

expresses an opinion to the effect that the Kurumbans and Kallans were one people. It would seem to be possible therefore that the Kurumbans introduced the term *Nādu* into the Pāndyā-Mandalam at some time prior to the eleventh century, and were subsequently supplanted by the Vellālans : and that they were in turn ousted by a subdivision of the Kurumbans bearing the name of Kallans. If the Kurumbans of Tondamandalam were treated by Adondai in the manner described by Ellis, and were as he says a half-savage race, it is easy to understand them throwing off much of their civilization and revenging themselves on society by taking to the life of banditti. Perhaps too the Kurumbans of Madura were nearly exterminated by one of the Pāndyas with the help of the Vellālans introduced by him. The expression in the stanza which commemorates this immigration to the effect that it was with much difficulty that the arrangement was carried out, may well point to fearful struggles and bloody massacres. And if so, the circumstance would satisfactorily account for the ferocity and apparent ingratitude displayed by the Kallans towards their masters as above described.

It seems rather unlikely on the other hand that the term *Nādu* was used by all the early Tamil agricultural tribes, as I have found no traces of its use in the Madura country, except of course in those parts of it which belong principally to Kallans ; none indeed in any part of the District lying outside the course of Kalla migrations. But then the term *Kōttam* does not appear to be known in the District, unless we may suppose that the common term *Kōttei* was a local expression precisely equivalent thereto, in which case division into the Kurumba system of *Nādus* and *Kōttams* may perhaps be traced in several parts of the District.

I must now leave these speculations, useful only as threads to be gathered up hereafter by some one fortunate enough to obtain materials for a history of the Presidency from every part of it ; and go on to describe briefly the very remarkable manners and customs of the Kallans, relying for the most part on the authority of the Survey Account.

It appears in the first place that their marriages depend entirely upon consanguinity and are irrespective altogether of the wishes of either the parties thereto or their parents. The most proper alliance in the opinion of a Kallan is one between a man and the daughter of his father's sister ; and if an individual have such a cousin, he

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K. V. Ramesh



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Table of Contents Nelson Madurai Manual

1. Understanding the eBook Nelson Madurai Manual
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Nelson Madurai Manual
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Nelson Madurai Manual User Reviews and Ratings
 - Nelson Madurai Manual and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Nelson Madurai Manual Free and Paid eBooks
 - Nelson Madurai Manual Public Domain eBooks
 - Nelson Madurai Manual eBook Subscription Services
 - Nelson Madurai Manual Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Nelson Madurai Manual eBook Formats

- ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
- Nelson Madurai Manual Compatibility with Devices
- Nelson Madurai Manual Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Interactive Elements Nelson Madurai Manual
- 8. Staying Engaged with Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Nelson Madurai Manual
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Nelson Madurai Manual
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Setting Reading Goals Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Nelson Madurai Manual
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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