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GENERAL HISTORY  
THE PUDUKKOT

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GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

PUDUKKOTTAI STATE

BY

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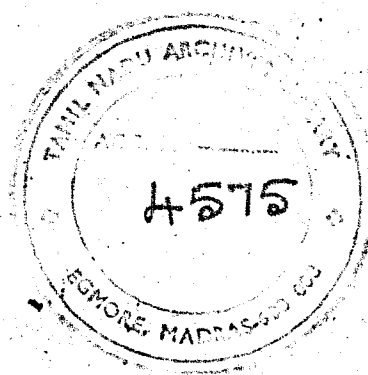
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## PREFACE.

THE history of the Tondaimans that will be found in the work that is now offered to the public may be taken to be a history of the State such as was required to be got ready by the ruler of the State about eighty years ago. In June 1833 Sir William Blackburne, who had been for sixteen years Resident of the State, wrote from England to Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr as follows:—

“I wish much to have from you a History of your family, from the period the most remote that authentic documents can reach, detailing at length domestic and foreign occurrences, your services to the Naig princes of Madura and Trichinopoly in their wars, your acquisitions of Territory by their donations or by conquest, and detailing also with all the precision which may be possible, the services performed to the British Government in the Wars in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly and elsewhere, adhering always with rigid strictness to Truth.”

It is hoped that the History in this book will be found to have been prepared on the lines laid down in the foregoing extract.

I. The first chapter of the history deals with the pre-Tondaimán period. Information will be found in this chapter on

- (1) the antiquities of the State—such as megalithic and earthenware tombs, caverns used as hermitages, rock-cut temples, use of Roman coins in ancient times, inscriptions and copperplates,

- (2) the settlements of the several castes and tribes such as the Kurumbars, the Vellalars, "the eighteen castes", the Maravars, the Kallars, the Chettis, the Jains and the Brahmins,
- (3) the ancient divisions of the tract comprising the State and administration of these divisions in the days of Chóla supremacy,
- (4) four lines of chieftains of whom no account will be found in any other book, the information given in this book having been collected mostly from inscriptions,
  - (i) The Irukkuvéls of Kodumbalúr, (in the 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian era). See Appendix A.
  - (ii) The Pallavaráyars of Vaittúr, Perungulúr and Kalasamangalam (1312 A. D. to 1686 A. D.). See pp. 97-103 as also Appendix B.
  - (iii) The Tévans of Sâraikkudi, (1378 A. D. to 1608 A. D.). See pp. 82-84.
  - (iv) The Tondaimáns of Arantangi, (1426 A. D. to 1529 A. D.). See pp. 84-86.
- (5) the Pálayakárs and their ways, the Kallar classes, their land, their ways and their chieftains, and the relations of the country powers to the Central authority at Madura and Trichinopoly.

The materials for writing this chapter were mainly obtained from

- (a) old Tamil classics (published and unpublished);
- (b) old palm-leaf manuscript books and cadjan records;
- (c) many copperplates, about one thousand inscriptions and a number of cadjan books and records, which were specially collected for this book by Mr. V. S. Vaidyañatha Aiyar, State Archæologist, to whom my thanks are due.

II. In the second chapter of the history an account is given

- (1) of the settlement of the Tondaimáns within the limits of the modern Pudukkóttai State;
- (2) of their gradual rise to power by their successes in various parts of Southern India and extension of dominion until they became rulers of Pudukkóttai in 1686 A. D., proved themselves indispensable to the Náyak Kings at Trichinopoly and became practically independent in 1728 A. D.;
- (3) of the spiritual Guru or Preceptor of the second ruler of the State, to whose blessings are ascribed all the prosperity of the Tondaimáns;
- (4) of the Nawab's invasion of Madura in 1732;
- (5) of the Civil War in the Náyak kingdom;
- (6) of the invasions of the State by Chanda Sahib and Ananda Row of Tanjore in 1734;
- (7) of the sufferings caused in the Tondaimán's land by these;
- (8) of the invasions of the parts about Pudukkóttai by the Nizam and the Marattas in 1741;
- (9) of the help given to these by the Tondaimáns, etc.

Among the books and papers that were consulted in drawing up this chapter may be mentioned

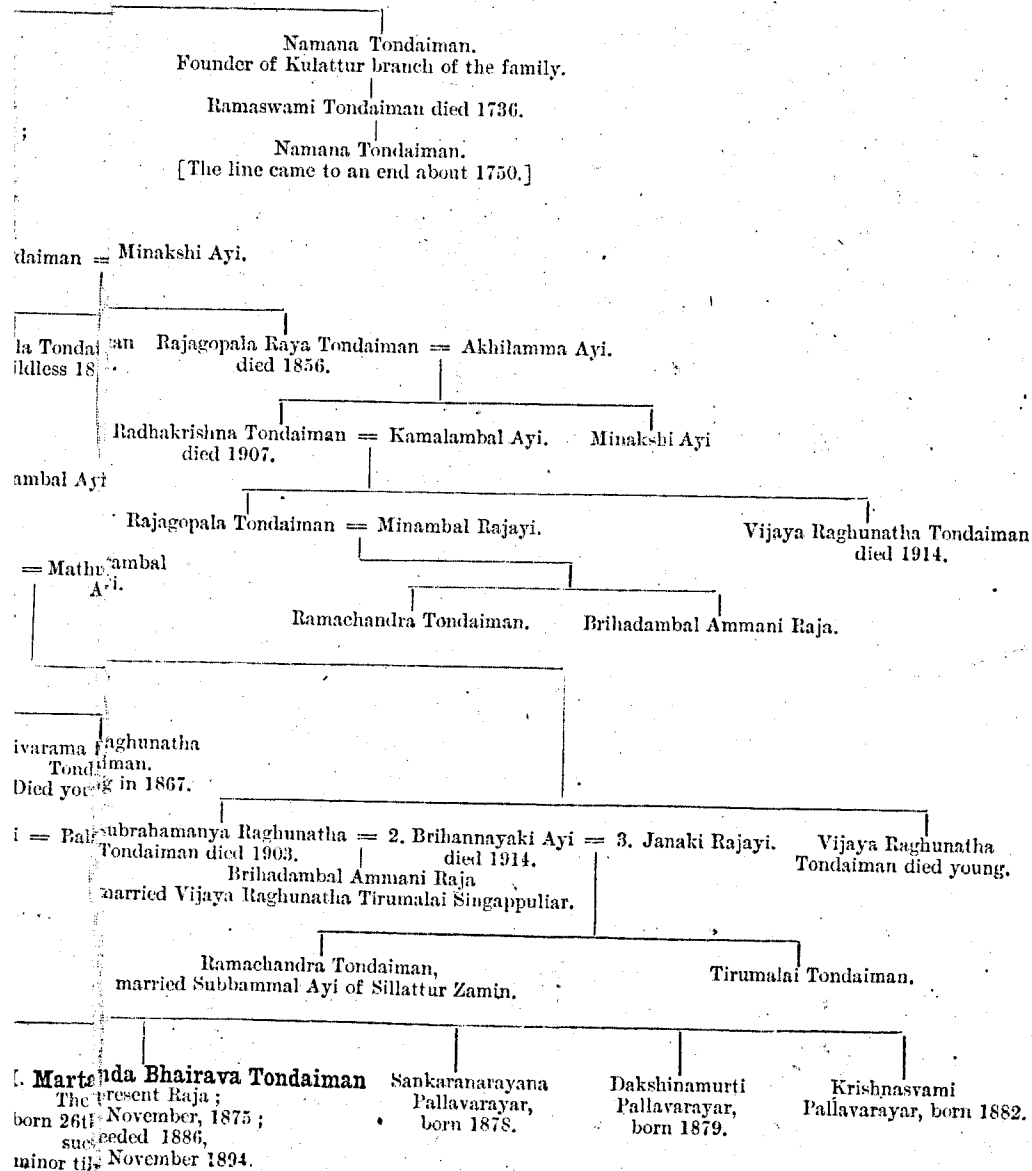
- (a) the *Tondaimán Vamsávali*, a fairly reliable account in Telugu of the Tondaimáns till 1750 A. D., and several manuscript books in Tamil,
- (b) the old Manuals and the new Gazetteers of the surrounding districts,
- (c) the late Mr. A Venkat Row's unpublished *Manual of the State*,

(d) and the most valuable Letters of the Madura Mission, of which the pertinent portions were very kindly and at great trouble translated for me into English from various European languages by Rev. J. Castets, S. J., Parish Priest of Pudukkóttai, to whom my heartiest thanks are due. These letters explain several points which seemed obscure to the authors of the District Manuals and Gazetteers.

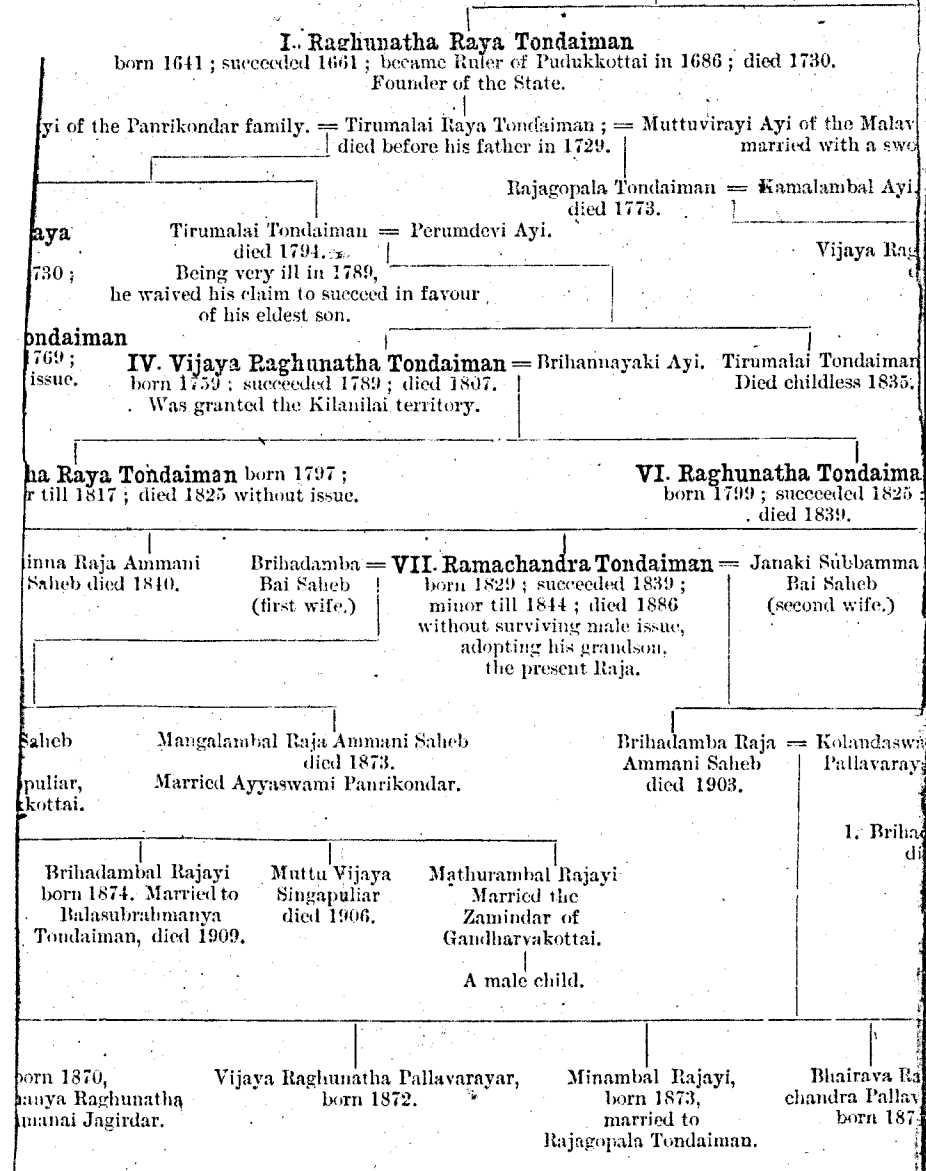
III. The third chapter deals with the relations of the rulers of Pudukkóttai with the Nawab of the Carnatic and the English. It shows

- (1) how the Nawab and the English were in extraordinary difficulties at Trichinopoly in 1752 and in the Second Mysore War, and how the Tondaimán gave them the most effective help,
- (2) how in "the Poligar Wars", he gave the English the needful help and behaved so well as to merit the commendation that "indeed, in whatever point of view it was considered, the service which the Tondaimán had performed was of the highest value",
- (3) how the Nawab was almost incessantly engaged in wars and how he never failed to apply to the Tondaimáns for help,
- (4) how the Tondaimáns sent armies after armies to help the Nawab and the English,
- (5) how the Tondaimán was rewarded with exemption from the payment of tribute and was treated with special favour by the Nawab and the English,
- (6) how the Nawab exercised his rights as "feudal lord",
- (7) how the rulers of Ramnad, Udaiyarpálaiyam, and some other States lost their sovereign rights,

OF PUDUKOTTAL.  
RAYA TONDAIMAN, died 1661



PEDIGREE OF THE TONDA  
AVADAI RAGHUNATHA TONDAIMAN better





His Highness Sri Brihadamba Das  
Raja Sir Maranda Bhairava Tendaiman Bahadur, G. C. I. E.,  
Raja of Pudukkottai.

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- (8) how the Nawab got jealous of the ever growing power of the English and wanted to check it,
- (9) how ultimately on account of the extraordinary debt in which he had managed to plunge himself, the Nawab had to transfer the Carnatic to the English, and so on.

It is hoped that, in addition to a detailed account of the doings of the Tondaimáns from 1751 to 1807 A. D., a more interesting general outline of the history of the Carnatic in the latter half of the eighteenth century will be found in this book than in any other single volume.

The materials for writing this chapter were got mainly from

- (a) the books and pamphlets that were published in the 18th century (and in the 19th), relating to the Wars in Southern India and the armies that were employed in them,
- (b) Pudukkóttai Palace and Inam office records,
- (c) and the records of the highest value that were applied for by me and were very kindly supplied to the Pudukkóttai Darbar by the Madras Government from the volumes of manuscripts of Military Country Correspondence and of Military Consultations in the Madras Central Records office. Whenever a summary is given of a letter bearing a certain date, the reader may be sure that a copy of the letter is with me.

IV. The last chapter of the history deals with the internal organisation of the State from 1807 to 1913 A. D. and is based on the Palace records, the Darbar office records, the annual Administration Reports of the State and Special Reports written occasionally by the Residents and Political Agents of Pudukkóttai. I may mention that the account (pp. 445-484) of the present ruler of the

State, HIS HIGHNESS SRI BRIHADAMBA DAS RAJA SIR MARTANDA BHAIKAVA TONDAIMAN BAHADUR, G. C. I. E., was written by Mr. B. V. Kameswara Aiyar, to whom the Darbar assigned the work.

V. I am extremely thankful to the Darbar for their kindness in entrusting the work to me, which I have tried to complete as well as I can. I have to thank Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, I.C.S., and M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunātha Durai Raja Avargal, Dewan of the State, for their great kindness in reading the proofs and suggesting improvements. I have also to thank various other gentlemen for helping me with suggestions for improving the work.

A photo containing the likenesses of the Nawab Muhammad Ali and Major Lawrence was kindly furnished to the Dewan by the Prince of Arcot, to whom our thanks are due. A photo of Sir William Blackburne was kindly obtained for me by my friend, Mr. G. Rāma Ayyangār, Sub-Assistant Inspector of Schools, Madras Range, from the Palace at Tiruvidaimarudūr through Mr. P. C. Tiruvenkatachāriār, Sub-Judge of Tanjore. To both these gentlemen also my best thanks are due.

A special note must be made of the very great help that I have received in preparing the manuscripts of the book from Mr. A. Ramachandra Aiyar, Teacher of the Maharajah's College, Pudukkottai, and for a long time my clerk.

I have finally to thank Mr. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, Superintendent of Printing and Stationery, for his uniform courtesy to me while the volume was in the Press and for the neatness of execution which it exhibits.

Sulamangalam,  
January 8, 1916. }

S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE fine bridge over the rivulet Manzanares at the entrance to Madrid, the capital of Spain, has been the subject of some sarcasm. Of the travellers that have spoken in raillery of the bridge, one is said to have remarked that he had seen many rivers without bridges, but that at Madrid he saw a bridge without a river. Another is stated to have expressed himself more tersely in the words "More water or less bridge." Similar remarks might be made of this volume of over 500 pages. Some might say "Show us the Pudukkōttai State, for which we have here a history of this size". And some others might curtly remark "More area or less bulk."

Using the expressive, if not elegant, language of the critical commentators on Tamil classics, I may say that those that offer such remarks are "அறிவற்ற" or ignorant men. The history will speak for itself and amply justify the length of the narrative. Two or three facts may however be mentioned here to show that the State is not in reality as small as it may seem.

I. It will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to show another State or a portion of the British territory of the size of Pudukkōttai (about 1200 sq. miles) or of several times its size, that contains

- (1) a historic river like the Vellar, which formed the traditional boundary first between the Chólas and the Pándyas and afterwards between the Kónadu and the Kánadu Vellalars, who for a long time lived in the modern Pudukkōttai territory in peace, plenty and prosperity and afterwards by their intestine quarrels weakened themselves and led to the settlement in their land of the Maravars and the Kallars;

- (2) two caves or caverns which were used in very ancient times as hermitages by Buddhist and Jain ascetics ;
- (3) hundreds of dolmens or "sepulchral urns", pointing to the tract as a field of early civilisation ;
- (4) fifteen rock-cut temples which were excavated between 600 A. D. and 800 A. D. and many of which contain inscriptions of the time of the Pallava rulers ;
- (5) a large number of ruined Jain temples and monasteries ;
- (6) exquisite architectural work as at Madattukkóvil and Tirukkulambúr, which is in no way inferior, with reference to the conception and execution of designs, to any other in Southern India ;
- (7) and about 1,000 inscriptions, including a Brāhmi inscription of the second century B. C., several inscriptions of the time of the Pallava kings, and hundreds of inscriptions relating to the Chólas, the Pándyas and the Vijayanagar kings.

I may mention that the Hon'ble M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai Avargal, who has made a special study of the Pándya inscriptions, has stated that "to give an idea of the value of Pudukkóttai inscriptions, it will be sufficient to state that while in the Madras Presidency about 120 dated inscriptions have been discovered up to date for the Pándyas of the 13th century, in Pudukkóttai alone there are 80 additional inscriptions of the same class and period."

II. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, there were a large number of more or less independent States in the Tamil land, such as Tanjore, Ramnad, Udaiyárpálayam and Aravakkuricchi, each of which was more powerful at the time than the State of Pudukkóttai. In about one hundred years from that time, all these "country powers" had gone, leaving Pudukkóttai as the only Tamil State.

I believe that this remarkable fact deserves detailed consideration and explanation.

III. Pudukkóttai enjoys the rare honour of not having a pie of tribute to pay. And this honour the State has enjoyed for the last 160 years. Further in the voluminous correspondence in the latter half of the 18th century, between the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Madras Presidency or Government, we find all the country powers taken to task by the Nawab except the rulers of Pudukkóttai, whom he always called his "true and steadfast allies" and who, we find, "were honoured by being given seats near the relatives of the Nawab." And we know that a Tondaimán ruler received from the English in 1803 a free gift of a tract of land that yielded at the time an annual revenue of Rs. 75,000. Why was such special favour shown to the Tondaimáns by the Nawab and the English? The reason is not far to seek. From the very moment of the connection of Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán with the Nawab and the English in 1751, we find the Tondaimáns unshaken in their loyalty to these. There were in all about twenty wars in Southern India between 1751 A. D. and 1801 A. D., and there was hardly a single war in which the Tondaimáns, in spite of their small sized State, did not send effective help to the Nawab and the English and win their (repeated) thanks.

It was the Tondaimàns that were pre-eminently faithful

(i) when, to use the words of Col. Malleon, the well-known writer of several valuable works on Indian history, "Trichinopoly seemed to be at its last gasp in 1752";

(ii) again when, in the Second Mysore War, to use the language of Swartz, the worthy Protestant missionary at Tanjore, "it seemed all the country people wished for a change", "Udaiyarpálaiyam, Ramnad, Sivaganga, Tinnevely and Madura were all up in arms against the English", and Tanjore "was suspected";

(iii) and finally, when in "the Poligar Wars", Madura and Tinnevely were all ablaze in rebellion, and the Company, in the language of a Governor of Madras, "needed the Tondaimán's attachment and fidelity for staying the effusion of blood and restoring peace and order in the place of anarchy and confusion".

In the language of another Governor of Madras, "innumerable instances can be given of the solicitude and anxiety of the Tondaimàns to further the interests and prosperity of the English", and their services cannot be better summarised than in the words of Captain Fyfe, Resident of Pudukkóttai, who in 1828 wrote to the Madras Government as follows :—

"It is impossible for any servant of the Company not to feel the greatest regard and respect for the Tondaimán family. In prosperity or adversity, from the earliest period of our connection with them, they have never failed us; neither considerations of danger nor allurements of advantage have ever induced them to swerve from their allegiance; and their services sometimes in very critical circumstances, when we were struggling for Empire, have been eloquently recorded in the pages of history".

Such extraordinary services certainly deserve to be narrated at some length.

IV. Again, as Sir William Blackburne, who knew the relations of the English and the Tondaimàns so well, wrote about 1830 to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, "the actual condition of the Tondaimán family presents to the world a prominent and living example of the wisdom and disinterestedness of the Company's Government and of its ample performance of every promise made under prosperous or adverse circumstances. The truly generous and notable conduct of the Company to this family in acknowledgment of its fidelity and devoted attachment for four successive generations and of its valuable and always ready services in times of doubt and danger has established the reputation of the Company's Government in the Southern Provinces of India on the most solid foundation". "It has also", Sir William added, "very recently been the theme of applause in my presence in Paris by Oriental Literati, who are in no wise disposed, when not irresistably impelled by facts, to praise the British Sovereignty in India."

The book will thus be found to be a practical handbook on "Loyalty to the British and its rewards".

Further, in narrating the story of the foundation of the State, a good deal has had to be said about the settlements in these parts of the Kallars and other tribes, the ways of the Pálaiyakáirs, the general insecurity of life and property in their days, and their relations to the Nayak Kings of Madura. The book will thus be found to be in a way an introduction to the history of a portion of Southern India.

It is believed also that this book contains a better picture of the conditions of life and the manners and customs of the eighteenth century than any other single volume.

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 சிலப்பதிகாரம் (p. 41, Appendix A.)  
 மணிமேகலை (p. 47).  
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## 22

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

### Page.

61. Line 19. For 'Kárála' read 'Kónadu'.
  64. In the 5th line from the last for 'Kumban' read 'Kamban'.
  73. Line 27. For *Jain* read 'first Buddhist and afterwards Jain'.
  - „ Line 28. For 'mound' read 'plot of ground'.
  82. Line 21. After 'Pillamangalam' add 'Bring in here Appendix A'.
  103. Omit the last ten lines
  104. Omit the whole page
  105. Omit the first thirteen lines
  - } and substitute Appendix B.
  115. 5th line. For 'Pallava Kings' read "Chola Kings of whose dominion Tondaimandalam was a portion".
  133. 31st line. For 'Kaledoscope' read 'Kaleidoscope'.
  137. Add 'Appendix C' after 'not known' in the footnote.
  140. Line 29. Omit 'a Siva temple and'.
  155. Line 17. After 'Karisalppattú' add 'see Appendix C'.
  174. Line 5 (from the last). After 'Sittannavásal' read 'or Séndamangalam'.
  175. Line 10. For Lingappa Sérvaikár } read { Ramaswami Sérvaikár son  
son of Ramaswami Sérvaikár } of Lingappa Sérvaikár.
  179. Last line. For 'must have been' read 'was'.
  227. Line 6 from the last. After 'examined' add 'It cannot be traced in the Madras Central Record Office'.
  239. Line 34. For 'recovered' read 'covered'.
  243. Line 3. For 'vallayam?' read 'vallayam or lance. See Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 104'.
  314. Footnote. Last line. For 'Ventia' read 'Valentia'.
  331. Line 21. For 'தரை' read 'தறை'.
  332. Line 25. Before 'Kandy' add 'The property of'.
  333. Line 9. For 'Tirumá' read 'Turuma'.
- NOTE 1. Some very minor errors, which can be easily detected by anybody, such as 'af' for 'of', 'amoung' for 'among', etc., have not been included in this list.
- NOTE 2. Diacritical marks '˘', '˙' and 'ˆ' have all been used to denote long vowels—long *a*, long *e*, long *i*, long *o*, and long *u*.

2/3

A  
GENERAL HISTORY  
OF THE  
**PUDUKKÓTTAI STATE.**

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

**P**osition and boundaries:—PUDUKKÓTTAI is a Native State lying between  $10^{\circ} 7'$  and  $11^{\circ} 4'$  N. latitude and  $78^{\circ} 25'$  and  $79^{\circ} 12'$  E. longitude. It is bounded on the North by the Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts, on the West by the Trichinopoly District, on the South by the Ramnad District and on the East by the Tanjore District. By way of natural boundaries Pirámmalai in the South-west of the State and the Sevalúr hills on the South for a few miles may be mentioned. The State has expanded by conquests at different times and its boundaries are such as have been determined by the history of the State. This accounts also for several bits on different sides of the State being enclosed by the British territory, such as the tract containing Émbal and Irumbánádu vattams in the South-east, Káttáthi and Kaliyiránviduthi bits in the East, Kómangalam bit in the North-west and Pálaikkuricchi in the West. The State has no sea-board, the nearest point in the State to the Bay of Bengal being about 12 miles therefrom.

The State comprises an area of 1178 square miles. Its greatest length from East to West is 52 miles and its greatest breadth from North to South is 41 miles. It is the *third* in importance of the five Native States that have direct political relations with the Government of Madras.

**Taluks:—**The State is divided into three Taluks, the Álangudi Taluk, the Kulattúr Taluk and the Tirumayyam Taluk.

the headquarters of these Taluks being Álangudi, Kíranúr near Kulattúr and Tirumayyān respectively.

**Etymology of the name:**—*Pudukkóttai* means 'New Fort'.

**Surface:**—The surface may be described as flat, except for a few rocks and hills which are described later on.

**Rivers:**—Most of the so-called rivers of the State are only jungle streams that remain dry for the greatest portion of the year.

1. *The Vellár*.—This is the longest stream in the State. It rises in the Vela (வேல்) Malai in the Marungápurī tract to the west of the State and, after passing through Kadumámalai, Péraiúr, Kadayakkudi and Valnád, falls into the Bay of Bengal to the north of Manamélkudi in the Tanjore District, after a course of about 85 miles. The river separates Tirumayyān Taluk on the South from the Kulattúr and Álangudi Taluks on the North. The river is very torrential in its character, rising suddenly in high freshes of short duration which cut away the banks or excavate side channels. A mythical origin is ascribed to this river in a *Sivasthala purānam*.\* The stream is said to have been sent down by Siva on the prayer of a king named Svétakétu for a river that would confer bliss (ஆனந்தம்) on those bathing in it. The river is supposed to get its name (*Svétanadi* = white river = வெள்ளாறு) from the name of the king who brought it down. Particular spots of this river in this State are considered sacred,—like the portion of the river near Thiruvaidaiyáppatti, seven miles to the South-east of the town and *Pushyatthurai*, the portion almost directly to the south of the town, and to these spots pilgrims resort for baths on days considered holy. The Vellár figured prominently in the early history of these parts, as it was taken to be the boundary between the Chóla and the Pándya kingdoms, between the two tracts occupied respectively by the Kónádu and the Kánádu Vellalars and afterwards between the Tanjore Rájás and the Sétupatis of Ramnad. The Náttukkóttai Chettis, who, on being oppressed by a Chóla king, are said to have gone to the south of the Vellár and settled down there, had laid down for themselves a rule, which they followed until very recently, not to build houses nor send their women to the north of the river. It is

\* See திருப்பெருந்தறைப்பிராணம் வெள்ளாற்றுப் படலம்.

said of the Valnád Chettis, who live to the north of the river, that they do not permit their women to go to the south of the river.

*The Kundáru* (in Sanskrit *Chandranadi*) which flows two miles to the south of the town is a runnel which takes its rise in the Kavinád tank and after a course of about five miles falls into the Vellár to the north-east of Kadayakkudi.

*The Pámbáru* (called in Sanskrit *Sarpanadi*) is the outflow of Perundurái tank in the Mélúr tract of the Tirumayyān Taluk. It empties itself in the Marungúr tank and, issuing from it and flowing in a south-easterly direction, joins the Vellár near Arantángi. It separates from it and flows again as an independent river and, dividing itself into five branches near Sundarapándiya-puram in the Tanjore District, falls into the Bay of Bengal.

*The Agnānavimóhani* river is the outlet of the Kulattúr irrigation tank. After passing through Perungulúr, Malaiyúr and Karambakkudi, it falls into the Bay of Bengal south-west of Adrámpatnam in the Tanjore District. "It has a course of only about fifty miles and is rather torrent-like in wet seasons".

*The Uyyakkondán* is the overflow of the rainwater that falls to the west of Vallam in Tanjore. After flowing through Kiláńkádu and Sengalmódu in the Álangudi Taluk, it falls into the Agnānavimóhani to the south of Sándákóttai in the Tanjore District\*.

\* In Pharnoh's Gazetteer of Southern India (1855), the rivers which run through the State are mentioned as the Vellar, the Pambar, the Koraiyar, the Suraiyar, the Ambuliyar, Agnānavimóchanar and the Maharajasamoodram. Of the last river, the following is written. "The Maharajasamoodram channel is a narrow and rapid stream taking its rise from the highlands at Vellam in the Tanjore province. It was originally a branch of the Veeakonān (*Uyyakkondán*) river flowing into the Puttocottah Talook of the Tanjore country, and was formerly navigable for small trading vessels about fifteen miles in the interior of the country from its communication with the sea; it has been for ages long past in a total state of decay west of Vellam; the ancient tank and its low bed have been traced for several miles, but to the eastward it is not discernible till it enters the (Pudukkóttai) province on the north-east and runs four miles, whence it proceeds to the Tanjore province again and widens considerably in its way to the eastward for several miles and then disembogues into the sea below Rajahgopallypatnam, a small fishing village on the coast, situated four or five miles south of Adrámpatnam". What river is thus referred to—as originally a branch of the Uyyakkondán and afterwards as an independent river—is not clear.

The *Ambuliáru* has its source in Mānjanviduthi tank in the forest to the east of Tiruvarankulam, and, after passing through Álangudi, Vadakádu and other villages, falls into the Bay of Bengal to the north of Sulóchaná Báí Chattram in the Tanjore District.

The *Kóraiáru* is the outflow of an irrigation tank in the Virálimalai tract. It passes to the west of Rájagiri and to the east of Kattalúr in the Kulattúr Taluk and falls into the Uyyak-kondán river of Trichinopoly, three miles to the south of Trichinopoly.

The *Súraiáru* is another similar rivulet of the Kulattúr Taluk which falls in the Samudrankulam of the Trichinopoly District.

The *Manimuktá* river or the Tiruppattúr river "gathers the drainage of the eastern end of the Sirumalai and of the hills lying north of Nattam in Madura". In the Statistical Account of the State (1813), from which most of the information relating to the rivers is taken, the river carries the surplus water of a tank in Váráppur Zemindari, passes through Várput and Thirukkalambur under the name of *Yenádiáru* and falls into the Neikkuppajkkamái in the Tiruppattúr tract.

Information on the anicuts of these rivers and the tanks that are fed by them will be found in the section dealing with *Irrigation Projects*.

**Hills:**—Numerous hills and several lofty rocks are to be found in the State, of which the most important are the following:—

1. The *Pirāmmalai* hills, the highest in the State, on the south-western border of the State and reaching a height of 1,800 feet above the sea-level.

2. The *Nárttāmalai* hills, a small range lying west of the road from Trichinopoly to Pudukkóttai.

3. The *Aluruttimalai* at Ammachattram, which is a rock contiguous to the Nárttāmalai.

4. The *Sevalár* hills, in Tirumayyan Taluk, which are low, craggy ridges covered with jungles, of which the Kánjāttimalai is an offshoot.

5. The *Annavásal* hill lying near Annavásal and Sittannavásal.

6. The *Páram* hills which are low and craggy and lie in the Arimalam Vattam of the Tirumayyan Taluk.

7. The *Kunnattumalai* which is a flat rock in the Vattam of the same name in the Kulattúr Taluk.

8. The *Sampatti* hills,\* in the north-west of the State, in Kilaiyúr vattam in the Kulattúr Taluk.

9. The rocks at Virálimalai, Nedungudi, Kudumiamalai, Tirugókarnam, Vaiyápur, Kumaramalai, Kunnandárkovil, and Malayadippatti, on the tops or slopes of which are well-known temples.

Many of these rocks will be found described in the Gazetteer at the end of the book.

**Geology of the hills and rocks:**—A good idea of the hills and rocks can be formed by studying the geological structure of the area, "all the rocks met with being referable to but six divisions,† which are given below in their descending order:—

6. Soils and subaërial formations.
5. Alluvial formations, marine and fluvial.
4. Lateritic conglomerates, gravels and sands.
3. Cuddalore sandstones, grits and conglomerates.
2. Upper Gondwana beds. Hard mottled shales.
1. Gneissic or metamorphic rocks."

Most of the general remarks that follow apply not only to the State, but to the southern portion of the Tanjore District and the northern portion of the Madura District.

"The gneissic rocks occupy the western part of the area to be described, and form the highest prominences in it. Amongst them are the line of hills stretching from south of Kolatur (Colatoor)

\* In Pharaoh's Gazetteer of Southern India, most of these hills are mentioned, as also one *Jellettimalai* (?) which is described as "a hill which rises by a steep and rugged ascent till it reaches a height of 250 feet".

† The paragraphs on the Geology of the State are extracted from Mr. Bruce Foote's *Records of the Geological Survey of the Pudukkóttai State, the northern part of the Madura District and the southern parts of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts*. See *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. XII, Part 3.

south-south-westward to the Pudukotai-Illipur road, near Anna-vassel; and several small granite gneiss hills to the south of the Vellár, at and near Trimiem.

"A considerable part of the surface of the gneissic rocks is occupied by debris of the younger overlying rocks, which have been in greatest part destroyed by the denuding agency of atmospheric forces.

"The rocks assigned to the Rájmahál section of the Upper Gondwána system are very slightly exposed, and their contact with the gneiss was not visible, but there is no reason from the analogy of other parts of the Coromandel coast to imagine that their base rests on anything else than the gneiss.

"The Cuddalore sandstones and grits rest, wherever their base is exposed, on the irregular surface of the gneissic rocks and are themselves overlaid by lateritic conglomerates, gravels and sands, the relations between the two being extremely obscure from the great petrological similarity of two of the principal members of either group, and from the extremely limited number and unsatisfactory character of the sections in which the two series are exposed in juxtaposition.

"The total absence of organic remains from both series greatly increases the difficulty of dealing with them. The unconformity of the two groups is inferred from the extensive overlap of the younger of the two. .... Only one section was seen in which unconformity could be demonstrated, and in several of the best sections there is a passing of true mottled grits, which may belong to either group, into lateritic conglomerates of the most typical character, instances of which will be adduced further on.

"The Cuddalore conglomerates, sandstones, etc., appear to be the lower part of one formation; the lateritic conglomerates (mostly), gravels and sands the upper part of one and the same group of rocks; mottled grits of both ages apparently lying in between.

"The conglomeratic beds of both groups occur in the western parts of the areas, and generally close to the boundary, at which they are mostly well displayed.

"The gravelly and sandy members of the lateritic group occupy the eastern part of the slope, and sink in most cases below.....or the coast alluvium.

"The lateritic area is divided by the alluvial valleys of the several rivers (the Agnánavimóchanár, the Vellár, the Pámbár, the Manimuktánadi) into various patches, of which the most northerly are by far the largest in area. These patches will be found described and named further on.

"Of the alluvia there is very little to say.....The river alluvia are of no great extent or importance. Owing to the great extent of wet cultivation carried on along the various rivers and under tanks constructed across their tributaries, the apparent area of the alluvium has, in the course of many centuries, been largely increased by the formation of artificial alluvial spreads, the boundaries between which and the true alluvia it is in very many, if not in most, cases impossible to determine with any accuracy.

"The several rock groups will be most conveniently studied by taking them in ascending order.

1. "THE GNEISSIC OR METAMORPHIC ROCKS. The prevalent form of gneiss in this region is quartzo-felspathic micaceous granitoid or semi-granitoid gneiss, of pinkish or greyish-pink colour. In texture it varies from a massive, coarse highly granitoid rock to a schistose gneiss nearly akin to mica schist. A very marked variety which is of common occurrence is a coarse granular quartz rock very rudely bedded and showing numerous small indistinct cavities from which some mineral has been weathered out. In some cases these cavities are filled with an earthy form of dark-red or brown hæmatite. The cavities lie in the planes of lamination (coinciding with the bedding), and indeed but for the cavities the lamination would not be visible in most cases. The mass of the quartz is in places not unfrequently very translucent and vitreous in texture.

"Hornblendic varieties of gneiss are very much less common in this region, and talcose or chloritic schists were nowhere observed. Ferruginous schists are extremely rare; no example of hæmatite schist was met with, and only one example of magnetite schist.

"Finely banded granite gneiss of dense grain occurs here and there largely, as at Tirkornum (Tirugókarnam) and at Ammachattram on the Trichinopoly road.

"The line of hills which cuts the Trichinopoly road south of Kolatur, and forms the Alurruttimallai\* and Narthamallai, consists of banded slightly hornblendic granite gneiss of pale grey color weathering to pale dirty flesh color, and showing characteristic bare rocky masses. Tors are not remarkable, or abundant, but there is much weathering along the lines of outcrop and along the plane of an important joint occupying a nearly horizontal position, giving rise to numerous low caves and rock-shelters which are yet used for various purposes by the field labourers. The basset edge of the bedding coincides with the run of the hills, and the dip is westerly. A good specimen of a rock-cut Hindu temple is to be seen on the east side of Narthamallai, and near it are some large holes, now full of water, formed apparently by the weathering out of lenticular masses of more perishable rock.

"The Annavassel hills are of very similar petrological character, and so also is the bold rocky mass of the Kudumimallai, four miles further to the south-west, so called by the natives from a fancied resemblance to the lock of hair worn by orthodox Hindus at the back of their heads.

"These hills are almost bare of vegetation owing to their very rocky character, but to the east of Narthamallai is a ridge of the highly crystalline quartzose rock above mentioned, which crumbles by weathering into a coarse grit thickly covered by heavy thorny scrub. Very little rock is to be seen here, and the contrast between the two ridges is very marked. The bedding of this quartzose rock is very obscure, but still traceable by the lines of hæmatitic grains which form discontinuous laminae. A precisely similar rock, probably the extension of the same bed, is to be seen a little south-east of Pilliur (Puliyúr), eleven miles to the north-east-by-north. No other minerals could be

\* The Alurrutti Mallai or "Man-rolling hill" obtained its name from the practice adopted in former times of executing criminals by rolling them over the great precipice on the south side of the hill. The hill is about 400 feet in height and the upper part of the great south scarp overhangs slightly.

traced in this rock. This band of granular quartzose gneiss shows also strongly to the east of the Annavassel hill, and is doubtless connected with more southerly outcrop of similar rock, as, for example, that on the south bank of the Vellár close to Kemanur. Still further south this very peculiar variety of gneiss occurs largely, and forms several low hills and ridges which, though nowhere of any height, are yet conspicuous from their light color where not covered by jungle, or from their being crested by narrow ridges of bold blocks and tors. Among these the following are noteworthy: the Neddammurum hill, three miles north-east of Tripatur,..... The gneissic rock seen in the inlier south of Trimiem is a similar quartzose variety, the crest of a basset edge from which the overlying laterite has been denuded.

"Unconnected with any of the above beds is a band of the granular rock at Mallampatti (in the Kulattúr Taluk), forming a low rocky ridge. The bedding in this case is extremely obscure and doubtful.

"A great show of beautifully banded micaceous granite gneiss is to be seen at Virallimallai, a bold rock crowned with a temple of some note about twenty miles south-west of Trichinopoly on the high road to Madura. The lamination is in parts greatly contorted and "vandyked", and the pink color of the rock, banded with shades of grey and occasional black micaceous laminae, forms a stone of striking beauty.....

"Among the more noteworthy outcrops of granite gneiss in the northern part of our area is a band of a pale grey micaceous variety which forms large tors and bosses at Killumallai (between Visalúr and Killukudi) in the northern corner of the bay of gneiss north of the Ikani-ár (Agnánavimóhani river) valley. The general surface of the gneiss in this bay and south of it nearer Pudukotai is much obscured by sandy semi-lateritic soil. Gneiss crops only here and there, and mostly in detached rounded bosses of "whale backs," as *e. g.*, by the Konanda Kovil (Kunnándár kóvil) bosses, and the extensive "whale backs" north-west of Shembatur.

"The rock forming the Vellengoody and Kunamulla trigonometrical stations (to the north-east of Kíranúr), lying a little westward of the gneissic bay just referred to, and the bosses of gneiss north of Kirnúr (close to Kolatur) consist also of micaceous granite gneiss distinctly bedded, especially in the former case. There the bedding is greatly crumpled, and the rock weathers of dirty pinkish color. The Kunamalla rock is more compact, less micaceous and paler in color. It is quarried, and the freshly broken rock is very handsome, banded with pale shades of bluish and whitish-grey.

"Where the gneiss has been directly overlaid by the conglomerates and laterites of the younger series, it mostly shows a great deal of yellowish-red (rusty) ferruginous staining and a peculiar and characteristic gritty roughness of decomposition of the surface not seen where the weathering action has taken place on the long exposed surface.

"Other fine outcrops of granite gneiss occur at Suriur on the boundary of the laterite about seven miles north of Kolatur, and to the west of the last place to the north and south of Nangupatti. There are also numerous fine examples of granite gneiss rocks to be seen on either side of the Vellár valley to the westward of Tirkornum (Tirugókarnam), *e. g.* at Permanad, Chittur (to the north of the Vellár), and Surramulla (in Tirumayyam Taluk). West of the latter village is a superb tor (evidently what is known as ஒற்றைத்தொம்புமலை or 'a single peak hill') of great height, a conspicuous object from considerable distances. East of the village several ridges of gneiss cross the river and divide the alluvial basin into two parts. The high ground south of this near Kotur is crowned by several prominent bosses standing up out of the scrub jungle. ....

"The numerous low rocky hills at and around Trinniem in the southern part of Pudukotai State all consist of coarse, generally micaceous, banded granite gneiss of pale color, varying from pure grey to pinkish or brownish-grey. Tors and great rounded blocks are numerous.

"Highly hornblendic gneiss is of rare occurrence in the gneissic area between the Vaigai (in the Madura District) and the Cauvery; no important beds of it were noted anywhere.

"The general strike of the bedding (of the gneissic rocks) trends.....to north and south or north-by-west south-by-east, in the neighbourhood of Illippur and near the northern limit of our area as Trichinopoly is approached.

"A small tract of country over which the strike has a totally different tendency occupies the centre of our gneissic area, and extends from the valley of Manimutár northward to within a couple of miles of the Pambár valley at Trinniem. In the southern part of this tract the strike varies from east-by-south west-by-north to north-west-by-west south-east-by-east; in the central part no well-bedded rocks were mapped, but in the northern part the strike changes from east-west to east-by-north west-by-south.

"Only one occurrence of magnetid iron in the gneiss was met with; this was about a mile north-east of Mallampatti, a village in the Pudukotai State nineteen miles north-west-by-north of the town of Pudukotai. Very little of the outcrop is seen, but a good deal of debris of a rich magnetite bed is scattered about the fields a little to the eastward of the Mallampatti granular quartzose gneiss ridge above referred to.

## 2. "UPPER GONDWANA BEDS. HARD MOTTLED SHALES.....

3. "THE CUDDALORE SERIES. The representatives of the Cuddalore series (established by Mr. H. F. Blanford for certain rocks in South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts) which occur in our limits consist of coarse conglomerates, sandstones and grits, the latter passing locally into a rock perfectly undistinguishable from the common laterite which so largely covers the surface in this region. Here as in so many other parts of the Coromandel coast, the slight slope of the country and the very low dip of the rocks have prevented the formation of really valuable natural sections, and civilization has not yet advanced sufficiently to have given rise to any artificial ones of importance. The extension of wet cultivation greatly militates against the formation of deep channels by the different smaller streams draining the country. All are dammed back at many points of their courses, and give rise to the formation of local alluvial flats which only add to the obscuration of the younger rocks, whose relations are therefore

generally very unsatisfactorily and imperfectly displayed, so that definite information regarding many interesting stratigraphical points is at present not procurable. The total absence, so far, of organic remains renders the correlation of detached exposures of even similar rocks of great and inevitable uncertainty. These difficulties present themselves saliently in the Tanjore, Pudukotai and Madura districts.....

"*Shingle conglomerate near Pudukotai.* Ill-compacted gritty shingle conglomerate occurs resting on the gneiss on the high ground north-east of Pudukotai near Kumupatti (to the north-east of Mullúr and west of the Tanjore road) and further west near Yeddiapatti (west of Mullúr). Along the southern brow of the same high ground overlooking the town of Pudukotai is a line of low cliffs 12 to 16 ft. high, showing conglomerate of quartz and gneiss pebbles in a gritty, often semi-lateritic, matrix of reddish purple, color, and containing here and there small nests of clay. This conglomerate, which is not very hard, rests on the very irregular surface of the banded (slightly hornblendic) granite gneiss, to which it has imparted a strong yellow stain.

"*Shenkarai ridge conglomerates.* Among the more southerly conglomerate beds are those met with in the Shenkarai ridge, about eight miles south-by-east of Pudukotai. They are displayed on the western slope opposite Shenkarai village by an extensive series of rain gullies which expose a considerable surface of the gritty conglomerate; but unfortunately do not cut deeply into it. Its base is not seen, but it probably rests directly on the gneiss which shows in Shenkarai tank. The bedding is seen to dip east-north-east or east-by-north at angles of from  $12^{\circ}$  to  $15^{\circ}$ . False bedding prevails, but only to a small extent, for so coarse a rock. The conglomerate is of mottled brown to pinkish and whitish, less frequently reddish-yellow color, and tolerably compact with a gritty matrix, including quartz and gneiss shingle from the size of a cocoanut downward, in moderate quantity. The eastern slope of the ridge\* is overlaid by the most massive and continuous (sheet-like) bed of lateritic conglomerate that I have seen on

\* It is a merely low rise scarped only for a short distance at its northern extremity. Extensive scrub jungle covers the greater part of its surface thickly.

the Coromandel coast; it covers a considerable space between Arimullum and Malalapatti (near Nedungudi), and is itself lost sight of to the east under lateritic sands and the alluvium of the Vellár.....

"*Section near Ayangudi.* A second section of the Cuddalore beds forming the Shenkarai ridge was found in the scrub jungle about two miles further south-west and about a mile south-east of Ayangudi. The beds here seen are unlike the Shenkarai beds, they are conglomerates of very coarse texture and rather friable. The matrix, which varies from light red to brown red in color, is semi-lateritic and vermicularly cellular to some extent. The enclosed shingle is mostly large and rounded; it is chiefly quartzose and all apparently of gneissic origin. The lowest bed seen is mottled and more gritty in texture with fewer enclosed pebbles. The dip is southerly at low angles. Here as at Shenkarai the section penetrates but a few feet vertically.....

"*Section at Perungalur.* The best section of Cuddalore grits of the softer variety occurs about eleven miles north-east from Pudukotai, a little west of the high road to Tanjore. Here the small stream, which feeds the Perungalur tank, in descending from the high ground to the north, cuts through the upper laterite beds, and exposes beds of typical grits in many gullies, forming so many miniature canons of very perfect shape with nearly vertical sides, from 12 to 18 feet deep and only 2 or 3 feet apart at the bottom. The grit beds show a rude but distinctly columnar jointing strongly resembling starchy cleavage on a huge scale.

"The section here displayed shows the following sequence of beds in descending order:—

4. Black laterite conglomerate, on gravel.
3. Red-brown vermicularly porous conglomerate, passing down into—
2. Brown conglomerate with many pebbles of quartz-grit and older laterite.
1. Grits, pale mottled, generally showing columnar jointing with vermicular tubes and scattered galls of fine clay.

"In this section distinct unconformity is seen to exist between Nos. 1 and 2. No signs of organic remains could be traced after very careful search.

"A small show of rather soft grit of red and brownish mottled color appears between the boundary of the gneiss and the overlying laterite between Surianpatti and Parembur (lying between Kunnandarkóvil and Áthanakkóttai).

4. "THE LATERITIC GROUP. The Cuddalore series is overlaid by the several members of the lateritic series, which vary from hard typical conglomerates through gritty beds to gravels and finally to reddish sands with variable quantities of gravelly pisolitic hæmatite concretions. The sandy beds occupy the lower slopes ..... while the conglomeratic beds occupy the higher grounds to the west and often overlap widely on to the gneiss.

"Sub-division of the lateritic area. The various rivers which convey the drainage of the country to the sea divide the lateritic region into a number of minor areas or patches amounting in all to nine. Their sizes are very unequal as might be expected, ranging as they do from several hundred square miles to only a few dozen or so in extension".

We have to deal only with five of these nine patches and they are—

1. *The Tanjore patch* being the southward continuation of the great patch, on the northern edge of which stands the town of Tanjore,
2. *The Pudukkóttai patch* to the south of the Agnánavimóchanar, and to the north of the Vellár,
3. *The Shenkarai patch* between the Vellár and the Pámbár.
4. *Shahkotai patch* to the south of the Pámbár, and
5. *The Nallur patch* at the western extremity of the Tanjore patch.

"*Tanjore patch.* The most remarkable spreads of conglomeratic laterite are to be seen along the western boundary of the areas in nearly every case, but only a few of them need be specially mentioned. To begin with the Tanjore patch. Vast

sheets of laterite conglomerate are to be seen to the west and south of Gandarakotai (a village on the high road to Tanjore two miles beyond the Pudukkóttai frontier). A little to the north of Suriampatti especially the bare black sheets of rock arranged in terraces with low steps give the country a strange appearance. Where the conglomerate is covered with soil the latter is generally a very hard compact sandy clay of red or yellow (bath-brick) color much marked by sun-cracks, which run in very regular systems and give the soil a tessellated appearance on a large scale. In the presence of water these lateritic soils are fertile, but the high dry downs they are oftenest seen upon are generally waste, and bear but little else than a very low scrub of *Dodonaea viscosa* (ஆட்டை) mixed with a few dwarf *Mimosa* (உச்சை).

"This low *Dodonaea* scrub is quite a feature of the hard lateritic soil tracts and many instances of it might be noted.....

"*Pudukotai patch.* Striking spreads of hard typical conglomerate are to be seen in many places near the western boundary and even at some miles distance from it, e. g., at Urriur (a few miles to the south-west of Perungulúr) in the extreme north-west corner of the patch, also nearly all along the left side of the Vellár alluvium valley down to Arrantangy and to the north and north-west of Alangudi.

"*Shenkarai and Shahkotai patches.* The Shenkarai patch contains, as already mentioned above, an extensive and massive development of conglomerate in the eastern slope of the Shenkarai ridge and the plain east of it. This great development of conglomerate is continued under the alluvium of the Pámbár and re-appears in the Shahkottai patch and is especially well seen at Kilanellikotai, where the walls of the extensive old poligar fort are built of the massive laterite quarried close by. The conglomerate is also admirably seen on the bluff east of Neddengoody (Nedungudi), which may be regarded as the continuation of the Shenkarai ridge south-westward. From this bluff which is crowned by a picturesque temple called the Padikása Nadar Kovil, the ridge declines and is lost to the south-west in a high-lying plain of massive laterite extending without a break to Palatoor (a Náttukkóttai chetti village, a little to the south of the Pudukkóttai State).....

"*Nallur patch.* The Nallur patch like the western part of the Tanjore patch consists of a more gritty and rather less compact form than prevails over the spreads above enumerated. The rock is perhaps equally ferruginous, but owing to its gritty character shows a rougher duller surface with many fewer vermicular cavities. The larger enclosed fragments of older rocks, which consist almost entirely of gneissic quartz, are mostly subangular or angular, giving the rock a breccia-like appearance. Well-rounded pebbles do, however, also occur.....

"*Alluvial formations.* The alluvia of the various small streams traversing our area are very limited and are generally a whitish mixture of sandy clay with lateritic pellets and small debris of quartz and gneiss.

"*Soils.* The soils depend almost everywhere on the underlying rocks for their character. Red and reddish sandy soils abound. Black soil is not at all common. It occurs largely only ..... under a few important irrigation tanks where it must be regarded as of artificial origin.....

"Where the conglomeratic laterite occurs two forms of soil prevail, both of them hard clayey sands, the one of bright red, the other of pale yellow (bath-brick) colors—often approaching in texture to true sandstones. Many large spreads of these occur covered with low scrub of *Dodonaea Viscosa* (உருளை) and a few dwarf *mimosa* (உருளை) and other thorny bushes, *c. g.*, on the high ground to the south of Gandarakotai in the Tanjore patch, and again on the high ground north-east-by-east of Alangudi in the Pudukotai patch. The surface of the soils is often covered with light wreaths of grit and sand collected by the prevailing winds.

"The red soil is the more common form, but both it and the yellow variety show frequently on the hardest parts of the surface a semi-metallic-looking blush of bluish-black color.

"Over the lateritic bands the soil is generally a nearly pure, less frequently somewhat clayey, sand".

The above remarks on the rocks and soils of Pudukkóttai were made by Mr. Bruce Foote on a survey that was conducted by him in 1878. There has been no later survey of the State, if we except the operations which were carried on for about a month

in December 1908, by a geologist (Mr. Alexander Primrose) in prospecting over the area (see page 11) in which Mr. Bruce Foote thirty years before had found a small outcrop of magnetic iron ore. The following is "a summary of the discoveries made by him" in his own words.

"Coming upon a small outcrop of dark magnetic Iron ore about a mile north of Mallampatti village, probably the ore mentioned by Mr. Bruce Foote, though not in the exact position mentioned by him, I opened out the ground here and a considerable deposit of the ore was exposed. From this point I have followed a line indicated by other small outcrops both north and south of the original ore, and along this line by sinking pits at various intervals I have found the ore extending for about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles reaching northwards to about one or two furlongs north-east of Amburáppatti and south some 200 yards from the original outcrop. How far beyond these points it may extend remains for further exploration, but it is not improbable it may be found running beyond these. The sinking I have made cannot be taken to prove that the ore runs without a break, but I think it not improbable it will be found to take the form of a fairly continuous reef representing a very extensive deposit of ore.

"On ground about two or three furlongs south of the original outcrop and east-ward of a rocky ridge known as 'Lingamalai', Mr. Bruce Foote noted debris of magnetic iron ore..... While sinking pits southward to trace the first deposit, I have latterly come upon a considerable mass of ore very similar to the surface fragments.

"The two ores differ considerably, that latterly come upon being much more magnetic and heavier than the other, which is a very dark ore and which on a careful assay may be found combined to some extent with other minerals. .... As much of the principal deposit traced lies near the surface, mining should be easy. Fragments of ore are found scattered over other parts of the area—over a long sketch of country—and there is no doubt I think that further deposits will be discovered".

ECONOMIC GEOLOGY. MINERALS. The State, though poor in precious metals, is fairly rich in useful minerals, of which the following may be mentioned:—building-stones and stones for

road-metalling, lime and cement materials, brickclay, potter's clay, bangle-earth, ochre and clay for crayon pencils, earth-salt, nitrous earth and dhobie's earth, iron ores and mica.

*Building stones.* Of the stones that occur in the State, granite and laterite\* are those that are used for building purposes. These are used also for rivetting the inner slopes of the large tank bunds and irrigation wells and for constructing sluices and kalingulas or wastewater channels as also bathing ghauts. We find granite employed also for making paddy mortars, water-troughs, domestic corn-grinders, mortars and pestles for grinding, etc.

We learn from inscriptions that granite was used for making stone-sluices and for building temples even as early as the eighth century A. D. The stones forming the sluices at Rāsālippatti and on the Nārttāmalai hills and the walls of the numerous temples on which inscriptions are found engraved are of granite. Mr. William King has observed that "no one can have travelled through any of the districts of Southern India in which large pagodas occur without having been struck by the admirable adaptation to architectural purposes of several varieties of gneiss rock, as regards both the size and the durability of the blocks employed, independently of their beauty when polished."†

Mr. Bruce Foote, in the *Record* from which we have quoted above, remarks that "very handsome gneiss is quarried at Tirukonum (Tirugókarnam), west of Pudukotai and at Kunamulla (in the Kulattūr Taluk) fourteen miles to the north (of Pudukkóttai). The granite gneiss at Virallimallai, twenty miles south-west of Trichinopoly on the Madura road, could yield stone of very great beauty if required. Less handsome but very useful stone is quarried from the granite gneiss rocks occurring at Trimniem in Pudukotai State. ....

"Some of the finest and boldest carvings both of statues and scroll work that can be met with in Southern India, are to be seen at the Avadiar Kōvil temple in the southernmost corner

\* Sandstone as such is not separately recognised, "the Cuddalore series passing locally" according to Mr. Bruce Foote "into a rock perfectly undistinguishable from the common laterite".

† *Geology of Trichinopoly*, p. 145.

of Tanjore District. The great mantapam in front of the temple gate is an architectural work of great beauty and noble proportions. .... The stone used is said to have been brought from Trimniem and Tirkornum, but is more hornblendic than any of the rocks seen at those places".

With reference to the laterite found in the State, the same geologist has remarked as follows "The laterite of the Shenkarai patch and the northern part of the Shakkotai patch yields the largest and apparently the most reliable and homogeneous blocks I have seen quarried anywhere between Cape Comorin and the Kistna river. In the laterite quarries at these places, masses are raised measuring as much as  $8' \times 1\frac{1}{2}' \times 1'$ , a very large size for a lateritic stone. The compact richly ferruginous laterite conglomerate furnishes endless material for rough building purposes, and is even carefully cut and dressed for better class buildings now put up at various places by the rich Natukotai Chetties, a caste of rich traders and soucars who are buying much land in many villages on the lateritic area and building palatial houses in every direction, besides tanks and temples. Many old buildings of importance have been built of this stone, e g., the great fort at Kilanelikotai and the fort at Airantangy .... The laterite frequently varies greatly in quality even in different parts of the same bed; hence in any work in which durability is an object much circumspection should be used in the selection of laterite blocks to be employed, which should be neither very sandy nor yet wanting in iron".

As has been remarked by Mr. Henry F. Blanford about the laterite bed to the south of Vallam, which he says, appears to extend into Tondaimān's country, the laterite is "when freshly cut, a porous, ferruginous sandy clay, which hardens on exposure to the weather and only after some months becomes brown and glazed, in the manner characteristic of laterite". \*

The places where granite and laterite stones are now quarried (under Sirkar licences) are given below :—

*Granite stones.* - 1. Near Tirugókarnam, (a) Kīrankurichi rock; (b) Karuppar Kōvil rock; (c) Tirugókarnam Temple Quarry; (d) Adaippakkāra Chuttrai rock, a few miles to the west.

\* *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. IV.

2. Puttámbúr quarry.
3. Tirumayyam Uchippárai quarry.
4. Rocks near Lambalakkudi. (a) Tattimutti quarry;  
(b) Lambalakkudi rock; (c) Ráman párai.
5. Rocks near Kónaput. (a) Karuppadaiánmalai;  
(b) Ennayáttipárai; (c) Paralimálaippárai.
6. Malayakkóvil rock.
7. Péraiýúr Kanmoi rock.
8. Usilamalaippárai.
9. Sevali (Sevalúr) málaippárai.
10. Virálimalai rock.
11. Vittampatti rock.
12. Kudumiámalai rock.
13. Panangudimalai near Perumsunai.
14. Ammachattram quarry.
15. Virappatti rock near Killukóttai.
16. Chittámbúr quarry near Pérámbúr.
17. Kíranúr quarry and Parappatti quarry by its side.

*Laterite quarries.* 1. Arimalam quarry.  
2. Panaiyúr quarry } near Arimalam.  
3. Kallúr quarry }

The rules under which these quarries are worked will be found later on. The stones of the State (both granite and laterite) are highly prized by the people of the neighbouring British districts and are exported by them.

*Stones for road metalling.* For the purpose of metalling roads, decomposed laterite rocks are used as also small pieces of granite obtained by blasting the gneiss rocks or by breaking into pieces of required size granite rubbish rejected by stone-smiths. Pieces of granite and laterite are also used in the construction of compound walls.

*Some rarer stones.* Specimens of red jasper and large pieces of rock-crystal (of white and of violet colour) have been picked up on the surface of the land adjoining the rock in Sittannavásal and on a waste piece of land known as *pacchaipottal* in the Kulattúr Taluk. The violet-coloured crystals, which are considered to be amethysts, are not large ones; but the white

crystals are appreciably big. Samples of a coarse and inferior variety of garnets have also been picked up at Sittannavásal, in the *vari* leading to the tank at the place.\*

*Cement materials.* Two materials alone are used for the manufacture of lime, *viz.* *kankar* and *shells*. The former occurs in various parts of the State, as on the banks of the Vellár, Káraiýúr, Perumánádu, Ammachattram, Várappúr to the east of Alangudi and Karuppudaiánpatti near Perungulúr. The lime prepared out of *kankar* got from the last two places is considered to be of very good quality. Shells are found in small quantities in the Agnánavimóhani river near Karambakkudi and are collected. But most of the lime for marble-like stucco work which is prepared at this place and in several Náttukkóttai villages is obtained from shells collected on the sea-shore, twenty miles to the east of the State, and carted to these places.

*Brickclay.* Clay for bricks, which are manufactured almost throughout the State, is obtained from superficial alluvial deposits. These deposits are generally between 2 feet to 4 feet in depth and are found occasionally to extend down to 7 or 8 feet. The clay used for the manufacture of bricks in the Sirkar factory to the north of Tirugókarnam is obtained from Pattattikulam, through which the rain water feeding the tanks of Tirugókarnam passes.

*Potter's clay.* The clay used by potters has to be fine and is collected by them from the beds covered with fluviatile alluvial deposits of the irrigation tanks, of which there are many in the State. Both the men and women of the potter's caste are engaged in the work, and, when fine enough clay cannot be obtained from the dry portions of the tanks, the women collect it standing from portions of the tanks which are knee-deep, while the men go farther into the tank, and collect it sitting. The potters generally mix together silts that they procure from several tanks, and, after drying them for a time, add the requisite quantity of water and knead them. Since the suppression of earth-salt manufacture in 1888, the silt is said to have become rather saline and not so good for the production of such strong vessels as were produced before 1888. The pots that are made in the parts

\* This note was kindly supplied to me by Mr. B. V. Sankarakamesvara Aiyar B. A., Chairman of the Pudukkóttai Municipal Council.

about Malaiyūr and Adirāviduthi are strong, the soils at the places not being saline. Most of the potters of the State are engaged also in making tiles, for which rather inferior clay will suffice.

*Bangle-earth.* The alkaline earth from which bangles are made occurs mostly in the Kulattūr Taluk. It is found chiefly in the bed of the Vaittikkanmoi tank at Vaittūr. The earth is supposed to be very good in quality and large quantities of this earth are purchased from the contractors and taken from Vaittūr to the Trichinopoly district by the bangle-makers of that district. Fairly good bangle-earth is also found in the bed of the Nīrpālani tank, in the bed of the Pérāmbūr tank, in the bed of the Tāmarai Kanmoi at Tirumayyān, on the banks of the Pāmbār, on the banks of the Perungulūr river, at Kurumbavayal near Karambakkudi and in the waste lands of Rāsipuram and Pākkudi.

*Dhobie's earth,* which native washermen use for bleaching clothes, is widespread and occurs as a whitish soil. A few places where this earth is found are the northern bank of the Vellār, the banks of the Nerinjikkudi stream, a tributary of the Vellār, Namanasamudram and Perumānādu. Washermen who are too lazy to collect the earth, and all washermen, after heavy showers of rain which wash away the earth, purchase it from the bangle-manufacturers of Vaittūr.

*Earth-salt.* The saline earth, from which earth-salt could be manufactured, occurs in various parts of the State. Before the suppression of earth-salt manufacture in 1888, earth-salt was made in 175 villages distributed among the three Taluks. Some of the tracts where earth-salt was manufactured were,

(1) in the Ālangudi Taluk, Maniambalam and Vandakóttai to the east of the town; Thandalai, Uppuppatti and Kusalākkudi to the south of the town; Vārāppūr to the east of Ālangudi; and Kīrattur and Sengalmédu near Karambakkudi;

(2) in the Tirumayyān Taluk, Ōnangudi, Miratnīlai, the banks of the Pāmbār near Tirumayyān, Perundurāi Kanmoi, Ēmbal, Madakam, Nedungudi, Mēlattāniyam, Nerinjikkudi, Kāraiūr, and Mūlangudi near Ponnamarāvati;

(3) and in the Kulattūr Taluk, Mandaiyūr, Īcchināri, Pérāmbūr, Kattalūr, Kodumbālūr, Meenavalli, Annavāsal, and Visalūr.

*Salt-petre.* The nitrous earth required for the preparation of salt-petre was collected in the southern part of the town of Pudukkóttai, Thiruvappūr, Annavāsal, Puttāmbūr and Sembāttūr. Several wells to the south of the town Police Station and Post office were known as “வாணப்பட்டைத் தீண்டு” or wells from which the water required for boiling the nitrous earth to prepare salt-petre for fireworks was taken. After the earth was boiled once, something like earth-salt was produced, and as good salt-petre as was thought could be produced locally was obtained only after three boilings. The Uppiliyans, a class of people who manufactured both earth-salt and salt-petre found their occupation gone on the suppression of earth-salt in 1888, and salt-petre is nowhere manufactured now in the State.

✓ *Ochre.* Ochres of different colours, yellow, blue, red, white, reddish-yellow, etc., are found in the Senkarai tract and the parts about Tiruvārānkulam. They are useful for making pigments, for manufacture of crayons, and as materials for coloured chalks. These ochres are much prized and are used not simply in the State, but are carried to the neighbouring British districts. The ochres can be pounded, sifted and refined so as to be used for water and oil colouring.

*Iron.* It has already been mentioned that magnetic iron occurs at Mallampatti. Mr. Bruce Foote remarks that in this State “the metallic minerals are represented by iron ore only, and that not of the highest quality. In the Shenkarai tract, the conglomerate is very thick and massive over an area of several square miles in extent and remarkably rich in iron, as is clearly indicated by the rich red colour of the wheel tracks passing over the great bare sheets of rock. .... Abundance of an earthy form of hæmatite is to be found in the lateritic rocks, and there are traces of a considerable smelting industry having been carried on at no remote period at Āyangudi in the southern part of Pudukkóttai State. The ore treated is clayey red or brown hæmatite of fair quality”.

Iron is known to have been smelted at Tiruvarankulam at least about six hundred years ago, as, from an inscription at the place dated the 4th year of Vira Pándya (say, 1258-72) it appears that a cess of 1200 *kásus* \* a year was collected for the right to mine iron, and two blacksmiths of the place were required to pay 6 *kásus* a year for maintaining two lamps in the temple at the place. The Statistical Account of Pudukkóttai (1813) mentions the following tracts as those in which iron was found.

1. In Andakkulam vattam, the jungle which is one mile in extent.

2. Near Perungulúr to the south of Uttarakkulam, to the west of the road to Tanjore, to the north of Kúlaiyánviduthi and to the east of the tank at Mánthánkudi, a tract which is two furlongs from east to west and two furlongs from north to south.

3. Near Perungulúr, to the east of the village, to the north of Vellaiváttánviduthi, and to the south of Nemmelippátti, a tract which is four furlongs from north to south and four furlongs from east to west.

4. To the west of the Palace Jack grove to the north of Mayiláppárai, to the east of the forest of big trees and to the south of Thékádú, a tract about half a mile from east to west and about a quarter of a mile from north to south.

5. Near Tiruvarankulam, to the east and south of the village, a tract of land in the forest of big trees, about a quarter of a mile from east to west and about half a mile from north to south. [There are traces even now of about a dozen mines there].

6. In Melnilaippatti jungle near Kilánilai, a tract which is about 30 yards from east to west and about 10 furlongs from north to south.

7. In the Sen'arai forest, to the east of the Ánaivári jungle stream, a tract which is about 30 yards long from east to west and about 10 furlongs from north to south. Ferruginous blocks of stone were collected from which iron was got.

That iron was smelted in these places till the middle of the last century will be evident from Mr. Bailey's report of 1841, in which it is stated that "the monopoly of digging and smelting iron ore was farmed out for Rs. 1,300 a year."

\* "The unit of currency was the gold kasu weighing about 20 grains Troy". Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, p. 183.

*Mica.* Mica is found in small pieces at Annavásal and other places, and specimens of it collected at Káraiýúr were sent to the Madras Exhibition of 1903. It is not known whether the mineral occurs in such quantities as would justify mining operations being begun.

*Soils.* The remarks of Mr. Bruce Foote on the soils of Pudukkóttai will be found in the paragraphs relating to the geology of the State (See p. 16). The following extracts on *Soils and their Classification* are from the State Revenue Settlement Officer's *Scheme Report*.

"The soil in the State is for the greater part 'Red Ferruginous'. There is black cotton or 'Regar' soil also, but it is mostly found in the wet fields of Trimiem and Kolattur taluqs. Only in some places in the Alangudi taluq 'Regar' soil is found. Almost all the dry lands in the state are of 'Red Ferruginous' soil. According to local usage, the soil of the state is divided into six classes (1) Padugai, (2) Karisal, (3) Sevval, (4) Manal, (5) Saralai, and (6) Kalar.

1. Padugai soil means alluvial soil. It is very rarely found in the state. I have not come across any soil which can be strictly called alluvial and compared with the alluvial soil in the delta portions of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. What are called Padugai lands in the state are lands containing somewhat rich loamy soil. This soil is generally found in the ayacuts of large tanks, and by constant manuring with green leaves, etc., has slightly turned into a chocolate colour. Such soil is found in villages situated close to forests, the green leaves from which are often used for manuring the wet fields in the adjoining villages. Some of the villages in which I found this soil are Kavinad, Vallanad, etc., in Alangudi taluq, and Pudunilaivayal, Melainilaivayal, Nedungudi, Rayapuram, Arimalam, etc., in Trimiem taluq.

2. Karisal is black loamy soil. This soil is generally found in the wet lands of the Trimiem taluq. In some villages, the proportion between clay and sand is what it ought to be. But in most parts clay preponderates and makes the field yield a poor crop.

3. Sevval is 'Red Ferruginous' soil. It is found almost throughout the state. This expression is generally used in the State for the loamy soil, as distinguished from

4. Manal which is 'Ferruginous' sandy soil, and

5. Saralai which is 'Ferruginous' gravelly soil.

6. Kalar is the black clayey soil of a saline character. Several villages in the Trimiem taluq contain extensive lands containing saline soil. Some of them were lands on which salt was actually manufactured before its manufacture in the State was put a stop to.

This classification of soils is not a scientific classification, but it represents some characteristic features connected with the different soils in the State. It will be found that, from a scientific point of view, the soils of the State are either black cotton or red ferruginous, containing in each case more or less proportion of clay to sand.

*Forests.*—The State was once covered almost wholly with forests. The southern portion of the State was called Kánádu (or the forest tract), while divisions of the northern portion were known as 'North palm forest land', 'South palm forest land', &c. The names of the gods such as Atavísvarar or 'the lord of the forest' at Kulaváippatti, 'Tálavanésvarar', or 'the lord of the palm forest' at Vaítú, and Vénuvanésvari or 'the goddess of the bambooreed forest' at Tirumayyam testify to this fact. In course of time the forests were cleared and villages were established, a fact also established by the onomatology \* of the State—

\* Lt. Colonel R. B. Branfill, in his interesting article on "the names of places in Tanjore in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1879, has given a list of the common descriptive words affixed to proper names of places prevalent in the southernmost part of the Tanjore District. Most of the words are found affixed to the names of places in the State and we give them below:—

1. *Chattiram*, a rest-house: *e. g.*, Ammachatram, Adaippakarachatram, Chinnichatram, *etc.*
2. *Kadu*, jungle or forest: *e. g.*, Mangadu, Vadakadu, Kilankadu, Kottakadu, Pattattikkadu, Kadukkakkadu, Vannakkan Kadu, Alankadu &c.
3. *Kollai*, enclosure: *e. g.*, Vellakkollai and Toppukkollai (Alangudi Taluk).
4. *Kottai*, fort: *e. g.*, Pudukkottai, Adanakkottai, Vattanakottai, Killukottai, Vandakottai, Vallattirakottai, Mankottai (near Alangudi) Kolandirakottai, Kottakottai, *etc.*
5. *Kudi*, habitation: *e. g.*, Ayanugudi, Panangudi, Thenmangudi, Alangudi, Pungudi, Vennavalkudi, Karambakkudi, Mangudi, Kadayakkudi, *etc.*

by the names of villages such as Mángádu (mango forest), Vadakádu (the northern forest), Kilánkádu (wild apple forest), Kóttakádu (the fort forest) and Álangádu (banyan forest). Even as late as 1788, "the country was with the exception of some spots overgrown with thickets, which had to be cleared before the country

6. *Kuricchi*, a hamlet of cottages: *e. g.*, Kaikkurichi, Kattakkurichi, Karukakkurichi, Valakkurichi, Ammankurichi, Palakkurichi, Vattanakurichi, *etc.*
7. *Nadu*, a settled country: *e. g.*, Valnadu, Kavinadu, Irumbanadu.
8. *Pattanam*, a town: *e. g.*, Pattanam to the south of Tirumayyam, Muttipattanam.
9. *Patti*, (of frequent occurrence), a village of herdsmen: *e. g.*, Nacchandupatti, Vendampatti, Sevalpatti, Nagarattupatti, Mithilaipatti, Chellipatti, Kadiyappatti, Rasalippatti, *etc.*
10. *Pattu*, a village: *e. g.*, Konapattu, Varattu.
11. *Sandai*, fair: *e. g.*, Munaisandai.
12. *Sandaipettai*, market-village: *e. g.*, (Pudukkottai) Sandaipettai, Tirumayyam Sandaipettai.
13. *Teru*, a street: *e. g.*, Vadateru, Terkutteru.
14. *Ur* (of frequent occurrence), a town: *e. g.*, Kiranur, Nallur, Mattur, Kattalur, Kulattur, Vellanur, Palaiyur, Avur, *etc.*
15. *Vasal*, entrance: *e. g.*, Tiruvengavasal, Vagavasal, Pallivasal, Annavasal, Neivasal, Kalanivasal.
16. *Tugal*, field: *e. g.*, Pulvayal, Agavayal, Alavayal, Manyavayal, *etc.*
17. *Viduti*, lodging: *e. g.*, Adiranviduti, Karambaviduti, Kulaiaviduti, Manaviduti, Manjanviduti, Pilaviduti, Ponnaviduti, Tittanviduti.

We may add the following affixes:—

1. *Kulam* (tank), *e. g.*, Tiruvarankulam, Venkatakulam, *c. f.*, Tondamanuruni.
  2. *Kovil*, (temple), Ambukkivil, Kunnandarkovil, Vaittikovil, Sunaiyakkovil.
  3. *Malai*, (hill), Viralmalai, Kudumiamalai, Arasamalai; *c. f.*, Rajagiri.
  4. *Mangalam*, (a flourishing village), Valamangalam, Kulamangalam, Karamangalam, Pillamangalam, Satyamangalam.
  5. *Nilai*, (station), Melanilai, Pudunilai, Miratnilai, Kilanilai.
  6. *Puram*, (town), Ramachandrapuram, Durvasapuram, Rayapuram, Ganapatipuram, Raghunathapuram.
- The terminations *cheri* (Tirumanancheri), *Veli* (Menelveli or Minaveli) and *Medu* (Sengamedu) rarely occur.
7. *Samudram*, (ocean or big tank), affixed to names of Sarvamaniyam villages such as Namanasamudram, Nallambalamudram and Thirumalarayasamudram.

Col. Branfill states that "the chief fact learnt from a cursory study of the onomatology of the Kaveri delta appears to be the universal influence of Brahminical civilisation upon an industrious and agricultural population of indigenous origin". A similar inference drawn from the onomatology of places in this State will be that the State is hilly and was once almost wholly covered by forests, of which a great portion has been cleared and rendered fit for cultivation by an industrious non-Brahmin population, and that the tract abounded in men who lived by plunder. The last fact is borne out by the prevalence of place-names ending in *kottai* or fort. In this connection we may quote the following from Col. Sherer's *Sketches of India* (1821). "The villages in the plain open country..... have a small fort or ghurry, built of mud or else of brick and often of stone. These sort of defences throughout the country have universally fallen to decay. A volume in praise of our present rule as compared with the ancient order of things could not speak more plainly or half so convincingly in its favour".

could be rendered valuable." \* The main reason for the failure of the people to clear the forests was that the thickets afforded a safe place of shelter to the *Kallars* when they were attacked (See General History), and in those early times the *Kallars* "were little disposed to check the luxuriance of rank vegetation which yielded them at once subsistence and shelter." A systematic attempt was however made in the time of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Babadúr (1789-1807) to get rid of the thickets, who granted as *Indáms* many tracts of forest land on the express understanding that the forests were to be cleared and rendered fit for cultivation. And we know that in the time of his successor also (1807-1825), Major Blackburne, the Resident, arranged for much land that was occupied by forests being brought under cultivation. At present about one-eighth of the State is covered by forests and jungles, of which there are more than sixty in number, none of them however being very large. About twenty of these are larger than the rest and occupy roughly about 140 square miles, the smaller ones covering about 10 miles in all. Six of the larger jungles are preserved more carefully than the rest for the shooting of His Highness and are known as "Game Preserve Forests".

The names of these forests are—

- |                                                                                                 |                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. The Town Forest—Periavalaikkattu to the east, Chinnavalaikkattu to the north (14 sq. miles.) |                |
| 2. Senkarai Forest (about 17 sq. miles.)                                                        |                |
| 3. Pulvayal, Vayalókam and Parambuk-kádu Forest                                                 |                |
| 4. Narttámalai Forest                                                                           | } Small areas. |
| 5. Thiruváránkulam Forest                                                                       |                |
| 6. Váráppúr and Sakkiliákkóttai Forest                                                          |                |

Forest lands are to be found also near Piránmalai, Anuman-kuricchi, Maravámadura, Lambalakkudi, Kannanúr, Kónáput, Irumbánádu, Vennávalkudi, Chóttuppálai, Ádanakkóttai, Killukóttai and Pérámbúr.

The jungles form a basin for the tanks in the adjoining villages, and as a fact most of the best villages in the State with large tanks are by the side of these jungles.

\* Col. Fullarton's *View of the English Interests in India* (1788).

Detailed information on the administration of forests and on forest produce will be found later on.

**Meteorology.** \* *Climate.* This part of the plain of the Karnatic is land-locked, being bounded by the British districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Kannad. The boundary line of the State on the eastern side is about twelve miles from the Bay of Bengal at the nearest and about forty miles at the farthest. The surface is not altogether flat, but contains gentle undulations with hills and hillocks mostly on the west and south-west. The hills are generally of very low elevation and support but a scrubby growth of thorny shrubs, while the hillocks and rocks are almost bare. The granite and laterite earths that compose the majority of the surface soil get baked in the hot sun that shines relentlessly for nearly nine months in the year, and the air that blows over the place is dry-hot air, calculated to dry up the blood and sap the energies of the people.

*Temperature.* The thermometer in the shade in the hottest months of April and May rises as high as 106° F., and the effect of the intense heat on the general system and the working capacity of man is anything but salutary. In the cold and dewy months of January and February, the dry minimum readings range from a little over 60° F. to 70° F.; and though there is a clear range of variation of from 30° to 45° between the lowest and the highest reading in the year's course, yet such extreme cases pertain only to the second half of January and the first half of February. For the major portion of the year, the mean daily temperature is generally about its mean annual temperature.

The range of temperature during the course of a day varies very greatly during the different seasons of the year. The careful observations that have been made in the Pudukkóttai Observatory show that the maximum temperature is reached between 2 P. M. and 3 P. M. in certain seasons, and between 3 P. M. and 4 P. M. in other seasons, depending on the percentage

\* The paragraphs on the Meteorology of the State have been kindly contributed by Mr. R. Chakrapani Aiyangar, B. A., the State Meteorological Superintendent. The statements contained therein are based mostly on the observations made in the Observatory at Pudukkóttai.

of unclouded sky. It is shifted even beyond sunset should the sky be overcast in the afternoon and continue to remain cloudy after sunset. The range of daily variations is greatest in April or May and least in November or December.

It will be seen from the table given below that May is the hottest month of the year, that June (as also April) is almost equally hot, that the temperature begins to fall slowly in July, that the fall continues almost steadily up to December, and that the temperature continues to rise steadily from January to May.

The sun in May and June is unbearably hot and the day temperature rises more than 6° or 7° F. above that of blood heat, especially during the dog-star days (அக்கினி நட்சத்திர நாட்கள்), unless the sky should then be overcast, which is generally not the rule.

I. The Table of Mean Values of Meteorological Results, deduced from observations for the years from 1906-1910.

| Months.      | Mean pressure. | Mean daily wind velocity in miles. | Mean temperature. | Mean vapour tension. | Mean humidity out of 100. | Mean cloud amount out of 10. | Mean rainfall in inches. | Mean of rainy days. | Days of one inch rain & more. |
|--------------|----------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| January ...  | 29.902         | 209.00                             | 81.9              | 622                  | 58                        | 5.7                          | 1.03                     | 1.6                 | 1                             |
| February ... | 28.65          | 182.00                             | 85.7              | 620                  | 52                        | 4.7                          | 0.66                     | 1.2                 | 1                             |
| March ...    | 28.38          | 172.00                             | 89.4              | 633                  | 47                        | 3.9                          | 0.44                     | 1.4                 | 0                             |
| April ...    | 27.50          | 191.00                             | 92.7              | 722                  | 48                        | 4.3                          | 1.60                     | 2.4                 | 2                             |
| May ...      | 27.00          | 224.00                             | 94.1              | 752                  | 47                        | 4.9                          | 2.26                     | 3.4                 | 2                             |
| June ...     | 26.73          | 245.00                             | 93.5              | 707                  | 51                        | 7.2                          | 1.16                     | 2.8                 | 1                             |
| July ...     | 26.84          | 238.00                             | 90.3              | 715                  | 52                        | 8.1                          | 3.99                     | 6.2                 | 7                             |
| August ...   | 27.09          | 210.00                             | 88.7              | 720                  | 55                        | 7.3                          | 6.77                     | 9.6                 | 12                            |
| September... | 27.18          | 210.00                             | 89.0              | 675                  | 51                        | 6.9                          | 3.83                     | 6.8                 | 6                             |
| October ...  | 27.78          | 128.00                             | 85.5              | 756                  | 52                        | 6.9                          | 5.44                     | 8.4                 | 5                             |
| November...  | 28.45          | 160.00                             | 82.4              | 693                  | 63                        | 6.5                          | 5.41                     | 8.0                 | 8                             |
| December...  | 28.88          | 211.00                             | 81.4              | 622                  | 59                        | 5.8                          | 1.23                     | 2.2                 | 1                             |
| Average ...  | 27.79          | 198.33                             | 87.9              | 720                  | 53                        | 6.0                          | 2.82                     | 4.5                 | 4                             |

*Humidity.* The month of March is marked by the lowest humidity and the lowest percentage of cloud, the amount of the latter for half the month being generally less than 30 per cent. The situation continues nearly the same all through April; and it is in May that a change comes on and dense lower clouds begin to appear and relieve the intensity of the heat with a few light showers. June presents analogous features, while July, August and September witness copious precipitations at times, and August has often been the month of the heaviest rainfall in the year. Then if September should show a decrease in the precipitation, October and November generally make up the average. December and January are marked by poor precipitations, unless sudden effects intervene of a spasmodic character.

The average humidity in the air during 1906-10 was never less than 47 per cent. and reached as high a percentage as 63. Generally following the course of the monsoons, the humidity attains an average maximum of 55 per cent. in August and a second average maximum of 63 per cent. in November, while it is in the hot months of March, April and May that the quantity reaches the minimum mentioned above.

*Rainfall.* The average annual rain-fall for the years 1906-1910, as calculated from the records of the Observatory, is 32.4 inches, and this agrees nearly with the average (33.5 inches) for the sixteen years before 1906. [See the third table.]

It may be noted as an important fact that after 1906, which was the first year of the working of the Pudukkóttai Observatory, the number of days in the year, in which the total quantity of rain collected exceeds one inch, has shown a steady increase. This may be taken to indicate that the annual distribution is tending in a way to become more and more uniform in character and less and less freakish.

*Atmospheric pressure and winds.* The barometer in the Pudukkóttai Observatory indicates a diurnal oscillation of pressure, so regular in its occurrence that it is not at all marked even by the irregular variations due to thunderstorms that occur now and then. With respect to the general character of this oscillation, it may be said that the pressure begins to rise every day in the early hours of the morning and attains its maximum at 8 A. M.

in the day sometimes, or at 10 A. M. at other times, the exact hour or time varying with the seasons in the year and the humidity in the sky. Though the pressure thus oscillates between a rise and a fall between 8 and 10 A. M., yet a fall uniformly occurs after 10 A. M., and this is steadily kept up till 4 P. M. during all the days of the year.

Besides this diurnal oscillation, there is an annual variation of pressure as the seasons advance and recede. Unlike the winds in continental India and the part of the Peninsula adjoining it, the winds that blow in our parts conform to the general laws of winds, and the months of mean high temperature are also the months of mean low pressure. Reductions made with, and corrections applied to, the anemometric readings recorded for the years 1906-10 lead to the conclusion that there are two maxima of velocities in the year, the one maximum occurring in the month of June or July, and the other in December or January, and that the summer monsoonic wind blows with 20 *per cent.* greater average velocity than the winter wind. But the variations in the mean temperature during the course of the year do not synchronise with the variations in wind velocity. If the wind motion is lowest in October, the velocity briskly rises in November and reaches a maximum in December. This velocity is kept up in January and then there is a steady fall till March. Again in the period from April to September, there is a brisk rise during its first half and a more or less brisk fall during its second half. Thus, whereas the mean temperature falls steadily from a maximum in May to a minimum in December and then as steadily rises till it returns to a maximum in May again, the variations in wind velocity do not follow a like simple law. They seem to obey more or less the variations of pressure, as may be seen from Table I. The velocity reaches a maximum in June when the pressure is at its minimum; then as the pressure continues to increase in the year's course, the velocity suffers a corresponding fall—with an oscillation in the months of November and December—so that it reaches its first minimum in October and a second maximum in December or January. A similar oscillation is also seen in February and March, but from April to June, corresponding to a fall in the pressure there is a rise in velocity.

Further, a calculation of the observations taken leads to the conclusion that, out of the cardinal points of the compass, the winds have blown in a year 118 times from the North-east, 59 times from the North-west, 22 times from the South-east and 63 times from the South-west. This means that the North-east angle of the State has been more often and more steadily a high-pressure area, while the North-west and South-west angles have been less so, and the South-east angle comparatively a low pressure area generally.

*Weather.* An evaluation of the temperature readings during the quinquennium 1906-10 has given 88° F. to be the mean value of the mean annual temperatures; and if this figure is compared with the value of the mean of the daily readings, it will be found from Table II below that the number of days in the year, during which the latter *mean* is found to be greater than the former *mean*, has shown a steady though slow decrease. This feature in the weather is worth noting from a sanitary point of view.

II. *Table of the Number of Days in which the Mean Daily Temperature has been greater than the Mean Annual Temperature.*

| MONTHS.   |     |     | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. |
|-----------|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| January   | ... | ... | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     |
| February  | ... | ... | 5     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     |
| March     | ... | ... | 6     | 9     | 1     | 8     | 10    |
| April     | ... | ... | 30    | 16    | 24    | 25    | 25    |
| May       | ... | ... | 31    | 28    | 28    | 23    | 21    |
| June      | ... | ... | 23    | 27    | 24    | 26    | 22    |
| July      | ... | ... | 15    | 14    | 15    | 10    | 12    |
| August    | ... | ... | 1     | 8     | 19    | 6     | 3     |
| September | ... | ... | 13    | 18    | 5     | 7     | 0     |
| October   | ... | ... | 2     | 3     | 2     | 0     | 0     |
| November  | ... | ... | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     |
| December  | ... | ... | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     |
|           |     |     | 126   | 123   | 118   | 105   | 103   |

III. Table of Annual Rainfall in Inches throughout the State.

| STATIONS.         | 1906. | 1907. | 1908. | 1909. | 1910. |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Pudukkóttai ...   | 36.76 | 22.78 | 28.20 | 36.24 | 36.16 |
| Álangudi ...      | 41.22 | 28.95 | 40.36 | 41.06 | 33.45 |
| Karambakkudi ...  | 22.76 | 16.38 | 17.12 | 21.44 | 18.42 |
| Tirumayyam ...    | 49.18 | 35.25 | 28.59 | 32.66 | 45.30 |
| Kilánilai ...     | 44.09 | 39.26 | 29.27 | 25.43 | 32.02 |
| Kolattúr ...      | 33.19 | 23.83 | 20.65 | 42.95 | 33.40 |
| Viráimalai ...    | 26.74 | 36.56 | 23.47 | 37.16 | 30.87 |
| Udayáippatti ...  | 42.52 | 30.90 | 23.22 | 30.88 | 32.26 |
| Annarázal ...     | 33.58 | 23.59 | 26.38 | 44.79 | 30.13 |
| Poñnamarávati ... | 40.58 | 33.97 | 36.07 | 46.84 | 34.99 |
| Ádanakkóttai ...  | 40.52 | 27.66 | 32.35 | 32.35 | 25.10 |

**Cyclones and floods.**—In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were two violent cyclones. “In 1809, excessive rains fell which proved very injurious to Tondiman’s country. The banks of the tanks and large lakes gave way and a considerable portion of the most promising rice crop was entirely destroyed by the inundation. The fields were also greatly injured by the beds of sand which were left upon them, and it required many years to restore them to their former fertility”. In May 1827, “there was a terrific hurricane attended with rain which lasted for two days, and caused great injury to the cattle, trees and houses.” During the last thirty years three cyclones have visited Pudukkóttai, *namely* in December, 1884, October, 1890 and November, 1893. All of them occurred during the north-east monsoon. During the first two, the rainfall amounted to about 7½ inches. The flood of 1893 has been described as follows by Sir A. Sashiah Sastriar.

“There was such a heavy downpour as was never experienced within the memory of the oldest inhabitant, gauging at the several stations from 12 to 27 inches within 24 to 30 hours, against a normal average annual rainfall of 38 inches. It appeared as if the flood-gates of heaven were suddenly opened. They were not shut till a flood of unprecedented dimensions came down in torrents and swept over the whole State, breaching nearly all the tanks and cutting up every road and rendering them impassable for passenger and traffic. For full two days all

communications in every direction were cut off. Great damage was also caused to the crops, rendering the actual outturn indifferent and disappointing. The subsequent break in the weather facilitated the closing of the breaches in tank bunds. The cessation of rain in the subsequent months enabled communications to be restored.”

**Earthquakes.**—Only one earthquake has been felt in the State. It occurred on the night of the 8th of February, 1900, and lasted for less than half a minute. It caused great fright to the people, who were suddenly awakened from their sleep, and, leaving their houses, assembled in the streets, but it did no damage worth mentioning.

**Flora.**—The well-known trees of the neighbouring British districts are found in this State. There are several varieties of good graft mango trees. The fruits are much appreciated, and we find that as early as 1760, the ruler of the State sent a consignment of these fruits as a present to the agent of the King of Travancore, “in whose country mangoes were scarce.\*” Jack trees are found in large numbers in the State, especially in the Álangudi Taluk to the east of the Tanjore-Madura road. Of the other trees that are met with both in this State and the surrounding British districts, we may mention the following:—

1. அரசு.—*Ficus religiosa* (The sacred Peepul tree).
2. ஆலமரம்.—*Ficus Bengalensis* (The Banyan tree).
3. இச்சி.—*Ficus virens*.
4. இலந்தை.—*Zizyphus jujuba* (The Bhare-fruit tree).
5. இலுப்பை.—*Bassia longifolia* (The Mowa or Mahwa tree).
6. நச்சை.—*Phoenix sylvestris* (The Mysore Toddy Palm).
7. எட்டி.—*Strychnos nux vomica* (The Poison nut tree).
8. கருவை.—*Acacia Arabica* (The Babool tree).
9. கெரண்டை.—*Cassia fistula* (The Indian Laburnum tree).
10. தெண்ணை.—*Cocos nucifera* (The Coconut Palm).
11. நாவல்.—*Eugenia jambolana* (The Black Plum tree).
12. பனை.—*Borassus flabellifer* (The Palmyra Palm).
13. புரசு.—*Butea frondosa* (The Pulas kino tree).

\* See letter to the Madras Presidency from the Tondaimán, received on the 16th of September, 1760.

14. புங்கு.—*Pongamia glabua* (The Indian Beech tree).
15. புளி.—*Tamarindus Indica* (The Tamarind tree).
16. பூவரசு.—*Thespesia populnea* (The Portia tree).
17. மாதளை.—*Punica granatum* (The Pomegranate tree).
18. முருங்கை.—*Moringa pterygosperma* (The Drumstick or Horse-radish tree).
19. மூங்கில்.—*Bambusa arundinacea* (The Prickly Bamboo).
20. வாகை.—*Albizia lebbek* (The Siris tree).
21. வாதா.—*Terminalia catappa* (The Indian Almond tree).
22. வில்வம்.—*Aegle marmelos* (The Bael-fruit tree).
23. விளா.—*Feronia elephantum* (The Elephant or wood-apple tree).
24. வேம்பு.—*Melia azadirachta* (The Nim or Margosa tree).

We must refer the reader to books on Indian botany for the uses of these trees, which are fairly well-known to those that use them.

About the trees in the forests of this State, Mr. E. D. M. Hooper, Conservator of Forests in the Central Circle of the Madras Presidency in 1904, who, at the request of the Pudukkóttai Darbár, inspected the forests for about a fortnight, has reported as follows:—

"On the level and low-lying portions there is a thick growth of *Memecylon* (காசா), which is hardly penetrable, and overhead are standards of *Mimusops* (பாலை), *Pterospermum* (செம்புலவு), *Albizia Amara* (உசிலைமரம்), *Dalbergia paniculata* (பச்சிலைமரம்), with a lower growth of *Atalantia* (காட்டெலுமிச்சை), and *Leora parviflora* (சுருந்தி); at higher levels there are *Wrightia* (வெப்பாலை), stunted *Satinwood* (வம்பாசை or வண்டரம்), and *Nim* (வேம்பு), *Acacia caesia* (வேலமரம்), *Mimosa rubicaulis* (வெள்ளைவல மரம்), *Zizyphus* (இலந்தை), *Carissa* (கிளா), etc.

"In the open tracts the undergrowth consists largely of prickly pear and the standards *Acacia latronum* (உடைவேலா) and *Albizia amara* (உசிலை மரம்). This is especially the case in Pulvayat.

"In the Sengirai forest, *Dodonaea* (விதாவி) and lemongrass (வல்லாமிச்சை) are met with.

"There are few well-grown trees in the wastes, those present being the outcome of damaged saplings and have a rotten interior; but they are allowed to remain as seed-bearers, for which alone they are useful. Exception must be made of *Pterospermum*, which is represented by handsome healthy specimens, tall and slender, especially in Sengeraai and Narthamalai".

Speaking of bamboos, he says "Bamboos do not grow naturally in the State, stray clumps being found here and there, where planted by private effort, but as a rule the work is unsuccessful. In the State topos, similar attempts to grow bamboos have been made, but with the same result, though along a canal in Karambakkudi village there are about 350 clumps planted by the State about forty years ago. In consequence of its rarity, bamboo has to be imported in great quantities from adjoining British territory".

Many trees are found in the forests of this State, which are not met with in the adjoining British districts—at least so largely as in this State. Specimens of fifty trees of this State were sent to the Madras Industrial Exhibition of 1903, and for the collection of timbers the State was awarded a bronze medal. The names of some of the forest trees are given below:—

1. இத்தி.—*Dalbergia latifolia*.
2. உசிலை.—*Albizia amara*.
3. உடைவேலா.—*Acacia latronum*.
4. சுருங்காவி.—*Acacia catechu*.
5. காரை.—*Canthium parviflorum*.
6. காசா.—*Memecylon edule*.
7. கிளா.—*Carissa carandas*.
8. குருந்தை.—*Hiptage madablota*.
9. குரை.—*Zizyphus Oenoplia*.
10. செம்புலவு.—*Pterospermum suberifolium*.
11. தாணி.—*Terminalia belerica*.
12. நரிக்கொன்னை.—*Cassia nodosa*.
13. நெய்க்கொட்டான்.—*Sapindus trifolius* (syn) *marginatum*.
14. பாலை.—*Mimusops hexandra*.
15. புலவு.—*Pterospermum heyneanum*.
16. மயிலை.—*Vitex altissima*.
17. மாம்பழக்கொன்னை.—*Cassia fistula*.

18. வம்மரை.—*Chloroxylon swietenia*.
19. வெப்பலை.—*Wrightia tinctoria*.
20. வெள்ளைவாழை.—*Acacia leucophlea*.

The State is very rich in medicinal plants, herbs and roots, and there are probably not many herbs mentioned in Ayurvedic *Materia Medica* which are not found in this State. The Nárttámalai hills are especially noted for such plants and roots, and it is known that many native physicians of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts get from the hills some of the rarer herbs that they require. For a collection of medicinal plants, herbs and roots that was sent from the State to the Mysore Dussara Exhibition of 1908, a silver medal was awarded. The collection was valued so highly that the Exhibitor (Mr. P. V. Jagannátha Row) was requested to allow it to be placed in the Bangalore Museum.

The State is not wanting in trees and plants that yield dye-stuffs and fibres, and furnish tanning materials. There are other plants and grasses that serve as fodder for cattle and as manures for fields. For collections of fodder, plants and grasses and of green leaves used as manures, sent to the Mysore Dussara Exhibition, two bronze medals were awarded as prizes. An account of some of these as well as of the grains and oil-seeds of the State will be given in the Chapter on *Agriculture*.

*Plantations.* To keep up a proper supply of fuel without destroying the jungles, casuarina plantations were started by the State in February, 1884. There are now sixteen such plantations—six on the banks of the Vellár, four on the banks of the Pámbár, five on the banks of the Agnánávimochniár and one at Rájagiri near the Kóraiýár. In six of these, some other trees such as the mango and the cocoanut have also been planted.

There are nine other Sircar plantations in the State—five of these being cashew plantations and the remaining four being plantations of graft-mango. Cashew is indigenous to the soil and the cashew plantations are in a flourishing condition. In the Sivagnánapuram graft mango *tope*, a little to the south-east of the town, in addition to the mango-trees, some other trees,—silver oak, mahogany and rubber trees—have been planted as a trial measure. Attempts to grow teak in the State have failed, except in one of the plantations on the banks of the Vellár.

Mr. E. D. M. Hooper, referred to already, has remarked that “the plantations cover an area of 1,356 acres and are calculated to contain 4,45,000 trees, the produce being in constant demand”.

*Fauna. Cattle.* There is nothing remarkable about the cattle of the State, most of them being low-sized and of no well-defined breed. That the bulls of the State would reach a fair size if properly fed may be seen from the strong specimens known as “temple bulls”, which are permitted to graze where they will. To improve the cattle, cattle shows were held annually for some years from 1903–04, and breeding bulls have been obtained by the Agricultural Association of the State.

Of the species of cattle that are imported, we may mention the Pulikkulam bulls and the bulls obtained from the parts near Vallam in the Tanjore district. These bulls are owned and trained by the Kallars in the northern part of the State for bull-baiting (மஞ்சவிரட்டுதல்), of which an account will be given later on. The Pulikkulam bulls are intractable, and even the cows of this breed are fierce. These cows do not, for some months after the first calving, allow themselves to be milked, unless their attention is diverted by a man dancing at some distance before them with a stick in his hand covered by a *cumbly* and cries of “Ai, ai”. The bulls from the tract adjoining Vallam are known as “பசுக்கடைமாடு” from their being permitted to lie down together in open tracts for manuring purposes.

The wild cattle which are found in the forests of the State are not really a separate breed. They are country cattle which have “run wild for generations and are remarkable for their strength and endurance”. They are occasionally caught and broken in.

*Sheep and Goats.* Two kinds of sheep are met with. The ordinary *Sembiliádu* and the *Kurumbádu* or Kurumbar's sheep. The latter are shaggy and are kept for the wool that they

\* This has given rise to the proverb “ஆடிக்கறக்கிற மாட்டை ஆடிக்கறக்க வேண்டும்; பாடிக்கறக்கிற மாட்டைப் பாடிக்கறக்கவேண்டும்,” i. e., “Cows that must be danced to to give their milk must be danced to, and cows that must be sung to to give their milk must be sung to.” The general application of the proverb is that, if you want to get anything from a man, you must humour his whims.

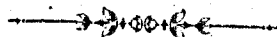
yield. Some of these yield white wool, which, with the black coloured wool obtained from the majority of such sheep, is used in producing striped *cumblis*.

Of goats there are two varieties—the ordinary *velládu*, which yields one kid a year, and sometimes two and even three kids at a time if it is well fed, and the *pallayattádu* which is shorter in size and yields four kids at a time once in six months.

*Game.* In the “Game Reserve Forests”, which are specially protected for His Highness’ shooting, are found wild pigs, spotted deer (புள்ளிமாண்), antelopes (வெளிமாண்), and hares. In the Nárttāmalai forest, porcupines and wolves are met with as also hyenas occasionally.

Foxes and jackals are to be found almost everywhere. The civet cat (புதுகு புனை) is met with in the Town forest but only rarely. Wild cattle are found in most of the forests, and wild cats and guana (உடுமட) in some of them.

Among the game birds may be mentioned snipes (கோரைகுத்தி), jungle-fowls (காட்டுக்கோழி), quails (காடை), partridges (கவுதாரி) and several kinds of pigeons.



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## CHAPTER II.

### GENERAL HISTORY.

TO THE TIME OF THE TONDAIMANS.

(Early Settlements, archæology, etc.)

The earliest references to the State. The earliest account that we find of any portion of this State is contained in a very ancient Tamil classic of the name of *Chilappadikāram*, which is believed to have been written “Eighteen Hundred Years Ago”. The classic contains the name of a village, which has remained to this day almost unchanged, *Kodumbai* or *Kodumbālūr*. “The road from Uraiyūr (suburb of Trichinopoly) up to the great tank at Kodumbai lies through a desert full of rocks, mudhills, and thence there are three routes to Madura .....If you take the route \* on the left hand (and this route must have passed through parts of the modern Pudukkóttai State) from Kodumbai, you will have to travel through fields and jungles and weary wastes to the mountain (Alagar’s hill in Madura), whose summit is crowned with a temple to Vishnu”.

This account shows that there were parts of the State that had big irrigation tanks and lands brought under cultivation as early as the first or the second century of the Christian era. But that most of the parts of the State were covered with forests and jungles goes without saying.

*The Vēduvars.* These jungles and forests were originally the abode of the Vēduvars (or hunters) and afterwards of the Kurumbars. The Vēduvars (or Vēdars) were the most lawless of the Nāga tribes. “Cattle-lifting and pillage and murder appear to have been the sole business of their life. They worshipped the dread

\* See Chapter XI of *Chilappadikāram* and Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai’s “*Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*”, pp 149—150. *Akanānūru* and *Puranānūru* also, two other very ancient Tamil classics, contain references to portions of this State, such as Oliyamangalam and Idaiyarrūr.

Goddess Káli and slaughtered buffaloes at her shrine, to secure her favour in their plundering raids".\*

*Panri Nádu.* In the medieval division† of the Tamil land into twelve tracts, the portion between the Pándinádu with Madura as its capital and the Punal Nádu with the Káveri flowing through it is given a special name "Panri Nádu". The name "Panri Nádu" or "the land of pigs" has not been explained till now. There seems to be no doubt whatever that the name was given to these parts, after it had been peopled by the Kurumbars as shown below. A reference to chapters 58 and 59 of the Tamil classic *Vembattúráir Thiruvilaigádal Puránam*,‡ which is an account of the doings of the God Sundarésvarar of Madura, shows that, in this land of forests and jungles, there was a Vannia chief who had twelve sons, that these on account of their misdeeds were after their death born as pigs, that they were brought up on Panri Malai by Sundarésvara, the God of Madura, and that, when they grew up, they came to be known as "the twelve Panri-Kurumbars". The name *Panri Nádu*§ may therefore be taken to mean 'the land of Kurumbars' and must have been given to these parts after the Kurumbars settled down here as shown below.

While the Punal Nádu to the north of the land of the Védars was under the Chóla rulers, and the Pándi Nádu to the south, under the Pándya rulers, the Panri Nádu does not seem to have had any special ruler. The land was afterwards brought under subjection partly by the Chólas and partly by the Pándyas, the river Vellár which flows four miles to the south of Pudukkóttai

\* See "*Tamils Eighteen Centuries Ago*", p. 43. The account so far given is based on the classic *Chilappadikáram* and is correct. But Mr. Pillai's inference that the descendants of the Védúvars are now known by the appropriate title of *Kallar* or thieves seems to be unwarranted. There are such Védúvars even now in the tracts near Pirámmalai.

† Of the division of the Tamil land into twelve tracts, we find no mention in any ancient Tamil classic.

‡ This work, known also as the *old Thiruvilaigádal Puránam*, has been recently edited and published by Pandit Mahámahópádhyaia M. R. Ry. Swáminátha Aiyar Avargal.

§ *Panrimalai* (= Varáha hills) is the name of the Palnis, and the Panri-malai origin may be taken to show that some of the Canarese-speaking Kurumbars came directly (crossing the Palnis) into these parts, from the Canarese country, just as they went to the Tondamandalam. 'Panri Nádu' may be taken also to mean the tract from the Palnis on the west to the Bay of Bengal on the east.

forming the boundary of the two kingdoms, as is mentioned below. Of these two portions, the tract to the north of the Vellár must have been first brought under subjection, as from the earliest times until recently this tract was known as "கோகுடு" or "the land of the king", while the land to the south of the river was known as "காஞ்சுடு" or "the forest land".

*Sketch of South Indian History.* It is outside the scope of this work to enter into a history of the early Chóla and Pándya kings, the Pallava kings, and the later Chóla and Pándya kings, who owned the whole or a portion of the tract of land now forming Pudukkóttai State. When the power of the Pallavas declined, in the eighth century, A. D., the northern and the western portion of the tract passed into the hands of the Chólas. The river Vellár\* formed the traditional boundary of the Pándya and Chóla kingdoms, though the whole tract was often under the rule of the Chólas and occasionally under the sway of the Pándyas. The Mussulmans overran these parts in the early part of the fourteenth century; but from about the middle of the fifteenth century† we find Náyak generals holding sway in these parts. The Náyaks ultimately gave way about 1735 A. D., to the Mussulmans in Trichinopoly and Madura, and towards the close of the seventeenth century to the Marattas in Tanjore, and it was at the time that the Náyaks lost their power in Tanjore that the present line of Tondaimán rulers of Pudukkóttai first came into prominence.

*Settlements of the Kurumbars.* The earliest settlers in these parts may be taken to have been the Kurumbars, "the modern representatives of the ancient Pallavas who were once so powerful in Southern India". When they settled here cannot of course be definitely stated. They were found in Tondamandalam, the land of the Pallavas, in large numbers, and must have gradually drifted to these parts from that tract, or directly come over here from the Canarese country through the Palni hills.

\* For example, *vide* the stanza beginning with "வெள்ளாறுது வடக்காம்" where the Vellár is said to be the northern boundary of the Pándya kingdom.

† In 1438 we find one Lakshmana Danda Náyak called *Dakshinamudrádhipati* or "Ruler of the Southern Sea" settled here, and his brother making a grant of land. [See Inscriptions at Pirámmalai.]

Traces of Pallava rule are found in these parts in the sluice at Rásalippatti of the reign of *Nāndi Pothan*, and the rock-cut cave-temples at Malayadippatti, Kunnandárkovil and Tirumayyam,\* which may be assigned to the eighth century, A. D. It is therefore not unreasonable to surmise that the Kurumbars must have settled in these parts in the earlier centuries of the Christian era after driving out the Védúvars (or Védars), the original inhabitants.† Dr. Oppert cannot be wrong when he states that the Kurumbars must be regarded as the very old inhabitants of this land, who can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of the Indian soil.‡ The Kurumbars were a pastoral people, who owned large flocks of sheep. They have not disappeared from the State and are to be found now at places such as Sellukudi and Aranippatti, where they are engaged in making rough *cumblis* or woollen blankets.

The very large number of dolmens that are found scattered in various parts of the State may be taken by some to be another proof of the early settlement of the Kurumbars in these parts, though as a matter of fact these dolmens are found connected in Tamil literature with other classes of people. Mr. Cox, speaking in his *North Arcot Manual* of the temples of the Kurumbars, says that it seems impossible not to connect them with those structures called 'Pándava's temples', and that these are numerous where the Kurumbars are now found. It is also known that in the Bellary District a mound is raised over the grave of a Kurumba and three stones are set over the head, navel and feet.

**Dolmens.** We shall now give a short account of the curious monuments, known as dolmens. They are found either with stone-circles round them or without such circles.

Such of the dolmens as have been examined are rectangular in form (about 6'×4'×6') and built with a number of stones forming the sides, with another slab laid over the top as a roof. In some cases two concentric circles of laterite boulders

\* *Vide* the inscriptions at these places, and the Gazetteer.

† See Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 409.

‡ *The Land of the Bharidas*, p. 158. See p. 443 of the *Christian College Magazine* for February, 1901, where the Kurumbars are shown to be distinctly Dravidian in type.

have been seen, the boulders of the outer circle being larger (about 12 to 18 inches in diameter), and in other cases a single circle alone has been noticed. The circles are not always complete, many boulders both of the inner and the outer circle being wanting. It is likely that they were originally in their places and have afterwards been removed.

It may be well to examine how these monuments came to exist. Various fanciful explanations\* have been given of the origin of such structures, and we will refer to one or two of them. In some parts of Southern India, these are called *Pándavakkuli* or 'Pándava's pits', and the story is that "the five Pándavas dug them as a refuge from the persecution of Duryódhana". The beauty of this explanation is that the original correct name of the dolmen (*bhándakkuli*=a pit containing pots) was found unintelligible, *bhānda* being a Sanskrit word not familiar to non-Brahmins, and the name was afterwards corrupted into a form which gave occasion for the creation of a story. The name was by others turned into *māndavar kuli* or 'the pit of the dead', which is in accordance with fact. The name for pits containing such pots in these parts is *mathamathakkathali*, which is a corruption of *muthumakkaltali* (pots for old people or pots in which old people were buried.) That persons of distinction were buried in pots in very early times will be found from a very ancient Tamil classic of the name of *Purandāniru*,† in the commentary on which the very name "Muthumakkaltali", prevalent in these parts, is found. *Manimēkalai*,‡ another very ancient classic, refers also to this practice. The following facts mentioned in connection with the Kurumbars of North Arcot are quite in accordance with the explanation. "For each person of rank, § one of these monuments is constructed there periodically, and, always during the annual festivals, *puja* is made not only to the spirit

\* See Rev. Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 426.

† See Stanzas 228, 238 and 256.

‡ See Chapter VI, line 67.

§ See Mr. Cox's *Manual of the North Arcot District*, p. 223, where he adds "Though the Kurumbas bury, they do not now raise their monuments over the resting place of the corpse, nor can they build them upon anything approaching to the gigantic scale of the ancient kistvaen or dolmen."

of the deceased, but also to those of all who have died in the clan."\*

There is another class of such pits in which no pots are found. These are known as "குங்குப்பட்டை" or "workshop of the monkeys". Mr. Taylor's explanation that "they were raised by certain men in the time of Rama, who had monkey's tails" is of the class of the Greek legend, which described Mount Etna in Sicily as the forge of Vulcan and the Cyclops with one eye. The local explanation that they were the camping stations of the monkeys that accompanied Rama to Ceylon must also be taken to come under the same category. Mr. A. Rea, the Madras Government Archaeologist, in an article in *the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*† observes that "these were also burial places, and the males who had to be buried in a crouching or sitting posture were enclosed in receptacles, while the females who were placed in a horizontal posture required no such vessels."‡ Mr. H. O. D. Harding, M. C. S., in *the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1889-1894*, says "The pots were probably buried that they might be of service to the deceased in his happy hunting grounds—a practice and a belief which obtained, I believe, among the Maories of New Zealand....."

But a more probable explanation is that while burials in pits were given as a rule to *old* men of rank, burials in pots placed in sarcophagi were granted only to old men of exalted position that had done work deserving of special acknowledgment. This view is based on the 228th poem in *Purandānūru*, which, in the words of Dr. Pope, is "a perfect mine of information regarding the ancient customs and manners of the southern lands." In this poem a potter is addressed as follows:—"You are indeed to be pitied, as great indeed must be your difficulty. Now this Killi Valavan belongs to the line of Chólas,.....whose glory, like the light of the sun, shines far and wide. He is a very powerful king with

\* Mr. H. O. D. Harding in *the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1889-94* says that "the expense of making these structures must have been great, and it seems to me that they are probably the graves of the chiefs of some pre-historic people."

† See Vol. LVII, part I, No. 2, 1888. The article is on "Some Pre-historic Burial Places in Southern India. (Megalithic and Earthenware Tombs at Pallavaram)".

elephants carrying banners that are never furled. He has now become a resident of the region of the Gods. If you desire to make a pot big enough to cover one of such eminence and glory, you must have the Earth as your wheel and the big Méru mountain itself as clay. Can you arrange for this? Certainly not."\* From this poem it may be surmised that while the bodies of *old* men that had done meritorious work were enclosed in pots, the generality even of men of rank were not deemed worthy of this special honour.

In those times *sati* was practised, and, in another poem of the same book, a heroic woman appeals for burial with her husband, who may be taken to have been slain in the battlefield.

"O potter, shaper of the urn,  
Like the little white lizard that sits  
In the garland of the axle † of the chariot,  
Over many a desert plain I've come with him;  
Make the funeral urn large enough for me too,  
Maker of the urns for the old town's burning ground". ‡

That what we have stated above is the only correct explanation of "structures without pots" and that other explanations such as that of Rev. Taylor that "pits without urns were places of worship by the votaries of some Goddess"§ are erroneous will appear from the Sixth Chapter of *Manimékalai*, the very ancient classic referred to already, which contains the description of a funeral ground and speaks of the following ways of disposing of dead bodies.

- (1) Burning the bodies.
- (2) Casting them away so that they might lie exposed, as is done by the Parsis on their "Towers of Silence".
- (3) Burying the bodies in mud pits.
- (4) Enclosing them in *low secure* places. The words தமிழ் வயின் அடைப்போர் shows that kistvaens were meant by the writer.

\* This stanza may be taken as showing that the practice had extended in those times to others than Kurumbars.

† "In the garland of the axle" is a misrendering for "on a spoke of the wheel."

‡ Dr. G. U. Pope's rendering of the 256th poem of the *Purandānūru*. About *sati* and worship paid to departed men, see the chapter on *Religion*.

§ See Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, page 426.

(5) Enclosing them in pots (தாழியில் அடைப்போர்). For the preservation of the pots, structures were raised. \*

In such of the burial places as have been examined, no skeleton, or bone has been found, but "the absence of any traces of a skeleton is no wonder, as the body turns into earth, ashes and dust within fifty years, and as no attempt was made by bygone generations to preserve dead bodies from decay, decomposition and crumbling."†

Such burial places are found in large numbers in Áranipatti, Vaittikóvil, Perungulúr (Sirukaikkulam), Thennangudi, 5 miles to the north of the town where a field is called குரங்குப்பட்டை வயல், Káraiúr, Kíranúr, Mánjanviduthi, Kalasamangalam (to the east of Pudukkóttai), etc.

It seems to have been the custom in later times to deposit in pots old feeble men, while living, so that they might easily be removed from place to place. It is usual with Hindu poets to speak of the land of a virtuous ruler as one in which men die only after reaching the full age of 100 years, and, as such people are likely to get feeble and helpless long before their death, the custom of depositing them in pots is said to have been introduced by a Chóla ruler. In *Vikrama Chólanulá* composed by the well-known poet Ottakkúttan in the twelfth century, we have

தோடி மறவி யொளிப்ப முதுமக்கட்

சாடி வகுத்த தராபதியும்;

that is, "the king, who, when the God of death, having lost his power (of inflicting death at his pleasure), ran away and concealed himself, devised the system of depositing old men in pots". The same idea occurs in *Sunkara Chólanulá* also. Such people, when they died, must have been buried, without having been removed from the pots.

\* Dr. Pope has taken some pains to prove that the statement of Dr. Caldwell in his chapter on "Sepulchral Urns," in his *History of Tinnevely* that "when these urns were used, cremation must have been unknown and burial the universal practice" is incorrect. The passage quoted above from *Menimkálai* shows conclusively that at one and the same time there were several ways in which the corpses were disposed of.

† The *Madras Mail* for April 19, 1911.

**Roman Coins at Karukkakkuricchi.** It must have been in these early times that the Roman coins (*aurei*) of which a large number were found in 1898 at Karukkakkuricchi, ten miles to the east of Álangudi, must have been brought to the place and buried.

According to *Chilappadikaram*, the very ancient Tamil classic referred to above, which gives an interesting account of the Tamil land, there was a colony of the Romans at Kávérippattanam, the capital of the Chólas, and a number of Roman soldiers were employed to guard the gates of the fort of Madura. We also know that Roman ships touched at Korkai, once a flourishing port in the Tinnevely District, at Muchiri on the Western Coast and several other ports in South India, and that Rome sent to India every year at least 55,000,000 sesterces (about £500,000), receiving from India articles which were sold for a hundred times their value.

Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, an authority on *numismatics* observes \* "Though at first Egypt was the medium of trade between Rome and the Indies, we know that, after the subjugation of that country by the Imperial troops, a very considerable direct trade sprang up between the two countries and in consequence of this, the Roman issues found in Southern India..... are supposed to have been conveyed in Roman ships to be bartered for the ivory and ebony that adorned the boudoir of the fair maids of Imperial Rome and for the pepper and spices in which their hearts delighted. That such was the case with the large hordes of *aurei* that from time to time have been unearthed is more than probable, for from time immemorial the native of South India has loved to bury his riches in the ground, and the merchants who carried their goods from the interior for sale to the Roman ships..... doubtless on their return home made mother earth the banker. The perfect state of preservation, too, in which these coins have almost invariably been found precludes the possibility of their having been much in circulation." Mr. Thurston, the late Superintendent of the Madras Museum and another great authority on *numismatics*, is of a different opinion. In his "Roman, Indo-Portuguese and Ceylon Coins," he mentions that "the Roman coins were introduced into India so plentifully that they appear to have formed part of the ordinary

\* In his "Hints to Coin Collectors in South India."

currency of the country and even the name of the Roman 'denarius' has survived to our own day in that of the Indian 'dinar'. The beauty of the Roman coins, as compared with those of the Hindu princes, contributed to their diffusion throughout all parts of India and was perhaps the principal cause of their preservation.....; money and valuables were concealed on emergencies of various kinds, but especially on the breaking out of war between two neighbouring princes. Only one or two persons would be acquainted with the place of concealment, and, if it happened that they were killed in the war or through the continuance of hostilities unable to return to the place, their secret died with them, and it was reserved for well-diggers or miners, for the action of rain or changes in the course of rivers, to bring the hidden wealth to light".

An account\* may now be given of the coins that were unearthed in 1898 at Karukkákkuricchi.

"The hoard was discovered early in 1898, and to the energy of (the late) Mr. Crossley, His Highness' Private Secretary, we owe it, that the hoard was secured very nearly, if not altogether intact, though the native who discovered it made strenuous attempts to defeat the ends of numismatics and the law. His Highness has generously presented to the British Museum such varieties as were required for the national collection. They are unfortunately without exception in bad condition, having evidently been in circulation a long time before they were buried. In addition to this, more than 90 per cent. of them have been deliberately defaced with a file or chisel.

"The most curious feature of this find is the treatment to which nearly all the coins have been subjected. Various explanations suggest themselves. One, that the incisions were made to test the genuineness of the coins, is disproved; for without exception it is the head that is defaced, and, had the object been merely to test the metal, a stab in any other part of the coin would have served the purpose, and out of the heads on 461 coins some at least would have escaped..... It only remains, therefore,

\* The account is mostly quoted from "Roman Aurei from Pudukota, Southern India" by Mr. S. F. Hill, M. A., reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304-320.

to suppose that the coins were defaced by political authority, as being too much worn for further circulation, and were awaiting the melting pot, when the secret of their concealment was lost".

Altogether 501 coins were discovered, and the following table will show when and by whom they were struck.

| No. | Names of the Emperors, etc.                       | Mr. Hill's list.     |                 | Mr. Robert Sewell's list. |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
|     |                                                   | Number in the hoard. | Number defaced. |                           |
| 1   | Augustus Cæsar (B. C. 29 to A. D. 14).            | 40                   | 38              | 40                        |
| 2   | Tiberius Cæsar (A. D. 14-37)                      | 163                  | 148             | 169                       |
|     | Tiberius and Augustus                             | 6                    | 6               |                           |
| 3   | Nero Drusus (B. C. 38-A. D. 9) (Drusus the Elder) | 11                   | 8               | 11                        |
| 4   | Antonia, wife of Drusus                           | 15                   | 15              | 15                        |
| 5   | Germanicus and Caligula                           | 8                    | 8               | 8                         |
| 6   | Agrippina, wife of Germanicus...                  | 1                    | 1               | 1                         |
| 7   | Caligula (A. D. 37-41)                            | 5                    | 5               | 5                         |
|     | Caligula and Augustus                             | ...                  | ...             | ...                       |
| 8   | T. Claudius (A. D. 41-54)                         | 89                   | 82              | 94                        |
|     | Claudius and Nero                                 | 5                    | 5               |                           |
| 9   | Agrippina and Claudius                            | 22                   | 20              | 32                        |
|     | Agrippina and Nero                                | 10                   | 10              |                           |
| 10  | Nero (A. D. 54-68)                                | 123                  | 112             | 123                       |
| 11  | Vespasianus (A. D. 69-79)                         | 3                    | 3               | 3                         |
|     |                                                   | 501                  | 461             | 501                       |

**Inscriptions and Copper plates.** As most of the facts to be found in several portions of this Chapter are based on inscriptions found all through the State and on copper-plates, it may be well to give at the outset a general idea of their contents.

**I. Inscriptions.** All the inscriptions in the State, of which there may be as many as 1,500, have not as yet been copied or examined. The Archaeological Department of this State is now engaged in taking facsimile impressions of the inscriptions, and it will be several months before this work is completed, the facsimile copies are examined and their contents made available for

historical purposes. But nearly two-thirds of the inscriptions have been copied, and the copies, it has been ascertained, may be depended upon for the accuracy of the facts that have been collected from them. The inscriptions in general deal with matters of various kinds, and refer among other affairs to

(1) grants of land for offerings to Gods at temples at stated times, for ever-burning lamps, for lamps to burn during specified periods, for distribution of food to people (travellers and others) who apply for it, for conducting festivals, for securing the services of dancing girls and drummers for temples, *etc.* [The services to be done by dancing girls are mentioned in some of them, சாந் திகாத்தி, the ancient dance referred to in *Chilappadikāram*, being specifically named in one of them.]

(2) sale and purchase of temple lands and private lands,

(3) assignment of the order in which fields were to be watered,

(4) settlements of disputes by references to previous orders and inscriptions,

(5) proclamations remitting taxes, and other proclamations such as the curious one—that every body would be helped in keeping his things from others—very necessary in those troublous times,

(6) declarations that paddy might be paid instead of money as land tax; that a chieftain would be satisfied with such and such payments, *etc.*,

(7) agreements among people to live amicably and to tax themselves for certain common purposes, and among chieftains not to fight with one another,

(8) grants of land for the upkeep of watersheds, of gardens for growing flowers for temples, of drinking-water tanks (in one case for the Pallar caste),

(9) the charity of persons in erecting temples, *mantapams*, towers and pillars, in presenting images to temples, and in furnishing the money required for making such images, cars, *etc.*, for arranging for offerings, festivals and processions, *etc.*

The most ancient inscription is the inscription in Pāli, found on what is known as 'செழப்பாட்டம்' (the flat reached by seven steps) at Sittannavāsai,—a level space chipped out of the rock at

the place as a sleeping place. The inscription in Pāli, which is as old as the second century B. C., is in Brāhmī characters. To use the words of a Madras Government Epigraphical Report "the purport of the record is not quite intelligible, a clue to the right interpretation of these early records being yet to be discovered". Some other inscriptions at the place are in very old Tamil.

There are fragments of Pallava-grantha inscriptions at Tirugókarnam, Tirumayyam, Kudumiāmalai and Malayakkóvil (Tamil and Grantha of the Pallava period) and there is a treatise on music in Pallava-grantha inscribed on a wall of the temple at Kudumiāmalai (see the gazetteer). There is a Chola-grantha inscription (in the Múvarkóvil) as well as an old Canarese inscription at Kodumbálúr, the former containing the beginning of a genealogy and the latter mentioning Vikramakésarin, a ruler of the place referred to in the genealogy. Inscriptions in old and archaic Tamil are found at about twenty places (see Appendix G) including Sittannavāsai mentioned already, Nārttāmalai, Kundrándārkóvil, Malaiyadippatti, Rājālippatti, Tirumayyam and Ténimalai.

*Caverns and Rock-cut Temples.* As two of these places have cavelike portions of hills naturally or artificially adapted for human habitation—Ténimalai and Sittannavāsai—and of the other places many have rock-cut temples, it may be well to insert a few paragraphs here from Dr. Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples of India* and from the annual Reports of the Madras Epigraphical Department explaining the nature of these monuments and the uses to which they were put and referring to certain historical facts which may be deduced therefrom.

"Experts in ancient architecture believe that the Buddhists were the first to make use of permanent materials for building and sculptural purposes and that the followers of other creeds subsequently copied them. The idea of using natural caves for religious purposes must have been started by the Buddhists, whose creed makes it binding on the monks to resort to such out of the way places. The practice of making caverns fit for human habitation by slight alterations was probably an intermediate stage. To this period may be allotted the caverns which have

beds cut into them (like the cavern at Sittannavásal) ..... It therefore seems that the caverns with beds and inscriptions ..... are Buddhist monuments and that the other structures connected with each of the caverns, which have consisted of less permanent materials (the small pit-like excavations in the lower boulder of the cavern at Sittannavásal intended for the planting of poles prove this) have since disappeared altogether.

"In connection with the beds are inscriptions, the alphabet of which resembles that of the Asoka edicts (Bráhmī characters) and may be assigned roughly to the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. .... The discovery of the Bráhmī records in Southern India will now be recognised by students of Indian history as a proof of the Aryan influence in this part of the peninsula in at least the third century B. C., in spite of the belief entertained by some that Southern India was entirely swayed by Dravidian thought and influence from prehistoric times down to a period later than that to which we could refer these ancient inscriptions..... It is not unreasonable to suppose that Asoka's Buddhist missionaries in Ceylon passed through the Tamil country and even attempted to propagate the Buddhist creed there in spite of the *Mahāvamsa*, which says that they flew in the air and arrived in Ceylon ..... The Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsiang says 'There are the ruins of many old convents .....' The numerous Jain figures and beds together with Bráhmī records existing in one and the same cavern again raise the suspicion that these caverns, once occupied by the Buddhists, were in a subsequent period appropriated by the Jaina ascetics, whose religious institutions—particularly those relating to mendicancy—could not have been far different from those of the Buddhists".

"The rock-cut caves are of much later date than the caverns. They were in no case intended for the habitation of the ascetics as the Buddhist and Jaina caverns were. The rock-cut temples of the Pallava period came into existence during the reign of Mahéndravarmān I, in the first half of the seventh century A. D." In the Pudukkóttai State there are 15 rock-cut temples at Tirugókarnam, Tirumayyam (3), Kudumiámalai, Kundrándárkóvil, Malaiyadippatti (2), Nárttámalai (3), Malayakkóvil,

Sittannavásal (2), and Kottaiyur and the rock-cut temple of Malaikkolundisvaramudaiyar. These must have come into existence between 600 A. D., and 800 A. D. It is explicitly stated in an inscription at Malaiyadippatti that the temple at the place was excavated in the reign of Nandippóttaraiyar *i. e.*, in the eighth century—by a chieftain of the name of Vidólvidugu Muttaraiyan.

Dr. Fergusson in his '*Rock-cut Temples of India*' says "Altogether it has been calculated that there may be in India 1,000 excavations, nine-tenths of which are Buddhist and the remaining 100 divided between the Brahminic and the Jaina religion. They thus form not only the most numerous, but the most interesting series of architectural remains in India before the Muhammadan conquest.

"As the Brahmins excavated caves only in order to signalise their triumph over their enemies, the Buddhists, they had no purpose to guide them and their excavations are more varied in character and not so easily classified. They are divided into two classes—*viharas* (with no cells or arrangements for residence as in Buddhist examples) and temples ..... The Brahminic temples are still more unlike the Buddhist examples, as there are invariably exteriors and (the temples) have consequently no meaning when cut in rock ....."

*The cavern at Sittannavásal.* The following note on the cavern at Sittannavásal has been very kindly furnished to me by Mr. H. Krishna Sastriar, B. A., Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund.

"Half a mile to the east of the village Sittannavásal, there is a cavern in the rock, almost in the middle of a hill, which lies north to south. It is formed by a natural cleft, which divides the top portion from the bottom. The approach to it is very difficult, as one has to climb over the hill at its southern extremity, and after reaching the top, he has to get down a precipice nearly to a depth of nearly ten feet; and this, it may be remarked, has to be done by the help of seven square pits cut in the rock just enough for the foot to rest. [The cavern gets its name *Éladippattam* from these seven pits.] Then going nearly fifteen feet on a foot-path which is barely sufficient for one to walk on with care, he reaches a broader space; pursuing his course to a further distance of ten feet, he gets to the cavern itself. The height of the cavern is just enough to permit one to sit. Here, on the bottom boulder, there are 17 beds, some of which are damaged; but all of them are provided with a raised portion at one end to serve as a pillow

for the head. Like the beds found in other parts of the country, these allow sufficient space for a man to lie down comfortably.\*

"The following Tamil and Bráhmī inscriptions are engraved on the pillow side of some of the beds. The former consist of a number of Tamil names written in early characters of about the ninth century and the latter cannot be interpreted.

*The Tamil inscriptions.*

1. தொழக்குறந்தை  
கடவுளன் திருநீலன்.
2. திருப்பூரணன்.
3. திட்டைச்சாணன்.
4. திருச்சாத்தன்.
5. முத்திரைச்சாணன்  
நியத்தகரணப்பட்ட  
க்காழி
6. ....த்தூர்  
.....த்தூர்க்கடவுளன்.

*The Bráhmī inscription.*

c u mī (?) ná ta ku mu ttū ú ra (?) pi jú na tá ká va ti  
í te ná ku ci tú po ma (?) la í lu

Round the Corner.

Gha (?) ra ce tá a ta a ná ma."

*Inscriptions continued.* Facsimile copy of the Bráhmī inscription at Sittannavásal and facsimile copies of nine other old Tamil inscriptions with the same printed in the ordinary Tamil characters of these days and English renderings are given in Appendix H. In addition to the Bráhmī, old Tamil, Pallava-grantha, Chola-grantha and old Canarese inscriptions mentioned above, there is an inscription at Ponnamarávatī dated 1449 A. D., which begins in Grantha and refers to the fact of a village having been set apart for the recitation of Nammálwár's திருவாய் மொழி in a Vishnu temple at the place, and another inscription in Grantha at Kudimíámalai, mentioning a Kumbhábhishékam of the Siva temple at the place in the time of one Vira Pándya. Other inscriptions are in medieval or modern Tamil, if we except the single

\* The following remarks applying to Tirupparankunram apply also to Sittannavásal. "A few miles higher up the border of the sheltering rock and across its full breadth, the margin is chiselled off and cut into a narrow drain to carry off the water from the roof ..... The existence of footholds leading into the cavern, the holes cut deep into the rock by their side meant perhaps to receive poles which once supported a railing ..... the beds with pillow lofts dressed smooth as if they were meant for some special use—all these indicate that in some remote time the cavern was the abode of one or more recluses either Buddhist or Jaina, whose wants were far below those of ordinary mortals".

Maratti inscription at Malaiyadippatti, a fragment of a pretty old Telugu inscription at Virakkudi and the very recent Telugu inscriptions at Kudumíámalai, Péraiýúr and Tiruvarankulam. A tabular statement of the inscriptions in the State with their number and the places where they are engraved will be found in Appendix G. to this volume. The number of inscriptions that have been brought to account so far is 1030,\* of which 219 are found in the Álangudi Taluk, 387 in the Tirumayyam Taluk and 424 in the Kulattúr Taluk. To get an idea of the value of the inscriptions in the State, it will be enough to know that "while in the Madras Presidency about 120 inscriptions have been found for the Pándyas of the 13th century, in Pudukkottai State alone there are eighty additional inscriptions of the same class and period".

That these inscriptions were referred to in cases of dispute will be evident from an inscription at Tirukkulákkudi, Tirumayyam Taluk, from which we find that a piece of land was claimed and intended to be sold by one Vijaya Tévan and some others but that the temple authorities at the place objected to this, claiming the land as temple property, that an inscription was pointed out from which it was seen that the land did not belong to the temple, and that the temple authorities ultimately paid for the land and purchased it for the temple.

As these inscriptions were considered to be so many documents of value, we find from an inscription at Kudimíámalai that when, in repairing the temple, a portion of an old inscription had to be removed from its place, and what remained could not by itself give any sense, the whole inscription was again engraved in another portion of the temple, the circumstance in which this was done being carefully explained. It is rather curious that at Tirumayyam, after the settlement of a dispute between the temples of Siva and Vishnu at the place, Appanna, (son of a general Ravidéva of the Hoysala King Virasômésvarayya,) who settled the dispute about 1250 A. D., ordered the destruction of an old inscription, containing instructions that probably differed from the terms that were then agreed upon, as the inscription was said to be in an unknown tongue. Thus what was perhaps a valuable inscription from a historical point of view is found mutilated at the place.

**II. Copper plates.** These are of two classes.

\* In addition to these inscriptions, the State Archaeologist says that there are about 200 inscriptions, which, in his opinion, are of little importance. Facsimile copies might have been taken of these inscriptions also.

1. Those that relate to grants made by the Tondaimáns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These are quite reliable and will be used in writing the history of the Tondaimán line of rulers.

2. Plates referring to the earlier centuries.. Many of these relate to the grants made by the Kárála Vellálars and the strifes that led to the settlements in these parts of the Kallars and the Maravars. While the precise dates of these grants cannot be depended upon, there does not seem to be any valid ground for disputing their general authenticity. These, with a valuable manuscript Geography of Kánádu, will be used in writing the history of the settlements of the Kárála Vellálars, the Kallars and the Maravars.

**Settlements of the Karala Vellalars in the Tamil land.** The Vellálars are found settled in the Chóla land long before the first century of the Christian era. There are references to these in the oldest classics. *Chilappadikāram*\* speaks of 'the old flourishing villages peopled by men, who by their tillage relieved the wants of beggars and produced the prosperity of their rulers'. And *Puranānūru* contains many poems relating to tillers, in one of which † agricultural operation is especially extolled, a Chóla king being informed that even his victories in wars should be attributed to the agricultural operations that were carried on in his land, and that his enemies would worship him, if he would protect the people who were in charge of the plough, and by this act afford protection to the rest of the people in his land. Another poem ‡ in this old classic refers to a Vellála ruler with fertile fields in the tract of land in and to the south-east of the modern Pudukkóttai State. The accounts that are given in *Puranānūru* and in the commentary on *Tolkāppiyam*, the oldest and the best Tamil Grammar composed before the second century A. D., are to the effect that Agastya, who was the first Brahmin to settle in these parts, brought with him Vellálars of eighteen sections, and that in the first or second century of the Christian era, the Vél or Vellála chieftains had lived in the Tamil land for forty-nine generations. § We may infer from this that the Vellálars began to settle in the Tamil country very long before the commencement of the Christian era, and that there were chieftains or rulers of the Vellála class subject to the Pándyas, the Chólas and the Chéras.

\* See Chapter X, 148—150 and Chapter V.

† See 35th poem.

‡ See 24th poem.

§ See *Puranānūru*. 201st poem, and the commentary on the 32nd stanza of *Tolkāppiyam Poruladikāram*.

Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, in his "Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago" \* speaks of the Vellálars of the first and second centuries of the the Christian era as follows:—"Of the men living in society, the *ulavar* or the farmers occupied the highest position. They formed the nobility or the landed aristocracy of the country. They were also called Vellálar "lords of the flood" or Kárálar "lords of the clouds", titles expressive of their skill in controlling floods and in storing water for agricultural purposes. The Chéra, Chóla and Pándya kings and most of the petty chiefs of Tamilakam belonged to the tribe of Vellálars. The poor families of Vellálars, who owned small estates, were generally spoken of as the *veelkudi ulavar* or "the fallen Vellálars", implying thereby that the rest of the Vellálars were wealthy landholders. When Karikál the Great defeated the Aruválas and annexed their territory to his kingdom, he distributed the conquered lands (comprising Tondamandalam with Conjeveram as its chief town) amongst Vellálar chiefs. The Vellálars were also called the Gangakula or the Gangavamsa, because they derived their descent from the great and powerful tribe named Gargaridæ, which inhabited the valley of the Ganges, as mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy". Mr. Pillai mentions also that the Vellálars founded the Bellál dynasty of the Canarese country, the Gangavamsa dynasty of Orissa and the lines of the Vélema chiefs in the Telugu country.

Some of the statements contained in the foregoing extract are not generally accepted and we may here quote the following extract from Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country* relating to the Vellálars in these parts.

"Tradition uniformly declares them to be the descendants of foreign immigrants, who were introduced by the Pándyas; and it appears to be extremely probable that they are, and that an extensive Vellála immigration took place at a rather remote period, perhaps a little before or after the colonisation of the Tondamandala by Adondai Chakravarti† ..... With regard to the assertion so commonly made that the Pándyas belonged to

\* See pp. 113—114.

† "About the eighth or ninth century". See Mr. Stuart's *Edition of the North Arcot Manual*, p. 39.

the Vellála caste, it is observable that tradition is at issue with it and declares that the Pándyas proper were Kshatriyas; but they were accustomed to marry wives of inferior castes as well as and in addition to wives of their own caste. This, however, is a question, the settlement of which requires great antiquarian learning, and it must be settled hereafter".

*Settlements of the Vellálars in the State.* It is clear from *Chilappadikáram* and *Puranánu* that Vellálars were found in the Pudukkóttai State—at Kodumbálúr and the parts near Kulaváippattichatram—as early as the first or second century, A. D. But that there were altogether only a limited number of Vellála settlements in those early days goes without saying. The Vellálars must have emigrated to and occupied these parts in large numbers in the seventh or eighth century, as the Kárálars are found to have settled in Malabar, according to Mr. Thurston, \* "at the latest in the 9th century A. D."

The following account of the settlements of the Vellálars within the limits of the State is based upon a palmleaf manuscript filed as a record in the Pudukkóttai Chief Court: "Ádondai Chakravarti brought these Vellálars with him (from Conjevaram) into the tracts subject to the Chólas, and Ugra Peru Valuthi the Pándya king, selected 48,000 good families and imported them from east Conjevaram and settled them in Pándya land. The Chólanádu tract occupied by the Vellálars was called Kónádu or the land of the king, and the Pándya tract was known as Kánádu or forest land. The former extended from Uraiyúr near Trichinopoly to Sólavandán in the Madura district, and included Piránmalai Ponnamarávari, Káraiyyúr, Oliamangalam, Annavásal and Vayalókam. It comprised five-eighths of the land occupied by the Vellálars, the other three-eighths forming Kánádu. The latter tract lay to the south and east of Kónádu, extended as far south as Tondi and Kálaiyárkóvil and included the whole of the present Álangudi Taluk and the eastern portion of the Tirumayyam Taluk from Virácchalai".

\* See Article on Nanchinád Vellálars in Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.

† The book is very interesting as it gives copious information relating to the ancient Geography of Kánádu. It belongs to Tékkattúr Subrahmanya Vélár, a member of a Kárála Vellálar family.

The Vellálars must have subdued the Kurumbar, driven them out to parts considered by the Vellálars as useless for their purposes, and made themselves lords of the land. In almost all the documents relating to them, we find them calling themselves "Nilattarasu" or "rulers of the soil", as opposed to "Mudiarasu" or "crowned kings," namely, the Chóla and the Pándya kings. This would mean that they were practically the lords of the land, subject only in a general way to the Pándya and the Chóla kings. That this inference is not incorrect will be seen from what is stated in the commentary on *Tolkáppiyam*. In the commentary on *Tolkáppiyam*, III, 30, it is mentioned that the Vélars (Vellála chieftains) gave their daughters in marriage to the crowned kings. This shows that these were generally considered to be men of high rank and position, and were treated as such by the Pándya and the Chóla rulers. They are also said to have enjoyed the right of crowning the kings.

*The origin of the name Kárála.* The following account is given of the origin of the name Kárála Vellálars and is based on a story in *Madura Sthala-puránam*, a work already referred to.

"In old times a quarrel happened between the Raja of Pándyadésa and the god Dévéndra, and things went to such lengths that the angry god commanded the clouds not to send down any rain on Pándyadésa, so that the inhabitants were sorely distressed by severe drought, and laid their complaints before the Raja, who flew into a rage, marched his army against Dévéndra, defeated him in battle, seized on the clouds and put them in prison, in consequence of which not a drop of rain fell on any part of the Bhúloka or earthly world, which threw the people into a great consternation, and the whole with one accord addressed their prayers to Dévéndra, the god of the firmament and beseeched him to relieve them from their present distress. Dévéndra sent an ambassador to the Raja of Pándyadésa and requested that he would release the clouds, but he refused to do it, unless they gave security for their future good behaviour and would likewise promise that they would never again withhold the rain from falling in due season in his kingdom. At this juncture the Vellál caste of Pándyadésa became security for the clouds and from that circumstance were surnamed Kára, Káva Vellál Wáru (or in Tamil Kárátta Vellálars) or redeemers of the clouds".

For the service that the Vellálars thus rendered to Indra, they are said to have received from the God the white elephant,\* the white umbrella, plough-flag, red-lily garland, and the designation "பூமபரவி" or "protectors of the soil".

*The Kárálars, good agriculturists.* The Kárála Vellálars were very skilful agriculturists. Their work must have consisted in clearing the forests and jungles and rendering the land fit for cultivation, building dams and anicuts for the rivers in the State, excavating irrigation tanks as also canals to connect the rivers with these tanks, and digging a large number of wells in suitably selected places for irrigation in seasons of drought.

The Kárála Vellálars seem to have possessed the faculty amounting to instinct of finding out underground springs. They were thus able to dig wells giving an unfailing supply of water for agricultural purposes. The peculiarity of these wells is that they are not deeper than twenty feet and that they always tap underground currents, giving the wells a copious supply of water. The large number of wells that are shown as "Kárálars' wells" are mostly circular in form and built of brick and mortar, water being baled out by lifts. But some of the wells in Kodumbálúr, where these Vellálars flourished, are built of granite stone and are rectangular in form. With reference to the methods of agriculture that they adopted, there is a body of literature in Tamil that deals with this subject and which might have come into existence during the days of the Kárála Vellálars. Much of the literature is connected with astrology, and deals with such subjects as the soil, the seasons, rain, winds, cattle, ploughing and sowing.

The name *Kárákatta* (or *rain-awaiting*) which is applied to them may therefore be taken to mean *those that waited for rain*. Mr. Thurston in his article on *Vellálars*† is of opinion that, notwithstanding the legends about their origin, they are probably a territorial subdivision named from a place called Káraikkádu. This opinion is not supported by any record or tradition; and there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that the name *Kárákatta Vellálar* was given to them, as they, being an agricultural people, were *waiters for rain*, and that the name *Kárálar*

\* Models of white elephants are used by some Vellálars on marriage occasions.

† See Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, p. 375.

(or rulers of clouds) came to be applied to them very probably as they were very successful agriculturists that could raise crops without depending on rain, and were taken therefore by men that did not understand their processes to be powerful enough to control the clouds.

It will be found from the copper plates now in existence that the Kárála Vellálars were found scattered all over the State. We find them settled, for example, in Tékkáttúr, Káraiýúr, Virácchalai, Ponnamarávatí, Oliamangalam, Idayárrúr, Péraiýúr, Arimalam and Válaramánikkam in Tirumayyam Taluk, Annavásal, Kíranúr. Vayalókam, Kunnandárkovil and Vísenginádu in Kulattúr Taluk, Perungulúr, Mullúr, Tiruvarankulam, Kulaváippatti, Anbilnádu and Kattakkurucchi in Álangudi Taluk. Traces of a ruined fort, said to have been built by Vellálars, are found at Kodumbálúr.

The villages and the forts in which the Vellálars lived must also have been brought into existence by them. They seem to have been a religious and charitable people, and most of them are said to have been staunch Saivaites. They are known to have granted rent-free lands to Brahmins and endowed many temples including those at Tiruvarankulam, Kudumiámalai, Kunnandárkoil, Vadaválam and Kalasamangalam. Some of the temples in the State must have been built by them; but the Kárálars cannot be compared in any way as temple builders with the Chóla kings.

**Settlements of "the eighteen castes".** When the Vellálars settled in the Pudukkóttai tract, "the eighteen castes" that are associated with them in Tamil classics and looked up to them for support, must have been brought by them into these parts. These castes must have existed from very early times, as may be evident from the stanza in the very ancient well-known classic *Tirukkural*, which says "It is only those that live by ploughing that live (independent of others); all others live by respectfully following the farmers." The eighteen sections of people that are stated to have worked *expressly* for the Kárála Vellálars and got their subsistence from them were

1. The Barbers.
2. The Potters.

3. The Washermen.
  4. The *Occhans*, or scribes and accountants who wrote down what was dictated to them. \*
  5. The Blacksmiths.
  6. The Goldsmiths.
  7. The Braziers.
  8. The Carpenters.
  9. The Masons.
- } The five classes of *Kammálars*.
10. The *Orrai Sekkán* (oil-pressers using single bullocks).
  11. The *Irattai Sekkán* (oil-pressers using two bullocks).
  12. The *Ilai Vániyans*, or Betel-leaf growers. [*Ilai*=leaf.]
- } Three classes of *Vániyans*.
13. The Garland-makers (flower-sellers) for temples, etc.
  14. The Tailors.
  15. The *Pallis* or Watchmen.
  16. The *Valaiyars* or Fishermen.
  17. The Shepherds.
  18. The Bards.

தொண்டைமண்டலவரிசை மூன்றுகுழுமக்கள்  
சுருதிநாள் முதலாகவே

அங்கமிருகாவாதன் குயவன் வண்ணனோலை  
சொன்னபடி யெழுதுமோச்சன்

கண்டகம்மாள்வகைமையர் வாணியர் மூவர்  
கந்தமலர்மாலேகாரர்

கலைத்துசரீரோட்டு பாணன் தலைக்கடைக்  
காவல்புரிபள் ளிவலையன்

பண்டுமுதலுரான் மறிக்குமிடையன் விருது  
பலகூறுவீரமுடையான்

பதினெண்மர் குழுமக்களனைவருங்காராளர்  
பணிசெய்து பலமுறைமையுங்

கொண்டுபரிவட்டமுங்கட்டி யேவருவரிக்  
குவலயமதிக்கவேதான்

சுற்றியகச்சிவாழேகம்பராலயக்  
குமுதத்திவிட்டவிபியே.

These workmen seem to have got their means of subsistence in various ways. In some cases, workmen were paid directly for the work that they did, like the smiths and the washermen. These and others like the potters had ears of corn set apart for them in the paddy fields, from which they were to gather the produce. The smiths, the potters and others had also annual assignments of paddy to them, which they received soon after the harvest. The barbers, the potters and the washermen received also

\* See p. 16 of *Vélammarepiyal*.

கனப்பிச்சை or paddy that was offered to them as a free gift in the paddy fields soon after the harvest, and ~~or~~ or cooked rice offered to them in the houses of the *Vellálars*. \*

During the most prosperous days of the *Vellálars*, we find the *Kónádu* divided into three *Kúrrams*, (*Uraiýúr* division, *Oliýúr* division, and *Urattúr* division), which were subdivided into 64 *Nádu*s, containing 756 villages. Assignments of lands had been made to 212 temples and of 21 villages to Brahmins. The portion of *Kánádu* with which we are concerned formed portions of two divisions called *Kána Kúrram* or *Athali Kúrram* and *Milalai Kúrram*. Of these the former division is known to have been divided into 24 *Nádu*s, containing 108 villages, the total number of assignments to temples and Brahmins having been only 15.

*Disputes among the Vellálars.* The *Kárála Vellálars* seem to have lived for a long time in peace, plenty and prosperity. But the enjoyment of power by the *Kónádu Vellálars* led to a desire for more, and we find that these *Vellálars*, not satisfied with the lands and power they had, tried to advance themselves by weakening the *Kárála Vellálars*. About this time we find *Kónádu* or the portions of the *Uraiýúr* and *Oliýúr* divisions lying within the *Pudukkóttai* State limits under the following seven chieftains—

|                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Sammatiráyar</i> ; | <i>Konguráyar</i> ;     |
| <i>Kadambaráyar</i> ; | <i>Kálingaráyar</i> ;   |
| <i>Máluvaráyar</i> ;  | <i>Achyutaráyar</i> and |
| <i>Kumataráyar</i> .  |                         |

The tract of *Kánádu* land in connection with which disputes arose was under a single chieftain of the line of *Vánádiráyar*s. † This family seems to have lived at *Vándrákóttai* (a corruption of *Vánádiráyanakóttai*) six miles east of *Pudukkóttai*, and a brother of a *Vánádiráyar*, *Kundradiráyar*, has given his name to *Kundrápéttai*, eight miles east of *Pudukkóttai*. The brothers seem to have exercised considerable power and *Vánádiráyar* made grants of several villages. Even after the *Vellálars* lost their power, as

\* This account is based on a commentary by one *Agastiyappa Mudaliár* on *Tondaimandala Satakam*, a poem written in praise of the *Vellálars*. See Vellore edition, pp. 279—281, where some of the castes given above are left out and other castes, such as dancing girls, slaves, etc., are inserted.

† The *Tekkattur* manuscript mentions *Vánádiráyar*, *Dharmaráyar*, *Kálingaráyar* and *Villuva Ráyar* as the four chieftains (or big families) that settled in *Kánádu*.

will be shewn presently, the Vánádiráyars together with the Kálingaráyars and the Kadambaráyars do not disappear altogether from history, but are found as subordinate chieftains of limited power.

The main object of the Kónádu Vellálars seems to have been to seize from the Kánádu Vellálars all the lands to the north of the Vellár and to drive Vánádirayar to the south of the river. The points in dispute are said to have been in connection with lands, temples, tanks, temple honours and the right to the use of the water of the Vellár. The fights that resulted between the two sections of the Vellálars not only weakened the Vellálars themselves, but led to the settlement in their tracts of the Maravars and Kallars.

**Settlements of the Maravars.** The Maravars are a fierce, warlike people who lived from the most ancient times in the forest tracts mostly to the south of the modern Pudukkóttai territory. "Of strong limbs and hardy frames, and fierce-looking as tigers, wearing long and curled locks of hair, the blood-thirsty Maravars, armed with the bow bound with leather, ever ready to injure others, shoot their arrows at poor and helpless travellers.....The wrathful and furious Maravar, whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, the loud twang of whose powerful bowstrings and the strong sound of whose double-headed drums, compel even kings at the head of large armies to turn back and fly..."\* The settlement of the Maravars within the limits of the Pudukkóttai State was due, however, not to any incursions of the Maravars themselves, nor to any of the causes of variance between the Kónádu and Kánádu Vellálars referred to above, but to the general feeling of animosity that existed between the two sections. An account of the settlement of the Maravars is found in an interesting palmleaf manuscript and it is as follows:—

"All the Vellálars of the seven big divisions † (that is, all the Kónádu and the Kánádu Vellálars) and the Vellálars of the

\* Quoted from the ancient classic *Kalittokai* by Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai in his "*Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*." See pp. 42 and 43.

† Uraiýúr division, Oliýúr division and Urattúr division formed Kónádu; Athali or (Kána) and Mitalai divisions formed the northern portion of Kánádu. Only a very little portion west of the modern Pudukkóttai State seems to have formed part of the Uraiýúr division.

twenty-four Nádu (Kottams?) of Tondamandalam listened to the exposition by Kamban, the well-known poet, of his poem *Erelupathu* (எரலுபுது—seventy stanzas in praise of agriculture and the Vellálars), and rewarded him with a palanquin to ride in and the right of collecting every year one *paraippanam* from every Vellála family. Kamban went on collecting the tax till he came to Kónádu of three divisions. He easily collected the money from the 350 villages in Uraiýúr division and the 242 villages in Oliýúr division, and got from the men in Oliýúr division letters to Kánanádu of 108 villages to make similar payments. The people of Kánanádu refused to pay, saying that they were in no way subject to the Vellálars of Oliýúr and that the Oliýúr division men had no business to write to them, but that as they had promised payment before the Tondamandalam Náttars they would pay one-fourth of a panam for a *thadi* (a measure) of land. When the Oliýúr division Vellálars heard of the disparaging words of the Kánanádu Vellálars, they assembled in a body and attacked the Kánanádárs. These finding that they could not resist the Oliýúr men without help, marched southwards and imported five hundred families of Maravars from Rájéndramangala Nádu (in Ramnad Zepindári), settled them in Viracchalai and four other villages and had them as their protectors. The Kánanádu Vellálars and the Maravars then set about plundering the 242 villages of Oliýúr division. The Oliýúr Vellálars thereupon decided on themselves calling other Maravars for their help. The Vellálars of Annavásal and Vayalókam invited 300 families of Unjanúr and Sembamárinádu Maravars and settled them at Mángudi, Marutántakai and Puduvayal; and the Vellálars of Válaikkuricchi, Neivéli, Kímanúr, Gúdalúr and Rarápuram imported 200 families of Mangalanádu Maravars and settled them at Panaiýúr and Kulamangalam.

Again Nétirája Pándyan \* with Tipparasu Náyak, Chinnapeddu Náyak and Periapeddu Náyak, and 200 families of Mánámadura Maravars marched with a small force against Ponnamaran (founder and ruler) of Ponnamarávati, defeated him and granted lands in

\* This Pándyan is also referred to in a poem in praise of the Goddess *Akugia Nāchi* of Ponnamarávati. But instead of one ruler of this place, Ponnamaran, we find mentioned in this poem two rulers, viz., Ponna and Amaran. See the *Gazetteer*.

those parts to his Marava followers. He next built a fort which he called Maravar Madura. The people of *Idaiyárrúr*, *Káraiýú* and four other villages near this fort, finding that the Maravars would prove useful protectors, granted one hundred of the two hundred Marava families that had followed the Pándyan chief lands at Marava Madura, *Álangudi* and *Mukilpattanam* and settled them there.

Nétirája Pándyan had four wives, of whom one was a Marava. Her son got as his share seven villages such as *Ponnamarāvati* and *Malairāyapuram*. He must have imported some Marava families into these villages.

Further, the Vellálars of *Sevalúr* who had to pay 500 *pon* to the authorities found that they could not raise the sum. They therefore sold all their rights to Madura Tévan and other Maravars\* who had followed Nétirájan and had settled in those parts as mentioned already and who paid the sum of 500 *pon* for the Vellálars. The Vellálars of *Sevalúr* left the village with four Marava families, and, going towards *Manappárai*, settled down near *Mīnavelli*, building three groups of houses (or villages) of which the first two were given the name of *Sevalúr* and the last was called *Maravanpatti*.

This was how the Maravars settled down in these parts.\*

Deeds of other grants of land to the Maravars by *Karála Vellálars*, such as the grant of *Kudimiámalai*, have also been met with. The Maravars seem to have lived in great comfort in the lands in which they settled, as many of them are found described in inscriptions as *Mara Mudalis*. The Marava settlers have also been found to be a law-abiding and peaceful class, in contrast to the fierce and violent Maravars of the *Ramnad* and *Tinnevely* districts. They are also known to have endowed temples with lands, built temples, etc. These settlements must have been made in the 12th century, when *Kumban* lived.

\* The account is based on a manuscript got from *Poichollá Tévan Ambalakáran* of *Ponnamarāvati*. In another manuscript, the Maravars of *Sevalúr* are said to have come from *Srivillipattūr*, helped the Vellálars and got the place from them.

**Settlements of the Kallars.** We may next show how the Kallars settled within the Pudukkóttai limits. It will be found that they were not, like the Maravars, invited from outside for help, but that they were an aggressive people who often fought for their own hand and were glad to help the Vellálars against one another for remuneration. The Kallars are mentioned in the very ancient 'classic *Akanánúru*'\* as a fearless and uncivilised people that lived originally in the mountains about *Tiruvenkatam* or *Tirupati*, capturing elephants in these mountains with great skill and exchanging their white tusks indirectly through other mountaineers for grain. Their leader is said to have been one *Pulli* who was very dexterous in taming violent and uncontrollable elephants. They seem to have been originally invited to these parts by a Pándya called in the same anthology "கள்ளர் பெருமகன் தென்னன்", which might be interpreted as "the Pándya that was the leader of the Kallars".

The Kallars are first heard of in connection with the north-eastern portion of the State. An important section of the tribe seems to have moved southwards from a town of the name of *Tirumangalam* in *Valliappanádu* of North *Kōnádu* and was permitted to settle down at *Udayálimangalam*† (now called *Udayálippatti*) near *Kunnándárkóvil*, ten miles to the east of *Kīranúr*. In course of time the Kallars seem to have made themselves masters of *Vīsenginādu* in the north-east of the State. They must have been a very violent people, who paid no heed to the rights of others and made themselves very troublesome to the people among whom they settled. From an inscription at *Kunnándárkóvil*, it is seen that the people of the place—the workmen, the agriculturists and others— assembled the leading men of the *Nādu* and of the neighbouring parts, and, having invited learned and influential men from such distant places as *Srirāngam* and *Tiruvánaikkā*, probably for consultation, explained to them the loss of life and property that the Kallars were causing and obtained a guarantee for their safety subject to the condition that they should make an annual payment to the God of a *Vettu* coin and present to the temple at

\* See poems Nos. 62, 83, 209, 311, 359, 393, 342. These references and some others were kindly supplied to me by Mr. R. Raghava Aiyangar, State Vidvān, *Ramnad*. The work has not as yet been printed and published.

† There is a valuable document supporting this grant.

Kunnándárákóvil, a ring and a panam whenever a marriage was celebrated. Similar disturbances occurred at Sótuppálai\* in Álangudi Taluk, where the condition laid down for the promised protection was an annual payment and a ring alone to the temple for every marriage. The tradition that the Vellálars of Álangudipatti near Puliyúr left the village in a body, instead of degrading themselves by giving one of their girls† to a Kallan who demanded her in marriage, is quite in keeping with what we learn of the Kallars from other sources. There is no doubt whatever that the lands in the north-east of the State belonged to the Kárála Vellálars, an inscription at Killukudi expressly stating that the proprietorship of the whole of Kilsengili Nádu belonged to a Vélán.

Many of the Kallars that settled in these parts seem to have been connected with some minor chieftain, as they are called "Náráyanappér Arasu Makkal" or "people related to a chieftain of the name of Náráyana". Some others are called *Padaittalaivar* or "military chieftains" or as *Tantrimár* or politicians ("men of stratagems"). They are occasionally spoken of as men that came as *Kartars* or governors of such and such places.

These gradually spread in the north-eastern portion of the State, and, when it was found how powerful they were, they were given lands and required to watch the temples in which probably the wealth of the temples and of private men also was deposited for safety. It was thus that they were settled in Kalasamangalam, the eastern portion of the modern Pudukkóttai town, and at Vadaválam, five miles to the north-east of the town. The men of Vennával Nádu near Kulaváippatti, 10 miles from Pudukkóttai on the road from Pudukkóttai to Arantangi, having been harassed by Kallars, are stated to have brought in other Kallars from places such as Várappúr, Párppanappatti and Pílimalai for their protection and assigned to them lands in the tract.

We have referred before to the enmity that existed between the Kónádu and the Kánádu Vellálars. It was only rarely that disputes were amicably settled. In one case we find arrangements made by two chieftains—Kulandai Pallavaráyar and

\* See inscriptions at Sótuppálai.

† See the Gazetteer under *Puliyúr*.

Vanangámudi Pallavaráyar—for getting dams built for the supply of water from the Vellár to the Valnád tank and the Pálaiyanádu tank, and Vánádiráyar paying "a fine" of 120 *pon* and 100 *kalam*s of paddy to the chieftains for their services. But on most occasions violence was resorted to. The Kallars were found in Kánádu, and Vánádiráyar, the Kánádu chieftain, finding them very powerful, often employed them to help him against the Kónádu Vellálars. The two sides seem to have had a number of encounters in the south-west portion of this territory,—at Kannimalai, Orukkumbumalai and Tirukkalakkudi. On one of these occasions, the Kallars lost 50 men and obtained some tracts in Pálaiyanádu as *பழிச்சாணி*, or lands granted in return for men killed. On another occasion they lost 53 men and got several villages. A copper plate in the Kíranūr Taluk Cutcherry states that for losing 80 men in a strife between Kónádu and Kánádu, the Kallars received Marudántapuram *alias* Kíranallúr. On some other occasion they lost many men, it is said, and got settled in Panamkádu land near Perungulúr. For helping the Kánádu chief on another occasion, they were granted lands in Kaikkuricchi, to the east of Pudukkóttai, which is always referred to in inscriptions as *Kallapparru* Kaikkuricchi or Kaikkuricchi of the Kallars.

The following detailed account of the services that they rendered to Vánádiráyar in his struggle with Kónádu Vellálars may be found interesting and may indicate what happened on other similar occasions.

Vánádiráyar of Vándrákóttai and his brother Kundrádiráyar of Vallattirakóttai, having quarrelled with the Káráta Vellálars of Kónádu about lands, temples, tanks, temple honours and the right to the use of the water of the Vellár river and on account of some Kallars also, the Kónádu Vellálars of Kannimalai, Orukkumbumalai, Thirukkalakkudi, Várappúr, Píranimalai, Kárayúr, Nerinjikkudi and Kudumiámalai to the north of the river as also of lands to the south assembled 10,500 men to take possession from the Kánádu chiefs of the following lands to the north of the river.—*viz.* Valnád, Pálaiyanádu, Senkátunádu, Perungulurnádu, Ambunádu, Tánavanádu, Káyánádu, and Kilvanganádu (?), stating that the land to the south of the river was Pándya land and the tract to the north of the river Chóla

land, and that they wanted the whole of the Chóla Vellála land for themselves. They first sent for Vánádiráyar, who, without heeding their invitation, assembled the men of the eight Nádus mentioned above, and, finding that they numbered only 4,500 men, sent for 1,000 Kallars of Visenginádu, with a promise that he would grant them lands and the right of watching some nádu. The Kallars, 575 \* in number, joined him. At first he stationed half of his men at Tiruvarankulam and the other half at Maniambalam, and placed the Kallars between the two wings. But thinking probably that he could with more success resist the Kónádu men from the south decided upon crossing the Vellár and occupying the Póram fort to the south of the river. The Kónádu men breached the big irrigation tanks of Kavinádu, Perumánádu and of Peraiyúr so as to render the Vellár unfordable. But Vánádiráyar succeeded in taking his men and the Kallars to the south of the river, and concealed for a time his men in the bushes and trees of the jungles in the adjoining parts.

There were free fights between the men of the two parties at Tékkáttúr, Munaisandai, Perungudi, Kulakkudi, Miratnilai. Five or six hundred of Vánádiráyar's men were wounded. Visenginádu Kallars thereupon fiercely attacked the Kónádu men, and, defeating them, drove them as far south as Súraikkudi twenty miles to the south of Pudukkóttai and as far south-west as Piránmalai, seized the seven chiefs of Kónádu and brought them before Vánádiráyar and his brother Kundrairáyar. Four hundred and ten men were killed in all in these fights, of whom seventy-five are said to have been Kallars. The seven chiefs were taken before Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar, † who, in the presence of all the Vellála chieftains, advised the Kónádu chiefs to live amicably with the Kallars "like fathers-in-law and sons-in-law" and arranged for the Kallars receiving 550 *pon* (gold coins) and 530 *kalam*s of paddy (as measured by Pallavanpadi.) ‡

\* In another account, the numbers are given as 12,755, 3,200 and 535 respectively.

† Who this Pallavaráyar was cannot be ascertained. The earlier of the two Pallavaráyars of this name of the Valuttúr line that have been identified lived about 1539.

‡ This is used even now during the Dussera festival. It is at least as old as the sixteenth century.

The money was obtained from the bankers of Nambukuli (Ukantharasu Chettiyár and others) by the grant to them of the villages Kundrairáyanpéttai, Kuppavákuricchi, Picchankuricchi and Mélakkulam.\*

**Settlements of money-lending Chettis.** The mention of Nambukuli bankers in the last paragraph reminds us that it is time for us to close our narrative of the settlements of the Kallars and to proceed to give a short account of the wealthy Chettis that had settled in these places in those early times and of the dealings that Vánádiráyar, the Kónádu Vellála chieftain, had with them. Three places are frequently found mentioned as towns in which there were monied men and Chettis. These are Kalasamangalam, Valnád and Nambukuli. We shall give a short account of each of these places.

1. *Kalasamangalam* was the eastern portion of the modern town of Pudukkóttai, the western portion having been known as Singamangalam. The following story is related in connection with the origin of this town.

“Muchukunda Chakravarti”—evidently the Chóla king, † who had his capital at Tiruvárúr in the Tanjore district—in one of his tours through his dominions was so struck with the beauty of the tract to the north of the Vellár that he thought of building a town there. The Rishi Parásara fixed an auspicious hour for commencing operations, and Kalasamangalam, consisting of “nine cities” (blocks ‡), was brought into existence. The King Muchukunda applied for inhabitants to the God Kubéra (Plutus of Hindu mythology), who sent him 1,500 families. The story was probably invented after the town had become rich and its merchants were found to be very wealthy. In the days of the Kárálars, the Pallavaráya Pálayakár family had this town as their capital.

\* The account is based on a document referring to the grant of these villages. The copy that has been used is old and is in the handwriting of Subbaraya Pillai, Karnam of Atavisarankóvil Vattam.

† See the *Tanjore Gazetteer*, p. 248 and Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's *Chóla Empire in South India*.

‡ The names of the nine blocks were (1) South Kalasamangalam; (2) Gold Kalasamangalam; (3) North Kalasamangalam or Arunacchéri; (4) West Kalasamangalam or Sirupirambiyúr; (5) Arulmolimangalam; (6) Kalasappalanagaram (or the old Kalasappattanam); (7) Siddhārtimangalam; (8) East Kalasamangalam or Mútturudaiyārmangalam; and (9) Sivapuram.

*Valnád* was a town noted for its Chettis from very early times. It was one of these Chettis that bought the fruits of gold of the Porpanai tree (gold-palm tree)\* which is said to have stood in the neighbouring forests, and afterwards built and endowed the temple at Tiruvarankulam with the gold. The name of this merchant is given in copper plates as Kubéra Kón, and he is often referred to as "a friend of Karikála Chóla.† In the town of Valnád, there were 1,000 families belonging to 32 *gótras* or sections. Seven of these *gótras* were known as kóns (or kings), seven others, pálaras (or protectors), and seven others, kudais (or umbrella-wearers). The other eleven *gótras* had various names. The Dhanapálar *gótra* has been considered the most important of all the thirty-two *gótras*. It is said that it was in this family that the Goddess of Tiruvarankulam was born, a belief that has led to the practice of Valnád Chetti women appearing in the temple before the God, their son-in-law, very respectfully, with even their heads covered by cloth. It appears from old records that Vánádiráyar held at first the whole of the Valnád tract and that, in what is called "the distribution of lands", he assigned portions of this tract to the temple at Tiruvarankulam, to the Valnád Chettis that were connected with the temple, and to a shepherd of the name of Nandagópálan, probably a descendant of the man who first got a sight of the Tiruvarankulam God (*lingam*). The Chettis often helped Vánádiráyar with money in his frays with Kónádu Vellálars and got other assignments of land. Nandagópálan is said to have not simply lent money to the Vellála chieftain, but as having helped him also with men. Two of these were killed on one occasion, for which he got a separate grant of land. As all these, Vánádiráyar, the Chettis and the shepherds, had common interests, all of them are mentioned in some of the documents as having granted lands in common to the Kallars that helped Vánádiráyar.‡

\* See the article *Tiruvarankulam* in the Gazetteer.

† This refers very probably to Kulóttunga Chóla I, who was sometimes styled *Karikála*.

‡ "*Valnád Chetti*" is literally "a Chetti that came from Vallamnádu"—i. e., the tract of Vallam. We have now a separate section of the Chetti community called "*Vallam Chettis*".

*Numbukuli*. This was another town which contained a large number of wealthy Chettis. Numbukuli was originally a Vellála town, which Vánádiráyar sold to the Chettis that had come from Vallam near Tanjore. Vánádiráyar had often to raise money to maintain his position against the Kónádu chieftains, and he seems to have borrowed money at first from Vallam.\* The Vallam Chettis, thinking probably that they could do more profitable business by settling near Vánádiráyar's residence near Tiruvarankulam, purchased Numbukuli from him, paying a ready sum, and agreeing to pay taxes to Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar, palayakár of Kalasamangalam, for protection to be afforded to them. Púvattakudi, Tántóni and Maramadakki are mentioned in several documents as three other towns containing also money-lending Chettis.

Nambukuli contains now only about four or five huts. The circumstances which led to the depopulation of the town may be found interesting. The Nambukuli Chetti women were never permitted to stir out of their houses. The *Idaiyars* brought them the necessary water and supplied them with the milk, ghee and buttermilk they required. The *Valaiyars* supplied the necessary fuel. There were female servants (of *angi* caste) in every house to do all menial work. Of the workmen, none but a single barber, a single carpenter, a single blacksmith and a single washerman selected by the villagers could enter the city. The merchants must have had their shops outside the town, as no males could have ingress into the city except those mentioned above. Such were the arrangements that had been made by the Nambukuli Chettis to preserve the chastity of their women.

But female curiosity is proverbial and it was this which led to the destruction of the city. Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar, the ruler of these parts, used to go out for shooting to Vennávalkudi jungles from Kalasamangalam. The Chetti women were curious to get a glimpse of the ruler, and, some of them climbing up the

\* Nambukuli is said to have been one of the seven rich Chetti towns of those days (செழு நாடு)—viz. Tanjore, Vallam near Tanjore, Tántóni, Púvattakudi, Pinnakudi, Maramadakki, Nambukuli. In one of the documents it is said that Vánádiráyar and Kundrádiráyar, Kónádu chieftains, assigned lands to these seven towns in common for money that they got from them for their frays with the Kónádu chieftains.

*Murunga* trees in their compounds, saw him passing. This was observed by one of the servants of the Pallavarayar, who, when informed of the fact, passed on, it is said, without looking at the women. But the Chettis, whom the news of this reached, not satisfied with the explanation of the servant-women that it was only the servant-women that climbed up the trees for gathering *Murunga* leaves for cooking, thought that they had been disgraced by their women, threw all of them into fire-pits prepared for the purpose, and, ashamed to show their faces again at the place, ran away to Beháres and Rámésvaran. This is the account given in an old manuscript of the circumstances under which the town became depopulated.

Púvattakudi, Tántóni and Maramadakki containing other money-lending Chettis are also said to have been deserted (செட்டி மறுசேமைக்குப்போகிறபடியால்) at this time, and the property of all these assigned to the temple at Palankarai. Another, and what may be taken to be a more reliable, account states that these parts were plundered in succession by a Mughal army, by the army of Ánanda Ráyar and of Mánójiappa (of Tanjore), and that the people deserted the villages, leaving many images and much treasure concealed in the vaults of the Atavisvaran temple at Kulaváippatti and Palankarai temple, which were the common temples for "the four cities". As Maramadakki is mentioned in an inscription dated A. D., 1472, as a place containing many wealthy and charitable men, the accounts given above of "the four cities" should not be regarded as baseless.

*The Nattukkóttai Chettis.* The Nattukkóttai Chettis are said to have come over to these parts from Kávéríppattanam, a village at the mouth of the Káveri. They are said to have been patronised by the Chóla kings and to have enjoyed the honour of placing the crown on the head of every Chóla king at the time of his installation. The story that is given to account for their emigration is that a Chóla king wanted to commit an outrage on a Chetti woman and that the Chettis therefore left the Chóla land in a body and settled to the south of the Vellár, the southern boundary of the Chóla kingdom, vowing never to permit their women to cross the Vellár and get into Chóla land again. A different account is given however by Mr. Thurston,

\* See *Nakarattár Kuluvaí Nátakam*.

according to whom, "a Pandya king, named Sundara Pandya, is said to have asked the Chola king to induce some of the Vaisyas in his land to settle down in the Pandya territory and allowed them to settle in the tract of country north of the river Vaigai, east of the Piranmalai and south of the Vellar".

*Settlements of the Jains.* That there were settlements of Jains (and also of Buddhists) in very early times within the limits of the State is conclusively proved by the inscriptions, the Jain images, the Jain temples, etc., in the State. Images of Buddha have been found at Chettipatti and Alangudippatti in the Kulattúr Taluk. The former image is 3ft. 9 inches high and the latter 3ft. 6 inches. Mutilated images of Jain Gods have been met with at Vellanúr, Tiruppúr, Ámmáshatram, Kílattaniyam, Ténimalai, Nárttāmalai, Sittannavāsai, etc.\* This may shew that the Jains were found scattered in various parts of the State. Of the places mentioned above, we know that the last three had monasteries and temples erected for the Jains. At Ténimalai, a natural cave-like portion of the hill was turned into a cave residence, on the walls of which the figure of Arhat, the Jain God, with three umbrellas over his head, is found with the figures of two other Gods. At Nárttāmalai there were two Jain monasteries which were endowed by the Chóla kings. At Sittannavāsai, there is a well-known Jain temple to which Jain pilgrims from the Tanjore District are said to resort even now for worship. On a hill near this village is சேழப்பட்டு or "a flat of (reached by) seven steps," chipped out of the rock as sleeping places with pillows for Jain ascetics. According to an inscription on a stone near what is called சமன்குடை or "the Jains' mound" at Chettipatti, in the Kulattúr Taluk, there was a big monastery at the place for 500 ascetics (ஐந்தாய்ந்துபெரும்பள்ளி). These show that there were colonies of Jains in those days in different parts of this State. It will be idle to attempt to fix the exact dates of the several colonies. It may be surmised that when the Jains were subjected to persecution by the Pándyan king at the instance of Sambandhar, the Saiva hymnologist, in the seventh century A. D., many of them fled to these parts that were covered by forests, hoping to live unmolested in their new settlements. The

\* See accounts of these places in the *Gazetteer* at the end.

Chóla kings, to judge from the grants to the Nārttāmalai monasteries, seem to have been not simply tolerant but kind to them. The Jain population must have gradually decreased, till at last at present we find that there is no Jain population at all in the State.

**Settlements of the Brahmins.** We may next refer to the colonisation of Brahmins in those early times. Most, if not all, of the Brahmin families now in the State are found to be not more than two hundred years old. Large numbers of Brahmin families settled here about 1800, when Rāja Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Tondaimān, known as Bhōja Rāja (or the munificent king), granted many villages as *Sarvamānyam* or rent-free to Brahmins, who were imported into the State from the surrounding districts. Such *Sarvamānyam* grants are found from as early a date as 1711, and there is no doubt that a number of Brahmin families settled in these parts between 1700 and 1800. After 1807 when Captain Blackburne, the Resident of Tanjore, was also made the Political Officer of this State, a number of Maratta Brahmin families came over from Tanjore to settle in the State. As the accounts were then kept in Maratti, not only were the higher officers Maratta Brahmins, but also many of the members of the clerical staff. After 1875, when the State became better known in the surrounding districts and when means of communication were rendered easier, other Brahmin families came to settle in these parts. It is in this way that we have to account for the Brahmin population that we now find in this State.

These are recent settlements with which we are not concerned here. There were a large number of Brahmin families in the State before the fifteenth century, of whom all traces appear to have been lost, not one family in the State seeming to claim to be more than about two hundred years old.\* That there were in those times in the State a number of Brahmin settlements and that learned Brahmins were often brought from various important places both in the Chóla and the Pāndya land will be clear to anybody that will examine a fraction of the inscriptions in the State. The Kārāla Vellālars must have brought with them a number of Brahmins or at least permitted many Brahmins to settle

\* It may be that there are a few families of temple priests, village accountants and palace *purohīts* that are more than two hundred years old.

here. We know that they were very kind to Brahmins and that they granted many rent-free villages to them (see p. 61). There were also several Chóla and Pāndya kings that were great temple builders, and we find that there were about one hundred temples within the limits of the State that were well endowed. In connection with these temples, temple priests both of the Saiva and Vaishnava caste and other Brahmins are mentioned, showing that as soon as a temple was built at a place, Brahmin families were, if necessary, imported into the State to settle at the place. In these ways it is clear that there was a fair proportion of Brahmins in the State before the fifteenth century, especially in places where there were temples.

How these families came to disappear will be explained a little later on.

**Ancient divisions of land and administration.** We find from inscriptions and the documents relating to Kārāla Vellālars that these parts were divided into Kúrrams (*கூர்ம்*) or divisions as also into Valanādu (divisions) and Nādu (sub-divisions). The division into Kúrrams must have been made when these parts formed portion of the Pallava dominion. The Kónādu portion of the State was divided into three Kúrrams—Uraiyūr division in the north, the Oliyūr division in the south-west and Urattūr division in the north-west; and the Kánādu portion of the State which lay to the south and east of Kónādu seems to have consisted of two divisions, viz. (1) Mīlalai kúrram forming the south-eastern portion of the State and (2) Atali kúrram forming the remaining portion of the Kánādu within the Pudukkóttai limits. In the days of the later Chólas and Pāndyas (say after 1000 A. D.), the tract was divided into Valanādu and Nādu, each Nādu containing a number of *Ur* or villages. Many of the Nādu seem to have been occupied almost wholly by special tribes or rather clans, having a common temple, where their representatives met to discuss questions relating to the clans. A rough sketch of the division of the modern Pudukkóttai State into Valanādu, based on information contained in the inscriptions, is attached to the book. But it must be remembered that the same tract had occasionally different names at different times, according as the tract was under Chóla or Pāndya rulers, or the Chólas (and the

Pandyas) ordered the old names to be changed into new names expressive of their victories over their enemies. It is in this way that we find Irumbanadu stated at one time as having formed part of Pándya Mandalam (Sundara Pándya Valanadu), and at another time mentioned to have been a portion of Rájarája Pándya Valanadu or Rájendra Chóla Valanadu. Similarly Kudumiámalai is mentioned in one inscription as lying in Parikulásani (a thunderbolt to the Pándya line) Valanadu and in other inscriptions stated as situated in Rattaipadi Konda Chóla Valanadu.

The names of the Valanadus into which the State was divided are given below:—

1. Rájarája Valanadu.
2. Jayasingakula Kala Valanadu.
3. Rattaipadikonda Chóla Valanadu.
4. Kadaladaiyávilangakonda Chóla Valanadu.
5. Virudaraja Bhayankara Chóla Valanadu.
6. Keralasingh Valanadu.
7. Sundara Pándya Valanadu (Irumbanadu tract).

The names of the divisions show that almost the whole of the tract comprising the State was under the Chólas †

**Ancient Administration.** The following account of the administration of a Nádu is taken from Mr. T. A. Gópinátha Row's *History of the Chólas* :

"The head of a Nádu was called an Adhikári. He should attend to the collection of taxes in the Nádu, to the administration of justice in the Nádu and to other matters. It appears that the villages were not subject to him. These villages had each a separate *Sabha* or assembly of the men, who were given the authority of dealing with the affairs relating to the village. The king directly dealt with the *Sabhas* (and the Adhikári had no control over them). There were also *Sabhas* in smaller hamlets. Though the *Sabhas* of the hamlets dealt with their affairs, it may be presumed that they were subject to the Adhikáris of the Nádu in which the hamlets were situated".

\* See *Kalingattupparam*.

† The statement in Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Ancient India* (p. 174) that the whole of the Chóla country proper, so far as could be made out, was divided into eight such divisions (or Valanadus) seems to us to require revision; when it is considered that the small tract of land forming the modern Pudukkottai State (with some adjoining tracts) was divided into six Valanadus.

‡ See *செந்திரச் சரித்திரம்*, p. 20.

**Araiylars.** This might have been the way in which the administration of these parts was conducted originally under the later Chólas and the Pandyas. But the information found in the inscriptions shows that after the tenth or eleventh century, parts to the north of the Vellar fell into the hands of a large number of chieftains, who were called "அரசர்" (Araiylars) and who seem to have exercised considerable power. Similar chieftains are found to the south of the Vellar, but their number is not so great. And as some of them are called *நிலாதிபதி* (நாடாதிபதி) or rulers of Nádu, it may be supposed that the system described by Mr. Gópinátha Row continued to exist here and there. The word Araiylar is only another form of the word "அரசர்", king, a word actually found in some of the inscriptions. The name must therefore be taken as having been given to chieftains in these parts, as they exercised several powers of the king. These seem to have been no other than *Arasu* mentioned in the commentary on *Tolkappiyam*,\* which must have been written about the time when these Araiylars were coming or had come into prominence. They are described as having been employed by the kings in marching against enemies, in defending lands, in arranging negotiations and in collecting money.

These are duties connected with lands in which there is war or which have to be settled soon after conquest and subjugation. In times of peace their duties must have been to collect the royal taxes and to remit them to the royal treasury, and to look to the preservation of order and peace within their jurisdiction. That this was the case is not a mere matter of surmise. It is supported by a proclamation inscribed on the walls of an old temple at Pálaiyúr near Álangudi. The proclamation is dated *Saka* 1348 (or 1426 A. D.) and is to the effect that the *Arasu* would, in addition to the royal taxes, be satisfied with 60 kalams of paddy to be paid yearly for the lands the people of Pálaiyúr enjoyed and 10 panams for deciding each criminal complaint, that he would not demand from them more under the pretext that they were wealthy, and that the proclamation should be in force as long as the sun and the moon should endure. It may be

\* See the commentary on *Sútra* 30, Part III of the book. Powerful Araiylars seem to have called themselves *Arasu*.

inferred from the proceeds. But all Araiylars were not satisfied with what might be considered due to them, and that many of them were rapacious and oppressive.

In some cases Nádu, and in the generality of cases important villages seem to have had an Araiyan. There were in some villages two Araiylars, as at Kalasamangalam, which stood about half a mile to the east of the town of Pudukóttai.

We may select at random and give the names of a few places where Araiylars exercised power.

1. Karukkákkuricchi Araiyan.
2. Vánádiráyankóttai Araiylars.
3. Kadambaráyan, Arasan of Pulvayal.
4. Araiylars of the two sections of Álangúdi Nádu (ஆலங்குடி நாட்டு இரண்டு வகைகளில் அரையர்கள்).
5. Araiylars of the five families at Ambukkóvil. Probably the most worthy of the members of the five families became the Araiyan of the place.
6. Kidáratтарыан, Arasu of Iruimbáti.
7. Kulóttungachólattarayán, described as the Rájá of Kunriyúr.

It may be well supposed that where there were Araiylars the village assemblies were practically powerless. As a matter of fact, we find that the inhabitants of several villages finding that they were unable to protect themselves from the aggressions of their neighbours, at first surrendered the பரிகாவல் (Párikával) of the villages or the right of protecting the people, their property and crops, to some influential chieftains in the neighbourhood and afterwards gradually lost all their power. *Párikával* means literally "the watchmanship of a village", but in deeds relating to the *párikával* of a number of villages, the functions and duties are said to be those of an Arasu, the right of levying fees, etc., being called *Arasuswatantiram*. \* Whether a man was satisfied with simply discharging the duties and exercising the powers mentioned in the *Párikával* deed or whether he gradually

\* The Fifth Report of the Affairs of the East India Company (1837) says that "the *deshakával* (i.e. Arasukával) was bestowed sometimes by the prince, either through favour or to conciliate an individual whose power and influence were formidable, but more frequently by the liberality of the villagers, whose inability to protect themselves would also appear to have been one cause of their being rendered to such contributions".

made himself all powerful depended upon the nature of the person to whom the deed was granted. That the deed was not a dangerous document in itself may be seen from the contents of one of them, which we transcribe \* below:—

"In the 47th year Arppasi month of the reign of Kómárapadma Tribhuvana Chakravarti Sri Vira Pandya Déva, to Vijayálaya Tévan, Araiyan and the great lord (leader) of Súraikkudi in the land watered by Ténár in Adanaiyúr Nádu is sold on oath as shown below the village watchmanship of Ádanur in Káanádu otherwise called Virudarája Bhayankara Nádu by us, all the people comprising the inhabitants of the village.

On account of the disturbances of the Mussulmans, as our village has become ruined and we have ourselves become reduced to very straitened circumstances, and as we find no other course open to us and are without seedgrain,—we, agreeing to sell the village watchmanship, have fixed the price of the same at 300 Kulisaippanam of Válaí Vali Tirantán† and receiving this amount we, the inhabitants of the village, have sold the village watchmanship to Vijayálaya Tévan on oath. We will give him

- (1) —(evidently stands for *paddy*) for one *tadi* (a measure) of land, a head-load of sheaves;
- (2) For lands growing *இரை* (on wet land) for one *tadi* of land, two *marakkáls*; measured by the *marakkál* of Ádanúr; ‡
- (3) For lands growing sesamum, for one *tadi* 4 *nális* of Ádanur;
- (4) For lands growing sugarcane, for one *tadi* 20 palams of sugar;
- (5) For lands growing turmeric, ginger, karanai (*dracontium*) and betels also, he is to receive his share—the usual share it may be supposed;
- (6) Of cocoanuts, jack, plantain, mango growing in the village, he is to receive his due;

\* The translation is believed to be correct. There are a few lines in the inscription which are not quite intelligible.

† The name (one who opened the way with his sword) is probably that of Válaí Valitirakkum Perumál Parákrama Pandya Déva (1324 A. D. See *Sentamil*) who must have kept the roads in his kingdom in order, attacking the robbers who infested them and killing them.

‡ There were various measures of capacity and length (*kól*) in those days. Hence we are of opinion that Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's statements (*Ancient India*, p. 183) that a *véli* was "six and two-third acres" and a *kalam* "about three maunds" seem to require revision.

- (7) For the grains *varagu* and *sūmai* growing on dry lands, for one punjai land one head-load of sheaves;
- (8) For sesamum growing on dry land, for one punjai land 4 *nālis* (or measures of the gingelly seed);
- (9) For horsegram growing on dry land, for one punjai land one *marakkāl* of grain by *Ādanūr* measure;
- (10) For cotton growing on dry land, for one punjai land ten pods;
- (11) For the money paid he is to receive the pieces of land, ..... and treat this as the sale deed (*ōlai*);
- (12) For other lands, he is to receive his share as shown above;
- (13) We are not bound to show any other deed of sale or receipt;
- (14) No errors should be pleaded including those relating to writing, words, *etc.*;
- (15) In these terms we, the inhabitants of *Ādanūr*, have given on oath the deed of watchmanship of the village to Vijayālaya Tēvan, Araiyan and great lord of *Sūraik-kudi*."

It is to be presumed that in the days of the Araiylars, the central authority of the Chólas and the Pándyas was not much felt in these parts, but that the Araiylars with the people managed things just as they pleased. The Araiylars seem to have been often fighting with one another and the people. From an inscription at Kóvilūr near Alangudi, we find that in the town of Singamangalam, which stood on the site of the modern Pudukkóttai town, in the year 1341 A. D. (or 1401 A. D.) there were two Araiylars—one for the northern division and the other for the southern division. The sporting materials (nets, *etc.*) of the latter were seized by the former, who was thereupon killed by the Araiylar of the southern division. The enmity grew and it is stated, that a number of other persons were killed. Ultimately the people came to an amicable understanding, according to which, if a man killed another, all the murderer's lands were to be confiscated to the temple at Kóvilūr, and if there was to be a general riot, for every person that should be killed in the riot, a fine of 1000 panams was to be paid to the temple (evidently at Kóvilūr) and another fine was to be paid to the king.

\* The lands are specified in the deed. The money for which certain lands were assigned to the chieftain as his own, must have been got for purchasing seed grain.

An inscription at Idaiyárrūr on the south-western border of the State, Tirumayyam Taluk, mentions that one Séman of Pérāmbūr attacked the men of Idaiyárrūr with a large collection of men, seized the men and the cattle of the place, but that he was afterwards defeated by another chieftain to whom special honours and emoluments were granted.

The same story is heard from the north-eastern portion of the State, in which the Kallars were settled. An inscription at Kunnandárkóvil states that the Araiylars of the two Malaináduis in Panankádu—of the northern hill tract and of the southern hill tract—undertook before the temple authorities of Kunnandárkóvil not to inflict any injury on the villages under their control and the people therein, and to pay a fine of 100 or 500 panams respectively according as a man or a village was subjected to injury. This agreement shows that the two Araiylars had been originally hostile and that they afterwards agreed to live in peace.

One more instance may be given from the south-eastern part of the State to show that *might* was *right*, and that a chieftain could continue to exercise his power only if he was powerful and had a large number of supporters. An inscription at Nedungudi states that the people of five villages assembled and *restored* one Gāngéyan to his rights (of chieftainship), that on this being done four other chieftains of the neighbouring parts joined together, attacked Gāngéyan and his party, and killed twenty men, but that these chieftains were however afterwards defeated and required to pay each of them a fine in the shape of one *ma* of land to the God at Kuranthanpirai.

Of the Araiylars that exercised power in these parts, we have no full information. Nor would it be possible—even if we had sufficient materials—to deal with all the Araiylars who were found within the limits of the State till the Tondaimāns came to prominence. We shall briefly refer to some of the more important rulers that held sway in these parts, give an account of the Araiylar line of Pallavaráyars that afterwards came to style themselves *kings*, and show how their power passed into the hands of the Tondaimān line, which had made itself prominent during the later days of the Pallavaráyars.

Chiefs with whom the Tondaiman line had no connection. There were occasionally single chiefs, who exercised considerable power, but do not appear to have bequeathed their power to their descendants. Of such chiefs Kadambarāyan \* of Mīnavalli (in the Kulattūr Taluk), who called himself "the dread of chieftains" seems to have been one. One Nishadan Rājan, who had his seat at Pirāmmalai, just outside the south-western limits of the State, seems to have had everything in his own way. But whether he established a dynasty, and, if so, how long the line was in power, cannot be ascertained now. We find several chiefs of the name of Vānādirāyar, and some of them are called Mābali Vānādirāyar, as they are said to have been of Mahabali Gōtra. We find a very powerful chieftain of the name of Māvali Vānādirāyar, (1468 A.D.), who is said to have had his seat at Ponnamarāvati, and another chieftain, Sundarattōludaiya Māvali Vānādirāyar (1544 A.D.), described as Māvali Vānādirāyar's son, exercising sway in the south-west of the State, while other Vānādirāyars, like Kulasekhara Vānādirāyar, are found as chieftains in the south-east portion of the State.† Another (Vellāla) line of rulers of influence was that of Gāngēyan of Niyamam,‡ a village near modern Kāraikkudi, and of Pillamangalam. At Sūraikkudi, twenty miles to the south of Pudukkóttai, there lived a different line of rulers, as also at Arantāngi, 22 miles to the east of Pudukkóttai. The following accounts of the last two lines are based on the inscriptions of the State that have been examined.

(a) *The line of Tévars that ruled at Sūraikkudi.* The line of Tévars that ruled at Sūraikkudi continued for at least two hundred and thirty years. Sūraikkudi is generally known as Vanniyan Sūraikkudi, and must have originally contained a large number of Vanniya with a Vanniya chief.§ The first of the line of Tévars must have driven them out of the place and

\* Probably this ruler was a descendant of Kadambarāyar, one of the seven Kōndu chieftains. See p. 61.

† See inscriptions at Kulaniyāpatti, Neikkaṇam, Vālarāmānickam, etc. It is not clear how these were connected with the Vānādirāyars mentioned on pp. 61 and 67. See Mr. Gōpinātha Row's article on the subject in *Sandemil*, Vol. III.

‡ See inscriptions at Nelvāsal, Nedungudi, Pillamangalam. Probably it was a member of this line that patronised Ottakkūtṭan, the well-known poet.

§ See the Tamil classic Tiruvilaiyādalpurānam or the Sthalapurānam of Madura, where Vanniya are said to have ruled as chiefs.

made himself the ruler. One of them describes himself as a terror to horsemen (probably Mussalmans) and as one that saw the backs of the 18 Vanniya. We have about twenty inscriptions in the State relating to these chiefs, of which the earliest is dated 1378 A.D. and the latest 1608 A.D. These seem to have exercised considerable power in the southern portions of the State. They are known to have maintained an army, granted rent-free lands to generals and made many grants to temples in the Tirumayyam Taluk and to the temple at Maniambalam, a village near the Pudukkóttai town. From the inscriptions that have been examined it is found that for a time they considered themselves vassals first of the Pāndyas and afterwards of the Vijayanagar kings, but that they afterwards regarded themselves as independent, the later inscriptions containing references neither to Pāndyas nor to Vijayanagar kings but only to themselves. The names of such of the rulers of the line as are known with the dates as found in the inscriptions are given below. We find that Sūraikkudi was ultimately destroyed by the Mussalmans (by Asam Khan? and Rājatti Khan?)\*

1378 A.D. Chokkanārāyana Vijayālaya Tévan granted concessions in the payment of taxes by the people of Virācchalai and Kottiyūr for their having put to death one of the Valuttūr Pallavarāyars who marched with a force against him. These villages must have formed part of his dominion.

1411 A.D. Tirumēni Alagia Vijayālaya Tévan and Sembaka Rāya Vijayālaya Tévan.

1416 A.D. Ponnāyan Vijayālaya Tévan, son of Tirumēni Alagia Vijayālaya Tévan.

1434 A.D. Ponnāyanār Vijayālaya Tévan and Vairava Vijayālaya Pandārattār.

1452 A.D. Sembaka Ponnāyanār Parākrama Pāndya Vijayālaya Tévan.

1456 and 1458 A.D. Tirumēni Alagia Vira Pāndya Vijayālaya Tévan.

1461 A.D. Avaiyāndār Sundara Pāndya Vijayālaya Tévan.

1485 and 1486 A.D. Pallikonda (Perumāl Vijayālaya) Nayanar, son of Vairava Vijayālaya Tévan.

1497 A.D. Pallikonda Perumāl Vijayālaya Tévan, grand-son of Tirumēni Vijayālaya Tévan.

\* The date is not clear. The last two figures are 61 and the year may be taken to be Saka.

- 1502 A. D. Nádumaditta Vijayálayan.  
 1511 A. D. Adaikkalam Kátta Nádumatitta Vijayálaya Tévan.  
 1512 A. D. Vairava Náyanar Vijayálaya Tévan, son of Pallikonda Vijayálaya Tévan. He is described as a terror to horsemen and as one that saw the backs of (defeated) the 18 Vanniyars.  
 1519 A. D. Venkasóna Araiyyar Tévar of Súraikkudi, son of Sevvappa Araiyyar. The name Vijayálaya is not found.  
 1526 A. D. Pallikonda Vijayálaya Tévan.  
 1547 A. D. Achyutappa Vijayálaya Tévan, son of Sevvappa Vijayálaya Tévan.  
 1575 A. D. Ráyappar, son of Kúttar Vijayálaya Tévar.  
 1578 A. D. Achyutappa Vijayálaya Tévan.  
 1608 A. D. Sevvappa Vijayálaya Tévan, son of Vairava Vijayálaya Tévan.

*The line of Tondaimáns that ruled at Arantáangi.* The Tondaimáns that ruled at Arantáangi do not seem to have been in any way connected with the line of the Tondaimáns into whose hands fell Pudukkóttai in the seventeenth century. The Tondaimáns of Arantáangi are heard of for the first time in 1426 A. D., and, so far as is now known, there is no inscription of a later date than 1569 that refers to them. They seem to have first made themselves masters of the Pálaiyúr tract, 10 miles to the east of Pudukkóttai, and to have afterwards extended their power to the west of the place. They are known to have endowed temples at Péraiyyúr, six miles west of Pudukkóttai and even at Ponnamarávatí, near the south-western border of the State. One of these especially, Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán, who ruled from at least 1514 to 1569, seems to have been a powerful and charitable ruler. He describes himself as one that knew no fear, as the hero that subdued Ceylon in seven days, and as one that presented an elephant in return for a lamb that he received. It may be inferred that, as is mentioned in certain copper plates, these rulers were pressed by the Kallars, and that they had to give away to them a good portion of their territory. It is believed that the Zemindar of Pálayavanam belongs to the line.

The following is a tabular statement of the information that is available about the line.

1426 A. D. One Kulasékhara Tondaimán mentions that, acting under the commands of his father, he would not levy from the people of Pálaiyúr in addition to the taxes that should be paid to the king more than 60 kalams of paddy for the lands that they enjoyed and 13 panams for deciding each criminal complaint.

1453 A. D. Alagia Manaválapperumál Tondaimán, Arasu of Arantáangi, grants rent-free lands to his son Ilakkanattennáyaaka Tondaimán.

1488 A. D. (Éka) Perumál Tondaimán, Arasu of Arantáangi, grants the right of ownership of three villages in Válaramaníkkam tract, Tirumayyam Taluk, to one Acchamariyátha Tévar.

1497 A. D. Ékapperumál Tondaimán, Arasu of Arantáangi, grants to his son Tíruvinatírtan lands in Válaramaníkkam tract.

1499 A. D. Ékapperumál Tondaimán, Arasu of Arantáangi, grants lands in Válaramaníkkam tract to his son Ávudaiya Náyanar.

1514 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán, son of Ékapperumál Tondaimán, grants to the God at Tiruvarankulam lands in the Pálaiyúr tract for daily service to the God to be called after him. He describes himself as one that knew no fear and that never got the least perplexed in times of difficulties. The service was called “அல்லல் அஞ்சாதான் சந்தி” or “the service established by one that knew no fear during difficulties”.

1515 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán grants lands to the God at Péraiyyúr.

1523 A. D. \* Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán, son of Ékapperumál Tondaimán of Arantáangi, grants lands at Pudukkuricchi-vayal in Tenkónádu, to the God at Kulamangalam.

1527 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán grants to the Vishnu temple at Ponnamarávatí as “Vira Narasinga Ráyar's charity,” lands at Teppanúr in a division of Ponnamarávatí tract. The Tondaimán was a Saivite and devout worshipper of the God at Ávadayárkóvil, and the grant must have been made to conciliate Vira Narasinga Ráyar.

\* The cyclic year *Subhānu* alone is mentioned. But there is no doubt that the inscription refers to Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán, son of Ékapperumál Tondaimán, and he could not have lived sixty years before or after 1523 A. D.

1536 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán grants to his son, Varavinótha Tondaimán, lands in the south-east of the modern Pudukkóttai State.

1569 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán grants to the temple at Tánjūr of Tirumayyam Taluk, lands at Tánjūr.\*

The Rulers with whom the Pudukkottai Tondaimans were connected. Of the Rájás and chiefs with whom the Tondaimán of Pudukkóttai had any connection we may mention the following :—

1. The Náyak kings of Madura.
2. The Rájás of Tanjore.
3. The Sétupatis of Ramnad and the rulers of Sivaganga.
4. Pérámbúr and Kattalúr Chiefs.
5. Várappúr Chiefs.
6. Iluppúr Chiefs.
7. Kumáravadi Chiefs.
8. Marungápurí Chiefs and Karisalpattu and Várappúr Chiefs.
9. Pálaiyavanam Zemindars.
10. Nagaram Zemindars.
11. Kanduván Chiefs.

We shall first show how the pálayams of which there were so many in the Southern Tamil districts came into existence and what powers were exercised by the pálayakárs, and then give short accounts of the lines of the kings and chiefs mentioned above. A rough sketch map is added to show how the tract comprising the modern Pudukkóttai State was distributed among these rulers.

\* One Achyutappa Tondaimán is mentioned in some documents as having lived in the days of Kárkáttá Vellálars. A copper plate to be found in the Inam Settlement Office, Pudukkóttai, contains a reference to this Tondaimán or another of the same name and his five sons. These enter into a contract that the title to rule (உட்கா) must go first to the eldest son, after him to his brothers in order and then to the sons of the eldest son. In this copper-plate, extensive lands in and to the south-east of the Pudukkóttai State as well as Kíranúr, Vellanúr and Unaiyúr near Tirumayyam are mentioned. Who this Achyuta Tondaimán was is not very clear. It is very likely that he was a descendant of a Pallava or Chóla Viceroy of these parts of the name of Tondaimán and that the Arantáangi Tondaimáns were of his family. The name of another line of rulers, called the line of Pandáráttars, said to be of the Solar race, is also found in connection with the tracts to the west of Arantáangi (Pálaiyavádu). This was very probably an offshoot of the Arantáangi Tondaimán family, from which the Pandáráttar Zemindars of Pálaiyavanam are descended.

**On Palayams and Palayakars.** The following paragraphs on the origin of the palayams to be found in the Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely districts and the methods employed by the Palayakars to enhance their position and power are taken from the well-known Fifth Report of the Select Committee appointed to report on the Affairs of the East India Company (1813).\*

"The Poligars are military chieftains, of different degrees of power and consequence, who bear a strong affinity to the Zemindars of the Northern Circars. Their origin may also be traced to similar events and causes. Those whose Pollams are situated in jungly and frontier parts of the country are represented to have been for the most part, leaders of banditti or free-booters, who, for the preservation of internal order in the country, had been either expressly entrusted with the charge of the Police, or had been suffered to take upon themselves, that kind of service. Some of them derived their descent from the ancient Rajahs, or from those who had held high offices of trust under the Hindoo Governments; whose ancestors had received certain villages in *enauam*, either as a personal allowance from the State, for the support of their rank, or the reward of their services; or partly for those objects, and partly on the feudal principle of supporting a body of horse and foot, which were to be at the call of the sovereign, whenever they might be required. Others had been renters of districts or revenue officers who had revolted in times of public disturbance, and had succeeded in usurping possession of lands, to which they were constantly adding by further encroachments on the territorial rights of Government or of individuals, during those conjunctures of public affairs, which rendered the ruling authority weak and inefficient. Even *potails* of villages had by these means, attained the footing of poligar chieftains, though on a smaller scale. In some districts, which were favoured by the natural strength of the country, it appears that this description of the people had generally assumed the character and name of Poligars; and though in some cases their incomes did not exceed a few hundred pagodas, yet they kept up their military retainers, and their nominal officers of State, and were regularly installed with all the forms and ceremonies of a prince of an extensive territory, assuming and exercising, in this

\* See Messrs. Higginbotham & Co's. Edition of the Report, Vol. II, pp. 88-91.

contracted sphere, many of the essential powers of sovereignty. It does not appear that any of the Poligars, except those of the ancient aboriginal stock, had ever been regarded by the different sovereigns, who had governed the country, as holding any independent authority; most of them therefore, whose military services were not required by the kings of Bījapūr and Gólcōdah, and afterwards by those at Delhi, were assessed at the full value of their districts, instead of yielding only a small tribute. If they were Police officers, and derived advantage from that employment, a proportional addition was made to their rent; and if the profits of it did not defray the charges, a suitable reduction of it was allowed.

"The Police duties exercised by the Poligars were not confined to their own villages, but extended to the protection of the property of the inhabitants and travellers, in the adjoining villages and roads. This extension of authority had gradually risen in encroachment and was converted into a pretext for the most severe oppressions on the people, in the form of fees and ready money collections. Of these perquisites, there appear to have been two kinds, which passed under the general designation of *Cavelly*, with a certain allowance on the land revenues and customs, from villages not included within their own Pollams, of from 5 to 10 *per cent* and received chiefly by the greater Poligars. The proportion which fell on the land was generally collected in one payment at the harvest season. If on sending peons to the villages to realize these dues, excuses were made by the inhabitants, some of the Poligar's followers were despatched to commit depredations on the villages; and if this did not end in the acquittance of his demand, the practice was frequently resorted to of carrying off the Pottail and Curnam, beating them, and putting them into confinement, until they paid him from their own pocket what he demanded, and such a fine as he chose to impose. The other official perquisites which he drew from the customs were either rented by him to those who leased the land of Government, or by stationing his own people at the *chokies* or toll-houses to receive them. Though he did not regularly enjoy any *ennum*, he had succeeded by violence and other methods, in obtaining a considerable portion of land, which was entered in the village accounts, as being held under this tenure, or as being waste or uncultivated.

"In the lands thus possessed by him, were often included gardens and other desirable spots belonging to individuals, which he had obliged them to make over to him. His power and influence enabled him to take the lead in the adjustment of differences and disputes, particularly in questions of property and boundaries of land; for though it was the custom to appoint arbitrators to assist in the determination of the question, the dread of displeasing the Poligar, deterred them from expressing an opinion contrary to his own.

"Similar perquisites to those above mentioned were also collected by the inferior or petty Poligars, whose jurisdictions did not extend beyond the limits of their respective villages and in the same arbitrary and unjust manner. They were regularly possessed of *ennums* in the Circar villages; but to these they had added by undue alienations.

"The Poligars entrusted, as has been described, with the charge of Police, were responsible for the loss of all property stolen within their jurisdiction. The allowances which they received were in part intended to furnish them with the means of making good losses of that nature; but this was rarely done by them; while the contributions they levied, though much more than adequate to that purpose, were principally applied to the maintenance of a larger force than they could otherwise have kept up from the resources of their own lands. So imperfectly in fact did they perform the duties of Police, that in those districts which were immediately under their authority, they and their peons were not only themselves chiefly concerned, but the further a village was distant from the scene of their influence and operations, the more secure were the properties and persons of its inhabitants from plunder and violence; for there, the ancient institution of the pottail, directing and enforcing the vigilance and local knowledge of the hereditary *talliar*, had its full effect.

"But where the influence of the Poligar predominated, the most skilful and experienced offenders were to be found; and though suspicion immediately fixed itself on them whenever an act of robbery was committed, it was difficult to bring it home to the individual, from the dexterity employed by the gang to

which he belonged, including a discovery, and from the reluctance which the inhabitants felt in giving information against the party, on account of the severe retaliation to which it was sure to expose them. The numerous petty Poligars exercising the duty of cavilgars, appear to have risen in comparatively modern times. They were in fact, for the most part, no other than Pottails or head men of villages in which capacity it was left to them, under the ancient system of the Hindoos, to conduct the general affairs of the Police within their local boundaries; but the fees and collections which they made in that capacity were innovations; for the only contributions sanctioned by that system, were such as were applied to the support of the *talliar*s or watchmen, of which there were several in each village municipality. They like all other public servants on the village establishment were entitled to their customary *russooms* and allotments of rent-free lands. But whenever their means of subsistence were wholly or chiefly usurped from them by the Poligars or by any superior cavilgars, the ancient *talliar* became himself, from want, a plunderer, and a plunderer of the most formidable character, in consequence of the minuteness of his local knowledge, and the nature of his office which had made nocturnal tours and vigilance the habit of his life."

**The Central Authority.** The Nayaks of Madura and afterwards the Mussalmans:—The Náyaka dynasty of Madura was founded in 1559 and they held the country until the Mussalmans took it in 1736. The first ruler was Visvanátha Náyaka, who was sent by the king of Vijayanagar to help the Pándya ruler Vitthal Rájá against the Chólas, but "sound policy and his own interests alike deterred him from handing over the entire government of the country to the old feeble dynasty, and he set out to rule on his own account. This was in 1559. Doubtless he had a wide commission as Governor from the Vijayanagar court, and perhaps there was little difference between the powers he exercised and those wielded, for example, by Vitthal Rájá. But the peculiar characteristic of the new *regime* was that, whether by accident or design, it developed first into a governorship which became hereditary, and then into what was practically an hereditary monarchy. The Pándyas disappear in effect henceforth from history. In his administrative improvements, he was ably

seconded by his prime minister Árya Náyaka Mudali (or as he is still commonly called Árya Nátha) a man born of peasant Vellalar parents who had won his way by sheer ability to a high position in the Vijayanagar court. This officer is supposed to have been the founder of "the poligar system", under which the Madura country was apportioned among 72 chieftains—some of them local men and others leaders of the detachments which had accompanied Visvanátha from Vijayanagar—who were each placed in charge of one of the 72 bastions of the new Madura fortifications, were responsible for the immediate control of their estates, paid a fixed tribute to the Náyaka and kept up a certain quota of troops ready for immediate service."\*

It may be mentioned that, from the time of Visvanátha, Trichinopoly was a portion of the Madura country, and that the Marungápurí chiefs, Iluppúr chiefs and Kumáravádi chiefs, of whom short accounts are given below, must have accompanied Visvanátha from Vijayanagar.

It will be enough for our purposes if we know the names and dates of the following Náyak rulers.

- |                                                             |            |                                            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1. Tirumala Náyaka                                          | ...        | 1623—1659.                                 |
| 2. Mutta Alakádri or Mutta Virappa<br>(Illegitimate son)... | ...        | 1659—1660.                                 |
| 3. Chokkanátha or Chokkappa (son)                           | 1660—1682. | [His brother Muttulinga was king in 1667]. |
| 4. Ranga Krishna Mutta Virappa (son)                        | 1682—1689. |                                            |
| 5. Mangammú (Queen-Regent (His<br>father's widow) ...       | ...        | 1689—1704.                                 |
| 6. Vijaya Ranga Chokkanátha<br>(grandson) ...               | ...        | 1704—1731.                                 |
| 7. Minákshi (His widow)                                     | ...        | 1731—1736.                                 |

The Náyaka rule came to an end in 1736, and the Mussalmans under Chanda Sahib ruled the country from 1736 to 1740. The Maráttás under Rághúji captured Trichinopoly and ruled there till 1743, when the army of the Nizam marched against the Maráttás and defeated them. In 1744 Anwar-ud-din was appointed Nawab of Arcot, and the whole of the Madura kingdom fell under his rule.

\* From the *Madura Gazetteer*.

**The Rajas of Tanjore.\*** From 1549 A. D., the Tanjore country was under the rule of Náyaka governors from Vijayanagaram, who, like the Náyaka rulers of Madura, made themselves independent. The last of these was Vijaya Rághava, who was defeated about 1674 by Chokkanátha Náyak of Madura. A general of the name of Alagiri Náyak, foster brother of Chokkanátha, was left in charge of Tanjore. A son of the last Náyaka ruler of Tanjore, Senkamaldás by name, however, applied for help to the Maráttas at Bijapúr, and orders were issued to Venkáji otherwise called Ékóji to drive out Alagiri and place Senkamaldás on the throne. Venkáji seized the throne for himself and thus founded, circa 1674, the Maráttá dynasty of Tanjore. The names of the rulers of this dynasty with their dates are given below.†

|                           |     |                      |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|
| 1. Ékóji or Venkáji       | ... | 1674 (or 1675)—1684. |
| 2. Sháji ...              | ... | 1684—1711.           |
| 3. Sarfóji ...            | ... | 1711—1729.           |
| 4. Tukáji ...             | ... | 1729—1736.           |
| 5. Báhi Sahib ...         | ... | 1736—1737.           |
| 6. Síjan Báhi, Regent     | ... | 1737—1740.           |
| 7. Sáhuji, or Syáji ...   | ... | 1740—1749.           |
| 8. Pratápa Simha ...      | ... | 1749—1765.           |
| 9. Tuljáji ...            | ... | 1765—1788.           |
| 10. Amara Simha ...       | ... | 1788—1798.           |
| 11. Sarfóji (adopted) ... | ... | 1798—1833.           |

[In 1799 Sarfóji handed over the country to the English, receiving a pension. Siváji was the last ruler of the line.]

**The Setupatis.** The name *Sétupati*, by which the rulers of Ramnad were called, means "the Lord of the Bridge" *i. e.*, of the causeway connecting Rámésvaram with the island of Ceylon, and is said to have been conferred in the time of Ráma himself during his exploits to Lanká or Ceylon related in the Rámáyana. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was no Sétupati in existence. The roads to Rámésvaram were infested with gangs of robbers, and Muttukrishna Virappa, the Náyak king of Madurai, was exhorted to appoint a ruler, whose authority could conduce to the safe travel of the pilgrims to and from Rámésvaram.

\* See Mr. Kuppuswami Sastriar's *Short History of the Tanjore Nák Princes*.

† Taken from Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India*.

Accordingly Sadiakka Tévar, a descendant of the ancient Sétupati, was crowned as Sétupati in 1604. It is from this period that we have some authentic history of the Sétupatis.\*

There were constant wars between the Sétupatis and the Rájás of Tanjore, and the towns from Hanumantakudi to Mannargudi, including Kilánilai and Pattukkóttai were sometimes under the Sétupatis and sometimes under the Rájás of Tanjore. The southern portion of the modern Pudukkóttai State was for a time subject to the Sétupatis and the forts of Tirumayyam and Kilánilai are said to have been built by the Maravars of Ramnad.

The names of the Sétupatis that held sway from 1645 A. D. are given below:—

|                                                                            |                        |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Raghunátha Tévar <i>alias</i> Tirumalai Sétupati                        | 1645—1670 A.D.         |
| 2. Súra Tévar ...                                                          | 1670.                  |
| 3. Raghunátha Tévar Kilavan Sétupati ...                                   | 1673—1708.             |
| 4. Vijaya Raghunátha Tévar <i>alias</i> Tiruvudaiya Sétupati (adopted) ... | 1709—1723.             |
| 5. Tandár Tévar ...                                                        | 1723—1724.             |
| 6. Bhaváni Sankar Sétupati ...                                             | 1724—1728.             |
| 7. Kútta Tévar <i>alias</i> Kumára Muttu Vijaya Raghunátha Sétupati ...    | 1728—1734.             |
| 8. Muttu Kumára Raghunátha Sétupati ...                                    | 1734—1747.             |
| 9. Rákka Tévar Sétupati ...                                                | 1747—1748.             |
| 10. Sella Tévar <i>alias</i> Vijaya Raghunátha Sétupati ...                | 1748—1760.             |
| 11. Mutturámalinga Sétupati ...                                            | 1760—1772 & 1780—1794. |

(Prisoner from 1772 to 1780 and deposed in 1794).

**Sivaganga Zamindars.** Sivaganga Zamindari dates from about 1730 A. D. Kútta Tévar, Sétupati of Ramnad, having been helped by Sasivarna Periya Udaiya Tévar of Nálukóttai, one of his relatives, in defeating his predecessor, Bhaváni Sankar Tévar, and becoming the ruler of Ramnad, assigned to him two-fifths of the Ramnad territory and conferred on him the title of *Raja* Muttu Vijaya Raghunátha Periya Udaiya Tévar, who thus became the first ruler of Sivaganga. After this partition we find Ramnad referred to as "the Greater Marava" and Sivaganga as "the Lesser Marava" or "Nálukóttai".

\* See Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 89.

The names of the rulers of Sivaganga from 1730—1801 are given below. Most of the dates are only approximate.\*

1. Sasivarna Periya Udaiya Tévar ... 1730—1750.
2. Muttuvadukanátha Periya Udaiya Tévar (son) ... 1750—1772.
3. Under the Nawab ... 1772—1780.
4. Vélu Náccchiyár, widow of No. 2 ... 1780—1790.
5. Velláccchi. (daughter) ... 1790—1793.
6. Vangam Periya Udaiya Tévar (husband) 1793—1801.

The last three were rulers only in name, all the power having fallen into the hands of two upstarts known as "Marudus." Details will be found later on.

**Perambur and Kattalur Chieftains.** From inscriptions† it is found that one Narasimha Tévan was ruling at Pérámbúr in 1391 A. D. and that about twenty years later his son Námi Tévan was exercising sway at Pérámbúr. One of these inscriptions is at Virálmalai, near Virálmalai, showing that Virálmalai was originally within the dominion of these chiefs. A ruler of this line‡ Alagia Manavála Tévan, is said to have built the temple at Virálmalai, where laudatory songs in honour of this line are sung to this day. As is mentioned in the *Gazetteer*, Virálmalai seems to have passed later on into the hands of Lakkaya Náyaks of Kumáravádi, from whom the Tondaimán rulers secured the place in the eighteenth century. In an old Tamil book on geography, the chief of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr is mentioned§ as one of the seventy-two Pálayakárs that guarded the bastions of Madura in the time of Tirumala Náyak of Madura (1623–1659). These chiefs are mentioned in a cadjan leaf document in the Pudukkóttai Sirkar office as having granted the historic mission station of Ávúr to the Roman Catholics and given them their support during the early days of the Mission. The Jesuit records speak of them as the chiefs of Kandalúr, from Kandalúr, a village which is just outside of Pudukkóttai limits, and which must have formed portion of the territory of the Pérámbúr and Kattalúr

\* See Mr. K. Annaswámi Aiyar's *Sivaganga Zamindari*.

† See inscriptions in the temple of Siva to the east of the irrigation tank at Pulvayal in Kattalúr Vattam and in the Siva temple at Virálmalai.

‡ See Virálmalai in the *Gazetteer*.

§ See Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, pp. 161–3.

chiefs. In 1708 the pálayam came to an end. "Avur and many other villages extending from Trichinopoly in the direction of the king of the Marava (Ramnad) were made over to the Tondaman as a favour of the Raja of Trichinopoly, whose favourite the Tondaman had become in 1707".\*

**Varappur Chiefs.** Towards the close of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, the tract of land about Várappúr was under a line of chiefs of the Ayyangar Brahmin caste. It is reported that the lands were granted to one Jagannátha Ayyangar—when it is not known—for some services that he rendered to a Rájá of Tanjore. The Zamindari of Várappúr came to an end when it was annexed to Pudukkóttai by Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán, as will be related later on.

**Iluppur Chiefs.** The Iluppúr chiefs belonged to the Thottiyar caste and were known as the Kámákshi Náyaks of Iluppúr. The first of these chiefs is said to have been granted 14 villages that constituted his *Zamin* by some Muhammadan ruler who had received special help from him. The story about the last of the rulers is that he shot at a pot carried by a woman belonging to some trooper, but that it killed her and that the sepoys in anger destroyed his fort. The chief is said to have escaped and is supposed by some people to be still alive. It may be mentioned that the Iluppúr chief was one of the petty pálayakárs that were appointed to guard the bastions of the Madura Fort. The pálayam must therefore have existed in the time of Tirumala Náyak (1623–1659 A. D.)

There is a story in the Pudukkóttai State that the pálayam of Iluppúr fell into the hands of Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán and that he afterwards gave it away to the Nawab of Trichinopoly as a marriage present for betel-leaves for his wife (*i. e.*, as a sort of pin-money).

**Kumaravadi Chiefs.** The pálayam of these chiefs known as Lakki Náyaks was more extensive than that of the Iluppúr chiefs. That the Pálayam existed in the time of Tirumala Náyak (1623–1659 A. D.) is clear from Lakkayya Náyak of the time having been appointed as one of the 72 pálayakárs that were

\* Annual letter of the Madura Mission to Rome, 1710.

to guard the bastions of the Madura Fort. Their territory seems to have extended as far as Virálmalai, portions of the temple at which place are said to have been built by them. They seem to have conquered the tract about Virálmalai from the chiefs of Pérámbúr. But this tract was afterwards taken from them by the Tondaimán. There were frequent strifes relating to certain tracts between these chiefs and the Tondaimáns. Finally the matter was considered and disposed of by the Madras Government in favour of the Tondaimán and boundary stones were laid down at Rásáli-ppatti by the Honourable Company's servants in 1804.

#### Marungápurí Chiefs (and Karisalpattu—Varappur Chiefs).

These were more powerful than the chiefs either of Iluppúr or Kumáravádi, and one of the seventy-two pálayakárs appointed to watch the bastions of Madura was Púchi Náyak\* of Marungápurí. From a copper-plate relating to this pálayam, it appears that the pálayam existed in the days of the Kárála Vellálars and that the pálayakár was the *Arasu Kávalkár* of Trichinopoly. The pálayam extended as far as Kudumiámalai and Virácchalai to the east, and the Tondaimáns took from its rulers the portion of the State to the west of these places. Ammankuricchi, now forming portion of Pudukkóttai, was originally the capital of the Púchi Náyaks, and an inscription in the temple at this place shows that the temple was built by the Marungápurí chiefs. There was a long dispute between the Marungápurí chiefs and the Tondaimáns in connection with the tract of land mentioned above, and the question, which ultimately went before the Madras Government, was carefully inquired into and considered, and decided in favour of the Tondaimán, with the remark that, though the lands originally belonged to Marungápurí, they had so long remained with the Tondaimán that it would be wrong to take them away from him. It may be mentioned that a member of the Marungápurí Zemindar family is said to have separated himself from the rest and formed out of this pálayam a separate Zamindari known as Karisalpattu—Varáppúr to the south-west of this State. These chiefs were known as Boma Náyaks, who, according to Rev. W. Taylor† were independent chieftains descended from an

\* One of these was Tirumala Púchi Náyak. His son was Ovalá Púchi Náyak and his son in 1691 A. D. was Vira Púchi Náyak.  
[See inscription at Ammankuricchi.]

† See Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 59.

attendant of Visvanátha Náyak, the founder of the Náyak line of Madura kings. We learn from a palm-leaf document that Ponnamarávatí was under these chieftains in the seventeenth century, but that they were being driven out of that tract by Kilavan Sétupati of Ramnad (1673-1708).

**Palayavanam Zamindars.** Pálayavanam is a Zamindari in the Tanjore District. The Zamindars are very probably the descendants of the famous line of Arantáangi Tondaimáns, of whom a pretty detailed account has been given already.

**Nagaram Zamindars.** These, like the Varáppúr chiefs, must have got their Zamindari for services that they rendered the kings at Tanjore. They are *Valaiyars*, and, not to be confounded with the ordinary men of that caste, style themselves *Valuvádis*. A portion of this Zamindari was added to the Pudukkóttai State by the Tondaimáns.

**Kanduvan Chiefs.** From a document got down from Munai-sandai, it appears that there was towards the close of the seventeenth century a chief of the name of Kanduván. "Sengirai and the adjoining villages formed the territory of a minor chief styled Kandíván (more correctly Kándu pokkan)". Mr. Venkat Row's Manual.

**The Pallavaráyars of Vaittur.** The Pallavaráyars are found as Araiyars in these parts as early as 1378, if not earlier. These were at first chieftains of Valuttúr (Vaittúr or Vytikóvil) in the Kulattúr Taluk, and were for a long time known as Valuttúr and Perungulúr Pallavaráyars. From an inscription at Virácchalai dated 1378 A. D., it is found that a Pallavaráyar of Valuttúr who proceeded with a force against Chokka Náráyana Vijayálaya Tévan, a chief of Súraikkudi, was slain by the Virácchalai people, and that these people were therefore granted certain concessions by the Súraikkudi chief. We may therefore suppose that the Pallavaráyars must have settled in these parts about the middle of the fourteenth century, if not earlier.

The settlements of the Pallavaráyars have been accounted for as follows.\* When the rule of the Pallavas came to an end on account of the conquest of Tondamandalam by the Chólas,

\* See the article on the *Pallavas* by Rao Bahadur M. R. Ry. V. Venkayya in the *Indian Review*.

the kinsmen of the Pallava family took service under the Chólas and accepted even subordinate places. Some of them became commanders of forces, and one of them was Karunákara-Tondaimán, a general referred to in the Tamil classic *Kalingattupparani*. The Pallavaráyar that settled down at Vaittúr may be taken to have been a distant relative of the rulers of Pallava family, as is surmised by Rao Bahadur M. R. Ry. V. Venkayya, the Epigraphist for India. If he was not actually a kinsman, he or one of his ancestors might have been in some way connected with the Pallavas, and might have taken the name of Pallavaráyar to show this connection.\* There is a tradition that the first Pallavaráyar came from Vaittúr, a village about 10 miles to the east of Tanjore on the Tanjore-Kumbakonam Road, and that he called the place where he settled down after the place from which he marched southwards. One of the chiefs of this line, Seventheluntha Tirumalaráya Pallavaráyar, is found in an inscription at Tiruvarankulam dated 1539 A. D. describing himself as "the saviour of the Pándyas" and it is very likely that a Pallavaráyar chieftain helped the Pándya king against his enemies.†

It may be mentioned here that references are made in documents relating to the times of Kárkáta Vellálars to three or four rulers called Pallavaráyars. A Pallavaráyar of the name of Venkatáchalam is mentioned in a rather unintelligible copper-plate grant of land in the Inam Settlement Office, in which it is said that the Pándya king, Ugra Vira-Pándya Rájá, waited for seven years in Tondamandalam, got down Venkatáchala Pallavaráyar, had the Sétupati Nondi Maravan seized, and was so pleased with the Pallavaráyar that he assigned to him large tracts of land near Ponnamarávatí, and, giving him the title of "Son-in-law of the Royal Family," presented him with a palace, horses, etc. Probably the reference is to an able Pallavaráya who was sent to these

\* See the poem on *Name Giving* (stanzas 351-360) in the Vaishnava hymnologist Periálvar's *Thirumoli*, written before 800 A. D., wherein it is stated that the names of the God Vishnu were not given in those days to children, but the names of men (of position) with the view of getting from them money, cloths, jewels, etc.

† "It is stated that the Pallavaráyars rescued the Pándyas from defeat and shame, and were regarded by the Pándya rulers in the light of affectionate sons."

parts by the Pallavas or Chólas, to whom these parts were then subject. A Tondaimán, to whom the grand name of "Tondaimán Chakravartí" is given, is said to have followed the Pallavaráya and to have been granted lands near Ambukkóvil. This statement may be taken to mean that a Tondaimán of the present ruling family of Pudukkóttai followed the Viceroy Venkatáchala Pallavaráya and settled down at Ambukkóvil. Three other Pallavaráyars of the Kárála days are mentioned in old documents, viz. Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar, Kulandai Pallavaráyar and Vanangámudi Pallavaráyar. Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar, whose name agrees with that of two of the Vaittúr line of chiefs, seems to have been a ruler who exercised great influence and power. We find him styled a Pálayakár of Kalasamangalam and Tirukkattalai (a little to the east of the Pudukkóttai town). It was he that was appointed to watch, in return for taxes to be collected by him, the town of Nambukuli, when it was transferred to the Chettis of Vallam by Vánádiráyar, and it was he that arranged to get loans for this Kárála chief from the same Chettis and decided a dispute with reference to the remuneration that the Kalla chieftains were to receive from Vánádiráyar whom they had helped, against the seven Kónádu chieftains (see pp. 71 and 68). He is said to have had his residence at Kalasamangalam. Possibly Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar of the Kárálar days was, if not the well-known ruler of the name who is known from inscriptions to have lived in 1539, another ruler of the line who lived in the 14th or 15th century. We find a benefaction of the Vaittúr Pallavaráyars at Tirugókarnam as early as 1387 A. D., and we find that Tirukkattalai had passed into the hands of this family before 1492 A. D. Kulandai Pallavaráyar and Vanangámudi Pallavaráyar, who decided a Kárálar dispute relating to the use of the Vellár water (see p. 66), must have been other members of this line.

The names of several rulers of this line are known as also the approximate time in which they lived. They are given in the statement to be found below. The Pallavaráyars seem to have gradually extended their territory and power till at last it is found that they had made themselves masters of all the land from Áthanakkóttai on the Tanjore road to Kayinád, a few miles to the south of the Pudukkóttai town, and from Kulaváippatti, 10 miles to the east of Pudukkóttai, to Kudumiámalai, 12 miles to the west

of the town.\* The last two members of this line considered themselves so powerful that they called themselves *kings*, the words used in inscriptions being *இராஜ்யம் பண்ணி அருளுகையிள்*. From *Araiya*s the chiefs rose to the position of *Arasu*, and ultimately they styled themselves *Rajás*.

1312 A. D. (The second year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti Sundara Pándya Déva).† One Thennattiraiyan Pillai Pallavaráyan grants lands purchased at Árananallúr (Áranippatti) for a Pallava *sandhi* service to the God at Valuttúr.

1378 A. D. A Pallavaráyar of Vaittúr is said to have been slain by the people of Virácchalai. [Inscription at Virácchalai].

1387 A. D. Viñitturangum Pallavaráyar grants to the Tirugókarnam temple lands near Vilákkudi. This shows that the temple at Tirugókarnam was then in existence. The Pallavaráyars seem to have extended their territory as far as Pudukkóttai in the fourteenth century. [Inscription at Tirugókarnam.]

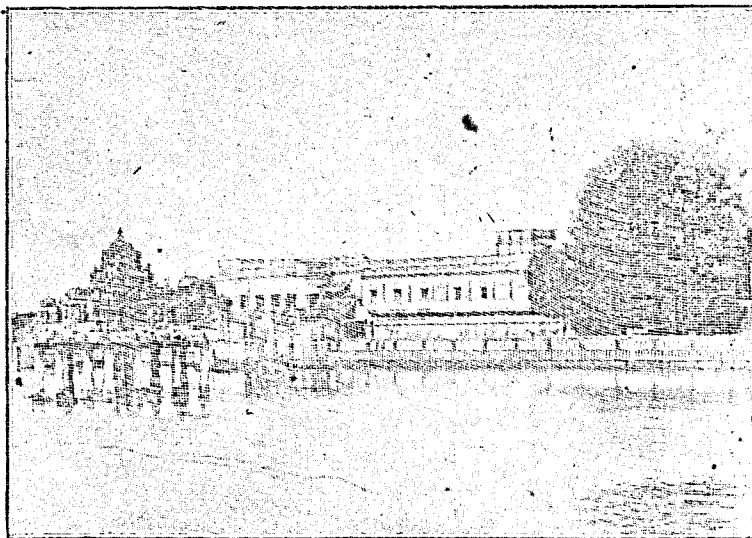
1462 A. D. Sríraṅga Pallavaráyar of Perungulúr grants for a daily service (to be called Pallavan *sandhi*) to the God at Tirukkattalai, three miles to the east of Pudukkottai, a share (one-half or one-fifth) of the taxes, fines, *etc.*, to be paid by the people of Tirukkattalai to him. This shows that the lands to the east of the Pudukkóttai town had come in 1462 under the rule of the Pallavaráyars. [Inscription at Tiruvarankulam.]

1466 A. D. Mi (Vi) Vicchar Pillai Pallavaráyar of Perungulúr having expressed a desire that a daily service should be instituted in his name in the Siva temple at Kulattúr, the people of the village arrange for the same. [Inscription at Kulattúr.]

1481 A. D. Viñitturangum Pallavaráyar of Perungulúr grants lands at Áttankudi (near Pudukkóttai town) for a daily service to be conducted in his name to the God at Thirukkattalai. [Inscription at Tiruvarankulam.]

\* The revenue was 20,000 pons, that is to say Rs. 25,000. The country is said to have been divided into ten districts or *Nádu*s." Mr. Venkat Row's Manual.

† See Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 82.



View of Pallavan Tank.

1526 A. D. Kaduga Nalla Perumāl Pallavarāyar. [Inscription at Mullūr. The whole of the inscription has not been found.]

1539 A. D. Seventh<sup>th</sup>anthān Tirumalairāja Pallavarāyar, son of Kónéri Rājā Pallavarāyar, grants lands in the Valnād tract for a daily service to be performed in his name in the temple at Tiruvarankulam. The details of the expenditure are given as follows:—Rice, — ; three vegetables; pepper,  $\frac{1}{8}$  (palam); oil,  $\frac{1}{4}$  (padi); ripe cocoanut, 1; fruits, 5; jaggery, one palam; ten lights.

The information is based on an inscription in the temple at Tiruvarankulam which contains some other interesting details. The Pallavarāyar describes himself as the sun-like protector of kings, the represser of mischievous rulers, the victor at Kalabām, the chastiser of the eighteen Vanniya (chiefs), the saviour of the Pāndya king, the upholder of the dignity of the Salūva (rulers), the disregarder of his foes, the enchainer of his opposers, etc. This may show that the Pallavarāyars had come to regard themselves as pretty powerful rulers. The tract containing the land that is assigned to the God is described as having been secured by him for services that he rendered to one Irappa Nāyak Ayyan, probably the representative in these parts at the time of the Vijayanagar kings and a relative of Visvanātha Nāyakan Ayyan, Viceroy of Madura from 1535–1544.\*

1588 A. D. Lord Achyuta Pallavarāyar. [The place where he ruled is not mentioned. The inscription is incomplete.]

1600 A. D.† Jayannādina (or Jayanābha) Pallavarāyar of Perungulūr purchases the village of Sirusunai, four miles to the west of the Pudukkōttai town, from the people who were unable to pay the taxes. [In the village of Sirusunai.]

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† The year is given as the 35th year of Vala Dēva's reign and Vallabha Dēva reigned from 1565 at least for forty years. See Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties of South India*, p. 84.

1615 A. D. Achyuta Pallavarāyar, Arasu of Valuttūr, and Mallappa Pallavarāyar grant to Brahmins free house-sites at Kudumiāmalai, purchased from the people of the place. The latter of the two Pallavarāyars was the son of the former.

Malla Pallavarāyar, son of Achyuta Pallavarāyar, describes himself as *reiguing* in these parts ("இராஜ்யம் பண்ணி ஆளுகை செய்"), grants lands to a dancing girl of the Kudumiāmalai temple, calling her "Pallavarāya Mānickattāl" or "the dancing girl that was to take the leading part in the honours to be done by the temple authorities to the Pallavarāyar, such as receiving him at the temple, taking him back to his residence, etc."

1681 (or 1621) A. D.\* In the cyclic year *Raudri*, when Mallappa Nāyaka Pallavarāyar and Seventheluntha Pallavarāyar were "reigning," two men of Trichinopoly, Sivānanda Chettiār and Javantilinga Chettiār are mentioned in an inscription at Kudumiāmalai as having dug at the place the well-known well called "Thambikkīnaru" and, furnishing it with stone walls and eighteen steps, made it available to the public as the charity of one Udaippan.

This is an inscription engraved by private men and in this inscription we find the Pallavarāyars mentioned as *reigning* at the time. This may be taken to show that the chiefs considered themselves and acted as independent rulers.† The last ruler of this line is known to have been Seventheluntha Pallavarāyar. How and when his power passed into the hands of the Tondaimān line will be mentioned a little later on when we speak of the Tondaimāns. The last ruler is said to have been a devout worshipper of

\* The year of the inscription is merely *Raudri*. We may be pretty sure that both the Pallavarāyars could not have lived in 1681 or in 1621 if Mallappa is the same as Malla mentioned in the grant of 1615 and Seventheluntha was no other than the Pallavarāyar of the same name whose power became transferred to the Tondaimān line in 1686.

† There are references in inscriptions to some other Pallavarāyars, but their dates are not known. One Kōnēri Rājā Pallavarāyar of Perungulūr and some others are mentioned in one of them as granting lands in the cycle year *Pingala*, to the God at Kunnāndārkōvil. In an incomplete inscription at Thiruvēngavāsai, one Avudaiya Pallavarāyar is mentioned (*Pingala* year). He is not shown as a ruler or as connected with Vaittūr or Perungulūr. One Avudaiya Nāyanar Pallavarāyar of Perungulūr is mentioned as granting to Kīlakkudi temple (Kōvilūr temple inscription) lands in his *pannai* at Vaittūr, in the cycle year *Rāghasa*. The word *pannai* shows that the lands at the place were treated as his personal property.

Siva and a charitable ruler. Sēndamangalam, a village five miles to the west of Pudukkóttai, is said to have been granted by him rent-free to Brahmins, the place itself being said to be a corruption of Seventhelunthamangalam. But the name is found in inscriptions earlier than 1600, and the name Seventheluntha must be taken as referring to an earlier ruler of the line of the same name. Pāppānvayal near Perungulūr, otherwise known as Seventhelunthapuram, is also said to have been a village granted by the last ruler of the line to Brahmins. Palinji is said in Mr. Venkat Row's Mangal to have been granted as *Sarvamānyam* by Mallappa Pallavarāyar and Sivapuram, by another member of the family.

The Pallavarāyars of Vaittūr have left their traces according to popular belief in the name of the tank in the middle of Pudukkóttai town, well-known for a very long time as Pallavan tank\*, and a measure of capacity known as *Pallavanpadi*, which was in use in Kārālar days (see p. 68) and which is used even now in the distribution of rice during the annual Dussera Festival. Traces of their ruined fortress at Vaittūr exist, and there is also a tank called "Pallavan tank" at Pēraiūr, five miles to the south-west of Pudukkóttai, and another tank of the same name at Vilattupatti, six miles from Kīranūr.

The following additional information relating to the Pallavarāya line may be found interesting.

"The exact date of the origin of the dynasty is not ascertainable. The year 1600 may be fixed as an approximate date, since we find the second prince of the dynasty described as a contemporary of Tirumala Rājā (Tirumalai Nāyak) of Madura, who, we are aware, reigned from 1623 to 1659. Most of the information available regarding this line of princes is contained in a poetical work (*ulā*) of local celebrity, which purports to have been composed in the time of Seventheluntha Pallavarāyar, the last of the line, by a poet whose name is given as Padikāsu Pandāram.

\* In 1883 A. Seshiah Sastriār, Dewan of Pudukkóttai, changed the name rather improperly—without paying any attention to the antiquity and historic value of the name—into 'Sivaganga tank'.

"The following is a list of the princes of the line as gathered from the fragments of palm-leaves on which the copy of the work now available is found written.

1. Kónéri Pallavarāyar.
2. Mānchólai Pallavarāyar.
3. Achyutappa Pallavarāyar.
4. Mallappa Pallavarāyar.\*
5. Ilaiya Perumāl Pallavarāyar.
6. Ávudayyan Pallavarāyar.
7. Kandappa Pallavarāyar.
8. Mallappa Pallavarāyar.
9. Sivantheluntha Pallavarāyar.

"The asterisks (*sic*) indicate that names are wanting to fill up the list.

"According to another manuscript, the following is the list of the Pallavarāya chiefs of Pudukkóttai.

1. Periyudaiyān Pallavarāyar.
2. Tirumēni Pallavan.
3. Perumāl Pallavan.
4. Mālaiyittān Pallavan.
5. Ayyanan Pallavan.
6. Adaikkalam Káttan Pallavan.
7. Mudikáttan Pallavan.
8. Villiputtār Pallavan.
9. Ávudaiyan Pallavan.
10. Sriranga Pallavan.
11. Siventheluntha Pallavan.

We may offer a few remarks on these lists before we make further quotations. The second list seems to us to be thoroughly untrustworthy. There are about five names that are common to the list that has been made out from the inscriptions and the first list, which may therefore be supposed to have some historic value. But the inference in the quotation that the dynasty began to rule about 1600 seems unwarranted. Siventheluntha Pallavarāyar lost his territory in 1686 A. D., and it cannot be that more than eight Pallavarāyars were rulers within the short space of 90 years. It would be wrong to expect a poet to know or to care for correct genealogy.

attendant of Visvanātha Nāyak, the founder of the Nāyak line of Madura kings. We learn from a palm-leaf document that Ponnamarāvatī was under these chieftains in the seventeenth century, but that they were being driven out of that tract by Kilavan Sétupati of Ramnad (1673-1708).

**Palayavanam Zamindars.** Pálayavanam is a Zamindari in the Tanjore District. The Zamindars are very probably the descendants of the famous line of Arantāngi Tondaimāns, of whom a pretty detailed account has been given already.

**Nagaram Zamindars.** These, like the Várappúr chiefs, must have got their Zamindari for services that they rendered the kings at Tanjore. They are *Valaiyars*, and, not to be confounded with the ordinary men of that caste, style themselves *Valuvādis*. A portion of this Zamindari was added to the Pudukkóttai State by the Tondaimāns.

**Kanduvan Chiefs.** From a document got down from Munaisandai, it appears that there was towards the close of the seventeenth century a chief of the name of Kanduvān. "Sengirai and the adjoining villages formed the territory of a minor chief styled Kandivān (more correctly *Kandu pokkan*)". Mr. Venkat. Row's Manual.

**The Pallavarayars of Vaittur.** The Pallavarāyars are found as Araiyaars in these parts as early as 1378, if not earlier. These were at first chieftains of Valuttūr (Vaittūr or Vyttikóvil) in the Kulattūr Taluk, and were for a long time known as Valuttūr and Perungulūr Pallavarāyars. From an inscription at Virácchalai dated 1378 A. D., it is found that a Pallavarāyar of Valuttūr who proceeded with a force against Chokka Nārāyana Vijayālaya Tévan, a chief of Súraikkudi, was slain by the Virácchalai people; and that these people were therefore granted certain concessions by the Súraikkudi chief. We may therefore suppose that the Pallavarāyars must have settled in these parts about the middle of the fourteenth century, if not earlier.

The settlements of the Pallavarāyars have been accounted for as follows.\* When the rule of the Pallavas came to an end on account of the conquest of Tondamandalam by the Chólas,

\* See the article on the *Pallavas* by Rao Bahadur M. R. Ry. V. Venkayya in the *Indian Review*.

the kinsmen of the Pallava family took service under the Chólas and accepted even subordinate places. Some of them became commanders of forces, and one of them was Karunákara Tondaimán, a general referred to in the Tamil classic *Kalingattupparani*. The Pallavaráyar that settled down at Vaittúr may be taken to have been a distant relative of the rulers of Pallava family, as is surmised by Rao Bahadur M. R. Ry. V. Venkayya, the Epigraphist for India. If he was not actually a kinsman, he or one of his ancestors might have been in some way connected with the Pallavas, and might have taken the name of Pallavaráyar to show this connection.\* There is a tradition that the first Pallavaráyar came from Vaittúr, a village about 10 miles to the east of Tanjore on the Tanjore-Kumbakonam Road, and that he called the place where he settled down after the place from which he marched southwards. One of the chiefs of this line, Seventheluntha Tirumalaráya Pallavaráyar, is found in an inscription at Tiruvarankulam dated 1539 A. D. describing himself as "the saviour of the Pándyas" and it is very likely that a Pallavaráyar chieftain helped the Pándya king against his enemies.†

It may be mentioned here that references are made in documents relating to the times of Kárkáta Vellálars to three or four rulers called Pallavaráyars. A Pallavaráyar of the name of Venkatáchalam is mentioned in a rather unintelligible copper-plate grant of land in the Inam Settlement Office, in which it is said that the Pándya king, Ugra Vira Pándya Rájá, waited for seven years in Tondamandalam, got down Venkatáchala Pallavaráyar, had the Sétupati Nondi Maravan seized, and was so pleased with the Pallavaráyar that he assigned to him large tracts of land near Ponnamarávatí, and, giving him the title of "Son-in-law of the Royal Family," presented him with a palace, horses, etc. Probably the reference is to an able Pallavaráya who was sent to these

\* See the poem on *Name Giving* (stanzas 351-360) in the Vaishnava hymnologist Periálvár's *Thirumoli*, written before 800 A. D., wherein it is stated that the names of the God Vishnu were not given in those days to children, but the names of men (of position) with the view of getting from them money, cloths, jewels, etc.

† "It is stated that the Pallavaráyars rescued the Pándyas from defeat and shame, and were regarded by the Pándya rulers in the light of affectionate sons."

parts by the Pallavas or Chólas, to whom these parts were then subject. A Tondaimán, to whom the grand name of "Tondaimán Chakravarti" is given, is said to have followed the Pallavaráya and to have been granted lands near Ambukkóvil. This statement may be taken to mean that a Tondaimán of the present ruling family of Pudukkóttai followed the Viceroy Venkatáchala Pallavaráya and settled down at Ambukkóvil. Three other Pallavaráyars of the Kárála days are mentioned in old documents, viz. Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar, Kulandai Pallavaráyar and Vanangámudi Pallavaráyar. Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar, whose name agrees with that of two of the Vaittúr line of chiefs, seems to have been a ruler who exercised great influence and power. We find him styled a Pálayakár of Kalasamangalam and Tirukkattalai (a little to the east of the Pudukkóttai town). It was he that was appointed to watch, in return for taxes to be collected by him, the town of Nambukuli, when it was transferred to the Chettis of Vallam by Vánádiráyar, and it was he that arranged to get loans for this Kárála chief from the same Chettis and decided a dispute with reference to the remuneration that the Kalla chieftains were to receive from Vánádiráyar whom they had helped against the seven Kónádu chieftains (see pp. 71 and 68). He is said to have had his residence at Kalasamangalam. Possibly Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar of the Kárála days was, if not the well-known ruler of the name who is known from inscriptions to have lived in 1539, another ruler of the line who lived in the 14th or 15th century. We find a benefaction of the Vaittúr Pallavaráyars at Tirugókarnam as early as 1387 A. D., and we find that Tirukkattalai had passed into the hands of this family before 1492 A. D. Kulandai Pallavaráyar and Vanangámudi Pallavaráyar, who decided a Kárála dispute relating to the use of the Vellár water (see p. 66), must have been other members of this line.

The names of several rulers of this line are known as also the approximate time in which they lived. They are given in the statement to be found below. The Pallavaráyars seem to have gradually extended their territory and power till at last it is found that they had made themselves masters of all the land from Áthanakkóttai on the Tanjore road to Kavinád, a few miles to the south of the Pudukkóttai town, and from Kulaváippatti, 10 miles to the east of Pudukkóttai, to Kudumimalai, 12 miles to the west

of the town.\* The last two members of this line considered themselves so powerful that they called themselves *kings*, the words used in inscriptions being “இராஜ்யம் பண்ணி அருளுகையில்”. From *Araiya*rs the chiefs rose to the position of *Arasu*, and ultimately they styled themselves *Rājās*.

1312 A. D. (The second year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti Sundara Pāndya Déva).† One Thennattiraiyan Pillai Pallavarāyan grants lands purchased at Ārananallūr (Āranippatti) for a Pallava *sandhi* service to the God at Valuttūr.

1378 A. D. A Pallavarāyar of Vaittūr is said to have been slain by the people of Virācchalai. [Inscription at Virācchalai].

1387 A. D. Viṭṭurangum Pallavarāyar grants to the Tirugókarnam temple lands near Vilākkudi. This shows that the temple at Tirugókarnam was then in existence. The Pallavarāyars seem to have extended their territory as far as Pudukkóttai in the fourteenth century. [Inscription at Tirugókarnam.]

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2. Tirumēni Pallavan.
3. Perumāl Pallavan.
4. Mālaiyittān Pallavan.
5. Ayyanan Pallavan.
6. Adaikkalam Káttan Pallavan.
7. Mudikáttan Pallavan.
8. Villiputtār Pallavan.
9. Ávudaiyan Pallavan.
10. Sriranga Pallavan.
11. Siventheluntha Pallavan.

We may offer a few remarks on these lists before we make further quotations. The second list seems to us to be thoroughly untrustworthy. There are about five names that are common to the list that has been made out from the inscriptions and the first list, which may therefore be supposed to have some historic value. But the inference in the quotation that the dynasty began to rule about 1600 seems unwarranted. Seventheluntha Pallavarāyar lost his territory in 1686 A. D., and it cannot be that more than eight Pallavarāyars were rulers within the short space of 90 years. It would be wrong to expect a poet to know or to care for correct genealogy.

"The ensigns of royalty adopted by the chiefs were:—

1. A flag bearing the figure of a tiger. (The tiger flag was the flag of the ancient Pallava rulers).
2. A flag bearing the figure of a fish.
3. A white umbrella.
4. A throne supported on six legs.

"Their peculiar garlands were garlands of Nim leaves and *Agatti* leaves.

"The Pallavaraya princes were devoted followers of the Saiva faith and are said to have been benevolent rulers of the country. The favourite Gods worshipped by them were Kudumi Náthar (of Kudumiamalai), Gokarnaswami (of Tirugokarnam), Vedar (of Peraiyúr) and Meyya Perumal (of Tirumayyam)".

If the tiger flag showed their connection with the Pallava rulers of Conjevaram, the fish flag and the garland of Nim leaves, which were the peculiar well-known ensigns of the Pándyas, should have been adopted by them after they "rescued the Pándya king from defeat and shame", and the garland of *Agatti* leaves (so frequently referred to in Tamil poetry as the peculiar ensign of the Chóla kings) may be taken to show that they were patronised by the Chóla kings. The services instituted by the Pallavarāyars in the temples of Vaittúr, Tiruvarankulam, Tirukkattalai and Kulattúr may show that they were worshippers at temples other than those shown in the quotation.

**General remarks on the Kallar classes and chieftains. The relations of the chiefs in these parts to the central authority.—**The following general remarks on the Kallar classes have been supplied by Rev. Father Castets of Trichinopoly. They explain

- (1) how the heads of clans became gradually rulers,
- (2) how rulers were sometimes elected,
- (3) and how the Náyak kings of Madura and Trichinopoly to whom most of the rulers in these parts were subject exercised their suzerainty.

"The favour granted to these chiefs (heads of clans) by the paramount Lords on whom they happened to depend always ended in creating a line of separation between them and their clansmen and converting their situation as heads of clans into true Lordships. We observe this in the case of the Pudukkottai State almost in the making, and we have all sorts of reasons to interpret in that way similar creations such as those of Gandharvakottai and Kallakottai Zamindaris attributed to grants made to some ancestors of those Zamindars. The personal estate of the head of the clan was perfectly distinct from any sort of public revenue, if any such existed at all. For example, the chief of Kunampatti is reported to have foolishly squandered away the wealth left to him by his immediate ancestors and to have been apparently the sole sufferer for it. But the various chieftains' families seem to have constituted distinct classes much related by blood and intermarriages with one another. The chiefs were the military leaders of their clansmen as well as their acknowledged ruler. They formed a sort of independent and self-governed confederation, knit together by community of caste, common avocation and common interest.\*

† "The decadence of the Kaller confederacy is said to be due to the continual wars and changes of Governors and Maniagars and, above all, to the continued feuds of the Kallers themselves, in which each party vied with the others to have the Nayakker's army on its side; but it was partly also due to the pursuance of some settled policy on the part of the Madura Rajah of his officers. The Missionary remarks, that though people in general admitted that it was good policy thus to have curbed down that race, in view of the insolence of their conduct and of their robberies, yet many deemed it inopportune, under the present circumstances, of incessant wars, in which the help of the united Kaller bands could not easily be spared, as they had indeed proved of the greatest utility, in the past, to the fortress of Trichinopoly. ‡ For it was

\* This must have been the case when the chieftains were more or less equally powerful.

† Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1659.

well known to every one that the Mussulman besiegers of Trichinopoly dreaded much more the sudden night attacks of the Kallers than the broad daylight sorties of the garrison.\*

"Election had a part to play in the order of succession. For example, when Meicondan, the famous chief of Nandavanampatti had to fly for his life, his younger brother and a party of his retainers following him in his exile, we have it stated that Meicondan's aunt was chosen to govern the clan, owing to her superior sense of justice and capacity. †

"The suzerain of the confederation mentioned above was mostly the Raja of Madura or more immediately the Governor of Trichinopoly, whose duty it was to gather the yearly tribute to be paid for vassalage to the Raja. But of course the wars between surrounding potentates and the Raja of Madura occasionally modified this more or less normal state of things. The Maravan (Setupati) on his side made, according to the chances of the time, or had to give way to, similar encroachments in the direction of Pudukkottah, Tirumayyam and Pattukotta. But so long as the Kallers remained united among themselves, these changes affected only the recipient of the tribute, but left all other matters pretty much the same.

"The way in which this suzerainty was exercised and the tribute paid may be surmised from the following incidents. In 1656, a maniagar, who had the superintendence of all the Kallar country came to Nandavanampatti to levy the tribute in the name of the Governor of Trichinopoly, and, thanks to the tact of the chief Meicondan, the visit passed off without fight. The same official, during his passage at Kandalur on another occasion, felt himself strong enough to have the missionary who resided at that place under Kallar protection seized and brought before him for an intimidation trial. † But a long war arose between all the Kallars and their Durai, the Nayakka Governor of Trichinopoly, Kuppei Andi".

\* Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1663-66.

† Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1683.

‡ Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1656.

The Kallar land. The ways of the Kallars. General insecurity of person and property. Depopulation and its causes. This is how I. Peter Martin describes the state of the Kallar country about 1709. "These Kallars are the absolute masters of all the country. They pay neither tax nor tribute to the king (evidently of Madura). They issue from their woods every night, sometimes five or six hundred in number, and go to plunder the territories under the king's dependence. In vain till now has he tried to reduce them. Some five years ago, he led his troops against them,\* penetrated into their woods, and, killing a great number of the rebels, erected a fortress amidst them and left in it a good garrison. But they soon shook off his yoke, and, having banded together one year after that expedition, they surprised the fortress, massacred the garrison and razed the fortifications to the ground".

The following extract from the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* † will be found to contain valuable observations on the state of affairs in these parts about 1650 A. D.

"Besides Ramnad and Tinnevely, a variety of petty chiefs assumed independence. Of these petty chiefs living by plunder and violence, the native lists enumerate seventy-two in the Tinneveli and Trichinapali Districts. Their number must have been subject to perpetual fluctuation and increased or diminished with the absence or existence of any one preponderating power amongst them. The nature of their habitation, in the bosom of unhealthy and almost inaccessible wilds, gave, however, a certain security to their existence, and the efficiency of native Government was never such as to accomplish their suppression. Through a period of three centuries therefore the southern portion of the peninsula was parcelled out amongst a number of petty chiefs, scarcely dignified even as commanders of banditti, ‡

\* Rev. Fr. J. Castets who has contributed this para. mentions that this must have been during the energetic rule of Queen Mangamma's minister.

† See Vol. VI, 1837.

‡ From W. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (pp. 161-3), it will be found that the Raja of Travancore, the Setupati of Ramnad, the Tevar ruler of Sivaganga and the Tondaiman of Pudukkottai were not included under the Poligars. These three last "are like the adopted children of the Madura Government".

their predatory followers preferring a system of invidious pilfering to open plunder and rarely venturing without decided superiority of number or position to face an enemy in the field. Too indolent to till the soil, too insecure to deserve fixed property, they lived by hunting and robbery, and were therefore little disposed to check the luxuriance of rank vegetation which yielded them at once subsistence and shelter. It is not surprising therefore that the countries which the Poligars occupied should have been overrun with inhospitable or noxious forests; and it may be concluded that, had not a wise and powerful policy interfered to enforce the habits of social life, the five districts to the south of the Kaveri, most admirably fitted by nature to support an industrious population, would have reverted to the State, in which tradition describes them long anterior to Christianity, and would once more have become a suitable domicile for none but the goblins of Ravana or the apes of Hanuman".

It will be clear from what has been said above that there was very little security of person or property in these parts. Many villages which appear to have been once very populous and flourishing have become hamlets with very few inhabitants. For example, Kudumiāmalai with its big temple which had countless endowments must have been once a very prosperous place. It is now a hamlet containing only 1,088 inhabitants. The Madattukkóvil and the temple of Vishnu at Sirusunai, which enjoyed grants of land for daily services, have been deserted. A number of other places can be mentioned which were once prosperous and populous, but which are now either mere hamlets with a few inhabitants or are altogether uninhabited. How is this to be accounted for?

The accounts given above of the violence of the Kallars cannot be held to apply to these parts, as the Pallavarāyars at first and after them the Tondaimāns were powerful rulers who protected their people, established charities, and invited † people

\* Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Ramnad, Tinnevely (and Coimbatore?)

† See inscriptions at Kóvilūr, Tiruvānkulam, Tirukkattalai, Kudumiāmalai, etc., and the copper plate grants relating to Annāchatrum, Chandamattakuricchi, etc.

from the neighbouring parts to settle here. There is abundant evidence to show that the depopulation had occurred before 1710 or 1720 A. D. An attempt will be made to briefly set forth the causes.

(1) The central government in those days exercised little power and every man's hand was against his neighbour. There are many inscriptions that support this view. In an inscription in the temple at Panaiyúr, Tirumayyam Taluk, there is a reference to a free fight between the people of the village and those of Kulamangalam, in which many men are said to have been slain and others are stated to have fled in various directions, leading to the ruin of the villages.

That such fights were common may be gathered from what happened at Virácchalai, Púválaikkudi and Kíranúr.

The people of Virácchalai, evidently, after a number of deeds of violence came to an understanding among themselves, whereby, if a man was killed by the throwing of a stone or boomerang, the slayer was to be caught hold of and put to death, and that, if people of two different castes began to fight with each other, the villagers were to assemble, the cause of the dispute was to be inquired into, and a fine of twelve *panams* was to be levied from those that were deemed the aggressors and paid into the common treasury.

An inscription at Tiruppúválaikkudi states that the people of a village called Thwárápati (to the south-west of the State) attacked the people of Púválaikkudi with a force that they had collected, killed the men, plundered the village and otherwise ruined it. The people of Púválaikkudi thereupon collected the inhabitants of eight neighbouring villages, laid the case before them and chose them as their guardians, agreeing to grant a plot of ground to the temple and Pádikával fees to those that undertook to watch the village.

The people of Kíranúr, after having lived in enmity with one another and committed many deeds of violence, entered into an agreement whereby, if a dam, well or a tank was destroyed, one-

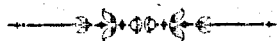
fortieth of a *ma* of land was to be forfeited to the God at Kíranúr, and that, if a tree was cut down,  $\frac{1}{80}$  or  $\frac{1}{160}$  of a *ma* of land was to be surrendered, according as the fruit of the tree was to be obtained by climbing or gathered without such trouble. The terms were to apply to Araiyaars to whom tribute was paid.

(2) Another important cause was the devastation caused by the inroads of the Mussalmans in the fourteenth century. An inscription at Rángyam states that, on account of disturbances from the Mussalmans, the people ran away from the village. Inscriptions at Áthanúr and other places refer to troubles from Mussalmans, on account of which the villages are said to have been ruined.

(3) It is found from inscriptions that inability to pay the taxes, which were in those days numerous and excessive, was another reason for the depopulation of the villages. An inscription at Sevalúr states that the people, unable to pay the taxes, fled from the village in a body. The same thing occurred at Madiáni in 1512 A. D. From other inscriptions we find that those who were unable to pay the taxes sold their lands to such as could improve them and get a profit out of them. An inscription at Gúdalúr, for example, states that the Hindus, who were unable to pay the taxes, were required to get their heads shaved like Mussalmans, and that the people, refusing to subject themselves to this indignity and irreligious act, sold their lands. The people of Mélattaniyam are similarly found to have sold their lands to one Pándya Vānādirāyan from their inability to pay the taxes.

(4) Another reason for the depopulation of the villages was the visit of severe famines. In an inscription at Irumbānādu, it is stated that the lands had become waste (on account of a drought) and that the people, finding it impossible to live in the village, abandoned it in a body and went to other places to find means of subsistence. More than any other famine, it must have been the famine of the year 1708-09 that led to the depopulation of most of the prosperous villages. The following is an extract from a very vivid account of the famine, which will be found quoted in full later on.

"A famine\* ....., the like of which the oldest among the living has never witnessed. The poor inhabitants being reduced to the last extremity, we see parents selling their children for a petty price and likewise husbands bargaining away their wives. Many villages are fully deserted without even one inhabitant left in them; everywhere along the roads and in the fields heaped-up corpses or rather bleached bones are left unburied. .... Southwards to the Marava country, *not more than one-thirtieth of the population seems to have been left alive*".



\* Annual Letter to Rome from the Madura Mission, 1709.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE TONDAIMANS.

The earliest reference to the name Tondaiman. The land of which the modern Pudukkóttai State forms the major portion has been known for at least six centuries as the country of the Tondaimans. The Madras Government Epigraphist's Report for 1898-1899 \* mentions that the earliest reference to the name Tondaiman is perhaps to be found in the account given in the Singhalese annals of the war of the Pándya succession in the twelfth century A. D., where it is said that the Pándyan king Kulasékhara, on being defeated by the Singhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Tondaimana, that Kulasékhara then attacked the Singhalese force at Ponnamaravati, the well-known village in the south-west of the State and was again defeated, and that, with the help of the ruler of Tondaimana and some other chieftains, Kulasékhara once more opposed the forces from Ceylon and was once again defeated. It will be wrong however to conclude from this that there is any reference in these statements to any member of the present ruling line of the Tondaimans. With reference to the first of the statements, we have to observe that the earliest reference to the name Tondaimán seems to be the mention of the name not in the Singhalese Chronicles, but in an inscription dated A. D. 1116 (the 5th year of Rājendra Chóla) on the Narttāmalai hills. It is mentioned there that certain lands that were granted by the people of the town on the hills were measured under the superintendence of Median Múvendra Vélár of Kunráiyúr Nádu "agent of Tondaimán of our city."† Very probably this Tondaimán was a viceroy or agent of the Chóla king, and he was followed

\* See from para 27.

† எங்கள் நகரத்து தொண்டைமானுக்கு காரியம் பார்க்கிற மெடியன் குன் ஹேயூர் நாட்டு மூவேந்திர வேளான் கிலமளப்பிக்க. Probably Tondaimán merely means lord or chief. But, so far as we know, the word is not found used in this sense in any other inscription.

by other rulers that bore the same title. The country must therefore have come to be called "the Tondaimán Nádu", and the hills in which Kulasékhara Pándya is said in the Singhalese Chronicles to have concealed himself towards the close of the twelfth century were very probably the Nárttámalai hills. Possibly the line of the Arantāngi Tondaimáns, of whom an account has already been given, was in some way connected with these Tondaimáns. It is significant that one of the later Tondaimáns of the Arantāngi line describes himself in inscriptions \* as the "lord that subdued the Singhalese in seven days". This may be taken to indicate that the Tondaimáns of this line helped Kulóttunga Chóla III in driving back the Singhalese to Ceylon. It is found from a Tamil poem of the name of *Kappal Kórai* † that there was at Kappal near Ponnaimarāvati a ruler of the name of Karumānicka Tondaimán. Possibly this ruler was also in some way connected with the Tondaimán line of chiefs of Arantāngi.

**The origin of the Pudukkottai Tondaimans.** The Tondaimáns of the present ruling line are said to have come like the Pallavaráyars from Tondamandalam, comprising the present Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. They are Kallars, and Kallars, as already stated, were in early times residents of the mountains near Tirupati, engaged in catching elephants and bartering their tusks for grain. In later times when Tondamandalam was divided into Kóttams and Nádu (or divisions and districts), Tirupati was one of the divisions containing three districts named Kúdarkarai, Tondaimán fort and Pérkuppi. According to tradition, the Tondaimáns of Pudukkóttai came over to these parts from Tondamandalam, and we may suppose that these Tondaimáns were originally living in the Tondaimán fort district, that as they were skilful catchers of elephants, they were engaged by the Pallava kings of Conjeveram as *mahouts* or leaders of the Palace elephants, and that, as mentioned before, (see p. 65) one of these, with his people, followed Venkatachala Pallavaráyar from Conjeveram and had lands at Ambukkóvil and

\* See inscriptions of Ponnambalanáta Tondaimán dated *Saka* 1449 at Ponnaimarāvati.

† See the article on *Kappal Kórai* contributed to the Madura Sangam Journal *Sen Tamil* by its editor, Mr. Raghava Ayyangar.

some other villages assigned to him. That the Tondaimáns came from Tondamandalam may also be inferred from the first of the Tondaimán rulers of whom any account is available being mentioned in a Tamil poem \* as having used "the tiger flag"—the flag of the Pallava kings. When these people settled in Pudukkóttai, they would naturally have been known as the *Tondaimáns*—that is, people that came from Tondamandalam.

At what time the Tondaimáns settled at Ambukkóvil, we have no records to show. We have come across only two early inscriptions relating to Tondaimáns connected with the Pudukkóttai State. The earlier of these relates to a Tondaimán of Visenginádu, with whom the members of the ruling line of Pudukkóttai are in no way connected. The inscription mentions that in 1201 A. D., a service was instituted in the temple of Kunnandarkóvil by one Valarttu Válvitta Perumál Tondaimán, and that for the upkeep of this a tract of land was set apart out of the lands which had been assigned to the Kallars by the Kánádu Vellálars. The later inscription dated 1582 A. D., found at Ambukkóvil and containing the name of one Ánai Tondaimán, may be taken to be connected with the Tondaimán family, of which a member became the ruler of Pudukkóttai about one hundred years after the date of the inscription.

**Legendary origin of the Tondaiman line of rulers.** The account that the earlier Tondaimáns gave of their origin is found in a Telugu poem called "the Tondaimán Vamsāvali", which was written by a Court poet of the name of Venkanna about 1750 A. D., † and a summary of the same may now be given.

\* Other derivations of the word *Tondaimán* have been offered. The most curious derivation, however, is the one given in Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, where it is said that the word which is many hundreds of years old has been got by adding the modern English word *man* as a termination to *Tondi*, a sea-coast town to the south-east of the State!

† *Rāja Tondaimán Anurāgamālai*.

\* It was one of the books collected by Col. Mackenzie about 1800 A. D. It was written in the time of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, who died in 1769 A. D., and was addressed to his son. See Wilson's *Catalogue of Mackenzie's Manuscripts*, p. 277, where a curious list of the earlier Tondaimán rulers is found, and Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 174. The information given about the earlier Tondaimán rulers in Prinsep's *Essays on India Antiquities*, Vol II, p. 282, has been taken from and contains the errors in Wilson's *Catalogue*.

"When Dévéndra, King of Heaven, was once touring on the earth, he met a maiden whom he married. The woman gave birth to many sons, one of whom became a ruler. From him was descended the famous

- |                               |                     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Tiruma; and after him came |                     |
| 2. Namana,                    | 9. Namana,          |
| 3. Pacchai,                   | 10. Pacchai,        |
| 4. Dandaka,                   | 11. Kinkini,        |
| 5. Namana,                    | 12. Dandaka,        |
| 6. Tiruma,                    | 13. Tiruma,         |
| 7. Namana,                    | 14. Pacchai,        |
| 8. Pacchai,                   | 15. Rāya Tondaimān. |

It appears that the illustrious house of Tondaimān, claiming its origin from Indra, sprang up in Tondamandalam, near Tirupati, and founded a settlement in this part of the country, on a certain occasion when emigration was resorted to by a member of the family."\*

"The Tondaimāns are said to have for a time halted at Anbil, a village to the east of Trichinopoly, before they settled down at Ambukkóvil. Anbilnādu formed originally one of the twelve independent small communities known as *Tammarasunādu*, that is, a district which has its own kings, forming thus a sort of confederation (see p. 106)..... This Nādu was situated to the east of Trichinopoly, south of Tanjore and north of Ramnad."†

The account of the origin of the Tondaimān family is only a variant of the story relating to the origin of the Kallar caste as a whole, which is mythologically traced to Indra and Ahalyā, wife of Gautama Rishi.‡ And the way in which the Tondaimāns of Pudukkóttai are said to have settled in Anbilnādu does not differ from the account that is generally given of the settlements of the Kallars in these parts. "The original home of the Kallars appears

\* From the Introductory Note to the official publication of "the Letters of the Tondaimāns to and from the officers of the East India Company and the Nabob of Arcot."

† Dr. Oppert's *Bhāratavarsha*, p. 258. The information was supplied to Dr. Oppert by Sir A. Seshayya Sāstriar, for a long time Dewan and Dewan-Regent of Pudukkóttai.

‡ See Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. III, pp. 62-63.

to have been Tondamandalam or the Pallava country, the head of the class, the Raja of Pudukkóttai, being to this day called Tondaman."\*

#### Settlements of other Kallar classes related to the Tondaimans.

We may now give a few extracts from Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual of Pudukkóttai* relating to the settlements of some other Kallar classes within the limits of the modern Pudukkóttai State.

"Along with the Tondaimāns, nine other tribes settled in Anbilnādu. The distinguishing titles of the ten tribes are respectively the following;—

1. *Manikkirān*.
2. *Panrikondrān*.
3. *Pirppanri kondrān*, lit. later Panrikondrān.
4. *Kāduvetti*.
5. *Menattaraigan*.
6. *Pallavarāyan*.
7. *Tondamān*.
8. *Rāngiyan*.
9. *Pōrpanri Kondrān* or Panrikondrān, the warrior.
10. *Kaliyirān*.

These five were called the *North Street men*.

"These ten tribes were known as *arasu* or lords as distinguished from *kudi*, subject or serving people. The ten *arasu* are said to have brought with them five *kudis* to their new colony. These five *kudis* were

1. *Kurukkal*—priests.
2. *Picchar*—[men in charge of the store-rooms of the temples]
3. *Kandiyar*—[garland-stringers for the temples.]
4. *Mēlakāran*—[pipers and drummers.]
5. *Washermen and Barbers*.

The Kallars of Anbilnādu were devout worshippers of Siva.

"After settling down in Anbilnādu, the colonists were joined by two fresh tribes of Kallars bearing the titles of

\* Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. III, p. 60.

wild elephant of Sríraṅga Rāya, the right to use torches in the day-time, a couple of bards\* to go in front of his palanquin singing his praises, the right to use the lion flag, the fish flag, the *Garuda* (kite) flag and the *Hanuman* (Monkeygod) flag, horses and umbrellas. In the Tamil poem, *Rāya Tondaimān Anurāgamālai*,† which gives some details of the genealogy of the line, the capture of the elephant, the honours conferred by Sríraṅga Rāyar, this Tondaimān is said to have got his name from Sríraṅga Rāya and defeated one “war loving Sadāśivan, and Viraṅga Rāyan”‡ of whom nothing is known.

In a Palace document, dated 1819 A. D., it is said that 180 years before that date “the Pallavarāyars were ruling at Pudukkóttai and Rāya Tondaimān with the consent of Sríraṅga Rāya of Ánagundi § (a suburb of Vijayanagar) conquered it”.

Sríraṅga Rāya of this account must have been Sríraṅga Rāya III of Vijayanagar, who ruled from at least 1639 to 1668, and who granted the site of the city of Madras in 1639 to the English. The date mentioned in the Palace record of the conquest of Pudukkóttai by Rāya Tondaimān is also 1639 A. D. ¶

\* “No Hindu Rājā is without his bards. Hyder, although not a Hindu, delighted to be constantly preceded by them, and they are an appendage to the States of many other Muhammadan chiefs”. Lieut. Col. Wilks’ *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Vol. I (Two-volume edition), p. 15.

† In this poem Perumāl Tondaimān is said to have been the paternal uncle of Rāya Tondaimān and Thennathiraiyan, his maternal uncle (or father-in-law).

‡ இக்கிலமன் சீரங்க ராயருக்கு ராயத்தொண்டை  
மன்னன் பிடித்தனும்பும் மாலையனை.....  
சீரங்க ராயர் ஜெகராயரைக்கண்டு  
பேருத்திறலிருதும் பெற்றருளி.....  
..... உவந்துசமர்  
வேண்டும் சதாபிவனை வீரங்க ராயனைப்போய்  
மூண்டு புறங்கண்ட முதுவீரன் .....

§ The Zamindar of this place is related to Narasa Rāju of Tirugókarnam, known as Owk Rāju.

¶ See Mr. Sewell’s *Dynasties*, pp. 112 and 113.

¶ The late Sir A. Seshayya Sāstriar mentions the thirteenth century as the time when Tondaimān got his title from Sríraṅga Rāya (*Vide* Appendix to the Pudukkóttai Administration Report for 1883-1884). This is certainly incorrect, as the Vijayanagar Kingdom was founded in 1336 and had not come into existence in the thirteenth century.

Sríraṅga Rāyalu was not a ruler of much influence, and the story of the conquest of Pudukkóttai, for which there is no other authority than a paper prepared 180 years after 1639, cannot be relied on, especially as we find Seventhenthuntha Pallavarāyar of the long and powerful line of the Pallavarāyars as the ruler of Pudukkóttai till after 1680. But we believe that there must have been some connection between Ávadai Raghunātha Tondaimān and the Vijayanagar line of rulers, as, in all the copper-plates issued by the Tondaimāns, Ávadai Tondaimān is never mentioned by this name, but is always called “Rāya Tondaimān, who got the title of Rāya from (Sríraṅga) Rāyar”. We may refer, for example, to the copper-plates relating to the grant of Chandanattākuricchi in 1724 A. D. and the establishment of Ammachatram in 1730 A. D. The first Tondaimān ruler of Pudukkóttai inherited the title and called himself Raghunātha Rāya Tondaimān (1686-1730 A. D.) and some of his successors also adopted the title. Further, the settlements of military men from Owk, a village near Vijayanagar, “the employment of Telugu bards (Bhatrájus) and Telugu *puróhīts*, the adoption of Telugu as the first language in which the members of the ruling family receive instruction, the signature of the previous Tondaimāns in Telugu and the composition in Telugu of the poems containing the pedigree and celebrating the deeds of the Tondaimāns”, \* may also be taken as proving the connection of the Tondaimān family with Vijayanagar. The story of the capture of the elephant has in it no elements of absurdity, especially when it is remembered that the earliest Tondaimāns were skilful in catching and taming wild elephants (see p. 65) and pilgrimages to Rámésvaram were very common, Ammachatram itself, mentioned above in this paragraph, having been founded especially for the convenience of pilgrims to Rámésvaram. Though the Vijayanagar kings practically lost all their power in the battle of Talikóta in 1565 A. D., copper-plate grants acknowledging the representatives of the Vijayanagar family as paramount sovereigns are found as late as the year

\* See Dr. Oppert’s *Bhāratavarsha*, p. 259. Sir A. Seshayya Sāstriar seems to us to have been quite off his guard when he informed Dr. Oppert that these institutions were to be ascribed to the marriage of a Kulattar Tondaimān to a foster daughter of a Náyak ruler of Trichinopoly.

1793.\* Sriranga Ráya was in theory the overlord of these parts and must have been treated during his pilgrimage with the greatest respect by all. And if some service was really done to a prince of the position and dignity of Sriranga Ráya, the recognition thereof must have taken some form resembling what has been mentioned above.

We reach stable ground when we come to the successors of Ráya Tondaimán. He had, according to the Telugu poem, four sons of the names of Raghunátha, Namana, Pacchai and Perama, and, according to another manuscript, a daughter also of the name of Káthali.

Raghunátha Tondaimán and his brothers were brave men, skilled in hunting. Raghunátha Tondaimán succeeded his father as the ruler of the estates near Piláviduthi under the title of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán. He is said to have been born in 1641 and become ruler in 1661.

**Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman's services to the Nayak King of Tanjore.** Vijayaraghava Náyak, King of Tanjore, hearing of the personal strength and courage of Raghunátha Raya Tondaimán is said to have invited Raghunátha to his court and asked him to enter service under him. The reply of the Tondaimán as given in the Telugu poem is characteristic of the chief. "We are men living by our swords and should not feel ashamed in serving under you as soldiers. The only conduct of which a soldier need feel ashamed is running away from the battle field, leaving his master to shift for himself". The Rájá of Tanjore, pleased with the reply, employed Raghunátha and his men. The Tondaimán seems to have been the Rájá's chief companion in hunting expeditions, as he is said to have killed a number of tigers, porcupines, etc. "Being a Kallar chief himself, he was very useful in keeping under some check the lawless Kallars who infested the road to Rámésvaram and attacked the pilgrims to that sacred shrine. He rose higher and higher in the service and continued to hold his place with credit till about the close of the Náyak rule in Tanjore"† about 1674. The Rájá, in

\* See Mr. Maclean's *Manual of the Madras Presidency*.

† From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*. Ráya Tondaimán is mentioned by Mr. Venkat Row without any authority as the Tondaimán that served under the Tanjore Rájá. In the account given above, the Telugu manuscript has been followed.

appreciation of his services, presented the Tondaimán with horses, elephants, a necklace with a pendant containing a diamond of the *Rámamadam* variety, and a large State sword named "Periya Ráma Bānam" which is preserved in the Palace and displayed on the Vijayadasami day every year, and enlarged the estate of the Tondaimán by the grant of a few villages near his village Piláviduti. The title of *Vijaya* prefixed to the names of the Tondaimán rulers of Pudukkóttai, seems also to have been conferred by Vijaya Rághava, the Rájá of Tanjore. Raghunátha seems to have been a staunch Saivaité, and, seeing that Vijaya Rághava Náyak was becoming a bigoted Vaishnava, gave up all ideas of continuing to serve under him and returned to his estate.

**The services of the Tondaimans to the Nayak Kings of Trichinopoly.** About this time the Tondaimáns seem to have distinguished themselves in the service of the Náyak King of Trichinopoly by the help that they rendered (in 1682) to Ranga Krishna Muttuvirappa Náyak in preventing the Fort of Trichinopoly from falling into the hands of the enemies of the Náyaks. "The town was again attacked this time by a large combination at the very end of Chokkanátha's reign. The Marattas who had pretended to be the friends of Chokkanátha laid seige to Trichinopoly. In despair at their treachery, Chokkanátha died of a broken heart in 1682".\*

Ranga Krishna, his successor, must have, hearing of the gallantry of the Tondaimáns, applied to them for help. It was probably at this time that Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán was appointed as the Arasu-Kávalkár of Trichinopoly (see p. 78).†

The fees that the Tondaimán received for this duty—if we suppose them to have been the same as those stated in a copper-plate to have been granted to one Púchi Náyak of Marungápurí for the same work—were

- (a) One *kāsu per diem* from every shop in the sub-districts of Srirangam, Tiruvánaikká (and Tanjore).
- (b) Two *panams* a year from every house in the same tract.

\* See p. 53 of the *Madura Gazetteer*.

† See the Chapter on Pudukkóttai in Mr. Lewis Moore's *Trichinopoly Manual*.

(c) Ten *kalam*s a year from every big village.

(d) Five *kalam*s a year from every small village.

The following incident, mentioned \* by Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán to illustrate his predecessors' attachment to the Náyak rulers of Trichinopoly, must have occurred now. The extract that is given below will be found to throw light on what Mr. Hemingway considers obscure.†

"At that time the army in Trichinopoly proved perfidious and disobedient to their master (the king), who then sent his seal to my predecessors, and on receipt of the same they marched to his assistance with great haste, even to the ditch of the Fort of Trichinopoly, and, there having fixed ladders to the walls, endeavoured with great bravery to get within the fort; but it so happened that the ladders sank into a morass; however they made an effort and got within the fort. On this the people who had proved perfidious, being afraid, submitted themselves to the king. In short my predecessors did not neglect to exert their endeavours, till the troubles subsided". In consequence of this service, the position of the Tondaimán as a chief became more dignified. "The Ambilnádu Kallars became through the favour of the Trichinopoly Náiks the heads of the twelve districts (see p. 116) under their chief the Tondaimán"‡.

**The Tondaimans at Ramnad.** We shall now explain how Raghunátha Tondaimán became the ruler of Pudukkóttai. The account that is given below is based mainly on a manuscript prepared by a descendant of one of the Sérvaikára attendants of Raghunátha Tondaimán. Portions of the account are supported by tradition.

The Sétupati of Ramnad, Vijaya Raghunátha Kilavan Sétupati (1673-1710 A. D.), hearing of the prowess of the Tondaimáns, invited Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán and his brother Namana Tondaimán to Ramnad and engaged them in military service. These are said to have been useful in subduing a

\* See letter from the Tondaimán to the Madras Presidency, dated 20th November, 1759.

† "The nature of the operations is obscure, but the place was not taken". See p. 32 of the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*.

‡ Dr. Oppert's *Bhārata-varsha*, p. 259.

number of Tévans (minor chieftains), who had been giving the Sétupati a good deal of trouble, and thus secured the esteem of the Sétupati. Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán is said to have signalled himself by performing two exploits on which the Sétupati had set his heart and thus endeared himself to the Sétupati. One of these was the capture of the State elephant of the Tanjore Kingdom, with the Rájá of which the Sétupati was engaged in hostilities. The elephant, which was confined at Mannárgudi, was by secret arrangements with the *mahouts* brought over to the outskirts of Karambakkudi, Raghunátha Tondaimán's place, and thence taken easily by him to Ramnad. The other exploit is said to have been the subjugation of the Pálayakár of Ettaiyapuram. The Pálayakár is said to have been defeated and slain, and his head brought as a trophy to the Sétupati.

At this time the Sétupati fell in love with Káthali, sister of the Tondaimáns, and married her. She is said to have been the second wife of Kilavan Sétupati, who is known to have had more than forty-seven wives. She seems to have been much attached to her husband and committed *sati* on the death of her husband in 1710.\*

This marriage strengthened the ties of friendship between the Tondaimáns and the Sétupati. About this time, according to the *Tondaimán Vamsávali*, one of the elephants of the Sétupati got out of control and Namana Tondaimán is said to have captured it with great dexterity and boldness and prevented much bloodshed. The incident still further enhanced the esteem of the Sétupati for the Tondaimáns.

Soon after this incident, the Tondaimáns wanted to return to their estate. It is said that the Sétupati desired to present Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán with a Pálayam and that one Ilandári Muttu Vijaya Ambalakáran, the head of the southern Kallar force under the Sétupati, suggested that the Pálayam of the Pallavaráyers might be granted to the Tondaimán. The Pallavaráyar,

\* See Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 245 and Mr. Rájaram Row's *Ramnad Manual*, p. 230. "The unhappy woman appeared to be all unmoved, and after looking for a few moments now at the (funeral) pile, now at the attendants and crying out now and again "Oh! Siva, Siva", threw herself on the burning mass in the ditch with the same firmness as the first Ráni".

who had assumed the title of Rájá like the King of Tanjore or the Sétupati of Ramnad himself, seems to have held a small tract of land to the south of the Vellár as a fief of Ramnad. The relations between the Pallavaráyar and the Sétupatis appear thus to have been similar to those between the Kings of France and the Norman and Plantagenet Kings of England, who, while they were independent rulers of England, owed allegiance to the Kings of France for their possessions in that country. And just as Edward III was summoned to appear before Philip of Valois, Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar was summoned by Kilavan Sétupati to appear before him. The Sétupati was at Kálaiyárvil, ten miles east of Sivaganga, and the Pallavaráyar at Kandadévi, about four miles from Kálaiyárvil. The Pallavaráyar was sent for; but as he was then engaged in *púja* (deep devotion to Siva) it was reported to the Sétupati that the Pallavaráyar, called in the manuscript "Pújai Pallavaráyar", would start to see him on the completion of the *púja*. The Sétupati was immensely provoked, abused the Pallavaráyar for thinking more of his *púja* than of his liege lord, and, placing his son on his State elephant, directed him to march to Kandadévi and make an end of the Pallavaráyar. The prince met him on the banks of a drinking-water pond of Kandadévi and had him seized by his men. And the Pallavaráyar, finding resistance useless, died\* with the curse in his mouth that the Sétupatis should sooner or later lose all their sovereign rights. Two of the servants of the Pallavaráyar, Chinna Bangáru and Periya Bangáru, in revenge attacked the prince of Ramnad, who was seated on the State elephant, and killed him by throwing a dagger at him, which pierced through his body.

#### Foundation of the Pudukkottai Tondaiman line of rulers.

The Sétupati then sent for a gold palanquin, and, presenting it to the Tondaimáns, asked Ilandári Ambalakáran to take the Tondaimáns to Dharma Pillai, the Sétupati's agent at Tirumayyam, and to arrange for Raghunátha Tondaimán's being installed as the ruler of the Pallavaráyar's dominions. At this time a sword of honour is said to have been presented by the

\* On hearing this, the wives and children of the Pallavaráyar are said to have committed suicide by throwing themselves into a pit in the Pallavan tank in front of the Palace. Mr. Venkat Row's *Manuel*.

Sétupati to the Tondaimán, which is preserved in the Palace as Chinna Ráma Bánam,\* as also a *வலம்புரிசங்கு* or a conch opening to the right, which is said to be very propitious to its owner.† The order of the Sétupati was communicated to Dharma Pillai, who said that, if the Tondaimán cared, he would give the Tondaimán Kanduván's dominion (see p. 97) near Senkarai forest, containing only 1,000 people in all, but that he could not think of giving away the Pallavaráyar's State. Ilandári Ambalakáran, requesting the Tondaimáns to halt for a time at Tirumayyam, marched back to the Sétupati and informed him of the refusal of Dharma Pillai to act according to the orders of the Sétupati. Thereupon the Sétupati giving the Ambalakáran the State ring which he was then wearing, asked him to show it to Dharma Pillai at Tirumayyam as a sign that it was his command that Raghunátha Tondaimán should be given the Pallavaráyar's dominions, and that Dharma Pillai himself should enter service under the Tondaimán as the leader of the Tondaimán's forces. As soon as Dharma Pillai saw the State ring, he was satisfied. The ring was presented to Raghunátha Tondaimán, who was installed as the ruler of the Pallavaráyar's dominions. As directed by the Sétupati, Dharma Pillai became the Commander of the Tondaimán's forces.

This is a pretty detailed account of what is called "the Sétupati origin of the Pudukkottai State". We shall show in the pages that follow that it was only a tract of land to the south of the Vellár that the Tondaimán got from the Sétupati, and not the much more extensive dominion to the north of the river, subject to the last of the Pallavaráya rulers. It may be supposed that Sétupati's forces helped Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán in stepping into the place vacated by the last of the Pallavaráyars.

The account given above has been taken from a petition presented to a Tondaimán Rájá for help by one of the descendants of Muttu Vijaya Ilandári Ambalakáran, and the statements

\* The sword, the conch and the image of Minákshi Amman said to have been presented by Káthul the Tondaimán's sister, have been carefully preserved in the Palace.

† Mr. Balfour says that "even Rs. 20,000 have been named as the price of a right-handed conch".

that eulogize the services performed by the Ambalakàran must be taken with a grain of salt. But we must remark that the statement that Pudukkóttai was a fief of Ramnad is founded not upon this unpublished manuscript, of which the existence is known only to a very few, but on the well-known book, *Madura Country* by Mr. Nelson. As the question whether Pudukkóttai was or was not subject to Ramnad seems to us to be important, and as Mr. Nelson's statement has been taken on trust by all the later writers without any investigation, we may at some length examine Mr. Nelson's treatment of the early history of Pudukkóttai and consider what value may be attached to it. We shall quote the passages in the *Madura Manual* relating to this subject and offer our remarks thereon.

I. "The several territories under the rule of Tirumalai (Náyak) appear to have been the following:—The Tinnevelly country; a portion of Travancore country; the Madura,..... the Puthu-kóttei, ..... the Manapárai, ..... 'Madura Country, Part III, p. 144.

The statement in the extract that 'Pudukkóttai' was under the rule of the Náyak kings of Madura is correct, though the territory referred to as "the Puthu-kóttei" did not then bear this name, but was known as the 'Pallavaráyan Símai' \* or 'the Pallavaráyan's country', just as the principality was called in the eighteenth century 'the Tondaiman's country'.

II. "Chokkanatha (the Náyak king of Madura) marched into the Marava country and took the forts of Thirupathúr, Puthu-kóttei, Mánamadura and some others of less importance, and, penetrating into the heart of the jungly districts, obtained possession of Kálayár-kóvil (from the Sétupati in 1664)". *Madura Country, Part III, p. 187.*

This extract, which is based on one of the annual letters of the Madura Mission to Rome,† has misled Mr. Nelson and many others, and caused them to suppose that the tract containing the chief town of this State was for some time at least under the

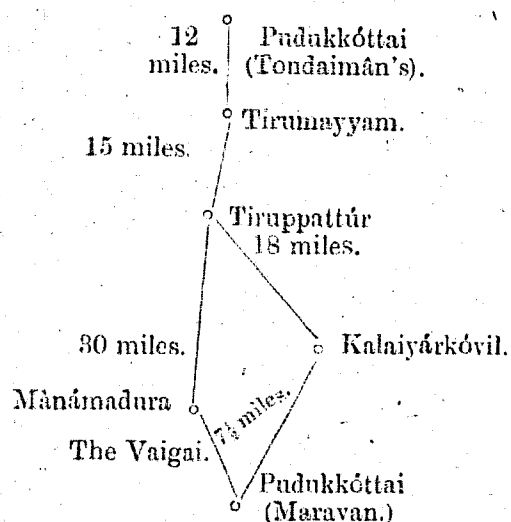
\* In Hándári Ambalakàran's manuscript, the country is repeatedly called "Pallavaráyan Símai" and is not even once referred to as "Pudukkóttai".

† See the Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1662-5. The letter states that Kálayárkóvil was then the capital of the Sétupatis.

sway of the Sétupatis of Ramnad. It is clear however that there is no reference in this extract to the Pudukkóttai State. In the first place there was in these parts no town in 1664 of the name of 'Pudukkóttai', the name having been given to the chief town of the Tondaimán's country after 1686 as will be shown later on. Again, even if we take it for granted for the sake of argument that the chief town of the State bore in 1664 the name of *Pudukkóttai*, it is, in our opinion, impossible that, in the extract quoted above, this town could have been meant. There is another town of the name of Pudukkóttai (with the ruins of a fort and a big 'Pándyan's well') close to Mánamadura and Kálayárkóvil, which, after the chief town of the State came to be called Pudukkóttai, was distinguished by the name of "Maravan Pudukkóttai" or "Tennavaráyan Pudukkóttai" as opposed to "Tondaimán Pudukkóttai". The Náyak King is said to have marched into the Marava country and captured the four forts mentioned above. Three of these—Tiruppattúr, Mánamadura and Kálayárkóvil—are in the Marava country, and the fourth place should also be taken, we think, to be "Maravan Pudukkóttai" lying close to the other three places. It is not clear whether the Náyak began his march from Trichinopoly, which was then his capital, or from Madura. The non-mention of the capture of Tirumayyam fort lying on the way from Trichinopoly to Kálayárkóvil and the statement that the capture of Pudukkóttai and Mánamadura followed the capture of Tiruppattúr seem to indicate that the King began his march not from Trichinopoly but from Madura. The letters of the Madura Mission to Rome state that after the capture of the towns mentioned above, "the thick woods of the Marava country made every further advance more and more risky and difficult". The tract comprising this State was in those days no doubt covered with forests and jungles, but the Marava country was so full of them, that its people were called, even after the expiry of more than one hundred years from this date, "Sylvestres homines" \* or "men of the woods". The passage quoted above may therefore be taken to indicate that the intended advance from Madura was in an eastern direction towards the sea-coast near Ramnad and not northwards to Tanjore or Trichinopoly. We have therefore to

\* See Pennant's *View of Hindoostan* (1798), Vol. II.

conclude that *Pudukkóttai* mentioned in the extract is not 'Tondaimán Pudukkóttai' but 'Maravan Pudukkóttai'. Further the following sketch in which the positions of the places mentioned above are shown, will show that it is unreasonable to suppose that the Nayak King instead of attacking 'Maravan Pudukkóttai' and other forts which lie close to Kalaiyárkóvil, the capital of the Sétupatis, thought of marching so far north as 'Tondaimán Pudukkóttai' and captured this place without subjugating the much more important natural stronghold of Tirumayyam, lying on the way from Tirupattúr to 'Tondaimán Pudukkóttai'.



Nevertheless we find the latest edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* \* closely following Mr. Nelson and giving the early history of Pudukkóttai as follows:—

"About the middle of the sixteenth century Madura passed to the Naik dynasty and its kings acquired the whole of the territory which makes up the present Pudukkóttai State, ruling it through a 'Poligár' or feudatory chief. In the seventeenth century the country came into the possession of the Sétupati of Ramnad, who had been a vassal of the Naiks, but had thrown off his allegiance. It was temporarily recovered about 1664 by Chokkanátha, the Naik ruler of Trichinopoly, but soon afterwards came again into the possession of Ramnad".

\* See *Madras*, Vol. No. II, article on *Pudukkóttai*.

Simply because there was a town of the name of Pudukkóttai subject to the Sétupati, it is quietly assumed that another town that was to be given this name many years after this date and the State of which it has been the chief town were subject to the Sétupatis of Ramnad!

The foregoing extract from the *Imperial Gazetteer* contains another grave error—viz., "the whole of the territory which makes up the present Pudukkóttai State" was under the rule of one Pálayakár.

III. "Shortly after this he (Kilavan Sétupati) fell in love with a Kalla girl named Káthali, the daughter of one of his dependents, and married her; and appointed her brother Rag'hunátha, Chief of the District of Puthu-kóttei, with the title Rag'hunátha Tondaimán, in lieu of one Pallavaráyan Tondaimán, who had been attempting to detach the District from the parent State and incorporate it with the Tanjore country. The predecessor of Pallavaráyan was Chandrappan entitled Serrai and it seems to be inferrible that he was the first man created Chief of Puthu-kóttei" *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 206.\*

We shall offer some remarks on the statements contained in this passage. We have to observe at the outset that the authorities for Mr. Nelson's treatment of this period seem to have been Rev. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* and the letters of the Madura Mission in which the Tondaimán is mentioned as a relative of Kilavan Sétupati, and that in neither of these is any reference found to the origin of the Pudukkóttai State.

\* Mr. Hemingway, partly following Mr. Nelson, writes as follows in the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*.

"The story of the origin of Pudukkóttai contained in Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country* is perhaps intrinsically more likely. This says that 'Pallavaráyan' (evidently the last of the stock) attempted to throw off his allegiance to Ramnad and to place himself under the protection of Tanjore, and that he was in consequence removed by the Sétupati. The latter then placed on the throne Rag'hunátha Tondaimán, whose sister he had married. The use of the name Tondaimán by the Pudukkóttai rulers does not seem to have originated with this family, however, but seems to have been begun by the Pallavaráyars, for Mr. Nelson mentions "a Pallavaráya Tondaimán". But it is said that Tondaimán is never used as a title of the Pallavaráyars in the local inscriptions".

It is a well-known fact that 'Tondaimán' is not a title of rank, but a family name borne by many poor ryots of the Tondaimán stock at Piláviduthi and other places. Nevertheless we find Mr. Hemingway writing in 1897 just as Mr. Nelson wrote in 1879, as though Tondaimán were a title of authority.

1. Mr. Nelson erroneously takes 'Tondaimán' \* to be a title of authority, not knowing that it is an ordinary family name.
2. It appears that Mr. Nelson did not know anything of the line of Pallavarāyars. We find him mistaking the well-known cognomen *Pallavarāyan*\* for a nomen.
3. Mr. Nelson, having quietly assumed 'Maravan Pudukkóttai' that was subject to the Sétupatis to be the capital of 'Pallavarāya Tondaiman' \* on the northern side of the Vellār, did not find any difficulty in making Kilavan Sétupati transfer it as a fief to his brother-in-law.
4. The predecessor of the last Pallavarāyar, Seventhēlantha, was, according to poems and inscriptions, not Chandrappa Sérvai (see pp. 102 and 104).
5. Nobody has heard of Chandrappa Sérvai as a ruler of Pudukkóttai. Kalasamangalam, the eastern portion of the Pudukkóttai town, was the capital of the Pallavarāyar Pālayakārs at least from 1539 A. D., (see pp. 68 and 71) and Mr. Nelson's inference that Chandrappa Sérvai was created the first Chief of Pudukkóttai is erroneous.

IV. So far as we have been able to ascertain, the Sétupatis did not own an inch of ground to the north of the Vellār (to the west of Ālangudi) and they could not have given to the Tondaimán what they did not themselves own.

We base our statement on the following considerations.

1. Anybody that knows from hearsay anything relating to the past history of these parts would be surprised to hear that Tiruvarankuṭam, Perungulūr or Vellanūr formed at any time a portion of Sétupatis' dominions. There are hundreds of persons that speak of Tirumayyam as one of Sétupatis' forts, but do not mention any of the places mentioned above as having belonged to the Sétupatis.

\* From the notes of Rev. Fr. Castets, it appears that the mistake originated with the Jesuit Fathers. Fr. Castets says that all the Kallar chieftains or the chiefs in these parts were called "Tondaimāns". It is clear, however, from inscriptions that the Pallavarāya chiefs and the chiefs of Pērámbūr—Kattulūr were never called 'Tondaimāns.' Further we have the story relating to Nāgu Bhārati, proving distinctly that the Pallavarāyars never bore this title. He was an old musician who applied for permission to sing before a Tondaimán ruler; and, when he was told that, as he had lost his teeth, he could not sing well, he made the graceful and witty reply, "What if the *Pallavarāyars* are gone? (=It does not matter much if I have lost my teeth. *Pal*=teeth). There is the *Tondaimán* to protect me (=I have a good throat. *Tondai*=throat)".

2. While there are various inscriptions relating to gifts of lands by the Sétupatis to temples, mosques, etc., to the south of the Vellār,—at Mélur, Tirumayyam, Tánjūr, Kāttubāvāpallivāsai, Nedungudi, Sāstānkóvil, Virācchalai, etc.,—not a single inscription has been found connecting with the Sétupatis any tract to the north of the Vellār.

3. Numerous inscriptions relating to the Pallavarāyar chiefs have been copied and examined, and in none of these is there any reference to the Sétupatis. The successive steps by which the Pallavarāya Arāyars of Vaittūr and Perungulūr became ultimately Rājās have been already shown (see pp. 100–102). The power exercised by this line in 1539 *i. e.*, about 150 years before this date, was considerable (see para 3 of p. 101), and the last two rulers of this line, who, like their predecessors, were the direct subordinates of the Nāyak kings, considered themselves as much entitled to the title of Rājā as the Sétupati himself, another feudatory of the Nāyak kings, and described themselves in inscriptions as *ராஜ்யபரம்பலகம்*, that is, "exercising the powers of a king". There is no record whatever connecting in any way this long line of rulers with the Sétupatis, and it is difficult to conceive that the last Pallavarāyar, who considered himself more powerful than any of his predecessors, could be a vassal of the Sétupati for the kingdom, which the Pallavarāyars had built up in the course of 300 years.

For these reasons we believe that we are quite justified in holding that the Pallavarāyars and the Tondaimāns, who succeeded them, were quite independent of the Sétupatis, so far as the lands to the north of the Vellār were concerned.\*

\* Rev. Fr. Castets, who has carefully examined for me the letters of the Madura Mission, is of opinion that "the Kallar country was within the changing portion of the Sétupati's dominion that grew and contracted with the kaleidoscopic rapidity of those times", that a Maravan inroad through the Kallar country in 1682 is recorded, that, "though this was followed by a retreat and reprisal on the part of the Nāyaks, the Madureans never went so far as Avur or Cunampāḍi", that in 1686 the Sétupati might have been in temporary possession of Pudukkóttai and might have granted the province to his brother-in-law. He attaches great weight to the word *made* in "the newly made Chief Tondaiman" in an Annual Letter to Rome, and thinks it very probable that the Tondaimán was made the Chief of Pudukkóttai by his relative, the Sétupati. The year and the month of "the elevation of the Tondaimán's family to the royal dignity" are inferred from the Annual Letter to Rome for 1746, in which we find it stated that the "sixtieth year of the foundation of the Tondaimán's kingdom was fast approaching....."

V. We may now examine the question "what authority the Sétupati had to send for Seventheluntha Pallavarayar, as is mentioned in Ilandari Ambalakárar's manuscript, and expect obedience from him" (see p. 126). The tract comprising the modern Tirumayyam Taluk, which lies to the south of the Vellár, belonged to the Sétupatis, and the northern portion of this tract must have been held as a fief of Ramnad by the last of the Pallavarayars and the first of the Tondaimán line of rulers. In this case the relation of the last Pallavarayar to the Sétupati resembles exactly, as has already been mentioned, the relation of the Norman and Plantagenet Kings of England to the Kings of France. Just as the Kings of England were quite independent so far as England was concerned, but were vassals of the Kings of France for the lands that they held in France, so Seventheluntha Pallavarayar was the independent ruler of the tract from Adanakkóttai to the Vellár and from about Álangudi to Kudimiámalai—that is, as independent as the Sétupati himself—as also a vassal of the Sétupati for the Sétupati's lands that he held to the south of the Vellár. And Kilavan Sétupati's summons to Seventheluntha Pallavarayar to appear before him to answer for what the Sétupati considered misconduct in the Pallavarayar might not inaptly be compared with the summons that Philip of Valois, King of France, sent to Edward III, the powerful and independent King of England.

VI. "In consideration of this aid the Kilavan (Sétupati) should cede to Tanjore (in 1686) for a term of twelve years the districts lying between the Pambár and Puthu-Kóttei.....In 1698 the Sétupati, who seems to have anticipated a breach of faith, lost no time in invading the Tanjore country, and after some hard fighting succeeded in taking possession of Arandangi, Tirumayang-Kóttei and Kiranilei and of all the country to the south of the Ambuli river. The fortress of Puthu-Kóttei he was unable to take". *Madura Country*, Part III, pp. 213 and 225.

Now, according to the Madura Mission letters, the authenticity of which cannot be disputed, Raghunátha Tondaiman became ruler in April 1686. In that same year, the tract containing Pudukkóttai would appear from the above extract to have been ceded to Tanjore. And the Sétupati was unable to retake the place in 1698. It will appear therefore that, even if we suppose

for the sake of argument that Raghunátha Tondaimán got from the Sétupati the Pallavaraya territory to the north of the Vellár, he did not remain subject to the Sétupati for more than a few months. There is no record or tradition to show that Pudukkóttai was at any time subject to Tanjore. The natural inference seems to us therefore to be that Pudukkóttai was never subject to Ramnad, that it was not transferred to Tanjore in 1686, and that the Tondaimán was an independent ruler of Pudukkóttai from April 1686, the date of the beginning of his rule.

VII. We may also mention that no Tondaimán considered himself at any time as in any way subject to the Sétupatis. According to the Jesuit letters to Rome, "the Tondaimán Rajah had made himself formidable by 1711 to the King of Madura himself". In copper plate deeds of *inam* grants\* dated as early as 1710 and 1718, we find the Tondaimáns ascribing their titles, dignities, etc., to the Vijayanagar Kings and not to the Sétupatis or Rájás of Tanjore. That the Pudukkóttai rulers had become within a few decades of the foundation of the State as important as the Sétupatis or the Kings of Tanjore may be evident from a Tamil Geography of the Tamil land written about 1740 A. D.† in which the towns "Madura, Tinnevely, Ramnad and Tondaimán (for Kalasamangalam or Pudukkóttai)" alone are mentioned as the (four) important towns in the Pándyan Kingdom, and from another Tamil Geography of the eighteenth century, summarised by Rev. W. Taylor,‡ in which

1. Pudukkóttai is given the same rank as Travancore, Ramnad and Sivaganga, these four being called "the adopted sons" of the Kings of Madura,

2. and the other chieftains are called *pálayakár servants*. The Trichinopoly pálayakárs are said to have been those of Ariyalúr, Turaiyúr, Kulattúr (under a branch of the Pudukkóttai Tondaimán family), Iluppúr and Pérámbúr-Kattalúr, while Marungápur, Nattam, Kumàravádi, etc., formed what were known as Manappárai pálayams, and so on.

\* See Ucehàni grant dated 1710 and Kadayakkudi grant dated 1718.

† See the Tamil Manuscript *Dēanirayam* in the Madras Museum Manuscripts Library.

‡ See Rev. W. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, pp. 161-3.

**Origin of the Kulattur Palayam.** About the time that Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán became the ruler of Pudukkóttai, Namana Tondaimán became the ruler of Kulattúr. The Pálaya-kár of Nágálápuram (in Tinnevely District) had become insubordinate, and, setting the power of the Náyak ruler of Madura at defiance, refused to pay the usual tribute. The Náyak ruler, who had already received substantial help from the Tondaimáns (see p. 123), directed them to proceed to Nágálápuram and bring its chieftain under subjugation. Namana Tondaimán<sup>\*</sup> marched with a force against Nágálápuram, defeated its chieftain and some other Pálaya-kárs that had allied themselves with him such as Puli Tévan and Kataboma Náyak, and brought them again under the rule of the Náyaks of Madura. He returned to Trichinopoly and respectfully placed before the Náyak king the horses, elephants, *etc.*, which he had captured or received as presents from the refractory chiefs whom he had brought under subjection. The Náyak King, Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa (1682-89), was so much pleased with the way in which the affair was managed that he presented him with the tract of land about Kulattúr from the lands that were directly under the rule of the Náyak Kings. This tract, which the Tondaimán received as "a free gift" not subject to any tribute †, did not become a portion of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán's dominions, as Namana Tondaimán set himself up as a separate ruler. The relations between the Tondaimán and Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa Náyak seem to have been intimate, and Namana Tondaimán called himself Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa Namana Tondaimán. He received from the Náyak King various presents and marks of distinction which are enumerated as follows in a copper-plate grant dated 1730:—

1. Elephants with *howdahs*.
2. An establishment of dancing girls.
3. A set of musical instruments called *araya Qazra*—instruments to be played by men and to be carried on elephants.

<sup>\*</sup> The *Tondaimán Vamsávali* speaks of Ráya Raghunátha Tondaimán as the leader of the forces against Nágálápuram. It does not take note of Kulattúr as a separate State.

See Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 174.

4. *Garuda dhvaja* (kite flag).
5. *Hanuma dhvaja* (Monkey-god flag).
6. Use of torches in the day-time.
7. War-drums.
8. Drums in the form of or producing the sound of the fabulous mighty bird *Ganda-bherunda*, with two faces.

So about the year 1790, we find Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán ruling at Pudukkóttai and Namana Tondaimán ruling at Kulattúr. The letters of the Madura Mission to Rome speak of these as "The Tondaimán" and "Chinna Tondaimán."<sup>\*</sup>

**The Kulattur Tondaimans.** It will be convenient if we first give an account of the affairs relating to the Kulattúr rulers alone and then take up the history of the rulers of Pudukkóttai and matters relating both to Pudukkóttai and Kulattúr. The Kulattúr line continued to rule from about 1690 till about 1750.

**Namana Tondaiman's subjugation of the Visenginattu Kallars.** We have already mentioned that the Visenginádu Kallars were an aggressive people who cared nothing for the lives of others and considered others' goods as their own (see p. 65). They appear at this time to have been particularly troublesome and to have engaged in a number of plundering expeditions in which they were always successful. The Náyak rulers of Trichinopoly found them a thorn on their side "as the Kallars gave trouble to the Náyaks by their lawless habits and by their obstinate refusal to pay the Government dues. † It is said that when any Revenue officer required them to pay the revenue, they summarily cut off his head and did not trouble themselves about the affair any more. Under these circumstances, the Náyak ruler pitched upon Namana Tondaimán as the proper person for punishing these Kallars of Visenginadu.

<sup>\*</sup> See Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1708.

† The extract is from Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*. The authority for the details is not known.

"Namana marched against the enemy with a detachment of troops and encountering the Kallars at Puliyúr, where they had assembled for a great festival, gave them battle and took many of their leaders as prisoners. He cut off the heads of all the principal captives and sent them over to the Náyak in loads of ten. \*

"This exploit of Namana struck terror into the hearts of the Kallars of Visenginadu, who felt that they could not continue their old habits with impunity. They acknowledged the supremacy of the Náyak ruler and soon converted themselves into comparatively peaceful subjects".

**Annexation to Kulattur of Perambur-Kattalur.** The next event that we have to refer to is the annexation of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr to the Kulattúr State. It has already been mentioned (see p. 94) that a chieftain of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr had permitted the Catholics to erect a church at Ávúr. The Jesuit Missionary at the station, Rev. T. Venantius Bouchet, was a great friend of the Kattalúr chieftain. Queen Mangammal was then Regent of Madura (1689-1704) and it was "her able and upright Brahmin prime-minister surnamed the Talavei (Dalavoi or Commander-in-chief) that administered in the Queen's name all the affairs of the kingdom. The Missionary's friendship with such a high personage was very useful to the chieftain of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr, who, probably through some insidious court intrigue, had fallen into disgrace and was afraid that he might be deprived of his principality. T. Bouchet's interviews and explanation with the Talavei in 1701 A. D. sufficed to disperse the clouds and save him so long as the Talavei remained in power".

In 1704 † Queen Mangammal ceased to be the Regent and Vijaya Ranga Chokkanátha Náyak became the ruler at Trichinopoly. He was a most effeminate debauchee and entertained "jealous suspicious and even open hostility against the Brahmin Commander of his army (Talavei Narasayya), a most powerful man and the first in the kingdom after the king. The king

\* The story is that he sent bags containing each nine heads through a Visenginnáttukkallan with the message "ten heads including the head of the bearer of the load".

† According to the Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome (1708), the new reign began towards the close of 1706.

repeatedly sent emissaries to kill him; but the latter succeeded every time not only in eluding, but in putting them to death. Hence the king felt the need of having near him some one to counterpoise this Brahmin's authority and some safeguard against the plots the Brahmin was suspected of organising against the king. This was a chance for an ambitious and crafty potentate like the Tondaman. The king found that the Kallar retainers of the Tondaman could be of great help to him and thus secured the services of the Tondaman. The suspicions and displeasure against the Kandalur (Kattalúr) chieftain were revived by the Tondaman, who was apparently the personal enemy\* of the chieftain, with the result that the chieftain was deprived of his principality, which was transferred to the Tondaman as a personal appanage. Avur and many other villages extending from Trichinopoly in the direction of the kingdom of Madura were made over in 1707 to the Tondaman, as a favour by the Raja of Trichinopoly, whose favourite the Tondaman had become.

"The Missionaries of Ávúr were afraid that the Tondaimán would resort to a bitter persecution of the Christians. This foreboding however proved false, and if the Missionaries had to complain of lawless subordinates and at times suffered from court intrigues, they found that except in a single case they could always rely on the Rájá's own sense of fairness and justice".

**Annexation of Viralimalai and the tract about Ammankurichi.** After acquiring the principality of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr, Namana Tondaimán had for his neighbour the chieftain of Kumárávádi, who owned the Virálimalai tract. This tract originally belonged to the chieftains of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr, the temple at Virálimalai having been built by a member of this line of rulers. (see p. 94 and the *Gazetteer*). The Tondaimán had by 1711 become so powerful that "he had made himself formidable to the King of Madura himself" and he could not, with the

\* "In Rev. T. Martin's Letter to Rome (Bertrand's *Mission du Madure*, Vol. V, p. 176), it is related that in 1702 there was a feud between the prince of Kandalúr (of Kattalúr) and the head of a neighbouring principality (evidently the Tondaimán) and that the latter profited by the concourse of pilgrims to the annual feast of the church of Ávúr to come to it with a number of armed followers ready to pick up a quarrel and have a fight".

power that he then had, quietly permit the Kumáravádi chieftain to continue to be in possession of lands which properly belonged to him as the owner of the Pérámbúr and Kattalúr principality. Namana is said to have had several encounters with the Kumáravádi chief, and, overcoming him, annexed Virálimalai to his dominion. In this way Namana seems to have become the ruler of more or less the whole of the modern Kulattúr Taluk. The Tondaimán about this time seems to have obtained permission from the Náyak King to subjugate Púchi Náyak of Marungápurí, who must have withheld the payment of the annual tribute. The Tondaimán, with the help of his brother Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán of Pudukkóttai, defeated him and seized from him his capital Ammankuricchi (see the *Gazetteer*) and some other villages, which the Tondaimáns were permitted to keep for themselves.

"Namana Tondaimán married four wives, two from the Rángiar family, one from the Panrikondár family, and one from Sammatti family—a daughter of one Kurundan Sammatti. A fifth wife by the name of Rangammál is mentioned by one authority. This Rangammál was probably one of the maids of honour in the court of the Náyak of Trichinopoly. Of the five wives of the Tondaimán, the daughter of Sammatti seems to have been the only one that bore him a son. The child born of her was Rámaswámi Tondaimán".

**Namana Tondaiman as a ruler.** We may now place before our readers some information relating to Namana Tondaimán as a ruler. He seems to have been a beneficent and charitable chief, who was intent on promoting the good of his people. He built at Kulattúr a Siva temple and a Vishnu temple. The Náyak rulers were staunch Vaishnavites, and partly to please these rulers and partly at the instance, it is said, of Varadarája Náyak, who is said to have been one of his chief counsellors, he is said to have built the Vishnu temple at Kulattúr. We find from an inscription at Pérámbúr, that in 1713 A. D. he made a grant of land to the temple of the God Ganésa at Pérámbúr. We find from another inscription that, after the annexation of the Virálimalai tract, his agent Udaiyappa Séryaikár, evidently acting

under the orders of his master, granted to the Venkatésvarapperumál temple of Virálúr, near Virálimalai, the right of levying  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a *padí* of oil for every time that oil was extracted in every oil-press at the place. Another inscription in the calingula of the big-tank at Kulattúr tells us that the calingula was built by this ruler. Of the gifts of lands that were made to Brahmins in the time of this Tondaimán, record has been preserved of two. According to a copperplate, the village of Uchháni, six miles to the north of Pudukkóttai, was permitted by him to be granted by his son, Rámaswámi Tondaimán, as a *sarvamányam* village in 1710. And from an inscription at Tiruppúr, dated *Saka* 1634 or A. D. 1712, we find that Namana Tondaimán, along with Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán, Akkal Rájá and others, made a gift of the village of Tiruppúr to an Ayyangár of Srírangam.

**Ramaswami Tondaiman of Kulattur.** The date of the death of Namana Tondaimán is not known. It will be clear from what is said above that he must have lived at least up to 1713. He was succeeded by his son Rámaswami Tondaimán, who is known from the letters of the Madura Mission to have ruled till 1736 and died in that year.

Rámaswámi Tondaimán, like his father, called himself after the Náyak ruler at the time—Vijaya Ranga Chokkanátha Rámaswámi Tondaimán.

"He married Muttalakammál, one of the foster-daughters of Mangammál (Queen-Regent of Trichinopoly) and received as her dowry the five villages of Pasumarappatti, Álattúr, Vellánpatti, Karaippatti and Kottamanganpatti. He also married three other ladies namely, Periyánáyaki Áyi, Periyánáechi Áyi, and Pillai Áyi.

**Ramaswami Tondaiman's charities.** Rámaswámi Tondaimán seems to have been a peaceful ruler, not caring for wars or extension of territory. The Sérvaikárs of Andakkulam and Nánguppatti seem to have helped him greatly in keeping his pálayam in order and peace. For the convenience of the passengers to Rámésvaram, he built two Chattrams—one at Kalamávúr in 1728, for the maintenance of which the village of Pallattuppatti was set apart, and the other at Ammachatram in 1730 in the name of his wife Muttalakammál, for the upkeep of which several

villages were allotted. The former charity is mentioned in an inscription at Kalamávúr and there is a copperplate relating to the latter charity.\* Another Chattram had been founded at Nallúr for the convenience of the passengers to Rámésvaram by Alagia Náyak (see *Nallúr* in the *Gazetteer*), and Rámaswami Tondaimán increased the usefulness of this Chattram by assigning to it lands in two villages, as is mentioned in two inscriptions near Nallúr. He is also known to have imported Brahmins into the State and settled them here by grants of rent-free lands. It was in this way that a Brahmin village was formed in 1733 round Muttalakammál Chattram. Examples of other villages that were granted to Brahmins are Chandanattákuricchi (1724), about three miles to the north of Kattalúr, and Nánjúr with fifty houses (1734), about three miles to the east of Kíranúr. The latter village (called Nánjiyúr) was given the name of Namanaráyasamudram to commemorate the name of his father or as a mark of favour to his son Namana Tondaimán. There are copper plates supporting these grants.

In 1730, after the death of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán, an attempt seems to have been made to set up Pacchai Tondaimán as the ruler of Pudukkóttai by Rámaswami Tondaimán, his cousin. Details of this attempt, which failed, will be given when we give the history of the Pudukkóttai rulers.

The Tondaimán is mentioned in the letters of the Madura Mission as having "developed a marked respect and veneration for the Christian religion, its teaching, its ceremonies and symbols, and especially for the symbol of the Cross. As an instance of the confidence he implicitly placed on all those that professed that religion, the following is mentioned. In a village whose people had been repeatedly accused of rapine accompanied with deeds of violence and murder, five of the inhabitants were seized and brought before the prince. But one of the five accused, being a Christian, was at once dismissed as innocent, on the mere plea that men professing such a religion were incapable of being parties to such crimes. Nevertheless the Tondaimán continued in his old ways until death overtook him in 1736".

\* The former of these was known as *Namana Ráya Chattram* and the latter even now bears in official records the name of *Kulattúr Chattram*.

**The end of the Kulattur line of Tondaimans.** Rámaswami Tondaimán was succeeded by his son, Namana Tondaimán. Not much is known of this ruler. The fact seems to be that in his time, as was very probably the case in his father's time also, Pudukkóttai had become very much more powerful than Kulattúr and overshadowed it. Two or three facts are specifically known about Namana Tondaimán II. An inscription at Vaittikóvil states that lands were granted in 1749 to the God at the place by Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán of Pudukkóttai and Namana Tondaimán. We find it mentioned in the well-known ballad called "*Khan Sahib's Fight* \*" on the wars waged by Yusuf Khan, of whom we shall hear a good deal hereafter, that the representatives of Sivaganga and Ramnad, who were about the year 1760 on their way to Trichinopoly to see the Nawab, were met at Tirumayyam in the Pambár plain by Namana Tondaimán and his Commandant, Dhanuvaniam Pillai. We have an abundance of records relating to Pudukkóttai in the years 1750—1760, and these show that in this period Kulattúr did not exist as a separate State. We must therefore conclude that Kulattúr was annexed to Pudukkóttai and ceased to be a separate State about 1750.

The following details are from Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*.

"Tradition on the subject simply says that the ruler of Kulattur was sent to the Tirumayyam Fort as a State prisoner. In all probability, the ruler thus dealt with was Namana Tondaimán, son of Rámaswami Tondaimán. The date of the annexation is not ascertainable.

"This tradition is recorded in a manuscript. There is a more detailed traditional account which is as follows.

"Namana Tondaimán II was a weak-minded prince. He had no legitimate son. He had a concubine for whom he built a palace at Kulattur. The palace is still in existence, though in ruins. It is known as Kannampatti Aranmanai. By this concubine he had a son to whom he desired his Sirdars to pay the respects due to an heir-apparent. The Sirdars protested repeatedly, but in vain. The obstinacy of the Tondaimán disgusted the Sirdars, who at last proceeded *en masse* to the Tondaimán of Pudukkóttai,

\* See கான்சாய் சண்டை, p. 41.

whom they requested to become the ruler of Kulattúr by annexing it to his dominions. The Pudukkóttai Tondaimán yielded. He deposed Namana Tondaimán and sent him to the Tirumayyam Fort as a sort of State prisoner. The province of Kulattúr was annexed to Pudukkóttai".

### Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman (1686-1730 A. D.)

We shall now take up the history of the Pudukkóttai Tondaimáns. One of the first acts of Raghunátha Rāya Tondaimán was to reward those who had helped him in becoming the ruler of Pudukkóttai. Of these, the foremost was Ilandāri Ambalakār, who was pressed to remain at Pudukkóttai and granted a Jaghire on condition that he should help the Tondaimán with a number of men in his wars. Another powerful supporter was, according to the Ambalakār's manuscript, Nallakutti Valamkondān who had followed the Tondaimán to Ramnad from Karambakkudi and had been his faithful friend all along. He received, like Ilandāri Ambalakāran, a grant of land for military service to be performed by him. Dharma Pillai was made the Commandant, as has been mentioned already, and one Kuruntha Pillai was made the *Kāriakartā* or the agent or minister of the Tondaiman. One Annā Aiyar, ancestor of Appā Aiyar, the well-known Fouzdar and of Annāswāmi Aiyar, a former Sirkele of the State, is also said to have come from Ramnad with the Tondaimán and to have been made a Palace *Vidvān*.

**The relation of the Pudukkottai Tondaimans to the Kulattur Tondaimans.** It may be well to describe the relation of the Tondaimán of Pudukkóttai to Chinna Tondaimán, ruler of Kulattúr. Though each of these was independent of the other, they seem to have acted like the brothers of an undivided family, engaged in enhancing the position and dignity of the house. That Raghunátha Rāya Tondaimán and Namana Tondaimán, and after these, Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán and Namana Tondaimán II, grandsons of the above, acted as friends may be clear from the inscriptions at Tiruppúr and Vaittikóvil (see pp. 141 and 143). The first two seem to have acted together in subjugating portions of Marungāpuri,

**Foundation of Pudukkottai.** Another point which we may mention here is that at the time of the installation of Raghunátha Rāya Tondaimán, no town of the name of Pudukkóttai was in existence. The present town of Pudukkóttai is said in the *Tondaimán Vamsāvali* to have been built by Raghunátha Rāya Tondaimán. The exact meaning of this statement is not very clear. There were the old towns of Singamangalam and Kalasamangalam on the site of the Pudukkóttai town, and there is nothing on record to show how these old towns which were once so prosperous and flourishing (see p. 69), disappeared. The Tondaimán is known to have built a circuit wall, which is stated in the *Statistical Account of Pudukkóttai* (1813) to have been 2½ miles long, and very probably established the *vadis* or sentinels' stations in the south, west and north of the town. The town, with the fortifications\* round it, was given the name of Pudukkóttai† (or *New Fort*) a name rarely used, however, in writings till the 19th century, the State having been known as the "Tondaimán's country".‡

**The Tondaiman's wives and children.** "Raghunátha Rāya Tondaimán married

1. Malayattāyi, daughter of a Rāngiar of Mangattānpatti,
2. Peria Udaiyammai Āyi, daughter of a Tennatiraiyan,
3. Avāttāyi, daughter of a Rāngiar of Malakkuricchi,
4. Vīrāttāyi, daughter of a Kāduvetti,
5. Pillaitācchi Vīrāttāyi,

and 6. Tacchi Āyi, daughter of a Rāngiar. These he married among his own relations of different clans. He had also seven

\* From a letter dated 16th June, 1754, written to the Madras Presidency by Ramah Naick, the Company's agent at Tanjore, it will appear that there was no wall round the town in 1754. "Puducōta is the principal town. Tondaman resides in it as well as myself. There is neither stone nor mud wall. The place is surrounded by woods and secured by inclosures". The wall mentioned in the text must have been demolished by Chanda Sahib or by Ananda Row, the Tanjore general, when he captured the town in 1734.

† As the name *Pudukkóttai* is said by Rev. Fr. Castets to occur in a map of 1700, drawn by Rev. Fr. Venantius Bouchet, the Jesuit Missionary at Avir, we may take it that the place was fortified by the Tondaimán within the first ten years of his rule.

‡ The town of Pudukkóttai itself seems to have been occasionally called "Tondaimán", the *Geography of the Tamil Country* (circa 1745), referred to on p. 135, mentioning Ramnad, Madura, Tinnevely and Tondaimán as the important towns in the Pāndya country.

mistresses • selected out of seven castes among his subjects. Concubinage in such circumstances does not seem to have carried any odium with it at the time.

“ By the first wife he had a son named Peria (the elder) Rāya Tondaimān, by the second wife, a son named Chinna (the younger) Rāya Tondaimān, by the third, a son named Tirumalai Tondaimān, by the fourth wife, a son named Muttu Vijaya Tondaimān and a daughter named Perianāyaki Āyi. To this list must be added the name of Vijaya Tondaimān, mentioned in *Tondaimān Vamsāvali* ..... Other accounts content themselves with merely stating that the Tondaimān had thirty-two sons, without giving their names. So far we may regard it as pretty certain, that the number of sons, legitimate and illegitimate, was 32. The Tondaimān had also his brother Pacchai Tondaimān, who stayed with him. This valiant brother and the numerous sons constituted a strength such as none of the neighbouring chieftains possessed ”.

**The Tondaiman's successes in Travancore.** It was not long of course before Raghunātha Rāya Tondaimān made the acquaintance of the Nāyak rulers and was employed by them in military affairs. The authority for the statements is *Tondaimān Vamsāvali*. He was first sent against Travancore. From 1634 A. D., Travancore had been paying an annual tribute to Madura. In 1697, owing to the disorderly state of the Madura kingdom, the Travancore King was unpunctual in remitting his usual tribute. In 1698 Mangammal, the Queen-Regent of Madura, sent a large army under the command of Narasappayya, the Dalavoi. Raghunātha Rāya Tondaimān was one of the leaders in this army. He is said to have distinguished himself in the Kérala country, “ brought into subjection Kalkulam,† Kambam and Gudalur, and returned with bronze guns ”.

\* “ The names of these have been given as Ponnammāyāi, Chinammā Āyi, Minatchi Āyi, Kuttai Vengārammā, Kastiri Ammā, Chandrammā Āyi and Jānaki Āyi. By the first of these, Rāya Raghunātha Tondaimān had a son named Venkayya, by the second, a son named Selambakkullī-ayyā, by the fifth, a son named Pacchai Ayyā, by the sixth, a son named Kōlīkkāl (cock-legged) Pacchai Ayyā ”. Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*, from which the quotation in the text is also made.

† See p. 318, Vol. I of the *Travancore Manual*. That Venkayya's account is very valuable is seen from the fact that most of his statements are corroborated by contemporaneous records. The bronze guns are referred to by Mr. Nelson and by Mr. Francis.

**The Tondaiman defeats the Mysore forces.** It is stated in the *Tondaimān Vamsāvali* that the Tondaimān defeated about this time the Mysore forces also. The reference must be to the services rendered by the Tondaimān to the Nāyak ruler, when Trichinopoly was besieged by the Mysore forces in 1695. \*

**The Tondaiman helps the Nayaks in their war with Tanjore.** There seems to have been a dispute between the Maratta ruler of Tanjore and the Nāyak ruler of Trichinopoly about the lands near Tirukkāttuppalli, six miles from Kóviladi, the possession of which was extremely important to Tanjore as the irrigation of the Tanjore District by the Kāvéri and its branches is practically controlled at this place, which contains the Grand Anaikkat. The Tondaiman is said to have rendered signal service to the Trichinopoly rulers, defeated Tanjore, and got the tract of country to the west of Tirukkāttuppalli for Trichinopoly. † From this date forwards (say 1700 A. D.), until Tanjore came into the hands of the English, we find the Tanjore Rājās very often in difficulties; with reference to the irrigation of the Tanjore Kingdom.

**The Tondaiman against Balóji Pant of Tanjore.** About this time according to the *Tondaimān Vamsāvali*, one Bálóji Pant, a Tanjore general, is said to have been getting ready an army of 2000 cavaliers, evidently to chastise the Tondaimān for the loss of Tirukkāttuppalli mentioned above. The Tondaimān sent Pandáram, Panrikondrán and Singappuli, the leaders of his forces, against him; but these were defeated. The Tondaimān himself thereupon penetrated boldly into the enemy's camp, scaled the ramparts of Pattukkóttai where Bálóji Pant was stationed and caused him to evacuate the fort. The date of this transaction is not known.

\* See p. 55 of the *Madura Gazetteer*.

† See *Tondaimān Vamsāvali*. Very probably this is the war referred to by Mr. Nelson and, following him, by Mr. Francis, as “ a desultory war (in 1700), the origin and course of which are alike unknown ”.

‡ The tract was got back by the Tanjore Rājā in 1733 as will be mentioned later on. But it fell again into the hands of the Nawab of Arcot and the Tanjore Rājās were ever petitioning the Madras Government to intercede with the Nawab and arrange for the proper irrigation of the Tanjore Kingdom.

**A terrible famine in the State.** In 1709 there was in the country of the Tondaimán and far to the south of it, a terrible famine, the like of which the country had not experienced probably for centuries. Rev. Fr. Bertholdi, who worked for a long time at Ávúr, and Rev. Fr. Joseph Veyra, his successor, who "travelled on foot when on their ministration through the length and breadth of the country, and could well observe the effect of the famine which was only just ending in 1730, explicitly state that not one-thirtieth of the population survived the famine". The following details of the famine are from the letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1709. The letter will show that the Missionaries were shrewd observers with a full knowledge of the Hindu customs and manners.

"The famine was caused in 1708 by a simultaneous flood of the Kávéri and torrents of rain, which destroyed all the existing crops and did much damage in other ways. This was followed by an extraordinary drought.\*

"The events of this year, 1709, supply plenty of sorrowful material to write upon concerning this Mission. Incredible is from want of rain the dearth of foodstuffs and hence are found, as was to be expected, prevalence of sickness of all sorts, dire squalor, deaths innumerable and all the accompanying evils of extreme penury. But not to dilate too long over such a famine, the like of which the oldest among the living have never witnessed, suffice it to say, it has lasted at this incredible height for two years already. The poor inhabitants being reduced to the last extremity, we see parents selling their children for a paltry price and likewise husbands bargaining away their wives. Many villages are fully deserted, without even one inhabitant left in them; everywhere along the roads and in the fields heaped-up corpses or rather bleached bones are left unburied, amidst a people amongst whom funeral ceremonies could never, it would seem, be considered dispensable. From the two examples here subjoined one may realise to what pitch the famine has developed.

\* Rev. Fr. Castets says that Rev. T. Peter Martin, writing from the Marava country in 1713, mentions only the drought and the flood that followed the famine.

"A Hindu mother, to satisfy her hunger with sacrilegious food, put aside the natural feelings of a mother, and ate her own daughter, one foot of whose dead body betrayed the horrible crime. While crossing a river, the float (boat) that carried her became quite immovable and could by no means be dragged in the water. Astonished at such an extraordinary event, the other natives, who were journeying with that woman, inspected her little basket, and, discovering the crime, brought the impious mother to the judge of the place.

"The other example is that of a married couple, husband and wife, who, driven away by famine, were migrating to the neighbouring kingdom of Mysore. They stopped fatigued and lay down to rest under the shade of a tree. While the woman was sleeping, the husband sold her away to a passing wayfarer for a little rice, and, having received the bargained price, stealthily left her and went away. On awaking the wife, who was informed of the infamous bargain that had taken place, was so shocked with indignation and shame that she expired on the spot.

"As for the Christians, in several districts, three-fourths at least have migrated, after having consumed all they had and gone to far-off countries, a thing which, though very painful to all men in general, is peculiarly distressing to the people of this country, on account of their excessive attachment to their native land.

"In fine, everywhere we see dire misery and solitude. Now, when at the approach of the rainy season, the hopes of the agriculturists just began to rise, God has chastised anew the whole of the southern portion of India by a new calamity. For, on the 18th of December, 1709, there began to pour such deluges of rain that rivers were flooded and the bunds of nearly all the tanks, by which rice plantations are irrigated and which are most numerous, burst and the water spread in all directions like a deluge. Hence arose incalculable material losses and great loss of life also. In the Marava (country) over 100 corpses were whirled by the rush of the water at a single spot. As for houses which are generally built with mud walls, the destruction of them was immense. The sprouting crops were either drowned or washed away, and hence still greater became the dearth of food and

greater also the general misery". To give an idea of the dearness of food, T. Peter Martin writing from the Marava country, says that "the price of rice which in ordinary times was one panam for eight marakkals of well-pounded rice rose to four panams per marakkal".

**War with Tanjore and Ramnad.** *The battle of Pèraiyúr.* The Rájá of Tanjore, who had been waiting for an opportunity to punish the Tondaimán for the loss of Thirukkàttuppalli, which he prized so greatly as containing the tract from which the irrigation of his kingdom could be controlled, must have thought that the Tondaimán's country was exhausted after the famine and the flood, and that that was a good opportunity for crushing him. He made an alliance with the Sétupati of Ramnad that had succeeded Kilavan Sétupati, and sent a large force against the Tondaimán under a Maratta general of the name of Hindu Roy. The Sétupati also sent a force under one Indra Tévan, who marched to Pudukkóttai through Tirumayyam. The Maratta forces were stationed at Pèraiyúr, and the Maravars under Indra Tévan occupied the tract from Kavinád reservoir, a mile to the west of Pudukkóttai, to Kadayakkudi, 3 miles to the south-east of the town. In addition to the Marattas of Tanjore and the Maravars of Ramnad, there were in the army, it is said, a large number of Mussalmans. The army of the Tondaimán marched out from Pudukkóttai to meet the enemy and was commanded by the Tondaimán in person, assisted by his five sons—Periya Ráya Tondaimán, Vijaya Tondaimán, Muttu Vijaya Tondaimán, Tirumalai Tondaimán and Chinna Ráya Tondaimán. In a sanguinary engagement the Tondaimán defeated the Marattas and the Maravars, slaying Indra Tévan, the Ramnad General, and many others, and captured several elephants, horses, palanquins, war-drums, etc. The action is described at great length and with much poetic skill by Venkayya in his *Tondaimán Vamsávali*. It appears from this poem that Tirumalai Tondaimán distinguished himself in this battle more than his father or any of his brothers.

\* This incident is referred to in two dance-songs, *Ambunattu Valandán* and *Venkanna Sēraikár Valandán*.

“கந்தாமல் வந்தவொரு கவிநாட்டுக் கம்மாயில்

இந்திராதி தேவனை எதிர்த்துக் கொண்டான்”.

“The Tondaimán who opposed and killed Indra Tévan and others, who marched fearlessly to the Kavinád tank”.

**The Tondaiman subdues several Palayakars.** The Tondaimán is said to have next brought under subjection the pálayakárs of Turaiyúr, Ariyalúr, Udaiyárpálayam and Válikandapuram. These chieftains must have been refractory in the payment of their tributes, and a force might have been sent, as was usual in those days, to collect the tributes with Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán as its leader.

**The Tondaimans very powerful at Trichinopoly.** The Tondaimán brothers had become so powerful that, according to the letters of the Madura Mission to Rome, “by 1711 the Tondaimán Rája had made himself formidable to the king of Madura himself” and by 1716 “owing to the dotage of the effeminate Náyak ruler (Chokkanátha Náyak) the Tondaimán had for a time become all powerful at Trichinopoly\*”. By some happy change of fortune, it is said, the Náyak King chose a Brahmin, Góvindappa Aiyar, a man of strong resolution and of no mean administrative capacity, as his prime minister. The minister, with the help of the Maravas, drove away the Tondaimán from the Court and forced him to keep himself within the limits of his own dominion.

**The Tondaiman helps Tanjore against Ramnad** It must here be mentioned that it will be found that for a long time the Sétupati and the Rájá of Tanjore were engaged in hostilities with each other with respect to the ownership of the lands lying between Pattukkóttai and Arantangi. “There seems to be little doubt that the recognised boundary line of the Tanjore Ráj, whatever it may have been, was exposed to the constant raids and encroachments of the Marava chiefs of Rámanáth, who had now greatly risen in power”†. Lands to the north of Pattukkóttai as far as Mannárgudi and Tiruválúr in the Tanjore District were occasionally seized and enjoyed by the Sétupatis, while the Rájá of Tanjore claimed lands so far south as Hanumantagudi in the Ramnad Zamindári as his. In the wars between these rulers, the services of the Tondaimán, who was recognised as a powerful prince, were sought sometimes by the Rájá of Tanjore and on other occasions by the Sétupati.

\* Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1716.

† Mr. Venkáswami Row's *Manual of Tanjore*, p. 771.

adopted by the Tondaimán to become master of the portion of Marungápuri to the west of Virácchalai resembles the methods laid down in Tamil classics \* for the acquisition of new territory.

In the days of Ovalat Púccchi Náyak, otherwise known as Pulivetti Púccchi Náyak, the Tondaimán is said to have sent word to the ruler of Marungápuri that on a certain day he would remove the cattle of the village of Oliamangalam and make himself master of that village. The Pálayakár of Marungápuri, to whom the village belonged, ordered Muttirulappa, Manigar of the village, to be watchful, and sent fifty men to help the Manigar in resisting the Tondaimán's men. While the head officer of the fifty men was enjoying himself in a dancing girl's house, the men sent by the Tondaimán artfully removed the cattle and soon afterwards hoisted the flag of the Tondaimán in the village. The Pálayakár, on hearing of this, is said to have sent a *killákku*; or 'order on a betel-leaf' for the execution of the head of the force of fifty men, but excused the Manigar Muttirulappa.

\* See Dr. Pope's article on *Parapporai*, in the *Tamilian Archaeological Society's Journal*, No. 6. "In the *Mahabharata* we are told that when one king invades the country of another, he should begin by attacking the cattle first. And as if to illustrate the advice, the attempt of the Kauravas to capture the cattle of Rájá Viráta, King of the Matsyas, is graphically described in the poem. The frequency of such raids in South India has almost created a literature of its own, and, thanks to the bards and grammarians of Southern India, who have immortalised these raids, we can even to-day get an accurate idea of the raids undertaken in those times. While the bards have given us accounts of individual expeditions, the grammarians have elevated such practices into a science and have given us the *modus operandi*. See *Tolkáppiyam Porul Aññikáram* under *Vetchittthimai* and *Parapporai*; *Vembānūlai* under *Vetchippudalam*. Before the expedition is undertaken, the astrologer is consulted, wine is distributed freely, the news of the expedition is "tom-fommed" by the village drummer, spies are sent to find out the enemy's position, the number of the herd, etc." For details, see the *Christian College Magazine* for September, 1901, from which the extract in the footnote is taken, or Dr. Pope's article referred to above.

† The account is based on tradition. The exact date of the incident is not known. It is likely that the Púccchi Náyak referred to here was the grandson of Ovala Púccchi Náyak and great grandson of Tirumálai Púccchi Náyak, who are mentioned in an inscription at Ammanakuricchi. See the first footnote on p. 96.

‡ *Killákku* literally means *betel-leaf*. In those days very few could read and write. It was usual for men of position to grow one of the nails on the right or left hand and to send a betel-leaf with an impression of the nail thereon to show that the order sent with the leaf should be carried out.

With reference to the annexation of the western portion of Virácchalai, the account given by a descendant of one of the witnesses that were examined in 1803 by a Commission appointed by the British Government to decide the dispute between the Tondaimán and the Marungápuri chief as to the ownership of the lands to the west of Kudimiáma'ai and Virácchalai is that the eastern portion of Virácchalai belonged to the Tondaimán and the western portion to the Marungápuri chief, that the inhabitants of the two halves of the village were connected with one another by blood-relationship and ties of marriage, that they were willing to be ruled by the same chief and that the people of the western half declared themselves as the subjects of the Tondaimán on the Tondaimán's promising them some concessions in the payment of land tax. The people of Várppattu (see the *Gazetteer*) are said to have similarly declared themselves for the Tondaimán, seeing that they were not quite safe under the rule of Boni Náyak of Várappúr—Karisalpattu.

In these ways the Tondaimán became the ruler of almost the whole of the Tirumayyan Taluk with the exception of the tract about Kílanilai.\* He is said to have appointed wardens, who received liberal pay and presents, to watch the conduct of the inhabitants of the annexed territory and to suggest measures for giving them all possible satisfaction. On the eastern side he built a fort about 1710 A. D., Meratnilai, very probably to prevent the ingress of hostile parties from the east, where there were constant feuds between the Rájá of Tanjore and the Sétupati. The fort is described† as having been "a quarter of a mile to the south of Onángudi, circular in form (with four bastions) and capable of holding 200 men". The fort is said to have been destroyed in 1756 A. D.—evidently in "the bloody war"‡ between the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán for the possession of Kílanilai.

\* Kílanilai was a tract that was promised along with Tirumayyan to the Tondaimán by Tándá Tévar (see p. 152). It was very probably in the enjoyment of the Tondaimán, until he was defeated by Ananda Row Peshwa and had to sue for peace (see p. 153). Kílanilai formed a portion of "the debatable land" claimed both by the Rájás of Tanjore and the Sétupatis.

† In the *Statistical Account of Pudukkóttai*, dated 1813.

‡ See the Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1756.

**The Tondaiman's charities.** We have now to close our account of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán. Before doing so, we shall give a short sketch of his charities and attitude towards religion.

He seems to have been a devoted worshipper of Siva, but tolerant and even kind to people of other religions. Though he established Saivism in the State\*, he is known to have granted in 1718 Kadayakkudi as a rent-free village to Vaishnava Brahmins. Grants in Tiruppúr village were made by him along with Namana Tondaimán and some others (see p. 141) to a Sriranganam Ayyangar. A village of the name of Póram was granted to Brahmins in 1728 A. D. in the name of his son Tirumalairáya Tondaimán, who distinguished himself in the Péraiýúr engagement. From an inscription at Kudimiámalai, we find that a portion of the temple at Kudimiámalai was built by Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán, and that another portion was the gift of his minister Kuruntha Pillai. The Chatrams in the Pudukkóttai town and at Tirumayyam, which are called "ancient institutions" in the *Statistical Account of Pudukkóttai* (1813), were probably founded by this ruler.

In the very year in which Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán began his rule, Ávúr in the Kulattúr Taluk was finally chosen by the Madura Mission as a new Catholic central settlement in the tract to the north of the Marava country. The Tondaimán was very kind to the Christians, and in 1711 "when the bishop of San Thomé was making the first pastoral visit of the Madura Mission and Ávúr, the prince of Pudukkóttai went to Ávúr to visit His Lordship and treated him with the greatest honour".† "In 1713 he granted the Father at Ávúr a diploma forbidding the use of any sort of violence against any Christian debtor that sought refuge in the Church of Ávúr".‡ The Tondaimán§ is said to have "had a singular affection for the Missionaries and not to have failed to send three or four of his officials to all the

\* See the introductory stanzas to Venkayya's *Andhra Bhāṣānūṣāṅg*.

† Letter of Rev. Fr. Martin, 1713.

‡ Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1713.

§ See Bertrand's *Mission de Madure*, Vol. IV, p. 209.

principal Christian festivals at Ávúr, to prevent any disorder that might occur owing to the presence of many non-Christians attracted to the feasts by mere curiosity".

**Destruction of the fine Church at Avur.** "When in 1716, the Tondaimán was supplanted and driven away from the Náyak's Court at Trichinopoly by the newly appointed minister, Góvinda-appa Aiyar, (see p. 151), the whole kingdom of the Tondaimán became a prey to incessant inroads and tumultuous outbreaks. During such troublous times, universal misrule accompanied by the continual coming and going of armed men and repeated tumultuous outbreaks of lawless people could but arise, and the Village Magistrates, who had always proved most hostile to the Christians, seeing the Tondaimán now occupied elsewhere, under the pretext of public necessity, alleging that the Church of Ávúr might be turned by the enemy into a fortress, gave orders to commit it to the flames. The men, however, kept back by some superstitious fear, did not dare to execute their orders to the full, and were satisfied with pulling down the walled enclosures of both the compound and the Church. But emboldened by this exploit, the Tondaimán's own son, who happened to come at this juncture, had the Church itself destroyed to its very foundation".

**Persecution of Christians in the Nayak Kingdom.** Tondaimán's country a place of refuge. The Tondaiman practically independent. "On the contrary for the next ten years—from 1717 to 1727—the Pudukkóttai kingdom seems to have been so safe a place as even to afford a refuge to the persecuted Christians and Missionaries of the neighbourhood". "Notably was this the case during a fierce persecution raised in Trichinopoly in 1727 by "the Mudali", a man of the Mudali caste appointed by the new Brahmin prime minister, Náranappa Aiyar, as a sort of general superintendent to manage all the ordinary business and see to the general order and peace of the State..... What the Mudali most of all desired was to lay his hands on one of the Missionaries. Fr. Bertholdi, who was often searched for, retired each time to the Tondaimán's territory and thus escaped happily from his hands".\* This shows that, as Rev. Fr. Castets remarks, the Tondaimán had become practically independent of the Náyak rulers.

\* See the Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1729.

**The Tondaiman's kind treatment of Christians.** "Soon after this, when some of the neophytes at Ávúr refused to pay any contribution for the building of a new temple, and one of the catechists of Ávúr was thereupon falsely accused of having broken off the hands, feet and nose of the image to which the temple was to be dedicated, the people became excited and required that all the Christians should be fined and their churches destroyed". "But a timely transfer of the case to the Tondaimán himself proved their safety. The Rájá suspected, from the very gravity of the accusation, that the case had been too summarily dealt with, and after a serious inquiry he recognised in fact that the accused was innocent".

**Character of the Tondaiman.** Enough has been said to show that the Tondaimán, who was noted for his bravery, intrepidity and bodily strength, was far in advance of his time in his impartiality, fair-mindedness and general personal character. It goes without saying that occasionally he permitted depredations by his men.\* But it must be remembered that all his men could not be of his mind, and that the Tondaimán must have occasionally felt it politic to yield to their wishes so that he might more effectually lead them on other occasions. The descendants of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán, it will be found, have every reason to be proud of "the founder of the State". The letters of the Jesuit Missionaries constantly speak of the Tondaimán's fair-mindedness and his strict sense of justice.

**His death.** Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán died in 1730. "All the legitimate sons of the Tondaimán with several of the illegitimate sons were now dead. A brother (Pacchai Tondaimán), three illegitimate sons (Venkayya, Chinna Pacchaiyyá and Kólik-kál Pacchaiyyá) and four legitimate grandsons, Vijaya Raghunátha

\* That the state of affairs here did not differ very much from that of the Highlands of Scotland before the pacification of the Highlands in 1746 may be inferred from the following extract from Sir M. E. Grant Duff's *Notes of a Diary kept chiefly in Southern India in 1881-1886*, Vol. 4, pp. 171-2.

"The most amusing incident of my journey occurred at Pudukota. The Raja is the head of the great Kalla or robber caste of South India. Dewan Sashia Shastri, who speaks excellent English but stammers a good deal, was standing by my chair as the chiefs of the clans came up to me to pay me my homage. "These" he observed "are the Ca Ca Campbells and so forth of this part of the country".

Tondaimán,\* Muddu Namana Tondaimán, Rájagópala Tondaimán and Tirumalayya Tondaimán (sons of Tirumalai Tondaimán) remained alive. There was no likelihood of a peaceful succession to the Ráj. The Tondaimán wished his eldest grandson, Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, to be the future ruler of the country. To accomplish this object, the Tondaimán summoned Ilandári Ambalakáran and Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikáran to his bedside and in their presence presented the State (finger) ring and his own earrings to his eldest grandson, Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, enjoining on the two Sardárs the duty of supporting the young Tondaimán against his rivals and enemies.† The Sardárs promised. The Tondaimán passed away shortly after this".

### Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman (1730-1769 A. D.)

**A Succession Dispute.** "The succession of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán was disputed by Rámaswámi Tondaimán of Kulattúr, who was proclaimed ruler of Pudukkóttai by the men of Kulattúr and many men at Pudukkóttai.‡ When the forces of Kulattúr and Pudukkóttai assembled to prevent the installation of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, Ilandári Ambalakáran saw the Tondaimán and reported the matter to him. The only reply that the Tondaimán gave was that he knew nothing and could do nothing and that he depended on Ilandári Ambalakáran for every thing. The Ambalakár thereupon got upon his horse, and, taking the Tondaimán with him, marched with an armed force of 150 men and war-drums on a camel and a horse to Kudumíamalái to instal Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán—as was usual—in the temple at the place. Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikár also followed with an armed force of 100 men. The Ambalakáran and the Sérvaikáran, leaving the Tondaimán at Kudumíamalái, marched in the direction of Kulattúr, setting fire to all the villages they passed through. The forces of Rámaswámi Tondaimán were scattered in all directions, and Rámaswámi Tondaimán himself, who was

\* Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán was the son of Tirumala Ráya Tondaimán by Nalláyi Ayi of the Panrikondár family and Tirumalai Tondaimán, by Muttuviráyi Ayi of Malavaráya family.

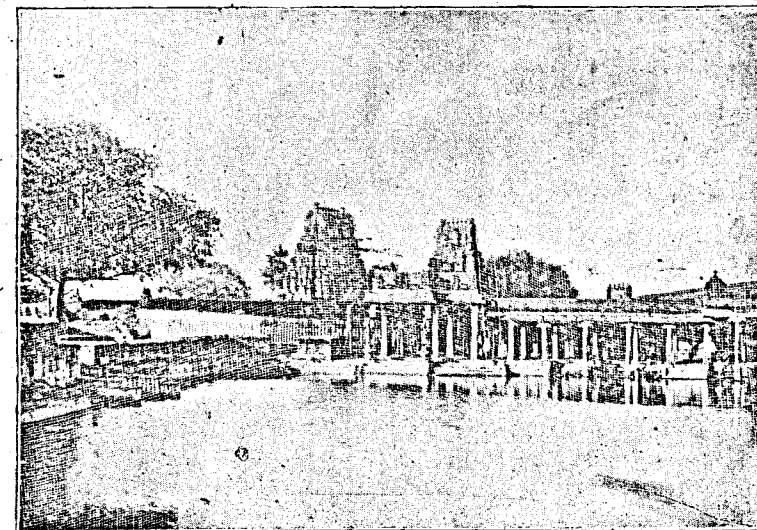
† From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*.

‡ From Ilandári Ambalakáran's Manuscript already referred to.

captured, was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Tirumayyam. Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán was thereupon installed ruler of Pudukkóttai first at Kudumiámalai and afterwards in the temple of Brihannáyaki at Tirugókarnam.

This account is that of an interested person' desirous of eulogising the services of his ancestors. In the first place, Rāmaswāmi Tondaimán was, as has been already mentioned (see p. 141), a peaceful ruler, who could not have thought of unnecessarily entangling himself in the affairs of Pudukkóttai. Further there are absolutely no grounds for supposing that he was ever immured at Tirumayyam, as from the Jesuit letters we find that he continued to rule at Kulattúr till 1736 A. D. It should also be noted that Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikár, who seems to have been of great help on this occasion, is kept in the background and greater prominence is given to Ilandári Ambalakár.

The fact therefore seems to be that, as noted by Mr. Venkat Row, Pacchai Tondaimán, a brother of the last ruler, opposed the succession of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, that he applied to Rāmaswāmi Tondaimán of Kulattúr for help and that, having been ultimately defeated, he was sent as a State prisoner to Tirumayyam. "In order to avoid an ominous collision, Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikár and Ilandári Ambalakár installed Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán in the temple of Brihannáyaki at Tirugókarnam and shortly afterwards made the necessary preparations for marching against Pacchai Tondaimán at Kudumiámalai. Meanwhile Pacchai Tondaimán and his forces reduced several villages and committed all sorts of havoc wherever they went. The two generals of Pudukkóttai soon completed their preparations and marched against the enemy. They encountered the forces of Pacchai Tondaimán, which were led by Kumára Kaliyarán, an officer from Kulattúr, and defeated them with great slaughter. The Kaliyarán himself was killed and the wreck of his troops fled in different directions. Pacchai Tondaimán took refuge in the temple at Kudumiámalai and closed the door behind him. Being besieged where he was, he at last surrendered himself. He was sent over to the Fort of Tirumayyam to be kept there as a State prisoner. The Sardárs returned to Pudukkóttai in great triumph. In recognition of the services that



Temple at Tirugókarnam.

Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikár rendered, he is known in history as அரவையாப்ப சேர்வைகாரர் or 'Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikár that established the Rāj'. The two villages of Meratnilai and Ónángudi were set apart for the support of Pacchai Tondaimán".

In addition to the two Military Officers mentioned above and Nallakutti Valamkondán referred to on p. 144, we hear now of another officer, who was a near relation of the Tondaimán. This was the Sérvaikár of Kadayappatti, Rámaswami Rángia Tavar.

**The Tondaiman's ministers.** The chief Civil Officer or, as he was called, the *Kārya Kartá* (or Agent) of Vijaya Raghunátha Rāya Tondaimán was at first Vilvanátha Pillai, son of Kuruntha Pillai, minister of the previous ruler, and after him one Éka-nāyaka Mudaliyár of Kunriyúr, \*who was followed by his more famous son, Subrahmanya Mudaliyár.

**Creation of Two Jagirs.** One of the first acts of the new ruler was the grant of two Jágirs to two of his brothers. This was a politic step, which must have made friends of near relatives, who might have otherwise been induced to openly or secretly oppose the ruler. The two brothers were Rájagópala Tondaimán and Tirumalai Tondaimán, who were to the ruler "like his two arms", and who received each of them a tract of land estimated to yield a revenue of "20,000 pon or about Rs. 25,000". The first of these must have been a brave warrior supposed to be competent to act as "a warden of the marches" and to keep in check the chieftains hostile to the Tondaimán, and several villages that were granted to him were those that had been taken from these chiefs,† such as Tirukkalambur, Idaiyárrúr and Várpattu. The Jágir granted to him was known as the *Western Palace Jágir* and it continued to be held by the descendants of Rájagópala Tondaimán till 1881, in which year it was resumed by the State, as will be

\* See *Tirúmalatikkuravanji*, of which the hero is Subrahmanya Mudaliyár. *Kunriyúr Nādu* was the tract about Kudumiamalai.

† The exact date of the creation of the Jágir is not known. In a report submitted to the Madras Government by the Resident of Pudukkóttai in 1811, the names of the villages are given; but the column for the date is left blank. The Western Palace papers state that the grant was made, towards the close of the rule of Raghunátha Rāya Tondaimán.

explained later on. The second of the Jágirs was conferred on Tirumalai Tondaimán.\*

**The Tondaiman's family.** "Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán had six wives, viz.—(1) Nallakáttáyi Áyi, (2) Mangattáyi, (3) Rangammá Áyi, (4) Adaikkattáyi Áyi, (5) Periyánáyaki Áyi, (daughter of Krishnan Panrikondrá and (6) another of the same name, Periyánáyaki Áyi, daughter of Namana Tennathiraiyan.

"The third of these gave birth to Ráya Raghunátha Tondaimán, the next ruler of Pudukkóttai".†

**State of affairs in Southern India.** We have now to give an account of the military transactions in which the Tondaimán was engaged. The account would be found very confusing by one that does not know the general state of affairs at the time in Southern India, which therefore we shall briefly describe, before pointing out how the Tondaimán was affected thereby.

The whole of Southern India was in theory subject to the Mussalman Emperor of Delhi. Aurangzeb, after the conquest of Bijapore and Golconda in the Deccan, sent in 1693 to the south an army under Zulfikar Khan, who made the Tanjore and Madura rulers acknowledge the power of the Emperor and exacted tribute from them. The local representative of the Emperor was the Nawab of Arcot, nominally subject to the control of the Nizam of Haidarabad, who was the direct representative of the Emperor for the Deccan and Southern India. Both the Nizam of Haidarabad and the Nawab of Arcot were, however, practically independent, with this difference, viz., that while the Emperors, who were generally very weak rulers after Aurangzeb (1658 A.D.—1707 A.D.), could exercise no control over the Nizam, the Nizam was jealous of the rising power of the Nawab and occasionally

\* This Jágir must have lapsed to the State a few years after its creation, when, according to the ruler, two of his brothers lost their lives during the invasion of the State by Chanda Sahib in 1733 (see pp. 18 and 169). The ruler had only three brothers and Rájagópál Tondaimán, the Western Palace Jágirdar, is known to have lived till 1773 A.D.

† From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*.

interfered in the affairs of the Carnatic. We thus find that the Náyak rulers of Madura, to whom all the land from Trichinopoly to Travancore was subject and the Maratta Rájás of Tanjore were feudatories of the Nawab of Arcot.

Immediately to the west of the Madura Kingdom lay the Kingdom of Mysore which included Karúr and extended as far as Palni to the west of Dindigal. We therefore find the Mysoreans constantly mingled up in the wars of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura.

Another interfering factor was the Marattas of the Bombay Presidency. They were an aggressive people who rarely failed to commit annual depredations in the provinces which did not purchase their withdrawal by payment of *chouth* or one-fourth of the revenues, and the Carnatic was, from about 1720 A.D., a province subject to the payment of this impost. As the Nawabs had long postponed the payment of *chouth*, the Marattas were waiting for an opportunity to invade the Carnatic.

Further there were the usual grounds of quarrel between the Sétupatis of Ramnad and the Rájás of Tanjore, which have already been explained, and there began in 1731 dissensions in the Madura Náyak Kingdom itself, which we shall next describe.

**Civil war in the Nayak Kingdom.** Ranga Krishna Chokkanátha Náyakkar, King of Madura, died without issue in 1731, leaving his kingdom by will\* to the first of his eight wives, Mínákshi, who appointed two of her brothers to administer the kingdom. These began by forcing Naranappa Aiyar, the late minister, and his friends in office to refund the enormous sums which they had embezzled. And these Brahmins to avenge themselves called back from exile a cousin of the late King, Bangáru Tirumalai, who had kept himself entirely away from politics, and gave him hopes of obtaining the crown. All the feudatory chiefs of the Náyak-rulers including the Tondaimán, to whom inviting

\* I owe these details to the kindness of Rev. Fr. Castets, Parish Priest, Pudukkóttai, who has been at great pains to frame a very interesting account of these times from the letters of the Jesuit Missionaries to Rome. I am sorry that occasionally I have had to resort to condensation, as the whole of the matter that has been supplied to me does not pertain directly to Pudukkóttai history.

promises were made, joined the Pretender. They were about to transfer the crown without war or bloodshed from the Queen's head to that of the Pretender, when the plot was betrayed and the intriguers had to save themselves by a hasty flight.

The steps taken by Náranappa Aiyar to escape from his enemies are dramatic and may be referred to, though not quite relevant to our history. "Having retired with his whole family into the vestibule of his house, he tied all round the house a number of cows, and spread all over the place a great quantity of powder. Then from this place of vantage, holding a lighted torch in his hands, he threatened, if they tried to arrest him, to light the powder and thus blow up the whole gathering of Brahmins and cows, for the death of whom, he said, his enemies would become responsible. The whole town was so terrified by such a threat that the citizens pledged themselves with a solemn oath to permit him to depart unmolested and to carry away all his wealth".†

**The Nawab's invasion of the Tanjore and Madura Kingdoms.** About this time (in 1732), the Nawab of Arcot sent an expedition to exact tribute from the kingdoms of the south. The leaders of this expedition were Safdar Ali Khan, the Nawab's son, and his nephew, the famous Chanda Sahib.\* These took Tanjore by storm, and, after a victorious campaign in Madura and Travancore, assembled their forces near Trichinopoly. Instead of the two contending parties headed by the Queen and the Pretender joining together and driving out the Mussalmans, Náranappa Aiyar promised to Safdar Ali that, if he would seize Minákshi and hand over the kingdom to him, he would pay him thirty lakhs of Rupees. Safdar Ali, unwilling to attack Trichinopoly, proclaimed Bangáru King, and, after taking a bond for thirty lakhs from Bangáru, is said to have returned to Arcot, leaving the conduct of affairs at Trichinopoly to Chanda Sahib. The partisans of Minákshi approached this prince and told him that, if he should support Minákshi, they would pay him what he demanded viz.,

\* Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome, 1732.

† The date 1734 given in the *Madura Gazetteer* does not seem to be correct. Various references to the Mughals in and about Trichinopoly are found in the Annual Letter for 1733.

a crore of Rupees. Minákshi, suspecting treachery, required him to swear on the Koran that he would adhere faithfully to his engagement; and Chanda Sahib, who was ever deceitful, unscrupulously substituted a brick in the splendid covering usually reserved for that book, and swore that he would sincerely support the Queen against Bangáru Tirumalai. Minákshi was satisfied, and Chanda Sahib, before departing for Arcot, as will be mentioned later on, accepted a part payment of the crore of Rupees, which the Queen borrowed from the Rájá of Tanjore.

The Queen now became more careful in the choice of her advisers, expelled all Brahmins from her court, levied new troops and thought that she was safe under the protection of Chanda Sahib. Meanwhile the impecunious Pretender, Bangáru Tirumalai, through the good offices of his Brahmin supporter, gathered round himself an army, to which the feudatory chiefs including the Tondaimán sent contingents. Securing the help of the Mysoreans also, his minister, Náranappa Aiyar, marched against Madura. He succeeded after some reverses in taking the fortress, whereupon the Queen's general at Madura escaped to Trichinopoly. Trichinopoly, the only fortress that remained to the Queen, was next besieged by Náranappa Aiyar, and the following terms of peace were arranged with the Queen:—

1. The Queen, having adopted as her heir the Pretender's son, should be left to reign in peace.
2. The revenues of a few provinces round Madura, named in the agreement, should be assigned to the Pretender for his maintenance.\*
3. The post of Prime Minister should inviolably be assured to Náranappa Aiyar for several years.

There were thus practically two rulers in the Náyak kingdom—a King in Madura and a Queen at Trichinopoly.

"Náranappa Aiyar had now everything his own way. He extorted by torture from the chief men of the kingdom enormous sums of money to be paid to the Mughal Chanda Sahib. As he

\* The *Madura Gazetteer* remarks that "strangely enough, apparently with the good will of the Queen, Vangaru Tirumala went off to Madura". The account given above, which has been supplied by Rev. Fr. Castets, will show that there was nothing strange in the Queen's conduct.