

## Colonial Affiliations and Modern Cosmopolitanism: Architectural Heritage of the Keyi Muslims

**Manmathan M.R.**

Associate Professor in History  
Farook College, Kozhikode, Kerala  
E-mail: mrmanmathanmr@gmail.com

### Abstract

*Architecture is not about utility and aesthetics alone; it is a medium to explicate social attitudes and collective mentalities. The Keyi Muslims inaugurated [colonial]modernity in the architectural tradition among Thalassery Muslims, in the 18th century, synthesizing local, Islamic and colonial styles. But the act of assimilating colonial modernity in architecture was not simply a development towards cultural cosmopolitanism; collaborative role in colonial trade was crucial in the steadily growing material prosperity of the Keyi family, which had led them to appropriate western/secular values in their cultural domain. However, the mode of appropriation was highly selective, leaving the sacred and [inner] domestic zones uncontaminated.*  
**Keywords:** British, Colonialism, Thalassery, Keyi, Architecture, Saracenic, Odathil Palli.

### Introduction

Architecture is often studied against its cultural and aesthetic setting; the social ramifications are often ignored, though it has the potential to reveal the nature of social affinities and collective mentalities. Colonial era witnessed the appropriation of western architectural styles at varying degrees; the amount of which may explain the extent of consent/dissent towards colonial culture/indigenous tradition. It was a site for the engagement with the appeal of modernity, a bargaining for social power, and a demonstration of economic/social capital acquired through the network of colonial trade. Seigfried Kraacaur, the German architect and cultural theorist, viewed architectural space as a medium to understand society; within the 'realities' of the everyday and their suspension exist in a state of dialectical tension, enabling communities to attain a heightened consciousness of self, as individuals, group and collectivity (cited in Juneja, 2008:2). Against this background, through extensive fieldwork combining site visits and interview of various strata of people, the present paper examines the architectural (commercial, domestic and sacred) legacy of the Keyi Muslims of Thalassery. It would help examine the modes of their interaction with co-

lonial modernity and the manner by which they utilized the built environment to negotiate a space within the emerging [colonial]power structure.

Keyis were a family of traders who came to settle in Thalassery in the early decades of the 18th century when the British established their trade networks and factor-settlement there (Kuttu, 2014:23). As partners in colonial spice trade, the Keyis soon emerged into local elites and grew up in wealth and influence. Being located in the coastal-urban precincts of the fort-factory complex of Tellicherry, they constructed several villas/mansions and large number of warehouses; some of which still survive along the coastal belt of the town. While the storage halls were built with a utilitarian objective – and which initially served the twin purposes of family housing in the upper portions and storage on the ground floor, much like the structures built by other business classes of the west coast of India such as the Jews, Konkanis, Gujaratis, and Parsis (Abraham, 2017:160) – their house architecture evinced a fusion of the indigenous, Islamic and colonial styles. But the mosques (which are still stable and functional) are strictly Keralite-Islamic, heavily dominated by vernacular features, such as rich wood work and façade resembling a Brahmanical-Hindu temple, where typical ‘Saracenic’ architectural features like bulbous domes, tall minarets and arch-shaped entrances are missing. In fact, there is a harmonious fusion of style and utility, tradition and modernity, Islamic and local-vernacular features.

### **Keyi family in the Colonial Setting**

Keyi is the name of a Muslim trader family, like the Koyas of Calicut, Sunni by faith and matrilineal by descent (Gough, 1972: 415-42; Miller, 1992: 251-2),<sup>1</sup> originally having their home at Chovva in present day Kannur, and specialized in spice trade under the Chirakkal and Arakkal kingdoms (Kurup and Ismael, 2014:18-19). When the British East India Company established their trade headquarters at Tellicherry (present Thalassery) in the early decades of the eighteenth century, the Keyi family, under Aluppi, transferred their centre of trading activity to the new colonial town and thereafter came to be known as *Chovvakkaran* (as belonging to Chovva) (Ibid). When settled in Tellicherry, they constructed a new homestead called Orkatteri – which was segmented into four branches (Valiya Orkatteri, Cheriya Orkatteri, Thayath and Keloth) and multiplied later on – but they could not gain respect and recognition among the traditional Muslim elite families, Vaniyambalam and Kunnath in particular – the former even declined a marriage proposal from Musa, the nephew of Aluppi (Ummer, 2019). However, the Keyis gradually grew up in wealth and power and constructed large number of warehouses on the shore, several houses near the British fort-factory

complex, and a few mosques in the heart of the town (Balakrishnan, 2011:218).<sup>2</sup> Musa later on became the most successful trader of the family who could acquire monopoly in supplying commodities like pepper, cardamom, copra and sandalwood to the British (Deepa, 2019:159-63). Close contact with the colonial power and the inflow of European capital – for the regular supply of spices to the Company through even advance payments as a token of trust and honour – helped the Keyis to emerge as unrivalled merchant, banker of local lords, Company middlemen and broker – while the Keyis considered them as “our own company” (Rahiman, 2016:95). The company, in turn, saw the Keyis, for being honest partners, as “protégée of the Company” (Sakkaria, 1996:529-30). Being matrilineal – which in fact ran counter to the *Sharia* law – and followers of the law of inheritance forbidding partition of joint family property, the wealth and resources of the Keyis remained stable which helped them to multiply their mercantile capital (Kurup and Ismael, 2014:40-1).

Throughout the period of colonial rule, Keyis maintained enduring friendship relations with, and loyalty towards, the British. When the Mysore rulers raided Malabar, and the Arakkal Rajas supported them, the Keyis sided with the British – they “remained with the Tellicherry Factory; there was no likelihood of their joining Mysore” (Abraham, 2017:154-55). They even helped in safely transporting the feudal lords and caste Hindus, who had taken refuge in the Tellicherry factory, to the state of Travancore (which had successfully resisted the Mysore forces) in cargo ships through the (Arabian) Sea. During the Pazhassi Revolts, though they maintained secret relations with the rebels, by purchasing pepper from the troubled areas and supplying rice and gunpowder to them (Kurup, 1988:107-08), their allegiance towards the British remained strong and stable. Keyis soon evolved into intimate merchant partners in colonial spice/timber trade – as a comprador class. Gradually, they extended their commercial activities far and wide on the east and west coast upto Masulipatanam, Mangalore, Bombay and Surat (Abraham, 2017:154).<sup>3</sup> Being a satellite state of the British in India, Travancore also provided opportunities for the Keyis to expand their trading activities there.

Close friendship ties with the British, and mercantile interests all over India, drove the Keyis to keep aloof from the Nationalist Movement and, in the early decades of the twentieth century, when minority politics led by the Muslim League took roots in Malabar, the Keyis emerged as active partners. Being a centre of English education and the modern printing press, pioneered by Basel Evangelical Mission, under Herman Gundert, and Port Officer and altruist Edward Brennen (Parvathi,

2017:40-1), large number of Mappilas attained modern education and early efforts were started for printing (Irikkur, 2019:110-12; Mangad, 2019:375-7). *Chandrika*, the mouthpiece of the Muslim League in Kerala, was published from Thalassery from 1934 till 1946 (Gangadharan, 2012:113); when its publication was shifted to Kozhikode. While most of the Mappila *tarawads* including the Keyis supported Muslim League politics, among whom Cheriya Mammukkeyi emerged as ‘king-maker’ in Kerala politics, a few others like the Maliyekkal stood behind the nationalist movement and gradually shifted towards Left-wing ideology.<sup>4</sup>

### **Built Environment of the Keyis**

The architectural legacy of the Keyis is remarkable in both – secular (commercial and domestic) and sacred – domains which is evident in structures including their warehouses, Bungalow/villa houses and mosques. Houses and mosques were built as multi-floor, in two to three storeys. Being mercantile, the Keyis, like other Mappila Muslims, preferred to live usually in urban centres and crowded streets (See Innes, 1997:187)<sup>5</sup>

In the early phase of their settlement in Thalassery, and before constructing their tarawad houses in the town, the Keyis built large number of warehouses on the coast which had multiple roles of residential houses upstairs and commercial centres down. Several migrant communities in Kerala like the Gujaratis and Konkanis had carried out business in such commercial-residential houses located on the shore. It had ensured safety and security in trade, and space for care and attention, as shops/offices and residential spaces were combined together – family members could play labour and management roles simultaneously. Involved in maritime trade in spice goods with the British, their location was crucial in promoting coastal trade. The architecture of the warehouses were unique as they were constructed in the *nalukettu* style with a square/rectangular ground plan with a *nadumittam*/central open courtyard – in which the four rectangular rooms around the *nadumittam* functioned as storehouse/office which also would function as protective walls – for the whole building had only a single/front entrance (Kurup & Ismail, 2014:59-62). Extensive use of timber and glass, with wide ventilation, provided these warehouses a colonial/modernist touch.

The Keyis constructed their earliest houses in Thalassery in the second half of the 18th century – of which one or two [ruined] houses alone survive today. While traditional wooden motifs and masonry works were followed, they resembled European multi-storeyed villa houses and colonial traits including double columns, balcony, window-arch and tinted Belgian glass were extensively used. The traditional *nalukettu*

style of layout, with extensive wooden architecture, followed by the caste Hindus in their house architecture, especially by the Nambutiris/Nairs, also by rich Muslim families of Malabar, was widely incorporated. While the traditional Hindu aristocratic style followed small window panes exclusively made of wood, in vertical tracery, appearing like 'pierced screens of wood' (Prabhu, 1999:280), the Keyis used arch-windows fitted with tinted coloured glass so that they provided a sculptural touch of Victorian England. The use of hanging chandeliers in houses as well as carved and ornamented staircases and handles are other examples of European influence. Long *verandahs* with double-columned pillars at the ground floor and extensive use of glass windows on both storeys gave them the glimpse of European villa houses. In short, "the distinctive features of Keyi architecture are visible in the combination of both indigenous expertise and European styles" (Abraham, 2017:161).

Public and private spaces within homes are clearly separated and scrupulously integrated – bedrooms are located around common halls, both upstairs and downstairs. Being matrilineal and following the joint family norm, houses had several bedrooms, connecting them with the central hall, which are large enough to accommodate nuclear families, within an extended one, and are provided with wide ventilation for the intake of fresh air and light. Floors were laid with imported tiles/specially made large cement blocks in granite-finish. Imported roofing tiles were used, to form the sloping, diagonal roof-top, capable of withstanding the heavy monsoon shower of the tropical climate. A raised, wide platform (*Karāthaṇa*) for daily prayer was built on the *verandah* for the men-folk and another one in the ground-floor central hall for the women indoors. Raised platform in the central hall of the ground floor had other ritual roles as well, like for conducting *nikah*, *ratheeb* or for *taravih* prayer during the Ramzan (Hamid, 2019:30-1). The area also served as space for religious learning to girl children; an *uṣṭad* sitting in the *verandah* gave them instruction through the crevice of the massive front window (called *thāppa*, on both sides of the massive front door, which had the additional function of a wooden sofa when opened inwards). Women's public and private spaces were spacious enough to accommodate the needs of an extended family and were designed strictly in tune with the (Islamic) concept of domesticity and seclusion.<sup>6</sup> Kitchen was large and multi-roomed; cooking area was segregated from grinding/cleaning/washing spaces; large vessels were kept in storerooms while costly porcelain table-wear pottery were showcased in richly carved *almirahs* placed in the dining area. Staircases built in the kitchen backyards provided access for women

to move upstairs without trespassing through the ground floor central halls. But no latrines or toilets (except simple wash areas) were attached to rooms inside; nor were there common toilets attached to the central hall; cultural conservatism, coupled with lack of amenity for running water, may have been the reason to abjure such amenities, in early times.

Religiously devout, the Keyis constructed several mosques within the limits of the town in the late eighteenth century. Mosques functioned not only as shrines of worship, and graveyard/*khabarstan* for the various branches of the family, but as centres of social power as it was their own private/family property – it was customary for elite Muslims to maintain private mosques as social capital (Kunji,2008:220-21) <sup>7</sup>. Being migrants, the Keyis were denied honour and respect, and space for burying the dead, in the existing mosques of Thalassery. They were thus forced to construct their own mosques – initially at the beach (Tayalangadi palli) and later on another one (Odathil Palli) in the heart of the present day town followed by a few others of which Muqadar Palli on the Holloway Road is notable. There are four sheltered tombs/khabar at the southern side of the Tayalangadipalli, of Aluppikakka, his wife and his two sisters while the tomb of Musa and his wife is well protected in front of the Odathil Palli. Being the veteran elders, and the mosque being the family property of the Keyis, all of them were buried near the front entrance. When Musa constructed the Odathil palli in a large five-acre expanse, on a plot purchased from the Dutch, which was their cane-farm, the Keyi family started burying all their deceased family members in its Khabarstan.

An inquiry into Keyi architectural construction on the Malabar Coast is also important in understanding the changing nature of Islamic architecture in South India. With regard to Islamic monuments in Calicut, especially mosques, Mehrdad Shokoohy has pointed out the combination of local influences and forms brought from other parts of the Islamic world. Shokoohy describes a fusion of pan-Islamic styles and local vernacular styles of architecture (Shokoohy, 2003:20). However, other scholars state that mosque architectural styles in Kerala largely resembled traditional Brahminical temples, common in the northern and southern parts of the Kerala coast. This is largely because “the work of mosque construction was done by the local artisans under instructions of the Muslim religious heads” whose immediate models for the places of worship were only the Hindu temples (*koothambalam*), the traditional buildings of the region (Prabhu, 1999:284). C.A.Innes has written in the first decade of the twentieth century that “Mappila mosques (palli) are rectangular buildings with sloping tiled roofs and ornamental gables in front like those of the Hindu temples;

some of them have gate houses, and a few of the oldest have circular towers attached” (Innes, 1997:189). These descriptions define the relationship between the context and style of early mosque architecture but it is also important that colonial features were absolutely absent in religious structures.

In its original plan, in the layout of the plinth, ornamental facade and roof, the Odathil Palli represented early style of mosque architecture current in Kerala. The plinth of the mosque is rectangular east-west and consists of two large prayer halls separated by a wall with four door openings; the mihrab is at the western end of the inner hall – a 4-5 meter tall dome-shaped small structure with a pointed top and an arch-entrance on the east (also with a carved wooden minbar right aside)<sup>8</sup> – the outer wall is dotted with several rectangular, sculpted, wooden door openings on all sides. The tall basement, about one meter in height, is similar to the adhisthana of a temple and wooden columns inside the hall are designed in square/octagonal section. The walls are made of laterite blocks. The arch form is seen only exceptionally – like in Ponnani mosque – which is seen only on the mihrab and the outer walls where small, pointed arches are cut on lime plastering in the space between the several door-recesses. Wood is extensively used in the superstructure for the construction of the ceiling and upper roof-top (the entire walls of the first floor are also laid with wood), while the top roof is covered with sheets of copper incorporating finials in the ridge, with the sikhara/kalasa. There is also a gatehouse (Patippura) at the southern side which is not typical to mosques in Kerala but commonly found in temples and elite Nair/nambutiri homes. In style and decoration Odathil palli appeared almost like the Ponnani mosque, in its miniature form. The Arabic tradition of simplicity of plan had perhaps combined itself with the indigenous construction techniques giving rise to the unique style of mosque architecture, not found anywhere else in the world (Innes, 1997:285).<sup>9</sup> Though Arabic-Persian tradition had reached northern and central India by the 14-15 centuries, Muslims in Kerala followed vernacular style as is found in the early mosque architecture of Kerala (in particular the mosques of Calicut – Mishkal and Muccunti) (Ganesh, 2011:302-3).

### **Social Dimensions of Keyi Architecture**

The Keyi architecture evinced multiple levels of ‘absorption of and resistance to’ (J.A. Page, cited in Juneja, 2008:26-27) traditional, Islamic and colonial styles in accordance with the pressures of their social and cultural preferences as a cosmopolitan, comprador, mercantile class during the confused early years of the foundation of British colonial empire. While the warehouses constructed by them in the modern style conformed perfectly to their mercantile and commercial interests,

the domestic architecture exemplified their aspiration to combine traditional, Islamic and Victorian styles as a means to incorporate utility and aesthetics through the local workmanship available during that time, and the space of sacred architecture, by eschewing colonial elements and insisting on synthesizing ‘Indo-Saracenic’ form, asserted their resolve to resist colonial intrusion into the religious domain. All these were integral to the ‘deal’ with the indigenous/colonial elite and were intended to carve a privileged space in the newly developing local social/power structure mediated by the precepts of colonial modernity.

The two periods in which the mosques were constructed showed different stages of the search for identity – during the former, the Keyis were not honoured within the local Muslim community and had to struggle for a dignified social space; whereas, by the time of the latter, they could gain command over the local Muslims and compete with the Hindu elite, as representatives of their own community. The structure of the Odalthilpalli resembled a structural temple, facing the east with a heavily ornamental façade, with elaborate wood carvings and with two layers of copper roofing adorned with four gold-plated *kalasa* – three of them at its east-west top roof line and one upon the richly decorated kiosk fitted over the façade at the eastern end – *kalasa* was unique to Hindu temples alone and it was affixed on the mosque after a tussle with the Hindu elite (Ummerkutty, 1916). The successful completion of the mosque marked their victory over the local elites – both Muslim and Hindu – for in size and design it excelled all the existing mosques of the town as well as the Sri Ramaswamy temple owned by the caste Hindus, situated just a mile away.

The tendency towards architectural cosmopolitanism is viewed from different perspectives – as a resolve to maintain secular spirit (Marar: 2019) and as a cultural expression of comprador condition (Abraham: 2017). While the first does not consider the colonial context, the second fails to explain the polar character of the sacred and the profane spaces. Taking into consideration the astonishing growth of the Keyis through colonial trade network, as a new elite class, and the extremely unfriendly attitude of the traditional Muslim elite towards them, it is probable to argue that the Keyis were trying to choke out a space within the complex social structure, mediated by modernity and tradition, through a play of cultural symbols – both modern and the traditional. Palatial villa houses with European exterior styles guaranteed respect and awe among the natives while adherence to traditional style in mosque architecture and interior designing of homes reaffirmed their resolve to safeguard traditional/religious norms. Profuse use of vernacular idioms pointed to the symbiotic values maintained by the



Mappila Muslims in a plural/traditional society while the unavailability of skilled [local] architects in Saracenic techniques drove them to follow vernacular/non-Islamic architectural forms. Being comprador, and as portfolio capitalists (Subrahmaniam&Bayly, 1988), affinity towards the British was important, which was expressed outwardly, while expansion of western values were not allowed to intrude into the religious and domestic domains.

## Conclusion

The glorious tradition of the Keyis is a thing of the past now; the spectacular prosperity of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has retreated to steady decline afterwards. While trading families flourished into corporate groups in other parts of India and the world, the Keyis invested their wealth in sterile landed property and with the land reform legislation of the 1950/60 they grew almost pauper (Kurup&Ismael, 2014:90-3). With the decline of matriliney and the enactment of *Mappila Marumakkathayam* Act, the old joint houses also ruined; nuclear, fragmented, families moved to various quarters of the town. The mosques are still functional and stand erect as the symbols of past heritage and cultural harmony. However, this [cultural] legacy is not welcomed now, and increasingly being reversed; because relationship between communities is not as cordial as earlier. New architectural styles have developed all over Kerala, following the true Saracenic model, eschewing local vernacular influences, and barring a few early mosques have been either rebuilt or undergone a facelift. This trend was brought about by several factors in combination – the growth of puritan movements among Muslims obliging them to recast ritual practices and institutional structures in tune with the Arabian/universal system; defensive response to the aggressive Hindu right claiming mosques with native features as temples captured/converted during Mysore raids; as well as the cultural influence of Gulf migration of Malayalee Muslims enabling them to renovate sacred structures utilizing Gulf money. The frontage of the Odathil Palli is now attached with a new concrete hall, showcasing Moosa's burial tomb at the south-east corner of it, hiding the classic façade of the mosque.

Having been located in the heart of the town, and threatened by conflicting claims from the hostile matrilineal descent groups, all the Keyi *tarawads* – except Thayath and Puthiya Valappil – are sold out/demolished for constructing shopping malls/commercial centres. The two remaining houses are already abandoned and are waiting demolition. While the Maliyekkal and Bengala houses have survived till now and are kept in good condition as they are still occupied and inhabited, the case of the Keyi houses present a bleak picture. Immense and infinite volume of

property, steadily proliferating lineages, loss of landed property through land reforms and increasing pressure on urban land mass, rapidly changing lifestyles and discomfort with old structures, indifference towards cultural heritage, absence of a fatherly/commanding figure in the family – all have led the Keyi heritage to an inevitable collapse. From the cultural point of view, this is saddening, more so in the context of the stability and survival of other buildings of the colonial era of the town such as villas, churches/mosques and business houses. As Naman Ahuja has observed, unless monuments become part of our communities, part of our habitats, conservation of heritage would be most difficult (cited in Gupta, 2018:36).

#### Notes

1. It is an aberration from the great Islamic tradition, and was followed by the Mappila Muslims of Malabar in a few settlements like Ponnani, Kozhikode, Thalassery and Kannur. (For details see Gough, 1972: 415-42; Miller, 1992: .251-2).
2. The Keyis even constructed a ‘rubath’ at Mecca called Mussafar Khana (Keyi Rubath), by Mayin Kutty Keyi in 1877, a rest house for Haj pilgrims from Kerala with 21 rooms and 2 halls. It was demolished by the Saudi government in the 1960s for providing more facilities for the increasing number of pilgrims. The compensation amount of Rs. 400 crore set aside has multiplied over the ages amounting to about 5000 crores now but due to conflicting claims with Arakkal family (Keyis used to marry from them) it remains unpaid. (Balakrishnan in Mathrubhumi Daily, 29 November 2017).
3. The mosque constructed by the Keyis in Mumbai remains still under their proprietorship and is functional even today; and the family members do not have a clear idea about the nature and extent of property they still possess in various parts of the world (Personal Conversation, Haneefa, Thalassery, 22April, 2019).
4. Maliyekkal Mariyumma, Personal Conversation, Maliyekkal House, Thalassery, 4thMay, 2019.
5. “...and is content with a very minute back garden, if he has one at all, surrounded by a high wall to protect his women from the public gaze.”
6. Keyis were keen in keeping their women indoors, and refused to provide them modern education. Even in recent times they do not allow their women enter the public life, either in modern professions or in politics. Haneefa defined the supremacy of Keyi women, against others (especially Maliyekkal, who taught them and gave them freedom), with reference to their trait of domesticity (Personal conversation with Haneefa, 22April, 2019).

7. Vaniyambalam family had chalil mosque as their family property (where Keyis were denied worship)
8. The qazi used to give Friday sermon here, with a sword in his hand, which is still kept on the minbar.
9. The austere architectural features of the old mosques are in the process of being replaced recently, with actuated forms, domes and minar-minarets, as visible symbols of Islamic architecture. See Balagopal T. S. Prabhu, 1999:285.

### Reference

- Abraham, Santhosh. 2017. "The Keyi Mappila Muslim Merchants of Tellicherry and the Making of Coastal Cosmopolitanism on the Malabar Coast". *Asian review of World Histories*, 5(2): 145-62.
- Balakrishnan, K. 2011. *Pazhassiyum Kadathanadum* (Pazhassi and Kadathanad). Kottayam: D.C. Books.
- Deepa, M. 2019. "Malabarile British Thadi Vyaparavum Chovvakaran Moosayum" (Chovvakkaran Moosa and British Timber Trade in Malabar). In Suresh Palanki (ed.), *Proceedings of VIth International Conference on Kerala History* (157-165), Kottayam: SPCS.
- Ganesh, K.N. 2011. "Kuttichirayile Pallikal" (Mosques of Kuttichira). In Salim P.B, N.P. Hafis Muhammed and M.C. vasisht (ed), *Malabar: Paithrukavum Pratapavum (Malabar: Heritage and Glory)* (298-304). Kozhikode: Mathrubhumi Books.
- Gangadharan, M. 2012. *Mappila Patanangal (Mappila Studies)*. Kottayam: D.C. Books.
- Gough, Kathleen. 1972. "Mappilla: North Kerala". In David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough (Eds.), *Matrilineal Kinship* (415-42). Allahabad: A.H. Wheeler & Co.
- Gupta, Narayani. 2018. "Historic Landscapes: From Habitat to Monument". *Social Orbit* 4.1: 26-40.
- Hamid, Sabir. 2019. 1919 – *Oru Yugappiravi (1919 – Birth of a New Era)*. Kannur: Samayam Publications.
- Haneefa. 2019. (Aged 58, Keyi family). Personal Conversation. Thalassery, May 10.
- Innes, C.A. 1999. *Malabar Gazetteer*. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala gazetteers Department, Government of Kerala.
- Juneja, Moneca (ed.). 2008. *Architecture in Medieval India: Forms, Contexts, Histories*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black.
- Kasim, Irikkur. 2019. "Malabarinte Navothanathil Thalasseryude Swadheenanam" ("Role of Thalassery in the Renaissance of Malabar"). In Ajmal Mueen (ed), *Kannur Muslim Heritage Congress: Prabhandam Samaharam* (Kannur Muslim Heritage Congress: Collected Papers) (110-16).

## Colonial Affiliations and Modern Cosmopolitanism

- Kannur: Solidarity Youth Movement.
- Kunji, P.K.Muhammad. 2008. *Muslingalum Kerala Samskaravum* (Muslims and Kerala Culture). Thrissur: Kerala Sahitya Academy.
- Kurup, K.K.N. 1988. *Pazhassi Samarangal* (Pazhassi Revolts). Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute.
- Kurup, K.K.N. and E. Ismael. 2014. *Thalasseryile Keyimar: Charit-ravum and Samskaravum* (Keyis of Thalassery: History and Culture). Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute.
- Kuttu, V.K. 2014. *Thalassery: Oru Muslim Charitram* (Thalassery: A Muslim History). Kozhikode: Other Books.
- Mangad, Abdurahman. 2019. "Muslim Patrapravarthanam Avibhaktha Kannur Jillayil" ("Muslim Journalism in Undivided Kannur district"). In Ajmal Mueen (ed), *Kannur Muslim Heritage Congress: Prabhandam Samaharam (Kannur Muslim Heritage Congress: Collected Papers)* (375-77). Kannur: Solidarity Youth Movement.
- Marar, K.K. 2019. (Artist, aged 75). Personal Conversation. Tiruvangad, Thalassery, April 21.
- Parvathi, B. 2017. *Thalasseryude Navothana Charitram* (History of Renaissance in Thalassery). Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute.
- Prabhu, Balagopal T. S. 1999. "Kerala Architecture," In P. J. Cherian (Ed), *Essays on the Cultural Formation of Kerala* (272-320). Thiruvananthapuram: Government of Kerala.
- Rahiman, M.P. Mujeebu. 2016. "Merchants, Colonialism and Indigenous Capital: The Case of Chovakkaran Musa and the English East India Company". In *The Other Side of the Story: Tipu Sultan, Colonialism and Resistance in Malabar*. Kottayam: SPCS.
- Ronald E. Miller. 1992. *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A Study in Islamic Trends* Madras: Orient Longman.
- Sakkaria, Scaria (Ed.). 1996. *Thalassery Rekhakal (Tellicherry Documents)*. Kottayam:DC Books.
- Shokoohy, Mehrdad. 2003. *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, Goa)*. London: Routledge.
- Subrahmaniam, Sanjay and C.A. Bayly. 1988. "Portfolio Capitalists and the Political Economy of Early Modern India". *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 25.4: 401-24
- Ummer, C.O.T. 2019. (Advocate, (85) Keyi family). Personal Conversation, Thalassery, April 23.
- Ummerkutty, A.P. 1916. *History of Keyis of Malabar*. Cannanore: Edward Press.