place, and smear it over the image of the god.[20]

The narrations of both Niccolo Conti and Varthema essentially concentrate on the 'features' of the people of the city and its suburbs with special focus on the Christian prejudicial notions of pagan worship in Asian societies. Ludovico di Varthema, an Italian traveller, visited Malabar in the early years of 16th century. His itinerates were latter compiled and published in 1510 in Rome and translated in many European languages. One of the significant sides is that his writings deal with the period of Portuguese invasion in the south western coast of India and he covered the regions like Cambay, Goa, Bijapur, Vijayanagara, Hampi, Malabar, etc.[21] Also he was the first traveller who tried to narrate the total picture of the city of Calicut including the ruling family, foreign traders, people, local customs, etc. Here we need to consider the two phase of Varthema's accounts: the early phase and latter phase. His Portuguese concerns are very visible in his observation on the native Hindus and Muslims. Varthema stressed on the relations between the Arab-Muslim traders and the Hindu rulers of the Calicut city. As a traveller during the time of Portuguese invasion (1505-1507), Varthema concentrates on the religious composition of the cities of Malabar, especially Calicut. He wrote a full chapter on Calicut in his travel account.[22] He was very curious about the native population of the city of Calicut and their peculiar social

---

[20] Philip, George. *Mahuan's Account on Cochin, Calicut and Aden.* N.p.: n.p., n.d. p.316.
[21] Here the present study takes whole references from the copy of the travelogue published by Haklyut Society, London in English in 1863 under the title *The Travels of Ludovico De Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia A.D 1503 to 1508.* Ed. George Percy Badger. London: Haklyut Society, 1863.
[22] Badger, George Percy, ed. *op.cit.,* pp.135-168.

relations. He stresses the dignity of the king in the city and compares his exceptionalism with the other rulers of southern India. In the beginning phase Varthema mainly concentrated on the Zamorin's court, socio and cultural life of various communities, physical landscape, local markets, etc. when he spent some time in Calicut before he leaves to the southern part of Kerala and south East Asian regions of Indian peninsula. While coming back from these regions, Varthema again spent much longer time in Calicut and narrates a larger picture of Portuguese influence on the city in particular and region of Malabar in general.

As a curious traveller with greater adventurous spirit, Varthema explored the Calicut city and its suburbs in detail and tried to connect the socio-cultural life of the city with other regions of western coast and importantly he gave some specific features of the port town and harbour. Contrary to Nicolo Conti's identification as one of the main maritime city and noble emporium of India, Varthema realized that Calicut is a city of spices without any barriers of a fortified city, complicated trade patterns, political instability, etc. All of the narratives from Battuta to Varthema agreed that the city was an upshot of trade and at the same time city was more or less restricted with larger regional features than the celebrating cosmopolitan identities. Varthema amusingly narrates that there was no proper port, city had no wall around it and the houses were extended about a mile and separated from one another.[23] Absence of powerful middle class is visible in the mercantile city in the narratives of Varthema and he points out that the houses are very poor, their number is very high and the few wealthy traders built huge houses. Within the city the settlement was not fragmented according to the traders and local people except among fishermen. But at the same time the temple and Brahmans steadily built a fragmented settlement centre having caste and ritual priorities. While the ruling families and wealthy merchants were closely connected with the local population there were also wider social and economic inequalities.

We can identify a clear shift from the writings of the medieval Arab travellers to the early European accounts. The understanding of the king and its subjects steadily underwent tremendous changes in due course. The term 'infidel'/ 'heathen' disappeared and the word 'pagan' came to the central discourses in the most of the European writers. Varthema illustrates that the king of the city is pagan and worships devils. We can see the narration on the palace of the King of Calicut within this wider framing of the non European pagan worship forms. Placing

---

[23] Badger, George Percy, ed. *op.cit.,* pp.135-136.

the devil inside the palace in wooden and metal materials is connected with the control of the spirit of God, who is the creator of the heaven, earth and the world. The devil in the metal form "as a crown made like that of a papal kingdom, with three crowns; and it also has four horns and four teeth, with a very large mouth, nose, and most terrible eyes. The hands are made like those of a flesh-hook, and the feet like those of cock; so that he is a fearful object to behold."[24] Jennifer Spinks explains:

> In repeated textual and visual accounts, the so-called demon and idol known to Europeans as the "devil in Calicut" came to vividly epitomize the town. Introduced to Europeans by the Italian traveler Ludovico di Varthema in 1510, this sixteenth-century devil went through various visual permutations across the following decades. Although the image of the devil in Calicut is not a new topic for scholars of the early modern world, the history of its visual transformations across the sixteenth century, the material dimensions of this, and the Reformation contexts that shaped it are only very partially mapped.[25]

The attempts of placing the power of oriental political authority and connecting it to the devilish element is a straight direction to the pagan worshiping and practicing of the witchcraft in the non European societies especially oriental societies. Apart from the naturalistic worshiping forms here Varthema tried to connect the Hellenistic polytheist worship patterns of spiritual elements with hierarchies of the social power relation in the city. Rituals become central part of the Hellenistic worship. It is very clear that after narrating the Zamorin's devil worship Varthema directly goes to the role of Brahmins in the devil worship of the palace.

> Every morning the Brahmins, that is the priests, wash the said idol all over with scented water, and then they perfume it…they have a certain small table, made and ornamented like an altar, three span high from the ground…upon this table they have the blood of a cock and lighted coals in a vessel of silver with many perfumes upon them… they have silver knife with which they have killed the cock, and which they tinge with the blood… and when he has finished performing the sacrifice, he takes

---

[24] *Ibid.,* pp.137-138.
[25] Spinks, Jennifer. *op.cit.,* p.16.

both his hands full of grain and retires from the said altar, walking backward and always looking at the altar until he arrives at a certain tree.[26]

The devilish power and the existing superior Brahmanical influence in the palace are associated with the political and ritual power relation within the city and its diverse cultural undercurrents and it is represented through the 16th century Christian world view. Within the city the control of the spiritual and physical elements through the non human force is clearly moderated by Brahman priests and it represents divergent reciprocity of the various trade relations. Varthema depicts that the shape of the devil especially its non human and non animal features like, four horns, four teeth, large mouth and nose, terrible eyes along with three crowns, etc. is a terrific one. Its spatial configuration is very clearly built within the palace and with the larger public space of the city. The narration of Varthema always stands contradictory with the ritual form and its practice of the Brahmins. We can see that Brahmanical rituals and its practices are clearly framed and systematically practiced across Kerala coast in the narrated period. We can't find any kind of ritual practices of Brahmins during this period as narrated by Varthema. The animal sacrifice for the control of the wicked spirit is largely a result of the Biblical influence of Varthema and he misunderstood the priests. The Nambuthiri Brahamins of Malabar did not practice any animal sacrifice and above all the belief in evil spirit and its philosophical base are not connected to them.

The most important part of Varthema's narration is seen in the descriptions of the 'Pagans of Calicut'. "The first class of Pagans in Calicut is called Brahmins. The second are Naeri (Nairs), who are the same as the gentle folks amongst us; and these are obliged to bear sword and shield or bows or lances".[27] The third class of pagans is artisans Tivas, the fourth class is fisher men Mechua, the fifth class is Poliar, who were engaged in collecting pepper, vine and nuts and sixth class is Hirava. [28]He was very particular about the Naeri (Nairs) of the city and described them many times as gentle folks in his narratives. Varthema narrates the predominant presence of Nairs in the political space through the control of the army and political administration who maintained higher influence over Brahmins and city elites especially wealthy Muslims. It is very clear that the 'pagan gentle folk' Nairs and Moorish merchants were the most

---

[26] Badger, George Percy, ed. *op.cit.,* p. 138.
[27] Badger, George Percy, ed. *op.cit.,* p.142.
[28] *Ibid.*

influential class in the city. These two sections maintained larger political and economic resources of the city and its country side. The control over the larger number of 'Poliar' (Pulaya) labour and their resources supported the Nairs to accumulate capital and keep commercial relation with the Moors. We can see that Varthema is very particular about the caste specific narration of the people of the city, which to a larger extent is not only an effort to classify the people on the basis of ritual purity but also an effort to look the distinctive features of the fragmented society. Marriages, rituals, dressing, food, etc. were used as a mode to explain each caste group. The space of the women in the upper castes was associated with the cohabitation, their nudity, virginity, etc. The narrations of the ceremonies and practices in the family and state after the death of a king are significant for its distinctive picturisation of the internal arrangements of his family. Like many other travellers Varthema also curiously narrated the practice of polyandry in the city. But Varthema tried to look into the specific pattern of polyandry among Nair castes in a different manner. Apart from the formal practices many of the ceremonies are part of the expression of the political authority of the royal family mainly the descendancy in government.

The diverse life styles and issues among the different caste groups of the city like differential marital and family relation, ritual forms, position of women, etc. are narrated by many travellers. Contrary to explaining these as social conditions he focuses mainly on the unequal pattern of the 'life styles' of the city. The problematisation of the natural justice in Asian regions is largely looked through its uneven pattern and relative exercises in different time and space. We can see that from early medieval period onwards travellers noticed the practice of justice and politeness in the financial transactions of the city. Arab traveller and geographer Abdu Razzak and Muhammad al-Idrisi connected this aspect with the economic and interpersonal peculiarities of the city. Undoubtedly they never overlooked the reality of the city but tried to expose it as a specific trade value of a particular time, when especially people from across the Arabian countries were engaged with south Asian countries for trade. The eight months trading activities (from September to April) always attracted large number of overseas trading population to the city in every year during medieval period.

We know that the weather conditions of the entire coast during monsoon caused constraints to the trading activities mainly to overseas journey and domestic transportation of the

trading goods. The traders slowly started to leave the city from late April onwards and cross the Cape of Comorin and navigate to the south Asian countries for small scale pepper and allied trade activities. But at the same time some of the trading classes were settled in the city and involved in trade and economic activities by organizing various caste groups throughout the year. Simultaneously the fishing and fish curing activities of the sea shores of the city were completely shut down. Ecologically the city was totally spread with heavy rains and the city would lose its larger mobility and dynamism up to four or five months as a centre of the political capital of Zamorin. The suburban areas would also not connect to the city and it remained partially stuck with rains. The city of the 'lord of the sea' and its political and economic power faced challenges due to heavy rain. It is seen that the city was fully operated only for eight months in actual commercial activities in the medieval period especially Arab period. But the coming of the Europeans changed this condition and equipped the city for whole year business by building ware houses and other hinterland trade networks. The medieval trading city was subtly changed under colonial trading patterns. As noted by Sanjay Subrahmaniam the long distance trade mainly ocean trade was more centralized and Calicut became one of the major trade hubs.[29] We need to understand that the Europeans started building their imagination of the city within this larger spatial change as part of colonial encountering.

We need to consider that the political unit of Zamorin did not depend on any sort of agrarian surplus in medieval period. At the same time the huge trade surplus paved the way for the emergence of powerful coastal kingdom in the western coast of India. The crucial thing is the shift of the Zamorins from the hinterland village of Nediyiruppu in the Eranad taluk to Calicut and its development as a major trade centre in the 14th and 15th century. The transformation of the *natutayavar* (local regional head) to the raja of a larger principality and the attainment of sovereignty over the maritime trade are seen through this shift. Here we need to explore why the *janmi* aristocratic Nediyiruppu swarupam of Zamorins left their ancestral space and settled in the port town contrary to many other swarupams. Varthema examined the nature of the city of Zamorins in the early 16th century, but the myth or the multiple narratives of the city which generally connected the conquering of the Polanad by the Zamorins and establishment of a new capital city for the new regime was not stressed. On the one side the matrilineal Zamorins built

---

[29] Subrahmaniam, Sanjay. *The Political Economy of Commerce South India 1500-1650*. Cambridge: CUP, 1990. p.116.

the new capital called Vikramapuram, constructed a palace and fort and gradually they developed an economically wealthy kingdom and a capital city. "But this name did not become popular. The people called it Kolikottu".[30] They clearly kept the matrilineal descendency within the power hierarchy and politically projected the active presence of family and exposed its role through the set up of *kovilakams* or palaces for both elder and younger princes in the vicinity of the Tali temple. This temple and its Brahman *uralers* legitimize the Zamorin political authority in the Calicut. Brahmans by using the ritual of *ariyittu vazcha* (coronation of the new heir) tried to attain their political space in the city. Up to the British invasion *ariyittuvazcha* was considered as one of the major events of the city. The palace was recognized as an important centre of the city in medieval period itself. Varthema noted that the palace of the king is about a mile in circumference and the walls are low with beautiful division of wood, with 'devils' carved in relief.[31] After narrating the structural magnitude of the palace and attached buildings Varthema's narration goes to a detailed analytical account of the king and his people. It is interesting to see that Varthema narrated in detail the Zamorin's habit of wearing enormous golden ornaments.

> It would be impossible to estimate the jewels which the king wears…he wore so many jewels in his ears, on his hands, on his arms, on his feet, on his legs, that it was a wonder to behold. His treasure consists of two magazines of ingots of gold, and stamped golden money, which many Brahmins said that a hundred mules could not carry. And they say that this treasure has been left by ten or twelve previous kings, who have left it for the wants of the republic. This king of Calicut also possesses a casket three spans long and one and a half span high, filled with jewels of every description.[32]

The question why the name Vikramapuram, the Zamorin built city, did not get prominence and Kolikkutu (Calicut) got wider publicity among the people is very important in the understanding of the socio-cultural divergence of the city. Apart from the political and cultural exercise of the ruling family the city had gained its popular recognition through the larger ocean trade. Perhaps that is one of the most distinctive features of Calicut. The centralities of a Siva temple also did not give any strong political branding to Vikramapuram. Instead of that the peculiar character of

---

[30] Hasnain, Syed Iqbal. *Muslims in North India: Frozen in the Past.* New Delhi: Har Anand, 2009. p.109.

[31] Badger, George Percy, ed. *op.cit*., p.155.

[32] *Ibid.,* p.156.

the people of the city was attracted and branded in the global trade of medieval and colonial time. How and when the popularity as Vikramapuram was lost is more important. The rise of Calicut as a major trading centre occurred only in 13th century. The absence of narration about the city in the writings of the late 13th century traveller Marco Polo and the active presence of the city in the writings of Ibn Battuta in the mid 14th century show the transformation of the city as a major sea port only in 14th century. Even though the kingdom of Zamorin was formed in 1034 CE, the city was transformed as major trading centre only after three centuries. The prosperity of the city was connected with the trade and the ruling dynasty and with the presence of Devi according to *Keralolpatti*. Poonthurakkon (the lord of the harbour city) is the name held by the Zamorin to express his supremacy over the sea. Controlling the sea, harbour and city is the political target of the ruling family to hegemonies the voyage trade and huge revenue accumulation. We can see the narratives of various power compositions within the city through the analysis of different caste and political hierarchies. This was a way to justify the role of the king in the prosperity of the trade and economic development of the city beyond his effort to build a capital and patronize a temple for the state control.

In the writings of Varthema the dressing of the royal family mainly of the *rajas* was depicted through the larger frame work of the western notion of Indian bodies bearing wider complexities and meanings. The royal food, way of eating, dressing styles mainly his half naked body, etc. bear specific political and cultural objectives. We can see that even if Raja wears half naked dress he always adorns with ornaments of heavy gold, diamonds and pearls during several occasions. The body mainly hands, fingers, knees, legs, etc. are loaded with heavy ornaments. The structure of the palace and its head of the occupants were represented in the narratives in an unrealistic manner. This form of narrative was one of the main inspirations behind the European paintings on Calicut in 17th and 18th century. The overweight black physical body, heavy gold ornaments, huge palace, etc. of the Zamorins were subjected in the European paintings.

It is clear that the fragile foundation of the palace due to the high water logging was materially different from the strong Roman buildings and their high structural foundations. The 19th century land acquisition papers show that the area adjacent to the then palace was fully water logged and some parts were utilized for paddy cultivation.[33] The striking aspect is that the

---

[33] Seluraj, P.B. *Kozhikkodinte Paithrukam.* Calicut: Mathrubhumi Books, 2011. pp.52-53.

less navigating people of the Zamorins became the main controllers of the naval power of the Arabian Sea and subsequently they turn into the major beneficiary of the international trade and commerce. They build a strong naval brigade and projected greater supremacy over the sea navigation in the early colonial time itself. Their naval battle with Portuguese was a clear evidence of the naval strength of Zamorins in early 15th century. This was an annoying thing to Varthema as European countries were trying to get the power of oceans for the dominance of trade and commerce at that time. As a result to this text the majesty of the Zamorins was not properly projected in the European paintings and instead they meticulously portrayed the conquering of 'the lord of the sea' by the naval supremacy. The 17th century European paintings were indebted to the travel narratives of the 16th century.

The analysis of the pagan worship of the people of Calicut and rulers is seen in the case of physicians of the city in Varthema's account. The association of the physicians' body with the devilish dress style and their appearance before the public is explained by Varthema in an exaggerating way.

> … they go at two or three o'clock in the morning; and the said men so dressed carry fire in their mouths; and in each of their hands and on their feet they wear two crutches of wood, which are one pace (*passo*) high, and in this manner they go shouting and sounding the instruments, so that truly if the person were not ill, he would fall to the ground from terror at seeing these ugly beasts. And although they should fill the stomach full up to mouth, they pound three roots of ginger and make a cup of juice, and this they drink, and in three days they no longer have any illness, so that they live exactly like beasts.[34]

The close observation of the traditional Hindu medical practices in Malabar region during the medieval time is significant. The physical and psychological aspects of medical practice, which were prevalent in the city, were part of the larger religious and ethnic backgrounds. The spiritual part of the body got prominence in most of the narratives. The role of physician as an agency between the physical body and the spiritual part is crucial; they mainly treat the spiritual part and avoid the physical part. The interesting thing is that majority of physicians belong to lower caste

---

[34] Badger, George Percy, ed. *op.cit.,* p.167.

vydyas and their dominance in the medical practice is seen in city and its periphery. This *vydya* tradition of the city is continued many centuries. The ethnic beliefs and rituals are more significant here. Noise, smoke, colours, etc. are the main forms of treatment.

The 16th century *Keralolpattis* gives numerous stories about the honesty of the rulers and people of the city. The narratives evoked wider engagement of the local people with larger overseas traders. The attribution of 'honesty' is very important in many ways. Various forms of testimonies regarding the honesty of the king and his people mainly traders created a strong sense of cultural idiom of the honest society. The nature of the stories of the honesty shows that it was mainly the overseas merchants, who noted the trust worthiness of the locals. Contrary to the *Keralolpatti* narratives, the foreign accounts extensively cover the experience of their commercial transactions mainly weight and measures of the city. They also noted the feeling of security and freedom in the city which largely supported them to enhance the volume of trade and the scale of profit by reducing the risk. Most of the travellers compare their distinctive experience in Calicut with other sea ports of Asia and Africa. The role of the king is important here mainly because of his patronage of the city and his strong interest in the trade. Comparing many other kings who control the trade and sea port, Zamorins kept a different relation with the traders. He often extended various privileges to the traders and maintained an atmosphere of international trade circumstances in the town. Travellers noted the political and geographical security of the sea port. Abdur Razzak observed that the harbour is secure like Ormuz and accommodates traders from various parts of the world. Ibn Battuta recorded that the people of the city always keep an open answer to the outsiders and he narrates: "when we approached this place the people came out to meet us, and with a large concourse brought us in to the port'.[35] The city was gradually known as "noble emporium" and "noble city" across the world.

Like literary narratives and paintings, a large number of accounts of the colonial trading companies give us narratives about the city of Calicut. The company narratives produced information about the city of Calicut and its harbour while the personal colonial narratives produced accounts on the life and various social systems in the city. From 16th century onwards, the economic and political interests of colonial invasion gradually turned around the notions of the city narratives. The 16th century Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa's narratives about the

---

[35] Lee, Samuel. *op.cit.,* p. 172.

Malabar Coast, especially about Calicut, point out the specific colonial interest over the region, and mainly over the Calicut port. Further, colonial interests over the inlands compelled authors to produce larger textual accounts of the internal markets, cities, villages and resources of the region of Malabar from late 18th century onwards. Francis Buchanan's account is the main text in this genre. The travelogue of Buchanan gives a picture of how the early 19th century Calicut had slowly started to connect with the other suburban bazaars and villages of Malabar. Basically, his narration stresses on how far the East India Company can utilise the city of Calicut for trade and administration. Even though he pinpoints the various aspects of colonial objectives behind his journey, he carefully narrates the people and their style of life in diaries.

Apart from literary narratives, another important set of representations of the city of Calicut in Europe was developed through the picturisation of the various forms of pagan worship and practice of caste systems in the city. A number of paintings were seen in Europe depicting specific occasions and happenings in the city along with its port and forts. George Braun and Franz Hogenberg portrayed the imagery of a larger Malabar landscape as the background and the Calicut port as the main frame in their great city atlas for the painting of the greatest cities in the medieval world. The first volume of the *Civitates of the Orbis* in 1572 painted Calicut city as one of the largest port cities on the Indian Ocean trade routes. The painting tried to portray the popular imagery of the city, especially the hills, wild animals, the hinterland river basin, busy trade and export, wooden ships in the ports, etc. In the first Latin edition they portrayed one painting of Calicut along with two other Malabar ports under the title 'Calechut celeberrimum Indiae emporium'. The 16th century urban mapping on copper plates popularized this picture of Calicut city across Europe. Later this painting was used to showcase Calicut city in different books and museums in late medieval and early modern Europe. One of the most important features in this painting is that it imagined larger buildings of Gothic architecture in the city. At the same time the impressive commentary of Braun is significant. He wrote: "Calicut is the noblest of all the Indian cities. It lies on the shores of the sea, is bigger than Lisbon and is impregnable even without ramparts. The King of the city is venerated as a god; the subjects obey him with the greatest servility." Braun never visited Calicut in his life time, and most of his comparisons were factually incorrect. Another picture portrayed the Portuguese fort edifice in the centre of Calicut port whereas one other picture portrayed the court of the Zamorin's palace, resembling medieval European court culture. Also we can see pagan worship, especially people

worshipping wild animals, in the picture. The veracity of the painting is more or less a creation of the medieval European notions of oriental landscapes and their people. From the late 18th century onwards two sets of paintings started to come in Europe; one portrayed the "leaving" of Vasco da Gama from the Lisbon port for Calicut and the other the "landing" of Gama in Calicut. These paintings were produced mainly in water colour, mural and copper engravings and they basically tried to focus on the 'legendary journey of da Gama to the East' in late 15th century. The basic objective behind the paintings is to assert that Vasco da Gama's landing was an effort to build the authority of European occupation over the ocean trade and to claim political control over the Indian sub continent. The important thing is that these paintings were developed mainly in 18th and 19th century Britain, especially after the collapse of Portuguese trade dominance and the emergence of British political power in India. These paintings are clear medium of British efforts to create a cultural consent for the Malabar occupation through the dissemination of the paintings across Britain. In these paintings Calicut is represented as the landmark of European political and cultural control. We can see that from 16th century to 18th century the naval objectification imagined the city as one of the major ports and urban centers of the Indian subcontinent.

One significant change in the representation of Calicut city was seen in 17th century European paintings. The painting of 'The Reception of Don Vasca de Gama' by Philip Baldaeus in 1672 got interesting comments at that time. The importance of Gama's journey to Malabar and its aim to monopolize the Asian trade by destructing the dominance of Arabs is clearly portrayed in many of the paintings. Baldaeus's painting was come out in 1672 after the collapse of Arab trade in Malabar along with the Zamorins's naval force of Kunjalis. Politically it tried to address the European trade rivalry and argues the Portuguese legitimacy in Malabar trade through the hostile relation with Zamorins. In 17th century numerous paintings were come out in Europe on Vascoda Gama's landing in Calicut. Philip Baldaeus's painting on Masulipatnam in 1676 displays the two types of the view of the foreigners on the conquering of the region. This sort of work of art gives more thrust to the political conquering of the port cities within the larger colonial political interest. As a curious ethnologist Baldaeu looks the relation of the powerful king of the east and the potential navel force of the Portuguese in the early 16th century. Here we can see a Dutch perspective entirely different from the Portuguese authority. The main part of the engraving, Gama's first visit to Calicut and its political and economic importance and how it got

represented throughout 16ᵗʰ to 19ᵗʰ is very significant. Conquering of a notable trade city in the medieval world was a major aim of the travellers at that time. Apart from the nature of engravings we can see numerous similarities in the paintings, mainly representation of the body, nature of building/palace and royal court, distinctive landscape, etc. Many of the paintings simply replicated the frame of medieval Greco-Roman engravings and inserted the theme of conquering Malabar region to it. The question of text and reality is not relevant here and instead these paintings tried to establish the European naval supremacy over a period. One thing we want to notice here is the clear political differences among the Europeans about the conquering of city of Calicut. From the mid 18ᵗʰ century onwards a culture of compiling various collections of artistic impression of the 'voyages' of Europeans was started in European countries. The conquering of Malabar and meeting of Gama with the king of Calicut at his palace were the important subject matters of these collections. The Portuguese view is most important mainly within the context of losing their political dominance over Asian countries in 19ᵗʰ century. British version of the compilation of paintings was come with the passive reception of Gama in the court of Zamorin in the new history books of modern Europe. The using of the word 'reception' by the Portuguese and 'introduction' by the British as the titles of the painting exhibitions show differences in the perspectives on the conquering of Calicut city.

One of the repeating aspects of the city is the religious policy of the Zamorins. Most of the narratives repeated that politically Zamorins followed a liberal policy to various other religious sects mainly to Muslims from 14ᵗʰ century to 16ᵗʰ century. The political interventions were completely absent in Calicut, they generously supported the religious requirements of the other believers. Even though rigid caste systems were practiced in the city, absolute religious freedom was seen in various texts. Similar kinds of writings were seen from 15ᵗʰ century onwards focusing the state policies to other religions. We can see one French travelogue of Pyrad de Lavel in the early 17ᵗʰ century. His writing stresses the specific situation of the religious freedom in the city and diversity of the traders within the intensive trade circumstances. He also followed the other Arab and European writers in the style of narration of the city. Pyrard Lavel narrates:

> [Calicut] is the busiest and most full of all traffic and commerce in the whole of
> India; it has merchants from all parts of the world, and of all nations and religion

by reason of the liberty and security accorded to them there; for the king permits exercise of every religion, and yet it is strictly forbidden to talk, dispute or quarrel on that subject, so that there never arises any contention on that score, every one living in great liberty of conscience under the favour or authority of the king, who holds that to be a cardinal maxim government with a view to making his kingdom very rich and of great intercourse.[36]

One native account on the kingdom of Calicut, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, which is considered as the principal historical account on Zamorins in 20th century, is needed to be taken in this analysis as this work highly depends on the *Keralolpatti* accounts to reconstruct the medieval period Zamorins history. Along with the foreign accounts the examination of native sources of this period also deserves importance. *The Zamorins of Calicut,* a historical narration of the genealogy of the Zamorins from A.D. 826 to A.D.1866, is a larger historical exercise by K.V. Krishna Ayyar. One of the chapters in this book 'The Rise of Calicut' specifically narrates the back ground story of the emergence of city from a thorny jungle costal area between Beypore and Korappuzha rivers to a proper port city. He stated that the king Manavikraman transformed this landscape in to a mighty sea port, where the Arabs and Chinese met to exchange the products of the west with those of the east.[37] According to Ayyar, the noted aspect is that along with the development of a sea port, politically the Zamorins succeeded in attaining the control of the larger fertile and resourceful hinterlands of Polanad regions and could culturally and ritually maintain the suzerainty over the seventy two *Taras* (major settlement centers of Nairs), ten thousand Nairs and thirty two *Taravadus*.[38] Here we want to look the specific manner of using the textual account of *Keralolpatti* to justify the dominance of Zamorins over several sea ports under various political units. Clearly this account tried to give a political narration of how easily Zamorin had come to Panniyankara, south to Calicut city, and defeated Porlathiri and attained the political and economic control of the region. The text stressed that Manavikraman had not only got the political control over the region but also made success in getting the blessing of the Bagavati, family deity of Porlathiri, and attained the traditional rights of ten thousand Nairs. It is

---

[36] *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil.* London: Hakluyt Society, 1887. p.404.

[37] Krishna Ayyar, K.V. *op.cit.,* p. 80.

[38] *Ibid*., p. 80.

very remarkable to note that how a medieval text, *Keralolpatti,* is continuously used as an authentic political biography of different regions from latter medieval period onwards without any interval in many ways. *Keralolpatti* tried to link the political biography of Zamorins within the larger frame of the partition of the Chera region in to various principalities by the last Chera king, Cheraman Perumal and these regional principalities' claim of their lineage as the 'gift' of the last Chera king. The piece of land 'gifted' to Eradis, was transformed as the Calicut city, port and capital from where the last Chera king started his pilgrimage to Mecca and this story culturally articulates as a consent for the sacred dominance of Zamorins over the Calicut city.

In short, the general narrative pattern depicts a specific religious situation of the city mainly how the king and state system consciously made an effort to maintain a liberal attitude to various religious practices. The larger 'infidel' population on the other side accommodates number of Muslims and Europeans to the city and easily interacts with people of various countries. They also posit the peculiar distribution of the Brahmin, Nairs, Izhavas and Muhammadans in the city. The equally divided upper caste and middle class people in the city make distinctive mix of the social culture. A particular mode of medieval writing style within the frame of various religious discourses is seen in the 16th century. To a larger extent the depiction of other society became a fashion of looking the changing world.

CHAPTER II

Colonisation, Travel Narratives and the Making of 'Otherness'

Calicut/Kozhikode is one of the oldest city/bazaar centres on the western coast of India. It occupied the place of a major trading centre in the economic and cultural history of the medieval world, and later in the colonial time it became one of the major colonial economic and political centres. Kozhikode is the third largest city in Kerala, and it is located in its northern side. The integration of various local societies into the colonial centric governmental system and the evolution of a monolithic political structure under the colonial political forms created a strong city based political space. The evolution of Calicut as a major political centre in the early 20th century marked its political and cultural significances on the western coast of southern India. After the state formation in 1956 the then Malabar district (which was part of the Madras Presidency and latter Madras State) was divided into three new districts and larger central division of it was organized as Kozhikode district with headquarter at old Kozhikode town. The early history of the present day city is connected with the Chera rulers of Sangam Age. The presence of a harbour and an allied township has not been explored yet as part of early Sangam era. The historians of early India haven't yet found any historical or archaeological evidences of an early urban centre in the present day Calicut.[1] After the defeat of the then ruling family, Porlathiris[2], of the region this part came under the control of Zamorins during the post Sangam period. Under this new ruling family the medieval city Calicut emerged and developed as an internationally acclaimed commercial and trading centre. A small track of marshy forest land and waterlogged area sharing long coastal line and forest hills of west and eastern side developed as a town in its contemporary meaning six centuries back. Along with the importance of the trade goods the people of the city and their manners especially social and cultural features were circulated in equal scale across the international trade routes in medieval period. Most of the legendary travellers landed in the city and received the hospitality of the people and rulers and the city returned spectacular experiences to all who landed there. Travelling to this city and writing on it became an integral part of the medieval and early modern travel writing tradition.

---

[1] Champakalakshmi, R. *Trade, Ideology, and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300.* New Delhi: OUP, 1996.

[2] Porlathiries were the local rulers of Polanad Swaroopam. Localities including Panniyankara and its surroundings and southern part of river Kallayi were come under their territory before Zomorins invasion to Calicut.

The two words 'voyage' and 'discovery' are often seen in the genre of travel literature of the medieval period and they need to be examined critically. These two are the integral part of the travel literature of the medieval Europe. Voyage is normally defined as a long journey or travel to a distant or unknown place by other than land routes especially by sea. The word 'discovery' means invention or exploration of something unknown or unseen. In the early modern time the meaning of 'discovery' is associated with the exploration of unknown places of the European mariners. Medieval period travel writing appeared in the form of an information book containing many aspects of a particular or a larger terrain and it was published in the form of travel memoirs. Publication of voyage memoirs became most popular in the medieval and early modern Europe. One of the common features of this sort of literature is that it contained different types of preconceptions of Europeans of the medieval period about the other parts of the world. Most of the writings covered the areas of 'Central Asia', 'Far East countries' and a few of the 'Holy Lands'. The huge corpus of European travel accounts spanning especially from early 16th to 19th century cover diverse aspects of other parts of the "unknown world". Portuguese were pioneers of travel writings in modern world among Europeans, and their writings covered varieties of aspects like geography, people, natural resources, manners and customs of people, etc. The 1846 formed Hakluyt Society started the publication of primary records of voyages, travels and other geographically important texts, which resulted in the spread of travel literature all over the world. In contemporary period studies on travel writing has become well accepted by many curricula in all over the world in a trans-disciplinary form of studies. The *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* points out:

> The academic disciplines of literature, history, geography, and anthropology have
> all overcome their previous reluctance to take travel writing seriously and have
> begun to produce a body of interdisciplinary criticism which will allow the full
> historical complexity of the genre to be appreciated. [3]

Studies on travel writing became an important academic exercise in modern time only after 1980s with Edward Said's writings, which marked a turning point in the post colonial cultural studies. We can see that the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and *Covering Islam* (1981) made radical challenges in 'understanding orient' and the larger non European

---

[3] Hulme, Peter, and Tim Youngs, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: CUP, 2002. p.1.

world. Clearly *Orientalism* has deconstructed and reassessed the western myth and scholarship of Asia and Africa. Said's formulation of the colonial or western understanding of non European territories and people, especially of the Asian and Arab world, tremendously changed the entire discourses on cultural studies. In *Orientalism* Said writes, Oreintalism is "a field of learned study" for Western societies about the non Christian rest of the world.[4] He made it clear that the modern notions of geography/region and people are a product of larger discourses of the West. Western formulation and the knowledge about 'unknown' territories and its people in the 16th century made large representations of life and history of the East. He writes:

> A group of people living on a few acres of land will setup boundaries between their land and its immediate surroundings and the territory beyond, which they call "the land of the barbarians." In other words, this universal practice of designating in one's mind a familiar space which is "ours" and an unfamiliar space beyond "ours" which is "theirs" is a way of making geographical distinctions that can be entirely arbitrary. [5]

For instance, the 19th century British effort to define the 'nature' of Ottoman and Persian political authorities and their social formations directly conflicted with the 'modern' British notions of the 'medieval' nature of Arabs which ultimately led to the conclusion of Muhammadans as 'uncivilised' in the larger textual discourses. The attributions like civility, savagery, pagan, heathen, infidel, etc. were basically produced by their predecessors, Portuguese, through their travel writing in 16th century. Edward Said covers western literature, religious texts, paintings, and colonial recordings to have a conceptualization of West's understanding on the rest of the world. Similar to Edward Said the theoretical formulation of Michael Foucault also made a huge impact over the existing knowledge forms of modernity. His *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) methodologically confronted the basic tenets of modern knowledge. Both Foucault's and Said's writings radically challenged the critical theory and Cultural Studies in 1970s and 80s. His critical analysis of the existing knowledge forms led to the reformulation of various conceptualisations in social sciences and cultural studies. It was clear from their writing that the modern image of Asian African people was constructed historically by Europeans in different political contexts.

---

[4] Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. 1978. Delhi: Penguin Books, 2001. p. 49.
[5] *Ibid.,* p.54.

It is required to critically examine how Europeans had historically created an image of other parts of the world especially on the land and people of India. The early understandings of Greco-Roman people about the Arabs were totally changed following the Arab invasion to Spain. This is very evident in the image construction of Arabs as 'Moors' that started after their political conquest of Spain. Europeans initially identified North African Muslims as Moors. The mid 19th century European account describes that, "the primitive Moors were the inhabitants of the vast portion of Africa bounded on the east by Egypt, on the north by the Mediterranean, on the west by the Atlantic, and on the south by the deserts of Barbary".[6] But gradually they started to identify the Muslim population of various localities as 'African Moors', 'Indian Moors', 'Sri Lankan Moors', etc. The European notion of the non European world was often changing in different political contexts. Mary Louise Pratt's seminal work *Imperial Eyes* clearly narrates how the European colonial expansion to other continents had created different set of images of other world. The image of Asia especially India in European intellectual life is important. This land was subjected to their political conquest, capital accumulation, literary writing, painting, cartography, scholastic debates, etc. at least for more than four centuries. Cities were one of the major attractions of the Europeans. Even though Indian villages were an enigma for long time, cities and its social order always stood as a curious subject to many of the scholar cum administrators in 19th century. They gathered substantial information about various port cities of India in 16th century itself.

Now we can come more specifically to the examination of the representation of Calicut city and the construction of 'pagan' population through travel writings from early 16th century onwards. The imagination and travel writing on Calicut and its people is continued many centuries till the end of 18th century by different sets of people. The writing on this city was started in 13th century by Arab travellers and the first set of subtle changes in this tradition of writing is seen in 16th century with the arrival of the Portuguese. Even though certain differences are seen in the writings in 15th century itself, the considerable changes were started in 16th century only. We can easily notice clear changes in the focus of the writing in the texts of Europeans mainly Italian traveller Ludovico di Varthema and Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin. Varthema provided more narratives on ethnographic features of the city of Calicut, at the same

---

[6] *History of the Moors of Spain.* New York: Harper& Brothers, 1841. p.19.

time Nikitin did not give much about the social fabric of the city, which he had done on Vijayanargara Empire in his writing. Besides these a different approach was seen in the 14ᵗʰ century Italian traveller Niccolo di Conti's accounts on Malabar Coast. The interesting thing is that all these three European travellers' journeys were not focused to Malabar Coast only; many of them were broadly travelling to different regions of south India or other south Asian counties of Indian peninsula. The differences of interest of Arabs and Europeans might be the reason behind the varying priorities of writings on Calicut. The lack of references on the presence of Calicut port, town and kingdom of Zamorins in the Venetian traveller Marco Polo's travelogue in late 13ᵗʰ and early 14ᵗʰ century shows the limited knowledge of European's about the rich maritime port city of Calicut. At the same time Marco Polo mentioned about a northern 'kingdom Eli' and southern 'kingdom of Colium' and indicated a harbour town of Quilon in his account. He specifically noticed the absence of harbour in the northern kingdom Eli and gave a short reference on the 'Malibar kingdom'. He didn't give any references on the social life of the regions of Malabar. Most of the medieval Arab travelogues were translated to English and other European languages in 17ᵗʰ and 18ᵗʰ century only and were widely circulated among the geographers and travellers of Europeans at that time. We can see that Europeans were not much aware about the Arab knowledge on the Malabar Coast up to 16ᵗʰ century. It is believed that an Arab navigator supported Gama to find the sea route to Malabar from Cape of Good Hope.[7] All the pre-colonial European travellers describe various aspects of the life of the people and the precious trade commodities and other products of India. The 13ᵗʰ and 14ᵗʰ century European world view is to be taken critically to consider the travel writings in more details. Due to the calamities of 'Black Death', the main city of Italy, Florence, was ruined in 14ᵗʰ century. Besides this the European Renaissance gave less importance to trade and commerce. The European Renaissance was largely engaging for merging the classical world view with the medieval world view. The volume of trade by Europeans compared to Arabs during this period clearly shows that the Arabs controlled a phenomenal quantity of Asian trade. The priority of eastward voyages of Europeans in 13ᵗʰ and 14ᵗʰ century was largely determined by the changing Christian World view in this time within the larger context of seeking new perception on the non Christian World. All the Italian travelogues are clear examples of this. The outcome of these travellers' journey to India and other parts of south Asia only enhances the knowledge bases of the European map making and the geographical

---

[7]"Vasco da Gama (c.1460-1524)" History. *BBC.co.uk* Web.

awareness of the Europeans. Apart from that it was not supported to create any strong understanding about the wealth of India. It is important to note that a branch of knowledge, 'world geography' was started shaping from this time onwards in Europe[8]. Nicolo Conti's travel account was a classical example of a particular body of geographical knowledge regarding a political unit (Vijay Nagar Empire) of south India and it was well added to this emerging knowledge form. It was regarded as a comprehensive account on the Hindu kingdom of Vijay Nagar. But a notable change in the genre of European travel and exploration writing was only started in the 16th century in Europe by Portuguese travellers.

The transformation of European economic life especially the circumstances following the collapse of feudalism and emergence of new mercantile colonialism compelled the European countries and mariners to discover the easy and safest trade routes to Malabar Coast. Also Europeans understood the huge trade balance of Arabs through the spices trade especially in pepper trade. European countries remained in high gold and silver exchange deficit via spices trade with the Arabs till the industrial revolution. The balance of trade was becoming increasingly unfavourable for Portugal, Spain, France and England in late 15th century.[9] The early medieval European priorities were changed and they started to make clear mercantile engagement with the western coast of southern India and also their governments directly supported these efforts. As a result Europeans started their adventure voyages to India in early 16th century itself and consequently the city of Calicut got prominence in European travel literature. After the return of Bartholomeu Dias from southernmost tip of Africa, Cape of Good Hope (1488), the Portuguese king decided to send a naval fleet (armada) to explore the ocean highway to India to get the control of Malabar trade under the leadership of Vasco de Gama. The voyage of Gama to India from Lisbon was represented in high scale in European literature in 16th and 17th century. Afterwards the Portuguese literatures greatly credited the physical effort undertook by Gama and undoubtedly acknowledged his "great navigation" to the Malabar Coast. Subsequently his travel records were considered as a remarkable one especially in his country and Europe and it was reproduced in number of times. As a continuation to this a bunch of travel accounts on 'East Indies' were come in the European literature. These 'voyage' titled accounts

---

[8] Hamilton, Bernard. "The Impact of the Crusade on Western Geographical Knowledge." *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*. Ed. Rosamund Allen. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971.
[9] <http://www.shsu.edu/his-ncp/266LecN.html/>.

are rich sources of information which include various natural and industrial products, law and customs of the society, small descriptions of physical features of the land, religion, trade, etc. of the newly discovered regions of East Indies. From 16th century onwards Arab travel writings on Calicut almost concluded and European writings started on a high scale. From this period onwards the nature and content of the 'travel writing' was changed and the colonialist perception on the land and society started to come into dominance in the new literature. The vast experiences of the illustrious individual travellers of medieval period especially Arabs and Chinese were substituted with the East India trade companies or state sponsored travellers and their economic and political priorities. Most of the East India companies' officials were employed as proper agents of the European rule in India. Their target of attaining monopoly over trade for silk, indigo, cotton and spices of India resulted in the preparation of a corpus of travelogues and 'journey reports' on India. One of the important things is that the new European travel accounts provided much improved geographical especially topographical knowledge about the 'orient' than the medieval Arab travelogues. Also some of the travel accounts even provided excellent travel maps containing proper trade routes along with its informative narratives. It can be seen that from 16th century onwards a sort of highly potential geographical learning started to emerge in European countries. Cartography became one of the important professions in 16th century Europe. Physical mapping of the land and atlas making of the world became the intellectual and creative engagements in this period. The opening volume of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* was published in Cologne in 1572. This great city atlas, edited by Georg Braun and largely engraved by Franz Hogenberg, contained views on cities of all over the world including Calicut city. [10] It displayed popular cartographic images of the world cities of that time. Interestingly this was the first comprehensive city atlas of the world at that time. The city of Calicut was listed in this Franz Hogenberg's volume. The travel writing genres were started to conclude only in late 19th century and the publication of new administrative reports and gazetteers have begun in India. In short the large corpus of travel writing is a rich source on the early part of cultural and economic colonization of India. This new form of writing tracing the port cities of Africa and India in general and particularly on Malabar and the city of Calicut was begun with the writings of Duarte Barbosa.

---

[10]"Braun and Hogenberg Civitates orbis terrarium." *Historic Cities.* Web.

Before discussing Barbosa's account on Malabar and Calicut we need to go through the work of an anonymous author, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499*. It is assumed that it was written by one of Gama's fellow traveller and it provides the itinerary of Gama's voyages to Malabar. It is perhaps the first Portuguese text which defines the people of the city in the beginning of colonialism. It is important to note that the Portuguese were much concerned about the presence of Arabs in the coast from the very moment of Vasco da Gama's arrival to Calicut. Few Tunisian Arab traders, who knew Castilian and Genoese, interacted with Gama and his crew for Zamorin. They communicated to these Arabs and conveyed that they were searching for 'Christians and spices'. Sanjay Subramanian provides this conversation as follows:

> And he [fellow traveller of Gama] was taken to a place where there were two Moors from Tunis, who knew how to speak Castilian and Genoese. And the first greeting that they gave him was the following: - The Devil take you! What brought you here? And they said to him: - We came to seek Christians and spices.[11]

The interesting thing is that this direct answer did not disappoint Zamorin and instead they were welcomed to his palace. Gama misunderstood that the ruler and native population were Christians. Throughout his conversations with the king and native people he behaved like a fellow Christian. Under this impression he misapprehended the royal palace as church and the man who welcomed to the palace as bishop. Interestingly he gave due respect to the palace and the native man. Gama's meeting with Zamorins was not awesome for Portuguese as they fought by word of mouth with Arabs for many reasons. At some point of time Gama thought that he might be forced to stay with the Moors in the coast for that night. Many occasions Portuguese and Arabs indulged in conflict over a matter of gift they presented to Zamorin. The anonymous author complained that the Arabs insulted them many times on the worth of the gift and blocked them from meeting the king. During Gama's meeting with Zamorin, he tried to get the trade monopoly of Malabar. But Zamorin was not in favour of this request and instead he stressed the Arabs' role in the city and their commercial relation with him. The first attempt of Gama did not make any serious commercial result. But the images of Malabar and the people of the city were started circulating in Europe. The way of making a distinctive set of population different from

---

[11]   Subramanyam, Sanjay. *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama.* Cambridge: CUP, 1997. p.129.

Europeans was firstly framed under this travel narrative. The anonymous author describes the ethnographical features of the city people as follows:

> They go naked down to the waist, covering their lower extremities with very fine cotton stuffs. But it is only the most respectable who do this, for the others manage as best they are able. The women of this country, as a rule, are ugly and of small stature. They wear many jewels of gold round the neck, numerous bracelets on their arms, and rings set with precious stones on their toes. All these people are well-disposed and apparently of mild temper. At first sight they seem covetous and ignorant.[12]

This small analysis gives us how the Portuguese had reached in certain conclusions in such a short time on the basis of ethnographic features. Portuguese estimated that the natives were 'covetous' and 'ignorant'. The word 'covetous' relates to the Biblical background of hinting people with intense desire for acquiring worldly things. It is interesting to note that even when these people were identified as Christians they were also marked as 'covetous' and 'ignorant'. The use of this word along with 'ignorance' was a clear attempt to make an image of the 'sinful' people. The construction of the image of the king Zamorin and the people of Malabar were designed under the psychological reaction of the hostility of the Portuguese towards Arabs and the native people. The existing historiography of the Portuguese invasion to India especially the hostility of Portuguese with Arabs was generally connected with the story of the Crusade. But it is very clear that Duarte Barbosa was well aware about the first experiences of the Portuguese in the city. Apart from the hostility in trade Portuguese thought that they were insulted in all manners and the Arabs were behind this. Also the above said anonymous text reports the wider trade and political influence of the Arabs in all most all Indian Ocean trade routes. This account noted that Arabs controlled the trade route to Malabar with the support of the Karimis[13]. The second mission of Portuguese to Malabar was led by Pedro Alvares Cabral and he treated the Arabs very badly in the sea. Besides attaining the trade monopoly he targeted the Arabs in the sea and coast and it led to the war between Portuguese and Zamorin's naval forces. Cabral made a strategic alliance with Zamorin's rival Cochin Raja as a reaction to their continuous disregard

---

[12] Ravenstein, E.G., ed. *Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-99.* Cambridge: CUP, 2010. p.49. and "Vasco Da Gama, Round Africa to India (1497-1498)." *Salemcc.instructure.com.* Spring 2014. Web.

[13] Karimis are a group of Arab Muslim merchants who engaged in trade with Asian countries.

to Portuguese. Arabs were much annoyed about these happenings and more than that Zamorin was much irritated in the new trade alliance of Portuguese and Cochin. Without much delay Portuguese King sent the third armada under the leadership of Francisco Almeida. Following this, next mission was sent again under the leadership of Gama. This situation became worse when Laurengo Almeida, son of Viceroy Almeida, was killed by the united fleet of Egyptians and Diu. Gradually the sultan of Gujarat and king of Calicut became the major enemies of the Portuguese in the western coast of India. It is seen that the Portuguese had sent four armadas to Calicut within the time line of ten years aiming to over throw the Arabs' presence in the Indian Ocean trade routes rather than getting the trade monopoly. They started to engage with most of the southern kingdoms for trade through militaristic way as they were much concerned about the counter attack of Zamorins especially Arabs. For exhibiting the trade and naval supremacy in Indian Ocean trade routes they projected Arabs as their biggest enemy. The city of Calicut, king, native people especially Muslims were represented as part of the political interest of Portuguese.

Duarte Barbosa reached Calicut and other coastal towns of western coast of India in this context. Barbosa was a Portuguese traveller and a prolific writer and he worked as a local language translator of the Portuguese mission to India in Malabar in early part of the 16th century. His *Book of Duarte Barbosa* is one of the early models of the new form of European travel writings. His one of the other important writings, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century,* covered a wide range of aspects of the eastern coast of Africa and western coast of India in the initial years of European colonialism. This travel account is considered as one of the finest accounts on the narrative of more than hundreds of towns in the eastern coast of Africa and western coast of India. It is assumed that Barbosa came to India in the fleet of Cabral, one of the militant naval squadron commanders of Portuguese. The descriptive reporting of towns of these vast regions is still considered as a significant source book of the histories of many medieval cities, especially major port towns. The original hand written copy of this work in Portuguese contained eighty seven leaves. Here it is important to note that in 1524 itself this work was translated into Spanish from Portuguese language and its translation to other European languages and publication was started in the end of the same century. This work was widely circulated in Spain and Portugal in subsequent decades. Later travellers and government missions considered it as an authentic

source book for the purpose of East Indies journeys. Henry E.J. Stanley in his preface of the English edition of Barbosa's work noted that:

> This work is not a book of travels as the title given in the catalogue, though not on the MS [manuscript], indicates; it is rather an itinerary, or description of countries. It gives ample details of the trade, supplies, and water of the various sea-ports mentioned in it. It contains many interesting historical details, some of which, such as the account of Diu, the taking of Ormuz, the founding of the Portuguese fort in Calicut, their interruption of the Indian trade to Suez by capturing the Indian ships, the rise of Shah Ismail, etc., fix pretty nearly the exact date at which this narrative was composed as the year 1514.[14]

If we take this above date, Barbosa reached Calicut after sixteen years of Vasco da Gama's first mission and the *Book* was completed in 1518. How the Portuguese mission had started to engage in the towns of eastern coast of Africa and Malabar Coast is very clear through his writings. Barbosa narrates the port towns of Africa and Arabian coast in detail. Apart from the casual narration of experiences of medieval Arab travellers, Barbosa's account was a written version of the calculated observation of the commerce, manners and habits along with the resources of different regions in Christian perspectives. The way he observed the manners, customs and social division of the people of the non European societies is a clear outcome of the western world view. Protestantism transformed the earlier understanding on the non Christian societies and it drove to discover the universal world older by discoveries/journeys to out of the Christian world. He started his narratives from the nearby areas of Cape of Good Hope to the north of Africa and turned to the Arabian coast and started to narrate the port of Medina. When he reached to the narration of Medina, Barbosa picked the matter of Arab trade with Malabar Coast and clearly points out the importance of this trade. When he was travelling through the eastern African Coastal towns he was not much aware about the complex social divisions of these regions. But once he reached to India's western side he realised the complex caste based social order. So we need to consider both the phases carefully. It is a clear strategy to rationalise how the Arabs were economically progressed through the Malabar trade and he connected the richness of Arabs with

---

[14] Stanley, Henry E.J. Preface. *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth century*. By Duarte Barbosa . Trans. Stanley. London: The Haklyut Society, 1865. p.II.

the trade to Europe through Red Sea. European mariners and traders were very much aware about the trade routes and ports of this Arab trade networks. Here Barbosa notes:

> Leaving the port of Eliobon to go out of the Red Sea, there is a town of the Moors, called Guida [Jedda], and it is the port of Mecca, whither the ships used to come every year from India with spices and drugs, and they returned thence to Calicut with much copper, quicksilver, vermillion, saffron, rosewater, scarlet silks, camelots, tafetans and other goods, of stuffs used in India, and also with much gold and silver; and the trade was very great and profitable. And from this port of Guida these spices and drugs were transported in small vessels to Suez…[15]

Barbosa was much aware about how the Abbasid dynasty acquires the greater richness through the Malabar spices trade with the Europe. In his further narratives his eye was constantly turned to explore the control of Malabar trade especially the control of Calicut port and town. He was appointed as local language interpreter for Francisco de Albuquerque to engage with Cannanore King for the pepper trade in 1503. The sixteenth century fresh geographical knowledge supported Barbosa to get the idea about how Jarr and Jedda ports of Arabia became the major port cities through the sea-borne commerce with the east coast of Arabia and western coast of India especially Malabar. He carefully approached different regions with the aim of getting the control of Indian Ocean trade. When Barbosa reached Mecca he recognized that the Arab ruler had understood the political developments in Calicut, especially how the Portuguese started to evacuate the Arab traders from the city and the way the king of Calicut became fragile under the new trade regime of Portugal.

Along with the Malabar conquest the rivalry between the Portuguese and Arabs including local Muslims started in the early 16th century. The 'comfortability' in the city collapsed and various sorts of tensions were started in the harbour and town. The clashes between Portuguese and Arabs were not a novel thing to Barbosa. He experienced this tension in almost all parts of eastern Africa. But he distinctively considered the situation of Calicut. Barbosa narrated it as follows:

---

[15] Barbosa, Duarte. *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth century.* Trans. Henry E.J. Stanley. London: The Haklyut Society, 1865. p.23.

....the Portuguese were making another inside the town of Calicut, and the King of Calicut begged the Captain Major of the King of Portugal to give him permission to send them a ship laden with spices to Mecca. And this permission was given him, and the ship was sent. And there went in it as captain an honourable person of the Moors named Califa, and he arrived at Guida the port of Mecca, where he came on shore very well dressed out, along with his people, and he found Emir Hussein building his fortress, and was asked by him news of the Portuguese. And this Califa answered him, telling him how they were in great peace at Calicut, and making a handsome fortress. And Emir Hussein asked him, how dare you come to Mecca being a friend of the Portuguese?

The said political problems should be considered within the context of wider clashes between the Mappilas of the city and Portuguese in early 16th century. The 14th century Arab built Mishkal mosque at Calicut, a typical Kerala style wooden structured one, was partially burned by Portuguese naval force in 1510. The mosque was originally built by an Arab (Yemen) merchant Nakhooda Mishkal in 14th century. The imprints of that attack still remains there in the fourth floor of the mosque. The mosque was built with the full support of Zamorins and it remained as a structure of the great relation and alliance of Arabs and Zamorins in medieval time. Zamorins patronised many mosques in the city and the Portuguese were much concerned about the Arab-Zamorin relation also. The attack astounded the Zamorins and they started preparing for counter attack against the Portuguese. As a reaction Zamorins force attacked the Chaliyam fort of Portuguese, located in the south of the city, and defeated the Portuguese army in 1570s. Interestingly Zamorins handed over the timber parts of the Chaliyam fort to use for the rebuilding of the Mishkal mosque. The rivalry between Arabs and Portuguese reached its zenith even in the early part of 16th century and it was recorded by Barbosa. This situation united the native Muslims against the Portuguese under Zamorin, which is clearly seen in a native Arabic anthology of this period *Al-Fath-ul-Mubeen li Samiriy alladi Yuhibbu-al-Muslimeen* (The Clear Victory for the Zamorin, Who Love Muslims) written by Khasi Muhammed, the quazi of the city Muslims. He asked the native Muslims to pray for Zamorins. Interestingly the anthology was dedicated to Zamorin.[16] Perhaps this was the only one Muslim literary work dedicated to a non

---

[16] Rasak, Abdur. "Fathul Mubeenum Kozhikkodinte Samsakarika Parambaryavum." *Malabar: Paithrukavum Pratapavum*. Eds. P.B. Salim, N.P. Hafis Muhamad and M.C. Vasisht. Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2014. p.443.

Muslim king in medieval period.[17] Subsequent to Chaliyam attack a combined force of Adil Shah, Nizam Shah and Zamorin attacked Portuguese centres in Goa, Chaul and Damen. Portuguese successfully defended this attack. But the emergence of Mughals in north India in late 16th century collapsed the Portuguese interest in coastal towns of Gujarat which later came under the control of Britain. Further they were confined only in Goa.

But their interest over Malabar was not ended. Besides this Zamorin changed his approach towards Portuguese and started favourable relation with them. It is seen that in the first decade of 17th century itself Jesuit Missionaries of Portuguese built up cordial relation with Calicut and Zamorin. Jacobo Fenicio, a Jesuit missionary stationed at Cochin, often visited Calicut and received hospitality in Zamorin's palace. Some historians noted that Portugal's long failed mission to control the Malabar trade by different fleets was made a success through the Jesuits, and the Arabs were completely thrown out from the trade and commerce of Malabar. M.G.S. Narayanan narrates, "the Portuguese merchants and priests on the one hand were trying to strengthen the Cochin king against the Calicut, and on the other hand isolate the King of Calicut from nephews, ministers, important citizens, subordinate rulers and followers. They even tried to poison a Samuthiri. They tried to convert one of the nephews to Christianity…Thus the decline of Calicut began from 17th century"[18]. Subsequent period was marked as the era of tensions between the Zamrorins and his native Muslim population. British played crucial role in this situation. The interesting thing was that Barbosa narrated the whole issue in a larger changing context of central and south Asian politics. After the narration of how the Arabs and other opponents of Portuguese come together against the Portuguese, Barbosa started giving a picture of the Calicut city.

> This city of Calicut is very large, and ennobled by many very rich merchants and great traffic in goods. This king became greater and more powerful than all the others: he took the name of Zomodri, which is a point of honour above all other kings. So that this great King of Malabar did not leave more kings than these three: that is to say, the Zomodry, who was named Cunelava-dyri…[19]

---

[17] *Ibid.,* p.443.

[18] Narayanan, M.G.S. "Kozhikodinte Katha.*"* Ed. Kunhali. V. *op.cit.,* p.37.

[19] Barbosa, Duarte. *op. cit.,* p. 103.

But at the same time Sheik Zainuddin placed the loss of the 'great peace' in the city through the Portuguese arrival. The important thing here that needs to be pointed out is that religion based cultural 'tensions' were developed in the Malabar Coast especially in Calicut from 16th century onwards. Some observed that "bigotry and mixing of trade and religion, by themselves, did not provoke any resistance from a single chief (local ruler) of Kerala or anyone else other than the Muslims."[20] Sheik Zainuddin's observation makes it clear that 'the Portuguese were hostile' only to the Muslims and not to Nayars and other 'non-believers of Malabar'. Barbosa was the first European travel writer who categorised the native people of Calicut as 'Hindus'/Heathen and 'Moors'. Till then Portuguese identified the people of Zamorins as 'Moors' and 'pagan'. Gradually they realised that these two social groups were ethnically and historically different. Before the narration of Malabar social groupings, he already categorised the people of Gujarat as native 'heathens' and foreign 'moors'. Also the using of the words "Moors and Gentile" is associated with the Arabs/Muslim population and the native people. He himself admitted it as his objective of the work;

> I always delighted in inquiring of the Moors, Christians, and Gentiles, as to the usages and customs which they practised, and the points of information thus gained. I endeavoured to combine together so as to have a more exact knowledge of them, this being always my special object, as it should be of all those who write on such matters; and I am convinced that it will be recognized that I have not spared any diligence in order to obtain this object, as far as the feeble extent of the power of my understanding allows of.[21]

When Barbosa started his journey from Cape of Good Hope, he was trying to differentiate the native Africans from the trading Arabs by taking their language, colour, behaviour, etc. Once he reached southern most town of eastern Africa, Sofala (presently known as Nova Sofala) he made an ethnographic attempt to classify the people as "they are black men, and men of colour-some speak Arabic, and the rest make use of the language of the Gentiles of the country".[22] From the first step itself Barbosa took clear effort to make an image of various Arab people in Asian-

---

[20] Sudhakaran, P.P. "Portuguese Relation of the Chief of Kerala." *Perspectives on Kerala History*. Ed. P.J. Cheriyan. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Gazetteer, 1999. p.243.

[21] Stanley, Henry E.J. *op. cit.,* p.B.

[22] Barbosa, Duarte. *op. cit.,* p. 5.

African coasts. Along with this categorisation of 'Native Gentile', 'Moors', 'Christian', etc. he clearly differentiated the tribes from these groups in his narration.

> The country is inhabited by Gentiles, brutish people who go naked and smeared all over with coloured clay, and their natural parts wrapped in a strip of blue cotton stuff, without any other covering; and they have their lips pierced with three holes in each lip, and in these holes they wear bones stuck in, and claws, and small stones, and other little things dangling from them. [23]

The long journey of Barbosa covering the coastal towns of eastern Africa and western India was a revealing example of the early colonial effort to construct an 'other' population in the non European world. Throughout his journey he tried to make the figurisation of Arab/Muslim population on the basis of ethnographic factors. He broadly generalised and framed the Moors of Sofala, Zuama, Anguox, and Mozambique, the four major eastern side African coastal regions and towns as follows:

> These people are Moors, of a dusky colour, and some of them are black and some white; they are very well dressed with rich cloths of gold, and silk, and cotton, and the women also go very well dressed out with much gold and silver in chains and bracelets on their arms, and legs, and ears. The speech of these people is Arabic, and they have got books of the Alcoran (Holy Quaran), and honour greatly their prophet Muhamad.[24]

After the long African and Arabian journey Barbosa reached the first Indian region Gujarat and there he found the practice of caste based social divisions which is completely different from the aboriginal groups of the Africa and nomadic people of Arabia. Similar to these regions he found a sizable number of Arab or other Muslim population in major coastal towns of India. It made a puzzling situation to him. He noted that Gujarat "has many merchants and ship owners, both Moors and Gentiles."[25] He further classified the population of the whole region as follows:

---

[23] Barbosa, Duarte. *op. cit..*, p.10.
[24] *Ibid.,* p.11.
[25] *Ibid*., p. 50.

68

The king, and the men-at-arms, and nobles of the country were all Gentiles formerly, and now they are Moors, since the Moors conquered the country in war, and hold the Gentiles subject to them, and molest them and treat them ill. There are three qualities of these Gentiles, that is to say, some are called Razbutes [Rajputs], and they, in the time that their king was a Gentile, were knights, the defenders of the kingdom, and governors of the country; they used to carry on war… The others are called Banians, and are merchants and traders. These live amongst the Moors, and trade with them in their goods. They are men who do not eat meat nor fish, nor anything that has life; neither do they kill anything, nor like to see it killed, because their idolatry forbids it them; and they observe this to such an extreme that it is something marvellous … These Gentiles are brown people, well built and of good proportions, smart in their dress, and delicate and temperate in their food. Their victuals are milk, butter, sugar, rice, preserves of many kinds, many fruits, bread, vegetables, and field herbs; they all have gardens and orchards wherever they live, and many pools of water where they bathe twice every, day, both men and women; and having ended their washing, they hold the belief that they are pardoned for all the sins which they have committed up to that time. They wear the hair very long like the women in Spain, and they wear it gathered on the top of the head, and made into a band which is much adorned, and upon this a cap to fasten it; and they always wear many flowers stuck into their hair, and sweet smelling things. They also anoint themselves with white sandal mixed with saffron and other scents; they are much given to fall in love.[26]

As noted by Sanjay Subramanyam, Portuguese used the African Arabs as interlocutors and language translators in the initial years of invasion to Malabar. They were familiar with the Mediterranean languages through their trading activities. It is still doubtful which word was used to identify the native people by Afro Arabs. It is assumed that they might be used *kafir* to identify them because of the influence of Arab translators. As a result of this, Portuguese initially

---

[26] Barbosa, Duarte. *op. cit.,* pp. 50-52.

identified natives as 'infidel' and 'pagan'. According to medieval European travellers the native population of the city was a mix of 'pagan' and 'Moors'. Barbosa was sure that the king was a pagan but the trade was controlled by Moors. He suitably placed other social category (lower castes) under the larger category of 'heathen'. The way of categorizing social groups with clear ethnographic denomination is first seen in Barbosa's account. It is worth to note here that Barbosa learned Malayalam for the purpose of the Portuguese mission to Malabar. Different from a typical European traveller he was a man with different abilities. The knowledge of local language supported him for more clear understanding of the people. We need to examine this change in context; Gama and his fellow crews identified the native people as Christians almost two decades back. But Barbosa was well informed that they were a set of people with specific belief system different from Christians and Arabs. Barbosa tried to understand their belief system and various other customs also. At the end of his mission he saw three sets of people in the towns of western side; gentile pagan, Christians and Moors. He was much concerned about the less presence of Christians in Malabar. As a meticulous bureaucrat of Portuguese mission, Barbosa observed the condition of the region in a clear socio-economic perspective.

> They also ship there much rice in exchange for copper, coconuts, jagra, oil of cocoa nuts, for the Malabars maintain themselves with scarcely anything else but rice, since the country of Malabar is small and very populous: so full of inhabitants, that it may almost be said that all the country is one single city from the mountain Deli to Coulam.

Barbosa took an effort to explore the history of the city. Perhaps this would be the first attempt to write the history of a city in the medieval period. He claimed that country was initially discovered by the Arabs and they started trans-continental trade by exporting the spices commodities to other parts of the world. He wrote that:

> …the Moors of Mekkah discovered India, and began to navigate near it, which was six hundred and ten years ago; they used to touch at this country of Malabar on account of the pepper which is found there. And they began to load their ships with it in a city and seaport, Coulom, where the king used frequently to be.[27]

---

[27] Barbosa, Duarte. *op. cit.,* p. 102.

He also quotes the story of the then ruler of Kerala, Cheraman Perumal's conversion to Islam and partition of Kerala in to different principalities. As follows is his narration:

> …Moors [Arab Muslims] continued their voyages to this country of Malabar, and began to spread themselves through it, and became so intimate and friendly with the said king [Cheraman Perumal], that they made him turn Moor, and he went away with them to die at the house of Mekkah, and he died on the road and before he set out from his country, he divided the whole of his kingdom of Malabar amongst his relations; and it remained divided amongst them and their descendants as it now is. And when he distributed the lands, he abandoned those that he gave, never to return to them again; and at last, when he had given away all, and there did not remain anything more for him to give, except ten or twelve leagues of land all round the spot from which he embarked, which was an uninhabited beach, where now stands the city of Calicut. And at that moment he was accompanied by more Moors than Gentiles, on account of having given to the latter almost all that he possessed, and he had with him only one young nephew, who waited on him as a page, to whom he gave that piece of land; and he told him to get it peopled, especially that very spot whence he embarked. And he gave him his sword and a chandelier, which he carried with him for state… he embarked at the same place where the city of Calicut was founded; and the Moors held this time and place in much veneration, and would not after that go and load pepper any more in any other part since the said king embarked there after becoming a Moor and going to die at Mekkah. [28]

This story of conversion of Cheraman Perumal was later narrated by many writers. Perhaps Barbosa was the first traveller who used the *Keralolpathi* myth in travel writing genre on Malabar. He further provided an ethnographic narration on the city in detail such as rituals, ceremonies, customs, body, dressing, marriage, women, administration, etc. Apart from his detailed ethnographic writing of the region, he also tried to understand the spatial images of the locality through exploring various social groups' cultural and economic spaces. He tried to create a picture of fragmented social fabric of the city and his effort to vertically place the social groups

---

[28] Barbosa, Duarte. *op. cit.,* pp.102-03.

was perhaps a way of approaching the social order of the oriental society. He employs an analytical sociology to approach the social grouping of the urban geography by explaining the significant macro and micro level segregation of the city. This was the first detailed narration of the urban geography of Calicut by specially identifying the native and foreign population of the city. He was very clear about the economic and cultural space of the city and also he made a clear effort to place the social groups accordingly. As a reader of this text we may feel that he clearly played the role of an analytical narrator of the city by doing a field survey of social objects. The narrative also reflects a changing vision of the western world view through the Indian Ocean cultural space and it was an effort to build cultural grid for finding a new society and economy. It was clear that Portuguese and other Christian sects of Europe shared a similar world view about the "Far East". The writing of Barbosa challenged the Portuguese world view at that time and it was clear from their latter interventions in western coast of India. Portuguese Missionaries reached to Malabar Coast in large scale in 15th century and started engaging with the existing St. Thomas Christians.

Portuguese were well informed about the formation of the Mughal state in the north India and its powerful presence in the central Asia. The hostile relation between the Portuguese and Mughals was seen throughout the 16th century. In Malabar one other text, Zainuddin's *Tuhfat-al-Mujahidin,* was come out in the second part of the 16th century against the Portuguese invasion. Though Barbosa provided the detailed ethnographic nature of different social groups of Malabar in the 16th century, he never mentioned the 'fight' between the Portuguese and the Mappilas in the coast. He clearly observed the changes in the Calicut and the various happenings in the city and how it corresponds to the Red Sea trade. But at the same time Zainuddin's text presented the consequences of 'Portuguese invasion' as follows:

> The Portuguese invaded the Muslim abodes and subjected them to all kinds of oppression. The abominable atrocities and cruelties the Portuguese openly unleashed on the Muslim were countless. This Portuguese reign lasted for more than eighty years. By that time, the condition of Muslims had become extremely pathetic. They had become impoverished, weak and powerless. They could not find a way to get out of this wretched hole. And the militarily and economically

powerful Muslim Sultans and Emirs reigning elsewhere did not come forward to rescue the Malabar Muslims from the calamity that had befallen on them …[29]

Fernão Lopes de Castenda, Portuguese historian of 16th century also corroborates the writing of Barbosa especially the relation between the Arabs and Portuguese. His *History of the Discovery and Conquest of India* is an edifying account of the Portuguese engagements in the major coastal towns of the western coast. Simultaneously to the European travel writing on Malabar, three counter narratives (*Tahrfd Ahlilman ala Jihiidi Abdati Sulbiin, Tuhfatul Mujahideen and Fathul Mubeen*) appeared against the Portuguese invasion to Malabar. Surprisingly all these texts are written by traditional *ulemas* of the Mappilas of Malabar and all addressed the Portuguese invasions.

After Barbosa's account on Malabar Coast, numerous accounts on Malabar and Calicut started to appear in European literature under various "East Indies" voyage titles. In the late 18th century an Austrian Carmelite Missionary, Paolino da San Bartolomeo, visited south India. He was popularly known as Paulinus Paathri in Kerala. His experiences were later compiled under the title *A Voyage to East Indies: Containing an Account on the Manners, Customs, & c. of the Natives, with a Geographical Description of the Country*. This was primarily a collection of Bartolomeo's observations during his travel in the southern India in the period from 1776 to 1789. The original form of this work was appeared in Rome in 1796 and English version of the same became available to public from the early part of the 19th century onwards. He provided a descriptive narration of the major settlement and trading centers of coastal area of whole Kerala region from south to north. This narration was compiled after the hundred and fifteen years of Barbosa's writing. He narrated the city of Calicut as follows:

> The well-known city of Calicut, which has experienced such a variegated fate, lies also on the sea-coast, and in the latitude of 110 15' north. It consists partly of houses constructed of teak wood, and partly of huts composed of palm branches inter woven through each other, and covered with palm leaves. Of stone buildings there are very few. The fortress of Calicut is of much greater antiquity than the city to which it has given its name. The natives of Malabar believe that it was

---

[29] Makhdum, Shaykh Zainuddin. *Tuhfat al-Mujahidin*. Trans. S. Muhammad. Calicut: Other Books, 2006. p.5.

built by king Ceramperumal [Cheraman Perumal], from whom all the petty Malabar princes are descended. This city was razed almost to the ground by Tippoo Sultan, who destroyed its flourishing trade; expelled from the country the merchants and factors of the foreign commercial houses caused all the coco-nut and sandal trees to be cut down; and ordered the pepper plants in the whole surrounding district to be torn up by the roots, and even to be hacked to pieces, because these plants, as he said, brought riches to the Europeans, and enabled them to carry on war against the Indians.[30]

The way of narration of the city clearly shows how the situation changed after Barbosa's time and the cultural clashes grew-up in high level in the end of 18th century. Even after the complete evacuation of Arab traders from the city, European missionaries and traders continued hostile relations with the local Muslim population and Arab traders. We need to understand that the Portuguese dominance of trade and commerce declined during this period in India and it was limited to few pockets of western coast. The crucial question is that why Bartolomeo chooses the concluding period of Zamorin's regime for his narration of the city, especially how Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan treated the royal family and their subjects in the end of 18th century. Bartolomeo was sharing the "panic circumstances" of Mysorian invasion and their 'atrocities against the missionaries in the city.' It is very clear that the hostility of the Portuguese to the city Muslims was not ended. Interestingly the image of the 'pagan' was loosened and the picture of native people was started to come in Portuguese writing. The travel writing of Paulinus is one of the examples for this. Though Portuguese continued a friendly relation with the native population after the evacuation of Arabs from the coast and the city, they looked the people with the same colonial gaze.

Subsequent writing on Calicut and larger Malabar region is seen in Captain Alexander Hamilton's account on East Indies.[31] Unlike Bartolomeo, Hamilton was an independent Scottish marine captain and merchant who travelled all over the world. He is one of the special figures in this series of writing. The interesting thing is that he navigated all most all areas covered by

---

[30] Bartolomeo, Paolino Da San. *A Voyage to East Indies: Containing An Account on the Manners, Customs, & c. of the Natives, With a Geographical Description of the Country*. Trans.William Johnston. London: J. Davis, Chancery Lane, n.d. pp. 139-40.

[31] Hamilton, Captain Alexander. *A New Account of the East Indies*. Vol.I. London: C. Hitch and A. Millar, 1774.

Barbosa from Cape of Good Hope to South East Asian regions in the early decades of 16th century. Different from other typical travellers Hamilton took an unusual step to cover various local customs and manners. He is not much interested about the natural resources of the city of Calicut and other parts of Malabar and instead he spent more effort to display the cultural features of different social groups. His whole travel writing was divided into various chapters generally containing different regions' geography especially sea coast, deserts, mountains, law, customs, manners, government and little about commerce. But at the same time he was very keen to narrate wars, local conflicts and pirates. Arranging his whole narration in different topics with full of rich socio-cultural stuff was a larger plan to exhibit the cultural difference of the other part of the world.The time of his journey is very important especially in terms of the knowledge about the east, which was circulated at that time in Europe particularly in England. More than that, the English East India Company established their trade and political dominance over India at that time. Different published *Reports* of the Select Committee of House of Commons on the Affairs of East India Company were largely circulated in the intellectual and public domain in early 18th century. Also at the same time British Orientalist imagination of India's past and culture created a huge range of intellectual visual rendering to the Europeans from late 18th century onwards. Intellectually British orientalism was one of the most influential ideas of 18th century. Indian philosophy, literature and rich cultural heritage became foundational subjects for these scholars. Hamilton was not an orientalist at any level, but he was much aware about this intellectual happenings. Subsequently the image of the east was started characterizing by the British orientalists and Christian Evangelist in India. As a result the traditional Indian intelligentsia started engaging with their cultural past. The Bengali Badralok's effort to 'locate' the glorious past of Hindu religion and their cultural identity was a classic example of this. Indian cities were actively involved in this new intellectual development.

Compared to Portuguese writings, the effort for making a sort of cultural otherness was not seen in the writings of Hamilton. From early 19th century onwards various institutional operations were started rather than individual efforts to define the nature of different social groups. The general nature of stressing the hostile relation of Portuguese and native Muslim of the Malabar began to disappear in various writings from early part of the 19th century onwards. Importantly along with that the concentration of towns in the coastal areas was disbursed to hinterland areas of Malabar. Medieval port towns and the emerging hinterland towns were

started to connect in many ways. But the British urban regime selected the old ports towns again for their taluks and district head quarters. In Malabar except in Palakkad municipality all other municipal towns and taluk head quarters were located in the old ports towns.

We can trace the changes in the writing on the land and society of East in the early part of the 19th century. The early colonial travel writing was replaced with more organised Journey, Committee and Survey Reports. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, a British surgeon and botanist, "entered in to Malabar",[32] for a survey, through its southern part in the year 1800. He got his assignment, for survey, from Lord Wellesley, the Governor General of the British East India Company after Tipu Sultan's defeat.[33] He started his South Indian Survey in 1800 and after that he conducted a detailed survey in the areas of East India Company's Bengal Presidency. He was asked to submit a report of landscape, history, antiquity, agriculture, weight and measures, etc. to the Company.

> The travel account of Malabar and South Canara by Francis Buchanan provides a
> revealing example of the British perception of the Malabar Coast. Buchanan was
> not simply a curious, politically and commercially calculating observer. His work
> is the best example of what Bernard Cohn has called 'survey modality', one of the
> early colonial strategies of creation of knowledge on the colonised people.[34]

Buchanan didn't write much about the 'hostile' relation in the early 19th century and rather than much bothering about the cultural otherness he tied to look in to the socio-economic issues of the whole region. As a curious observer, Buchanan did not make a peripheral survey of physical objectives of the land and society of any region but he completed an excellent journey report on the socio-cultural aspects of each regions of southern India. His journey report is rich with the accounts of his experiences at different micro localities of the larger regions. This report was not

---

[32]   The second half of the 18th century is generally considered as the period of Mysorean 'invasion' in Malabar.

[33]   Francis Buchanan's survey report was published in 1807 in three volumes. *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Volume I-III. New Delhi: Asian Educational Society, 1988. (It was first published in 1807 and reprinted in 1988 and 1999. All my references are to the second reprint.) He covered areas of Madras, Mysore, Canara, Coimbatore, Malabar and coastal terrains etc. and wrote on various aspects like physical and human geography, agriculture, commerce, people, customs etc. We can see his description of Malabar in Volume II, pp.345-566.

[34].   Ganesh, K.N. "European Perceptions of Kerala Landscape, From Barbosa to Buchanan". *Advances in History: Essays in Memory of Professor M.P. Sridaran.* Ed. Kesavan Veluthat and P.P. Sudhakaran. Calicut: Professor M.P. Sridaran Memorial Trust, 2003. p.185.

concentrated on any cities but at the same time it gives substantial support to the various villages. Different from the previous travel writing traditions, this sort of account contains information about numerous micro localities and its historical importance. Throughout his journey he often resides with the local *janmis* or British officials. As an official traveller, he tried his best to gather information on the social relation of each locality. Personalised information collection and its reporting is something peculiar in his writings. He was not adopted a method of personalised interviews. But it was a conscious effort to involve among the local people to attain detailed information in the survey process. He recorded all his travel experiences in a diary writing format, which was a narration of day by day progress of his journey. This sort of writing was clear adaptation of the style of Victorian period England. Buchanan was also a product of the Victorian era. He was a Fellow of Royal Society, Society of Antiquaries of London and Asiatic Society of Calcutta. Even though Buchanan was not part of British Orientalists, he was largely influenced by the ideas of European Romanticsm. It is noticed that trade was one of the central objectives of travel writings; agriculture has come as the "first and essential object of attention" of *journey reports*.[35] All other issues barely come under this main head. The Company also asked him to report "the condition of the inhabitants in general, in regard to their food, clothing, and habitations".[36]

Buchanan did not go much in to the details of Calicut town and harbour in his writings. It was a clear reflection of changing economic preferences of the East India Company. At the same time the journey report gives information about hundreds of 'principal merchants' and local markets/*angadis* of the district. We can see that from early part of the 19th century onwards along with the decline of the prominence of Calicut city numbers of small towns were slowly started to develop across the Malabar region. Buchanan's *report* gives some sort of references on the emerging markets and market classes. We had good references about demographic composition of the Calicut city from 14th century to 17th century via different travel writings. The significance of Buchanan's *report* is that he gave the first set of information of the thickly inhabited villages of the province rather than towns. It is very clear that the importance of the traditional harbour towns was lost at that time. The local history literatures narrated that after the collapse of Mysorean rule, the Calicut city was come under the control of the local wealthy people at least

---

[35] Buchannan, Francis. *op.cit,* p.viiii.
[36] *Ibid*., p.xii.

for three decades. A few numbers of people became wealthier and a few of them started buying large scale lands in different parts within the situation of new land policy of British. It is a clear indication that the British were not much attracted or interested in the commercial significance of the city of Calicut though a century before this was Europeans' paradise.

Almost all travel writings were much concerned about the richness of the city and were cautiously employed for the aim of controlling the port and monopoly of trade. The earlier importance of the port cities and its trade and commerce were replaced with the land and agriculture and revenue collection. Buchanan never mentioned the trade importance or commercial significance of the city of Calicut throughout his report, but at the same time he gave importance to one of the other satellite towns, Beypore, in his *journey report*. Here it is important to note that the Southern Railway Company later put across their proposal of shifting the capital city of Malabar from Calicut to Beypore by taking the matter of the improvement of trade and commerce. He was much aware about the earlier commercial importance of Calicut, but same as to Bartolomeo he also connected the collapse of prosperous trade and commerce of this city with the Mysorian invasion. He tried to get some important statistical data of Calicut and Beypore from the district administration but the administration failed to make it available to him. It is believed that the then district administration of British had no proper control over the city up to 1830s.

Certainly this was a crucial time of Calicut. Malabar's annexation to Bombay and later to Madras Presidency in early 19th century marked a new turn in textual sources. The celebrated wealthy and powerful royal family became *janmis* under the British rule and the cosmopolitan city lost its trade importance in the maritime trade networks in the early decades of the 19th century. Even the Joint Commissioners settlement and latter agreement of Zamorins with East India Company in 1806 did not provide any information of the future of the trade and commerce of the capital city of Calicut. After that, from mid 19th century onwards only the city had slowly regained its importance consequently to the shifting of the capital city from Tellichery to Calicut. Ward and Conner's *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar* "gives a vivid detail of geographical and statistical survey of Malabar region undertaken during 1824-1830[37]." This survey report also did

---

[37] Corner, and Ward. *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar.* 1906. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Gazetteers Department, 1995.

not stress the significance of the city of Calicut and its commercial importance. Supplementing to Buchanan's report this report gave much accurate data of the emerging local or regional market places in different taluks. At the same time the references on medieval and early colonial principal port town, Calicut, was started to fade away from the textual accounts more obviously from first half of the 19th century.

It is very clear that the European interest over the entire Malabar region especially Calicut city changed drastically from early 19th century itself. Obtaining cultural dominance over this region was not an important aim for the British. But they were much focussed on the social composition of the conquered land. Caste, land relation, marital relation, property inheritance, customary law of various caste and community groups, etc. were the major interest of the British administrators. Religious resentment against the Muslims was absented at large. By this time most of the Muslims empires were declined and they were not a central threat to the British. The whole focus was on defining the caste practices in the socio- economic relations. Engagement in the issues of caste became a tool for the political dominance. The whole social relation was defined and classified under the caste. The disciplinary support of anthropology and ethnography largely assisted these exercises.

After Buchanan's journey report we can find a large number of East India Company's operations in Malabar in the form of revenue survey reports. Most of these records are on two matters and issues – revenue settlement and 'Mappila turbulences'. The interesting thing is that these revenue reports started to provide detailed information about the sub-divisional taluks or different villages of the district. In other way these are the primary habitational textual records of any locality under colonial regime. These abundant revenue reports were also not providing any detailed reports of the cities. Calicut city lost its importance and small market places started getting attention. Here onwards the centrality of colonial operation and the more structured and 'sensible' Mappila 'revolts' were reproduced through a wide variety of papers, both administrative and parliamentary. This period marked an important time regarding debates on Indian affairs in the British Parliament through these papers. From 1784 to 1947 the British Parliament discussed 5510 papers relating to Indian issues. The interesting thing is that 4450 papers were only on 19th century issues.

In short quite a large number of texts were published in Europe in 16th and 17th century on Malabar in general and Calicut in particular. The texts of these two centuries are very significant for they were published as part of the official journeys or missionary trips to the east. Most of the travellers generally prepared their action plan before their travel, it includes areas to be visited, people to meet, information needed to be recorded, etc. Production of the detailed report of the areas they visited and their travel routes along with maps were mandatory at that time. Also it is important to note that independent European travellers were not seen in the case of Malabar except people like Hamilton. All of them were represented by trade companies or any government missions or missionary agencies.

CHAPTER III

Colonialism, Urban Reconfiguration and the Representation of Calicut

Researches on the city and representations of its people have got significant interest nowadays in different ways. Some cultural theorists are of the opinion that the attempt of cultural representation is a process to define the social configuration and understand the social meanings which it wants to circulate. The production of 'metro society' and 'city people' as images, visuals, newspaper reports, etc. through television, other electronic media, painting, narratives, literary works, prints, etc. signify multiple meanings to the 'individual' and 'public' audiences. A considerable number of theoretical works and conceptualizations have come in to the discussion of representation of city society in different cultural forms, particularly in various literary narrations and latter in visual devices. The study of the literary and visual texts analyses the text's structural features, that is, the semiotic or aesthetic codes and conventions it employs, as a way of examining how the text works to secure meaning. Structural unity of different texts and subtexts of literatures and visuals control specific determination and predefined objectification also.

The colonial effort to create an 'otherness' within the colonial state-making started in 19th century through numerous colonial modalities in Malabar. The mercantile colonial perspectives and their textual records completely started disappearing and new set of writings on the region especially towns and its people began in the colonial period from early 19th century onwards. The West's efforts to identify the problems like education, communication, sanitation, cleanliness, agriculture, mechanization, entrepreneurship, etc. of the conquered lands made both analytical and empirical descriptions of the various regions. For instance, the 19th century British efforts to define the 'nature' of the rural areas and mofussils made larger debate on the conditions of Indian village societies and living conditions of 'town inhabitants' in 19th century. As a result of the new changes various discourses related to health, sanitation, climate, security of life and property, public amenities, etc. were come to the major agenda of the new colonial setup. Gradually government started institutional mechanisms to operationalise the town planning. New institutions for urban planning and designs were initiated in England and also they launched various committees for town improvement. Urban planning became one of the main activities of the Public Works Department under the new British regime. British started

engineering colleges and other institutions and recruited skilled urban planners and engineers in India. The first engineering college (Thomason College of Engineering) was set up in India at Roorkee in 1847 for Civil Engineering.[1] Without much delay three engineering colleges were set up in three Presidencies in 1850s. Roads, major buildings, avenues, public spaces were designed and constructed by professional planners and engineers. Initially civil engineers were recruited from Britain and they utilized native traditional crafts men for other works. The spatial planning was central to the European planners. Along with spatial planning the structural design of the public buildings became vital to the PWD. But in the case of Madras Presidency the engineers largely worked for the dams and canal construction rather than urban planning. Also the presidency utilized military engineers for their construction works. Contrary to Calcutta and Bombay presidencies the growth of towns and public buildings in Madras Presidency was very less. Most importantly British East Company initiated more capital investments in industry and commerce in the colonial countries for economic growth. They eagerly tried to contact domestic business groups and foreign investors including missionaries for capital investments in cities. As a result numerous changes were occurred in the country capital townships especially in the sectors of education, health, sanitation, etc.

In Malabar no other industries were commenced except a few of Basel Mission and at the same time the East India Company hugely supported the timber trade and not the timber based industries.[2] Calicut city latter became the major commercial centre of timber trade in whole Asia under colonialism. Within this context the city started transforming according to new colonial logic. Joint Commissioners of 1792 also took a favourable position towards Tipu Sultan's plan of shifting the capital to the estuary of river Beypore. Commissioners observed that 'apparently this was a wisest political decision'.[3] In a larger perspective East India Company also realized that the Calicut harbour was not sufficient to develop as a modern port. At least for few decades of the early part of the 19th century the medieval city of Zamorins came under the jurisdiction of the Tellichery centered East India Company and slowly they shifted the head quarter to Calicut city. The interesting thing is that the British officials choose the old Zamorins' Rajadhani, opposite to

[1] Kumar, Arun. "Thomason College of Engineering, Roorkee, 1847-1947." *Science and Modernity in India: An Institutional History, c.1784-1947.* Vol. XV. Part. 4. Ed. Uma Das Gupta. Delhi: Pearson Education, 2011. p. 454.
[2] Raghaviah, Jayaprakash. *Basel Mission Industries in Malabar and South Canara (1834-1914): A Study of its Social and Economic Impact.* New Delhi: Gyan Books, 1990.
[3] *The Joint Commissioners' Report on Malabar 1792-93*. 1862. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Archives, 2010. p.63.

Mananchira Maidan for constructing the district head quarter 'Hajur Kacheri'. The Anglo Indian built structure faced its front towards the western side open to the sea, like the old palace. The town planning of East India Company had come out completely with the interest of the city development for more market oriented expansion to have larger revenue extraction while later the priority was shifted to the physical transformation of the land for more settlement and administrative purposes.[4] Henry Valentine Conolly, the then district collector tried to shape the city in the line of modern urban priorities in mid 19th century. The construction of Conolly Canal not only targeted the hydraulic purposes but also considered the city's spatial development by connecting the southern area to the northern part. In the early phase the health and military issues were the major concerns. We can definitely say that a good number of towns were developed in south India as a result of the trade prosperity. But in the case of Calicut, the city was not physically developed comparing to the scale of early 19th century. Converting the district for more land revenue accumulation fundamentally collapsed the maritime importance of the harbours and trading cities. Due to this huge shipyard and dockyard were not developed in Calicut. The port administration did not initiate any plan for the development of dockyard to anchor bigger ships. Also, we can't find any warehouses and repairing yards of ships in Calicut. The harbour was operated only for controlling the customs duties through custom department. Harbour was not fortified similar to the city. The suburban areas of the harbour were started to develop as fishing villages and fish processing centers rather than commercial centers and subsequently these areas were known as *meenchappas* (fish curing center). In short instead of developing as a city, it was simply transformed as a district head quarter for the new colonial administration in 19th century. The Company largely bothered the increasing of the revenue from land and other resources like tobacco, abkari, excises, etc. In the middle of the 19th century one third of the total revenue of the district was extracted from the land revenue [5]. One other important thing is that the northern city Tellichery developed as a major city in the colonial period with the support of other commercial harbours of the taluk like Balipattanan, and Darmapatanam. But at the same time other suburban harbours and small towns (Beypore, Koilandy, Vadakara and Ponnani) of Calicut were warped. It is also significant to note that most

---

[4] The colonial administration had made certain efforts for the development of the harbour due to the frequent requests of the District Board in early 20th century only.

[5] Panikkar, K.N. *Against Lord and State: Religion and Peasant Uprising in Malabar, 1836-1921*. Delhi: OUP, 1989. p.5.

of the harbours became the commercial centers of some sort of processed items. The decline of medieval spices route and the emergence of new spices centers in the South East Asian countries caused the decline of Calicut port and city. Gradually Cochin emerged as a major deep – water port and commercial city in the western coast in 20th century along with Tuticorin and Vizagapatanam of the eastern coast.[6] A new class of merchants and traders slowly emerged in the Calicut city who engaged mainly in the trade of copra, rice, and timber. Gujaratis and Sindhis were mainly involved in the rice and copra business and Mappilas were involved in timber trade. In the medieval period developed Valiyangadi (Bigbazar), a separate Copra Bazar was opened and a Gunny Street was also evolved adjacent to this in 19th century as an offshoot to rice and copra trade. Gujaratis built their commercial centers and dwelling places around the old Arab and Dutch bazaars. The old spices market was converted to agro-based whole sale market and export center. Steadily these two communities merged in to the city culture while keeping their own exclusive cultures.

From the first half of 19th century onwards colonial efforts focused on the administrative narratives of the interconnections of various micro regions with the city of Calicut via roads and later railways. From this period onwards the port/harbour based influence of the city of Calicut slowly reduced and the city emerged as the centre of larger colonial political and cultural control over different social groups and resources. After the 1857 rebellion and its political changes the 'spices province' was configured into a structured political district under the new British regime. All the taluk headquarters of the district were connected to the city of Calicut and the construction of rail line linked the Coramandal Coast to the city by late 19th century. Late 18th and early 19th centuries narratives of the rebellions of Kurichiya/tribal and Pazhassi Raja were centered around the Tellicherry Factory. Contrary to this, the narratives of the Mappila insurgencies from the mid 19th century onwards centered on the city head quarters of Calicut. The representation of the proper Calicut city and its population was started in the modern times, mainly in the second half of the 19th century. We can see that the existing *angadi* or *bazar* population, the population in the capital city and dispersed surrounding villages were merged into the larger urban population. More importantly, the other larger non-city population came to the city in search of new urban opportunities. It further amalgamated a heterogeneous population

---

[6] Yeatts, W.M. *Census of India, 1931.* Vol. XIV. Part I, Culcutta: Central Publication Branch,1932. p.30.

in the city. At the same time, people of other ethnicities like Gujaratis, Chettis, Konkanis, Tamil Brahmins, Parsis, etc. tried to merge into new developing spaces. Through the narratives on state building and insurgency controlling the city narratives were fundamentally changed in the late 19th century. The district/collectorate administration played a crucial role in developing the political narratives of the city life from mid 19th century. Apart from this, the revenue and the political administration over the larger region attached new meanings to the city space in late 19th century; the writings of District Collectors from William Logan to C.A. Innes and F.B. Evans in the second decade of the 20th century reflect these changes. Logan's concentration on the revenue headquarters was slowly disappeared and the pure urban population got significance in the later colonial accounts. The impact of the 1921 Mappila riot and the emergence of socialist groups in the Congress party in the mid 1930s increased the secretarial narratives on Calicut city.

The transformation of various caste and religious communities in 19th century under the colonial economic and political system is needed to examine to understand the nature of changes of the city society and public space. The changes among Izhavas and Mappilas were important in many ways; they occupied the two third of the total population of the district and Municipality. Subsequent to the collapse of Zamorin regimes in the late 18th century, numerous new landlord and prosperous families emerged in the city. Most of them were previously associated with Zamorins in different capacities. The emerged new situation supported the wealthy non caste groups, especially Izhavas, to purchase land on cash and accelerated the resale of land to other individuals and government and nongovernmental companies. The new affluent wealthy section latterly played very crucial role in the development of the city society and culture. Pockenchery, Kunnikkal, Puthukkudi, Cherootty, Kattunkandi, Narakassery, Kallingal Madathil, etc. were the major land lord and wealthy families among the Tiyyas in the city. Some of the families were engaged as *vydyas* by profession. Numbers of revenue documents show that the Izhava land lord, Kallingal Madathil Rarichan Moopan possessed huge scale of land in different parts of the city and interestingly land acquisition papers of the city administration also reveal that his family members received handsome amount of money through the land acquisition by government for public works in late 19th century and early 20th century. Mooppan and his family members were the most influential people in the city in late 19th century. They actively involved in the Tiyya reform activities of the northern Malabar. Mooppan and Mitawati C Krishnan invited Sri Narayana Guru for the consecration of a new temple in the city for Tiyyas in the early part of

20th century. He was the President of the Srikandeswara Temple construction committee of Tiyya community. It is also seen that a large number of Tiyyas including affluent families from southern part of Malabar especially from Trissur, Kunnamkulam and Kodungallur areas came to the city seeking jobs in government and private sectors. Among them one of the accepted names is that of C. Krishnan, a law graduate, popularly known as 'Mitawati'. He was from a wealthy family called Changaramkumarakathu family of the Chavakkkad. Similarly educated people from northern areas like Tellichery and Vadakara were also come to the city. Murkoth Kunchappa was most renowned among them. Besides these it is also noticed that a sizable number of Tiyyas were moved to the city from suburban areas of the Calicut taluk in search of employment. The figures in the school admission registers show a rapid increase in the school educated people among Tiyyas. They were the second largest group after Christians in the city in the school admission. By late 19th century, affluent and English educated, few of them got government jobs also, Tiyya society was formed in the city. They attained food contract business for the British army and engaged as police men, public work contractors, construction mastiris, labour contractors, doctors, etc. Murkoth Kunhappa noted that Tiyyas entered in the clerical jobs, police department and revenue department and above all a Tiyya man was elevated to the position of Deputy Collector in the new colonial set up.[7] A few of them were engaged in rice business in the city and among them the name of Kashmikandi family, from Tellicherry, was most popular. This family was one of the wealthy families of the city in the first half of the 20th century. The affluent Tiyya families made marital relations also. C. Krishnan and later his son also got married from the Kallingal Madathil family and built huge houses in their land. Culturally and politically Tiyyas gradually started to get more space in the city within colonial opportunities. Calicut Bank was started in the city in the early part of the 20th century under the initiatives of C. Krishnan. In the same way Dr. V.I Raman, who belonged to Tiyya caste, started a hospital (Ashoka Hospital) in the city in 1930s, perhaps the first private hospital in the city. He had a MRCS degree and also a long practice in Government Royal College as a Surgeon. In the early part of the 20th century the larger Tiyya labour force in various companies became the major strength of the socialist led trade unions in the city. Even though they had number of disagreement with elite Congress they joined with socialists and communists in 1930s and 40s.

---

[7] Kunhapa, Murkoth. "Tiyas of Kerala." *Malabar. Malabar Mahotsav 1993 Souvenir*. Ed. M.G.S. Narayanan. Calicut: Malabar Mahotsav Committee, 1994. p.161.

It is necessary to explore how the colonial systems set up a modern urban society within the traditional urban settings through diverse forms. It leads us to think how the new cultural forms come and indulge as the dominant cultural forms by overthrowing the existing powerful medieval city cultural system in Calicut. The understanding and conceptualization of colonialism underwent tremendous changes in the last decades of the 20th century. Beyond its economic and political domination over vast territories, the issues of cultural domination came to wider debates at many levels. The 'sources', 'instruments', 'agencies', etc. of the same are enquired by the postcolonial and poststructuralist critics. The uneven nature and course of colonial interference over non western societies has got an important space in cultural studies in the last few decades. The colonial 'racial approach' to non European and non Christian/pagan societies made a heavy impact over a number of social groups in non European societies[8]. The colonial constructed distinctive understanding of various landscapes reproduced different cultural discourses even in the postcolonial times. So how the colonial construction and reconstruction of the understanding of diverse region and its people evolved its meaning in different times should be taken in to consideration very decisively. Here we need to examine how the state had started to define the city people mainly their caste, inheritance, economic life, family life, food, dressing, etc. To place the city of Calicut geographically is often seen as a major aspect of colonial textual accounts since early 19th century in the context of the colonial revenue priorities. Geographically these exercises locate the city in between the two major rivers, Elathur and Chaliyar/Beypore. The most important thing is that the colonially constructed Calicut taluk was not a compact one in many senses. One-third of the total population of the taluk was concentrated in the small villages of the coastal areas of Calicut. This concentration of the population in the coastal villages is seen increasing since 1850s. Most of the coastal villages slowly became small urban enclaves centered on the "proper Calicut" city. This dispersed urban population was slowly connected to the proper Calicut city through many ways. Early British scholar-cum administrators constantly keep narration on the 'history' of the Zamorins of the city. The striking part is that by the late 19th century all parts of present Kerala came 'directly 'or 'indirectly' under the control of British regime. The *Keralolpathi* story of the religious conversion of Cheraman Perumal and division of the whole region into different principalities marked its influence in the

---

[8] Fanon, Frantz. *Towards the African Revolution.* London: Penguin Books, 1970.

British historical writing. Francis Buchanan tried to narrate the myth of the city in early 19th century by connecting the head quarter of the city to one of the divided land:

> The proper name of the place is Colicode. When Cheraman Perumal had divided Malabar among his nobles, and had no principality to bestow on the ancestor of Tamuri, he gave that chief his sword, with all the territory in which a cock crowing at a small temple here could be heard. This formed the original denominations of the Tamuri, and was called Colicode, or the cock crowing.[9]

Buchanan further tried to connect the British supremacy over the city through their conquest of the region by defeating Mysorean rulers:

> This place [city] continued to be chief residence of Tamuri Rajas until the Mussalaman invasion and became a flourishing city, owing to the success that its lords had in war and the encouragement which they gave to commerce. Tippoo destroyed the town and removed its inhabitants to Nelluru, the name he changed into Farukkabad, like all the Mussalman of India, he was a mighty changer of old Pagan names. Fifteen months after his forced emigration, the English conquered the province, the inhabitants returned with great joy to the old place of residence. The town contains about five thousand houses, and is fast recovering. Before its destruction by Tippoo its houses amounted to between six and seven thousand. Most of its inhabitants are Moplays.[10]

The colonial construction of Mappilas as 'barbarians' was started subsequent to the collapse of Mysorean regime in Calicut. Europeans including travellers and administrators recorded the 'atrocities' of the Mysorean rulers. The category of 'barbaric pagan Muslim' was circulated in late 18th and early 19th centuries. It is important to look the statement critically, 'like all the Mussalman of India, he was a mighty changer of old Pagan names'. Beypore (Feroke) was the only one place, the new western side capital, to which Tippu had given a name. It was not at all an effort to change the existing name; but it was the part of his planning to build a city in the name of Farukhabad ("city of victory") to display his political suzerainty over the western coast

---

[9] Buchanan, Francis. *op.cit.,* p. 261.
[10] *Ibid.*

and maintain the supremacy over trade and commerce of western coast. We need to look this matter on the historical background of the conquering of Palakkad by Hyder and Tippu. They built a huge granite and rock fort at the heart of the town after defeating the Palakkad Raja, but they did not change the name of the city. The British were very much concerned in the preservation of the historical legacy of the city. After the defeat of Tipu, British did not plan anything for three decades for the future of the city. Just after the conquering of Calicut Tipu planned a 'Sultan Patnam' but when British came in power, they decided to stay back in Tellicherry. Only after four decades they realized that it is better to shift the capital to Calicut for controlling the whole region by considering the city's history and importance as a capital of Zamorins. Some of the historical evidences show that more than changing the name of a village, Tipu might be planned to build a new trade oriented city in the western coast. He was much aware about the political changes in the south India, especially the emergence of British power after the Carnatic War and the political supremacy of Travancore in major parts of the southern Kerala. It is assumed that by building a fort and capital in the western coast Tipu planned to control the huge Malabar trade. The branding of Tipu, one of the major Muslim king, as 'pagan' was come out from not any ethnographic discourses but possibly as a reaction of their political hostility to Tipu because of his political alliance with the French and long resistance against the British. Subsequently Tipu was marked as the major figure behind the community tension in Malabar region and the reason for the suicide of the Zamorin. The seeking of asylum of Zamorins' family and *janmis* in Travancore for escaping from Mysorian atrocities was placed in the literary discourses of Kerala. Latter British bureaucrats identified him as the 'fanatic' and 'tyrant' ruler of the south India. The 'forceful conversion' to Islam, 'destruction of temples' and 'lootings' under Tipu's regime were started to notice by the British. The *padayottam* (military expedition) of Tipu Sultan and his 'atrocities' against Christians and Hindus were subjected in the writings of travellers like St. Bartholomew, British administrators like Buchanan and various revenue commissioners. This was a turning period in the western writing on Malabar especially on Calicut. Instead of 'pagan' British started constructing the image of 'Barbaric' Muslim population under the new state regime. Late 18th century traveller Bartolomeo describes the 'atrocities in the city as follows:

Hayder Aly's son, Tippoo Sultan Bahader, was at length so incensed against the inhabitants of Calicut and the neighboring district, because they assisted, by every possible means, their former sovereign, that he resolved to punish them; and for that purpose took the field in person. He was preceded by 30,000 barbarians, who butchered every person who came in their way; and by his heavy cannon under the command of general Lally, at the head of a regiment of artillery. Then followed Tippoo Sultan himself, riding on an elephant; and behind him marched another corps, consisting of 30,000 men also. The manner in which he behaved to the inhabitants of Calicut was horrid… A great part of them, both male and female, were hung. Christian and Pagan, women were compelled to marry Mahometans; and Mahometan women were compelled to marry Heathens and Christians.[11]

We can see that the British writings on Tipu Sultan's time in Calicut city influenced the imagination of the Europeans. The painting of 'The Merchants of Calicut Sized and Chained to a Barren Rock, By order of Tippoo Sahib' by Miss Corner in 1847 is a direct example of the outcome of this sort of writings. These sorts of various narrations were seen among the modern period historians and nationalists. K. Madhavan Nair, the then president of Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee argued that roots of 'the notorious Mappila Lahala' can be traced from the 'forceful conversion of Tippu Sultan'. [12] Historians like K.P. Padmanabha Menon, Sardar K.M. Panicker, Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, etc. also narrate the 'atrocities' in the Mysorean period Malabar especially in Calicut city. The debates among early nationalists on the issues of 'Mappila riot' and religious conversions were associated with the images of the period of Mysore rule. The words like 'barbaric' and 'savagery' were constantly used by Francis Buchanan to William Logan to identify the Muslim population on the background of Mysorian invasion and the British tried to legitimize their political conquering by liberating the native Hindus from the tyranny of Tippu. British intelligently made an understanding among the native Hindus about the need of liberation from 'the tyranny of Tipu' and steadily they tried to negotiate with the local rajas and *janmis.* By returning the *janmam* rights to Janmis and Brahmans, British started the political engagements with the native power groups.

---

[11] Bartolomeo. *op.cit.,* p. 141.
[12] Nair, K. Madhavan. *Malabar Kalapam.* Calicut: Mathruboomi Books, 1971.

Even if there are numerous texts available on the Mysorean incursion to Malabar, the narratives of their influences in the city are not seen in most of the literatures. One narrative, recording the Zamorin's resistance to Mysore army, his failure and consequent suicide and the blazing of the palace of the ruling family, is always seen in most of the literatures on Zamorins. In addition to this, the royal family's seeking asylum in Travancore from the city due to the Mysorian raid is also recorded in some of the narratives. These two narratives were later connected with many political discourses and subjected to numerous socio-cultural arguments. The debates of the causes for the decline of Zamorins' centuries long rule and the scale of the religious tolerance in the city are associated with these two narratives. The long resistance of the city Muslims against the Portuguese was not got much attention within this debate. Two issues, forceful religious conversion and attack against temples were attributed against the Mysorean rulers. The nature of 'tolerance' of the various religious and ethnic groups in the city is critically assessed from here onwards. The collapse of the Zamorin regime is often connected as the end of the cordial relation between the Hindus and Mappilas of the city. MGS Narayan writes:

> This character of hospitality possesses by old Calicut enabled the city to become more prosperous than any other during the medieval period. But it is the same character (or political policy?) that caused the decline of Calicut also. Portuguese managed to enter here using this loop hole, which angered the Arabs. A century of Portuguese intrigues and bribes was enough to make a dent into the friendship between Zamorins and Arabs… thus the decline of Calicut began from 17th century, Later Samuthiris began to lick the boots of the Portuguese and English by turn without any shame and receive loans from them. The king became a pauper. In 1746 Samuthiris attempted to bribe the armies of Haider Ali in order to make them withdraw, but the amount promised was never paid. When the Mysore army invaded the sense of pride of the then Samuthiri was finally aroused. He set fire to the power magazine at Koattapparambu and committed suicide.[13]

The process of collection and formulation of the 'information' of 'authentic' or 'systematic' ideas of spatial terrains and different social groups have begun mainly from the late 18th century onwards in the hands of different colonial authorities. This tendency became visible only after

---

[13] Narayanan, M.G.S. "The city of Honesty." Kunhali, V., ed. *op.cit.,* p.37.

the changing concern from trade oriented colonial relation to wider socio-political control with its own 'direct' governmentality[14]. The efforts of connecting the dispersed population to the city are seen in the colonial literature from 1820 onwards. The inclusion of this population was the result of the colonial interest to have a more structured urban population. The administrative literatures of various government departments, mainly public work and revenue are rich with the narrations of the 19th century Calicut city. Beyond the early formulated pagan terrain the advanced colonial stage realized the internal situation of the landscape of India in early 19th century. The imagined landscape was replaced with more visible settlement and agrarian centers. Pagan people were brought as the subjects of the British crown. How these 19th century government literatures narrate the emerging Calicut city should be examined on the basis of various colonial priorities. City surveys explore the specific life style, cultural forms, attitudes, etc. of the city. The human settlements which have been formed as a spin-off from social groupings, production, collection/accumulation and redistribution of resources were started to be categorised and classified according to different ethnographical and historical determinants. Among these, the spatial, micro and macro level categorization of different castes, religions and localities are worth mentioning. Here this study uses these sources to understand how the colonial ethnographic urban survey formulated the initial ideas behind the city and people. Large number of municipal corporation accounts on Calicut city and city population are seen in the district gazetteers from mid 19th century. The government literature on urban population per se is not utilised largely by any of the research works especially in studies of the cultural transformation of the traditional city population.

References to *angadis*/markets and *nagarams/*cities in colonial literature communicate spatial temporal and also historic importance. *Angadis* are not living spaces, but *nagarams* have spaces of living along with market spaces. We can locate a large number of bazaars/*angadis* in various parts of Malabar, but the numbers of *nagarams* are a few. The historically settled populations in *nagarams* created specific cultural forms in the life of Malabar. In Malabar the *angadis* or the *bazaars* were mainly occupied by Mappila traders. The Europeans clearly pointed out these specific 'Mappila bazars' from the 16th century onwards. The population in the *nagarams* of Malabar was always heterogeneous. The 1881 census report shows that three fifth

---

[14] Bayly, C.A. *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*. Vol. II. Part.1.1988. Cambridge: CUP, 2002. pp. 106-135. (In this book, chapter 4, "The consolidation and failure of the East India Company's sate, 1818-1857" gives this changing pattern of colonial relation in the 19th century).

of the population were Hindus and two fifth of the total population in *nagarams* were Mappilas/Muhammadans in Malabar. [15] Though in the early 16th century itself the colonial authorities made their presence in the coastal areas of the city, the Christian population was not increased considerably except the Anglican population. Historically, the Malabar Coast and the city of Calicut were occupied by a large Muslim population from 13th century onwards. The settlement centers of the Muslims in the coastal towns especially Cannanore, Tellicherry, Calicut and Ponnani created rich cultural landscapes in Malabar Coast. There were 'no less than 40 mosques in the town of Calicut' in the 1860s.[16] In Calicut city the early settlement centers were divided into different community hamlets. The majority of the Hindu population was located in the premises of the Talli temple and to the south of the city, mainly in Cheruvannur and Mankavu. The rest of the Hindu population was settled in Nadakkavu, the north east side of the city. The Muslim population was located in the coastal villages, but within the city they created a separate landscape of settlement in Kallayi and Kuttichira. M.G.S. Narayanan noted that the settlement in the city was divided in to two, south and south east was occupied by the native Hindu population and north was concentrated by the traders mainly Muslim population and Europeans. The Muslim population is equal to the Hindu population in Calicut. The majority of the Muslims were lower class Mappilas and the Hindus were lower caste Ezhavas. Importantly the sizable elite Muslim Koyas and the sizable non Brahmin elite Nairs in the Hindu community were settled in the 'proper' Calicut city. This particular type of ethnic, caste and community based compositions created a powerful diverse population in the city. Every community developed a peculiar life style in their own hamlets and all the hamlets were potentially powerful in their involvement in the city.

The placing of Calicut in the centre of Malabar district formed unique social and spatial cultural/power relations in the colonial period. Initially the maritime/commercial colonial presence was actively located in the northern Malabar headquarter, Tellicherry. Later the commercial and political shifting of headquarter to Calicut created wider political implication in the city space. The active colonial presence in the hinterlands of southern taluks of Malabar created powerful communication networks with the Calicut city headquarter. It developed a strong societal control system in the city from mid 19th century onwards. Apart from serving the

---

[15] Logan, William. *Malabar Manual.* Vol. II. *op.cit.,* p.cccxl.
[16] *Ibid.*

purpose of revenue, police and military administration, the communication networks enhanced the popular mobility of southern Malabar with the city/ town landscape especially since 1870s. The "floating population" in the cities of Malabar, mainly in Calicut city, increased in this period. The connection of Calicut city with Madras through the railway line and the construction of major district and taluk roads in the southern taluks enhanced interlinking of landscapes as well as the social conglomeration in the southern regions of Malabar. Various layers of social groups slowly migrated to Calicut city in this period, with objectives different from their earlier interests of trade and commerce.

The establishment of major government offices and institutions in the city of Calicut created a centrality of colonial power in the city narratives since 1860s. The colonial agencies' concentration in the city mainly through civil and judicial administration maintained the city as a centre reflecting dominant power relations. By the end of 1860s, the city of Calicut was elevated as the largest municipal town on the Western Coast in terms of its population and its volume of income and expenditure on "town improvement". The city then widened its boundary and added the suburban areas to the municipal administration. The rural population in the periphery of the city came under municipal governance and it further produced a framed city population.[17] A significant growth in educational institutions and literacy in the city is noted from this period onwards. This colonially centralised city slowly moved towards nationalist discourses in the early decades of the 20th century.

We can see a change in the relationship of British and their governmentality from 19th century, particularly in its second half. From this period onwards, the texts were formed for governmental discourses and administrative and policy implementations. After Francis Buchanan's text we can see a large number of discourses on East India Company's operations in Malabar. Most of these records are on two matters and issues – revenue collection and 'Mappila turbulence'. Malabar's annexation to Bombay and later to Madras Presidency in early 19th century marked a new turn in textual sources. Here onwards the centrality of colonial operation and the more 'sporadic' and 'sensitive' Mappila 'revolts' were reproduced through a wide variety of papers, both administrative and parliamentary. The shift of the head quarter of Malabar

---

[17] Up to the 1860s the city's population had included people of only three areas; Nagaram, Kasaba and Kacheri. After the constitution of the Municipality, the city widened to include the villages of Edakkad, Panniyankara, Valayanad and Kottuli.

to Calicut turned to a new textual tradition on both these matters. The coming of law educated upper castes mainly Nairs from Palakkad, Walluvanadu and Eranad taluks to the city in late 19th century brought a good number of land litigations and allied issues to the city discourses. Tenancy and matriliny among the upwardly mobile Nairs were the major debating issues of this period. District administrators also took part in this debate and it continued up to the end of 1930s. After the submission of William Logan's Malabar Special Commission Report 1881-82, British revenue officers started serious debates on the matters of Malabar tenancy. The government's request to submit comments over Logan's report generated hot debate on tenancy in the district capital Calicut and presidency Capital Madras. Both British and native judicial officers and civil servants put forward their comments and observations. Educated middle class actively involved in this debate. Judicial discourses and submissions of petitions/memorandums created a strong argumentative space in the upper layer of the city life. Petition writing became a prevalent occupation in Malabar connecting to the land litigations in late 19th century.[18] Along with that a sort of assertiveness for various rights was slowly become an integral part of the public life. Different from other *mofussils* of the Madras presidency the active involvement of upwardly mobile caste groups set the background for the dynamic public space in the Calicut city. Major issues of the district were not solved in this city; it always extended to the presidency capitals, mainly to high courts and legislative councils. The mobility of the upward castes to the Madras often makes the issues more pervasive. In short the various social problems of the people of the agrarian district were frequently appeared in the urban spaces for political and economic appeals and it continued up to many decades. As a result of this above said developments the Justice Party latter supported the initiatives of middle class people of Malabar in the Madras Legislative Council.

Colonial controlling of the living space of different social groups for revenue purposes made larger 'other' histories and cultures of 'subject' societies. The development of History and Ethnography as new subjects of social study in the 19th century reflected the colonial textual tradition in several ways. The colonially formulated and exercised categories like 'region' (village, town, taluk, district, etc.) and 'community' (native, indigenous, aboriginal, caste/tribe and religious, etc.) were not only used as an analytical tool but also as an implicational medium

---

[18] Yeatts, W.M. *op.cit.,* p.203.

for human research as part of a Eurocentric universal category and postcolonial theories and practice,[19] In the case of Malabar as an administrative unit of colonialism, the formulation of territorial understanding is very important for the whole other disciplinary enquiries. From a larger historical context, the external perceptions and understanding of a region or any landscape by travellers, traders, missionaries, antiquaries or administrators is significant in various aspects in cultural studies.[20] The process of revenue settlements from late 18th century onwards brought all settlement areas to different revenue units and these units were latterly converted for various socio-political interventions. Larger inhabited areas are recognized as 'towns' and subsequently implemented various policies for its improvement. The demarcation between the 'town' and 'village' was notified with clear specifications of sociological determinants and this spatiality was legalized under the colonial acts and rules. Separate rules and regulations were fixed for urban areas and the life of the towns confined under these rules.

The 19th century consolidation of British colonialism and its knowledge 'generation' and 'production' accounted the 'customs and manners' of the various castes/sub castes, tribes, and religious communities. Ethnography and its knowledge production and reproduction were significant for colonialism because they instituted representation as such in different ways.[21] The colonial state and its archives – repositories of cartographic, linguistic, ethnological, ethnographic, religious, economic and historical knowledge in various forms – have come to provide a crucial window for the construction of British dominance.[22] The colonial process of understanding and comprehending along with recording the indigenous forms of lived experiences and forms of physical/material representation underlie conceptual frameworks or guiding principles to make dominance on the 'other' people.

The colonial texts' methodological efforts to explain the origin of 'the people' of a coastal terrain rigorously derived their assumptions from the search of a 'self understanding' of

---

[19] Contemporary social science/humanities researches are extensively using the two categories, region and community for their research purposes. They formulate research models/ structures and questions based on this category. Depending upon the nature of study they are also using micro and macro categories like South Asia/Middle East, nation, continent or tribal, hut/villages etc.

[20] Ganesh, K.N. *op. cit.,* p.180.

[21] Goh, Daniel P. S. "States of Ethnography: Colonialism, Resistance, and Cultural Transcription in Malaya and the Philippines, 1890s–1930s." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49.1(2007): 111. Print.

[22] Ballantyne, Tony. "Archive, Discipline, State: Power and Knowledge in South Asian State." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 3.1 (2001): 89-90. Print.

the 19th century Enlightenment. Colonial approaches to different social systems and relations like the matrilineal system, caste system, social division, property ownership, etc., and their social and spatial unevenness made larger confrontations in their texts and its practice. But two things become problematic here, the 'objectivity' and the nature and methodology of the observer. The universalistic stigma against non-Europeans and the positivist rationality of the observer in 19th century as part of the project of 'modernity' produced a pervasive hypothesis about 'the people'. Along with the negation of the dynamism of the village society, they made ambivalent reactions to the different instances of social 'violence' across colonial time. The British authorities' rejection of the inherent cultural dynamism and consistency and inconsistency of social contracts created certain shortcoming in their overall social understanding. The reconstruction of the image from 'pagan Muslim' to 'barbaric' or 'fanatic' was seen in 19th century British writing. Portuguese constructed the 'pagan' image to identify the coastal urban Muslims and this was continued by Dutch and French people in 17th and 18th century. The coming of British generated new socio-community identification across India. In Malabar their relation with Muslims reconstructed the image of Mappilas as 'barbaric' and 'fanatic'. Throughout the 19th century British tried to define various community groups on the basis of ethnographic and historical features. From mid 19th century onwards British had started identifying the rural Mappilas as 'barbaric' and urban Mappilas as 'modern' within the context of Mappila riot.

The colonial surveys made a geographical fixation of the various spatial locations in the colonial regions. After the annexation of Malabar to Bombay Presidency and latter to the Madras Presidency following the Mysore war, British revenue authority initiated several survey and census operations in Malabar. Politically it was an effort to make a geography mainly political and revenue geography for the economic administration of the new regime. Bernard S Cohn writes:

> Upon the acquisition of each new territory, a new survey was launched, which went far beyond mapping and bounding to describe and classify the territory's zoology, geology, botany, ethnography, economic products, history, and sociology.[23]

---

23 Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996. p.7.

But on the other side these wider operations made larger ethnic and cultural implications in different regions. One of the main impacts is the integrations of various 'scattered' territories in to single political administration within the emerging new legal and revenue regime. The larger regions and micro localities here became the central concerns of the colonial policies, mainly the urban areas of the various districts of the presidency. Health, sanitation, roads and transport, etc. are initially addressed by the state. Here we can see the attempts of the state to frame mofussils in the various countryside regions from the early 19th century onwards to manage market or commercial centers and state capitals. Most of the harbour based market centers were identified as the mofussils and British subsequently constituted mofussil governing agencies to manage the day to day administration of the city life. The initial surveyors targeted to frame a map of the mofussils through the identification of the centre of the city, its markets, major settlement centers, political centers, revenue areas, etc. The narratives of the surveyors were a clear shift to the new state modalities. The 'survey modality' and its textual engagements are clearly a process of exploring the physical and social landscape of colonial India.[24] The framing of a locality to a mofussil was a more complicated process mainly because of the inclusion of various local societies to the integrated urban society. Strong demands for more urban amenities mainly from different caste and community groups eventually resulted in the more complex and distracted settings of urban issues. Ward and Corner's survey narrates:

> [Calicut] The capital altogether is extensive but much scattered, being divided into small estates. The Nuggarum or town consists of one very extensive street of Bazars about ¾ of a mile in length, some have upper stories, many narrow cross-streets lead from the main one. To the S. extending to the River is a dense population of Moplahs, with numerous mosques and Reservoirs scattered about. To the N.W. is the Flag staff and the Portuguese Town composed of a number of street with respectable built houses, considerably crowded. In its vicinity is a Roman Catholic Church, and a large Reservoir of water on the S. surrounded by Garden Houses of opulent Portuguese families.[25]

---

[24] Cohn, Bernard S, *op.cit.*
[25] Corner, and Ward. op.cit., pp.99-100.

The particular horizontal narration of the city and its suburban regions is clearly an effort to identify the specific nature of the city of Calicut in the early decades of the 19th century. Unlike Francis Buchanan, here the surveyors slowly tried to empirically estimate the margins of the city with its specific landmarks. Settlements of various social groups in the city space, physical boundaries, nature of the city, major worship centers, governmental and military points, etc. are portrayed in this narration. One of the main things is that slowly a new political centre is marked through the emerging power relations. On the other side, the colonial institutionalisation created various apprehensions in the local society. The earlier supremacy of the Nairs and Koyas was declined and new social groups especially Tiyyas got economic space in the city. The local history narrative on the economic prosperity of the Madathil family shows that they attained this wealth through the trade supervision of the Calicut port after the decline of the Zamorins.[26] The surveys did not try to mark the old Zamorins capital city especially it did not give us any descriptions of the material remaining of their palace. It simply narrates the entity of the political capital of Zamorin as: "a Palace of one of the Samory Rajah's is worthy of notice, is a modern building".[27] Apart from this the survey is an effort to fix the various human settlements according to new trigonometric measurement for the British regime. Through the settlement reports we could find the picture of the material remaining of the old fort and palace of Zamorins only in the early 20th century. It is clear that British did not give much attention to the continuation of the medieval legacy of the Zamorins. But the British surveyors were very meticulous in identifying the Portuguese centers of the city including their town, flag staff, church, prison, houses, etc. The British efforts to bring the differential caste and community groups in to the new judicial and governance discourse raised tensions between the state and its new subjects. In Calicut the new state regime addressed the community wise enclaves of various caste and religious groups; at the same time they did not take any interest in the opening of new common community space to break the enclaves. In the meantime Puthiyangadi, northern periphery of the city, became a new settlement centre by linking East Hill. Most of the colonial conceptualization of urban amenities often reaches to the conclusion of the problems of settlement pattern of the various social groups. Improvement of the urban health and sanitation were the major agenda of the city administration. City administration operated their activities for

---

[26] Puthukudi, Gangadaran. *Kozhikode: Pattanapradeshangallile Avaasakendrangalku Chuttum: Oru Pradeshika Vamozhi Charithram.* Kozhikode: privately published, 2014. p. 399.
[27] Corner, and Ward. *op.cit.,* p.196.

sanitation mainly through Basel Mission volunteers and various wealthy urban classes. Poverty among the city people was noticed by the Mission especially among fishermen community and urban wanderers. Encouragement of modern education, supply of food grains and providing employment opportunity to various backward sections were the major activities of the Mission in the city under the new regime. Government agencies directly extended support to the Mission activities and also government recommended the major European and native companies to provide financial support to the mission's activities in the city.

The presidency administrations as part of the general perception of the urban growth of the 19th century within the situation of industrial revolution pushed the colonial district authorities to make survey of the 'improvement' possibility of various towns in colonial regions. One of the major constraints is that they confined their survey of the town to the adjacent areas of the fort and district headquarters. The abundant revenue survey reports of the first three decades of 19th century of Malabar showcase the archives of the facts and figures of the various taluks like many other districts. These reports give the picture of market centers/bazars of the different taluks along with larger narration of agrarian revenue consideration. Even if it is not a genre of particular writing, form and style, the archives of survey literatures are greatly valuable because of its content. At the same time the absence of a particular text on any small cities is seen all over India in the 19th century. Most of the narratives on small cities are seen in the general descriptions of the towns of the presidency districts in the survey sources. A category of memoirs are seen which cover the development of the major urban centers like Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. The image of the city in the narratives always represents a distinctive spatial location different from the villages. Here the survey literatures mainly attempted to locate the major settlement and commercial centers of the region.

From mid 18th century onwards consequent to the Mysorean invasion to Malabar the centrality of the political and economic command of Calicut city is declined. Zamorins' suzerainty over various *nadus* was declined and the rulers of the sub-regional principalities were transformed as land lords. The 19th Century political and economic changes are crucial in the transformation of the narratives on Malabar in general and Calicut in particular. The attainment of political dominance over the larger part of southern India by the East India Company changed the entire political and cultural landscape of this vast region. Various principalities of the

northern Kerala were integrated under the newly formed Malabar district and started to create a new power relation within the terrain. The centrality of the power in the city of Calicut was declined and Tellichery, northern city in Malabar, became the head quarter of the Company and the centre of the colonial administration for another few decades. The city of Calicut was absented from most of the narratives both in native and foreign accounts for more than half century. On the other hand these political changes largely supported the rejuvenation of the declining Tellichery city. The royal regime of Zamorins was declined and the colonial state structures got its presence in different forms. Even though the royal family performed different politically important functions like Ariyittuvazhcha, Revathi Pattathanam, etc. after Tipu's defeat, its political importance was diminished. Even when the Mysorean regime was thrown out, the Zamorins did not restart the Mamankam festival in 19th century. Through the Joint Commissioners' revenue settlement Zamorins agreed the East India Company supremacy and became the biggest land tax payer of the new state. The East India Company absolutely refused the demand of the restoration of land and political power to the Zamorins. Even if some dissent was aroused within the royal family against this decision, the British had completely overthrown all these protests and controlled them through the *malikhana*. Apart from these changes in the political scenario the 'city of spices' lost its importance in international trade networks and subsequent industrial trades. In short we can say that Calicut lost its importance in political and commercial sphere. The numbers of the foreign traders were steadily come down and the new state bureaucracy formed a structure of bounded city administration.

The visualization of the new state about the city is subtly different from medieval traders and native rulers. As centers of trade and major political and economic affairs, voyagers visualised cities as spaces of larger diverse economic and cultural activities. For the colonial state, 'principal towns' are the centers of revenue administration and the judicial and district headquarters. One thing is very clear that the changing colonial priority from trade surplus to land revenue largely changed the perspectives of the colonial authority over the colonial regions. From the first half of 19th century onwards the colonial efforts focused on the narratives of the interconnections of various micro regions to the Calicut city via roads and later railways. Here from this period onwards the port/harbour based influence of the Calicut city slowly reduced and the city emerged as the centre of larger colonial political and cultural control over different social groups and resources.

After the 1857 Rebellion and its political changes the 'spices province' was configured in to a structured political district under the new British regime. The Mappila insurgencies from the mid 19th century onwards centered on the city head quarters of Calicut. Perceiving the city through the newly emerging priorities created new set of order and disciplines within the city. Colonial district administration tried to define the cities and absorbed various sections of population to the newly created municipal space. The presidency administration mainly focused to connect the major areas of the presidency town with Calicut from early part of 19th century itself. Even prior to that Mysore rulers had made initial engagements for the same. It accelerated a new direction for population movement to the city. Simultaneously the presidency authority tried to control the entire region through the head quarter in the city. The existing roads in other taluks of Malabar slowly became major roads in the district and connected to the city. Roads from Thamarassery to Mukkam, Balussery to Koyilandy and Kondotty to Calicut channelized new trade and commerce and labour mobility to the city. People from neighboring villages of the city and taluks moved to Calicut. New set of enclaved settlement and commercial centers emerged. Various development projects mainly in the Public Works made a new face to the colonial Calicut. The city was well connected to all taluk head quarters, other nearby districts and the presidency head quarter. Most of the Taluk Roads were connected to the city. The East India Company took special interest to connect Mysore with the city through Wayanad Ghat Road. Besides Ghat Roads the Coast Roads in different taluks were also connected to the city. Importantly in late 19th century Madras railway opened its routes to Calicut. The construction of Rail bridges over Kallai, Feroke and Kadalundi extended the city to the northern portion of the Eranad taluk. William Logan notes that the coast road from Calicut to the extreme north of the district accelerated the military support to the city and across the district.[28] Mainly two major trades changed the domestic economy of the city, i.e. Timber and rice. Opening of the Conolly Canal in the mid 19th century boosted the volume of trade. The fertile river bank of Kallai in the southern part of the city became one of the major settlement centers of Calicut. Municipality took an initiative to start a new market in the heart of the city in early 20th century. The areas near to Palayam and Kllayi roads were converted to commercial activities.

---

[28] Logan, William. *Malabar Manual*. Vol.I. *op.cit.,* p.66.

A new set of civilization logic started influencing the city. The Evangelical activities of Protestant German Missionary groups influenced the city and its suburban areas from mid 19th century onwards. From early 19th century onwards the arrival of the foreigners mainly Arabs and Chinese were completely halted. Europeans mainly British people and other few missionary agencies had started to settle in the city. The first and larger foreign people Arabs totally disappeared from the city. Evangelical missionaries played an unavoidable role in education, industry, social reform activities, etc. Initially they worked at Tellichery with the support of the East India Company. The Mission activities were started in Calicut in 1842 by the request of the government. They gave more importance to start schools with native languages especially Malayalam and Tamil. Schools were opened in south of the city, Kallai and Annassery. District officials were actively involved in the Mission activities. Subsequently they built their Mission Centre in the Puthiyara area of Kariankunnu. Without much delay the Basel Mission Church was built in front of the Mananchira tank in 1855. Their activities were widened; they built girl's school, poor home, etc. in the city. The Mission started carpenter's shop, tile factories, weaving units, etc. Their huge buildings within the city and its outskirts and their new type of work culture marked a novel social life in the city. Tiyyas were the major beneficiary group of their intervention across Malabar.

Slowly from 19th century onwards a new city terrain emerged with colonial administrative units. District Magistrate Office (Kachery), District Police Office, jail/prison buildings, hospitals, leprosy and lunatic asylums, army barracks, public grounds and meeting places like halls and clubs, etc. were built and governed by the new regime. Large number of new orders were circulated and exercised by the new authority. The new state regime prepared a dozen district gazetteers of various aspects of the district administration. The new 'governmental' literatures from 1858 to 1956 tried to figure out the city landscape at large in the policy discourses. Abundant references to the city show the sequences of the material development and demographic transitions. The more emphasizes on public works mainly in the civil works clearly portrayed the expansion mainly the widening of the city to its peripheral villages. The colonially designed Nagarum Village was slowly merged with other habitational areas and further integrated into the city. The reconfiguration of the city as a Municipal Town under Madras Municipal Act paved the way for larger governmental investment and new patterns of revenue accumulation process.

From late 19th century onwards the narratives on the city clearly marked the modern Calicut with its numerous governmental units. The whole city's institutional structure became more multifaceted and institutionalized. The early 19th century 'reform' priorities of the British officers were shifted to the larger 'welfare' priorities. District Collectors like Henry W. Conolly, William Logan, etc. were the pioneers of the new initiatives. The discussions on the matters of slavery, un-touchability, women education, etc. were replaced by construction of canals, roads, bridges, railway, sanitation, education, etc. The census operations of some specific regions and its villages and towns and later the decennial census from 1871 onwards made a clear picture of the whole socio-economic conditions of the various towns and villages. The census details of Calicut city explain the transformation of a new urban population to larger civic sense and urban potentiality since mid 19th century comparing to the towns of Madras Presidency. Colonial authority categorizes the town and village units for preparing the indices of terrain based social and economic conditions. The vertical process of classification or categorization of the subject people of colonialism from above to below, establishes a 'systematic' hierarchical cultural 'otherness' and 'sizable information production' in different colonial societies in 19th and 20th centuries. Along with the classification of above to below, the attempt to categorize within each division is also another part of this. Even though the colonial authority's social engineering negated larger social contradictions in the colonized society, like class, region and even caste for the construction of more 'exact' and 'clear' religious community division, the region specific schemes and programmes generated an ambiguous notion of the larger human settlement centers. The colonial agencies identified coastal terrain as a centre of fish curing and utilized this terrain for the social upliftment of the various fishing communities through missionary activities. At the same time they categorically declined the possibility of extending fishing villages to the major town areas even in the early part of 20th century.

The specific settlement pattern of the Malabar people had got larger interest among the English scholar administrators of the 19th century. Most of the literatures are curiously trying to explain the distribution of houses of the different caste and community groups in the villages and towns. They narrated the style of the streets, buildings of urban dwellers and types of the market products, etc. They assumed that the caste and its sense of purity determined the specific pattern of settlement centers in Kerala coast including towns. The distribution of houses, temples and other buildings always display the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the locality and its

people. In the wetlands and garden areas the nature of settlement pattern and their housing pattern are different from each other. Similarly the distribution of settlement hamlets is exclusive in many senses in coastal area and major towns. Apart from the literatures of the initial survey and settlement reports of early 19th century, substantial accounts on the social geography of various villages and towns of the Malabar region are available from late 19th century onwards. In the case of towns the social geography is classified on the basis of the distribution of different caste and community groups within the city. Caste based social settlements and non caste based hamlets were also seen in the city of Calicut in the 19th century. The socially influential Nair caste was the dominant and influential groups in the city along with a good number of *ambalavasis.* The socially and culturally elite Brahmans and a potential number of Nair population constitute one third of the total population of the city. The Muslims and other Christian and English population along with upper caste Hindus confined the rest of the population. The non Malayali population like Gujarati, Konkanani and Tamil are also counted. Construction of bridges over Beypore and Kallayi rivers, the opening of railway line and the transportation facility of Conolly Canal accelerated the movement of population to the city and other parts of the region. People involved in trade and commerce created a separate living space in medieval period. The fishing population (*mukkuvas)* lived in the dense coastal villages of the towns. The disbursed pattern of Tiyya and Vidya castes was an important feature of Calicut. Elite Mappilas (Koyas) were confined in the Kuttichira area. The opening of industries brought a sizable Tiyya and Mappila labour force to the city. But it did not create any separate living space and instead it brought about a number of inter-caste and intercommunity living space in the city. Some of the major joint stock companies like Peirce Leslie and Aspin Wall along with German Missionaries (BEM) and native entrepreneurs made several industrial investments in the city and its suburban areas. From Feroke to Puthiyangadi, south to north, in the western side of the Calicut taluk, a new social and economic landscape was developed within the logic of changing urban priorities. A sizable number of population was lived in and around of various factory units. The most striking factor is that the industrial units absorbed large chunk of untouchable labour mainly Tiyas and Cherumas and they got a chance to get in to the evolving public sphere. Basel Mission mainly made industrial investment to accommodate the converted lower class Hindus to Christianity. Mappilas and other backward social groups also got opportunity in the industrial units and it paved the way for new secular and liberal space of interaction and engagements of

different social groups. On the other hand the growth of cash crop cultivation, its economy and new industrialization supported the non Brahman caste groups to attain more economic opportunity. In the public life the middle class population became one of the influential social groups in the city. A new set of educated middle class emerged in the various urban areas of the district. Most of them were engaged in legal practices and other land revenue affairs of the state. These classes slowly started to settle in the cities and take part in the new socio-cultural life of the urban areas and build up powerful networks of their own castes and classes. In the latter part of the 19th century we can find numerous educated native people in the city. Cultural spaces for reading, performance, exhibitions, meetings, parties, etc. were opened and maintained by the municipal authorities. From the mid 19th century onwards the Mappila insurgences in the southern taluks of the district especially after the planned murder of the then District Collector Lieutenant Henry Valentine Conolly in the Collector's Bungalow at West Hill by Mappila rebels changed the colonial responses over the city and their policies. They categorically tried to arbitrate various community groups to maintain peace and security of the state and subservient citizen. New forms of political tensions were emerged in the district as a result of Mappila insurgences and the government tried to forcefully suppress this rebellion. After the long chaos of Mysore invasion this Mappila insurgencies created wider tensions in the district. But in the city a new sense of community reaction was evolved against the 'violence' within the context of British interventions in the Muslim community.

The centrality of three government offices, judicial, police and revenue, in the city results in the larger institutionalization of the modern city life. The working of the city as the head quarter of the district made it as a centre of various establishments. The Collector's Office, the District and Session Court and the Office of the District Superintendent of Police were built in the surrounding areas of the old Zamorin's Rajadhani. The British also constructed a small new curved capital city around the Mananchira tank and *maidan* (open field). Other major government establishments like, the District Medical and Sanitary Office, the office of the Executive Engineer, the Telegraph Office, Post Office, Government College and School, Registrar Office, Town Hall, the Madras Bank, CSI Church, Basel Mission enterprises, mussaferkhana and bungalow, Pallayam Palli, etc. are distributed around these. We have no references on the rationale of the new urban designs, but we can see that the distributions of the offices are the clear political plan of the British to control the city. The Town Improvement Act

of 1865 backed the new designing of the city even though this Act considered the city's complex medieval/non European historical legacy. British also set up their other buildings like army barracks and collector's bungalows etc. in the high area of the eastern side and named it as East Hill. Security, hygiene, isolation, etc. are the determining factors of this selection. They deliberately built the lunatic and leprosy asylum far from the nucleus of the city and outer to the Conolly Canal for the concerns of safety. The most important thing is that government declared the extension of the city in to various suburban areas without any proper extension plan. The earlier limited boundary of the city was extended to the various suburban localities having no urban features. Areas of Valayanad, Edakkad and Kottulli were added to the city. Simultaneously Conolly Canal accelerated communication between areas of Kallai and Elatur rivers and trade and cultural communication between the regions of Badagara and Beypore. Along with commercial activity the accessibility of the city was extended to Kurumbranadu taluk areas with the opening of the Conolly Canal. In the case of Calicut the 'deurbanisation' process was not happened, but at the same time the harbour based commercial importance of the city was collapsed and it sustained its importance as a capital township of the district. Similar to Surat the city had grown up as a nucleus of the various British institutions in late colonial time. The larger colonial institutional centrality evacuates the political and commercial legacy of the Zamorins and Arabs in the city. It is important to note that not a single city has developed in Malabar as a result of colonialism. All the cities which later developed as municipal towns were already identified as major port towns in medieval period. The social relation which formed mainly through the exports of natural resources was transformed in to the relation through processed agro based export products. The efforts to shape new sort of cultural forms to rationalize the colonial urbanization were seen throughout the 19th century.

One thing we can easily say is that Calicut gradually became a full-fledged colonial city with its numerous institutional operations and various colonial modalities. Being a colonial city it internally tried to mould some specific cultural ways to locate its history and present in the changing social and economic conditions. The long medieval overseas trade and colonial rule transformed the present city terrain into a more vibrant city population. It had not created any associated hinterland trade centre as a result of medieval and colonial influence. The modern city is located and slowly extended in the old medieval port and its surroundings only. Also the native population tried to break number of its social customs because of the colonial and other

interventions from late 19th century onwards. The growing presence of newly educated population and increasing number of new working classes are the initial forces of the socio-cultural changes in the city. The important side is to locate how the modern education and new labour work within the various caste and communities and how far each communities attained the power to intervene in the changing social life. The changes among Nairs, Mappilas and Izhava populations are also visible in the cultural changes of the city under the 'colonial modernity'. The attempts to gain predominant role in the city space led to number of open contestation between communities and state. Through the publication of *Mitawati* in 1913 Tiyyas openly started addressing various caste and public issues and posing their own criticism to various matters. Subsequently the publication of *Mathrubhumi* in 1923 gave a platform to Nairs to address their problems in 1920s and 30s in the context of tenancy reform movements. The state interventions for the material changes mainly threw away some of the backwardness of the sub localities. But within the municipal area the wider socio-cultural demands led to the initial cultural contestation in the city among various communities. The archival records of the demands of various communities are clear example for this. The responses of the other caste and communities and the state to this show that the contestations were not only among educated middle class but at large it was a beginning of new argumentative space within the city under the colonial logic and reasons.

The colonialism had not made any serious challenges over the spatial nature of the major community centers and also it did not develop a composite settlement center in the city. The situation of the divided settlements of various communities resulted in the absence of community alienation in the late 19th century. The Muslim hamlet Kuttichira, Nair dominated Chalappuram, and Brahmin dominated Tali remained in their same form and new disbursed settlement centers came with a composite community culture. In the case of Calicut the first set of open debate between the Nairs and Brahmins was started with the issues of the tenancy and marriage reforms. The towns of the district became a centre of contestation of various communities and number of persons began to appear before courts and commissions to present these issues. Even though the tenancy was not a central issue in the case of Calicut taluk, the leaders of the different tenant organizations from southern taluks worked inside the city and made dialogue with the sate and emerging civil society. The situation after the prolonged Mappila insurgences resulted in the constitution of number of Enquiry Commissions on the tenancy issues of Malabar district from

the end of 1850 onwards. Most of the Commissions interacted with the *kanakkar* (intermediaries) and *janmis* (land lords) and communicated with the state agencies in the city. This is the beginning of a new set of interaction in the district between the state and its elite subjects for certain 'reforms' in the socio-economic life. Though the city population did not directly participate in these debates it attracted a number of educated middle class in to the milieu of city life. The judicial space and developing state bureaucracy absorbed a number of people to the city. These changes evolved a powerful argumentative middle class hegemonic population. The vernacular literary culture clearly shows their presence in the public domain from late 19th century onwards.

We can locate two types of features of the emerging middle class; they were very conscious about the issues of colonial land revenue and tenancy problems and at the same time they were not much aware of the changing urban culture especially about the liberal public space. The linking of the Palghat taluk and Calicut city to the presidency head quarter accelerated the mobility of the newly educated sections to this place and also to the other major cities in India. The movement of Madhavan, an ICS Nair officer in a Malayalam novel *Indulekha* by Chandu Menon, to various urban areas is a clear example of this mobility. The upper caste Madhavan escapes into the city spaces and finds urban people to engage in possible interactions for his own aspiration. Even though Madhavan realizes the complexities of larger colonial exercises and its own rationality he tries to compromise to involve in the colonial space. In the late 19th century the colonial shaping of a middle class educated urban section and its space absolutely negated its forward mobility. Most of the law educated Nairs in the Palakkad and Walluvanad taluks preferred Madras or other major cities for the practice of law considering better pay and other professional benefits. Some of them even wished to go to London for the same. The migration to the metropolis became a major socio cultural exercise for Nairs.[29] Existing scholarship on colonial ethnography and anthropology reveals the 'interest' and 'practice' of British administration in city particularly they argue the liberal transformations of the urban population. But the internal contradictions mainly among educated sections towards the colonial policies show the larger internal rivalry between Nairs and Brahmins and Nairs and Tiyyas. This contestation was not limited to different caste groups and it was seen between the

---

[29] Menon, Dilip M. "Becoming 'Hindu' and 'Muslim': Identity and Conflict in Malabar 1900 – 1936." Working Paper No.225. Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, January 1994. p. 7.

Tiyyas and Mappilas in the city. Dilip M Menon argued that 'urban rivalries' were seen in Malabar.[30] He noted that "As Tiyyas began to move into urban areas, three areas of conflict emerged. The first related to the acquisition of land in the towns of Tellicherry and Cannanore which led to a struggle between these two prospering groups for urban space…". He points out the second sphere of conflict in the field of commerce. "…Tiyya entrepreneurs had begun to set up weaving factories, brick and tile industries and sawmills. In 1909 C. Krishnan founded the Calicut Bank which financed a wide range of activities; from loans to professionals and merchants to money for the setting up of tea shops and stalls"[31]. Dilip M. Menon explains how this situation goes to conflicts in the city.

> By 1915, observers had begun to remark on the growing spirit of commercial jealousy between the Tiyya and Mappilas, as the latter found their monopoly over urban commerce and money lending gradually being undercut by nascent Tiyya elite. With increasing employment opportunities in the towns, there was a migration of lower castes from the villages to work in the factories being set up in the towns … there was yet another sphere where there was an emerging conflict between Tiyyas and Mappilas. Just as Tiyyas had begun to encroach on the commercial monopoly of the Mappilas, the latter began to dismantle the Tiyya monopoly in the toddy trade. The profession of liquor extraction and distribution was coming under attack from temperance campaigners.[32]

We know that the new trends in cultural studies open new possibilities to understand and undertake various readings and studies relating to the particularities of the changing nature of the spatial temporal dimensions of human culture. How the 20th century celebrated liberal city society got its initial shape under the colonial modernity and its numerous institutions should be examined critically with specific objectives of exploring the sequential changes of the cultural space of city terrain. The conscious effort to trace the murderers of the then district collector Conolly in the city forced the British to depend on city Muslims to alienate the anti state elements and to maintain proper peace and security. As a result the Muslims openly came against the murder and attacked the 'heinous' murderers of Conolly. They published pamphlets against

---

[30] Menon, Dilip M. *op.cit.,* p. 7.
[31] *Ibid*. p.8.
[32] *Ibid.*

the murderers, thoroughly 'searched' for the culprits and expressed deep solidarity with the state. The elements of any sort of 'violence' were rejected through the community platform in the city by the British. For that they maintained a 'cordial' relation with the different caste and community organisations. The binary representation of 'orderly' city Muslims and 'turbulent' rural Muslims created an ideal citizen concept and sociological formulations of the wise urban Muhammadan in the late 19th century city discourses. It eventually formulated a hypothesis of an entirely different city Muslim population and later in the 1920s the same formulations were widely circulated in the British policy discourses. The construction of an obedient Muslim citizen of the state within the historical and cultural specificities integrated multiple issues of class, region, community, religion, education, etc. The approaches to urban Muslims within the norms of western frameworks of modern citizens open further complication in representing non-western societies.

These British conceptualizations ultimately led to various nuances in the later state formation in 20th century. The Muslim protests from isolated 'insurgences' to collective 'resistances' against British governmentality under nationalist platform refigured the 'nature' of the 'turbulent' region and people in Malabar in 19th and 20th centuries. The early nationalist approaches, mainly K. Madhavan Nair's writings on Mappila rebellion, tried to locate how, in the rural conditions, not only economic conditions but also the 'ignorance' of the village Mappilas led to a massive revolt in various parts of the two Mappila dominated southern taluks of the districts. Leaders like Muhammad Abdu Rahiman, M.P.Narayana Menon, etc. rejected the argument of 'village ignorance' and instead they tried to formulate an alternate reason of the British failure in addressing the rural livelihood of the Mappila peasantry and they distinctively located the city Muslims and their traditional dwelling pattern and community structure. Since then the relations of Mappilas with other communities in rural areas and cities got a space at least in the 'nationalist Muslim' discourses of the 20th century Malabar. The formation of Muslim League (ML) in most of the cities again created two types of the livid Muslim representations. In short the effort for exploring the interconnection between colonialism and community representation in the city and villages, region and community and representation and reality lead us to the understanding of the representations of a same community in different terrains in different historical times.

The changes in the matrilineal family system and socio-economic relations among Nairs in the city created a new family order in one of the major caste groups. These changes among educated Nairs in the city and its vicinity supported the forming of a new family order mainly in marriage, property ownership, etc. The bigger *taravadus* in the city were fragmented and in their place, there formed new small households and organised community bases by integrating small family units through rituals and worships. They were identified as the most literate people in the district in the early part of the 20th century. Along with new middle class formation, the city also accommodated a sizable number of migrant educated Nair people.

In short the representation of Calicut under urban reconfiguration clearly shows the transformation of the city in the 19th century. The elevation of the city as a district head quarter transformed the nature of the medieval trade city to a secretarial capital and this shift had its impact on the existing caste/community fabric of the city. Along with these the image of the city as a 'harbor town' changed to a proper *nagaram* of its present day meaning in the popular consciousness.

CHAPTER IV

Emergence of Public Space and the Making of the Identity of the 'Kozhikodan'

This chapter tries to locate how the specific identity of the 'Kozhikodan' comes to the central discourses in the public domain of Malayalees. The special recognition about the city's population, their food and clothing, family and social life, ethical and value aspects, etc. would be looked through the lens of a cultural exploration of the city's people. Various forms of representational mediums are needed to be explored to analyze these changes. When we debate over the specific ethical side of the people in Calicut, it leads us to their liberal and social ethical values, and this chapter will bring into focus that too. The specific identity of the various city societies are evolved through many socio-cultural and political processes. This identity is associated with diverse ethnic and lifestyle pattern of the composition of the people. The framing of the particular representation of a set of people is seen in the case of Kozhikode from 1920s onwards through numerous narratives of 'outsiders', native newspapers and other periodicals. From 1970s onwards the usage of 'Kozhikodan' was seen in most of the literary and visual discourses.

Urban theories and conceptualisations enlarged the understanding of different cities' socio-cultural systems in the last few decades. Various critical questions have been raised on the diverse forms of the city apparatus by theoreticians. How the imagination of *grāma* and *nagara* came into cultural discourses along with social transformations is needed to be looked through the memory of various social groups in the 20th century. The role of colonial policies in making the public space is also wanted to be considered here. When we look in to the case of Kerala, the longer coastal line and natural harbours created a number of sizable coastal townships through several centuries. One of the important features of the urban formation of Kerala history is that we can't find larger townships anywhere in Kerala and instead of that there evolved a pattern of sporadic distribution of villages and its connected towns in different geographical areas. Modern economists had coined a term 'rurban' to define this phenomenon.[1] Major medieval urban centers were transformed into municipal towns in the colonial time. Each city, its socio-economic transformation and ethnic compositions developed specific city urban characteristics in

---

[1] Ramachandran, V.K. "On Kerala's Development Achievements." *India's Development: Selected Regional Perspectives.* Eds. Jean Dre'ze and Amartya Sen. Delhi: OUP, 1997. p.210.

the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. The shifting of the medieval trade/exchange centers to major settlement areas, industrial and commercial areas and political and cultural centers is seen in the latter part of the 19th century. Places like Kannanore, Tellicherry, Calicut, Cochin, Aleppey, Quilon, etc. became the major centers of numerous political movements especially of the protests of industrial workers, peasants, students and teachers. In the case of Calicut, the city is located in the central part of the Malabar district and shares a larger area of ghat lands and dense forests in the eastern side and seashore of the Arabian Sea. In the mid 19th century itself the city was crowded with various government offices like District Collector's Office, District Board Office, District Forest Office, District Treasury, District Board Engineer's Office, District Superintendent of Police, Telegraph Office, Post Office, Port Office, Superintendent of Customs, District Registrar Office, Municipality, etc. Along with large number of government offices the city was housed with lunatic and leper asylums, district jail, district hospital, etc. Basel Mission churches and industrial units were also distributed in the centre of the city. The opening of the District Court in the late 19th century brought all the civil judicial discourses of the various regions of the district to the city. The Town Improvement Act of 1866 strictly framed the boundary of the city and put forward the central objectives of the newly constituted municipal bodies. To a larger extent it made a new definition to the city landscape and identified visible municipal population in the city. The Town Improvement Act and formation of Municipal Council resulted in the institutionalization of the emerging civic sense. Initially the area of municipality was measured as 28.23 sq. km. Further it extended to 29.26 sq. km. in 1941. The process of the making of city map is more interesting from 1947 to 1956. Russi Khambatta, a well known architect prepared the first master plan for the city in the period 1957-62. Following the new master plan of the city the hundred year old Municipality was converted to the Municipal Corporation in 1950s. The process after the 1866 Town Improvement Act drew a new boundary between the eastern and southern side of the city. The west is clearly marked by the Western Coast of Arabian Sea. On the east the boundary was marked from Karaparambu to Kakkodi bridge and its intersection with Calicut to Tamarassery Road. The Road to the Canolly Canal divided the Komeri *desam* from Valayanad *amsam*. The watercourse from the northern boundary of the Valayanad *desam* extended to the south of the Pokkunnu Hill. River Kallai is marked as the southern boundary of the Valayand *amsam*. After this the city was extended to

Panniyankara *amsam*. The specific nature of the identification of 'Kozhikodan' is largely connected to this historical geography and its diverse settlements.

The specific features of Calicut city, its location, population, nature of social interactions, multiculturalism, absorption of inter-regional understanding, etc. are important aspects to understand the narratives on 'Kozhikodan'. Here we want to explore the growth of the particular life style of a city society. This should emphasis the molding of a certain set of values and ethics of a larger habitat through the centuries. Apart from the nature of life style, here the way of life comprises various aspects of the socio-cultural responses of the people towards individual factors to larger issues and it is also not limited to the certain forms of reactions of the people and instead it tries to make correlation between the coexistence of the different caste and community groups. These efforts will explore the spatial and temporal factors of the historical evolution of a separate identity of the whole city society. The contemporary discourses on the 'Kozhikodan' are started since early decades of the 20th century within the shaping of the more plural urban population in the city. Apart from the existing native population the larger presence of new settlers in the city made a concrete urban population. The native population was blocked in the separate localities and newly arriving population built a bridge to the number of other areas of the city. The extension of the railway to the Calicut city brought a sizable number of populations to the city from the southern taluks and other parts of the principalities of Cochin and Travancore. Also the opening of tile factories in the areas of the southern side led to the development of the city to the south west part of the Calicut taluk.

The establishment of various government offices and institutions in the city of Calicut created a centrality of colonial power in the city since 1860s. The colonial agencies' concentration in the city mainly through civil and judicial administration maintained the city as a centre reflecting dominant power relations. By the end of 1860s, the city of Calicut was elevated as the largest municipal town in the Malabar Coast in terms of its population and its volume of income and expenditure on "town improvement". The city then widened its boundary to include the suburban areas of Calicut. The rural population in the periphery of the city came under municipal governance and it further produced a framed city population. A significant growth in educational institutions and literacy in the city is noted from this period onwards. This colonially centralised city slowly moved towards nationalist discourses in the early decades of the 20th

century. From 1930 onwards, Calicut slowly transformed as a powerful centre of national movement in Malabar and thereby it attracted many educated nationalist leaders of Congress, Socialist and Muslim League. Simultaneously major towns and market centers of Malabar became the centre of nationalist movement. The particular composition of Calicut as a centre of upper caste Congress leaders, educated elite Muslim League leaders and also Socialist leaders slowly configured the city as a space of communication between the community and civil society. This was a rare picture in the whole presidency that the emerging city politics was divided into three major groups. Major caste groups and other social groups were politicized under various political parties. Interestingly this emerging city public space prevented the coming of identity politics of the anti Brahman movements and Hindu Mahasaba. Secular public space was asserted and highlighted by the socialist dominated nationalist movement. The emergence of Muslim League in the city in the 1930s was critically addressed by the key nationalist leaders like Muhammad Abdurahman, Moidu Maulavi, etc. At some point of time Congress and ML contested against each other not only in elections but both of them fought to establish their political positions. Also socialists and communists jointly worked with a section of Congress leaders against the position of the official Congress to various issues. Even though a unit of Arya Samajam was formed after the outbreak of Mappila Riot for reconverting the converted Hindus; it did not develop as a major institution in the city.[2] Socialist led nationalists shifted the whole debates on the chaos of Mappila riot to more people centric political discourses. At the same time the city started charitable activity culture through the opening of orphanages by accommodating the orphan children of the Mappila riot.[3] In short a powerful argumentative public space had emerged in the city in the early part of the 20th century.

City is often defined as a group of different types of market centers and settlement centers of various sections of people. Dwelling places, religious spaces and economic centers of each community have been scattered in specific patterns. Their everyday life is the integral part of the city. It has been usually branded as the distinctive quality of the city. Apart from looking at a larger category of 'city culture' the study of different cultures of the city provides various

---

[2] Washburn, Dennis, and A. Kevin Reinhart, eds. *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology and Transformation of Modernity.* Leiden: Brill, 2007. p. 387.

[3] The establishment of JDT as an orphanage in 1922 marked the starting of rehabilitation for the orphan children of the Mappila riot. It got wider support from various corners of Muslim community. It supported a culture of institutionalised charitable activity in Calicut and further led to the opening of similar institutions in the city.

undercurrents of the cultural changes of any city. The larger geography is not representing the different cultural forms. Here city is an amalgamation of various historical micro localities. The historical background of all micro localities communicates different cultural patterns across the city landscape. The patterns of dwelling and their own reciprocal exchanges are the central aspects. Intercommunity living and sharing of the resources are the central features of the day to day life of the people of Calicut and it was the background feature of the identity of the 'Kozhikodan'.

Kallayi, a small town and one of the historic Muslim settlements, is well connected to the city via the road which starts from Palayam Junction in the centre of old Kozhikode, the southern edge of Zamorin's old Rajadhani. The first junction towards the south is Pushpa Junction which connects to Mankavu on the east and Kuttichira Beach on the west. The demographic distribution and settlement pattern of the east and west of the Kallai town are important in many ways. The western side includes the areas of thickly Muslim populated Thekkepuram consisting Kuttichira, Idiyangara, Kundungal, etc. This area is occupied by the elite Koyas of Mappila community. On the other hand the eastern side of the Kallai locality that includes Chalappuram and Azhchavattam is the major elite Nair populated area of the city. The railway line made a clear boundary between the east and west since 1890s. Before the coming of railway line the division between this two are laid by the thick swampy lands. Even though these two larger geographical and cultural spaces represent different socio-cultural aspects it never went through any cultural conflict in the last several centuries. The micro localities of Thekkepuram area played a significant role in the evolution of the discourses on 'Kozhikodan'. It is generally identified as the typical 'Kozhikodan Muslim' denomination in cultural discourses. This piece of land on the south western side of the city shares its south with River Kallai, west with Arabian Sea, east with the old Zamorin's Rajadhani and railway line and north with the Vellayil harbor and fishing village. Historically this is one of the old Muslim settlements of the city and also bears larger cultural forms in the ways of architecture, familial relation, inheritance, trade and commerce, etc. This enclave is located adjacent to the old market Big Bazar (Valiyangadi) and close to the medieval harbour. Apart from calling this area as a micro locality or a quarter of the city, it is sensible to call it as an enclave of the city with many cultural importances.

Even though Kuttichira opened to the harbour and one of the major bazaars of the city it remained as a closed geographical location of the city. It maintained an exclusive social relation and rare architectural relics. Huge Muslim double storied houses having 20 rooms and separate ponds were built many centuries back with heavy wooden beams and pillars near the Zamorin's palace in the 17th and 18th centuries. Almost all material relics of the Zamorin's palace complex disappeared but larger mansions still remained to showcase the rich commercial and religious legacy of the city. Local history narratives of the transformation of coconut garden to a Muslim settlement centre unfold wide variety of cultural exchanges like adaptation to regional weather and topography, political and religious interaction, evolution of the concept of private and public space, etc. It is believed that for the improvement of overseas trade Zamorin allotted this plain coconut plot to Arab traders for their permanent settlement in the city. Zamorin gave consent for the marriage of Nair women to Arabs. 18th century travel narratives and 19th and 20th century land acquisition papers show that this area was open to the sea and dense with coconut trees. Some narratives on place names and house names also corroborate to this arguments. There is a claim that the Koyas are a hybrid ethnic group of Arabs and Nairs. The architecture, rituals, customs, etc. reflect this amalgamation. Large quantity of laterite stones and wooden items were used in the construction of huge buildings including *tharavadus*, *pandikasalas* and mosques. Geographically the locality contained number of *chiras* (ponds). Numerous mosques were built in this area many centuries back like Mishkal mosque, Jami Masjid and Muchendi mosque. Thick Muslim population of this locality especially elite Koyas and their joint family households and life styles are the central attraction in the various forms of representation. The medieval Arab settlements, their close relation with the native population and their cultural influence are rich in the social life of Thekkepuram. The unique architecture remains in the buildings of mosques and *nalukettus* which reflect of the native Malayalee and Arab craftsmanship. The community profile of Mappilas and ethnographical feature of the particular locality lead us to the micro level framing of a specific city cultural space. Like many medieval historical settlements this locality did not emerge out of political process, but purely on the background of the development of trade and commerce. Max Weber defined the city in economical terms as a settlement of the inhabitants "which live primarily off trade and commerce rather than agriculture".[4] The state of

---

[4]   Weber, Max. "Nature of the City." *Classic Essays on the Culture of the Cities.* Ed. Richard Sennett. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969. p. 23.

Zamorins accumulated huge land revenue from agriculture and trade surplus from the ports of the country via overseas trade in the medieval time. Such a state maintained an elite urban population who enjoyed a high social status in the country capital, got land grant for the mosques and received support for the construction of huge mansions for the trading families near the Rajadhani and Big Bazar. The surplus accumulation from specialized overseas trade and the agriculture were the economic background of the state building of the Zamorins of Calicut. Accumulation of spice items from various terrains through different ways and its centralized trade to overseas markets were controlled by 'the ruler of the sea'. He made a distinctive enclave to the traders adjacent to his palace. The local belief is that the Zamorin rulers had donated the Kuttichira pond to Mappilas as a courtesy. Zamorins gave the full rights of tax collection of harbours to the Arab Shahbander Koya and at the same time he kept the control of markets with his people. A clear distinction is seen in the demarcation of *thura*/harbour and *angadi/*market in Zamorins' policies. The city became a re-export and transit point in the medieval times under Zamorins through different power relations.[5] The trade balance of Zamorins through the native export and foreign imports fluctuated due to the interventions of native middlemen. Arabs always helped to maintain the Zamorin's trade balance. Most of the *pandikasalas/*ware houses, *aras*/storages and *peedikas/*outlets in the *angadis/*markets were owned and controlled by the Koya Mappilas of the city. They were the main tax payers to the ruler. This led to a distinctive form of socio-political relation and it resulted in the inter-community and inter-caste cordial relations in the city. The city space was not exclusive for any religious or caste community; instead it was divided among many communities and social groups. Land, even in the heart of the city, was divided for major social groups. In short, we can see that the physical and social landscape of the city was distributed among many of the communities except fisher folks and lower caste people.

Historically the city was divided into four major areas/corners/*mulas*. Big Bazar, northwest quarter of the city is adjacent to the fortified palace in the centre. The elite Mappila Koyas got a significant place in the Zamorins' town planning. South west quarter represents this (Thekkepuram) Mappila hamlet. The south east and rest of the area comprise the settlement of various Hindu caste groups and temples. The fortified palace is built in the centre of the city.

---

5 Nambootiri, N.M. *Malabar Patanangal Samootirinadu*. Thiruvananthapuram: State Institute of Languages, 2008. p.118.

Timber yards were set up in the southern edge of the city at the banks of the Kallai river. Numbers of Koyas started to settle on the Kallayi river banks and to involve in the timber trade from late 19th century onwards. In short these localities were rich with various building structures of Nair and Mappila *tharavadus,* mosques and temples, timber yards, godowns/*pandikasalas,* etc. The elite Koyas enjoyed a significant role in most of these parts of the city within this division. The Arabs and Chinese built their godowns for trading products like spices and natural resources along the sea. This Mappila hamlet came under the Nirurtikon of the *vastu* principles. Putting under this structure Zamorins recognized the importance of the trading Mappila community. This was a rarest historical picture in Indian history. The Koya Mappila population of the city was largely identified as the '*Angadikkar'/*city people in the social stratification of the Muslims of Malabar especially in Calicut city. We can see the medieval period Thekkepuram was slowly extended to its southern side places like Kundungal and Chemmanadu from late 18th century onwards. In the early 20th century the southern end Kallai river side was transformed to a major settlement centre. The life and culture of the city especially Kallayi area attracted Malayalam writers. N.P. Muhammed's novel *Maram* is a showcasing example of this. Later this novel was adapted for a Malayalam movie with the same title in the year 1973. Probably this was the first filmic effort to represent the life and culture of the 'Kozhikodan Muslims'.

Koyas were the upper class stratified category among the Mappilas. They were the descendent of the Arabs who controlled the city's Big Bazaar in the 19th century and managed the trade of larger commercial goods especially copras (dried kernel of coconut) and other spices. In the medieval period itself a Gujarati settlement was established in the north western side of the Big Bazaar. Subsequently they emerged as one of the prominent business class of the city in the latter part of the 20th century. But the Gujarati settlement was not developed as equal to the Koya settlements. Various non Malayali social groups like Tamil Chettis, Konkanis, Sindhis, Parsis, etc. also got their space in the city. We can see that by the early 20th century the city had become a potential plural society with much diversity. New mosques were built across this Muslim hamlet, Thekkepuram; Idiyangara mosque, Barami mosque, Sheikinte Palli, etc. Also the Koyas deliberately tried to keep distance from the converted Muslims from the Hindu fisher folks like Arayas (*Mukkuvas*) or *kadappurathukar* (coastal people) and newly converted Muslims from other lower caste groups (*puislam*). At present this locality is specifically identified as a unique centre of Islamic architecture, timber yard, various heritage forms and

exclusive cuisines. The idea about various localities within a larger region and how these spatial terrains shape a specific cultural form should be explored to understand the socio-cultural realities of a city society. Their ethnographic, religious and local based backgrounds are central to the cultural discourses. The particular type of settlement of each locality is the central aspect of the whole sort of the cultural distinction of the city. The long historical traditions and subsequent socio-economic changes always play crucial role in the locality based cultural formations. Modern education, urbanization, gulf migration, etc. radically changed the matrilineal system of Koyas. The decline of matrilineal system and the consequent changes in the family and social life of the two major city communities (Mappila Koayas and Nairs) are very visible in the present day city. Most of the wooden *nalukettus* are demolished and big joint families are partitioned. The customs and life style practices of everyday life started disappearing in the recent history. The gulf migration among the Koyas is also very high compared to other Mappila population of the city. The specific nature of cosmopolitanism among the Koyas of the city is identified by the social scientists and early colonial scholars cum bureaucratic administrators.[6] They maintained a very active relation with various foreign companies and trading groups. They themselves tried to make cultural difference from the *kadappurathukar* Muslims. After the emergence of Gulf Boom the newly rich *kadappurathukar* started constructing big houses and spending huge money for purchasing consumer products. It also created a new sense of community identity within the discourses of Pan-Islamic cultural forms among the *kadappurathukar* which already influenced the Koya Mappilas quite a century earlier. Within this emerging situation new cultural forms were appeared in all walks of life especially it resulted in the economic and political assertions. Even though various transformations were happened among the Koya community their life and culture especially cuisine was identified as an incredible part of the 'Kozhikodan' discourses.

One of the discourses on 'Kozhikkodan' is always connected to the long historical communal harmony of the city. This argument places its roots in the Zamorin's relation with Arabs and their dealings in the country capital. Royal authority extended their full heart support for the construction of mosque and for building habitation settlements along with the maintenance rights over the port for overseas trade. Inter-religious marriages and religious

---

[6] Osella, Caroline, and F. Osella. *Islamism and Social Reform in Kerala, South India.* Cambridge: CUP, 2007.

conversions were not restricted and on the other hand it was protected by the native ruler. Along with lower class conversion upper caste Nairs were also largely converted to Islam in medieval time. The ethnic roots of the Koya Mappilas are connected with the Nairs. The legend of the conversion of Chera ruler, Cheraman Perumal to Islam and his journey to Mecca was disseminated in this period. Arabs heavily supported the construction of various mosques in the city including Mishkal mosque, Muchunti mosque, Sheikinte Palli and Pazhaya Palli. The Raja himself donated land to the Muchunti mosque. Chaliyam, another port settlement in the south of the Calicut city and one of the oldest Muslim settlements, was developed with the support of Zamorins. The rich diverse diasporas mainly Omanis, Saudis, Tunisians, Egyptians, etc. were the major settlers in the city for the trade. Zamorins united with major Muslim rulers to fight against the Portuguese in 16th century. At some point of time the Muslim kingdom, Bahmanis used Zamorins to reach out to Muslim rulers of Arabia. The representation of Zamorin and Valiya Kazi of the Kuttichira mosque in contemporary time always tried to connect with the medieval cordial relation between these two. *The Hindu* reported news, titled 'A testimony to Kozhikode's communal harmony' on 29 July 2013. It narrates:

> The Iftar get-together organised by the Khasi Foundation here on Saturday was an occasion to commemorate the 520th anniversary of the attempt by the Portuguese to burn down the historic Miskhal mosque at Kuttichira. The function also turned out to be an occasion that emphasised the strong bonds of communal harmony that has been the hallmark of the social life of this region.[7]

The photographs of Zamorin P.K.S. Raja with Valiya Kazi K.V. Imbichamad Haji were frequently circulated through print and visual medias. Similarly the images of Tali temple and Kutichira mosque were also utilized by the medias to represent the image of the 'Kozhikodan' communal harmony. Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) granted financial support for the renovation of Tali temple and Kuttichira mosque under the district administration in 2009. By using the medieval trade legacy and communal harmony the Calicut city is trying to make a distinctive social condition in its contemporary discourses. Ghettoization of any community or caste is not seen in the city; instead of restricted space of a particular caste or religious groups the city always makes more popular inter community interactive spaces.

---

[7]. "A Testimony to Kozhikode's Communal Harmony." *Hindu* [Kozhikode] 29 July 2013.

The south-east side, which was a low lying area of the city, was largely populated by Nair and other upper caste population. The Zamorin's temple Tali and other major Hindu shrines were seen in this area. This south east quarter is marked as the Agnikon of the Zamorins' medieval Calicut. It is important to look the local political culture of the royal city or 'fort' (*matilakam*) area. Raghava Varier notes:

> As the royal seat of the Zamorins, Calicut became famous both in the east and the west. The traditional city had a big bazaar from the western wall of the royal fort to the sea-shore. The fort was one mile in circumferences. The area between the present day Palayam Road in the south, Mananchira Maidan in the north, Oyitti Road in the west and the Cannanore Road in the east was occupied by the fort which contained the palace of the Zamorin and some religious and secular institutions. There were separate streets for weavers, potters, flower merchants etc. The entire city was planned and constructed according to the traditional principles of medieval silpa texts. Separate quarters for foreigners and different sections of dignitaries, functionaries and communities were set apart as prescribed in those texts. New palaces were constructed when the number of the members of the Zamorins family increased. These new palaces were situated to the south east of Calicut. [8]

It is important to identify the transformations of the historical settlements of the royal families to analyze the features of 'Kozhikodan' culture. The present micro localities like Cheruvannur, Chalappuram, Mankavu, Meenchanda, etc. are the major settlement centers of royal families and other influential Nairs. They also owned huge wooden palaces, *tharavadus,* etc. and practiced matrilineal system. But at present, we can't find any physical remaining of the fortified city except some place names and the remaining of Talli temple. The memories related to the old royal regime are still articulating in different ways. N.M. Namboothiri notes, "At present there are no relics or stone walls of Calicut representing the old Rajadhani. According to the corporation records, there are 2133 buildings, spread over in the corporation area, which is nearly 600 acres". [9] But there are some place names that help us to identify some portions of the fortified city. Place names like Kottaram parambu, Kottaparambu, etc. point to the

---

[8] Varrier, M.R. Raghava. "The Rise and Growth of Calicut." *Malabar.* Ed. M.G.S. Narayanan. *op.cit.,* p.60.
[9] Nampoothiri, N.M. "The Medieval City Complex of Calicut - A Toponymical Reconstruction." *Malabar. Ibid.,* p.62.

matilakam (fort) part of the city. After the attack of Tipu Sultan in the second half of the 18th century the capital city was abandoned and the city and its royal legacy totally collapsed. Within 20 years the royal territory was totally reshaped and the royal lands were handed over to the different sections of people. In the early part of the 19th century the city came under the control of the British East India Company. The status of the more than six hundred years ruling royal family became minimal and they transformed as landlords under the Company administration. This socio-political transformation happened without much strife. The social groups associated with the Zamorin regime moved to suburban areas of the city and started to settle there. Gradually the Company capital was transferred to Calicut from Tellicherry. Most importantly the scope of Malabar region as a major centre of the spices resource started to diminish. The decline of the maritime trade impacted heavily on the economy of the region especially of the Calicut city. But at the same time we can find the material remaining of the settlements of Zamorins and Nairs in the south eastern portion of the localities. Both the political transformations and changes in the matrilineal system collapsed the legacy of the life of the elite city people. This whole transformation drastically changed the socio-cultural relation of the different sections in the city. The ruling Nair family became the land lords under the company and the trading Mappila Koyas and Gujaratis transformed as mere middlemen traders. The new situations gradually built up an entirely different socio-cultural combination in the city. The south east part continued as an integral part of the city throughout 19th and 20th centuries. This area was identified as the most literate locality by the British surveys. Educated migrant people prefer to settle in this area and subsequently it evolved as a locality of educated and modern employed people in the district. When the Congress divided as right and left wings, the right wing Congress Committee was started to be known as 'Chalappuram Congress'. The initial trends of national movement started in this area. Migrant Brahman lawyers were seen here in large number. It is important to note that the educated socialist leaders were not preferred to go to the south east corner of the city. Most of them lived in the heart of the city and closely worked with the common people. A.K. Gopalan and P. Krishna Pillai lived in the rooms of the workers. At the same time Congress leaders like K. Madhavan Nair from Manjeri and K.P. Kesava Menon from Palakkad desired to live in the south east part of the city mainly at Chalappuram. Similar to Koyas, the elite Nairs of the south east area of the city were amalgamated to the popular city culture and distinctively played their role in the cultural life.

Many centuries existing social order and culture based on trade and commerce started disappearing and colonial influenced cultural forms began to evolve. Various trading and industrial company officials including plantation officials in the ghat lands and industrial units were started to settle in the city. Different public work company officials both native and foreigners were also started playing major roles. Along with these Basel Mission increased their operation in the city in the late 19th century by initiating industrial units in weaving, tile and coir works. Gradually Calicut city became the centre of Mission activities in the district. Colonial regulated trade, industrial production and agricultural pattern were the main determining factors of the new social formation of the city. City administration under presidency regime played a central role in the physical development of the city and its surroundings. As a premier centre of the wood trade the Calicut city attracted larger commercial capital and absorbed huge labour force and thereby it changed the nature of the merchant class of the city. Even though high scale of timber trade was there in the Zamorin's time the new forms of sawmills and making of various furniture items were started only in the mid 19th century. Though Arabs had exported high quality timber in the early medieval time, the organized wood processing was started in the British period only as an initiative of A. Brown.[10] Without much holdup both native and foreign investors made their investment in the wood industry. The merchant groups were mainly comprised by the wealthy Koyas, Gujaratis or Chettis of the city up to the 18th century. But we can identify a good number of Nair owners of the wood industries in the 20th century along with number of Mappila investors.[11] Kallai started the trade of finished wood along with raw wood from early 20th century onwards. Timber export was listed as the major business of the Beypore port, the nearby port of the city. The new richness by this trade caused a surfacing of the prosperous wealthy groups as well as a larger labour force. The new Calicut city and its social formation start from here. The contemporary discourses on 'Kozhikodan' were come up along with the new socio-political and economic changes. Migration of labour force to industries and timber trade created a new form of settlement pattern in the city. The banks of the river Kallayi became thickly populated with ordinary people mainly sawmill workers. Places like Karaparambu and Nallalam started to

---

[10] T.K, Kunhamu, Gopakumar S., Anoop E.V, and Ghosh, A. "The Wood Legacy of Kallali: Lessons for the Future." *ResearchGate.net*. 27 April. 2017. Web.

[11] M/s Kunhamed Kutty Haji Mills and M/s Imbichi Koyaji Sawmills were the Muslim owned mills and M/s Sankaran Nair & O Gopalan Sawmills is one of the non-Muslim enterprises in the wood industry.

accommodate a good number of Tiya people. The images of the matrilineal housing structure, family organisation of the Koyas and their cuisines were started disseminating from this time onwards. The city and its long history especially it's trading history and legacy were posited for the projection of its honesty, tradition of long trade and co-existence with various ethnic groups of the world, etc. At large it was always translated to others in the way of ethical side of the city and its people. How the city absorbed various sections of the people to its terrain was narrated in the different texts. 'Samoothiriyude nadu', 'city of hospitality', 'city of truth', etc. are widely used by advertising agencies in contemporary time. Personal features of the city people like honesty, accountability, liberal accommodation, etc. were central in the construction of the images of the 'Kozhikodan'. It is believed that the city people are not much concerned about the caste, because of their long association with European people.[12]

Apart from the development of a critical or cynical mind set the development of a satire towards various socio-political issues is seen in the city throughout 20th century. The writings of Sanjayan (M.R. Nayar) and the hilarious activities of P. Ramadas Vaidyar played a significant role in the development of a powerful critical internal dynamism in the city. The involvement of V.K.N and Vaikkom Muhammed Basheer increased the depth of this sort of effort. Sanjayan's writings especially his light humourful attacks against the hypocrisy of the city people mainly the Municipal Corporation was widely accepted by the public. His close association with the prominent literary legends of Malayalam literature was developed in the city in 1940s. Ramdas Vaidyar, popularly known as the 'emperor of laughter' attacked the political and cultural hypocrisy of all walks of life. Renowned Malayalam actor Mamukoya recollects that at some point of time there existed a group of people who enjoyed wit, absurdity and all types of humour part in life and utilized theatre as an effective medium to address the social evils in the Muslim community.

The important aspect is that a large number of educated people from Palakkad and Chavakkad/Kodungallur regions came to the city of Calicut and settled down and engaged with its print and political space. Along with that, the growing socialist groups in Congress Party generated another set of leaders, for whom the city was a space of larger political mobilisation. Today a large number of autobiographies/biographies are available in Malayalam literature – by

---

[12] Seluraj, T.B. *Kozhikkodinte Paithrukam.* Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2011.

the likes of K.P. Kesava Menon, K. Madhavan Nair, A.K. Gopalan, E.M.S. Namboothiripad, E. Moidu Maulavi, Muhammad Abdurahima, K. Kelappan, etc. – who spent most of their time in Calicut city from the 1930s to the 1950s. Both their personal and public life are strongly connected to the city life. All these literatures are rich with the warm memories of their life in the city. A preliminary type of account on 'Kozhikodan' is seen in this corpus of writing. They all tried to narrate the specific city experiences and compared it with other cities.

We can locate a 'potential' city population in Calicut in the early years of 20th century. Calicut became the centre of the political capital of colonial Malabar district and naturally it brought various movements and activities in the first half of the 20th century. Even though the district was geographically and politically integrated in many ways, we can notice the communication gap between the Calicut city and the northern taluks of Malabar. It continued up to the 1930s due to the lack of communication networks mainly road and bridges along with the absence of railway networks. This gap is seen in the cultural landscape of Calicut city for a long time. City is not always made success in the gathering of all regional cultural forms and its amalgamation. At least up to the end of 1920s the life of the city was largely influenced by the people who migrated from the southern taluks of the district and existing non Malayali population. The native discourses of anti-colonial movements and organized national movement from 1920s formed clear dialogues with specific community and class distinction in the entire Malabar. Most of the caste and religious communities joined the national movement without any barriers. travelling to Calicut and join in the national movement was a major aspiration to the number of early nationalists of Kerala. Vaikkom Muhammed Basheer recollected that during the heated Civil Disobedience Movement he left his home and went to Calicut by train. He was very much impressed by the hospitality received in the house of Muhammed Abdu Rahiman. Congress Socialist leaders in northern taluks of the city collectively came to the city and actively participated in various political activities from mid 1930 onwards. The emergence of socialists in the city challenged the Chalappuram based Congress activities. Socialists addressed the workers and peasant problems in the taluks of the district and led their movements in the city. Calicut became a synonym of the 'town/ city of the socialists' in Madras Presidency. The arrival of Jawaharlal Nehru to the city and his participation in Congress session instigated the socialist groups in the region. By the end of 1930s Socialists got majority in Congress and overthrew the elite leadership. As a result of this a new group of leadership and political actions started to

emerge in the city. The most important aspect is that the city population itself tried to create a distinctive socializing process since 1930s. These new ways of socio-cultural actions created a vibrant public domain throughout the 20th century. Different reform movements among Tiyas and Mappilas made a subtle change in the social life of the city. Tiyas were organized under Narayana Guru movement and Mappilas were gone through the reform activities of the Muslim Aikya Sangam. As a result of various reform and missionary activities the city was identified as the most literate town of the presidency. The ratio of the circulation of vernacular and English newspapers reflects the dissemination of general information and politicalisation of the society. This phenomenon was exclusive comparing to other towns of the western coast and whole presidency. Action for liberal engagements within the rigid caste and community fragmentation was achieved through the working class movements of the first half of the 20th century and art and cultural activism of the second half of 20th century.

Most of the accounts of South Asian colonial and postcolonial cultural studies got their strength mainly from the discourses of contradictory relationship of knowledge and power relations in different ways.[13] The 'development of language, literature and print' in regional languages also brought dominant power discourses through indigenous texts in cultural encountering. Along with colonial knowledge production and its own dissemination, the literary and print culture in regional languages constructed a wider influence in popular discourses. The spread of literacy, increasing number of literary works, new type of literary forms, development of print culture, etc. created both popular and elite indigenous cultural forms in early decades of the 20th century. The integration of cultures of micro level village societies on linguistic basis constructed larger forms of cultural landscapes of wider cultural activities. The spread of literacy and education also created a larger dialectics in early 20th century. In Malabar the spread of political activities against colonial policy implementation created a positive dialectics for the cultural discourses in different ways. Long resistance to colonialism and a historical distance from Congress lead nationalist movement and the left movement constructed a secluded Mappila Muslim identity in the public sphere for a long time. The emergence of Muslim League (ML) as a major political party of the Mappilas in the city in the end of 1930s supported the Mappilas to

---

[13] For more references see Said, Edward. *op.cit.*; Dirks, Nicholas B. *Caste of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001. and Guha, Ranajit. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Delhi: OUP, 1983. and *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1998.

engage with the emerging political sphere. The records of the various government agencies show that ML got victory several times in the Municipal elections from late 1930s onwards and made an active presence in the city politics. The elite Muslims of the city became the leaders of the ML and gathered the support of the one of the sizable population of the city. The elite leadership made success in developing a cultural and political patronage among Mappilas. Interestingly we can see a sizable number of educated, non political and influential Muslim people in the city. Simultaneously a new set of political discourse was emerged within the city politics and it raised a distinctive dialogue of the 'nationalist Muslims' and ideologically and politically criticized the 'elite' Congress and ML groups of the city. Even though they hadn't got much popular support, their political views were widely circulated in the city and all over the district from 1920s to mid 1940s. They started to print a newspaper, *Al Ameen* (1929-39), in the city to express their stands towards various political and community issues. The clash between the 'nationalist Muslim' section and ML continued up to mid 1940s. The conservative elements and practices among the Muslim community were criticized by the nationalists who argued for modern outlook to engage with the emerging public space. Even though northern city of the district Tellicherry was the centre of ML activities in 1930s, Calicut became its headquarter in 1940s and they started a new edition of the newspaper *Chandrika* in the city in the end of 1930s. The space for arguments in community and political scenario was made possible through these clashes from the end of 1920s. This style of political activities created an exclusive 'Kozhikodan Muslim' population in the city. It created a socially progressive and politically qualitative community set up in Calicut.

'Kozhikodan', the term to identify the people of the city with numerous qualities came to the popular discourses following the emergence of the public space of the city in the first decades of the 20th century. The liberal public space of the city was clearly an outcome of the anti-colonial and anti-landlord struggles of the whole district. The starting of the printing of newspaper *Mathrubhumi* in 1923 is a land mark in the shaping of the city society. This nationalist newspaper disseminates the picture of the city and working of municipal administration to the other areas of the district. The production of city social space is largely happened as a result of the increasing of the work force in the city in various industries like, tile, weaving, coir, print, sanitation, wood, etc. [14] New variety of professions under the

---

[14] Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space.* Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. 1991. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 1992.

institutionalised governmental system of colonialism created different occupations in the city especially clerical profession, law, police and other army units, banking and financial, education, hospitals, etc. The city and its public culture came into existence in this context. Apart from the architectural dimensions of the city planning the setting of the public space was more vital in the Calicut city for the emergence of a liberal public space. The emerging public space firstly addressed the turmoil of Mappila riots of the southern taluks of the district. The situation is firstly addressed within the annual session of the District Congress Committee deliberations. The different social groups took diverse approaches to the Mappila riot. On the other hand it caused Hindu community formation in the district. Vernacular newspapers like *Yogakshemam, Nasrani Deepika*, *Malayala Manorama* and *Kerala Patrika* were there at that time in the city. In June 1922 the District Collector convened a meeting of the editors of these newspapers to keep the communal amity and peace[15]. It was clear that not only elite Brhamans but also the Tiyya leaders severely criticized the "atrocities of Mappilas" against the Hindus during the time of riot. Tiyya leader in the city Murkoth Kunhappa highlighted the importance of the unity of various caste groups of Hindus to resist Muslim 'atrocities' and 'forceful conversion'. But the Khilafat and Kudiyan Movements generated a new sense of political outlook in the city. The then print medias were an open field of war of words on Mappila riot and its calamities. The publication of *Mathrubhumi* in 1923 and *Al-Ameen* and their approach towards Mapila riot made the condition worst. The writings of K. Madhavan Nair in *Mathrubhumi* and its counter writings and editorials in *Al Ameen* by Abdurahiman kept the community issue in the air up to the end of 1920s. The organised political activities were begun in the city from 1915 onwards through Annie Besant's Home Rule movement. The first Home Rule committee was begun at Calicut in 1915 and K.P. Kesava Menon, the founder of the *Mathrubhumi* and a lawyer by profession was elected as the Secretary and Manjeri Rama Iyer as the President. In the beginning face itself they expressed differences of opinion on the issue of starting Congress committees in rural areas of Malabar. In the rural areas of the southern districts, the *verumpattakkar* movements became powerful during this time. The leadership of the Congress and *Mathrubhumi* came to the support of their demands. *Mathrubhumi* continuously took a strong position to give space to the Kudiyan Sangam leaders to propagate the ideas of land reform and matrilineal legislations and for the abolition of the *janmi* system in Malabar. The city became the centre of legal battles for the

---

[15] *Malayala Manorama* 8 June 1922.

tenancy legislations. In 1917 Kesava Menon and M. P. Narayana Menon boycotted the Governor's meeting at Calicut Town Hall due to the issues related with the speaking in Malayalam and by disagreeing to collect the war fund and two third of the attendees also boycotted the event. In Malabar especially in southern taluks, the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement politicised larger chunk of *pattakudiyans*. Hundreds of *pattakudiyans* attended the Khilafat Non Cooperation meetings in January 1921 at Kozhikode. In 1920 after the Manjeri conference of the District Congress Session Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shoukathali attended a meeting at Calicut and more than twenty thousand people were participated in the public gathering. From mid 1920 onwards the political focusing was shifted to the anti untouchablity movements and leaders especially Congress leaders actively involved in this campaign. Within the city itself K.P Kesava Menon, Madhavan Nair, Mitawati C Krishanan etc. led a struggle against the policy of prohibition of the entry of lower castes in the Talli Road. This situation united the middle class Tiyas and elite Nairs for a public cause in the city. Simultaneously Tiyyas started taking a political position different from the nationalist Congress. Their newspaper *Mitawati* started to take different position towards British dominance. In short the city public space became more complex in 1920s and socialization of the city was turned around the question of community and caste. The emergence of the socialists in 1930s transformed the nature of public space and brought the issues of working class into mainstream debates. It is seen that a working class dominated public space was started shaping in the city from 1930s onwards.

Here we need to look the available physical nature of the city for understanding the emergence of public space. We can identify a few accessible public space/locations in the city; Calicut Beach, Mananchira Maidan, few school play grounds, municipal parks, open spaces, river sides, Paran square, Bar Association, Clubs, Chamber Commerce, etc. We can also see a couple of European and native clubs in the city in the middle of 19th century. The membership and entry of the European clubs were restricted to white people only. The European Club was set up in 1864 at the southern part of the beach side. They also set up a station library attached to this. The membership was limited to the British officials, senior officials of the Company, planters, etc. We can see similar clubs were setting up across India in this period. In the early 20th century itself we can trace a quite large number of native wealthy business people in the city along with Europeans. Major companies like, Commonwealth Company, Pierce Lesley Company, W.T. Sergeant and Sons Company, etc. accommodated larger workforce and at the

same time they appointed managerial officials also. These elite groups kept strong concerns in the maintenance of recreation centers of the city. Other companies like Feroke Tile Works Company, Standard Furniture Company, Manekji Company (Timber Company) recruited good number of officer level employees. The buildings were completely modeled on the European structural designs and physical structure was completed according to the native climate and topographical conditions. The European Club became one of the central meeting places of the British people and officials and various company managers and owners by late 19th century. Without much delay, in 1890 the British set up a hotel called Beach Hotel adjacent to this. Like the European Club this Hotel was opened only to the white people. As a reaction to this the city elites set up a hotel for the native elites called Cosmopolitan Club in 1898. Messers. A. Brown, P. Karunakara Menon, Cooverji Ardesir, K.R.Ramaswamy Iyer, C.M. Rarichan Moopan, M. Muhammed, P.A. Krishna Menon and Mr.P. Karunakara Menon were the founding directors of this club and the company was registered on 17th December 1900.[16] Another club, Malabar Club was also set up in the Beach side during this time. The close connectivity of the Beach from East and West Hill helped the British people to have evening recreations in these clubs. These happenings opened a new culture of dining, recreation, get together, etc. Most of the mercantile classes were the members of the Cosmopolitan club. Clubs provided facility of badminton, tennis, cards, billiards, etc. to the members. The centre of the beach area was largely controlled by the British through their clubs, port and custom offices, municipal and telegram offices, light house, etc. It was very clear that the native and foreign traders were the people who shaped the elite public space of the city. South Beach of the city was politically controlled by the British. The references on "respectful and influential" people of the city in the correspondence of the district administrators in various occasions show the emergence of powerful native elite class in the city. The registration details of a Tramway Company in the city in 1860s shows that various Tiya and Mappila families were emerged as a class having huge investment in the city business and industries.[17] These elite spaces did not attract larger crowds and public and they remained as a cultural space of the emerging modern city. The entry of the public to the South Beach areas was not banned but discouraged by the District administration. It located as an isolated enclave for long time. The movements of the horse rickshaws to beach side from Calicut railway station

---

[16] "History of the Club." History. *Calicut Cosmopolitan Club.* Web.

[17] Seluraj, T.B. *op.cit.,* p.181. The author gives a list of the directors of Tramway Company as follows, Kozhippurath Raman Menon, Chevakar Kunchahamamed, Kalpally Karunakara Menon and Kattummal Kunchi.

were very low comparing to Mananchira and Hajur Kachery. The interesting thing is that though the entry to Mananchira Maidan was restricted the movement of the people was very high. The traffic of the people to the south beach was largely discouraged and restricted. As the mobility to Mananchira was restricted from 1920 onwards, the people movement to the beach side started increasing. The second Malabar District Congress session was planned to be held at Manachira Maidan and the district administration did not allow the event at the Maidan. The situations of the First World War and British efforts to mobilize people and money for the War were central to the district administration. Also they feared the emergence of national passion of the educated middle class in the city. In 1921, the District Collector formed a special committee to look after the programmes of Mananchira. They realized that the educated people especially who settled in the city as lawyers in the district court were very much influential and they were not only shaping the national consciousness of the people but also they were there in the front run of the working class movements of the major tile and weaving companies. It is obvious that the major senior private limited company officials came against the use of Mananchira Maidan by the circus people. Gradually the municipal authority started controlling the programmes of Mananchira Maidan. Latter the Collector formed a Mananchira Committee to manage the programmes of the *maidan* and the majority of the members were from the city elites. In 1920 after the Congress District session at Manjeri, Gandhi and Maulana Shoukathali attended Khilafat and Congress meeting at Calicut beach and more than twenty thousand people participated in the public gathering. Thousands of Mappilas turned up from various villages of Eranad and Valluvanad taluks. The organizing committee chose the beach for the public meeting. Gradually Calicut beach attracted the nationalists for various protest gatherings. The Congress started forming various town committees in Mankavu, Panniyankara, Thiruvannur, Chalappuram, Thali and Puthiyara and organized a mass meeting at Calicut Beach in the evening of 18th March 1923[18]. The process of politicalisation of the city started from here and Congress committees and Khilafat committees were formed in various localities. The educated Nairs of Mankavu, Panniyankara, Thiruvannur, Chalappuram, Thali and Puthiyara largely joined in the Congress activities. Chalappuram became the centre of the Congress activities. The emergence of Muhammad Abdurahiman in the Congress leadership brought a sizable number of Muslims of the city to the national movement. His charismatic leadership attracted a vast number of Muslims

---

[18] "Hindu Muslim Maitri." *Mathrubhumi* 20 Mar. 1923.

to the national movement and thereby to Congress activities. The institutional and organizational public space was replaced with larger public movements of the city. Gathering for recreation was shifted to public concerns with clear political orientations. This situation has become the central pillar of the 'Kozhikodan' identity.

Among the city based Congress leaders an influential deliberation was developed on the future political actions; Congress members primarily argued that instead of concentrating on the boycott of Legislative Councils, Congress should work for rejuvenating the villages and suburban town committees and for the day to day local political activities.[19] This helped them to address the 'problems' of the municipal administration of the city. Significantly the newly formed Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC) officially welcomed the decision of AICC to contest in the various rural boards and municipalities. Both these developments spread the Congress activities to the various localities of the city. As a beginning of contesting in the elections Congress started to critically address the local self government activities of Malabar district from 1925 onwards. Kudiyan Sangam leaders also took the same stand and unveiled various mismanagements of the president of Malabar District Board and the chairmen of various municipal corporations and Taluk Boards. As a result to these changes Congress leader K. Kelappan openly attacked the inefficiency of the municipal administration of Calicut. He criticized that the district administration had failed to provide the minimum facilities to the urban people, especially sanitation, prevention of epidemics and supply of drinking water.[20] K. Kelappan also sharply criticized Samoothiri Raja for his decision to accept the position of 'Maharaja' from Madras Law Member C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer. He raised a question that 'is it a respect or an insult to the Raja?' in his column in *Mathrubhumi*. While in another column, K.P. Kesava Menon points out that in 1917 the district Collector did not allow to make Pandal in the Manachira Maidan for the District Congress session, but in 1923 the same district administration made a pandal for awarding the sanad to Zamorin. Iyer was supposed to preside over both the functions. But he came in 1917 as part of a political issue and in 1923 as an official member of the government. These criticisms were welcomed by the city civil society. The nationalist leaders steadily developed new strategies to attack the *Janmi* controlled local self government agencies. At the same time G. Shankaran Nair, eminent Kudiyan Sangam leader, openly came against the

---

[19] *Mathrubhumi* 8 July 1923.
[20] *Ibid.,* 25 Oct. 1925.

inefficiency of the District Board President, Madhava Raja.[21] The style of addressing various urban civic issues always attracted the city people. He raised various issues of the District Board in the criticisms; President never bother common people, enhances tax in every year, absolute failure in the fund management, shabby health centers, completely damaged roads, the pathetic condition of employees, etc.[22] This period was crucial to the city people as they faced number of problems after the flood in the city and other southern taluks. He also warned the Janmisabha leaders that Kudiyan Sangam would vote against the Janmisabha candidates in the coming district board election. *Mathrubhumi* took bold stand against the corruption and maladministration of the municipal administration. Within the city Congress activist campaigned for the better living conditions especially for the supply of drinking water to the backward localities of the city. Clearly a politicized public space was started along with the national movement.

The political situation of 1923-24 is important to cite here. The election to the Madras Legislative Assembly was scheduled to be held in the year 1924. The local level political campaigns for passing the Malabar Tenancy Bill by Kudiyan Sangam made larger awareness in the village level. As a result to this Sangam decided to contest in the coming Legislative Assembly election. Only five seats were allotted to Malabar district out of the total 140 seats. One seat was reserved for *janmis,* two for Muslims and the remaining two for non Muslims. Ambat Sivaraman Menon, M. Krishnan Nair and K.P. Raman Menon filed their nomination to the non Muslim reserved seats. Janmi Sabha also filed one nomination to this seat for Kollangot Madhava Raja along with one nomination to *Janmi* reserved seat. Sangam supported M. Krishnan Nair and K.P. Raman Menon only. The election campaigns showed high political discourses on various issues. Even though the total number of voters for these four seats are listed approximately as 33,000 only, the campaign reached to all the villages and the nook and corners of the city. Numbers of motor rickshaws and horse rickshaws were utilized for the election campaigns in the city. For the first time in the history of elections in Malabar various political and community groups were campaigned by rising the issues like better living conditions especially drinking water, sanitation, hospitals, etc. and politically appealed to the people to vote for Sangan candidates for the passing the Kudiyan bill. 'Welfare of the people'

---

[21] *Mathrubhumi* 30 June 1925.
[22] *Ibid.*

became a central aspect in this election. Out of the 700 votes approximately 400 votes were polled for these four seats from the city. The result created lots of interesting things; only M. Krishanan Nair won for the Sangam panel. K.P. Raman Menon was defeated and Janmisabha leader Kollangode Raja won the seat. Though only one seat was reserved for *Janmi* class they could send two members to the Legislative Council. The AICC's decision to contest in the Local Self Governments (LSGs) and Legislative Councils through the Swaraj Party (SP) brought the situation into a new course in Malabar district especially in Calicut city. Under the initiative of Kozhippurath Madhava Menon a unit of the Swaraj Party was formed in Calicut. We can see that in the meantime all the LSG election processes were concluded in Malabar except elections to the Eranad and Valluvanad Taluk Boards. The SP got open support from the Malabar Kudiayan Sangam. This was a turning point in the city politics. The election to these two remaining Taluk Boards was scheduled in the month of August 1925 and the SP decided to contest in this election and publicly came against Madhava Raja and other *janmi* candidates. The Sangam candidates got attractive victory in Valluvanad Taluk Board election against the Janmi Sabha candidates. In the same year Congress leader K. Madhavan Nair contested in the by-election for Panniyankara seat under the SP banner and Nilambur Unnirayan Thirumulpadu submitted nomination as *janmi* candidate against him. Madhavan Nair won (114 votes) the seat in a narrow margin against the *janmi* candidate (107 votes). This is a clear sign of the changing political attitude of the emerging suburban society especially the 'conservative city society' of the Calicut.[23] In short we can say that the changes in the political sense of the city in mid 1920s, especially after the turmoil of Mappila riot, widely supported the emergence of a more mature liberal public space. City leader Kozhippurath Madhava Menon became a prominent leader in the emerging institutional politics. The working class and peasant movements were later entered to these spaces. The early part of the emergence of a public space in the city was shaped through the politicalisation of the society via anti colonial political activities on the one side and through the widening of the connected spaces of sports, literature, cinema, drama, etc. on the other side. The first one may be articulated through an elite caste basis but the second one was completely evolved in a secular, popular and liberal space. Unlike many other cities of the presidency, issues of land, gender, community, caste, etc. were placed as major public concern in Calicut city even before the organized national movement.

---

[23] *Mathrubhumi* 17 Sep. 1925.

Along with Nair elites numbers of Tiya and Mappila wealthy people also got larger political and economic space in the city from early 20th century onwards. Up to the collapse of Zamorins the Nairs and Mappilas were the major influential people of the city. The Nairs occupied major positions in military and administration of Zamorins and Mappilas controlled the trade and commerce. The situation in the early 19th century supported the Tiyyas and Mappilas to get the control of the city terrains through land ownership. Tiyyas made capital investments in various commercial activities and industrial units and they were the only caste groups who controlled the Abkari sector in the city during British regime. The educated Tiyyas and some of the leaders took a different political stand in the early decades of the 20th century. Tiyya leader, C. Krishnan Vakil popularly known as Mitawati, a High Court judge, journalist, banker, rationalist, and Budhist, took a different political position towards the British rule and also Tiyyas appealed to the Nairs led Kudiyan Sangam leaders to consider kudiyans of the northern taluks in the upcoming tenancy reforms. Sometimes *Mitawati* and *Mathrubhumi* openly started fights for various issues. Even though the Congress and other nationalists used the *Mitawati* several times for expressing their political stands, the ideological gap between the two always remained widen. In the case of untouchability both *Mitwati* and their leadership supported the Congress steps for the upliftment of the oppressed classes. Krishnan sought the freedom of the oppressed classes before getting political freedom. Even when he kept a distance from the Congress he actively participated in the Vaikkoam Satyagraha. As a result to this Congress leader Madhavan Nair and K. Kelappan wrote columns in *Mitawati* for the unity of the Tiyya and Congress leaders to led a movement against caste system and untouchability by bringing the attention of the Izhavas to the larger ideas of national movement and appealing them to join in the Congress activities and work for the improvement of lower class people. Krishnan himself invited Mahatma Gandhi to the Paran Square in 1918 for the discussion of the problems of lower castes in Kerala.

> Krishnan drew Gandhi's attention to casteism, savarna domination, untouchability, poverty and the denial of civil and human rights to the non-savarnas. He wanted Gandhiji to give prime importance to the elimination of casteism and wanted it to be included as the first programme in the political agenda of the Congress. Krishnan believed that political freedom would be hollow and meaningless without social freedom. Gandhiji listened to

Krishnan's views and he meditated on Krishnan's caveat. After Gandhiji's meeting with Krishnan, he gave importance to the fight against injustice and inequalities of all kinds caused by casteism.[24]

C. Krishnan and another affluent Izhava land lord Kallingal Madam Rarichan Mooppan invited Sree Narayan Guru to the city and he accepted the invitation. Both these visits made larger changes in the whole discourses of the issues of Izhavas in the city. The difference of opinion between the Congress and C. Krishnan continued at least four decades. Krishnan always communicated the language of a liberal democrat. His stand towards Congress and national movement especially his pro- British approach was critical in many ways, but he succeeded in positing the problems of the one of the sizable community in the early part of the 20th century. To a larger extent it supported to create an argumentative space in the city. His residence, popularly known as Paran Square, at the Customs Road, Calicut Beach became a meeting place of the many of the nationalist leaders in 1920s and 30s. Mahatma Gandhi, Annie Besant, Madan Mohan Malavya, Dr. A. Palpu, T.K. Madhavan, Sahodaran Ayyappan, etc. visited the Square and engaged with Krishnan. In 1912 he opened a SNDP unit in the premises of his house and gradually opened a Library and women's club for diversifying the entry of people to the house. As a follow up to this he organized a mass Buddhist meeting on 19th February 1925 at Paran Square. Subsequently he set up a Buddhist Pagoda and Vihara in 1927. He built a Budha Vihara in its adjacent area and invited a Srilankan Budhist monk to Calicut to propagate the ideas of Budhism and share the problems of social exclusion. Latter he became the chairman of the Justice Party, officially known as South Indian Liberal Federation. One of the striking points is that Justice Party openly got support from Kudiyan Sangam from mid 1920s onwards for the passing of the Malabar Tenancy Bill. As a result of these developments, Kudiyan Sangam and Justice Party jointly filed nomination of M. Krishan Nair for the Madras Legislative Council election. KPCC candidate K. Madhavan Nair and Kudiyan Sangam and Justice Party candidate M. Krishnan Nair were elected to the Madras state legislative council in huge margin. The role of C. Krishnan was remarkable in this. But the non Brahmin politics in the city was not successful in 1930s comparing to Madras.

---

[24] Bedi, Savita. "1867 – 1938 Kerala's Leading Social Reformer." *Mitavadi C. Krishnan*. 30 Oct 2005. Web.

The Calicut Bar Association building was always a meeting place of the leaders of the nationalists. The association was started in the year 1886 under the auspices of district judge Mr. F.H. Wilkinson. The differences of opinions among the lawyers of the nationalist generated hot debates in the Bar Association Library Building. The farewell party to District Judge, G.H.B Jackson in connection with his promotion as High court judge became a major issue among them. Manjeri Rama Iyer wrote a column in *Mitawati* praising the personal qualities of Jackson and also some of the lawyers arranged a party for him in front of the Bar Association Library with the disagreement of other lawyers. *Mathrubhumi* wrote an editorial criticizing this attitude of lawyers and it led to a war of debate among the lawyers and two major presses, *Mathrubhumi* and *Mitawati* in the city. The residences of educated people mainly lawyers became the meeting places of nationalists and the centre of other socio-political activities. The residences of Madhavan Nair and Abdu Rahiman Sahib worked as offices of the Congress activities.

The situation of the public space of the city again became chaotic at the time of Simon Commission protests in the end of 1920s. After the success of Vaikkom Satyagraha Congress activities were concentrated on various issues mainly campaign against untouchability and upliftment of the backward castes in the district. AICC decided to boycott the Simon Commission at its Madras annual session in 1927. The third KPCC session was held at Calicut in 1927 and B.T. Horniman, the editor of the *Deccan Chronicle*, presided the session. The public meeting was held at Muthalakkulam Midan of the city. The procession from Calicut Railway station to Maidan was crowded with thousands of people. It was for the first time after the Khilafat struggle, the hundreds of Mappilas of the city were attending a political programme. On the other side people like Mitawati C. Krishnan, T.K. Krishnan, K.V. Krishnan, K.C. Menon, etc. gathered at Paran Square to form an opinion in favour of Simon Commission's visit. The nationalist leaders of the city U. Gopala Menon, Manjeri Rama Iyer, etc. gathered at Town Hall and marched to this meeting at Paran Squire. One of the interesting things is that Rama Iyer always worked with C. Krishnan but he did not support Krishnan's stand on Commission. It was both of them who led the protest march for the entry of the lower class to the Tali temple road. We need to see that the municipality had always given the Town Hall for nationalist functions from this time onwards. Paran Squire meeting was severely criticized by nationalists and on that day evening the nationalists organized a mass meeting at Calicut Town Hall and attacked all sort of efforts to support Simon Commission visit.

Paran Square meeting passed a resolution in the banner of depressed classes. The meeting of the Town Hall rejected the resolution of Paran square and passed a declaration pointing out that the depressed classes had no connection with the Paran Square resolution. Subsequently C. Krishnan's group with the initiative of Murkoth Kumarn conducted a gathering at Feroke Mission School to pass a resolution in favour of Simon Commission Visit. Most of the depressed class members boycotted this meeting. Both these meetings publicly shattered the image of C. Krishnan's group. The happenings on the day of Simon Commission's visit in the city was caught the attention of all walks of life. The city was totally shut down on 2nd February 1928. The most interesting thing in the day was the participation of the students of various schools and colleges of the city. At some point they led the procession and strongly appealed for the success of hartal. The shaping of the new sense of the city public space is very clear.

Municipal chairman, E. Narayanan declared to shut down municipal schools and municipal office on the day of hartal with the consent of the Council. He was one of the key members of the Simon Commission protest. The district collector overruled the Council's decision and withdrew its decision to close the schools and offices. But as the Chairman was not ready to accept the collector's direction, he declined Collector's order and sustained the Council's decision. On that day evening nationalist leaders organized a silent procession and it ended at the Municipal building. Further to these developments, Narayana Menon, Vice chairman of the Municipal Council raised a black flag on the building of Municipality as directed by Municipal chairman to express the boycott of Simon Commission. There they organized a public meeting and expressed their anguish against the district administration and to the C. Krishnan's group. That day clearly exposed the strength of the nationalists and the approach of public against the group of C. Krishnan. This was one of the main reasons for the set back of the Justice Party and anti Brahman movement in the city.

The district collector and administration started vengeance against the Municipal Council especially against E. Narayanan. Through nominated members of the Council collector initiated a non confidence motion against the Municipal Chairman. Out of the total 20 members of the council 15 members voted against this motion. Prior to this the nationalists in the city called a meeting at Town Hall to support the Municipal Chairman. Hundreds of people from various parts of the city assembled at the meeting and demanded to stop the Collector's retaliation

against the Municipal chairman. The Town Hall became a major meeting place of nationalists in this period. Contrary to the growth of caste reform movements and formation of its own organization, the city underwent clear politicalisation through the anti colonial movements. The Congress achieved highest organizational growth comparing to Sree Narayana movement in the city even though the city comprises a sizable Tiyya population. The outcome of the politicalisation was reflected in the 1928 railway strike in the South Indian Railway Company. The railway employees strike in 1928 was the first organised struggle in Malabar; they demanded to reinstate the suspended employees, regularize the working hours, enhance the wages of low wage employees, etc. U. Gopala Menon headed the workers in the city and nationalist leaders openly supported it.

Large numbers of temple and mosques in the city made a vibrant and plural public space. Apart from the daily prayers and rituals number of seasonal festivals, cultural programmes, religious gatherings, etc. supported the formation of the plural space in Calicut. Most of the cultural programmes especially dramas were held in the school grounds only. Parappil School ground at Thekkepuram was used several times for various cultural programmes. Football was one of the most popular sports items of the city and school grounds like, Parappil, Malabar Christian College School, Government Model School, etc. were made use for the football matches. The important thing is that apart from the caste and class, number of football and cricket teams were set up in the city in the early part of the 20th century. We can find the organization of a Kerala Cricket Club in the city during the same period. Test cricket matches were organized every week; teams from Mangalore, Sri Lanka and other cities of the then Malabar district like Cannanore and Tellichery would come to the city. The city attracted all sorts of sporting people mainly from football, cricket, hockey, etc. Many matches were organized with the support of the district administration and European companies and it attracted large number of the people to the city. Football competition between Malabar Christian College and Zamorin's Guruvayurappan College in 1910 was an important event among this. Numbers of local level football clubs were formed and school and college grounds became the centre of the local football matches. Local football clubs were constituted in different localities. People from menial work in the city and fisher men were joined in the various teams. Inter local matches created a space for the inter caste, inter local and inter-communal interactions.

Specific building forms like Town Hall, Public Libraries, etc. largely emerged as an outcome of the growth of literacy and new public culture. The 1930s were important in many ways. Apart from the emergence of the Congress Socialist Party large numbers of libraries and schools were set up in different corners of the city and its surroundings. Local level organizations set up *vayanasalas* (reading rooms) in the city and district boards, and the *janmis* and *rajas* started schools. Basel Mission School was upgraded to a college, Malabar Christian College, in 1907, and also the Zamorin's School was elevated to Zamorin's College under the University of Madras. The growth of primary education and the rise of literacy supported the opening of reading rooms. The circulation of *Mathrubhumi, Mitawati, Al-Ameen, Prabhatam, Chandrika*, etc. increased in various localities of the city and subsequently these papers were started to publish on daily basis. Most of the Malayalam newspapers openly campaigned for national liberation, various social reform programmes, improvement of the lower castes and workers, etc. We can locate the opening of public libraries in various localities of the city like Muslim Brotherhood Library, Kuttichira (1928), Sree Vagbadananda Library, Eranchipalam (1939), Sengupta library (1933) Sanmarga Darshini Library and Reading Room, Samadarshini Library (1929), Aikya Kerala Library (1934) Deshaposhini Vayanashala, Malaprambu (1937) Anandadayini Vayanasala, Mayanad (1937), etc.. These libraries not only worked as reading rooms but also as local level cultural and recreation centers by accommodating all sections of people.

The early theatre and film actors from the Muslim community always utilised the city as a safe place to escape from religious retractions. The small groups sharing various interests got a space within the city based on their tastes and preferences. The narrations of Kallayi and Kuttichira in the micro narratives always connected the Muslim community with the city narratives. Their life style, especially their active roles in the city of Calicut, have got an unavoidable space within the city narratives. Most importantly their active presence in the cultural life of the city provides a strong grip to them to engage with the liberal social space. Their role in sports, theatre, literature, music, etc. generated a powerful discourse for their social inclusion. To a larger extent this can be identified as one of the central features of the 'Kozhikodan' life.

The grand narratives of the city focused on various aspects like colonialism and national movements and later socio-political movements. In the 1930s and 40s, a number of people came to the city of Calicut for participating in national movements. The renowned Malayalam writer Vaikom Muhammad Basheer initially came to the city from Alleppey to join the national movement. Later he again came for presenting his literary work and settled in the city till his death. His memories of the city were always represented through wider liberal nostalgic feelings. M.T. Vasudevan Nair's narratives on Calicut city often relate with his shifting from village life to the entirely different urban space where he never faced any kind of isolation and where he found a space for liberal intellectual and cultural engagements. Many other Malayalam literary figures like N.P. Muhammad, Urub, K.T. Muhammad, Sanjayan, Kunjunni Mash, Teruvath Raman, Thikkodian, U.A. Khadar, etc. came and settled in the city of Calicut from many parts of Malabar and Cochin. One of the most important sides is that the 'reception' and welcome given by the city is always narrated by these writers. Mamukkoya, the renowned Malayalam actor, argued that we cannot see anywhere a city and people like Calicut. For him the city fundamentally represents the ethics of social relation and the justice of liberal values. He remembers a discussion on Malayalam literature by the Malayalam writer V.K. Narayananakutty/VKN and a Moulavi/Muslim cleric at a mosque in Beypore, a suburban town of Calicut. He argued that the relation between the Moulavi and VKN was built through the prevailing argumentative space in the city.[25]

Apart from the medieval and colonial narratives, the transformation of Calicut into a modern city constitutes a major turn in the writings on the history of Malabar. In Calicut, late 19th century urbanisation processes created a space for a bigger growth of the urban population and it resulted in the wider political discourses for modernity, liberal social thought, social transformation, independence, ideas and practice of socialism, etc. The city of Calicut remained as a space of larger debates for further social and cultural movements in the 1950s through its multifaceted political actions. The role of the press and theatre is very significant in these transformations. As a result of these changes political consolidation and cultural debates created a more mature liberal social fabric. By the 1970s, the city is represented heavily through the political changes and cultural debates. Larger unorganised populations like dalits, other

---

[25] Madayi, Thaha. *op.cit.*. pp.49-50.

marginalised groups like urban migrants, street vendors, fishing folk, independent intellectual groups, and non political women's movements were emerged in the cultural lives of the city of Calicut by late 1970s and 1980s. In 1990s these changes configured as new social movements and human rights movements through print and visual medias within the context of globalisation, especially in the backdrop of the development of gulf economy and its internal opportunities and contradictions. Interestingly the strong working class and lower middle class population of the city molded its liberal and human public space. The predominant lower income population in the city always articulated a city of ordinary people and by and large their strong involvement in the city reduced the possibility of elite dominance in the public space of Calicut.

CHAPTER V

The City of the Present: Changing Narratives in Contemporary Mediums

This chapter focuses on how the contemporary, in particular post 1970s imagination, has tried to look at the city and people of Calicut. Here we can locate the fundamental transformation of the city and its population both in representation and reality. Various forms of representational mediums other than literary texts are needed to be examined here to explore these changes, especially new writings in web portals, blogs, social media, etc. The specific features of Calicut city, its location, population, nature of social composition, multiculturalism, inter-regional understandings, etc. are major parameters to understand the narratives on Calicut city in the contemporary period. One thing is very clear that Calicut city has been represented and identified with clear exclusive features compared to many other coastal cities of Kerala.

The growing literature on the medieval and colonial cities of Asian countries largely open many undercurrents of the trembling pattern of the cultural transformation among the upwardly mobile social groups. Most noticeably the researches on the small and larger coastal townships of the Indian subcontinent produce considerable body of literatures on many centuries varying cultural settings under different socio-political situations. The present query on the genesis of post colonial urban changes leads to an assessment of the cultural transformation of different small towns of the colonial countries. The effort of defining various settled populations in the city is the primary concern here and further the question of who are the major city dwellers needs more historical examination. The particular nature of the settlers and the advancement of their settlement system through various socio-cultural relation supports to build a concrete idea of the contemporary cultural life of the people.

Even though Muslim population is not the highest in the city, the city is identified as the political and cultural capital of the Mappila Muslims of Kerala. The Muslim population is counted as 39.2 percentage and Hindus as 56.2 percentage of the total population of Kozhikode district. Headquarters of various Muslim community and political organizations, media houses, other office buildings, etc. are concentrated in the city. When we look into the composition of the population of the Mappilas, it contains diverse denominations in its distributions inside the city. The politically and economically influential Koyas, ordinary Mappilas, fisher folks, etc. are the

major composition among the Mappilas. Koyas, the trading/business class, are concentrated within the city mainly in the south west areas of the city, Kuttichira of Thekkepuram. Their particular way of family structure and exclusive community appearances are historically shaped as part of the larger urban and trading priorities, mainly through their relation with the urban trading class, Arabs, clerics and local elites. The evolution of a particular social group with specific features along with the development of the port city is certainly connected to the 12th century Arab trade, 16th century colonial conquest and its trade and commerce, interaction with 19th century British state building, the national movement and modern state formation. From 12th century to 18th century the heavy transcontinental trade supported the economic prosperity of the urban based Koyas. At the same time the decline of the transcontinental trade and boosting of the regional trade and commerce since 19th century paved the way for local level economic transformation. But Koyas remained as one of the affluent merchant groups of the city throughout the 19th and 20th centuries along with Gujaratis. They maintained a high social status and cultural supremacy in the contemporary day to day city life different from other trading groups. Their life and culture received lots of academic interests among the international scholars in contemporary time. Most of the researches are an effort to differentiate the Koyas from various other city communities. Latest researches on Koyas circulated numerous interesting images of them. Philippo Osella and Caroline Osella observe:

> The Koyas distinguish themselves from the Gujaratis in terms of business practices (eg. involvement in money-lending and inter-coastal trade) and orientation (stress upon economic planning and calculation), as well as life style (saving, thriftiness).[1]

It is visible that the pre-independence notion about the social composition of the city was subtly changed by recent academic exercises. The recent field study of Radhika Kanchana on Calicut city produced a picture of how a micro locality maintains an image of specific religious community space within a larger contemporary city space. The use of the expressions, 'exclusive' and 'proudly' for connecting the elite Muslim city space is distinctive in its analytical frame. Apart from the ethnographical meanings it bares more sociological understanding. She

---

[1] Osella, Philippo and Caroline Osella. "I am Gulf": The production of cosmopolitanism among the Koyas of Kozhikkode, Kerala." *Struggling with History: Islam and Cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean.* Eds. Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. pp. 170-98.

uses these specific expressions to locate the exclusive features of the city in an edited volume, *Muslims in Indian Cities* in 2012.[2] In a recent article, "Islamism and social reform in Kerala, South India" published in an edited volume, *Islamic Reforms in South Asia* in 2013, Philippo Osella and Caroline Osella portray the image of the city population of Koyas as 'modern' or 'reformed' through various community reform programmes. The authors claimed that the decline of 'urban middle class' in Muslim community led to a withdrawal of various traditional ritual practices from their daily Islamic life and this article also tried to project Muslim population in the city with certain parameters of modern characteristics. We need to consider that these numbers of studies on a particular religious sect come out within the global context of identifying Islam under offensive images. The way of presenting a religious community with many positive features within the frame of a city people is seen in these writings. Rolland E. Miller in his recent book *Mappila Muslim Culture* published in 2015 clearly narrates the distinctive culture of Koyas of the city. The attempts to distinguish Koyas from other city communities by using various features and factors are rich in contemporary literatures. Using the photographic images of the Id-gah of the city, the media tried to expose the 'progressive' Koya dominated city community space. Koyas are generally identified as one of the reformist groups of the city among Muslim community. They 'permitted' the entry of women to the mosque and public space with covering dress. Unlike the traditional Sunni sect of the city they perform id *namaz* in the open Id gahs. These Id gahs are generally organized by the Kerala Najvathul Mujahideen led Id Gah Committee of the city. By exposing the images and visuals of the Id-gahs the differences among the Muslim community got absented and the homogeneity is getting projected to the readers and spectators. On 28 November 2009 *The Hindu* published a photograph with the news titled "Id-ul-Azha celebrated".[3] The caption of the photograph is "Offering namaz: The faithful offering Bakrid prayers at Mananchira Square in the city on Friday". It was a specific photograph of Muslim women offering namaz. Different from other parts of the country the participation of women especially the city women in the public space for offering namaz is a distinctive situation in Calicut and in other few towns of Kerala. The same sort of story and photographs are always repeated in many other vernacular and English

---

[2] Kanchna, Radhika. "Kozhikkode (Calicut)'s Kuttichira: Exclusivity Maintained Proudly." *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Indian Marginalisation.* Ed. Laurent Gayer& Christophe Jeffrelot. London: Hurst, 2012.

[3] "Id-ul-Azha Celebrated." *The Hindu.* The Hindu, 28 Nov. 2009. Web.

newspapers. *Deccan Chronicle* published a photograph of a similar kind on 13 September 2016.[4] Media are often trying to project a 'progressive' and 'liberal' Muslim population of the city. Though the academic research writing and media representation are covering a particular group within a religious sect, it largely tries to represent the specific features of the city itself.

The specific sort of identification of a particular Muhammadan coastal city population was derived through centuries in different ways. The locating of the ethnogenesis of Koyas is seen in numerous ways mainly their matrilineal system, cultural forms, food, etc. Matriliny is still one of the major features used for portraying and distinguishing Koyas in contemporary times from other sects of the community. The 'curious' route of the evolution of matriliny largely attracted the late 20th century academic scholarship.[5] The intellectual engagements to explain the matriliny of the coastal city Muslim society is not turned down but it got wider attraction among scholars in the early decade of the present century.[6] We can trace the narratives on the city Muslim population many centuries back from the time of Arab trade and commerce. Later the style of narration has got visible changes during the colonial time. When the city became a modern municipal town the city elite Muslims started getting a different type of representation. Simultaneously Koyas themselves tried to make their own assertive claims of Arab and Nayar descendancy. The particular settlement pattern of Koyas through the structural unit of *tharavadus* (joint families/households) and practice of *marumakkatayam* (matrilineal system) are noticed by the foreign chroniclers and latter colonial records. The examination of the contemporary form of city Muslim representation needs to look to the pre-modern writing on city Muslims. Europeans broadly tried to frame two separate social sections – Koyas and local Muslims – within the city Mohammadan community. Foreign chroniclers stress the "great number of Moorish merchants in the city."[7] Here a particular terrain of hamlet is developed through many centuries with heavy traditional systems and complex cultural values. Outer to a medieval narrow city line a potential settlement centre emerged in the south western quarter of the city, which shares its west with the Arabian Sea and south with the river Kallai. It clearly

[4] "Scholars attack Islamic State: terror at Eid speech." *Deccan Chronicle*. Deccan Chronicle. 13 Sep. 2016. Web.
[5] Dube, Leela. "Conflict and Compromise: Devolution and Disposal of Property in a Matrilineal Muslim Society." *EPW* 29.21 (1994): 1273-77.
[6] Lakshmi, L R S. *The Malabar Muslims: A Different Perspective*. New Delhi: CUP, 2012. and Osella, Caroline. "Desires Under Reform: Contemporary Reconfiguration of Family, Marriage, Love and Gendering in a Transnational South Indian Muslim Community." *Culture and Religion* 13.2 (2012): 241-64 and Dube, Leela. *Ibid.*
[7] *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema. op.cit.,* P.114.

distances from the fishing village, Vellayil on the north, and the city on the eastern side. Thekkepuaram was identified as 'Mappila town' in many of the colonial municipal records. The custom and other practices are marked as specific elements of this area. In this specific nature of settlement and culture the area represents a town within a town. This small size of land contained a sizable pool of water, numerous mosques including medieval period Muchundi and Mishkal mosques and a large number of bigger *marumakkathayam tharavadus* having high architectural significances. (See the appendix) Most of the writings on city and Koyas are curiously trying to explore their ethnic backgrounds especially their connection with the native elite Nairs. Mainly the practice of matriliny and their higher social position support this argument. At the same time the claim of Arab descendancy by and large uses to showcase the elite and influential role of Koyas in the city. Apart from the representation of a community sect these sorts of projection are making a peculiar type of city scape to the readers.

> The history of Thekkepuram *tharavadus* expresses then the complex unfolding of Koya's identity. On the one hand, *tharavadu* stands for claims to upper caste Hindu descent, and hence status. But stronger claims to *marumakkathayam* traditions puts Koyas in a difficult position vis-à-vis Islam, which of course prescribes matrilineal inheritance; and yet, the Koyas claim superior status over patrilineal Muslims, such as fishermen and Mappilas … *Tharavadus* also stand for Koya claims to Arab descent and early conversion to Islam via continuous trade with the Gulf; but they also testify to a strong involvement with the colonial economy, a period of history which has become muted in local historical narratives.[8]

The *tharavadus* of Koya Mappilas are unique and significant in many ways especially the structure represents multiple meaning of cultural dominance of the elite city population. Most of the aristocratic households contained more than two dozens of bedrooms and accommodate number of family members with matriarchal family order having finest architectural importance. At present it is filled with women and children and male members are always absent.[9] In the city the huge structure of mosques and *Tharavadus* exhibits the socio-political aristocracy of wealthy Koyas. The inauguration of the constructions of colonial buildings in the forms of bungalows,

---

[8] Osella, Philippo, and Caroline Osella. "I am Gulf.". *op.cit.,* p. 9.
[9] Miller, Rolland E. *Mappila Muslim Culture: How a Historic Muslim Community in India Blended Tradition and Modernity.* New York: State University of New York Press, 2015. p.180.

hospitals, educational institutions, factories, hotels, etc. widens the mammoth building structure in the other parts of the city. A good number of travel books and online sites use photographs of the huge wooden buildings mainly mosques to identify the city of Calicut. Here we need to see the shaping of an exclusive enclave of an elite Muslim community within the frames of various socio-cultural factors in the city by restricting the entry of other cultures. This enclave while representing many stereotypes of Muslims opens innumerable pictures of the liberal social implications. Interestingly this enclave distances the chance of marginalization, ghettoisation, etc. through the larger cultural interactions in many centuries.[10] One of these medieval Indian Ocean maritime settlements, Thekkepuaram, tried to maintain an exclusive community identity while maintaining larger cultural interaction with numerous religious communities. The architectural structure and size of the houses of the Muslim merchants of the city are more impressive and sizeable than the native Hindus.[11] These huge structures with wooden and architectural styles and peculiar design practices are always using to identify the Indo-Arab trade maritime relation and inter religious harmony. This has been also using to exhibit the non Mughal-Persian influence for the spread of Islam in India compared to central and northern India. The ambience of the Kuttichira pond, medieval wooden mosques and huge houses are filmed by the news reporters of television channels to telecast the rich city Muslim culture during Ramadan and Id. Their food, mobility, open access to the public, etc. are largely described by the news reporters on the background of the Kuttichira mosque and pond. Quite a large number of channels cover the food style of the Muslims of the city especially the Koyas. They always try to showcase their particular style of preparation of Biriyani and the sort of ingredients used for the preparation especially ghee, spices and other aromas. On the other hand most of the visuals are an attempt to showcase the particular type of old Muslim rich food culture to the viewers. Most of the videos stick on the city by specifically taking the Mappila community. The discussions of the nature of cuisines like Biriyani of southern and central/western India exclusively covered the Muslim populated cities like Hyderabad, Guntur, Mangalore, Mumbai and Udupi. The commentary on these visuals largely tries to connect the medieval merchant history and its association with these cities for the presentation of unique cuisine cultures. The cross cultural

---

[10] Kanchana, Radhika. *op.cit.,* pp. 263-286.
[11] Shokoohy, Mehrdad. *Muslim Architecture of South India: The Sultanate of Ma'bar and the Traditions of Maritime Settlers on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts (Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Goa).* New York: Routledge and Curzon, 2003. p.151.

trade is a powerful medium in shaping the food cultures of India. The fabulous smell of Biriyani is not limited to the city, now it spreads across the lager areas of the whole Malabar region. Supriya Unni Nair narrates that:

> Step into the dining room of any traditional Mappilla (Muslim) home in Malabar at meal times and chances are that you'll be enticed by the rich and inviting aroma of mandi, a distant cousin of the biryani. Said to be the traditional dish of Hadhramaut and Sana'a areas in Yemen, the mandi among the relatively unknown delicacies found on Malabar dining tables. A mixture of rice, spices and chicken or lamb, the mandi is made in an oven in the ground tiled with clay bricks. The rice, spices and water are cooked in this oven, while wood coals are placed on top to make sure that steam doesn't escape. The coal is also used to add the extra smoky flavour to the meat which too is cooked in this oven. Care is taken to use the meat of a young goat, which is tender than regular mutton. "It has to be cooked for at least two and a half hours for the flavours to seep in." Mandi is said to be a corruption of the Arabic word "nada", which means "dew". The name is an allusion to the tenderness of the meat.

The aroma or flavour has been spreading through the name of the city and it is recognized as the trademark of 'Calicut biriyani'. More than seven century old Arab relations and the native additions were synchronized to a new flavour. Hence a city cuisine trend is created and it has been widely circulating to expose the food points of the western coast of southern India. Also the common narrations of Goan and western/European food culture are not related to Calicut at any point even though Portuguese had first landed in the city by the end of 15[th]century. The western food culture is generally connected to Kochi instead of Calicut and there it is identified as part of the long maritime relation with Central Asian and North African countries. Likewise the Chinese had a long maritime trade link with the Malabar Coast but their culinary influence is not seen in Malabar cuisines especially in the city of Calicut. Along with the rich cultural cosmopolitanism the city builds a larger gastronomic culture.

City and its food style always fascinate the contemporary traveller across the world and also a specific literary genre was developed in writing on the various recipes of ethnic folks of the city. Numerous recent writings on the south western coast of India especially on its port

towns from Goa to Trivandrum widely capture the picture of the food points of various regions particularly on the Malabar Coast. Most of the writings generally try to cover the endurance of the rich blend of Arabian food culture through the Mappilas of the city especially their aristocratic hospitality customs and other social relations. On the one side these texts narrate the recipe and style of cooking and at the same time the narration usually portray its background through the day to day life and peculiar manners of the local people of the city. The travel writings on traditional ethnic food culture always generally connect with the Mappila community. Hari Menon's writing titled "The irresistible charm of Mappila cuisine in Kozhikode" in *Outlook Traveller* exhibits the various food joints of Mappilas in the city.[12] Most of the food joints are spread in a form of proper 'hotel' or 'restaurant' across the city. A type of 'street food' joints specializing Mappila food is also seen in the city, mainly in Beach Road, SM Street, Kuttichira, etc. which are covered by many television channels and travel writers. Contrary to usual non vegetarian items like, mutton, chicken, etc. street food joints at Calicut city are rich with sea food items like Kallumakkaya nirachatu, Kallumakkaya fry (marinated mussel items), etc. *The Hindu* published a piece of special article titled "A food lover's guide to Kozhikode."[13] We can see an excellent narration on Mappila cuisines of Calicut as follows:

> Every *sulaimani* must be made with a pinch of love. When you drink it, the world should move slow… and then pause," says the old restaurateur to his grandchild in the 2012 film, *Ustad Hotel*. He couldn't have been more right. One glass of this lemon tea feels like a million hugs. The piping hot *sulaimani* at Zains kick-started our food walks around Kozhikode beach. A favourite *adda* for authentic Muslim delicacies, during Ramzan, the place teems with people. *Pazham nirachathu*, deep-fried *nendran pazham* (raw banana) pieces stuffed with coconut and sugar, is the most sought-after evening snack. *Chatti pathiri*, a sweet, layered pastry stuffed with raisins, nuts and fruits, is my favourite. The spicy version, *irachi pathiri*, comes with a chicken stuffing. Not to forget the *mutta mala* — yellow strings of egg yolk mixed in sugar and water — and varieties of biryanis.[14]

---

[12] Menon, Hari. "Oh! Calicut! The Irresistible Charms of Mapplila Cuisine in Kozhikode."*Outlook Traveller.* 8 July 2014. Web.

[13] "A Food Lover's Guide to Kozhikode." *The Hindu* [Kozhikode] 1 July 2016.

[14] *Ibid.*

Along with the food, the life style of the Mappilas of Calicut city is one of the major attractions in the new print and media space. The city based Koyas are following a unique way of life and cultural heritage in their family organisation, fooding, dressing, etc. As a historical trading group the Koyas are heavily associated with the market life of the city. They were called as 'angadikkar' (Market people) in the city. Probably this categorisation might have come from the Hindu people of the city. It is clear that the city was mainly divided into three areas in the medieval period. The first part was the political Capital of the Zamorins, second was the religious/ ritual area of the political class including Nairs, and the third was the harbour and market centre dominated by the Muslim population. The first two centres were not directly connected to the markets though they were mutually associated. Perhaps the market and market people developed a distinctive culture through many centuries of cultural interaction. Consumption of various market goods was the integral part of the life of the wealthy Koyas of the city. It is seen that that the city elite Muslims of Kerala coast traditionally consume larger quantity dry fruits, high quality rice, ghee, etc.[15] Punathil Kunchabdulla in his *Marichupoya Ente Appanammamarkku* (Short story collection) narrates about the people who were going to the weekly markets to buy *kyma* rice for wealthy town Muslims. Easy accessibility of the city and high social status give Koyas a central role in the commercial life. Food, dress, local slang, etc. of the city Muslims are the major factors utilising for their visual representation. It largely leads them to involve in the purchasing of various consumable items in the city. They spend more money for the purchasing of colourful dresses and other decorative items comparing to the other communities of the city. Purdah was absented among the Koyas for a long time. The matriliny *tharavadus* of the koyas are visualised largely with the colourful *oppanas* and wedding ceremonies in Malayalam films in last decades. The Koya women folks like all other Mappila sections use the distinctive women dresses, white *mundu* and *kuppai*. It is important to note that the Koyas or the city educated Muslim population are the first set of Muslim group who adopted *sari* as their daily dress code. They used *sari* with full sleeve blouse as daily dress by considering the covering of the whole body and hair. They are the first set of Muslim population who quickly absorbed salwar kameez in Kerala. The young, student and professional population widely used salwar kameez by covering their hair. The presence of high number of textile showrooms in the city is a direct example for the same. It is noted that colourful saris and churidars were largely

---

[15] Abdulla, Umi. *Malabar Muslim Cookery.* Delhi: Orient Longman Private Limited, 1993.

purchased by city Mappila women folks. *Purdah* has started to make influence among the city Muslims very recently only with the influence of Gulf migration and the new Islamic revivalism. In Kerala, especially in Malabar, after the mass migration to the Gulf and the changes in the nature and position of community organisations, the dress code of Muslim women has shifted to the *purdah* system to a larger extent[16]. The latest representation of the city Muslim women started to appear within this changing dressing pattern. As a result of these changes the nature of the city representation had been changing from last decade onwards.

Two Calicut city based Malayalam films are clear examples of these changes. The 2004 released film *Perumazhakkalam* directed by Kamal made a beautiful visual portrait of the dressing changes of city Muslim women. Contrary to elite family space of the city the film portrayed the economically weaker locality of Kallai area of the city. The romantic and colourful part of the life of the ordinary Muslim family of the city is visualised through a lyric *maharuba mahauba* in this film. The construction of urban women as images and visuals through films, other electronic medias, photos and literary works with its particular beliefs, rituals, religion, history etc. signify multiple meanings to the 'individual' and 'public' spectators. The construction of the image of Muslim urban woman through Sameera, the protagonist in the film, *Daivanaamathil* has made a different image of the women condition in the Muslim community[17]. It is very clear that how the ordinary family setting of the city periphery brings the high socio-cultural images of the city elites to their family life. The exposing of salwar kameez and purdah in this film is done with a plan of visualising social change among city Muslims in recent decades. The imagined colourful self representation of Raziya (Meera Jasmin) was later transformed to the religiously controlled community body and mind. The 2005 released *Achuvinte Amma* directed by Sathyan Anthikkad portrays a mixture of the old and new dress code of the city elite Muslims. One of the songs of this film "*Thamara kuruvikku thattamidu thanga kinavinte kammalidu karimulla kazhuthil elasidu*" is a beautiful visual example of the changing dressing pattern of the elite city Muslim women. The visual shows the old *mundu* and *kuppayam, sari*, *salwar kameez* and *purdah* dress patterns of the different age groups of elite

---

[16] Basheer, M.P. "Malayalam Magazines Drive Women into Purdah.*"* <http://www.cscsarchive.org>.

[17] *Daivanaamathil* (*In the Name of God,* 2005*)* is directed by Jayaraj, based on the screen play of Aryadan Shoukath. The thread of the story is the aftermath of the Babri Masjid demolition and the Gujarat riots. The film received Nargis Dutt Award for Best Feature Film on National Integration and received a State Award for best character actress. See P.V., Haseena. "Text and Image: The Representation of 'Muslim Women' in Select Malayalam films." Diss. Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2013.pp. 71-72.

Muslim family. The construction of two categories in this film, religion (Islam) and women (Muslim women), convey a particular meaning of dressing changes in different age groups as part of social changes. At the same time these films offered a liberal part of the life of the city Muslim women. The belongingness of Muslim backgrounds gives multiple meanings as well as possibilities of cultural exercises over the Muslim woman's representation. One of the recent Malayalam films, *Noora with Love* (2014), based on the story of city Muslim life exposes the upcoming chances of young Muslim woman to choose her own preferences. The images of Muslim women as passive victims got break in some of the urban based films. It is a general tendency that most of the urban characters, especially women, are always representing as protagonists in Indian cinema.[18] The young educated and professional city Muslim women characters realise that the emerging 'mediascape' is a better option for this. Representation of the city is central in these films rather than the image of gender, community, etc. The identity bonds of the characters are deep routed with the city and its cultural fabric.

I

Hotels, restaurants, and auto rickshaws are largely represented in most of the contemporary writing on Calicut. Food lovers wrote a number of their experiences in the city. Some of the restaurants are often represented in these narratives. The 1939 opened Paragon restaurant became a centre point of the Mappilas as well as Malabar cuisines in the city. The interesting thing is that this restaurant is owned and managed by a traditional Tiyya family of the city. A blog post titled "Kozhikode – The City of Small Goodness" by Balachandran V narrates:

> It is well known among Malayalees (it could be a myth too) that further the north
> of Kerala you go, more good the people are. For eg, the autorickshaw drivers of
> Kozhikode are famous for their politeness and the just fare they ask you. I have
> visited Kozhikode several times and every time I was impressed by their
> behaviour. They never charge you extra, they don't take you for a roundabout,

---

[18] Kaarsholm, Preben. *City Flicks: Indian Cinema and the Urban Experience*. Kolakata: Seagull Books, 2007. pp.17-19.

they are polite to a point. But this quality extends to people of other walks too. Hoteliers, shopkeepers, passers-by.

It is noon…. In the sweltering heat, I walk the streets around Mananchira Maidan, unwilling to go back to the Retiring Rooms. A young man comes over, leans into the vehicle and takes out two packets in aluminum foil, one big and one small, and hand it over to someone. The recipient is obviously a labourer or a tramp. As I watch, an old lady walks up, gives a namaste to the young man; and again he dips into the Willy's, takes out another two packets and gives it to her. I notice a banner behind the Willy's. I read, 'Pothi-choru' (Packed Lunch). The young man notices me and smiles. I ask him what is going on. He is one of a small group of friends who come here every noon with lunch packets - 30 or 40 - cooked at home. He says it is rice and fish curry. Did you have your lunch, Sir, he asks. I will give you one. I decline, suppressing a burp which carries the fragrance of Fish Biriyani from Saagara.[19]

The programme and campaign of 'compassionate Calicut' by the district administration is a continuation of this tradition of life. As part of this the district administration launched a new programme called 'Operation Suleimani' to provide free food to the needy people through registered hotel chains using free food coupons. More than its general nature the campaign of this programme targeted the long historical compassionate character of the city people. The honesty of the autorickshaw drivers are the major point of representation. One of the reports in *The Hindu,* "An Honest Auto Driver Makes Kozhikode Proud" is as follows:

Kozhikode owes its pseudonym 'City of Truth' mostly to the honesty of its auto rickshaw drivers. But the recent years have seen their popularity take a dip due to the increasing number of complaints received against the city's auto rickshaw drivers. Last Monday evening, an auto rickshaw driver's unusual good turn has become a rallying point for the city's police force, the district administration and prominent citizens to jointly revive the 5,000-odd strong community's good name. In January, Noushad C.V., an auto rickshaw driver in the city, waited for three hours outside a private hospital for his passenger to return and claim his bag of valuables. "It was a

---

[19] V. Balachandran. " Kozhikode- The City of Small Goodness." *My Travels, My Life.* 2 June 2013.

trip from the railway station to a private hospital. He forgot the bag and I waited outside until he came back looking for it. He just took it from me, said 'thanks' and walked away," Mr. Noushad recounted. Three months after this incident, it was time for the city to pay back Mr. Noushad for his honesty.

Today, he was gifted a new auto rickshaw. The vehicle is the first 'Safe Track' auto rickshaw equipped with amenities like drinking water, emergency helpline numbers, newspapers, radio, mobile chargers, among other facilities. A visually-handicapped person needs to pay only half the meter charge. The vehicle was donated by Baithuzzakath Kerala, a charity group. "We saw news reports about Noushad's good deed. We were curious to know why he did it. So we spoke to several auto rickshaw drivers in the city. Most of them said it was a usual occurrence in the city, people always forgets things in auto rickshaws. Noushad is an exception. For a person who showed honesty to the society, we decided we should give him back something," said P.M. Janardhanan, a retired senior police officer and patron of Trauma Care, Kozhikode, which led the campaign for Noushad. Trauma Care has already trained 463 auto rickshaw drivers in road safety and accident rescue. Mr. Janardhanan said 100 of them would be chosen to run more Safe Track auto rickshaws in the city[20].

These categories of accounts are plentiful about this city and more captivatingly a kind of personalized narratives always incorporates several antecedents to the larger narratives. People like auto rickshaw drivers, head load workers, other menial workers, grocery showroom walas, tea shoppers, etc. and their generous behavior are placed in many of the narratives on Calicut. A number of cities of India have been controlled either by the business or political class or mafias, goondas, underworlds, etc. But in the case of Calicut the day to day socio - cultural activities are handling by the people of the city only. The working class population always occupies an upper hand in the daily life of the city. The trade union activities are very active among different work force across the community barriers. The secular trade union and commercial activities make a vibrant civic sense among the larger population of the city. Ashutosh Varshney's study of two old Muslim populated cities, Aligarh and Calicut, reveals the specific socio-cultural value of

---

[20] Rajagopal, Krishnadas. "An honest auto driver makes Kozhikode proud." Kerala. *The Hindu.* The Hindu. 27 May 2013. Web.

Calicut by taking it as 'peaceful' one in its categorization.[21] Varshney argued that Hindu-Muslim civic integrity is very deep in Calicut.[22] According to him apart from the religious bonds the larger inter religious connection and associations are one of the socio cultural distinctiveness of Calicut. The everyday interaction of various communities through multiple platforms builds a liberal public sense and space in the core and peripheries of the city. Perhaps this particular type of socio-cultural fabric is evolved through the 'old fashioned' cosmopolitanism [23]. The distinctiveness of the city is seen in the writings of Barbara Reidel:

> Coming to Kozhikode as a visitor you will first find nothing special about it. Compared with other up-coming and internationally connected cities of present India like Bangalore or Hyderabad, Kozhikode seems sedated and self content. But if you stay a little longer you will soon notice that the city has something has an 'old fashioned' cosmopolitan atmosphere: very busy with all kinds of small and large scale trade and commerce, many schools and colleges, bookstalls, libraries and book fares, newspapers in English and Malayalam. Life continues quite leisurely here but at the same time the city has not shut itself away from the influence of modern world.[24]

Apart from the old branding of 'city of truth' the 'city of caring' is most suitable in contemporary time. One web portal narrated that:

> Calicut people are over proud about their home town and culture. They believe that Calicut is the most sincere and loving district in Kerala. There is no other districts in Kerala love their home towns in the way Calicutains do. You can check bundle of nostalgic videos and social media posts promoting Calicut published by Calicut people. I believe such stuffs are mainly designed by the large number of Calicut nostalgic people living in Middle East.[25]

---

[21] Varshney, Ashutosh. "States or Cities? Studying Hindu-Muslim Riots." *Regional Reflections: Comparing Politics across India's States.* Ed. Rob Jenkins. Delhi: OUP, 2004.

[22] *Ibid*. p.210.

[23] Reidel, Barbara. "Cosmopolitanism at Work on the Malabar Coast of South India – a study with Muslim students in Kozhikode." *Transcience* Vol.4, Issue 2.(2013):39 and N.G., Archa. "Cosmopolitanism in a City: The Past and Present of Calicut." *Café Dissensus.* 15 Feb. 2016. Web.

[24] Barbara Reidel, *op.cit.,* P. 39.

[25] M.P., Ashwajith. "Interesting Facts about Calicut." *Jithumpa.* Aswajith Online. 15 April 2014. Web.

The attempts for projecting the nostalgic memory of the life of the city by its diaspora clearly show the internal cultural strength of the city. It is already noticed that more than a dozen of the music clubs are working in gulf countries in the name of Baburaj. They meet once in a week or month in a get-together manner and sing the old melodies of the city.

II

The study of the contemporary representation of Calicut city requires the analysis of the transformation from medieval to colonial priorities and it needs to stress the building of the colonial urban priority over the declined medieval trade emporium. By avoiding the grand narratives of the colonial urbanism and its multi dimensional institutional implication it is easy to go to the exploration of changes in the day to day lives of the city's local people and it can clearly offer an estimate of the socio- cultural and spatial changes of the city. Along with the economic decline the city addressed certain clear socio-cultural challenges from 16th to late 18th century. The collapse of century long trade relation between Arabs and the native population under the patronage of Zamorins is one of the major changes in the 16th century. The huge overseas trade collapsed and new political dominance was centralized through the production of various trade commodities and procurement of numerous natural resources. In the socio-cultural milieu the medieval culture and practices slowly disappeared and colonially concerned forms of relations were emerged. The process of the linking of hinterland markets with the Calicut city was one of the main steps under the new colonial economic system. Also the integration of the politically, economically and culturally scattered various *nadus* came under the city politics. A different idea of the city slowly started shaping under the new regime from the place of traditional concept of *angadis*. As a result of various changes within the new urban area different cultural spaces came to existence through many ways. Mappilas and Tiyyas started to develop their own historical narratives. The rising interests of the new urban classes made a fresh direction to these discourses. Along with that Calicut city became the centre of reform activities of various communities especially Mappilas and Tiyyas. The direct relation of urban Mappilas with the British authority largely diverted them to more government friendly relations contrary to the rural Mappilas. Even up to the First World War the elite city Muslims heavily supported the British government and organized a number of events on the occasion of British royal family

159

ceremonies and conducted prayers for the well being of the British. In return the city elite Mappila heads often received greetings, honours and respect from the district collectors, judges and other key government officials during various occasions. A sizable number of elites both wealthy and religious heads including traders, land lords, etc. received the Khan Sahib and Khan Bahdur titles up to 1920s. The city influential elites depended on British officials to narrow down community problems. We can trace number of cases of police interference in the problems of the various sections of the Mappilas in the Kuttichira. British kept an equal distance from each group of the Kuttichira area and took more interest in the stable politicisation of the urban Muslim population. The circumstances after the Mappila riot in 1921 was carefully observed by the British and they intervened in the municipal administration with the support of the elected members. Interestingly the government agencies largely supported the reform activities among Mappilas of the city through the urban elites. Generally under this impression the city Muslims are always represented as gentle folk in the later colonial and post independence period through their city identity. The direct representation of the city Muslims always asserts that the city space is more important than community in the case of Calicut. In contemporary times within the city number of local accounts on the origin of the locality started to articulate in an assertive manner to get a space under the new regime. Major caste and religious communities tried to make distinctive socio-cultural histories through their urban experience. These local narratives and assertion tried to connect their history and culture entirely different from the general myth of the origin of the city and the cultural hegemony of Zamorins in contemporary time.

In late 19th century itself city Mappilas were involved in the public and cultural activities. Under the initiatives of Khadar Ussain various plays were performed in Calicut.[26] They realized the possibility of theater/stage performances for the social changes in their community. In 1909 a group of young people in the Kuttichira area organized a Hindustani play 'Inder Sabha' and it raised strong criticism from the community leaders.[27] Though they faced severe criticism from the community leaders the interests in theater performance and music among city Mappilas were not diminished. We can find the presence of a number of Hindustani musical groups in Calicut. The elite city Muslims hosted different Hindustani musical troupes in their residence. Hindustani

---

[26] Parappil, P.P. Mammad Koya. *Kozhikotte Muslimkalude Charithram.*1994. Calicut: Focus Publications, 2012. p.289.

[27] *Ibid*. Inder Sabha was an Urdu musical dance play written by Agha Hasan Amanat and it was first staged in 1853.

musicians Ustad Satakatulla, Abdul Kareem Khan, Bangalore Abdu Razak, Guljan Muammed, Gul Muhammed etc. visited the city in the early part of the 20th century.[28] As a continuation to this tradition M.S. Baburaj (Muhammed Samir Babu) became the most popular Hindustani musician in the city. His father was a Bengali Hindustani musician and mother was from the city. He successfully made numerous songs by mixing the Hindustani ragas and Malayalam lyrics in the period 1950s – 1970s and introduced a separate popular mehfil culture in the city. He made a distinctive tune in the Muslim based stories of films in the form of wedding songs like "oru kotta ponnundallo" and "pullimanalla mailalla" (*Kuttikuppayam)*, "ee chiriyum chiriyalla" (*Subaida)*, etc. The city started to be known by the name of Baburaj in 1960s and 70s through his excellent musical experiments and its musical culture. The city hosted a number of musical evenings at that time. Mehfil culture was developed in India as part of the courtly entertainment of Hindustani poetries. Later it was added to the elite city Muslim entertainment in different versions in all over India. But in Calicut the mehfil culture came not as part of any kind of elite and royal patronage. It developed as a popular and common man's entertainment in the city and the popularity of the city is still represented through the mehfil recitals. The recent Malayalam movie *Indian Rupee* (2011) used the visuals of the mehfils for representing the Calicut city's liberal and harmonious space. Muzafar Ahamad noted that we can find the regular organization of mehfils even in the fishing villages/ meenchappas of the city[29]. Also we can see a number of music clubs who use to organize musical programmes like Rafi night and Baburaj night. *The Hindu* reported that:

> On six days of the week, Hydros Koya's house, near Mankavu in Kozhikode, simply stands witness to the usual buzz of people and vehicles passing by. But come Sunday, it transforms itself into a veritable musical paradise. Scores of music aficionados of vintage film music from all walks of life – from retired bureaucrats to autorickshaw drivers and students – flock to his abode.

> Mohamed Koya, affectionately called Radio Koya or Koyakka, has been treating them with musical gems, mostly Mohammed Rafi numbers, for the past 24 years. Anyone might walk in, get themselves immersed in this ocean of melodic bliss,

---

[28] *Ibid.*,290.

[29] Ahmed, V. Musafar. "Pakalukalum Raathrikalum, Kozhikottu.". *Kozhikkode: Orormappustakam*. Ed. P. Zakir Hussain. Kozhikode: Olive Publications, 2012. pp.292-310.

and try a hand at their own favourites, topping it all off with a 'sulaimani' (black tea) served by Koyakka's family.30

The city and its representation through these kinds of specific cultural elements are abundant in the case of Calicut in contemporary times. It is often seen that a number of newspapers cover the reports of mehfils and music events of the city by connecting its rich musical tradition.

A numbers of present researches on the colonial port cities stress the composition of the structure of the population and its distribution in different social settings to examine the evolution of these cities. There are many memoirs/diaries of noted native renowned personalities and outsiders which showcase how they perceive the city through their own experience with the people of the city in the second half of the 20th century. Most of the writings are a clear 'appreciation' of the celebrated 'Kozhikodan' way of social interactions and social relations. In a wider interdisciplinary perspective cultural ethnography engages to look into these distinctive popular discourses to problematize how a historical small town society 'unlike' many other coastal cities evolved such fascinating cultural value. The consistent and transparent as well as the innocent social interactions are the main elements in their particular social setting. It is exciting to spot how this small town clearly built a solid multicultural social life apart from the possibility of colonial port cities. By using the commercial opportunities to involve in the trade in the city the entrepreneurial Muslim population set up an exclusive social identity in the public space of the city different from other trading groups.

A.K. Gopalan, popularly known as AKG, in his autobiography narrated his experiences in Calicut in the 1930s when he spent time there as a Congress Socialist Party leader for organizing the tile and textile workers. He noted that the workers of this city, especially Muslim workers, are very unique in their personal behavior and daily life. They use to invite other people/guests for a cup of tea wherever they meet and offer beedi after the tea. They believe that those who turn down this invitation are not their companions.[31] M.T Vasudevan Nair also recollects similar experience. He noted that it was a pleasure of the people of Calicut to have a cup of tea after a personal conversation whenever they meet. It is a big enjoyment for the people

---

30 Binoy, Rasmi. "Melody manzil." *Hindu.* Music. The Hindu. 15 May 2014. Web.
31 Gopalan, A.K. *Ente Jeevitha Kadha.* Thiruvananthapuram: Chintha Publishers, 2013, p.76.

if we are ready to have the tea with any snacks like *masala dosa* or *poori*.[32] Drinking a cup of *sulaimani* (a type of Malabari special tea with spices and lemon) is an integral part of their food culture. Tea culture with various *masalas/*spices in the city might be the result of the long connection with the Arabs. These sorts of memories, some of them even written before 1950s, are still reprinting in different versions especially for different books titled on Calicut and its people in memoir form, souvenirs and local history literatures. It is noticed that the District Collector of Malabar William Logan in late 19th century continued his writing to the key people of the city even after his retirement from long service at Malabar. He was impressed by the hospitality he received in the town and the district[33].

It is interesting to note that even though Arabs spread coffee in Southern India in the 17th century[34], the coffee habit is not seen in the Muslim populated towns of western coast of Southern India. We can find British planted coffee in the western ghats of southern India largely but the coffee drinking culture is not developed in this larger region.[35] Throughout the Arabian Peninsula tea is a hospitality drink that is served to one's guests.[36] In the Calicut city based Malayalam movie *Ustad Hotel* (2012)*,* directed by Anjali Menon, one of the main actors, Kareem (Thilakan) says to his grandson Faizee (Dulquer Salman) that if you add a little bit of *mohabbat* to *sulaimani* the taste will be something special ("Every *sulaimani* needs a bit of *mohabbat* in it, when you sip the world should slow down and pause here. The taste of *sulaimani,* only those who tried would know it"). The movie tried to exhibit the diversity and vibrancy of the food culture of the city along with the socio-cultural relations. The local variants of the food culture and its social relation are integral to the food and hospitality culture of Calicut. Local ingredients are very exclusive in the food preparation and we cannot see any seasonal cuisine. The food culture of the city is not specific to the city only, but it is historically developed as the regional cuisine of the whole of Malabar. The different aspects of food production including style of preparation and the nature of consumption and ethical part of social relations of the city people through the long historical progression show a liberal non vegetarian

---

[32] Nair, M.T. Vasudevan. " Kozhikode: Chila Ormappottukal." Ed. P. Zakir Hussain, *op.cit.,* pp. 25-32.

[33] Kurup, K.K.N. "William Logan: Life and Contributions." *Malabar Manual.* Vol.I. Ed. P.J. Cheriyan. *op.cit.,* p.xxvii.

[34] Sen, Collen Taylor. *Food Culture in India.* Westport: Green Wood Press, 2004. p.26.

[35] British started the first coffee plantation in Anjarakndy of the Cannanore and subsequently in the hill terrains of Wayanad taluk. See for more details, Logan, William. *Malabar Manual.* Vol II. *op.cit.,* p.cclxxii.

[36] "Teas of the Arabian Peninsula" *Mj's Kitchen.* 26 Sep 2011. Web.

food culture of the city, which is entirely different from Hyderabadi and Mughal culture. Here chicken and mutton cook in onion, ghee and spices rather than butter and curd like Mughals. Any sort of 'secret' assorted spices are not used in the cooking process. Tandoor and *roti* items are largely absent and instead they cook rice in coconut oil with regional spices and green vegetables. The long Arab and European connection made an exciting spicy menu in the city. It created an organic ethnic food culture among the native elite Mappilas. Apart from the cooking style this culture is rich with the finest mode of spicy and sweet items of foods and highest quality of hospitality culture with variety home cooks. Most of the food items are rich with high calorie contents and native staple items. Hence nowadays the city is constantly identified as a centre of the luxurious food scape of Kerala. There is no doubt that the cuisines of the city are not developed with any royal patronage like Hyderabad, Delhi, Lucknow, etc. The culinary and hospitality culture of the city was developed out of the rich popular culture of the city. By using the staple items like rice, coconut and fruits of the locality and mixing the native and Arab flavours the city has developed various popular dishes. The recipes of the items are not secret and hereditary like many of the royal or elite cuisine. Like all sort of exclusive identity of the Malabar Muslims, their cuisine cultures are also very distinctive compared to Mughlai and Hyderabadi styles. The political conquering culture of the Afghans and trade culture of the Arabs are important to note here. Trading Arabs were the descendants of the Mappilas and Arabs brought their cuisine culture to Calicut. It is not developed as a regional variant of the Mughlai, but as an exclusive Muslim food culture in the city. We can see that subsequent to the 'Abbasid culinary revolution' from 9th to 13th century the Arabian foodscapes were widened and subsequently they started disseminating in Indian peninsula through trade and political intervention.[37] Malabar Coast especially Calicut received enormous number of Arab people in the following centuries. The main feature of the Arabian food culture is marked as their hospitality and also they use to prepare food for larger members of the group either for family or for any trade or community groupings. The culinary world view of Arabs converged with the native Muslims' social life at large through many centuries. This food culture is not a homogenous one; it manifests several culinary cultures of larger West and Central Asia. Hence the rich and traditional cuisine culture is surviving after many centuries and has become popular across the region. This generated a healthy celebrated ethics in food and interpersonal culture.

---

[37] Reynolds, Dwight F., ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Arab Culture.* Cambridge: CUP, 2015. p.279.

The new media of the present day largely narrate and visualize the taste and hospitality of this culture. The city is central in all these narrations and visuals.

Food and food culture in a globalised society always get larger attention among the cultural theoreticians. The cultural study of food is always branding in the heads like, ethnic food, traditional cuisines, exotic spices, etc. [38] The long historical transcontinental cultural exchanges formulated an excellent recipe and hospitality culture here in Calicut. Even though the British had directly ruled the city and its periphery for about hundred and fifty years, the city was not developed as a centre of larger European cuisines comparing to Mangalore and Cochin. Instead of that it enriched with varieties of Arabian and other west Asian culinary practices. Different meats are prepared in numerous ways by using different spices, grasses and herbs. Varieties of dried fruits and nuts are extensively added in diverse food preparations. As a result of this the city is branded as the centre of high quality native–Arab food joints in the entire western coast in contemporary media.

Despite various visual representations of the culinary culture of the city in contemporary time the recipes of various sweet and non-vegetarian food items occupied a number of publications in 1990s.[39] While most of the visual representations tried to show luxurious food preparations and consumption, the literature on food provides detailed accounts on the food culture of Calicut. The historically valued culture of cooking is undervalued and the exotic ingredients get attention through these processes. Documentation of food items is a major part of the cook books. In the case of Malabar Muslim cuisine especially Biriyani, the literature tried to communicate a non Mughal style of preparation. These books through the narratives of southern Indian Biriyani preparation challenge the notion that the Mughals have introduced Biriyani in India. Major royal/elite city centers of Southern India developed their own style of socio-cultural space unlike their northern counterparts like Delhi, Lucknow and Awadh. Numerous delicate items of Muslim community of the city are explained through the variety of colourful flavours in many cooking texts. Even though most of the items are prepared in the staple food item, rice especially khaima rice, it is always mixed with delicious non vegetarian varieties like chicken,

[38] Goody, Jack. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A study in Comparative Sociology*. Cambridge: CUP, 1982.
[39] Abdulla, Umi. *op.cit.*

mutton and fish including egg with cardamom, cinnamon, nutmeg, raisins, cashew nuts, etc.[40] Also interestingly many of the food items are prepared with high use of coconut and coconut oil along with a large quantity of ghee. While the textuality of the recipe makes a frame of the community cuisine, the visualization of these culinary cultures are projected through the functions like wedding and other religious festivals like, Id and Ramadan in various mediums. Along with these, the day to day cuisines of this people is available in various textual and visual narratives.[41] In the recent decade numerous city food items especially of the Muslim community have been narrated by various food lovers.

Here it is important to look at the two major urban Muslim areas: Calicut and Tellichery. How these two localities make a difference in their cuisines is significant in the distinctive identity of the *kozhikkodan* Muslim cuisines. Mainly the special tastes and aroma of spices is the distinctive feature of the biriyani of Malabar region.[42] The film *Ustad Hotel* portrayed the space of a hotel with various social relations and cultural exchanges of the city. The making of *biriyani* in this film showcases the nuance of the taste, cooking, practices of restaurant management, relation with customers, etc. Contrary to another contemporary film *Salt and Pepper* (2011) this film tried to put an impression of *mohabbat* in the taste of the cuisines and links to a wider social relation by selling *biriyani* for its aromatic taste and not for profit. This film tried to expose the food culture of the city and its exclusive Muslim community as well as how they build inter-social relation with others. By projecting the food culture especially its diversity most of the visuals of the films and other videos related to food culture of Calicut tried to present the cultural diversity of the city. Apart from the nature of the food the texts stress and depict the city itself.

Using *tharavadus* as a centre of the elite colourful family systems, luxurious culinary areas, lavish clothing, pretty local slang, etc. is a way to represent the city family organization. The generous and high level of hospitality culture of the people of this location is appreciated by many of the travel writers and media. M. G. S Narayan argues that hospitality towards new people, religions and religious institutions was historically part of the custom of this town.[43]

[40] Shilujas, M. "Malabar Bakshanapperuma." P.B. Salim, N.P. Hafis Mohamad and M.C. Vasisht, eds.*op.cit* pp.586-87.
[41] "Calicut Chicken Biryani Recipe" Smart Cooky. *Ndtv.com.* Web.
[42] "Kozhikodan Biriyani" *Suji's Cooking.* 3 Nov.2014. Web.
[43] N.G.,Archa. "Calicut, the city of truth, hospitality, symbiosis: A conversation with MGS Narayanan". *Café Dissensus*.15Feb.2016. Web.

Holiday IQ, one of India's largest travel information portals, gives the label "love and hospitality" to this city.[44]

> The city has something to make you cheer. They love music irrespective of languages and support artists well. Same is the case with their mad love for football. Rafi, Kishore and Mukesh have great followers here. Over all Kozhikode is a cheerful experience and a must visit place.[45]

The distinctive features of Calicut are identified in numerous ways in recent times. One group of scholars identified four unique features to the city: Calicut cuisine, Uru (traditional vessel), Kalaripayattu (traditional martial art) and Calicut trade hub.[46] The representation of the city through their hospitality and cuisine is central to most of the contemporary mediums.

The relationship between ethnographic perceptive and visual possibilities is very problematic in several senses in the representation of different social groups. We can find the ethno and socio- economic landscapes are undergoing different types of representation and it has been developed into a site for multiple cultural reproductions. The charming visuals with their distinctive languages generate a process of actualization of different social practices. Here the question of the representation of the changing nature of cultural practices is taken into consideration in a most comprehensive way. Certain level of interdisciplinary engagements is needed to understand the embodied beliefs, familial and ethnic organizations of city people. The correlation and contradiction of ethnic groups, their cultural representation, and the visual technology are subjected to rigorous analysis. The idea of specific local community in colonial time and in the time of globalization has different meanings.

The heritage settlements of different communities, distinctive ethnographic identities, and numerous material artifacts like mosques, temples, churches, housing complexes, industrial units, ponds, markets, warehouses, etc. are always used visually to project the city.[47] Numbers of recent Malayalam films use these specific forms to showcase the city and its people and culture.

---

[44] Kunnoth Sunil. "Kozhikode, the city of love and hospitality." *Holiday IQ.* 26 Nov.2015. Web.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Kumar, Deepak S., Lakshmi Manohar and Priyanka Singh. "Marketing and Branding of Calicut as a Smart City Destination." *Smart Economy in Smart Cities.* Ed. T.M. Vinod Kumar. Singapore: Springer Nature, 2017. p.359.

[47] N.P. Hafis Mohamad. "Kozhikkotte Koyamaar". Salim, P.B., N.P. Hafis Mohamad and M.C. Vasisht, eds. *op.cit.,* pp.424-27; A.K., Kasthurba. *Kuttichira–A Medieval Muslim Settlement of Kerala – with Special Reference to Architectural Heritage.* Vatakara: Malabar Institute for Research and Development, 2012.

The Malayalam film *Achuvinte Amma,* directed by Sathyan Anthikkad (2005) uses the Muslim *nalukettu* houses and its matrilineal household systems to visualize the food habits and the city Mappila's luxurious consumption styles. The story is completely developed in the Calicut city space. It was criticized by the film critics in the context of the 9/11 socio-political cultural context.[48] The food habit of a particular community is becoming an object of representation in the case of Mappilas of Calicut. The city and its peculiar social relation are central in this film. The deep rooted relationship between the key characters mother Vanaja (Urvashi) and her daughter Achu (Meera Jasmin) is projected within the socio-family relation of Calicut, which is somewhat different from other cities in Kerala. The film is produced by the Grahalakshmi Productions of Calicut by using the traditional and contemporary physical and cultural landscape of the city.

Another movie *Vesham* directed by V.M. Vinu was an effort to screen a story of a business family in the city and their traditionally interconnected social relations with other segment of the city society especially to their workforce. The leading characters, Appu (Mammotty) and his father Pappettan (Innocent) always assert the city's ethical value in various contexts especially how they establish their life in the city's Palayam Market as loading workers to one of the major wealthy family houses. They have their own business relations, business managements and accounting patterns. The script writer of this movie, T.A. Razak, effectively uses the capacity of city language to exhibit the powerful ethical family and social relations in the city from his own experiences.

Another recent Malayalam movie *Indian Rupee,* written and directed by Ranjit Balakrishnan (2011) is an effort to explore the internal changes in the city as a consequence of the black money and real estate business. The story of the film develops through the visuals of the two young real estate agents in the city. The main actor Jayapraksh called JP ((Prithviraj Sukumaran) and his partner CH (Tini Tom) were the small real estate dealers of the city. The general theme of the film is the easy money making through real estate business, which can be seen in all parts of the country, but the specific focus on Calicut city gives distinctiveness to this story. Even though the film covers the real estate business of the city, it tries to portray the city's

---

[48] Ramachandhran, G.P. " Parihaasyarude Beekara Vaadanghal." *Malayala Cinema: Dhesham, Bhasha, Samskaaram*. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute, 2009. p. 207.

exclusive spaces through gazals/mehfils, music, markets, traditional middle class family units, etc. The city landscape is central in this movie, mainly various community family households, local slang, food, social relation, etc.

This is one among the other movies based on the cities of Kerala. The flims like *Salt and Pepper, Ee Adutha Kalathu, Vedi Vazhipadu,* etc. on Trivandrum city, *Annaym Rasoolum, Honey Bea, Chappakurishu,* etc. on Kochi, *Kayyoppu, Penpattanam, Shutter, Indian Rupee, Ustat Hotel, To Noora with Love,* etc. on Calicut, *Pranchiyettan and the Saint* about Thrissur, and finally *Thattathin Mararayathu* on Tellichery are examples of using city space as a plot. All these films use the specific language styles of each city along with their exclusive land marks and specific objects. *Shutter* (2012), a film directed by Joy Mathew is an outstanding attempt to set and film the Calicut city in many angles and especially it made success in connecting the city core and its life into its peripheral village. The effort of connecting suburban areas to the city is remarkable in its visuals. The distinctive nature of the city particularly its simplicity is very clear in these visuals. *Penpattanam* (2010) directed by V.M. Vinu showcases the life of the ordinary city dwellers. Even before all these movies, *Kaiyoppu* (2007) written and directed by Renjith, beautifully visualized the melodious part of the city life.

III

Within the context of the withdrawal of the Non Co-operation Movement, brutal suppression of Mappila rebellion and its larger social tensions the nationalist leaders were engaged in various socio-political campaigns in Malabar. The practices of circulating pamphlets against the British rule were critically estimated by the nationalist leaders and they considered about a systematic printing unit for the political activities. Individual efforts of K.P. Kesava Menon, K. Madhavan Nair, etc. and full political support from KPCC made an environment at large for the starting of a newspaper in the city to lead the campaign for national freedom and social upliftment. It finally resulted in the starting of the *Mathrubhumi* in early 1920s. It is undoubted that this print house has played crucial role in the later political and cultural life of the city. In the opening years the circulation was concentrated in the city and its suburban areas only. It attracted city people to the nationalist programmes and supported the shaping of a new vision and actions for political

changes. The important thing is that the political activity mainly the campaign was limited only in the newspaper, and the office of *Mathrubhumi* became a centre of the nationalist leaders, literary figures and various significant personalities of the city. Apart from the regular print house the space of *Mathrubhumi* directly absorbed a new public culture in the city. It led to an unparalleled literary and intellectual environment in the city since 1950s.

At present the city accommodates two dozens of publishing houses. We could see the larger political disagreements and the emergence of a powerful socialist block within the KPCC from the end of 1930s, but in *Mathrubhumi* the writings of the socialist leaders often got sufficient space. In 1937 a conference of the Malabar Progressive Writers was held at Calicut. Various sections of people mainly workers, peasants, writers, artists, etc. steadily made a joint platform to work for various demands. Simultaneously Kerala Congress Socialist Party (KCSP) started a newspaper under the editorship of E.M.S Namboodiripad at Shornur, south of the Malabar district and later they shifted the publication to Calicut. But it has not survived in the city and in 1942 following the emergence of an organized Communist Party a newspaper, *Dheshabimani,* was started in the city and Calicut became the capital of the anti colonial and other political movements of the district. We can see that various print units attracted a number of notable personalities to the city from early 1920s to mid 1940s. Most of the newspapers started printing on daily basis by this time and extended their circulation into rural areas. Along with journalistic affairs many of them were actively involved in the creative activities. The initial discourses of the new cultural life in the city started from this period onwards. Most importantly through the advertisements various consumer products were introduced to the city. Through the influence of these print and creative cultures the city became a centre of progressive thoughts and movements in the last three decades.

The most important thing is that the waterlogged banks of the river Kallai were used largely for the commercial and settlement centers in the late 19th and early part of the 20th centuries. As a result of the increasing large scale timber trade in the river Kallai, the river bank became a dense settlement centre of the Calicut Municipality. River Chaliyar was the main carrier of the timber from the Nilambur Valley in the colonial time. River Kallai became one of the comfortable navigable routes for the timber merchants. A large number of sawmills and timber stores/depots were set up in the banks of the river Kallai. The opening of the man made

canal called Canolly Canal (about 11-km) which linked the Korapuzha river in the north and Chaliyar river in the south of Kozhikode accelerated the inland waterway through River Kallai that resulted in the increase of the volume of timber trade in the Calicut city. Kallai flourished as one of the largest wood markets in the world at that time. *Janmis* gave the water logged land to the poor workers of sawmills and other labourers related to the commercial activities of the city on annual rent. Numbers of houses were set up on this river bank in the early 20th century. The size of the population increased largely; Mappilas became the sizable number of the people who occupied the land on river banks.

In the second half of the 20th century this region became one of the cultural land marks of the city in Malayalam literature and film. The song "*Kallaipuzhayoru Mannavatti, Kadalinte Mannavatti, Pathinaaru Thikanchittum Kallyannan Kazhinchittum Pavada Mattatha Mannavatti, Kizhakkan Malayude Molannu*" in the movie Maram (1973) directed and produced by Yusuf Ali Kechery is one of the best examples of this. The story of the movie was written by a renowned Malayalam novelist from the same city, N.P. Mohammed. A number of films later portrayed the unique features of this river bank and its life style in various films. It is identified as one of the romantic spaces of the city in Malayalam film and it has a continuous influence on the film makers, writers, activists, etc. The 2005 Malayalam film *Perumazhakalam* beautifully portrayed the romantic imagery of the river Kallai. The song "*Kallayi kadavathe kaattonnum mindeelle, manimaran varumennu cholliyilee, varumennu paranjittum varavonnum kandilla, khalbile maina innum urangella, madhu masa ravin ven chandranai njan arikathu ninittu kandille nee kandille*" represents the true love story of a couple living on the banks of Kallai river in Calicut. The interesting thing is that the river bank represents the fascinating imagery of intense love in contemporary medias.

The role of Akashavani in the making of more vibrant cultural life in the city is very crucial. Eminent Malayalam literary figures Uroob (P.C. Kuttikrishnan), N.M. Kakkad, Thikodiyan, U.A. Khadar, etc. spent their best time of life in Kozhikode when they were working in Akashavani. Both *Mathrubhumi* and Akashavani provided strong platforms to gather Malayalam literary figures, artists especially theater artists and musicians in 1960s and 70s at Calicut. Uroob worked as an artist and producer of programmes in Akashavani from 1950 to 1975. His novel *Ummachu* was written in 1954 when he was working at Calicut. His master

piece novel *Sundaranmarum Sundarikalum* was serialized in 1954 by *Mathrubhumi* weekly and published in 1958. Same as Urub, Kakkad also spent most of his life time in Akashavani Nilayam of Kozhikode. They did not limit their activities to film, music, politics, etc. only.

The 1960s and 70s represent a period of progressive literary trends in Malayalam literature, and Calicut became the major centre of modernist literary discourses. Kunhananandan Nair, popularly known as Thikodiyan, is one of the other figures in this group. He also worked as a producer in Akashavani. The life and activities of the most important literary figures in the city like N.V. Krishna Varrier, S.K. Pottakad, N.V. Devan, Urub, Vaikkom Muhammed Basheer, K.A. Kodungallur, Sanjayan, U.A Khader, etc. popularized the literary culture among the common people. Their presence in the city as local people in hotels, corners, book stalls, libraries, town hall, etc. were not surprising to the people. People recollected that Basheer used to travel from Muthalakkulam to Beypore by city buses with common men. Basheer, S.K. Potttakkad, C.N. Ahammad Maulavi, N.P. Muhammad, M.T. Vasudevan Nair, etc. used to walk through the city's oldest road S.M. Street in the evenings. It was a usual visual to the people of the city in 70s and 80s. Local people communicated with them closely and comfortably. Thikkodiyan's autobiography, *Arangu Kaanatha Nadan* (*The Actor Who Had Never Been on Stage*) reveals not only the personal life of the author but it also projects the cultural history of the city. This work exceptionally narrates the life of the versatile people of the city and the larger Malabar region and the role they played in the creation of the progressive public sphere and social life after independence. Most of them were actively involved in various aspects of film production especially in music composing.

Among the people of Akashavani we need to mention the name of U.A. Khader, who spent a decade at Akashavani in 1960s and 70s along with them. N.P Muhammed, M.T Vasudevan Nair and K.T. Muhammed were also very close to this collective in 1960s and 70s. K.T. Muhammed's stature as a playwright and progressive social activist was an integral part of the city life. He constantly challenged the sense of conservative elements in the Muslim community through his theater activism. He is identified as one of the key 'reformers' of Muslim community in contemporary history. The interesting thing is that these people used to meet and discuss various literary and social issues and liberally engage with the local people of the city. Local people also considered them as their close companions. Some of the arts clubs are also

172

needed to mention here. Brothers Music Club in the city is most important among this. Most of the artists and cultural activists were associated with this club in 1960s and 70s.

The nature of the city changed in mid 1970s; Calicut became one of the centers of radical thinkers and activists. People like P.M. Taj, Surasu, etc. started to take clear political positions. Issues of Dalits, plantation workers and other backward groups started to appear in the centre of political discussion of Kerala. The formation of Samskarikavedi by the Marxist Leninist sect caused to address hitherto unnoticed issues of the city. Issues of the women, sex workers, fisher folks, etc. were started to be debated in the city. Mainstream political parties were forced to address the issues of these people. Simultaneously the critical understanding of the 'Kerala Model' started to influence the city based intellectuals and activists. The question of how the popular and celebrated "Kerala Model Development' marginalized the tribals and fishermen influenced the activists. At large the Marxist Leninist groups' criticisms of the mainstream Communist parties became the central ideological background of the activist groups. At the same time the ideological influence of Jayaprakash Narain and Ram Manohar Lohya was not seen much in the city. The anti Emergency protests in the city united most of the communists and socialists in a single fold and the political freedom became the central agenda of the movement. People like John Abraham, Joy Mathew, etc. initiated a new film society culture in the city under the banner of Odessa. John and his Odessa became the essential part of the city life in the 1980s. In 1990s the efforts for the organization of women's film festival in the city again brought the old activists to the city. After 1990s the city public space was largely covered by the upsurge of Muslim community groups through the economic possibility of the gulf migration in the backdrop of the political context of the emergence of right wing Hindu communal politics. At present the city public space is shared by the organized left groups and the various religious groups. The city is constantly represented through its medieval and modernist glories and legacies. This glory and legacy assert the cultural diversity, liberal public space and harmonious intercommunity living.

In short, we can easily say that the contemporary representation of Calicut city and its people is mostly shaping its images basically through its historical features. Various historical aspects like long overseas trade, intercontinental cultural interactions and exchanges, native socio-cultural and ethnic features, etc. are central to most of the contemporary representations.

Indian Institute of Management, Kozhikode (IIMK) recently started a project of setting a museum to exhibit the commercial and cultural history of the city and the region. The government of Kerala planned a heritage study centre of traditional ship (*uru)* making at Beypore, in the satellite town of Calicut. Most of the annual festivals of the city (Malabar Mahotsavam) often arrange exhibitions of the city's connections with Arabs, Chinese, etc. to showcase its rich cultural heritage. On the one hand the city itself projected a space of diversity and cultural plurality and on the other the people of the city constantly tried to showcase a more liberal and vibrant city society.

CONCLUSION

Writing on a region and its society during travel or after travel is not a new attempt in the world of literature. This form of writing started many centuries back in several forms. In modern times it started to be known as 'travel literature' across the world and it appeared in the form of diaries, memoirs, chronicles, autobiographies, etc. This writing is identified as an independent literary genre in contemporary times. The Arabs played a crucial role in the development of this particular genre of writing in early medieval times. Writing about a city through exhaustive travel became a major fashion in European literature in the same period. As a habitat centre having thick population and being the export centre of commercial commodities, the major port or harbour towns attracted Arab and European travellers in medieval times. Arabs had developed a form of writing which records memories in a diary format. This recording of day to day happenings of travellers was further developed to a form of writing popularly known as *rihlas* through the influence of Ibn Battuta. Different from Arabs, Europeans started to write proper accounts of travelling experiences within medieval Christian perspectives from early16[th] century onwards. It is evident through their travel writing that in the late 15th century itself Europeans identified at least three dozens of coastal towns of immigrant Muslims in the eastern cost of Africa. Here onwards the first set of transition in the travel writing started to come clearly.

Arabs by and large tried to explore the physical nature of the lands they visited. The land was more important to them for the valuable natural resources. Religion and belief system of the region were always an issue to the medieval travellers. The non-Islamic believers of the land were not a major concern for Arabs. The nature of the believers of the region was only considered by the Arabs. The Arabs' identification of people as 'infidel' did not contain many complex nuances about other lands and peoples as it was clear from Ibn Battuta's writing. He did not give any references on the matters of religion and rituals of the people of Calicut in particular, but at the same time he tried his best to mark the Islamic presence in the various regions of Asian countries. The wealth of the region of Malabar and the strength of the Calicut port to handle an international harbour were narrated by Battuta with a brief reference to the wealthy Arab traders. Apart from the simple narratives Arab travel writings mostly contained geographical information with diverse botanical and topographical features. They were mostly interested in harbours and harbour towns rather than inland/hinterland towns. The 17th and 18th

century European translations of Arab travel writing read non Islamic people or idol worshipers as 'infidel', which is more pejorative in many senses. While Europeans use 'heathen' to identify people of this region they translated the Arab identification as 'infidel'. The European construction of 'infidel' through the translation of Arab writings during the time of renaissance was a clear attempt to differentiate the non Europeans as 'other' on the basis of non believers of central tenets of Semitic religions through the Christian theological definition. In a larger political context Europeans called the rivals of Christians as infidel in 16th and 17th centuries. Translation of the Arabic words *kafir* (non Muslim) and *mushrik* (polytheist) as 'infidel' corresponds to complex connotations rather than its original meaning. The original usage in early medieval times did not contain any political connotation but the translation bears more political and sociological implications.

In the case of Calicut the arrival of Europeans to the city generated a new form of textual tradition. Even though a few European travellers visited Calicut even before 16th century (Marco Polo, Niccolo Conti, Athanasius Nikitin, etc.), the writing pattern was structurally changed under European colonial expedition only. This thesis tried to attempt how the narrative traditions of Europeans represented the city of Calicut and constructed the initial colonial image within the medieval Christian and colonial perspectives. Apart from the discourses on the urbanization under medieval Arab and colonial trade this particular genre of travel writing played a determining role in the construction of an image of the city. The diverse forms of colonial modalities disseminated the medieval made images of the cities. The space of the city is more important. Along with the importance of the spatial features of the harbour and trade the location of the seat of the crown of a medieval king bears multiple meanings in its spatial definitions. The political capital of the Zamorins was narrated more ambiguously; mainly initial colonial travellers consider him as 'pagan' with lots of hidden complex meanings. The two issues, construction and dissemination of the images of the city and its king, are examined through the medieval concept of socio-political and economic space. It is seen that the social change in a regional society was not seriously considered in many of the European textual accounts. The Evangelical missionaries' larger schematic ideas of the social change determined the socio-cultural space of the oriental cities and habitats. They did not give any substance to the emergence of exchange and market centers in medieval times. The various dynamisms in exchange and market centers were ignored and they undertook a peripheral analysis of the nature

of the city people and rulers. Crucially most of the regional/local variants of the linear historical narration on the lineage of the rulers and emergence of the political regions were undervalued (*Keralolpatti* narratives). The native idea of space was never considered seriously by any of the colonial writers in the 16th and 17th centuries. The construction of the images of India by Europeans before the 18th century, or before the emergence of Orientalism influenced the 19th century British understanding on various regions. European encounters understood that writing, painting, etc. or any kind of representation of a region and its people are the most effective ways to dominate them culturally. In the span of two centuries, 16th and 17th, the Jesuits Christian missionary groups orchestrated a broad plan for the colonial intervention in the Asian-African countries. The creation of 'other' as a social category started under colonial intervention with the influence of Catholic Christian ideologies. The Spanish Evangelists made the ground work for this effort. Jesuits identified Indians, especially non Muslims, as 'Heretics', a term used to identify people with contrary religious positions different from the Roman Catholic belief system. As an initial traveller during colonial intervention in India, the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa was very keen to make an ethnographic examination of the native city people. He considered the city as a space of diverse social entity with numerous belief systems.

Writing the history of the region and its map making were the major exercises of that period. Interestingly the local variant of the narratives on the history of the regions, *Keralolpatti*, came out in the 16th century. The legends about the origin of royal families (*Swaroopams*) and regions were narrated by this account. The Portuguese were not much impressed by this traditional version of the history and they tried to narrate the wealth of the city especially how the Arabs started gaining huge balance of trade through Malabar trade from 13th century onwards. Barbosa was impressed by the political authority of the Zamorins. Subsequent to Barbosa, Ludovico di Varthema conducted an ethnographic analysis of the region through his travel writing. Perhaps this was the first European text which created a systematic 'otherness' through the organized ethnographic narratives. The various discourses on body, ritual, customs, etc. started subsequent to Varthema's writing and it created powerful textual discourses in Europe throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. To a large extent Varthema's travel account paved the way for the image construction of the Malabar society and life in Europe in the 18th century.

The British had started to make more clear colonial survey methods to control the region, especially cities. It is clear that most of the modern Indian cities were developed from British period onwards. Existing major towns were converted as district head quarters in the 19th century. What was the main criterion/logic of the British in fixing the district head quarters in mid 19th century is still unclear. But it can be seen that the British had converted the medieval regional political centers as district head quarters. Small towns were elevated as tehsil headquarters. Harbours were remodeled as ports for controlling trade and to boost export revenue. Harbours and towns properly came under British geographic mapping. Survey, census and map making activities clearly made a geographical position of towns in the British Empire. They also gave more preferences to the harbour towns than hinterland towns, similar to Arabs. The introduction of 'Town Improvement Acts' in various presidencies changed the existing socio-political conditions of the towns. Major towns of the districts were declared as municipal towns and the administration of this unit was subsequently transferred to the Municipal Councils under the district administration. By late 19th century more than three dozen towns were converted to municipal towns in Madras Presidency. Under the decentralization scheme most of the district headquarter towns were converted as the head quarters of the District Boards. Two major institutions, district courts and district boards, brought a sizable number of elite/wealthy people to the new city premises. Local rajas and *janmis* were nominated to the district board in Malabar. This was for the first time that these classes were getting a role in the political space after the collapse of Zamorins in Malabar.

The institutional engagements under the colonial law and colonial controlled political space supported the emergence of numerous legal discourses and political interventions. Often the British administration itself directly participated in legal affairs. In the case of Malabar the British revenue department of Madras Presidency actively involved in the tenancy affairs. Continuing interests in socio-economic issues developed a new argumentative space between the state and its stakeholders (community organizations, political parties, other organizations, etc.) in the city. The anti Brahman movement in Madras created lots of anticipation among the non Brahman movements and organizations across the Presidency. Tiyyas in Malabar and Travancore demanded for more representation in government services and educational institutions. Peasant organizations started to protest against Brahmanical land ownership. Subsequently election campaigns in the towns for Madras Legislative Council became a meeting

place of ideological confrontations between different social groups. The politicalisation and democratization of the city spaces were the major outcomes of this whole development. Most of the judicial discourses concerning the matters of land, gender, employment in government services, etc. compelled the Presidency administration to take a stand in these matters. The position of the Law Secretary in this matter was considered very crucial. Nationalist leaders and community organizations frequently tried to get involved in the Law Department for different matters. The Justice Party's emergence to power in the 1920s raised the expectations of different non Brahman caste groups. They continued in power up to 1937 in Madras. Non Brahman political campaigns were the major political activities across Madras Presidency and their attainment of power in Madras Legislative Council turned the nature of city politics in Madras and other small towns of the whole Presidency. Their campaign against Brahmans and continuous criticism against the Congress and the national movement did not have any influence in the Malabar area and the larger non Brahmans were organized under Congress and later the Socialists and Communists. The rural politicalisation of Malabar region highly influenced the city politics in the 1930s. But in Malabar area the grassroots level political campaigns of socialist ideas reduced the gravity of identity politics even though the Tiyya caste group actively supported the non Brahman and anti-Congress movement. The city politics was strongly determined by socialist ideas in the 1930s and 1940s. The Congress Socialist group attained majority in its Kerala units in the 1930s and they could attain the District Board administration also. Both these changes concretized the powerful Congress-alternate politics in the region especially in the city. Workers' struggles of various industrial units in the city created a powerful trade union unity in the 1930s. The socialist led Congress committee regularly involved in the organization of various protests. The Kozhikodan identity is also connected with the working class movement. A.K. Gopalan noted that a trade union called 'Kozhikode Thozhilali Union' was formed comprising the workers of weaving factories, soap industry, etc. in 1930s itself and later it was they who initiated most of the organized working class struggles in the city.

Mainly people who came from different parts of the district for various industrial and commercial firms settled in different parts of the city and its suburban areas and the existing economically and culturally poorer sections of the society worked with them. The existing public space having more elite features was slowly replaced with far-reaching political discourses. It is very clear that the city became the centre of trade union movements and other radical social

activities from 1930s onwards. Ideas like 'swaraj' and 'socialism' became the vital discourses of the whole political and trade union movements. The city hosted hundreds of meetings of the working class organisations. Organized workers of the Soap Factory, Cotton Mill and tile factory and municipal workers, weavers, etc. were well organized in the city during this period.

These changes shaped the nature of the city and its public space in the 1930s and 40s and made popular and liberal public space. The specific representation of the city and its public space started through the modern media, especially print media, within these circumstances. The workers and peasants played a dominant role in the city space. The influences of Hindu Mahasaba and Ambedkar's ideologies did not create any major impact in Malabar, especially in Calicut city. But at the same Muslim League became a major political organization in the region. In Travancore, the south of Kerala, with the ideological effect of Sree Narayana Guru (SNDP) organisation a campaign for converting from Hinduism to Buddhism was developed to liberate the oppressed from upper caste domination. Such sort of campaign was not seen in Malabar region especially in Calicut city. The Quit India movement in the city expressed a more violent nature. Other sub terrain cities slowly became the centres of various political movements and social actions in the 1940s. But Calicut city remained as the centre of more vibrant liberal social and political actions. In 1944 Communist Party leaders started 'commune' life in the city. Communist leaders like E.M.S Namboothirippad, P. Krishna Pillai, I.C.P. Namboothiri, etc. started living together with their families in a house called 'commune' to express integrity towards liberal life and to publicize the message of living together and sharing possessions and responsibilities in personal and public life. It tried to spread the ideas of simplicity, equality in gender and other social divisions, etc. Though this attempt was not continued for a long time, it spread a new message among the fellow comrades of that time. The demographic compositions of the city became widened and it absorbed almost all social groups to the city. Most of the important parts of the city were turned into major settlement places. The newspaper *Mathrubhumi* started to publish on daily basis in the city and under its aegis literary activities and figures gathered in the city. Apart from a newspaper it also started publishing an illustrated weekly during this time. As a result of this, the city absorbed a number of excellent journalists and literary figures.

The changes of Calicut city are examined here historically by taking into consideration the socio-political transformation. Along with the development as a political and commercial capital, the city gradually started to develop its own sense of cultural features through the changing pattern of food consumption, utilization of cosmetics, modern health consciousness, adaptation of modern/European fashions, sporting cultures, aesthetic sense, etc. Both Malayalam and English newspapers spread these elements through various advertisements. Various consumer and cosmetic items were introduced. A number of showrooms were opened only for the health and cosmetic items. The sales of health tonics through medical stores were increased. New concept of body, both male and female, started to gain shape. Women's clubs were started among the wealthy and educated groups. British officers slowly started to give membership in their clubs to native elite members. Restaurant culture was started among the urban people. *Mathrubhumi* started many special columns, 'Vanita Lokam' (Women's world), 'Arogya Pankthi' (Health column), etc. in the mid 1930s itself to address the emerging new life styles. It is important to note that literary columns with the introduction of new literary works, analysis, criticism, etc. started to appear in newspapers and periodicals. Newspapers started publishing various reports on sports events of the city and major towns. Football was recognized as the most popular sport activity of the city. Joint football matches between the British army team and city clubs were organized at Mananchira Maidan many times. The sporting culture gave birth to a good number of football players and through them the city football culture became popular all over India. Renowned Malayalam literary figures like N. V. Krishna Warrior, Kuttikrishna Marar, M.T. Vasudevan Nair, etc. joined *Mathrubhumi* after the 1950s. The city slowly became the centre of literary figures and creative activities. N.V. Krishna Warrior worked as the editor of *Mathrubhumi* from 1952 to 1968. This longest period was the rich time of Malayalam literature and the city's public space. As an outstanding scholar and an excellent editor, Warrior successfully brought a number of versatile literary figures to the city through one of the most established illustrated weekly.

The city was largely developed as a byproduct of the trade and commerce rather than any sort of production forms like agriculture or industry. Historically trade surplus determined the different stages of social relations. The Kings/Zamorins, Muslims/Koyas and other trading groups like Gujaratis, Chettis, etc. were the major beneficiaries of this trade surplus. It is evident that different from many other Indian cities, the trading groups were not involved in any type of

181

competition or rivalries between each other for the trade supremacy of Calicut. Instead of this sort of situation the traders of the city tried to capitalize their own cultural elegancy through intercommunity interactions. It was seen that each trading sect tried to advance with the values of liberal life in the city within different socio-political situations. It largely supported the city to develop as a comfortable settlement zone in modern times. Non trading city communities tried to expose their 'reputation' to other communities through fair manners of day to day life. It renders value to personal relations rather than money. The evaluation of these qualities by Arabs and Europeans gave a special recognition to the city compared to many other Asian cities. However under the colonial municipal administration the city started to realize the condition of its capability to grow to the level of many other coastal cities. Even though the city welcomed various industrial investments it remained as a hub of business and commerce in the 20th century. This study understood that it is difficult to define how the city has grown as 'a city of hospitality'. Though the study is not aimed to provide the historical reasons behind the specific features of the city people, it emphasizes the city people as a central element in the whole aspect of Calicut. So the study suggests that an evaluation of the mosaic of the city culture through its historical experiences can be able to provide an answer to this aspect.

The specific morality of the city people was developed as part of the commercial culture of the city and it led to the standardization of the middle class culture as a popular culture. The middle class culture manifests a number of peculiar features of the commercial life of the city. The dominant cultural representations expose the commercial solidarity of the different social groups. The absence of any foreign diasporas in the city reflects the less alienation of the commercial groups of the city. Besides these, the increased number of small scale commercial activities (merchandise) created a predominantly localized trading culture. In contemporary times, local markets have the potential for huge scale trading activities along with bigger commercial firms in the city. The entrepreneurial class and huge commercial social groups determine the present day popular culture of the city. This peculiar economic structure always balances the social relations in public life through self employment and their settlement within the city. The ethics of the people are largely dependent on the social relations through business and co-living of the different social groups. Less capital investment in industry and huge commercial investment mainly in retail merchandise trade is the central feature of the economic condition of Calicut. A larger trade union workforce is engaged in loading and unloading (head

load workers) and in motor workers industry than industrial workforces. It is evident in the writings of Ashutosh Varshney; he noticed that the city has diverse trade union cultures through the politically affiliated working class people. Different from industrial trade unions, the head load unions have a specific culture linked with the trade and commerce of the city and also they represent all middle class and lower caste community groups. He also noted that these workforces are very sensitive about their rights in contemporary times and it has created a strong argumentative working class section in the city.

Since the beginning of the medieval travel writings, the city of Calicut not only attracted travellers but at large it was represented well in many of the major Arab travellers' travel accounts. Apart from the simple narratives of the wealth of the city and the region, the representation mainly concentrated on the nature of the whole social aspects of the people. Right from the beginning, social features like 'hospitality' and 'safety of the people and trade commodity' which were practiced in the city were noted by the travellers. Along with that, these said features were connected with their personal experiences also. It was very visible that an image setting process was seen regarding Calicut city from the 14th century onwards in Arab literature. We are much aware of the fact that different from the diary style report writing of the Europeans, the Arabs compiled the memoirs after a long time of their journey. The memoirs relating to Calicut was very intensively recollected by most of the Arab voyagers. But in the case of Europeans the personal intensity was not seen to any section of the population except to the Christian population from the early 16th century onwards. Unlike Arabs, Europeans tried to give clear information of the city not only on the material remaining but also on the social divisions of the city in an analytical manner. The narratives of the personal qualities of the city people were replaced with the social divisions and unequal social relations of the city. Body, dressing, food, ornaments, buildings, especially temples and palaces, etc. were narrated in detail. Interestingly the narratives of trade commodities and the nature of harbour/s were also declined and instead of that the initial travellers emphasized on commodity exchange groups mainly transcontinental traders of the city. This approach further led to the evacuation of the Arabs from the coast and to the collapse of the many centuries long socio-cultural dimensions of the city. The city started to be represented as a space of contestations between various socio-economic priorities within the context of Tipu's invasion and the subsequent suicide of the Zamorin. While the Portuguese were more concerned about political dominance of the Indian Ocean trade, the British focused to

get the control of the entire region. The changing perception over the land started to appear from 19th century onwards and as a result of this, the city people were clearly demarcated from the village and village people within the socio-political context of industrialization. The city started undergoing various modernization processes and villages were identified as stagnant areas of socio-economic life. As a result of this, the city started to be represented in numerous secretarial and bureaucratic narratives, especially in public work and municipal records, in the whole of the 19th century. This trend changed only after the emergence of the national movement and the urban public space in the early 20th century. The city was then started to be represented as a centre of aspiration for the Indian middle class and political activists. The city space started to become pluralized by accommodating different social groups and a contesting place of socio-political issues. It became the centre of hope and despair. The extension of urbanization evacuated a number of people from the city and at the same time it absorbed a sizable number of the population to the core of the city. As a result of these changes, a popular image of the city started to emerge in the new public space. The national movement, especially the socialist groups, contributed to more variety of city images in the 1930s and 40s. This was subscribed to by the post independent literary and cultural discourses. The image of a 'city of truth' was powerfully reiterated and 'city of hospitality' got fixed over these entire discourses. In other words, the 'kozhikkodan' became the highlighted aspect to showcase the city of Calicut.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY TEXTS

Barbosa, Duarte. *A Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the 16ᵗʰ Century.* Trans. Henry E.J. Stanley. 1865. London: Hakluyt Society, 1918.

Bartolomeo, Paolino Da San. *A Voyage to East Indies: Containing an Account on the Manners, Customs, & c. of the Natives, With a Geographical Description of the Country.* Trans. William Johnston. London: J. Davis, Chancery Lane, n.d.

Battuta, Ibn. *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta (India, Maldive Islands and Ceylon).* Trans. Mahdi Husain. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1953.

_____. *Travels in Asia and Africa (1325-1354).* Trans. H. A. R. Gibbs. London: Hakluyt Society, 1929.

Buchanan, Francis. *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, Performed under the Orders of the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, Governor General of India.* Vol. 2. London: Cadell, 1807.

Camoes, Luiz. *The Lusiads.* Trans. Landeg White. 1572. New York: OUP, 1997.

Corner, and Ward. *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar.* 1906. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Gazetteers, 1995.

Day, Francis. *The Land of the Perumals.* Madras: n.p., 1863.

Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the East India Company. London: n.p., 1812.

Graeme's Report on the Revenue Administration of Malabar. N.p: n.p, 1822.

Hamilton, Captain Alexander. *A New Account of the East Indies.* Vol.I. London: C. Hitch and A. Millar, 1774.

Hitchcock, R.H. *A History of the Malabar Rebellion, 1921.* 1925. Delhi: Usha, 1983.

Huan, Ma. *Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores (1433).* Trans and Ed. J.V.G. Mills. London: CUP, 1970.

Innes, C.A. *Malabar Gazetteer.*1908. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Gazetteers, 1997.

Laval, Pyrard De. *Voyage to the East Indies.* Trans. Grey and Bell. N.p : Hakluyt Society, 1887.

Lee, Samuel. *The Travels of Ibn Batuta: Translated from the Abridged Arabic Manuscript Copies.* London: The Oriental Translation Committee, 1829.

Logan, William. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar.* 1879. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Gazetteers, 1998.

_____. *Malabar Manual.* 2 vols. 1887. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Gazetteers, 2000.

MacEwen, A.R. *Settlement Scheme Report of the Eight Plain Taluks of the Malabar District.* Madras: Government Press, 1929.

Major, R. H., ed. *India in the Fifteenth Century: Being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India in the Century Preceding the Portuguese Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope from Latin, Persian, Russian, and Italian Sources.* London: Hakluyt Society, n.d.

_____, ed. N*arrative of the Journey of Abd-er-Razzak, Ambassador for Shah Rokh.* London: n.p., 1847.

Philip, George. *Mahuan's Account on Cochin, Calicut and Aden.* N.p.: n.p., n.d.

Varthema, Ludovico di. *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502-1508.* Trans. John Winter Jones. Ed. Norman Mosley Penzer. London: The Argonaut Press, 1928.

_____. *The Travels of Ludovico De Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia A.D 1503 to 1508.* Trans. John Winter Johns. London: Hakluyt Society, 1863.

The Joint Commissioners' Report on Malabar 1792-93. 1862. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Archives, 2010.

The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil. London: Hakluyt Society, 1887.

Yeatts, W.M. *Census of India, 1931.* Vol. XIV. Part I. Calcutta: Central Publication Branch, 1932.

SECONDARY TEXTS

Books (English)

Abdulla, Umi. *Malabar Muslim Cookery.* Delhi: Orient Longman Private Limited, 1993.

Ahmad, Imtiaz, ed. *Caste and Social Stratification among the Muslims.* Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1973.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Arasaratnam, Sinnappah. *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century*. Delhi: OUP, 1994.

Arunima, G. *There Comes Pappa: Colonialism and the Transformation of Matriliny in Kerala, Malabar c. 1850-1940.* New Delhi: Oriental Longman, 2003.

Ayyar, K.V. Krishna. *The Zamorins of Calicut: From the Earliest Times Down to AD 1806.* 1938. University of Calicut: Publication Division, 1999.

Banga, Indu. *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India 1700-1950.* New Delhi: Manohar, 1992.

Barthes, Rolland. *Image-Music-Text.* London: Routledge, 1977.

Bayly, C.A. *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire.* Vol. II. Part.1.1988. Cambridge: CUP, 2002.

Bayly, Susan. *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700-1900.* Delhi: CUP, 1992.

Bhabha, Homi K. *Location of Culture.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Blackburn, Stuart. *Print, Folklore and Nationalism in Colonial South India.* Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003.

Brockey, Liam Matthew, ed. *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World.* London: Ashgate, 2008.

Broomfield, J.H. *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth- Century Bengal.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Carter, Harold. *An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography.* London: Edward Arnold, 1983.

Champakalakshmi, R. *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation: South India 300 BC to AD 1300.* New Delhi: OUP, 1996.

Cherian, P.J., ed. *Perspectives on Kerala History: The Second Millennium*. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Gazetteers Department, 1999.

Christopher, K.W. *Rethinking Cultural Studies: A Study of Raymond Williams and Edward Said*. New Delhi: Rawat Publication, 2005.

Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Dale, Stephen F. *Islamic Society on South Asian Frontier: The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498-1922*. Delhi: OUP, 1980.

Daruwalla, Keki N. *For Pepper and Christ*. New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2009.

Dirks, Nicholas B. *Caste of Mind.* Delhi: Permanent Black, 2002.

Dossal, Mariam. *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875.* Bombay: OUP, 1991.

Eaton, Richard M., ed. *India's Islamic Tradition, 711-1750*. Delhi: OUP, 2003.

Edeny, H. Mathew. *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Engineer, Asghar Ali, ed. *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective.* Delhi: Ajantha Publication, 1995.

Fanon, Frantz. *Towards the African Revolution.* London: Penguin Books, 1970.

Finnegan, Ruth. *Tales of the City: A Study of Narrative and Urban Life.* Cambridge: CUP, 1998.

Fox, Richard G. *From Zamindar to Ballot Box: Community Change in a North Indian Market Town.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.

Ganesh, K.N., ed. *Culture and Modernity: Historical Explorations.* University of Calicut: Publication Division, 2004.

Ganguly, Indrani. *Urban Anthropology: A Critical Review.* Delhi: Unique Publications, 1986.

Goody, Jack. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*. Cambridge: CUP, 1982.

Graff, Violette. *Lucknow: Memories of a City.* Delhi: OUP, 1999.

Guha, Ranajith. *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Gupta, Dipankar. *Nativism in a Metropolis: Shiv Sena in Bombay.* Delhi: Manohar, 1982.

Hall, Stuart and Paul Du Gay, eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity.* Delhi: Sage Publications, 1996.

Hasan, Mushirul. *Legacy of a Divided Nation: India's Muslims since Independence.* Delhi: OUP, 1997.

Hasnain, Syed Iqbal. *Muslims in North India: Frozen in the Past.* New Delhi: Har Anand, 2009.

Hulme, Peter, and Tim Youngs, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing.* Cambridge: CUP, 2002.

Ikegame, Aya. *Princely India Re-imagined: A Historical Anthropology of Mysore from 1799 to the Present.* Oxon: Routledge, 2013.

Jameson, Fredric. *Signatures of the Visible.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Johnston, Anna. *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860.* Cambridge: CUP, 2003.

Kaarsholm, Preben. *City Flicks: Indian Cinema and the Urban Experience*. Kolkata: Seagull Books, 2007.

Kabbani, Rana. *Europe's Myths of Orient*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Kasthurba, A.K. *Kuttichira – A Medieval Muslim Settlement of Kerala – with Special Reference to Architectural Heritage.* Vatakara: Malabar Institute for Research and Development, 2012.

Koya, S.M. Mohammed. *Mappilas of Malabar.* Kozhikode: Sandhya Publications, 1983.

Kuehn, Julia and Paul Smethurst, eds. *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility.* New York: Routledge, 2009.

Kunhali, V, ed. *Calicut in History.* University of Calicut: Publication Division, 2004.

Lakshmi, L R S. *The Malabar Muslims: A Different Perspective.* New Delhi: CUP, 2012.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space.* Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. 1991. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 1992.

Makhdum, Shaykh Zainuddin. *Tuhfat al-Mujahidin*. Trans. S Muhammad. Calicut: Other Books, 2006.

Mayaram, Shail, M.S.S. Pandian and Ajay Skaria, eds. *Muslims, Dalits, and the Fabrications of History*. *Subaltern Studies* XII. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005.

Mayer, Adrian C. *Land and Society in Malabar.* Bombay: OUP, 1952.

Menon, A. Sreedhara. *A Survey of Kerala History.* Kottayam: DC Books, 1967.

Menon, Dilip M. *Caste, Nationalism and Communism in South India, Malabar 1900-1948.* New Delhi: CUP, 1994.

Menon, Jyothi. *The Angel of God*. New Delhi: Cedar Books, 2009.

Menon, M. Gangadhara. *Mappila Rebellion, 1921-22.* Allahabad: Vohara Publishers, 1989.

Miller, Rolland E. *Mappila Muslim Culture: How a Historic Muslim Community in India Blended Tradition and Modernity.* New York: State University of New York Press, 2015.

Nair, C. Gopalan. *The Moplah Rebellion, 1921.* Calicut: Norman Printing Bureau, 1923.

Nair, Janaki. *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century.* Delhi: OUP, 2005.

Nambiar, O.K. *The Kunjalis: Admirals of Calicut.* Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963.

Nandy, Ashish, ed. *Barbaric Others: Manifesto on Western Racism.* London: Pluto press, 1993.

Narayanan, M.G.S., ed. *Malabar. Malabar Mahotsav 1993 Souvenir*. Calicut: Malabar Mahotsav Committee, 1994.

_____. *Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited.* University of Calicut: Publication Division, 2006.

_____. *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala.* Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Historical Society, 1972.

Nilakanta Sastri, K.A. *Foreign Notices of South India: From Megasthenes to Ma Huan*. Madras: University of Madras, 1939.

Osella, Filippo and Caroline Osella, ed. *Islamic Reform in South Asia.* Cambridge: CUP, 2013.

Panikkar, K.N. *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony: Intellectuals and Social Consciousness in Colonial India.* New Delhi: Tulika, 1995.

Panikkar, T.K. Gopal. *Malabar and its Folk.* Madras: G.A. Natesan & Co., 1929.

Patel, Sujatha and Alice Thorner, eds. *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture.* Bombay: OUP, 1995.

Raghaviah, Jayaprakash. *Basel Mission Industries in Malabar and South Canara (1834-1914): A Study of its Social and Economic Impact.* New Delhi: Gyan Books, 1990.

Ravenstein, E.G., ed. *Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-99.* Cambridge: CUP, 2010.

Reynolds, Dwight F. ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Arab Culture.* Cambridge: CUP, 2015.

Rubies, Joan-Paul. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625.* Cambridge: CUP, 2000.

Said, Edward. *Orientaism.* 1978. New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2001.

Sen, Collen Taylor. *Food Culture in India.* Westport: Green Wood Press, 2004.

Sennett, Richard, ed. *Classic Essays on the Culture of the Cities.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.

Sharma, R.S. *Urban Decay in India (c.300-c AD 1000).* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987.

Shokoohy, Mehrdad. *Muslim Architecture of South India: The Sultanate of Ma'bar and the Traditions of Maritime Settlers on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts (Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Goa).* New York: Routledge and Curzon, 2003.

Smith, Bardwell and Holly Baker Reynolds, eds. *The City as a Sacred Centre: Essays on Six Asian Contexts.* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987.

Stokes, Eric. *The English Utilitarians and India.* New Delhi: OUP, 1989.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India, 1500-1650.* Cambridge: CUP, 1990.

_____. *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama.* New Delhi: CUP, 1995.

_____, ed. *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama*. London: OUP, 1998.

Thomas, Rosie. *Bombay before Bollywood: The Film City Fantasies.* Albany: Suny Press, 2013.

Thurston, Edgar. *Caste and Tribes of South India.* Vol. 4. Madras: Madras Government Press, 1906.

Tonkiss, Fran. *Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005.

Veluthat, Kesavan. *Brahman Settlements in Kerala.* Calicut: Sandhya Publications, 1978.

_____, and P.P. Sudhakaran. *Advances in History: Essays in Memory of Professor M.P. Sridaran.* Calicut: Professor M.P. Sridaran Memorial Trust, 2003.

Washburn, Dennis, and A. Kevin Reinhart, eds. *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology and Transformation of Modernity.* Leiden: Brill, 2007.

White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe.* USA: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973.

White, William and Oliver Zimmer, eds. *Nationalism and the Reshaping of Urban Communities in Europe, 1848-1914*. Great Briton: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Yagnick, Achyut and Suchitra Sheth. *Ahmedabad: From Royal City to Mega City.* New Delhi: Penguin, 2011.

Articles (English)

 "A Testimony to Kozhikode's Communal Harmony." *Hindu* [Kozhikode] 29 July 2013.

Ballantyne, Tony. "Archive, Discipline, State: Power and Knowledge in South Asian State." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 3.1 (2001): 89-90.

Bedi, Savita. "1867 – 1938 Kerala's Leading Social Reformer." *Mitavadi C. Krishnan*. 30 Oct 2005. Web.

Binoy, Rasmi. "Melody Manzil." *Hindu.* Music. The Hindu. 15 May 2014. Web.

"Calicut- Kokila Sandesha." Sanskrit Literature. *Venetiaansell.worldpress*. 15 Aug. 2011. Web.

Craig, Simon. "A Passage to India." *Geographical Magazine* 69.7 (1997): n.p.

Dube, Leela. "Conflict and Compromise: Devolution and Disposal of Property in a Matrilineal Muslim Society." *EPW* 29.21 (1994): 1273-77.

Gaborieau, Marc. "Indian Cities." *Hdo: The City in Islamic World.* Ed. Salma K. Jayyusi. Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli, and Andre Reymond. Vol. 2. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Goh, Daniel P.S. "States of Ethnography: Colonialism, Resistance, and Cultural Transcription in Malaya and the Philippines, 1890s–1930s." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49.1(2007):111.

Hamilton, Bernard. "The Impact of the Crusade on Western Geographical Knowledge." *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*. Ed. Rosamund Allen. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971.

Haridas, V.V. "The Emergence of a Medieval South Indian Kingdom: Calicut under the Zamorins." *Proceedings of IHC*, *December 27-30, 1998.* 393-403.

"History of the Club." History. *Calicut Cosmopolitan Club.* Web.

Kanchna, Radhika. "Kozhikkode (Calicut)'s Kuttichira: Exclusivity Maintained Proudly." *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Indian Marginalisation.* Ed. Laurent Gayer & Christophe Jaffrelot. London: Hurst, 2012.

Kumar, Arun. "Thomson College of Engineering, Roorkee, 1847-1947." *Science and Modernity in India: An Institutional History, c.1784-1947.* Ed. Uma Das Gupta. Vol. XV. Part. 4. Delhi: Pearson Education, 2011.

Kumar, Deepak S., Lakshmi Manohar and Priyanka Singh. "Marketing and Branding of Calicut as a Smart City Destination." *Smart Economy in Smart Cities.* Ed. T.M. Vinod Kumar. Singapore: Springer Nature, 2017.

Kunhamu, T.K. Gopakumar S., Anoop E.V, and Ghosh, A. "The Wood Legacy of Kallali: Lessons for the Future." *ResearchGate.net.* 27 April. 2017. Web.

Menon, Dilip M. "Becoming 'Hindu' and 'Muslim': Identity and Conflict in Malabar 1900 – 1936." Working Paper No.225. Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, January 1994.

Menon, Hari. "Oh! Calicut! The Irresistible Charms of Mapplila Cuisine in Kozhikode." *Outlook Traveller.* 8 July 2014. Web.

M.P., Ashwajith. "Interesting Facts about Calicut." *Jithumpa.* Aswajith Online. 15 April 2014. Web.

Nair, Supriya Unni. "Arab Flavours from 7th Century still sparkle in Kerala Cuisine." *Scroll.In.* 10 July 2015. Web.

N.G., Archa. "Cosmopolitanism in a City: The Past and Present of Calicut." *Café Dissensus.* 15 Feb. 2016. Web.

_____. "Calicut, the city of truth, hospitality, symbiosis: A conversation with MGS Narayanan". *Café Dissensus*. 15 Feb.2016. Web.

Osella, Caroline. "Desires under Reform: Contemporary Reconfiguration of Family, Marriage, Love and Gendering in a Transnational South Indian Muslim Community." *Culture and Religion* 13.2 (2012): 241-64.

_____. "I am Gulf": The production of cosmopolitanism among the Koyas of Kozhikkode, Kerala." *Struggling with History: Islam and Cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean.* Eds. Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

_____, and F. Osella. "Muslim Style in South India." *Fashion Theory*. 11. 2/3 (2007):1-20.

Patel, Sujata. "Bombay/Mumbai: Globalization, Inequalities, and Politics." *World Cities, Beyond the West, Globalisation, Development and Inequality*. Ed. Josef Gugler. Cambridge: CUP, 2004.

Pels, Peter. "The Anthropology of Colonialism: Culture, History, and the Emergence of Western Governmentality" *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997):163-183.

Pulugurtha, Nishi. Rev. of *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, eds. Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund. *Postcolonial Text* 6.2 (2011):1.

Rajagopal, Krishnadas. "An honest auto driver makes Kozhikode proud." Kerala. *The Hindu.* The Hindu. 27 May 2013. Web.

Ramachandran, V.K. "On Kerala's Development Achievements." *India's Development: Selected Regional Perspectives.* Eds. Jean Dre'ze and Amartya Sen. Delhi: OUP, 1997.

Reidel, Barbara. "Cosmopolitanism at Work on the Malabar Coast of South India – a Study with Muslim Students in Kozhikode." *Transcience* 4.2 (2013): 39.

Schoff, Wilfred H. "Navigation to the Far East under the Roman Empire." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 37 (1917): 240-249.

Spinks, Jenifer. "The Southern Indian "Devil in Calicut" in Early Modern Northern Europe: Images, Texts and Objects in Motion." *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014): 16.

Sunil, Kunnoth. "Kozhikode, the city of love and hospitality." *Holiday IQ.* 26 Nov.2015. Web.

V. Balachandran. "Kozhikode – The City of Small Goodness." *My Travels, My Life.* 2 June 2013. Web.

Varshney, Ashutosh. "States or Cities? Studying Hindu-Muslim Riots." *Regional Reflections: Comparing Politics across India's States.* Ed. Rob Jenkins. Delhi: OUP, 2004.

"Vasco Da Gama, Round Africa to India (1497-1498)." *Salemcc.instructure.com.* Spring 2014.

Woodruff, Gertrude M. "Family Migration into Bangalore." *Economic Weekly* 12.1 (1960): 163-72.

Zumthor, Paul, and Catherine Peebles. "The Medieval Travel Narrative." *New Literary History* 25. 4 (1994). 809-824.

Books (Malayalam)

Balakrishnakurup, K. *Kozhikodinte Charithram*. Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2000.

Chandu Menon, O. *Indulekha.* 1889. Kottayam: D.C. Books, 2010.

E. M., Sakeer Hussain. *Saamoothirikkuvendi Oru Samarahwanam*. 2013. Kozhikode: Islamic
        Publishing House, 2015.

Ganesh, K.N. *Keralathinte Innalekal.* 1990. Thiruvananthapuaram: Department of Cultural
        Publications, 1997.

Gopalan, A.K. *Ente Jeevitha Kadha.* Thiruvananthapuram: Chintha Publishers, 2013.

Haridas,V.V. *Samoothirikalathe Kozhikkodu: Kadhayum Jeevithavum*. Kottayam: Sahithya
        Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangam, 2012.

Hussain, P. Zakir. *Kozhikode Orormappusthakam.* Calicut: Olive Publications, 2012.

K.E.N. *Samooham, Sahithyam, Samskaaram.* Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Basha Institute, 2009.

Keralolpatti (The Origin of Malabar). Mangalore: Basel Mission Book & Tract Depository,
        1868.

Koya, P.A. Muhammad. *Sulthan Veedu.* Trichur: Kerala Sahitya Academy, 1974.

Kunnakkavu, Samad. *Malabar Vivechanathinte Kanakku Pusthakam*. Kozhikode: Forum for
        Malabar Rights, 2013.

Madayi, Thaha. *Jeevitham: Mamukkoya/Kozhikkode.* Kottayam: DC Books, 2009.

Menon, K.P. Kesava. *Kazhinjakaalam.* 1957. Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2011.

Menon, Ravi. *Kabhee Kabhee Mere Dil Mein*. Kottayam: D C Books, 2011.

Nair, K. Madhavan. *Malabar Kalaapam*. 1971. Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2012.

Namboothiripad, EMS. *Keralam, Malayalikalude Mathrubumi.* 1948. Thiruvananthapuram: Chintha Publishers, 2009.

Nambootiri, N.M. *Malabar Patanangal Samootirinadu*. Thiruvananthapuram: State Institute of Languages, 2008.

Narayanan, M.G.S. *Kozhikode*: *Charithrathil Ninnu Chila Edukal.* Kozhikode: Pratheeksha Books, 2011.

Panikkassery, Velayudhan. *Sancharikal Kanda Keralam*. 2001. Kottayam: Current Books, 2007.

Parappil, P.P., Mammad Koya. *Kozhikotte Muslimkalude Charithram.* 1994. Calicut: Focus Publications, 2012.

Pottekkatt, S.K. *Oru Desathinte Katha*. Kottayam: D C Books, 1971.

_____. *Oru Theruvinte Katha.* Kottayam: D C Books, 1960.

P., Sivadasan, ed. *Kozhikkode Nagaravum Jeevithavum.* Kottayam: Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society Ltd, 2014.

Puthukudi, Gangadaran. *Kozhikode: Pattanapradeshangallile Avaasakendrangalku Chuttum: Oru Pradeshika Vamozhi Charithram.* Kozhikode: privately published, 2014.

Ramachandhran, G.P. *Malayala Cinema: Dhesham, Bhasha, Samskaaram*. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute, 2009.

Salim, P.B., N.P. Hafis Mohamad and M.C. Vasisht, eds. *Malabar: Paithrukavum Prathapavum.* Calicut: Mathrubhumi Books , 2014.

Seluraj, T.B. *Innalekalile Kozhikode*. Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2015.

_____. *Kozhikkodinte Paithrukam*. Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books, 2011.

Sreejan, V.C. *Ormayil Malabar*. Kozhikode: Pratheeksha Books, 2012.

Ummar, K.P. *Ormakalude Pusthakam*. Kozhikode: Geethanjali Offset Prints, 2012.

Vasudevan Nair, M.T., and N.P. Muhammad. *Arabiponnu.* 1996. Kottayam: D C Books, 2008.

APPENDIX

"The reception of Don Vasco da Gama by the Samoryn," by Philip Baldaeus, 1672

Source:
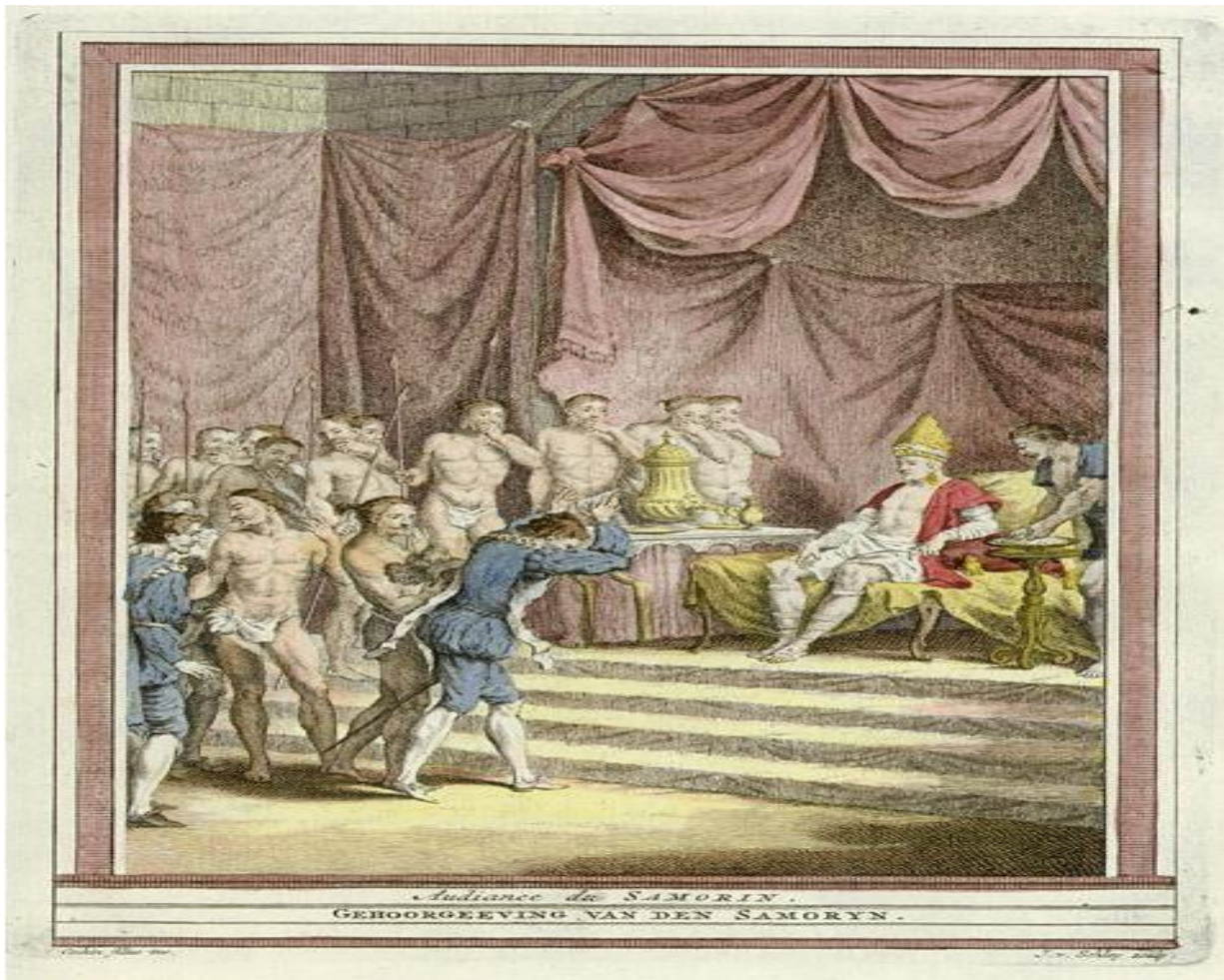(http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1400_1499/vascodagama/zamorin/zamorin.html)

Vasco da Gama's Introduction to Zamorin

Source:
(http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1400_1499/vascodagama/zamorin/zamorin.html)

Vasco da Gama meets the Zamorin of Calicut in 1498, engraving of 1752

Source:
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1400_1499/vascodagama/zamorin/zamorin.html

A steel engraving of Zamorin's court

Devils Worship in Calicut

Source: (http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/munster/india/page1087.jpg)

'Calechut celleberr Indiae emporium'

Drawing of Calicut city/harbour in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's atlas
Civitates orbis terrarum, 1572

Source (http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/india/calicut/maps/braun_hogenberg_I_54_1.html)

'The Merchants of Calicut Seized and Chained to a Barren Rock by the Order of Tippu Sahib', a sketch by Julia Corner, 1840

Source (https://archive.org/download/historyofchinain00corn/historyofchinain00corn.pdf)

A sketch of Hajur Kacheri by Madanan

Source: (M.G.S Narayanan, *Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited.* University of Calicut: Publication Division, 2006)
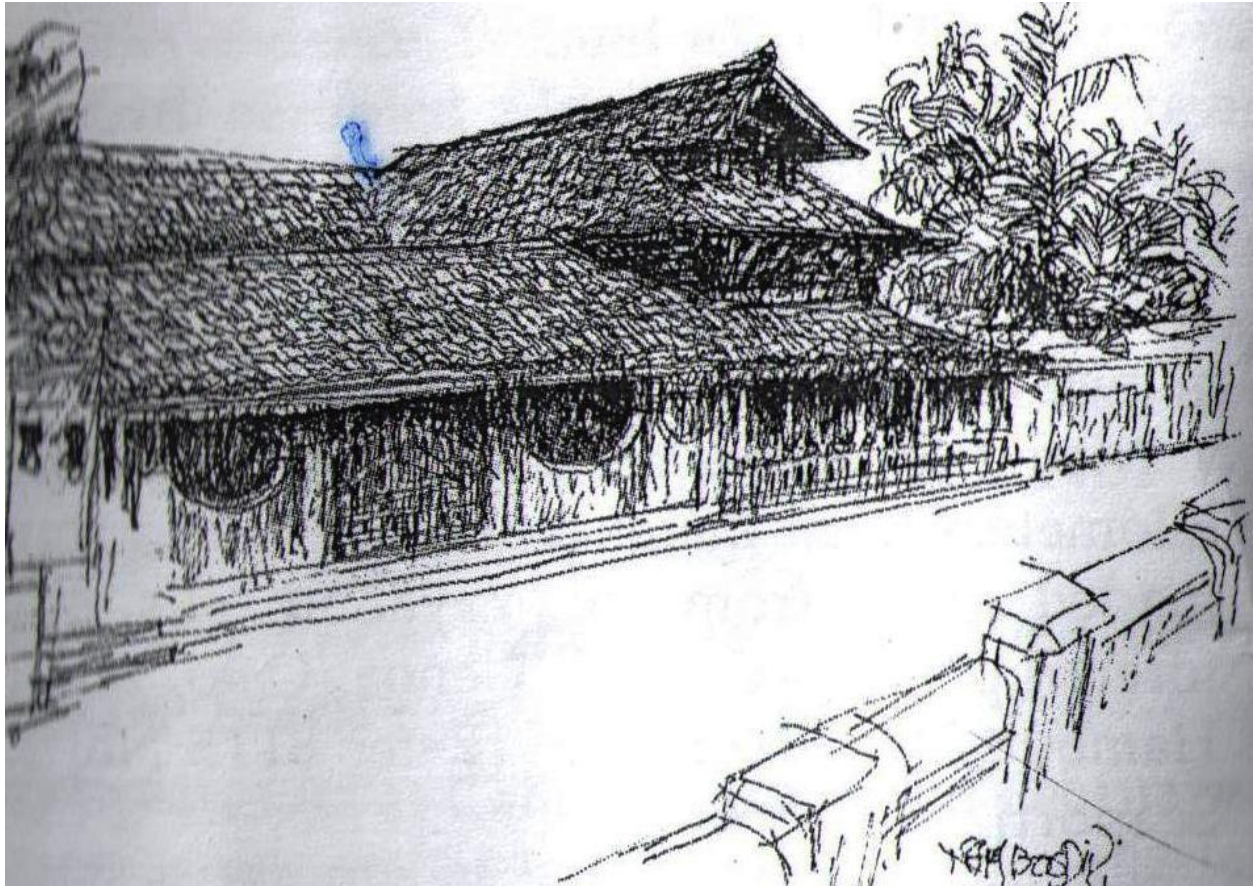
A sketch of Kuttichira Mosque by Madanan

Source: (M.G.S Narayanan, *Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited.* University of Calicut: Publication Division, 2006)

A sketch of Talli Temple by Madanan

Source: (M.G.S Narayanan, *Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited.* University of Calicut: Publication Division, 2006)

A Sketch of Pandikasala (warehouse) on the shore by Artist Namboothiri

Source: (M.G.S Narayanan, *Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited.* University of Calicut: Publication Division, 2006)

A sketch of Kallayi Timber Yard by Madanan

Source: (M.G.S Narayanan, *Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited.* University of Calicut: Publication Division, 2006)

A sketch of Valiyangadi (Bigbazar) by Madanan

Source: (M.G.S Narayanan, *Calicut: The City of Truth Revisited.* University of Calicut: Publication Division, 2006)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDS   Centre for Development Studies

CUP   Cambridge University Press

EPW   Economic and Political Weekly

NAI   National Archives of India

MDB   Malabar District Board

OUP   Oxford University Press

RAC   Regional Archives of Calicut

SS   Subaltern Studies

WP   Working Paper