Chapter VI

Rituals, Symbols and the Status of the Royalty

Kingship, the authority of the king and the power he exercised had all revolved around important rituals in pre-modern world. Kerala was no exception to this. Rituals were an essential part of the political rhetoric. Power is not intrinsic to a person as an individual; it is available to the king as the holder of an office. The rituals took on a life of their own: they were related to, yet separated from, the actual ups and downs of royal dynastic politics. Royal rituals revolved round the secular and sacred identities of the king, and on his role as an exemplary centre, linking the earthly and celestial hierarchies. Ritual is not the mask of force, but is itself a type of power, at least as a symbol. Rituals seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. It is said that even if the text of a repeated ritual like a coronation remains unaltered over time, its meaning may change profoundly depending on the nature of the context. This Chapter attempts to examine a few rituals of royalty under the Zamorins and analyse their importance for understanding the way in which political power defined itself in the kingdom. It also takes up a few related items which were thought of as symbols of royalty. The problem of the social status of the Zamorin is also sought to study in this Chapter.

1 David Cannadine writes, “Power is like the wind: we cannot see it, but we feel its force. Ceremonial is like the snow: and insubstantial pageant, soon melted into the air. The invisible and the ephemeral are, by definition, not the easiest of subjects for scholars to study. But this conceals, more than it indicates, their real importance”. David Cannadine, ‘Introduction: divine rites of kings’, in David Cannadine and Simon Price, Eds., Rituals of Royalty- Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies, p.1.

2 Ibid, pp. 8-19.

Among these symbols were rituals of a religious nature, elaborate courtly rituals which were objects of a symbolic value and a whole series of protocols and precedent which were meticulously followed in the kingdom of Kölikkōtu. The royal rituals in the kingdom of Kölikkōtu include tirumuṭippalavaricārṭtu (investiture ceremony), uṭavāḷaṇakkal (ritual of investing with the royal sword), aṭṭattirunāḷ (birthday of the princes), tiruvantali (the ritual of cleansing oneself at the end of death pollution), tirumāsam (the ritual marking the end of an year of mourning after the Zamorin’s death), tirumūṭi ippakkal (royal haircut) and various daily rituals of the Zamorin. In fact, everything in the life of the king, from investiture to death and from bath to haircut, was an elaborate ritual. This seemingly excessive use of rituals in the life of the king differentiated him from his subjects and gave him a prestige and position superior to them.⁴

Though Krishna Ayyar has discussed a few of the above rituals, a systematic study of the rituals and its role in the projection of the power and splendour of the royalty has not been done by the early scholars. Though the ensuing analysis of the royal status may only shed light on the high culture of medieval Kerala, which is our prime concern, we believe along with Georges Duby that the cultural patterns of the upper classes will ultimately spread to the lowest social class.⁵ With this point in mind we move to the study of a few royal rituals in the kingdom of Kölikkōtu.

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⁴ A.M. Hocart says that “Man is not a microcosm; he has to be made one in order that he may control the universe for prosperity. The ritual establishes an equivalence that was not there”. Quoted in G. Fleeley-Harnik, ‘Issues in Divine Kingship’, in Annual Review of Anthropology, 1985, 14: p. 279.

Tirumūṭippalavariccārttu

The investiture ceremony of the Zamorin and the junior princes, as well as that of the locality chiefs such as Veṭṭam Uṭṭa Mūṭta Kövil and Veṇṇinnanāṭṭu Nampaṭī, was called *tirumūṭippalavariccārttu* (literally, sprinkling the rice on the royal head). It was called as *ariyīṭṭuvāḷca* in a later period, i.e., 19th and 20th centuries AD. Sprinkling consecrated rice on the head of the incumbent is the main feature of the ceremony, which is evident from both the above names. A mixture of rice, fried grain (*malār*) and flower (*tumpappūvu* i.e., flower of *Leuca indica*) was sprinkled on the head of the king or the princes on this occasion. Before the *tirumūṭippalavariccārttu*, *tirumūṭikkakāsām* (anointment or ablution as a purificatory act), *grahaśānti* (propitiation of planets), *mantram kēḷpikkal* (whispering the *mantra* to the Zamorin-incumbent and the princes – literally “causing the *mantra* heard”) by Cēnnaḷaṁañḷalattu Nampūṭiri and *uṭavāḷapakkal* (ritual of investing with the royal sword) were performed. The ceremony of *tirumūṭippalavariccārttu* was usually performed in relation to a successor on or after the 15th day of the death of the Zamorin (or the junior princes as the case may be). Fireworks and music ensemble marked the investiture ceremony.

Though there are references to the investiture ceremony in the writings of earlier scholars,6 the existing picture owes itself to the writings of K.V. Krishna Ayyar.7 Krishna Ayyar used the documents in *Kōḷikkōṭan Granthavari* of the earlier and later periods indiscriminately and has not taken into consideration the variations in details. N.M. Nampoothiry too refers to it.8 In his writings, however,

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8 N.M. Nampoothiry, *SCK*, pp. 5-6.
apart from the references to a few investiture documents, erroneously at that, he talks about the difference in the order of persons who sprinkled the rice on the Zamorin. He does not make a proper study of it; nor does he give any more details. Thus, a fresh analysis of this very important ritual will be helpful to understand the courtly culture of medieval Kerala. The important sources are Kőlikkőtan Granthavari, the Kēralōtpatti tradition and the accounts of foreign travellers like Duarte Barbosa and John Nieuhoff.

Among the tirumutippalavariccārttu documents in the Granthavari, the earliest is of the Ėrālppāṭu held in KE 734 (AD 1558) and latest pertaining to the period of our study is also of an Ėrālppāṭu held in KE 844 (AD 1669). The following is the description of the tirumutippalavariccārttu of Vīrārayiran Zamorin in KE 841 (AD 1666) held at Ponnāni Trikkāvil Kövilakam.10

After punyāham (a purificatory ritual), the Zamorin-incumbent presented daksīna to the Brahmans who performed the ritual. Perumuntacceri Cēnnamaṇṇalattu Nampūtiri and other Brahmans performed grahaśānti and tirumutikkalaśam (ablution as a purificatory ritual) at Maṇṇappāḷḷi Piṣāratu (house of a Piṣāraṭi). The Zamorin-incumbent presented daksīna to them. Then Cēnnamaṇṇalattu Nampūtiri whispered the mantra to the Zamorin-incumbent (mantram kēlpikkaḷ). The Zamorin-incumbent presented a total amount of 114 paṇams as daksīna to Cēnnamaṇṇalattu Nampūtiri.

9 Nampoothiry says that the investiture ceremony of Vīrārayiran, the Zamorin, was held at Tirumanaccēri Kōṭa in KE 733-34. Ibid., p. 5. However, that document speaks about the investiture of Vīrārayiran Ėrālppāṭu-incumbent. KG, Vol. unnumbered (B).

10 Ibid., Vol. 7; see below, App. II. This is the only document giving details of the investiture ceremony of the Zamorin pertaining to our period available in the Granthavari.
The Zamorin-incumbent worshipped the Čeramān sword and then proceeded to Ponnāni Trikkāvil Kövilakam. Nandāvanattil Nampi adorned him with the royal jewellery. Musical instruments were played to mark the beginning of the royal procession (purappāṭu kottal). Tunnāran Cakravarti and Nandāvanattil Nampi decorated the venue of the investiture ceremony. After a few more rituals and worshipping the Bhagavati idol, the Zamorin-incumbent presented a kili (purse of money) of 101 panams to Tamme Mūtta Paṇikkar for utavālanakkal. Conch was blown, mortars fired, and musical ensemble began. Nandāvanattil Nampi tied the tirumutippaṭṭam (a band of cloth or diadem) on the forehead of the Zamorin-incumbent. Muhūrta daksina (fee for prescribing the auspicious time) was presented to Vaḷḷuvanāṭṭu Paṭṭar, Ālūr Kaṇikal, Kīḷūr Kaṇṭu Vāriyar and others. Nandāvanattil Nampi kept the mixture of rice, fried grain (malar) and flower (tumpappūvu) in a silver plate. Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu held this plate. Pūmulḷi Nampūṭiri followed by Varikkumāṅcēri Nampūṭiri and Kīṟāṅnāṭṭu Tekkinēṭṭatu Nampūṭiri sprinkled the mixture of rice three times on the head of the Zamorin-incumbent. The next person to have sprinkled rice was Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūtta Kōvil but on this particular occasion he was not present.

Then Maṇṇāṭṭacan gave four palm leaves and a stylus to Tinayaṅcēri Iḷayatu. He returned it to Maṇṇāṭṭacan after the Zamorin endorsed them. Then Maṇṇāṭṭacan made the cēkam (formal appointment) of Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūtta Kōvil and in the meanwhile Ėrāṅṭṭu Mēnōn bowed the Zamorin. The cēkam cāṛttal (formal appointment) of Ėrāṅṭṭu Mēnōn, Kōḻikkōṭṭu Talaccennavar, Kutiravaṭṭatu Nāyar and Maṇṇāṭṭacan was performed. After this ceremony the Zamorin visited Trikkāvil Bhagavati and Vaikuṇṭhapurattu temples in procession with all the royal insignia. Then the cēkam of Akampati jana (escorting militiamen) was performed. Sarvāṇi panam (literally, “money for all and sundry”, perhaps a term used as gift or alms to people gathered there) was presented from the Kövilakam. Locality chiefs, local magnates and royal functionaries received
rice and *ulappanam* (a fee for “keeping turn”) for attending the above investiture ceremony.\(^{11}\)

The *tirumutippalavariccaṛtu* of Vīrarāyiran, the Ėṟāḷppāṭu-incumbent, was held at Tirumanaccēri Kōṭṭa, the house of a Brahman locality chief. The documents available on this ceremony are the accounts of 1) the amount paid to the musicians, 2) the amount and articles provided from the treasury of the Zamorin to the treasury of the Ėṟāḷppāṭu and 3) the amount paid to the locality chiefs, local magnates and royal functionaries.\(^{12}\) Mānāvikrama, the Zamorin, died on Karkkiṭakam 23, KE 732 (July 22, AD 1557)\(^{13}\) at Ponnānī Trikkāvil *Kōvilakam*. Since there was no auspicious time for the investiture ceremony of the next incumbent Vīrarāyiran as Ėṟāḷppāṭu, it was held only on Tulām 14, KE 734 (October 14, AD 1558).\(^{14}\)

Cēnnamaṅnalattu Nampūtiri, followed by Ėṟakurippurāttu Nampūtiri, performed the *tirumutikkalaśam* of the Ėṟāḷppāṭu-incumbent. *Grahasānti* (propitiation of planets) was also performed. Then the rice mixture was sprinkled on the head of the Ėṟāḷppāṭu-incumbent in the following order: 1) Varikkumāncēri Nampūtiri, 2) the Zamorin, 3) Netūnānāṭṭu Paṭanāyayar, 4) Mutiyālūr Nāyāṭṭutāya Nāyayar and 5) Īḷampilāccēri Mūṭṭa Nāyayar. It is stated that drums were played only when they sprinkled the rice. Four royal letters were drafted on this occasion.

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\(^{11}\) *KG*, Vol. 14, copies of the same document in Vols. 7 & 13. For a list of the locality chiefs, local magnates and royal functionaries, see above, Chapters IV & V.

\(^{12}\) *KG*, Vol. unnumbered (B).

\(^{13}\) There seems to be an error in the date of the document: it was probably 733 as the year in which the death occurred is stated to be the ones in which Jupiter stood in Makara that was during KE 733-4.

\(^{14}\) The investiture ceremony of the Zamorin may be held earlier to this.
The treasuries of both the Ėṟāḷppāṭu and the Zamorin shared the expense of the Ėṟāḷppāṭu’s investiture ceremony. It is obvious that the Zamorin and the Ėṟāḷppāṭu used to maintain separate treasuries and separate accounts. What is interesting here is that even though they had separate treasuries the Zamorin and the Ėṟāḷppāṭu shared the expense of the investiture ceremony of the Ėṟāḷppāṭu. The locality chiefs, local magnates and royal functionaries (inclusively called as Prabhukkal or “nobles/lords” in the document) were paid on the same day of the ceremony at Vairanellūr Nāṟaṇamkaṇṭattu Illam, where the Ėṟāḷppāṭu was present on the occasion.

The following points in relation to the ceremony appear to be significant.

1) Mānāvikrama Zamorin died on Karkkiṭakam 23, KE 733 (July 22, AD 1558) at Ponnāni Trikkāvil Kōvilakam. Since there were no auspicious moment for the investiture, the investiture of Vīrāyiran Ėṟāḷppāṭu, was held only after two months on Tulām 14, KE 734 (October 14, AD 1558) at Tirumanaccēri kōṭṭa, the house of a locality chief.

2) The Zamorin and the Ėṟāḷppāṭu had separate treasuries. Though each had his own separate treasury, a certain amount of money as well as the royal insignia and jewellery was provided from the Zamorin’s treasury.

3) Various amounts of money were presented to the locality chiefs and local magnates for yāvana (maintenance of life) at Vairanellūr Nāṟaṇamkaṇṭattu Illam on the same day.

4) Varikkumāńcēri Nampūtiri sprinkled the rice first on the head of the incumbent who was invested as Ėṟāḷppāṭu. The Zamorin followed him. Netunānināṭtu (Netunānanāṭtu) Paṭanāyvar, Puliyakkōṭṭu Mūṭta Nāyvar, Mūtiyalūr Nāyāṭṭuṭaya Nāyvar and Iḷampilāccēri Mūṭta Nāyvar also sprinkled the rice. This shows a certain order of precedent, based on ritual and political statuses.

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15 No reference to the investiture of the Zamorin on this occasion was found in the Granthavari. It seems that the investiture of the Zamorin was held earlier and that he was present on the occasion. It means that even though auspicious moment for the Zamorin’s investiture ceremony was available it was not the case with the junior princes. It may be a result of the complicated system of astronomical calculations that depends on the birth asterism and other details of the each individual.
After the death of Vīrārāyirān Erālppātu (who became the Erālppātu in KE 734 as we already noted) Manavikraman was invested as the Erālppātu at Rayiranellur on Vṛiscikam 4, KE 737 (November 3, AD 1561). In KE 749 (AD 1574) the investitures of the Eranāṭṭu Iḷāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri-incumbent, the Mūnnāmkkūr Nampiyāṭiri-incumbent and the Eṭattūṁnaṭṭu Nampiyāṭiri-incumbent were held. Grahasānti was not performed this time. Offerings were made to various deities viz. Bhagavati of Tiruvalayanāṭu, Vēṭṭakkakurumakān, Kṛūmpa Bhagavati, Ayyappan of Camravaṭṭam, etc.

In KE 836 (AD 1661) the investitures of the Eranāṭṭu Iḷāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri-incumbent, the Mūnnāmkkūr Nampiyāṭiri-incumbent, the Eṭattūṁnaṭṭu Nampiyāṭiri-incumbent and the Neṭuvirippil Mūṭṭa Erāṭi-incumbent were held at Triprayar temple. The details of the ceremony are the same as above. There are references to more such ceremonies in the Granthavan.

The investiture of the Erālppātu-incumbent was held at Koṭunnaḷḷūr Vattakkotta on Vṛiscikam 5, KE 844 (November 4, AD 1668). The order of rituals performed is given in the Granthavan. It was as follows: Paḷavari purattīṭṭal (a ritual of sprinkling rice by the princes), tevāram (worshipping the Bhagavati), grahasānti (propitiation of planets), tirumūṭṭikkalaśam (anointment or ablution as a purificatory ritual), presenting daksīṇa to the priests (performers) of grahasānti.

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16 Ibid.
18 Ibid., Vol. 13, copy of the same document in Vol. 7.
19 The investiture of the Erālppātu-incumbent and other princes was held in Makaram KE 837 (January, AD 1662). Ibid., Vol. 14, copy of the same document in Vol. 13. An investiture ceremony was held at Koṭunnaḷḷūr Vattakkotta. Ibid., Vol. 13, copy of the same document in Vol. 7.


The following accoutrements were kept for the investiture: two lamps, rice and paddy in the decorated plantain leaves and halves of coconut. The Bhagavati idol was kept between the lamps and the chief priest made offerings to Gañapatī. The Zamorin, Varikkumāńcēri Nampūtiri and Tinayańcēri Ilayatu arrived and the music ensemble started. The Ėrāḷppāṭu Ilamkūr Nampiyātiri-incumbent arrived there holding the sword and shield and offered salutations to the notables gathered. He handed over his sword to his retainer and prostrated before the gathering. Then he sat on the carpet facing east and placed the sword on his lap. Tinayańcēri Ilayatu stood up holding the mixture of rice, fried grain and flower in a silver plate. Varikkumāńcēri Nampūtiri, followed by the Zamorin, sprinkled the rice and blessed the Ėrāḷppāṭu. Royal letters were drafted informing the formal appointment of the functionaries. Then the Ėrāḷppāṭu saluted and prostrated before the Zamorin and went out. He proceeded in a litter to Śrī Kurumpa temple at Kōţuṅnalūr with musical ensemble and all the royal insignia including the umbrella with the flag carrying the emblem of Hanumān. Nețùnnaṇāṭṭu Paṭanāyar escorted him, walking between the musicians and militiamen. The Ėrāḷppāṭu worshipped the Kurumpa Bhagavati and returned to the Kövilakam via the southern part of Kunnattāṭika. In the royal outhouse (pāntāra pūmukham) two decorated lamps and paras filled with paddy and rice each were kept. Here the Bhagavati idol carried in the procession was placed. Punnaccēri Nampi received the Ėrāḷppāṭu with rice and lighted wicks. The Ėrāḷppāṭu went inside and circumambulated the Bhagavati idol. Then he sat on the carpet facing east and kept the sword on his lap. Punnaccēri Nampi sprinkled the rice kept in the plate on the head of the Ėrāḷppāṭu and after that the music ensemble was stopped.
Foreign travellers too have described the investiture ceremony of the Zamorin. Duarte Barbosa writes as follows:

And in these thirteen days [i.e., the period of the observance of death pollution 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. When they are past, the assembly of the great men makes him swear to maintain all the laws established by the late King, and to pay the debts which he owed, and to strive to win what former Kings had lost; and this is the manner in which they exact this oath: they place a naked sword in his left hand, and his right hand they place on a lighted oil lamp with many wicks and in it is a gold ring which he touches with his fingers, so that he takes the oath on the lamp and that gold to maintain everything with that sword. This done, they throw a little rice on his head, performing great ceremonies and worshipping with their faces to the sun.

Then forthwith certain nobles whom they call Cahimal, together with him who is to be Prince, and with the other heir take their oaths to the said King on the same lamp, to serve and help and to be loyal and true to him.

John Nieuhoff too gives a similar account.

The investiture ceremonies of the Zamorin and/or the junior princes were held at different parts of the kingdom of Köljikkōtu. It was held at Tirumanaccēri Kōtta, Rāyiranellūr, Triprayār temple, Kotūnāllūr Vāṭakkōṭṭa and Ponnāni Trikkāivil Kōvilakam. This also shows that the ceremony was held at different venues like the Kōvilakam (residence of the royalty), the house of a locality chief and a temple. It seems that the ceremony was usually held at the place where the deceased Zamorin or the princes, as the case may be, lived. In certain cases, the investiture of the junior princes was not performed immediately after the death pollution was over due to the lack of auspicious moment (muhūrta). In such cases the selection of the venue seems to have been a matter of convenience.

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21 This seems to be a misunderstanding of the author, due to the unfamiliarity of the observance of death pollution by the people of medieval Kerala.


23 K. Sivasankaran Nair, Ed. & Trans., *Nieuhoff Kāṇṭa Kēralam*, p. 60.

24 In a later period, i.e., in KE 962, when the Zamorin and princes were residing at Vēṇāṭu, the investiture of the Zamorin was performed five months after the demise of the Zamorin. It may have been for want of auspicious moment for the ritual. *KG*, Vol. 8.
Krishna Ayyar says that the Zamorin presented 1000 panams as daksīna to Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷ for the tirumuttippalavariccarttu. But Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷ was not present in any of the rice-sprinkling ceremonies including that of the Zamorin during the period of the present study (AD c. 1200-1767). The earliest instances of the presence of Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷ on the occasion of the Zamorin’s investiture was in a later period, i.e., KE 1031 (AD 1856), KE 1043 (AD 1868), etc. There are, of course, references to the Zamorin’s royal procession to meet and seek the blessings of Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷ in an earlier period, but the record is not related to the investiture ceremony. In the Taippūyam document of KE 809 (AD 1634) we have an intriguing statement that after the Taippūyam at Tirunāvāya the Zamorin crossed the river Pērār and went to Tavanūr Ceriyatattu instead of going to Ayyamkulam, since he was at loggerheads with Veṭtam and due to the anyāya (impropriety) of Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷ. We have no more information in the document on what the anyāya of Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷ was. The Kēralōṭpatti tradition also states that Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷ sprinkled rice on the Zamorin during his investiture. This may be a late tradition that found its way to the narrative. It is not possible to say in the present state of our knowledge when exactly Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷ started participating in the ceremony.

25 N.M. Nampoothiry has rightly pointed it out. N.M. Nampoothiry, SCK, p. 6. But his opinion that no reference to Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷ is found in about twenty investiture documents including that of later period is not correct.

26 KG, Vols. 49 & 26.

27 This was in KE 739 (AD 1564). Ibid., Vol. 7, copies of the same document in Vols. 10 & 13.

28 "Veṭṭavarumāyī piṇānti irikkam konṭum Āḻvāncēri Tamprakkāḷute anyāyam konṭum Natakkāvil pāṭikalõjam eļumnaḷi Tavanūr ceriyatattu kōvilakamāyatinge sēsan?" Ibid., Vol. 7.

One of the important rituals related to the royalty in the kingdom of Kōlīkkōṭu was *Utavālaṇakkal*. Scholars have taken this expression to mean “sharpening the sword”, taking one of the literal meanings of the word *apakkuka*, “to sharpen”. However, in none of the documents related to this ceremony in the *Kōlīkkōṭan Granthavari* or in any other place do we have a mention of any “sharpening” as part of this ritual, nor is a blacksmith or other artisan entitled to do so present on the occasion. What we have, on the other hand, is the ritual investiture of a sword. Hence we prefer the translation “investing with the royal sword”, as *apakkuka* can also mean, literally, “to bring into contact with”, involving a sense of reverence, etc. and, by extension, “to invest with”. We take it as a ritual connected with the *tirumutippalavariccarttu* of the Zamorin and the junior princes, for it is invariably in these contexts that references to this ritual occur in the documents. Tamme Mutta Panikkar, an important royal functionary, invested the Zamorin and the junior princes with the sword, before the sprinkling of the rice. Krishna Ayyar gives the following description of this ritual:

During the fourteen days the pollution lasts the Zamorin cannot touch sword or shield. After worshipping the precious heirloom the Zamorin goes to his Kalari or private gymnasium. Under the hereditary instructor-in-arms, he bows before each of the twenty-seven deities presiding over the Kalari, after which he receives his sword from the Panikkar. N.M. Nampoothiry says about the ceremony that “it may be a ritual related to the renewal of the establishment of the Kingdom under his control and renewal of

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30 Krishna Ayyar writes that *Utavālaṇakkuka* means “to sharpen one’s own sword” at one place and “to invest with the new Zamorin with his sword” at another. Krishna Ayyar, *ZC*, pp. 22, 269. Nampoothiry does not translate the term but cites Krishna Ayyar in this context. N.M. Nampoothiry, *SCK*, p. 15, Notes, pp. 337-38.


32 See above, Chapter V.

33 K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *ZC*, p. 22.
officials under the new King". Neither Krishna Ayyar nor Nampoothiry has given any details of the ceremony. Here we discuss the details of the ceremony as available from the documents and analyse them to yield not only a picture of the ceremony itself but an over-all perspective of the royal culture. We have made use of the *Kōikkōtan Granthavari*, the only source on the ceremony, for the study.

The details of the *utavālapakkal* of KE 841 (AD 1666) are found in the *Granthavari* and it is the only document relating to the *Utavālapakkal* of the Zamorin-incumbent himself pertaining to our period. This document mentions that the ceremony was performed "in the same manner as described in the records of the earlier ceremonies performed in KE 772 (AD 1596) held at Kollam Anantapuram, in KE 776 (AD 1600) at Calicut and in KE 837 (AD 1662) at Kotūnnallūr". The details of the *utavālapakkal* of the Ėranāṭṭu Mūnānmūr Nampiyāṭīrī-incumbent are found in the document. At the same time only the accounts of the amount paid by the Zamorin and other princes for their *utavālapakkal* are given in the document. The ceremony was held at the Vaṭakkēttalām of the western building at Trikkāvīl Kōvilakam, probably the royal Kalari.

A detailed description of the *utavālapakkal* ceremony of the Ėranāṭṭu Mūnānmūr Nampiyāṭīrī-incumbent held at Ponnānī Trikkāvīl Kōvilakam in KE

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36 An undated document on *utavālapakkal*, probably of an earlier period, is also found in the *Granthavari*. *KG*, Vol. 7. Documents of three more *utavālapakkal* of 19th century AD are also found in the *Granthavari*. *Ibid.*, Vols. 26, 49 & 55.

37 The *utavālapakkal* document of KE 841 concludes with the statement that the deities in the Kalari are Bhagavati of Tiruvajayanāṭu and Ĉandikādēvi and with a hymn for the worship of these deities. The documents of a later period specifically state that the ceremony of investing with the sword was held at the Kalari. *Ibid.*, Vols. 26 & 55.
841 (AD 1666) is available to us.\(^3\) It seems that the *utavālaṇakkāl* of the Zamorin-incumbent and the Ėṟāḷppāṭu-incumbent were also performed in the same manner which, however, is not specifically stated in the document. The amount presented as *dakṣiṇa* and *dānas* by each prince can be constructed as a table (see below, Table A). Tamme Mütta Panikkar received 101 *paṇams* from the Zamorin-incumbent and the amount decreases as one goes down in the position of princes in the hierarchy. Thus, Mütta Panikkar received 32 *paṇams* from the Neṭuvirippil Mütta Ėṛāṭi-incumbent. The Zamorin-incumbent presented 21 *paṇams* to Tamme Iḷaya Panikkar and all the other princes presented 16 *paṇams* each. Valḷuvanāṭṭu Paṭṭar received *muhūrtta dakṣiṇa* from each prince. Those who received *dāna* from the princes on the occasion were different in each case.

The *Granthavari* contains a document, whose date is missing, related to the *utavālaṇakkāl* of the Ėṟanāṭṭu Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭīrī-incumbent, Ėṭattūrnāṭṭu Nampiyāṭīrī-incumbent and Neṭuvirippil Mūttā Ėṛāṭī-incumbent.\(^3\) The number of persons who received *dāna* and *dakṣiṇa* in this case is different from the *utavālaṇakkāl* of KE 841. In this ceremony the Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭīrī-incumbent presented *danas* to two persons instead of one and *dakṣiṇa* to four instead of one (excluding Tamme Mütta Panikkar and Iḷaya Panikkar). Ėṭattūrnāṭṭu Nampiyāṭīrī-incumbent presented *dakṣiṇa* to three persons instead of one (excluding the Panikkars). It is clear that the number of persons who received *dāna* and *dakṣiṇa* is more in the latter ceremony. The amount of money presented as *dāna* and *dakṣiṇa* to each (excluding the Panikkars) is two *paṇams* in both the cases.

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\(^3\) *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, copies of the same document in Vols. 13 & 14. For the details of the ceremony see above, Chapter V.

\(^3\) *KG*, Vol. 7.
Table-A

The *dana* and *daksiṇa* presented by the Zamorin and junior princes for *utavālapakkam* in KE 841. All amounts in *panam*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Recipients of <em>dana</em> or <em>daksiṇa</em></th>
<th>Persons presented <em>dana</em> or <em>daksiṇa</em> for their <em>utavālapakkam</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Zamorin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>dana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tamme Māṭta Panikkar</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tamme Ilaya Panikkar</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Valjuvanāṭṭu Paṭṭār</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Anāyattu Piśāraṭi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Putyiṟṟutti Kōvil</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Pāḷūr Nampūṭiri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Tāmaracceri Nampūṭiri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Vaṭṭanāṭṭu Nampūṭiri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Tūyāṭṭu Nampūṭiri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Pulampurattu Nampūṭiri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Pullamkil Nampūṭiri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Cēṉaṇiẏāṭṭu Nampūṭiri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total amount presented by each princes

|                                | 132 | 84  | 71   | 52  | 52  |

---

The table above details the *dana* and *daksiṇa* presented by the Zamorin and junior princes for *utavālapakkam* in KE 841. All amounts are in *panam*.
It is clear from the documents that uta vafanakkal was a ritual related to the investiture ceremony. It was a symbolic act of investing the princes with the royal sword by Tamme Müttä Paṇikkar, an important royal functionary who is supposed to be the teacher of the Zamorins. The importance attached to the royal sword is found in various other ceremonies also. But interpreting this ritual as “related to the renewal of officials under the new King” is at best fanciful. P. Kunhikrishna Menon says that the ritual of receiving sword in Kalari indicates that the earlier kings were trained in martial arts and after the demise of a Zamorin until the tiruvanṭalī (a purificatory ritual marking the end of death pollution) is over no weapon was handled and no war was waged. According to him it also indicates that after tiruvanṭalī the Zamorin who succeeded is armed with the weapon. We have pointed out below in this Chapter that the royal sword was the same as what was known as Cēramān sword.

Vākatalī

The funeral ceremony of the Zamorin and the princes was also heavily ritualised. After the death of a prince all members of the family observed 14 days of ritual pollution. On the 15th day the purificatory rituals were performed. These rituals were described together as vākatalī or tiruvanṭalī. They indicated the honour to the deceased in a way declaring their prestige.

40 In addition to the Granthavari, a stray reference found in the Kēralōpari tradition is that utavāланakkal was performed by “Dharmmagunātta (Tamme) Paṇikkar”. Hermann Gundert, Ed., Op.cit., p. 203.

41 See above Note 34.

42 P. Kunhikrishna Menon, Ariyittuvālxayum Kotticcelunnaḷattum, p. 54.

43 This indicated the ritual status of the house of the Zamorins. The Brahmans of Kerala observed 10 days’ pollution after death, the kṣatriyas, 12 days’ pollution and the Nāyars, 15 days’ pollution. That the House of Netiyirippu observed 14 days’ pollution shows their intermediary position between the kṣatriyas and
The following are the details of the demise of Mānavikrama Zamorin on Etavam 18, KE 841 (May 16, AD 1666) and the rituals of Vākatalī. The Zamorin fell ill on Mīnam 3, KE 841 (March 1, AD 1666). The physicians, Pīlamāntōl Mūttatu and Taikkāṭu Mūttatu treated the Zamorin. In the meanwhile propitiatory rituals such as mrītyunjaya japam, sahasra nāmam, Bhagavati sēva, pāṇarāṭṭu, śankhābhisekam at Triprāṇōṭu, sarvāṇī kaṇṇī (feeding rice soup to all and sundry) and many offerings to or worship of the deities (īśvara sēva) were performed. The Zamorin died on Etavam 18 (May 16). He presented one or two pānams to Brahmans immediately before the death. When the Zamorin died, the prince to follow him in the royal line as the next Zamorin (the Zamorin-incumbent) was not present. However, the Ėrāṭhī Ilamkuṟ Nampiyāṭīri-incumbent, Ėṭattūrṇṭī Nampiyāṭīri-incumbent, Cāḷappūṟṭu Kōvilakam Valiya Tampūṟān, Tinayaṅcēri Īḷayatu, Pāṛa Īṭṭināṟṟa Nampi and Kāḷattil Īṭṭikkarṇākara Mēnōṇ were present there.

The ground below the cot (on which the royal dead body lay) at kunṭaga was cleaned. Sand was spread there and above it the darbha (grass used in oblations, scientific name Poa cynosuroides) was placed. The royal body was transferred to grass by all the princes, the head oriented to the south. The royal corpse was covered with a silk cloth (vīrapāli paṭṭu) of seven mulams (a mulam means the length of a forearm, approximately 40 cms). One lamp each was placed on the sides of head and foot (north and south) of the corpse, and also several lighted wicks immersed in oil in broken halves of coconut. A pāṇa filled with paddy and a nārāyam filled with rice (paraniṟṟappu) were placed near the head. All the princes sat there. The pyre was prepared with the timber of mango tree and dried coconut shells (mūcći and varaṭṭu). Due to heavy rain a netumpūra (a large

Nāyars. It will be interesting to compare the funeral ceremony of the Zamorin to that of the Nāyars. For details of the funeral ceremony of the Nāyars see, F. Fawcett, Nāyars of Malabar, pp. 245-53.

space covered with a temporary roof) was prepared above the pyre. Since the cremation had to be done after the arrival of the Zamorin-incumbent from Cempalánñātu, they waited until the next morning (akattu mūvāti). Even then he did not turn up and so Ėrānttu Iḷāmkūr Nampiyātirī-incumbent, Münnāmkūr Nampiyātirī-incumbent, Eṭattūmāṭtu Nampiyātirī-incumbent and Valiya Tampurān of Cālappurāṭtu Kōvilakam took bath and came to the kunṭāra. They removed the silk cloth covering the royal corpse and bathed the corpse. A small band of cloth was worn on the royal corpse, which was kept on the bier (arūppam, a ladder-like wooden structure), prepared by Eṭavalattavan, after covering the bier with half of the cloth and the corpse with the rest. The body was covered by the same silk cloth, which was used earlier. Kāluttoṭikāl (Muslim musicians) played musical instruments since the Naykkanmār did not arrive on time and mortars were fired.

The corpse was carried in procession with long-handled lamps in front and back of it accompanied by all the princes and Ėrāṭis to the pyre. They circumambulated the pyre three times before the dead body was placed on it from the bier. The silk cloth covering the corpse was removed and given to Eṭavalattavan. After cutting the cloth above the mouth of the corpse a golden sherd (ponnumnnurukka) was kept in the mouth. Nine cottonseeds were placed in the nine orifices (navadvāras: eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, anus and genital) of the body. All the princes stood facing east and kept a piece of timber above the dead body and placed embers below and above the corpse. Then the corpse was covered with pieces of timber. When the cremation was in the final stage, the princes sprinkled water taken in their hands three times to the pyre. When the corpse burnt completely the eldest prince (since the Zamorin-incumbent was not present, here it was the Ėrāḷppāṭu-incumbent) placed a new earthenware pot full of water on his head and three times circumambulated the pyre. The pot was pierced with a knife after completing each circumambulation. When they circumambulated the pyre three times, the prince stood facing north on the foot side of the pyre, (i.e., in the
direction opposite to the pyre). The prince threw the pot backwards (i.e., into the pyre) and without looking backwards he proceeded to the Kōvilakam accompanied by other princes. While all the princes proceeded to the Kōvilakam two Ėrāṭis stood facing one another and holding the bunch of palāśa leaves (of the tree Butea frondosa) touching together. The princes proceeded below these bunches of leaves to the pool. There they “touched paddy and gold”, as part of a purificatory ritual, took bath and performed udaka kriya as a ritual to propitiate the spirit of the dead, and then proceeded to the Kōvilakam. In the meanwhile the new Zamorin-incumbent arrived there from Cempalāṅṇāṭu and proceeded to the funeral pyre circumambulated it three times and prostrated with the sword and then took bath. There were daily rituals at the kunṭara up to the collection of bones from the grave (i.e., up to the ninth day of death pollution). The “haircut” (tirumūṭi ippakkal) of the Zamorin with elaborate rituals was performed on Ėṭavam 20 (May 18) morning. A stump was posted (trikkurri nāṭal) in the courtyard with rituals as part of the offering to the dead. The princes performed bali (a ritual offering to the manes of the deceased) after taking bath based on the order of seniority.

The bones were collected from the grave with elaborate rituals on Ėṭavam 26 (May 24) i.e., on the ninth day of the death. The princes went to the grave after taking bath and collected the bones of the skull, middle and lower parts of the body with golden, silver and wooden tongs. The bones were later cleaned in water and milk and kept in a silver plate. This silver plate was covered with a new cotton cloth and silk cloth. When all the bones were collected, Ėṭavalattavan (Man of Ėṭavalam family) covered the grave by earth. He dug a pit on the head side of the grave and the Zamorin-incumbent planted a coconut tree and watered it with coconut water. Sesame, mustard, green gram and lentil were sown there. The princes then stood on the foot side of the grave and prostrated. The procession with royal insignia and musical instruments played by KālutoJikal (Muslim musicians) began from there. Long-handled lamps were carried both in front and
back of the procession. Naykkanmar carried the litter (which seems to be empty)\(^{45}\) in the procession followed by the Zamorin-incumbent, who carried on his head the silver plate with the bones, and other princes to the river Përār. They proceeded to the sandbanks in the river and Nālillattu Ėṛāṭis dug a pit in the sand. The princes after bath put an unbaked earthen pot in the pit and placed a piece of gold in it. The contents of silver plate were dropped to this pot. The cotton and silk clothes, which were used to cover the bones and a \textit{panam} were given to Ėṭavalattavan. He poured water and flowers into the pot of relics and closed it with another unbaked pot and covered the pit with sand. The princes sprinkled the rice mixed with water above it and prostrated there in the order of seniority. The music ensemble and fireworks were stopped and were not to be performed again.

The litter was untied, pennons (\textit{tala}) and parasols on staves (\textit{meļukuvatām}) shortened and the long-handled lamps put out. All of them were carried behind the procession of the princes from there to the \textit{Kōvilakam}. All paraphernalia were kept in the \textit{Kōvilakam}. Preparations were made for the purificatory ritual of “touching paddy and gold” at the royal portico. Nālillattu Ėṛāṭis drew three lines with penknife at the veranda of the portico and stood there on the southern and northern parts, both holding two each pen knives touching the opposite ones. The princes proceeded below it to the \textit{Kōvilakam} and touched paddy and gold. After that the rice was sprinkled. The Maṇṇān brought \textit{māṛu} (a white long cotton cloth washed by Maṇṇān) and the Zamorin-incumbent presented him with rice and \textit{paṇam}. The \textit{māṛu} was spread on the bank of the pool and walking through it (each prince on a separate \textit{māṛu}) the princes took bath from the pool according to the seniority order and went to the \textit{Kōvilakam}.

\(^{45}\) It may be carried symbolically, supposing the presence of the manes of the deceased Zamorin.
Talappalli Punnattur Nampaṭi partook of the *daśāham* meal as part of the ritual on the 14th day of death pollution. *Antihōmam* was performed in the royal room at that night. The *piṇḍam* (a ritual offering of cooked rice ball) of the deceased Zamorin was performed on the 15th day of the pollution. The Zamorin-incumbent presented *dakṣīnas, dānas* and *prāyaścitta dānas* to various Nampūtiris. After these the princes sprinkled the rice. The Zamorin-incumbent and all the other princes offered the *piṇḍam*. The princes gave *piṇḍa dakṣīna* to the cooks of the respective *Kōvilakams*. After the rituals of *piṇḍam* all the princes prostrated and they kept the *piṇḍam* (cooked rice ball) in a silver plate, covered by new cotton and silk clothes. The Zamorin-incumbent kept this plate on his head and accompanied by other princes proceeded to the pool. He entered the pool and put the *piṇḍam* along with the clothes in to the water. The clothes were then given to Eṭavalattavan.

Punnattur Nampaṭi and Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūṭta Kōvil had to bathe along with the Zamorin-incumbent. Since Veṭṭam Uṭaya Mūṭta Kōvil was not present only Punnattur Nampaṭi took bath along with the Zamorin-incumbent. After the *Kōvilakam* was ritually cleansed the princes went inside for *punyāham* (a purificatory ritual). All arrangements for the ritual had been made. Twenty-six Nampūtiris including the priests of the Zamorin’s *Kōvilakam* performed it. *Dakṣīnas* were presented to each of them.46 Then the rituals like *grahasānti, tirumūṭikkalaśam* and *tirumūṭippalavariccārttu* of the Zamorin-incumbent and the princes, which we have already discussed, were performed.

From the above description of the *Vākatali* it is clear that no rituals of the Brahmanical variety was followed for the funeral. This is particularly significant because rituals such as *piṇḍam, tirumāśam*, etc. followed the Brahmanical rites.

46 Ibid.

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The absence of the Brahmanical rituals in the funeral, thus, is conspicuous but not easy to explain. Another feature to be noted is the importance of performing the *pindam* rite as a declaration of the right to succeed. Normally it is kinship which decides who should perform the rite. Here this is taken as a means to establish the inheritance. It is the Zamorin-incumbent who performs this ritual, even when he belonged to an entirely different *tāvali* (a collateral branch of the family in the mother’s line). He may not be even a blood relative of the deceased Zamorin.47

The *Poltis* (royal functionaries) and the Nampūtiris who were in charge of the feast were presented with rice during the *Vākatali* of the Zamorin in KE 841.48 Different groups of *Cāttirars* attended the *Vākatali* ritual. They were fed from the *ūṭṭu* (feeding house). The Zamorin presented an amount of money to the *Cāttirars* in a similar situation in KE 916.49 The Nampūtiris who worked for the *tiruvantali* *ūṭṭu* was also paid by an amount of money.50 Rice was presented to the retinue/bodyguards and the musketeers for the *Vākatali* of KE 916.51

The funeral ceremony and the other rituals related with the death of a prince or princess other than the Zamorin were almost similar to the above one, with the difference that the persons who performed the rite slightly varied. We have an account of the *pindam* of Netuvirippil Mūṭta Kōvil, the senior lady of the royal house, performed by the Zamorin on her 15th day of death pollution.52 The funeral ceremony of the Ėṟāḷppāṭu was also equally elaborate.53

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47 See above, Chapter III.


49 Ibid., Vol. 1.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., Vol. 44, copy of the same document in Vol. 7.
The birthday of the Zamorin and the princes called Āṭṭattirunāl was celebrated elaborately. There were a few rituals related to it. On Mithunam 31, KE 831 (June 29, AD 1656) the daksīṇa was presented to the Brahmans for performing the rituals of the birthday at Ponnāni Trikkāvil Kōvilakam. An undated document refers to the Udayāstamana pūja at Kurumpilāvil Antimahākālaṇ Kōṭṭam related to the Āṭṭattirunāl. A later document (KE 946, i.e., AD 1771) gives an account of the rice, paddy and other articles spent for the Āṭṭattirunāl. Feast was given to many people on the birthday of the Zamorin as evident in a later document. It seems that the birthday of the other princes was also celebrated with feast and rituals.

Tirumāsam

Tirumāsam, the first death anniversary of a Zamorin, was observed with ūṭṭu (free meals), rituals and pāṇayum kāliyum of the Cāṭṭirars. Various

53 Ibid., Vol. unnumbered (B).

54 Ibid., Vol. 7, two copies of the same document in Vol. 13.

55 Ibid., Vol. 29.


57 Pāṇayum kāliyum, also called Sanghakkali or Cāṭṭirar kāli, is a traditional art of the Nampūtiris. The Cāṭṭirars, who were a martial sect of the Nampūtiris, performed this. In the Granthavar we have reference to many groups of Cāṭṭirars in the kingdom of Kōḷiṅkōṭu who were paid Attam yāvana on Cinānam 13, KE 831. They are, Nenmini Cāṭṭirar, Čunṭakkāmaṇ Cāṭṭirar, Pākke Nārāṇa Cāṭṭirar, Covurattu Cāṭṭirar, Kīlavīti (Kīlavini) Cāṭṭirar, Tiṭṭappeli Cāṭṭirar, Pūlikkil Cāṭṭirar, Kāṭṭarāmaṇa Cāṭṭirar, Tattamanñalattu Cāṭṭirar, Veḷapparampil Cāṭṭirar, Purakkāliṇī (Porkkalāliṇī) Cāṭṭirar, Natuṭō Cāṭṭirar, Nāṭṭimaññalattu Cāṭṭirar, Āṭjamina Cāṭṭirar, Natuvatturutti Cāṭṭirar, Čerukkattupāre Cāṭṭirar, Talappali Cāṭṭirar, Čalīyaṭṭu Cāṭṭirar, Kumāramaññalattu Cāṭṭirar, Veṭṭiyūr Cāṭṭirar, Veṇmaṇi Cāṭṭirar, Pālakkāṭṭu Cāṭṭirar, Peruturutti Cāṭṭirar. Ibid., Vol. 14. In a later document of KE 1039 (AD 1864) a few more groups of Cāṭṭirars are mentioned. They are, Veḷḷa Cāṭṭirar, Tāmarassēri Cāṭṭirar, Pulāru Cāṭṭirar, Potuvāye Prabhākāra Cāṭṭirar, Paniccikkāṭṭu
functionaries/persons presented *tirumulkālca* (gift to the royalty) on the occasion. The *tirumāsam* of the Zamorin was observed at Koṭuṇṇallūr Tiruvaṅcakkuḷam Vaṭṭakkōṭṭa on Eṭavam 8, KE 842.\(^5^8\) Mānavikrama Zamorin died on Eṭavam 18, the previous year, i.e., KE 841.\(^5^9\) The *āṭṭu* (free meals) was conducted at Pāppinivaṭṭam. During this *tirumāsam*, the Cāṭṭirar were presented with *dakṣīṇa*, but *pānayum kāliyum* was not performed.

**Tirumuti irakkal**

Even the haircut of the Zamorin and the princes was highly ritualised. This was called *tirumuti irakkal*. The princes had a haircut invariably after the death of the Zamorin,\(^6^0\) the Ėrālppāṭu,\(^6^1\) etc. as well as on the ordinary occasions. The details of the *tirumuti irakkal* show the elaborately ritualised character of it, indicating how even such details were not left out in the cultural exercises of the court. *Tirumutikkalaśam* (ablution as a purificatory ritual) and *mantrāpadēśam* (advising or whispering *mantra* to the prince) were also performed after the haircut.\(^6^2\) Thus it is clear that each and every act of the royalty was ritualised.

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\(^5^9\) *Ibid.*, Vol. 13, copy of the same document in Vol. 7. The death anniversary was/is observed on the basis of asterism and not the date, hence the difference in the date of anniversary.


\(^6^1\) *Ibid.*, Vol. unnumbered (B).

\(^6^2\) The haircut of Paṭiṅṅāre Kōvilakattu Tampurān was held twice on Kumbham 2 KE 961 (February 10, AD 1786) and Eṭavam 28 (June 7) at Kunnattūr Kōyikkal *Kōvilakam*. *Ibid.*, Vol. 7. The haircut of Aviṭṭam Tirunāl Ėriya Tampurān of Paṭiṅṅāre Kōvilakam was held on Kumbham 28, KE 964 (AD 1789). *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, see below, *App III*. Documents on *tirumuti irakkal* of Paṭiṅṅāre Kōvilakattu Ėriya Tampurān on Vṛṣīcākham 20, KE 967 (December 2, AD 1791) and Mithunam 3, 976 are also found in the *Granthavāri*. KG, Vols. 7 & 23.
The Zamorin participated in the *Attaccamayam*, on the asterism of Attam in the month of Cinnam. This was in preparation for the *Onam* festival. On that occasion, the Zamorin gave *daksīna* to *Cāttirars* and offerings to various deities. The Zamorin presented it from Triśśivapērūr (Thriśśūr) Vaṭakēkkāra *Kōvilakam* on Cinnam 13, KE 831 (August 13, AD 1656).63 We have more accounts of the ceremony in a later period.64

*Tulābhāram*

The Zamorin also performed *tulābhāram*, an offering to the deity.65 A sloka on *tulābhārām* of Mānavēda Zamorin is found in the *Granthavāra*.66 Unfortunately, no more details are available regarding *tulābhāram*. It is of great significance if it is to be compared with the *tulābhāram* in contemporary Vēṇāṭu or the numerous references to the *tulāpuruṣadāna* from the records of other medieval Indian dynasties.67 If indeed it was the same thing, it involved the gift of gold equal in weight of the prince. The purpose of this ritual was the promotion of the

63 Ibid., Vol. 14. The date stated in the *Granthavāra* is Cinnam 8. It seems that there is a scribal error in the date given in the document as on Cinnam 8, KE 831 (August 8) the asterism is Pūya (Pusya) and not Attam (Hasta), which was on Cinnam 13. Cfr. Swamikannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris AD 700 to AD 1799*, Vol. VI, (1922), Delhi, Reprint 1982, p. 115.

64 A document of Cinnam 21, KE 1039 speaks of the *attaccamayam* (adornment) of the Zamorin, presentation of *daksīnas* to *Cāttirars* and offerings to the deities. *KG*, Vol. 38. In KE 1025, 1047 and 1071 also we have similar accounts. Ibid.

65 It is an offering to the deity of any article (which is not impure) equal to the weight of a person. the person who makes offering will sit on one side of a balance before the deity and the article weighing equal to the person will be placed on the other.

66 Ibid., Vol. 2.

incumbent in social status. The Zamorins did not quite claim the kṣatriya status, as it was too late for them to do so. But the performance of rituals like tulābhāram and the observance of the brahmanical rites in many rituals point to the keenness they had in getting a promotion in their social status. Even the fact of their observing death pollution for fourteen days, a day less than the Nāyars, is an indication of this keenness. A few more rituals and offerings were made in a later period. Anilam Tirunāl Zamorin performed Avagāha snānam at Tiruvannūr temple on Mēṭam 30, KE 1009.68 The Zamorin presented an elephant to the deity of Guruvāyūr temple on Mēṭam 27, KE 945 (AD 1770).69

“Caste” status of the Zamorin

The rulers of Cochin, Veṭṭam, etc. always claimed precedence over the Zamorin in social status. They claimed to be kṣatriyas70 while the Zamorin was treated as of śūdra origin.71 This is echoed in the writings of Canter Visscher, the Dutch missionary who stayed at Cochin for years. He writes that “The Raja of Cochin in some respects ranks higher and possesses more privileges than the Rajas of Travancore, Colastri and Zamorin”.72 The Zamorins who were originally Ėrāṭis as stated in the Kēralōtpatti tradition and thus of a “śūdra” status began to claim the status of “sāmanta kṣatriyas” for themselves.73 As it was too late and too

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68 KG, Vols. 24 & 57.
69 Ibid., Vol. 10.
71 Abd er Razzaq who visited Calicut in AD 1442 says that the Zamorin belonged to the Nāyār caste. R.H. Major, Ed., India in the Fifteenth Century, p. 1:17.
72 Another point to be considered here is that the Cochin Rāja was a protégé of the Dutch and that Canter Visscher is obviously biased in his account. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, History of Kerala, Vol. II, p. 31.
73 Hermann Gundert, Ed., Op. Cit., p. 184. Kēralōtpatti tradition is, however, ambiguous on the status of the Zamorin. It also states that the ancestors of the Zamorin, who were Sāmanas, were born in the solar lineage (arkkavamsa). Ibid., p. 180. For an interesting litigation during the later period by a prince of Nilampūr
difficult to claim descent from the Sūryavamsa or Candravamsa, they sought to claim their origin from Agnikula (the “Fire Lineage”) as contemporary literary works show. The fact that they observed death pollution differently is of interest in this context, as the number of days of pollution varied for different social groups.

The Zamorin was expected to take a vow to protect Brahmans and cows as directed by the Cēramān Perumāl. The Zamorin repeated this vow during the investiture ceremony. Francis Buchanan wrote in AD 1800: “The Tamuri pretends to be of a higher rank than the Brahmans, and to be inferior only to the invisible gods; a pretension that was acknowledged by his subjects, but which is held as absurd and abominable by the Brahmans, by whom he is only treated as a Sudrā”. In traditional Indian society social status was of great importance. Thus the Zamorins’ attempts to elevate themselves in social status and gain prestige had importance. The rituals, patronage of influential Brahmans, patronage of temples, etc. were the means for the enhancement of status to the Zamorins.

Kōvilakam claiming Sāmanta caste status, see Lewis Moore, Malabar Law and Custom, Notes, pp. 345-46; see also, Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. VI, (1909), Delhi, Reprint 1975, pp. 280-88.

74 In Mallikāmāruṭam, a Sanskrit drama of Uddanda, the Zamorin is stated as belonging to vīthētra kula i.e., fire lineage. Vadakkumkur Rajaravarma Rāja. KSSC, Vol. I, p. 403. In Kōkasandēśam, a Manipravālam work, the Zamorin is ascribed to Manukula. Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, Ed., Kōkasandēśam, I: 21, p. 38.


76 Although the documents in Kōlikkōjan Granthavari does not contain this tradition, as remembered by the survivors of the families that took part in the investiture maintains it even to this day.

Daily Routine

It will be interesting to see how the person of the King was presented. Foreign travellers have vividly depicted the person of the Zamorin. Ibn Battuta, the Moroccan traveller of AD 14th century, was the earliest foreign traveller to describe the person of the Zamorin. He writes that “He is an aged man and shaves his beard as some of the Greeks do”.78 Pietro Della Valle, the Italian traveller of AD 17th century, says the following of the person of the Zamorin:

He was a young man of thirty, or five and thirty, years of age, to my thinking; of a large bulk of body, sufficiently fair for an Indian and of a handsome presence. He is call’d (as a principal Courtier, whom I afterwards ask’d told me) by the proper name of Vikira. His beard was somewhat long and worn equally round about his Face; he was naked, having onely a piece of fine changeable cotton cloth, blew and white, hanging from the girdle to the middle of the Leg. He had divers bracelets on his arms, pendants at his Ears, and other ornaments with many Jewels and rubies of value. In his Hand he carry’d a printed staff, (if it were not an Indian Cane) like a Shepherd’s Staff, upon which, fixed in the earth.79

Pyrard of Laval writes about the Zamorin as follows:

This prince when I was there, was about fifty years of age, and had reigned about thirty-five. He is handsome, tall, and erect; nimble, slim, and well proportioned in limb....

With regard to the person of the king, I may say in the first place that in accoutrements and dress he differs in no way from the other Nairs, being no more clothed than they, except that he wears not so many ornaments, valuables, or precious stones as the other lords. But on a day of festival or solemnity it is not possible to see (anywhere) more gold or gems than he carries; but this happens rarely, and at the great ceremonies only; for ordinarily he wears only a little gold chain round his waist, having a jewelled clasp in front.80

Varthema gives the following description on the jewellery of the Zamorin,

It would be impossible to estimate the jewels which the King wears, although in my time he was not in very good humour, in consequence of his being at war with the King of Portugal, and also because he had the French [Frangi] disease, and

had it in the throat. Nevertheless, he wore so many jewels in his ears, on his hands, on his arms, on his feet, and on his legs, that it was a wonder to behold.\textsuperscript{81}

The list of the royal jewellery of the Zamorin available in the Granthavari would show that the above description is not entirely an exaggeration.\textsuperscript{82}

The Zamorin was generally dressed and adorned with jewellery by Nandāvanattil Nampi. He wore a special robe during the days of festival or royal procession. He wore a long cloth (\textit{oliyal ñeřñiũ uññu cårtti}) and above it a white clotehe. \textit{Tirumutippattam} (a band of cloth, turban or a diadem) was tied on the forehead. The person of the king was adorned with a number of ornaments. During the \textit{Mâmåkam} a ceremonial dress and hat (\textit{tirumeyi kuppåyavum tirumutitoppiyum}) were worn along with the other dress and ornaments. The \textit{Mâmåkam} dress of the Zamorin seems to have been influenced by the European dressing style, which is quite possible due to the presence of the Europeans from early 16th century onwards in Kerala.

About the dress of the Zamorin a foreign traveller, as already noted above, expressed the view, “he was naked, having onely a piece of fine changeable cotton cloth”.\textsuperscript{83} Pietro Della Valle also says, “when upon any occasion the King is minded to appear much in Majesty, he puts on onely a white vestment of very fine cotton, never using either Cloth of Gold, or Silk”.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{81} R.C.Temple, Ed., \textit{The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508}, p. 63.

\textsuperscript{82} KG, Vol. 2.

\textsuperscript{83} Edward Grey, Ed., \textit{The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India}, Vol. II, p. 367. Pietro Della Valle also writes: “The King [the Zamorin] and all others, as I have said, commonly go naked; onely they have a cloth wherewith they are girded, reaching to the midleg”. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 379-80. Abd er Razzak also expresses a similar opinion. See, R.H. Major, Ed., \textit{India in the Fifteenth Century}, p. 1:17.

Ludovico Varthema and Duarte Barbosa give elaborate accounts of the food of the Zamorin.\textsuperscript{85} Another feature noted by foreign travellers is the chewing of betel by the Zamorin. The anonymous author of the account of the expedition of Vasco da Gama in AD 1498\textsuperscript{86} and Duarte Barbosa\textsuperscript{87} give a vivid account of it. Pyrard of Laval gives a detailed description of the daily life of the Zamorin.\textsuperscript{88}

Stray accounts of the life pattern of the Zamorin are found in the \textit{Granthavari}. These descriptions are mostly related to his appearance on the occasion of festivals like \textit{Taippūyam} and \textit{Māmākam} or during his royal procession. Since the documents are mostly of certain festive or ritualistic occasions, they do not help in presenting a picture of the everyday life of the Zamorin. It is told that “life in the court is a montage of endless self-replications”\textsuperscript{89} The special features of the life of the Zamorin are sought to construct here from the documents in the \textit{Granthavari}.

\textit{a) Trikkani}

\textit{Trikkaṇi} (sighting of auspicious things to mark the beginning of a day) was arranged on certain auspicious days for the Zamorin. A list of materials kept for \textit{Trikkaṇi} is found in the \textit{Granthavari}\textsuperscript{90}. They included the idol of Bhagavati adorned with ornaments, rice, coconuts, plantains, flowers, lamps, nine gems (\textit{navaratnam}), costly robes and money.


\textsuperscript{86}Quoted in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, \textit{The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama}, p. 134.


\textsuperscript{89}V. Narayana Rao, et al., \textit{Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu}, p. 60.

b) Tevāram and Vayarāṭṭu

Tevāram and Vayarāṭṭu were parts of the daily routine of the Zamorin. After morning ablutions he performed Tevāram, which was the worship of household deities including the Bhagavati. P. Kunhikrishna Menon, who reported the ariyittuvālca (investiture ceremony) of the Zamorin and other princes in AD 1909, says that till date except the Zamorin and the Vayarappanikkars, who performed it, no one else knew what Vayarāṭṭu was. Krishna Ayyar says that vayarāṭṭam is a massage with a creeper called vayara. We are not sure whether it was a massage. The opinion of Krishna Ayyar that Vayarāṭṭu was a rite of "shampooing his limbs and body behind thick screens" is doubtful. During the Taippūyams of KE 809, 821, 905, etc. after Vayarāṭṭu the Zamorin dressed immediately without taking bath, which is not probable after a massage with oil. The terms used for it in the Granthavari are vayayarkattuka, vayareyattu and Vayarāṭṭu. Vayara kāṭṭuka literally means showing vayara. So, was it an act of showing the creeper before the Zamorin to avoid the evil effects, which is similar to the act of waving pot of vermilion water and lighted wicks before the Zamorin when he returns after Kōṭṭiccelunnallattu? In other words, was it a symbolic act of warding off evil spirits? We have no convincing evidence at present. Certain functionaries performed it and they are referred to in the Granthavari as Vayarappanikkar and Vayarappillēr.

91 P. Kunhikrishna Menon, Ariyittuvālcaum Kōṭṭiccelunnallattum, p. 52.

92 Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 20. He also says that "A holy man, named Kolkunnattu Sivankal, pleased with the devotion of the Zamorin, prescribed it as a daily practice for his health and welfare. Every morning the Zamorin goes to the Vayaratalam and the Vayara Panikkars perform this rite, shampooing his limbs and body behind thick screens. All the while he has to remain blindfolded. After the process the grass is not thrown away but given to the cows of the palace". Ibid., pp. 20-21.
c) Bath, food and sleep

After Tēvāram and Vayarāṭtu the Zamorin attended to his business, whether routine or otherwise. Thereafter he bathed (nīrāṭtu kūḷi) and took food (kāyakaṇṇī amīṭṭu). During Taippūyam or Māmākam it was after the royal procession he used to bathe⁹³ and take food. He took food three times a day, first the kāyakaṇṇī amīṭṭu, then amīṭṭu and finally attāḷa amīṭṭu at night. The term amīṭṭu is derived from amritēṭṭu (literally taking amritu or elixir). After food at night the Zamorin slept, which is described as pallikkuruppū or pāllikkurippū in the Granthavari. Particular terms were used to describe the acts of the king in order to distinguish the royal acts from the acts of ordinary persons. The terms used to describe the royal acts are similar to the terms used to describe the acts of divinities.⁹⁴

At the same time the physical disabilities of the Zamorins due to old age and personal weakness of facing challenges are also evident in the Granthavari. The Mānāvikrama Zamorin was not willing to face the challenges of the Dutch attack on Koṭuṇāḷḷūr in KE 845 (AD 1670).⁹⁵ When the Eṟāḷppatu and other princes persuaded the Zamorin to proceed to Koṭuṇāḷḷūr he said that he would rather go to Guruvāyūr than Koṭuṇāḷḷūr. When the princes insisted, the Zamorin entreated them to leave him to live in peace, and allow enough to meet his

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⁹³ The normal practice in Kerala was that worship and other rituals are performed after one has bathed in the morning. However, on many occasions the Zamorin only washes his feet before worship and Vayarāṭtu. He bathes only after the morning rituals. Was this because of his old age and indifferent health? The references in the Granthavari suggest such a possibility.

⁹⁴ In fact, a separate vocabulary exists where there are three terms for the same thing or act - one indicating what a superior does, the second indicating what an inferior does and the third, showing what an equal does. For instance, the word for bath is nīrāṭtu, nanayal and kūḷi respectively in the three cases, that for food is amritēṭṭu, āhāram and āpu respectively. This was insisted strictly. This elaborate distinction was one of the ways of social distancing in the traditional society of Kerala. As the ruler belonged, or at least claimed to belong, to the upper rungs of the hierarchy this somewhat gained prestige and legitimacy for the ruler.

⁹⁵ The same Zamorin controlled the war operations against the Dutch at Koṭuṇāḷḷūr before he came to attend the Taippūyam in KE 845. He was not keen to go back to Koṭuṇāḷḷūr after Taippūyam.
expenses. He expected the Eralppatu to look after the rest of the affairs and burst into tears. He even laments his inability so much as to present his consort with a pair of ear ornaments (kāṭila). He consoles her by a message sent through the Āna Paṭṭar that he will at some time keep the promise. The physical disabilities of the Zamorins on various occasions are clear from the documents in the Granthavari.

Image-building

Art forms were also utilised to enhance the image of the Zamorin. The solitary instance of Śri Rāmāyanam Kūttu (a theatrical performance) performed at Ponnāni Vairanellūr Kōvilakam from Tulām 12, KE 904 to Makaram 14, KE 905 (Ocober 13, AD 1728 to January 12, AD 1730) with a few gaps is the best example. On the last day of the Kūttu (i.e., Makaram 14, KE 905 corresponding to January 12, AD 1728) Valiya Abhiśēkam of Śrīrāma was performed. After Kutiyāṭṭam (a Sanskrit theatrical performance), the Zamorin adorned himself with royal ornaments. Conch was blown and eight mortars were fired. With parasols on stave (meḻukuvattam), white flywhisk (veṇcāmarai) and ritual cleansing of the path by sprinkling of water (mumpil tali) by two Pentiyanmar, the Zamorin proceeded to the stage, where Kūttu was performed. He held the sword and “imagining akampati (escort) to Śrīrāma” (Śrīrāmanu akampatiyennu sankaḷpiccu) proceeded in front of the Cākyār (who played the role of Śrīrāma) with music.

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97 We have reference to the Zamorins of impaired hearing (tricevi keḻkkāta), too weak to walk (tri[kkāl vayyātta), etc. in the Granthavari. There are references to the Zamorins who could not mount the elephant due to the physical disability, who could not bathe due to ill health, who was supported by two persons to walk, etc. also in the Granthavari.

98 Three Sanskrit plays viz. Śaktibhadra’s Āscaryacūḍāmāṇi, Bhasa’s Pratima and Abhiśēka were jointly performed as Rāmāyaṇam Kūttu. It was an attempt of staging the complete story of Rāmāyaṇa and consisted of 21 ankās. It lasted for about a year or so. Cfr. K.P. Narayana Pisharati, Ed., Āscaryacūḍāmāṇi, (1967), Thrissur, 1988, Preface, pp. 12-13.
ensemble, after the muskets were fired, to Vairanellur temple. He handed over his sword to Korikkaran (a retainer of the Zamorin) and entered the temple along with the Cakyar, who was still made up as Śrīrāma. The Zamorin worshipped the deity and paid daksīṇa to the priests. After that the Cakyar (still dressed as Śrīrāma) presented him with an arrow called Rāmaśaram (literally arrow of Rāma). The Zamorin presented 1000 paṇams in a kilij (purse of money) as daksīṇas to Koyappa Nārāṇa Cakyar, who played the lead role. The Zamorin also presented daksīṇa to other Cakyārs and Naṇṇiyārs (the female artists).

After that the Zamorin came out of the temple holding the Rāmaśaram and mounted the palanquin carried by Āriyappunnakal. Along with music ensemble the Zamorin proceeded to Trikkāvu (Bhagavati temple). He dismounted from the palanquin in front of the temple, went to the temple and worshipped the deity. After presenting money as daksīṇa and offerings he proceeded to Vaikuṇṭhapurattu temple. There also he worshipped the deity, paid money as daksīṇa and offerings. From the eastern gateway of the temple he mounted the palanquin and proceeded to Vairanellur Kōvilakam.¥

The performance of Śrī Rāmāyaṇam Kūttu in the Kōvilakam of the Zamorin may indeed be an act of piety. But it also had more to it than that as we see an attempt to make use of an art form for the legitimisation of the royal power. The Zamorin is giving akampaṭi (escort) to Śrīrāma. Thus the Zamorin is transformed to a retainer of the Lord. By pursuing in this line we can say the following things:

1) Giving akampaṭi to the overlord is shown as a virtuous act, which the Zamorin demanded from the locality chiefs, local magnates and royal functionaries. This

¥ KG, Vol. 9.
added colour to the master-servant relationship and stressed their loyalty such as that of devotion to the Lord.

2) Since the Zamorin escorted Śrīrāma, giving escort to the Zamorin makes the locality chiefs, et al., eligible to escort the Lord himself.

3) That the Zamorin offered *akampati* to Śrīrāma implies that there was no power on earth superior to the Zamorin.

There are instances of the Zamorin possessing ritual powers which went beyond symbolic value. The Zamorin degraded the Nampūtiris of Panniyūr *Grāma* as Müssats in early 18th century AD. In KE 935 (AD 1760) they were reinstated to their earlier status after they paid 23000 *panams* to the royal treasury. It has to be noted that the Zamorin was an ally of Panniyūrkkūru Brahmans in the *kūrumatsaram* (fractional feud) between the Panniyūrkkūru and Covvarakkūru which had grown out of proportion due to the involvement of the Zamorin and the Rāja of Cochin who supported the former and latter factions respectively. Even then the Zamorin degraded the Brahmans of Panniyūr *Grāma*, as a punishment for desecrating the deity of the Panniyūr Varāhamūrtti temple.

Privileges – Minting of Coins, Tiled Roofs and Fireworks

Minting coins, living in houses with tiled roofs and fireworks were the privileges of royalty and they were looked upon as more or less marks of

100 N.M. Nampoothiry, Ed., *Veilayute Caritram*, pp. 72-76.


102 During the post-Cēra period two Brahman settlements viz. Panniyūr and Šukapuram (Covvaram) assumed prominence. In course of time, these two settlements fell out and the whole of the Brahman community in Kerala was aligned into two rival camps under their leadership. The Zamorin of Kōlikkōtu supported the Panniyūr settlement whereas the Rāja of Vālļuvanātu and later the Rāja of Cochin supported the Šukapuram settlement, which resulted in a constant clash of these powers. Kesavan Veluthat, *Brahman Settlements in Kerala: Historical Studies*, pp. 72-76; see also, K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, pp. 36-43, 418-19, 478-79; K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *ZC*, pp. 97-101.

sovereignty in medieval Kerala. But the view that the right of coinage was a
mark of sovereignty can be challenged in the light of evidence from the
*Granthavari*. There were local coins called *accu (ūraccu)* in the kingdom of
Kōlīkkōṭu, which we have already noted. These local issues show that coinage
was not the exclusive right of royalty. However, the value of these local coins was
fixed with the standard coin (*panam*) of the Zamorin. This indicates that the
Zamorin tried to regularise and exert a sort of control over the local issues.

A coin called *tāram* (a small silver coin according to Pyrard of Laval, the
French traveller) was minted from the royal *kammatam* (mint) of the
Zamorin. A share from the coined money (*tāram*) was given to Netuvirippil
Mūṭṭa Kōvil and other princesses. No reference to the minting of *panam*, a gold
coin that was mostly used in Kōlīkkōṭu, is found in the *Granthavari*, but Pyrard of
Laval refers to it. Krishna Ayyar says that the mint was closed for all the
thirteen days of the pollution consequent on the demise of the Zamorin, and one of
the first acts of the new Zamorin was to order the resumption of *panamati* or the

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104 Duarte Barbosa writes, “They are only three, to wit, the Camidre whom they call Maly Conadary, and he
of Coulam whom they call Benetady, and he of Cananor whom they call Cobertorim. Besides these, there
are many great Lords in the Land who wish to be called Kings, which they are not, for they neither coin
money, nor roof houses with tiles, nor indeed in all Malabar can anyone roof them so, bowsoever great a
Lord he may be, for forthwith the Moors would rise against him, save only if it be a House of Prayer or a
King’s Palace. Afterwards, in the course of time the Kings of Cochim and Cananor struck money by force”.

105 See above, Chapter II.

106 KG, Vol. 7.


109 Ibid.

110 Pyrard writes: “Near this large square where the market is held is a large building where the king’s
money is struck, which is current on all the Malabar coast. This consists of gold pieces with his effigy on
one side and a pagoda or idol on the other. These pieces are of the value of about four sols, and are called
minting of panams. Ayyar also says that the “officer” in charge of the mint was a goldsmith, who was known as Māṇavikrama Āśāri or the goldsmith of Māṇavikrama. Interestingly, however, there are references to many local coins called accu (ūraccu) in the kingdom of Kōḷikkōṭu which we have already noted. These local issues may show that striking of coins was not the exclusive right of royalty. The view that the right of coinage was a mark of sovereignty has to be reexamined in the light of this piece of evidence available from the Granthavari.

It is said that only the Zamorin had the right to tile the roof in the kingdom of Kōḷikkōṭu and it was denied even to the King of Cochin. Temples, the locality chiefs and the local magnates also seem to be enjoyed it in the kingdom of Kōḷikkōṭu. The Zamorin gave permission to the English East India Company to have tiled roof in AD 1759. This privilege granted to the English was in exchange of favours received and expected as is evident from the document.

Another privilege of the royalty was right to use fireworks. It seems that the control over gunpowder by the state made it a royal privilege. During royal processions, courtly rituals and temple festivals, fireworks were used. Fireworks added colour and splendour to the royalty. Usually Muslims were in charge of the pyrotechnics. The use of elephants as mount was also a privilege of the royalty.

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111 Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 291.
112 For details see above, Chapter II.
113 See above, Note 104.
114 “Translate of the Zamorin’s Grant for covering the Factory at Calicut
“1 permit you to cover your Factory at Calicut with tiles this 24th October 935, [AD 1759] Malabar Style, which done carry on your Contracts in the best manner and I hope you will assist me at any time I may have occasion for it”’. William Logan, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of Importance, (1951), New Delhi, Reprint 1989, I: CXXIII, p. 109.
115 However, during the Purāntan tirā at Neccippappampattu Tripurāntakan Kōvil on Kumbham 4, KE 895 (February 1, AD 1720) special kinds of fireworks were produced by persons who are designated as
Kotticcelunnallattu

*Kotticcelunnallattu* or royal procession with music ensemble was an important feature of the political culture of the kingdom of Kōlikkōtu. The Zamorin or the Ėrāłppāṭu with other princes, Kāryakkār; the retinue, escorting militiamen, local magnates and their retinue with all the royal insignia and paraphernalia proceeded from a *Kōvilakam* (residence of the Zamorin or his kinsmen) to another or to the houses of the local magnates and royal functionaries or to the temples. There were processions during festivals like *Taippūyam* and *Māmākam*. Whenever the Zamorin moved to any place of the kingdom it was a veritable procession. He moved most of the time in a litter (*pallittantu*) or a palanquin (*pallakku*) and rarely on foot or on the back of an elephant or by boat. Fireworks and music ensemble accompanied the procession. There were processions based on precedent, i.e., after a new Zamorin was installed in a place away from Calicut, he proceeded to the *Kōvilakam* at Calicut. The Zamorin proceeded to various temples in and around Calicut after investiture.

It will be interesting to discuss some details of the royal procession of the Zamorin. Elaborate accounts of it are available in the *Granthavari*. In fact, among the most elaborate accounts available in the *Granthavari* one is that of the royal procession. Since it is not possible here to give all the details of all the processions, we have restricted to a few of them. Most of the time we stick to a

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brief account of the procession and discuss only the things that we believe to be important in a study of political culture.\footnote{117}{The documents of Kotthicelunnallattu are useful also in the study of the means and methods of travel, as well as in locating a large number of Kovilakams, temples and residences of locality chiefs and local magnates. It also helps us in the study of the structure of the towns, temples, residences, etc.}

The Zamorin proceeded to Álvâncëri Mana (the residence of Álvâncëri Tamprâkkal) in KE 739 (AD 1564). Álvâncëri Tamprâkkal is believed to be the spiritual head of the Brahmins of Kerala.\footnote{118}{Panniyurkkuru and Covvarakkuru were the two factions of the Brahmins. There was rivalry between these two factions called as kârumatsaram. The Zamorin originally supported Panniyurkkuru. Thus the procession of the Zamorin to the residence of the spiritual head of the opposite faction is significant. However, Keralôpattu tradition says that Álvâncëri Tamprâkkal invested the Zamorin. The documents in the Granthavari of the later (i.e., AD 19th and 20th centuries) investiture ceremonies also show that Álvâncëri Tamprâkkal was present on the occasion. KG, Vols. 26 & 49; see also above, Note 102.} The Tamprâkkal gave 160 panams to the royal treasury. The retinue of the Zamorin also received money.\footnote{119}{KG, Vol. 7, copies of the same document in Vols. 10 & 13.} The Zamorin proceeded to Payyanâttukara on Ettavam 9, KE 771 (May 6, AD 1596). He proceeded up to Pâra Maṭham (the residence of Pâra Nampi family) at Varakkal without musical ensemble as the Nâykkãnmar (musicians), Kâlutolikaj (Muslim musicians) and Muslims had not arrived. The Zamorin resided at Pâra Maṭham till Ettavam 14 (May 11) on account of pollution due to childbirth in the family. On that day he proceeded with music ensemble through Ânneckóṭṭu Mâṭummal Íṭamkai Çetti teru (street), where cloths were spread on the ground, lamp, rice and paddy were kept. Then he proceeded through Íṭamkai Çetti teru at Puttûr, there also the above paraphernalia was arranged. The Zamorin did not proceed to Varakkal Bhagavati temple as he was ritually polluted. He proceeded to the house of Nandâvanattil Nampi, where too the above paraphernalia was arranged to receive the Zamorin. Nandâvanattil Nampi presented 700 panams to the Zamorin as tirumulkâlca (present to the king).\footnote{120}{Ibid., Vols. 14 & 57.}
On Dhanu 23 (December 22), KE 774 the Zamorin proceeded from Calicut to Panniyankara on his onward journey to Vākayūr for Taippūyam. The Zamorin proceeded with music ensemble from Ponnāni Trikkāvil Kōvilakam to Vākayūr Kōvilakam via Kalpakaccēri Čeriyyañattu on Makaram 4, KE 809 (January 1, AD 1634). Mānavikrama Zamorin proceeded in the night from Veṅkoṭte Köṭṭakkal to Vākayūr for Taippūyam on Makaram 21, KE 821 (January 18, AD 1646). He stayed for the night at Tirunāvāya temple. He worshipped the deity of Tirunāvāya the next morning and made offerings. From there he proceeded to Vākayūr.

The following are the details of the royal procession of the Zamorin on Dhanu 22 to 29, KE 854 (December 21 to 28, AD 1678) from Ponnāni to Calicut. On Dhanu 22 morning the Zamorin proceeded to Tirunāvāya Kalpakaccēri (house of Kalpakaccēri Nampūtiri) and resided there. After elaborate ancestral rites (101 cārtya tricilāttam) the Zamorin proceeded to Trikkāntenīr Kurrippurattu Ilam on Dhanu 23. In the next day, after morning ablutions, Tēvāram and Vayārāṭtu he proceeded from there to Cēnnamaṇṇalam and resided there. On Dhanu 25 morning he proceeded to Veppūr (modern Beypore) and the next morning to Patiṇṇārēppāṭṭu Kōvilakam at Tiruvaccīra.

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121 The date is stated as Dhanu 24 in a copy of the document. Ibid., Vol. 14.
125 Ibid., Vol. 2.
126 It is the residence of Kalpakaccēri Nampūtiri. He was regarded as Tamprakkal and is believed to be the spiritual head of Panniyūrkkuṛu Brahmans. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, ZC, p. 23. We have references to Kalpakaccēri Ilayatu, Mūṭṭatu and Nampūtiri in the Granthavari KG, Vols. 1, 2, 7, 13 & 14. Whether they are of the same or different families is not easy to ascertain at present.
following royal letter was send to the Akampaṭi Janam/Lōkar (escorting militiamen) on Dhanu 27 (December 26) asking them for escort.

“To the Akampaṭi Janam. Since we have decided to come to Calicut we have reached Tiruvaccira on Dhanu 26, KE 854 by afternoon. Hence lōkar have to reach by early morning of Dhanu 29 to Tiruvaccira for escort as in the early days”.127

The Zamorin resided at Tiruvaccira on Dhanu 27 and 28. The Ėranāṭṭu Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri, the Ėṭattūrnāṭṭu Nampiyāṭiri and the Neṭuvirippiḷ Mūṭṭa Ėṛāṭi proceeded from Calicut to Tiruvaccira and saluted the Zamorin on Dhanu 28 evening. Staves on parasols (melukuvattam), pennons (tala), fans frilled with peacock feathers (ālavattam), white fly whisks (veṇcāmaram), litter (pallittantu) and all other insignia and paraphernalia for the royal procession, muskets, gunpowder, mortars and mortar shells were brought from Ponnāni Vālke to Calicut by boat. These were sent to the cērikkal (royal estate).

On Dhanu 29 (December 28) Sunday morning the Zamorin had Tēvāram, Vayarāṭṭu (vayara kāṭṭu), bath and food. Two volleys of mortars were fired. When the mortar fired for the third time, musical instruments were played from the southern veranda to mark the beginning of the procession. Nandavanattil Nampi dressed and adorned the Zamorin. The southern tālam was cleaned and lamps, paranirappu (a para filled with paddy and a nārāyam filled with rice) and a wooden seat were placed there. The Bhagavati idol was kept between the lamps. The assistant priest (Cēriya tēvāri Nampūṭiri) worshipped the Gaṇapati. The Zamorin sat on the wooden seat facing east and worshipped the Bhagavati with flowers. The Zamorin smeared on his forehead the sacred ash (bhasmam) brought by the chief priest (Valiya tēvāri). Conch was blown, muskets and mortars were fired. On

127 Ibid., Vol. 2.
the western part of the Tiruvaccira temple the Zamorin mounted the litter. He proceeded with the Bhagavati idol and the entire royal insignia including music ensemble and fireworks. Ėranāṭṭu Mūnnāmkūr Nampiyāṭiri, Ėṭattūrṇāṭṭu Nampiyāṭiri and Neṭuvirippil Mūṭṭa Ėrāṭi accompanied the Zamorin in litters. The Zamorin crossed the Kallāyi river by boat. On the northern bank of the river Ėṭakkōḷattavan (the chief of Ėṭakkōḷam family) and Pālakkāṭṭavan (the chief of Pālakkāṭṭu family)\textsuperscript{128} prepared a platform and decorated it with cloths, pots, bunches of plantain and arecanuts. Four lighted lamps, two paras filled by paddy and rice each, beaten rice, plantain and pieces of coconut in plantain leaves were kept on the platform. On the western part of the platform the black carpet and white cloth were spread on the ground. The Zamorin stepped into the cloth and proceeded to the platform. He sat on the black and white carpet cloth facing east. Muskets and mortars were fired. When he proceeded in litter Kōḷikkōṭṭayāmattu (Ayāmattu of Calicut or Ėmāṭṭu of Calicut), Kōya (Kōḷikkōṭṭu Kōya), Kālutoṭika (Muslim musicians) and Kuttutaraku Poḷṭṭis (royal functionaries concerned with trade and brokerage) escorted him. The Zamorin mounted litter and, escorted by Kōya, proceeded. At the gateway near the Āsōka tree (Uvaria longifolia) the Zamorin dismounted the litter and held his sword and he entered the Kōṭṭiyampalam on the gate of Ampāṭi Kōvilakam. Cloth was spread on the ground from the border of Kōṭṭiyampalam and he stepped into it. He proceeded to the outhouse in the west through the southern veranda. Four lamps and paranirappu were kept at the outhouse. The Zamorin proceeded to the central courtyard (Naḷakam) and worshipped the Bhagavati. He proceeded to the west through the entrance to Neṭumpura. He met Neṭuvirippil Mūṭṭa Kōvil at Valiya totṭi, saluted and prostrated before her.

\textsuperscript{128} In KE 916 (AD 1740) the names are mentioned in a similar situation. They were Ėṭakkōḷattu Ėṭṭu and Pālakkāṭṭu Kīṭṭu. \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. 1; see below, \textit{App. IV.}
Four decorated lamps, Gaṇapati idol, paddy in a para and rice in a nārāyam (paranirappu) were kept in the western talam (hall) at Valiya toṭti. The Zamorin proceeded through the cloth spread on the ground up to where carpet was spread. He sat facing east and placed the sword on his lap. The priest of Ampāṭi Kövilakam stood holding a lamp and a silver plate with rice and flower (tumpappūvu). Netuvirippil Mūṭta Kövil stood behind the Zamorin facing east and sprinkled the rice three times on his head. At that time conch was blown, muskets and mortars were fired. After that conch was blown and the Zamorin proceeded to the outhouse in the east. Then he went to Vēṭṭakkarumakan Kāvu and worshipped the deity. Through the short gateway he proceeded to the western gōpura of Taḷi and stopped the music ensemble by the royal musicians. The cloth produced and brought by Kövil Tiruttī Kāraṇavar was received and spread on the ground by Accanmār and Pisāraṭis of Taḷi. The Zamorin proceeded through Koṭṭiyampalam on this cloth with music ensemble by the temple musicians to the northern part of Valiya Matilakam. He did not enter the temple due to the pollution caused by the contact with Naykkkanmār. Thus he proceeded to the Valiya Velikkal (the big stone platform meant for ritual offerings) of Ceriya Matilakam through the cloth spread on the ground and worshipped the deity from there itself. Then he proceeded to the south through the cloth spread on the ground. He mounted the litter from outside the Koṭṭiyampalam and proceeded with music ensemble, escort of the princes and Kōya. The procession moved from Talikkolāṇṇara to the west to KaṇṭamkōṬḷaṇṇara and through the western gateway of Putiya Kövilakam to the Kaṇṇippura.

From the southern part of Kaṇṇippura he dismounted the litter and through Vēṟampilākkal to the western gōpura. Then he proceeded to the southern talam in Panṭārakkeṭṭu (palatial building). He sat on the carpet at the western side facing east, where the lamp and paranirappu were kept.¹²⁹ Musical instruments were

¹²⁹ There is a lacuna in the document.
played to mark the beginning of the procession *(purappāṭu kottal)*. Two volleys of mortars were fired. When the mortar was firing for the third time, southern *talām* in Paṇṭārakkēṭṭu was cleaned, two lamps and a wooden seat were kept there. Bhagavati idol was placed between the lamps. Nandāvanattil Nampi dressed and adorned the Zamorin. When the assistant priest worships the Gaṇapati, the Zamorin sat on the wooden seat facing east and worshipped the Bhagavati by flowers. Conch was blown muskets and mortars were fired. Nāykkannmār carried him in litter and he bathed for a second time. The men in the *Akampāti Janam* presented a pig¹³⁰ to the Zamorin and saluted him. Then the Zamorin proceeded to *Palliyara* (royal room) and the princes came there and saluted him. The maidservants waved pot of vermilion water and lighted wicks. Then the Zamorin went for bath.

During the royal procession the royal functionaries posted the flags (*kōti*) at Kallāyi, western part of Talikkoḷānāra, Kāṇṭāparaṟṟu, Kuṟṟicciṟṟu, etc. Etākkōḷattavan and Pālakkāṭṭavan prepared the cloth and other paraphernalia at Kallāyi, for which royal letters were sent to them in advance. For the repair work of *Kōvilakam* royal letter was sent in advance to Cerupāṭṭam Poltti and to the other *Polritis* for posting flags.

The Zamorin visited the temples of Tiruvalayanātu and Gōvindapuram in royal procession. He had to visit Varakkal and Puttūr temples but did not do it this time (i.e., KE 854). *Ūḷappaṇam* (money for performing their duties by turn? or position?) and *ennappanaṇam* (money for oil) were presented to Nāykkkanmār, other musicians and retinue of the Zamorin for his royal procession of KE 854. Muslims

¹³⁰ Why they have presented a pig is an intriguing problem. Did it have any symbolic value? Was pig (*varāha*) a holy animal to the Zamorin as in the case of Cālukyas? At present we have no convincing evidence to support it. It is also possible that presenting a pig to the Zamorin was only accidental since a wild pig trapped was by right belonged to the royalty.
of Ponnani Välke and Calicut were in charge of the fireworks during these processions. The temple functionaries presented *carkkara tattu* (jaggery in a new earthen pot with a plantain leaf tied on its mouth). The money equivalent of the *carkkara tattu* presented is mentioned in the document. Merchants presented *tirumulkāṭa* to the Zamorin at Calicut after his royal procession. The merchants include Muslims, Cettis and the English.131

There was a royal procession from Ponnani Vairanellur *Kōvilakam* to Calicut on Cinham 22, KE 915 (August 23, AD 1740). Mānavikrama Zamorin reached at Calicut on Cinham 31, KE 915 (September 1, AD 1740).132 The royal procession was almost similar to the above one, with minor variations in the houses of local magnates, where the Zamorin visited or resided.133 The route of the royal procession was the following: Ponnani Vairanellur *Kōvilakam*, Ponnani Trikkāvil *Kōvilakam*, Trikkāvil Bhagavati and Vaikuṇṭhapuram temples, Tirumanaccēri Kōṭṭa, Naṟiparāmpa, (crossed the) river Pērār, Kuṟṟicēri Illam at Camrakoṭṭam (Camravaṭṭam), residence of Trikkāntiyūr Kīläkkīnakkattu Mūssatu, Kuṟṟippurattu Nampūṭiri Illam at Trikkāntiyūr, Trikkāntiyūr temple, residence of Čerāmanṉālattu Nampūṭiri, residence of Eravimāṉālattu Kuṇayūr Nampūṭiri, Kaṭalamaṉṭi (Kaṭalunṭi) Parāppūr Valuvil Kōvil (Kōvilakam?), (crossed the) river Cāliyār (Parappūr Karippa Mūṭṭa Kōvil came here to receive the Zamorin), Veppūr Karippa Kōvil (Karippa Mūṭṭa Kōvil), Patiṇṇāṟeppāṭṭu *Kōvilakam* at Tiruvaccira, Tekkēppāṭṭu Piṣāram at Tiruvaccira, Kallāyi, Taḷi temple, Kaṭṭamkuḷānṇara, Putiya *Kōvilakam*, Verampilakkal, Western gōpura (of the Zamorin’s *Kōvilakam*) and the Zamorin’s *Kōvilakam* at Calicut.

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid.

133 For details of this royal procession see below, *App. IV.*

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For this royal procession royal letters were sent to various royal functionaries including Tirumahhalam (a functionary at Ampāṭi Kōvilakam), Tura Adhikārikal (functionary in charge of port), Vāḷeyūr Māniccan, Čerukanṭattil Śēkharan, Ėmāṭtu, Kōya and Paḷḷi Musaliyān. In this royal procession the Zamorin received virinnamittu paṇam (an amount for the royal feast) to the treasury from the local magnates and locality chiefs. They also paid the retinue of the Zamorin. The Zamorin gave Ōppappūṭava (a new cloth given on the occasion of Ĭnam festival) to the functionaries of the local magnates, worshipped and gave offerings to the deities of various temples.

The Zamorin proceeded to Tiruvaḷayanāṭu Kāvu on the day after his arrival at Calicut. The royal procession started from the Zamorin’s Kōvilakam at Calicut. After the rituals the Zamorin dressed and proceeded in litter. Two maidservants (Peṇṭiyanmār) sprinkled water from golden pots before the Bhagavati idol. The royal procession with all the royal insignia and music ensemble proceeded through the western gōpura of the Kōvilakam, Vēṟampilakkal, southern part of Kaṅṭippura, western gate of Putiya Kōvilakam, Kaṇṭamkulaṭāṇṇara to the western gōpura of Taḷi. The Zamorin dismounted from the litter and entered the temple of Taḷi and worshipped the deities. From the eastern gōpura the procession started and proceeded through the Putiyapāḷam (New Bridge) to the northern gōpura of Tiruvaḷayanāṭu Kāvu. Pāṭṭāḷi (Pāṭṭamāḷi) Accanmār (temple functionaries) kept all the paraphernalia at the northern gōpura to welcome the Zamorin. He was received with rice in a silver pot and platter along with a lamp. Vaṭṭōḷi Mūssatu sprinkled rice on the Zamorin after he dismounted the litter. The Zamorin worshipped the Bhagavati idol and made offerings to the deity and received prasāda. When the Zamorin was worshipping the Kṣētrapāḷan in the northern part, there was oracle

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134 There is a lacuna in the document and so the names of all the royal functionaries are not available.
and hence he went to the south and sat on the west of Pattupura. The oracle said many things.

Then the Zamorin proceeded to Govindapuram temple. When he dismounted the litter the chief priest of the temple welcomed him with rice in a platter (uḷam) and lamp and sprinkled the rice on his head. Paraphernalia was kept at the western part of the Valiya Velikkal. He proceeded to the sōpāna of the temple through the carpet brought by the Pāṭṭāli (Pāṭṭamāli) of Govindapuram and spread on the ground by the Piṣāraṭi of Govindapuram. He worshipped the deity and made offerings. Mortars and muskets were fired. He received tīrtha and prasāda and presented daksīṇa to the priests. At the western gopura of the temple he mounted the litter and returned to the Kövilakam at Calicut. When the procession reached there, conch was blown and mortars were fired. Maidservants waved pot of vermilion water and lighted wicks. He removed the royal jewellery and went for bath.

In a similar procession, the Zamorin proceeded to Varakkal temple on Kanni 2, KE 916 (September 3, AD 1740). After visiting the temple he visited the houses of Pāṛa Nampis at Varakkal. He proceeded to Vēṭṭakkarumakan Kāvu at Pilāttikulaṁnara (Bilāttikkulam) before returning to the Kövilakam. The materials including rice and cloths spread on the ground as part of the paraphernalia kept in the temples and residences of local magnates were distributed among the royal functionaries like Pāṛa Nampis, Neṭunāṭīs, Vayaṟṟakkiṭāṁhaḷ, Nāykkannmār and Kaccēri Nampi.

135 KG, Vol. I.
136 For more details see above, Chapter V.
Mānavikrama Zamorin proceeded to Puttūr and Velliyāmkuḷaṅṅara temples on Kanni 20, KE 916 (September 21, AD 1740). The route of the procession was as follows: Mānāncira (the royal tank), Cāliyar teru (weaver’s street), Varakkal, Puttūr and Velliyāmkuḷaṅṅara. He crossed the river by boat over to the north and proceeded to the Velliyāmkuḷaṅṅara temple. The oracle in the shrine was Kārayur Paṇikkar and he blessed the Zamorin and lōkar. The Zamorin worshipped the deity, received tīrtha and prasāda, made offerings and presented ḍakṣiṇa. He presented eight paṇams each to Kārayur Mūṭta Paṇikkar and Uṇiccāṭṭa Paṇikkar. He proceeded further to the house of Kunnamanāḷaḷatu Uṇṇirāma Nampi. Then he proceeded in litter, crossed the river back by boat and from the southern bank again in litter. On the way to Calicut the Zamorin met and gave 16 paṇams to Kārampallī Ukkāra Kuṇḍuppu, who had fallen ill, and consoled him.137

An amount of money for oil (ennappanam) from the royal treasury was given to the musicians and the retinue of the Zamorin for the royal procession to Cīvalayanāṭu Kāvu (Tiruvalayanāṭu Kāvu) and Varakkal temple on Kanni 1 and 2, KE 916 (September 2 & 3, AD 1740). The functionaries and priests of Taḷi temple presented carkkara tāṭṭu to the Zamorin at Calicut. The functionaries of Gōvindapuram temple also presented carkkara tāṭṭu to the Zamorin.

The Zamorin proceeded to the residence of Tinayaṅcēri Ilayatu at Taikkattu on Tulām 19, KE 916 (October 20, AD 1740). From there the Zamorin proceeded in palanquin to Pariyāram temple. He worshipped the deity, received tīrtha and prasāda and presented ḍakṣiṇas to the priests. He gave a kuṭiya royal letter on this effect to Pariyarattu Janam, Samudāya manisam and Palāṅcēri Nampūtiri.138

137 KG. Vol. I.
138 Ibid.
Many such accounts of the royal procession of the Zamorin related to a later period, not pertaining to the present study, are available in the Granthavari.\footnote{139} In addition to the royal processions of the Zamorin himself, the Ėṟāḷppāṭu too had his processions. The Ėṟāḷppāṭu, after his investiture, proceeded from Tiruvāṅcakkuḷam Vaṭṭakkōṭṭa to Śri Kuṟumpa Kāvu at Koṭṭuṅnallūr in KE 844 Vṛiścikam (November, AD 1668).\footnote{140} The Ėṟāḷppāṭu mounted the litter from the gateway of the Kōvilakam, and proceeded with the royal umbrella with the emblem of Hanumān on its flag (Hanumakkoṭi), staves on parasols, two fans frilled with peacock feathers waved by the Neṭuṅnāṭis and music ensemble. Neṭuṅnāṭtu Paṭaṇāyar escorted the Ėṟāḷppāṭu in a litter. The Ėṟāḷppāṭu worshipped the Bhagavati and returned through the south of Kunnattati. On the royal Portico of Vaṭṭakkōṭṭa two lamps and paranirappu were placed. An idol of the Bhagavati was placed between the lamps. Punnaccēri Nampi received the Ėṟāḷppāṭu with rice in a plate and lighted wicks. The Ėṟāḷppāṭu circumambulated the Bhagavati idol and sat on the carpet facing east with his sword on his lap. Punnaccēri Nampi sprinkled rice three times on the head of the Ėṟāḷppāṭu and the music ensemble was stopped.

The Ėṟāḷppāṭu proceeded to Karimpuḷa after his investiture in KE 845.\footnote{141} It can be inferred that the Ėṟāḷppāṭu proceeded to Karimpuḷa after the investiture, as it was customary. In a later period we get detailed description of the royal procession of the Ėṟāḷppāṭu to Karimpuḷa.\footnote{142}

\footnote{139} The royal processions were on Dhanu 18, KE 1025 and Vṛiścikam 1 to 2, KE 1050. \textit{Ibid.}, Vols. 38 & 10.

\footnote{140} \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. 7.

\footnote{141} \textit{Ibid.}, copy of the same document in Vol. 14.

\footnote{142} P. Kunhikrishna Menon, \textit{Ariyittuvâḷayum Kottiçēḷunnaḷattum}, passim.
Foreign travellers have given graphic descriptions of the royal procession. The contemporary anonymous narrative on Pedro Alvares Cabral’s voyage in AD 1500 gives the following details on the royal procession of the Zamorin.

And when the king goes forth he goes in a very rich litter (choridore). Two men carry this, and thus they go with many players of instruments and many gentlemen with swords and bucklers, and many archers and guards before him, and porters and a canopy above him. Thus they do him more honour than any other king in the world, because no one dares to approach within three or four paces of him.143

Duarte Barbosa gives the following account on the royal procession of the Zamorin:

When a new King comes to the throne there were great rejoicings among these thousand women.144 When the year of his mourning and fasting is past, all of them, young and old alike gather together in the King’s palace gaily attired with jewelled necklaces, golden beads of very fine work, golden anklets on their legs and great numbers of bracelets and rings. From the waist down they wear garments of rich silk, above the waist they are naked, as they ever are, anointed with sandal-wood oil and other scents, and many flowers in their hair. “On their heads they wear nothing, but their hair, which is right black, is very well dressed, and some of them tie it into a fine knot”. Their ears are bored and in them they wear much gold, they go bare foot as they use always. And with them come all the instruments of the Royal music, firing of guns and fireworks of many kinds.

Many Nayres also assemble who accompany these women and are their lovers, they are well attired and gallant in their appearance, also seven or eight elephants covered with silk draperies, numbers of hanging bells and great iron chains thrown over their backs. Thus they bring an idol which they hold to be their patron, one of whose priests holds it in his arms, and seats himself with it on the greatest of those elephants, and thus they go in procession, with much music, and fireworks, and discharging of guns, and many jesters in front, thus they go on till they reach a certain temple, and there they bring the idol down and place it with the others which are already in that place, where they perform many ceremonies. Mighty crowds gather here to worship these idols, and pay their respect to their appearance. Each of the women holds her broad and flat brass basin full of rice, and on this oil lamps with many wicks and flowers all round. They continue these ceremonies until nightfall, when they depart to go to the King’s palace, where they must leave the idol; they walk in front of it in ranks of eight each in good order, with their basins and their lamps lighted. They keep such good time that one does not take one step more than another. The men walk

143 William Brooks Greenlee, Ed., The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, p. 80.
144 Barbosa may be referring to Pentiyanmar.
outside on each side of them, and keep putting betel into their mouths, which they are perpetually eating, and also carry their lamp-stands when they require it. The Nayres also who are in love with some of them, continue to speak to them of their proposals, and to wipe the sweat away from their faces, breasts and necks, fanning them with fans, as their hands are incumbered with their burdens. And they must discharge rockets, and explode bombs, and they also carry fire-trees which burn all the time so that this is one of the prettiest sights in the world, “at least during this night march”.

And in front of the idol walk many Nayres with bare swords, slashing themselves wheresoever they can, and foaming at the mouth, and shouting so that they seem possessed of devils, and they say indeed that the gods enter into them and cause them to know it. With them come numbers of tumblers and jesters, also the rulers of the state and men of high position ruling and regulating the procession; and so they carry the image with complete order until they reach the King’s palace where it break up.\textsuperscript{145}

He gives many more details on the royal procession.\textsuperscript{146}

Royal insignia and paraphernalia

During the royal processions the Zamorin carried with him certain insignia and paraphernalia. The royal procession was most of the time with music ensemble (\textit{Kotticcelunnallattu}) and fireworks. The insignia and paraphernalia include \textit{ālavāṭṭam} (fan frilled with peacock feathers), \textit{veṅcāmaram} (white flywhisk), \textit{melukuvāṭṭam} (parasols on stave), \textit{tala} (pennon), \textit{trikkaikkuta} (royal umbrella), \textit{cotta munṭu} (decorated long cloth), \textit{pallimāṛṭi} (sacred door panel),\textsuperscript{147} Bhagavati idol and music ensemble. The musical instruments played include \textit{takil} (a big drum), \textit{tammittam}, \textit{muracu} (a small drum), \textit{maddalam} (barrel shaped horizontal drum), \textit{ponnu orṭa} (conch inlaid with gold), \textit{vellī orṭa} (conch inlaid with


\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., pp. 24-26.

\textsuperscript{147} P. Kunhikrishna Menon says that \textit{pallimāṛṭi} was a door panel covered with silk tied to a cross bar and carried by the functionaries. Kunhikrishna Menon, \textit{Ariyittuvāṭkayum Kotticcelunnallattum}, pp. 59-60. The tradition is that earlier Tiruvajayanāṭu Bhagavati appeared before a Zamorin and that she disappeared in the door panel. Thus as per the direction of the Bhagavati that door was removed from its place and carried wherever the Zamorin went. Hermann Gundert, Ed., \textit{Op. Cit.}, p. 194. According to another version of \textit{Kēraṭōpattti} tradition \textit{pallimāṛṭi} was the royal insignia presented by Cēramān Perumāḷ to the Zamorin. \textit{Kēraṭōpattti}, Thrissur, 1931, p. 24.
silver). *vejli cinnam* (a kind of drum), *vejli kompu* (silver trumpet), *kompu* (trumpet), *kulal* (pipe), etc. The *Kālutilika* (Muslim musicians)\(^{148}\) played musical instruments along with Nāykkannār during the royal procession to Tirunāvāya for *Taippūyam* and *Māmākam*.

The Zamorin travelled on foot inside the temple, *Kōvilakam* and other houses. During the royal procession cloth was spread on the ground at certain places and the Zamorin walked through the cloth. In other places he proceeded on elephant-back or in litter (*pallittanțu*) or palanquin (*pallakku*). The difference of *pallittanțu* and *pallakku* in structure is not evident from the documents. But a distinction of these two means of conveyance is possible from the available information.\(^{149}\) A document of *Māmākam* in KE 858 (AD 1683) speaks that “since he [the Zamorin] could not take bath for a second time [he] mounted the *pallakku* (palanquin) and proceeded to Vākayūr *Kōvilakam* through the pathway... Nāykkannār carried *pallittanțu* (litter) in front of the procession”.\(^{150}\) The document indicates that Nāykkannār carried litter (*pallittanțu*) whereas

\(^{148}\) A document in the *Granthavari* mentions *Kālutili méttanmār*, which clearly indicates that they were Muslims. There is also a reference to the name of a Kālutili, viz., Attan Mammatu (Hassan Muhammad), which also endorses the point. *KG*, Vol. 13. Another term used for *Kālutili* in the *Granthavari* was *Toli ali*. *Ibid.*, Vol. 7. How and why Muslim musicians were included among the musicians of the Zamorin is not clear. The Zamorin may have conferred this privilege on the Muslims as a favour due to the latter’s importance in the kingdom, who were mostly traders and formed an important part of the Navy and involved in the production of gunpowder etc. *Perumpatappu Svarūpam Granthavari* says that Cēramān Perumāl instructed the king of Kōljkkōtyu, after the partition of Kerala and presentation of it to various chiefs, to have the *jōnakavāyāyam* (music by Jōnakas or Muslims) daily. It was to commemorate the śāstra, which the Perumāl followed (i.e., Islam). V.K.R. Menon, Ed., *Perumpatappu Svarūpam Granthavari*, p. 2.

\(^{149}\) Duarte Barbosa writes that “the King [the Zamorin] comes forth in his litter borne by two men, which is lined with silken cushions. And the litter is of silk, and is slung on a bamboo pole covered with precious stones: ‘it is as thick as the arm of a fat man, and they carry him with certain turns and steps to which they are trained from their birth’. These two men raise the bamboo on their shoulders from which the aforesaid litter hangs”. M.L. Dames, Ed., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 24. A *tiruvantali* document of KE 841 refers to “untying the litter” (*pallittanțum kaliceu*), which implies that *pallittanțu* (litter) was an impermanent structure. *KG*, Vol. 13, copy of the same document in Vol. 7. Thus the description of Barbosa quoted above may be of *pallittanțu*.

Ariyappunnakal carried palanquin (*pallakku*). We can infer that Ariyappunnakal were of a higher social status than the Nayykanmār, whose touch did not pollute the Zamorin. The physical contact of Nayykanmār polluted the Zamorin, upon which he could not enter the temple (without bathing). This is stated unambiguously in a document of *Kōṭṭiceelunnaḷattu* of the Zamorin in KE 854 (AD 1679).151

Another aspect related to the royal procession is the carrying of the sword and shield of the Zamorin. It was carried by one of his retinue (Korikkāran) and the Zamorin held it on different occasions like standing in state at *Mānittara* during *Taippūyam* and *Māmākam*. William Logan writes that during *Māmākam* the Zamorin stood in state with the sword of Ceramān Perumāl (*Cēramān Vāḥ*).152 Krishna Ayyar corrects Logan and says that the Zamorin stood in state with his own sword and that the sword of Ceramān Perumāl was either kept in the chapel or, if taken out, was carried by a Nampūtiri.153 According to the *Granthavari* evidence, during the Dutch attack on Kotunnallur in KE 845 (AD 1670) the Cēramān sword was burnt into splinters. The document says that “Cēramān sword was burnt at [the house of] Velutta Nampiyār... due to the lack of *uṭavāl* (the sword of the Zamorin) *Mumpil tāli* (ritual cleansing of the path by sprinkling of water) was not performed up to *Eṭavam* 22 (May 20). Hence Taṭakkal Iṭṭi Unnirama Mēnōn sent a sword and thus the ritual of carrying the sword and shield and *Mumpil tāli* were resumed”.154 This reference clarifies that Cēramān sword and the sword of the Zamorin was the same.


Another feature related with the royal procession is *Mumpil tali*. Krishna Ayyar says, “seven damsels sprinkle water before the Zamorin, five before the second prince and three before the third prince”.\(^{155}\) Regarding the number of *Pentiyanmär*\(^{156}\) (maidservants, Krishna Ayyar miss-spelt it as *Veṇṭiammār*) who sprinkle water, the documents are generally silent. When the number is mentioned, it is either two\(^ {157}\) or seven.\(^ {158}\) The numbers as stated by Krishna Ayyar is found in a later document.\(^ {159}\) John Nieuhoff says that when the king of Kōlîkkōṭu goes for bath the ladies purify the way with cow dung and water.\(^ {160}\) Duarte Barbosa also gives a description of *Mumpil tali*.\(^ {161}\)

Another feature related to the royal procession was the waving of a pot of vermilion water and lighted wicks (*kurutiyum tiriyyum uliyuka*) before the Zamorin by *Pentiyanmär* at the end of the procession. Krishna Ayyar says that it was performed “to ward of the effects of the ‘evil eye’ ”.\(^ {162}\) This was a popular practice till recent times in northern Kerala. A document of the royal procession of the

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155 Krishna Ayyar, *ZC*, p. 60.

156 *Pentiyanmär* is spelt as *Piṇṭi ammār* or *Piṇṭiyaṇmār* in the documents of AD 19\(^{th}\) and 20\(^{th}\) centuries. *KG*, Vols. 44 & 55.

157 During the *Kotticcelunnallattu* of the Zamorin in KE 916 (AD 1740) to Varakkal two *Pentiyanmär* sprinkled water before the Bhagavati idol. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1.


160 K. Sivasankaran Nair, Ed. & Trans., *Nieuhoff Kanṭa Kēṟalām*, p. 64.

161 Barbosa writes that “when the King [the Zamorin] goes from one house to another, or to a house of prayer, he goes on foot, and these women go before him with their brooms and basins in their hands, plastering the path where he is to tread”. M.L. Dames, Ed., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 19. The anonymous author of the contemporary narrative on Cabral’s voyage writes, “there [at Calicut] dwell in the house a thousand or fifteen hundred women, to give greater magnificence to the state. These have no other duty save to clean and sprinkle the house before the said king [the Zamorin] wherever he wishes to go and they sprinkle with water mixed with cow’s dung”. William Brooks Greenlee, Ed., *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, p. 80.

162 Krishna Ayyar, *ZC*, p. 29.
Zamorin in KE 916 (AD 1740) has greater details on this matter. It says, “when [the Zamorin] proceeded to Taikkāṭtu and Puttūr it was without music ensemble. So the pot of vermilion water and [lighted] wicks were not waved”.163 Thus we can infer that the pot of vermilion water and lighted wicks were waved only when the Zamorin proceeded with the music ensemble.

During the royal processions the concerned locality chiefs, local magnates and royal functionaries with the customary paraphernalia, welcomed the Zamorin. Even at the temples, the temple priest (Emprān) received the Zamorin with the lamp and rice in a platter (tālam) as in the case of his procession to Vēṭṭakkarumakan Kāvu at Pilāttikkulāṇārā (Bilāttikkulam) in KE 916 (AD 1740).

It is found that Koṭṭiccejunnallattu was an exhibition of the pageantry of royalty in a general way. But it helped to strengthen the bonds of royalty with different functionaries and local magnates. It mobilised the state machinery and helped in the extraction of revenues to the royal treasury. The local magnates paid an amount of money to the royal functionaries and the retinue of the Zamorin during this occasion. In case of the failure of certain local magnates in the fulfilment of their function it was an occasion of conciliation. The exhibition of the pageantry itself projected a larger than life size image of the Zamorin and paved the way for the growth of devotion to the king (Rājabhakti) among the subjects. Thus the royal procession was an important aspect of the political culture of the kingdom of Kōḷikkōṭu.

163 KG, Vol.1.