

JOURNAL OF THE
MADRAS UNIVERSITY

1974



T4.211.Mm N74

N74

3130

JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY

Section A Humanities

Editor :

DR V. A. DEVAZENAPATHI, M.A., Ph.D.

Editorial Board :

DR K. K. PILLAY	DR V SHANMUGASUNDARAM
M.A., D. Phil. (OXON), D.Litt.	B.A., (Hons.), M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D.



PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

410



CONTENTS

PART I (Endowment Lectures)

Page

THE PROBLEM OF DRAVIDIAN ORIGINS— A LINGUISTIC, ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH

Sir William Meyer Endowment Lectures 1956-57

By Prof. T. Balakrishnan Nayar

Rtd. Principal & Chief Professor of History

Presidency College, Madras 1

RISE AND FALL OF THE POLIGARS OF TAMILNADU

Sir William Meyer, Endowment Lectures, 1971-72

By Dr K. Rajayyan

Department of Modern History, Madurai University ... 83

THE CONCEPT OF SECULARISM IN EAST AND WEST

The L. D. Swamikannu Pillai Lectures-1972-73

By Fr. J. D'Souza

Prof. of English, Loyola College, Madras 207

PRINTED IN INDIA

AT AVVAI ACHUKKODAM, P. V. KOIL STREET, MADRAS-600013.

PART II

THE LEGACY OF SOCRATES

By Dr. Herbert Herring

Director, Max Mueller Bhavan, Madras

... .. 1

A CRITIQUE OF RĀMĀNUJA'S OBJECTIONS
AGAINST THE ADVAITA CONCEPTION OF
AVIDYĀ

By Dr. R. Balasubramanian

Reader, G.A.S. in Philosophy, University of Madras

... 17

SOCIO-CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS
OF SCIENCE

By Dr C. M. Abraham

*Head of the Department of Social Sciences**University of Madras*

... .. 34

FOCUSING ON SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGIC VISION

By Dr. S. P. Appasamy

*Head of the Department of English**University of Madras*

... .. 41

MOTHER GODDESS AND SNAKE WORSHIP

By Dr. M. S. Gopalakrishnan

*Head of the Department of Anthropology**University of Madras*

... .. 53

JOB SATISFACTION — A STUDY AMONG
TEACHERS, NURSES AND CLERKS

By Dr. M. S. Kalanidhi

Lecturer in Psychology, University of Madras

... .. 57

(Continued from the last volume)

bank of which it originally stood. A superficial area of 25 or 30 square yards contained as many as 20 or 30 urns, Plate V. 2, view of excavated ground (Fig. 28 a, urn from Porkalam, b & c from

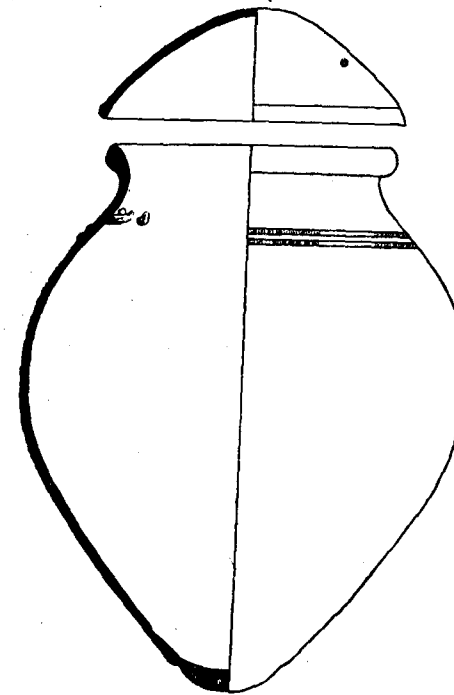


Fig. 28 a

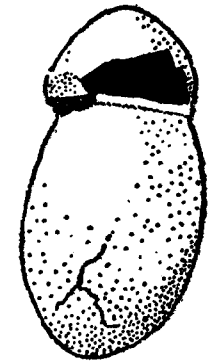


Fig. 28 b

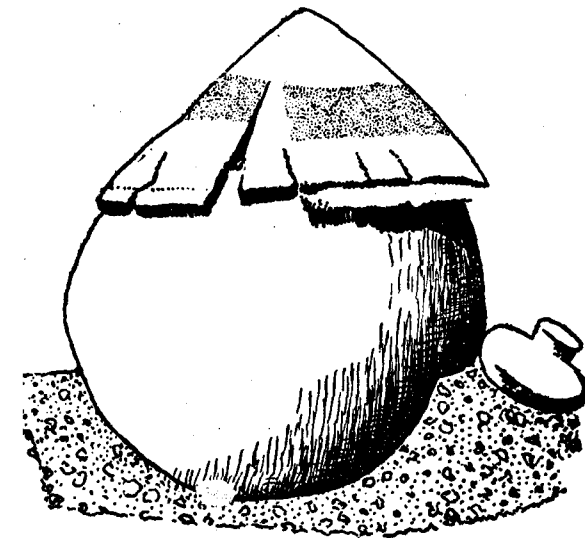


Fig. 28 c

Mouttrapaleon and considering that the cemetery extended over 114 acres we have to infer that the habitation site of which it was a necessary adjunct must have been a relatively populous settlement. The iron at Adichanallur was found on examination to be a particularly

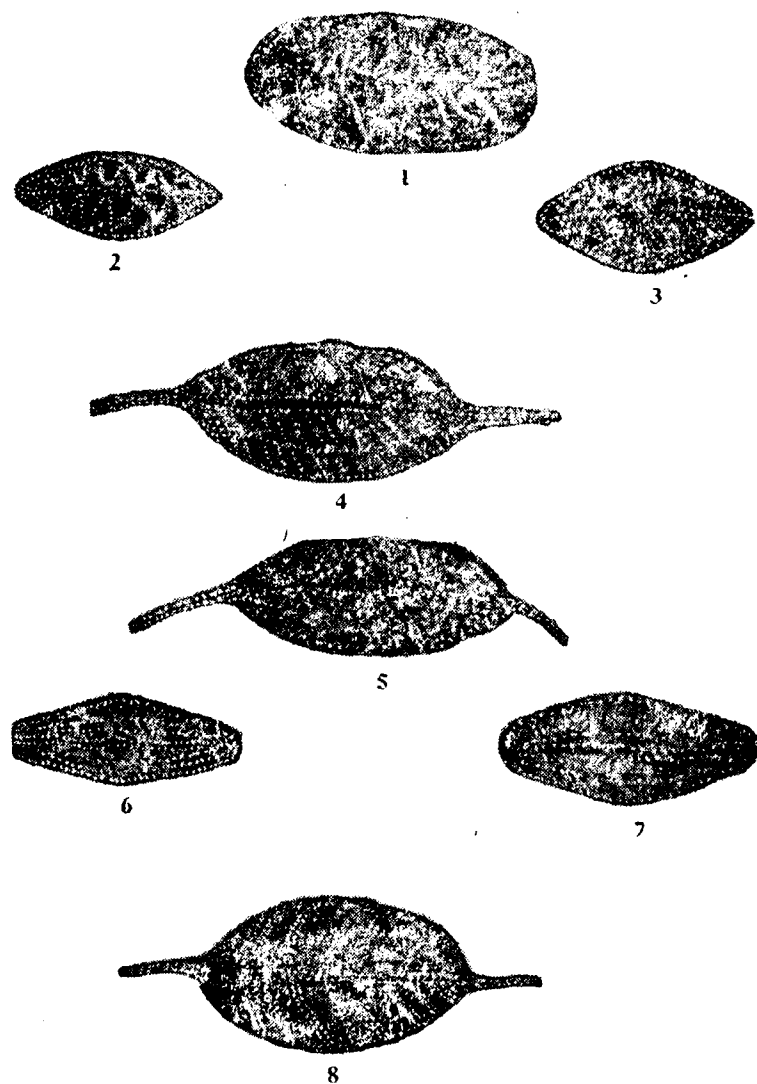


Fig 29

pure wrought iron with a characteristic fibrous texture and 25 per cent carbon (by combustion)². The gold diadems varied in size. (Plate I, 10 and Fig. 29). They were oval in shape, some having a strip extending beyond the two extremities with a small hole for a wire or string at

each end. Both diadems and mouth-pieces were ornamented with triangular and linear dotted designs* (Plate I, 9 and Fig. 30). The articles in bronze included representations of cock, goat or sheep, dog,

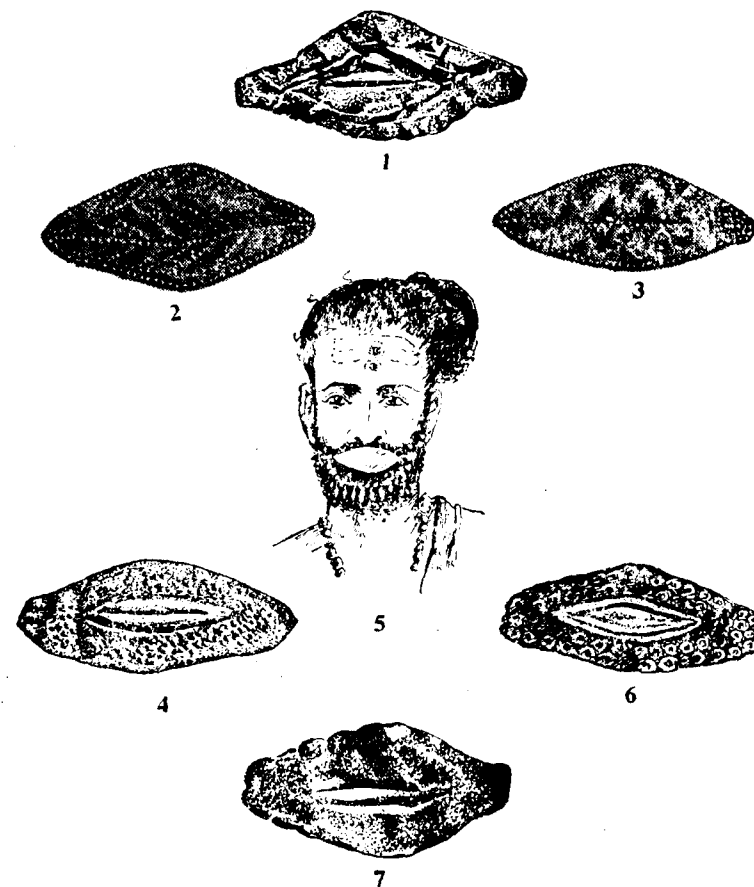


Fig. 30 Mouth pieces

2 & 3: Adichanallur 1, 4, 6 & 7: Cyprus, Enkomi

tiger, antelope, buffalo and elephant (Plate I, 7 and pl. II, 3 Cock, Plate II, 2, Dog, 4, Goat, 5, Tiger, 6, Dove.)

The importance of Adichanallur lies in the light the site throws on the antiquity of iron and of the cultivation of rice in South India and on the maritime contacts between South India and the Eastern Mediterranean, in particular, Palestine.

Sankalia would derive the urn-burials of the Iron-age from the Chalcolithic burials in Central India and the Deccan,⁴ but the drift of

the urn burials being clearly down along the Kerala coast and upwards from the tip of the peninsula a more reasonable derivation would bring them from Western Asia and the Near East. In most cases the urns at Adichanallur contained only a selection of bones. In some instances urn-burials in Wynad in Kerala showed complete skeletons. The Elamites as evidenced by their tombs at Susa practised two different kinds of interment. Sometimes the bodies were buried intact either stretched out or curled up. Sometimes the skeletons were incomplete as though the burial took place only after they were stripped of flesh or after they had been exposed, an old prehistoric custom. In the Ubaid period at Tepe Gawra, urn-burials show a sharp rise in popularity in Level XIV and are the most usual type in XII. Double urn-burial with the joints sealed by clay plaster occurred in level XII. Profiles of the urns from this level are similar to those of late Kassite period at Babylon. At Tell Arpachiyah Mallowan found a certain number of fractional burials of the Al-Ubaid period and he saw in them connections with India.⁸ Miss Perkins, however, is not inclined to agree with him.⁹ Fractional conditions, she says, are due to partial decay or to mechanical disturbance. While stone-cists, urn-burials and terracotta sarcophagi all belong to the Iron Age in South India they represent three different funeral traditions. In Pudukkottai stone-cists and terracotta sarcophagi got mixed up and in South Arcot we find all the three in the same setting. The profiles of the pottery of Adichanallur when compared with the profiles of pottery from stone-cists and urn-burials in Pondicherry and Sanur (Chingleput) show that they belong to different periods. At Sanur we miss the spouted vases of Adichanallur. Typical Adichanallur specimens like the long cups, the egg-shaped cups, the flasks with lids, Plate I, 4 metal, 2 and 3 earthen ware (themselves copied from metal specimens) and cups with foot are absent at Sanur. To base far-reaching theories concerning cultural and ethnic movements on pottery evidence, e.g., the spread of the black-and-red ware in India and their occurrences in Egypt and Sudan, will constitute an abuse of ceramic evidence, but the form of a vessel reflects in no small extent traditions and aesthetic preference. The tripod urns from rock-cut tombs and stone-cists in South India it has been shown represent a tradition the beginnings of which take us outside the sub-continent; similarly also the wavy lines of the Coimbatore russet-coated painted ware.

The antiquity of rice cultivation in India is a problem that has vexed the archaeologists and botanists. In Central India rice was cultivated and eaten as early as the 12th century B.C.⁷ At Hastinapur rice can be dated to at least the 9th-8th century B. C.⁸ Rice has been found at Kolhapur in the second century A.D.⁹ Sankalia says that there is no evidence of rice having been familiar to the people of Maski. Our difficulty is that in trying to interpret facts of pre-history and proto-history we are not prepared to concede that ideas and material objects could and did travel long distances before the modern means of mass communication and quick transport were invented. Within the country there was awareness of rice at Hastinapur in the 9th-8th century B. C. and yet we are not prepared to admit that in South India and the Deccan rice was cultivated at any time earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. The people of Adichanallur urn-burials are anchored to the absolute chronology of Syria and Palestine of the period of Solomon.

Rice has been a puzzle to the palaeobotanists. Nobody seems to know its origin or when it was first cultivated. In an unpublished paper entitled 'Origin of Rice—A Survey' Dr. K. Ramiah said in 1960 that the origin of rice might be traced to South and East India where natural conditions most suitable for producing variability mutations and genic recombinations exist.¹⁰ In this connection it will be of interest to note that one of the two kinds of rice cultivated in Shiraz¹¹ in Iran today is called Chempeh which recalls to our mind the name of a familiar variety of rice grown in South India.

Fragmentary remains of paddy husks were of frequent occurrence in the soil contained in pots associated with the urn-burials at Adichanallur. Dr. Swami made a reconstruction of the full form of the caryopsis of the grain, excepting the awn part. He is certain that the variety of paddy raised by the urn-burial people at Adichanallur possessed an awn as fragments of this structure were encountered in the matrix. The variety of paddy, however, cannot be determined as there was no way of determining the length of the awn and the orientation of this structure on the caryopsis. The characters of the husk and the size of the reconstructed grain negative any possibility of affinity to the *pilav* varieties grown in North India and it is quite possible that this variety of paddy was somewhat similar to the short-

grained varieties that are now being cultivated extensively in South India.¹²

Watt in his 'Dictionary of Economic products of India' has drawn our attention to the fact that the field crop in Tamil is called shali / chali, a word used almost throughout India and in Persia.¹³ Commenting on the identity of the Persian and Tamil names Crawford was led to conclude that the grain was probably introduced from Southern India in the course of the maritime trade which is known to have been carried on for ages between the Western Malabar coast of coastal India and Persian Gulf.¹⁴ The Old Testament does not mention rice; there are several passages in Talmud, however, which relate to its cultivation. Greek *Oryza* is now accepted to have been derived from Tamil *arisi*, itself derived from a root *ari*, to separate.

The Samba grown in Chingleput district is white. There are different kinds of Samba, some requiring plenty of water. But in places where there is now a large supply of water, three months' Samba and two months' Samba are not unknown. The Champah grown in Shiraz is a white variety of rice and requires to be kept continuously under water for two or three months.¹⁵

The first great attempt to open direct sea-route to India appears to have been made during the period of king Solomon in order to satisfy the insatiable needs of that magnificent potentate. The Phoenician king Hiram built for Solomon a temple and an associated palace and his reward was that he was able to launch with Solomon's assistance, a commercial expeditionary fleet every three years from Ezion Geber to Ophir. From the nature of the cargo with which they returned, namely, gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks and almug wood and from the words used for certain of these articles which are Indian words (and some unmistakably Tamil like Hebrew *tukki*, Tamil *tokai* peacock, *Algum*, Tamil *agil*, sandalwood) R.D. Barnett says it is clear that Ophir was India.¹⁶

Historians now believe that India and Egypt had commercial relations with each other from as early as the time of Pharaohs. "An 18th dynasty sketch of a barn-door cock shows that there was so much communication with India that an indigenous Indian bird could be so much known in Egypt as to be sketched (Fig.31)¹⁷ Thothmes III clearly had

hens for it is recorded that he had two birds which laid two eggs each day."¹⁸ If Indian products were known to Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs they may very easily have been known to the Israelites. Besides the gingergrass other Biblical plants native to India and adjacent regions are the eaglewood, sandalwood, frankincense, cassia, cinnamon, ebony cotton, spikenard, sugarcane, rice and perhaps benzoni. The cassia and various other Indian spices were apparently secured by Moses and



Fig. 31. Barn-door cock 18th Dynasty, Egypt

Solomon through trade with India. In 1 Kings 10 ; 11-12 we get the following statement: "And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees and precious stones. And the king made of the almug trees pillars for the house of the Lord and for the king's house, harps also and psalteries for singers ; there came no such almug trees, nor were seen unto this day."¹⁹ Tristram definitely identifies almug tree with the red sandalwood, *Pterocarpus Santalinus*.²⁰ The red sandalwood is a large leguminous tree indigenous to India and Ceylon. Its wood is hard and very heavy, of a red or garnet-colour taking a fine polish and would be very well suited for the purposes for which Solomon required it. It is still used today for the manufacture of lyres and other musical instruments.

Confirmation of contacts between Palestine and the Tamil country — and Adichanallur was a great emporium of trade not far from the mouth of the river Tamraparni during its heyday²¹ - and Palestine of

the period of king Solomon for which we have plenty of literary evidence comes from the material remains unearthed at Adichanallur.

According to Ernest Wright (Biblical Archaeology) Iron was introduced into common use in Palestine by the Philistines not until after the kings of Israel Saul and David had broken their power "promptly effecting an economic revolution and a higher standard of living for the common man." "The greatest and most spectacular age of Israel was just before and after 1000 B.C. These were the days of those colourful and interesting figures, Saul, David and Solomon who brought the Israelite state into being and in an incredibly short time made it a nation of no small importance in the contemporary world." The first dateable iron agricultural implements are from Gerar—Tell Jemmeh—in Palestine.²² Gerar lies on the direct road from Egypt up to Jerusalem and the hill country; it also flanks the coast road from Egypt. There were iron furnaces at Gerar. Smelting was done on the spot and the metal was not imported. The agricultural implements in iron from Gerar included hoe blades and plough-shares. The principle of hafting in the Gerar hoe is the same as the principle of hafting in the Adichanallur iron hoe.²³ The angle between the blade and handle of the hoe from Gerar is seen in examples from other places. The worker must have stood upright holding a long handle slanting down and let the hoe fall vertically on the ground. Plough shares and hoe-blades similar to those from Gerar have been found from other Palestinian sites, like Tell-el-Mutesellim and Gezer. Most of the Palestinian hoes must have been like the Adichanallur specimens, garden hoes, for their very weak sockets, not even closed round, prove that they were not used on any material which had elasticity or strength to hold them. The bluntness of the edges shows that the material worked on was rough and loose earth. The very wide thin blade of the Adichanallur specimens could not have been used on any thing firmer than light soil. The Gerar—Tell Jemmeh specimens are dated by Petrie to 1150 B.C.²⁴ Their type has a wide distribution in space and time. Enkomi in Cyprus has produced similar hoes in bronze.²⁵ Iron age hoes of moderate width similar to those from Cyprus have been found from various places in Europe, Hungary, Sweden, Styria, England, Greece. In India no other site has produced this type of hoe. Taxila produced one; it was a surface find which could not have been earlier than the 1st century A.D. A unilaterally winged hoe in bronze

embodying the same principle of hafting as the Adichanallur example was found at Susa.²⁶

Wheeler says that iron was introduced by the Persians about the 6th.-5th century B.C. and then it spread to the South.²⁷ At Nevasa, Bahal, Prakash and Maheswar in Central India evidence of the use of iron according to Sankalia does not relate to a period earlier than the third century B.C.²⁸ The earliest layers of Ujjain carrying iron might not go beyond c. 500 B.C. which is the date suggested by Wheeler for the introduction of iron into North India by the Persians.²⁹ Aitchison thinks that the whole of North India adopted iron at a fairly early date (about 1000 B.C. or even a little before that time, though not much earlier).³⁰ In South India according to him iron did not come into use until a much later date, round about 500 B.C. But he is of the opinion that 'Seric' iron which had a tremendous reputation among the Romans, at one time thought to have been made in China, was steel of Indian origin and probably obtained from South India.³¹ 'Seres-Cheras' seems to be an attractive equation. Iron ores of excellent quality are found on the surface in large quantities in South India and earthen crucibles for smelting them, corresponding in size and shape to those now used were found at Adichanallur.³² The possibility of acquiring knowledge of iron-smelting from some other source possibly Palestine during the period of Solomon if not earlier and not North India cannot be ignored. The iron hoes of Adichanallur have to be derived from Palestine and the prototypes were probably imported by the Phoenicians who traded with the Tamil country for cassia, cinnamon and almuq, so much sought after by the Israelite kings. May be the technique of iron-smelting was also taught to the Tamils by the Phoenicians. Thus the origins of iron industry in South India need not remain an unsolved mystery.

Gerar in Palestine also produced gold frontlets with lines of spots and punctuated circles. They have been dated at their place of origin by Petrie to 1180 B.C.³³ Gold diadems with lines of spots and also mouth-pieces have been found at Adichanallur further confirming its contacts with Palestine in the closing years of the second millennium B.C.

Gold diadems were reported from Hissar III in Iran (Fig. 32).³⁴ Evans found gold frontlets, diadems, in the Mochlos tombs of the early

Minoan II period.⁸⁵ In Palestine patterned gold fillets or head bands date back to 2000 B.C. according to the evidence of the ancient palace-site of Tell-el-Ajjul (modern Gaza).⁸⁶ Gold diadems and mouth pieces (some decorated with human heads) came from Enkomi in

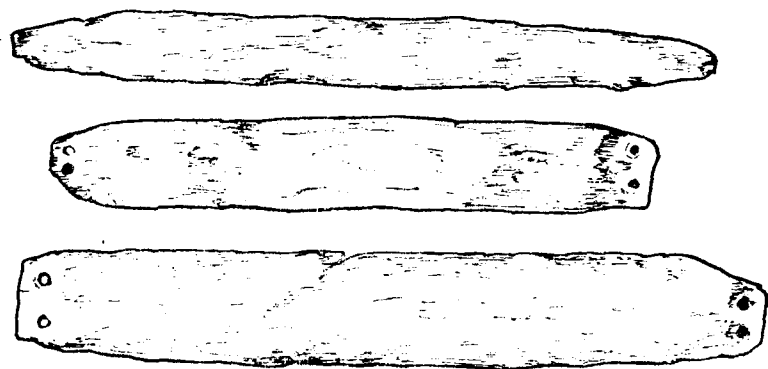


Fig. 32. Diadems Hissar III

Cyprus.⁸⁷ In Enkomi tombs Einar Gjerstad found small strips of gold leaf with rounded ends and a hole at each end, obviously mouth pieces and also strips of gold leaf with tapering ends and a hole at each end, diadems.⁸⁸ Along the edges of the diadems were impressed dots forming border lines. Diadems generally had straight edges.

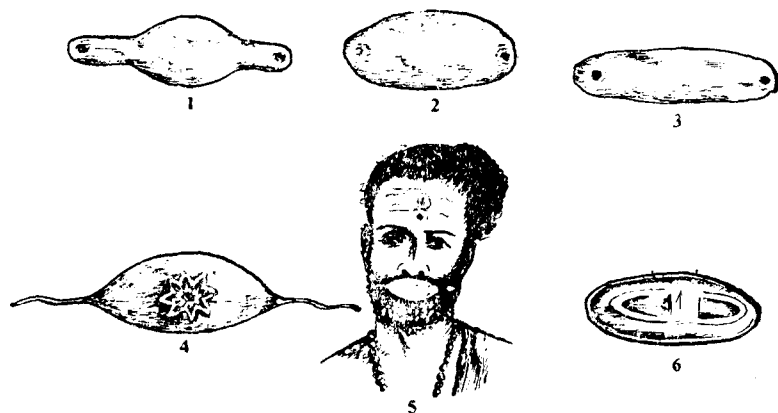


Fig. 33. Diadems (Ur)

Both diadems and mouth-pieces were found by the Swedish Cyprus expedition at Enkomi and also at Lapithos and Marion. At Ur in

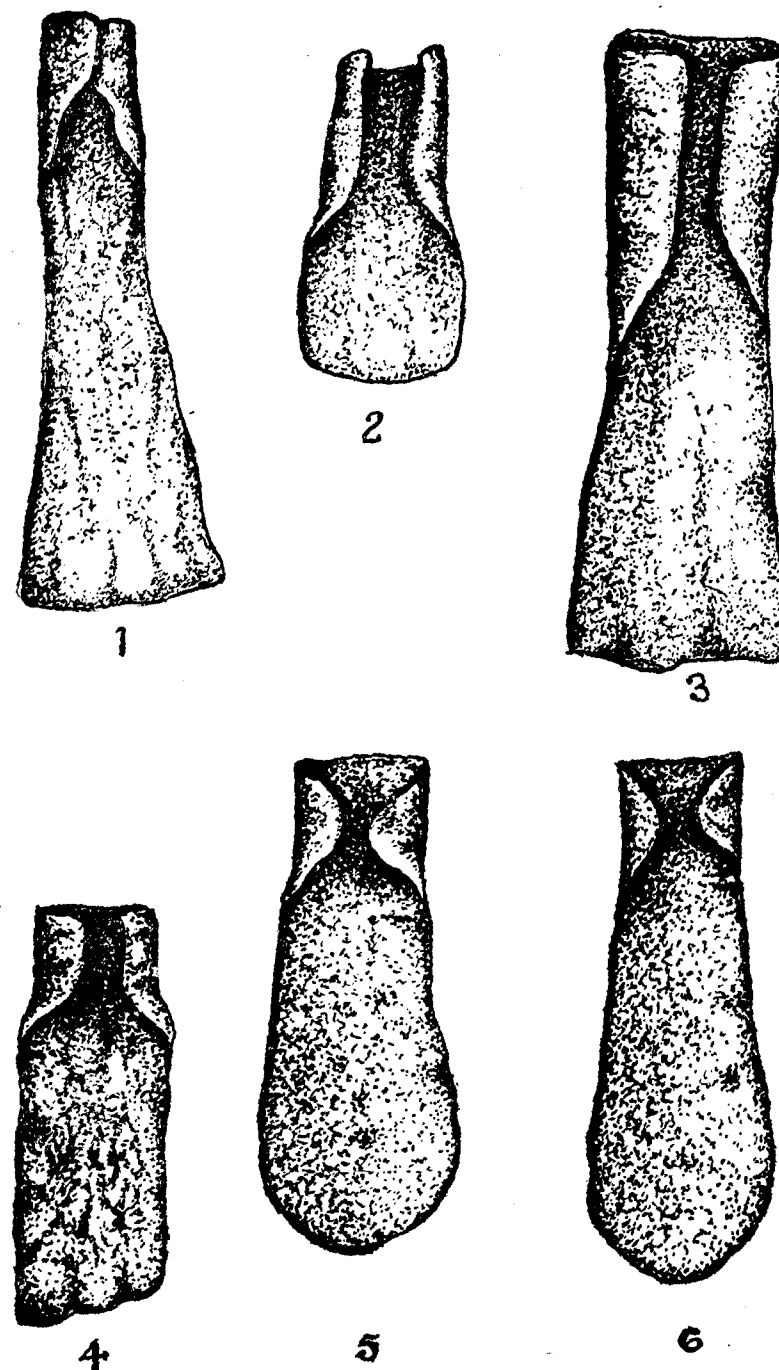


Fig. 34. Hoe-bades 1 and 2 (Susa) 3 Tell-el-Mutesellim Palestine) 4 Gerar (Palestine), 5 and 6 Adichanallur.

the tombs of the Sumerian period Woolley found gold fillets on the forehead of several skeletons.³⁹ He has noted five types of frontlets from the early cemetery (Fig. 33. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6). The woman buried in the royal tomb PG. 1054 had on her head an oval gold frontlet secured by long wires and a similar frontlet with a star and rosette in the centre also secured by gold-wires came from grave PG/387. A silver frontlet was found worn together with a wreath in PG/263. At Ur in the early cemetery the diadem with gold animals, etc., was *par excellence* a royal decoration. Gold mouth-pieces with holes in the end were found by Gordon Loud at Armegeddon a city of Syrian kings conquered by Egypt in 1497 B.C.⁴⁰

At a hamlet known as Khurbet al Khasas about two kilometres east of Ascalan in Palestine a plain, oval gold mouth-piece was found in a lead sarcophagus in association with bronze coins of the time of Constantine or a little later indicating that the practice survived to the early centuries of the Christian era.⁴¹ In a Philistine grave at Gezer in Palestine a silver mouth-plate lay on the teeth of the skull of a tall man.⁴² Mouth-plates with rectangular or lozenge-shaped slips of metal, tied on the mouth of a corpse have been found in many countries directly affected by the Aegean civilization from Mycenaean times down to the 6th century B.C. or even later.

The gold mouth-pieces from Adichanallur have no parallels elsewhere in Iron age sites in South India.⁴³ They are decorated with embossed ornament in geometrical designs and have in some cases holes at their ends (Fig. 30, 2 and 3). Similar mouth-pieces have been found at Enkomi in Cyprus in tombs of late Bronze Age (Fig. 30 1, 4, 6 and 7). The practice of wearing mouth-pieces by devotees carrying *kavadi* to the shrine of Murugan on the Palni hills at the present-day is a survival from Adichanallur days (Fig. 30, 5, Fig. 33, 5). Gold frontlets with lines of spots like those from Adichanallur were found at Gerar by Petrie. He has dated them to 1180 B.C. Iron hoes from Gerar again are based on the same principle of hafting as that of the Adichanallur specimens (Fig. 34. 4, 5 and 6). The Biblical references to products of South Indian origin which Hiram took to Israel stand confirmed by material remains, if not imports from, undoubtedly inspired by that land, seem to link securely Adichanallur urn-burials to the absolute chronology of Palestine and Syria of the period of Solomon and also to take back the antiquity of iron and of rice in South India to circa 1000 B.C.⁴⁴

NOTES

1. Bulletin, museum d' Histoire naturelle, 1903 and Annual Report of the Madras Government museum, 1905-06. pp. 5 and 6.

A single cranium from an urn burial at Adichanallur examined by Lapicque was hyper — dolicocephalic but other crania from the same site have given a different picture. Four of Thurston's skulls were dolicocephalic; two were prognathous and of the latter one was not only prognathous but was also sub-dolicocephalic (Proto-Australoid) — no. 1 of Zuckerman. His Adichanallur no. 2 was 'maritime Arme-noid'.

Lapicque was using the term Proto-Dravidian obviously in an ethnic sense. But there was neither a Proto-Dravidian nor Dravidian race at any time; there were only Proto-Dravidian and Dravidian speakers. Already around 1000 B.C. when Adichanallur was a flourishing human settlement with contact with Palestine and Syria the people of the Tamraparni/Tamirapunai valley were literate and spoke Tamira/Tamiḷa named after the metal-workers amongst them. In Hurrian, Tibira meant metal-workers. Probably Tibira/Tamira was also the name of the metal-workers among the Harappans, metal-workers to begin with in copper after whom the Rig-Vedic Aryans when they came into contact with them called copper *tāmra*. The Proto-Dravidian word for copper was *cempu*, after which the river (tributary of the Yamuna) flowing through Avanti/Malva a region rich in copper ores has been called Chambal, the Carmanyavati of the Puranas.

A uniform mortuary practice along the Tāmraparni Valley during the Iron Age and within a possible time — bracket, circa 1,000 B.C. to circa 500 A.D. may be taken to indicate an ethnic stability. But at Adichanallur itself the skeletal remains showed a mixed population, brachycephals as well as dolicocephals. That means we can no longer speak in terms of an urn-burial race, the uniform and stable

cultural configuration in the valley in the Iron Age notwithstanding.

For a discussion of the ethnic composition of the Proto-Dravidian/Dravidian speakers of India see note 23, chapter I supra.

2. Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair, Madras, 1915, page 3. footnote.

The sample obviously came from excavations conducted by A. Rea at the cemetery mound at Adichanallur before 1905. The occurrence of crucibles for smelting iron at the site (Thurston, *The Madras Presidency*, Cambridge, 1913 p. 74) would seem to indicate that the human settlement at the site was also a metallurgical centre during the Iron Age.

Wrought iron is a spongy agglomerate and has to be hammered in order to be rendered usable. In the Tirunelveli district iron ores are reported from Srivilliputtur, Shermadevi, Nangunery, Tenkasi, Sankaranayanarkoil and Brahmadesam taluks. Magnetic iron sand is collected from the streams at the foot of the hills for making wrought iron. In fact in mid-nineteenth century seventy furnaces were at work in the district with an annual output of about 230 tons. About 1180 B. C. there was a great metallurgical centre at Gerar in Palestine which according to Forbes (Singer, ed. by: *A History of Technology*, Vol. I Part V. 21. Extracting, Smelting and Alloying by R. T. Forbes 597) imported blooms or bars of iron from the north for making tools and weapons. Gerar probably imported similar blooms from Adichanallur during the period of Solomon (971-931 B.C.) when the contacts between the Tamils and Israel was at its apogee and Tamil words probably first found their way into Hebrew (for example, Tamil *tôni* and Hebrew *ôniyâh* for the latter of which, however, there is no Semitic root). It is true that in recent times on the Palestinian side of the Arbah at Ghadian iron ore has been discovered. But it is doubtful whether all the iron that was used at Gerar was locally obtained. Some no doubt came from the north and some from India which Hiram's fleet

brought from Ophir which Charpentier long ago identified with Sopara/Sûrpāraka on the Konkan coast in India (JRAS, 1927, pp. 111-115, Charpentier, Sûrpāraka).

The term *tôni* is used by the Tamils and Singhalese to mean trading vessel with two masts — the equivalent of the English ketch and probably in C. 1,000 B.C. when Adichanallur traded with Palestine it was as seaworthy as Queen Hatshepsut's ships that went to Punt.

The blooms that went from Tamilnadu to Ezion Geber were wrought iron and not "Woots" for which India was later famous and which reportedly was carried by merchants from India to Damascus, or the 'seres' steel of Pliny.

3. See Plate I 9 and 10 and fig. 1, 4, 5, and 8 (diadems) and 2, 1, 4 and 7 (mouth pieces) for triangular dotted designs.

In Fig. 30, 2 and 3 are gold mouth pieces from Adichanallur and 1, 4, 6, and 7 are gold mouth pieces from Enkomi, Cyprus, found by Dr. Einar Gjerstad in 1937

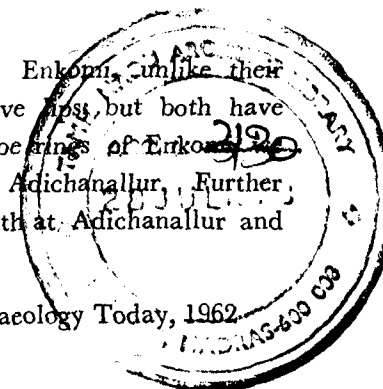
In fig. 33 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 are five different types of frontlets/diadems from an early cemetery at Ur.

In both figures 30 and 33, 5 represents a devotee of Muruga wearing the mouth piece.

The hole at the ends of mouth pieces and the impressed and dotted zig-zag patterns of the Adichanallur diadems remind us of the patterned gold fillets from Tell-el-Ajjul (Gaza) in Palestine of late Bronze Age. (*Illustrated London News*, 7 and 10, 1933, p. 802)

The gold mouth pieces from Enkomi, unlike their counterparts from Adichanallur, have ~~no~~ but both have embossed designs in dots. For gold toe rings of Enkomi ~~212~~ have gold plated iron toe rings from Adichanallur. Further, more gold plated ear drops appear both at Adichanallur and Enkomi.

4. Sankalia H. D, *Indian Archaeology Today*, 1962.



5. M. E. Malhowan and Rose J. Cruikshank Excavations at Tell Arpachiyahgy 1933. pp. 34, 42 and 65.

6. Perkins, A. Louis, The Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia, Chicago, 1959, p. 72.

7. We have a much earlier date today for the cultivation of rice in Central India. It was in common use at Navdatoli in the Narbada valley in period III at the site for which we have a c_{14} date that works out at Circa 1500 B. C. But rice was already in evidence, though scarce, at Navdatoli in period II.

8. Period II at Hastinapur, Uttar Pradesh, for which we have a c_{14} date may take us back to earlier than the middle of the sixth century B.C. in respect of cultivation of rice at the site.

9. Though the available c_{14} date will not give rice at Kolhapur an antiquity earlier than the second century A.D. the fact that the grain was already familiar to the people of Navdatoli in mid second millennium B.C. and that it was grown at Adichanallur in circa 1,000 B.C. the absence of earlier c_{14} dates for it in Maharashtra may not rule out the possibility of its having been cultivated in the area earlier.

10. Between 1960 when he wrote that the origin of rice might be traced to South and East India and now the position has become clearer. Today we know that *Oryza Sativa* occurs wild in many parts of India and neighbouring countries Rajasthan, Sikkim, West Bengal, Bangladesh, Khasia Hills, Central India and the Deccan, that the neolithic rice of Orissa was *Oryza Sativa* and that rice was cultivated in Rangpur II A during 2000-1500 B.C. and at Lothal in 1700 B.C. According to Grist (Grist D. H, Rice, Fourth edition, Longmans, 1965) citing Andriss J. R. and Mohammad A. F. (1958), The Economy of Pakistan, "Excavators at Mohanjodaro in Pakistan discovered rice grains in earthen vessels, thus providing evidence that rice was an important food in Indus Valley civilization which flourished as early as 2500 B.C."

De Candole (1886), it will be remembered, believed that *O. Sativa* originated in India. Watt (1891) thought that it was evolved in South India. The richest variety of cultivated forms of *O. Sativa* has been recorded in South and South East Asia, particularly India and Indo-China and therefore Chandraratna M. F. (Genetics and Breeding of Rice, London, 1964, p. 3) is inclined to accept the view expressed by Rocheiriz that the centre of origin of the species has to be located in this region. In fact it has now been established that of the two sub-species of *Oryza Sativa* (Mizushima, 1948 and 1958 cited by Chandraratna) Japonica Kato and Indica Kato the Indian varieties of Indica Kato are "the oldest forms of cultivated rice from which the other geographical races were derived by isolation and selection." (Chandraratna, 1964, p. 3)

11. Shiraz (capital of the province of Fars, Iran) grows two kinds of rice. One is called shari and the other Champeh. Both are of good quality and generally whiter than Indian rice. For method of cultivation of rice in shiraz, see Field Henry, Contribution to the Anthropology of Iran, Chicago, 1939, pp. 23-24

12. Swamy, B. G. L, "Plant remains from the burials of Adichanallur", paper read at a symposium on Human Ecology and Geomorphology of Peninsular India, September 1972, Madras.

13. In Iran today shali is the name for rice before it is milled and brinj after it is husked.

14. For trade between the Tamil country and Chaldea (Mesopotamia) see Sayce, A. H. Hibbert Lectures p. 137; also Hornell, J. Sea-trade in early times, Antiquity, Vol XV, 1941

15. Field Henry, op. cit.

16. Barnett, R. D. Early shipping in the near East, Antiquity, XXXII, December, 1958; A Catalogue of Nimrud Ivories, London, 1957, p 163; also Hornell. J. Naval

activity in the days of Solomon and Rameses III. *Antiquity* no. 82, June 1947

17. Murray, M.A, *The Splendour that was Egypt*, London, 1949, p. 318

18. Murray, M. A., *ibid.* Sumerians in the third millennium B.C. were familiar with the cock and in their language the word for this bird was 'tar-lugal'. The Indus Valley people about the same time had knowledge of the bird. Mackay (1938) thought that fighting cocks were present at Mohenjodaro and that they were the Sonnerat cocks. The institution of fighting cocks is characteristically Indian and according to Zenner (1963) the grey or Sonnerat fowl is found south of the river Godavari.

The cock is not mentioned in Old Testament or Homer. Representation of the bird is found on Babylonian cylinder seals of the seventh to sixth centuries B. C. It is mentioned by Pindar and Aristophanes and the latter calls it the Persian bird. That means that it was probably introduced into Greece from Persia

In Egypt Carter found the painting of a cock in Tutankhamen's tomb (C. 1350 B.C.), but after the Ecnaton-Tutankhamen episode it disappeared from the country and did not appear till after the establishment of the Ptolemaic kingdom. In neighbouring Israel we have the picture of a fighting cock on a seal of Jazania. 'Servant of the king' from Tell-en-Nasheh, (C. 600 BC) Wright G. E. *Biblical Archaeology*, 195, fig. 126, p. 177 — and apparently the bird reached Palestine from South India as it had gone earlier to Egypt during the period of the 18th Dynasty. What appears on the Tell-en-Nasheh seal is a fighting cock *Gallus Sonneratis Temmenk* or the grey or Sonnerat fowl found south of river Godavari and very likely though we get no mention of the bird in Old Testament, the fighting cock was also taken to Palestine along with ivory, gold, ebony and red sandalwood from Ophir/Sūrpāraka during the period of Solomon.

19. One of the main imports from Ophir was the wood of the almug tree and it was used by Solomon for making pillars for his palace and the houses of the Lord and harps and also psalteries for singers. Obviously it was a highly prized material. It could not have been the wood of the sandalwood as some commentators of the passage in question have argued, for the Moldenke have rightly pointed out that the small size of the white sandalwood tree would make it difficult to believe that this was the almug tree of which the pillars and terraces of Solomon's palaces and temples were made (Moldenke, Harold N. and Alma, L. *Plants of the Bible*, New York, 1959, p. 188).

In period III (1000 B.C.) at Rangpur there is evidence of the use of *pterocarpus Santalinus* (red sandalwood). But this tree does not grow in Saurashtra. It enjoys a limited distribution in the sub-continent and that only in South India. It is a large leguminous tree indigenous to South India and Ceylon and its wood is hard and very heavy, of a red or garnet colour. It takes on a fine polish and it would therefore be eminently suited according to the Moldenkes for purpose for which Solomon required it. In India today the wood of this tree is used for making ornamental houseposts, in carving and turnery, in the fabrication of carved idols and figures in temples, lyres and other musical instruments and along with sandalwood (*santalum album*) it is also used as a paste for application to the forehead by priests and worshippers during religious rites (Pearson and Brown, *Commercial Timbers of India*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 395). The identification of Ophir with some region in the west coast of India. Sopara/Sūrpāraka gets added support from the equation of the almug tree with *Pterocarpus Santalinus* which was one of the main imports into Israel from that mysterious land.

20. Tristram, Q. by Harold N. Moldenke and Alma L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, New York, 1902, p. 188.

21. All the available literary references are from Israel and not from India and they are by no means contemporaneous.

rary, although they do reflect conditions that obtained during the period of King Solomon. India and Egypt, it is believed, had commercial relations as early as the days of the Pharaohs and if this be true Indian products may very well have been known to Israelites next door even before Hiram's voyages to Ophir on behalf of Solomon. The earliest authority for the expeditions of Solomon (971-931 B.C.)—and these expeditions to Ophir continued at irregular intervals till the reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah (873-849 B.C.) and great grandson of Solomon—is the Syrian priest—historian Sanchuniathan (8th Century B.C.) In his History of Phoenicia he refers to ivory, apes and peacocks brought back by the joint expedition to the Indian Ocean fitted out by Hiram, King of the Judaeans, and Solomon.

According to the Moldenkes the Biblical plants native to India were the following: I Calamus, Sweet Calamus and 'sweet cane' of

- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Exodus | 30 : 23 - 24 |
| 2. I Kings | 10 : 10 |
| 3. Song | 4 : 14 |
| 4. Jeremiah | 6 : 20 |
| 5. Ezekeil | 27 : 19 |

which they call ginger grass and identify with *Andropogon aromaticus*. But *Andropogon aromaticus* of 1890s included the three modern species of ginger grass:

1. *Cymbopogon flexuorus* (Nees ex steud) Wats.
2. *Cymbopogon martinii* (Roxb.) Wats.
3. *Cymbopogon travancorensis* (Bor).

In all these three species of the genus *Cymbopogon* the aromatic oil is stored in the special cells in the leaves and sheaths of the plant and therefore when the leaves are bruised they are highly odoriferous. The odour persists for a long time. The leaves of all the three have a slight taste of ginger. Schweinfurth (1884) has recorded that when the tombs of certain kings of the 20th and 21st dynasties (1200-1000 B.C.) were opened in 1881 the odour of the grass *Cymbopogon Schoenanthus* (Linn) same as *Cymbopogon*

flexuorus (Nees ex steud) wats, according to Index Kewensis *Andropogon aromaticus* (Roxb), was still perceptible.

All the three species of the genus *Cymbopogon* mentioned are grown in South India. *Cymbopogon flexuorus*, however, is not considered native to the country; it is native to many other tropical and semi-tropical parts of Asia. *Cymbopogon martinii* is native to India and has two forms. *Cymbopogon travancorensis* is native to South India and grows wild on the dry hill slopes of South Travancore.

The question is which of these is sweet calamus. If it is to be identified with ginger grass as the Moldenkes, do it could just be any one of the three species of *Cymbopogon* as they are all called popularly ginger grass and all of them yield ginger oil.

Considering that it was used for its sweet odour in Egyptian tombs of the 20th and 21st dynasties and that it was available in the Tamil country/South India where eagle wood, ebony and cinnamon besides *Pterocarpus Santalinus* could be bought the sweet calamus of Exodus 30: 23-24, I Kings 10: 10, Song 4: 10, Jeremiah 6: 20 and Exekiel 27: 19 was *Andropogon Schoenanthus* (Linn) same as *Andropogon aromaticus* 'Roxb,' same as *Cymbopogon flexuorus* (Nees ex steud) Wats.

- II. 'Aloes' of
- | | |
|-------------|--------|
| 1. Psalms | 45 : 8 |
| 2. Proverbs | 7 : 17 |
| 3. Song | 4 : 14 |

identified variously as *Acquilaria Agallocha* (Roxb) or eagle wood and *Santalum album* (L) or sandalwood. The eagle tree or aloes of the Old Testament is a tall tree native to Northern India, Indo-China and Malaya. Psalms 45: 8 refers to garments smelling of myrrh, aloes and cassia. But since 'aloes' is mentioned along with cassia, identified with *Cinnamomum Cassia* (Blume) and *Cinnamomum Zeylanicum* (Nees) native to South India, Ceylon, Malaya and the East Indies most commentators have taken it to mean not *Acquilaria agallocha* (Roxb), the eagle wood but *Santalum*

album (Linn) the sandal wood which is native to Peninsular India and the East Indies. The Moldenkes think that being more accessible to the people of Palestine, Santalum album, sandal wood and not the eagle wood was the aloes of Psalms, 45 : 8, Proverbs 7 : 17 and Song 1 : 14, 'although this is by no means certain.

III. Cinnamomum Cassia (Blume) of

Exodus 30 : 23-24

Ezekiel 27 : 7

secured by Moses and later by Solomon probably went from Malabar if not also from Ceylon. Cinnamomum Gracile is a plant that is endemic in the Tinnevely District and also in some places in Kerala. The best quality of cinnamon, however, comes from the South-Western region of Ceylon. In the beginning of the nineteenth century in the English East India Company's gardens in Tinnevely both nutmeg and cinnamon were grown and if today Tinnevely does not produce as much cinnamon as in the earlier days it is because (Fort St George Consultations dated 6th April, 1815) cultivation of the items-nutmeg and cinnamon-was neglected by reason of the fact that Ceylon had already become a permanent possession of the British Government. The position in circa 1000 B.C. was different and cinnamon being endemic both in north-western Ceylon and Tinnevely the Phoenician ships plying between Ezion Geber and Adichanallur may have called at both sides of the Gulf of Mannar and collected cinnamon a principal ingredient in the manufacture of the 'holy oil' used in the Tabernacle for anointing the sacred vessels and the persons of the officiating priests since the time of Moses.

IV. Diospyros ebenaster (Retz)

Diospyros ebenum (König)

Diospyros melanoxylon (Roxb.)

the hodnim or havnim in Hebrew of Ezekeil 25 : 15. Prophet Ezekeil (about 588 B.C.) says, "many isles were the merchandise of thine hand ; they brought thee for a present

horns of ivory and ebony." The Moldenkes believe that only Indians and Ceylonese ebony is involved in the scriptural reference cited and would think that the 200 logs of ebony presented to the kings of Persia every year by the Ethiopians were originally from India or Ceylon. Ebony was the wood out of which according to Classical mythology the royal throne of Pluto was made. The Pythian Appollo and the statues of many Egyptian gods and goddesses were carved of ebony. Ebony grows on the high ranges of Kerala, India and in Tinnevely one can see it while going higher up towards Kannikatti.

Other Biblical plants of Indian origin are 'Copher' 'Kopher' (Song 1 : 14) Lawsonia Inermis, the henna plant originally a native of northern India, Nērd, Naird or Nard (Song 1 : 12) Nardostachys Jatamansi, 'the spikenard that 'Sendeth forth its smell "while the King settleth at his table."

Of the plants that were imports to Jerusalem from Ophir sweet calamus, cassia, aloes, almug, hodrim, copher, spikenard and myrrh (Balsamodendron, (Nees) often cultivated in Western India today) could have been collected at Surparaka, modern Sopara, Ophir of the Old Testament, the most important mart on the west coast of India at the time and some of them like sweet calamus, aloes, almug and cassia also at Adichanallur situate at the lower reaches of the river Tamraparni. By Ophir probably we have to understand a whole region and not a single point, Surparaka, Sopara after which the entire western sea-board of India and Ceylon were then probably known to the Israelites. In this region there were often ports of call which Hiram's ships touched to collect the commodities which neither Somaliland nor South Arabia could give in paying quantities.

An interesting feature of the archaeological material unearthed at Adichanallur is the occurrence in some of the burial urns which have also produced gold diadems and mouth-pieces—unmistakably imports from Eastern Mediterranean lands—of bronze vessels with ornamental lids,

the latter carrying representations of plants, some of them locally grown and others exotic. A leading botanist (Dr. B. G. L. Swamy) thinks that the plants depicted belong to the species *Sarcostemma brevistigma* (Wt. and Arn) 1834, Pl. I, 1. Others believe that they represent *Periploca aphylla* and *Ephedra pedunculosis*. One of the plants, strangely enough, represents the *Silphium* plant showing a foliate stem and what may be taken for triple bunch of fruits or flowers above (See Plate I, 5).

Sarcostemma brevistigma has a stem as an ordinary wooden pen-holder. Its distribution in India is apparently endemic. In Maharashtra it is common (Rev. Santapau and N. A. Irani: Botanical Memoir, No. 4, University of Bombay, The Aesclepiadaceae and Periplocaceae). It has been reported from the Nilgiris (Fyson, P. F. The Flora of Indian Hill Stations) and many places in Tamilnadu including Tirukoilur, S. Arcot District. Plate I, 8, according to Rea the excavator of Adichanallur represents a lid with what appears to be leaves of the mango tree (or does it represent a cactus?) with a central column carrying a winged insect like a harnet. The significant fact about the plants depicted on the ornamental lids of bronze vessels mentioned is that *Sarcotemma brevistigma*, *Periploca Aphylla* and *Ephedra pedunculosis* are plants used today as substitutes for Somalata whatever the original Somalata was like.

Sarcotemma brevistigma is the 'soma' plant used in many parts of India today. To a mixture of milk and honey are added dry stems of this plant or a decoction thereof. According to Dr. Gibson (cited by Watt in his Dictionary of Economic Products, 6(2) 478, 1893) the plant contains a large amount of milky sap which is used by travellers to allay their thirst.

Ephedra is a "low growing shrub with slender green branches devoid of leaves except for a small membranous sheath at the nodes." The Parsis of India use this plant as the sacred Haoma in their ritual. The description of the plant given will suit its representation in Plate I, 1- Another

plant that the parsis use as Haoma is *Periploca aphylla* "an erect perennial with twigs as thick as "a goose quill or less and possessing a milky sap."

All these three, however, used in India must be considered surrogates of Somalata. And as for the original Soma plant Wasson (Wasson, R. Gordon, Soma, Divine mushroom of Immortality, Ethnomycological studies, No. 1, Harcourt Brace Jova—Novich, Inc, The Hague, Mouton, 1969) identifies it with Fly Agaric, *Amanita muscaria* and which suits admirably the description of the Soma plant, as given in the Rig Veda. Ingals, Daniel, A. H. (JAOS Vol. 91, number 2, April — June 1971) while agreeing with Wasson's identification of the plant with *Amanita Muscaria* — the mushroom of the Siberian Shaman-thinks that the Soma extract (not the word soma itself) may be a borrowing by the Indo-European, Indo-Aryan speakers from the Finno-Ugrian speakers — we ought to say the Ural-Altai-speakers. He has pointed out how the Ugrain Ostyaks and the Voguls, linguistic relatives of the Hungarians are apparently still imbibing Soma on the banks of the Ob river. Whatever be the original Soma plant, after their arrival in India, Indo-Aryan speakers began to use several surrogates, one of which — and most commonly used in the Soma ritual — has been *Sarcotemma brevistigma* (Roxb).

The ritual drink prepared from the plants depicted on the ornamental lids from urn-burials at Adichanallur may not have been called Soma. Though the name Soma is Indo-Aryan the hallucinogenic drink made from Fly Agaric which the Ugrian Ostyaks and the Voguls apparently are still imbibing on the banks of the Ob river was probably used by Ural-Altais, linguistic ancestors of the Proto-Dravidians and Finno-Ugrish speakers from whom it was borrowed by the Indo-European Indo-Aryan speakers on their way to India.

We do not know whether the bronze vessels with ornamental lids carrying reproductions of plants that may reasonably be considered surrogates of Soma and the bronze colanders from Adichanallur the latter reminding us of the

colanders from Ur (compare pl. IV. 9 and 10 of Adichanallur specimens with pl. IV. 7 from Ur. grave of Queen Shub -ad) constituted the outfit of medicine men or priests. If it was that of the priests ministering to the spiritual needs of the Tamiras living on the banks of the Tamraparni river in circa 1,000 B. C. the latter were using surrogates, mostly the twigs of the plant *Sarcostemma brevistigma* like their contemporaries in the Punjab and the Gangetic valley for making their ritual drink.

Silphinm was a umbelliferous plant now extinct but highly prized in antiquity (Evans, Sir Arthur, *The Place of Minos*, Vol. I *The Neolithic and Early Minoan Ages*, London, 1921, p. 284) thinks that for this plant "the nearest available comparison seems to be supplied by narthex of north Kashmir and that 'the plant may have been actually introduced into Crete and cultivated there in Minoan days. Its representation on bronze ornamental lids from Adichanallur (See, Pl. I, 5) confirms the maritime contacts that South India had with eastern Mediterranean lands particularly Palestine, Cyprus and Crete.

Besides the ritual use of an inebriating drink the repertoire of religious practices at Adichanallur in circa 1000 B. C. included worship of a fertility goddess (Fig. 35) whose attributes included the dove, a male god like Muruga whose attributes included the lance and the cock emblem and whose devotees wore mouth pieces like their compatriots today while carrying *Kāvadi* to his shrine in the Palni hills and another male god, one of whose attributes was the trident.

Sivaramamurthi, C (*South Indian Bronzes*, p. 44 Pl. 1 a) characterises the bronze figurine from Adichanallur as that of a Mother Goddess and says that it may be 3,000 years old. With her pendant breasts may be she was the representation of a fertility goddess. She wears a girdle — we should call it a brief - well below her waist. Her hair parted in the centre rests on her shoulders on either side; she wears an outsize ring round her neck; her face is non-descript, a horizontal cut indicating the mouth. With the short legs and hands that

are two protruding stumps terminating at the elbow she has no parallel in the innumerable female terracottas that we have from several sites in the sub-continent from about the middle of the third millennium B. C. With her pendant breasts she resembles remotely the woman from the Phaistos disc (*Minos-I*, p. 654, fig. 48, d).

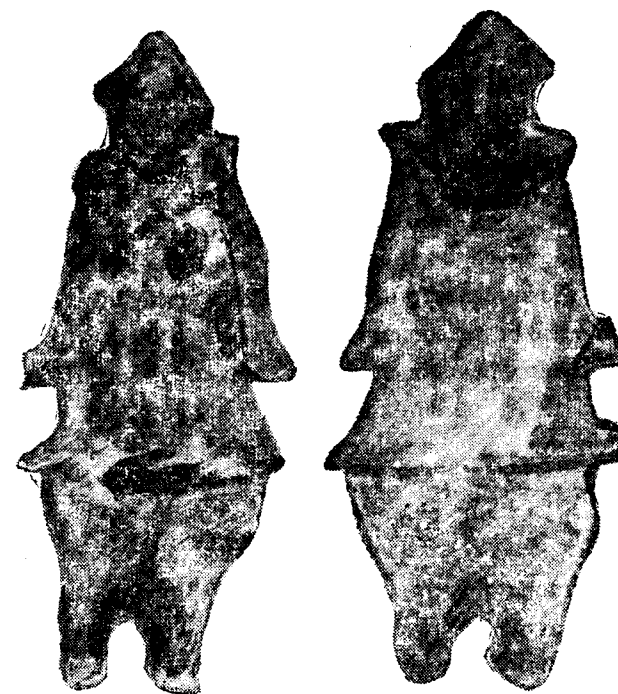


Fig. 35. Bronze figurine (Adichanallur)

The birds appearing on ornamental lids of bronze vessels seems to be doves, some of them. (Pl. II 6) and their presence at Adichanallur is in keeping with their association with the mother goddess. Many vases at Vounous, Bellapais, Cyprus as at Adichanallur are decorated with modelled doves. Other animals, stags, antelopes & C which Dikaiois thinks are consecrated to the mother goddess are also represented in relief at the place (Dikaiois, *Early Bronze Age cults in Cyprus*, as revealed by the Excavations at Vounous, Bellapais, *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences*, p. 183.) Pottery

figures of doves with outstretched wings have been found at Mohenjo-daro, early Crete and Tepe Musyan in Elam. Dove was dedicated to goddess Ninckarsag at Al Ubaid; in ancient Sumer it seems to have been included in offering to various deities. The close association of Mother Goddess and dove is seen in Crete and further west in Sardinia. Doves were sacred to Al-Uzza worshipped at the Kaaba as a Mother-goddess.

Dog at Adichanallur probably may be taken as evidence in support of the view that the goddess worshipped by the people of the settlement was also a goddess of wealth like Gula figuring on boundary stones. Gula had the dog as her animal attribute.

Double-edged sword — blades in iron of the Adichanallur form are known from Cyprus where according to Montelius iron was known soon after 1500 B.C. Swords with long grip which may have been used two-handed, sort of equestrian sword, sharp on both sides and relatively dull at the point common at Adichanallur represented one of several innovations in the art of war introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos after the Middle Kingdom.

Among the tombs of the Early Iron Age of Solomon's period at Tell Duweir, Biblical Lachish an outstanding one was the tomb in which was found a three — pronged fork or trident of iron similar to the iron tridents from Adichanallur. Whether it was the attribute of a male-god (like Siva) or merely a flesh-hook for lifting meat from an offerings bin we do not know.

22. Tell-Jemmeh was the ancient city of Gerar in Palestine, a frontier town facing Egypt, mentioned several times in the book of Genesis. The oldest iron knives at the site date back to 1350 B. C. and by 1200 B. C. Gerar had furnaces for smelting iron and large tools fabricated locally included hoes and plough-irons (Compare iron hoe/plough share from Gerar, fig. 34, 4 with iron hoes/plough-irons shares from Adichanallur Fig. 34, 5 and 6). For iron

hoes and plough shares from Gerar see Petrie, Sir Flinders, Gerar, Quariteh, 1928, London 30, pl. XXIV.

23. The hoe is an agricultural tool and according to the manner in which it is hafted it could be a thrust hoe or a draw hoe. In the thrust hoe the memory of the primitive digging stick still survives. It is used in India today by the Sauria Paharias near Rajmahal and the Kurumbar in the Nilgiris. In the draw hoe the blade to begin with was hafted to a bifurcated branch of a tree having a knee-joint as the Khasis of Assam still do today. The Knee-joint haft was characteristic of the adzes used in ancient Egypt for slicing away the surface of wood. Used like a palstave the thrust hoe is a familiar tool in Tamil Nadu and Kerala for picking old mud walls or parting clods of earth. Fitted with long wooden handles the iron hoe blades from both Gerar and Adichanallur would have made excellent thrust hoes, but fitted with knee-joint haft they could have been employed with equal efficiency as draw hoes.

Adichanallur cultivated both rice (*Oriza Sativa*) and a millet (*Panicum millaceum*), Tamil *Camai*. This millet has not been known from any neolithic, chalcolithic or protohistoric sites in India although today it is a common cultigen, a summer crop grown all over the sub-continent. In the Nilgiris and Kerala it is grown on the hill slopes. *Panicum Millaceum* is regarded as the true millet and has been cultivated from remote times in S. Europe, Asia and Africa. Its origin, however, is uncertain. In the regions where it is cultivated today there is no authentic instance of its having been found truly wild. Linnaeus regarded it as a home plant, but De Candolle considered it as of Egypto-Arabian origin. Of the two varieties of the millet the one with smaller grains *Panicum Miliare*, Tamil *Ciru Camai*, is grown mostly in Coimbatore district, Tamil Nadu. On the Nilgiris *Camai* is a principal element in the dietary of the Todas and elsewhere in South India it is eaten during religious fasts. Not native to India it is interesting to speculate whether *Panicum millaceum* was not introduced into South India in the wake of the country's

contact with Egypt and South-West Asia, including Palestine and Syria in the closing centuries of the second millennium B.C. and afterwards to the rest of the sub-continent.

The fact that Adichanallur cultivated rice in circa 1,000 B. C., probably also called Cālī at the time - meaning that which was grown in furrows - and from which the name Shali/Shari still used for unhusked rice both in India and Iran takes its origin would seem to indicate that some sort of a traction plough was employed when this grain began to be raised. For millet, however, the dibbling stick with a fork would have been alright.

Except for a solitary example from an urn-burial under an umbrella stone at Chathaparamba, Beypore, Malabar (Babington J. Description of the Pandoo coolies in Malabar, Transactions of the Literary society of Bombay, III, and reproduced in JLSB, 1877, p. 342) no other examples of the Adichanallur hoes have been reported from Iron Age sites in South India. The single specimen of an iron hoe from an early historic iron-smelting site near Dhalwa in the Tapi vally in Surat unlike the Adichanallur hoe has a flat underside, upturned butt and pointed end. (Hegde, R.J.M. Early stages of metallurgy in India, International Symposium on Radio carbon and Indian Archaeology, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, March 11, 1972) we have no metal hoes from chalcolithic sites in India, no bronze hoe that could have been the forerunner of the iron hoe from Adichanallur.

A most vexed problem in the history of agriculture has been the origin of the plough. Petrie (Tools and Weapons, chapter III, p. 18) would derive the Egyptian plough from the hoe. Likewise Paul Leser (Entsehung Und Verbreitung des pfluges, Origin and diffusion of the plough) supposes the descent of the plough from the spade. Carl Whiting Bishop (Origin and Early Diffussion of the Traceion Plough. Antiquity, September 1936) disputes the theory of the development of the plough from the hoe, for he says that the hoe handle can scarcely have been the origin of plough-beam. But when Petrie said that the plough has to be derived from the hoe he was

thinking in terms of the hoe blade and the plough-share and not in terms of the hoe-haft and the plough-beam. The thrust hoe being the development out of a dibbling or digging stick the postulate of Catling (Cypriot, Bronze work in the Mycenaean World, Oxford 1964 p. 79) that the large hoes have doubtless developed from the plough shares seems untenable. In Egypt the plough in its origin was a hoe drawn through the ground.

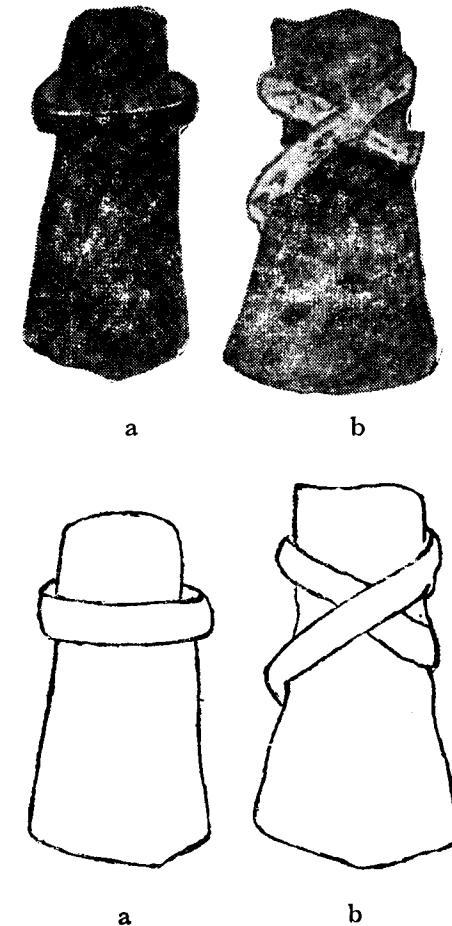


Fig. 36. Single ring guard and Double ring guard (Adichanallur).

Besides hoes and plough/shares Adichanallur also produced adzes, some with no ring-guards and others with single or double ring-guards. For adze blades from Adichanallur with single and double ring-guards see Fig. 36a and b.

Adze blades with double ring-guards have turned up from iron age burials at Junapani, near Nagpur, Maharashtra (I.A.R. 1961-62 Pl. V. A. from Megalith III).

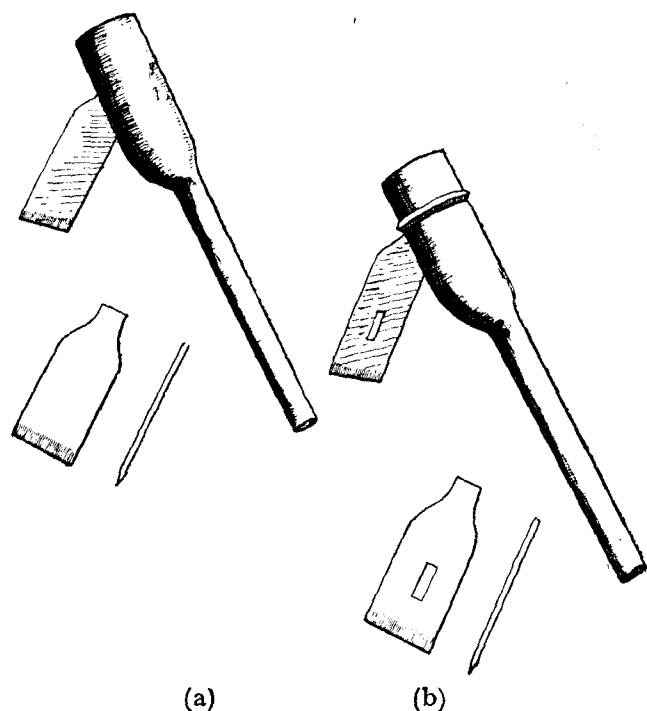


Fig. 37. Adzes used for Cutting laterite in Kerala.

(a) without ring-guard (b) Single ring-guard

Today laterite blocks are trimmed into shape in Kerala by adzes with no ring-guard or only one ring-guard round their haft (See Fig. 37).

The iron pick (thrust hoe) Fig. 38 from Taxila, Bhira mound, stratum I was obviously made to take a straight vertical handle (Marshall, Sir John, Taxila, Vol. II p. 599, No. 191) and it has its analogous in Petrie, Tools and Weapons, Pl. XIX, 5, 12, 14, 25 & c as pointed out by Marshall.

Casal (J. M. Casal, Fouilles d'Amri, Paris, 1964) found a hoe-blade at Amri from level VB, 3 (Fig. 39). Period V Amri extends from 1550 to 1700 A. D. and the hoe-blade found in

VB, 3 may be considered a survival of a type for which after Taxila (Bhira mound, Stratum I) we have no evidence in sites of the historical period in that part of the sub-continent.

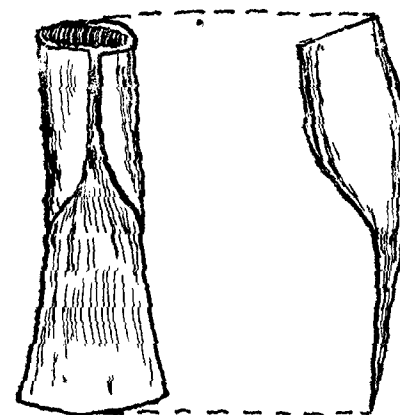


Fig. 38. Pick, Taxila.

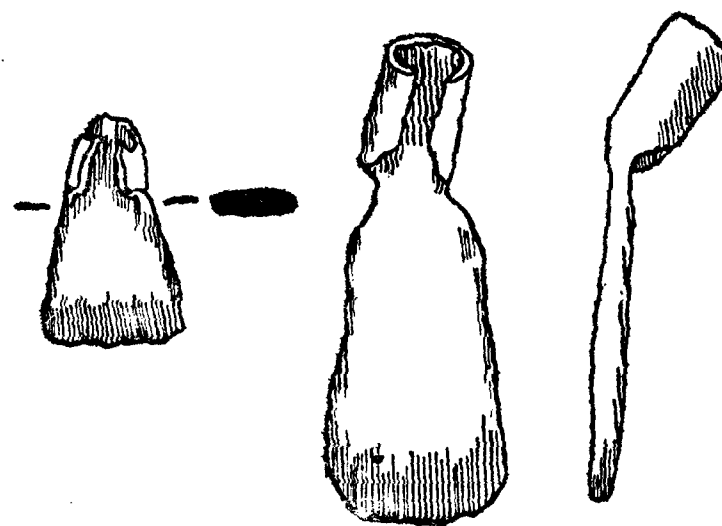


Fig. 39. Hoe-blade, Amri.

The sockets in all the blades, Fig. 34, 1 and 2 from Susa, 3 from Tell-el-Mutesellim, 4 Gerar and 5 and 6 Adichanallur are weak and not closed and a legitimate inference would be that they were not used, in the words of Petrie (Petrie, Sir Flinders, Tools and Weapons, pp. 18 and 19) "on any material which had elasticity or strength to hold it".

At Gerar we have both hoe-blades and plough shares (G. A. Wainwright, *The Coming of Iron*, Antiquity, 1936); also at Tell el Mutesellim (G. Schumacher, *Tell el Mutesellim I*, Leipzig 1908, PL. XLII). Some of the metal hoes/plough shares from Adichanallur. Fig. 34, 5 and 6 are closest in form to samples from Gerar, Fig. 34, 4 and Tell el Mutesellim, Fig. 34, 3 and a legitimate inference would be that, considering that they are totally absent in the Indian sub-continent beyond Tamil Nadu during pre and protohistoric periods, Bronze and early iron ages, Adichanallur derived them from Palestine with which it had commercial relations from before and during the period of Solomon and Hiram II.

Catling (Cypriot Bronze work in the Mycenaean world, Oxford, 1964, p. 82) believes that the blades with parallel sides and used as plough shares originated in the Near East. Mallouan found comparable pieces from Chagar Bazar from level dated to the III Dynasty of Ur (2100 B.C.). They have been found at Tell Brak and at Mari, apparently from early chronological contexts. There was a single example from Susa (*Revue Archéologique*, XXVII, 1930). Those from Alishar II, Amarna and Ras Shamra like the Cypriote examples (bronze) belong to the 14th century B.C. At Tell Beit Mishrim bronze shares survived into the iron Age.

It is difficult to determine whether the blades, the edges of which either taper or are parallel or widen only very slightly from socket downward, were all of them plough-shares. Some of them were only blades of thrust hoes. In Cyprus, however, they closely resemble the steel shares used at the present day on wooden scratch ploughs with this difference that the latter are slightly larger than any of the Bronze Age examples. Among what have been called hoe-blades at Adichanallur a distinction is noticeable between what could have been only draw-hoe blades in which the splay breaks out straight from below the socket and others in which the edges are parallel. Figs. 34, 5 and 6 are examples of the latter category. They could have been used either as plough-shares or as picks. Eukomi in Cyprus produced a large bronze hoe pyriform in shape (Catling,

op cit, Fig. 7, 2) similar to a hoe from Sargonic period found at Kish (*Excavations at Kish Vol. IV*, Watelin pl. XXXIII, 3). The broad blades from Adichanallur (A. Rea, *Catalogue of the Pre-historic Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair*, Madras, 1915 Plate IV, Nos. 13, 14 and 15) like the large hoe from Eukomi (Catling, op. cit Fig. 7, 2) would not have been used for hand digging hard ground. Fitted on a knee-joint haft they were used to work a tilth on land already roughly cultivated.

In Cyprus the use of the plough is at least as early as the Bronze Age. The plough shares of the Stylianou hoard from the island (Catling, op. cit, Figs. 7, 3 and 4) have their analogues at Gerar (Petrie, Gerar, Pl. XXVI, 2) at Adichanallur, also at Tell el Mutesellim, Palestine and Kush, Egypt. Petrie calls the Gerar sample (EK. 186-1150 B.C.) a plough sock. The plough-shares of the Stylianou hoard (Cyprus) are dated by Catling to the 12th century B. C. The parallels from Adichanallur (iron) Fig. 34, 5 and 6, Gerar Fig. 34, 4, Tell el Mutesellim, Fig. 34, 3 and Susa Fig. 34, 1 and 2 could well have been used both as plough share and hafted to a straight or slightly bent stick as a thrust hoe.

In South India we have no plough shares in bronze. That means that for centuries before the Iron Age the ploughs carried no metal share and as in Egypt the scratch point was perhaps fire hardened to help it withstand the wear and tear of use. Or, may be, as in Egypt during most of the Dynastic period (Morgan, *Pre-historic man*, 1924, p. 172) the ploughs were armed with flint.

Cyprus has a clay model of a ploughing scene from early Bronze Age (third millennium B. C.). Traction plough is represented in an archaic Sumerian seal of circa 3500 B. C. Kalibangan, district Ganganagar, Rajasthan, India (early middle third millennium B. C.) has revealed fields with furrow mark and may be traction plough was used in Sind and the Punjab during pre-Harappan and Harappan days. At Nippur a seal impression of the Kassite period has the representation of a plough.

At one time it was thought that the Harappans did not employ the plough to raise their crops, wheat, barley and rice, but only a light toothed harrow (D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1956, p. 64), that the spring crops were raised on land which had been submerged by spill from the river or one of its flood channels-on land which had been neither ploughed nor manured (Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, 1968, p. 260), that the autumn crops were raised on fields surrounded by earth embankments mostly along the banks of natural flood channels.

It is, however, doubtful whether without the use of the plough the Harappans could have raised sufficient grains to fill their giant granaries. In fact the evidence of Kalibhangan (pre-Harappan, a little after 2700 B. C.) shows that the people at the site ploughed their fields though no metal plough shares of the period have survived. Maybe S. Langdon and I. Mahadevan are right in identifying among the ideograms of the Indus script one as representation of a plough (Marshall, J. ed. *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, London 1931 2, 437, sign 68). An almost identical pictogram in Sumerian reads *pin*, *apin* (plough). The suggested homophones for this sign (I. Mahadevan, *Dravidian Parallels in Proto-Indian script*, *Journal of Tamil Studies*, Vol. II No. 1, April, 1970) are *Cēr*, plough, plough with yoke and *Cēr*, granary. Granaries which Wheeler likened to public treasuries existed both at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. But we have no knowledge of the kind of plough that the Harappans employed. There is no tool from Harappan sites that can be called a plough. The evidence, however, of Kalibhangan points to the use of the plough already by the pre-Harappans. Copper objects at Kalibhangan included knives but not plough-share. But what is remarkable about furrow marks laid bare at the site is that they could not have been traced by any light-toothed harrow. They are identical with the marks made by ploughs with iron share and drawn by camels in Rajasthan, Punjab and Sind today. The Rohri type of flakes or blades of chert and flint survived into the advanced chalcolithic civilizations of the Bronze Age in Sind and maybe one such was employed as a plough-share both by the pre-Harappans and the Harappans.

The 'empire' of the Harappan civilization included two great cities, Mohenjodaro and Harappa, 350 miles apart which together according to Lambrick (H. T. Lambrick, *Sind. A General Introduction*, Hyderabad, Pakistan, 1964, p. 71) had a total population of 70,000. If that was the total population of the two urban centres the 'empire' during its heyday probably had to feed a total population of about one and three quarter million (Lambrick's estimate) which palpably would have been impossible with only fringe cultivation along the river valley and considering that in contemporary Mesopotamia with which the Harappans had trade relations in the period of Sargon of Akkad the plough was already employed for cultivation and that at Kalibhangan, one of the centres of the Harappan culture already in the pre-Harappan levels we have the presence of plough of sorts for tilling the soil and for raising principal crops, like wheat, barley and rice.

24. Petrie, Sir Flinders, Gerar, Quaritch, London, 1928, p. 14, Hoe, E.K. 186. A smaller hoe he dates to 1194 B.C. three others to 1100 B.C. 1000 B.C. and 932 B.C. respectively. Iron knives at Gerar take back the antiquity of iron at the site to 1350 B.C. and by 1200 B.C. Gerar had large furnaces for smelting iron. At Megiddo in north Palestine an iron foundry was discovered with quantities of iron ore and several manufactured iron implements which included plough-shares and hose of various sorts. Wainwright would date the furnace in question and its tool-kit to a period anterior to 926 B.C. (Wainwright, G.A. *The Coming of Iron*, Antiquity, 1936).

25. Similar hoes in bronze have been reported from Ugarit, Ras Shamra, Lebanon within a time bracket of 1400-1300 B. C. Identical hoes (blades) were found in Crete in the Bronze Age. Mecquenem found a similar hoe in copper at Susa, Fig. 34, 2 (Mecquenem, R. D. *Excavations at Susa (Persia) 1930-31*. Articles of copper found at Susa, Fig. 17, hoe, *Antiquity* December 1931).

A bronze hoe from a foundation deposit at Kush, Nile valley, South of Wadi Halfa, is dated to circa 860 B. C. Iron

hoes of similar shape were among the tools used in the field at Hasanlu in Period IV, 1000-800 B. C.

The single specimen in bronze from Kish from the Sargonic period (Watelin, *Excavations at Kish*, Vol. IV pl. XXXIII, I3) has a wide blade, pyriform in shape like the large hoe from Enkomi, Cyprus (Catling op. cit. Fig. 2) but with a closed socket and it could have been used as a draw hoe.

Fig. 34, 1 from Susa (bronze) is a unilaterally winged thrust hoe; it may as well have been a plough share comparable to examples from Tell Brak. Kish produced (Langdon, *Excavations at Kish*, Vol. I Pl. XX 5) an implement from the period of Hammurabi looking like a hoe in which the blade is closed at the top. A similar tool was also found at Lagash, but with the socket ending in a projecting knob. Heusey calls the Lagash specimen a kind of trowel (Heusey, *Nouvelle Fouilles de Tello*, p. 149). It could, however, have been used as a draw hoe provided its haft was of the knee-joint type and one of its forked arms tubular. In any case the tool could not have been a trowel, the butt of the blade being too short to be operated by the user holding it in his hand.

26. Fig. 34. 2 (bronze). Fig. 34. 1 is a similar hoe (iron) from Mesopotamia. It has been dated to Circa 800 B. C. (V. Gordon Childe, *Archaeological Ages as Technological stages*, JRAI, Vol. LXXIV, Parts I and II, 1944, p. 14).

27. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, *Early India and Pakistan to Asoka*, London, 1959, p, 164.

A similar note was struck by D. D. Kosambi. He said that it was difficult to imagine that iron was in common use anywhere in the Deccan much earlier than the Mauryan period (Kosambi D.D. *At the Crossroads*, JRAS, Parts I and 2, 1960 p. 30).

Iron emerges both in Peninsular India and in the north at the beginning of the 1st millennium B. C. On the basis of

C 14 dates from Pirak damb, Kachi plain, Pakistan, the use of iron in this region bordering S. Eastern Iran has been dated to the 9th Century B. C. (J. F. Jarrige and T. E. Enault, *Recent Excavations of the French in Pakistan* p. 6, International Symposium on Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology, Bombay, March 7-11-1972.)

At Namazga Tepe in South Turkmenia in the graves of Namazga VI, Tower Hill period dated by the radio carbon method to 1030 ± 60 B. C. already iron beads were found. While northern India probably derived its knowledge of iron from Armenia, Pontus, Turkmenia and Eastern Iran generally Tamilnadu received it from Palestine and Syria between 1200 and 1000 B. C. as evidenced by the iron-hoes and plough-shares of Tell Jemme genre found at Adichanallur, Tinnevely district. The site has also thrown up tuyers for smelting iron ores. Leonard Munn believed that iron was discovered in S. India independently of the north (Pre-historic and Protohistoric finds in the Raichur and Shorapur districts of H. E. H. the Nizam's State, *Man in India*, Vol. XV, No. 4, October, December, 1935, p. 234). To say that iron spread to Peninsular India much later than its arrival in the north is to ignore the evidence of two C 14 dates from Dharwar district, Karnataka State, 1105 ± 105 B. C. and 955 ± 100 B. C. respectively. For the Gangetic valley we have a single C 14 date 1025 ± 100 B. C. from Atranjikhhera, Etah district, Uttar Pradesh State. For Eastern India we have a C 14 date from Mahisdal, West Bengal in the closing years of the 7th Century B. C.

We have a spate of iron implements and weapons from a large number of sites in the near East about the beginning of the 1st millennium B. C. the awareness of the use of iron having already spread over the entire region stretching from the Mediterranean in the West to India in the east. Evidence of iron at Gerar goes back to 1200 B. C. The temple of Solomon at Jerusalem contained as much as 30 tons of iron. It was built 200 years before Sargon-II (722-705 B.C.). Tukulti Nirurta II (890-84 B.C.) refers to roads made by his own picks and spades. A particularly striking find of iron from the later

city of Nineveh consisted of no less than 100 tons of this metal in bars. In the monarch's store-room at Khorasabad Victor Place found a hoard of iron estimated at 150 tons consisting of iron blooms and bars including three ploughs.

Weapons and agricultural tools including hoes and plough-shares from Adichanallur now in the Madras Museum number 394. To this one has to add what Dr. Jagor carried to Berlin in 1876 and M. Louis Lapidique to Paris in 1904. Omitting the latter two collections if a five acre piece of excavated land could yield that many articles of iron besides crucibles for smelting iron and chunks of iron ores the number awaiting the spade in the archaeological reserve of 114 acres at the site must, indeed, be enormous. That means Adichanallur was an important centre of iron smelting and iron metallurgy, fabricating iron hoes and plough-shares of the Tell Jemmeh-Tell-el-Mutesellim genre, iron pikes with quillon reminiscent of iron pikes from Lapithos, Cyprus (Second Proto-Geometric period) with disc-guard fixed to the middle of the pike (Einar Gjersted et al, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition 1927-1931*, Vol. I, Text, Stockholm 1934 and A. Rea, *Catalogue of the pre-historic Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair*, Madras, 1915, Pl. V, 5 and 7), double edged 'Hyksos' type swords with long grips, sharp on both sides and probably used two handed and the Tell Duveir (Biblical Lachish) type of iron trident of the time of Solomon-or is it only a three pronged fork for lifting meat? A Phoenician cylinder seal shows the God with a trident-like thunderbolt (Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 251).

28. Sankalia, H. D. Dev. S. B. Anzari, F. D. and Erhardt S. History to pre-history at Nevasa (1954-56), Poona 1960 pp. 504-505.

Iron was in use at Prakash, Tapti valley almost right from the earliest level of period-II. Though no initial date is available for this period its beginnings cannot have been as late as the third century B. C. (Thapar, B. K. Prakash, 1965, *Ancient India*, Nos. 20 and 21, 1964 and 1965).

In the Yamuna—Ganga Doab too iron had already come into general use before the appearance of the Black Polished ware-450 B. C.—as evidenced at Alamgirpur, Hastinapura, Kausambi and Sravasti and at Bahal, Prabhaspatan and Ujjain. In Western and Central India Iron preceded this particular variety of pottery. Hence a third century B. C. date for the introduction of iron in the regions mentioned is untenable. For iron at Chirand and Mahisdal in Eastern India we have pre-Mauryan C 14 dates. Iron in fact had reached Mahisdal, district Birbhum, West Bengal in the closing centuries of the seventh century B. C.

29. Period I at Ujjain produced both black and red ware and iron arrow-heads and spear-heads and Banerjee would date period-II at Nagda, district Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, to circa 750-500 B. C. (Banerjee, N.R. *The Iron Age in India*, Delhi, 1965, p. 7)

Thapar has pointed out that while iron may have been introduced into Gandhara and the Indus regions by their Achaemenid conquerors "to attribute the knowledge of iron of the early iron age cultures of Central India and the Deccan to the same source would at the present time appear to be an extrapolation". In the face of the C 14 date for iron at Pirak dam, Kacchi plains (785±105 B.C.) it would be legitimate to infer that iron had reached the Indus plains much earlier than the period of the Achaemenid conquest of the region.

There was no closed frontier as we understand it today between Iran and the Indus valley at any time since neolithic times and to say that the Achaemenid conquerors introduced iron into North India for the first time is to forget the fact that to the West across Sind and Baluchistan in what is Eastern Iran iron had come into general use in the closing centuries of the second millennium B. C. (E. Wyndham Hulme, *On Prehistoric and Primitive Iron working*. The Newcomen Society for the study of Engineering and Technology, pp. 12, 13). James Robertson, according to Hulme, had established that one of the iron mines at Caradogh near Tabriz, Iran, must have been continuously in existence for 2857 years when he noticed it and that was more

than a century ago. And "were other neighbouring mines taken into account Hulme thinks the antiquity of the whole would be proportionately increased" and if at Pirak damb, Kacchi plains, iron was in use in early century B.C. the iron 'dagger' of the Achaemenids was by no means the first iron weapon that brought awareness of the use of the metal which in the words of Herodotus "had been sent to us for our woe", to the people of the Indus valley.

30. Aitchison, Lesile. *A History of metals*, London, 1960, p. 135.

31. Ibid, pp. 135, 136.

But the Hallur (District Dharwar, Karnataka) series of C 14 dates, 1105 ± 105 B.C. and 955 ± 100 B.C. would point to a date in the closing years of the 2nd millennium B.C. for the beginning of Iron Age in S. India contemporary with Atranjikh-hera, district Etah, Uttar Pradesh.

Pliny says that the Parthian, i.e., the Persian Steel was second only to that of the Seres. "The iron of the Seres has been held to refer to Wootz steel—(Hulme, op. cit p. 12) and this steel "which is a high carbon crucible steel by the indirect process from magnetite by preference" and the birth of the industry according to Hulme is supposed to have taken place in Central or Southern India (op. cit. p. 8). It was probably the *ferrum indicum* which at Alexandria during the period of the Roman empire was subject to import duty. Probably again the 30 lbs. of steel gifted by an Indian King to Alexander the Great was also Wootz steel.

32. Thurston speaks of earthenware crucibles at Adichanallur (Thurston, E. *The Madras Presidency* Cambridge 1913, p. 74). Iron was formerly worked on an extensive scale in many places at the foot of the Ghats in the Tinnevely District and large deposits of slags may be seen at Vasudevanallur, Kadayanallur and Vallam and it is legitimate to infer that the iron implements of Adichanallur were fabricated from indigenous metal, though some of the examples were the result of stimulus diffusion from Israel (Tell-Jemmeh and Tell-el-Mutesellim).

Iron ores are reported from Srivilliputtur, Shermadevi, Nanguneri, Tenkasi, Sankaranayanar Koil and Brahmadesam Taluks which together had about 70 furnaces at work in mid-nineteenth century with an annual output of 230 tons and a flourishing export trade in wrought iron. At the foot of the Ghats towards the west magnetic iron sand is still collected from the streams.

33. For embossed gold frontlet from Tell Jemmeh ancient city of Gerar, see *Illustrated London News* July 2, 1927-10. Except for an ear-ring all the gold at Tell Jemmeh was found at one level of about 1200 B.C. The frontlet according to Petrie probably showed the influence of Cyprus.

34. Diadems of Hissar II B (for example H 2176) were composed of oblong silver beads and lime-stone discs. In Hissar III (1st half of the second millennium B.C.) they were of gold, silver and copper, long bands with either two perforations or only one at each end. H 2362 (Schmidt, Eric F. *Excavations at Tepe Hissar*, Iran, Philadelphia, 1937, p. 210) is a plain gold diadem of oval form with two perforations at either end. H 3221 (Schmidt, p. 210) is a gold diadem with one perforation at each end; H. III 4321 (Schmidt, pl. LV) is a silver diadem with repousse stipples and H 4902 (Schmidt p. 207), H. 4112 (Schmidt, p. 207) with repousse' zig-zag and stipples and 4128 (Schmidt, p. 207) are all in copper.

35. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I, Fig. 67, Jewellery from Mochlos Tombs (early Minoan, 2600-2400 B.C. IX 13a and XIX, 13b).

36. *The Illustrated London News*, June 10, 1933, p. 832.

37. *The Illustrated London News*, July, 1933, p. 31 Newly found examples of the Bronze Age Goldsmith's art in Cyprus.

38. Gjerstad, Einar, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vol. I Text, Stockholm, 1934 Pl. LXXVIII, Enkomi, Tomb 3 114, 94, 95, 100, 150, 151 and 235, Tomb 8, Pl. XXX 42, 44, 5 and 3 and Tomb 10, Pl. LXXIX, 57 and 58. Tomb 3 at Enkomi a village not far from the West Coast of Cyprus (Late Cypriote, 1550-1500 B. C) produced gold diadems, some with rounded

ends, others with tapering ends and both having a hole at each end. In some along the edges were impressed dots forming border lines. Diadems generally had broad straight edges. The mouth-pieces were oval in shape, had lips delineated on them and sometimes even the moustache was represented in relief. As at Enkomi diadems at Adichanallur, Tinnevely District, Tamil Nadu were simple ovals with a hole at each end. Decoration, when there is, is in repousse' and among the designs chevrons occur as in No. 251, pl. LXXVIII, Tomb 3, Edkomi and in a gold diadem from Tell-el-Ajjul, grave 307. In some again there are repousse' 'blobs' as in the gold diadems from Alaca, Anatolia (Rea, A. Catalogue of Pre-historic Antiquities. op. cit. Pl. I, 9). Repousse' stipples are already in evidence in a silver diadem from Hissar III B. In Iran gold diadems and mouth-pieces continued to be in common use in the 1st millennium B.C. at Tell Fara, Hasanlu and Marlik-with repousse' and punched decoration. Gold mouth-pieces and substitute bronze pieces survived in the Near East at Dura Europos, half way between Antioch on the Orontis and Sileucia on the Tigris, down to the third century B. C.

The writer was at one time inclined to connect mouth-pieces of Adichanallur with mouth-pieces worn by devotees of 'Muruka' while carrying 'Kavadi' and wending their way to his temple in the Palani Hills, Madurai dist. Tamilnadu. But these mouth-pieces for ought we know might have been only mouth-plates tied on the mouth of corpses, afterwards collected and deposited in the urns along with the bones of dead person.

The custom of closing the mouth of the deceased with lozenge-shaped slips of metal was in vogue in countries directly under the influence of the Aegean civilization from Mycenaean times down to the sixth century B.C. or even later (Myres, Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, ed. 1899, p. 13).

39. We have five different types of frontlets from Ur (See Fig. 33. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6) They are diadems and not mouth-pieces. There is precious little difference in shape between Fig. 33 and the mouth-piece worn by the devotee of 'Muruka' in South India at the present day but the example from Ur was found

on the head of the skeleton. Hence it represented a diadem and not a mouth-piece.

For frontlets from Ur see Woolley, Ur. Excavations, Vols. I & II. Plates 139, 146, 147 and 219. pages 523 and 243.

Diadems which were in evidence for the first time in Early Dynastic period at Ur became common in the Dynastic period and typical pieces from the Sargonic period (Woolley, p. 246) have been reported from Tialeti in Transcaucasia. Big narrow gold diadems have been found at Tsarskaia and other Caucasian sites of Maikop culture in recent years though at the time that Franskfort wrote his account of 'Archaeology and the Sumerian problem 1932,' their total absence in the Caucasus was inexplicable. But considering the 'close connection between the metal industry of the early Dynastic period in Sumer and that of the Caucasus he did not rule out the possibility of gold foil diadems turning up in the region some day. The rosettes of the gold diadems from Tsarskaia are reminiscent of those from Tell-el Ajjul (Palestine) and Ur grave PG/389.

40. The Illustrated London News, October 16, 1937. Hidden Treasures from Armageddon by Gordon Loud. A City of Syrian Kings conquered by Egypt in 1497 B. C. Megiddo Fig. 4.

41. The Quarterly Journal of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine Vol. I, 1932. p. 36.

42. Handcock, P. S. P. The Archaeology of the Holy Land, p 18.

43. At Sankaram, Vizagapatam district, Andhra Pradesh, however, iron implements and 2 gold mouth-pieces similar to one of the smallest found at Adichanallur have been reported. The inference is that when Adichanallur flourished as a centre of metallurgy and trade there was probably direct contact between the Tinnevely coast and Vizagapatam by sea. While iron age urn burials have been found in the coastal area around Pondicherry and at Amaravati higher up in the

Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh the characteristic type of diadems and mouth-pieces have not turned up at any place between Tinnevely in Tamilnadu and Vizagapatam in Andhra Pradesh.

44. Biblical references to products of South Indian origin that reached Palestine during the period of Solomon are found mostly in the Exodus and the Pentateuch attributed to a penistly source and though compiled in the 5th century B. C. most scholars now believe that they 'may contain early material handed down almost unaltered'.

We have a single C 14 date (T. F. 70. Radiocarbon, Vol. 6, 1964 pp. 226-232) for a sample of wood found in an urn from the burial mound at Adichanallur (A.D. 1175). We have also a single C 14 date for a sample of charcoal from Korkai further down (785 B.C.) (The Mail, Madras, July 12, 1970). But as Professor Waterbolk has pointed out (Antiquity, 1960) 'one carbon date from a site or culture is no date; only a series of dates that mutually make sense can be used for chronological purposes'.

The validity of the radio carbon date for the Adichanallur sample, No. 501, Rea A. Catalogue op. cit. p. 39 (*Pterocarpus marsupium*) is questionable. For one thing it cannot be placed stratigraphically at the site. It has no precise associations with levels. In fact for Adichanallur stratigraphical data are not available. One does not know whether the urn in which it is stated to have been found came from the surface or from any depth in the loose garvelly soil of the cemetery mound. Secondly it has been in the museum for over seventy years now. Before it reached the museum show case while still in situ it might have been subject to geobiochemical contamination in situations which would normally and more recent traces than anticipated. In the museum again it has been subject to preservative treatment. Even granting that the result of the C 14 test is positive all that it may still mean is that the piece of wood from which the sample was taken was intrusive in the milieu in which it is reported to have been found by the excavator and we may

not be justified in discarding traditional archaeological methods of dating by association in this particular case. The gold diadem besides iron-hoes of the Adichanallur type are dated at Gerar (Palestine) to 1200 B.C. in a relative time scale. The claim put forward by the writer in 1946 in his draft on "Peoples and Pre-history" given to Professor K. A. N. Sastri for chapter-III of his *History of South India* (Oxford University Press, Madras, 1955) for iron hoes and plough shares and gold diadems and mouth-pieces from Adichanallur, namely, that they are typologically similar to those of Enkomi (Cyprus) and Gerar (Palestine) and that they are to be dated to circa 1200 B.C. cannot be considered unwarranted. Adichanallur and Gerar, or again Adichanallur and Enkomi are geographically separated areas. But the trait resemblances between the Adichanallur items mentioned and those from Cyprus-Palestine are so close and unmistakable that no reasonable doubt may be entertained about their general contemporaneity. Their similarity was the result of contact and trade. Iron had reached Cyprus about 1200 B. C. Iron pikes from Lapithos from Tomb 411 (middle Cypro-Geometric II) with disc-guard fixed to the middle of the pike (Gjerstad, E. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol. I, pl. XLVIII, a, b and c*) are paralleled by iron pikes with quillon from Adichanallur (Rea. A, Catalogue op. cit. pl. V nos. 5 and 7) Petrie has dated the iron hoes and plough shares of Gerar Tell Jemmeh to 1200 B. C. The Hasanlu samples of gold mouth-pieces belong to the period 1200-1000 B.C. and after Hasanlu till we reach Adichanallur at the tip of the Indian Sub-continent we do not come across similar diadems with their characteristic repousse' and punched decoration in the intervening area. That means their stimulus diffusion was not overland from Iran to South India.

In considering trait resemblances between goods from different geographical area as possible indication of a process of diffusion from one end to the other the question is (1) Whether they disregard chronology and (2) Whether they jump thousands of miles and lack intermediate links. In the case of gold diadems and iron hoes of Gerar on the one hand and

Adichanallur on the other it is true that intermediate links are absent, but that is because the contact was by sea from the Gulf of Aqaba down the Red Sea and across the Arabian Sea and South India. Biblical references unmistakably point to a considerable trade relationship between Palestine on the one hand and South India on the other in the days of King Solomon (971-937 B.C.) the carriers of this trade being Phoenicians. Iron was in common use at both ends in the closing years of the second millennium B.C. Iron furnaces at Gerar have been dated to 1200 B.C. The Hallur (Dharwar district, Karnataka) evidence shows that iron was already in use at the turn of the 1st millennium B.C. in that part of S. India. Gold Jewellery had become common in eastern Mediterranean lands before the end of the second millennium B.C. Solomon had copper mines at Arbah and Adichanallur probably obtained its copper from Palestine in return for spices and precious woods. Hebrew records state that Hiram's navy brought from Ophir-now identified with Sopara on the West Coast of India by R. D. Barnett in addition to gold a great quantity of sandalwood. Iron having been struck in Karnataka in the closing years of the 2nd millennium B.C. the Tabiras/Tamiras adventurous copper workers from the Aravallis after whom two rivers in S. India have been named Tamaraparni began their trek down south to Karnataka and Tamilnad in search of the new metal and with iron picks now available gold of Kolar and Hutti mines became increasingly available for purposes of export from Sopara-Ophir to Israel.

Contact between the Tamils (Tabiras, Tamiras) and Israel was at its highest during the period of Solomon and Hunter (The Riddle of Mohenjodara, The New Review, April 1936) therefore rightly put circa 1000 B.C. as the date at which Tamil words (including those for rice and pearl) first found their way to Hebrew. Material evidence of South India's relations with Israel includes besides gold diadems and mouth-pieces and iron hoes and plough shares, also representation of terracotta bulls at both ends. Petrie found at Gerar nineteen pottery models of humped oxen; none of them was straight backed. He dates them to a time-bracket 970-930 B. C.

Speaking about them he says, 'now the humped ox is especially Asiatic as in India and does not extend west of Mesopotamia'; may be Hiram's ships to Ophir on their return voyage also collected a few heads of humped cattle besides gold, ebony, cinnamon, almug, ginger grass and Pterocarpus santalinus to be carried to Ezion Geber. Among miscellaneous objects from Adichanallur was a terracotta toy bull with hump.

vases with flared mouths and conical and round bottoms, surmounted by lids with terracotta figurines of men and animals on their top.

CHAPTER VI

THE NILGIRI BRONZES

The most numerous among the funerary structures of the iron age of the Nilgiri tableland¹ are stone circles. They consist of a circular wall, ranging from 10 to 28 feet in diameter and about 5 feet in height.² (Fig. 40) From their external resemblances to the common Indian draw-well they have been called draw-well circles for want of a better name. They are always found on hill tops and on or amidst natural outcrops. Another type of funeral monument is the barrow



Fig. 40 Stone circle, Nilgiris

which consists of a mound of earth encircled by a ditch and sometimes also by one or more circles of unworked stones³ (Fig. 41). In some examples there is neither ditch nor circle. A third type comparatively fewer than the first two is a circle of standing and unworked stones, embedded in the ground in some cases sloping inwards. (Fig. 42) The typical funeral monuments on the Nilgiris are the stone circles and barrows. Digging down in the draw-well circles we reach two or sometimes three or more long stone slabs⁴ which in a majority of cases lie North-East and South-West. Around them are many-tiered

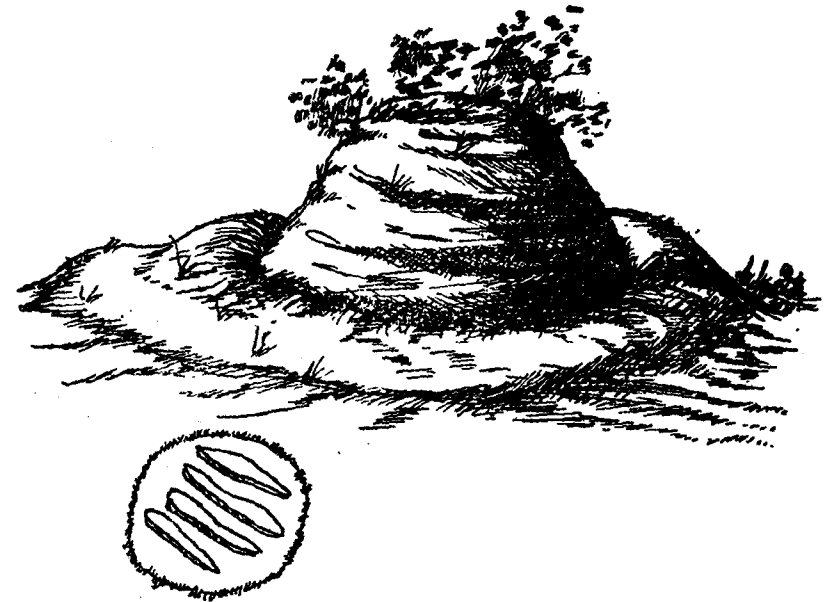


Fig 41 Barrow, Nilgiris

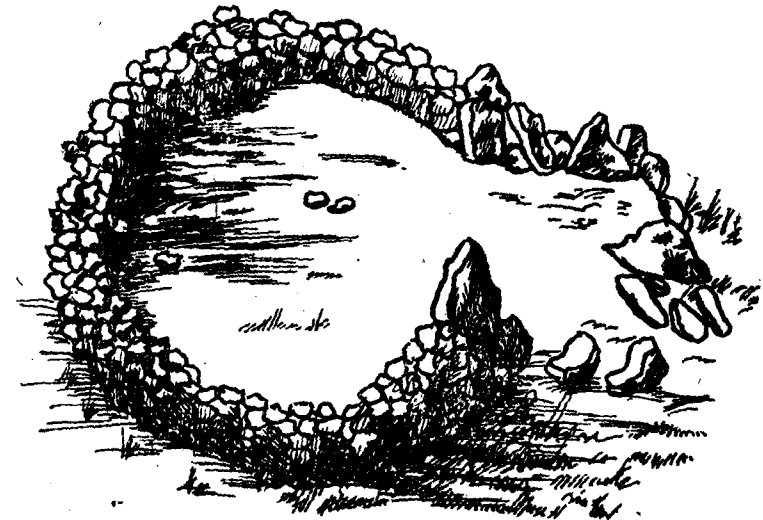


Fig. 42 Circle of standing and unworked Stones

Below at depths varying from 1 to 4 feet are round-bottomed pottery vessels, many of them ribbed ware. Human bones are found inside

these vessels or in bronze bowls. The pottery and terracotta figurines from certain circles and barrows are superior to those from others in respect of their fabric, shape and decoration. (Plate II. nos 8-16) Only a few of the circles and barrows contain bronze bowls. Some circles have either a large opening like an entrance, or a semi-circular wall built into the outer periphery. (Fig. 43).⁶ The human remains pottery vessels and bronze bowls represented secondary interment.

The articles of iron recovered from the Nilgiri circles and barrows included daggers, chisels, spear-heads, bill-hooks, sickles, arrow-heads, pikes, lancepoints, bells, lamps, rattles, shears and socketed spades. Some of the iron objects possess a hard smooth surface and have the texture of steel. The bronze bowls call for special notice. Some have umbilical depressions on their under-side and are decorated with attice or scroll patterns, simple fluting or lotus designs.

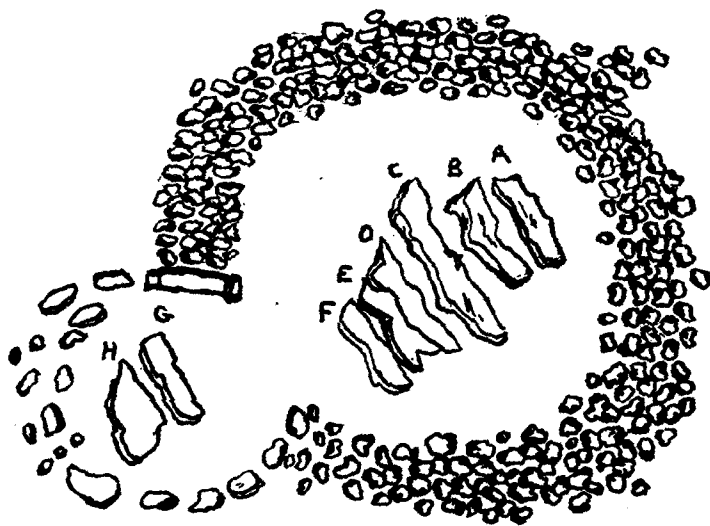


Fig. 43 Interior view of draw-well circles

About an iron spear-head from one of the Nilgiri draw-wells, now in the British Museum, Dr. Plenderleith who examined it for the author says: "The condition of this spear-head is remarkable in that it is so little corroded. On close examination the surface is seen to be covered with a thin film of what would seem to be magnetic oxide of iron. Such a coating affords complete protection where the film is undamaged and in fact there is an old commercial process

depending on this. Rust spots appear in isolated places where the film is fractured. This film of magnetic oxide may be due to the spear-head having been anointed with fat." Dr. Plenderleith finally asks the question: "Is it a ceremonial piece?" Rim of a bronze bowl of diameter 3½ inches from the Sir Walter Elliot collection of Nilgiri bronze vases from Nilgiri draw-wells and barrows now in the British Museum was also examined for the author by Dr. Plenderleith. His verdict on the material is given below:

"The vessel was evidently beaten. The edge is about 1/8 inch thick but in the space of an inch becomes as thin as 1/64th inch. Although it has a smooth olive green patina, the underlying metal is deeply corroded.

A fragment gave the following analysis:

Copper	...	61.37 percent
Tin	...	26.94 percent
Antimony	...	Trace
Zinc	...	0.44 and the products of corrosion.

Broughton's analysis of a base from the Nilgiri cairns showed 19 percent of tin.⁶ Another specimen reported from the Madras Museum contained copper 75.25 percent and tin 23.58 percent.⁷ Outside India at Nineveh (Qayunjik) a specimen of bronze of the late Assyrian period analysed by R. R. Von Fellenberg showed 18.37 percent of tin.⁸ A bronze pin from Ugarit (2100-1900 B.C.) had 18.21 percent of tin.⁹ Luristan bronzes of the Iron Age (c. 800 B.C.) have shown up to 19 per cent of tin.¹⁰ Lake Van in Armenia had an advanced bronze industry in the period of the Assyrian empire. The bronze bowls from Nimrud (885-860 B.C.) are excellent examples of Assyrian metal work.

The bronze bowls from the draw-wells and barrows of the Nilgiris agree in shape and technique with the bronze bowls from Nimrud and the region round lake Van. Crooke noticed the foreign character of the Nilgiri bronze vases first¹¹ and subsequently Richards suggested with reference to a beautiful specimen in the Madras Museum a phylogenetic connection between it and the gold bowl from Ur discovered by Woolley.¹² (Figs 44, 45 & 46) In the bronze bowls from the Assyrian period we find the features of the Ur gold vase persisting and if the Nilgiri bowls were not fabricated locally, but were probably

imports from Assyria, the common characteristics which they share with the Ur gold vase do not call for any special explanation.

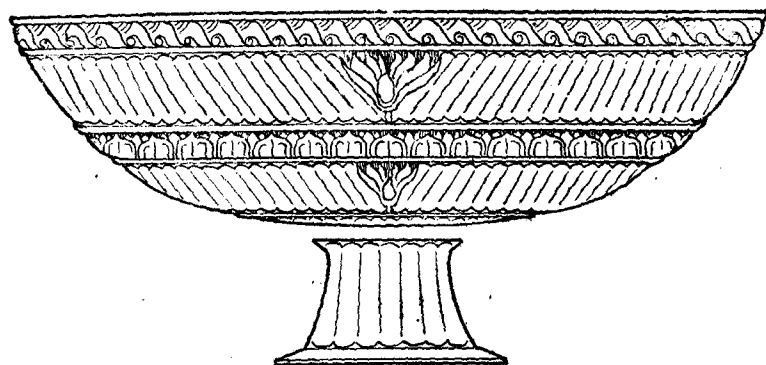


Fig. 44 Nilgiri Bowl, Madras Museum

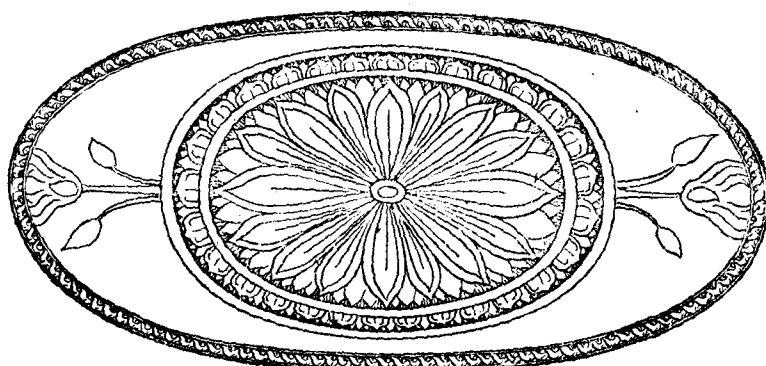


Fig. 45 Nilgiri Bowl, Madras Museum

Calah (Nimrud) was the capital of Assyria for 320 years (885-565 B.C.) but at the close of that period she had to yield her pre-eminence to Nineveh which Sennacherib rebuilt and which was the capital from his time till about 630 B.C. In early bronzes the highest percentage of tin (as high as 18) is found in the Assyrian bronzes. Handcock says that in the bronze dishes from Nimrud the Assyrian metal engraver's work was perhaps at its highest.¹⁰ The general style of decoration to which they conform is that determined by concentric circles cutting up the upper surface of the dish into so many registers. Such concentric circles are a regular feature of many of the Nilgiri bronze vases in the British Museum.¹⁴ The umbilical depression on the underside of the Nilgiri bronze bowls is found in the late Assyrian bronzes and also later in the vases at Taxila. What

is more important than the links between the Nilgiri and Assyrian bronze vases already mentioned is the 16 petalled rosette which is

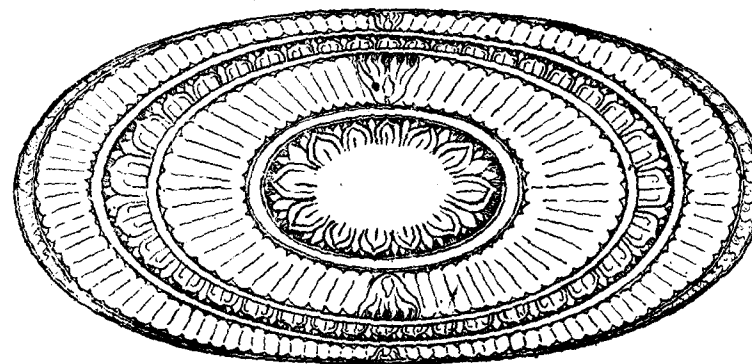


Fig. 46 Base of the Nilgiri Bowl, Madras Museum

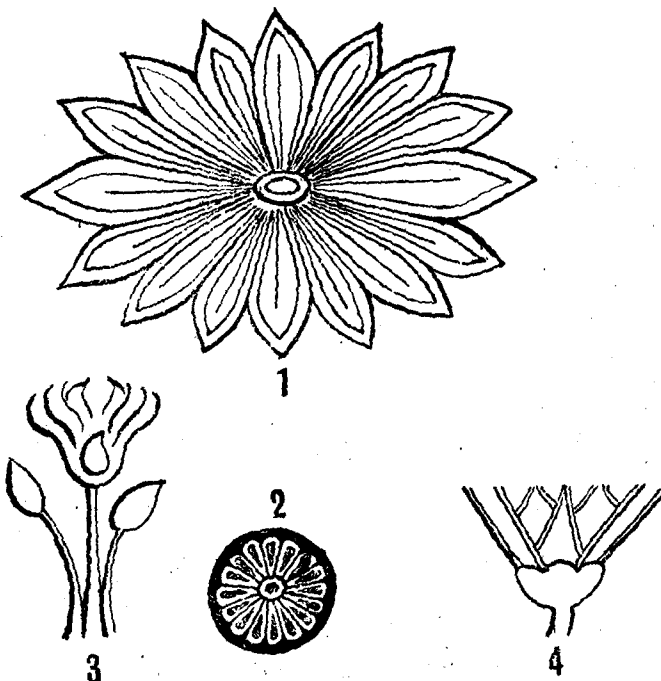


Fig. 47

1. Rosette from Nilgiri Bowl, Madras Museum 16 pointed petals
2. 16 petalled Rostte from Nimrud Ivories
3. Lotus with buds from Nilgiri bowl, Madras Museum
4. Lotus from Nimrud Ivories

the central design inside a bronze dish from the Nilgiris.¹⁵ (Fig. 47-1) The sixteen petalled rosette played a leading part in most of the decorative devices on Assyrian bracelets, shields and dishes. (Fig. 47-2) The rosette which is the central design in the Nilgiri bronze vase between which and the Ur gold bowl Richards discovered a phylogenetic connection has 16 petals. Furthermore the representation of the lotus in the same vessel (Fig. 47-3) reminds us of the lotus in Assyrian ivories from Nimrud. (Fig. 47-4) Petrie says that the historic connections of design that can be traced with due regard to place and period give a strong presumption of a real connection between the designs.¹⁶ The umbilical depression, the concentric circles, the 16 petalled rosette and the lotus design unmistakably link the Nilgiri bronze vases with Assyria. About the lotus design Petrie says that it was but little varied in Egypt and that it spread mostly from Assyria.¹⁷

While G. N. Das would connect the Nilgiri cairns and barrows with the Todas, the funeral monuments themselves he would date on the evidence of an inscription in Brahmi characters to the 1st century A.D.¹⁸ Here again what we have to remember is that while the *terminus ante quem* of the monuments in question like that of the Iron Age dolmens and Urn-burials of South India will have to be brought down to the 1st century of the Xian era the *terminus a quo* will have to be pushed back to the 7th century B.C. if not to any to earlier period for reasons to be stated hereafter. While studying the collection of Nilgiri pottery in the British Museum the author came across the following letters on one of them (Fig 48) The characters of the inscription are in Brahmi of Asokan or Bhattiprolu variety and therefore of the pre-Christian era.¹⁹



Fig. 48 Inscription in graffiti on a Nilgiri Pot

The nearest analogues of the Nilgiri cairn - circles and tumuli are from Bahrain²⁰. At Koza Garan site, Saimareh, or Karkeh, in Western Iran Sir Aurel Stein found a large vessel containing fragmentary human remains, including pieces of an adult skull, ribs, legs and arms,

partly perished under a row of rough stone blocks²¹. Some ashes indicated partial cremation. The vessel of buff-coloured pottery measured 1 foot 9 inches in diameter and had about the same depth. The purpose for which the stones found above the burial were intended, Stein says, is doubtful. The disposal of the dead, partial cremation and interment of calcined bones in vessels placed under rough stone blocks remind us of the Nilgiri cairns. The Nilgiri cairn circles (draw-wells) also resemble the Gabr graves from the hill tracts of Luristan whose period according to Stein was scarcely earlier than the first millennium B. C.²² The Nilgiri pottery (Fig. 49) like the Nilgiri funeral monuments again are exotic. Their analogues again²³ are in Assyria. Ribbed ware has occurred at Nuzi in the Assyrian level. Fig. 50



Fig. 49 Nilgiri ware

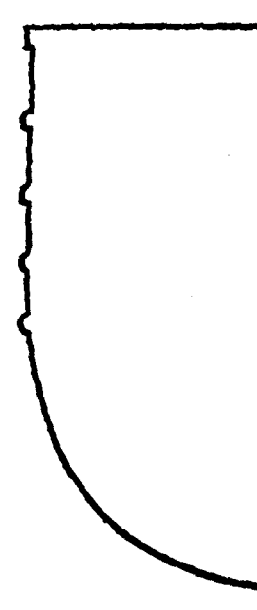


Fig. 50 Vessel, Nuzi

Though the Todas deny any association with the draw-wells and barrows of the Nilgiris the consensus among scholars is that they must be considered as having been made by the ancestors of the Todas. Probably during late Assyrian period there was a trading colony of people from Assyria on the Nilgiris and the present day Todas represent the descendants of the colonists who after the fall of Assur became cut off from their homeland. The question arise—Why

should the Assyrians have planted a colony on the Nilgiris? The contact between Assyria and the Malabar coast is undeniable. Indian teak logs of the 6th century B.C. were found at Ur and in Nebuchadnezzar's palace. Gold is not found in Babylonia and Assyria and one of the sources suggested besides Africa, Arabia, the borders of China and the Altai and North Asia is India. The precious stone *burallu* of the Assyrians was probably beryl from India, also found in Armenia. Ivory was used extensively in the Assyrian period and it is now believed that the Assyrians got their ivory from India²⁴. In Assyria in the first millennium B.C. we meet for the first time the word *piru* for elephant, *Sinnipiri*, elephant's tooth for ivory. This is clearly derived, R. D. Barnett says, from the non-Aryan source, namely from the Prakrit *pidu* written with a cerebral 'd' which is often pronounced as 'r'²⁵. We have on the black obelisk the illustration of the large Tusker brought as a gift from Musri to Shalmaneser III. This is clearly of the Indian type. Musri was perhaps in the region of Diyarbakr on the Upper Tigris and in the place name Mouziris on the Malabar Coast mentioned by Ptolemy we probably have the memory of colony of the Musri who exploited the elephant wealth of South India for their Assyrian lords²⁶. Prince Peter of Greece has found eleven names of deities of Sumerian origin in use among the Todas²⁷. Sumerian deities continued to be worshipped in Mesopotamia down to and including the Assyrian period. The Sumerian origin of the Todas of Prince Peter may not be accepted but there is no doubt that during the Assyrian period when Sumerian gods were still being worshipped there was intimate contact between Assyria and the west-coast of India, Malabar and the Nilgiris and those who built the cairn circles and the barrows which have thrown up bronze vases of Assyrian inspiration, if not also of workmanship were probably the people who exploited the gold mines on the Nilgiris for the Assyrian empire. There are remains of old and extensive gold workings within three or four miles south of Ootacamund²⁸. They start below the old Wenlock Estate and run South West across the Nanjanad valley and can be very distinctly traced for many miles along the plateau. Nothing, however, is known of their history. In Wynad in Kerala which is on the slopes of the Western Ghats in Southern India on the route to the Nilgiris gold veins of a low grade with occasional rich examples have been found. Gold is very widely distributed throughout India, but in the North it is

mainly of detrital origin, and of little commercial importance. But in South India it is found in quartz veins in ancient schists and may be the gold that the Assyrians imported from India had its source of origin in the Nilgiris.

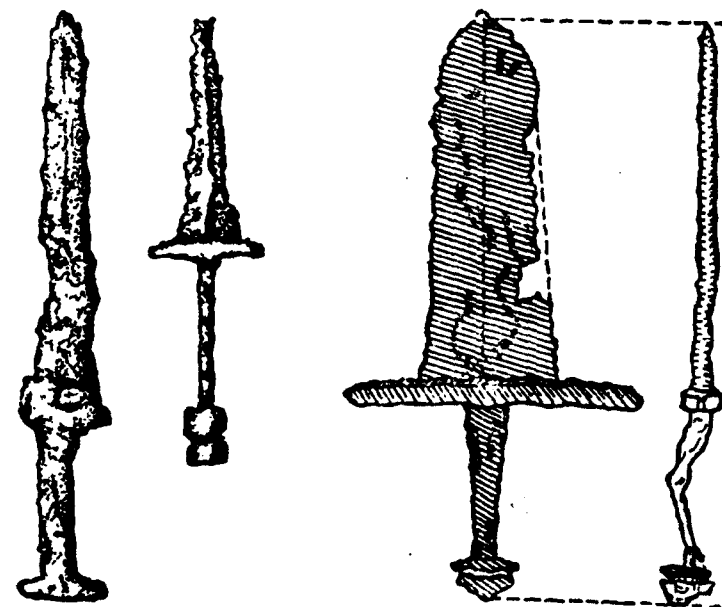


Fig. 51 (a)

Iron Dagger from Devehuyuk

Fig. 51 (b)

Iron Dagger from Nilgiri barrow

A Hittite-Persian iron dagger found at Devehuyuk near Carchemish and dated to circa 500 B.C. is not unlike a dagger from a Nilgiri cairn²⁹. (Figs. 51a and 51b)

The abiding influence of Assyria on the Western sea-board of India is to be found in the survival all over Kerala of a type of water-lift, the sweep or *shadouf*, the *tula* or well-sweep which was popular during the period of Sennacherib (701-681 B.C.) Fig. 52 & 53³⁰. He had favoured agriculture and engineering and had glorified the technical progress of his age. He says, "That daily there might be abundant flow of water of the buckets, I had copper cables and pails made and in place of the (mud-brick) pedestals I set up posts and cross-beams over the walls"³¹. The *shadouf*, the counterpoised hoist for raising water is a contrivance that has varied little through the centuries.

They are still used in Egypt (along with the water-wheel) in Iraq and in India along the Malabar Coast. In Babylonia its use is attested as early as the third millennium B. C., for it appears on a cylinder-seal

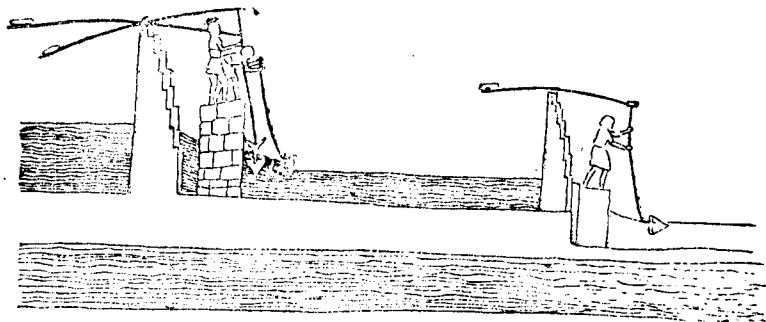


Fig. 52 Shaduf, Nineveh.

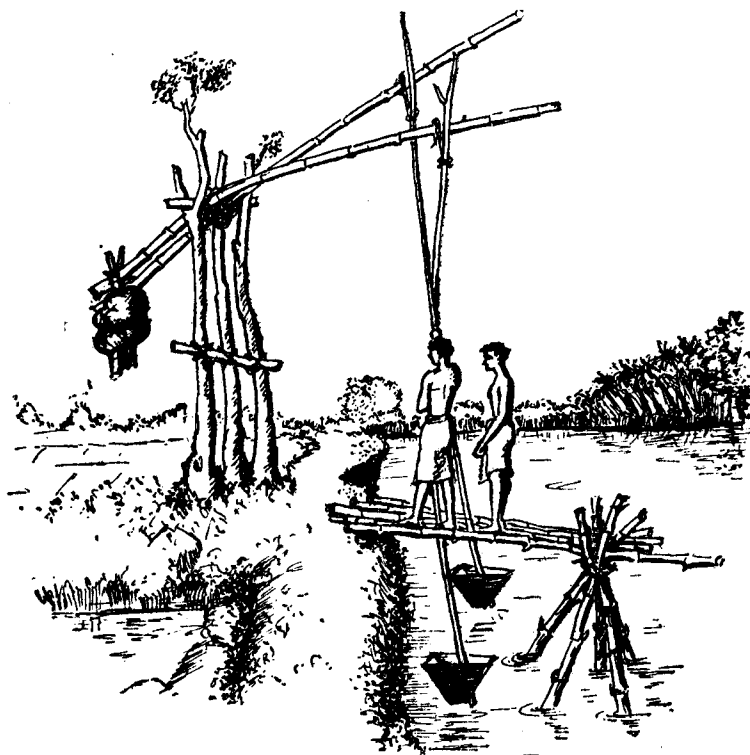


Fig. 53 Shaduf, Kerala.

of the Akkadian period (c. 2400-c. 2200 B.C.) in connection with the cultivation of a tree or garden. A riverine scene of the reign of

Sennacherib shows a double shaduf, (Fig. 52) that on the upper level having two buckets. The shaduf with the rhythm of rise and fall, dip and empty, can raise an average of about 600 gallons per man-day.

The shaduf is usually made by erecting two pillars, some 5 feet or more high joined near the top by a short beam. Over this a long pole is balanced, which has at one end a vessel to hold water and at the other a counterpoise. A man standing at the water's edge fills the receptacle by dipping, raises it and empties it into an irrigation channel.⁸²

The Egyptian language has preserved no known word for the sweep (shaduf). The earliest representation that we have of a shaduf in Egypt is in a garden scene on Tomb No. 138 at Thebes of the reign of Rameses II.⁸³ It can scarcely be doubted that the discovery of this mechanical aid was the achievement of some one country. On a Harappan seal of early second millennium B.C. we have representation of a shaduf. In Mesopotamia apart from its supposed appearance on a cylinder seal of the Akkadian period the earliest pictorial representation of a shaduf is that from an Assyrian vase relief from Koyunjik (Nineveh).⁸⁴ It was probably not invented in Mesopotamia but in the lower Indus valley. The pictorial priority of Egypt may not count for much. In the many illustrations of tillage in the 18th Dynasty in Upper Egypt we do not get the sweep until near the end. When a new capital was established on a bare desert site with only a narrow strip of soil along the river bank the problem of supplying water to the large population and the gardens of the palace and private houses was sought to be solved by the introduction of the shaduf from the near East. With the removal of the capital the pressing incentive disappeared and with it the shaduf. It reappears after the Ramessid times only after the brief conquests of Egypt by the East. Introduced into Mesopotamia from the Indus valley it survived also on the west coast of India, particularly Kerala.⁸⁵

Our study of Dravidian origins has taken us beyond South India; beyond India, in fact, to the Near East, Egypt, North Africa and the Western shores of the Mediterranean and we found that the Mediterr-

anean, South-Western Asia, Iran and India formed a single cultural pool since Neolithic times to the period of Alexander the Great. Within this vast culture-pool ideas and objects travelled to and fro. In the Neolithic times there was not only linguistic but also ethnic unity. South India gave rice to Persia and Babylonia acquired the use of iron from Palestine during the period of Solomon. The Assyrians exploited the gold mines on the Nilgiris. Throughout India river-craft as pointed out by Hornell are very archaic in their general features resembling ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian types so closely that they vivify scenes on the Nile and the Tigris in the days of Ramesis and Assurbanipal.⁸⁶ As in Kerala at the present day in Babylonia during the period of Hammurabi human sorcerers and witches were credited with the sinister power of injuring their fellowmen body and soul. The Kassite Kudurru or boundary stones are the fore-runners of the

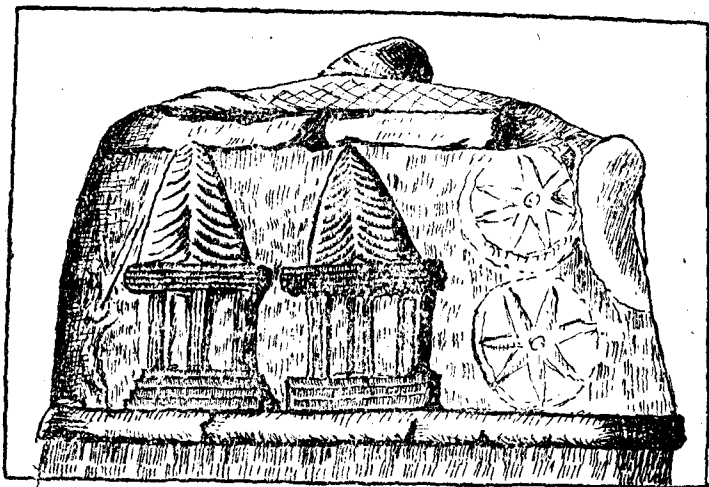


Fig. 54 Kudurru, Kassite

copper-plate land-grants of the historic period in the Tamil country.⁸⁷ (Figs. 54, 55 and 56 and plate V. 2)

The Kassites or Cossacans ruled Mesopotamia for over four centuries. They probably came from the mountain country which is now called Luristan—between Susa and Ecbatana. Kudurru stones were originally boundary stones, later preserved in temples as proofs of grants of land made by the king. The name itself is a combination

of two Tamil words Kutu and Uru. Place-names like Kūtalūr⁸⁸ or Gūdūr⁸⁹ may indicate that they were the result of the coming

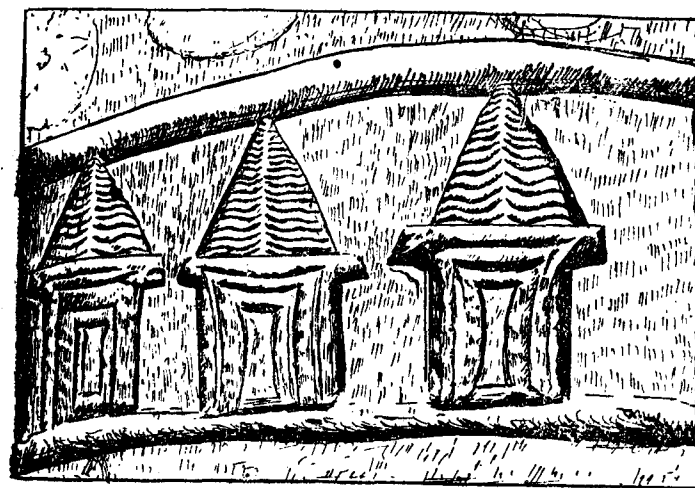


Fig. 55 Kudurru, Kassite

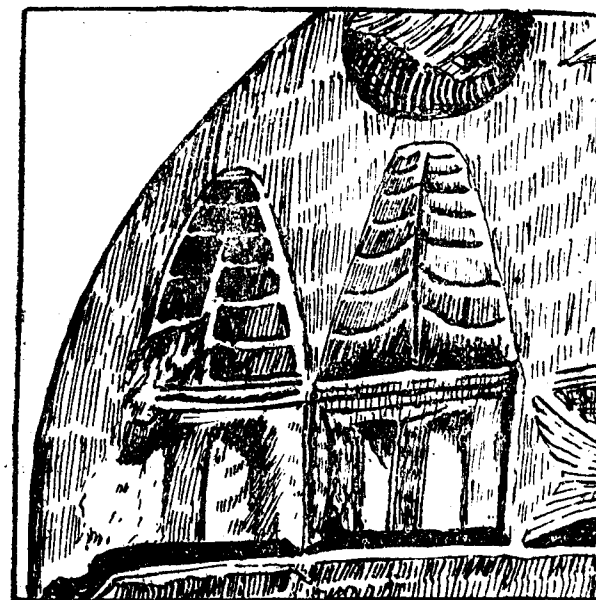


Fig. 56 Kudurru, Kassite

together of two villages or that they stood at the junction of two villages. In the case of Kūtalūr, however, we know it stands where

the rivers Gadilam and Uppanar meet. A town situated at a place where villages x and y meet can be called Kutur on the analogy of Kutturod (junction of roads) even now used. We know that Ellai is the only Tamil equivalent for boundary. Ellaikkal refers to boundary stone. For boundary the word we come across in Kural and Purananuru is Ellai. The Lexicon gives Ellaikkal for boundary stone. If Kutur (Kudur, Kudurru which in Kassite means boundary stone) is the place where two Urs meet (Kūtu) is to be adopted for the boundary stone set there the grammatical rule Akuppeyar (Synecdoche) applies even as the place name Tirupparamgunram⁴⁰ normally applicable to the entire hill is made to stand for merely the township of that name at the foot of the hill with the temple. Are we then to suppose that the original Kassites who spoke an agglutinative language akin to Dravidian had also invented the grammatical rule *akuppeyar* or *synecdoche*?

"The use of Kudurru stones date from the Kassites in Mesopotamia. They were boundary stones which were stacked in the temples as proof of ownership. They show reliefs frequently of interest for the history of religion, and also a text containing a declaration that a piece of ground has been gifted to the citizen named, the dimensions of the ground and the easements to which it was subject being clearly stated. Names of witnesses are also recorded and curses on any one who might dare to remove, alter, or destroy the Kudurru," (Meek, Martin A, Atlas of Mesopotamia London, 1962, p. 86)

Examples of this remarkable form of document are known from various centuries, but the origin dates back to the period of the Kassites. The Kassites put an end to the first dynasty of Babylon and founded a new dynasty which had 36 kings reigning 576 years from 1730-1155 B.C. The contact between South India and Mesopotamia which was intimate during the period of the Assyrian kings probably began earlier, already in the period of the Kassites. The architecture of the Hurrians a people who lived in the North and North-West of Mesopotamia and who were akin to the Kassites and that of the Kassites themselves was entirely rectilinear. Examples of Kassite temples on their Kudurru at once remind us of the rectilinear *nagara* type of Indian temples. In early Vedic literature *nagara* is found only in the derivative adjective used as a proper name *nagarin*: but it

appears in the sense of town in the Taittiriya Aranyaka and frequently in the later language. *Nagara* in the sense of one who works in wood does not occur in early Vedic literature. In fact in the Rg. Veda the word for carpenter is derived from the root *taks*. But already in Sumerian we have the word *nagar* meaning carpenter and in Assyrian society the word for carpenter was *naggaru*. The main characteristic of the *nagara* type is that any cross section of a temple of this type will be either a rectangle or a square and the most natural shape for a structure built of wood (by a carpenter) will be rectilinear. It is just an example of this type of temple architecture that we have on the kudurru⁴¹ and since we have already in Sumerian the word *nagar* meaning carpenter which in Assyrian became *naggaru* and since *nagar* meaning carpenter and *nagara* meaning pertaining to *nagar* are met with in Indo-Aryan only in later Vedic literature, later than the period of the Kassites in Mesopotamia (1730-1155 B.C.) it would not be unwarranted if we conclude that *nagara* is a loan-word in Indo-Aryan from Mesopotamia and that *nāgara* which has been considered *par excellence* the Indo-Aryan type of architecture is also a borrowing from Mesopotamia.

NOTES .

1. The tableland is a detached abutment of the Western Ghats, it is from 30 to 40 miles long, from 10 to 24 miles broad and has an average height of 6,500 ft. The stone circles, cairns and barrows are found mostly on the elevated ridges on this tableland and occasionally also in its slopes and in the valleys.

2. The Nilgiri type of draw-well tombs are non-megalithic and their nearest western analogues are from Bahrein. They also remind us of the rock tumuli at Jabal Umma (Hasa province, the narrow strip of territory running from Qatar peninsula north-north-west to the neutral territory which lies just below the Sheikdom of Kuwait) which present the appearance of pill boxes. Again in the Baluchi tract we come across funerary chambers not unlike the Nilgiris draw-wells, built almost entirely of stone blocks and standing above the ground.

Sir A. J. Wilson reported finding a large number of truncated cones of dry masonry Said Abad in South Iran. In Bahrein the base of the tumulus was found encased in a rough circular wall which originally must have looked like a round tower; similar structures were reported by Bertram Thomas in the Musandam Peninsula and by St. John Philby on the mainland of Arabia. The draw-well type of Nilgiri tombs thus have their analogues beyond India on either side of the Persian Gulf, South Iran and the mainland of Arabia. Mackay concludes that the burials within the Bahrein tumuli were secondary (The Mystery of the Bahrein Tumuli, The Illustrated London News, June 14/1930). Review of Bahrein and Hemamieh Mackay. Harding and Petrie, British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1929).

3. The stones round the mound are from 2 to 6' and more high and 2 or 3' broad and set up on end in a circle.

4. These slabs are of undressed stone and lie horizontally and (when there are more than one) parallel to one another, all invariably in the same direction, namely North-East to South-West.

5. The sketch Fig. 43, is after Elliot. (Elliot, Sir Walter, On Ancient Sepulchral Remains on Southern India and particularly of those on the Nilgiri mountains, International Congress of Pre-historic Archaeology, 1868, Fig. 7). It is that of two circles opening into each other and excavated by him in 1840.

In this particular cairn Elliot found under one of seven slabs (slab-A) an earthenware vessel within which were the following :

1. A metal cup
2. Two gold ornaments
3. Some fragments of coral
4. Two red beads.

And about one of the gold ornaments which was a pendant he says that it was 'not wrought with a graver, but

formed of strips of gold twisted into the required shape'. Within a bronze vase under slab F., there was another gold pendant twisted into scrolls like the one under slab - A.

The whereabouts of these two pendants recovered from the Cairn mentioned are not known. The technique of 'strip-twist' if that is what Elliot means when he says that the pendant was formed of strips of gold twisted into required shape is seen for the first time in ear-rings from Ras Shamra of the 18th or 17th century B. C. (Maxwell Hyslop, K. R. Western Asiatic Jewellery, London, 1971 (pl. 75 a and Fig. 77a, p. 115).

At the extreme verge of the circle close to the wall on the eastern side and nearly opposite the end of slab E there was a pedestalled bronze vase with an omphalos in the centre and scroll pattern round the outer edge. Within this vase was a pair of 'gold fibulae with horizontal rings or hasps to fasten them'. Gold fibulae of this description have not been reported from Chalcolithic or Iron age sites in India. We do not know where these fibulae are at present. Like the gold pendants they must also be considered exotic to the Nilgiris.

Within the earthenware under slab F., there was a bronze vase (Elliot says it was of bright white alloy) and in it was a cylinder made of brass (bronze?) with the remains of an ivory stopper. The case also contained a Kohl stick. The bronze cylinder with its ivory stopper and the Kohl stick probably constituted part of the toilet set of the lady whose cremated remains were interred in the urn under slab F.

The Brecks collection of antiquities from the Nilgiris now in the British Museum included some Kohl tubes and a Kohl stick (Plate IV Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5). Tube No. 4 Pl. IV (British Museum No. 79, 12-1.1) was found in a cairn south of Biblical but not the stick (79. 12-1, 2) which is shown dipped into it.

Kohl tubes from the Nilgiris are of two types, one ribbed and evidently made on a lathe according to Leshnik

Lawrance S. Leshnik, A suggested dating for the Antiquities of the Nilgiri plateau, South India, *Acta praehistorica et archaeologica*, 1, 1970) and another in which 'the mouth of the tube emerges, like a filament from unfolding lotus petals'. The first has been recognized by Leshnik at Nasik in an object which the excavators (H. D. Sankalia et. al, Report in the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe 1950-51, Poona 1955, p. 109 and Fig. 51a) thought was only a handle and the idea of the second, he says, recalls a type spout recurring on pottery at Rajghat that continued to be popular after the 5th century A. D. What is important in this connection to remember is that the analogues of the first appear in much earlier chronological context in Western Asia and Egypt and that the motif of the unfolding petals of the lotus bud appears on the Nimrud Ivories as well as on the Nilgiri bronze bowls.

The Egyptians from late pre-dynastic period till Coptic times used the black mistem (Latin stibium) as eye-paint. During the period of the XII dynasty they obtained it from the Asiatics. In the XVIII dynasty eye cosmetics were imported from Naharin in Western Asia, also from the land of Punt under which term the Egyptians had grouped together Persia and other Asian countries (Margaret A. Murray. The Splendour that was Egypt London, 1949, Appendix-I). Not only in Egypt but in the Near East including Arabia, Mesopotamia and Iran and also India eye-paint has been in common use since long time for its magical, religious and therapeutic value. Its use in Islamic countries is considered sanctioned by the reported sayings of the prophet Muhammed. In Egypt one of the specific duties of the priest was the application of cosmetics to the eyes of the images of the Gods.

In Egypt Kohl containers, to begin with, were small vases of green or blue glazes. In the IX and XI dynasties little vases of the same shape were used for keeping the eye paint. In the XII dynasty, however, the standard type of Kohl pots had a narrow neck, a flat brim and a flat lid. They retained this shape till the period of Tothmes III (1470-1430 B. C.)

when due to Asiatic influence-Syrian, Semitic-according to Petrie (Flinders Petrie, Funeral Furniture and Stone vases, London, 1937, p. 10) the tube replaced the vase. In the tomb of Tothmes IV the Kohl tube was of the palm capital variety. The pots had gone out of fashion so that in the tomb groups dated to Amenhotep III (1411-1375 B.C.), Tutankhamen (1350 B. C.) and Rameses III (1296-1230 B. C.) and at Tell el Amarna (1370 B. C.) we have tubes and not pots. The tubes were made of alabaster, ivory, wood or glass and two to six inches in height. That the Sumerians like the Egyptians were fond of eye-paint has been proved by the occurrence in early remains (circa 3000 B. C.) at Uer, Adab (Bismaya) and other sites of stone or alabaster pots containing a black eye-paint, also 'eye brushes' for its application. The black cosmetic found at Uer was manganese dioxide and turquoise with some admixture of lead, perhaps from Galena and Galena (lead sulphide) besides malachite (basic copper carbonate) were being used as eye-paints in contemporary Egypt. In Elam, in the oldest remains at Susa decomposed eye-paint in pots has been known to occur.

Whether in contemporary Indus Valley also the people used eye-paint we do not know. But considering that at Mehri, S. Baluchistan in the *milieu* of the Kulli culture 'several types of small vessels in soft stone, some of them cylindrical, between two and three inches across and a couple of inches deep and another four inches in diameter divided into four compartments with links with Southern Iraq and Iran on the West and the Indus valley in the east and which according to Stuart Piggot (Pre-historic India, Harmondsworth, 1950, p. 110) might have held cosmetics, such as eye-paint or ointment of some kind a legitimate inference would be that the Harappans were also familiar with eye-paint. What material, materials they possibly used for making their Kohl we do not know. And here we may note that as in Egypt and in the Near East in India too Kohl/Surema is in common use today and the poorer classes in these regions use charcoal, lamp black or soot of certain oily plants like the castor, galena or lead sulphide, stibnite or antimony sulphide and stimmi, a

mineral, probably pyrosulate which in the 1st century A.D. according to *Periplus Maris Erythrae* was imported from East Africa to India being not within their reach, or readily available. Today Toda women touch up their eyebrows with a charred stick.

Wallis Budge speaks of a stibium tube in ivory from Egypt with circular grooves on the outside (Budge, Sir, E. A. Wallis, *The Mummy*, Cambridge 1925, B. M. 6179). It reminds us of the Nilgiri Kohl tube Nos. 3, 4 and 5. Stibium tubes in the form of a column with a lotus capital was common in Egypt. Kohl tubes 1 and 2, Plate-IV from the Nilgiris are like the calyx of the lotus and lotus bud design as already pointed out is well known on the Nimrud ivories. There was an example of a stibium tube of blue paste ornamented with pictures of birds from Nimrud in the Assyrian room, British Museum, in Table Case D, 130 (British Museum, *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, 1929, p. 237). Like the bronze vases (see note No. 15 *infra*) the bronze Kohl tubes from the Nilgiri cairns were also probably imports from Assyria though one cannot be sure whether they were actually made by the Assyrian metal workers or by Urartian deportees who were forced to accompany Sargon-II after the latter's campaigns in the Urartian province of Musasir in 714 B.C.

Among the gold Jewellery from the Brecks collection of antiquities from the Nilgiris in the Government Museum, Madras, is a pair of ear-drops (Plate XIV 836, Government Museum, Madras, *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities*, R. Bruce Foot, 1901) the analogus of which again like those of the Kohl tubes and Elliot's pendants and fibulae are in the Near East, in this particular instance from mid-Assyrian tombs from Mari on the Euphrates near modern Iraqi-Syrian border. In shape they are double conoid and around them are found hard-soldered to the bulge of the body (1) a pair of bands of small gold globules, (2) a pair of plaited (twisted?) gold wires as in the Nimrud gold Jewel (Pl. 216a, Maxwell Hyslop, *op. cit.*) and (3) a single band of gold

globules similar to No. 1 The exotic character of this pair of ear-drops is unmistakable While Ilesnik (*Op. cit.* 97) rightly thinks that the Nilgiri jewellery...is clearly the product of very skilled craftsmen and probably not a local product, he says that it provides very little dating evidence. It is true that jewellery cannot be used as a dating criterion for related pieces, but the fact that some of the jewellery from the Nilgiri cairns were found inside bronze vases (Elliot's pieces) which were unmistakably imports from Nimrud and of Assyrian if not Urartian workmanship of the eighth century B.C. the occurrence of some of Nilgiri types (rings for example) at Suttukeny (Pondicherry) in 3rd century B.C. megaliths or at Bhita assigned to the 5th century A.D. merely confirms the persistence with which art motifs and form survive and cannot be taken as a time marker unless their associated finds also fall into the same time-bracket.

6. Broughton, q. by B. S. Guha, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, part III (Ethnographical, A. Racial Affinities of the Peoples of India, p. LXV)

7. S. Parantavan, *Investigation on Ancient Indian Metallurgy* 1. a. Prehistoric bronze bowl, *Proceedings of Indian Academy of Sciences*, Vol. XIII, Section A, 1941, p. 88.

8. Von Fellenberg, q. by E. Von Biber, *Die bronzes Und Kupfer legirungen der alten Und Altesten. Volker*, Erlangen, 1869, 94 f. Fellenberg's result has been noticed in Aitchison, Leslie, *A History of Metals*, London, 1960, Vol. I, p. 190, Table XVII).

9. Schaeffer, Claude E. D. *Stratigraphie comparie et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale* (III et, IIe Millenaires) London, 1948 p. 605.

10. Pope R. U. ed. by, *Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric times to the present* Vol. I, p. 278.

11. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. IV. *Death and Disposal of the Dead*, Indian, non-Aryan, p. 481.

Methods of disposal of the dead "In the cairns (Nilgiris) have been discovered earthen jars containing fragments of burnt bones and some beautiful bronze vessels, probably imported from Babylonia or some other foreign country."

12. Man, 1931, 203. Bowls from Ur and the Nilgiris.

The following features of the Nilgiri vase (Figs. 44, 45 and 46) according to Richards suggested that the similarity between it and the Ur bowl in question (Woolley, L. Illustrated London News, 17th December 1927, p. 1092) was due to something more than chance.

1. The sides of both bowls are fluted.
2. Each bowl has a horizontal band of ornament just below the rim (The flutings in the Nilgiri bowl, however, are interrupted by a second such band half way down the body, the Ur specimen has no such band).
3. The lotus like pattern incised on the base of the Ur bowl is strikingly like that on the Nilgiri specimen".

(For lotus pattern on the base of the Nilgiri bowl see fig. 46) Mr. Richards concluded his note in Man by wishing that the publication of the results of the writer's study of the Nilgiri bronze vases with reference to their range in time and space would not be long delayed. That was in 1931 and the results were, however, first announced only in December 1962 when these lectures were delivered. By that time Mr. Richard, much to the regret of this writer had died.

13. Handcock, Mesopotamian Archaeology p. 255. Scholars have begun to doubt whether the bronzes from Nimrud were made by Assyrian craftsman or by some foreign smiths captive in Assyria. Toprak [Kale, Van, in Armenia had an advanced bronze industry in the period of the Assyrian empire and Van was the true centre of the kingdom of Urartu. If the Nilgiri bronzes were imports from the region of Van, they were Urartian.

14. These concentric circles are also found repeated on bronze mirrors from the Nilgiri cairns (Pl. IV, 8). Among

late Hittite antiquities excavated by the British Museum during the years 1911-1920 at Carchemish were some bronze mirrors with tangs, but not the concentric circles. In Room IV, First Northern Gallery, British Museum, were a few bronze mirrors with tangs from Nimrud, one with concentric circles and a central knob (No. 422). Like the Nimrud and Nilgiri specimens the bronze mirror from Adichanallur too has concentric circles on one side. (Rea A, Catalogue of Pre-historic Antiquities. Adichanallur and Perumbair, Pl. II, Fig. 5). In India this type of mirror as pointed out by Leshnik (op. cit. p. 98) from Chalcolithic sites in Baluchistan and Harappa and in much later times (Saka - Parthian levels) at Taxila. At Adichanallur, however, it occurs along with gold diadems and bronze utensils in urn burials which the writer has dated to circa 1000 B. C. (note 44, chapter V supra).

The Nilgiri mirror was found along with bronze vases of a type familiar at Nimrud in mid-ninth century B. C., at Carchemish in the 6th century B. C. and though the type occurs at Taxila in Saka—Parthian levels it must be assigned to the period of the Nimrud ivories and bronzes.

15. Of the central rosette of the Nilgiri vase (Fig. 45) Dr. R. D. Barnett says - in a personal communication dated February 9, 1966 - that it could certainly very well be an Assyrian feature; Rosette designs are found on bronze bowls from Nimrud of the period of Shalmanassar III 858-824 B. C. Rosette motif again was common in Luristan bronze bowls of the 10th-11th century B.C. An 18 petalled rosette is seen on the left shin of a bronze horse from Luristan (Leon Legrain, Luristan Bronzes, Philadelphia, 1924 Pl. XVIII, 52). The 16 petalled rosette of the Nilgiris Bronze vase (Fig. 45) played a leading part in most of the decorative devices on Assyrian bracelets, shields, dishes. A bronze ceremonial dish of the period of Ashurnasirpal has a rosette in the centre similar to the rosette in the Nilgiri vase (Fig. 45). Twelve petalled rosettes were common on Assyrian murals 2,600 years ago. In fact the rosette motif has a great anti-

quity in Mesopotamia. A polychrome plate typical of the end of the Halaf period in North Iraq from Arpachiyah has a 32 petalled rosette central piece. The rosette is found on the cylinder seals of the Jamdat Nasr period at the end of the fourth millennium B. C. at Uruk in Southern Iraq.

Fluting as on the Nilgiri bowls is found on a representation of Ashur-nasr-pal holding an offering bowl (Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 104, Fig. 57) and on a silver dish from an Achaemenian tomb at Susa which also has a 16 petalled rosette (Ghirshman, *Iran*, Harmondsworth 1952, Fig. 58).

Talking about the affiliation of the bronze bowls from the Nilgiris Dr. Barnett in the communication referred to above says "The Nimrud bronze dishes are certainly surprisingly like those from your part of the world. There can be no doubt that at least some of them with the off-set rims must be inspired by Assyria or possibly Persian, Achaemenid type of bowls. I personally go back to the older view that most of the bronze bowls from Nimrud are not Assyrian but Phoenician or Syrian. Those, however, which are Assyrian, can easily be distinguished by the sharply offset rim. Such are bowls 3, 4, 6 and 10 (Pl. III) from the Nilgiris in the Brecks collection in the British Museum.

Referring to the Nilgiri bronze bowls again on May 7, 1970 he says that they certainly must come from part of Western Asia.

Some of the bronze bowls, for example, B. M. No. 79-12. 1-3 (Plate III No. 6) from barrow near Bilikambe, Peranganad, Nilgiris, have central omphalos which according to Dr. Barnett "seems to be an Anatolian feature which became very popular in Greek bronze work but was disseminated probably by the Phrygians in the 8th Century B. C.

A bronze bowl with omphalos in the centre of the base inwards was reported by Langdon and Harden from Barghuliat (Langdon and Harden, *Excavations at Kish and Barghuthiat, Iraq*, Vol. I, 1933, p. 136). Numerous examples

of bronze bowls with omphalos, with 'plain rim, beaten on top, shallow body, convex sides, and with an omphalos in the centre of the base have turned up from North Syria (Dive Huyuk), 6th - 4th century B. C. Caucasus and South Russia 5th - 4th century B. C. In Greek pottery the shape was current from about the 6th Century B. C. down to Hellenistic times.

An example of this type of bowl with omphalos, similar in shape to the Nilgiri bowl, B. M. No. 79-12, 1-3, from Nimrud No. 91304, 349, Room No IV, First Northern Gallery and another in the same gallery No. 1086-74 (in the year 1930 when noticed by the writer), British Museum may probably belong to the same period as the Dive Huyuk specimens (6th-4th century B.C.) unless their concave sides will indicate an earlier time-bracket.

Round silver dishes (two numbers) with raised boss in centre terminating in knobs and surrounded respectively by eight and six incised concentric circles were found in explorations at Taxila in 1928-29 (A. S. I, A. R., 1928-29, p. 58). Similar dishes of silver and copper (bronze?) from Taxila have been dated to the Indo-Parthian period with reference to a coin of Zeioneses found with them.

Nevasa, Maharashtra, India, has also supplied a bronze dish with an omphalos in period V. at the site, Late Early Historic (Indo-Roman), circa 50 B.C-200 A. D. (H. D. Sankalia and others, *History to Pre-history*, Poona, 1960, p. 564).

The Taxila and Nevasa examples of this type of dish with omphalos are late arrivals in the sub-continent overland from the Near East and disseminated by the Indo-Greeks or the Parthians unlike the bronze dishes with omphalos from the Nilgiris found in association with Assyrian bronze bowls with offset rims from Nimrud and bronze bells, the latter with analogues at Nineveh (9 th. Century B. C. *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. 18, pl. XXIII, 5, A.20; 6-C 12 and 7 C 10).

16. Pertie, Flinders, *Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World*, London, 1930, p. 3.

17. Petrie, *ibid*, Pl. x.

18. Das G. N. *The Funerary Monuments of the Nilgiris*, Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. 18, Jan. 1957, Poona, pp. 147-148.

A gold coin from a barrow on the Nilgiris whereabouts of which are not known and illustration of which is not available has been taken by Das to give a welcome chronological datum for the funerary monuments of the Nilgiris. From the description given by James Hough in his letter dated November 3, 1826 addressed to the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru, Calcutta, one cannot know whether the coin in question was a Roman aureus or a Byzantine solidus. Granting that it was an aureus a single coin it may be pointed out cannot date the barrow in which it was found. And as for the inscription on a pot sherd in Brahmi characters of the first century A. D. it may be seen from an inscription on a pot from a Nilgiri cairn now in the British Museum B. M. No. 79, 12-1, 14 that its characters are in an earlier variety of the Brahmi-*vide* discussion under note 19 below.

19. The inscription is in graffiti, reads *atak*^c and is found on pot No. 79, 12-1, 14, the Brecks collection of Pottery from the Nilgiris in the Department of Medieval Antiquities, British Museum.

The characters of the inscription are in Brahmi of the Bhattiprolu-Asokan variety and may point to a date in the 4th-3rd century B. C. Fig. 48.

Atk is a monosyllabic word ending in a consonant. In Toda it means 'that much'. The Kōta form of the word is *atak* and means 'a little in that direction.'

The occurrence of this word *atk/atak* on a pot from a Nilgiri cairn has far reaching implications for the origin of the Todas. At once it confirms their West Asiatic affinities. For

one thing it is in the Sumerian syllabary and the systems derived from it that we find signs that usually represent monosyllables ending in a vowel or a consonant. In one of the literary texts from Ras Shamra (Ugarit) El's (supreme God of the Canaanites) Calf is called *atak*. The warrior goddess Anath says, 'I destroyed El's calf Atak'.

20. *Vide* note 2 above.

21. Stein, Sir Aurel, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, London, 1940, p. 202.

22. *Ibid*, p. 187.

23. Woolley had in his mind the pottery from the cairns on the Nilgiris when he said 'it does seem certain that the pre-historic pottery of the plains and of the hills respectively is quite different (Woolley, Sir Leonard, A report on the work of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1939, para 17, p. 7).

The pottery from the Nilgiri cairns has no analogues in the pottery from Iron age sites in the plains in South India. The Nilgiri pot forms have no roots in the soil. Fig. 49 is the drawing of one of the pot forms in the Nilgiri ware. For its parallel we have to go to Nuzi, Yorgan Tepe, ten miles S. W. of Kirkuk. Fig. 50 is that of a vessel from Nuzi level with vertical side and moulded horizontal rings at intervals around the upper two-thirds of the body. Like the Nilgiri ribbed pot the Nuzi pot has no shoulder. Like it, it is also round bottomed. The nearest analogues of the Nilgiri ware are from late Assyrian level at Nineveh (ninth century Palace of Ashurnasirpal II). Like the vases and sherds from this site the Nilgiri ware is also characterised by a porous fabric with *dégraisant*. Similar sherds have been reported from Ashur. The same type of pottery was found by Professor Petrie in the Assyrian stratum at Gerar (Gerar, Pl. LXV and p. 6.) Bowls with concave neck and tulip form have been found both in the Nilgiri ware and at Assur in late Assyrian levels. The ribbed or corrugated pottery of the Nilgiri type has been found not only at Nuzi (Ga Sur, Akkadian level) but also elsewhere in archaic strata both at Fara and Susa.

Corrugated vases, not with round, but flat bottom were common at the site of the Temple of Ishtar at Assur at levels designated by Walter Andrae as archaic. In their technology and aesthetic aspects, colour and decoration, the Nilgiri ware has to be derived from late Assyrian examples and is unmistakably exotic in character.

24. Until the 8th century B. C. there was an isolated colony of Indian elephants in Syria-Ashurassirpal II, 883, 859 not only killed 30 elephants in Syria, but also took some alive for his zoological garden at Nimrud. So not all the ivory that Assyria used in the ninth century came from India.

25. Barnett R. D. A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories, London, 1957, p. 167).

26. Musasir was an important province or city-state within the Kingdom of Urartu and its people were the Musri. Both the Nairi and the Musri were Urartians. The Kingdom of Urartu was a powerful state spanning the area from Lake Urmia to the Euphrates valley during the ninth and eighth centuries B. C. The capital of Urartu was ancient Tushpa, now city of Van. The Musri are mentioned as subjugated by Adad Nirari in C. 1300 B. C., by Shalmanesar-I C. 1280 B. C. in the course of his campaigns against Urartu-Tiglath Pileshar-I and Adad Nirari II also had ravaged their territory. Sargon II finally destroyed the city - State of Musasir in his campaign against Urartu in 714 B. C. The Urartians were Hurrian speaking.

The tribute from Musri to Shalmanesar III (859-824 B.C.) as seen from the Black Obelisk (841 B. C.) included an Indian elephant, monkeys and Bactrian camels. In this connection we might consider the possibility of an Assyrian Colony in Malabar and the Nilgiris to exploit their forest and mineral wealth-timber and gold, the Musri and the Nairi being their resident-representatives, some of them after Sargon II's campaigns in Urartu (714 B.C.) also employed as deportee labourers, as they were in Assur, in the gold mines of Wynad and Nilgiris. The Musri probably had one leg in

Malabar and the Nilgiris and another in Urartu so that in the Black obelisk they could be shown as offering Shalmanesar III not only Indian elephant, buffaloes and monkeys but also Bactrian camels. Camel it may be pointed out, is represented among the terracottas from the Nilgiri cairns.

It is interesting to speculate whether the Todas of the Nilgiris represent the Urartians left behind by their Assyrian masters, after Sennacherib. In one of the ancient Toda funeral songs as pointed out by Dr. L. V. Shaposhnikova (p. 174 of the forthcoming English version of her book in Russian entitled, 'The Secret of the Tribes of the Blue Hills'), there is reference to the traders-in this case their Assyrian masters-returning. The song is also a lament:

Oh, you are leaving us,
Owner of seven ships,
You who upon them have visited
Seven Kingdoms and seven kings."

F.J. Richards (Race Drift in South India. The Indian Antiquary vol. LIX, 1930) rightly says that 'Nilgiris being an area of isolation the Todas who came to stay-we ought to say the Urartians-who were left behind by their masters-must have found sooner or later that their connections with their former homes were severed.

The Urartians, it is said, could haul stones up to 35 to 40 tons to a great height and there securely manouvre them into place. Dr. Shaposhnikova reports having seen Toda men and boys lift heavy stone slabs weighing hundred kilograms or more on their backs with ease. The Urartian temple like the 'Po' of the Todas was tower like cella. Spear heads were the emblems of the gods of the Urartians. Spears are mentioned in the songs of the Todas and sacred spears are kept in their temples.

27. The eleven names listed by him (Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual, H. R. H. Prince Petter of Greece with an Introduction and Notes by A. Aiyappan, Madras, 1951) are the following:

1. An or Anu; 2. Ishtar; 3. Innini, 4. Nintud; 5. Makh;
6. Enlil or Ellil; 7. Ninlil; 8. Tetu; 9. Sin; 10.
Ninkurshag and 11. Ninurtha.

Some of these names are found only in Kwoorzsham the language that the Todas use in their prayers and the others in their ordinary spoken language, the Toda, which according to Emenau is a descendant of an off-shoot from Pro-Tamil (JAORS Vol. 87, No 4, M.B. Emenau, The South Dravidian Languages) Prince Peter's theory that possibly there was a colony of Sumerian merchants on the Nilgiris who through circumstances unknown to us were prevented from returning to their native land, though attractive, may not be accepted. But his discovery of names of certain Mesopotamian gods both in the ordinary and the sacred language of the Todas, both Aiyappan and Shaposhnikova believe may not be open to doubt though for certain supposedly Sumerian names of Toda deities, for example, Ninlil and Ishtar, Emenau is able to offer convincing Dravidian etymology.

28. It is doubtful whether the Nilgiri, Kolar and Hutti gold mines could have been exploited before the discovery of iron and for iron in this part of the country we do not have a date earlier than 1000 B.C. Iron had come into general use in the Near East also about the same time.

Capt. Munn found evidence of systematic prospecting auriferous reefs in South India in the area extending from Shorapur in the North to Wynad in the South, Within this region in the Hutti and Kolar Gold Mines he believed that some unknown people were involved in the extraction of the metal. It is idle to speculate on the probable identity of this unknown people. In some manner, however, the Assyrians and the Phoenicians seem to have been involved in the export of gold from the Hutti, Kolar, Nilgiri and Wynad mines considering that the contact of the first was intimate with Kerala and the Nilgiris and that of the other with Sopara on the coast higher up in the early centuries of the 1st millennium B. C. (Capt. L. Munn, Pre-historic and Proto-historic finds of the Raichur and Shorapur Districts of H. E. H.,

The Nizam's State, Man in India, Vol. XV, No. 4 October-December, 1935).

29. Aitchison (Leslie Aitchison, A. History of Metals, Vol. I, London, 1960, Fig. 62) calls the dagger from Deve Huyuk Hittite-Persian and dated it to Circa 500 B.C. Inhumation tombs at Deve Huyuk have produced a number of bronze bowls with omphalos and these have been assigned by Langdon and Harden to a 6th-4th century time-bracket. What is interesting about the Deve Huyuk example is that it is very much like a dagger from a barrow from the Nilgiris except for a mid-rib. Like the Nilgiri dagger it is cast in a single piece, has a single guard and its hilt terminates in a simple knob. The Nilgiri dagger (51b) has no analogues in the Iron Age burials of South India and may be like the bronze bowls with omphalos from the cairns it too was an import from the Near East, very likely north Syria which has given both the Nilgiri type of dagger and bronze bowls with omphalos.

In Fig. 51-a to the right of the Deve Huyuk dagger is another dagger also from Deve Huyuk with double guards. Daggers with double guards have not turned up from the Nilgiri cairns but there was one solitary example from a stone circle, belonging to a different funeral complex, between Conoor and Kateri. To the left of the dagger from the Nilgiri barrow is what appears to be a lance, much corroded from the near East with its hilt terminating in a knob very much like that of the dagger.

30. In the light of new evidence we may not uphold this view today. For a discussion of the first appearance of the water-lift or the Shaduf in riverine civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley and the relative priority of each region in the matter, see the writer's article entitled Some Harappan Survivals in South India in Indica, September, 1973'.

31. Luckenbill, Daniel Daoid, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Chicago, 1926, Chapter-V.

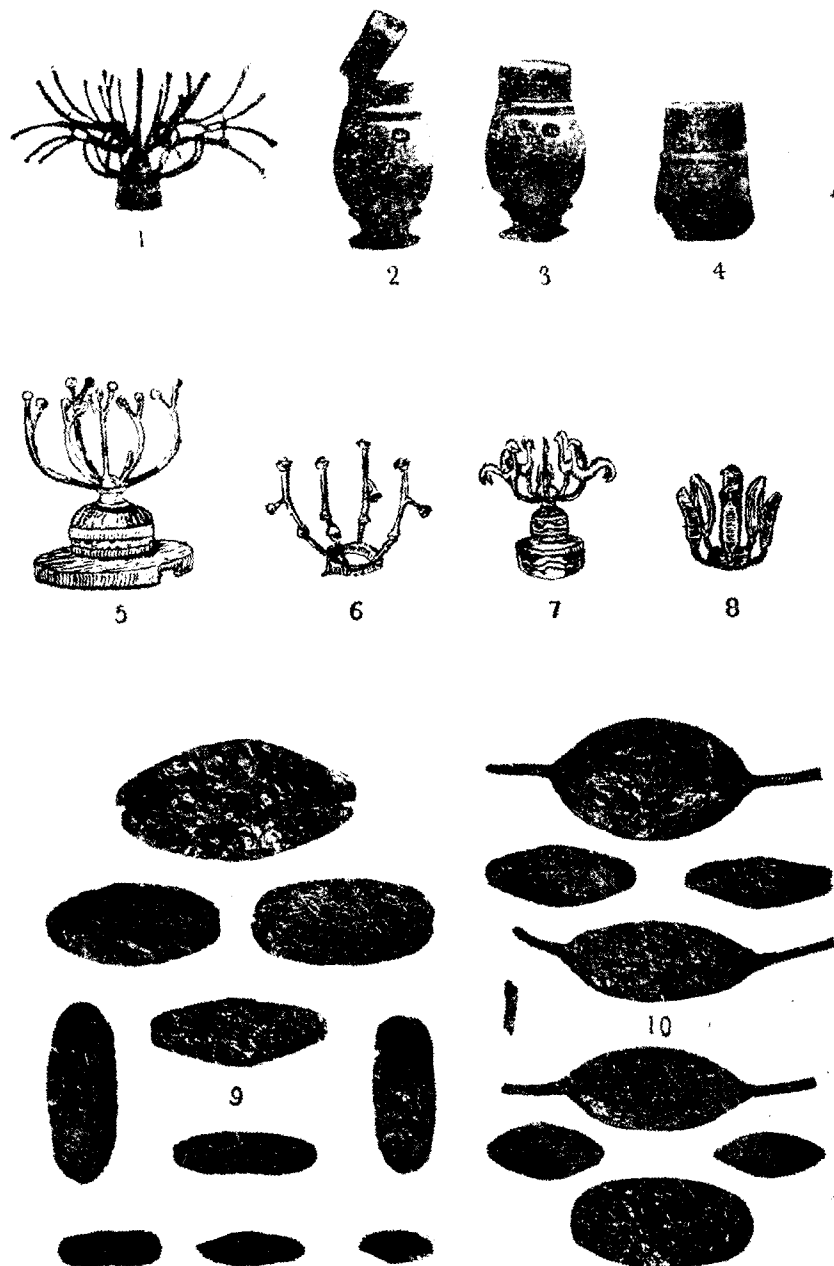


PLATE I

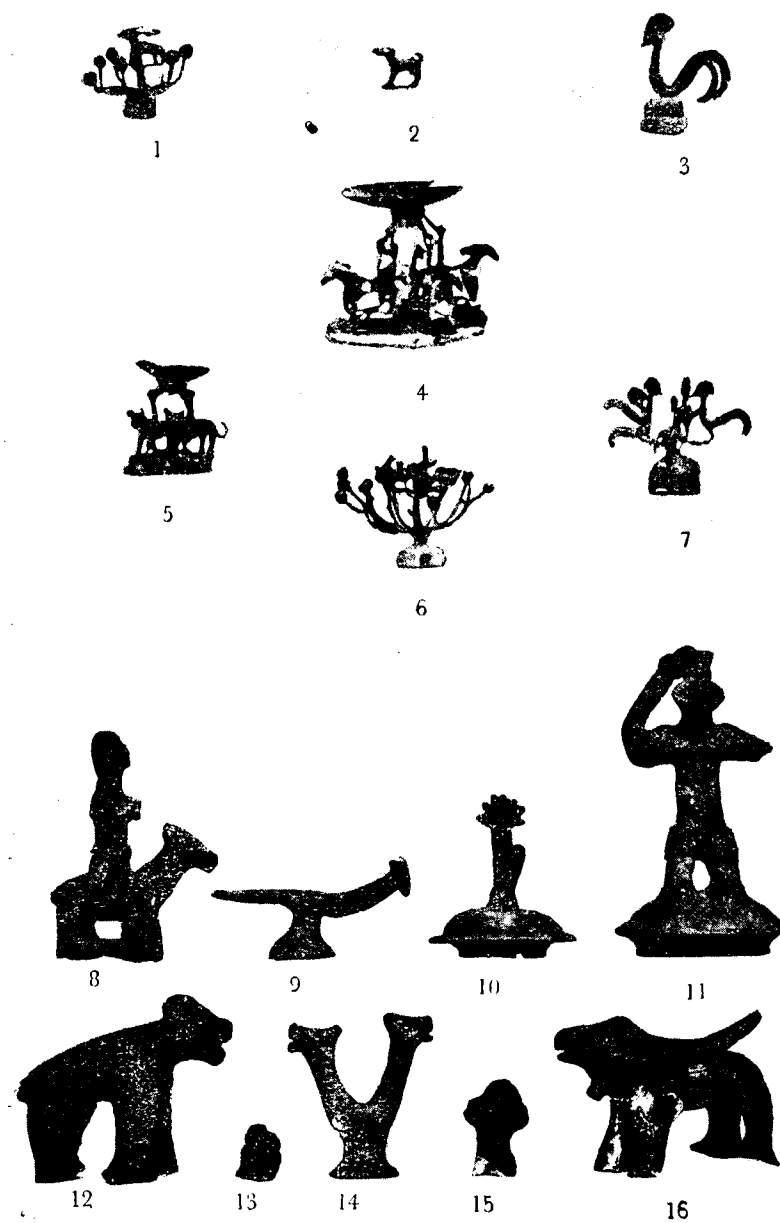


PLATE II

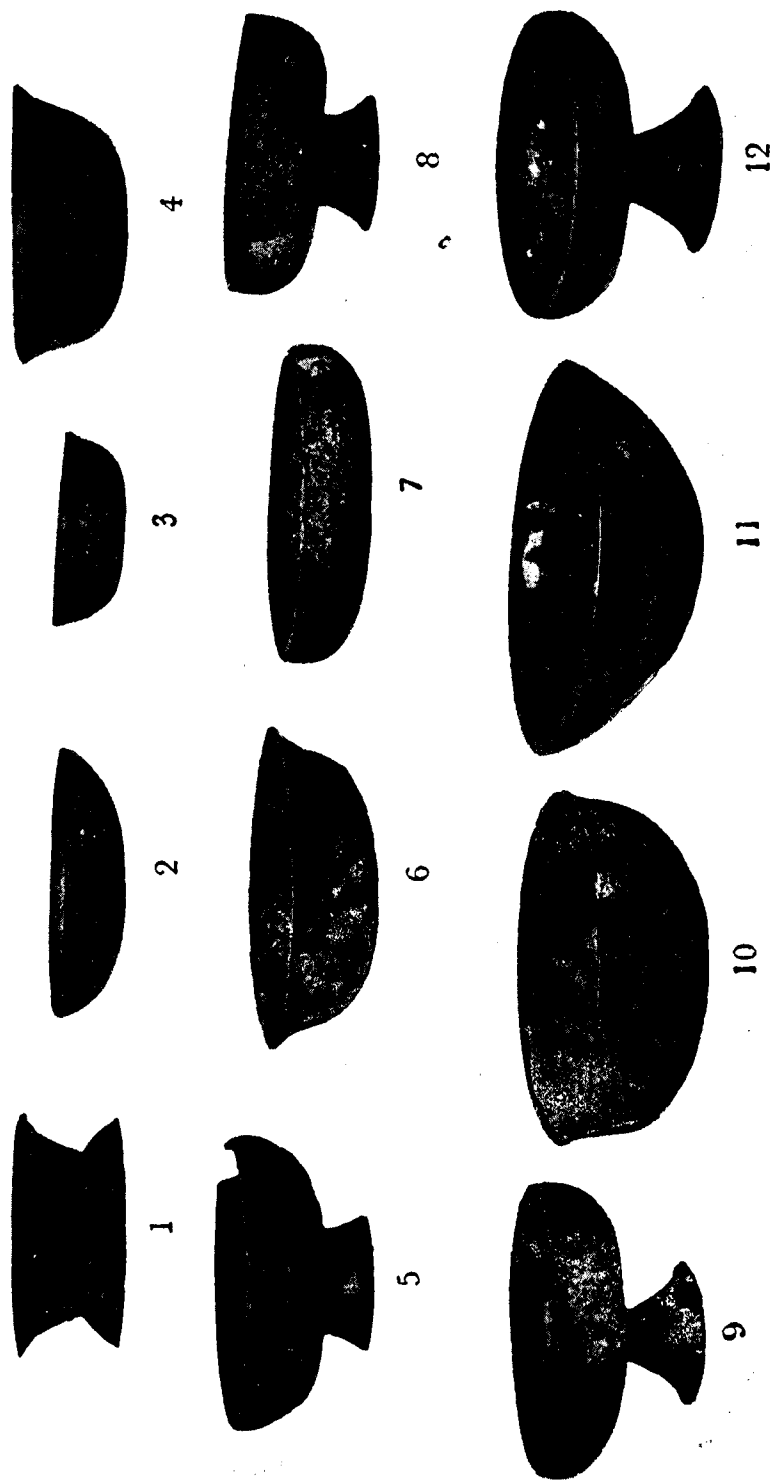


PLATE III



PLATE IV

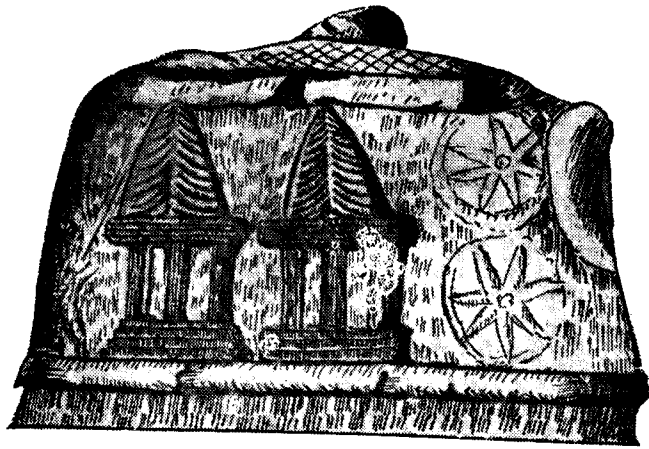


PLATE V (1)



PLATE V (2)

RISE AND FALL OF THE POLIGARS OF TAMILNADU

Dr. K. RAJAYYAN.

CHAPTER I

RISE OF THE POLIGARS

The poligars of Tamilnadu as in other regions of South India appeared on the political scene neither suddenly nor spontaneously. They came into existence gradually through stages and as the result of an interplay of historical circumstances and political considerations. As such they represented not only the product of the system of the age but also its corrective. They lived and flourished so long as the same situation that gave rise to them prevailed but declined and vanished when a new order came.

Since the dawn of the fourteenth century A.D. anarchy and disorder of formidable proportions engulfed the country. The Pandyas and the Cholas, who bestowed upon the country peace and prosperity for long and carried the pioneering flag of imperialism far and wide, ceased to be political forces. Alien powers moved into their place in strength. No more was Tamilnadu either the citadel of freedom or the homeland of empires. Agriculture, manufacture and commerce suffered an eclipse and together with them did economic prosperity, cultural advancement and political tranquillity.

Advent and exit of foreign powers and rise and fall of empires caused frequent changes in the country. Taking advantage of a civil war in the Pandya kingdom, the Afghan army under the command of Malik Kafur sacked Madurai and plundered Rameswaram in 1311. On his departure from the far south, he left behind him a Khilji regime at Madurai but it fell in the wake of the collapse of the Khilji Sultanate at Delhi. The Tughlaks who appeared in the south by 1323

completed the conquest of the Chola and Pandya territories.¹ In 1335 Jalal-ud-din Hassan, the Tughlak Governor of Ma'bar, as the southern most province was called, organised the independent Sultanate of Madurai. After a precarious existence for nearly half a century it fell to the onslaught of local powers, led by Kumara Kampana. The Rayas of Vijayanagar extended their sway to the Tamil country but they too encountered formidable resistance from a combination of chieftains.² The collapse of the established order, the constant presence of the threat of foreign invasions, the independent spirit of the inhabitants and the inability of the new sovereigns to assert their authority in overwhelming strength created a situation favourable for the rise of the poligari system.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the country was dotted with numerous palayams. However most of them were concentrated in Tirunelveli, Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli, Dindugal and Coimbatore. Among them were large ones like Sivaganga or Pudukkottai and small ones like Kolarpatti and Dhili. The resources of the territories decided the political status of the respective poligars. The chieftains of western Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram were mostly of Marava community, those of Madurai, Tiruchirappalli and Thanjavur were of Kallar tribes and those of eastern Tirunelveli, Dindugal and Coimbatore were Nayaks or Totiens. They spoke either Tamil or Telugu or both. The number of poligars varied from time to time yet it does not appear that their strength exceeded a hundred at any time. Early in the Nayak period it is believed that there were about seventy two poligars in Madurai country alone, while a few others came into existence in Tamilnadu under the Muslim administration. In 1752 their strength was indicated as about sixty.³ By the end of the eighteenth century the number of the palayams in the Carnatic region was placed in treaty records at fortysix.⁴ Creation of new palayams and sequestration of old ones by the rulers caused frequent fluctuations in the strength of the poligars. The annexations as well as alienations, made by the poligars, too had contributed to this trend. Sivagiri, Wadagara,

Natham, Melur, Pudukkottai, Manaparai, Wodayarpalayam, Ariyalur, Turaiyur and Virupakshi represented the most important of the palayams. In the districts of Tirunelveli, Madurai and Ramanathapuram hardly any territory belonged to the circar.⁵

Poligars and the Nayaks

After sustaining reverses in sporadic attempts of the early period, the sovereigns of Vijayanagar asserted their sway over Tamilnadu early in the sixteenth century. Krishna Deva Raya (1509-1530) the greatest of the Emperors of Vijayanagar, determined to consolidate his authority over this territory, appointed his able general, Visvanatha Nayak, as administrator with Madurai as headquarters. The new governor found the situation so complicated and his task so formidable as to warrant an unconventional approach.

In the country there were two classes of leaders: (1) the traditional chieftains, who descended from the royal houses of the past and wielded considerable influence among the people and (2) the feudatories who owed their loyalty to the fallen sovereigns and lived in a state of independence. To the first order belonged the Pandya and Chola princes. In consequence of the absorption of Madurai within the political limits of the Delhi Sultanate, the Pandyas withdrew to Tenkasi and spearheaded a struggle aimed at political liberation. To counter the Pandyan endeavour for attaining independence, the Afghan rulers planted Chola princes, called Mavali chiefs, at Manamadurai and other territories. Between the Pandyas and the Cholas, was shared much of the loyalty of the inhabitants.⁶ Next in order came the auxiliary powers. Many of them claimed authority from divine right or royal concession, obtained as favour or in return for signal services. In Ramanathapuram the setupati claimed himself as the guardian of the causeway to Rameswaram, the famous temple to which pilgrims flocked all over from India. He considered it his prerogative to afford protection to the pilgrims against the robbers, who infested the nearby jungles. According to tradition Lord Sri Rama during his exploits in South India entrusted this responsibility

1. R. C. Majumdar, (ed) *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1960, pp. 53 & 279.

3. Military Country Correspondence, 20 Jan. 1752, Vol. 1 p. 74.

4. Revenue Consultations, Madras, 23 July, 1802 Vol. 118 pp. 2463-64.

5. B. S. Ward, *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of Madura and Dindigul*, Vol. 3 p. 61.

6. R. Sathyanatha Aiyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*. 1924 pp. 5-7.

with the setupati. However, the early line of the setupatis became extinct by the sixteenth century. Yet some of the descendants, who commanded local influence, decided to reassert their authority, taking advantage of the collapse of the Pandya Empire.⁷ Marudappa Tevar of Uthumalai traced his descent from a warrior, who was stated to have sprung from the side of Goddess Minakshi with clubs in his hands to assist her in the wars against the rebels of Madurai. Because of his daring exploits during his service under Vadamalayappa Pillayan, the Pandian Governor of Tirunelveli, a rebellion in Tenkasi was suppressed. In return for this service he gained from the Pandyas the possession of Uthumalai.⁸ Apadhurhara Tevar at the orders of the Pandyan ruler, Ugra Pandya Rajah, routed a Kannada army that advanced to the plains. He founded the authority of his family at Singampatti, given in reward.⁹ Kumara Ettappa Nayakkar undertook an expedition to Iramil at the direction of the Pandyan king. He was hit by an arrow from an unknown foe, while he was returning after defeating the enemy. In 1584 he was granted Kalugumalai as blood money.¹⁰ According to tradition Ketti Pommur or clever Pommur, who founded the Kattabomman line of chiefs at Panjalankurichi, served under the Pandyas and gained from them the possession of that territory. In fact when the Nayaks reached Tamilnadu, there had already existed a class of chieftains, who drew their influence from the possession of the territories, that they inherited or acquired.

V. Rangacharya in *Indian Antiquary*, R. Sathyanatha Aiyar in his *History of the Nayaks of Madura* and S. Radhakrishna Ayyar in his *A General History of the Pudukkottai State* make references to the organisation of the poligari system by Visvanatha Nayak. It is not very correct to assert that the rulers of Vijayanagar created the system. What they really did was to accept a situation that had already existed, partly because of their inability to change it and partly because of the advantages it offered and to put it into a definite form. The Nayak chief, after assuming the administration of the Tamil territories, marched to Tiruchirapalli, strengthened its fortifications, cleared

the jungles on either bank of the Kaveri and suppressed the robber gangs, who found asylum in the area. At his direction his general, Ariyanatha led an expedition to Tirunelveli. However the task of consolidation of Nayak authority faced insuperable odds. The chieftains who called themselves as 'Pancha Pandyas', believed to be the tributaries of the Pandyas, refused to accept any earthly superior. They assembled an army and entrenched themselves at a place referred to as Kayattattur, ready to fight out the issue. The local tradition at Panchalamkurichi indicates that the Pancha Pandyas took their stand at a kurichi or a valley between two hills and hence the name of that place. Therefore it is likely that Kayattattur was Kayattar, situated near Panchalamkurichi. This development threatened to give the signal to the outbreak of a formidable conflagration throughout the country. As Sathyanatha Aiyar has rightly asserted, the Pandyas, legitimate and illegitimate, frequently mutually questioning each other's legitimacy, held their sway over different territories. It seemed certain that they would unite under a common banner to fight the common enemy. The troops of Travancore and the robbers who made the jungle tracts of the west their habitat waited for opportunities for making irruptions into the plains. The attitude of the Portuguese, who exercised an overwhelming influence over the Paravas and independent authority over the coastal region, served as a source of constant concern. The Bahmini Sultanates, particularly Bijapur and Golconda, concentrated their forces against the vulnerable frontiers in the north. The rulers of Kalinga too were hostile. So great was the magnitude of these perils that it appeared as nothing but impolitic to provoke the chieftains of Tamilnadu to raise the banner of resistance. In the meantime the generals who were serving the empire through changing fortunes clamoured for territorial rewards. Guided by these considerations, Visvanatha Nayak saw the wisdom of effecting a settlement that would pacify the chieftains and serve the needs of the times. The result was the acceptance of the poligari system. As this reform was of considerable political importance, it appears that he implemented it with the approval of Achyuta Raya, Emperor of Vijayanagar.

The Nayaks associated the poligars with the administration and defined their rights and duties. The chronicles indicate that Visvanatha Nayak gave recognition to seventy two palayams and entrusted

7. Ibid, p. 212.

8. Memoir Showing the Origin of the Caste and Family of the Zamindarini of the Estate of Uthumalai, para 2 5.

9. History of the Singampatti Zamindari (trans. from a Telugu record).

10. Family History of Ettayapuram (Tamil).

the defence of each of the seventy two bastions of the Fort of Madurai with a particular poligar. Normally the chieftains gained possession of their districts either through inheritance from the ruling houses of the past or by their military might or in recognition of their distinguished service to the state. The Nayaks permitted these chieftains to retain possession of the same territories or granted them the possession of other territories. The poligars were allowed to collect the taxes and required to pay one third of the collections as tribute to the sovereign, to maintain such number of troops as could be supported with one third of the revenue, and to retain the rest for their private expenses. They were directed to render military service to the sovereign, whenever it was demanded and to administer justice to their people. This arrangement, important in itself, accorded legal sanction to the poligari system rather than creating something new and left the chieftains as masters of their territories, with fixed rights and duties. They received generous remissions in their payments and grant of more villages, in return for devoted service to the state. The settlement fulfilled two major objectives of the government: firstly, it provided for the administration of the poligar territories and secondly, it created a second line of defence, indispensable during this period of anarchy and disorder.¹¹

The period that followed witnessed the emergence of more of the poligars. The Sultans of Golconda and the Nizams of Hyderabad found in the poligari system a convenient agency for tackling many of the problems that they faced in the conquered territories in the far south. Not only did they accept the system but find it expedient to expand it. They created new palayams and granted them to their servants in recognition of meritorious service or in compensation for the protection of the properties of the circar, villagers, travellers and pilgrims. This accounted for the rise of several poligars in the Arcot region.¹² The poligars held possession of their territories on a hereditary basis, with right to alienate any portion there of at any time. In subsequent times the Nawabs of Arcot created a class of chieftains with or without right to enjoy possession of estates on a hereditary basis or to alienate any part of them. However these chieftains were not treated as equal in status with the poligars.

In short what the Nayaks proceeded to do was to accord recognition to a historical phenomenon created by the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the ruling houses of the Tamil country. The eclipse of the old royal houses with the rise of new powers left in its wake numerous chieftains in possession of territories of reduced extent. In the meantime adventurers gathered armed gangs and asserted their power in different areas taking advantage of the disorders of the times. The followers and favourites of the new aggressors obtained from their lords concessions in land in reward of their service or sacrifice. Apart from these, the rulers found it necessary to assign lands to chieftains as compensation for the services, that they continued to render. Thus a four fold process, as an ultimate analysis would indicate, contributed to the rise of the poligars. They were: (1) descent from royal houses (2) assertion of authority in command of armed followers—in these cases the chieftains obtained the recognition of the sovereign. (3) acknowledgment granted for a distinguished public service and (4) the need to protect public interests—in these cases they owed their existence to a deliberate act of the sovereign. However it is difficult to tell that a particular poligar owed his existence to one particular cause or the other. While the early poligars gained more of rights through service to the rulers, the later chieftains took advantages of the turmoils to attain the status of early poligars. In fact a combination of different factors contributed in one way or the other to the emergence of the poligars into a powerful political institution.

The Later Poligars

The military discomfiture suffered at the hands of the Bahmini Sultanates on the field at Talikota in 1565 started the steady decline of the Vijayanagar Empire. The Nayaks of Madurai and Thanjavur asserted their independence but their endeavour to save the country from disorders proved futile. There came more of external aggressions and internal conflicts. The later rulers of Vijayanagar embarked upon a course of warlike action with an ambition not only to regain the lost ground but also to reassert their waning authority over the provinces. They carried the war to the Tamil country too. Mysore,

11. R. Sathyanatha Aiyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madura* p. 58.

12. Chandrasekhara Reddi, *Vikramasimhapuri Mandalasaraswamu* pp. 85-86

Madurai and Thanjavur in the mean time entered into a three cornered rivalry for political supremacy. To add to the embarrassments, the Deccani powers, the Marathas and the Mysoreans made frequent inroads into the Tamil country. As the prospect of political stabilisation vanished, the Nayaks looked upon the local chieftains not only for support to carry on their own administration but also for assistance to check aggressions. The family records of the poligars and other chieftains furnish numerous instances of their exploits in support of the Nayaks to check foreign invasions and to suppress the defiant powers. These developments forced the Nayaks to make additions to the existing palayams and to create new ones either to provide for new situations or to accommodate the new chieftains.

The number of new palayams that came into existence under the later Nayaks cannot be ascertained. However the most significant of them were the Marava and Kallar palayams. The territorial extent and economic resources of these palayams were so considerable when compared with the ordinary estates, that they were often called as states and their rulers as rajahs.¹³

The Nayaks entrusted the administration of Ramanathapuram with two commissioners, but found it impossible either to afford effective protection to the pilgrims going to Rameswaram or to hold the Portuguese under check. Therefore Muthu Krishnappa Nayak (1601-1609) of Madurai decided to appoint a chief acceptable to the inhabitants to carry into effect the reorganisation of the administration. The person whom he selected for this difficult job was Sadaikka Tevar, who belonged to the line of the setupatis. Appointed as deputy in 1604, Sadaikka Tevar subdued the turbulent chiefs, established military posts along the road from Madurai to Rameswaram, provided escorts to the pilgrims and restored order. As the Nayaks grew into prominence in the service of the Rayas of Vijayanagar, the setupatis gained in their power in the service of the Nayaks of Madurai.¹⁴ Raghunatha Setupati, at the orders of Tirumala Nayak (1623-1659), fought and repulsed a Muslim invasion and suppressed a rebellion organised by the poligars of Tirunelveli. As reward for this service,

he received the villages near Mannarkovil and a share in the revenue from the pearl fishery at Tutukudi. However when Chokkanatha Nayak came to power, (1659-1682), Raghunatha Setupati disregarded the central authority and refused co-operation in resisting a Muslim aggression. In retaliation the Nayak troops invaded Ramanathapuram, but could gain no decisive victory. In 1702 Rani Mangammal sent another expedition, but the Marava forces rounded the Madurai army. In the same year the old Raghunatha Setupati, who was also called Kizhavan, declared the independence of the Marava territory. The new state of Ramanathapuram extended from the sea in the east to within six miles of Madurai in the west and from River Vypar in the south to Thanjavur kingdom in the north.¹⁵

A territorial grant made by Kizhavan Setupati contributed to the formation of Pudukkottai. As a young man, he fell in love with Kathali, a girl of the Kallar tribe, and married her. He granted possession of a tract of territory to Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman, the brother of the girl. Raghunatha Raya (1686-1730) built the town of Pudukkottai, annexed the neighbouring palayams and asserted his independence by 1711. This marked the establishment of the Tondaiman dynasty of Pudukkottai. Adjoining this state were the tribal regions of Melur and Natham. Ruled by tribal councils, they were in fact commonwealths of wild tribes. They had no hereditary chieftains and they paid no regular tribute to any sovereign. Inhabited by the warlike and independent Kallar tribes, the three districts, Pudukkottai, Melur and Natham, constituted what was called Kallarnadu.¹⁶

A second territorial concession made by Kizhavan Setupati to Periya Wodaya Tevar, a local chieftain, for maintaining 300 armed men for the service of the central authority served as the nucleus of the state of Sivaganga. Sasivarna Tevar, who succeeded Periya Wodaya Tevar, married an illegitimate daughter of Kizhavan Setupati and gained possession of more of the villages from Ramanathapuram, adequate to maintain 3000 armed men.¹⁷ As the setupatis grew in strength through service to the Nayaks, so did the Sivaganga princes to

13. William Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, 1857, pp. 161-163.

14. R. Sathyanatha Aiyer, *History of the Nayaks of Madurai*, pp. 90-91.

15. *Ibid*, p. 212.

16. S. Radhakrishna Ayyar, *History of Pudukkottai*, 1916, pp. 125-127.

17. K. Annaswamy Ayyer, *The Sivaganga Zamindari*, 1899, pp. 1-3.

the setupatis. A young man of enterprise, Sasivarna Tevar ably assisted Setupati Kattaya Tevar (1723-1734) in beating an expedition, which the Marathas of Thanjavur sent and advanced right up to the capital of Ramanathapuram. In acknowledgement of this important service, the Setupati divided his territory into five equal parts, retained three divisions in the south for himself and ceded the rest to Sasivarna Tevar. This marked the rise of two states within the territorial bounds of Ramanathapuram. Inhabited by the people belonging to the Marava community, the larger of the two was called Greater Marawar and the smaller, Lesser Marawar.¹⁸

The Marawa powers present a striking paradox in the history of the poligars. To begin with Ramanathapuram was a palayam, constituted by the Nayaks. It paid tribute and rendered military service to Madurai. But when the influence of Ramanathapuram was on the ascendancy, the authority of Madurai was on the decline. This enabled the Marawars to establish their independence. Having achieved this, they created new palayams within their territory. If the break away of the territory were a factor in the decline of Madurai, the loss of Pudukkottai and Sivaganga was equally a factor in the decline of Ramanathapuram. Despite the assertion of independence, the Nawabs of Arcot when they extended their authority to the far south, considered the Marawa and Kallar powers not as states but only as palayams.

Unlike the ordinary poligars, the Rajah of Travancore had a dual status. He was the poligar under the Nayaks of Madurai and subsequently under the Nawabs of Arcot so far his possession of Kanyakumari or Kalakkad was concerned but was a sovereign by himself in regard to his authority over other territories on the west coast. Mohammad Ali claimed the Rajah of Mysore and the King of Jaffna as his poligars, but he exercised no authority over them. He sought to enlist British support for the enforcement of his claims but with no purpose.

Aggressions and Disorders

The Nayak powers, to whom the poligars extended their loyalty traditionally, declined in their influence by the end of the seventeenth

century. The advent and exit of aggressive powers in quick succession together with internal dissensions among the Nayaks presented stresses and strains to the political system of Tamilnadu. The poligari system too experienced the consequent vicissitudes in its fortune. Frequently assailed from different quarters, the chieftains strained their resources to defend their traditional rights. Their effort to maintain the declining Nayaks in power headed towards an inevitable fiasco. Repeatedly the foreign invaders administered upon them devastating blows and subjected them to shattering experiences. These developments threw them into a quandary—whether to surrender to alien exaction and humiliation or to resist and assert their independence. As circumstances warranted they relied upon one course or the other, but generally the second. Not only did they survive the long chain of perils but greatly did they consolidate their strength.

By 1670 Mysore occupied Coimbatore and Salem, the north western provinces of Madurai. Consequently, the poligars in this region passed under the control of the rulers of Mysore. In 1674 Ekoji, the Maratha adventurer and half brother of Sivaji, occupied Thanjavur from the Nayaks. Two years later Sivaji at the command of 30,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry undertook his brilliant campaign to the Carnatic. He occupied Ginji from Bijapur, advanced to Thanjavur and routed a combination of the poligars of Chittur and Vellore. Rustom Khan, a Muslim adventurer, sought to establish his authority at Tiruchirapalli and to expel the Nayaks. But his daring bid was thwarted by the timely intervention of the poligars. The Setupati of Ramanathapuram and Chinna Katiri Nayak of Kannivadi gained the support of the followers of the usurper, entered into a collusion with them, killed Rustom Khan and re-established Chokkanatha Nayak in power.¹⁹ Between 1685 and 1688 Emperor Aurangzeb subdued Bijapur and Golconda, the premier Muslim powers of South India, and annexed them. In 1694 the Emperor appointed Zulficar Khan as Nawab of the Carnatic with capital at Arcot. This development posed a direct threat to the Hindu kingdoms of the far south. The Mughal forces marched to Thanjavur and Madurai and levied contributions. Rani Mangammal (1689-1706) of Madurai and Rajah Shahji (1684-1712) of Thanjavur accepted the Mughal sovereignty.

19. R. Satyanatha Aiyer, *Tamilaham in the 17th Century*, 1956, pp. 90-95.

18. *Military Consultations*, Madras, 3 Feb. 1771, vol. 41 p. 108.

However in 1707 when Emperor Aurangzeb died, there began a period of disorders during which the Empire collapsed and provinces declared their independence. Saadat-ullah Khan organised the Carnatic into an independent kingdom under the rule of his house, the Nevayets.²⁰

Apart from these developments of major consequence, that which had a direct and adverse impact upon the poligars was the outbreak of a civil war in the Nayak Kingdom of Madurai. On the death of Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha in 1732 without leaving a direct heir to the throne, his favourite queen, Minakshi, succeeded him at Tiruchirapalli, to which place the capital was shifted from Madurai in 1665. Bangaru Tirumalai, cousin of the departed ruler, challenged her claims and organised a rival government at Madurai. The glamour associated with the possession of Madurai city and the proximity of the rival government persuaded most of the poligars to transfer their loyalty from Minakshi to Bangaru and from Tiruchirapalli to Madurai.²¹

In the civil war that broke out Chanda Sahib, who commanded the Nevayet army, encamped on the bank of the Kaveri, saw his opportunity. He entered into an alliance with Queen Meenakshi and routed the forces of Bangaru Tirumalai, engaged in besieging Tiruchirapalli.²² After this victory, he advanced towards Madurai. The poligars and Kallar tribes, who assembled in strength in the hilly region of Natham, intercepted his march and forced him to retreat, Rajah Tukkoji of Thanjavur in the mean time attacked Pudukkottai, but the Maravas rallied to its defence and drove out the Maratha troops. In 1736 Chanda Sahib deposed Queen Minakshi and usurped the throne of Madurai kingdom. However, the consolidation of his authority required the liquidation of the influence of the poligars, who remained stubbornly loyal to the Nayaks. He assembled a large army and attacked the palayams of Pudukkottai, Ariyalur and Wodayarpalayam. The Tondaiman after a futile resistance fled to Manipallam, while the chieftains of other palayams to the coast. Another Nevayet army made its way through the woods of Natham and descended upon Madurai. Bangaru Tirumalai and his son Vijayakumara finding resis-

20. Nainar, ed. *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*, Part I pp. 58-64.

21. Besse, *Father Beschi* p. 125.

22. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 46, pp. 218-219.

tance futile escaped to the Marawa country for asylum. But the poligars of Tirunelveli assembled their irregulars at Settur to resist the Nevayet invasion. Despite their daring struggle, Budda Sahib and Sadak Sahib, the brothers of Chanda Sahib, in command of the Muslim troops routed the poligars. The Nevayet forces took several of the chieftains as prisoners and shut them in the Fort of Madurai. They crippled the poligar resistance, occupied their forts and erected new outposts with a view to keep the country under submission.²³

In spite of this serious reverse, the poligars refused to submit to the invading power meekly. They appealed to the Marathas, the most prominent of the Hindu powers of the time, for intervention. The chiefs of Ramanathapuram, Sivaganga and Pudukkottai offered to furnish 5,000 horse and 40,000 foot for service with the Marathas to expel the Nevayets from the country.²⁴ King Sahu, guided by different considerations, decided to embrace the opportunity. He entertained an anxiety to ensure the survival of the Maratha Kingdom of Thanjavur, which was repeatedly threatened by the Nevayets, to check the Mohammadan advance in South India and to extend the Maratha influence to Kanyakumari.²⁵ In 1740 the Maratha army consisting of about 50,000 strong cavalry under the command of Raghuji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh moved to the Carnatic. On the 20th of May they defeated and killed Nawab Dost Ali in the battle at Damalcherri near Chandragiri. Defences of the Carnatic collapsed and Arcot fell to the invading forces. After this major victory, the Marathas marched to Tiruchirapalli early in 1741. The records of the period do not indicate whether the poligars joined them. Yet it was possible that because of the promise of aid already made and the identity of interests, they would have sent their troops to join the Maratha ranks. On the 16th of March 1741 the invading army occupied Tiruchirapalli, took Chanda Sahib a prisoner and appointed Murari Rao as the Governor of Tiruchirapalli.²⁶ The Nevayet troops from Tirunelveli and Dindugal rallied to the aid of Chanda Sahib but they were intercepted at Manaparai and their generals, Budda Sahib

23. Madura Mission, Annual Letter, dated 14th July, 1736.

24. Public Country Correspondence, Madras, 5 Dec. 1740 p. 65.

25. S. Radhakrishna Ayyar, *History of Pudukkottai* p. 182.

26. Ananda Ranga Pillai, *Diary* vol. 1, p. 118 (trans)

and Sadak Sahib, were killed in battle. Murari Rao sent an army under the command of Appaji Rao to the far south and established his authority at Madurai.²⁷

The Maratha intervention relieved the poligars from the threat of extinction and resulted in the re-establishment of Hindu power. The chiefs of Ariyalur and Wodayarpalayam returned to their districts. The Tondaiman regained possession of Pudukkottai. The poligars who had been thrown into captivity at Madurai obtained their freedom. The Marathas respected the rights of the poligars as guaranteed to them by tradition and maintained cordial relations with them.²⁸ The country returned to order.

However this period of harmony with the central authority did not last for long. Determined to re-assert the Mughal power in the Carnatic and when the Marathas were preoccupied with their internal conflicts, Nizam Asaf Jah at the command of 80,000 horse and 2,00,000 foot marched unopposed to the Carnatic. After establishing his influence at Arcot, he marched to Tiruchirapalli. In March 1743 he attacked the defences of the fort. The siege continued for six months, after which the Nizam entered into a settlement with Murari Rao, agreeing to give him Penukonda and gained possession of the coveted stronghold.²⁹ Asaf Jah now led his army to Madurai. Undeterred by the formidable strength of the enemy, the Kallans and the poligars harassed the enemy by frequent irruptions but failed in checking his progress.³⁰ Asaf Jah took the city and appointed Khwaja Abdulla as Nawab at Madurai as well as the guardian of the Nevayet prince, Saadat-ullah Khan II. Because of the worsening situation in the Deccan during his absence, the Nizam made no attempt to suppress the poligars and hurried back to Hyderabad.³¹

On the death of Kwaja Abdulla in 1744 Asaf Jah appointed in his place his general Anwar-ud-din. In June 1744 Saadat ullah Khan, the ten year old prince, was killed; it is believed with the collusion

of Ānwar-ud-din, his guardian. Yet more interested in the preservation of his own influence than in the punishment of the perpetrators of this atrocious crime, the Nizam appointed Anwar-ud-din himself as Nawab of the Carnatic. The new ruler founded the rule of his dynasty, the Wallajahs.³²

The rise of another alien power in the country created again a situation of embarrassment to the poligars. Refusing to compromise with this new regime, they rallied to the Nayaks and sought to elevate Vijayakumara as the ruler at Madurai. Because of their defiant attitude, Anwar-ud-din in 1744 sent his son Maphuz Khan on an expedition to the far south for the suppression of the poligars. The Kallans as usual attacked the invaders at Natham. Maphuz Khan was defeated and forced to retreat. Mohammad Ali, the second son of Anwar-ud-din, commanded a second but more powerful expedition. He manoeuvred through the mountain passes of Natham, gained control of Madurai and advanced against the chiefs. At Tirunelveli he routed a confederacy of poligars and dismantled seventy two of their mud forts. He took several of them as prisoners, levied contributions and gained a partial control of Tirunelveli. The victorious army with considerable treasure in its possession began its triumphant return march to Tiruchirapalli. The Kallans in the mean time reassembled their irregular troops and waited on the hills of Natham. When the enemy entered their bounds, they ambushed them and looted their camp. Mohammad Ali made a narrow escape. So complete was this rout that it undid what the Nawab's army achieved with great sacrifice.³³ The poligars now made a concerted move. Led by the Marava chieftains, they entered into a settlement with the Rajah of Mysore to expel the Wallajahs and to re-establish the Nayak rule. Before this plan could be translated into practice there came unexpected developments which thwarted their patriotic venture. Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang contested for authority in the Deccan. Sayaji and Pratap Singh came into conflict with each other in Tanjavur. The Wallajahs and the Nevayets entered into a bitter struggle for the possession of the Carnatic. The Mysoreans in alliance with Murari Rao made a determined bid for the acquisition of Madurai. The

27. Ibid pp. 134—158 and Public Country Correspondence, Madras, vol. 1 p. 89.

28. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 46 p. 243.

29. Ananda Ranga Pillai, *Diary* (trans.) vol. 1 p. 243.

30. Venkatarama Ayyar, *Pudukkottai Manual*, part 1 p. 276.

31. Military Consultations, Madras, 29 July 1765. vol. 23. pp. 715-16.

32. *Defence of Lord Pigot*, 1777. p. 83.

33. Military Country Correspondence, Madras, 12 June 1767 vol. 15 p. 139.

English and the French embarked upon a prolonged war for supremacy in South India. All these powers, far and near, conspired together in converting Tamilnadu into a vast arena of conflict, with the Fort of Tiruchirapalli as the centre of concentrated attack. Overwhelmed by these unforeseen developments of major magnitude and left without a controlling authority, the poligars found it to their advantage to retire into isolation and concentrate upon matters of local interest. The period was marked by an expansion and consolidation of their influence.³⁴

Growth of Poligars' Influence

The stormy political atmosphere favoured the growth of the power and influence of the poligars. If they owed their existence to their strength and service, the same factors accounted for the extension of their authority. The acquisition of rights and concessions was made at the expense of the jurisdiction either of the central authority or of the village communities. The trend of the times, created by the prevailing state of turmoil favoured the expansion of the authority of the auxiliary powers.

The rewards made by the rulers and his amuldars in return for services swelled the resources of the poligars. The Nawab of the Carnatic, whether of the Nevayet or of the Wallajah dynasty, sought the military aid of these chiefs in order to defend his authority against external enemies and his rebellious subjects. The chieftains assisted the Nawab, not so much as part of their duty to their overlord,—for he was still considered as an alien intruder—as it was in consideration of obtaining more rights. In particular during the period following the rebellion of Khan Sahib, the Nawab made it a policy to augment the authority and receipts of the poligars under the head "*deshakaval*"³⁵ so that they might rescue his government from the hands of the Patans, who in alliance with the Kallans and other rebels, were running riot in Madurai country.³⁶ The amuldars too entered into collusion with the poligars and connived at their increasing the territorial extent of their palayams and interfering in the collection of circar revenue. In

consequence the poligars allowed the circar only such proportion of the revenue as they pleased. In order to warrant these proceedings they spared a part of the spoil to the amuldars. This practice was nothing more than a division of the public revenue. Rapine and violence were not merely connived at but openly assisted and most of the usurpations committed by the poligars received either public sanction or secret encouragement of the persons in authority.³⁷

In the mean time neglect of responsibilities and perpetration of enormities by the central administration left the village communities with no alternative but to seek the protection of the poligars. Pre-occupied with his own problems, the sovereign found it impossible to enforce law and order. In spite of this serious failure his administration harassed the inhabitants with oppressive taxation and arbitrary exaction. The government not only did not safeguard life and property, but did enter into collusion with the criminals in consideration of money. It is recorded in the ballads that if a person paid one thousand gold coins to the government, he was given the freedom to kill any person, whom he wanted to do away with. At Ervadi in Tirunelveli district a person gave an advance of 700 coins, obtained permission of the amuldar and murdered a villager. As he defaulted in clearing the balance in a week, as agreed upon, he was arrested and thrown into prison at Palayamkottai.³⁸ Because of such abnoxious practices of the circar administration, the villages appealed to the poligars for protection. Readily the chieftains responded; they reappointed the old *kavalkars* or appointed their own servants and directed them to safeguard the interests of the inhabitants. In return for this service they received from the villages a voluntary contribution called '*deshakaval*'. In subsequent periods in their attempt to escape from the terrors wrought by the interminable conflicts more and more villages sought the protection of the chieftains.³⁹ Meanwhile the

34. Ananda Ranga Pillai, *Diary* (trans) vol. 5. p. 177.

35. *Deshakaval* was the tax levied for performing watching duties.

36. Revenue Consultations, Madras, 28 Nov. 1800, vol. 106, pp. 3198—3201.

37. Military Consultations, Madras, 30 Oct. 1792, vol. 168 p. 5485

38. Ayyapparazatalaivār, Tirumalaivazhpuram Varālaru.

39. Revenue Consultations, Madras, 28 Nov. 1800, vol. 106 pp. 3198—3201.

In this respect the growth of the poligari system to a limited extent, resembled the commendation in feudalism of medieval Europe. In the process of commendation, the individual land owner, to ensure his safety, commended himself to a lord, gave his land to him and received it back as a fief in return for service on his part, on the promise of protection by the over-

villages which had already accepted their protection paid enhanced rates in proportion to the increased responsibility, undertaken by the poligars for holding the disorders at bay. Thus the two-fold processes—more villages seeking their protection and the *kaval* villages paying increased rates—vastly extended the jurisdiction of the auxiliary powers. Nevertheless, the consent of the inhabitants in enhancing the status of the chieftains served as the motivating force.

The chieftains employed other methods too to extend their authority over circar lands. One method was to supersede the local authority. In this case, they subjected, instead of removing, the circar *kavalkars* into a complete submission to his will and levied an annual contribution upon them as a badge of their dependence upon him. A second method was to induce the inhabitants of the circar villages to settle in the poligar's territory. This practice which appeared as resorted to with the approbation of the inhabitants was generally encouraged by the poligar and was usually brought about by his own endeavour. When the managers of the circar asked for the return of the inhabitants, the poligar on his part demanded as a condition, the recognition of his right to protect the village against exactions. Threatened with the loss of revenue, the circar had no alternative but to recognise the chief as the protector of the village. This gave him a definite right to interfere in the internal affairs of the circar country. A third practice was to plough on the *kaval* lands and there by to encroach from one point to another. Whenever this was done, the poligar could not conceal his real intentions, for at that time he would have had abundance of uncultivated land in his own district. Nevertheless he undermined the authority of the central government and brought more of the inhabitants under his direct jurisdiction.⁴⁰ Added to these, the poligar diverted the trade from the circar country to his territory for obtaining the benefits, it carried. The first three of these methods were solely directed against the circar interests and the last two against the ruler as well as the inhabitants of the circar villages.

lord. The *beneficium* meant that the lord granted lands to the vassal in return for certain specific services to be rendered. However, in the eighteenth century—Tamilnadu the question of security did not demand the surrender of holdings to the poligars, but only the acceptance of his protection and the payment of fees.

40. Lushington's Report, 1799—1800, p. 2—4.

In short the weakness of the central government and tyranny that marked the administration enabled the poligars to take over its rights with the consent or otherwise of the rulers and the village officials.

The evolution of the poligari system represented the culmination of an interplay of local and national developments over several decades. To begin with they were irregular chieftains, claiming authority wrongly or rightly from 'divine right', royal descent or public service. It was the achievement of the Nayaks that they reduced an irregular product of the age into a regular system, legalised by the state. True to expectations, they for long served the Nayak rulers and village communities with loyalty and presented a second line of defence and instances of defiance were seldom. But when the Nayaks disappeared from the political scene, the situation had changed. The new rulers were not only strangers to the land but belonged to a rival faith. They developed no sympathy for an institution that flourished under the uprooted royal house. They made repeated efforts either to curb or to liquidate the system, but failed. Triumph over the hostile forces coupled with the services required of them by the rulers as well as the ruled contributed to the great expansion and consolidation of the system. The changed conditions changed the character of the poligars. From a class of public servants they transformed themselves into a domestic militia, compensated for their services and paid by the rulers and the villagers. They received more of resources, converted their detached villages into military posts, strengthened their armed establishments and gradually rendered themselves independent.



74.21.10 1024

CHAPTER II

THE POLIGARI SYSTEM

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the poligars because of their numerical strength, extensive resources, local influence and independent attitude represented a powerful institution in the polity of Tamilnadu. The poligar held possession of an extent of territory, headed the administration, maintained the establishments of army, police and revenue and took interest in social and cultural activity. As circumstances warranted, he rendered service to the sovereign or defied his authority. In spite of the contradictions in the relations, he in general considered it his primary duty to extend military protection to the people living under his jurisdiction and to safeguard the possession of their properties. In certain respects or other the duties and functions of these chieftains corresponded with or differed from those of the feudal barons of medieval Europe and the jagirdars and zamindars of medieval India. No doubt the possession of estates constituted the fundamental basis of authority of these different categories of auxiliary powers. The poligar as well as the baron held possession of land on a military tenure, but the former unlike the latter claimed no proprietary right on the land of the inhabitants and never regarded the cultivators as his serfs. The jagirdar rendered service, civil or military or both, as his primary duty in return for the possession of an estate, while the zamindar paid rent. The poligar on the other hand combined in himself the functions of both the jagirdar and the zamindar. He was the administrator of his territory, renter to his sovereign, commander of forces, guardian of public welfare and a ryot among his people. In short the duties of the poligar were of two fold nature—those to the sovereign and those to the community. They

included maintenance of bodies of troops continually equipped for military service, protection of their own communities, suppression of the criminals, punishment of offenders against person and property and payment of compensation in the event of their failure to restore property lost through theft.¹ In return for the due fulfilment of these duties, the poligar was treated as the proprietor of the rent, but not of the land.² A concentration of rights and responsibilities, arising from a combination of these obligations and functions accounted for the vast influence of the poligars of Tamilnadu.

Territory

The territorial extent of the palayam varied from each other. Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga were the largest, while Maniachi and Ezhayirampannai were among the smallest. Each palayam consisted of villages, personal lands of the chieftain, public lands and temple lands. The jurisdiction of the poligar extended beyond the borders of his territory; if he exercised the right of protecting the circar villages too.

As the feudal barons did, the poligar kept a part of his district, usually the best land, for his own cultivation. He kept heads of bullocks and several ploughs and employed workers for cultivation. The British records indicate an instance that a chieftain of Anamalai kept 120 ploughs for the cultivation of his personal lands and levied upon his people no taxes for his private expenses.³ The rest of his personal estate of the poligar was distributed among his servants called, *sherogars* who were both soldiers and peasants. The *sharogars* and their followers cultivated the fields in times of peace and rallied to their chieftains for military service whenever there were hostilities. This arrangement enabled the poligars to assemble a considerable number of troops at a short notice. The Setupati of Ramanathapuram, for instance, found it no difficult a task to assemble 30,000 to 40,000 armed men on a week's notice. However it cannot be denied that the two fold nature of their service made them at the most irregulars, more useful for guerilla war than for pitched battles.

1. Revenue Consultations, 4 Sept. 1799. vol. 97, p. 2246.

2. A. C. Borwell, *Nellore District Manual* p. 262.

3. Board of Revenue. Proceedings, Madras, 22 May 1797, vol. 178 p. 2921.

The people who were related to or associated with the poligar either because of communal identity or because of loyal service held a privileged status in the villages. They entrusted the actual cultivation of land with a caste of workers, called the Pullers, who were the counterparts of serfs in a baronial estate in Europe. The workers, who tilled the fields belonging to the poligar, received as compensation a quantity of dry grain but those, who tilled the fields of the sherogars received a fixed share of the harvest. Ability of the employers and preference of the farm workers perhaps accounted for different practices. At no time in India did the field workers receive wages needed to live a life above marginal subsistence. This was the phenomenon of the past and is of the present, accounting for the existence of marginal men of India. Equally was the case with the Pullers in poligar lands. Though they were not tied to the estate as in medieval Russia, their poverty was of so great a magnitude that they were forced to sell their services for long terms. In that case, it is pointed out, the local custom gave their master the right to extract every kind of service from them, to mortgage them to another master for the money borrowed, to hire them out to others for daily labour and even to transfer them to another person, by whom they were held in the same bondage. Yet it cannot be concluded that the status of such a field worker was not different from that of a Negro slave; for they were not subjected to it compulsorily and were permitted to go free on the fulfilment of the agreed conditions. The want of employment opportunities and presence of appalling poverty accounted for this tragic situation. This was the feature not only in the poligar estates but also in the circar territories too. Despite their scanty means of subsistence, the Pullers, eager to obtain relief from affliction in bondage, usually contracted their wants to the mere preservation of their lives, with an expectation that the accumulation of their savings might enable them to purchase their freedom at not a distant future. This would happen with no difficulty, when their master consented to release them on receipt of an amount or when he was involved in some distress. On obtaining their freedom from bondage, these workers usually mobilised all their resources to improve their lot as could be expected from liberated people.⁴

4. S. R. Lushington, 29 Dec. 1800, Report to Board of Revenue, pp. 9—14.

Many of the palayams were situated in the hilly regions of the country and were covered with jungles to a large extent. The poligars cleared the forests, formed villages, constructed reservoirs and promoted cultivation.⁵ Also they took interest in cultural activities like temple festivals, constructed *agrarāms* for the Brahmins and participated in horse race, buffalo race and the like. In fact the poligars in general identified their interests with those of the people of their territory.

Administration

Irrespective of the extent and resources of his territory, the poligar maintained a government of his own and observed those forms and ceremonies, which were usually associated with the royal houses. In his palayam he was the absolute ruler, exercising both civil and military authority. He collected taxes and customs, enforced law and order, maintained his own armed establishment and administered justice. Though he was not allowed to construct forts without the consent of the sovereign, in practice he did not observe this restriction upon his authority. In fact the functions of the poligar resembled those of a virtual king.⁷

Among the public officials of the palayam the principal minister was called the *pradhān* or *dalawai*. He assisted the poligar in the transaction of public affairs and exercised more powers or less, depending upon the character and calibre of his master. The poligar was the commander of his army and was assisted by the military officers called sherogars. He had his accredited minister, called *stanapati*, at the court of the ruler. It was through this representative that he carried on official correspondence with the central government. This practice continued for long. However when the Wallajahs established their authority over Tamilnadu, they at the instance of the English dispensed with the ministers of the poligars.

As a rule the chieftains gave considerable importance to their dignified and elegant appearance in public. The paraphernalia needed

5. T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagar*, pp. 200—201.

6. Rajagopal, *Uthumalai Palayapettu*.

7. Military Country Correspondence, Madras, 20 March 1795 vol. 46, p. 36.

for appearance, included among other things turban, turbanband, laurel for the head, war bracelets, gold chains, bangles, golden bells to be tied around the waist, white fleece, sticks, flags, umbrella, torch and parasols. Carried away by a complex of status and dignity and determined to leave an impression with the starving people all around, each chieftain wasted much of his time to equip himself with the sophisticated items and reduced himself to self imposed ordeal in this warm country. On important occasions the poligar adorned himself like a peacock and held grand durbars. Extravagance marked the celebration of all marriages in his family. He rode on horse, camel or elephant or travelled in palanquins. Accompanied usually by large retinue, his movements were attended with considerable pomp and splendour.⁸

Village communities functioned in the territories of the poligars. Except in cases of internal feuds the poligars did not normally interfere with their working. The village had a local council. In the democratically constituted councils all land holders were members,⁹ while in other bodies only the representatives of different communities¹⁰. The village council or the poligar appointed the village headman and the village accountant, normally on a hereditary basis. The headman called *maccadam* or *patel*, as the intermediary between the poligar and the villagers, commanded considerable influence. He served as the collector of taxes, magistrate and judge. The village accountant called *karnam* assisted the village headman in the performance of his functions. He kept a *rosham* or register which furnished details of all land holdings in the village. The subordinate establishment consisted of the *kavalkars* or watchmen and the *tolies* or scavengers. No uniform system of remunerating the local servants remained in force. They were compensated for their services either in the form of land, grain or cash.¹¹

The administration of justice received no serious attention as in any other part of the country during this period. Nevertheless the local panchayat and the poligar settled the cases. The panchayat tried the

parties, involved in cases and gave its verdict. If it found it difficult to ascertain and decide, the trial by boiled ghee was resorted to and it was performed with great solemnity.¹² The working of the panchayat was not free from irregularities, for influence and bribery had their baneful effect upon the jury. Yet it served as a corrective to the prevailing system and if the litigants had no such body, they received no settlement at all. When the people relied upon verbal promises and entered into transactions without proper documentation, the panchayat familiar with the day to day developments came to their rescue. If the parties felt that they received no justice they were free to appeal to the chieftain, who served as a higher court.¹³ However, the poligar could award no death penalty or mutilation without the consent of the sovereign.¹⁴ Approval of capital punishment was not found possible when there was no sovereign or when his authority was weak during periods of uncertainty and it was found anachronistic, when the sovereign himself allowed killing in return for payment of money.

Revenue

The sources of revenue of the poligar were principally the rent from the lands, income from his personal possessions, customs and kaval dues. His share of the produce was known as *potuchilavu*, which literally meant common-expense. It was estimated at fifty percent of the yield; the assessment being made on the basis of soil conditions of the fields. The share of the chieftain was regulated by '*mamool*' or custom, but it being an undefined term was used in reality as a plea for committing every kind of abuse. The fluctuations of taxes, the want of an established standard in the assessment of dry-grain fields and the intricate details of ready-money collections were real evils in the revenue administration of the poligar territories. The peasants, on their part, relied upon evasive tactics against the irregularities in the administration of revenue. It was a common practice that a ryot managed to possess greater extent of land than what was found on the records, either by keeping the actual extent unnoticed by the officials or by bribing the surveyors. The additional area for which the peasant paid no tax varied from 50

8. Rev. Pandyan, *The Ancient Heroes of South Indian Peninsula* p. 17.

9. Village Organisation in Madras Presidency pp. 1-2.

10. Sewell's List, Copper Plate No. 65 A

11. Correspondence Relating to the Revision of Village Revenue Establishments of the Madras Presidency, 1866, pp. 6-8.

12. B.S. Ward, *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of Madura and Dindigul* vol.3 p.61.

13. Selections from the Records of Fort St. George, 1816 No. 11.

14. Military Country Correspondence, 20 March 1795, vol. 46 p. 32.

to 100% of the extent of the land, for which he actually paid. Thus the system rested upon a state of conflict between oppressive exactions and fraudulent evasions.¹⁵

For the purpose of taxation the cultivated lands were classified into four categories, based upon productivity, as decided after ascertaining the nature of the soil. They were (1) *kirsul* or black cotton soil, free from stones and sand (2) *shevul* or land containing a mixture of red soil, gravel, stones and sand, (3) *pottul* or ground with a mixture of black and white soil with stones and (4) *veppul* or land with a mixture of brown earth, clay and sand. This classification was applied only on wet lands, while the dry lands were dealt with differently. This indicates that a scientific analysis of lands was attempted for deciding the criterion of taxation.¹⁶

However the ryots in the poligar territory were not completely free from exaction and oppression, which were in fact the order of the day. Yet they were not of the proportions as in the circar country. In the palayam, the inhabitants had to pay tax only to the chieftain and the village, while in the circar territory to the central authority, local administrators, village and to the invading marauders. Not unfrequently the poligars too collected taxes from circar territories. There were instances when the peasants unable to bear the Nawab's oppression took shelter in the palayams. Indirectly this alternative open to the inhabitants had a mitigating effect upon the administration. In the opinion of the British administrators the economy of Ramathapuram appeared prosperous when the setupatis were in power, but it collapsed by 1765 when the Nawab assumed the direct administration.¹⁷ In 1765 when the Nawab annexed the palayams of Ariyalur and Wodayarpalayam, his amuldars found the taxes so low that they increased them by four times.¹⁸ These instances indicate that the inhabitants of the poligar territories were required to shoulder much less burden of taxation than their counterparts in other areas. This happy situation, however, had changed drastically as the eighteenth

century advanced towards its end. This was because the Nawab, harassed by the British for presents and contributions, oppressed the chieftains and the latter in their turn enhanced the taxes, levied upon their people. The Nawab and the British were entirely responsible if the poligars were set against the inhabitants of their own territories.

Mode of Remuneration

The poligar spent the money collected from his subjects under different items of expenditure. He paid tribute to the sovereign and used the rest for supporting his civil and armed establishments and his household. The tribute called *peishcush* was divided into instalments called *kists*. Every year the chieftains sent their representatives to a specified place, generally the taluq headquarters, for verification of accounts by the circar officials.¹⁹ The armed servants were not always paid in cash. Lands at concessional rent were left in the possession of the military servants. Every year the chieftains spent large sums as charitable endowments and for promoting public welfare.

The poligars defrayed the remuneration to their servants in the civil and military establishments in the form of money or grain or land. Money payments were either nominal or actual. During those days of unemployment as at present many took up service without pay, just for gaining experience and in anticipation of securing a job in some distant future. In regard to actual payments, the servants as a rule, were not paid the full amount for which their services were engaged. The importance that the inhabitants attached to the glamour of high pay contributed to this anomaly, though they were certain of receiving only a third to half of the stipulated wages. If they felt themselves aggrieved, they were at liberty to quit the service. But this was difficult because the payments for several months were generally kept in arrears. If they left the service, the possibility of recovering the arrears seemed dim. Added to these, the avenues of employment too were seldom. During the period of non-payment the public servants managed to survive on the pittance, that they derived either through loan or charity, for which the importance that they attached as the servants of the poligar, gave an adequate sanction. The money payments were extremely rare. The method

15. Lushington's report to the Board of Revenue, dated 29th Dec. 1800, pp. 9-14.

16. Ibid, pp. 10-14.

17. Military Consultations, Madras, 15 June 1772, vol. 42 p. 488.

18. Military Sundry Book, Madras, vol. 40, A letter dated 17 Jan. 1769.

19. Rajagopal, Uthumalai Palayapettu. p. 13.

most generally resorted to and considered equivalent to a money payment was to give a *tuncaw* or order to a group of eight to ten peons for collecting the amount from a renter or ryot, who had defaulted remittance for years or from a criminal who had to pay a large fine. To secure such *tuncaws* on persons who seemed capable of paying the amount, the peons had to bribe the officers of the poligar. When the *tuncaw* was issued, their demands were considered as adjusted, whether they succeeded or not in recovering the amount. If they were in urgent need of money or found the chances of recovery limited, they sold their *tuncaws* at a discount of fifty to sixty percent, which were sometimes circulated in this manner from one person to another, its relative value being regulated as the circumstances of the person in question were considered thriving or otherwise until the amount was collected or lost. At times the peons received a *batta* from the person concerned and if it were refused they plundered his effects. Normally, however, a compromise was effected with the assistance of friends and relatives, who sold his ploughs and cattle, and with their own contributions rid him of the importunities by paying the peons a half or two thirds of their demands.

The servants engaged partly for nominal money wages and partly for grain, invariably received the particular quantity of grain in advance at a price much above the market rate. A *tuncaw* issued in lieu of money payments on *amuldars*, renters and ryots for any quantity of grain was considered equivalent to a money payment. This practice of issuing grain *tuncaw* was not so common in the palayams of Tamilnadu as in the palayams of Coastal Andhra - Venkatagiri, Kalahasti and Bommarajapalayam.

Lands assigned in lieu of remuneration were of *amarum* tenure or *cuttabudi* tenure. *Amarum* implied ease, and rent for this category of land was fixed on a concessional basis. A village, placed under *amarum* tenure, was made over to eight to ten peons who as *mirasdars* collected the tax and paid a rent as originally stipulated. It was in the interest of these servants to encourage the ryots under them to promote cultivation by giving them the just share of the produce; for otherwise they deserted their villages and settled in other places, where their rights were better respected. It was not the practice with

the poligars to bestow upon his servants in this manner the possession of productive and rich villages. On the contrary they selected those lands in a state of ruin and decay, which for the first two or three years the peons would enjoy free from any imposition beyond the original stipulated rent. But when the tanks were repaired, water courses were opened and cultivation was stabilised they were gradually required to pay *cutnums* or presents until at last they paid nearly equal to the full value of the villages. Thus the assignment served a three fold purpose: to provide remuneration, to promote cultivation and to yield additional revenue to the chief.

Under the *cuttabudi* tenure the peons, who were also ryots, were assigned jungle or waste lands for cultivation in lieu of stipulated money payment. The tenure implied a gift with some obligations. The peons received loans from the poligars for the first two or three years of cultivation of the new lands and repaid the amount in instalments in the years to come. As the lands turned productive, the poligars required them to pay *cutnums* which were considered as rent for their lands. The amount first levied was the *mamool cutnum* or customary present and was collected every year after. As the peons carried out improvements to yield more of income, the poligars collected additional presents. These ryots paid additional rent if they found it not oppressive; otherwise they settled at other places. On occasions like a marriage in the family of the poligar or the consecration of a pagoda, the public servants were called upon to pay special contributions. This system too indirectly promoted cultivation and contributed to poligar's revenue, but generally at the expense of the interests of the cultivators.

In respect of inheritance the possession of *amarum* as well as *cuttabudi* lands descended from father to son and so on to other degrees of affinity in the male line. On default of heirs, the land escheated to the poligar. The obligations associated with the *cuttabudi* tenure were similar to those of *amarum* with the distinction that the peons were bound to serve either with pikes or match locks, as might be stipulated at their own expense. When they were called for other duties, or were required to attend on the poligar, the two descriptions of peons received the same rates of *batta*. The two groups of servants rendered identical duties in defence of the interests of the poligar and in preventing occurrences of theft. If they distinguished themselves in battles or in

the detection of thefts, they received handsome rewards from their master. While the *catabudi* peons were more of ryots than what the *amarum* peons, were, the differences in the nature of their service did not appear very substantial.²⁰

The Kaval

Kaval or watch represented a basic duty of the poligars. The servants, who actually performed this work, were called the *kavalkaras* or the *talayaris*. The kaval system that was widely prevalent in India represented a counterpart of the 'hue and cry' of Anglo-Saxon England. From time immemorial every village had its kaval establishment, controlled by the village councils or the central government. Until the Mughal invasion of Tamilnadu the poligari and the kaval systems existed as two separate but parallel organisations. The early poligars had nothing to do with the kaval establishment of the circar villages. However in subsequent period, when the rulers failed in affording protection to the villages and when the local communities sought protection from the chieftains, the two systems got themselves integrated, adding to the prestige of the poligars.

The kavalkars belonged to four groups: the arasu kavalkars, the nadu kavalkars, the desai kavalkars, and the stalam kavalkars—arasu means government, 'nadu' district, 'desai' or 'desam' direction or region and 'stalam' place or village. A kavalkara protected the grain, cattle and other domestic property of the inhabitants and guarded the public places like the roads and markets. If any robbery occurred, the concerned kavalkara was held responsible for the recovery of the stolen property, failing which to pay damages.²¹ The services of the kavalkaras were rewarded by a fee called 'desha-

20. K. Rajayyan, *Administration and Society in the Carnatic*, 1966, pp. 69-72.

21. Revenue Consultations, vol. 97, p. 2246.

In the Vijayanagar Empire the police officers belonged to two categories—one maintained by the state and the other by the people; the first responsible to the government and the second answerable to the local bodies. In the provinces where the *nayankara* system was in vogue, the *nayaks* were made responsible for the preservation of peace in their respective places. They by themselves did not attend to the police duties but appointed subordinate persons for the work. The Kavalkaras themselves appointed *talayaris* for each village under them. (Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, 1940, p. 130-131.)

kaval', which consisted of a portion of the crop, which they protected or a monetary payment in lieu thereof.

The kaval system was in substance based upon the principle of 'set a thief to catch a thief'. Accordingly, the responsibility of apprehending a thief was usually entrusted with those inhabitants, who were considered as traditional and professional robbers. The assignment of this duty upon a habitual thief created in him a sense of responsibility.²² Thus the system sought to rectify a social evil by the application of a self corrective remedy.

The two systems, the poligari and the kaval, complemented each other. The poligars rendered military service to the king and gave security to the country against external invasions. The kavalkaras, on the otherhand, discharged police-duties and preserved internal order. The poligars were for the poligar territories, while the kavalkaras were largely for the circar-lands doing complementary duties. Both the establishments were supported by the inhabitants. The duty of the sovereign was to see them functioning properly without interfering with each other. The distinct existence of the two establishments appeared essential to prevent the overgrowth of their influence and to safeguard the interests of the sovereign as well as of the subjects.

However, the turmoil which attended the Mughal invasions and the subsequent rebellions created circumstances favourable for the integration of the two systems. The collapse of law and order exposed the inhabitants to the dangers of universal conflagration. The central administration, distracted by foreign aggressions and internal rebellions, could no more extend protection to the kavalkaras in the discharge of their duties. As they neglected their duties and as the forces of anarchy threatened the villages, the village communities sought and secured the protection of the chieftains and gave them the fee called 'deshakaval'.²³ This development added to the resources and influence of the chieftains.

22. In Rajputana, the Minas performed the functions of the Kallans, entrusted with village watch. If adequately paid and properly managed they excelled others, engaged as police-men. They did not suffer theft or robbery to be committed. On the other hand when they were out of service the Minas like the Kallans distinguished themselves as the worst thieves and cattle lifters.

23. Revenue Consultations, 28 Nov. 1800, vol.16 pp.3198-3201.

The kavalkaras, appointed by the poligar, kept watch at night, noted the arrivals and departures, observed the movements of the strangers and reported the suspicious characters to the chief. If a theft occurred, the kavalkara tracked the thief by tracing the foot print. If it were established that the thief went out of the limits of the village, then it was the duty of his counterpart in the next village to take up the work in pursuit. The last village to which the thief was clearly traced was made answerable for the stolen property, which would otherwise fall on the village, where the robbery was committed. The kavalkara was required to restore the stolen property to the owner. If he failed to do, it the poligar forced him to make good for the loss to the extent of his means and levied the remainder upon the entire village.²⁴ This indicated that the protection of property was the individual responsibility of the kavalkara and the collective responsibility of the village community.

Armed Establishment

The poligars, as they were entitled to do, maintained their own armed establishments. In this respect, they were guided by three considerations: the duty to perform military service to the sovereign, the necessity to afford protection to the kavalkaras in the discharge of their functions and a complex of comparative status and superiority. Frequently they neglected their duties to the ruler, yet generally constantly they attached importance to the attendance of large bodies of armed men for their appearance in public and the assertion of their rights. The military establishments naturally consumed a large part of their resources. Their military dependents consisted of three descriptions; the amarum peons, the catabudi peons and the mercenary peons; the first two groups were paid chiefly in land and the third entirely in money and grain. The amarum peons were granted lands on hereditary basis. Assessed at a very favourable rate, paying only a quit rent, they were jointly bound to pay the tax decided for their village. These peons, placed under the command of a sardar or officer in bodies of twenty or thirty, were required to take a pledge to yield their best services to their master. Their obligations were not only to attend the summons of the poligar but to prevent theft within their villages. They forfeited their service and land if they were found

24. Village Communities in Southern India pp.55.

disqualified to discharge their duties. The cutabudi peons were also given lands. Their tenure was hereditary, but it was less by right than by sufferance. In fact they were ryots, rendering military service and paid by assignments of waste lands in lieu of pecuniary wages. They served the poligar with pikes or matchlocks at their own expense and made restitution of any property, plundered within the villages, entrusted to their care. The mercenary peons were recruited only in times of emergency. During active service, all the groups of armed men received subsistence in money and grain, exclusive of the other privileges granted to them.

The poligar trained a considerable body of men in the profession of arms. The interests of the peons were identified with the preservation of the authority of their master. The peons regarded the rights of their chief as paramount and his orders as their only law. When the poligar commanded them, they executed his orders so implicitly that on such occasions, they considered murder and robbery as mere matters of duty, for which he alone was responsible.²⁵ In fact, these practices intimately corresponded with the principles on which the poligars themselves owed their military service to their sovereign, whether it was real or nominal.

Warfare

The poligars excelled themselves in irregular warfare. The weapons which they used were typical of their method of war. In order to assemble their troops they fired sarabogies, a kind of park-guns.²⁶ The weapons in common use included the bow and arrow, cannon, muskets, wall pieces, shields, swords, pikes and match lock.²⁷ The pike was nothing but the bamboo spear, eighteen to twenty feet long. Target, spear, dagger, sling, bow and arrow too were in use. Clay pellets, prepared by mixing the white of the egg with clay, served the purpose of bullets. Rockets were fired into the camps of the enemies. A peculiar weapon used by the poligars especially the

25. Revenue Consultations, vol.118, pp.2688-94.

26. Military Consultations Vol. 288, p. 6934, dated 20th Oct. 1801.

27. Military Country Correspondence, Vol. 15, p. 139. Translation of a letter from Mohammad dated 12th June, 1767 to Col. Campbell.

kallans was the 'valaithadi' or boomerang. It was a crescent shaped weapon, one end left heavy, while the outer edge sharp. Made of some hard grained wood or iron, the valaithadi measured about twenty four inches along the outer-curve and eighteen along the chord arc. A soldier, who wielded it, held it by the lighter-end and hurled it with tremendous force against the enemy. A whirling motion was soon imparted to the weapon, which brought it back to the spot from where it was thrown, unless it got struck on its victim.²⁸ Nevertheless these arms were of short-range. The poligars constructed forts of mud or of stone either on deep cotton plain or on the hills for the convenience of defence. They enclosed the forts with barriers and woods; but appeared vulnerable to heavy cannonade.

Money, bullocks and spies were the sinews of war during this period. Money and bullocks played no considerable role with the auxiliary powers as they did with the major powers. However, the chieftains attached much importance to the gathering of intelligence from the camps of hostile powers. The *hircarrahs* or spies, generally Brahmmins-for they were preferred as their religious status ensured for them security and enabled them to move freely and unmolested—went in disguise and gathered secrets of the enemy. They marked the information in small characters on a slip of paper or palm leaf called *chit*, secured it in a quill or a hollow stick or inside the turban or in some other place. When the *hircarrah* suspected any imminent threat, he swallowed it or threw it away. However, if the enemy doubted that the spy swallowed up the *chit*, he administered a strong purgative to the spy or kept him confined.²⁹

In times of conflict the opposing parties, as a rule, called upon their magicians to exercise all the resources of the black art for ensuring victory. The competing sorcerers sought to excel each other by issuing one charm or a counter—charm. The process ultimately ended in restoring the *status-quo-ante* of the two sides, because the opposing charms nullified each other. Ultimately the military superiority and strategy decided the issue on the field. Still the magicians of

28. Thurston, *Ethnological Notes in Southern India*, p. 556-7.

29. K. Rajayyan, *Administration and Society in the Carnatic*, p. 29.

the victorious party shared in a large part of the glory. This practice was not confined to the wars of the chieftains but was followed in wars of other powers too.³⁰

The poligars never risked a pitched battle. When a superior force threatened them, they assumed defensive positions in their thick jungles. Lying in ambush, they boldly attacked the invading army and wrought havoc.³¹ If the cavalry of the enemy launched a surprise attack, the pike-men of the poligars formed themselves into a close ring encircling the match-lock-men, pointing the pikes against the attacking horse. They then sat down in the same order and fixed the nether end of the pike into a hole on the ground betwixt their legs, while the matchlock men kept up an irregular fire above their heads against the pressing enemy. In this manner they resisted even the violent charges of the cavalry and sometimes even of the infantry; though they were helpless against artillery fire. Added to these the chiefs constructed the forts in such a way as to guarantee its easy defence. When the enemy besieged their stronghold, their troops threw themselves behind the barriers for convenience of counter-attack. The match-lock-men,

30. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Part III, Ch. 9, p. 688.

31. The Maravas and the Kallans played a conspicuous part in the poligar wars. In the Tamil classic *Kalittokai* the Maravas are described as a people with strong limbs and hardy frames. These warriors, fierce looking as tigers and wearing long locks of hair, shot their arrows at poor and helpless travellers and compelled the kings at the head of large armies to turn back and fly. (quoted in *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 62.)

The Muslim invaders dreaded the Kallans much more than the regular "Uniting skill and agility to courage, they (the Kallans) went out of their woods in small bands, dispersed in the country in disguise, and were always ready to reunite at the first signal. The Kallan requires only an instant to run like lightning, rush on the horse and carry off his prey.... Soon, surrounded by a hundred adversaries who rush on him he dashes like thunder across their ranks and disappears in the midst of a cloud of dust." (Letter of Proenza, 1665, quoted in *Tamilaham in the 17th Century*, p. 82). A letter of the Madura Mission gives instances of the daring of the Kallans. In 1734 a Mughal army, annoyed at the irruptions made into its camp decided to destroy the Kallar village of Cunampetti. The Kallans relying on their thick woods and palisades received the enemy with such boldness that after an engagement the Mughals retreated after leaving many dead. The letter tells in admiration of the Kallans, whose number was put at fifty, for holding 10,000 Mughals in check. Joseph Viciara, *Annual Letter of Madura Mission*, dated 14th July 1735. The ballads on the poligars are full of anecdotes describing the heroism of these chiefs.

taking their position on the elevated spot of the fort, fired at the approaching enemy, while the troops stationed at the bastions sallied out gallantly. The pike-men, meanwhile wielded the sharp pikes from their wonderfully sheltered enclaves in the walls. The assailants advancing towards a breach on the wall could never reach the pike-men and could seldom tell from whence the blow was struck.³² Despite the limited resources at their command, the poligars in fact put up formidable resistance against the aggressive powers.

CHAPTER III

RELATIONS WITH REBEL AND RULING POWERS

The Wallajahs established their sway over most of Tamilnadu in consequence of their victory over the Nevayets during the Second Carnatic War (1749-1754). In 1749, when Anwar-ud-din, the founder of the Wallajah dynasty of Arcot, was killed in the battle of Ambur by Chanda Sahib, his son Mohammad Ali escaped to the strong fort of Tiruchirapalli. Ably assisted by the English and the Marathas of Thanjavur, he defeated Chanda Sahib and his allies, the French and the Mysoreans. Emboldened by these victories and anxious to consolidate his power, he embarked upon military operations against the poligars. The Marathas during this period retained possession of the Kaveri delta. They sought to gain territories from the poligar states of Pudukkottai and Ramanathapuram but their attempts were thwarted. Mysore retained possession of the western region of Tamilnadu. Haider Ali, who captured power in Mysore in 1761, extended his control over the poligars of Dindugal. Preoccupied with his wars against the Marathas and the English, he levied large contributions but made no systematic attempt as Mohammed Ali did to suppress the chieftains.

Causes of Poligar Wars

Historical as well as political factors engendered a spirit of hostility in the relations between the Wallajahs and the poligars. The period was marked by repeated efforts made by the Nawabs to suppress the poligars and the determined resistance made by the latter in defence of their interests and rights.

The chieftains for long extended their loyalty to the Nayaks by virtue of the legal status that they obtained from them and the long

32. J. Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, Vol. I, Ch. 2, pp. 6778.

association they had. However the fall of the Nayaks and the rise of the Wallajahs created an embarrassing situation. On the one hand it released the poligars from that allegiance which they owed traditionally, without developing any thing parallel. This left them in a state of independence. On the otherhand as between the Nayaks and the Wallajahs, their sympathy remained with the former. Both these considerations, accidental yet historical as they were, led them to a state of conflict with the Wallajahs.

Secondly, the frequent political changes and the shifting fortunes of combatants, which marked the period from 1737 to 1754 saddled the chieftains in a peculiar dilemma. To render assistance to one party was an offence from the view point of the rival party and to remain neutral was offence from the point of view of both the parties. Indeed the period was full of risks. The poligars supported the Nayaks and then changed sides between the more prospective contestants like the Nevayets, the Mysorcans or the Wallajahs. By this process, many of the poligars cultivated the animosity of the successful Wallajahs.

The collection of tribute served as a potential source of embarrassment. The Nawab's demands for tribute varied year after year. Exactions had at times been carried to the highest pitch and remissions were never obtained except through resistance.¹ The Nawab's managers made it a practice to exact whatever they could from the chiefs by diverse means—kindling internal conflicts, bogus promises and mock assignments of land.² Thereby ultimately they taught the poligars to consider tribute not as a just payment to their sovereign but as a price paid to purchase the forbearance to oppression. Bishop Caldwell ignored the ordeals to which the poligars were subjected repeatedly, when he observed: "It can hardly be said that the idea of governing the country by means of an order of rude, rapacious, feudal nobles, such as poligars generally were, turned out to be a happy one, for down to the period of their final subjection and submission to English authority in 1801, whenever they were not at war with the central authority, they were at war with one another, and it was rarely possible to collect tribute from them on revenue due to the central authority without a display of military force which added greatly both

to the unpopularity and expense of the collection."³ On the otherhand Caillaud, who had a better knowledge of the situation, in his letter to Orme in 1775 gives an insight into the magnitude of oppression. He wrote: "that the Nawab, if he has power in his hands, will squeeze these people (the poligars) unmercifully, and we should (that is ought to) see nothing but justice done. My dear Mr. Orme, our rigid northern notion of justice will make us at last the dupes and fools to the more pliant politicks of these southern climates." The letter further states: "If we support the Nawab let us (the Company) do it, and not prescribe to him in such cases as these. And after all, what have we more to do with their needs (of) government than their modes of faith! The Nawab acts justly as an eastern prince; let him not then as he pleases. We have the power still in our hands. You know the fable of the cat, the monkey and the roasted chestnuts."⁴ While throwing light on the Nawab's attitude towards the poligars, the letter indicates clearly the scope of intervention by the English East India Company for taking advantage of the state of conflict in the relation of the central authority with auxiliary powers.

The spirit of independence and turbulence which many of the poligars cherished in common also led them into conflict with the Nawab. The absence of any definition of their privileges, their ignorance and the state set up by them frequently misled them to uphold themselves against the cirar by force of arms. With forts, a few old guns and a little equipment of stores, they cared little for the central authority. Those who could not manage their own affairs, usually put themselves under the influence of adventurers, whose only interest it was to enrich themselves. The jargon of these self-seekers which inflated the military spirit of their masters in opposition to the Nawab's administration, served as an additional cause of the conflicts.

These stresses and strains reflected upon the attitude of the poligars towards the Nawab. Expecting no justice from the administration and holding aloft a spirit of freedom, they built up their armed strength in remote citadels and improved their resources. Confident of their might and having an easy road open to the wood for escape, whenever they

1. Hodgeson's Report on Tinnevely, p. 22.

2. Military Consultations, vol. 168 pp. 5465-6,

3. Bishop Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely* p. 58.

4. S. C. Hill, *Ysuf Khan*, p. 45.

were overpowered, they asserted that spirit of independence which their situation so well qualified them to maintain.⁵ In consequence a series of military exploits arising from the hostile concentrations of the poligars and the repeated efforts of the Nawab to assert his authority fill the pages of poligars' chronicles. 'The Nawab destroyed as many of their strongholds as he could at different times, but the more he destroyed, the more the poligars erected. In fact construction and destruction of forts constituted one of the major occupations of the inhabitants during this period.

The poligars further waited for opportunities to withhold the payment of their tributes to the Nawab. Whenever they found themselves unable to resist the demands of the Nawab they paid as much as they could; failing which they procrastinated.⁶ If they found it possible to resist, they refused payments. In that case the Nawab contented himself with their gratuitous offerings, however small they were, and waited for a favourable occasion to bring forward all his past demands, which always consisted of a large accumulation of the arrears of peishcush, charges of the troops sent against them and the claims of compensation for the losses suffered by the circar on account of their depredations. The result was that a state of perpetual distrust took the place of mutual confidence which might have made the poligars good subjects in times of peace and useful auxiliaries in times of war.

The situation in which the poligars lived had a powerful impact upon their character. Exposed to arbitrary and undefined demands, they frequently practised the same injustice by force or fraud upon each other. Corrupt amuldars taking advantage of their internal disputes generally interfered not as mediators, but as fomenters of these

quarrels for gaining benefits to their own advantage.⁷ Disputes among the poligars were occasioned by the unsettled boundaries and a variety of other claims. Their manner of general behaviour was such that they maintained an animosity against each other. If one poligar joined one side, the rival poligar went over to the opposite side. The Nawab and his amuldars instead of enforcing order, exploited their mutual rivalry for the advancement of their own interests.⁸ At times, in the face of serious threats to their common interests they forged unity. In that case they allowed their private animosities to subside and furnished their quota of peons for the defence of the besieged palayam without appearing themselves in the contest.⁹ Also, they did not hesitate to join any rebellion, for they believed that no change whatever could render them worse than what they were under the Nawab's administration.¹⁰ The poligars, thus, acting under the stress of an interplay of common as well as individualistic motives, followed no clear cut policy. They fought against the Nawab and at times against each other, thereby falling victims to the intrigues of external powers.

The Lost Cause of the Fallen Nayaks

Despite the fall of the Nayaks, the poligars for long made repeated attempts to reinstate them in power. In 1750 when Nizam Nasir Jang marched to Pondicherry in support of Mohammad Ali in the war against Chanda Sahib, the poligars sent a mission and sought his intervention on behalf of the Nayaks. Nothing came out of this representation. After sustaining a night assault by the French, he made a hasty retreat, in the course of which he was assassinated.¹¹ In 1752 Nanja Raja of Mysore sent an army to the south. Khub Sahib, who led the expedition, expelled the Nevayets from Madurai and gained possession of the territory for Mysore. However the slaughter of cows and destruction of coconut trees by the Muslims alienated the sympathy of the inhabitants. Setupati Vijaya Raghunatha (1748-60) of Ramanathapuram and Rajah Udaya Tevar (1750-79) of Sivaganga, supported by other poligars, organised a rebellion and drove off the

5. Proceedings of the Board of Assigned Revenue, 31st Dec. 1785, vol.8 pp. 612-6.

6. The poligars, when they appeared helpless before a formidable enemy, begged pardon for their fault and offered to pay tribute. This practice was in consonance with the maxim asserted in the '*Panchatantra*', the book of apologues in India, probably the oldest of its kind in the world. This book suggests the sound wisdom of procrastination, whether with or without a reasonable hope at all critical times. The reason given for this is that by gaining time one gains the chances of success, though it cannot be considered the case always.

7. Political Despatches to England, 5 Oct. 1792, vol. 2 p. 110

8. Military Country Correspondence, 21 Aug. 1763, vol. 11 p. 227.

9. Military Consultations, 10 July, 1792, vol. 163 p. 2938.

10. Ibid, 1 July, 1775, vol. 52 p. 943.

11. Military Country Correspondence, Madras, 11 Jan. 1754 vol. 2 p. 56.

Mysoreans. They crowned Vijayakumara, son of Bangaru Tirumalai, as the ruler of Madurai.¹² However this victory proved momentary, for immediately after the poligars withdrew their forces, Miana the Nevayet general, gained control of Madurai. Vijayakumara fled to Sivaganga.¹

In their bid to avert further hostilities with the Muslim powers the poligars made an appeal for British aid. On the 20th of January 1754 they represented to Governor Thomas Saunders: "As we have had no king from these twenty years past to rule this country it was in a distressed condition and as we the poligars are 50 or 60 in number, we are in a very bad circumstance having no ruler to command us. If his Honour settle this country and appoint a Ruler over us it will be a means to require him (the Governor) a good name and reputation. We shall pay the tribute to the Nawab according as it was customary to the Subah of Arcot and agreeable to him and will endeavour to deserve his honour's favour, this will settle the country."¹⁴ This representation was indicative of the recognition that the chieftains gave to the growing influence of the English East India Company and their willingness to accept the Wallajah sovereignty, subject to the elevation of a prince for Madurai for maintaining order in the country. The Madras Council took interest in the suggestion but Mohammad Ali refused his concurrence.¹⁵ It appears that the poligars demanded the restoration of Vijayakumara to power, for in 1757 too they sought the elevation of this prince to authority.¹⁶ But an error of judgment led Mohammad Ali to reject the appeal. Had he restored the Nayaks to power, nominally no doubt, he could have gained the effective control of the country without any serious difficulty and could have won the allegiance of the Hindu powers. The attitude of Mohammad Ali left the poligars without any acceptable leadership and in a state of hostility with the Wallajahs. In the mean time the Nawab, hard pressed for money because of his prolonged wars against the rival powers—

12. S. C. Hill, *Yusuf Khan*, 1914, pp.26-41.

13. Rajaram Row, T. (ed.) *Ramnad District Manual*, 1933 p. 236.

14. Nama Nayak, 20 Jan. 1754, letter to Governor Saunders, *Military Country Correspondence*, vol.1 pp. 74-77.

15. *Military Consultations*, Madras, 4 Feb. 1754, vol. 3 pp. 36-37.

16. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 46 p. 274.

Chanda Sahib and the French—and the constant demands made by his ally, the English, decided on military operations.

Expedition of Heron

On the 4th of February 1755 a grand army left Tiruchirapalli on an expedition to the far south. It consisted of the Wallajah troops led by Maphuz Khan, the Company's native troops by Khan Sahib and the European troops by Colonel Alexander Heron. The Nawab accompanied the expedition, considering its importance for the consolidation of his authority and the stabilization of his finances.

On the 10th of February the forces marched to Manaparai. The demands made by the Nawab were so exorbitant that the poligars led by Lakshmi Nayak decided to resist. Thereupon the forces of Khan Sahib attacked the barriers and occupied two palayams.¹⁷ The chiefs now submitted and paid a part of the tribute. Mohammad Ali saw enough of bloodshed and returned to Tiruchirapalli.¹⁸ The army, resuming the march, made its way through Kallarnadu and occupied Madurai. The defiant chiefs entrenched themselves at Kovilkudi but were attacked and dispersed. In the course of the conflict the invading forces seized the brass images, which the Kallans worshipped. The massacre of the vanquished and the spoliation of the temples drove the Kallans to frenzy.¹⁹ In the course of the struggle for gods they fell upon the British troops but their atrocities were countered by equally severe reprisals. Heron offered to restore the gods in return for a payment of 5,000 rupees but as the Kallans had no money he carried them off in a tumbriel.

By the end of March 1755 the combined forces of the Nawab and the Company advanced to Tirunelveli. The poligars were not only allied with the Nayaks but appeared remiss to pay the arrears of tribute. Maphuz Khan hesitated to resort to coercion for fear that the chieftains would seek the protection of the French or asylum in the jungles. Yet as no other alternative seemed open, he decided on hostilities.²⁰ To begin with, the forces stormed Nattakottai, a rebel

17. *Military Consultations*, Madras, 13 Feb. 1755, vol.4 pp. 24-44.

18. *Ibid*, 6 March 1755, vol.3 p. 19.

19. *Ibid*, 17 Sept. 1755, vol.4 p. 159.

20. *Ibid*, 22 April 1755, vol.4 pp. 71-72.

stronghold near Tirunelveli, and wrought havoc with indiscriminate slaughter. The atrocities spread such a terror in the region that several poligars submitted, cleared part of the arrears and gave security for the rest.²¹ Rajah Marthanda Varma of Travancore withdrew his troops from the occupied territory of Kalakkad and Panagudi.²² Still many of the principal poligars, particularly Kattabomman of Panjalankurichi and Puli Tevar of Nelcatanseval refused to comply with the demand for payment.

On the 30th of April the detachments stormed Panjalankurichi. The poligar agreed to pay tribute and gave security. After this victory the troops infested Kovilpatti and forced the poligar of Ettayapuram to accept terms.²³ Maphuz Khan and Heron made settlements for a total amount of 4,50,000 rupees but the real collections came to 1,10,000 rupees against an expenditure of 70,000.²⁴ As the expectation of collecting a huge amount proved a sheer reverie and as the threat of a French invasion of Tiruchirapalli seemed real, Governor Pigot became disenchanted with the expedition. In compliance with his repeated orders the army began its return march from Tirunelveli in May.²⁵

When the forces advanced a few miles, Maphuz Khan prevailed upon Heron for undertaking an expedition against Puli Tevar, the most formidable and talented of the chieftains of the western region of Tirunelveli. Accordingly they marched to Vasudevanallur, one of the strongholds of the poligar, and directed him to make an immediate payment of Rs. 20,000 under threat of hostilities. An indomitable personality as he was, Puli Tevar contemptuously ignored the demand.²⁶ The vindictive assailants launched a vigorous attack upon the fort. However for want of heavy cannon all attempts to make a practicable breach failed. By gallant sorties the troops of the chieftain repulsed the attack. Humbled and humiliated the forces abandoned the siege and made a retreat. To add to their predicament while they

were passing through the defiles of Natham, the Kallans fell upon the exhausted troops and regained possession of their brass gods.²⁷

Though much was expected, the expedition yielded no benefit, either to the Nawab or the Company. Neither from the military nor political nor financial point of view did the campaign prove fruitful. Not only did the army fail in the suppression of the chieftains but also did suffer serious reverses at the hands of Puli Tevar and the Kallans. Settlements were made with several poligars but they could not be enforced. In accordance with the prevailing tendency the generals of the Nawab and the Company gave more attention to the receipt of presents than to the collection of tribute. The chieftains subtle as they were, united against the common enemy for taking advantage of the corrupt system. They administered bribes to the avarice of their enemy and procrastination to his passion for command but retained their military strength and political independence almost unassailed. In consequence the results were negative. Because of hostilities the inhabitants abandoned cultivation and manufacture. The poligars learned how to deal with the troops of the Nawab and the Company.

Conflict with Maphuz Khan

In 1755 Maphuz Khan assumed the governorship of Madurai. As Governor, he was required to pay fifteen lakhs of rupees as the annual rent for Madurai and Tirunelveli. Subject to this condition he was left in absolute control of the administration. He made a strenuous effort to suppress the poligars, but the problems which faced him appeared formidable. The local powers, among whom the most conspicuous were, the Patan chiefs, the Kallans, the Maravas, Kattabomman, Puli Tevar and the Rajah of Travancore defied the Wallajah authority. The Patan chiefs in co-operation with the Kallans re-established themselves near Madurai.²⁸ The rulers of the Marawa states allied themselves with the Dutch. Kattabomman occupied the villages adjoining Panjalankurichi, while the Rajah of Travancore took possession of Kalakkad. The western poligars of Tirunelveli in the mean time extended their sway over Nadumandalam.²⁹ The

21. Hill, *Yusuf Khan*, pp. 37-38.

22. Military Country Correspondence, Madras, 21 June 1757 vol.5 pp. 127-129

23. Military Consultations, Madras, 17 Sept. 1755, vol.4, p. 157.

24. Ibid, 4 June 1755, vol.4 pp. 88-91.

25. Public Consultations, Madras, 29 Sept. 1755 vol. 84 p. 381

26. Military Consultations, Madras 4 June 1755 vol.4 pp.88-91.

27. Ibid, 19 June, 1755, vol.4, pp. 206-207.

28. Military Country Correspondence, 10 April, 1756, vol. 4 pp. 43-44.

29. Ibid, 8 Nov. 1755, vol. 5. p. 80

poligar of Wadagara was the most powerful of the western poligars, but Puli Tevar by his ability and subtlety of his character gained an ascendancy in the councils of the chiefs. Puli Tevar proposed a union of the western and the eastern poligars against Maphuz Khan, but the chieftains of Panjalamkurichi and Ettayapuram appeared reluctant, as they had given hostages to the Nawab during the campaign of Heron. Yet most of the chieftains made a common cause against the Wallajahs.³⁰

Against this dreadful array of opposition, Maphuz Khan's resources to surmount it appeared limited indeed. He combined in himself the prestige of the elder brother of the Nawab and the powers of the commander of the forces, but his army was neither well disciplined nor properly equipped.³¹ Nor was he assisted by any able deputy. Danishmund Khan, otherwise known as Barkatoula, was in control of Madurai, but he was more interested in diversion with the dancing girls than in safeguarding the interests of the Wallajahs.³² Still Maphuz Khan had two advantages: the control of the principal forts of Madurai and Palayamkottai and the absence of any binding unity among the rebel chiefs. Some of the poligars even appeared inclined to change sides in consideration of rewards and to fight against their fellow poligars.

As a first step, Maphuz Khan sought to detach the eastern poligars from their attachment with the western. He ceded a few villages and granted concessions in tributes to the poligars of Panjalamkurichi and Ettayapuram in return for their alliance. Reinforced by the troops furnished by them, he expelled the forces of Travancore from Kalakkad. In March 1756 the rebels numbering about 20,000 assembled near Tirunelveli but on the 21st in a hard fought battle Maphuz Khan defeated them and killed their chief, Miana.³³ Despite this victory the ravages by the poligars continued so unabated that no

30. Bishop Caldwell, *Tinnevely*, p. 98.

31. Ranga Pillai, the diarist, had no high opinion about Maphuz Khan. He says that Maphuz Khan was incapable of making himself respected; was black and ugly, manners were unknown to him, he did not know how to treat visitors, and that the peons were orderly, decent and wore clean clothes, and turbans, but he was worse than them. (*The Diary*, Vol. I, p. 308)

32. Military Country Correspondence, 10 April 1756. vol. 4 pp. 43-44.

33. *Ibid*, 4 Mar, 17th July, vol. 4, pp. 29, 43, 44 & 107.

collection could be made. Convinced of the necessity of taking more vigorous steps, the Nawab appealed to the Madras Council for military support. Accordingly, at the instructions of Lord Pigot, the Governor of Fort St. George, an expedition advanced to Tirunelveli. Khan Sahib,³⁴ who commanded the army, faced the situation squarely. He stormed the forts of the poligars and mercilessly massacred the fleeing population. The fury with which he conducted the operations threw the chieftains into panic. The rebels begged for quarters, paid tribute and evacuated the circar villages. Among the chieftains who surrendered were Puli Tevar and the Poligar of Sivagiri.³⁵ The coercive means of Khan Sahib proved markedly successful but the settlements which he made in disregard to Maphuz Khan's authority led him into a conflict with the latter.

Maphuz Khan looked upon the proceedings of Khan Sahib especially the admission of the Company's troops into the fort of Madurai and the collection of tribute from the poligars in disregard to civil authority as a direct challenge to his administration. Despite his inability to settle the country or to pay the rent, the jealousy with which he decided to retain his powers in opposition to the independent attitude of Khan Sahib led the two leaders into conflict. Maphuz Khan proceeded to Madurai, expelled the Company's troops from the fort and entered into an understanding with the Patan chiefs in defence of his personal authority.

The defiant proceedings of Maphuz Khan began as a move against Khan Sahib but they assumed the proportions of a rebellion against the Nawab and his ally, the English. Before long the poligars were drawn into it. Mohammad Ali and Lord Pigot could have nipped the trouble in its bud had they taken timely action to allay the suspicions of Maphuz Khan but they did not, as their own political interests came into conflict. The Nawab in accordance with his favourite policy of dispensing with an ally on the realisation of his purpose,

34. Khan Sahib was born of Hindu parents in Ramanathapuram, but early in his life he ran away from his house and converted to Islam. After serving the French and the Nawab he entered the service of the Company with the rank of subedar. His perfect fidelity, intelligence and martial talents won for him the admiration of the English. He was destined to play a significant role in the succeeding decade.

35. Military Country Correspondence, Madras, 23 Aug. vol. 4 pp. 69 & 129.

urged Lord Pigot to recall Khan Sahib from Tirunelveli. He complained that Khan Sahib had interfered in his administration, collected taxes and admitted troops into the fort of Madurai without his authority. Further, he asserted that the presence of Khan Sahib in Tirunelveli was no longer required and that his brother had no money to pay the expenses of the forces of the Company.³⁶ Despite this complaint, Lord Pigot anxious to preserve the influence of the Company in Madurai, defended what Khan Sahib did. He pointed out that Khan Sahib collected the revenue as per the agreement which provided for the sharing of the rent between the Nawab and the Company and that he garrisoned the fort of Madurai for the security of the country. Not only did he refuse to recall the Company's forces but also did inform the Nawab that Maphuz Khan had to rejoice at what Khan Sahib did.³⁷ In this apparent conflict between Maphuz Khan and Khan Sahib, there was involved in reality the rivalry between the Nawab and the Company for political influence. Therefore the issue raised by Maphuz Khan's opposition to Khan Sahib defied any immediate solution. It became evident that unless a governor acceptable to both the Nawab and the Company was appointed it would be difficult to enforce a co-ordinated policy for the settlement of the country. Accordingly Lord Pigot and Mohammad Ali appointed Tatarapa Mudali, a wealthy financier, as renter of Tirunelveli with effect from the 1st of July, 1756. Barkatoula, appointed by Maphuz Khan, retained control of Madurai. Tatarapa Mudali made settlements with the village heads and poligars for the payment of taxes. But the rivalry between Tatarapa Mudali and Khan Sahib for supremacy again created complications. Khan Sahib expelled the poligars from the *cutchery* of Tatarapa Mudali and executed five men sent by Puli Tevar for the payment of tribute. These high handed proceedings held the authority of the renter in *ridicule*, drove the poligars again to hostility and helped Maphuz Khan to organise resistance with the support of the chieftains.³⁸

Alliance with Maphuz Khan

In August 1756 Maphuz Khan went through a ceremony of receiving a *firman* or order of appointment to governorship from 'the

36. Ibid, 15 May, 1756, vol. 4, p. 57.

37. Ibid, 19 May, 1756, vol. 4 p. 59.

38. Ibid, vol. 4 p. 29.

Nawab.' He went out of the fort with great pomp, saluted a person mounted on an elephant and received a rolled paper. After proclaiming himself governor of Madurai, he issued orders appointing Baraktoula as his deputy for Nadumandalam and Mir Jaffar for Tirunelveli.³⁹ Yet the rebellion could not be sustained without the support of the poligars, against whom he fought on several occasions. Eager to gain their alliance, he granted concessions in territories, which were not his own, to the chieftains. He ceded Wallachinattam, Taravedi and Terembore situated near Madurai to the Patan chiefs in return for their military and financial aid.⁴⁰ He permitted Kattabomman to occupy the Nawab's villages adjoining Panjankurichi and the Rajah of Travancore to annex Kalakkad.⁴¹ The poligars, angered at the imperious behaviour of Khan Sahib, on seeing the prospect of gaining more territories joined the ranks of the rebels. In January 1757 after posting the Kallans for safeguarding the northern borders of Madurai, Maphuz Khan proceeded to Nelcatanseval, granted the districts of Alwarkurichi, Ambasamudram, Papankulam and Rengasamudram to Puli Tevar and won his firm alliance. The rebels made Nelcatanseval the principal base of operations in Tirunelveli.⁴² In a bid to win the support of the Hindu powers he promised the restoration of the country to the Nayaks and sent his deputies to the Marawa states and Mysore for seeking aid.⁴³

However, the confederacy suffered from glaring anomalies. Some of the principal poligars especially of Sivagiri and Ettayapuram gave no support to Maphuz Khan. Many of the allies were half hearted, for they were guided more by their own interests than by any common cause. Obviously the rebellion assumed the proportions of an unorganised struggle aimed at the realisation of multilateral objectives. While Maphuz Khan promised the restoration of the Nayaks to their former dignity, he did not define the status which he himself aimed at. The poligars, on the otherhand, decided to annex as many villages as possible, without giving any regard to the jurisdiction of their leader

39. Military Consultations, 7 Sept. 1756, vol. 6. p. 733.

40. Military Country Correspondence, 15 Aug. 1756, vol. 4 p. 125.

41. Ibid, 25 Sept. 1756, vol. 4 p. 146.

42. Ibid, 29 Nov. 1757, vol. 5 p. 198.

43. The Indian Antiquary, vol. 46, p. 274.

or of the Nawab. In short the pursuit of common policy was lost in the labyrinth of conflicting objectives.

Nevertheless the rebellion broke out in January 1757 causing considerable alarm. Rebel forces consisting of 1000 horse and 10,000 armed men made irruptions into circar territories in Tirunelveli. Spreading desolation everywhere, they moved to Panjalamkurichi, where the troops of Kattabomman numbering 4000 joined them.⁴⁴ Tatarapa Mudali's irregulars fled the country and his administration collapsed. Muphuza Khan and Puli Tevar summoned the neutral poligar of Ettayapuram to join their ranks, but the latter refused. Thereupon they ravaged his palayam and destroyed the town of Ettayapuram. The rebels sent the spoils of plunder to Nelcatansevval. Khan Sahib advanced from Srivalliputtur to intercept the convoy of the rebels, but did not succeed.⁴⁵ The poligar of Wadagara occupied Kadayanallur, Tangachi and part of Sankaranainarkoil, while the Rajah of Travancore annexed Valliyur.

With the spread of the rebellion, the major part of the province of Tirunelveli passed under the control of Maphuz Khan and his associates. The troops of the Nawab and the Company retained control of a few strong posts, yet their renter could collect no taxes from the villages except in competition with the rebel chiefs. Khan Sahib set up a post at Srivalliputtur and held control of the fort of Tirunelveli.⁴⁶ Aided by the poligars of Sivagiri and Sattur, he repulsed a rebel attack on his post at Alwarkurichi.⁴⁷ The rebels again assembled in strength at Alwarkurichi but in a fierce battle fought on the 5th of March, 1757 were dispersed. Puli Tevar lost two of his generals, poligar of Wadagarai one of his legs and the chieftain of Singampatti his palayam.⁴⁸

44. The observation of the historian Mr. Orme that Kattabomman, dreading the consequences of his refusal to co-operate with the rebels, joined Maphuz Khan and Puli Tevar (*History of Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 199-200) is untenable. The official records of Fort St. George clearly state that Kattabomman was already in alliance with Maphuz Khan and hence he sent his troops to the rebel camp. (Military Country Correspondence Vol. 4, pp. 180-181) Tatarapa to Madras council, dated 29th Nov. 1756 vol. 4. pp. 180-181)

45. Robert Orme, *History of Indostan*, Vol. II, pp. 199-201.

46. Military Country Correspondence, Feb. 1757, vol. 5 pp. 25. & 53.

47. Ibid, 25 Mar. 1757, vol. 5. p. 45.

48. Military Consultations, Madras, 12 Mar. 1757, vol. 7, p. 226-7.

As the rebels still retained control of extensive territories, Lord Pigot sent a large army in support of Khan Sahib. John Caillaud in command of the expedition marched to Ramanathapuram, as the Kallans closed the direct route through Natham, and reached Tirunelveli early in March, 1757. Yet the forces found it difficult to launch offensive operations. The shortage of provisions and the onset of the Monsoon presented impediments. Puli Tevar and Barkatoula appealed to Haidar Ali for aid. As the Third Carnatic War broke out, it appeared that the French would send an expedition to Tiruchirappalli. Because of these considerations, Caillaud and Khan Sahib began their return march on the 11th of April. Alarmed at the possibility of an assault on Madurai, the rebels led by Barkatoula, trekked in pursuit, skirting along the hills. In the night they halted on the borders of Sivagiri. Taking them as intruders, the troops of Sivagiri fell upon their camp and dispersed them. In the early morning the rebels reassembled and resumed their march to Madurai.⁴⁹

The fort of Madurai was large and had two surrounding walls with square towers at intervals. The inner wall was twenty two feet in height but was neither well maintained nor properly manned. Yet, what added greatly to its strength was that the space between the two walls was so overgrown with thick bushes of thorny plants that it appeared insurmountable at most of the places. However Caillaud to his exultation discovered a small open space near a gate, not well guarded, on the western part of the ramparts. He decided to escalate the walls through this vulnerable spot. In the night of the 29th of April the troops approached the foot of the walls undiscovered, fixed up the ladders and got over the first wall. The assault progressed according to plan and the assailants moved steadily forward to the inner wall. Now a cur dog, which silently followed one of the sepoys, frustrated the bold venture. Overwhelmed by its helplessness to reach its master into the *fausse-bray* it gently barked; instantaneously its counterpart in the fort answered it. The rebels took up the alarm, hung out blue lights of sulphur and started a shower of arrows, stones, lances and fire arms on the intruders. In the resultant confusion, the troops of Caillaud retreated, but without suffering any serious loss.⁵⁰

49. Robert Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. 2 p. 209.

50. Military Consultations, 16 May, 1757, vol. 7, p. 427.

Soon afterwards, Caillaud marched back to Tiruchirapalli to defend this fort against a French expedition.

In the absence of Caillaud, the depredations by the poligars of Tirunelveli and the military operations against the rebels of Madurai continued. Maphuz Khan and Puli Tevar recovered possession of the lost posts, but their attempts to storm the fort of Tirunelveli failed. However when a body of troops left the fort on its way to Madurai, Maphuz Khan captured it. After this victory the rebels attacked Palayamkottai but Tatarapa Mudali won over the poligars of Panjalamkurichi and Ettayapuram to his side, and rescued the besieged garrison. Still the rebels retained control of most of the country.⁵¹

At Madurai the siege continued. On the 9th of July the rebels sallied out in great strength, but were beaten. After the return of Caillaud from Tiruchirapalli the attempt was renewed and on the 10th of July a part of the wall was battered down. At 2 O' clock in the afternoon, the forces advanced to the breach. The rebels taking the signal flanked the towers and stubbornly resisted the assaults. They set fire to bags filled with powder as they tossed them down over the besiegers. Ultimately, unable to storm the fort and suffering considerable loss, Caillaud withdrew from the venture.⁵² Now the assailants relied upon intrigues. Caillaud and Khan Sahib successfully persuaded several chiefs, the rajahs of the Marawa states, Mudemiah and the poligars of Panjalamkurichi, Sivagiri, Ettayapuram and Settur to join their camp.⁵³ Either their conviction that the struggle was futile or their desire to win the favour of the Nawab forced them to change sides. Kattabomman furnished 1000 troops for service with Khan Sahib, while Mudemiah brought with him the Kallans of Natham. These defections considerably weakened the rebels. Still Puli Tevar, Barkatoula and Nabi Khan Kattack remained firmly in their alliance with Maphuz Khan.

Expecting the arrival of reinforcements either from Tirunelveli or from Mysore, Barkatoula continued the defence of Madurai against a concentration of the hostile columns. He appealed to Maphuz Khan

for reinforcements but was of no purpose.⁵⁴ Haidar Ali too did not send any relieving expedition. Greatly disappointed, Barkatoula consented to surrender the fort if the assailants paid twelve lakhs of rupees.⁵⁵ After prolonged negotiations, Caillaud made a settlement with Barkatoula agreeing to pay a small amount of Rs.170,000. On the 8th of September 1757 the rebels evacuated Madurai and Caillaud took possession of the fort. The acquisition of Madurai deprived the rebels of the control of a province and interrupted their communications with Kallarnadu. Maphuz Khan withdrew from the siege of Palayamkottai and retreated to the west to the palayam of Puli Tevar.⁵⁶

Despite this important victory, Caillaud could not follow it up on account of the outbreak of the war with the French—the Third Carnatic war. In October he returned to Madras after entrusting the command of the defences of Madurai with Khan Sahib.⁵⁷ The withdrawal of the forces and the rebellion of the poligars facilitated Haidar Ali's expeditions to the far south. In October 1757 championing the cause of the poligars, he marched to Madurai and occupied Sholavandan.⁵⁸ On the approach of Khan Sahib he took his stand at Natham but was defeated and forced to retreat to Dindugal.

After his return from Natham, Khan Sahib sought to settle the War torn country. He strengthened the defences of Madurai and Sholavandan and posted the Kallans to guard against Mysorean incursions. Eager to promote the settlement of the country he impressed upon the Madras Council the necessity of persuading Maphuz Khan to leave Madurai. He asserted categorically that unless Maphuz Khan withdrew from his alliance with the poligars, the disturbance would never cease and that the Nawab could never collect all the revenue. Accordingly, Lord Pigot advised the Nawab to persuade his brother to evacuate Madurai by promising to make a decent provision for his support.⁵⁹ In compliance with this suggestion Mohammad Ali sent

51. Robert Orme, *History of Indostan*, Vol.II, pp.235-9.

52. Military Consultations, 9 July 1757, vol.8 p.641.

53. Military Country Correspondence, 15 Aug. 1757, vol.5 pp.159-160.

54. Military Consultations, 11 June, 1757, vol.7, p.583.

55. Ibid, 4 Aug. 1757, vol.8 p.704.

56. Military Country Correspondence, 8 Sept. 1757, vol.5 p.174.

57. Radhakrishna Aiyar, *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p.216.

58. Military Consultations, 20 Oct. 1757, vol.8 p.926.

59. Robert Orme, *History of Indostan*, p. 252.

his deputies to Nelcatansevval in February 1758. The deputies saw Maphuz Khan residing in a hut made of straw and living a life upon what Puli Tevar parted with. Still, he demanded the recall of Khan Sahib from Madurai and the grant of a district yielding two lakhs of rupees as the condition of his withdrawal from the alliance with the poligars. But the Nawab rejected the terms and the attempt at a settlement failed.⁶⁰ By the end of 1758 Khan Sahib himself marched to the north for the defence of Madras which was then besieged by the French led by Count de Lally.⁶¹

In 1758 the Nawab established his sway over Turaiyur, an important palayam in Tiruchirapalli, taking advantage of a succession dispute. The ruling chief was Varadaraja Reddi but his claims were contested by his cousin Venkatachala Reddi. In September 1758 at the request of Venkatachala Reddi for military aid, the Company's forces led by Khan Sahib and Joseph Smith marched to Turaiyur. As the forces captured the barriers, the poligar fled to the borders of Mysore. A large section of the population joined the chief in exile. Venkatachala Reddi now assumed management of the palayam and it seemed that the expedition was a success. However, in March 1759, soon after the withdrawal of the forces, the expelled chief descended upon the district. Now the other poligar fled and a body of troops which had been stationed by Khan Sahib surrendered.⁶² Varadaraja Reddi, however, offered terms, which the Nawab accepted for fear of the poligar joining the French. Mohammad Ali recognised the title of Varadaraja Reddi and received tribute.⁶³

Khan Sahib and Puli Tevar

In May 1759 the Madras Council with the approval of the Nawab appointed Khan Sahib as Governor of Madurai. On his return from Madras he found all the territories extending from Natham to the walls of Travancore again occupied by the poligars, belonging to the camp of Maphuz Khan. In his bid to weaken the rebel ranks, he created dissensions among them. He won over the rulers of Ramana-thapuram, Sivaganga and Pudukkottai and dealt with the other poli-

gars firmly.⁶⁴ The Kallans refused payment of tribute and treated the demands for payment with contempt. Whenever they were required to pay peishcush they used to remark: the heavens give rain to the land, our cattle plough the field and we cultivate, why should we pay tribute to an equal.⁶⁵ But Khan Sahib refused to compromise with his authority. He attacked the villages of Kallarnadu and continued his policy of desolation and extermination for the entire month of June. As the resistance failed, the Kallans submitted and paid tribute. After effecting this settlement the forces began a simultaneous offensive against the eastern and western poligars of Tirunelveli. In the east he ravaged Ettayapuram and Kolarpatti and forced the chieftains to clear the arrears.⁶⁶ In the west he stormed Kalakondan, held by the troops of Maphuz Khan and Puli Tevar. The poligars entrenched themselves at Kanguntram but were routed and the palayams of Sorandai and Uthumalai were annexed.⁶⁷ In September 1759 Khan Sahib with the support of Travancore attacked Wadagarai. On the approach of the enemy the poligar fled to Nelcatansevval. Taken by surprise, Puli Tevar requested the ruler of Travancore to withdraw from the alliance but without success. In return for military aid Khan Sahib ceded Kalakkad to Travancore without the Nawab's consent.⁶⁸ In November the combined forces invaded Nelcatansevval. Reinforced by more troops from the Marawa states and Travancore, it began a siege of Vasudevanallur. On the 27th when the assault was in progress Puli Tevar with 3000 men gallantly fell upon the assailants. The poligar lost 350 of his men against Khan Sahib's 200. At the critical hour a heavy cannon of the Company burst. Puli Tevar wrested victory and the enemy was put to flight. This gave a serious blow to the authority of the Nawab and the Company.

However in July 1759 when the military operations of Khan Sahib were still in progress, Maphuz Khan sent messages to Lord Pigot conveying his desire to enter into a settlement with his brother.⁶⁹ As

64. Ibid, vol. 2 pp. 561 & 705.

65. B. S. Ward, *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of Madura and Dindigul*, vol. 3 p. 7.

66. Military Country Correspondence, 12 July, 1759, vol. 7 p. 150.

67. Ibid, 30 Nov. 1759, vol. 7 pp. 363-5.

68. Ibid, 30 Nov. 1759, vol. 7 pp. 363-365.

69. Ibid, 31 July, 1759. vol. 7. p. 172.

60. Military Country Correspondence, 8 Mar. 1775 vol. 6 p. 31.

61. Radhakrishna Aiyar, *A General History of Pudukkottai State*, p. 216.

62. Military Consultations, 12 & 27 Mar. 1759, vol. 10 p. 56, 92.

63. Robert Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. 2 pp. 336-340 & 365.

the condition of his withdrawal, he demanded the grant of a district for his support,⁷⁰ the cession of Ambasamudram and Rangasamudram to Puli Tevar and the recognition of the title of the poligar of Wadagarai.⁷¹ In response the Nawab wrote letters promising to make adequate provisions for his support, but indicating no concessions to the poligars.⁷² In March 1760 the rebel chief left the camp of Puli Tevar and returned to the court of the Nawab. Thus the rebellion of Maphuz Khan ended; but it did not settle the relation of the Nawab with the rebel poligars.⁷³

The significant victory of Puli Tevar over a formidable combination in December 1759 bolstered the hopes of the rebels and set in motion fresh wave of disturbances. The Dutch whose commercial interests were threatened in consequence of the growing influence of the English drew closer to the poligars. The prospect of getting aid from Haidar Ali and the French appeared bright. These factors contributed to the rise of the Eastern and the Western Coalitions against the Nawab. Kattabomman and other poligars of the eastern region of

70. Ibid, 11 Aug. 1759, vol. 7 p. 195.

71. Ibid. Vol. 8, p. 114 for 1760. Copy of a letter from Maphuz Khan to the Nawab. (no date).

Historical accuracy has not received due consideration in the *Trivandrum District Gazetteer* when it deals with the cession of Kalakkad. It proceeds thus: Yusuf Khan (Khan Sahib) represented to the Nawab and the Company of the advisability of entering into a treaty of alliance with Travancore. The proposal was accepted and Kalakkad was ceded to Travancore. The forces of Travancore, in consequence, helped Yusuf Khan to defeat his enemies and to re-establish his authority (A. Sreedhara Menon, *Trivandrum District Gazetteer*, 1962, p. 205)

72. Military Country Correspondence 17 Sept. 1759, vol. 7B p. 263.

73. Ibid 10 May 1760, vol. 8 p. 165.

Maphuz Khan remained at peace with the Nawab for the next few years. In 1765 he expressed a desire to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and requested his brother to give him a loan. Mohammad Ali paid Rs. 1,03,000 after taking a bond and furnished him with an escort, a few camels and tents. A few days later, Maphuz Khan represented that he spent away the money in liquidating his debts and requested the Nawab to advance Rs. 5,000 more; upon which Mohammad Ali paid him double of what was asked. Maphuz Khan took leave of his brother and started for Mecca, but after proceeding upto Chittur, a few miles north of Arcot, he returned. The Nawab, now, remarked that Maphuz Khan was always guided by his women.* (*Military Country Correspondence, vol. 13, pp. 299-304 Nawab to Madras Council, dated 17th Sept. 1763.)

Tirunelveli organised themselves into the Eastern Coalition.⁷⁴ Puli Tevar and other poligars of the western region entered into another alliance. The linguistic or regional differences—for in general the eastern poligars were of Telugu descent, while the western poligars of Tamil descent—prevented the union of the two groups. In the absence of Maphuz Khan they lacked a common leadership. The eastern poligars received the support of the Dutch. The western poligars, on the other hand, organised their resistance in close association with Haidar Ali and the French.⁷⁵ The rebels received further encouragement when Haidar Ali and the French entered into an alliance against the Nawab and the English. By a settlement made in April 1760 the two powers decided to conquer the Carnatic and to divide it between themselves; Haidar Ali was to get the southern Carnatic and the western part of the central Carnatic while the French the rest of the territory.⁷⁶

The Eastern Coalition was the first to commit aggression and to engage the attention of Khan Sahib. Kattabomman occupied the fort of Ottapidaram,⁷⁷ while the Dutch invaded Alwar Tirunagari and Manapad.⁷⁸ But Khan Sahib encountered these aggressions with promptitude. Gaining the support of the rulers of Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga,⁷⁹ he expelled the Dutch from the circar country and recaptured Ottapidaram.⁸⁰ Wisely, he restricted his operations strictly to defence and committed no aggression on the poligar or Dutch possessions. On the 4th of June Haidar Ali's forces consisting of 1500 horse and 2000 sepoys arrived at Tyagadurg on the southern borders of Mysore, expecting the arrival of a French army for opera-

74. Military Country Correspondence, 15 June 1760, vol. 8. pp. 194-5.

75. The principal eastern poligars were those of Panjalamkurichi, Ettayapuram. Kulattur, Mailamandai, Maniachi, Kadalgudi, Nagalapuram, Ezhayirampunnai, Settur and Kolarpatti. The important western poligars were the chiefs of Wadagarai, Sivagiri, Nelcatansevval, Singampatti, Wootamalai and Surandai.

76. According to the terms of the agreement Lally agreed to cancel the bond for Rs. 25 lakhs which Nanja Rajah had given to the French during the struggle for Tiruchirapalli. (Military Consultations, 9th June, 1760, Vol. 12, p. 516.)

77. Military Country Correspondence, 15 June 1760, vol. 6 pp. 194-5.

78. Ibid, 25 June, 1760, vol. 8 p. 205.

79. Ibid, 5 July, 1760, vol. 8 p. 218.

80. Ibid, 4 July 1760, vol. 8. p. 213.

tions in support of the poligars.⁸¹ But Lally miserably failed in sending his forces because of the desperate state of his finances. The English occupied Karur and forced Haidar Ali to withdraw his troops sent to Natham.⁸² In December 1760 Khan Sahib began his campaign against the Western Coalition. On the 19th he entrenched himself within three miles of Nelcatansevval. The following day Puli Tevar charged the hostile columns but withdrew after he lost 100 of his men.⁸³ The siege continued for about four months. In April 1761 on the arrival of reinforcements, Khan Sahib carried the trenches close to the walls. His success in capturing the summit of a hill, which commanded the view of the fort, threw the rebels into disorder. Erecting batteries on the top of the hill, he kept up an uninterrupted cannonade against the fort for days together, in consequence of which he cut off the rebel communications and immobilised the garrison. Unable to withstand the ordeal or to obtain supplies and reinforcements, Puli Tevar surrendered on the 16th of May 1761. After this discomfiture the rebels evacuated their strongholds at Panagur and Vasudevanallur. Khan Sahib magnanimously permitted his enemy to escape to Ramanathapuram.⁸⁴ He followed up this victory with the suppression of other chiefs too. While he demolished twenty nine mud forts, he garrisoned forty five other posts with his own troops. The success which attended these operations assisted the establishment of Nawab's authority.⁸⁵

Though humiliated and humbled ultimately Puli Tevar was one of the illustrious figures in the chequered history of the poligars. The vivacity of his character gave him an ascendancy over the western poligars, while his determined resistance to the Nawab's overlordship made him a potential enemy of the Wallajahs. Despite his command of only slender resources and an irregular force, he spearheaded a prolonged struggle. The principal architect of the coalition of poligars organised against the Nawab, he was noted for his cool strategy and daring gallantry. The last defence of Nelcatansevval for more than

four months was in keeping with his heroism but his fall was rendered inevitable because of the overwhelming odds he faced and the perseverance of an equally talented general, Khan Sahib.

The Travancore War

In 1762 when Khan Sahib was engaged in the settlement of Madurai, the chiefs of Travancore, Sivagiri, Wadagarai and Panjalamkurichi united together into a formidable confederacy. Dharma Rajah of Travancore (1758-1798) who had 16,000 troops, trained by De Lannoy, a Dutch officer, and numerous irregulars, headed the confederacy this time. This development represented a reaction against the growing influence of Khan Sahib which eliminated much of their interests in Tirunelveli. The Rajah, in particular, after extending his kingdom upto Cochin displayed an ambition to gain territories on the east coast. In November 1792 the troops of Travancore, about 16,000 strong assembled at Tovala, on the south-eastern border of the kingdom. Reinforced by the troops of the poligars of Panjalamkurichi and Pittapuram, the rebels captured a number of posts and occupied Panagudi, Ervadi and Tirukkurangudi. Dharma Rajah personally supervised these operations. Another column led by the crown prince of Travancore gathered in strength at Aryankavu on the Western Ghats and made a junction with the troops of the former poligar of Wadagarai and the Varaguna of Sivagiri. The combined forces numbering about 30,000 captured Shenkottai and invaded Wadagarai held by the troops of Khan Sahib.⁸⁶

On learning this ominous development Khan Sahib at the command of his forces which consisted of only 1000 horse and 6000 sepoys advanced by forced marches to the southern borders. He greatly increased his strength by obtaining the assistance of the Marawas and the allied poligars.⁸⁷ After sending one army to the far south, he himself took the field in the west. His western campaign proved a brilliant success. He boldly attacked the invading columns, encamped

81. Military Consultations, 9 & 27 June 1760, vol. 12 p. 580 & vol. 15 p. 614

82. Ibid 23 Sept. 1760, vol. 13 p. 861.

83. Robert Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. 2 p. 707.

84. Military Country Correspondence, 25 May 1761, vol. 9 p. 58.

85. Ibid, 18 Jan. 1762, vol. 10 p. 40.

86. Ibid, 6 Feb. 1763, vol. 11 pp. 41-43.

87. Ibid, 1763, vol. 11 p. 135.

88. Ibid, 14 Nov. 1762, vol. 10 p. 314.

89. Ibid, 11 Nov. 1762, vol. 10 p. 299.

at Wadagarai and dispersed them in a decisive battle. The forces of Travancore and the poligars evacuated Shenkottai and Puliya and retired to the hills.⁹⁰ After stationing two columns on the western border, he with the remaining detachments moved to Kalakkad. Before he could reach to the rescue of the columns, which he already sent to the south, the Rajah defeated it.⁹¹ On the 14th of November he pressed upon the forces of Travancore, but the assault failed. Between the 14th of November and the 22nd of January 1763, he engaged the enemy in ten bloody actions but all of them proved indecisive.⁹² The forces of Travancore held firm and constantly harassed the camp of Khan Sahib. In February he received reinforcements from different quarters, in consequence of which he embarked upon another drive against the enemy; leading to victory. Inflicting heavy losses he obliged the Rajah's troops to evacuate all their posts and to retreat to the walls of Aramboly. Unmindful of the consequences, Khan Sahib took a forward step by carrying the war into Travancore. He captured Aramboly, advanced upto Neyyattinakarai, inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy and cut off the noses of the prisoners of war. It appeared that Travancore would fall. The Rajah was so alarmed that he made entreaties to the Nawab to protect him.⁹³ Finding them of no avail, he begged for quarters and submitted to the terms dictated by the triumphant invader. By the terms of the settlement signed on 21st February 1765 both the chiefs agreed to render mutual assistance against any external aggression upon their territories.⁹⁴

Expedition of Flint and Campbell

In 1763 Khan Sahib organised a rebellion and sought to establish the independence of Madurai. However in 1764 he was defeated and executed. After this victory Mohammad Ali decided to suppress the poligars. Many of the chieftains had extended their support to Khan

Sahib in his rebellion, withheld payments and occupied circar villages during the rebellion. The Nawab needed money to replenish his exhausted treasury and wanted to chastise them for siding with a rebel who challenged the circar authority.

Colonel Rumley led two expeditions to Kallarnadu. He attacked the villages and killed 5000 of the tribals. The Kallans submitted and paid part of their tribute.⁹⁵ Umdut ul Umara, son of Mohammad Ali, assisted by Donald Campbell, led the forces to Ariyalur and Wodayarpalayam.⁹⁶ The two palayams with their well preserved tanks and rich fields appeared flourishing because of the benevolent administration of the chieftains. On the appearance of the forces the poligar of Ariyalur fled to Wodayarpalayam. In a smart engagement at Wodayarpalayam the poligars were defeated and their territories were occupied. After this defeat the two chieftains escaped to the Danish settlement at Tarangambadi.⁹⁷

In December 1766 Major William Flint led an army to Tirunelveli. On the 25th he attacked Kollankondan in Sivagiri but withdrew because of heavy fire from the fort. Reinforced by the Nawab's troops, he marched to Ettayapuram but found it well defended. In February 1767 he began a siege of Panjalamkurichi and occupied it, when the rebels evacuated it.⁹⁸ Yet the poligars retained control of most of the villages, they had occupied in the circar territories. In April 1767 the Wallajah and British forces launched a second campaign. Donald Campbell in command of the operations occupied Kollankondan on the 28th of April and Settur on the 3rd of May.⁹⁹ On the 10th of May the forces marched to Sivagiri, a well fortified town with 20,000 inhabitants. The Varaguna, as the ruling chief was called, with his followers evacuated the town and took his position in the inaccessible woods.¹⁰⁰ The invaders occupied Sivagiri and stormed the post of Vasudevanallur and Singampatti.¹⁰¹ Early in June they moved to the

90. Ibid, 22 Jan. 1763, vol. 11 p. 46.

91. Ibid, 18 Oct. 1764, vol. 12 pp. 356-367.

The Trivandrum District Gazetteer (1962) does not mention about this humiliation of Dharma Rajah by Khan Sahib. But it contents itself with a misleading statement that Yusuf Khan invaded Travancore as the Maharajah refused assistance to the rebellion organised by the former. (*Trivandrum District Gazetteer* p. 205-206)

92. Military Country Correspondence, 16 Feb. 1765, vol. 19 p. 369.

93. B. S. Ward, *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of Madura and Dindigul*, vol. 3 pp. 7-6.

94. Military Consultation, 10. Jan. 1765, vol. 22 p. 31.

95. Ibid, 26 Jan. 1765, vol. 22 p. 64.

96. H. R. Pate (ed.) *Tinnevely District Gazetteer*, 1917, vol. 1 p. 76.

97. Military Consultations, 8 May, 1767, vol. 26 p. 385 & 398.

98. Ibid, 21 May 1767, vol. 26 p. 417.

99. Ibid, 8 June, 1767, vol. 26 p. 455.

hills of Sivagiri but finding the task hazardous, withdrew to Sankara-nainarkoil.¹⁰⁰

The poligars now sought a peaceful settlement. On an examination of the accounts Campbell was convinced that the Nawab's policy of oppression and exaction drove them to rebellion. Whereas Khan Sahib during the seven years of his administration collected from Sivagiri a total amount of 18,000 chakrams, the Nawab levied 33,000 for 1765 alone.¹⁰¹ Added to this, because of Haidar Ali's incursions to the Carnatic the forces were to be rushed for the defence of the northern frontiers. Considerations of justice and expediency required a peaceful settlement. Campbell accordingly restored Sivagiri, Settur and Wadagarai to the poligars and accepted what they paid.¹⁰² However after his return the poligars again withheld payments and extended their support to Mysore in the war against the English in 1767-1769.¹⁰³

Fall of Ramnad and Sivaganga

In 1763 when a civil war broke out in the Marawa principalities, the Nawab decided to take advantage of the situation for the furtherance of his political designs against them. The conflict began as the result of a struggle for power that followed the death of Setupati Sella Tevar (1748-1760). Muthuramalinga, an infant, ascended the throne while Muthu Vijaya Raghunatha assumed the office of the regent and Damodara Pillai continued as minister. The struggle for power drove the regent and the minister to hostile camps. Damodara Pillai with the support of Tandavaraya Pillai, the minister of Sivaganga, occupied most of Ramanathapuram, but his attempt to capture the capital failed.¹⁰⁴ In December 1763 the two ministers paid a visit to Colonel Preston while he was engaged in the military operations for the suppression of the rebellion organised by Khan Sahib. The Nawab advised Preston to make use of the opportunity for securing the aid of the ministers without placing much confidence in their alliance. The English general asked for their military support against

Khan Sahib as a condition of his extending any support for the occupation of the fort of Ramanathapuram. The ministers accordingly assisted the British troops for the reduction of Madurai, held by Khan Sahib, to submission.

But after the fall of Madurai, neither did Mohammad Ali nor did Preston show any inclination to help the ministers. Meanwhile, the regent, for fear of the machinations of Damodara Pillai, sought the protection of Mohammed Ali. Thus the rival parties applied for the Nawab's intervention. The deceitful Mohammad Ali promised to support the regent too. On his part the regent agreed to admit two companies of the Carnatic troops, as was suggested by the Nawab, into the forts of Ramanathapuram, apparently for its defence. Had this settlement been implemented, the Nawab could have perhaps easily occupied the fort, but this was rendered impossible because of the sudden death of the regent by small pox.

On hearing the death of the regent, the ministers struck off to Ramanathapuram, without taking leave of the Nawab or Preston and pretending as if they were apprehensive of the security of their persons but really because of the fear that the Nawab would demand the payment of tribute.¹⁰⁵ Considering the services rendered by the ministers and fearing that the method of their departure would create an unfavourable impression upon the other allies of the Nawab, Donald Campbell who commanded the forces at Madurai sent messages with assurances that they might return in safety after taking the leave of Mohammed Ali, yet they persisted in their pretended apprehension.¹⁰⁶ Damodara Pillai gained the control of the capital and restored order in the country. The Nawab however did not pursue his designs either for the collection of tribute or for annexation, but waited for his chance.

In 1771 Mohammad Ali gained the support of the English for the annexation of the Marawa states. The Nawab represented to the Madras Council that the Marawa chiefs occupied circar villages, harboured the most notorious robbers in their woods and that they permitted the Dutch to establish factories without his consent. He

100. Ibid, 15 June 1767, vol. 26 p. 477.

101. Ibid, 17 June 1767, vol. 27 p. 874.

102. Ibid 9 Sept. 1767, vol. 27 p. 874.

103. Ibid, 30 Nov. 1767, vol. 28 p. 1365.

104. Ibid, 1 Nov. 1763, vol. 19 pp. 644-5.

105. Ibid, 16 Jan. 1764, vol. 20 p. 32.

106. Ibid, 22 Dec. 1764, vol. 21 p. 906.

further asserted that despite their state of subjection, they paid no tribute, neglected to render any service for an expedition to Thanjavur¹⁰⁷ and that the ruling Setupati Muthuramalinga Tevar ascended the throne without his permission.¹⁰⁸ The Madras Council in consideration of the Company's alliance with the Nawab but without examining the merit of the case, decided to extend military assistance for the expedition. In justification of this decision the English dubbed the Marawa rulers as dangerous delinquents and declared that unless they were suppressed there was no safety to the government of the Carnatic.¹⁰⁹

However, the contentions of the Nawab and the Madras Council were just allegations calculated to justify what they decided to do. The Nawab did not specify the villages if they were occupied by the Marawa chiefs. The robbers infested those jungles, where they found the greatest shelter without anybody's asking. The Marawas granted commercial facilities to the Dutch only after the English rejected a similar offer, made to Colonel Heron. Further, there existed no state of real subjection as to oblige the rulers of Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga to serve the Nawab or to pay tribute to him or to dissuade them from establishing relations with foreign powers like the Dutch.

In January 1772 the Nawab's forces entered Sivaganga and occupied Tondi, the important sea port. The Marawa troops led by Semialinga Pillai sought to expel the invaders, but were dispersed.¹¹⁰ However, the Nawab suspended the operations because of the possibility of a Maratha invasion of the Carnatic.¹¹¹ In May 1772 the campaign being resumed, the combined forces of the Nawab and the Company led by Joseph Smith advanced to Ramanathapuram. The fort, equipped with a heavy cannon and fifty light guns and

107. In September 1771 the Nawab, assisted by the English invaded Thanjavur. Rajah Tujaji was defeated and forced to cede a part of his territory and agree to pay eight lakhs of rupees as annual tribute.

108. Military Country Correspondence, 3 Nov. 1771, vol. 19 p. 247.

109. Military Despatches to England, vol. 7-9 pp. 125-127.

110. Military Country Correspondence, 4 Mar. 1772, vol. 21 p. 101-108.

111. Military Despatches to England, vol. 7-9., p. 75.

surrounded by an open space had forty four bastions and a ditch. On the 28th the army appeared before the fort before the queen knew that there was a complaint against her.¹¹² Another army led by Benjour advanced from Madurai to the eastern borders of Sivaganga and captured Tiruppuvanam,¹¹³ thereby preventing the troops of Sivaganga from marching to the aid of the Setupati. The military operations were thus effectively coordinated.

Umdut ul Umara, son of Mohammed Ali, who exercised general control of the operations, opened negotiations with the queen regent for a peaceful occupation of the palayam, but it proved unfruitful. On the 1st of June Smith ordered a general siege and the next day made a breach on the walls. At 5 P.M. on the 2nd a party of grenadiers led by Major Braithwaite carried the fort by assault. A large part of the 3000 strong Marawa garrison died fighting, while the rest fled.¹¹⁴ The invaders plundered the flourishing town and imprisoned the royal family including the queen-regent, her son Setupati and her two young daughters.¹¹⁵

A two pronged offensive extinguished the principality of Sivaganga too. Joseph Smith from the east and Benjour from the west invaded this palayam in June 1772. The country was very bushy of cockspur thorn, though there were villages and open spaces here and there. Rajah Udaya Tevar, in anticipation of the invasion, erected barriers on the roads, dug trenches and established posts in the woods of Kalayarkoil, Umdut ul Umara directed the Rajah to pay one lakh of

112. Military Country Correspondence, 1772, vol. 21 p. 159.

113. Military Consultations, 1 June 1772, vol. 42 p. 448.

114. Ibid, 15 June, vol. 42 p. 479.

On the fall of the fort, Smith wrote to the Madras Council thus: "The fort of Ramnad is old, but the palace is one of the best buildings I ever saw in the country and the inhabitants lived in truly Eastern luxury which I am afraid they will never experience again. Young Marawar is about 12 years of age but the Rani has been invisible at least to Europeans. She has two daughters, both fit for matrimony. I have felt very much for the distress of these miserable people. Though there were 3000 armed men they did not know what to do or how to act being attacked in sudden." (Military Consultations, vol. 42. p. 488, Smith to Madras Council, dated 8th June 1772). The royal prisoners were sent to Tiruchirapalli.

115. Military Despatches to England, 20 June 177, vol. 7-9 pp. 80-81.

rupees, but the latter evaded, abandoned his capital town of Sivaganga and established himself in the woods.¹¹⁶ On the 21st of June the detachment of Smith and Benjour effected a junction and occupied the town of Sivaganga. The next day, the forces marched to Kalayarkoil, and captured the posts of Keeranoor and Sholaveram. Now Tandavaraya Pillai, the minister of Sivaganga, sent messages to Umdut ul Umara expressing his readiness for an accommodation. Therefore, Smith wrote a letter in English directing Benjour to halt his advance until the result of negotiations was made known. But the troops of Sivaganga intercepted the letter and detained it without understanding the contents. Benjour, continuing the operations, came into conflict with the main body of the troops of Sivaganga on the 25th June. The Rajah with many of his followers fell dead in the battle. But his widow and daughter fled to Virupakshi in Dindugal, where they were joined by their two able servants Vella Marudu, the dog keeper and Chinna Marudu, the betal bearer. The invading forces plundered the town and collected jewels worth 50,000 pagodas.¹¹⁷

The Nawab, thus, won an easy victory over the Marawars and annexed these large palayams. This was rendered possible not only because of the two states were weak but also stood isolated from the other powers of South India. Still the flight of the royal family of Sivaganga to the hostile country of Mysore served as a source of trouble. The subjugation of the ruling houses did not synchronise with the surrender of the inhabitants, whose spirit of independence and loyalty to their former rulers were indeed ardent. These factors presented formidable problems to the Nawab's administration in its task of effecting consolidation.

Under the Wallajahs the poligars encountered a complicated situation, created by conflicting interests. They were required to deal with the administration of Anwar-ud-din and subsequently of Mohammad Ali, alliance of the English East India Company with the Nawab and the disturbances raised by the rival and the rebel powers. Assisted by the English, the Nawab sent expeditions against the chieftains and made a limited advance towards the consolidation of

his authority. But this trend could not be sustained because of the opposition organised by the rival powers like the Nayaks and the Nevayets and the rebel powers, particularly Maphuz Khan and Khan Sahib. The consequent wars spread terror and turmoil of formidable proportions in the country. This development contributed to the unprecedented expansion of the influence of the poligars. For a time Nawab instead of pursuing his policy of coercion, resorted to a policy of conciliation with a view to gain their alliance and granted them more of rights. The rival and rebel powers sought their aid and gave them concessions. More of the circar villages accepted their protection and paid taxes. However this situation did not last long. The auxiliary powers followed no uniform or common policy in relation with the new developments. For a time they rallied to the Nayaks but suffered for want of leadership. The alignment with conflicting interests threw them into opposing camps and the resultant internal dissensions weakened them greatly. The Nawab after his victory over the rival and rebel powers again turned against them. Supported by his British ally, he resumed military operations on a large scale. This led to the suppression of several of the poligars and the annexation of the palayams of Ariyalur, Wodayarpalayam, Sivaganga and Ramanathapuram.

116. Military Consultations, 26 June 1772, vol. 42 p. 534.

117. Ibid. 13 July 1779, vol. 42 p. 607.

Rebellion in Marawa States

The Wallajah policy of expansion and consolidation received a serious blow when Mohammad Ali lost control of Ramanathapuram and Sivaganga at the beginning of the Second Mysore War. Though six years had elapsed since annexation of these palayams, he did not succeed either in conciliating or in pacifying the inhabitants. The overthrow of their royal institutions and the confiscation of their lands excited wide-spread disturbances. The Maravas who were both soldiers and peasants had the unique advantage of waging a guerilla war against the enemy and returning to their fields as the circumstances demanded. Abandoning their villages and leaving their women and children in their homes, they organised themselves into armed bands, entered into an alliance with the Kallans, set up posts in the inaccessible woods and committed depredations upon the circar territories. Armed with pikes and small guns, they looted the camps of the Company's troops and threw rockets into the forts held by the Nawab's forces. The result was that by 1780 the Nawab's administration was forced to seek asylum in the fortified places.⁴ A considerable part of the territory passed under the control of the rebels headed by Mappila Tevar, the uncle of the Setupati⁵.

Meanwhile Tandavaraya Pillai, the former dewan of Sivaganga, sought the aid of Haidar Ali for the restoration of this state to the house of Udaya Tevar who died in battle. The Mysore chief promised assistance for the liberation of the Marawa states,⁶ but Tandavaraya Pillai died within a few months. After his death the Marudu brothers, Vella Marudu and Chinna Marudu took the lead in the affairs of the occupied territory. When Haidar Ali fell upon Arcot in 1780, the Marudus having obtained a small force from Syed Sahib, the commander of the Mysore forces stationed at Dindugal, desolated the Nawab's territories extending to the very gate of Madurai.⁷ Upon their entry into Sivaganga, the inhabitants joined them en masse and the rebellion spread. The ill disciplined forces of the Nawab stationed in walled

CHAPTER IV

THE POLIGARS AND THE ENGLISH

In 1780 the Second Mysore War (1780-84) broke out. Haidar Ali invaded the Carnatic. After making a futile attempt to storm Tiruchirapalli, he occupied Srirangam and Thanjavur and subsequently advancing to the far south captured Tirunelveli, Palayamkottai and Vasudevanallur.¹ He crowned a Nayak prince referred to as Kattu Rajah as the ruler of Madurai.² In the northern region of Tamilnadu he ravaged Vellore and Kanchipuram. The outbreak of war offered an opportunity to the poligars of throwing off the mask of loyalty. The Nawab's policy of annexation of the palayams, imprisonment of the chieftains, their sympathy for the Nayaks and the influence of Haidar Ali combined together in exciting poligar disturbances on a large scale. Anxious to dissuade them from joining the camp of Mysore, Mohammad Ali made an eleventh hour effort. He waived the peishkush for two years, released the poligar prisoners from confinement and assured them of due respect of their rights.³ This policy, opportunistic as it was, had no effect upon the attitude of the chieftains. The rebellion of the poligars broke out when the different poligars returned from exile to their districts in the train of Haidar Ali's invasion. The failure of the Nawab to deal with the situation invited British intervention in the internal affairs of the country. The English gained control of the revenue administration and the right to deal directly with the auxiliary powers.

1. Military Despatches, Madras to England, 26 Jan. 1782 vol.15 pp. 53-4.
2. Military Consultations, Madras, 4 Feb. 1781, vol.73 p.273.
3. Military Country Correspondence, Madras, 18 April 1781, vol.30 pp. 155-172.

4. Ibid, 2 Oct. 1772, vol.21 p.236.

5. Correspondence on the Permanent Settlement of the Southern Pollams and Ramnad and Shevagunga Zamindaries, p.28.

6. Military Country Correspondence, 12 Dec. 1772, vol.21 pp. 282-3.

7. Correspondence on the Permanent Settlement dated 24th Dec. 1800, p.28.

towns could offer no effective resistance. The rebels proclaimed Vellachi, the daughter of Udaya Tevar, as the ruler of the palayam and the Marudus assumed the charge as ministers in the new regime. This development marked a significant victory for the poligars over the Nawab and his ally the English Company.

The success of the rebellion in Sivaganga came as a source of encouragement to the rebels of Ramanathapuram. Mappila Tevar obtained the assistance of Haidar Ali and expelled the Nawab's troops from the territory. The state was torn to pieces, but the struggle of a people who cherished an unbroken spirit of independence triumphed ultimately.⁸ In an attempt to curb the growing influence of the rebels, Mohammad Ali released Muthuramalinga Tevar, the deposed Setupati and a young man of twenty, from confinement at Tiruchirapalli and proclaimed him the Setupati on the 7th of April 1781.⁹ Supported by the forces of the Nawab, the prince expelled the rebel chiefs and took possession of the country for himself. Mappilla Tevar with his followers thereupon joined Haidar Ali.¹⁰ Muthuramalinga Tevar, now carried away by territorial ambition, sought the annexation of Sivaganga. He offered to pay three and a half lakhs of rupees as the annual peishkush for the two states and won the Nawab's approval for their unification under his administration.¹¹ He also proposed to marry princess Vellachi of Sivaganga, but the latter turned down his offer and wedded Wodaya Tevar, a nephew of her father. The vindictive Setupati with the connivance of Mohammad Ali made repeated attempts to incorporate Sivaganga with Ramanathapuram; but neither did he succeed in occupying any part of that state nor did he fulfil the terms of his agreement with the Nawab.¹²

The Mysore War and the Marava rebellion gave the signal to the spread of the disturbances to several palayams, taken over by the Nawab. The circar administration was so oppressive that the

8. Ibid, p.27.

9. Tinnevely Book, 1782 Letter No. 2.

10. Military Consultations, 30 April 1781, vol.74 p.1076.

11. Ibid, 5 Aug. 1781, vol.75 p.1180.

12. Ibid, 24 Jan. 1792 vol.158, p.474.

13. Proceedings of the Board of Assigned Revenue, 24 Jan. 1792 Vol.8 p.338.

inhabitants waited for an opportunity to throw off the system of exaction. In Ariyalur and Wodayarpalayam they were not only required to pay four times of what they were paying traditionally as tax but also were subjected to torture and death in the event of any default. Greatly distressed, the people demanded the restoration of the poligari system.¹⁴ Taking advantage of the Mysorean incursions, the former chieftains of Ariyalur and Wodayarpalayam returned from Tarangambadi, where they had taken shelter for long. The inhabitants rallied to their cause, rose in rebellion and expelled the troops of the Nawab from the territory. The Kallans in the mean time made inroads to Madurai and occupied Melur, Vellaloor and Serugudi.¹⁵ Varaguna of Sivagiri and Kattabomman of Panjalankurichi too raised the banner of revolt and upheld the cause of the Nayaks.¹⁶ Assisted by the western poligars, the Varaguna attacked and defeated the Nawab's detachment, led by James Eidington, and captured Srivalliputtur.¹⁷ Kattabomman entered into a close alliance with the Dutch and made incursions in the circar territories. The insurgents occupied the circar villages and threw the Nawab's forces on the defensive. So wide spread were these disturbances that Reverend C. F. Swartz of the Danish Lutheran Mission observed: "it seemed as if all the country people wished for a change, Worriorpalliam, Marawar, Tinnevely Country, Madura were all up in arms."¹⁸

The Assignment

The hostile attitude of the poligars, the mounting disorders and the consequent defalcation of the resources rendered the conduct of war against Mysore a difficult task. Convinced that only a change in the administration would extricate the English from this embarrassing situation, Lord Macartney (1781-85) Governor of Fort St. George, prevailed upon Mohammad Ali to agree to the needed change. A settlement signed on the 2nd of December 1781 provided for the transfer of the revenue administration from the

14. B.S. Ward, *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of Madura and Dindigul*, vol. 3 p.8.

15. Military Consultations, 30 Aug. 1781, vol.76 p.2374.

16. Ibid, 17 Jan. 1769, vol.40 p.93.

17. Military Country Correspondence, 18 April 1781, vol. 30 pp. 155-172.

18. Rev. Swartz, letter dated 19 Dec. 1780, quoted in *A History of Pudukkottai* p.161.

Nawab to the Company for a period of five years and the allotment of one sixth of the annual collections for the private expenses of the Nawab. This was called the assignment. Incidentally this settlement placed the poligars under the direct jurisdiction of the English in all matters affecting revenue.

As administrators of assigned revenue the English made an earnest endeavour to gain two fold objective—loyalty of the poligars and their submission to the authority of the Company. In pursuance of this policy they relied upon the conventional policy of conciliation and coercion. The Company appointed the former poligars of Wodayarpalayam and Ariyalur as the renters of their respective districts. In return these chieftains abandoned their alliance with Sultan Tipu and extended their allegiance to the English. The rents were fixed at 8,000 pagodas for Ariyalur and 35,000 pagodas for Wodayarpalayam.¹⁹ Subsequently, however, when the payment of rent fell into arrears, the Company assumed the direct administration and imprisoned the chieftains at Tiruchirapalli.²⁰ In 1784 the English accorded recognition to the ruling houses of the Marawa states. The Company fixed the tribute of Ramanathapuram at a 2,80,000 rupees and that of Sivaganga at 2,20,000 rupees.²¹ Palamaneri, occupied by the Nawab, was restored to Ramanathapuram and Tiruppuvanam to Sivaganga.²² In an attempt to gain the confidence of the chieftains, they were relieved from the renters' jurisdiction, which occasioned oppressive exactions, and placed under the direct authority of the newly constituted Committee of Assigned Revenue. Thus for the first time the poligars were placed under the direct administration of a western power.

However the warlike poligars of the far south remained unreconciled to the British authority. During the war with Mysore they occupied circar villages and seized the revenue in co-operation with the forces of Haidar Ali. Therefore in July 1783 after the withdrawal of

the army of Mysore from Tamilnadu, Governor Lord Macartney (1781-85) sent a powerful expedition. Colonel William Fullarton, who commanded the forces, marched from Tiruchirapalli to Kallarnadu. He threatened the Kallans with fire and sword and compelled them to 'pay tribute'.²³ The invading forces established military posts to keep them in constant subjection. On the 4th of August the army advanced to Sivaganga. Chinna Marudu, the minister, assembled his armed men in the woods of Kalayarkoil in preparation for resistance. Yet considering the demands not arbitrary, he agreed to a settlement and paid 40,000 rupees in clearance of a part of the arrears. Kattabomman in command of 4000 irregulars lay in wait for the enemy at Chocumpatti. Fullarton, on the other hand, taking a circuitous route through Palamaneri surprised Panjalankurichi. The rebels repulsed the attack, yet considering the insecurity of the broken citadel, evacuated it and led by their chief joined Sivagiri.²⁴ After gaining possession of Panjalankurichi, the army decided to attack Sivagiri in its bid to convince the western poligars of the dreadful consequence of defiance and to compel them to pay tribute. During the Mysore War the Varaguna of Sivagiri cut off a detachment and killed Captain Graham Campbell. Now in alliance with Kattabomman he made preparations for defence, but was overwhelmed. The enemy occupied Sivagiri and moved to the woods, where the rebels got themselves entrenched. On the approach of the forces, the poligar together with his followers climbed up the lofty heights. Despite the odds attending a mountain warfare, the assailants, guided by the poligars of Chocumpatti, reached the summits through a secret path and dispersed the rebel columns.²⁵ By a settlement made at Srivalliputtur Kattabomman and Varaguna cleared part of the arrears and gave bonds for the rest as condition for the restoration of their palayams.²⁶ As the result of the military operations and financial settlements the influence of the poligars suffered a serious reverse. In fact the British forces were so severe that their harsh measures left the chiefs with no resources whatsoever for rebuilding their military strength for years to come. Yet the adminis-

19. Collector's Report on the Deposed Poligars of Udaiarpalayam, Ariyalur and Turaiyur, 1816, p.2.

20. Military Country Correspondence, 14 Oct. 1790, vol.40 pp. 132-133.

21. Military Consultations, 24 Jan. 1792, vol. 158 pp. 475-75.

22. Ibid, 13 June 1782, vol.80 p.1883.

23. B.S. Ward, *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of Madura and Dindigul*, vol.3 p.9.

25. Military Consultations, 10 July, 1792, vol.163 p.2938.

26. Military Sundries, 13 Aug. 1784, vol.66 p.71.

tration made no attempt either to disarm the chieftains or to curtail their traditional rights.²⁷

Intervention in Sivaganga

In 1785 in consequence of the end of the Mysore War and the vigorous effort made by Mohammad Ali, the Company surrendered the assignment. In spite of this, by the treaties of 1785 and 1787 the English reduced the Carnatic into a protectorate under the guise of a joint system of defence. In relations with the English the Nawab made serious compromises with his sovereignty, yet he decided to suppress more of the poligars.

Soon after the restoration of his administration by the Company, he invigorated the process of exaction. He enhanced his demands on the Marawas: Ramnad submitted, but Sivaganga resisted. Determined to suppress the Marudus, the Nawab in 1756 sought military assistance from Fort St. George on the alleged ground that the Marudus refused the payment of the tribute of two lakhs of rupees, that they neglected the administration of their territory and that they committed depredations upon Ramanathapuram. But Governor, Sir Archibald Campbell, surprised at Mohammad Ali's attitude towards a vassal state that was restored to him in good order at the surrender of the assignment, rightly cautioned the Nawab that it was a dangerous measure to collect revenue by the force of arms and asserted that such a policy not only alienated the subject but caused a heavy military expenditure.²⁸ Yet Mohammad Ali refusing to retrace his steps decided to achieve by intrigue what he failed to win with the British co-operation.

The situation appeared favourable to the Nawab when a serious rivalry between the Queen and the Marudus for the control of administration disturbed the tranquillity of the territory and weakened its power of resistance. He entered into an agreement with the Rani and promised his assistance in her conflict with the Marudus.²⁹ This

27. Proceedings of the Board of Assigned Revenue, 22 June 1785, vol.9 p.494.

28. Military Country Correspondence, 1786, vol.35 pp. 209-210.

29. Military Consultations, 26 May 1789, vol. 129 p. 1459.

precipitated a clash, but contrary to what the Nawab had anticipated, the princess was forced to seek shelter in the fort of Sivaganga. Mohammad Ali promptly despatched a body of troops for the rescue of the Queen. But the Marudus with 12,000 armed men surrounded Sivaganga and plundered the Nawab's territories in retaliation. Unable to suppress the Marudus, the Nawab on the 10th March of 1789 again appealed to the Madras Council for aid. John Holland, the successor of Sir Archibald Campbell in the governorship, accordingly furnished military assistance.³⁰

On the 29th April 1789 the British expedition led by Colonel Stuart reached Tirupatore in Sivaganga.³¹ A body of Tondaiman's troops, 3,000 strong, joined the Company's army on the 1st of May.³² Reinforced by the Nawab's detachment led by Col. Martinz, the forces attacked Kallangudi on the 13th of May. A large village surrounded by mud walls and thick jungles, it was defended by a body of Marudu's troops armed with fire-locks. Despite the obstinate resistance of the rebels, the forces carried the lines on the 14th. After this reverse, the Marudus retired to their strongholds in the jungle of Kalayarkoil.³³ On the arrival of more forces from Madurai, Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli, Stuart launched an offensive against the rebel posts in the woods. With considerable labour the pioneers cut a road to Ramamandalam, a square-work of great extent, situated three miles away from Kallangudi. Stuart won the allegiance of Du Pre, a treacherous French general whom the Marudus employed to train their troops, and occupied the rebel strong-hold. The thorough knowledge of the terrain possessed by Du Pre considerably helped further military operations against the rebels. The forces advanced to Kalayarkoil and captured it after a short cannonade.³⁴ The Marudus took their stand at Piranmalai, but on the approach of the enemy fled with precipitation to the territory of Sultan Tipu.³⁵

The Nawab sought to consolidate his gains. He repaired and garrisoned Tirupatore, the key to Sivaganga, with his own troops,

30. Ibid, 17 Mar. 1789, vol. 128 p.783.

31. Ibid 5 May, 1789, vol. 129 p.1336.

32. Ibid, 6 May 1789, vol. 129 p.1345.

33. Ibid, 21 May 1789, vol.129 p.1406.

34. Ibid, 7 June 1789, vol.129 pp.1552-6.

35. Ibid, 16 June 1789, vol.130 p.1683.

destroyed the barriers erected by the insurgents, cleared the roads which had been blocked and established new military posts. The land returned to order apparently; in consequence of which the troops of the Company evacuated it.³⁶ However the myth of the Nawab's triumph vanished in November 1789, when the Marudus with a large body of their followers returned to Sivaganga and swept off the Wallajah posts. They routed the Nawab's detachment, stationed at Tirupatore and carried the fort. The inhabitants revolted to their chiefs as in a spontaneous movement and expelled the troops of the Nawab from their territory. For fear that the Marudus would seek the alliance of Tipu Sultan, the Madras government now advised Mohammad Ali to settle terms with the rebels. Accordingly the Nawab granted peace but fixed the peishkush at an enhanced rate of three lakhs of rupees. While the Marudus continued as ministers, Wodaya Tevar who married princess Vellachi assumed the rajahship.³⁷ In 1791 the new Rajah represented to the Company which administered the country during this period by virtue of assumption, for a reduction of tribute. The Madras Council agreeing to the representation, fixed the peishkush at the original sum of 1,75,000 rupees.³⁸ Sivaganga reasserted its status as a palayam and the Nawab's policy proved a failure.

The Carnatic Treaty of 1792

In 1790 when the Third Mysore War broke out the English without the consent of the rulers of the Carnatic and Thanjavur assumed the administration of revenue of their territories. This was the assumption. However in 1792, when the war ended, they gave up assumption and restored the administration of these states to their rulers. As condition for effecting this restoration, the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Rajah of Thanjavur were required to accept new treaties, formula-

ted in favour of promoting the British influence. The Carnatic Treaty of 1792 and the annexation of Dindugal from Mysore brought the different poligars under the direct authority of the Company on a regularised basis.

The Fifth Article of the Treaty of 1792 stipulated that the Company would have the right to collect the customary tribute from the poligars and to enhance the demand on them, if on enquiry there appeared that they had to pay an amount larger than what they usually paid by virtue of any lawful engagements. At the same time the Sixth Article laid down that the Company, desirous of preserving the Nawab's rights of sovereignty over the poligars, would engage to the utmost of their power and consistent with the realisation of tribute to enforce the allegiance and submission of these chieftains to the Nawab in regard to customary ceremonies and established practice of furnishing the services of their peons for the collection of taxes, support of his administration and protection of the inhabitants' property. The poligars were thus required to serve two masters. Their duties to the Nawab were: to attend on the durbar for customary ceremonies, to render military service and to perform village-watch. On the other hand their responsibility to the Company required them to pay tribute. The first category of service entitled them to maintain their armed strength and the second category to hold possession of their territories. In consequence the poligars retained their influence intact. At the same time, the Nawab and the Company restricted each other in the exercise of definite authority over the poligars. It seemed that the English undertook to guard the proper working of the poligari system in its relation with the sovereign and more significantly they gained a definite right to increase the tribute under the plea that the chieftains possessed more of the estimated resources.

The terms and conditions under which the poligars were transferred to the British authority proved incompatible with the objects of the policy on which they were founded. They retained, as it was natural for them to do, a strong desire to exercise military and independent power. In the view of the English administrators as the chieftains were permitted to retain their armed forces, their conduct continued to be aggressive. They engaged in mutual conflicts and defied the

36. Ibid, 26 June 1789, vol.130 p.1792.

Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore disapproved the policy of the Madras Council on the ground that it was irreconcilable with the principles of justice and moderation. Besides they pointed out that considering the hostile disposition of Tipu Sultan and size of the army that was to be employed for the service, the expedition to Sivaganga was an enterprise full of hazard. (Military Consultations, dated 20th Oct. 1789; Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore to Madras Council, dated 25th Sept. 1789.)

37. Military Consultations, 24 June, 1792, vol.155 p.474.

38. Ibid, 16 Nov. 1791, vol.154, p.5812.

Company's authority whenever they found it possible.³⁹ To add to the trouble, the Nawab's amuldars misled the poligars to believe that the settlement of 1792 was a temporary arrangement and that they would be brought back under the circar administration. They encouraged the chieftains to defy the British authority and to pay no tribute.⁴⁰ These factors embarrassed the Company's administration. The English found it impossible to interfere in the disputes or complaints not connected with the professed object of the settlement of 1792, for fear that any other conduct would expose them to conflict with the Nawab's sovereignty.⁴¹ In an attempt to remove the anomaly created by the Treaty of 1792 and to introduce for its object an entire control of the auxiliary powers, the Madras Council made repeated representations to Mohammad Ali, requesting his consent for a modification of the settlement. But the Nawab, adamant to preserve his sovereign rights, paid no heed to the request.⁴² However, after the accession of Umdut ul Umara on the death of his father Mohammed Ali on the 13th of October 1795, the Madras Council found an opportunity to assert itself but rather unconstitutionally. It directed the poligars to obey no instructions of the Nawab unless they proceeded through the government of Fort St. George.⁴³

The dual system also infused ill-felling in the relations of the poligars with the English. As under the feudal set up the Nawab collected presents from the chieftains on different occasions. After 1789 the amuldars, denied of the right to collect the customary tribute, lost no opportunity in exacting presents under numerous pretexts. Their exactions and armed interventions proved a potential source of constant trouble. As they paid tribute to the Company, they looked upon it for protection; but the English refused to defend the poligars' interests as the sovereign rights of the Nawab came in the way. At the same time, the chieftains could not appeal to arms, as the English undertook to enforce the obedience of the chiefs to the circar.⁴⁴

39. Political Despatches to England, 29 Sept. 1794, vol.2. pp. 316-8.

40. Military Consultations, 16 Oct. 1792, vol 167 p.5109.

41. Political Despatches to England, 29 Sept. 1794, vol.2 pp. 316-8.

42. Military Country Correspondence 10 May 1795, vol.46 p.55.

43. Political Despatches to England, 25 Feb. 1796 vol.5 pp. 89-91.

44. Revenue Consultations, 14 Dec. 1796, vol.91 p.4729.

This anomaly kept the poligars denied of the shield of protection as well as the right of self-defence. To add to their embarrassment, the English frequently surveyed the palayams and enhanced the tribute under the plea that the poligars possessed more of the resources than what had been estimated so long. This exposed them to alien exploitation. As the chieftains held the English responsible for their predicament, their subsequent resistance to authority assumed definitely anti-British overtones.

The Issue of Sivagiri and Ramanathapuram

The question of the possession of Sivagiri and Ramanathapuram after their fall into British arms furnishes instances when the interests of the Nawab and the English came into conflict with each other. It came as a natural consequence of the contradictions in the dual system of control.

During the Third Mysore War, when the English withdrew their forces from Tirunelveli, the poligars as was usual to give vent to their resentment, withheld payments and made incursions into the circar territories. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor General, expressed the view that seldom would the poligars commit acts of violence without provocation. At his instructions Torin, the Company's Collector of Assumed Revenue, made an enquiry to ascertain whether they had any just cause of complaint. After an investigation, the Collector hastily concluded that the disturbances should be attributed to their turbulent disposition. Still, the Madras Council decided to treat them with forbearance as the army in the meantime was employed against Mysore.⁴⁵

However, in May 1792 the aggressions committed by Sivagiri on the palayam of Settur precipitated an armed intervention by the Company. Chinna Tambi Varaguna, the poligar of Sivagiri, after his futile struggle against Fullarton, sought to rebuild his strength and to expand his territory. He annexed the palayams of Puli Tevar and Tomachi Nayak with the connivance of Etabar Khan, the Nawab's amuldar at Tirunelveli.⁴⁶ Subsequently, the poligar entered into a

45. Political Despatches to England, 16 Jan. 1792, vol.2 p.4.

46. Military Consultations, 30 Oct. 1792, vol.168 p.5479.

conflict with the ruling chief of Settur. Suspecting that the poligar of Settur organised a plot for the invasion of Sivagiri and taking advantage of a boundary dispute, the Varaguna with 2000 men invaded that palayam on the 28th of May and killed the young poligar.⁴⁷ The invaders invested the nephew of the dead chief as the next poligar of Settur.⁴⁸ Torin summoned the Varaguna to explain his conduct but the latter refused. Thereupon Lord Cornwallis, who had been engaged in commanding the operations against Mysore, sent a strong detachment against Sivagiri.⁴⁹ On the 10th of May Colonel Maxwell in command of the expedition moved against the defiant poligar. The rebels evacuated the town and took their stand on the heights of the rolling hills, the bottom of which was entirely occupied by the bed of a stream running through a very steep and rocky channel. The invading forces discovered a narrow path, constructed by the rebels with enormous labour, advanced through the declivity of the hills to a great range of stupendous mountains and assaulted one barrier after the other. With unwearied perseverance the insurgents maintained their successful retreat and at noon on the 12th of August 4000 of them were found still climbing up the steep ranges. Considering the task hazardous, Maxwell withdrew to the plains. However one of the parties employed by him seized the Varaguna on the 28th of August and handed him over to the British camp.⁵⁰

The Company held an enquiry into the conduct of the poligar but acquitted him of the charge of his personal responsibility for the murder of the chief of Settur. Considering however that the violent attack on this palayam by his armed men and the total disregard shown to the Collector's order for attendance constituted an outrage committed in contempt of British authority, the Madras Council decided to take over the possession of Sivagiri. The Nawab, on the other hand, called upon the British administration to hand over the possession of the palayam to his circar, citing his sovereign rights over the poligars. This unexpected requisition embarrassed the English, yet in view of the obligations imposed by the Treaty of 1792 they agreed to comply

47. Ibid, 15 June 1792, vol.163 p.2603.

48. Ibid, 31 July 1792, vol.164, p.3460.

49. Ibid, 22 June 1792, vol.163 p.2703.

50. Ibid, 7 Sept. 1792, vol.166, p.4429.

with after the establishment of order in the district.⁵¹ The issue was now referred to the Supreme Government at Calcutta for its decision. Lord Cornwallis observed that it was essential to avoid giving an impression that the English were carrying on a traffic of making and unmaking of rulers for promoting their interests in India. He directed the restoration of the palayam to the Varaguna. Though this decision was dictated by political considerations, it defeated the realisation of the ambition of Mohammad Ali and of the Madras Council.⁵²

After his return from Sivagiri Maxwell led his forces to Panjalamkurichi. Vira Pandyan, the young poligar, submitted and paid tribute.⁵³ Maxwell felt that the fate of Sivagiri and Panjalamkurichi would convince the chieftains of other palayams of the folly of resistance. But the inconsistency in the conduct of the poligars led Maxwell to suspect of some legitimate grievances. Upon enquiry it was understood that the haughty behaviour of Velloo, the dubash of Collector Torin and his refusal to accept tribute drove the chieftains into rebellion. The Madras Council now placed Velloo in confinement and released the imprisoned poligars.⁵⁴ Still James Landon, who succeeded Collector Torin, suggested the necessity of disarming the poligars on the ground that the source of all trouble lay in their military strength, but the Madras Council restricted by the Nawab's sovereignty over them found it impossible to carry out this drastic reform.⁵⁵

After Sivagiri the Nawab's sovereignty and the Company's authority came into conflict over the possession of Ramanathapuram. Because of his failure to incorporate Sivaganga with this territory through a matrimonial alliance, Setupati Muthuramalinga Tever fell out with the Marudus. He closed the road leading from Tondi to Tirunelveli, depriving Sivaganga of much of the collection of customs. In retaliation the Marudus diverted a stream flowing from Sivaganga to Ramanathapuram. The two sides now armed against each other, drew several of the fellow poligars to their sides and entered into a

51. Political Despatches to England, 30 Jan. 1793, vol.2 pp.134-151.

52. Military Consultations 9 Oct. 1792, vol.167 p.4860.

53. Ibid, 2 Nov. 1792, vol.168 p.5620.

54. Political Despatches to England, 30 Jan.1793, vol.2 pp.139-151.

55. Revenue Consultations, Sept. 1793, vol.52, p.2003.

bitter contest. The Madras Council restricted by the Nawab's sovereignty over the Marawa states, did not seek to nip the trouble in its bud.⁵⁶ In consequence the war continued and the two powers fought bloody battles at Paramagudi,⁵⁷ Arandoo and Aunundoor, but neither side winning any decisive victory.⁵⁸ The forces of Ramanathapuram set fire to 150 villages in Sivaganga, while the troops of Sivaganga devastated Paramagudi.⁵⁹

Concerned at the magnitude of atrocities, the Madras Council and the Nawab ultimately intervened. Landon, the Company's Collector of Poligar Peishcush, directed the Setupati and the Sherogar to discontinue the war. As a compromise measure he suggested to the Setupati to re-open the road and the Sherogar to allow the flow of the stream as usual.⁶⁰ Chinna Marudu complied with the instructions, but Muthuramalinga Tevar trifled. Thereupon the Nawab warned the Setupati that his conduct would involve him in lasting ruin,⁶¹ in consequence of which the troops of Ramanathapuram too withdrew from the war.⁶² Powney, the successor of Landon in the collectorship, directed the Setupati to attend on him for an explanation of his conduct, but the latter refused.⁶³ More developments strained the relations of Ramanathapuram with the Company. In 1794 a severe famine visited the southern region, particularly the Marawa states. The Madras Council directed the Setupati and the Sherogar to exempt the imported grain from the levy of duties for affording relief to the starving masses. The Sherogar gave ready attention but the Setupati unmindful of the welfare of his people not only continued collection, but forced the ryots to relinquish what they had.⁶⁴ On the 27th of August 1794 Mangaleswari Nauchiyar, who claimed as the sister⁶⁵ of

56. Political Despatches to England, 29 Sept. 1794, vol.3 pp.3168.

57. Military Consultations, 1 July 1794, vol.187 p.2757.

58. Ibid, 6 June 1794, vol.186 p.2263.

59. Ibid, 17 June 1794, vol.186 p.2362.

60. Ibid, 1 July 1794 vol.187 p.2757.

61. Military Country Correspondence, 23 June 1794, vol.45 p.198.

62. Military Consultations, 6 July 1794, vol.167 p.2992.

63. Military Country Correspondence, 26 Sept. 1794, vol.45, p.327.

64. Ibid, 7 Mar. 1794, vol.45 p.28.

65. Mangaleswari Nauchiyar claimed as the sister of Muthuramalinga Tevar by the same father Vijayaraghunatha Tevar. But it was asserted that she was

the Setupati, in a representation asserted that Muthuramalinga Tevar treated her with cruelty, oppressed the people and impoverished the country. Characterising him as the most depraved amongst mankind, she complained that he was surrounded by the vilest wretches upon whose report "daughters were torn from the bosom of their parents and wives dragged from the arms of their husbands, and conveyed to his house, where they were detained during his pleasure and some who have made resistance to his will have been put to death" and that the most respectful families in order to preserve the chastity of their women against his vevolin fled the country or committed suicide. These charges appeared as those of an interested princess, who aspired the throne for herself, yet the records of the period indicate that the young Setupati gave no great regard to the lives of the people. The Sivaganga war caused the death of 1200 people, while many more died of famine.⁶⁶ In May 1794 the old Nawab Mohammad Ali represented to Governor Sir Oakeley that Muthuramalinga Tevar was a man of such savage disposition that he felt no remorse in taking away the lives of his people and that he gave no consideration to the circar. Anxious to gain possession of the territory, he sought British aid for the overthrow of the Setupati.⁶⁷ In short, the abuse of power, the war with Sivaganga, oppression of his people and above all the machinations of Mangaleswari Nauchiyar and Mohammad Ali induced the Company to take military action against Ramanathapuram.⁶⁸

In February, 1795 before the Setupati anticipated any hostile move, the Company's force led by Major Stevenson moved into his territory. It would have been possible for the Setupati to assemble not less than 10,000 well armed men at a short notice, but the sudden appearance of the army took him by surprise. Encountering no opposi-

born to her mother by another husband before her marriage with Vijayaraghunatha Tevar. (Military Consultations, 30 Dec. 1794, vol.191 p.5085).

66. Ibid, 27, Aug. 1794.

67. Ibid, 7 Oct. 1794, vol.45 p.348.

68. Ibid, 28 May 1794 vol.45 p.153.

The clarification of these causes holds as incorrect a statement in the Ramnad Manual that it was not clear what were the circumstances which led to the deposition of Setupati (*Ramnad Manual*, p. 244). Mutturamalinga Tevar died at Madras in 1801. (*Ramnad Manual*, p. 248).

tion, Major Stevenson occupied the fort on the 8th of May.⁶⁹ He deposed Muthuramalinga Tevar, sent him to Tiruchirapalli as prisoner and established the British authority. The Madras Council granted a monthly allowance of 1,000 rupees for the support of the Setupati⁷⁰ and issued a proclamation explaining his misconduct and promising security to the inhabitants.⁷¹

With a view to consolidate their rule, the English entrusted the administration of the territory with the Collector of the Poligar, Peish-cush and introduced several reforms. The troops of all descriptions were organised into regular forces, controlled and paid by the Company.⁷² The collection of customs which appeared oppressive and the levy of impositions which checked the progress of trade were discontinued.⁷³ Village settlement was enforced in a bid to improve the administration of revenue. The Madras Council looked upon these measures as the foundation upon which an extensive and permanent system might be formed for the administration of all the poligar territories.⁷⁴

However, Nawab Umdut-ul-Umara annoyed at these proceedings of the Company, directed the Madras Council in 1795 to hand over the control of Ramanathapuram to his circar. The English agreed to give credit to the Nawab for the net revenue of the palayam, but refused to comply with his demand. Besides, to give no room for the Nawab's pretensions and to conciliate the inhabitants, the Company decided the succession in favour of Mangaleswari Nauchiyar and appointed her to hold the title of Setupati.⁷⁵ Umdut ul Umara questioned the right of the English to determine the issue of succession and he asserted that it legally belonged to him.⁷⁶ Still the Company's will prevailed and it retained possession of a territory yielding an annual

69. Political Despatches to England, 4 Mar. 1795 vol. 2 pp. 339-40.

70. Radha Krishna Iyer, *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 297.

71. Political Despatches to England, 23 April 1795, vol. 2 pp. 351-2.

72. Ibid, 2 Oct. 1795, vol.3 pp.11-12.

73. Revenue Consultations, 15 Oct. 1798, vol.89 p.3453.

74. Ibid, 14 Dec. 1798. vol.91 p.4729.

75. Revenue Consultations, 4 July 1795, vol.64 pp. 2541-55.

76. Political Despatches to England, 4 Mar. vol.2 pp. 338-340.

revenue of seven lakhs of rupees. The Nawab's rights suffered a reverse in this round of struggle too against the English; the most powerful of the palayams passed under the rule of the Company.

Extinction of Tiruchi Palayams

Despite the Nawab's failure to obtain possession of Sivagiri and Ramanathapuram, he asserted his rule over the palayams of Wodayarpalayam, Ariyalur and Turaiyur. The chieftains of these districts, formerly poligars, but later on renters did not fall under the revenue jurisdiction of the Company as they were not tributaries. This permitted the Nawab to have a free hand in dealing with them. The chiefs of Wodayarpalayam and Ariyalur since their success in obtaining the rentership of their former territories during the Second Mysore War, always sought to reassert their status as poligars. In pursuit of their objective they in 1790, when the Third Mysore War broke out, withheld payments. The Board of Assumed Revenue sent a detachment to the palayams and brought them as prisoners to Tiruchirapalli. Therefore the inhabitants revolted. In 1792 Mohammad Ali, seeking to destroy their influence, condemned them as public robbers and removed them to Wodayarpalayam, perhaps because he felt that he could hold them in public ridicule. It was extraordinary that he took them to the place where their influence was concentrated. Contrary to his expectations he found it impossible to collect revenue without the assistance of those very chieftains, whom he stigmatised as public robbers.⁷⁷ One night 10,000 of the inhabitants surrounded the fort, surprised the garrison and released their leaders. The chief of Wodayarpalayam went to Madras and squandered away large sums on the Nawab's durbar in his futile bid to obtain possession of the district. The chief of Ariyalur, on the other hand, fled to Thanjavur. 1796 the two chiefs returned to their districts and excited a rebellion which with violence and success continued for two years. Still the Nawab did not concede victory to the rebels, but re-established order by a two-fold policy of coercion and conciliation. The Wallajah army led by Major Cuppage suppressed the disturbances in May 1797.⁷⁸ Subsequently he made a settlement with the leaders of Wodayarpalayam

77. Military Consultations, 22 May 1797, vol.221 pp. 3060-78.

78. Military Consultations, 22 May 1797, vol.221 pp. 3060-78.

and Ariyalur by which he retained possession of the districts, but granted them monthly allowances of 1,000 rupees and 750 rupees respectively and the right to collect the kaval fees as was customary.⁷⁹

Turaiyur, the other major palayam in Tiruchirapalli, had been torn asunder by prolonged disorders. In 1773 the ruling poligar, a Reddi, in accordance with the practice of the times, made over the management of his territory to his son, the young Reddi. But on the death of his wife, he married a second time and a second son was born. Induced by his second wife, the poligar decided to persuade his son to surrender the management of the district, failing which to murder him. Having obtained information of the plot the young Reddi in 1785 proceeded to Madras and presented his case before the Nawab. This gave the signal to the upward revision of the tribute. Mohammad Ali approved the claims of the young Reddi, but enhanced the tribute from Rs. 1,50,000 to 1,75,000. The next year he sent an army to Turaiyur and reinstated the young Reddi. The old Reddi who was removed to Madras, now offered to pay Rs. 2,00,000. In consequence in 1787 the Nawab replaced the son by the father. After two years the young Reddi made a present of 1,00,000 rupees to Mohammad Ali and again obtained possession of the district, agreeing to pay the amount which his father offered. These repeated changes in authority and burdensome payments exhausted the resources of the district, preventing the young Reddy from paying the tribute. In 1793 the old Reddi consented to pay 2,75,000 rupees as annual tribute and recovered possession of the territory. The Nawab knew the inability of the chief to pay the promised amount, still he reappointed him, with the object of imputing bad faith on the poligar in the event of default in payment and of annexing the territory. In 1795 to the exultation of the Nawab, the tribute fell in arrears. Thereupon he promptly threw both the father and the son into prison and occupied the district. The two Reddis, however, made their escape, arrived at a compromise which at an earlier time might have saved them from total ruin, and uniting their broken fortunes, fled to Thanjavur. Soon afterwards death relieved the old Reddi from his ordeal. In 1796 when the disturbances broke out in Wodayarpalayam, the young Reddi retur-

ned to Turaiyur and organised a serious rebellion. The rebels destroyed the water courses, burned down the villages and obliged the inhabitants to desert the villages. Convinced of the necessity of promoting the settlement of the deserted district, the Nawab Umdut ul Umara offered terms. He retained possession of the palayam, but granted a monthly allowance of 1,000 rupees to the chief and permitted him to levy an assessment of the amount of twenty five per cent of the net revenue upon all land holdings.⁸⁰ Subsequently, the chiefs of the three palayams sought British protection, but the Madras Council took no notice of it.⁸¹ These developments marked the extinction of the major palayams of Tiruchirapalli.

Under the dual system that prevailed since 1780 the Nawab consolidated his rule over the palayams of Tiruchirapalli while the English established their rule over Ramanathapuram. However, the situation continued to deteriorate. With the increasing bankruptcy of the administration, the country passed progressively under the control of the usurers and exhortioners; in consequence of which the revenue continued to sink. The political atmosphere too remained unfavourable. The vindictive Tipu Sultan, *feeling humiliated* at the defeat he suffered, made hasty preparations, aimed at retrieving his tarnished prestige. The Dutch and the French in the mean time built up their military strength in Ceylon for a possible invasion of Tamilnadu. The Company now was convinced that the financial burdens imposed upon the rulers and the poligars would react adversely against its own interests, for it stood to gain nothing substantial in the event of an assumption of an impoverished country. The Madras Council therefore sought to expand the jurisdiction by a modification of the existing settlements in an attempt to rectify this anomaly. Based upon a report of a special commission it took the view that: the inconvenience arising to the government of the Carnatic from the indefinite and oppressive exercise of the power of the Nawab of Arcot over the poligars and from the occasional resistance opposed by these feudatories to the authority of the state during periods of public calamity having rendered the interference of the British government requisite to supply so fruitful a source

80. Collector's Report on the Deposed Poligar of Udaiyarpalayam, Ariyalur and Turaiyur, 1816, pp. 1-2.

81. Military Consultations, 23 May, 1797, vol. 281 p. 3078.

79. Collector's report on the Deposed Poligars of Udayarpalapam, Ariyalur and Turaiyur, 1816, pp. 1-2.

of violence and destruction it was provided by the Treaty of 1792 that the poligars dependent on the Subedari of Arcot should be transferred to the exclusive authority of the British government. But the terms and conditions under which the arrangement was effected in 1792 proved incompatible with the objects of the policy on which it was founded. The substitution of a lenient and equal government for the irregular and arbitrary violence of the Mohammadan administration offered a feeble inducement to the poligars to abandon the habits of their feudal institution. The exact adherence to treaty on the part of the British government left the poligars the possession of their principalities on the conditional payment of a tribute utterly disproportionate to the extent of their resources. The means of super abundant wealth which under the government of the Nawabs had enabled the poligars to appease the resentment of the Mohammadan power and to expiate rebellion against the state by satisfying the rapacity of local officers became under the British administration a source of personal aggrandizement and ambition to the poligars. The limits of prudence and the degree of difference in the change of circumstances were indistinctly perceived under such flattering encouragement of those inflammatory passions and the poligars exhibited a practical example of the insufficient restraint imposed on the appetites of men by the claims of gratitude or by the hope of contentments in the enjoyment of limited good.⁸² This report did not reflect the reality of the situation of the poligars but it did indicate the political ambitions of the English over the poligars. No wonder in 1795 Lord Robert Hobart, Governor of Madras, presented proposals to Umdut ul Uumara for a modification of the existing settlement. He suggested that the Company should be entrusted with authority not only to collect revenue but also to reorganise the poligari system.⁸³ But the Nawab rejected the proposal, declaring that he would never deviate from the Treaty of 1792.⁸⁴ In spite of this the English decided to ignore the Nawab's sovereignty and to suppress the poligars with a view to effect radical changes in the system.

CHAPTER V

THE LAST STRUGGLE

The existence of the poligari system appeared more and more incompatible with the growing strength of the English in South India. The two treaties of 1792—one of Srirangapatnam settled with the defeated Tipu Sultan of Mysore and the other of the Carnatic imposed upon the languished Mohammad Ali of Arcot—had a direct impact upon the relations of the auxiliary powers with the English. With the cession of Dindugal by Mysore, the chieftains of this region passed under the authority of the Company. The Nawab of Arcot transferred the poligars of the Carnatic to the administration of the Company in all matters of revenue. These settlements greatly contributed not only to the extension but also to the consolidation of the Company's control over the auxiliary powers of Tamilnadu. During the years that followed, the English frequently interfered in the palayams, made and unmade the poligars and sequestered several of their districts. The resultant conflict culminated in the outbreak of hostilities, triumph of the Company and the abolition of the poligari system.

After the annexation of Ramanathapuram in 1795 several other palayams shared its fate. In the same year Lakshmi Nayak of Manaparai was deprived of his possession.¹ The poligar of Palni by virtue of his status as the guardian of the famous temple on the hills commanded considerable influence but his district was taken over and he was imprisoned at the fort of Dindugal.² This was followed by the annexation of Yerrakottai and Mombarra.³ In 1796 the Company occupied Yerrevadoo, Sankampatti and Madoor on the alleged ground

82. Letter from Madras Council to Board of Revenue, dated 4 June, 1803.

83. Military Consultations, 23 Oct. 1795, vol. 199 pp. 3747-3802.

84. Ibid 18 Dec. 1795, vol. 201 p. 4779.

1. Board of Revenue, report, 31 Aug. 1795, vol. 2 p. 74.

2. Ibid, 10 Jan. 1796, vol. 2 p. 95.

3. Ibid, 28 Feb. 1797, vol. 2 pp. 165-9.

that the poligars of these districts had gone rash and contumacious.⁴ Subsequently the administration of Saptore and Chennulgudi was assumed.⁵ By 1795 the Company made it a policy to deprive the poligars of their traditional sources of strength and to destroy their influence. In their despatches dated the 10th of June 1795 and the 5th of June 1799 the Court of Directors issued instructions to their representatives in India that "all subordinate military establishments should be annihilated within the limits now subject to our dominion." They also directed the revision of the assessments 'more proportionate to the resources of the palayams and more adequate to the public demand for defraying the expenses.'⁶ These military and financial measures implied the annihilation of the fundamental character of the poligari system. Harrassed by the Nawab and the Company, the poligars for long looked upon Mysore as a source of their strength. But in 1799 the English fought the Fourth Mysore War and killed Tipu Sultan. Not only did they destroy the military might of Mysore but also impose a political settlement of great consequence. They enthroned a ruler of their choice-from the old Hindu royal family-in the state and carried into effect the identification of the political interests of Mysore with those of the British Empire. The success that attended these designs released the forces for operations against the poligars of Tamilnadu. These developments in short created a situation favourable for the enforcement of instructions of the Court of Directors. However the immediate factor that served as an excuse for proceeding with the destruction of the poligari system was the endeavour made by the eastern poligars of Tirunelveli to extend their influence at the expense of the interests of the Company during the Fourth Mysore War. Led by Vira Pandya Kattabomman, the poligar of Panjalamkurichi, they organised themselves into an alliance and committed depredations upon the territories of the Nawab and of the Company. This led them into conflict with the English.

Humiliation of Kattabomman

Born in 1761 and Telugu by descent, Vira Pandya Kattabomman became the poligar of Panjalamkurichi at the age of thirty on the death

4. Madurai District Records, 4 Aug. 1796, No. 1236.

5. Board of Revenue, 1 June 1797, Proceedings, vol. 178 p. 3057.

6. Court of Directors, Instructions, Revenue Consultations, 13 Aug. 1802, vol. 118 p. 2690.

of his father, Jagavira Pandya Kottabomman. He belonged to a house of chieftains, who resisted British power in the past, but did not appear to have entertained any such hostile designs against it. The Company's administrators, James Landon and Colin Jackson, had considered him as a man without education but of peaceful disposition.⁷ While examining the events that led to his conflict with the Company, it should be noted that during this period, the collection of tribute served as a constant and potential source of friction. As already mentioned, the Nawab of Arcot exercised this right, but he granted it to the English under the provisions of the Carnatic Treaty of 1792. The difficulty that the Nawab encountered in the enforcement of this right and the design of the Company to exploit the opportunities presented by it for curbing the influence of the chieftains accounted for this change. In September 1798 as the tribute from Panjalamkurichi fell into arrears, Collector Jackson in his characteristic arrogance and rashness wrote letters to Vira Pandyan in a language of reprehension and remonstrance. Some scholars contend that he firmly rejected the British demand for payment of tribute. There is a tradition to indicate that Kattabomman declared: "It rains, the land yields, why should we pay tax to the English?". The Kallar tribes of Melur and Natham encountered the alien rulers posing to them the same question. Perhaps Kattabomman too made this remark to the revenue servants, but there is no evidence to indicate that he acted upon it. Had he done so, he would have been rash, for he would have invited a certain doom, serving the purpose of the enemy without gaining any objective thereby.

By the 31st of May 1798 the total arrears of tribute from Panjalamkurichi stood at 3310 pagodas. The country experienced a severe drought, in consequence of which, the poligar found it difficult to collect taxes for payment of tribute.⁸ Collector Jackson wanted to send an expedition to punish Vira Pandyan but the Madras administration did not agree. The Company already withdrew its forces from Tirunelveli, to be employed in the war against Tipu Sultan of Mysore, and did not desire to risk a conflict in the far south at this juncture. It directed the collector to summon the poligar to his

7. Revenue Consultations, Madras: 2 Oct. 1798, vol. 88 p. 3088.

8. Revenue Consultations, 27 Sep. 1798, vol. 88 p. 3084-3093.

cutcherry at Ramanathapuram.⁹ Accordingly on the 18th of August 1798 Jackson despatched an order directing Vira Pandyan to attend his office at Ramanathapuram within two weeks. After sending the summons, the collector started on a tour of Tirunelveli. On the 27th of August when he reached Tirukuttalam, Kattabomman with his retinue waited for him, but the collector refused an interview.¹⁰ In the words of Kattabomman: "I prepared money, for the payment of kist and when I intended to set out against my health, Mr. Jackson came to Tirukuttalam, which place I reached with the money in full for payment of the Company's kist."¹¹ When Jackson halted at Chokkampatti, Sivagiri, Settur and Srivalliputtur to receive tribute from the poligars, Vira Pandyan sought an interview but was told that he could meet the collector only at Ramanathapuram.¹² Despite this humiliation, so mortifying as it was, Kattabomman followed the Englishman for twenty three days on a journey of 400 miles through the latter's route and reached Ramanathapuram on the 19th September. An interview was granted the same day and the collector remarked that the poligar did well in obeying the orders, by which he probably saved himself from ruin. Upon a verification of accounts, Jackson was convinced that Kattabomman had cleared most of the arrears by the 31st of August, leaving only 1080 pagodas as balance. Denied of seats, the poligar and his minister Sivasubramania Pillai had to stand before the arrogant collector for three hours together. Still he did not permit them to leave the place, but directed them to stay inside the fort of Ramanathapuram. Now a few sepoys appeared, apparently to arrest the chief. Immediately the deaf and dumb brother of Vira Pandyan, Oomathurai, who was keeping a constant watch from an unnoticed corner spread an alarm among the followers, waiting nearby. While the poligar and his minister combining alarm with annoyance forced their way out, their followers rushed for their rescue.¹³ At the gate of the fort there occurred a clash, in which some

people including Lieutenant Clarke were killed. Sivasubramania Pillai was taken prisoner but Kattabomman made his escape.¹⁴ On their way to Panjalamkurichi the armed men of the poligar looted the bazaar at Ramanathapuram and carried off a rich booty.¹⁵

After his return to Panjalamkurichi Kottabomman wrote letters to Madras Council, attributing the scuffle at Ramanathapuram to the rashness of the collector and requesting the release of his minister.¹⁶ Governor Edward Clive in the mean time issued a proclamation, inviting the poligar to submit to the authority of the Company. In the event of surrender he assured a fair investigation into the Ramanathapuram incident and in case of refusal he threatened the chief with serious displeasure of the government.¹⁷ To remove all causes of suspicion and dissidence on the part of Vira Pandyan, he suspended Jackson from office and released Subramania Pillai from confinement.¹⁸ In response to this gesture Kattabomman decided to submit. As a mark of it he paid a visit to the committee, with William Brown, William Oram and John Casmayor as members, appointed to enquire into the incident, at Ramanathapuram on the 15th of December, 1798.¹⁹ The committee instituted an enquiry and in its report acquitted the poligar of the charges of rebellion and condemned the conduct of the collector. It asserted that there was no unnecessary delay on the part of the poligar in complying with the summons from the collector, but the manner in which he was forced to follow Jackson for twenty days through the territories of the inferior chieftains was indeed humiliating and that the rigour which attended the treatment meted out to him at Ramanathapuram had so much alarmed him for his personal safety, that he made his escape. However, as one of his pike-men in his service stabbed Clarke to death, the poligar was required to make a provision equal to the salary and allowance of the victim for the support of his family.²⁰ S. R. Lushington was now appointed

9. Ibid p. 3206.

10. Ibid pp. 3084-93.

11. Kattabomma Nayak, 25 Sept. 1799, letter to Lord Clive, translation, Revenue Consultations, Vol. 88 p. 3111.

12. Revenue Consultations, Sept. 1798, Vol. 81 pp. 3111-13.

13. Board of Revenue, Consultations, 11 April 1799, Vol. 222 p. 3070. A pagoda was usually exchanged for three rupees.

14. Revenue Consultations, 27 Sept. 1798, Vol. 88 pp. 3113-9.

15. J. F. Kearns, Panjalamcourchy Poligar and the State of Tirunelveli (Church Mission Press, Palayamkottai, 1873)

16. Revenue Consultation, 20 Oct. 1798, Vol. 88 pp. 3111-8

17. Ibid, 13 Oct. 1798, Vol. 89 pp. 3213-4.

18. Ibid, 12 Oct. 1798, Vol. 89 pp. 3219-20.

19. Ibid, 21 Dec. 1798, Vol. 92 pp. 5417-7.

20. Ibid 21, Dec. 1798 Vol. 94 pp. 554-61.

Collector at Ramanathapuram in the place of Jackson, who was eventually dismissed from service.

The Poligar League

Thus the English removed the source of grievance of Kattabomman. The verdict of the Ramanathapuram Committee seemed as not unfair and the attitude of the Madras government appeared not uncconciliatory. Yet in the background of the humiliation, that he suffered, the positive factors that led him to the path of defiance were the influence of Marudu Pandyan and the opportunity presented by the out break of the Fourth Mysore War. Marudu Pandyan of Sivaganga in close association with Gopala Nayak of Dindugal and Yadul Nayak of Anamalai was during this period engaged in the organisation of a South Indian confederacy of rebels against the British with the declared objective of liberating the country from the control of the 'low wretches', as he depicted the English in his Tiruchirapalli Proclamation.²¹ The rebel missions that he sent to the southern regions visited Panjalamkurichi. In view of the identity of interests, this led to the establishment of close association between Kattabomman and Marudu Pandyan. Since then Vira Pandyan held frequent consultations with Marudu. On the 1st of June 1797 he, attended by 500 men, reached Palamaneri with the intention of proceeding to Sivaganga.²² But collector Lushington, considering it as a step taken in contempt of British authority, conveyed his serious apprehension.²³ Therefore the poligar waited at Palamaneri for the arrival of the emissaries of Marudu. On the 5th a party reached the camp and the two groups held deliberations. Subsequently joined by 500 armed men of Sivaganga, Kattabomman returned to Panjalamkurichi. The details of the deliberations are not known, yet this meeting is indicative of the importance that the rebel leaders gave to mutual consultations.²⁴

The employment of British forces against Mysore offered the needed opportunity to Kattabomman to strengthen his influence. No

difficult task faced him in attaining this end. The poligars of Nagalapuram, Mannarkottai, Powalli, Kolarpatti and Chennulgudi had already formed themselves into a combination due to the efforts of Marudu of Sivaganga and Melappan of Ramanathapuram and for asserting their right to collect taxes from certain villages in the Company's territory.²⁵ What Kattabomman proceeded to do was to join this league and to assume its leadership, by virtue of the influence he commanded and resources that he possessed. Determined to strengthen this league, he persuaded the chieftains of Saptore, Yezhayirampannai, Kadalgudi and Kulattoor to join it.²⁶ In August he sent Sevatiah, Vira Pandya Nayak and Virabhadra Pillai on a mission to Elavarasanur and won the alliance of the Kallans.²⁷ He sent Pandiah Pillai, brother of Sivasubramania Pillai, to Madras to gather and transmit intelligence about the British military movements²⁸ and placed guards at different places to watch the movements of the Europeans and their agents.²⁹

The events now moved to a crisis. In August 1799 the son of the Poligar of Sivagiri and his adviser Mappila Vannian visited Panjalamkurichi and held consultations. Kattabomman decided to establish his influence in Sivagiri with the aid of the son of the Poligar, as the ruling chief refused to join the alliance of rebels. Added to this, as Panjalamkurichi, being situated in an open plain, appeared vulnerable to the hostile forces, the possession of an unassailable stronghold was considered an absolute necessity. The strategic location of the fort of Sivagiri at the foot of the Western Ghats and its formidable barriers around it rendered it eminently suited both for offensive and defensive operations in the event of any emergency. Major Gramme of the Company's army asserted that Kattabomman's "design in marching peons against Sivagiri is to get possession either by force or treachery that fort and a narrow Pass which leads to it, difficult of passage, where he hopes to stand his ground against the force which he fears

25. Ibid, 13 June 1799, Vol. 229, pp. 4891.

26. Revenue Consultations, 6 Dec. 1799, Vol. 99 pp. 3321 & Board of Revenue Consultations Aug, 1799, Vol. 231, pp. 2905.

27. Ibid, Nov. 1799, Vol. 98, pp. 2716.

28. Ibid, Nov. 1799 Vol. 89, pp. 2716.

29. Ibid, 24 Sept. 1748, Vol. 88, pp. 3121-3.

21. Tiruchirapalli Proclamation of Marudu Pandyan, Revenue Sundries 16 June, Vol. 26, pp 447-452

22. Board of Revenue Consultations, 10 June 1799, Vol. 229 pp. 4853-4.

23. Ibid, Vol. 229, pp. 4859.

24. Ibid, 10 June 1799, Vol. 229 pp. 4883 and page 4891.

naturally suggest to him to be sent to punish".³⁰ Thus in a bold attempt to strengthen his position an armed column consisting of the followers of Vira Pandyan, the son of the Poligar of Sivagiri and other allied chiefs, led by Delaway Kumaraswami Nayak, moved to the west. But as the Poligar of Sivagiri was a tributary to the Company, the Madras Council considered this expedition as a challenge to its own authority and ordered the army to march to Tirunelveli.³¹

An assessment of this development indicates that Kattabomman committed no serious offence against British authority as to provoke any violent reprisal. Though the Poligar of Sivagiri paid tribute to the Company, as required by the Carnatic Treaty of 1792, he was the subject of the Nawab and not of the Company. As such the right of intervention in a conflict between the two subjects fell within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Nawab. Besides, the son of the Poligar of Sivagiri, as a member of the alliance, served as a party in this venture and no complaint was preferred by the father against his son. In spite of these, the English decided on military operations against Kattabomman in disregard to the sovereignty of the Nawab. This was because the Company decided to utilise this opportunity to carry into effect the orders of the Court of Directors that "all subordinate military establishments should be annihilated within the limits now subject to our dominion".³² This is confirmed by Governor General Lord Wellesley's instructions to Major Bannerman for military operations: "the rebellious conduct of Catabomanaig (Kattabomma Nayak), Poligar of Pandalamcouchy (Panjalamkurichi) having rendered it necessary to equip a military force for the purpose of suppressing the commotions excited by him, the Right Honourable Governor General has resolved to avail himself of this opportunity, to carry into effect the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors for disarming the whole of the Southern Poligars and for reducing those irregular chieftains to the authority of the civil government."³³ Thus the British attitude towards Vira Pandyan represented a definite attempt

to enforce an already formulated policy, aimed at the liquidation of the poligari system. The needed opportunity was presented by the termination of war with Mysore. The expedition ended in complete victory early in May 1799 and the Company now found it possible to send the forces to the far south. •

Fall of Panjalamkurichi

In May 1799 Lord Wellesley issued orders from Madras for the advance of forces from Tiruchirapalli, Thanjavur and Madurai to Tirunelveli. The troops of the servile Rajah of Travancore joined the enemy.³⁴ Major Bannerman, armed with extensive powers for effectively dealing with the poligars, assumed the command of the expedition. Advancing through Ramanathapuram, the army encamped at Tirunelveli. On the 1st of September, 1799 the Major served an ultimatum directing Kattabomman to attend on him at Palayamkottai on the 4th.³⁵ The poligar replied: "As I am a person thinking to be ever submissive to the Honourable Company, and obey their orders, there is no hesitation to attend on you, and obey your commands, but there is no lucky Day at present, when there is, I will attend and obey your orders.....".³⁶ Bannerman considered this reply as evasive and decided on military action. As surprise was essential for a quick victory, the army by forced marches reached Panjalamkurichi on the 5th of September. Kattabomman's fort was an irregular parallelogram, 500 feet long and 300 feet broad. Constructed entirely of mud, it had square bastions and short curtains.³⁷

Upon the arrival of the forces, they cut off the communications of the fort. A large body of peons rallied from the villages for the defence of the threatened citadel, but were repulsed and driven back with heavy loss. Ramalingam Mudaliar, whom Bannerman deputed to the fort with a message asking for surrender—which Kattabomman rejected—gathered the secrets about the vulnerable points in the defences. He reported to the enemy that there had existed a wide

34. Military Consultations, 28 May, 1799, Vol. 253, pp. 3031.

35. Revenue Consultations, Sept. 1799, Vol. 98, p. 2704.

36. Kattabomman, 2nd/Sept. 1799, palm leaf letter, trans, Revenue Consultations. Vol. 98, pp. 2706.

37. J. Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, Vol. 1 p. 62.

30. S. R. Lushington, 21 Aug. 1799, letter to Board of Revenue Board of Revenue Consultations, Vol. 231, pp. 6903-4.

31. Revenue Consultations, Sept. 1799, Vol. 97, pp. 2418-20.

32. Ibid, 13 Aug, 1802, Vol. 118, pp. 2690

33. J. Webbe, 19 Aug, 1799, Instruction to John Bannerman, Secret Sundries, Vol. 26 pp. 389-390.

breach in the bastion east of the main gate of the fort, that no preparation had been made to barricade the inner part of that gate and that the fort itself was guarded by only 1200 to 1500 men. On the basis of this report, which clearly suggested that Kattabomman anticipated no hostile move, Bannerman decided the strategy of operations.³⁸

The plan of operation appeared well co-ordinated. The flank companies with a six pounder were ordered to blow up the south gate, field pieces to cover the storming party and a combined detachment of the Company, Ettayapuram and Travancore to attack the north face of the fort. The signal for assault being given, heavy cannonade broke open the gate. The storming party advanced with order and endeavoured to fight its way to the breach, but found itself unequal to the task. The troops of the Poligar, directed by the indomitable Oomathurai, held their ground and threw back the hostile columns. Restored to order the assailants made a more determined attack but were again defeated. So gallant was the resistance offered by the rebels that successive attacks were repeatedly repulsed.³⁹ The discomfiture of the enemy appeared unconvincing, for the peons of the Poligar appearing on any part of the wall were at once shot dead. But in the immediate defence of the breach, the rebels from their wonderfully concealed and sheltered enclaves wielded the sharp pikes and wrought havoc upon the enemy. Overwhelmed with melancholy recollections Bannerman wrote to Madras: "The attempt was persevered in so long as there was a shadow of success and never was European energy more gallantly displayed than by the officers on this unfortunate occasion.....".⁴⁰ In a bid to retrieve the tarnished prestige, the enemy ordered for the arrival of more troops. On the 6th reinforcements arrived from Palayamkottai. As the broken walls appeared vulnerable, the garrison evacuated and the parties took their course towards Kadalgudi.⁴¹ In a clash at Kolarpatti, the fugitives suffered heavy casualty and Sivasubramania Pillai was taken prisoner. The British

38. Revenue Consultations, 22 Nov. 1799, Vol. 98, pp. 2777-85.

39. Panjalamkurichi Azhivu Charithira Kummi, leaves No. 82.-86 and Revenue Consultations, 8th Nov. 1799, vol.98, pp. 2706-11.

40. Bannerman, 5 Sept. 1799, Letter to J. Webbe, Rev. Consultations, vol.98 pp. 2713-8.

41. Revenue Consultations, 8 Nov. 1799, Vol. 98, pp. 2713-8.

forces followed up their victory with the reduction of Nagalapuram and other strongholds of the defiant chiefs to submission.⁴² The troops employed by Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman, Rajah of Pudukkottai, captured Kattabomman from the jungles of Kalapore and handed him over to the enemy. He reported to Collector Lushington: on every side in the mountains I had placed my people to find out the hiding place of Kattabomman. He, Oomathurai, his two brothers-in-law and three others were surrounded at Kalapore on the borders of Sivaganga and caught. When Kattabomman was seized, he wished to have slain himself, but my people having bound his hands kept him in confinement.⁴³ Upon the fall of the Poligar into the hands of the enemy his followers fled to Sivaganga and from there to the hills of Dindugal for taking service with Gopala Nayak and other rebel leaders.⁴⁴

Execution of Kattabomman

Bannerman brought the prisoners to an assembly of the poligars and after a mockery of trial sentenced them to death. Soundara Pandyan of Nagalapuram was executed at Gopalapuram and Sivasubramania Pillai at Nagalapuram on the 13th of September.⁴⁵ On the 16th of October, Vira Pandyan was tried before an assembly of poligars, summoned at Kayattar. In an assertive tone and with a contempt for death he admitted the charges levelled against him. He declared that he sent his armed men against Sivagiri and that he engaged the British troops in battle at Panjalamkurichi. There upon Bannerman announced death penalty for Vira Pandyan. On the 17th of October, Kattabomman was hanged to death at a conspicuous spot near the old fort of Kayattar. About his last moments Bannerman wrote to Madras. "It may not be amiss here to observe that the manner and behaviour of the Poligar during the whole time of his being before those who were assembled yesterday at the examinations, which, took place, were undaunted and supercilious. He frequently eyed the Etiapore (Ettayapuram) Poligar, who had been so active in attempt-

42. Ibid, pp. 2724-33.

43. Tondaiman, 24th Sept. 1799, letter to Lushington, Board of Revenue Consultations, Vol. 235, pp. 8069-70.

44. Board of Revenue Consultations, 5th March, 1801, Vol. 275, p. 2553.

45. Revenue Consultations, 8th Nov. 1799, Vol. 98, pp. 2741-7.

ing to secure his person, and the poligar of Sivagiri with an appearance of indignant scorn, and when he went out to be executed, he walked with a firm add daring air and cast looks of sullen contempt on the Poligars to his right and left, as he passed. It was reported to me that in his way to the place of execution he expressed some anxiety for his dumb brother (Oomathurai) alone; and said, when he reached the foot of the Tree, on which he was hanged, that he then regretted having left his fort, in the defence of which it would have been better for him to have dead."

It cannot be denied that Vira Pandyan faced the last moments of his life with the pride of a hero. But the important question that is raised is whether he can be considered as a patriot. In examining this issue, it should be noted that during the early period of his confrontation with the English he was not definitely guided by any enlightened sense of patriotism. He made no attempt to gain the support of the common people against the alien power. On the other hand he alienated them by his policy of oppressive exactions and widespread spoliation. With the tribute in hand, he followed the Collector for twenty three days and exposed himself to humiliation. The resultant desire to retrieve his tarnished prestige would have turned him against the English. Despite this, his endeavour to identify his interests with those of the anti-British leagues organised by Marudu Pandyan and Gopala Nayak and his assumption of the leadership of the Poligar League of Tirunelveli furnishes indications of his transformation into a patriot. The second question that is raised is to what extent he can be regarded as a rebel. There is no evidence to suggest that he resisted British authority, except when the Company's forces attacked Panjalamkurichi. He did not refuse payment of tribute, did not even strengthen the defences of his fort and did not attack any British post. At the most what he did was to guard the frontiers of Panjalamkurichi and seek to establish his influence over Sivagiri, perhaps in preparation for a rebellion. Yet Lord Wellesley did consider his conduct as rebellious. What the English proceeded to do was to take advantage of this situation and to utilise the opportunity presented by the end of the war in Mysore to enforce their pre-determined policy of sequestration of the palayams and disarming of the poligars. To this extent he was less a rebel and more a victim of British machinations. If Panjalamkurichi bequeathed a tradition

as a citadel of resistance to British imperialism, it was much due to his more valiant brothers, Sevathiah and Oomathurai, who spearheaded a heroic struggle during the period that followed.

Reorganisation of the Poligari System

After the suppression of the eastern poligars of Tirunelveli the British administration took a series of measures, calculated to curb the influence of all the auxiliary powers. The relatives of Kattabomman including his brother Oomathurai were imprisoned at Palayamkottai.⁴⁶ The chieftains of Nagalapuram, Ezhayirampannai, Kolarpatti and Kulattoor were also placed in confinement at different places. The Poligar of Kadalgudi was at large.⁴⁷ The punishment of the rebel poligars was matched by the favours extended to the allied chieftains. Arangulam also called Sivajnanapuram belonging to Panjalamkurichi was given as reward to the chief of Ettayapuram in consideration of the valuable services he rendered.⁴⁸ The poligars of Maniachi and Mailmandai, the other allies of the Company, also received strips of territory from Panjalamkurichi and Kulattoor.⁴⁹ Governor Clive presented a horse and an ornamental attire to the Tondaiman of Pudukkottai in appreciation of the assistance he extended.⁵⁰

Determined to punish the rebel poligars and to deter other chieftains from organising resistance, the Company decided to assume the direct administration of the districts of Kattabomman and his allies. Accordingly Panjalamkurichi, Yezhayirampannai, Nagalapuram, Kolarpatti, Kadalgudi and Kulattoor were sequestered. They should have been handed over to the Nawab by virtue of his sovereignty but it was not done.⁵¹ The Company also assumed the military and watching duties so long performed by the poligars in different areas and the collection of deshakaval together with other established fees.⁵² All the chieftains were required to dismantle their forts and to disband

46. J. Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, Vol.1 p. 51.

47. Revenue Consultations, 8 Nov. 1799, Vol. 98 pp. 2797-2804.

48. Ibid, 9 Nov. 1799, Vol.98, pp. 2948-9.

49. Ibid, 24 July 1801, Vol. 110, pp. 1379-80.

50. Ibid, 8 Nov. 1799, Vol.98 pp. 2796-7.

51. Ibid, 6. Nov. 1799, Vol.98 p. 2766.

52. Ibid, 9 Nov. 1800, Vol. 98 p. 2941.

their armed establishments.⁵³ The inhabitants themselves were subjected to serious restrictions. They were prohibited from carrying fire arms on pain of death and forced to surrender them without being compensated. The patels of the villages were held responsible against the manufacture of deadly weapons.⁵⁴ Armies were posted at centres of disaffection and investigations were ordered into the economic resources of the palayams with a view to enhance the assessment.⁵⁴

These radical reforms produced the most extensive changes in the affairs of the poligar country. The auxiliary powers were not only forced to dispense with their armed establishments but also subjected to increased assessment. Deprived of their political status they found themselves as down-graded into mere zamindars. Considering the frequent but futile attempts made so long to reduce these tributaries into submission and to curtail their spirit of independence and to introduce changes in the political system of South India to the anxiety of the Court of Directors, these measures seemed a great success. However the effect of these reforms proved only momentary and the apparent success vanished as a reaction came in its wake. The poligars were a class of rude warriors, habituated to arms and independence, of whom those of Tirunelveli were the hardest and the bravest. They found that their leaders were either executed or condemned to ignominious imprisonment. The aliens established their imperial sway and subverted the traditional forms of government. The inhabitants were disarmed, their forts were razed to the ground and the deshakaval fees were to be paid to the alien masters. The palayams were thrown open to the ravages of the gangs of robbers who generally infested the hilly regions. The people were deprived of the means of repelling the predatory incursions of their hereditary enemies in the circar territories and of resisting the arbitrary demands of the parties claiming the authority of the Nawab, though these demands were generally supported by the force of arms. The British administration without taking any effective steps against these evils for affording protection to the inhabitants deprived them of their right of self defence. Such a crude policy evolved without due consideration of conditions of the country and enforced with vindictiveness against a

high spirited people reacted violently. No wonder the short duration of calm was over taken by a violent storm and Oomathurai, a deaf and dumb man, emerged as the leader of the great struggle.

Escape of Oomathurai

In 1800 South India witnessed anti-British activity on an unprecedented scale. Greatly concerned at the extension of imperialism, liquidation of states and exploitation inherent in the alien administration, several leaders of prominence, particularly Marudu Pandyan of Sivaganga, Gopala Nayak of Dindugal, Kerala Varma of Malabar and Krishnappa Nayak and Dhoondaji Waug of Mysore through correspondence as well as missions organised themselves into a confederacy. They held a conspiracy at Virupakshi in Dindugal and rose in arms with an abortive assault on Coimbatore on the 3rd of June, 1800. The insurrection spread and outbreaks occurred in Ramanathapuram and Madurai. Before long the broken ranks of the poligars joined and swelled the rebel ranks. The rebellion became general and it spread to Tirunelveli with the escape of Oomathurai and other prisoners from Palayamkottai.

The relatives of Kattabomman, seventeen in number, condemned for perpetual imprisonment, were confined in a small enclosure in the fort of Palayamkottai. Rebels of consequence, they were kept in iron, rigidly guarded. Three of them died in ordeal, while the rest languished in prison. However on the 2nd of February 1801 by a clever strategem they made their escape. Among the escaped prisoners were Sevathiah and Kumaraswami Nayak, also called Oomathurai.

After the failure of an attempt made by Marudu Pandyan to work out the release of the prisoners, Oomathurai entered into a correspondence with the inhabitants of Panjalamkurichi. Potti Pakada, a servant employed for the collection of firewood for the prisoners, carried their letters written on palmyra leaves to the rebels, who met him in the nearby jungles. Through the exchange of letters the strategy was worked out. Accordingly in January 1801 a party of rebels numbering about 200 disguised as pilgrims going to Tiruchendur Temple started from Panjalamkurichi. Playing 'kavadi',⁵⁵ blowing

55. Kavadi is a wooden frame carrying the image or the weapon of Lord Subramania and taken on the devotee's shoulders to the shrine of the deity.

53. Ibid, 8 Nov. 1799, Vol. 99. p. 2864.

54. Revenue Despatches to England, 22 Jan. 1800, Vol. 7 p 21.

the conch shell, distributing holy ashes, receiving offerings and chanting spells, all reached Palayamkottai. On hearing the chanting of spells, the prisoners to their relief understood that the relieving party had arrived. As sellers of plantain leaves, fruits and firewood, the party now approached the gate of the fort.⁵⁶ Oomathurai in the mean time won the sympathy of the wife of the superintendent of the fort and secured permission to perform the ceremonies for the dead.⁵⁷ He offered to purchase the fruits, leaves and firewood for the same. The prices were settled and all the people were permitted to carry the loads into the fort. They excited no suspicion but they kept arms concealed inside the loads.⁵⁸ At the right moment the prisoners privately sent away their women, who were allowed to stay at liberty within the fort.⁵⁹ Large parties of insurgents, all well armed with country weapons lay in wait. They brought a few horses to provide quick means of escape to their imprisoned leaders. At the appointed hour soon after sun set on the 2nd of February 1801, the prisoners, on receiving the signal from Oomathurai and assisted by the parties, sprung forward. They disarmed the sentinels, overpowered the guard and got safely off. The quickness of the assault and the war cry raised by them took the troops by complete surprise. Joined by more columns of armed men on their way, the fugitives moved rapidly to the Walnaad Hills, near Panjalankurichi.⁶⁰ The rebels annihilated the authority of the English, reoccupied Panjalankurichi and proclaimed Sevathiah as the Poligar.⁶¹ On receiving summons, the inhabitants rallied to their leaders, reconstructed the demolished forts and established themselves in strength.⁶²

Renewal of Hostilities

Immediately 30,000 insurgents of Madurai and Ramanathapuram, sent by Marudu Pandyan, joined their comrades in Tirunelveli.⁶³ Large groups of Maravas, Nadars and Totiens voluntarily joined the

insurrection. The Paravas of the coast supplied wall pieces, powder and guns to the fighting men.⁶⁴ Pillaging parties led by Oomathurai surprised and subdued British military posts,⁶⁵ and by the end of February occupied all the territories extending from Panjalankurichi to Srivaikuntam and Alwar Tirunagari.⁶⁶ In March they marched to Tirunelveli, upon which the garrison consisting of the local sepoys voluntarily surrendered the fort.⁶⁷ After this victory, the rebels embarked upon an offensive to Ramanathapuram.⁶⁸

Colin Macaulay, the Company's commanding officer at Tirunelveli, issued a proclamation warning the people of exemplary punishment, if they were found in arms or in rendering aid to the rebels.⁶⁹ Mobilising the entire disposable force of the district, he marched to Kadayannellore, six miles short of Panjalankurichi. To their astonishment the troops found the fort, that was demolished in 1799, raised as it were by magic in six days and well manned by thousands of armed men. The insurgents foiled an attempt to capture the Pagoda of Ottapidaram and boldly appeared on the rear and flank of the enemy. Macaulay, for fear that his column would be cut off, ordered a humiliating retreat to Palayamkottai.⁷⁰

While the rebels were gaining victories in various quarters, fresh troops of the Company poured into the far south. A formidable phalanx attacked the British camp at Pasuvantanai, but after losing ninety-six armed men, made its retreat.⁷¹ On the 31st of March the British forces, led by Macaulay, launched an attack on Panjalankurichi. With intrepid firmness the insurgents engaged the assailants in a fierce encounter. All the British troops who pressed their way to the walls were piked or shot dead. Successive attempts, made to surmount the resistance, ended in failure.⁷² Greatly concerned at

64. Ibid, 10 February & 15 March 1801, vol. 279, p. 279, vol. 280 p. 148.

65. Ibid 23 February 1801, vol. 279, p. 988.

66. Ibid, 10 February & 15 March 1801, vol. 291 p. 728, vol. 280, p. 1644.

67. Ibid, 11 March, 1801 & 13 April 1802, vol. 280, pp. 1469-72 Ibid, and vol. 296, pp. 2505-6.

68. '17 February 1801, vol. 279, p. 880.

69. Ibid 13 March 1801, vol. 280, pp. 1483-5.

70. Ibid, 17 February, vol. 279, pp. 886-893.

71. J. Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, vol. 1, (London, 1830) p. 61.

72. Secret Despatches to England, 2 May 1801, vol. 2., p. 81.

56. Panjalankurichi Azhivu Charithira Kummi, leaves 158-165.

57. Military Consultations, 9 June 1801, vol. 284 pp. 4292-4.

58. Panjalankurichi Azhivu Charithira Kummi, leaves 165-167.

59. Military Consultations, 10 Feb. 1801, vol. 279, p. 731.

60. Ibid, 10 Feb. 1801, Vol. 279, pp. 726-7.

61. Ibid, 1 Dec. 1801, Vol. 289, p. 2671.

62. Ibid, 10 Feb. 1801, vol. 279, pp. 733-4.

63. Ibid, 9 June 1801, vol. 284, p. 4295.

this humiliation, the enemy assembled a grand army at Kovilpatti and directed Adjutant General Agnew to take the command of the operations. On the 24th a practicable breach on the walls of Panjalamkurichi having been effected, hostile columns, supported by field pieces, advanced in strength. In the arduous contest that ensued, both parties suffered equally heavy losses. The insurgents continued their heroic resistance until all, who gathered in the breach, were shot dead by the enemy. The British troops emerged triumphant. Shortly after this decisive hour, the rebels numbering about 3,000 assembled on the eastern side of the fort, ran rapidly in eastern and northern directions, then formed into two columns and retreated, beset but not dismayed. They left 1050 of their compatriots dead. Agnew executed the imprisoned rebels near the fallen citadel. After this discomfiture, the insurgents evacuated all their strong-holds in Tirunelveli; most of them fled to the north while the rest escaped to the hills of the west.⁷³

Spread of the Rebellion

In May 1801 the rebellion spread to the northern provinces. Uniting themselves with every disaffected chief and drawing together all the inhabitants of their districts, Marudu Pandyan and his allies assembled a powerful force. They proclaimed Muttu Karuppa Tevar as the rebel ruler of Ramanathapuram⁷⁴ and reduced the forts of Tirupatore, Natham,⁷⁵ Melur and Tirunelur to submission.⁷⁶ Led by the chiefs, Melappan and Puttur, the insurgents established their sway over the Marawa territory.⁷⁷ In control of a long coast-line they employed large boats to bring supplies of grain, arms and ammunition from Ceylon and other territories through the port of Tondi.⁷⁸ In July Oomathurai commanded his followers to Palayanad in Madurai and captured it. The Kallar tribes occupied the western part of Madurai district. In June 1801 the insurrection spread to the Kaveri basin. The armed columns of Sivaganga and Ramanathapuram under the command of Shevatta Tambi, the son of Marudu Pandyan, marched

to Thanjavur.⁷⁹ With the peasants voluntarily rallying to their ranks, they occupied Pattukotai and established their posts at Arandangy and Adiarkudi.⁸⁰ They remained in force in the territory till the British operations from other quarters drove them to the defensive. The quick spread of the revolt over an extensive region took the English by surprise. All the rebels made a common cause against the English. Their unity of purpose rendered their resistance determined. Aimed at the harassment of the enemy, the insurgents cut off communications, destroyed forts, took shelter in thick jungles and depended on guerilla tactics. By their rapid and irregular movements they laid waste the entire country, but eluded the pursuit of regular troops with ease. The British forces could neither obtain provisions nor establish their posts in security. In consequence they found themselves constantly exposed to the assault by the rebels.⁸¹

In a bid to overcome these odds, the English gained the support of the princes, particularly the Tondaiman of Pudukkottai and the Rajah of Thanjavur and rushed in reinforcements, brought from Bengal and Malaya. They resumed operations on a large scale in May 1801. Agnew in consequence of his success in capturing a number of rebel strongholds checked the rising tempo of rebellion in Ramanathapuram and relieved Madurai city from threat of assault. A force under the command of Major James Graham marched from Tiruppuvanam to Madurai. The rebels in considerable strength attacked Graham, but another detachment under Major Sheppard reached to his rescue.⁸² On the 11th of June the detachment of Agnew marching through Manamadurai and Partibanur, reoccupied Paramagudi. The armed bodies hovered round the English troops throughout their march. They cut a party to pieces at Tirupachetty and pressed vigorously on British lines, but withdrew after a clash in which seventy of them died. On the 10th near Manamadurai columns of rebels lined behind high banks, water-courses and jungles on the opposite bank of river Palamaneri. They made a dash across the river and charged the British troops with pikes. In the clashes that followed both sides suffered

73. Military Consultations, 9 June 1801, vol. 284, pp. 4040-41.

74. Ibid, 1 December 1801, vol. 289, p. 7680.

75. Ibid, 1 June 1801, vol. 284, p. 3870.

76. Ibid, 7 July 1801, vol. 286, pp. 5047-8.

77. Ibid, 21 June 1801, vol. 285, p. 4603.

78. Ibid, 20 October 1801, vol. 288, p. 6857.

79. Ibid 4 August 1801, vol. 286, pp. 5352-3.

80. Ibid, 11 August 1801, vol. 286, p. 5645.

81. Ibid, 2 June 1801, vol. 284, pp. 4340-1.

82. Ibid, 9 June 1801, vol. 284, pp. 4340-1

considerable loss. Still the army continued its march and arrived at Ramanathapuram on the 14th of June.⁸³

Leaving Ramanathapuram, Agnew reached Madurai on the 9th of July. On the 24th he stormed the rebel stronghold of Tirupatore and waited for the arrival of a detachment, led by Colonel Innes from Malabar.⁸⁴ After suppressing the rebels of Dindugal, Innes advanced towards Madurai. Reinforced, he attacked Piranmalai on the 18th of June, but was defeated. Retreating to Natham, he marched to Manapacherry on the 4th of July. But the columns led by the Marudu brothers pressed vigorously on his troops, again forcing his retreat to Natham. Subsequently taking the route through Piranmalai, Innes on the 25th arrived at Satturusankarakkottai. The next day while he was marching to Tirupatore through a thick wood, the rebels again attacked him using rockets, but was rescued by Agnew.⁸⁵ The combined forces of Agnew and Innes now reduced Okkur and attacked Siruwayal, the headquarters of the rebels of Sivaganga. After a futile resistance, the insurgents retired to the jungles.⁸⁶ Marching from Siruwayal, the British forces began operations against the rebel strongholds in the forests of Kalayarkoil. Driven to desperation, the patriots fought for every inch of land. Though the English succeeded in beating off the crowds every hour, they found themselves completely and constantly surrounded by hordes. As no alternative presented itself, Agnew retreated to Siruwayal and abandoned his project of advancing to Kalayarkoil from that direction.⁸⁷

However the enemy gained more victories in Ramanathapuram and Thanjavur. Captain Blackburne, with the aid of the Rajah of Thanjavur, reoccupied the southern bank of the Kaveri. A detachment commanded by Lieutenant Maclean routed the rebels led by Puttur at Worior. In September Blackburne expelled the insurgents from Arandangy and desolated the villages of Terboinad. He proceeded within twenty miles of Siruwayal, then advancing eastward, detached a strong body to Ramanathapuram. Turning to the north he

reached Karaikudi by the beginning of October. About 3000 armed men led by Oomathurai marched against Maclean's troops but retreated. After establishing a post near Karaikudi, Blackburne drove the rebels from the jungles of Singampunary⁸⁸ and cut off their communications with the coast. A gun boat, sent to the Bay of Tondi, destroyed the vessels employed by the patriots for the importation of grain and war materials. Meanwhile Martinz won a signal victory over the rebels near the fort of Ramanathapuram and Macaulay routed another body led by Melappan at Abiramam. Lieutenant Miller won a victory near Kamudi.⁸⁹ These gains, significant as they were, not only re-established Company's authority over Ramanathapuram, but bottled up the rebels in the forests of Kalayarkoil.

Fall of the Rebels

In September Agnew launched a second offensive against Kalayarkoil. On the 18th he reduced Piranmalai and taking his route through Melur, Singampunary and Nandikottai, arrived at Okkur. He captured the rebel posts at Vaniamkudi, Collumbom and Mutur in Sivaganga. On the 30th of September three detachments led by Innes, Blackburne and Macaulay made simultaneous thrusts on Kalayarkoil. After a smart fire on the 1st of October the defiant citadel fell to the enemy. The vanquished, led by Oomathurai and Sevatiah, fled to Dindugal while the rest followed Marudu Pandyan to the jungles of Singampunary.⁹⁰

On the flight of the patriots the inhabitants of Dindugal rallied in strength. Within three days more than 4000 people joined Oomathurai and Sevatiah. They reoccupied the hills of Virupakshi, descended upon the valley of Dindugal and repulsed an attack by a detachment, commanded by Jones. As despatch seemed essential for curbing the growing influence of the rebels, Innes at the command of a well equipped detachment, rushed to Dindugal. Fighting was resumed on the 12th of October. The rebels headed by Oomathurai sought to intercept the progress of British forces at Virupakshi and subsequently

83. Ibid, 21 June 1801, vol. 285, pp. 4550-5 & 4603-4.

84. Ibid, 4 August 1801, vol. 286, p-5367.

85. Ibid, 4 August 1801, vol. 286, pp. 5348-9, 5367-70.

86. James Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, vol.1, pp. 89-92.

87. Military Consultations, 20 October 1801, vol. 288, pp. 6837-9.

88. Ibid, 20 October 1801, vol. 288, pp. 6925-51 & 6970-3.

89. Revenue Consultations, 4 September 1801, vol. 110, pp. 1692-3 and Military Consultations, 20 October 1801, vol. 288, pp. 6861-2.

90. Ibid, 20 October 1801, vol. 288, pp. 6844-6936.

at Chetrampatty, but suffered reverses. Advancing through a thick wood, the English captured Cowdelli and the Corman Delli Barriers.⁹¹ Hard pressed, Oomathurai again led his armed group to the valley of Dindugal. The enemy now reacted with vigour. In a running battle, which kept the insurgents constantly on foot without food, water and rest across a distance of fifty one miles from Dindugal to Vettilagundu for three days together, the exhausted rebels were finally overwhelmed.⁹²

The principal rebels faced execution. Marudu Pandyan, the popular leader of the rebels, together with his gallant brother Vella Marudu, were executed on the ruins of the fort of Tirupatore on the 24th of October 1801.⁹³ The Poligar of Kadalgudi was put to death in October, while Gopala Nayak and the Poligar of Jallipatti, the influential chieftains of Dindugal, in November 1801.⁹⁴ Among the multitude who faced the same fate were Shevatta Tambi and Sivagnanam, the sons of Marudu Pandyan, Karutha Tambi and Molly Kutty Tambi, the sons of Vella Marudu, Muthuswamy, the young son of Shevatta Tambi and Muthu Karuppa Tever styled the Rajah of Ramanathapuram.⁹⁵ Oomathurai and Sevatiah were taken to Panjalamkurichi and beheaded on the 16th of November.⁹⁶ Seventy three of the principal rebels were condemned for perpetual banishment. Among them were Vengum Peria Wodaya Tevar of Sivaganga, Bomma Nayak of Verappur, Dalaway Kumaraswamy Nayak of Panjalamkurichi and Doraiswamy, the son of Marudu Pandyan.⁹⁷ On the 11th of February 1802 the prisoners on board 'Admiral Nelson', sailed from Tutukudi. The voyage, long and tedious, lasted for seventy six days. Kept under strict restraint and handcuffed with iron in pairs, the prisoners suffered miserably. In the course of the voyage two died of sickness and one was drowned. The rest of the prisoners, seventy in number, reached Penang on the 26th of April 1802. Soon after their arrival at the destination, one third of them fled in different directions.

91. Ibid, 22 December 1801, vol. 290, p. 8080.

92. Ibid, 27 October 1801, vol. 288, p. 7108.

93. Military Despatches to England, 20 October 1802, vol. 33, p. 668.

94. Military Consultations, 22 Dec. 1801, vol. 290 pp. 8064 and 8101.

95. Military Consultations, 20 October 1801, vol. 288 pp. 6867-95.

96. James Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, vol. 1, pp. 133-134.

97. Military Consultations, 20 February 1802, vol. 293, p. 1318.

But their agony preyed upon them so much that twenty-one of them died within five months of banishment.⁹⁸ Nothing is known about the rest.

End of the Poligari System

So savage and extensive was the death and destruction wrought by the English, that the country was humbled and left in terror. The suppression of the Poligar Rebellion of 1799 and the South Indian Rebellion of 1801 resulted in the liquidation of the influence of the chieftains. The auxiliary powers were prevented from offering any further serious resistance in defence of their order. The sovereign rights of the Nawab came in the way so long to the implementation of the reforms, but this obstacle too was over come. On the death of Nawab Umdut-ul-Umara on the 15th of July 1801, his young son Ali Hussain ascended the throne. However a few days later he died under mysterious circumstances, amidst rumours that he was poisoned, subsequent to his refusal to surrender his territory as required by the Company. The Madras administration promptly elevated Azim ul Doula, son of Amir ul Umara, brother of Umdut ul Umara, to the throne on condition of his acceptance of a new settlement—for he had nothing to lose but every thing to gain. English recognized him as the Nawab of Arcot and granted him an allowance in return for the transfer of the administration of the territory. The Carnatic Treaty signed on the 31st of July 1801 ended the Nawab's rule and started the British administration. Enabled by these changes in its favour, the Company carried into effect the much contemplated political settlement of the poligar country.⁹⁹

On the 1st of December, 1801 Edward Clive, the Governor of Madras, issued a proclamation, outlining the different features of the reform. It granted a general amnesty to all the surviving chieftains, who extended their support to the rebellion and promised to honour the rights of property, life, usages and customs of the inhabitants. It also announced the decision of the Company to abolish the poligari system and to introduce the zamindari system in its place. Also it indicated that the permanent assessment of revenue based upon zamin-

98. James Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, vol. 1 pp. 201-2.

99. Secret Despatches to England, 3 Aug. 1801, vol. 2 pp. 92-107.

dari tenure would give due consideration to traditions and rights and would secure for the chieftains a peaceful possession of land under the operation of limited and definite laws, which would restrain the administrators from unnecessary interference.¹⁰⁰ Thus the decision to do away with the poligari system was coupled with an attempt to conciliate the wounded feelings of the poligars.

In consonance with this policy the palayams of Ramagiri, Ramathapuram and Saptore were restored to the former ruling families on the basis of zamindari tenure. Mangaleswari Nauchiyar was given the possession of Ramanathapuram.¹⁰¹ However no moderation was shown in the case of the palayams sequestered in 1799. Panjalamkurichi and the other palayams remained under the direct administration of the Company. As Panjalamkurichi appeared as a blot on the military prestige of the English, its name was expunged from all public records. The fort was for the second time dismantled and the entire site was ploughed as to leave no vestige of it.¹⁰² More palayams were sequestered in 1801. They included Dhili, Mangalam, Periapatti, Jallipatti, Tondamattur and Somandori—all in Dindugal—Coimbatore region.¹⁰³ The loyal poligars too were made zamindars, but they were promised augmented security, favour and wealth. The Tondaiman of Pudukkottai was granted possession of Kilanelli from Thanjavur.¹⁰⁴

Between 1801 and 1803 detailed investigations were instituted into the economic resources of the various palayams. By May 1803 the implementation of the zamindari system was completed and the poligars were transformed into a class of zamindars.¹⁰⁵ In their changed character, the chieftains were required to disband their armed establishments and to pay enhanced amount to the government under a permanent assessment. The magistrates were placed in charge of the kaval system. However the chieftains were permitted to retain a fixed

number of peons carrying pikes so as to enable them to maintain those ceremonies of state, to which they had been accustomed for long. All the forts of the poligars were destroyed and periodical inspections were conducted so as to prevent the reconstruction of them as it happened in 1801.¹⁰⁶ The inhabitants were forced to surrender fire arms but compensation was granted unlike in 1799. The jungles in the poligar territories were cleared in order to deny advantages to the lingering rebel bands to regroup and resume the fighting. Military roads were constructed to the strategic areas and postal communications were extended to Kalayarkoil, Tirupatore, Piranmalai and Sankaranainarkoil. More troops were stationed in the centres of disaffection so as to overawe the inhabitants. These military measures were calculated to promote the consolidation of the British authority.¹⁰⁷ The poligari system that flourished for two and a half centuries came to a violent end in the midst of the suppression of their struggle for survival and implementation of the zamindari settlement.

100. Military Consultations, 1 Dec. 1801, vol. 289 pp. 7663-9.

101. Revenue Despatches to England, 9 May 1803, vol. 7 p. 528.

102. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 2 July 1801, vol. 289 p. 7707.

103. Report of the Board of Revenue, 10 Oct. 1801, vol. 3 p. 94.

104. Political Consultation, 5 July 1803, vol. 10 pp. 833-34.

105. Revenue Despatches to England, 9 May 1852, vol. 7 pp. 454-6. 528-48.

106. Military Despatches to English, 29 May 1802, vol. 32 pp. 454-6.

107. Revenue Consultations, 25 Aug. 1802, vol. 118 p. 2881.

CONCLUSION

In times of war as well as of peace the poligars served as the second line in the polity of Tamilnadu from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. The nature of what they did varied from individual to individual and from period to period, depending partly upon their personal traits and partly the vicissitudes that they experienced in their fortunes. Frequently, the British administration had considered these chieftains as a class of marauding plunderers and lawless bandits.¹ It cannot be denied that there were criminal elements in all cross sections of society and the environment, unless they could not change it, made people bad. Generalisation on the basis of isolated instances and neglect of the context of developments are likely to lead to wrong conclusions. The inhabitants entertained a different view. In 1799 the villagers of Rajapalayam in Tirunelveli represented to the Madras Council that when the poligars exercised their jurisdiction, they protected the villages against governmental oppression and did justice to the peasants.² In the Coimbatore region a poligar levied no tax other than what he was required to pay as annual tribute. Whatever he needed for his household and establishment charges, he managed out of his income from personal lands.³ In 1797 B. Hurdis, Collector of Salem, rightly asserted that ".....the character of the poligars, I do not conceive, to be fairly understood. The Europeans have received their impression from the amils of the Nawab of the Carnatic and have enquired no further. As they have been plundered by the administration, they have deemed it essential to plunder others; this does not

show their character, but their act. The poligars are called refractory and detachments moved against them to overcome their resistance by terror and when it is satisfied in its full extent, the instrument by which it was enforced was withdrawn. However no attempt was made to win their confidence; we understand from the official papers that demands were made for tribute; we hear the demands were refused and we hear that fire and sword exacted, what was demanded."⁴

In fact the poligars rendered manifold services, which the other agencies of state were incapable of doing or were neglecting to do during this period of frequent changes and shifting fortunes in the political system. The political as well as social functions that they performed contributed in a great deal to counter the evils of universal conflagration. The failure of the sovereign in the exercise of his jurisdiction and the worsening of the situation led to the steady expansion of the responsibility and authority of the auxiliary powers. Apart from their normal duties, many a chieftain promoted agriculture and trade and patronised religion and learning.

The poligars were required to deal with changing situations caused by the advent and exit of ruling powers. This caused them embarrassments. When the Nayaks organised the system, they expected the chieftains to serve them and to consider the invaders and rebels as common enemies. In accordance with this political as well as military obligations, they assisted the central authority when the forces of Bijapur, Mysore and Thanjavur made repeated incursions into the Tamil country. Also they supported them for the suppression of the rebel powers like the Kallar tribes. As a result the relations of the auxiliary powers with the sovereign appeared remarkably smooth. Subsequently there came difficulties in quick succession. The Mughals, the Nevayets, the Nizam and the Wallajahs sent frequent expeditions. Assisted by the poligars, the Nayaks seemed capable of combating the challenge. However what created complications were the internal dissension and civil war in the Nayak country. The quandary into which the chieftains were driven largely neutralised the power of resistance. Despite the emergence of the invaders as the ruling

1. J. F. Kearns, Introduction to Panjalamkurichy Poligar and the State of Tinnevely, 1873.

2. Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 14 Jan. 1799, vol. 217, p. 374.

3. Ibid, 22 May 1797, vol. 178, p. 2921.

4. B. Hurdis, 4 May 1796, Letter to Board of Revenue, Proceeding of the Board, Vol. 178 pp. 2923-5.

authority, the chieftains in consonance with their loyalty and tradition continued their support to the fallen Nayaks. If they failed in their attempt to reinstate them in power on a firm basis it was because of the want of unity, absence of able leadership and weakness in warfare. However when the Marathas were in power in the country, they enjoyed an interlude of harmony with the central authority.

The establishment of the Wallajah dynasty synchronised with the outbreak of disorders on a large scale. The poligars utilised the opportunity to consolidate their influence. But when the Wallajahs gained ascendancy and consolidated their power, they concentrated their military pressure against the auxiliary powers. The chieftains were found allied with the Nayaks and remiss to pay tribute, as was demanded. The Nawab gained support of the English and made a limited progress in curbing the growing power of the poligars. But in the long run this policy recoiled upon the Nawab with disastrous effect. In the process of suppressing the auxiliary powers with alien assistance, he drifted into more and more of dependence upon the British and got himself entangled into burdensome liability and economic bankruptcy. More than these, he destroyed an alternative source of support in the event of his confrontation with the English. Habituated to arms and independence, the poligars were capable of supplying that martial energy, that was needed for combating foreign influence. In the process of alienating them the Wallajahs played into the hands of the imperialists.

Internal rebellions which broke out frequently presented odds as well as opportunities. The Nayaks, the Patans, Maphuz Khan and Khan Sahib defied the central authority and endeavoured to establish their independence. Because of the marches and counter marches of forces and the ravages of war, the chieftains together with the other inhabitants were reduced to trying situations. When they were confronted with internal disorders, neither did they follow a clear cut policy nor did they make a united stand. Carried away by opportunism and expediency, they allied with one side or the other and at times gained possession of more of villages. Yet generally they fought against each other and weakened themselves.

From the beginning the chieftains had no amicable relations with the English. This was the result of the internal contradictions created

by the alliance of the Company with the Nawab. So long the poligars rendered military service to the sovereign, but now the English stepped into their place. This development not only undermined the importance of the auxiliary powers but also prevented the possibility of a reconciliation of the Nawab with them. The English needed money for the prosecution of their aggressive wars and used the Nawab as an instrument for the exaction of contribution and presents quite arbitrarily. Emboldened by his alliance with the British arm, he reduced the chieftains to merciless ordeal. Further, when the Nawab ceased to be the defacto sovereign in consequence of his transformation into a political phantom, only the poligars, as the second line of defence, appeared capable of mobilising any formidable opposition. No wonder the English made it a policy to liquidate their influence. They proceeded in the name of the Nawab and ultimately in their own.

The poligars went down fighting against alien imperialism. Ultimately a combination of adverse developments rendered their fall inevitable. They were let down by their sovereign—the Nawab of the Carnatic. Not unfrequently they relied upon foreign support²—of the French, the Dutch and the Mysoreans—for their survival. But the ascendancy of the English eclipsed these powers and the poligars could gain no assistance from any quarter. Irregular in their methods of war, the poligars were vanquished by the military might of the Company and its allies.

If the existence of the poligari system presented certain difficulties to the working of the central government, it equally so presented certain opportunities to the country. No doubt it appeared as a powerful agency of disintegration whenever the central authority could not assert itself, until one of the poligars established his ascendancy over the rest or an invader seized power. Yet as in England, the chieftains served as an effective barrier to autocracy and tyranny. The inhabitants in general found it beyond their reach to gain positions in the central administration as it was treated as a preserve of the ruling group. On the other hand the poligars as well as the village communities employed people in large number and extended to them a wide variety of opportunities for getting themselves trained in administration, as the Greek city states did. In the mean time the vast economic resources possessed by the poligars offered possibility of the

country making rapid economic progress in line with the principles of free enterprise. The martial talents and resources of these rude warriors, had they been properly canalised, would have shielded the independence of the country too. But the poligari system did not develop to its logical extent as the English nobility did. This was because the British imperialism distorted its working and prevented its progress.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Local Inscriptions and Manuscript Collections

Krishna Sastri, H (ed.) South Indian Inscriptions Vol. 4., Madras, 1923.

Mackenzie Collections (Restored) No. 4 Manuscript Library, Madras.

Rangacharya, V. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. 2 and 3, Madras, 1919.

Subramanya Iyer, K. V. South Indian Inscriptions Vol. 6 Calcutta, 1928.

Local Accounts and Ballads

Panjalamkurichi Azhivu Charithira Kummi (Tamil Manuscript), Manuscript Library, Madras.

Sathyanatha Aiyar R. S. (ed.) Madurai thala Varalaru (Tamil), in the History of the Nayaks of Madura. Oxford 1924.

Sivaganga Charithira Kummi (Tamil Manuscript), Manuscript Library, Madras.

Tondaiman Vijayam (Telugu Manuscript), Manuscript Library, Madras.

Factory Records

Selections from Dutch Records, Madras.

Selections from Fort St. David Consultations.

Selections mostly from the Archives of Madras

Circular Orders of the Board of Revenue, Madras, 1855.

Extracts from the Records showing the Land Revenue Systems prevailing in India in Pre-British days and contemporary practice in native states, Simla, 1913.

Papers on Poligar Peishkush, Madras, 1808.

Papers relating to the History of Cumbam, Gudalore and Pudukparty, Madras 1917.

Papers relating to the Poligar war, Tinnevely, 1916.

Papers relating to the Poligar War in Dindugul, Revenue Department Sundries Vol. 26.

Papers connected with the reorganisation of the Police in the Madras Presidency, Madras 1869.

Papers relating to the general revenue Survey of the Madras Presidency, 1858, Madras, 1885.

Papers regarding the Village Panchayet and other Judicial Administration, Madras 1916.

Petitions from the Natives 1802-1812, Revenue Department Sundries in two volumes.

Selections from the old Records of Madurai, Madurai 1837.

Selections from the records of the East India House relating to the revenue, police, civil and criminal justice under the Company's government in India 1820-26, East India House.

Selections from the Records of Fort St. George 1909, Madras.

Selections from the Records of Fort St. George, New Revenue Series No. XI Madras 1916.

Selections from the Records of the Collectorate of Trichinopoly, Trichinopoly, 1867.

Selections from the Records of the Trichinopoly District, Madras 1931.

Reports

Committee, Report on Tiruvendipuram Farm, 1775, Madras.

Cotton John, Report on the Ryotwari Settlement, Tinnevely 1816.

Fullarton, William, Narrative of Military Transactions 1784, Military Department Sundries Vol. 66

Garstin J. H., Report on the Revision of the Revenue Establishment in the Madras Presidency, 1883, Madras.

Hodgeson John, Report on the Early History and Land revenue of Tinnevely, 1807, Tinnevely 1914.

Lushington S. R., Reports regarding the Tinnevely Poligars and Sequestered Pollams, 1800 Tinnevely, 1916.

Lushington S. R., Report on Revenue Settlement 1802, Tinnevely.

Police Commission, Report on the Indian Village Police, Culcutta, 1913.

Select Committee, Fifth Report on the Affairs of the English East India Company Vol. 2, Madras 1883.

Stratton George, Report on the Western Pollams, 1890, Madras.

Wallace's John, Report on the Palayams of Udayarpalayam, Ariyalur and Turaiyur, 1802, Trichinopoly 1867.

Correspondence

Lord Mornington, Political and Military Correspondence 1799, Military Department Sundries Vol. 107, and 109.

Correspondence relating to the revision proposed in the village Establishment of the Madras Presidency, Madras 1867.

Military Country Correspondence Vols. 1-57 Madras.

Political Country Correspondence Vols. 1-4, Madras,

Public Country Correspondence, Vols. 1-4, Madras.

*Proceedings of the Madras Government.**Military Department,*

Consultations Vols. 1-3. 12.

Despatches to England Vols. 1-34.

Despatches from England, vol. 1-29.

Sundries Vols. 1-107.

Miscellany Vols. 1-72.

Political Department

Consultations Vols. 1-72.

Despatches to England Vols. 1-6.

Despatches from England Vols. 1-4.

Public Department

Consultations Vols. 64-270.

Despatches to England Vols. 12-37.

Despatches from England Vols. 42-105.

Revenue Department

Consultations Vols. 1-128 and 241.

Board of Revenue Consultations Vols. 1-235.

Proceedings of the Committee of Assigned Revenue 1780-1785.

Proceedings of the Board of Assumed Revenue 1790-1792.

Proceedings of the Special Committee for permanent Settlement of Land Revenue 1802-1803.

Despatches to England Vols. 1-8.

Despatches from England Vols. 1-3.

Secret Department

Consultations Vols. 1-15.

Despatches to England Vols. 1-2.

Despatches from England Vols. 1-2.

Sundries Vols. 1-2.

II SECONDARY SOURCES

Journals and the like Publications

Indian Antiquary, Bombay, Vols. 21, 1892.

25, 1896.

43, 1914.

46, 1917.

Published Works

Annaswamy Ayer K. (ed.)

The Sivaganga Zamindary, Madras-1899.

Appadurai, K. Thennattu Porkalangal, Madras 1951.

Baliga B. S. Studies in Madras Administration, Madras 1960.

Buchanan, H. F. A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, London, 1807.

Caldwell R. (ed.) Tinnevely District Manual, Madras, 1881.

Chaudhuri, S. B. Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India, Calcutta, 1955.

Dowell, H.—Cambridge History of India Vol. 5, Cambridge, 1929.

Francis, W. (ed.) Madura District Gazetteer, Madras 1906.

Ganapathy Pillay W. E. (ed.) Ettaiyapuram, Past and Present, Madras 1890.

Hemingway, F. R. (ed.) Tanjore District Gazetteer, Madras, 1915.

„ (ed.) Trichinopoly District Gazetteer, Madras, 1907.

Heras, H. The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, Madras 1917.

Hill S. C. Yusuf Khan, The rebel Commandant, London 1914.

Kearns, J. F. Introduction to Panjalamkurichy Poligar and the State of Tinnevely, Palayamkottah, 1873.

Maclean C. D. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Madras 1885.

Martin, M. The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marques Wellesley, Vol. 3 London 1837.

Moore, L. (ed.) Trichinopoly District Manual, Madras, 1934.

Nelson J. H. The Madura District Manual, Part 3, Madras, 1868.

Padmanabha Iyar V. S. A Short Account of Tinnevely District, Madras 1933.

Pandian T. B. The Ancient Heroes of South Indian Peninsula, Madras 1893.

Pate H. R. (ed.) Tinnevely District Gazetteer Vol. 1, Madras 1917.

Radhakrishna Iyer S. A General History of the Pudukkottai State, Pudukkottai 1916.

Rajaram Raw, T. (ed.) Ramnad District Manual, Madras 1933.

Ramaswamy Nayudu, B. Memoir on the Internal Revenue System of the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1820.

- Sanjivi, N. Manamkatha Maruthu Pandiar, Madras 1959.
- „ Veerathalaivar Puli Tevar, Madras 1961.
- Sathyanatha Iyer, R. History of the Nayaks of Madura, Oxford 1924.
- „ R. Tamilaham in the 17th century, Madras 1956.
- Soundararaja Ayyangar, S. Land Tenures in the Presidency of Madras, Madras 1916.
- Srinivasachari C. S. Village Organisation at the Time of the Introduction of British rule in the Madras Presidency, Madras 1932.
- Venkatarama Ayyar K. R. (ed.) Manual of the Pudukkotta State, Pudukkottai 1940.
- Venketaramanayya, N. 'The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, Madras, 1942.
- Ward, B. S. Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Province of Madura and Dindugul, Vol. 3, Madras, 1895.
- Welsh, J. Military Reminiscences, 2 Volumes, London, 1830.
- Wilks, M. Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore, 2 Volumes, Madras 1869.
- Wilson, W. J. History of the Madras Army, 2 Volumes Madras, 1829.

THE L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI LECTURES: 1972-73

(Delivered at the University Centenary Building, 20th—22nd August at 5.15 P. M.)

THE CONCEPT OF SECULARISM IN EAST AND WEST

Fr. J. D' SOUZA

I LECTURE

Introductory Remarks. Secularism from the Earliest Times to the French Revolution.

Let me begin by thanking the Vice Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University for the honour they have done to me by inviting me to deliver the L. D. Swamikannu Pillai Lectures for the year 1972-73. The invitation was sent to me early in March this year. Since we were then almost at the end of the academic year 72-73, I requested permission to fulfil the assignment in the course of the first term of the present academic year, and I was kindly authorized to do so. My suggestion that the lectures might be given during these three days, 20th to 22nd August, was also approved. I am grateful to the Syndicate and the Registrar for their kindness in accommodating themselves to my wishes in this matter. With equal readiness they approved the subject proposed by me, "The Concept of Secularism in East and West", with special reference to the Secularism of the Constitution and Government of Independent India.

Before proceeding to the exposition of my subject, permit me to pay a tribute to the character and genius of the great man in whose honour these lectures were instituted. In doing so, I shall be conforming to a widely accepted custom followed by those placed in similar situations. I had the good fortune of seeing Dr. Swamikannu Pillai when I was a high school student in Mangalore, aged about 12 years. Mr. Swami-

kannu after graduating from St. Joseph's College, Tiruchirapalli, in the early eighties, had served as a College Lecturer for a year or two in St. Joseph's, and during that time had come to know an uncle of mine who subsequently attained distinction as a member of the Indian Civil Service, a Doctor of Law of Cambridge University, who retired from Government service as Judicial Commissioner in Sind. After that, for several years, he was a member of the old Legislative Assembly of Delhi, set up under the provisions of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. He passed away in 1953. Mr. Swamikannu having come to Mangalore on some engagement, took the trouble to come to my village home a little to the north of Mangalore, to meet the mother and other members of the family of the friend whom he esteemed and admired.

Later on, I read a tribute to Mr. Swamikannu by an able journalist in which he was referred to as "the Gladstone of India". Lord Salisbury had described Gladstone, his political adversary, as "a great Christian", and Lord Morley, the biographer of Gladstone, had accepted the tribute as a just and comprehensive summing of the personality of his hero. Like Gladstone Swamikannu Pillai was not only a great administrator and Parliamentarian, but also a scholar, a master of several Indian and foreign literatures, an outstanding Mathematician, and a devout Christian, deeply devoted to his Catholic faith.

Another incident in Swamikannu Pillai's life which I like to recall, was his visit in France to the birth place of a French Jesuit Father who had been his Professor and Spiritual Director in St. Joseph's College,—Rev. Fr. A. Jean. It was not an easy journey, but he gave himself all this trouble because, as he told the priest who accompanied him, "he wished to see the "cradle" of the man who had formed the heart and mind of this humble Christian". The Jesuit Father to whom these words were said told me that when he heard them he was moved almost to tears.

You may perhaps be interested to know the circumstances which led to the choice of the subject. During one of my visits to the United States as a Delegate of the Government of India to the General Assembly of the United Nations, I was asked to speak about the position of the Minorities in general, and of the Christian Minority in particular,

in our Secular Democratic Republic. Unlike most Indian Delegates I did not come back to our country as soon as the U. N. Sessions ended, but spent a good deal of time, not less than three months, and once as much as 10 months, speaking about India, to fairly large, and always sympathetic, audiences,—her history, her religions, her political evolution, her Constitution and Government, and so forth. My friends in the USA and more specially my American Jesuit Colleagues in New York, organized these lecture tours in a way that gave me the chance of meeting and speaking to educated audiences all over the U.S.A. as well as in several cities in Canada. What struck them very strongly was the fact that our secular Government gave handsome grants—teaching grants and building grants—to private institutions established and conducted by groups who wanted to safeguard their religious and cultural heritage, provided they conformed to essential academic norms and admitted students of all castes and denominations.

At that time a fierce controversy was raging in the States regarding the right of the students of private institutions to free transport to school and back, like the students of "public" or Government Institutions. I believe that the ultimate decision was against such a concession to private schools as being contrary to the secularism of the State. I then realised that there were important differences between Secularism as understood in America and in India, and that it might be both useful and interesting to discuss the subject, and to bring out as clearly as possible the difference between the two concepts in order to increase mutual understanding between India and the West on so important a question. I felt that such knowledge would increase respect for India and that any serious effort in that line by Indians would be service rendered to our Country. Hence, when the University authorities offered me the L.D.S. Lectureship this year, it did not take me long to choose my subject.

The word "secular" is an extremely elastic term having a wide and varied significance, sometimes used in a favourable sense and at other times in a pejorative sense. The earliest use of it, in my own and, let me add, in the case of Christians generally, was in contradistinction to "regular": secular referred to parochial clergy, priests active in spiritual ministry among people in the world; and "regular" referred to monastic or mendicant Orders of monks and friars whose lives were "regulated" ("regula" means rule in Latin) by the Constitutions of

their respective organizations. Two motives dominated the minds of those who chose the monastic life: first, the impulse to withdraw from the "world" and all its dangerous allurements and vices in order to ensure their own personal salvation, and secondly to offer their prayers and penances, their entire "contemplative" life to Almighty God, on behalf of their brethren in the "world" who were faithless or deficient in their service of God, or, to use an expression widely used and understood among Christians, "in reparation for sinners". The entire idea is based on the doctrine of the brotherhood of all men, not only in so far as they are all created by God in his own image and share a common human nature, but even more as brothers of Jesus Christ, the Incarnate God, intimately united to Him as members of His "Mystical Body". A Christian is not merely a follower of Christ, a faithful imitator of His conduct and disposition, but one who shares His very nature by virtue of the special "graces" he receives through the Sacraments, beginning with Baptism.

It was St. Augustine, the greatest of the Christian thinkers in the earlier centuries of Christianity, who elaborated this idea of two distinct societies functioning among the members of the human race; the City of God, and the City of Man, the Spiritual and the Temporal, both existing side by side, and each with its own "end" or objective, and its own organization and method of Government. The earlier tradition, both in East and West, was to combine the two functions in the person of the king. This was true to the Roman Emperors who even divinized themselves and demanded that their subjects should offer sacrifices to them as to gods. The refusal of the Christians to submit to this led to their persecution for over three centuries, till the conversion to Christianity of the Emperor Constantine. In the East also, the concept of King and Priest united in one person, the Devaraja, was equally prevalent. The Chinese Emperor was called the Son of Heaven; and in Japan the Emperor claimed Divine honours as recently as the II world war. However, in India the royal power was mitigated by the existence of a hereditary priestly class which did not claim political power. This, as much as other causes which we shall describe at greater length later on, explains the facility with which New India accepted without much difficulty the concept, and the subsequent establishment, of a secular State.

In the West, the development of the idea of the separation between Church and State was facilitated by the persecution of the Christians by the Roman Emperors who demanded from their subjects divine honours, symbolized by the burning of incense before them. Its doctrinal basis was the declaration of Christ: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's". The widespread licentiousness prevalent in the Roman Empire in the centuries of its decadence strengthened the desire to keep Church and State distinct and separate. We have seen that it was St. Augustine who gave to the Christian world the most luminous exposition of the concept of two Cities, the City of God and the City of Man. What he had first outlined in theory, and had helped to enforce in practice, was more thoroughly studied in all its implications by the great Scholastic philosophers with St. Thomas Aquinas at their head. The licentiousness of Roman Society in the period of its decadence led to the practical movement of withdrawal from that tainted Society. Benedict of Nursia gave the signal of flight from the "world" to take refuge in the peace and piety of monastic life. St. Benedict was the Father of Western monasticism. Before him others had fled from the world but they lived not in communities but as individual hermits.

However, while the basic principle of the distinct and separate societies was recognized by all, their "peaceful co-existence"—to use a present-day expression, was beset by many difficulties. The Emperor Constantine the Great who gave peace and liberty to the Christian Church, claimed and exercised many prerogatives in matters of Church Government. The history of the Christian Church from Constantine to Charlemagne is filled with the events that marked the tension between the Papacy and the Empire. Gregory VII, and Innocent III are the greatest protagonists on the Papal side. A tragedy well known to all students of history, the murder of Becket in the Cathedral of Canterbury, is one of the best-known episodes of this struggle.

The Papacy as representing the spiritual power, by essence superior to the temporal power of the State, claimed and obtained first, a primacy of honour, and in course of time even political authority by which the Popes exercised the right to depose temporal sovereigns and release their subjects from allegiance to them. Boniface VIII, who belonged to the great Roman family of the Caetanis, in his *Bull*, "*Unam*

sanctam", enunciated the highest claim ever made by the Papacy over temporal sovereigns. But already the unity of Christendom under the aegis of the Papacy had begun to break up with the growth of the nation states and the formulation of the principle of national sovereignty. This was shown most forcefully by the brutal treatment given to Pope Boniface VIII by Phillip the Fair and his Minister Nogaret who subjected the Pope to physical violence. Even Dante who disliked Boniface VIII, speaks of this outrage as "Christ being crucified again in His Vicar."

The encroachment by the temporal power on the spiritual domain had begun much earlier than the 14th Century,—the epoch of Boniface the VIII. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and of Moscow, separated by Schism from the Roman Church, were exercising their Ministry under the strict surveillance and directives of the Czars who had made themselves Heads of the Byzantine and Russian Churches. The Monarchs of England from Henry VIII to the present day became Heads of the Anglican Church. The Renaissance and Reformation coincided with the rise of the Nation States and their rulers became automatically the Heads of the National Protestant Churches. In this matter the admitted principle was: "*Cuius Regio, illius et Religio*"—the religion of the Ruler must be religion of his subjects. The right of the ruler to coerce his subjects to follow his own denomination was generally admitted; the doctrine of the primacy of the individual conscience in matters of religion was not fully developed, and the principle of religious tolerance was not universally admitted.

Along with monarchical autocracy there was another doctrine firmly held by Luther and Calvin and other Reformers, and to some extent by the Jansenistic groups among Catholics, which prevented the development of Secularism among the nations of the West. This was their attitude to Man in general, their conviction that the human race was wholly vitiated and reduced to total corruption and weakness as the result of the sin of Adam and Eve in Paradise. The Christian Theologians call this basic inclination to sin, this inability to perform any morally good action without the special grace of God as "original sin". This indispensable grace of God is granted by an arbitrary decision of the Creator who is declared to "predestine" the Elect without their doing any thing to deserve such a favour. In other

words they, or at least many of them, denied the freedom of the will of fallen man. They rejected the Epistle of St. James which teaches the doctrine of human freedom and "merit" freely acquired by man by his virtuous actions,—an Epistle accepted by the Catholic and Orthodox Churches as part of the divinely inspired Scripture, but "an Epistle of straw" as Luthur described it.

However, along with this pessimistic attitude towards human nature and the movement of royal autocracy and interference of the temporal power in spiritual matters, a parallel movement of Humanism, based on the cult of the natural man as exemplified in Greek and Latin literatures gained wide acceptance in Europe, particularly Western Europe. At the same time, and partly under the inspiration of the same Classical Literatures, there grew in the Western countries the spirit of anti-religious rationalism which characterized the cultural evolution of Europe during the 18th Century. Voltaire was the most powerful and the most persistent exponent of this scepticism. The possibility of miracles was denied. A Divine Revelation recorded in an inspired Scripture was declared to be an invention of priests who wished to rule and exploit the ignorance of the masses. The Jesuit Order which was the spearhead of the Catholic Revival after the Council of Trent in the 16th Century, was suppressed after a campaign of the most unscrupulous vilification, and brutal pressure on the Holy See by the atheistic Chancellors and Prime Ministers of the Bourbon Monarchies. Their thousands of students were left to the mercy of unbelieving teachers in the Government controlled Schools and Universities, and they swelled the ranks of the sectarian antireligious secularists. This disastrous trend culminated in the French Revolution. Its farreaching effects on almost every aspect of life in Europe and America must be studied in a separate lecture.

II LECTURE

Secularism from the French Revolution to Modern Times

In the first lecture we made a rapid review of the relations between the Temporal and the Spiritual Powers, between the Church and the State, to use the expression widely accepted today. The earliest monarchs known to history combined in themselves the functions of ruler and priest; and often when the actual exercise of priestly functions, namely the performance of the ceremonies belonging to their religious cult was left entirely to the priests of that religion, they declared themselves Heads of that Religion and took considerable part in the administrative side of its activity. Even in the Catholic Church where total authority was vested in the Pope, the Emperors, following the example of Constantine the Great, and of Charlemagne, claimed a considerable share in Church administration, obtained sometimes by force and sometimes by amicable mutual agreement. However the higher status and authority of the Spiritual Power was generally admitted in all Catholic countries. A striking example of this, involving far-reaching consequences to the religious history of Europe, was the Bull of Pope Pius V in which he excommunicated Queen Elizabeth and released her Catholic subjects from allegiance to her. But in the interval, the rise of the national states and the sentiment of patriotic attachment to one's nation, had dealt a severe blow to the universal jurisdiction of the Church. This was made perfectly clear when a Catholic Admiral, Lord Howard, led the English Fleet against the Spanish Armada, whose aim was the restoration of the Catholic monarchy in England. From that time onward the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities went on widening in almost all Western countries, preparing the way for the Secular State of today.

But before reaching the present trend, there were ups and downs, there were powerful movements in the opposite direction. The great Scholastic synthesis of all the knowledge accumulated till then—the

metaphysical, the physical, the sociological, and the theological,—if left to its inevitable evolution within the framework of a united Western Christendom, would have brought about the secularism of the State more smoothly and much earlier than it did take place. But the unity of Christendom was broken by the Reformation and by the permanent establishment of national Protestant States with Protestant rulers who claimed and exercised spiritual authority over their national Churches. Before the end of the 16th Century, to the Czars who exercised authority over the Orthodox Churches in Greece, in the Middle East, and in Russia, were added the Protestant rulers of England, of the Scandinavian States, and the German Protestant kingdoms of Central Europe. The movement to secularism was arrested. It was to be resumed in a more radical manner and in some cases with ruthless antireligious bias, and an aggressively atheistic policy from the French Revolution down to our own day.

It was the French Revolution which initiated the policy of separation of Church and State which characterizes the modern period. But it did so, and did succeed to a large extent, because of the ideological revolution without which the political revolution would not have taken place. There were several elements that coalesced to make up that intellectual atmosphere. There was first of all the growing realization of "the dignity and worth of the human person", a formula which expressed the basic motive of the free world's revolt against the totalitarianism of the Nazis, the Fascists, and the Marxists. The Humanism which the Renaissance had brought back to Europe developed side by side with the Manichaean pessimism of the Puritans and Jansenists. Christian theologians were expounding the doctrine of the primacy of the individual conscience in moral conduct. A man is bound to follow the dictates of his conscience even though through no fault of his he believes sincerely in an erroneous doctrine. This doctrine was fatal to the theory of the royal prerogative of imposing the King's religion on his subjects even if they did not believe in it.

At the same time two of the greatest Christian thinkers of the 16th Century, Bellarmine and Suarez, while discussing the nature and origin of political power, put forward the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people long before Rousseau and the sceptical philosophers of the French Revolution made it the basis of their own political philosophy.

However there was a fundamental difference in the way that the two Schools understood it. They did not believe that political power came from the people by a social contract, that the rulers power was simply the totality of the individual personal rights surrendered by the people, and which they could withdraw at any time. The Christian philosophers taught that obedience to the just laws of the State was a moral obligation sanctioned by Nature and hence by God, the author of Nature. It was not merely a social expedient based upon a human consensus for promoting the common good. According to these thinkers, with Bellarmine at their head, disobedience to the just laws introduced and enforced by a duly constituted government is a sin or moral fault and not merely the contravention of a "penal injunction" which can be evaded without compromising the moral conscience. However, let me remark in passing, that with the emergence of the Welfare State whose objective is not merely to maintain "law and order" but to give the "good life" to all citizens, there is hardly any law in modern States which can be said to be a purely penal law.

Almost as important as the emerging doctrine of the sovereignty of the people in creating the ideological revolution and preparing the way to political revolutions, was the development of Humanism. The rediscovery of the Classical literatures of Greece and Rome had ended the medieval and launched the modern age in European history. The Church itself was the great agent in this humanistic movement and Christian thinkers adapted it to the demands of the Christian religion and created what has been called "Devout Humanism". The pessimistic attitude to man and the world,—vestage of the ancient heresy of Manichaeism,—gave way to a more optimistic attitude. Theologians learnt to discriminate between the "world" which Christ had condemned, the world of sin, the world of pride and sensuality", and the "world" as God's creation in which His perfections are reflected, the world in which man continues and completes God's creation by his own creative activity. This doctrinal development so profoundly in harmony with modern democracy found its latest and most authoritative expression in the great Pastoral Constitution of the II Vatican Council, "The Church and the World". It constitutes a reversal of the policy of Pope Pius IX and his condemnation of modern progress in the mid 19th Century in his "Syllabus of

Errors". The materialistic and anti-religious bias of the so-called "Liberalism" of the 19th Century had given way to a genuine understanding of the spiritual idealism implicit in true Humanism. The widespread religious revival in Catholic countries during almost a century had thrown up, by the democratic process, political leaders of fervent religious faith. We have only to recall the names of men like Alcide de Gasperi, Robert Schumann, Conrad Adenauer and J.F. Kennedy, and compare them with men like Pombal, Choiseul, Tanucci, and de Penderanda to realise how far-reaching was the change between then and now, and thus to understand the reasons for the Church's new attitude.

The progressive secularism of the modern State has been furthered by another important social phenomenon of our times: The rise of pluralistic societies in which men and women belonging to diverse racial and religious groups, live side by side in the same State, and are governed by the same laws. This has been caused first by massive movements of peoples resulting from the two great World Wars. It has also been promoted by religious tolerance of most modern states in which there is more or less complete freedom of the practice and preaching of religion. In a pluralistic State the democratic equality of all citizens before the law would be compromised if the State showed particular favour to a single religion. Hence if the government of such states is genuinely democratic, it has no option but to be a secular government.

On the other hand the religious activity of the citizens cannot but affect their civic rights and duties, and hence the Government has to take cognizance of them and ensure their being carried out without prejudice to its own authority. In Christian and Catholic countries, the Bishops and priests exercise not only religious jurisdiction but by their teaching and personal attitude, influence also the civic activity of their flocks. Government cannot but be interested in the way they administer their temples, mosques and churches. It has an obligation to see that the gifts and endowments they get are spent according to the conditions laid down by the donors, and, in any case, not in opposition to the laws of the country. This explains the passing of the Religious Endowment Bill, and the setting up of the R. E. Board in Tamilnad. Similar laws and procedures have been introduced in other States

also. Likewise in Catholic countries, relations between the Church and the State are regulated by agreements between the Government and the Holy See. These agreements are called Concordats having the force of a Treaty, and the implementing of them is watched over not only by the prelates of the church in that country, but also by an Ambassador of the Pope who is called a Nuncio. The signing of a Concordat and the presence of a Nuncio in the Capital does not necessarily change the secular character of the Government. India has an Ambassador accredited to the Vatican, and there is a Papal Nuncio in New Delhi. Yet this does not constitute an obstacle to secularism. India claims to be and is recognized as being a secular State.

If I may be permitted a digression here, I shall say a few words on a subject which always arouses passions on one side or the other when it comes under discussion—the Inquisition, and more particularly the Spanish Inquisition. There is no doubt that this is an example of intolerance which is not to the credit of the Catholic Church which accepted and profited by this method of religious coercion. But it is not always recognized that its violence was inspired not by religious fanaticism but by political ruthlessness. Old and well-established Catholic monarchies suspected the loyalty and patriotism of Protestants in so far as they did not accept what was regarded as the national religion. Protestant monarchs had the same attitude towards their Catholic subjects. The Church was asked to interrogate the man accused of heresy. When they found someone to be a convinced heretic, they passed sentence and handed him over to be punished by the “secular arm”. On several occasions the Holy See protested against the severity of such persecution of Protestants and Jews, and actually gave asylum to Jews in Rome or other towns in the Papal States. There have been Jewish communities in Rome who were allowed to build their Synagogues and follow their religion from the earliest times to this day.

Finally, a few words regarding the Catholic attitude to non-Christian civilizations when they became missionaries in Non Christian countries. In the earliest phase of missionary work after the Renaissance, the task of evangelizing non-Christians was entrusted to the zeal of the Catholic monarchs who had conquered those territories. Portugal, Spain, and later France, were the principal countries who

received this mandate. But when the Church saw that with the growth of modern nationalism, the Catholic countries were using missionary zeal to strengthen and widen their political power, when they imposed their own language and culture on the converts at the expense of the traditional culture and languages of even the people of ancient civilizations particularly in Asia, it opposed this policy in a decisive manner. Early in the 17th Century, the Church set up a “Congregation” that is, an agency similar to a Ministry in secular government, the “Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples”, commonly known as the “Congregation of Propaganda Fide” to carry out missionary work. The missionaries sent out by this agency were instructed not to impose European names and customs but to adapt themselves to the culture of the local communities so far as they were consistent with Christian doctrines. The greatest protagonists of this system of “Adaptation” were Fr. Matteo Ricci in China, Fr. Vallignano in Japan, and Fr. Robert di Nobili in India. The missionaries in Portuguese and Spanish colonies continued the system of “europeanizing” their converts. But elsewhere the system was given up. The Christians who were converted by the missionaries sent out by Rome were not pulled out and isolated from their social ambience and continued to live with their Buddhist or Hindu kinsmen, culturally one with them though differing in their religion. That is the reason why Catholics in many part of India are completely Indian in culture, like the Catholics of Tamilnadu for example, who do not exteriorly differ much from their Hindu kinsmen, who generally live in proximity to them, and have free social intercourse including even intermarriage with them.

A word may be said about Indian converts to Islam. There the position was somewhat different. Muslims adopted the theocratic system of Government similar to that of the Jews, and in theory do not admit the principle of separation of Church and State. But this did not make them necessarily intolerant of other Faiths. They treated with respect all the religious based on a Book, that is, religions based on a Divine Revelation written down in a Book or Scripture. This was true of Jews and Christians, and in more recent times, many Muslim theologians consider Buddhists and Hindus also as Peoples with a Book. Whatever be the cruelties and asperities of Hindu-Muslim relations in many parts of India and many periods of our history, we

should not forget that under the Mughals, in the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir, India achieved an Indo-Saracenic synthesis in art and literature which is one of the purest glories of our three thousand years of history. The Muslims in the days of the supremacy of the Arabs were the leaders of European Culture. It was they who transmitted to Christian Europe the philosophy and literature of ancient Greece. They were a tolerant race who lived in amity with their Christian neighbours and subjects. The intolerance which is associated with the Muslims was practised by the Turks, and frequently it was inspired by economic rivalry rather than religious passion. Unless we know these noble aspects of Islamic history, national integration of Hindus and Muslims in India will not be easy to achieve. And such an integration is essential if India is to attain internal peace and harmony, and contribute her own share to the peace and cultural progress of the world.

III LECTURE

The Secularism of the Indian Constitution and Government

In the two previous lectures I tried to follow the course of secularism in East and West from the earliest period when monarchs claimed and exercised both civil and religious authority in Europe and Asia: the Divinized Roman Emperors, the Emperors of China—"Sons of Heaven"—, the Devarajas of India, and in recent times the Emperors of Japan who received Divine worship and unlimited power till the second World War. In Europe the Augustinian doctrine of two perfect and independent "societies",—the spiritual and the temporal, Church and State,—if it had been left to its own natural development would have created the secular state more quickly than it did. But the process was slowed down, and to some extent arrested by the rise of the Nation States after the Renaissance, and by the Reformation which challenged and ended the universal jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. The rulers of the new Protestant Nation States became the Heads of their National Churches, just as the Czars became the Heads of the Greek Orthodox and Russian Churches. These regimes continued more or less undisturbed till the French Revolution. Its rationalistic ideology and the impulse it gave to political democracy put modern governments on the road to secularism.

The rapid increase of pluralistic states received a great impetus from the two World Wars, and the principle of the separation of Church and State was widely accepted even by Governments which were by no means anti-religious and whose subjects were sincere believers faithful to their religious practices. The most striking example of this at the present time is the U.S.A. Its leaders and people are to a large extent followers of one or other of the Christian denominations while officially the Government practises a strict and scrupulous secularism. Finally the older attitude of pessimism regarding human nature itself, the

belief in its total corruption, and in a psychological determinism which left no room for the freedom of the will, gave place to the optimism associated with the philosophy of Rousseau. It completed the ideological revolution which prepared the triumph of secularism in the countries of western Europe and America. In the Catholic Church the fullest expression of this changed attitude is found in one of the most important documents of Vatican II, the Pastoral Constitution, "The Church and the World".

It is well-known that the traditional Indian philosophy of life is "other worldly". The noblest spirits among Hindus and Buddhists preached and practised withdrawal from the world as the surest road to salvation. Action inspired by desire and aimed at securing some earthly good was sure to bring about rebirth, and untamed desires would lead to an endless cycle of birth and rebirth. To attain "moksha" or "Nirvana" one must acquire total detachment, and perform actions without desiring the fruit thereof. The highest spirituality was precisely to practise this type of action, "nishkama karma". However, we should not exaggerate the power of this doctrine, and conclude that it made Indians indifferent to family duties and civic progress. They accepted the obligation of fulfilling the duties of the position in which they were placed, and carried them out faithfully. Otherwise they would not have created a brilliant and long-continued Civilization, one of the most remarkable in the history of the world. Nevertheless, it remains true that in the standard of values accepted by India throughout her long history, holiness counted more than power and riches; the perfect man was the saint rather than the savant. And this remains broadly true even today in spite of the general acceptance by India of Western scientific, social and political ideals. India has entered the comity of nations as a great modernized State ruled by a democratic constitution and government.

This far-reaching change was the result of nearly two centuries of British Government, and the introduction of English education. From the earliest epochs of her history India had shown a great capacity to absorb and assimilate new ideas without losing her identity and fundamental outlook on life. Her genius for synthesis had enabled her to take up into her civilization contributions from Buddhism and

from Islam. The same genius manifested itself when she received, in the latest phase of her history, the impact of Western Civilization, and the knowledge of the Christian Scriptures disseminated by Christian Missionaries. Abuses which had crept into Hindu Society during the unsettled periods of her history⁹ were quickly suppressed. These movements of religious reform coincided with the growth of national sentiment. From this two-fold movement emerged New India. Mahatma Gandhi united in his own person these two strands in the texture of our national life, and so he has been rightly declared the Father of the Country, of New India, which like the fabled Phoenix has risen from the ashes of the old, once again youthful and dynamic, once again a powerful voice in the Councils of the world.

When the British established their power and became the effective rulers of the entire sub-continent, they prudently adopted a policy of neutrality in religious matters. Apart from the suppression of glaring abuses like Sati and child marriage, they granted full tolerance to the hundreds of religions and sects and castes and subcastes, prevalent in the Country. But this neutrality was not an unfriendly but a benevolent neutrality. It did not prevent the Government from giving indirect assistance to religious celebrations and demonstrations by maintaining order and ensuring peace in the temples and shrines when on certain occasions immense masses of devotees gathered together to fulfil their vows and participate in the ceremonies. Thus were laid the foundations of the secularism of the Government of India in the early years of British rule.

There was one significant episode in the history of religious tolerance under the British. Unwilling to wound in any way the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus and Muslims of their vast territory, they at first forbade the entry of Christian missionaries from the West. But early in the 19th Century there was a remarkable religious revival among the Protestant denominations who were called Dissenters because they did not belong to the established Anglican Church. Under the influence of these Dissenters who were inspired by great moral fervour there was a powerful movement for the liberation of slaves, and the total suppression of slavery and the slave trade. The same religious fervour led to the growth of the missionary spirit among

the Protestants who till then had no missionary organizations for social and religious activity among the non Christian peoples of Asia, Africa, and Oceania. But from this time onward a vast Protestant missionary movement was initiated, and Protestant missionaries from every country of Europe and North America came to India and other countries not only to work among non Christians but even among Catholics whom they regarded as needing their Bible Christianity almost as much as the Non Christians.

This activity coincided with the growing demand for English education from the Indian middle classes. The British Government, unable to cope with the demand, requested missionaries and other private organizations to undertake educational work according to norms laid down by Government. They introduced the grant-in-aid system, and gave generous teaching and building grants to these organizations provided they admitted students without distinction of caste or creed, and did not impose Christian religious instruction against the wishes of the parents. This policy was dictated not only by the practical need of the moment but was also in harmony with the democratic principle of freedom of education, based on the right of the parents to choose for their minor children the kind of education they wanted. This momentous decision was of the highest significance in the social and cultural evolution of India, one of the most effective instruments in the creation of what we now agree to call New India.

Independent India took over this system from the British not merely for the practical reason that the vast network of schools and colleges run by private agencies could not possibly be taken over by the Government because it had neither the teaching personnel nor the financial resources needed for the task: there was also another motive deriving from political considerations. During the years of the struggle for independence, the Congress leaders had promised the Minorities that they would safeguard their rights, political and cultural, by reserving a number of seats to the Provincial and Central Legislatures consonant with the strength of their population. But after the division of the country and the attainment of independence, the leaders, knowing that such a reservation introduced by the British had led to divisiveness in the country culminating in the creation of Pakistan, were anxious to

find other means of guaranteeing the rights of the Minorities. The leaders of the Minorities in general were willing to give up the system provided their religious and cultural rights were enunciated in the Constitution among the Justiciable Fundamental Rights. This explains the comprehensive wording of the "right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion". The unusual specification of the missionary right "to propagate" religion is explained by the background of discussions and negotiations which I have indicated above.

It may interest readers to note two incidents which occurred in the course of these discussions. A few Hindu Members of the C.A. from North India wanted to include a clause against cow slaughter among the Fundamental Rights. This was strongly opposed by other Hindus, including most of the members from South India, and the proposal was defeated. Another proposal was in favour of religious instruction in Government Schools and Colleges to all the students by teachers of their own Faith, in the school premises and preferably within the school hours. This too was opposed as tending to perpetuate divisions and as being opposed to national integration. The spectacle of several teachers of religion, propounding doctrines and practices often contradictory and almost always capable of stirring up passion and partisanship, was rightly judged to be a serious obstacle to national unity. Hence there was general agreement that the experiment should not be tried. Similarly a proposal that even in denominational schools where the management provided religious instruction to students of their own religion, the other denominations also, if they were numerous enough, should be given instruction in their religion was rejected on the ground that it would wound the religious feelings of the management which had established the institution in the interests of their own culture and religion.

From the foregoing account of the events which led to the acceptance of secularism by the Constituent Assembly of India and the exposition of the principles on which it was based, it will be clear that it is not a sectarian and intolerant secularism but the expression of the character of the Indian people, the outcome of their historical evolution. Indian society is a pluralistic society. Indian culture is a composite culture. It is not a negative materialistic secularism but a

positive secularism sympathetic to the phenomenon of religion which has played a decisive part in India's history, and has inspired some of the highest achievements of Indian genius. It is therefore a concept peculiarly Indian both in its basic idea and in the delicate nuances with which it has been enunciated by the makers and leaders of New India. In a word it embodies India's genius for synthesis and is in total harmony with India's age old quest for unity in diversity.

THE LEGACY OF SOCRATES

Dr HERBERT HERRING

The 6th and 5th centuries B. C. were a period of most remarkable personalities in world history, personalities who may truly be considered having paved the way for ages in the realms of philosophy, science and religion. It was at that period that the Greek thinker *Thales of Miletus*, the founder of geometry and astronomy, tried for the first time to draw a definite distinction between myth and rational thinking, and when another Greek, namely *Anaximander*, taught that matter was composed of a primary substance : infinite, in motion and indescribable.

It was the time when in China *Lao - tze* revealed Tao, i. e. the way to truth and virtue, to the original and final spirit of the universe; and in doing so, he brought about the concept of the individual, of man's individual freedom and thus his moral responsibility.

It was the age of *Mahavira*, the founder of Jainism in India, and also in India the *Buddha* showed his followers the three paths a man might choose, of which the middle path alone, with its eight steps of enlightening (namely right views, right aims, right speech, right behaviour, right livelihood, right endeavour, right mindfulness and right concentration), would lead to salvation. And again in China we have as the Buddha's contemporary *Confucius* who in a completely corrupt society propounded a political theory which is as sound today as it was twentyfive hundred years ago; and besides he developed the following seven rules, necessary for the improvement and perfection of man :

1. The investigation of things
2. The completion of knowledge
3. The sincerety of thoughts and acts
4. The rectifying of the heart

5. The cultivation of the person
6. The regulation of the family
7. The regulation of the government

In Greece we meet a few years later *Parmenides of Elea*, who based his philosophy on logical deduction only and taught the unity of being and thought.

And another few years later, we find in India that great catalogue of moral conduct which may truly be called an almost unsurpassable guide to morality and truth, namely the *Bhagavad - Gita*.

Finally we come, in the second half of the 5th century B.C., to *Socrates*, in whose life and thought we meet one of the most outstanding examples and witnesses of the conviction that it is but truth that makes us free, liberates us from all evil.

Let us reflect in some detail on the biography of this great personality in order to understand why he is commonly considered, at least in the West, the father of philosophy.

II

Let us first glance over the historical and political situation at Athens, Socrates' native city, at that time, for Socrates - unlike most of his predecessors - was closely involved in the political and cultural affairs of his country.

Socrates lived at a time that was highly significant for the formation and development of Greece. When he was eight, Athens and Sparta - then the leading states in Greece - gave up their alliance which in previous years had saved the country from being invaded and occupied by the Persians. After some more warlike operations against the Persians and also between Athens and Sparta, Greeks and Persians signed a peace treaty in 449 B. C., and four years later Athens and Sparta also came to terms with each other. The fifteen years to come, from 445 to 431 B. C., have been mentioned in the annals of history as *The Age of Pericles*, and this period under the leadership of the great statesman is characterized as the golden age in Athenian culture.

The artists *Polygnot*, *Myron*, *Polyclet* and above all the genius of *Phidias* created their immortal works. Most of the impressive buildings of the Acropolis have been constructed during those years. The dramatists *Sophocles* and *Euripides* ruled the stage and exercised great influence upon the religious and moral education of the people. It was the time of the teachers of wisdom, the so-called *Sophists* (from the Greek *sophia* = wisdom), such as *Protagoras*, *Hippias* and *Gorgias*, learned men who considered it their task to enlighten people and lead them, through clarity of thinking, to steadiness of action.

About that time, around 435 B. C., Socrates made his first appearance in the public, and with him a new period in European cultural history commenced, - whereas in the political field we were at the threshold of 30 years of unrest, crisis and revolution. Athens and Sparta fought the Peloponnesian war for superiority in Greece. The final defeat of the Athenians in the battle of Aegospotamoi (405 B. C.) and the surrender of Athens in the following year made Sparta the leading political power of the country.

Under the impact of this disaster, the Athenians were split into two groups. The revolutionary thinkers, led by the Sophists, tried to convince the people that the traditional religious, ethical and political values had obviously failed and that they had to be restituted by values and principles based entirely on reason, on critical thinking alone. Man alone is the measure of everything being, - this was the loudly proclaimed guiding principle of such a modern world view.

The other group, on its part, tried to show that it was precisely the teachings of these modern thinkers that had undermined religion and morality and that those thinkers should therefore be held responsible for the decline of the state.

This was, in short, the situation Socrates had to face. But who was this man who, accused of undermining the stately authority and corrupting the young generation, dared say - in his speech of self - defense at the Athenian court - that the God at Delphi, Apollo himself, had called him the wisest of all living human beings?

III

Seeking to trace the historical personality of Socrates is not all that easy. There is nothing known written by himself, and thus we have to rely on some other witnesses and testimonies.

There are, in the first place, the works of his disciple *Plato*, mostly dialogues, with Socrates playing the part of the investigator and supervisor. But these dialogues have to be considered with some caution and reservation, for there can be no doubt that Plato has tried to idealize his great teacher and to justify his teachings which he, Plato, himself considered the only truth. Taking into account, on the other hand, that many of Plato's contemporaries who had known Socrates personally would certainly have raised critical objections if Plato had depicted Socrates' teaching in a completely wrong and partial manner, we may, by and large, rely on Plato as a trustworthy witness.

In the second place we have the historian *Xenophon* who, in his *Memorabilia*, dealt with Socrates as the spiritual renewer of the state. But since he had only known Socrates superficially and, furthermore, since Xenophon was lacking in any philosophical understanding, this work is of no relevance with regard to a genuine appreciation of Socrates.

The third witness is *Aristotle* who in books I and XIII of his *Metaphysics* gave a concise survey of the history of Greek thought up to his teacher Plato. Regardless of the fact that this report was written more than thirty years after Socrates' death, I think that this testimony is a fairly reliable one. Although Aristotle had not known Socrates personally (Socrates died in 399, Aristotle was born in 384 B.C.), he must have had many an opportunity to discuss Socrates' ideas with Plato, his teacher; and bearing in mind that Aristotle was an extremely critical and objective thinker, we may well conclude that he has succeeded in extracting the principles of Socrates' teaching from what he had heard and read about it.

The fourth and last testimony are the playwrights, especially the comedy writers of that age who took a considerable interest in the education of the people. They, above all *Aristophanes*, the best known of them, treated Socrates as a criminal crook who, by means of his intellectual

cleverness and dialectical shadow-boxing, was highly responsible for the deterioration of manners and morals and thus responsible for the fall of Athens.

After all we have heard, we seem not to be in an altogether favourable position for giving a fair and objective interpretation of the personality of Socrates. But I nevertheless think that two particular passages in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* could serve as a good starting point. In book I Aristotle writes that Socrates was first and foremost concerned with ethical problems, whereas he showed no interest in the laws of nature. And in book XIII he says that Socrates' main business was the clarification and definition of concepts. I think, indeed, that Aristotle has mentioned hereby the two main principles of Socrates' teaching. In contrast to the cosmological inquiries of his predecessors, such as *Thales*, *Heraclitus*, *Parmenides*, *Anaximander* and *Pythagoras*, who were constantly striving after the first and final cause of the universe, Socrates asks for the essence of man, his place and function in the world and his relations to other human beings. These questions "What is man as man?" "How shall the individual man behave towards other men?" are developed in Socrates' dialogues and disputes with followers and opponents in a dialectical manner thus gradually, step by step, approaching general definitions and principles.

IV

One of the early dialogues of Plato, *Laches*, most probably still written during Socrates' lifetime, may serve as a good example for what has been called later the Socratic method of philosophizing.

Lysimachos (son of the Athenian general Aristides) and Melesias (son of the famous historian Thucydides) are discussing the most suitable education of their sons with the two generals Nicias and Laches. Man, thus they agree with Socrates who has joined the debate, should be educated towards a virtuous life. But in order to show others the way to virtue, one has to know what virtue actually is, and one must, furthermore, know that virtue is an aim worth striving after. If one, therefore, demands virtuous actions, one must first and foremost become aware of the essence and value of virtue.

In the dialogue *Laches* a particular virtue is to be analyzed, namely valour (Greek *andreia*). "Ti estin andreia?" "What is valour?"

is thus the question at stake. Should one not think that the generals could answer this question best? Thus we become witnesses of a lively discussion between those two and Socrates.

Socrates asks them whether they would agree that, according to common opinion and experience, the training in the proper use of weapons leads young men to a brave and fearless behaviour. The generals, of course, immediately agree. But now Socrates demands a definition of valour in order to prove that they know what they are talking about, know the aim of their education. Laches has such a definition ready at hand: The one is brave who stands firm in the face of attacking enemies.

This definition, however, cannot satisfy Socrates who reminds them of the special tactics of some barbarian tribes, retreating when being attacked in order to trap their attackers in an ambush. Socrates says that he had not asked for a certain type of valour but for valour as such; for sailors on a wreck, dangerously ill people and those suppressing their instinctive passions could certainly also be called brave.

Accordingly Laches defines valour as steadfastness of the soul. But once again Socrates raises his doubts: Are there not many people who show great firmness and constancy in pursuing their vices?

At this crucial point Nicias enters the discussion and defines valour as the correct and well-grounded knowledge of what one has to fear and should therefore avoid and of what one could dare and should therefore do in any given situation. What one has to fear, however, is the evil lying ahead of us; and what one ought to dare is the good which we should constantly strive after. Thus, by means of his intelligent and subtle interrogation, Socrates has led his interlocutors if not to a definition of valour, at last to a definition of virtue in general: virtue meaning a firm knowledge of good and evil. The one who knows about the value of the good will always act accordingly; and the one who does not act in accordance with the good thereby only proves that he has not yet reached the true stage of knowledge and enlightenment.¹

¹ Cf. Gerasimos Santas, *Socrates at Work on Virtue and Knowledge in Plato's Laches* *The Review of Metaphysics*, vol. XXII, March 1969, pp. 433-460.

May be that with this doctrine Socrates reveals a rather optimistic trust in reason and knowledge; nevertheless it seems to me that we have to understand his life and teaching from this basic conviction.

What for does this ugly man (regarding his outer appearance) discuss day by day and everywhere such profound problems with almost everybody? For what reason does he, with his stubborn questioning, his incisive reasoning continuously provoke the mockery of the gutter and the hatred of those whom he unmask as ignoramuses or, what is even worse, as crooks? Why does he waste his time, his energy, his subtle knowledge, his whole life for the mental and moral improvement of the stupid, ungrateful masses instead of—as most of his colleagues prefer to do—teaching the young aristocrats for hard cash, which would enable him, the poor son of a stonecutter and a plebeian midwife, who himself had no known employment, to live in comfort and prosperity?

The answer to these questions reads thus: Socrates does all this because he considers it the task of a philosopher to awaken people from their uncritical slumber and to show them the path to truth and reality, to the true and real aim of man's destination.

To make people fit for this aim, Socrates has first to remove the barriers of their ignorance by pointing out that their so-called knowledge was nothing but putative knowledge or illusion and that what they proudly called virtue was but a crude mixture of vanity, idleness and egotism. He has to make them realize that although they might know a lot of many things they actually know next to nothing about the real essence of things. Plato calls this method of bringing about critical thinking and real insight *maeutikē téchnē*, i.e. the art or technique of assisting in giving life to something, a procedure which is very similar to a midwife's business (*Theaitet*, 150 C).

Socrates is nothing less than the idealistic, world-forgetting dreamer or the tricky crook, as the playwright Aristophanes depicts him in his comedy *The Clouds*. Aristophanes presents to us an abstruse monster whose main concerns are dialectic jugglery and the cultivation of his own image. Socrates' main concern is, on the contrary, man and his painful way to knowledge and morality. In his opinion everybody by nature strives after blissfulness and satisfaction which, however, cannot be found in any secular properties and advantages

but in the spiritual perfection of man alone (*Apology*, 29D). This is the reason why he persistently involves all sorts of people in discussions about valour, moderateness, piety, love, justice, prudence and virtue in general. But such a knowledge is no merchandise, so to speak, which one could buy or sell respectively,—as the Sophists, the teachers of wisdom, believed, namely that virtue could be taught and learned just as writing, reading, counting or the proper use of weapons was teachable and learnable.

V

In book VII of his famous dialogue *The State*² Plato makes his teacher Socrates tell a parable which makes this distinction between his teaching and that of the Sophists very clear.

For this purpose he uses the imagery of a deep and dark cave where men live in very particular circumstances: their necks and legs are chained in such a way that they are unable to move or even to turn their heads, thus compelled to stare permanently at a wall in front of them. On this wall are seen the shadows of all sorts of things carried across the entrance of the cave, projected onto the wall by a bright light shining outside.

Now it happens that one of the cave-dwellers gets free of his chains thus being enabled to turn round and direct his gaze towards the light. But since his eyes have been accustomed to the darkness of the cave, he will, of course, at first be unable to stand the brightness of the light, and he will lose his orientation. Then somebody shows him the steep and narrow path upto the entrance of the cave, and gradually his eyes will become accustomed to the brightness of the light until, finally, he stands in the light itself. Having left the cave behind, he will soon become aware that the things he had been experiencing previously were but shadows, appearances as compared with the reality of their originals, and he will feel extremely happy to have escaped from the world of illusions.

² I consider the term "State" a more appropriate translation of what is meant by the Greek term "Politeia" than the term "Republic", for Republic in modern times denotes that specific type of State which is entirely governed by democratic principles. Plato's *Politeia*, however, is a general inquiry into those (objective and subjective) principles which form the necessary conditions for the realization of justice as the ideal goal in social life.

Now, supposing this man would return to the cave and try to convince the other cave-dwellers that all the things experienced by them were not real, were phantoms and illusions, they would certainly not believe him; they would laugh at him and think either that his eyesight had been spoilt or that he was trying to lead them astray, and if they could get hold of him, they would even kill him.

It is this last part of the parable, the part wherein Socrates speaks of the tragic fate of the one who knows, that deserves our particular consideration in this context, for it turns out to be the fate of Socrates himself.

The one who has reached the stage of true knowledge could be satisfied with it. But the awareness of being aware of truth and error, good and evil, forces him to liberate other people also from error and immorality, his only criterion being neither threat nor award but the demand of reason alone, that the one who knows the truth has not only the right but the duty to share this knowledge with others. Constantly acting according to such a principle marks the greatness of Socrates, a tragic greatness, as we shall see.

VI

For it becomes obvious that many of his contemporaries felt irritated and embarrassed by this man's constant and subtle inquiries and by his unmasking them as ignoramuses. But there were other reasons, apart from these personal ones, which played a considerable part in the trial of Socrates, educational and political reasons. Parents were afraid of Socrates' undermining their authority, and politicians saw the foundations of the state shaken and the danger of its final breakdown if Socrates' principle that reason should be the only measure in human life would become generally acknowledged and practised. These and similar motives eventually led to the trial wherein Socrates was formally accused of having neglected even jeered at the approved deities and having led astray the young generation with his revolutionary ideas. Thus the chief prosecutor, Meletus, asked for the death penalty.

In which way does Socrates meet these capital indictments? Plato has reported on this in *The Apology of Socrates*, and although he

might have used a somewhat poetic description of the factual events, I have no doubt that, on the whole, he provides us with a reliable report on what actually has happened.

First of all Socrates, after having listened patiently to the speeches of his accusers, describes the situation he now has to face as the outcome of all the defamations he had to cope with when only trying to find out what the God at Delphi really had meant in addressing him as the wisest of all living men. Then he deals with the two main points of the accusation namely his corrupting the youth and his disbelieving in the traditional Gods. Socrates rejects the first point on the following grounds: How could any reasonable person, thus he asks, wittingly or purposely teach his disciples a bad conduct of life? For everybody knows that good actions only derive from the good and bad ones from the bad. If, therefore, one wants to receive good and graceful actions from one's disciples, one has to try to make them better instead of worse.

Let us quote from his rejecting this charge of corrupting the youth since this passage gives a concise description of Socrates' method and aim as well as it is an excellent example for Plato's lucid style of writing (I quote from G. Lowes Dickinson's *Plato and His Dialogues*, Penguin Books, 1947, p. 31 f.):

"I will never do what I know to be evil and shrink in fear from what, for aught I can tell, may be a good. If you were therefore to say to me 'Socrates, this time we will not listen to Anytus: we will let you go; but on this condition, that you cease from carrying on this search of yours, and from philosophy; if you are found following those pursuits again, you shall die': I say, if you offered to let me go on these terms, I should reply: 'Athenians, I hold you in the highest regard and love; but I will obey God rather than you: and as long as I have breath and strength I will not cease from philosophy, and from exhorting you, and declaring the truth to every one of you whom I meet, saying, as I am wont, My excellent friend, you are a citizen of Athens, a city which is very great and very famous for wisdom and power of mind; are you not ashamed of caring so much for the making of money, and for reputation, and for honour? Will you not think or care about wisdom, and truth, and the perfection of your soul?' And if he disputes my words, and says that he does care about these things,

I shall not forthwith release him and go away: I shall question him and cross-examine him and test him: And if I think that he has not virtue, though he says that he has, I shall reproach him for setting the lower value on the most important thing, and a higher value on those that are of less account. This I shall do to every one whom I meet, young or old, citizen or stranger: but more especially to the citizens, for they are nearly akin to me. For, know well, God has commanded me to do so. And I think that no better piece of fortune has ever befallen you in Athens than my service to God. For I spend my whole life in going about and persuading you all to give your first and chiefest care to the perfection of your souls, and not till you have done that to think of your bodies, or your wealth; and telling you that virtue does not come from wealth, but that wealth, and every other good thing which men have, whether in public, or in private, comes from virtue. If then I corrupt the youth by this teaching, the mischief is great: but if any man says that I teach anything else, he speaks falsely. And therefore, Athenians, I say, either listen to Anytus, or do not listen to him: either acquit me, or do not acquit me: but be sure that I shall not alter my way of life; no, not if I have to die for it many times."

In dealing with the second point of the accusation, the charge of religious heresy, he forces the prosecutor to the statement that Socrates does not believe in any Gods but only in demoniac powers. Would it not be logical, thus Socrates asks him, that the one who believes in demoniac powers must also believe in demons? But since demons, according to common opinion, are either Gods themselves or godlike powers, how could he then be accused of atheism!

After this rejection of the accusation in its main points, he gives a brief description of the method and aim of his teaching in the public. He had always considered himself as carrying out the will of the Gods in showing his fellow-countrymen the way to acting morally in accordance with the law, to make them realize that all properties of this world were idle and illusive as compared with the spiritual properties. In pursuing that aim, he had to awaken others from their uncritical and selfcontent belief in their ordinary world view. In doing so he had never acted as a selfsufficient and arrogant know-all. But while doing so he had, indeed, found out that none of his innumerable interlocutors

was able to enlighten him, that they all were quite content with their superficial knowledge whereas they really knew nothing. He, on the contrary, would readily agree that he also knew nothing concerning the essence of things and the values of life, but as against the others he was at least aware of his knowing nothing, and this awareness made him constantly strive after knowledge. The one who knows that he does not know might, however, be called the wisest among human beings. Thus he had not been teaching a distinct set of patterns or rules for thinking and acting but only a method or technique of how to tackle the problems that really matter.

This attitude of making others realize their lack in knowledge did, of course, not gain him many friends, it made him, in fact, unpopular and even hated.

He had, as Socrates continues in his apology, discussed the problems of life and world openly in the market place with people of all walks of life in order to make them reflect on the principles of their thinking and acting and to teach them the proper use of their intellectual powers. This he had considered his one and true profession. How could such an idealistic aim be condemned as spoiling peoples' characters and undermining the foundations of the state!—

We know that finally Socrates was found guilty by the tribunal of 500 Athenians and sentenced to death. The vote was 280 against and 220 in favour of him. His reaction to this verdict proves his unique greatness as a man. Plato reports on this in the second part of the *Apology*. It was customary under Athenian law that in certain circumstances (namely in such cases where the punishment was not prescribed by the law but had to be fixed by the judges) the one found guilty was permitted to suggest an alternate punishment, such as the payment of a heavy fine or else banishment. Thus, after the death sentence, Socrates addresses the tribunal once more. He rejects to plea for an alternate punishment in recalling the main principles of his life and teaching, namely to think right, to talk right, to do right; and with supreme irony he suggests that instead of being punished he be declared a public benefactor.

After such a brave and fearless speech, which had provoked jeers of anger from the tribunal, there was, of course, nothing to be hoped

for a revision of the judgement. With his last words before going to jail he requests the judges to reproach and punish his sons if they should care for riches or for any other thing before virtue.

And he concludes :

“But now the time has come, and we must go hence : I to die and you to live. Whether life or death is better is known to God, and to God alone”.

VII

About his second last day Plato reports in his dialogue *Crito*.

Crito, one of Socrates' closest friends, visits him in jail and tells him that he has arranged everything for his escape, and he tries to convince Socrates that he, since the judgement was obviously against all reason and a despotic violation of justice, should not hesitate to accept his offer. But Socrates firmly rejects Crito's generous offer on the grounds that if he would escape everybody must think that he, who had taught all his life through to comply with the Law, would now in the face of death - recall his teachings and forsake his principles. Suffering injustice from some earthly power, thus he says, does not permit us to do away with Law as such, with the everlasting cosmic principles (*Nomoi*) which alone can be regarded as the valid guidelines of human life.

This argumentation has caused much confusion and even perplexity with regard to the interpretation of the principles of Socratic ethics, and I remember that during my student days immediately after the fall of the so-called Third Reich with its antihumanitarian tyranny, we used to question Socrates' attitude towards Law in ardent debates. Does it not go against reason and morality, thus we used to ask, that one should obey a Law which is obviously neglecting the basic principles of the dignity of man? Should one be loyal to a government the rules and actions of which are apparently based on lawlessness and violence? In other words, should we not only be permitted but even obliged under such conditions to be disobedient to the Law?

Socrates seems to rule out this possibility of disobedience, proving by his behaviour that even an unjust Law should always be obeyed.

But does he really teach or prove this? Let us reflect for a few minute on his argumentation in the *Crito* in order to understand his behaviour and the genuine meaning of his principle of morality. The underlying principle of his argumentation which may at the same time be taken as his fundamental moral principle is that "we ought neither to requite wrong with wrong nor to do evil to anyone, no matter what he may have done to us" (49C). This position is the starting point of the discussion in the *Crito*.

One has to notice that this moral principle rests on a metaphysical one namely, that a good man is in permanent touch with the good as such which alone makes him good and act accordingly; and the only real evil is what aims at a rupture of this metaphysical connection. Consequently, injustice done to a good man is no real evil and therefore of no great moral importance to him. The only way and means of interrupting a good man's being in touch with the good, and thus his being good, is only his doing evil, — from which it follows that it can never be right "to requite wrong with wrong nor to do evil to anyone, no matter what he may have done to us".

Now, if Socrates would disobey the Law, he would injure, do harm, do evil to the Law and thus, according to his principle, do something wrong. The practical consequence of such a disobedience would amount to a destruction of the political and social order, and thus he would unwittingly prove the indictments right that have been raised against him.

But does this argumentation not contradict Socrates' own attitude in the *Apology* which we have cited above namely, that if he were ordered by the state authority to refrain from philosophy, he would certainly not do so since he would obey God rather than the government? We do not think that is a contradiction to what he is practising in the *Crito*, for this seeming contradiction disappears if we realize that in Socrates' conviction he would do wrong and evil to the God and his fellow citizens if he would cease from teaching the way to truth and goodness. "Socrates' action in the *Apology* shows what the good man does when the Laws expect him to harm another better than him. He disobeys. Socrates' action in the *Crito* shows what the good man does when he himself is treated unjustly but is not required to treat others unjustly. He obeys. He obeys because to do otherwise

would be to harm the Laws..."³ Thus we can conclude that Socrates' practice in the *Apology* does not contradict his precept in the *Crito* but is, in fact, in perfect logical consistency with it.—

Finally, a few hours before⁴ his death, we find Socrates — as Plato describes in *Phaedo*—not concerned with any private business but with the immortality of the soul. With great firmness, mental calmness and belief in eternal justice he silences his disciples' lament. Are we not convinced, thus he asks, that the last and final knowledge, the ultimate liberation cannot be achieved on earth? Why, then, should the philosopher be afraid of death? Doing away gently but firmly with all objections of his friends, he shows himself convinced of the immortality of the soul after having left behind the dungeon of the fragile body. And with his last words he advises them to be continuously concerned with strengthening the soul through the virtues of prudence, justice, steadfastness and truth in order to face death as a remedy from the disease of life. With these words he bids farewell to his followers while drinking the hemlock which the jailer had handed him.—

This death is the consequent fulfilment of a life which has been determined by the uncompromising longing for the truth and the good. And when finally asking for the moral this life and death can teach us, does it not consist in Socrates' persistent striving after a harmony of thinking and acting, *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa*? Whether this harmony can verily be reached at all is probably not as important as our constant striving after it, for, as *Kant* has stated in his *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals*, "Nothing can possibly be conceived in the world....which can be called good without limitation except a good will." But good is only a will, and only then, if it is not determined by any kind of selfishness or egotism but if its determining principle is alone the absolute moral law, the realization of which aims at the welfare and moral improvement of mankind as such. This may be taken as the everlasting, the true message and legacy of Socrates of whom Plato writes:

3. From Francis C. Wade, *In Defense of Socrates*, The Review of Metaphysics, Vol. XXV, December 1971, p. 320. Wade's article is a reaction to Rex Martin, *Socrates and Disobedience to Law*, The Review of Metaphysics, Vol. XXIV, September 1970, pp. 21-38.

“Of all the men of his time whom I have known, he was the wisest, the gentlest, and the best.”

In such a philosophy there reveals itself a view of life and world which finds a very similar expression in the *Upaniṣads*. I refer, for instance, to the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad that might have been composed at the time of Socrates. Herein we read (IV, 4, 26 ff.) :

“He who knows (namely the mystery of Brahman) becomes calm, restrained, satisfied, patient and confident, and he sees himself in the (Great) Self, sees all things in the Self... Evil does not overcome him, but he overcomes evil.... Free from evil, free from decay, free from hatred, free from thirst, he becomes a (true) Brahman”—that means, that in him the universal Self and the individual self coincide, become identical : Brahman is Atman, and Atman is Brahman, thus realizing the father’s instruction to the son in the Chāndogya Upaniṣhad (VI, 13), “Tat tvam asi” meaning “You (the individual existence) are That (the universal essence).”

A CRITIQUE OF RAMANUJA’S OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE ADVAITA CONCEPTION OF AVIDYĀ

DR R. BALASUBRAMANIAN

I

Rāmānuja raises seven major objections against the Advaita conception of *avidyā*. He brings in, under each one of these objections, further objections which, if valid, will prove that the Advaita conception of *avidyā* which is central to both its metaphysics and epistemology is untenable. A brief explanation of the Advaita conception of *avidyā* will help us to follow Rāmānuja’s criticism.

According to Advaita, Brahman-Ātman which is pure, undifferentiated, non-relational, non-dual consciousness appears, due to *avidyā*, in the two forms of Īśvara and *jīva*. *Avidyā* is beginning (*anādi*). It is not mere absence of knowledge, but something positive inasmuch as it is responsible for the appearance of the phenomenal world along with both *jīva* and Īśvara. Its ontological status cannot be explained as either real or unreal. It is not unreal because it is experienced; and it is not real because it ceases to exist when Brahman-Ātman is realized. Since it cannot be determined to be either real or unreal, it is said to be *anirvacanīya*. Though beginningless, it has an end, because it can be terminated by Brahman-knowledge. It has two powers—the power of concealment (*āvaraṇa-śakti*) and the power of projection (*vikṣepa-śakti*). According to one explanation, Brahman alone is the locus (*āśraya*) of *avidyā*, for there is nothing else than Brahman to serve as its locus. According to another explanation, the *jīva* is the locus of *avidyā*.

II

In the course of his objection against the Advaita conception of *avidyā*, Rāmānuja says: “It is also not possible to ascribe the

experience of *ajñāna* to Brahman which is by nature one, eternal, free, self-luminous consciousness, for it is of the nature of self-luminous consciousness. If it be said that Brahman, although of the nature of self-luminous consciousness, yet is conscious of *ajñāna* in so far as its (Brahman's) nature is hidden, we ask: What is meant by Brahman's nature being hidden? If by that you mean that Brahman's nature is not illumined, how, we ask, can there be absence of illumination in respect of that (Brahman) which is self-luminous by nature? If you reply that even that (Brahman) may remain in the condition such that it is not luminous because of an outside agency, we reply that, as according to you, consciousness is not an attribute, but constitutes the very nature of Brahman, it would follow that the very nature of Brahman can be destroyed by an outside agency."¹ Rāmānuja's objections are important for three reasons. They enable us first of all to know how Rāmānuja sharply reacted to Advaita. Secondly, though Rāmānuja is neither the first nor the last to criticize Advaita, yet his objections are well-formulated and copious, and there is very little to be added to them by a modern critic of Advaita. Rāmānuja, indeed, takes the shine out of the modern critics of Advaita. Thirdly, the attempt to answer these objections, which is necessary, will help the Advaitin not only to clarify his position, but also to gain thereby an insight into the teachings of Advaita. Rāmarāyakavi (1875-1913) in his scholarly work *Śrī Śaṅkarāśaṅkara-bhāṣya-vimarsaḥ*,² which can be compared in respect of lucidity of expression and profundity of thought to Śaṅkara's writings, has replied in a systematic way to Rāmānuja's objections against Advaita. Let us consider how he answers Rāmānuja's objection mentioned above, which contains two major issues. The first is about the alleged experience of *avidyā* by Brahman, and the second relates to the concealment of Brahman-knowledge by *avidyā*.

III

It must be stated even at the outset that no Advaitin ascribes to Brahman the experience of *ajñāna* (*ajñānānubhava*). Brahman,

according to Advaita, is of the nature of consciousness. Consciousness is distinguished from the subject of consciousness on the one hand, and from the object of consciousness on the other.³ It means that experience (*anubhava*), which is only another name for consciousness, is different from both the subject of experience and the object of experience. Brahman is consciousness; it is not what is conscious of anything, much less of *ajñāna*. Brahman is experience; it is not what experiences anything. It is, therefore, wrong to say that it has the experience, or that it is conscious, of *ajñāna*. This point will be clear if we consider the case of the *jīva*.

Advaita maintains that the *jīva* is the knower, the subject of knowledge or experience. As the knower, the *jīva* can be said to be conscious of, or to have the experience of, *ajñāna*. The fact that every *jīva* claims that it is ignorant testifies to its having the experience of *ajñāna*. But the same thing cannot be said of Brahman. It may be argued that what is true of the *jīva* is also true of Brahman, for the *jīva*, according to Advaita, is no other than Brahman. But this argument overlooks a very important point stressed by Advaita. Advaita does not say that the *jīva*, as such, in its empirical condition is identical with Brahman, but it does say that the *jīva* in its essential nature, i.e. the *jīva* when it is free from *avidyā* and its products, is non-different from Brahman. It means that in its empirical condition the *jīva* who is the cognizer has the experience of *avidyā*.⁴ And so what is true of the *jīva* in its empirical condition does not hold good for Brahman. There is yet another reason to show why Brahman cannot have the experience of *ajñāna*. Both *avidyā* and the phenomenal world which is a product of *avidyā* exist only from the relative empirical standpoint. Only the *jīva* who is in bondage experiences both *avidyā* and the world, but not one who has attained liberation. What binds the individual is the wrong notion that he is the cognizer, the agent of action, and the enjoyer of the fruits of action. Liberation consists in overcoming the wrong notion mentioned above. When the

1. Rāmānuja, *Śrībhāṣyam*, Ed., Uttamur Viraragavacharya, 1963, I, i, 1, p. 123.

2. *Śrī Śaṅkarāśaṅkara-bhāṣya-vimarsaḥ*, published by Kavitha Venkatasubrahmanya Sastri, Guntur, 1953. This work will be referred to hereafter as *SSBV*.

3. *SSBV*, p. 300:

"brahmaiva hyanubhavaḥ. anubhavasya ca na anubhavitṛtaḥ, nāpi anubhāvya-atvaḥ, virodhāt."

4. *Ibid.*, p. 300:

"jīvasya tu ajñānānubhavassambhavati jñātṛtvāt, ahamajña iti pratīteśca."

jīva realizes that it is neither the cognizer, nor the agent, nor the enjoyer, and remains in its own form as non-dual consciousness, it is said to have attained liberation. If even the liberated person does not have the experience of *ajñāna*, it is absurd to say that Brahman which is eternally free has the experience of *ajñāna*. Advaita does not hold the view that Brahman has *ajñānānubhava*. It is not fair on the part of Rāmānuja to foist such a view on Advaita for the purpose of providing grist to his mill of criticism.

Is it possible to say that Īśvara who is also eternally free has the experience of *ajñāna*? The answer is no. Let us examine this possibility for the purpose of substantiating our answer. On what grounds could one argue that Īśvara has the experience of *ajñāna*? It cannot be on the ground that since Īśvara, like the *jīva*, is a knower, He, too, like the *jīva*, has the experience of *ajñāna*. The analogy between the *jīva* and Īśvara in this respect is unsound as there is an essential difference between the two, which cannot be ignored. While the *jīva* is parviscient, Īśvara is omniscient. The latter who has the knowledge of everything cannot say "I am ignorant" in respect of anything. One who claims to be ignorant with regard to anything cannot be omniscient, and one who is omniscient cannot be ignorant of anything.

Is it possible for one to argue on the basis of one's intuition or perception that Īśvara has the experience of *ajñāna*? Īśvara is different from the *jīva*. While it is possible for one to be aware of oneself, one cannot intuit or directly perceive the experience of another person. It means that the *jīva* cannot directly perceive the experience of Īśvara. If so, one cannot argue on the basis of one's intuition that Īśvara has the experience of *ajñāna*. The real position is that Īśvara is omniscient and knows Himself to be omniscient. There is the declaration of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavad-gītā*: "I know the beings that have been (in the past), and that are (now) in existence, O Arjuna, as also those that are yet to be. No one, however, knows me."⁵ *Śruti* also speaks of Īśvara as *sarvajña*, one who knows everything in general and also as *sarvavī*, one who knows everything in detail.⁶ Īśvara, therefore, cannot have the experience of *ajñāna*.

5. VII, 26

6. *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, I, i, 9

It is necessary at this stage to clarify the meaning of the expression "*ajñānānubhava*". We say that while the *jīva* has *ajñānānubhava*, Īśvara does not have *ajñānānubhava*. It will be obvious from this that we use the expression "*ajñānānubhava*" in two different senses. It may mean the cognition or experience to the effect, "I am ignorant;" or it may mean the cognition or experience to the effect, "This is ignorance." When we say that the *jīva* has the experience of *ajñāna*, what we mean is that the *jīva* has the cognition or the experience to the effect, "I am ignorant." But when we deny any such experience to Īśvara, what we mean is that Īśvara has no experience or cognition to the effect, "I am ignorant." But Īśvara does have *ajñānānubhava* in the other sense of the term. Being omniscient, He does know what *ajñāna* is in the same way as He knows any other object, and so He has the cognition or experience to the effect, "This is ignorance."⁷ It means that Īśvara *knows* ignorance, but is not ignorant. When we say that Īśvara has *ajñānānubhava*, it only means that He is the witness to *ajñāna*. Īśvara, it may be stated here, is the witness not only to *avidyā*, but to all its effects as well. That is why Scripture speaks of God or Īśvara as the one "who looks on without eating."⁸ Commenting on this text, Śaṅkara observes: "...God, who is by nature eternal, pure, wise, and free, who is omniscient and has the totality of *māyā* as His limiting adjunct does not taste; for merely by His presence as the eternal witness, He is the director of both the enjoyer and the enjoyed. He is the other one who merely looks on without enjoying." Associated as He is with the adjunct of *avidyā*, Īśvara is the knower (*jñātā*), and as the knower, He has the cognition of everything including *avidyā*. Just as the *jīva* in the normal waking consciousness cognizes the things of the world through the modes of the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇavṛtti*), even so Īśvara cognizes everything through the modes of *avidyā* (*avidyāvṛtti*). This point will be clear if we consider the experience of deep sleep. The *jīva* has not only waking and dream experience, but also the experience of deep sleep (*suṣupti*). The mind which functions in waking and dream states does not function in the state of deep sleep; it becomes quiescent by relapsing into its causal condition of *avidyā*.

7. *ŚŚBV*, p. 301 :

"*idaṁ ajñānaṁ iti ajñānānubhava īśvarasya astyeva, sopādhikātena jñātṛtāt.*"

8. *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, III, i, 1.

And so the *jīva* which is called *Prājña* in the state of deep sleep is not conscious of anything without or within. It has, however, the experience of both *avidyā* and happiness at that time as evidenced by its own subsequent recollection, when it wakes up, to the effect, "I did not know anything," "I slept happily." Only what is experienced can be recollected. We can say, on the basis of recollection, that the *jīva* through *avidyā-vṛtti* had the experience of both *avidyā* and happiness in the state of deep sleep. In the same way, *Īśvara*, too, cognizes everything through *avidyā-vṛtti*.⁹

In the light of what has been said above, it is clear that what is true of *Īśvara* and *jīva* is not true of Brahman which, being devoid of *upādhi*, is pure, undifferentiated, non-relational consciousness. The *ajñānānubhava* of the *jīva* is in the form "I am ignorant", while that of *Īśvara* is in the form "This is ignorance". But Brahman, the pure consciousness, does not have *ajñānānubhava* at all in any form whatsoever.

The critic may argue in a different way to show that the Advaita explanation of *Īśvara*'s *ajñānānubhava* is untenable. Does the valid cognition generated by a *pramāṇa*, the critic argues, remove *avidyā* or not? If it does, does *Īśvara* have the valid cognition or not? If He does have, how can it be said, the critic urges, that He has *ajñānānubhava*? The point of the critic here is that valid cognition and ignorance are opposed to each other; consequently, if *Īśvara* has valid cognition, He cannot have the experience of *avidyā*. If He does not have valid cognition, He cannot be omniscient. The argument may be restated in the form of a dilemma. If *Īśvara* has valid cognition, He cannot experience *avidyā*; and if He does not have valid cognition, He cannot be omniscient. Either He has valid cognition or not. It follows, therefore, that either He does not experience *avidyā* or that He is not omniscient. If it be said that the valid cognition generated by a *pramāṇa* does not remove *avidyā*, it would jeopardize Scripture. Scripture is accepted as a *pramāṇa* on the ground that it gives rise to the valid cognition, which removes ignorance. And if the valid cogni-

tion is not competent to remove ignorance and thereby bring about liberation, there is no need for Scripture. The Advaitin has to face, according to the critic, this awkward situation which is the result of his own philosophical standpoint: either he must say that *Īśvara* has no *ajñānānubhava* or that He is not omniscient; and the attempt to avoid this undesirable conclusion will endanger the scope and utility of Scripture.

The argument of the critic no doubt looks formidable. But the standpoint of Advaita is, indeed, impregnable. By clarifying the nature of both the valid cognition and *avidyā*, which are opposed to each other, it can be shown that *Īśvara* has the experience of *ajñāna* in the form "This is ignorance", and that such an experience on His part is not prejudicial to His omniscience. The Advaitin readily admits that a valid cognition generated by a *pramāṇa* removes ignorance. But he insists that it can do its function fully only in the absence of obstacle. It means that a valid cognition, when there is no obstacle, removes ignorance *in toto*; however, if there is some obstacle, it removes ignorance only partially.¹⁰ There is also another point to be stressed here. Valid cognition is of two kinds—mediate (*parokṣa*) and immediate (*aparokṣa*). Ignorance by its very nature is such that it is removable by valid cognition. Taking into consideration the two powers of *avidyā*,—the power of concealment and the power of projection—*avidyā* also can be spoken of as of two kinds—(1) "*avidyā*-which-conceals" and (2) "*avidyā*-which-projects". The former functions in two ways. It may conceal the very existence of an object, as when one says, "Brahman does not exist." Or, it may conceal the direct cognition of an object, as when we say, "I do not see Brahman." Of the two functions of concealment, the first is removed by the mediate cognition (*parokṣa-jñāna*) that Brahman exists, and the second by the immediate cognition (*aparokṣa-jñāna*), "I am Brahman." A brief explanation will be helpful here. A person may hold the view that Brahman does not exist; and this is due to the fact that the existence-aspect of Brahman is concealed from him by *avidyā*. On his own reconsideration of the

9. ŚŚBV, p. 301:

"*suṣuptau jīvasyāpi avidyāvṛttirūpa-jñāna-aṅgikārācca antaḥkaraṇasyeva ajñānasyāpi vṛttirjñānarūpāstyeva.*"

10. *Ibid.*, p. 301:

"*pratibandha-rahitameva pramāṇajñānaṁ sarvātmanā ajñānaṁ nivartayati, satī tu pratibandhe pramāṇajñānāt ajñānasya ekadeśenaiva nivṛttiḥ.*"

problem taking advantage of the arguments of others which are designed to show that Brahman, the ultimate reality, must exist, he may be thoroughly convinced of the existence of Brahman. The knowledge which he has of Brahman at this stage is indirect or mediate (*parokṣa*); and this knowledge which is mediate has removed that aspect of ignorance which has concealed the existence of Brahman. Notwithstanding this knowledge, he cannot claim that he has a direct or immediate (*aparokṣa*) cognition of Brahman. When he attains this immediate cognition through Scripture, he realizes that he is no other than Brahman, by sublating the other aspect of ignorance which obstructs the direct cognition of Brahman. In short, the twofold functioning of *avidyā*-which-conceals gets removed by the two kinds of valid cognition called *parokṣa-jñāna* and *aparokṣa-jñāna*.

What is it, then, that removes "*avidyā*-which-projects" which is left over? The same immediate cognition (*aparokṣa-jñāna*) of Brahman removes even this kind of *avidyā* only when there is no obstacle to it in the form of *prārabdha*.¹¹ Though it is a valid cognition, it does not remove the projecting power of *avidyā* so long as there is an obstacle in the form of *prārabdha*. The point can be made clear by considering the case of a *jīvanmukta*, the liberated-in-life. As a result of the direct cognition of Brahman, a *jīvanmukta* realizes that he is identical with Brahman; i.e. he remains as Brahman, the non-dual reality. It means that he knows the truth by uncovering the twofold veils of *avidyā*. But since he is tenanted as it were the body which continues due to *prārabdha-karma*, he sees the appearance of the world knowing full well that it is illusory; and the appearance of the world is due to the projecting power of *avidyā*. Unlike others, he is only a witness and not a victim to the phantom world.

It may look queer to speak of *prārabdha* of *Īśvara*, as if He is like any other ordinary *jīva*, for the purpose of accounting for His experience of the projecting power of *avidyā*. *Prārabdha* is that *karma* which has commenced its action by giving rise to the present body of a *jīva*. The *jīva* has *prārabdha* because he is the agent of actions and the

11. *Ibid.*, p. 301 :

ajñāna-tatkārya-pratibhāsa-janakaṁ vikṣepakaṁ tatprārabdharūpa-pratibandh-arahita aparokṣa-jñānāt nivartate."

enjoyer of the fruits of his actions. Of the various *karman* done by him, that which has begun to fructify by giving rise to his present body is called *prārabdha*. Inasmuch as *Īśvara* is neither the agent nor the enjoyer, it rules out, one may argue, the possibility of *prārabdha* in His case.

This argument also is based on very many misconceptions about *Īśvara*. Since *Īśvara* creates the world and maintains and rules it, He is undoubtedly an agent. And if He is an agent, He must also be an enjoyer of the consequences of His action. The really important question here is whether *Īśvara* is trapped by His deeds and falls a victim to the allurements of the consequences of His deeds. The answer is in the negative. He is not only omniscient, but also, as the *Upaniṣad* says, the wielder of *māyā*.¹² The exalted status of *Īśvara* is not in any way inimical to His being an agent and an enjoyer, for they are not mutually opposed. What, then, is the obstacle that prevents the removal of *vikṣepa*, the projecting power of *avidyā*, in the case of *Īśvara*? Just as in the case of a *jīvanmukta* the persistence of the *karma* which is the cause of his physical body is the obstacle, even so in the case of *Īśvara* the persistence of the *karman* which have given rise to the physical bodies of all the *jīvas* is the obstacle that stands in the way of the removal of *vikṣepa*. It must be borne in mind that *Īśvara* is the cosmic being connected with the gross physical universe.¹³ The implication here is that *Īśvara* must continue to be the witness to the appearance of the phantom world till all the *jīvas* attain liberation, and that He must await the liberation of all the *jīvas* for attaining His liberation from the gross physical body of the universe. If we can speak of *videhamukti* as final liberation coincident with the termination of the physical body, then there is an important difference between a *jīvanmukta* and *Īśvara* in attaining the final liberation. For the former, there is delay in attaining final liberation, as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* says, only till the falling off of his physical body;¹⁴ for the latter the delay is till the final termination of the entire gross physical body of

12. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, IV, 10

13. *ŚŚBV*, p. 301 :

"*yathā jīvājñānanivṛtteḥ jīva-sthūladeha ārambhakaṁ karma pratibandhaḥ, tathā īśvarājñānanivṛtterapi sarvajīva-sthūladeha-ārambhakaṁ karmāṇyeva.*"

14. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI, xiv, 2.

the universe. Īśvara has to do His work till all the jīvas attain liberation. According to the merits and demerits of the deeds of the individuals, He has to provide them with suitable bodies and the objects of enjoyment; and He has to keep Himself engaged in this work of dispensation of justice till the attainment of universal salvation (*sarva-mukti*). The comparison of Īśvara with a *jīvanmukta* is, therefore, apt. There is, however, an important difference between them. Īśvara is *nitya-jīvanmukta*, one who is ever liberated-in-life.¹⁵ There is no transition for Him from the state of bondage to that of liberation. For the *jīva*, the state of liberation is preceded by that of bondage. Caught up as he is in the wheel of transmigratory existence, he becomes the liberated-in-life through attaining the saving knowledge.

It is true that Īśvara is different from the *jīva*. But one should not argue on this ground that there is no living-status (*jīvatva*) for Īśvara. Both *jīva* and Īśvara are conditioned selves. Though both of them in their essential nature are identical with the pure, undifferentiated, consciousness, which is Brahman, they become limited as it were due to their association with the body (*śarīra*), and assume the living-status (*jīvatva*). In other words, the non-dual Self appears due to *avidyā* in the different individual (*vyāṣṭi*) and cosmic (*samaṣṭi*) forms. Prājña, Taijasa, and Viśva are the names given to the individual forms of the Self, taking into consideration the adjuncts and the state of experience in each case. In the same way, Īśvara, Hiraṇyagarbha, and Virāj are the names given to the cosmic forms of the Self. Advaita works out a parallelism between the three individual and the three cosmic forms, both in respect of their adjuncts and states of experience. The point to be noted here is the difference between the individual form of the Self called Prājña and the cosmic form of the Self called Īśvara. Prājña who has the sheath of bliss (*ānanda-maya-kośa*) for its adjunct is not conscious of anything in the state of deep sleep, because the mind becomes quiescent in deep sleep by relapsing into its causal condition of *avidyā*. It means that for Prājña there is no *vikṣepa*, the appearance of anything subjective or objective, due to the projective power of *avidyā*. However, Prājña suffers from *āvaraṇa*, because it does not know its real nature

due to the work of concealment by *avidyā*. But the position is reversed in the case of Īśvara who has the unmanifest *māya-avidyā* as His adjunct. Being omniscient, He is not overpowered by the concealing power of *avidyā*. He knows everything—His own nature as well as that of others. He is the witness to everything. He is not taken in by the appearance of the phantom world. In short, though there is *vikṣepa*, there is no *āvaraṇa* for Him. We have already explained why a part of *avidyā* in the form of the projective appearance (*vikṣepa*) persists for Īśvara. It means that Īśvara has the experience of *ajñāna* in so far as He knows or witnesses both *ajñāna* and the phantom world which is its handiwork.

The critic raises now a different objection. If Brahman which is consciousness is partless and non-dual, there is strictly speaking no duality. The real difficulty with Advaita, the critic urges, is that not only it seeks to establish non-duality as the ultimate truth, but also argues for the distinction between Īśvara and *jīva* on the one hand, and the difference of both Īśvara and *jīva* from Brahman on the other. Advaita, for example, says that while the *jīva* is a victim to the concealing power of *avidyā*, Īśvara is not. So far as Brahman, the pure consciousness, is concerned, it is affected, according to Advaita, neither by the concealing nor by the projecting power of *avidyā*. The substance of this objection is (1) that Advaita blows hot and cold as it goes back and forth between non-duality and duality, and (2) that since Brahman is partless and non-dual, distinctions such as Īśvara and *jīva* are not possible therein.

Both the points in the objection are untenable. Though Brahman, the ultimate reality, is one and non-dual, it is on account of *avidyā* that the distinctions such as Īśvara and *jīva* arise. It is *avidyā* that makes the non-dual Brahman-consciousness appear in the two forms of Īśvara and *jīva*. No rational account of both *avidyā* and its products is possible. *Avidyā* does not brook inquiry. It is a puzzle to the inquiring mind. That is why it is said to be *anirvacanīya*. If any intelligible explanation can be given to it, it ceases to be *avidyā*. According to Advaita, Brahman alone is. Neither *avidyā*, nor the *jīva*, nor Īśvara, nor the world, really exists. But from the relative empirical standpoint, all these, starting from *avidyā*, exist in Brahman. It is wrong to say that the Advaitin vacillates between non-duality

15. ŚSBV, p. 302:

“*nitya-jīvanmukta eveśvaro, natu videhamukta iti.*”

and duality, or that he is inconsistent by admitting both non-duality and duality. According to Advaita, non-duality and duality belong to two different levels or standpoints. From the absolute standpoint (*pāramārthika*), Brahman, the ultimate reality, is non-dual (*advitīyam*) and free from attributes (*nirguṇa*). But from the relative standpoint (*vyāvahārika*) of *avidyā*, it appears as caught up in distinctions (*bheda*) and as endowed with attributes (*saguṇa*). When we view the ultimate reality from these two standpoints, we speak of it as Brahman-in-itself and as Brahman-in-relation-to-the-world. So long as we are in the relative standpoint of *avidyā*, both *Īśvara* and *jīva* are different from each other, and also are different from Brahman. The charge of vacillation or inconsistency will hold good only if from one and the same standpoint the Advaitin adopts both non-dualistic and dualistic interpretations of the ultimate reality.

The Advaitin denies the experience of *ajñāna* to Brahman, but ascribes such an experience to the *jīva* which is no other than Brahman. This amounts to saying, the critic argues, that Brahman has the experience of *ajñāna*. This argument is wrong. As stated earlier, it is through *avidyā* that Brahman attains the status of the *jīva*. If one thing appears as something else, it is due to *avidyā*, and *avidyā* alone. Instances are not wanting to show how one thing due to ignorance appears as something else. The mirage appearing as water, and a rope appearing as a snake are well-known. If it is admitted that Brahman, on becoming the *jīva*, has the experience of *avidyā*, it only means that it is the *jīva*, and not Brahman, which experiences *avidyā*. Brahman as such cannot experience anything. The *jīva*, on the contrary, has the necessary equipment such as the mind for undergoing the experience of *avidyā*; but Brahman has none, for it is pure, undifferentiated consciousness, free from the limiting adjuncts. What holds good for the *jīva* does not hold good for Brahman. We can drive home the point by means of an example. We make a distinction between *Viśva* and *Taijasa*. The former is the self of waking experience, and the latter is that of dream experience. *Viśva* as such is not the experiencer of dream. It is not possible for it to have such an experience. But when it becomes *Taijasa*, it experiences dream, for it is then in the appropriate condition for the experience of dream. If it is asked, "Who experiences dream?" the answer is *Taijasa*. What is possible for *Taijasa* is not possible for *Viśva*.

Similarly what is possible for the *jīva* is not possible for Brahman, though it is true that Brahman itself has become the *jīva* due to *avidyā*. It is for this reason that Advaita ascribes to the *jīva* the experience of ignorance but denies any such experience to Brahman, the pure non-dual consciousness.

IV

Let us now take up the second issue in Rāmānuja's criticism, which is concerned with the question of the concealment of the nature of Brahman. We can link the discussion on this issue with the earlier one in this way. The problem to be considered at this stage is whether the Advaita view that Brahman-consciousness, which constitutes the essential nature of the *jīva*, is concealed by *avidyā* is tenable. If this were tenable, then Advaita, the critic argues, would be justified in its view that the *jīva* whose essential nature is concealed by *avidyā* experiences *avidyā*. That it is not tenable, is the contention of Rāmānuja. Let us examine his argument.

Brahman, according to Advaita, is of the nature of consciousness which is self-luminous: consciousness, that is to say, is not the attribute of Brahman; rather it constitutes the essential nature of Brahman. If so, what does the Advaitin mean, asks Rāmānuja, when he speaks of the essential nature of Brahman being concealed or hidden by *avidyā*? Not only here in the course of his sharp criticism of the second point, but also elsewhere Rāmānuja says that the concealment of the self-luminous consciousness cannot mean anything but its destruction. He tries to substantiate his contention as follows. There are, according to him, two possibilities here: concealment of consciousness may mean either obstructing the origination of consciousness or destroying consciousness that exists.¹⁶ He says that the first alternative is not possible, for, according to Advaita, there is no origination for consciousness. Only if there is origination for consciousness, one can think of some obstruction to its origination. So the first alternative has to be ruled out. According to Rāmānuja, there is every justification for the second alternative. *Svarūpa-*

16. Rāmānuja, *Śrībhāṣyam*, I, i, 1, p. 115:

"*prakāśa-tirodhānam nāma prakāśotpatti-pratibandhaḥ, vidyamānasya vināśo vā*".

tirodhāna, Rāmānuja says, is *svarūpa-aprakāśa*. Hiding or concealing consciousness, which is the essential nature of Brahman, means causing the absence of consciousness. That is, because of the concealment, what is self-luminous consciousness ceases to be so; it means the loss of the essential nature of Brahman. To say that there is the loss of the essential nature of Brahman through *avidyā*, an outside agency, is to say that there is the loss of Brahman itself. The Advaitin could at least save Brahman if he is prepared to admit that consciousness is only an attribute of Brahman, for the loss of an attribute does not mean the loss of the thing of which it is an attribute; but the loss of the essential nature of a thing means the loss of the thing itself. Since the Advaitin says that consciousness is the essential nature of Brahman, the concealment of the essential nature of Brahman through *avidyā* can only mean, concludes Rāmānuja, the loss of Brahman itself.

Rāmānuja's argument is, indeed, ingenious. That he deliberately twists the meaning of the word "concealment" (*āvaraṇa*) out of shape in order to serve his purpose, will be obvious to any simple minded person. Consider the case of an object which has been concealed from me. When some one asks me whether I know that object, I reply to the effect that I do not know its existence and that I do not see it, because it has been concealed from me. Because of the concealment I am not able to claim that it exists or that it is directly seen by me. It does not follow from this that there is loss of that object. The same thing may be said of Brahman. When Brahman is concealed by *avidyā*, I am not able to say that it exists or that it is directly seen by me. It means that it is not an object of knowledge in the sense that its existence is not known to me or that it is not directly perceived by me.¹⁷ It does not, however, mean that there is loss of Brahman because of its concealment by *avidyā*. When the veil of *avidyā* is removed through knowledge, one may claim that Brahman exists or that it is directly seen. It must be borne in mind that this explanation of the work of *avidyā* is given from the relative standpoint of *vyavahāra*. From the absolute standpoint, there is no *avidyā* at all,

17. ŚŚBV, p. 279:

"brahmaṇastirodhānaṁ nāma asti bhāti iti vyavahārāviśayaatvāpattiḥ."

and Brahman alone is; if so, Brahman is neither concealed nor destroyed by *avidyā*.

One may argue that there is a basic difference between the concealment of Brahman and the concealment of other objects. Everything other than Brahman is, according to Advaita, insentient. Consider the case of the concealment of a pot. It is no doubt true that the concealment of a pot does not mean loss or destruction of a pot. But the position is different in the case of Brahman which is of the nature of self-luminous knowledge or consciousness. If the Advaitin admits the possibility of concealment of Brahman-knowledge by ignorance, it can only mean, the critic may argue, the loss or destruction of Brahman-knowledge, for knowledge and ignorance, according to Advaita, are mutually exclusive like light and darkness.

This argument is not convincing. It may be stated here first of all that the point at issue is not the difference between Brahman, which is knowledge or consciousness by nature, and other objects, which are insentient, for this difference is accepted by Advaita. Secondly, it is also true, according to Advaita, that knowledge (*jñāna*) and ignorance (*ajñāna*) are mutually opposed like light and darkness. A little clarification of the second point, however, is necessary to do justice to the standpoint of Advaita. Advaita makes a distinction between *svarūpa-jñāna* which is Brahman, and *ṛtti-jñāna* which is cognition or knowledge through the mental mode. When Advaita says that knowledge is opposed to ignorance, the knowledge that is spoken of here is *ṛtti-jñāna* and not *svarūpa-jñāna*. It is not necessary here to consider whether such a distinction between *ṛtti-jñāna* and *svarūpa-jñāna* is tenable at all. The point to be stressed here is that Advaita draws a distinction between the two and says that Brahman which is knowledge by nature (*svarūpa-jñāna*) is not opposed to *avidyā*. If the two are opposed to each other, there is some substance in the criticism that its concealment of Brahman-knowledge by *avidyā* amounts to the destruction or loss of Brahman-knowledge. Far from being opposed to *avidyā* Brahman-knowledge is helpful to it not only in the sense that it serves as its locus, but also in the sense that it reveals it. If we say that there is *avidyā*, that it conceals Brahman-knowledge, and so on, it is only through Brahman-knowledge. So Brahman-knowledge and *avidyā* are related as the locus and the contained and also as

the revealer and the revealed.¹⁸ When *avidyā*, though revealed by Brahman, conceals it, we say that Brahman is not known; and when *avidyā* is removed by the unitary cognition through the mental mode (*akhaṇḍākāra-vṛtti-jñāna*), we say that Brahman is known. Just as we say that a pot is known or not known, even so we say that Brahman is known or not known. These two, i.e. its being known and not known, presupposes *avidyā*; by assuming the existence of *avidyā* and its work of concealment, we say that Brahman is not known, and by assuming *avidyā* and its removal we say that Brahman is known. Further, our claim that Brahman is known or that it is not known, is based on the work of the internal organ. In other words, one may have the cognition, "Brahman exists," or "Brahman does not exist." Or, one may have the cognition, "I directly see Brahman," or "I do not see Brahman." The cognition that one has in all these cases is *vṛtti-jñāna*, which is different from Brahman which is *svarūpa-jñāna*. If so, just because one has the cognition that Brahman does not exist or that Brahman is not seen, it does not follow that there is no Brahman. In other words, the concealment of Brahman as indicated by these cognitions does not imply the loss or destruction of Brahman, for every such *vṛtti-jñāna* presupposes *svarūpa-jñāna*.

V

It is necessary at this stage to consider a basic objection of Rāmānuja. We stated earlier that the concealment of Brahman does not mean the loss or destruction of Brahman. Rāmānuja now argues that the concealment of Brahman-knowledge is not at all possible. It is his contention that the Advaita explanation in this regard is fallacious. To quote Rāmānuja: "*Ajñāna* which is the cause of the concealment of Brahman's nature hides Brahman in so far as Brahman is conscious of it, and on the other hand that having hidden Brahman, it becomes the object of consciousness on the part of Brahman; and this evidently involves the fallacy of mutual dependence (*anyonyāśraya*)."¹⁹ In short, Rāmānuja thinks that Advaita cannot give an intelligible explanation of the process of the concealment of Brahman.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 280 :

"*yadajñānaṁ yacca ajñānena viśayikṛtaṁ yadvṛtti-jñānaṁ yacca tena viśayikṛtaṁ tatsarvam vastusāmānyena brahma avabhāsayateva.*"

19. Rāmānuja, *Śrībhāṣyam*, I, i, l, p. 123

This objection is wrong. First of all, Advaita, as stated earlier, does not hold the view that Brahman is conscious of *ajñāna*. When Rāmānuja asks whether *avidyā* first conceals Brahman and then becomes an object of Brahman's consciousness, or whether it first becomes an object of Brahman's consciousness and then hides it, he proceeds on the wrong assumption that Brahman, according to Advaita, is conscious of *avidyā*. Since Advaita denies *ajñānānubhava* to Brahman, the entire criticism of Rāmānuja is misconceived. Secondly, if the problem here is formulated in the way in which it has been done by Rāmānuja, the Advaita position no doubt is vitiated by the fallacy of mutual dependence (*anyonyāśraya*). But Advaita explains the position in an entirely different way. According to Advaita, *avidyā*, which conceals Brahman is experienced by the *jīva* and not by Brahman.²⁰ So the Advaita view that Brahman-knowledge is concealed by *avidyā* is quite tenable. Brahman-in-itself is neither the witness to, nor has the experience of, *avidyā*. While Īśvara knows both *avidyā* and its manifestations, it is the *jīva* which is really the victim of *avidyā*. The redeeming feature here is that the *jīva* knows that it is ignorant.

20. *ŚŚBV*, p. 304 :

"*br ahmāvṛtya sthītaeva tadajñānaṁ jīvenānubhūyata iti anyonyāśrayābhāvāt.*"

SOCIO-CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF SCIENCE

DR C. M. ABRAHAM

“To attain the most thorough knowledge of any subject, it is always important to trace its beginnings and evolution. Such a study is not only the best cure for pessimism in social outlook: it also gives most valuable suggestions as to possibilities of future progress.”

Sir Arthur Newsholme.

What is Science?

At the outset let us examine the question—What is Science?

Laymen and students have vague and erroneous conceptions of what science is. Some say that science is coloured liquid in a test tube; others opine that science is the whole paraphernalia in the laboratory; still others view it as a terminology mixed with mathematical formulae or exhibited by an array of equations. These notions reveal that they equate science with its products. But one of the distinguishing marks of science is its methodology. Indeed, many interpreters of science regard this as its most important characteristic feature and hence when a general criterion or definition of science is attempted, it is found that such a definition tends to be in terms of method rather than of subject matter. When we say that science is a body of organized and verifiable knowledge, it amounts to saying that this systematic knowledge has been reached by applying the scientific method. Thus we can say that if our knowledge has been derived on the basis of certain principles and if that knowledge is applicable for the purpose of prediction and control, then that body of knowledge could properly be designated as science to the extent that it has been scientifically derived. In other words science is related to

research as results to process. It is knowledge which has been tested and set in order. It embodies the idea of orderly, systematic and coherent arrangement of material which is brought out by research. Thus when science is defined in terms of its method, we can legitimately consider it as a unity and that various sciences are merely convenient differentiations of the unity on the basis of different problems to which the common method is applied.

A more inclusive usage is that of certain attitude, point of view or in reality a way of living. This is the meaning conveyed when scientific attitude is viewed as more than a devotion to the fearless and unfettered quest for truth or facts. Science has been accepted as the dominant inspiration of modern culture and scientific knowledge is concerned with phenomena and laws on which all qualified and thoughtful persons would eventually agree irrespective of their individual beliefs, opinions and tastes. Rene Dubos very rightly pointed out that the quest for the real, the verifiability of assertions, clarity in the definitions of the terms employed, consistency in the affirmations stated in those terms and humble respect for all the discoverable facts relevant to the problem under study, are all fundamental to the practice of science constitute, indeed, its very bed-rock. Thus, in short, science is an attitude and expression of man's painstaking, continuous and fearless search for truth.

Some others regard science as an encounter with nature and an experience in creativity in mastering or taming nature. The insights and facilities which science affords now are invaluable.

Moreover science is considered as a potent force which has won a measure of freedom for the human mind, by fighting against superstition and ignorance. It stood for freedom of inquiry, critical thinking and for an experimental approach in the attack upon problems. It tests our ideas on the touchstone of fact. C. A. Coulson writes that science is an essentially religious activity. It is part of religion and the splendour, the power, the dynamic and progressive character of science are nothing but the splendour and the power and the dynamic character of God, progressively revealed to us.

In the last analysis, science is considered as a process. It is an actual social enterprise, an undertaking, an historical movement.

It is intensely dynamic. The most important attribute of science is not knowledge, but its capacity for acquisition of knowledge. By derivation 'scientific' implies knowledge making and no body of doctrine which is not growing—which is not actually in the making—can long retain the attributes of science.

A. N. Whitehead reminds us that science rose as a "new colouring of ways of thought", which 'had been proceeding slowly for many ages in the European peoples.' He says it was "...just that slightest change of tone which yet makes all the difference," a change which "to modern minds has resulted in a vehement and passionate interest" in the relation to general principles to irreducible and stubborn facts. He continues "The appeal to brute fact against the arguments of reason, based on fixed presuppositions, is the essence of science. Science Opposes IS to MUST BE. Reason is, ofcourse, essential; but it is applied after the facts have been ascertained and not before."

Now let me discuss the conditions favourable to scientific inquiry.

Conditions Favourable to Scientific Inquiry.

Science or scientific inquiry, is possible in a society in which certain attitudes are developed or tolerated. Scientific investigation, to be successful requires on the part of the investigator, not only intelligence but also certain mental attitudes such as curiosity, skepticism of explanation based only on tradition or ancient authorities, objectivity etc. He must be allowed and must also seek impartially and courageously for the truth. He must make every effort not to allow his emotions, personal biases, pre-conceptions, whims and fancies to interfere with the collection and interpretation of data. A. N. Whitehead writes that China, Persia, India, Rome and even Greece did not develop the true scientific spirit of our time.

We will now pass on to the beginnings of science.

Beginnings of Science.

Man's life on earth was and is full of intriguing phenomena and these provided the raw materials for science. Hence in reality the beginnings of science dates back to the beginnings of men because from earliest times he was confronted with many a baffling problems which

have a direct bearing on his welfare and even on his survival. The earliest or the first recorded attempts at science were those of the Egyptians, who partially in response to the annual flooding of the Nile, developed the calendar, geometry and surveying. These achievements were followed by the less concentrated but nonetheless valuable contributions of the Babylonian and Hindu civilization. Then came the Greeks who had discovered the basic geometrical forms. They also developed astronomy, medicine and Aristotelean system of classification, but also the syllogism, as the basis for further deductive systematization of experience. The Arab mathematicians had provided in algebra a method which made detailed calculations possible. In the words of Bertrand Russell all these show that in different early civilizations, science had a fitful flickering existence.

This poses the question—While we could see the beginnings of science in early times, Why science could not develop fast? Though men have existed on this planet in much their present physical conditions and with probably the same mental capacity for 50,000 years or more, why only in the 15th and 16th centuries the modern scientific spirit developed? The reasons for the late development of science could be summarised as follows :

1. Some historians have pointed that the widespread practice of slavery prevented the Orientals and the Greeks from engaging in the ordinary manual labour and thereby deprived them from intimate contact with concrete problems.
2. Secondly the wide spread christian belief in the 'other-worldly' affairs and the conception of work as punishment and the reminder of original sin, weakened human interest in the affairs of this world.
3. Thirdly the belief that the traditional way of doing things is the only right way and that any serious deviation from established procedures is a danger to the group as a whole.
4. Fourthly there were no means of combining the efforts of many individuals. The intellectual efforts of the Greeks were clearly equal to those of any other age and the reasons that they did not progress further in science, after making all

the necessary and basic mathematical abstractions, are possibly the lack of this basic machinery of co-operation. Possibly also they did not have the patience and interest to study apparently trivial effects and curious phenomena.

5. Fifthly, intellectual curiosity did not bring any reward in the form of popular recognition. Even the withdrawn Darwin was willing to admit in his autobiography this fact. Darwin writes "My love of natural science has been steady and ardent. This pure love, has however been much aided by the ambition to be esteemed by my fellow naturalists."
6. Lastly in the words of A. N. Whitehead "Until the close of the Middle Ages, men did not look on facts as exemplars of general principles or feel impelled to examine them minutely in order to discover these principles."

The foregoing discussions prepared the way for the discussion of the socio-cultural foundations of science.

Socio-cultural foundations of science.

The development of modern science had to wait until the Crusades, the Renaissance, the great voyages of discovery, the reformation and other historical developments had helped people to turn away from mystical explanations and from the hold of tradition, ancient authorities and religious dictates and to accept natural and scientific explanations of social and physical phenomena. These events had freed men and women to doubt, to question, to investigate, to experiment and to demonstrate 'God's laws'.

The crusades awakened in the nation of Western Europe the spirit of a new life. This new spirit showed itself in the development of vernacular literatures in Spain, Italy, France and England. These native literatures anticipated the approaching Renaissance, for there was in them a note of freedom, a note of protest against the medieval asceticism and ecclesiastical restraint. Moreover these literatures for the first time appealed to the masses and stirred the Universal mind of Europe.

The Renaissance brought about a change in the attitude and outlook of men towards life and the world. It encouraged people

to discard authority and dogma and apply the test of reason to everything. It also taught people that life and its pleasures could be enjoyed without any danger to the soul. The most essential characteristic of the Renaissance was the "enquiring mind". It prepared the way to find out the truth. It is this conviction vividly poised before the imagination, said A. N. Whitehead which is the motive power of research—that there is a secret, a secret which can be unveiled.

The leaders of Protestant Reformation—Luther and Calvin—conditioned the people for hard work and self-discipline (asceticism) through the new ethic of protestantism they began to propagate. The idea of Calvin that this world is the theatre.....for the glory of God and the new attitude toward work, injected into the people ethical and economic aspirations. The great wave of religious ardour i.e. reformation swept over Europe and Christianity became a practical religion of to guide the daily life of people in their homes and in their professions.

The Renaissance and the Reformation produced what is called Humanism—a sympathetic study of mankind and its problems. The people sought and found basic logical causes for poverty, ignorance and crime and they set about removing these causes. So long as poverty and crime were considered as expressions of 'innate wickedness', so long as misery was sent by God to chasten and purify the soul there was little man could do about the wretchedness surrounding him. But when disease was known to spread in understandable ways, when poverty could be traced to social conditions, physical conditions and old age; when it became obvious that crime and juvenile delinquency are the products of the socio-cultural environment, then men could and did improve conditions. The ardent desire to follow the teachings and example of Jesus motivated many to participate in humanitarian activities. Humanism thus gave birth to men and women who believed that life could and should be better and healthier for all mankind and who were willing to devote their entire lives to the service of mankind. It was also the period which poked and pushed out of its complacency by those who believed that every man is indeed his brother's keeper. There was also a growing faith in the capacity of man to attain the 'good life' through practicing brotherhood in

their communities, and nations, as well as in their houses. There was also a growing recognition of the amazing capacity for all people to develop.

In short we can conclude that the people of Europe moved into the era of scientific tradition, with their minds enlightened by Crusades and Renaissance, equipped with scientific tools through research, motivated by ethical and economic aspirations, spurred by humanitarian action by inspired and wise leaders. In conclusion we can legitimately say that the ferment which agitated the men of the Renaissance and Reformation resulted in the development of science.

FOCUSING ON SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGIC VISION

S. P. APPASAMY

Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem moralia tangunt—Virgil.

This old tag of Virgil—almost untranslatable and yet so telling and so true—sums up Shakespeare's tragic vision so well that it would be wrong to omit it in favour of an English version. G. B. Harrison would translate *lacrimae rerum* as 'a profound moral sense'.¹ Not for nothing did Shakespeare's contemporaries call him 'myriad-minded'. The profundity and totality of his vision seemed to include the individual vision of a multitude of men. Hence it is that many generations of critics have not yet exhausted the complexity and multiple combinations of meaning open to interpretation, especially in the tragedies. Too often, each scholar's reading of the tragedies and of Shakespeare's ultimate philosophy of life is relative—relative to the perspective of that particular scholar, at that particular time. In 1904 A.C. Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy* was regarded as the last word. Bradley himself was both a philosopher and a moralist, and he looked at the tragedies as the supreme presentation of Shakespeare's view of life. Since then we have had a great variety of work done; one has merely to recall the pioneering work of Greg, McKerrow, Pollard, Dover Wilson, on one hand and Chambers, Granville-Barker and Wilson Knight on the other, to bring to mind the variety of over-all studies; not to mention Caroline Spurgeon's work on Shakespeare's imagery, and more recent studies of his rhetoric and diction. Specialist studies have been made of the Elizabethan Age—its language, its ideas, outlook, thought, patterns, view of the universe and theology—in an attempt to come closer to an understanding of Shakespeare's plays as a whole, while on

1. Harrison, G. B. *Shakespearean Tragedy*, Routledge & Kegan Paul; London, 1966, p. 18.

the other hand deeper studies have been made of individual plays. It may not be possible for us here in India to really immerse ourselves in the mental attitudes of Shakespeare's own time, but it may be possible for us to enlarge and widen our own vision to enable us to view, at least panoramically, the height and depth and breadth of vision presented in the tragedies.

While we are all agreed that the finest way of achieving a depth study of Shakespeare should be through an attempt to produce the plays themselves on the stage, we, in India, know too well the complications that this involves in the circumstances and conditions here. Even if we had the wide range of facilities now available in the west for a stage production, we would be brought up sharply against the complexity of utterance, and its rendering, in almost every part of the play; and then again in the totality of meaning that it is possible to convey. Studies in the classroom have too often concerned themselves with details, rather than the totality of the vision of Shakespeare. The complexity and totality may be compared to a large spiders web, suspended from various points of attachment by ligaments of varying length and strength. It is these main ligaments that support the intricate inner web of criss-crossed lines acting and re-acting, supporting and giving support, to each other; but the balanced tension of the web is really supported by the main strands which have an elasticity and tensile strength far beyond the individual stress potential of each strand. In a Shakespearean tragedy, it is such a web of circumstance that is strained by the action to the breaking point, and we are enabled to see exactly where the strains have frayed and broken the finer filaments of human relationships, as well as the broad ligaments leading to crime; and which of the great suspending cables that, provided a balanced tension have been wrenched and torn from their moorings as a result. For too long we have concerned ourselves with an analysis of the frayed and broken finer filaments in the study of motives and character—the details of the web—and have given too little attention to some at least of the great suspending cables that really undergird the whole, maintaining the pattern of life in balance.

The powerful studies of G. Wilson Knight are well known in India, but have not really made an impact on even post-graduate

studies in Shakespeare; while those like Theodore Spencer's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (New York, 1942) and Roland Frye's *Shakespeare and Christian Doctrine* (Princeton, 1968) have made no impact at all. At the expense of over-simplification, let us consider very briefly the way in which four such major strands of suspension support and undergird the tragedies:

1. Fate and Freewill—two great opposites—and possibly the most interesting and intriguing from the Indian point of view, appear in every tragedy in some form or other. In fact we can hardly have satisfying tragedy where these elements are not present. With them we may consider or include Chance and Design, which also appear to be so much a part of the tragedies. Does Shakespeare really present character based on man's freewill as his destiny? Is man in truth the master of his fate, the captain of his soul? There is no doubt in our minds that Man does act, but is he not also acted upon not merely by the other characters, but also by an impending Fate. Is this Fate an overwhelming force that moves him hither and thither on this chequerboard of nights and days, and then lays him back in the closet? Or as I am suggesting, is the web of life held in tension between these great opposites?

2. The Natural and the Unnatural: Even without the benefit of studies such as Danby's, we can perceive that Nature was certainly one of the factors that had great influence in Shakespeare's scheme of things. Man had his place in this scheme—or hierarchy—and if he fell from his place he was 'unnatural'. At the same time men partook of a 'diviner' element and an 'earthier' element, and to remain human was to maintain a balanced tension between these two points. In the same way the social pattern for men was held in balance by nature in the acceptance of factors in the social order such as the divine right of kings, the relation between lord and vassal, between father and son. This tension was possibly much more 'dynamic' in Shakespeare's time, than in ours—never-the-less we can feel this tension acting in the tragedies.

3. Good and Evil: Human life has all too often been pictured as a battleground between the forces of good and evil, of love and hate. Being firmly within the great Christian tradition. Shakespeare

too uses these opposites as points of tension which uphold—or let down—the web of human life, and certainly make for the complexity of human relationships and social patterns. Bradley was at pains to show the destructive nature of evil and to contrast it with the constructive nature of good—with the balance on the side of the good which survived. Our consideration should involve a judgement on whether this is the whole of Shakespeare's vision or merely a part. Are Good and Evil but one of the great pairs of opposites that maintain human life in tension.

4. Reality and Illusion: Here are another great pair of opposites that are not so obvious at first in Shakespeare; but a closer study reveals that he was aware of the place of illusion and the part it plays in the human predicament. Faults of vision and perception may be wholly or partly the cause for tragedy. This pair of opposites may be the dearer to us here in India where life itself may from one point of view be considered as illusory. Shakespeare's use of the faults of perception is a sidelight on his whole view of life which is well worth study in its own right.

There are other strands—great pairs of opposites—which will seem of prime importance to those who perceive them—as for instance Time and Eternity. I have chosen the four above for the purpose of convenience in order to trace in outline their appearance and impact on each of the four great tragedies.

Shakespeare is a dramatist and certainly does not discuss these fundamentals in terms of dialectic—or make his characters do so; he applies the dialectic to real life situations, and presents them in the complex combinations in which they may be found in the human predicament. His method is to spotlight a group of individuals, but this group is placed against a firm social background through which may be perceived a universal background of thought. In this spotlight is caught the intricate and complex part of the web of circumstance, and the action takes place among these finer strands, but we are conscious at some time or other of the tensile strength of the whole web and particularly of the great supporting ligaments. If our interest begins with the intricate action and re-action of character and circumstance in these finer strands of the web, we need also to take

cognisance of the tensions maintained by more fundamental factors in order to get a fuller impression Shakespeare's tragic vision.

Hamlet is one of the most fascinating of dramas in the world; the problems it presents have beguiled students and critics into a whole literature devoted to the play. Perhaps for this very reason our attention has been diverted from larger issues to more intricate problems; yet Shakespeare does present very forcibly some of these ligaments for our notice. The gentle Hamlet is called upon to avenge his fathers murder—

Murder most foul, as in the best it is;
But this most foul, strange, and *unnatural*.

A Queen disloyal to her King, a wife disloyal to her husband, a brother disloyal to his liege lord—Hamlet is admonished: 'If thou hast *nature* in thee, bear it not!' The Queen's hasty marriage with her brother-in-law is equally 'unnatural'. This strain of thought could be followed through the play, taking in the assumed madness of Hamlet and the real madness of Ophelia. In the same way there are subtleties in the Love—Hate pair of opposites in the play. Hamlet's loyalty to his admired father, turns his love for his mother to baffled dislike, and his respect for his uncle, to open hate. His relationship with Ophelia is ambivalent and may be interpreted variously, yet love and frustration are obvious. Laertes thirst for revenge turns his friendship for Hamlet to hate, and so this strand too underlies the play. But possibly the most important is *Fate* and *Freewill*. Is Hamlet an agent—or is he acted upon? Is he more sinned against than sinning? He has sworn to avenge his father—why then is his will to action clogged up? Procrastination is not really a part of his character—he can be as quick as lightning in action. He shows no hesitation in running his rapier through Polonius behind the arras—actually this always comes as a kind of shock on the stage—or in paying back Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in their own coin; he is quick enough in turning the arrival of the players to his own purpose in setting his 'mousetrap' to catch the conscience of the king; and is lightning quick to catch on to the treachery of Laertes. But the tradition of the Revenge play was based on something more than the 'wild justice' of Bacon. This tradition demanded that the victim of revenge should be sent unrepentant to hell. Shakespeare makes this

clear in that scene where he comes on Claudius at his prayers and draws his sword to kill him—but realises that this would not be revenge:

A villain kills my father, and for that
I his sole son do this same villain send
To Heaven.
O this is hire and salary—that is a reward—not revenge.

Therefore Hamlet puts up his sword:

Up sword, and know thou a more horrid hent
When he is drunk asleep; or in his rage,
Or in th'incestuous pleasure of his bed,
At gaming, swearing, or about some act
That has no relish of salvation in 't,
Then trip him, that his heels may kick at Heaven,
And that his soul may be as damn'd and black
As hell whereto it goes.

Can it be this very excess—this injustice—in revenge that Hamlet's spirit is averse to? Is he unwilling to take the responsibility of sending a soul to eternal hell, and possibly losing his own too in the bargain? His psychological aversion is so great that it drives his overburdened soul to the rejection of love, to the borders of madness, and almost to a rejection of life itself. Though he is a man of action, he cannot will an act of revenge in cold blood. He cannot act till he is acted upon, he cannot sin till he is sinned against. Is it character or fate that has brought him to this peculiar pass—Shakespeare presents the case, and leaves it at that.

Othello, the man of action, too, is more sinned against than sinning, more acted upon than acting. It is strange that for a second time Shakespeare presents a man of action who is 'acted upon'. Is it fate then, that brings Iago and Othello together in this way? The web of circumstance in the case of Othello is a military warp and domestic woof, military jealousies and private desires. Is there a touch of the *unnatural* in Desdemona's love for the Moor, her initiative in the wooing, her decision to elope and get married, her open choice of her place with the Moor rather than with her father? But the main stress in the play is on Evil, personified in Iago, embattled against Good as found in Othello and Desdemona—hate against sublime love, a hatred that

cannot tolerate the very goodness which it beholds and appreciates. For both Othello and Desdemona do not show any animosity against any one of the characters in the drama—till the tragedy has occurred. Not only do they love one another, they love all those with whom they come into contact—including Iago. Another peculiarity in this play is that *Design* and *Chance* seem to act not as opposites but on the same side. When Iago mounts his surprise attack on the unsuspecting Othello, he seems to be able to rely on not merely his own diabolical cunning which can take the fullest advantage of the free and open nature of the Moor, but almost to rely on chance as well. It has been pointed out by many critics that he takes the most fearsome risks, yet *fate* or *chance* play into his hands time and time again. Does fate then, stack the dice against the doomed pair? It is chance that lends itself to Othello's misinterpretation of Iago's conversation with Cassio regarding Bianca (Othello is deceived into thinking that Cassio refers to Desdemona); and again Othello is so placed that he misinterprets Bianca's handing over of the famous hand-kerchief to Cassio. Confrontation with Cassio or Emilia would have cleared everything, but it is not to be, for it is left till too late. And here the strand of *illusion* comes into play. Othello now sees Desdemona as a 'fair devil' posing as an angel who allures man to destruction through his lusts. He is convinced that the reality of Desdemona's faith and obedience is in fact illusion. It is this creation of illusion that brings about the tragedy. For in truth Othello never ceases to love Desdemona, he has merely lost his faith in her—and even this is only temporarily lost, for it returns so powerfully as to make death for himself inevitable. Desdemona's faith and love are undiminished and untouched to the very end, as Shakespeare makes clear in her dying words:

Nobody, I myself, Farewell;
Commend me to my kind lord, Oh farewell.

The play also contains in these lines the 'mortalia' or pathos of tragedy in a noble measure, but the '*rerum lacrimae*' lies in the fact love itself should be the cause of such implacable hate.

In *King Lear* again we have Evil warring with the Good: Kent, Edgar and Cordelia stand out like a good deed in a naughty world, against the power of self-seeking and malice in Goneril, Regan and Edmund, and in the end it would seem that to a great extent the

evil has indeed destroyed, the good, but in the process it has destroyed itself, as Bradley would have it. But the play also uses the tensions provided by other great strands which ring taut under the pressures exerted on them. The *natural* and the *unnatural* are invoked in King Lear in no uncertain terms. Lears 'unnatural' daughters call down on themselves a father's curse :

Hear Nature, hear Goddess, hear :
Suspend they purpose, if thou didst intend
To make this creature fruitful...

The great storm of passion in Lear is matched by the natural storm outside. The natural son—the bastard Edmund—succeeds to the Dukedom of Gloucester and even aims at the throne! The world is, so to speak turned upside down, for it would seem that the unnatural has come to natural, just as evil triumphs over good. It is Lear himself who cries : 'I am a man, more sinned against, than sinning'. The power of action, of initiative, has left him and lies with Goneril, Regan and Edmund. *Fate* too plays its part, the battle goes against Cordelia and the French troops, and both she herself and Lear are taken prisoner. *Fate's* last throw is that Edmund's last good deed—to save Lear and Cornelia from death—comes too late. But the theme of *Illusion* and *Reality* is again the cause of tragedy. Lears acceptance of the flowery speeches of Goneril and Regan which are obviously false—at their speech-value, if not their face-value, is the beginning of his acceptance of illusion. Next, having given away his powers, he wishes to retain his state and dignity—the illusion of status. In a wonderful scene after his quarrel with Goneril, Regan advises him to ask forgiveness of her older sister. Lear is astonished, a father ask forgiveness of his daughter, and he, Lear, to ask forgiveness of anybody! And to show how ridiculous the idea is—maintaining his illusory notion of his own grandeur—he kneels and play-acts the humble petitioner :

Dear daughter, I confess, that I am old ;
Age it unnecessary ; on my knees I beg....

Little does he realise the irony of the situation—but the audience knows that is indeed the reality, and that he is living in an illusory world. Other dimensions of this strand of illusion are seen when he fails to penetrate the disguises of Edgar and Kent, and yet again when he tears

off his garments in an attempt to find himself, and appears dressed in weeds. This metaphorical blindness of Lear is fearfully re-inforced by real blindness of Gloucester. Nor can we omit that memorable scene in which Gloucester is supposedly led to the edge of the cliff to commit suicide, and is then convinced, when he lands unharmed, that the Gods have intervened—where but recently he felt : 'As flies to wanton boys are we to the Gods.' The same Lear who kneels and play-acts the asking of forgiveness is now so purged that he kneels to Cordelia when he has no cause to kneel :

O, look upon me, Sir,
And hold your hand in benediction o'er me.
No Sir, you must not kneel.

When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down
And ask of thee forgiveness.

He no longer asks for the "name, and all th' additions to a king". But Cordelia's death turns his brain again, and he dies as he has lived under illusion :

Look on her. Look, her lips.
Look there, look there.

He dies in the belief that Cordelia lives.

The same note of *illusion* and *reality* is struck at the very outset of *Macbeth*,

Fair is foul, and foul is fair,

Soon to be re-inforced by Duncan's and statement occasioned by the treachery of Cawdor :

There's no art
To find the mind's construction in the face...

And this strand culminates as Macbeth realises that he has achieved not the reality, but the *illusion* of kingship :

I have liv'd long enough : my way of life
Is fall'n into the sere, the yellow leaf,
And that which should accompany old age,

As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
I must not look to have : but in their stead,
Curses, not loud but deep, mouth-honour, breath
Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not.

And so the petty pace life creeps on and Macbeth finds that

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more. It is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury
Signifying nothing.

In *Macbeth* however, the stress is laid on the *natural* and the *unnatural*. The unnatural solicitation of the witches is underlined by Macbeth's unnatural reaction to it :

If good, why do I yield to that suggestion
Whose horrid image does unfix my hair
And make my seated heart knock at my ribs
Against the use of nature ?

This reaction is ofcourse because Macbeth contemplates an action that is 'most foul, strange and unnatural'—the murder in cold blood, without even hate or revenge to justify it, of a guest, a kinsman, and his king! As a warrior Macbeth may be a terror in the heat of battle, but normally he is full of the milk of human kindness, as his Lady well knows ; she knows her husband

Wouldst not play false,
And yet would wrongly win.....
Letting 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would'.

Hence her taunt

Art thou afeard
To be the same in thine own act and valour
As thou art in desire ?

Macbeth seems to realise that the deed demanded of him is beyond the scope of his own nature—his nature as a human being :

I dare do all that may become a man
Who dares do more is none.

But he is driven—acted upon—to do more at the instigation of Lady Macbeth, and hence he is ultimately forced to resign his nature. Almost immediately after the deed Nature takes its toll :

Macbeth does murder Sleep, the innocent Sleep,
Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleeve, of care,
The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great Nature's second course, ...
Still it cri'd, 'Sleep no more' to all the House ;
Glamis hath murdered Sleep and therefore Cawdor
Shall sleep no more : Macbeth shall sleep no more.

Great Nature's second course is denied to Macbeth. And so it is to Lady Macbeth too. She had thought that 'A little water clears us of this deed.' But in the sleep-walking scene she cries 'Here's the smell of blood still : all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand'. Under the stress placed upon the pair, Macbeth becomes an unfeeling monster, and Lady Macbeth his fiend-like queen. *Fate* cheats him into making a wrong decision through the equivocation of the witches at the beginning—that one decision forces him to wade through a river of blood where returning were as tedious as go o'er. Fate cheats him of true kingship for he has grasped but the walking shadow—and not the reality; and finally Fate cheats him of his life. Again the quibbles of the witches deceive him—None of woman born shall harm Macbeth'; 'Macbeth shall never vanquished be until great Birnam Wood, to high Dunsinane Hill come against him'. We are appalled at the futility of it all, and at the destruction of what could have been a noble creature. Yet beyond the futility and the pathos lies the profound moral sense, *lacrimae rerum*.

The tragedies explore the limits of man's nature; and must of necessity take cognisance of the full gamut of the stresses and strains—the tensions—under which men live. While there is nothing in Shakespeare that is directly contrary to the Christian faith, it would seem that he transcended the usual doctrine by his broad vision of the human predicament. For instance, both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth know that the deed they contemplate and perform is 'unnatural' and therefore evil—but they seem unaware of the process by which 'nature' herself takes its toll—tortures, numbs, and finally destroys them. Is it a Divinity that shapes their ends? Is it the 'Justicers above', who

bring about the tragic ends of Hamlet, Othello, Lear? Is their fall due merely to 'hamartia'—their tragic fault? Shakespeare does not make it plain. His vision is what he presents—a vision so wide and all embracing that men of all religions or of none, can accept and acquiesce. While it is helpful to study each aspect of this vision in greater detail, as scholars and critics have attempted to do, we must not lose sight of the total perspective—the grand design—of the whole. *Lacrimae rerum*. the profound moral sense of Shakespeare includes an all-inclusive totality of vision of a whole gamut of forces held in tension in the world in which man finds himself. The grandeur of Shakespeare's tragic vision lies not only in the details but in the whole.

MOTHER GODDESS AND SNAKE WORSHIP

Dr M. S. GOPALAKRISHNAN

Most of the temples of *Gramadevatas* and *Mariamman* I visited in Madras have, either in a corner of the temple compound or near it, a peepul or margoosa tree. The tree is surrounded by a stone platform or an ant-hill. Over the platform are vertical stones carved with images of hooded snakes. These stones bear vermilion dots and smears of turmeric paste. Women, mostly, are the worshippers of these images. Says J. B. Deane: "The worship of the serpent may be traced in almost every religion through ancient Asia, Europe, Africa and America..."¹ In Bengal Manasa, a snake goddess, is worshipped. She is thought of as "the sister of Vasuki, the king of snakes, the wife of Jaratkaru, a sage and being the queen of snakes is regarded as the protectress of men from these reptiles."² In Manasa worship the account given is:—"Generally offerings are made to her without any image being made, a branch of a tree, a pan of water, or an earthen snake being her representative. When the image is made it is of a woman sitting on a lotus or standing on a snake."³ Thus we find that tree, water, earth and women have interconnection in the worship of a snake goddess, Manasa. It is agreed among most scholars that the serpent worship is closely allied with fertility cults. In my visits to the Bhagavati grove temples (kavu kshetras) in North Malabar, (Kerala) I heard also of the serpent groves (Pamban Kavugal). It will be interesting to learn how the serpents are worshipped in Kerala.

While in South Malabar (Kerala), I visited a *Pamban Kavu* (snake grove) belonging to a local physician of the village, Manjeri. The Kavu is very near the fields (paddy) to the north of the *Vaidyan's* house. The grove is very shady and extremely cool. It contains many kinds of trees and I found also two small square platforms of bricks and also linga stones. I did not see any carvings of snakes on them. I was told that the grove was two hundred years old. An

annual festival is celebrated there and it is a Nambudiri brahmin who comes to celebrate it. Then there is also what is called, as I heard from the Vaidyan, *Nritta kriya* (the dance act). What the Nambudiri does is called *Pamban Bali*, though no actual blood sacrifice is offered to the snake divinities. I was told that as in *Bhagavati Pattu* where a kalam i.e., a figure of the goddess is drawn with five powders, here too, a kalam is drawn by the *Pulluvans*, a caste of people whose profession is singing. They sing the *Nagathan Pattu*, and the *Velichapad* who gets possessed on the occasion in the *Kavu* is a girl. This is called the *Nritta Kriya* (the dance act). The festival is celebrated any day between the Malayalam months *Vaichigam* (November) and *Kumbham* (February). It must be before Sivaratri.

Nagathan Pattu and Ponngalidi

A Nambudiri *tantri* learned in the tantric texts told me that *Ponngalidi* is a very important function which must be performed before the Nagathan Pattu festival ends. In *Bhagavati Pattu* a *pita* is placed with a sword while in Nagathan Pattu no sword or *pita* is used. The figure of the serpent is drawn with five powders in the *Kalapura*. On either side of the Naga's figure two girls mostly about fourteen or over sit. They wear immaculate white clothes and hold in their hands the tender shoots of the arecanut palm. Before the *Ponngalidi* day two songs (*pattu*) for Naga and one for *Bhūta* (an evil spirit) must be performed. Only after these three songs are over the *Ponngalidi* could be celebrated. I cannot but think here that the celebration for the *Bhūta* is done mainly with the intention to propitiate him who guards unknown treasure underneath the earth. The snake too is a guard of treasure troves. There is a *pooja* in the *Kavu* by the *Kurup* and the *tantri*. After the *pooja* the two return to the place where the figure of the snake is drawn (*kalapura*). Then a mortar is placed to the east of the *kalapura*. The mortar contains two kinds of rice flour wafers, fried rice, *Tharippanam*, tender coconuts and *Pookila*. If the song (*Pattu*) is celebrated in an aristocratic manor house (*Kovilakam*) two princesses (*thambattis*) smash these in the mortar. Thrice they do it and then the pestle is given to the women who danced violently on hearing the *Pattu* in honour of the serpent. Then the *kalam* is destroyed by their dance, after which they collect the powders and put them into the mortar. Then they pour water over it and smash the

whole contents with the pestle. It is said that water is poured also over the head of the women who danced. This ceremony is called *Ponngalidi*. With this the snake song (*Naga Pattu*) comes to an end. I heard from the Nambudiri *tantiri* that this is purely an act symbolising fertility and mostly done with the object of getting children. The mortar and the pestle that play their part here may represent the male and the female elements. The serpent that is praised in the song either as *Thakshan* or *Adishesha* could be interpreted in its phallic significance and the water as symbolising the creative fluid.

After bringing out how a *Matangi* (goddess connected with infectious diseases) is initiated among the *Madigas* (Telugu Pariahs), Dr. Emma R. Clough thinks that "the *Matangi* cult has its root far back in ancient mother worship in the age of the Matriarchate."⁴

She sees the prominence of the serpent in this cult. She continues: "Whether invariably the serpent is so prominent a feature in *Matangi* worship as in the case related to me I doubt; but the two cults were evidently thought to blend harmoniously. In the legend of the *Matangi* the maiden disappears into an ant hill, generally the home of the serpents, coiled up in the passages which the ants have burrowed for themselves, feeding on the inmates. Moreover the stick in the hands of the *Matangi* represents *Adishesha*, the primeval serpent, showing that the two cults are linked together."⁵ Mr S. K. Dikshit echoes the views of different scholars such as *Vegel* and *Capt. J. Mackenzie* with regard to serpent worship as practised by women in India to free them from barrenness.⁶ He also writes: "The Goddess is to be invoked, according to some tantric text, as *Gauri*, *Gandhari*, *Matangi*, etc., in connection with snake bites."⁷ Sir John Woodroffe alias *Arthur Avalon* describes *Kundalini* as the Serpent Power. He writes: "*Kundala* means coiled. This power is the Goddess (*Devi*) *Kundalini* or that which is coiled; for Her form is that of a coiled and sleeping serpent in the lowest bodily centre, at the base of the spinal column, until by the means described she is aroused in that *Yoga* which is named after Her."⁸ In conclusion, we can say with a little certainty that though the worship of the serpent is as old as the human race, in India it finds an association with the Goddess as *Mariamman* and the Goddess as *Kundalini*, the cosmic energy of the

human body, which the Yogins attempt to unify with cosmic Intelligence, Siva, in the *Sahasrara*, the thousand petalled lotus.⁹

1. Deane, J. B. (1833) p. 32.
2. See: An alphabetical list of the Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus and Muhammadans (1914) pp. 57, 58.
3. Ibid.
4. Clough, R. (1899) p. 73.
5. Clough, R. (1899) pp. 73, 74.
6. Dikshit, S. K. p. 40.
7. Ibid, p. 41.
8. Woodroffe, J. (1931) p. 1.
9. Ibid.

References

1. Deane, Rev. J. B. — 1833 — The Worship of the Serpent (London)
2. Clough, Dr. Emma Rauschenbusch-1899-While Sewing Sandals. (London)
3. Dikshit, S. K. — The Mother Goddess (Poona)
4. Woodroffe, Sir John (alias Arthur Avalon)—1922—The Garland of Letters (London); 1959-Shakti and Shakta (London); 1931-The Serpent Power (London)

JOB SATISFACTION: A STUDY AMONG TEACHERS, NURSES AND CLERKS

Dr M. S. KALANIDHI

The greatest resources of a nation are its manpower and womanpower. The economic and social development of a nation rests on the realisation of such human potentialities at their optimal functioning in the best interests of the employees, the organisation and the society at large. In the modern era of rapid technological developments, there was the timely recognition of the fact that humanization is the best possible remedy for all maladies of mechanisation. Ever since its implications were realised, numerous research studies were conducted to find out the causes, correlates and consequences of job satisfaction.

Like many other concepts in Psychology, it was found rather easy to describe the term Job satisfaction than to define it categorically. It had been defined in ever so many ways for instance as a function of one's level of aspiration, need satisfaction and as the net result of the balance of exclusive satisfiers and dissatisfiers on the job. It is a truism that there is no single factor which causes job satisfaction or dissatisfaction although the final attitude may be one of either of these. In the present paper, the findings of a job satisfaction study on high school teachers, clerks and nurses have been presented with a view to determine the factors contributing to Job satisfaction of these groups. It is but a continuation of two earlier studies on Draughtswomen (1) and Factory women workers (2).

Procedure:

The Job satisfaction questionnaire consisted of three parts—personal data, job satisfaction scale, employee likes and dislikes and ranking of job factors. The job satisfaction scale was based on Likert's method of scale construction, had twentyfive statements reflecting positive attitudes

towards various aspects of the job such as income, coworkers, boss, nature of work, conditions of work, opportunities for advancement and also factors such as feeling of encouragement, success, realising one's aspirations on the job and the influence of job on family etc. Each statement was evaluated on a five point scale varying from highly dissatisfied through neutral to highly satisfied by using the following scoring procedure.

Highly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Highly satisfied
0	1	2	3	4

The total score ranges from 0 to 100. In the Likes and Dislikes column, the subjects were asked to mention the factors they liked most and least on the job. Lastly, the subjects ranked in order of importance eight Job factors.

The Job satisfaction questionnaire was administered in person to 39 high school teachers, 40 nurses and 37 clerks. Table No. 1 shows the characteristics of the sample studied. The data was analysed separately for teachers, nurses and clerks and also for the most satisfied and dissatisfied in each one of these groups. On the whole, these extreme groups consisted of 15 persons each, by taking 5 satisfied and 5 dissatisfied among the teachers, nurses and clerks.

Discussion :

Table No. II shows that teachers in the present sample tend to be relatively less satisfied than nurses and clerks. It is rather surprising in view of the fact that teaching is by itself a creative work which is most conducive for Job satisfaction. It is equally true that its inherent satisfyingness and creativity are subject to other factors which also may have a bearing on the teacher at work. An item analysis of the job satisfaction scale reveals five items most satisfied and dissatisfied with, for each one of the three groups. (Table No. 4) It has been found that the most satisfying aspect of teaching is its dignity and respect, peaceful and interesting nature of work, the feeling of being efficient on job, and friendliness of fellow teachers. The dissatisfaction seem to have its source in the lack of decent income, inability to realise one's aspirations, heavy demands of the job and boredom. In the case of clerks, 'activity, opportunities for advancement, encouragement, feeling

efficient on job, a sense of dignity and respect,' are most important for satisfaction, while for nurses, the emphasis is on interesting and peaceful job, most suitable, giving scope for being active on job, with no sense of failure. It is interesting to note that both clerks and nurses dislike to choose their present job if they have to start their career once again.

The 'Likes and Dislikes' on job listed in Table 5 may throw more light on the sources of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. While all the teachers approve of the intrinsic merits of their profession, nevertheless they have unanimously pointed out the difficulties involved in teaching a large class, the personal strain caused thereby, and problem of dull students and their inability to attend to them personally. Their comments rightly justify the 'heavy demands on teachers' and the 'boredom' perhaps caused by the mechanical process adopted in teaching so as to suit the circumstances.

As for the nurses, all of them feel proud of their uniform and the noble service they offer to the sick people. The 'dislikes' mentioned by the nurses confirm their dissatisfaction over 'heavy demands of the job 'inability to live a happy home life,' 'unpleasant conditions of work,' 'boredom' and 'dislike choosing their job once again!' It is to be noted that the unmarried nurses have to stay compulsarily in the campus and only married nurses numbering fourteen stay with their family. The comments in the like column concerning Family quarters and dignity and respect, shift system, are mentioned only by these married nurses. The comments about supervision, workload, long hours, taking work from servants' were however made by all the nurses studied, thereby indicating that nurses in the present sample suffer from unsatisfactory human relation on the job and also from personal strain.

In the case of clerks, a majority of them seem to be happy about the routine nature of work, independent and peaceful job, and the joy of helping their family. The problem of working after office hours, due to heavy rush of work at the fag end of the day and the personal strain of waiting for the bus, have been the common dislikes for all the clerks in the sample. It is quite understandable in view of the double responsibilities of a working woman as a home maker

and an office worker. This factor had also been emphasised by teachers and nurses.

Irrespective of the occupation, item analysis of the most satisfied and dissatisfied groups on the whole has revealed (Table No 6) inability to enjoy happy family life' and 'the opinion of family about one's job' and 'inability to realise ones' aspiration,' to be the major determinants of dissatisfaction. Both the groups dislike choosing their present job once again. Specifically the most dissatisfied make a mention of the boss as a dissatisfier. Income, heavy demands and 'boredom' are the specific dissatisfiers for the most satisfied, 'opportunities for advancement, peaceful time on job and pleasant coworkers' are the common satisfiers for both the groups. 'Conditions of work' is a satisfier for the most satisfied and is a dissatisfier for the most dissatisfied.

Lastly, the functional importance of the different job factors was determined by getting them ranked by teachers, nurses and clerks. A ranking of the composite ranks of each one of these groups is presented in Table 3. Kendalls coefficient of concordance was applied to test the degree of association among the three sets of ranks and it was found that W and its corresponding X^2 of 3.318 are not significant. Rankings of job factors had never been uniform for all the time and for all jobs and subjects. They depend upon the functional utility for the individual, in view of their immediate motivation and environmental resources. Almost all studies in India mention 'Income and security as the first two factors for women.' But in the present study the first two important factors are 'security and boss' for teachers, 'work and coworkers' for clerks and 'boss and earnings' for nurses. 'Nature of work' is ranked last by teachers, 'hours' by clerks and 'security' by nurses. In view of the fact that each of these job factors is important for satisfaction and dissatisfaction, it is interesting to find that the motivational significance of each will vary relatively while in relation to other factors. It can never be denied that the last factor is as important for satisfaction and dissatisfaction as the first factor is.

Conclusion :

1. Boredom on job has been the common dissatisfier for all the groups. It may perhaps be due to the employee being unproductive on job or due to such of the conditions that make the job lose its creativity.

2. The heavy demands of the job seem to reflect not only on the immediate workload and other odd work not related to the task but also on the double responsibility of being a homemaker and an employee. More than the problem of shifting the roles it is the problem of reaching the place of work, either office or home to play the role.

3. All the three groups have reported satisfaction over 'helping their family in need' and at the same a feeling of not being able 'to live a happy family life'. Once it has become an economic, social and psychological necessity for women to work, the sensible approach would be to find out ways to help women to gainfully combine these two roles.

References :

- I. Kalanidhi, M. S. ... A study of job satisfaction among draughtswomen. Manas, 19, 2; 1972.
2. Kalanidhi, M. S. ... 'Problems of Job satisfaction among women workers in Industry' p. 273, in 'Researches in Personality and social problems' by Dr. T. E. Shanmugam. Published by the University of Madras 1973.
3. Siegel, S. ... Non parametric statistics for the behavioural science, New york: Mc Graw-Nill, 1956.

TABLE 1

Particulars of the sample

	Age Mean	Service Mean	Marital status	
			Married	Single
Teachers (No. 39)	33.48	9.94	23	16
Nurses (No. 40)	27.85	5.80	14	26
Clerks (No. 37)	27.00	5.70	23	14

TABLE 2

Job satisfaction scores of Teachers, Clerks and Nurses

	Teachers *	Clerks	Nurses
Men	51.84	72.37	72.70
SD	9.40	9.55	9.77

TABLE 3

The rankings of Job factors by the three groups

	Security	Earnings	Working condition	Boss	Co- workers	Bene- fits	Nature of works	Hours
Teachers	1	7	3	2	5	6	8	4
Clerks	5	7	4	6	2	3	1	8
Nurses	8	2	3	1	7	4	5	6

TABLE 4

The items in the job satisfaction questionnaire most satisfied and dissatisfied with

Teachers		Clerks		Nurses	
Most satisfied with	Dissatisfied with	Most satisfied with	Dissatisfied with	Most satisfied with	Dissatisfied with
Sense of dignity and respect.	Income.	Have always been active on job.	Choosing the pre-sent job once again.	Interesting job.	Heavy demands.
Co-workers make job pleasant.	Realisation of my aspirations.	Opportunities for advancement.	Proud to talk about my job.	Never a failure.	Choosing the pre-set job once again.
Peaceful time on job.	Heavy demands.	Source of encouragement.	Never a failure on my job.	Job suits me well.	Boredom.
Interesting job.	Boredom.	Feel efficient on job.	Boredom.	Have always been active on my job.	Job helps to live a happy home life.
Feel efficient on job.	Failure to receive as much pleasure as I would derive otherwise.	Sense of dignity and respect.	Job has many good aspects worth mentioning.	Peaceful time on job.	Conditions of work are pleasant.

TABLE 5

Likes and Dislikes of Teachers, Nurses and Clerks

Teachers			Nurses		Clerks	
Likes	Dislikes	Likes	Dislikes	Likes	Dislikes	
To teach innocent children.	* Crowded class	* Serving sick people	Inadequate nursing equipments	* Cooperation among coworkers	* Working after office hours	
Forget worries while teaching.	* Do not like to have more than 45 students in one class	* Proud of my uniform	* Longer hours of work	* Independent job	* Working on holidays	
* Dignity and respect.	Inadequate income	Time passes quickly	night shift	No disturbance in work	No rest	
* Suitable for women.	Lack of many facilities	Medical benefits	* Unnecessary odd work and clerical work	To give entire satisfaction to superiors	* Problem of travel and personal strain	
Opportunities to move with other.	* Problem of dull students	Moving with all kinds of patients	Attitude of the public towards nurses	* Peaceful job	Misunderstandings on jobs	
Interesting and active.	* Inability to live happy family life	Interesting job	Lack of team spirit	* Helping my family	Continuous sitting	

* Provides me with better life.	* Large amount of correction work	* Helping my family	* Bad treatment from superiors in the presence of public	Routine work	Searching the file
Lack of leisure hours	Appreciation from patients	Improving knowledge	* Responsibility for all wear and tear articles	Limited responsibility	Working conditions
			* Taking work from servants		* Heavy rush of work at the fag end of the day.
	Shift system		* Inability to attend social function and enjoy happy family life		Cambersome manuscripts without clear hand-writing
	Family quarters		No appreciation for the work done		Boredom of routine work
	Dignity and respect		Lack of sufficient number of nurses		Appreciation from authorities
			Lack of proper attention for poor patients.		
			No freedom in the quarters & poor food		

* Mentioned by more than 75% of the sample



T4.211.M m N74

TABLE 6

Item wise analysis of the most satisfied and Dissatisfied groups on the whole

Items most satisfied with	Satisfied (15)		Dissatisfied (15)	
	Items least satisfied with	Items Most satisfied with	Items Least satisfied with	Items Most satisfied with
People time on job.	Decent income.	Opportunity for advancement.	Choosing the present job once again.	Choosing the present job once again.
People I work with make job pleasant.	Heavy demands.	Source of encouragement.	Job helps me to live a happy home life.	Job helps me to live a happy home life.
Opportunities to move with others.	Family thinks high, of my job.	Feel efficient on my job.	Job suits me well.	Job suits me well.
Doing the thing I am best at.	Job helps me to live a happy home life.	A sense of dignity and respect.	Pleasant job experiences.	Pleasant job experiences.
Never a failure.	Choosing the present job once again.	Peaceful time on job.	Boss makes me happy on my job.	Boss makes me happy on my job.
Conditions of work are pleasant.	Boredom on the job.	People I work with make job pleasant.	Conditions of work are pleasant.	Conditions of work are pleasant.
Opportunity for advancement.	Job has helped in realising my aspirations.	Have always been active on job.	Job has helped in realising my aspirations.	Job has helped in realising my aspirations.