Chapter V

Royal Functionaries

A large number of men were attached to the king and royalty. Earlier scholars like Krishna Ayyar described them as “officers”.1 William Logan called personages like Mannattaccan and Tinayañcëri Ílayatu as the “hereditary ministers” of the Zamorin.2 Krishna Ayyar says, “the Zamorin was assisted in the work of government by four chief ministers called Sarvadhi Kariakkars and a number of lesser ministers called Kariakkars”.3 Since it is not easy to distinguish their functions as of bureaucratic and ministerial nature and as the entire structure of officialdom, such as it was, was very nebulous, we prefer to call them royal functionaries. This description has the advantage of being neutral and thus less confusing, although it may be less attractive.

Those who surrounded the royalty immediately took care of the needs of the king and helped him in every kind of his work. Most of them moved along with the king or stayed in the respective Kõvilakams as the case may be. They constituted what we can loosely call a “court”. The Zamorin was the king of a small kingdom, only a little better than the locality chief. One has to bear this in mind in understanding the term “court” which we use here. It should not be taken in its usual meaning of an imperial court. In the kingdom of Kõlìkkõtu it was only a poor imitation of what constitutes a court. The problem of whether a “court” existed in Kõlìkkõtu at all is relevant here, since scholars usually talk about the court of a king as taken for granted. The foreign travellers depicted a picture of the

---

1 K.V. Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 269.
3 Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 266.
court of the Zamorin. We have corroborative evidence to it in the Kōjikkōtan Granthavari, which we have discussed below. There were a number of persons who dealt with various aspects of the kingdom in addition to the personal attendants and retinue of the Zamorin.

The revenue of the Zamorin came largely from agricultural lands which he owned as ērikkal, i.e., something of his private demesne, and this was collected, in cash as well as in kind, through his agents in the respective ērikkals (royal estates). Besides, he used to get money payments and payments in other forms from other sources.\(^4\) Trade was an important source of revenue and functionaries were appointed to look after it. There were militiamen and bodyguards of the king. This Chapter studies in detail about the royal functionaries who were the pillars of the kingdom. A study of certain persons or families of the royal functionaries in isolation is also attempted here.

The royal functionaries were called Kāryakkār\(^5\) and Polītis in general in the Kōjikkōtan Granthavari. Atikāris (Adhikāris), Talaccennavars, Accanmār and temple functionaries also belonged to this group. There were ritual specialists like priests of the palaces, astrologers, musicians etc. as well as various occupational groups like washermen, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, oilmongers, barbers, physicians, weavers, carpenters, tailors, masons and militiamen all of whom were attached to the royal establishment. There were persons directly related to the king or royalty and also men attached to the locality chiefs and local magnates, who worked as royal functionaries on certain occasions, which were mostly custom-bound.

\(^4\) The succession fee (puruṣāntaram) given by local magnates, tirumuḷkāḷa (gifts) on various occasions and virinnaṁitu pāpam (amount for the royal feast) and Kannukku pāpam (amount presented for the death rituals) are examples.

\(^5\) In Kōjikkōtan Granthavari the term Kāryakkāris used in both singular and plural. We too follow the same usage here.

112
The terms used in the documents to refer to the functionaries are, as said earlier, *Kāryakkār* and *Poltti*. However, there is no way in which particular functionaries can be categorised into the one or the other. It would seem that the *Kāryakkār* were the highest in the hierarchy of power among the functionaries. Literally, the term signifies “one who looks after the affairs [of the kingdom]”. Maṅnāṭṭaccaṇ, Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu and Pāṟa Nampi were generally referred to as *Kāryakkār* on different occasions. In certain documents Vallaṭṭavāḷi Kuṇṇi Kurikkaḷ, Tāṟakkaḷ Iremma Mēṇōṇ, Mūṇṭattōṭṭatu Nampūṭirī, Vāḷayūr Unṉirāricca Ėṟāṭi and Nelliyūr Paṇikkā Nampūṭirī are also included in the list of *Kāryakkār*. Vallaṭṭavāḷi Kuṇṇi Kurikkaḷ was invested with *Sarvādhikārām* in KE 846 (AD 1671).6 According to K.V. Krishna Ayyar, there were four chief ministers called *Sarvādhi Kāryakkār* and a number of lesser ministers called *Kāryakkār*.7 Following Francis Buchanan8 Krishna Ayyar thinks that Maṅnāṭṭaccaṇ, Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu, Tāṟamme Paṇikkār and Pāṟa Nampi were the four *Sarvādhi Kāryakkār*.9 However, such a gradation of the royal functionaries as *Sarvādhi Kāryakkār* and *Kāryakkār*, or the appointment of four *Sarvādhi Kāryakkār*, is not supported by the evidence in the *Granthavari*.10 The *Kēralōṭpatti* tradition speaks of the above four as *Kāryakkār*.11 *Kēralōṭpatti Kilippāṭṭu* also says that the above four helped the king to rule the kingdom.12 However, this cannot be

7 Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 266.
9 K.V. Krishna Ayyar, ZC, pp. 267-69.
10 However, the document of the conferment of turban on Kōya in KE 832 gives a reference to *adhikāram nālu*, which is not clear. Whether that was a reference to the four *sarvādhi kāryakkār*? KG, Vol. 10.
12 K.C. Manavikraman Raja., Ed., *Kēralōṭpatti Kilippattu*, pp. 12, 49. According to the *Kilippattu* Tamme Paṇikkār was the *Niripaguru* (teacher of the king) who is the master of martial arts. Maṅnāṭṭaccan is stated as the first among the ministers. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 58.
taken as clinching as the text of *Kēralōtpatti* conflates traditions dating from various periods. As noted above, Vallaṭṭāvali Kuṇṇi Kurikkal was appointed as *Sarvādhikāram* in KE 846 and Ėrānāṭṭu Münnāmkūr Nampiyāṭirī was called *Sarvādhikāram* in a few documents. This shows clearly that both local magnates and members of the royal family were enlisted as *Sarvādhikāram*. It is important also to note that Tamme Panikkar, who was an important figure in certain courtly rituals and festivals such as *utavājanakka* (investing with the royal sword), *Taippūyam* and *Māmākam*, is not mentioned as *Kāryakkār* or *Sarvādhi Kāryakkār* in the *Granthavari*.

The *Kāryakkār* acted as royal functionaries in matters of both war and peace. During the Dutch attack of Koṭūnnallūr in KE 845 (AD 1670) the *Kāryakkār* led the militia to help the Zamorin. It was the *Kāryakkār* who carried out the cremation of those who died in the attack and sent the injured to Pāppinivaṭṭam after recording their names. In KE 915 (AD 1740) royal letters were sent to the *Kāryakkār*, both the ones who were present and not present in the *Kōvilakam* of the Zamorin at Ponnāṇi Vairanellūr, notifying his *Kotticecelunnaḻattu* (royal procession with music ensemble) to Calicut. The *Kāryakkār* accompanied the Zamorin in his processions. There is a hierarchy among the *Kāryakkār*, as the *Granthavari* mentions that “*kīḷi* (purse of money) was presented to the *Kāryakkār* according to the status of each”.

---

13 In the document of *Kotticecelunnaḻattu* (royal procession with music ensemble) of the Zamorin in KE 854 and the document of *Māmākam* in KE 858 Ėrānāṭṭu Münnāmkūr Nampiyāṭirī was called as *Sarvādhikāram*. *KG*, Vol. 2.


Mannattaccan and Tinayaṅćeeri Ilayatu were the most important Kāryakkār, who received the highest amount of money among the royal functionaries on various occasions. Pāra Nampi was also a Kāryakkār of the Zamorin. A few more dignitaries like Tarakkal [Iremma] Mēnōn and Vāḷayūr [Uṇṇirāricca] Erāṭi were included in this exalted group. In times of need more persons were incorporated into this group, as in the case of Vallattāvali Kuṇñi Kurikkal. It is also to be noted that Kāryakkār was a general term for functionaries, with no exclusiveness for those of the Zamorin. Thus, references to the Kāryakkār of Netuvirippil Mūṭṭa Kövil, the senior princess of the royal house of the Zamorin and Ceramahnalattu Nampūṭiri, a local magnate, are found in the Granthavari. Vakkāṭṭalijattu Talakāppuṭaya Nāyār was the Kāryakkār of Veṭṭam Utaya Mūṭṭa Kövil. We get reference to the following Kāryakkār of Veṭṭam Utaya Mūṭṭa Kövil in KE 777 (AD 1602) from the Vaññēri Granthavari viz. Devaraja Pattar, Nannampare Rārappa Mēnōn, Arīccāle Kēḷacca Mēnōn and Kuḷamkare Karuṇākara Mēnōn.

Polttis are another category of the royal functionaries. Poltti was sometimes written in the Granthavari as portti. Etymologically it is derived from the Sanskrit term pravartti, which means work. Thus Polttis were persons who were assigned

18 The available documents speak of only Tarakkal Iremma Mēnōn and Vāḷayūr Rāricca Erāṭi as Kāryakkār. It is not clear whether other members of these families, who figure in the documents, too held this position.

19 Vallattāvali Kuṇñi Kurikkal was appointed as Sarvāḍhikāram (Sarvāṭikāram) in KE 846 (AD 1671). Circumstantial evidences indicate that it was not a hereditary appointment. In the kuriya royal letter he is directed to meet the expense of Panniyūr-Covvaram and Ērāṇṭu-Perumpatappu conflict. Ibid., Vol. 3, copies of the same document in Vols. 7, 10, 12 & 13. For more details on Vallattāvali Kuṇñi Kurikkal, see below, pp. 154-56.

20 KG, Vol. 21.

21 Ibid., Vol. 1.


different pieces of work. Such works included the ones related to the state, the estates of the ruler and other members of the house and the personal service to the royalty including that of the barbers and washer men. References to different *Poltis* are found in the *Granthavari*. The *Poltis* and the militiamen together constituted the retinue of the Zamorin. A list of the royal functionaries is given below. This list is based on the royal functionaries who received money for the *vālum putavayum* (“the sword and the robe”) ceremony of Kutiravaṭṭattu Nāyar in KE 825 (AD 1650).²⁴

1. Akattu Ceriyavar
2. Vātukkal Paṇīkkannār (Door keepers)
3. Tirumuṭṭittāḷi Paṇīkkannār (Persons shampooing the king)
4. Kālāḥci Paṇīkkannār (spittoon bearers)
5. *Mantraṭāṭikal* (Magico-religious performers, sorcerers)
6. Valiya Tēvārikal (Chief priest of the palace)
7. Ceriya Tēvārikal (Assistant priests of the palace)
8. Āṭanārkār
9. Āṭukkalakārār (Cooks)
10. Kāccērī Nampi (Office clerk)
11. Vilampanār (servers of food)
12. Arikkanakkukār (Accountants of rice)
13. Aricīllānam Kollunnavār (Purchasers of groceries)
14. Talāppanāyar vakatiṇnaḷḷi kollukayum elutukayum ceyyunnavār (Accountants dealing with the monthly accounts of *Talaccennavar*)
15. Maṭappallī ceriyavar
16. Vayaṟṟakkittāḷḷal or Vayaṟṟappanikkars (Persons performing *vayaṟṟittu*)
17. Parappur Uḷḷṭar (Name of the rice accountant)
18. Tēvārattil Vāriyanmār (Servants of the palace temple)
19. Trikkai Kuṭṭakkār (Royal umbrella bearers)
20. Peṇtiyanmār (Maid-servants)
21. Vilakkū vekkunnavār (Persons lighting lamps)
22. Oṟṟakkārān Māṟāyanmār (Conch blowers)
23. Paḷḷicēnāṁmar (Litter bearers)
24. Māṟāyanmār (Drummers/Musicians)
25. Nāykkannār (Musicians)
26. Takil Tantrimār (Big-drummers)
27. Veḷakkattirār (Barbers)
28. Veḷuttēṭṭan (Washerman)

It may be noted that a few of those who are included in the list of Polttis also figure as Kāryakkār. Tinayaṅčēri Ilayatu, Maṅnāṭṭaccan, Taṟakkal Kēḷappa Mēnōn and Pāṟa Nampi are included in both categories. Tamme Paṇikkar and Nēyttiyār (the consort of the Zamorin) are also included in the above list. In a few lists of the Polttis (as designated in the document) also the names of the Kāryakkār
and Néytiyāṛ are found. Hence it is difficult to make a distinction between Kāryakkāṛ and Polttis. It may be said that Poltti was a general term that included all functionaries of the royal establishment while the Kāryakkāṛ was a more exclusive group, referring to those who were in the higher rungs of the hierarchy. The Kāryakkāṛ and Polttis related to the king moved along with the Zamorin to different parts of the kingdom. The Polttis also looked after the affairs of cērikkals or royal estates. They had to pay a fixed amount to the royal treasury after meeting certain expenses like āṭtu (free meals to the Brahmans from the feeding house), pāṭakāram (a temple ritual) or certain personal expenses (taṇcilavukaḥ) and monthly salary (māsappaṭi). The Accanmāṛ who seems to be the accountants of the cērikkals were also the royal functionaries. Thus, functionaries included in the list of Polttis were the mainstay of the administrative machinery of the Zamorin.

There were other royal functionaries who were slightly different from both Kāryakkāṛ and Polttis. Talaccennavars belonged to this category. References to Talaccennavars of Calicut, Cunaṅṇāṭu, Nenmini, Veḷiyannūṛ, Arayankōṭṭu, Kōṭṭukara, Kēḷanallūṛ and Ponnāni are found in the

25 For instance, the document of “the sword and the robe” ceremony of Kutiravaṭṭattu Nāyār of an unknown date and that of Taṛakkal Unikkanta Mēnānt in KE 824. Ibid., Vol. 7, copies of the document in Vols. 13 & 14.

26 Ibid., Vol. 21. We also see that during the Paṭṭattānāṁ in KE 854 Accanmāṛ were entrusted to receive the rice and groceries and write the accounts. Ibid., Vol. 2.

27 Ibid., Vols. 1, 2, 7, 9, 13 & 14.

28 Ibid., Vols. 2 & unnumbered (B).

29 Ibid., Vol. unnumbered (B).

30 Ibid., Vols. 7, 14 & 52.

31 Ibid., Vol. unnumbered (B).

32 Ibid., Vols. 1, 7, 13 & 14.

118
Kollkkottan Granthavari. The Vaññeri Granthavari refers to the Talaccennavar of Kalati. The annual cannāta panam from Vaññeri Tekkēppātu and Kilakkētam to the Kövilakam of Zamorin was remitted to the Talaccennavar of Kalati. The Vafineri Granthavari refers to the Talaccennavar of Cavakkatu. It seems that the post of Talaccennavar was mainly hereditary. A reference to Kōllkkōttu Ilaya Talakāppuṭaya Nāyār (second in the family hierarchy of the Talaccennavar of Calicut) helps in this inference. Krishna Ayyar says that Talaccennavars were the heads of standing armies kept in important towns and strategic places. He also says that “in every town justice was administered in the last resort by its Talacchannaivar”. The Talaccennavar was present when a considerable area of land was given to the Eletattu Nampūtiri in KE 903 at Tantilaṁ dēsam as a fine (a way of atonement) for the outrageous act of Kuññīi Kurikkal in KE 848 who was a royal functionary of the Zamorin. This shows the role of Talaccennavar in the administration of justice. In this context we can place the account of Duarte Barbosa on the Talaccennavar of Calicut: “In the city of Calicut itself the king maintains a Governor who bears the name of Talixe, a Nayr who holds

33 Ibid., Vols. 1, 7 & 13.
34 Ibid., Vol. 9.
38 Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 278.
39 Ibid., p. 283.
40 Kuññīi Kurikkal encroached into the house of Eletattu Nampūtiri in Tulām 848 (October, AD 1672) on the wrong plea that he had hidden the wealth of Pāṭirippalī Iṭikkōnann. In order to make amends for this, the Accannār, who were responsible for maintaining the accounts of Kalati cērīkkal, and Taṟakkaḷ Iremma Menōn were given royal order in netiya tiruveluttu on Dhanu 18, KE 903 (December 18, AD 1727). Accordingly, a piece of land was granted to the Nampūtiri which he received at the Tantilaṁ temple declaring that he had no more resentment on the occasion. KG, Vol. 21.
jurisdiction over five thousand Nayres, to whom he pays the very large revenues assigned to him. He possesses the right of administering justice, but not to such an extent as to free him from rendering an account thereof to the king”.41

In KE 834 (AD 1659) Kārapampallī Cāttu Mēnōn was appointed as Velīyanūr Talaccenna Nāyar. He was conferred with “the sword and the robe” (vāllum putavayum) in Kerriccer Tekkēṭattu at Triprayār.42 In KE 882 (AD 1707) the death of the Zamorin was intimated to various locality chiefs, local magnates and royal functionaries including Talaccennavars of Calicut and Velīyanūr.43

On the 26th day of Māmākam, i.e., the seventh day after the elephant was adorned with gold trappings, the Ten Thousand, Kōlikkōṭtu Talaccenna Nāyar and Ėrānāṭṭu Mēnōn formed the akampati (escort/retinue) of the Zamorin.44 In KE 904-905 (AD 1728-30) Śrī Rāmāyaṇam Kūṭṭu45 was performed at Vairanellūr Kōvilakam. Royal letters were sent to various local magnates and functionaries to bring various articles. Kōlikkōṭtu Talaccenna Nāyar was asked to bring 50 itanrailis (an itanraili is a measurement approximately equal to one litre) of rice, 25 itanrailis of fried grain and ten bunches each of coconut and tender coconut. Fifty itanrailis of coconut oil was demanded from the Talaccennavar, Accammar, et al. of Ponnāni Vālke.46

43 Ibid., Vol. 52.
44 Ibid., Vol. 2. For details of the festival, see below, Chapter IX.
45 See below, Chapter VI.
46 KG, Vol. 9.
Immediately after the investiture of Vīrārāyiran as Zamorin in KE 841 (AD 1666) Kōlikkōṭṭu Talaccenna Nāyar was formally appointed (cēkam cārttaḥ) along with other functionaries.⁴⁷ Kōlikkōṭṭu Talaccenna Nāyar received 279 paṇams for attending the ceremony.⁴⁸ Kōlikkōṭṭu Iḷaya Talāppu Nāyar, second in the hierarchy of Kōlikkōṭṭu Talaccenna Nāyar family, received 25 paṇams as ālām for the same ceremony.⁴⁹ The Zamorin sent letters to the royal functionaries notifying his koṭṭiccējunnallattu from Ponnāni to Calicut in KE 915 (AD 1740). Kōlikkōṭṭu Talaccenna Nāyar was asked to reach Kallāyi Bridge to receive the Zamorin “as in earlier days”.⁵⁰

On Kanni 13, KE 737 (September 12, AD 1561) Cunannatu Talaccennavar received 16 paṇams for the funeral ceremony of Vīrārāyiran Ėrālpāṭu.⁵¹ In KE 854 (AD 1679) Neṭuvirippil Mūṭta Kövil informed the Ėranāṭṭu Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri that she wanted to see the Zamorin. Then Ėranāṭṭu Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri sent Tarakkal Iremma Mēnōn, Talaccennavar of Cunannāṭu, to the Zamorin who was then residing at Cempalaṅnāṭu.⁵² Thus the Zamorin proceeded to Calicut. The merchants presented gifts (tirumulkālca) to him. What is interesting is that Tarakkal Iremma Mēnōn,⁵³ Talaccennavar of Cunannāṭu, also presented eight paṇams to the Zamorin.⁵⁴

---

⁴⁷ Ibid., Vol. 7; see below, App. II.
⁴⁸ He received it under various heads namely ālām (100 paṇams), manisam (four paṇams) and rice and groceries (175 paṇams). KG, Vol. 14, copies of the same document in Vols. 7 & 13.
⁴⁹ Ibid.
⁵⁰ Ibid., Vol. 1.
⁵¹ Ibid., Vol. unnumbered (B).
⁵² Ibid., Vol. 2.
⁵³ Tarakkal Iremma Mēnōn was conferred with “the sword and the robe” (vāḷum peṭavayum) in KE 851.
⁵⁴ KG, Vol. 2.
Kottukara Talappuṭaya Nāyar received 32 *paṇams* for the *vāllum puṭavayum* ceremony of Kutiravaṭṭu Nāyar in KE 825. In KE 841 and 916 Kottukara Talappuṭaya Nāyar and Kēланallur Talakappuṭaya Nāyar received rice during the *Vākatali* (a ritual marking the end of death pollution) of the Zamorin. In KE 841 they were referred in the group of Nālillattu Paṇikkāmnār, which included Tamme Paṇikkār. It is stated that first the rice was given to Nālillattu Paṇikkāmnār then to the men/retinue in the *Kōvilakam* of the late Zamorin followed by the men of the newly invested Zamorin. It is evident that an order is maintained in serving the privileges also. In KE 916 in a similar situation they were referred in the order but the name Nālillattu Paṇikkāmnār is not used.

During the Pūram festival of Trikkāvu the *Talaccennavar* [of Ponnāni] kept paddy in a *para* (a big drum-like wooden measure), rice, coconut, plantain, etc. as ritual offering when the ceremonial procession of the Bhagavati reached his house. In another document, there is a mention of a *Talaccennavar* who received rice, oil, etc. for the Pūram and Kārttika festivals of Trikkāvu. In KE 842 the *Talaccennavar* who was in charge of Kālāṭi *deśam* [Kālāṭi Talaccennavar] granted a piece of paddy field to Trikkanapurattu Vāriyar for the *pāja* of the deity of Ampiḷj Kunnattu. In an important contemporary account of a Nampūṭiri, there is mention of the Zamorin appointing Kāḷḷṭṭu Gōpāla Piśāraṭī as the *Talaccennavar*

---


60 *Ibid*.

of Ponnāni in AD 1766 on the eve of the invasion of Haider Ali. In the political chaos that ensued, the prince of the royal family killed him.⁶² Along with others Arayankōṭṭu Talaccennavar was informed of the demise of Mānavikrama Ėṟāḷppāṭu at Guruvāyūr.⁶³

In KE 895 two Talaccennavars were present for the Purāntan tīra at Neccippaṟampattu Tripurāntakān temple.⁶⁴ There is no direct information regarding the exact functions of the Talaccennavar. In a polity and society where “departments” and “offices” were not clearly defined, this is only natural. However, it would seem that Talaccennavars were important royal functionaries of varied functions ranging from revenue administration to administration of justice.

Another category of royal functionaries was that of the Atikāris (Adhikāris).⁶⁵ Certain references in the Granthavari prompt us to think that the Atikāris were the Kāryakkār or Pōlttis themselves.⁶⁶ An Atikāri of Tiruvalāyanāṭu died in KE 759 (AD 1584) and Iṭṭikkumara Kūrpppu was conferred with that title (pēruvīḷ) by the Zamorin. He was also ritually conferred with the dagger. He gave 100 panams to the royal treasury.⁶⁷ An Atikāri of Tiruvalāyanāṭu was present during the Vēṭṭakkarumakan pāṭṭu held at Ponnāni Trikkāvil temple in KE 851.

---


⁶³ KG, Vol. unnumbered (B).

⁶⁴ Ibid., Vol. unnumbered (A). For details of the tīra, see Chapter VII.

⁶⁵ Most of the documents in the Granthavari spell it as Atikāri.

⁶⁶ A document of “the sword and the robe” ceremony of Kutiravaṭṭattu Nāyar says, “the Kāryakkār who had the Atikārav Pōltt in the tīra is presented with 400 panams”. Ibid., Vol. 12. Another document gives “the account of the amount of money presented to Atikāris and Pōlttis for the tirumuttippavaiṟircérttu of Veṭṭum Utaya Mūṭta Kōvīl”. Here Kāryakkār is not mentioned but the list included the names of Kāryakkār. Ibid., Vol. 7, copy of the same document in Vol. 14.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Vol. 7.
(AD 1676). It is clear that he was in a managerial position as he is seen ritually terminating the festivities by pulling down the decorations (kūra valikkukā). It is likely that he represented the Zamorin at the ceremony. But why an Atikāri of Tiruvaḷayanāṭu near Calicut represented the Zamorin in a ceremony at Ponnani is a problem that remains unanswered. Whether it was merely a chance event or something to do with precedent is not clear from the situation. A reference to Kaccēri (office) Atikāri and Veliccapetta (oracle) Atikāri is found in the same document. The latter indicates some ritual function of the Atikāri. Vaḷayanāṭu Ilaya Atikāri (second in the family hierarchy of the Vaḷayanāṭu Atikāri) got two paṇams as travel allowance (valicciḻavu) for the Māmākam of KE 858. During the Perumāḷ period we have reference to various Adhikāris. The Paraṭai or executive committee of the Uṟālar was known as Tali Adhikārikal or simply Adhikārikal. Certain inscriptions speak of Pataṟar Adhikārikal or God’s officers. In Kēṟaalōṟappatti, Taḷi Adhikārikal appears as Taḷiyāṭirī. Thus it is clear that during the Perumāḷ period Adhikārikal were temple functionaries.

The temple functionaries in the kingdom of Kōḷikkōṭu also acted as royal functionaries. Many temples were directly under royal ownership or management and others were patronised by the royalty. The temple functionaries gave presents to the king when he proceeded to Kōḷikkōṭu in KE 854. They presented carkkarattattu (jaggery kept in a new pot) to the king. There were certain ritual specialists like the priests of the palace (tēvārika), magico-religious

---

69 Ibid.
70 Ibid., Vol. 2.
71 M.G.S. Narayanan, PK, p. 111.
72 For more details, see below, Chapter VII.
73 KG, Vol. 2.
performers (mantravātikaḥ) and astrologers among the royal functionaries. Cennamaṇṇalattu Nampūtiri was the priest of the Zamorin, Nandāvanattil Nampi adorned and decorated the Zamorin and Ālūr Kāṇikal acted as the astrologer. In KE 841 Pilāmāntōḷ Mūttatu and Taikkāṭṭu Mūttatu, the royal physicians treated the Zamorin.

Apart from such royal functionaries there were the occupational groups who worked for the king and royalty on various occasions. Washermen, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, oil mongers, barbers, weavers, potters, carpenters, masons, musicians, tailors, pyrotechnicians and militiamen were of this category. They were occasionally listed among the Poḷtītis. On certain occasions the Zamorin required the help of a particular occupational group in large numbers, as in the case of Īrāṭi Nāyars for a grand festival like Māmākam. The Zamorin took a sizeable retinue with him called akampati janam. This consisted mainly of the militiamen of the localities, who were referred as lōkar. On certain occasions like Māmākam the Vātakkumpurām lōkar and Kīlakkumpurām lōkar - i.e., lōkar of Polanāṭu - and the lōkar of Payyanāṭṭukara escorted the Zamorin. There were 20 chiefs of the militiamen who gave akampati to the Zamorin in the procession of Māmākam in KE 858. Due to a lacuna in the document the names of only eight persons are available to us. They were Nāṭuvakkāṭṭu Erati, Palakakkōṭṭu Paṇikkar, Matilakattu Kōnti Mēnōn, Uṇikkāṭṭu Paṇīna Paṇikkar, Tēnāli Kūruppu, Kūruppattu Uṇṇekka Nāyar, Kaitamana Kumarappa Mēnōn and Puḷikkīḷu Iṭṭi Uṇṇkkumara

74 Ālūr Kāṇikal, Vaḷļuvanāṭṭu Paṭṭar and Kīlūr Vāriyar were the royal astrologers.
75 Ibid., Vol. 13, copy of the same document in Vol. 7.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
Mēnōn. During the *kotticCELUNNA[l]attu* of the Zamorin to Calicut in KE 915 (AD 1740) a group of musketeers reached Tiruvaccira, who were paid by the royalty. In the evening (Cinnam 30, i.e., August 31) gunpowder for six shots each for 2500 muskets was given. It indicates that the group of the musketeers under the Zamorin numbered at least 2500. The retinue and militia of the locality chiefs and local magnates acted on certain occasions as the royal functionaries of the Zamorin. We have already noted that the local magnates were the functionaries of the Zamorin.

The appointment of the royal functionaries was largely made on hereditary basis. A few magnates were now and then incorporated as royal functionaries or enhanced from their position in times of need, as in the case of Vallattāvali Kuñni Kurikkal. A change in the royal functionaries was not unknown in that period. The *Poštī* of Ponnāni Vālke ērikkal in KE 845 (AD 1670) was Pāra Cankara Nampi, in KE 851 (AD 1676) it was Tarakkal Iremma Mēnōn and in KE 905 (AD 1730) Vāleyūr Kēlu Erāṭi. On certain occasions various royal functionaries received money from locality chiefs or local magnates for attending the ceremonies based on their position in the hierarchy. The king or the junior princes paid the royal functionaries on certain other occasions. The functionaries made payments to the king for the conferment of the titles and other privileges on them. There is a specific royal order, which directed the functionaries not to attend to certain

---


functions. They show how the Zamorin acted against those who had incurred his displeasure.

It is interesting to know how a person acted as a royal functionary of the Zamorin on different occasions. The duties and privileges assigned to him or his family are considered here. Since a detailed study of all the royal functionaries is beyond the scope of the dissertation, it is restricted to a few important persons or families and only to the extent to which a “court” can be reconstructed. Even in these cases the details are not available in totality due to the gaps in the data. In most of the cases the activities of the head of a particular family irrespective of the change in the person is studied.

In a few cases no information of a family is found after a certain person is found missing in the documents. For instance, information of Vallattavali Kuññi Kurikkaḷ from KE 846 (AD 1671) is available, but no other persons of his family is found mention in the Granthavari earlier or later. It is also to be admitted that the information is sifted from documents of different kinds and from different periods and they are not free from lacunae. The “offices” or families of Manhattaccan, Tinayañcēri Ilayatu, Tamme Pañikkar, Pāra Nampi, Taṟakkal Mēnōṅ and Vallaṭṭavaḷi Kuññi Kurikkaḷ are studied here.

Maññāṭṭaccan

Maññāṭṭaccan or Maññāṭtu Valiya Accan was an important royal functionary of the Zamorin. Francis Buchanan, the English traveller who travelled through Malabar in AD 1800-1801, says that Maññāṭṭaccan was one of the

---

83 Ibid., Vol. 13.
Sarvādhi Kāryakkār of the Zamorin. According to William Logan Maññāṭṭaccan was the hereditary minister of the Zamorin. Krishna Ayyar, who wrote a monograph on the Zamorins, says that Maññāṭṭaccan was the chief minister of the Zamorin. He also says that Maññāṭṭaccan was the Prime Minister. Thus it is obvious that Ayyar was making a casual statement regarding the position of Maññāṭṭaccan. Krishna Ayyar writes on Maññāṭṭaccan that “his original seat was Chattodattu Idom in Vattoli; and he enjoyed the title of Valunnavar under the Rajahs of Kottayam in North Malabar. One of these Rajahs had Sambandham with a Tampuratti of the Zamorin’s family, and the services of Mangat Acchan were permanently transferred to Nediyirippu”. The source of this information is not known. Ayyar also points out a tradition that Maññāṭṭaccan was a fellow pupil of the first Zamorin. According to Kēralōṭpatti tradition he was the teacher of the founders of the royal family. Ėramān Perumāl himself conferred upon him the title of Māññāṭṭu Rāricca Mēnōṅ. As per the Kēralōṭpatti tradition after the death of a Zamorin, Maññāṭṭaccan took charge of the reign until the period of pollution was over. A similar account is found in the writings of foreign travellers like Duarte Barbosa and John Nieuhoff.


86 Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 12.

87 Ibid., p. 267.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid.


Barbosa writes:

And in these thirteen days [the period of pollution after the death of the Zamorin] the prince gives no order, he does not rule nor is he raised to the throne until those days are past, waiting lest there should be someone to oppose him. During the thirteen days while they await this ceremony [investiture of the Zamorin] a Cahimal governs the Kingdom who is as it were the principal Secretary thereof, and this duty and honour are his by right. He is also Treasurer in Chief of the Kingdom, and the King cannot draw forth aught thence unless he is present, nor can he draw forth anything without great necessity, nor without the advice of this man, and others. And all the laws of the Kingdom also are in this man’s possession.

Whether Maññāṭṭaccaṇ wielded such power is not evident from the Granthavari. All the sources that mentioned above share such a view and the nature of those sources indicate that it was part of the popular tradition. It is possible that since it was a well-known custom, no specific reference is made to it in the Granthavari.

The head of the family is called Maññāṭṭu Valiya Accan and the second in the family line is called Maññāṭṭu Ceriya Accan. The activities of Maññāṭṭaccaṇ and the family members as found in the Granthavari are summarised in the following paragraphs.

In KE 841 (AD 1666) Maññāṭṭu Unikkumara Menon (Maññāṭṭaccaṇ) bore the expenses of rice and groceries for the Vākatali (purificatory ritual marking the end of the death pollution) of Mānavikrama Zamorin as per the account of Unikkattu Parannotacca Menon. He spent 874 pānams on this occasion. Following this, the investiture of the next Zamorin was held. After this ceremony, “Maññāṭṭu Valiya Accan gave four palm leaves and a stylus to Tinayañcēri

---

96 Ibid.
Ilayatu, who returned it to the former after the Zamorin endorsed it. Then Mahnattaccan made the cekam (formal appointment) of Vetam Utaya Mutta Kovil as the Eranattu Menon bowed. Then the cekam carttal of Eranattu Menon, Koliikkottu Talaccenavar, Kutiravaattatu Nayar and Mahnattaccan was performed [one after the other]. The above description in the Granthavari can be compared with Kerajotpatti tradition and writings of Duarte Barbosa and John Nieuhoff, which we have already noted.

Mahnattaccan was present at several functions of the royalty. In the royal letter to the lokar (Vatakumpuram and Kilakkumpuram lokars of Polanatu) in KE 858 the Zamorin requested them to participate in the Mamakam and assured them that Mahnattu Unni Raman and Tinayanceri Ilayatu would be sent to bring them for Mamakam. In KE 841 (AD 1666) Valiya Unni who was third in the family hierarchy of Mahnattaccan acted as the Palliyara Pojtti (in charge of the royal household). It is evident that the junior members of the family also worked in various capacities as the functionaries of the Zamorin.

In KE 845 (AD 1670) prior to the Taippuyam there was war between Cochin, supported by the Dutch, and Koliikkottu. The Zamorin was at Kotunnallur for the war operations. Royal letters were sent to Mahnattaccan and Tinayanceri Ilayatu, who stayed put at Calicut, to bring the lokar of Payyanattukara and

---

97 Ibid., Vol. 7; see below, App. II.
98 “Lokare kāṭtaṃ kurippiecū māmākkattīnu ettippāntakkavaṇṇam Māṇṇāṭṭu Unṇirāmanēyum Tinayancerīyeṃy kalppiecū aṇṇōṭtu ayeccc vīunaatum unṭī”. Ibid., Vol. 2. It is interesting to note in this context the tradition that Mahnattaccan mediated between the Vatakumpuram and Kilakkumpuram lokars, who had split into two groups, the former supporting Nāṭṭuvāḷca and the latter supporting Ṣavaḷca. A catastrophe was averted and cordiality re-established by the mediation of Mahnattaccan. Hermann Gundert, Ed., Op. Cit., pp.197-98.
Polanätu to Tirunaväya for Taippūyam. Since the arrival of the Zamorin for Taippūyam was delayed Ēranätu Īlamkür Nampiyätiri sent Ēṭattūrnatu Nampiyätiri. [Netuvirippil] Ilaya Ėrāti and Mānnāṭṭu Rāricca Mēnōn to help the Zamorin against the Dutch. Mañnāṭṭacan and Tinayaṅcēri Ilayatu along with the lōkar of Polanāṭu and Payvanāṭu reached at Vākayūr on the previous day of the Taippūyam itself. After the Taippūyam, the Dutch attacked Koṭūṇnallūr. Mañnāṭṭu Cerīyaccan, Tinayaṅcēri Ilayatu and Palliyil Irecca Panikkar led a militia to help the Zamorin who was then at Koṭūṇnallūr.

Mañnāṭṭacan, along with Tinayaṅcēri Ilayatu and accompanied by music ensemble, brought the lōkar for joint obeisance below the platform, where the Zamorin stood in state during the Māmākam and Taippūyam. In KE 774 (AD 1599) the Zamorin proceeded from Calicut to Panniyankara on his way to Vākayūr for Taippūyam. Kīlīllattu Iṭṭirāman, a functionary of Mañnāṭṭacan, brought rice and groceries for the ritual at Calicut. During the Tirunāvāya vilakkus of KE 857 (AD 1682), which preceded the Taippūyam, money was presented to Tirunāvāya janam. In this Pāракkal Ukkantacea Nayar, the manīsam (representative) of Mañnāṭṭacan, received ten pāpams along with the manīsam of Kuruvāyūr Müssatu and others.

In KE 916 (AD 1741) the Zamorin fell seriously ill and decided to perform Mrityunjaya japam without informing the Kāryakkār. They were intimated the

---

101 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid., Vols. 2, 7, 13 & 14.
105 Ibid., Vol. 2.
next day and Mannattaccan, Tinayańcēri Ilayatu, Pāra Nāraṇa Nampi and Taṟakkal Iremma Mēnōn arrived at Vairanellur Kövilakam. The different royal estates (ceṙikkal) decided to bear the expenses of the feast in connection with the Mrityunjaya japam from the second week on, each looking after a unit of seven days. The seventh week, however, was divided among seven individuals holding royal functions. Mańnāṭtu Valiyaccan bore the expenses of the feast of the sixth day of the last week. Each one of them defrayed the expenses for the ritual accordingly.

Mannattaccan was present at several functions of the locality chiefs. On Dhanu 15, KE 825 (December 14, AD 1649) Mańnāṭtu Rāricca Mēnōn (Mańnāṭtu Valiya Accan) received 32 panams and Mańnāṭtu Ceriya Accan received 16 panams for attending the investiture ceremony of Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūtta Kövil. Mannattaccan with other Kāryakkār of the Zamorin negotiated with the Kāryakkār of Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūtta Kövil in Kuṟicceri Illam at Camravaṭṭam on Tulām 7, KE 848 (October 7, AD 1672) regarding the amount of money for rice and groceries that Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūtta Kövil had to give for his investiture by the Zamorin. Other Kāryakkār of the Zamorin present on this occasion were Tinayańcēri Ilayatu, Vallaṭṭāvali Kuṅṇi Kurikkal and Nelliyūr Panikka Nampūṭiri. Mannattaccan attended the Kannukku (a funeral ritual) of the deceased Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūtta Kövil, probably on behalf of the Zamorin, and present 1000 panams, obviously from the royal treasury.

106 Ibid., Vol. 1.
107 Ibid., Vol. 7.
109 Ibid., Vol. 52.
Maṇṇāṭṭaccan was present at the investiture ceremony of local magnates and received an amount of money. He was present at the investiture ceremony (*vāḷum putavayum*) of Kutiravaṭṭattu Nāyar in KE 825 and received 200 *paṇams* and Maṇṇāṭṭu Ceṛiya Accan received 150 *paṇams*. When, in most of the *vāḷum putavayum* ("the sword and the robe") ceremonies, Maṇṇāṭṭaccan received money, the amount varied according to the family involved in the investiture. Similarly, he received money in ceremonies like the conferment of *kuttu vilakku* (long-handled lamp) and turban. Maṇṇāṭṭu Ceṛiya Accan too received money on most of such occasions. It seems that the amounts received by Maṇṇāṭṭu Valiya Accan and Ceṛiya Accan for all such ceremonies were based on the precedent. The amount given by all was not the same; but the same local magnate gave the same fixed amount on different occasions. No other person among the royal functionaries received an amount higher than what was received by Maṇṇāṭṭaccan in such ceremonies, though a few functionaries like Tinayaṅcēri Ilayatu received an equal amount. This shows that none enjoyed a higher status than Maṇṇāṭṭaccan among the royal functionaries.

Maṇṇāṭṭaccan along with Kuruvāyūr Mūttatu appointed Nāyinnār for Trikkantiyūr temple in KE 763. More references to Maṇṇāṭṭaccan in matters of Trikkantiyūr temple are found in *Kōlīkkōṭan Granthavari*. We have corroborative evidence of it in *Vaṅṅēri Granthavari*, family records of the Vaṅṅēri

---


111 In KE 760 (AD 1585) Maṇṇāṭṭaccan received 32 *paṇams* for the conferment of *kuttu vilakku* on Kaitamana Itticirutevi Neṭyttiyr. Ibid., Vol. 12. The same amount is received in KE 853 (AD 1678) by Mānṇāṭṭu Unṇikkumara Mēṇōn (Maṇṇāṭṭaccan) for the similar ceremony of Paḷaṅcēri Itticirutevi Neṭyttiyr. Ibid.

112 Ibid., Vols. 10 & 55.

113 Ibid., Vol. 28.

114 Ibid., Vols. 28 & 32.
Namputiri. In KE 777 (AD 1602) Vettam Utaya Mutta Kovil performed *uttaram collal* (atonement) to Trikkantiyur deity. Manňāṭṭu Ceriyaccan, the Manişam (representative/servant) of Kuruvayur Müssatu, the Kāryakkār of Vettam Utaya Mutta Kovil and temple functionaries were present on the occasion.\(^{115}\) It seems that Maňňāṭṭacan was a considerable landlord and that he also held landed property on mortgage from others. He collected revenue from such lands, which he had sublet to various persons.\(^{116}\)

On Dhanu 25, KE 893 (December 24, AD 1717) Maňňāṭṭacan died of small pox. Various locality chiefs, local magnates and royal functionaries were informed about the death of Maňňāṭṭacan by sending *matakkola* (a palm leaf letter, literally folded palm leaf).\(^{117}\) The preparations for the funeral ceremony of Maňňāṭṭacan are recorded in the *Granthavari*.\(^{118}\) On Vṛścikam 4, KE 865 (November 4, AD 1689) after the death of Maňňāṭṭu Valiya Accan, Tinayancēri Ilayatu attended the Kannukku. Ilayatu gave the rice and groceries for the Kannukku, probably from the royal treasury.\(^{119}\)

The relationship between Maňňāṭṭacan and the Zamorin was not always cordial. There were occasions when they were at loggerheads. N.M. Nampoothiry cites an interesting instance. Maňňāṭṭacan sold the elephant of Kōlikkāvil temple (of the Zamorin) to the Cūri Ceṭṭi in KE 758 (AD 1583) without the permission of the Zamorin and not paying the required due to the royal treasury. Meleppāṭu

---


\(^{118}\) *Ibid*.

\(^{119}\) *Ibid*.
taṟavāṭu, the house where the nonchalant MaṉṆāṭṭaccan resided, was burnt as per royal orders. Krishna Ayyar says that in AD 1752 war operations against the Dutch at Ėnāmmākkal were delayed on account of the defection of MaṉṆāṭṭaccan. Ayyar also says that MaṉṆāṭṭaccan withdrew from the court during the reign of the new Zamorin (AD 1758-66), and two of his commandants of Āḷipāṟṟampa and Māḷprāṇam openly rebelled.

Tinayaṅcēri Ṭḷayatu

Tinayaṅcēri Ṭḷayatu was another important functionary of the Zamorin. He was one of the four Kāṟyakkāṟ of the Zamorin according to Kēṟalōtpatti tradition. As per tradition Ṭḷayatu was the dēśavāḷi entrusted with the power to appoint nāṭuvāḷis. Krishna Ayyar says that Tinayaṅcēri Ṭḷayatu was one of the two Brahman ministers of the Zamorin. As a Brahman, Ṭḷayatu enjoyed privileges which MaṉṆāṭṭaccan and Tamme Paṉikkar were denied. Ayyar also says that Tinayaṅcēri Ṭḷayatu was the minister and general. Sheik Zainuddin says in his Tuhfat-ul-Mujahideen that Tinayaṅcēri Ṭḷayatu, the Prime minister of the Zamorin, led the siege of the Portuguese fort at Calicut since the Zamorin was then out of station from Calicut in AD 1525.

---

120 N.M. Nampoothiry, SCK, p. 18.
121 K.V. Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 234.
122 Ibid., p. 236.
124 Krishna Ayyar, ZC, pp. 268-69.
125 Ibid., p. 28.
126 Velayudhan Panikkassery, Ed. & Trans., Kēṟalam Patinaṅcum Patināṟum Nūṟṟaḷṟukāḻil, p. 95.
Surviving traditions tell us that the head of the Montampalattu family was called Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu. They belonged to the Mūssatu “caste”, which is supported by the documents of Kōlikkōtan Granthavari. The second and third in the family hierarchy were respectively called as Tinayaṅcēri Ceriya Iḷayatu and Tinayaṅcēri Unṇi Iḷayatu. The house of Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu was at Taikkāṭṭu. The Zamorin visited his house on Tulām 16, KE 916 (October 17, AD 1740). Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu, along with three hundred people, received the Zamorin and escorted him to the western ġōpurā of his house. The Zamorin was duly welcomed with all paraphernalia and rituals. Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu gave a feast to all the people. The mother of Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu and the family of the late Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu, who were residing at Mutippilasseri, came to meet the Zamorin at Taikkāṭṭu. Krishna Ayyar says that the ancestral house of Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu was at Muṛayūr near Neṭiyirippu.

Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu was present for the tirumutippalavariccāṛtu (investiture ceremony) of the Zamorin and other princes. He held rice in the plate to be sprinkled on the royal head. As already noted, in KE 841 (AD 1666) after the investiture of the Zamorin, Mannattaccan gave four palm leaves and a stylus to Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu who returned it to the former after the Zamorin endorsed it.

127 KG, Vol. 1. The women of the house who came to see the Zamorin are mentioned as “Manayamma”, a term by which the women of the Mūssatu “caste” were known. It is interesting to note that the women of an Iḷayatu was of the Mūssatu caste. In fact, even the men belonged to the Mōttatu caste.


129 Ibid., Vol. 1.

130 Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 268.

131 KG, Vol. 7; see below, App. II.
Tinayañcēri Ilayatu received 152 *panams* for this investiture ceremony of Virarāyiran as the Zamorin.\(^{132}\)

The Zamorin gave a *kuriya* royal letter to Tinayañcēri Ilayatu on Dhanu 26, KE 853 (December 25, AD 1678) granting revenue sources from Perumunṭamukku *cērikkal*, Paṟappūr *dēsam* and Kuṭalūr for performing the *ūttu* at Tirunāvāya Vaṭakkēkkara. It was in addition to the revenue sources already granted for the *ūttu* at Kaṭavaccēri *cērikkal*, Narippāṟampa and Cunaññāṭu *cērikkals*. Tinayañcēri Ilayatu was instructed to bear the expenses of the *ūttu* as per the account of the *cērikkal*, and duly submit the account to the royal treasury.\(^{133}\)

Tinayañcēri Ilayatu accompanied the Zamorin to the investiture ceremony of Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūṭtā Kōvil. There also he held rice in the silver plate for the rice sprinkling ceremony.\(^{134}\) Tinayañcēri Ilayatu with other *Kāryakkār* of the Zamorin negotiated with the *Kāryakkār* of Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūṭtā Kōvil the amount to be paid by Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūṭtā Kōvil to the Zamorin on the occasion of the *tirumutippalavariccarttu* of the former.\(^{135}\) Tinayañcēri Ilayatu received 32 *panams* for the investiture ceremony of Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūṭtā Kōvil in KE 825 (AD 1650).\(^{136}\) Tinayañcēri Ilayatu received money for “the sword and the robe” (*vālam putavayum*) ceremony of various local magnates.\(^{137}\)

:\(^{132}\) He received it under various heads: 50 *panams* as *ūlam*, 10 *panams* as *manisam*, 60 *panams* as price for the rice and groceries and 32 *panams* as *atikaram* (*Adhikaram*). KG, Vol. 14, copies of the same document in Vols. 7 & 13.

:\(^{133}\) Ibid., Vol. 3.

:\(^{134}\) Ibid., Vols. 14 & 52.

:\(^{135}\) Ibid., Vol. 14, copies of the same document in Vols. 7 & 13.

:\(^{136}\) Ibid., Vol. 7.

:\(^{137}\) For instance, Tinayañcēri Ilayatu received 200 *panams* for the *vālam putavayum* ceremony of Kutiravaṭṭattu Nāṭyar in KE 825 and 16 *panams* for the same ceremony of Piṭṭikappūṟattu Kaṭīñni Mēṇōṅ in KE 849 (AD 1673). Ibid., Vol. 7, copies of the same document in Vols. 13 & 14.
For the *Taippūyam* of KE 845 (AD 1670) Tinayaṅcēri Ḳḷayatu arrived and resided at Tirunāvāya on the previous day of *Taippūyam* itself.\(^{138}\) Along with Maṅṇāṭṭaccaṅ he brought the *lōkar* (militiamen) to the *Maṇittara*, a platform where the Zamorin stood in state, for joint obeisance.\(^{139}\) During the Dutch attack of Koṭūṇnallūr after the *Taippūyam* in KE 845 Maṅṇāṭṭu Cerinya Accan, Tinayaṅcēri Ḳḷayatu and Paḷḷiyil Iretca Paṅkkar led militiamen from Pāppinivaṭṭam to Koṭūṇnallūr to help the Zamorin.\(^{140}\)

*Sri Rāmāyaṇam kūṭtu* was performed at Vairanellūr *Kōvilakam* which lasted for fifteen months in KE 905-906 (AD 1729-31). Royal letters were sent to various local magnates and royal functionaries commandeering various articles. Tinayaṅcēri Ḳḷayatu was asked to give rice (100 *itannali*) and fried grain (50 *itannāli*).\(^{141}\) As already noted, the Zamorin fell ill in KE 916 (AD 1741) and decided to perform *Mrityunjaya japam* without informing the Kāryakkār. Tinayaṅcēri Ḳḷayatu bore the expense of the fifth day of the last week.\(^{142}\)

N.M. Nampoothiry says that in KE 758 (AD 1583) Tinayaṅcēri Ḳḷayatu killed a *paradēṣi* Brahman (literally, “a Brahman of another country”, meaning in this context a Tamil Brahman) by shooting an arrow. The *paradēṣi* Brahmans resorted to *paṭṭini* (hunger strike as a form of protest). The Zamorin sent letters to different organisations of Tamil Brahmans known as *samūhams* (*nāḷu dikkule*


\(^{142}\) *KG*, Vol. 1.
samūhattinum – literally, samūhams in the four directions). What followed is not known.

Krishna Ayyar says, “the formal head of the ordnance department was the Brahmin minister, Tinayancheri Elayutu. He was known as Vetikkurukkal or instructor-in-firing, and as a mark of this he was given fire and wick at his investiture”. We could not find such a reference in the Granthavari or any other source. On the other hand, there is positive evidence to show that others held this title. For instance, there is a reference in the Granthavari that Taракkal Iremma Mēnōn was conferred with the title Vetikkurikkal in KE 851 (AD 1676). In any case, the military character of the Ilayatu’s office is clear from a document of a later period, i.e., KE 1016 (AD 1841) which shows that Tinayāncēri Ilayatu received vājum puṭavayum from the Zamorin.

Tamme Paṇikkar

Kēraḷōṭpatṭi tradition refers to a certain Dharmmaguṇattu Paṇikkar, one of the four Kāryakkār, who invested the royal sword, and was conferred with the right to impart physical training to the princes. Krishna Ayyar says that Tamme or Dharmmōttu Paṇikkar was one of the hereditary instructors-in-arms. Ayyar

143 N.M. Nampoothiry, SCK, Notes, p. 348.

144 K.V. Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 279.


146 Ibid., Vol. unnumbered (39 A). Sheikh Zainuddin says that in the war against the Portuguese in AD 1524 Tinayāncēri Ilayatu led the forces of the Zamorin. Velayudhan Panikkasserry, Ed. & Trans., Kēralam Patinaṅcum Patinārum Nūṟṟaṅṭukālil, p. 95.


also thinks that Tamme Pañikkar was one of the chief ministers or Sarvādhi Kāryakkār of the Zamorin. Ayyar says that Tamme Pañikkar belonged to Tiruvēgappūra and that he was in charge of the Zamorin’s Kaḷari or gymnasium, where the young princes received military training. He says that according to tradition, the first Mānavikrama and the then head of the Pañikkar’s family had been fellow pupils, and when Mānavikrama became independent, the friend and companion of his boyhood was entrusted with the military education of his brothers and nephews. It has to be noted that Tamme Pañikkar is not mentioned as the Sarvādhi Kāryakkār or even a Kāryakkār in the Kölikkōṭan Granthavari.

Tamme Pañikkar was an important functionary in the utavāḷaṇakkal (investing with the royal sword) ceremony of the Zamorin and the junior princes. The following is the Granthavari account of the utavāḷaṇakkal ceremony of Ērānāṭṭu Mūṇnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri in KE 841 (AD 1666). Tamme Mūtta Pañikkar sprinkled the rice after offering it to Gaṇapati, in the place of the ceremony. If he could not do it on account of ill health, Tamme Iḷaya Pañikkar would perform it in the presence of the Mūtta Pañikkar. The Ērānāṭṭu Mūṇnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri came after bath and gave muhūrtta daksīna (daksīna for prescribing the auspicious moment). Then Tamme Mūtta Pañikkar stood behind the Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri, facing east and twisted the topknot of the Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri. The Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri gave 51 paṇams in a kīḷi (purse of

149 K.V. Krishna Ayyar, ZC, pp. 266-69.
150 Ibid., p. 268.
151 Ibid.
152 The name is also spelt as Tarmma Mūtta Pañikkar in the Granthavari. We have uniformly used the name Tamme Mūtta Pañikkar in the thesis except in quotations.
153 KG, Vol. 7, copies of the same document in Vols. 13 & 14; see below, App. I.
money) as *daksīna* to Tamme Mūtta Paṅikkar and 16 *paṇams* to Ḣlaya Paṅikkar and prostrated before them. He also prostrated the Zamorin. Tamme Paṅikkar held the hands of the Mūnnāmkür Nampiyāṭiri and made him prostrate in all directions for the ritual of investing with the sword (*vāḷanakka*). The ceremony of investing the sword to the Zamorin and other princes was performed in the same manner.

Tamme Mūtta Paṅikkar received 101 *paṇams* for the *uṭavāḷanakkal* ceremony of the Zamorin in KE 841. The amount of money decreased according to the hierarchy of the princes. Tamme Mūtta Paṅikkar received 32 *paṇams* for the *uṭavāḷanakkal* ceremony of Netuvirippil Mūtta Ėṛāṭi, the fifth prince in the royal line. The Zamorin presented 21 *paṇams* to Tamme Ḣlaya Paṅikkar and each of the other princes presented 16 *paṇams*.\(^\text{154}\)

The table given below shows the amount received by Tamme Mūtta Paṅikkar and Tamme Ḣlaya Paṅikkar from the Zamorin and the junior princes for their *uṭavāḷanakkal* in KE 841.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the royalty presented money for their <em>Uṭavāḷanakkal</em></th>
<th>Amount in <em>paṇam</em> to Mūtta Paṅikkar</th>
<th>Amount in <em>paṇam</em> to Ḣlaya Paṅikkar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Zamorin</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ėṛanāṭṭu Ḣlamkūr Nampiyāṭiri</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ėṛanāṭṭu Mūnnāmkür Nampiyāṭiri</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ėṭattūmāṭṭu Nampiyāṭiri</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Netuvirippil Mūtta Ėṛāṭi</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Zamorin, before proceeding from Vākayūr, presented a vestment (*kacca*) and a turban to Tamme Mūtta Paṅikkar for the performance of fencing

\(^{154}\) *Ibid.*
During the Taippuyams, on the first day of Mamakam too the Zamorin presented a floral robe (puṟputava) and turban to him. There was a platform of Tamme Mūṭṭa Panikkar below the Manittara, where he used to perform fencing during Taippuyams and Mamakams. Tamme Mūṭṭa Paṇikkar received 64 paṇams and Tamme Ilaya Paṇikkar received 32 paṇams for the vālum puṭavayum ("the sword and the robe") ceremony of Kutiravaṭṭatu Nāyār. There is a reference in the Granthavari to Tamme Mūṭṭa Paṇikkar receiving 16 paṇams for the protection (kāval) of Kuttikkoṭṭu. It implies that Tamme Mūṭṭa Paṇikkar used to send his own men for kāval (protection).

Tamme Mūṭṭa Paṇikkar was one of the Nāḷillattu Paṇikkanmār, reference to them is found in connection with the Vākataḷi of the Zamorin in KE 841 (AD 1666). Nāḷillattu Paṇikkanmār were the dignitaries who had precedence for receiving the dues or presents from the Zamorins on various occasions. Rice presented for the Vākataḷi was first given to Nāḷillattu Paṇikkanmār. These functionaries figure in many records in important military/civil positions. Tamme Ilaya Paṇikkar also received the rice.

---


156 KG. Vol. 2; see below, App. VI.


158 Ibid., Vol. 12. (The date of this record is not known); see above, Chapter IV. In KE 825 (AD 1650) Tamme Ilaya Panikkar received 32 paṇams for the vālum puṭavayum ceremony of another Kutiravaṭṭatu Nāyār. How much the Mūṭṭa Paṇikkar received is not known. Ibid., Vol. 13, copies of the same document in Vols. 7 & 14.

159 Ibid., Vol. 41.

160 Nāḷillattu Paṇikkanmār are the following: 1) Kōṭṭukara Talāpputaya Nāyār, 2) Tamme Mūṭṭa Paṇikkar, 3) Kēḷanallūr Talakāpputaya Nāyār, 4) Cempil Mūṭṭa Paṇikkar, 5) Venṇālūr Iremma Paṇikkar, 6) Pullānuṟuṟu Čappā Paṇikkar, 7) Putumana Itṭirama Paṇikkar and 8) Kōḷikkotṭu Kēlu Paṇikkar. Ibid., Vol. 13, copy of the same document in Vol. 7. For the Vākataḷi of the Zamorin in KE 916 Nāḷillattu Paṇikkanmār received rice at Vairanellūr Kōvīlakam. Ibid., Vol. 1.
K.V. Krishna Ayyar says that the Dutch looked upon the Tamme Pañikkar with displeasure as the cause of the Zamorin’s attack on them in AD 1715. By the treaty of AD 1717 between the Zamorin and the Dutch, part of the estates belonging to Tamme Pañikkar’s family in the northern limits of Pāppinivaṭṭam passed in full proprietary right to the Dutch East India Company. Krishna Ayyar says that in the treaty of AD 1718 they even made the Zamorin consent to the perpetual banishment of Tamme Pañikkar from the court of the Zamorin.

Pāra Nampi

Pāra Nampi was another important functionary of the Zamorin. Pāra Nampi was appointed as the Kāryakkār of the Svarūpam (the royal House) according to Kēralōṭpatti tradition. He was conferred with arapaḷaka and kilī as the Paḷḷiyāra Poḷṭti. The Kēralōṭpatti tradition also says that a Kāryakkār of the Zamorin named Culliyil Śankara Nampi conquered an area called Malappuram from Vāḷḷuvakkōṅāṭiri. Thus he was conferred with eye, face and wick (kaṇnum, mukhavum, tiriyum) and was called as Malappurattu Pāra Nampi. Following the account of Buchanan, Krishna Ayyar says that Pāra Nampi was one of the Sarvāḍhi Kāryakkār or chief ministers of the Zamorin. Ayyar says that Pāra Nampis are Brahmans, belonged to West Hill at Calicut. He also says that the Pāra

---

161 K.V. Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 268.
163 K.V. Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 268.
165 Ibid., p. 201.
166 K.V. Krishna Ayyar, ZC, pp. 266-67.
Nampis were generally in charge of the treasury and accounts, though some of them seem to have held the important governorships of Calicut and Ponnāńi.\footnote{167}{Ibid., p. 269.}

The *Granthavari* evidence suggests that the house of Pāra Nampi was at Varakkal\footnote{168}{KG, Vols. 1, 14 & 57.} and different tāvalis of his family resided at Malappuṛam and Rāyiranellūr.\footnote{169}{Ibid., Vol. 52.} On Kanni 2, KE 916 (September 3, AD 1730) the Zamorin proceeded from Calicut to Varakkal. After visiting the temple he proceeded to the houses of Pāra Nampi. The Zamorin was received with all the paraphernalia and rituals in Pāra Eṭappāṭṭūr, Pāra Maṭham, Pāra Vaṭakkēppāṭṭu and the newly built house of Pāra Eṭappāṭṭūr Cankara Nampi. The head of each house presented *tirumulkāḷca*, which included silk, cotton cloth of specified length from the North (*vatakkan paccavatam*) and an amount of money towards the expense of the royal feast (*virinnamīttu paṇam*).\footnote{170}{Ibid., Vol. 1.} We can reconstruct a hierarchical order from the amount presented by them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the house</th>
<th>Head of the house</th>
<th>Amount (in <em>paṇam</em>)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pāra Eṭappāṭṭūr</td>
<td>Pāra Cankara Nampi</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pāra Maṭham</td>
<td>Pāra Nāraṇa Nampi</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pāra Vaṭakkēppāṭṭu</td>
<td>Vaṭakkēppāṭṭu Tāmara Nampi</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was in the above order that the Zamorin visited the houses. Then he visited the newly built house, probably of Cankara Nampi. It seems that Pāra
Cankara Nampi of Pāra Eṭappāṭṭūr house was the head of the family on this occasion.

In KE 826 (AD 1651) the Zamorin sent a royal letter to the Kāryakkār of Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūtta Kövil demanding the amount due to him for the tirumutippalavariccarttu of the latter in KE 825 (AD 1649) to Pāra Paramiśvaran. In KE 825 for the above mentioned ceremony the Kāryakkār of Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūtta Kövil handed over to Pāra Iṭṭi Vātu Nampi 967 paṇams as kalpana paṇam for the royal functionaries of the Zamorin. Pāra Nārāṇa Nampi and Pāra Iṭṭi Vātu Nampi received 12 paṇams each from the above stated amount.

In KE 774 (AD 1599) the Zamorin proceeded from Calicut to Panniyankara on his way to Vākayūr for Taippūyam. Pāra Iṭṭi Vātu Cankara Nampi brought the amount of expenditure for the ritual [at Calicut] in connection with this journey from the treasury after entering it in the Palliyara kaṇakku (royal accounts). This bears out his status as Palliyara Poltti. In KE 845 (AD 1670) during the Taippūyam when the money required to present daksinas, offerings to the deities and payment to Naykkanmār (musicians) was not sent from the southern bank of Pērār by Ėrānāṭṭu Iḷamkur Nampiyāṭiri, the Zamorin gave a tiruvāḷi (royal ring) to Pāra Nārāṇa Nampi as security for a loan to meet these expenses.

173 Ibid.
174 Ibid.
175 Ibid.
In KE 858 (AD 1683) an amount of 1239 panams was paid to the Muslims and Cettis for the fireworks and other expenses in connection with Mamakam. Pāra Cankara Nampi paid the amount, obviously from the royal treasury. 176 Eranattu Munnāmkur Nampiyātīri (Sarvādhikāram) gave the money from the treasury to Pāra Cankara Nampi to present the muhūrtta daksīnas to the musicians for the ritual at Vākayūr Pālakkal during the Mamakam of KE 858. 177 Pāra Köonna Nampi distributed the amount to Nayykanmār (musicians) and Peṇṭiyamnār (maidservants) after entering the amount in the Paḷliyāra kapakku (accounts of the royal household or royal treasury) 178 Thus the Pāra Nampis are seen in charge of the royal treasury on various occasions.

In KE 845 (AD 1670) on the eve of Taippūyam (Makaram 25 i.e., January 22) the gunpowder, mortars and coconut oil brought from [Ponnāni Vālkē] cērikkal, the royal insignia and ornaments were taken to Vākayūr through river and land under the supervision of Pāra Cankara Nampi, who was the Poltti of Ponnāni Vālkē, and Kālattil Iṭṭikkarunakara Mēnōn. 179 When the Zamorin proceeded for the tirumutippalavariccātту of Vēttam Uṭaya Mūṭta Kōvil in KE 847 (AD 1672), Pāra Cankara Nampi and Pāra Maṭhathil Cankara Nampi along with other Kāryakkār including Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu and Ċelliyūr Paṅikkā Nampūtirī accompanied him. 180

For the Mrityunjaya japam in KE 916, which is mentioned above, Pāra Kiṣṇa Nampi, Poltti of Ponnāni Vālkē cērikkal, Pāra Tāmara Nampi, Poltti of

176 Ibid., Vol. 2.
177 Ibid.
178 Ibid.
Makkikkili [cērikkal], bore the expenses of the feast on the second, third and fourth weeks respectively for the royal estates (cērikkals). Pāra Nārāṇa Nampi, who was the Kāryakkār bore the expenses of the feast on the fourth day of the last week.\(^{181}\)

In KE 916 after the Vākaṭaḷī (a purificatory ritual marking the end of death pollution) of the Zamorin, the bodyguards and musketeers (akattūṭṭu pariṣa and atavil veṭikkārār) were given the rice under the supervision of the following royal functionaries at Vairanellur Kōvilakam: Manāṭtaccaṇ, Tinayaṅcēri Īlayatu, Pāra Nārāṇa Nampi, Pāra Malappurattu Nārāṇa Nampi and Taṟakkal Iremma Mēnōn.\(^{182}\)

In KE 824 (AD 1649) during the vāḷum puṭavayum ("the sword and the robe") ceremony of Taṟakkal Unikkaṇṭa Mēnōn, Pāra Kuṇḍa Nampi handed over the sword and the robe to the Zamorin for presentation to the Mēnōn and received 14 paṇams (in this six paṇams for handing over the sword and the robe to the Zamorin).\(^{183}\)

In various such instances Pāra Nampi received money, the amount varying according to the families involved in the ceremony.\(^{184}\)

In KE 851 (AD 1676) for the vāḷum putavayum ceremony of Taṟakkal Iremma Mēnōn, he met the Kāryakkār at the Paṇṭārakkāḷam including Pāra Cankara Nampi and Pāra Vaṭakkēppāṭtu Mādhava Nampi and their servants received 26 paṇams and ten paṇams respectively.\(^{185}\)

In KE 853 (AD 1678) Pāra Maṭṭhattil Itṭi Nārāṇa Nampi received 20 paṇams for the conferment of kuttuvilakkhu on Paḷaṅcēri Itṭiccirūṭēvi

---

\(^{181}\) Ibid., Vol. 1.

\(^{182}\) Ibid.

\(^{183}\) Ibid., Vol. 3, copies of the same document in Vols. 7 & 14; see below, App. VIII.

\(^{184}\) For instance, Pāra Cankara Nampi received six paṇams and Pāra Māḍhava Nampi received four paṇams in KE 853 (AD 1678) for the conferment of "the sword and the robe" on Ampāḷampurattu Mūṭtatu as Erāṇḍōli Accan. Ibid., Vol. 12.

\(^{185}\) Ibid.
In KE 817 (AD 1642) Para Itti Vatu Nampi, who is stated as *atikāram* received 20 *panams* for *yāvana* (maintenance of life) and Pāra Kiṣṇa Nampi, received 16 *panams* for *Kannukku* at Kummil. The construction of *Kōvilakams* at Vākayūr for the *Māmākam* in KE 858 was done under the supervision of various royal functionaries. A hierarchy can be constructed based on the amount of money they received as monthly salary. Pāra Mādhava Nampi received 60 *panams* as monthly salary (*māsappati*) for his service in the construction work, stand in top of the hierarchy.

In KE 845 (AD 1670) during the procession of the Zamorin to Calicut, Pāra Nārāṇa Nampi and Nandavanattil Nampi held the white flywhisks (*veṅcāmarams*). In KE 854 (AD 1679) during the procession of the Zamorin to Calicut, Pāra Cankara Nampi and Nandavanattil Kesava Nampi held the flywhisks (*cāmarams*).

There is a statement in the *Granthavari* that Pāra Śankara Nampi was raised to the position of Malappūram Pāra Nampi. He was given the royal letter to that effect. Śankara Nampi gave 500 *uruppika* to the royal treasury. Since there is a lacuna in the document the date of this incident is not clear. The *Kēralōtpatti* tradition, as we already noted, also refers it. The fire and wick (*tiyum tiriyum*)
were presented to Malappuram Pāra Nampi. N.M. Nampoothiry says that the residence of Pāra Nampi at Malappuram is inside the fort area called Kottappati, and a hidden cave (kallara) still exists in the residence.

Tārakkal Mēnōn

As per the Kerajotpatti tradition Vellappanāṭṭukara was placed under Tārakkal Iṭṭi Uṇīrāma Vāri[yar], who was the Talaccennavar of Cunaṅnāṭu. According to this tradition he was the head of 1000 Nāyars and was conferred with "the sword and the robe". The head of the Tārakkal family is seen as carrying out many functions in the kingdom of Kōlikkōṭu under the Zamorins. We shall examine a few cases below.

In KE 824 (AD 1649) Tārakkal Uṇīkkanṭa Mēnōn became the head of the family after the death of Tārakkal Cēkara Mēnōn. He was conferred with "the sword and the robe" and the privilege of travelling in a litter by the Zamorin. He was appointed as the Poltti of various cērikkals (royal estates) namely, Cunaṅnāṭu, Ālīpārampa, Neṇmini, Cenkuricci (Tenkuricci), Ĉāntiyirutti (Șāntivirutti), Vellappanāṭṭukara and Maṅnalūr. An interesting thing to be noted is that Cēkara Mēnōn, who died in KE 824, had received an amount of ten thousand panams as loan from the royal treasury in KE 811 (AD 1636) to pay the lōkar (militiamen) of Kīḷpallikkara. Jewellery and some land were mortgaged to the royal treasury. On the eve of the investiture ceremony in KE 824 Tārakkal Uṇīkkanṭa Mēnōn gave more jewellery apparently as additional pledge, to the Zamorin. A royal letter was

---

196 *KG*, Vol. 7, copies of the same document in Vols. 13 & 14; see below, *App. VIII.*
given to Uṇikkanta Mēṇōn confirming his appointment as the royal functionary and letters intimating his appointment were sent to the concerned royal functionaries and local magnates.  

In KE 851 (AD 1676) Taṟakkal Iṭṭi Uṇṇirāma Mēṇōn died and Kīḻur Iremma Mēṇōn, Cankara Mēṇōn, Kriṣṇa Mēṇōn, Iremma Mēṇōn, Uṇikkanta Mēṇōn, Iṭṭi Uṇṇirāma Mēṇōn, Iṭṭiccirutēvi and her children were appointed as the heirs of Taṟakkal Uṇṇikkiṭṭa Mēṇōn. Taṟakkal Iremma Mēṇōn was conferred with the title Vetikkurikkaḻ. He was also invested with “the sword and the robe” and the privilege of travelling in a litter in KE 851. He was appointed as the Polṭti of various cērikkak including Cūṇāṉāṭu, Ālipaṟampa, Maṅṅalūr, Kāḷaṭi Ėṭavaka, Ponnāṇi Vāḷke, Ariyū and Vellappanāṭṭukara. Separate royal letters were issued to Taṟakkal Iremma Mēṇōn stating his obligations in each cērikkal. After meeting various expenses from the revenue of each cērikkal (royal estate), he was required to pay a fixed amount to the treasury of the Zamorin. The following is a list, as far as it can be reconstructed from available records, of money demanded to the royal treasury by Taṟakkal Iremma Mēṇōn from each of the cērikkals.

198 Ibid., Vol. 12.
199 Ibid.
200 Ibid., Vol. 3.
201 Ibid., Vol. 2.
202 Ibid., Vol. 12.
203 The amount to be paid from all the cērikkals under Taṟakkal Iremma Mēṇōn is not known to us.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the cerikkal</th>
<th>Amount to be paid in the treasury</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kālaṭī</td>
<td>4231 panams and 5 vīcams*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Āliparampa</td>
<td>514 panams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cunānāṭu</td>
<td>360 panams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ariyūr</td>
<td>200 panams</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*16 vīcams make one panam

In KE 821 (AD 1646) on the eve of Taippūyam, Taṟakkal Iṭṭi Unṉirāma Mēnōn, the Poḷtti of Kālaṭī cerikkal brought the sarākams (earthen lamps) to be lit at the Vākayūr Kövilakam and the platforms of Tirunāvēya.204 Royal letter was sent to Taṟakkal Unṉirāma Mēnōn, Poḷtti of Kālaṭī cerikkal, for the construction of Kövilakams at Vākayūr for the Taippūyam of KE 845.205 In the same year, after the Taippūyam, the Dutch attacked Koṭuṉallūr and burnt the house of Veḻutta Nampiyār, where the Zamorin was residing during the attack. The Zamorin was rescued but the Cēramān sword was burnt into splinters. Since the Zamorin did not have the royal sword Mumpil taḷi (sprinkling water in front of the procession as a purificatory ritual) cannot be performed. Hence Taṟakkal Iṭṭi Unṉirāma Mēnōn sent a sword (kaṇciyitṭa vāṭ) to the Zamorin who re-started carrying the royal sword and shield and mumpil taḷi.206

In KE 854 (AD 1679) Ėranāṭṭu Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri visited the Neṭuvirippil Mūtta Kövil (the senior princess of the royal family) at Calicut. She had insisted to him that she should see the Zamorin. Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri sent Taṟakkal Iremma Mēnōn, the Tulaccennavar of Cunānāṭu, along with Vaitti Pāṭṭar of Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri’s palace with money and royal letter to Kaḷattill

204 Ibid., Vol. 7, copies of the same document in Vols. 13 & 14.
Ittikkarunākara Mēnōn and Tāmaraccēri Nīlakāṇṭa Nampi to bring the royal insignia to Calicut by a boat for the *elunnaljattu* (royal procession) of the Zamorin. They were sent to Cempalanīṭu Čīrāṅkara Vēṭṭakkarumakan Kōṭtam, where the Zamorin was then residing. 207 When the Zamorin proceeded to Calicut the merchants presented gifts (*tirumulkāḷca*) to him. Ṭarakkal Iremma Mēnōn too presented eight *panams* to the Zamorin. 208

In KE 858 (AD 1683) a royal letter was sent to Ṭarakkal Iremma Mēnōn asking him to cut bamboos from Āliparāmpa *cērikkal* to bring *pānti* (a collection of bamboos), and the implements, lamps, etc. to Tirunāvāya for the *Māmākam*. 209 It also instructed him to send 1500 *paras* of rice from Veḷḷappanāṭṭukara as a part of the *pāṭtam* (a share of the produce as rent) from there for the year KE 858 (AD 1682-83) to Tirunāvāya. Ṭarakkal Iremma Mēnōn sent a letter to the Zamorin asking him to send bullets, gunpowder and musketeers to cut bamboos. The above request was sanctioned. Many persons were involved in this work including the men of Ṭarakkal Cankara Mēnōn. 210 In the same year Ṭarakkal Cankara Mēnōn performed some rituals at Kalati. 211 In KE 881 (AD 1706) Ėṭappalattu Kriśṇan performed expiation (*kola vekkuka*) at Antimahākāḷan Kāvu (temple). Ṭarakkal Uṇīkkāṇṭa Mēnōn along with other functionaries executed this. 212

In the *Mrityunjaya japaṃ*, which the Zamorin performed in KE 916, Ṭarakkal Iremma Mēnōn bore the expense of the feast of the fifth week and

---

207 Ibid., Vol. 2.
208 Ibid., Vol. 1.
209 Ibid., Vol. 2.
210 Ibid.
211 Ibid., Vol. 21.
212 Ibid.
Tarakkal Krishna Menon, Poltti of Kalaṭi cērikkal, the expense of the first day of the seventh week. In KE 825 (AD 1649) Tarakkal Kelappa Menon, Tarakkal Itti Unnirama Menon and Tarakkal Iremma Menon received 12 *panams* each for the *tirumutippalavari cērttu* of Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūṭṭa Kövil. For the *vālum putavayum* ceremony of various local magnates Tarakkal Menons received money depending on the family involved in the ceremony.

Krishna Ayyar says that in AD 1762 a certain ‘Tarakkal Eroma Menon’ attempted to kill the Zamorin. In 1763 he was executed in the customary fashion, his lands were confiscated, and his house razed to the ground by elephants sent for the purpose, the women and children being taken under the protection of the Zamorin. Although the title “Menon” which they bore may give the impression that they belonged to the Nāyar “caste”, they were but Vāriyars. A Vāriyar house of that name, with a considerable landed property and aristocratic privileges, survives in Neṭuṇnanāṭṭu even to this day. P. Kunhikrishna Menon says that Tarakkal Vāriyar is the temple trustee of Mulayankāvu near Kotikkunnattu Bhagavati temple and Karimpulā. Earlier they were the

---

213 Ibid., Vol. 1.


215 For instance, in KE 827 (AD 1652) Tarakkal Itti Unnirama Menon received 16 *panams* for the *vālum putavayum* ceremony of Tūvakkaṭa Kammal. Ibid. In KE 849 (AD 1674) Tarakkal Itti Unnirama Menon (*tiruvullamatikāra sthānam*) received 16 *panams* for the *vālum putavayum* ceremony of Pṭṭikappurattu Kaṭṭiṇṭi Menon. Ibid. For the *vālum putavayum* ceremony of Kutiravaṭṭattu Nāyar (date unknown) Tarakkal Iremma Menon (*tiruvullamatikāra sthānam*) received 200 *panams*. Ibid., Vol. 12.


217 Ibid.

commandants of the Zamorin. According to him, Iremma Menon was the title given to the head of the family.\textsuperscript{219}

\textbf{Vallaṭṭāvalī Kuṇṇi Kurikkal}

Unlike the cases mentioned above, where the offices went by hereditary succession, there is the case of a solitary dignitary, Vallaṭṭāvalī Kuṇṇi Kurikkal. There is no mention of Vallaṭṭāvalī Kuṇṇi Kurikkal in the \textit{Kēralōtpatti} tradition. Krishna Ayyar also has not discussed him except quoting a royal letter to Vallaṭṭāvalī Kuṇṇi Kurikkal,\textsuperscript{220} in the context of illustrating the revenue collection and expenditure of the Zamorin. In KE 846 (AD 1671) Vallaṭṭāvalī Kuṇṇi Kurikkal was appointed as \textit{Sarvādhikāram} of the royal house of the Zamorin and the \textit{atikāram (adhikāram)} in the \textit{tura} (port).\textsuperscript{221} These privileges were conferred on him jointly by the Zamorin, Ėṟanāṭṭu Iḷamkūr Nampiyāṭṭi and the \textit{Kāryakkār}. Royal letters were given to him and the concerned royal functionaries.

This appointment is intriguing. It was held at Triprayar, the southern border of the Kōḷikkōṭu kingdom, on Makaram 29, KE 846 (January 27, AD 1671) i.e., during the period of \textit{Māmākam} festival. We do not know whether \textit{Māmākam} was celebrated in that year. The presence of the Zamorin, the Ėṟanāṭṭu Iḷamkūr Nampiyāṭṭi and \textit{Kāryakkār} including Maṅṅāṭṭacan and Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu at Triprayar, away from Tirunāvāya on this occasion would suggest that \textit{Māmākam} was not celebrated. However, there is evidence that \textit{Taippūyam} was celebrated in KE 845 in the midst of the war against the combined forces of Cochin and the

\textsuperscript{219} P. Kunhikrishna Menon, \textit{Ariyittuvāḷayum Koṭṭiceḷḷunnaḷattum}, p. 102.

\textsuperscript{220} Krishna Ayyar, \textit{ZC}, Note, p. 274.

\textsuperscript{221} \textit{KG}, Vol. 7, copies of the same document in Vols. 3, 12 & 13; see below, \textit{App. VII}.  

154
Dutch. It was after the Taippuyam that the Dutch attacked Koṭuṇṇallūr.\textsuperscript{222} It is stated in the royal letter to Vallattāvali Kuṇṇi Kurikkal that the war against Cochin was going on.\textsuperscript{223} Thus the appointment of Vallattāvali Kuṇṇi Kurikkal as Sarvādhikāram of the royal house and adhikāram of the tūra is extremely significant. He was appointed not as a hereditary functionary. The royal letter to him does not contain the stock phrase “do as your ancestors had done” or “as in early days” formulaically repeated in other appointments.

Another point to be noted is that no reference to Vallattāvali Kuṇṇi Kurikkal’s family as royal functionaries prior to KE 846 is found in the Granthavari. The extremely critical political situation in which Vallattāvali Kuṇṇi Kurikkal was appointed to the very important position would explain why somebody from outside the traditional houses had chosen for the purpose.

In KE 848 (AD 1673) Vallattāvali Kuṇṇi Kurikkal, along with other Kāryakkār of the Zamorin, negotiated with the Kāryakkār of Veṭṭam about the amount to be paid by Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūṭta Kōvil for his tirumūṭippalavariccārttu by the Zamorin.\textsuperscript{224} The royal functionaries of the Zamorin were paid from the manisam atikārapaṇam (amount due to the representatives or servants of the Zamorin) given by Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūṭta Kōvil. The balance amount, i.e., about 60 pāṇams, was handed over to Vallattāvali Kuṇṇi Kurikkal for the royal treasury.\textsuperscript{225} In KE 848 [Vallattāvali] Kuṇṇi Kurikkal apparently outraged Eḷēṭattu Nampūtiri of Taṇṭilam dēsam. As we have already noted, the royal functionaries of the

\textsuperscript{222} KG, Vol. 7.

\textsuperscript{223} Ibid., copies of the same document in Vols. 3, 12 & 13; see below, App. VII.

\textsuperscript{224} KG, Vol. 13, copies of the same document in Vols. 7 & 13.

\textsuperscript{225} Ibid.
Zamorin did expiation for this offence in KE 903 to the Namputiri.\textsuperscript{226} Vallattāvāḷi Kuṇṇi Kurikkaḷ and Ėraṇāṭṭu Mūṇṇāmkkūr Nampiyāṭṭirī presented “the sword and the robe” to Piṭṭikappurattu Kaṭṭiṇṇi Mēṇōn in KE 849 (AD 1673). Vallattāvāḷi Kuṇṇi Kurikkaḷ received 16 paṇams for this ceremony.\textsuperscript{227} After this we do not have any reference to Vallattāvāḷi Kuṇṇi Kurikkal. Perhaps he continued for a few more years. In any case, Ėraṇāṭṭu Mūṇṇāmkkūr Nampiyāṭṭirī, the third prince in the royal line, acted as Sarvādhikārum between KE 854 and 858.\textsuperscript{228}

The above discussion brings out many significant details regarding the nature of royal functionaries in the kingdom of Kōlīkkōṭu. They were generally appointed on a hereditary basis. A solitary exception in the case of Vallattāvāḷi Kuṇṇi Kurikkaḷ is, however, noted. Those in the higher rungs were themselves local magnates with huge landed properties. Those in the top of the hierarchical order are not paid any regular salaries. But they had their own private estates. In fact, it is possible that the more influential local magnates were identified for carrying out functions of the state in that locality. Cerikkalpolitis, who were in charge of royal estates, were allowed to meet their expenses (taṉcilavukaḷ) from the revenues of the concerned cerikkals. The ties of obligation and dependence between the royalty and functionaries were strengthened through a series of acts based much on precedent. In a period when communication facilities were not developed, direct control of a vast area is not an easy task. Thus the functionaries acted as agents of the royalty. They co-ordinated and supervised various matters of the kingdom. The work of functionaries in the lower rungs was clearly defined

\textsuperscript{226} Kuṇṇi Kurikkal encroached into the house of Ejetattu Nampūṭirī in Tulām 848 (October, AD 1672) on the wrong plea that he had hidden the wealth of Pāṭirippalḷi Itṭikkōṇnan. In order to make amends for this, the Accanmār, who were responsible for maintaining the accounts of Kāḷali cerikkal, and Taṅkakkal Iremma Mēṇōn were given royal order in Netiyā tiruveluttu on Dhanu 18, KE 903 (December 18, AD 1727). Accordingly, a piece of land was granted to the Namputiri which he received at the Taṅṭilam temple declaring that he had no more resent on the occasion. \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. 21. See above, Note 40.

\textsuperscript{227} KG, Vol. 7, copies of the same document in Vols. 13 & 14.
while there was, as a general principle, no such clear-cut definition of work in the higher rungs. It is not possible to define the relationship between the royal functionaries and royalty purely on economic terms. Loyalty to the master as well as proximity with royalty decided one’s social position. It was a world of symbols, where power, authority, social position, precedent and every other detail was understood in terms of symbols and rituals.

\textsuperscript{157} \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. 2.