CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF TIPU SULTAN

As the role of a social and economic reformer assumed by Tipu Sultan was the major cause of unjust allegations of forcible conversion and religious bigotry, his religious policy should be studied with reference to his social and economic reforms. All his measures that were aimed at the amelioration of the people under him affected the social order of Malabar with its strange customs of marriage and inheritance, dress and manners already alluded to in the preceding Chapters. The people who were not prepared to change their unsophisticated habits considered these reforms as an outright encroachment on their individual freedom of faith and caste observations. But they were unaware then that the social and economic measures taken by Tipu Sultan in Malabar were only the continuation of the general policy followed in the whole of his kingdom. No doubt, the majority of his Malayalee subjects also prospered to an appreciable degree as a result of these measures. But the Hairs and Namboodiris who together comprised one-fifth of the total population of Malabar (1), were adversely affected by these administrative innovations. As a result of this, even though the accusations of forcible conversions and temple destructions are dying out in other

parts of India, thanks to the labours of many scholars who brought out innumerable evidences to the contrary, the position remains the same in Kerala. In fact, almost all the stories of religious fanaticism about Tipu Sultan had their origin in Malabar. Therefore, this matter requires careful study and investigation.

Let us, first of all, see what are the sources on which these false allegations were built and what are the nature and authenticity of these sources. Writing history or keeping records was seldom observed by the Princes of Kerala. "It is very doubtful", writes Puthesath Raman Nenon, "that no other country would be remaining in any other part of the world with so complicated, so inconsistent and so legendary a history as that of Kerala." (2). Thus Joint Commissioners of Malabar reported, "there is no date to the copy of Cochin treaty furnished by Powney, so as to ascertain when it was executed. (3) "I have received your letter", wrote John Hutchinson of Anjengo settlement on June 13, 1796 to the Raja of Cochin, "without date or signature, which I request in future may not be omitted in order to avoid confusion." (4). But the practice was continued in spite of repeated requests and that in the year 1800 the Governor of Bombay admonished the Raja for the same. (5).

"Neither the date nor your signature is affixed to these letters", observed Jonathan Duncan of the Bombay Government and required the Raja to discontinue this practice. (6). It was only in the 19th century that some sort of records began to exist.

(2) Puthesath Raman Nenon: History and Research (Article): History on the March, P.189.
(3) Pub. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P.687.
(4) L. No. VIII, No. 169, P.924, John Hutchinson to the Raja of Cochin.
(6) Ibid, P.271.
relating to political and administrative affairs. Therefore, to construct a history of Mysore rule in Kerala, all historians relied on the writing of English historians.

Before the scholars of Kerala began to work on her history, a number of books were written by the English and the venom spitted out by the English authors of *Manuals* and *Gazetteers* became the basis of all history in Kerala. Following in the footsteps of British historians, the writers of Kerala at the same time did not forget to add their caste prejudices to the stories of religious persecutions and cruelties described by their English predecessors. Thus surprisingly, the tales of large scale conversions and demolition of temples are circulated even now with unabated fury by the Kerala historians. The reason is not far to seek. We have seen that the political, social and economic reforms administered of Tipu Sultan in Calabar, revolutionised the political set up, social structure and economic pattern of Kerala society. All these reforms affected the privileged class in the society.

When the land survey by Tipu had been carried out and land tax imposed in opposition to the usages of the country, the Kannadodiri landlords felt it as a preliminary step to subrogate their caste rules in which they were held in divine esteem and no one questioning the right of property. Therefore, they cashed their lands with the Nāgūḷas and others who longed to possess lands and left the place for Travancore. The Raja of Travancore who was styled as 'Dharma Raja' honoured them with shelter, as these *Jemmias* were only few in number and were loaded with the treasures of the country. This is evident from the report of Calabar Joint Commissioners who assessed the position of the country under the Mysoreans by questions asked from the persons proficient. One such question was, "In what year did the *Jemmias* run away"?
Answer: "In 964 M.E. all the Jennakars ran away and as to their not attending on Arshed Beg Khan's time; the cause was that in this country the principal Jennakars are Namboory Brahmins who do or did not come into the cuchery" (7), which they thought implied the degradation of their caste. But the position of Nairs was pitiable. They were numerous and "were born soldiers" (8), who did not know any other profession than soldiery. It is the soldier caste that would be worst hit when and where there is an invasion. In this process, they had to fight against the Mysoreans and met disastrous defeat at their hands. With the disappearance of feudatory principalities to which they were attached, the Nairs lost their position or pre-eminence in the body politic of the State. They were deprived also of their unbridled right 'to kill and be killed' as professional soldiers. At the same time, they could not join the military service of the Mysoreans as it would be a blasphemy to their faith and disservice to their caste. When the political integration of the country thus dispossessed them with their profession, the economic and social measures that followed the unification of the country drove them to forests and mountains as they could not bear the rude shock caused by these reforms.

Another rude shock that struck the feudal structure of the society was the social reforms of Tipu Sultan. The prevailing system of marriage and inheritance; dress and manners common among the community have already been discussed. Tipu,

* M.E: = Malayalam Era, which is supposed to have started with the last Cheraman Perumal who became a convert to Islam and left for Mecca in the year 825-26 A.D.

(7) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.150.
therefore, decreed to the people in general and Nairs in particular to dress up decently so as to cover up all parts of their body and to stop the shameful practice of polyandry. But as these were the religious and caste observances, the Nair community as a whole felt that Tipu was indirectly hinting them to change their caste and become Mussalmans, because covering the upper part of the body was considered as a habit of Muslims. "The women of the noblest caste in India", writes Clarke in his 'Life of Willington' meaning the Nair women of Kerala, were required thus by Tipu Sultan, "to adopt the Muhammadan custom of covering their bosoms."(6).

When the Nairs smelt a rat in this direction and were panic-stricken, the evil genius of English machinations invented a proclamation in the name of Tipu Sultan which alleged to have issued to the Nairs of Kerala in the years 1789-90 and used as the most important weapon of his critics to show his policy of religious persecution. It runs as follows:— "From the period of conquest until this day, during the twenty-four years, you have been a turbulent and refractory people and in the wars waged during your rainy season you have caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom. Be it so. What is past is past. Hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner, dwell quietly and pay your dues like good subjects; and since it is a practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices and are thence all born in adultery and are more shameless in your connexions than the beasts of the field; I hereby require you to forsake these sinful practices and live like the rest of mankind. And if you are disobedient to these commands, I have made repeated

(6) Quoted in the Travancore State Manual by Nagam Ayya.
vows to honour the whole of you with Islam and to march all the chief persons to the seat of Government."(10).

It seems that this proclamation is an inventory of the evil genius of the English historian Col. Wilks. Kirmani and other Muslim historians of Tipu who always try to portray him as 'the Champion of Islam' do not mention of such an edict, which they would have delightfully done if it had been proclaimed. Van Angelbeck, the then Portuguese Governor of Malabar did not hear anything of the kind. The Tellicherry Factors neither record this in their Diary nor mention the same in any of their correspondence. After the fall of Mangapetam, Tipu's library and manuscripts were taken by the Officers of the Company. On the basis of the collection, Kirk Patrick and Beaton published their books. But this proclamation is neither in 'The Select letters of Tippoo Sultan', nor in the 'Origin and Conduct of War with Tippoo Sultan'. It is interesting to note that in the 'Reports of the Malabar Commissioners', who were very eager to put questions of vile nature, to their informants, they do not put any question regarding this proclamation. If such a decree was issued in the years 1789-90, at least the 'Joint Commissioners' who started their work immediately after the cession of Malabar by Tipu in the year 1792 would have enquired of it to assess the effects and consequences of such a famous proclamation. Buchanan who visited the place did not report any such proclamation. Even the claim of Wilks that the 'Proclamation' is in 'the Memoirs of Tippoo Sultan' is also not correct. Though the unknown author speaks much about the religious atrocities, the edict he mentions is a different one. He speaks "it is probably about this time, that he issued an edict for the destruction of all the Hindu temples in his dominions"(11). Further, it is alleged by Colonel Wilks and

(10) Wilks: Historical Sketches etc., Vol.II, P.120.
(11) Memoirs of Tippoo Sultan (Miles), MII P.270.
by other historians who follow him that Tipu had issued circular orders to all the different detachments of his troops to employ every means for the conversion of the Hindus. It is again reported that a copy of such an order was discovered from Palghat Fort after its capture in 1790 which ran as follows: "It directed that every being in the district, without distinction, should be honoured with Islam, that the houses of such as fled to avoid the honour should be burnt, that they should be traced to their lurking places and that all means of truth and falsehood, fraud or force, should be employed to effect their universal conversion." (12). This should be read along with the other two edicts referred to above. Thus the picture of wholesale conversion and total destruction of all temples is complete. It is no wonder then that those who have manipulated the above baseless charges would certainly create any number of edicts. Considering that the instructions were given to all detachments containing Hindus and Christians to destroy temples and to use force for conversion and also considering that the Muslims formed only nine per cent of the population in the whole of Tipu’s Kingdom, these allegations can bluntly be rejected as a prima facie falsehood. No ruler whether prudent or not, will ever think of issuing orders to his army to act contrary to their religious belief. If Tipu wanted to use the instrument of military force for conversions, he would have first converted his troops.

Even if we accept the proclamation of Tipu to the Nairs of Kerala as genuine, there is nothing in it to prove that he was a religious bigot. He wanted them to cast off

their savage practices of polyandry and mode of dress. We have argued that no such proclamation could have been issued by Tipu Sultan. If at all such a proclamation was made, it would be to the effect of requiring them to stop the practice of Polyandry and half-nakedness. Tipu might have compelled them to cover the upper part of the body which was taken as an attempt of converting them to Islam. The proclamation, if so made, might be tampered with by the later historians who twisted the wordings to suit their propagation of religious bigotry. At the first instance, we have to bear in mind that the proclamation might have issued (if it was made) in Malayalam language, as it was the practice of Tipu that can be evidenced in his letter to the Governor of Pondicherry requiring him to send letters in Malabar language with the merchants who might be deputed by him for procuring commodities from Malabar. (13). The only threat he might have possibly made was to bear the consequences if they did not dress up decently as against exposing their bosoms naked. He might have even offered them dress to make shirts and jackets. It is a common usage throughout Kerala even to the present day to denote to the conversion to Islam to say 'put on shirt' ('kuppavamiduka' in Malayalam). When Tipu warned them that if at their own they did not mind covering their bosom, he would make them put on shirts or jackets, or 'kuppavam.' In fact, the word 'Kuppavamiduka' has become a term of deep-rooted common expression that if any one renders it into any other language to mean conversion to Islam, no one will repudiate it as an irregular rendering. Therefore, the proclamation might certainly be of a different nature tending to require them to put on shirts and jackets. As wearing shirts and jackets is a custom of Muslims and the word 'kuppavamiduka' has a different meaning, the Nairs took it

(13) Kirk Patrick:
for granted that Tipu wanted to convert them into Islam. We have seen how the historians had manipulated two edicts in the name of Haider Ali and how many historical literature of unknown origin including edicts have come out accusing Tipu of his religious fanaticism. Therefore, it is not out of place to presume that if at all a proclamation was made, it underwent certain adjustments to exploit the popular usage of the word 'kupravamiduka'.

Another point that should be reckoned with is that all these allegations came out only after Tipu had imposed prohibition on trade in his kingdom. The Company was worse hit by this measure. With this began their war preparations against Tipu. Cornwallis wrote to the Political Department "we should have reason to apprehend that we were on the eve of a rupture with Tippoo..." (14). It was the part of Company's war preparations to incite communal feeling of Indian princes for their good. In his letter to Raghujees Bonslea, Cornwallis accuses Tipu for his religious bigotry and asks the Maratta prince to rally with the English to fight against "a man who is the enemy of all mankind, and whose heart is bent on the destruction of every sect as well Hindoo as every other" (15). This was continued to such a degree that the Marattas demanded a clause to be included in the Treaty of Seringapatam when John Kennaway was negotiating with the vakeels of Tipu on peace terms. "The Maratta vakeels acquainted me", writes Kennaway, "that an article should be inserted to prevent Tippoo from continuing the practice of circumcising Hindoos. I asked them what the contents were...they said that they did not know but would enquire and inform me." (16).

(15) Ibid., Sec.Cons. No5, March 10, 1790.
This shows that the news of forcible conversion was so cleverly instilled in the minds of Hindu rulers to enlist their support, but found it impossible to concede to the demand of Marattas as there was no concrete evidence. This was the case with Kerala also. The Nairs who lost their political and economic pre-eminence in the society who were again required to shelve off their old practices of polyandry and half-nakedness were justified to an extent in thinking that all of them were going to be converted to Islam. We can appreciate the position taken by them when all their usages and practices which had the sanction and sanctity of religion and caste were shook off. The failure of the religious policy of Tipu Sultan was that he could not reconcile the people with his reforms as they were far advanced of the time.

Thus, the Nair nobility of Kerala were affected very much by the political, social and economic reforms. Some of them had left the country to take refuge in Travancore (17); some of them came under the protection of the English Company (18), and 'those who could not escape, took refuge in the forests' (19) from 'whence they began occasional depredations and predatory wars.' (20). Imagine the mental agony of such people who were by circumstances forced to such extremity and imagine what would have been the stories of tyranny told by them day in and day out. Further, it must be taken into account that by the Caste rules, Namboodiris and Nairs were alone allowed to learn and propagate (21). Thus, as they were the only privileged custodians of language and learning what

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(18) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.88.
(20) P.R.C., No. 103, P.124.
they said and wrote became a common expression of the state of affairs in Kerala about Mysore rule. Those who had run away from the country might have maliciously magnified the stories at least to justify their flight. Thus, the Namboodiri whose pronouncements are 'divine commands' and "his person as holy," were not distrusted by others who heard his exaggerated and false versions for the cause of his flight. Thus the source of information was not reliable in the least.

This will be quite clear when we look into the nature of the source of their information. "On July 14, 1768", writes Logan, "a Brahmin who was required to convey the message refused to go, and assigned as his reason that there was 'a report prevailing that the Nabob had issued orders for all the Brahmins on the Coast to be seized, and sent up to Seringapatam.' (22) This report was really circulated by the Tellichery factors. The report of the Chief of Tellichery to this effect was "in July 1788, the circumcision of many Brahmins took place" (23), which was made more palatable by the author of Malabar Manual. Again, Wilks wrote, "it was at Kuttippuram 2000 Nairs with their families were converted" (24). Logan completes the picture in the following way: "The unhappy captives gave a forced assent and on the next day the rite of circumcision was performed on all the males, every individual of both sexes being compelled to close the ceremony by eating beef." (25). The source of this news also was from the Chief of Tellichery who wrote, "it was now many of the Nairs were cut off, circumcised or obliged to fly to the jungle." (26).

(23) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No. 56, Part I, P.89.
(26) Fgn.(Misc.) S.No.56, Part I, P.90.
Though he does not mention the number of Hairs who were
circumcised, Wilks and Logan do not fail to remember the exact
number of them! Here, we have to recall that it was to this
Chief, Tipu had written "you are not a good man, but whether
good or bad, what I can say! I have many lakhs of people like
you in my service and do have the Company.....From this time
forward, you must not write to me for anything of business,
for if you write to me, I shall not send any answer. You must
understand it." (27). His information was at the same time
from a Brahmin who refused to go as a messenger for fear of
circumcision of which he on his turn heard from others. About
the conversions he reported were received from those who came
under his protection in fear of conversion! Thus the sources
and their nature are most incredible and hearsay. Other
historians swallowed them without scrutiny.

Another grave charge of mass conversion is reported from
the Coorg country where it is rumoured that nearly 70000 were
circumcised and made Mussalmans. This story also originated
from the Tellichery factors. On December 31, 1789, L. Avvon
of Tellichery factory wrote to C.W. Malet that Tipu was in the
suburb of Tellichery to "marry his son to the daughter of
Bullis Bobby, widow of the late Aly Raja, at the celebration
of which marriage 40,000 captives, unhappy families of the
Coorg country and other parts of the Malabar Coast are to be
circumcised." (28). Same was endorsed by Cornwallis in his
letter to Malet who was the Resident of the Maratta Court. (29).
It is clear that this news of religious atrocity of Tipu was
for the consumption of Marattas and stir them against the

(27) P.R.C. No. 37 A, P.37.
(28) Ibid, No. 51, P.43.
Malet, December 31, 1789, PP.255-56.
Mysore ruler. When these non-Muslim sources wrote such
maligning falsehood, the Muslim chroniclers also in their
attempt to glorify their hero after their heart as the 'Cham-
pion of Islam made similar foolish utterances that had become
trump cards in the hands of hostile historians. "When the
Sultan arrived at Seringsapatam", wrote Kirmani thus, "the
prisoners taken in the country of Coorg who had all been made
Mussalmans and styled Ahamedis" (30). Several such instances
were brought out with their incredibility by Prof. Mohibbul
Hasan Khan in his work on Tipu Sultan, (31). The students
of history who are very familiar of the oriental diction of
expression and style of writing will not be surprised when
we totally reject it on the plea that it was only made to
create a halo of divinity on the person of Tipu Sultan. Those
who know the writings of the historians of Chamaravide and
Ghorian Dynasties of India and in a later period of Barani,
Isami, and Badauni will not take the statement of Kirmani in
its literal sense.

When the reforms of Tipu were introduced, the landed
aristocracy and the privileged few raised the flag of dis-
obedience but were silenced through suppression. The fact
that even the Muslim Kurukkal rose in revolt (32), shows that
the agrarian reforms affected the landed aristocracy very
much of which Buchanan testifies, "they were all reduced to
comparative poverty." (33). But these were taken as religious
persecutions. This shows that the rich who were the oppres-
sors of the poor were bridled and brought under the law of
the country for the common weal. In this respect the rich

(30) Kirmani: History of Tipu Sultan (Miles), PP. 135.
irrespective of his caste and religion was put in test. But the majority of landlords were non-Muslims as the population itself contained them more than 75 per cent. It was, therefore, the economic and social reforms caused the accusations of religious bigotry.

If Tipu wanted the conversion of his prisoners and his subjects, he could have done it on many favourable occasions. In his letter to Ghulam Ali Khan and Ali Reza, who were in the camp of Cornwallis, Tipu wrote, "several people belonging to the Rajah of Travancore were made prisoners. I gave each of them a Rupee and a cloth and released them before the peace was concluded." (34). Again, a Purwanap from Tipu Sultan to the Pettah of Coorg in the same period of the alleged conversions at Coorg and Malabar, will throw much light on the religious policy of Tipu Sultan. It was written on May 21, 1791. "It is well-known to me that you have for a long period experienced much trouble in your country and under this consideration, I forgive everything which has happened. You may now fulfil your several duties as subjects and observe all the customs of your religion agreeably to ancient practices and whatever you formerly paid to your own Rajas, the same I expect, you will now pay to the Sircar." (35). This was the policy pursued throughout his kingdom.

Tipu, it is alleged, did not spare Christians also. The author of the 'Memoirs of Tipoo Sultan' writes, "he (Tipu) also said to have carried away from the province of Malabar 700000 Christians and to have made Muhammadans of 100,000 Hindus" (36). This is a clear specimen to show the

(34) P.R.C., No. 465, P.693.
(36) Memoirs of Tipoo Sultan, P.270.
incredible nature of all allegations. The 'Joint Commissioners of Malabar' on the 'Summary account of the Christians obtained from Major Dow, calculates "at present there are 26 churches and about 20000 souls under the cure of the Bishop of Verapoly. The number of native Malabar Christians on the whole of Malabar Coast, is for more than two hundred thousand souls of which about 90000 are settled in the Travancore territory" (37). Even according to the census of 1921, the number of Christians in Malabar do not exceed 58567. (38) Buchanan who interviewed the religious head of the Christians testifies that their number was on the increase even during the time of Mysorean rule, and did not hear anything of this kind. (39). These will reveal the falsehood of the story. Another instance is cited by Bartolomeau, who was in the Verapoly Seminary during the time of the attack of Tipu on Travancore Lines. He wrote, "naked Christians and Hindus were dragged to pieces, tied to the feet of elephants. All churches and temples were destroyed. Christians and Pagan women were forcibly married to Muhammadans" (40). This information he obtained was from those who had run away from the suburbs of Travancore Lines when it fell into the hands of Mysorean army. Thus it is also a hearsay. But he had his personal knowledge of what had happened at Verapoly where he was, about which with a sigh of relief he writes, "but by the favour of God and by the grace of our patron apostle Joseph, our church and monasteries were not burnt down. They were neither desecrated nor became victims of Sultan's wrath. (41). Thus his own personal experience speaks quite contrary to what

(38) Innes: Vol.II, Appendix V, PP. 31 and 36.
(40) Voyage to East Indies (Froster's translation), PP.141-42.
(41) Ibid.
he heard from others. In fact, this is the nature of all stories of forcible conversions and desecration of centres of worship.

Not a specific instance can be pointed out to show that any person was persecuted only because he was not a Muslim nor any particular temple or church can be named out as a concrete evidence of its demolition by the Mysoreans. In spite of the unending allegations of religious bigotry and destruction of temples and churches that were current in the talk, every writer has to admit that matters that were personally noticed or known to him tell a different tale. After enumerating the devastation made by Tipu elsewhere, of which he had no concrete evidence, the author of 'Sakthan Tampran' writes on the strength of temple records, "it is evident that Tipu did not commit any harm or destruction in the Cochin territory when he entered in the country and afterwards encamped at Trichur." (42). The observation of the author of Cochin State Manual basing his authority on the Temple records of Trichur, will also throw a flood of light on this issue. He says that when the Mysore army was on its march to Trichur, the priest of great temple and the Swamiyar of the Nates in that town locked up the sacred building and fled to Chemarangalam for refuge and that when the priests and Swamiyars returned after Sardar Khan's departure, they found everything in tact. The temple Chronicler notes with considerable surprise that not only the places of the worship not pillaged or defiled as was anticipated, but not a single door was found unlocked by the enemy. (43). Thus the news that was prevalent and the actual things witnessed marked just opposite. In the personal experience of any one, no atrocity was committed. But the stories of cruelties and persecutions were

(42) Puthezhath Raman Menon: Sakthan Tampran, P.136.
(43) C.Achutha Menon: Cochin State Manual, P.122.
let loose by his enemies with a view to enlist the support of the local Rajas and also to create a feeling of terror about the ruler of Mysore.

It is a well-known fact that a number of Tipu's officers not only in Mysore but also in Malabar were Hindus. Ananda Rao was the envoy sent by Haider Ali to appraise the political conditions of Malabar before his conquest.(44) Madanna and afterwards Sreenivas Rao were the Civil Governors of Malabar. Ram Linga Pilli was one of the important Sirestanders of Tipu who helped Mir Ibrahim to carry out his revenue reforms. Most of his revenue collectors and writers were Hindus.(45) Jemen, of whom Malabar Commissioners say, "a Mughal of a very respectable character", was employed as an officer under Tipu.(46) Koonji Pillai and Oudhoot Rao were important revenue officers.(47) This was his general policy. We know that apart from his Diwan and Peshkar, a large number of Hindus held high posts both in the army and the civil service.(48) His relation with Sringeri Mutt is proverbial. In the Central Record Office, Ernakulam, there is a curious document of an eye-witness' report about the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War. Tipu knowing that he was passing through the last days of his life went to the Mutt, barefooted and received blessings from the 'Jagathguru' as he addressed the Chief Priest. It is reported that the Guru gave a letter to the Faratta Chief requiring him to help Tipu instead of a party with the English.(49) Even at the risk of displeasing

(44) Tellicherry Factory Diary - Chief to the Governor of Bombay, Nov., 14, 1764; Cons. No. 2, Nov. 8, 1764.
(45) Fgn. (Misc.) S. No. 56, p. 155.
(47) Ibid, Para. 47, P. 47.
(48) For details refer to 'the History of Tipu Sultan', pp. 354-63.
(49) L. No. VII, 1st Series, pp. 481-83.
Tipu’s enemies, the divine priesthood of Sringeri showered on him blessings and extended the help. This shows the cordial relation of Tipu with the divine priesthood. If he was a religious fanatic as made out by historians, it was an appropriate time for the Chief Priest to show his discontent.

As we are concerned only with Kerala, it will be superfluous to enumerate what he had done in other parts of his country. Suffice it to say that the policy pursued in other parts of his kingdom found place in Malabar also. A number of religious heads and scholars of Kerala were recipients of Tipu’s gifts of lands and cash. The 'Satrams' where religious learning were imparted, received his financial help. All the known temples of Malabar obtained from him lavish presents in money and rent-free lands. The Guruvayoor Temple, the most esteemed of all temples of Kerala, even to the present day was to benefit most. Apart from the rent-free lands, this temple received 8000 pagodas in cash annually for the expense of its ceremonies. The money was regularly paid in each year by Tipu’s agent Chandanaparambil Aurasooty (Hydros Kutty) Mooppan of Kanathala. Even now the Hindus of this locality frequent the tomb of Aurasooty Mooppan for thanksgiving. This amount was reduced to 5000 pagodas by the English. Afterwards, that was also stopped in lieu of an assignment of some property to the temple. (50)

Another most important document which will help us judging his religious policy in Malabar and belie the allegations of forcible conversions and temple destructions of Kerala is traced out from the Inam Registers of the Kozhikode Collectorate. The following is a list of rent-free lands given by Tipu Sultan to various temples, satrams and divine heads

of Kerala entered in this Register:— (51).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Extent of land in acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mannur Kshetram* Chelambra Amson, Ernad Taluk</td>
<td>70.42 wet land, 3.29 garden land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tiruvanchikulam Siva Kshetram* Vailattur Amson, Ponnani Taluk</td>
<td>208.82 W.L., 3.29 G.L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Guruwayur Kshetram* Guruwayoor Amson, Ponnani Taluk</td>
<td>46.02 W.L., 458.32 G.L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Trikkantiyur Vettakkorumakan-kavu Kshetram* Kasba Amson, Calicut Taluk</td>
<td>122.70 W.L., 73.36 G.L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kattunedathil Srikrumaran, Namboodiripad Kadikad Amson, Ponnani Taluk</td>
<td>27.97 W.L., 6.91 G.L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Trikkandiyur Samocham Kshetram* Trikkandiyur Amson, Ponnani Taluk</td>
<td>20.63 W.L., 0.41 G.L.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Kshetram means temple.

In spite of all these, allegations of religious excess other are still current in Kerala for which there are no reasons than the following: In the first instance, the organised propaganda of the English to exploit the religious susceptibilities of the people. Next the genuine feeling of the Namboodiris and Nairs who were affected by the reforms adhered to above. Another point is that the authors of Kerala history so far written belong to successors of that community who had suffered most under Tipu Sultan and whose caste prejudices

(51) Kozhikode Collectorate Inam Registers, five folio volumes.
have not receded to any appreciable degree. Yet another reason that precipitated local apprehension was that the moppilahs who were suppressed by the local Rajas, asserted their rights with the advent of Mysoreans. (52). They might have harassed the Hair rebels and helped the Mysoreans to trace out their hiding places. The relation between the Nairs and Moppilahs even before the advent of Mysoreans embittered to such a degree that an organised massacre of Muslims was conducted by the local Rajas and chieftains. (53). This enmical state of affairs is clearly brought out by the Joint Commissioners of Malabar in their Report in 1793 (54). They wrote, "the state of the above native society can be admitted considering the extreme rancour and enmity that a series of wars and mutual persecutions have kindled between them." (55). When under the Mysoreans, the Nairs as rebels and Moppilahs as loyal subjects might have certainly aggrava ted the grievance of Hair rebels who to their belief considered it as religious bigotry. Buchanan says that at Ponnannur some cultured Moppilahs expressed to him that they hated the Hair ascendency as it were detrimental to their interest. (56). He continues to say, "left to their own strength, the Moppilahs would very soon force them (Nairs) to retire into the woods and mountains to which they were confined when the English arrived." (57). This is corroborated again in the Proceedings of the Joint Malabar Commissioners meeting of January 31, 1793. Disapproving the use of the Company's force against the Moppilahs by the Zamorin and directing not to avail the English force for this task, they

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(52) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P.824.
(54) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, P. Voucher No.34, P.831.
(55) Ibid, P7.763-64.
remarked, "this will again soon make them feel their own weakness and inability to collect from the Mopilahs without our aid and lead more naturally than perhaps any other mode to transferring the collections of the Mopilah countries wholly to the Company which from all hands we learn is the only effectual way to reconcile those people to our Government to which they appear at present rather indisposed by the grievances they suffered from the delegation of our authority to their ancient enemies - the Nairs" (58).

Thus the Mopilahs might have taken revenge against the Nairs utilising the opportunity as loyal subjects of Mysoreans. There is every reason to believe that the Nairs might have been saved from the wrath of the Mopilahs by the vigilance of the Officers of Tipu. No doubt the grievance of the vanquished princes and Nair nobles increased with the regaining of the lost freedom of Mopilahs under the Mysoreans. This was not any fault of Mysorean policy. But it failed not because of any religious intolerance but because of the local bickerings and politics.

(58) Fgn. (Misc.) S.No. 56, Part II, p.845.