Field Work

17/10/91

OH 6.

OH 6.1

OH 6.2

OH 6.3

OH 6.4 (part)

29/6/93
OH 6.1

22nd ~~Nov~~ Oct 1991

Kalhatti check post-

A.P. Nanjan of Tattveri, age 72 years. A Bedar. There are a few people elder to me in my village - but they are not so knowledgable or articulate. I am a Beda Naiker.

We have come to the Nilgiris some 10 generation earlier. We must have come before the British arrived here. We all come from Mysore. We do not know the specific place from where we come in Mysore, but generally we come from the Mysore state. Why did they come?

I do not know exactly, but we come from Mysore and settled here. Earlier, we came here and built small villages here. Those days this area was fully forested, with sholas. Slowly, one by one, we came and settled here. First only 2/3 families came and ~~then~~ then slowly the others came.

There was a Malakkotai arasu, a territory, and there was a Malakkotai raja. When he came here, our early ancestors came with him. They came and seperately established a village here with a few houses and worked helping

the Malakkotai king. This Malakkotai is slightly beyong Kalkatti. Now there is nothing there. Earlier there was a stone wall and a moat around the fort ~~boi~~ filled with water. It was here that the king resided. Those days, the Mappilas of Malabar came with their army and stormed the fort. During that time, the king was away in Mukandhi, beyond Ayikara to see the place. When the Mappila army came, the queen fell into the ~~f~~ moat and ~~die~~ commited

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suicide, so that she does not fall into the enemy's hands.

They say, in Nalliallam, there was a queen and the sub-kingdom was here they say. But we cannot say anything definitely.

After the queen died, the king would not stay here and went to Nalliallam. The Mappilas came here looted the place and returned. Here the whole fort etc fell into ruins. After that the British came. We supposed to be the 'Olaikkara', something like the forest guards, helping and guarding the king's territory.

Then after being abandoned the place, we stayed on and built villages here.

Then when the whole fort and area around was falling into disuse, the maniyagar of Hallätti, which was the old revenue village discussed to whome all this territory belonged. Then they claimed all this territory belonged to them, and appropriated all the territory. And the whole area of the fort and the moat were destroyed and made into agricultural fields. Even today, they do agriculture in that fort area, and many people find many things in the area. They say, gold etc was got from

that area, but I have not directly seen anything. Recently about 6 months or 1 year back, some lead/iron blocks were discovered from there when they were ploughing/hoeing the land. That iron block was deposited with the government. The locals thought it was gold and deposited it with the government. but on examination it was an iron block.

We are the Bedar naicken descendents of those days. I do not know if we stayed in the forests, but now in 2 villages here we are settled. One called Bannimara, near the Mela Kkotai, close by about 1/2 mile from

Kalkatti and here at Tattneri. It is only in these two villages were reside. There are no other Bedar villages. In Tattneri, there are about 50 families, and 30/40 families in Banumara. and that is all. Our marriages are within these two villages. In Mysore state also there are a large Bedar community, and we sometimes do marry with them. They are in Mysore town itself, then near Gundalpet, a place called Bepapuram near Tarkanam, about 3 miles, then near or at the foot of Gopalaswami temple a place called Kunigalli

and Lakkipura - and then near Hole Narasipura, then beyond, near Salem border, ~~there~~ then there are many near Bangalore. But in Nilgiri there are only 2 villages of Bedar. We also marry with other plains Bedar. There are some Bedars in Coimbatore, in Pollachi, in Ayakudi.

Bedar means, people ~~to~~ who hunted in the forest. Those days they must have hunted.

When the British came, these people, our people were settled. The British surveyed the area and put in marking stones in the places where we were. And the families

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who had held as much land in those days, were marked and deliniated for them. Our traditional occupation as far as I know is agriculture.

We used to cultivate, Ragi, Samai, Ganji, Wheat, potato. Now, as days have gone these agricultures have decreased; no Samai is grown now-a-days. We do grow some Ganji, Wheat, Ragi etc. Samai has been discontinued for over 8/10 years now. This is because Samai agriculture is difficult, and it involves a lot of threshing etc etc. Earlier a lot of Ragi used to be grown, and we

used to harvest 8 10/20 bags of Ragi per household. Now, there is ~~no~~ not so much Ragi. We grow vegetables and potato and make money. We do make some wheat, some Samba wheat.

Those days, we used to sow in April, and harvest in August. Again September we would sow, and by January we would harvest. From January to April, the land would be fallow. In April, we would sow Ragi and potato. In September, potato and wheat. We would not grow wheat in April. In April we would put Gongi, Ragi, Samai and potato. In Sept. only Wheat and potatoes.

Earlier, because the rains was good, agriculture was prosperous. Earlier somewhere during some year, during one cropping season, the rainfall would be low, but otherwise, it used to be raining all the time during the season, and the stream would be flowing all around the year. Now for the past 10/15 years, the streams are not perennial. It is mainly because of less rains, all the springs have died out. Earlier because there was plenty of rain, even during the 3 dry months the streams would run.

Rains these days, in April if the

big rain starts, April and May would be heavy rains, with thunder and lightning in expressible. In June, the 'kodai malay' would start. When this kodai rain starts, we would not be able to get out of the home. Now for the past 10/15 years, there has been ~~not~~ no kodai malay. Three days, for many days, we would not be able to get out of the house. June - July is the kodai rain season. In August there would be some sunshine for harvesting the crops of Ragi, Samai etc. ~~It would~~ Rain would

give a let-up of 10/15 days. Again, Aug last if the rain starts till Nov last it would be cloudy and raining all the time. December onwards, the heavy dew and fog season would start. Dec - Jan are cold and foggy. Feb and March will be sunny - maybe with occasional rains.

We never did any agriculture in the Bokkapuram area, but we all including us and the Badagas used to keep cattle and buffaloes there. We had a lot of cows and buffaloes there. And that, when there is the

Kodai rain, we would drive the cattle down. June and July they would be in Bokkapuram area. Then in August we would bring them up. Now ~~of course~~ of course all the forest areas have been planted with Eucalyptus and wattle. But these days, in the Wenlock downs there would be good grass and a good area for cattle and buffaloes to graze. ~~It~~ Our cattle would stay here for 2 months, and again they would be driven down. These days, we did not sell milk, but made Ghee and sold them at Ooty. This has been stopped

since the beginning of and establishment of the milk society. Even now, those who bred cattle and buffaloes in far away places make ghee and sell, but that is not much. Even during my period, every week one & tin (kerosene tin) of Ghee would be produced and sold for Rs12 / Rs13.

These days agriculture was very limited, and the rest of the whole area was forests. There were large sholas over here. There were a few estates here and there. The Sophia Estate & the Fatima Estate. These are very old estates. These were

earlier coffee estates. The whole area was full of coffee earlier. In the Sophia Estate coffee crop was very good producing 1/2 bag for each bush of coffee. All the coffee was destroyed by a disease. It was about 20 years ago. And one by one each of the bushes were cut. The leaves all turned black. All the coffee estates had a silver oak shade cover, and these too have been cut and sold. Now, there some Tea here and there. In the other estate, Tea did not come up well, and now too many areas are wasted. This time they have put some lime ~~tree~~ saplings

The labourers in these estates were not immigrants, but local hatti people. No outside people here, only the hatti people are labour.

In those days in our village if one had 10 acres of lands, we would cultivate only about 4 or 5 acres. Those days we did not have so much potato. We did not have this ~~foriegn~~ foriegn fertilizer, we would only put cow dung manure and grow a limited amount of potato. The maximum being 1/2/3 bags of potato seed put. Ragi, Samai etc would be more. Now & since the last 10/15 years this type of agriculture has decreased.

Now, we mainly grow ~~cotton~~ carrot. These days, even potato is less. About 10 years ago, when the rains were better, a lot of potatoes many loads of them would more from here. Now, only 4/5 bags of potato is put. So, now, this vegetable ~~is~~ agriculture is the most. Mainly carrot, and out of these earnings we live. Carrot, Beetroot, Knolkol, etc. Garlic etc. Now Garlic is a lot in these parts.

These days, there were ~~many~~ many wild animals too - Tigers, Panthers, wild boar, Jambhar, etc would be here. Even now there are bears around here. Right here there is one. This is the limit of bears. Beyond this higher there

are no bears. I saw a bear here recently.
Those days, each village had 2/3 guns, licensed
guns, and we would hunt, sambhar, wild boar,
etc. Sometimes tigers and panthers would come
near the village and catch one or two cattle.
Even now sometimes they do strike at our
cattle in these parts, not beyond. Even 2 weeks
ago, a big ~~cat~~ cow was killed here. No
elephants come up here. I have seen elephants
only twice here. About 2 years ago, an elephant
came up. In my childhood, no elephants would
come up, but there were many in Sigur area,
in Karugampalla estate, and below is the
elephant area. Now, a few days earlier, we do not

know how, but an elephant came & near our village, on the village path. Women who had gone to gather water left the pots and ran. The Elephants kicked the pots and meanwhile the villagers gathered and chased it down. Then, other time elephants came near Hullatti; but they do not stay here at all.

The nearest market for us in my childhood was at Doty. The road here is ~~very~~ very old. It was the Mysore Raja that laid this road. Even earlier we used to have contact with the plains for marriage etc; and this was the route. We

had to walk down this path. The bullock carts used to come up along the Gudalur ghat but taken down along this route. These days 40/50 bullock carts would come from Gundalpet - and tarkandse Material would be bought at the 'sandai' there and brought up to Ooty. Vehicular traffic and busses were introduced in 1940s. The British used to go along by horses and horse carts. The bullock carts going down from here would go empty. The carts would bring up Ragi, Sholam, Rice etc from

the weekly market. These days the bulk of the material used to be brought from this side and not much from the Coimbatore side. Now, of course a lot of things are brought up from Coimbatore. These days, the Gundalpet side was very prosperous. Ragi these days were sold at Rs 2.50 or Rs 3.00 per bag at Ooty.

We do not have any marital exchanges with Badagas or Todas or the other communities here. But for all our festivals, and other occasions, we would interact. They would come for our celebrations, and we would go

for their celebrations and participate. So contact and interaction has always been there, but there are no marriage relations among us.

We speak a Kannada, similar to the Badaga language. We to speak a combination of Kannada and Badaga. Badaga does not have a script, but we have the Kannada script. But here we speak and learn Tamil in schools here.

We have a temple in our village called Madhesmana temple. All of us worship Siva as our deity. In our temples, festivals are similar to other temples. We have a festival at our temple every six months - in February and then in Aug. We burn our dead

Other communities, the Badagas finish their death rites the day they burn the body, but we have ~~rig~~ rites; on the 3rd day after death, we take milk to the burning ghat. Then on the 12th day we do the final rites.

We too keep cattle and buffaloes, but we do not sacrifice them on deaths. We do not eat ~~buffal~~ beef at all.

In our villages, we have a symbolic knife that we revere and pray too. So for Ayudha puja we pray to this sword. It is a traditional sword and is common for the whole village. Our temple is open to all, but we conduct our own prayers at the temple.

Now-a-days, all of us are agriculturists. Most of us own some land. The original settlers have a lot of land, but people who come later have little land. I am an early inhabitant of this place. Some Bedars have come in recently. Our village is only a Bedar village, and there are no other communities either in Tattheri or in Bommanara. But in Mysore and other places, Bedars live in villages along with other communities.

In this area, there are Badagas, Bedar, Toreyas, Kurubars who are there in Kathatti and Kemble. They have also the

generational settlers here. They also do agriculture. They do not make pots here. In Gundlupet they make pots, but here they are agricultur-sts. Then there are Christans etc etc - many communities. There are no Todavar mands near here - they are all alone this area.

On the way to Ooty we had to walk through wilderness - there were a few villages at specific places along the route. From here if you climb, you come to Kavaratti - Jakkalare; then alone there is a Todavar mand called Marlima-nd. Then the Marlimand tank. Then beyond that was Ooty. It was a 3 hour walk to

Ooty and we had to headload the provisions from there. There used to be some mules and cattle to carry heavy loads of vegetables etc.

I was in the police force from 1940 to 1952 - during the British period. I was a constable. I left it because I did not like the way of life of the police. It was against a family life. There was a lot of injustice and unfair play. So I did not like it. I did my training at Coimbatore and joined in March 1941 at Gudalur. From there I was on special duty monthy once at Singara. That was the

war period and each month 12 constables were to come to Singara power house. I was there for one month. Then I was transferred to Devala, and was there for 6 months. From there I was in Devarshola for 6 months. Then I was at Naduvattam for 6 months. The rest of the time I was in Gudalar. The work was good, but I did not like it. All kinds of crime like murder and assault and theft would take place. We would never catch the actual culprit, but would catch people on suspicion and put them in the lock up. I came to Ooty in 1947. Then I was the telephone oderley.

I could not stand the injustice done to suspects - and I ~~left~~ gave my resignation there was one Mansfield a circle inspector. He called me and advised me not to resign after 10 years of service. I advise you like my son. What is your problem, I let me, but I will not recommend your resignation letter. Then I thought and said, I would give it a try. He tore my resignation letter away. Then in 1952, I did election duty at Madukkarai Pollachi, Erode, Malabar, etc for one month. I came back and took 3 months leave.

Then after the leave, I resigned. They advised saying I would not get any benifit after resignation, nor would I get a job again. But I persisted and got my resignation accepted. I had Rs 300/- as PFund. My son was born then. He was one year old. I went to Rameswaram and shaved his head and spent all the PF money. Those days there was no road to our village, no lights. Lights came in 1952. I strove for all this. Then I helped set up feeder schools at Ekoni and Bikkatti. I was till class 3. I

helped set up a society here to get fertilizer from the company at concessional rate. Those days we used to plant each person 20/30 bags of potato. I used to put 100/200 bags of potato — not only in our village but in the Todaman mand at Pykara, Glenmorgan, Gladimand, School mand, Kuzhishola etc. If three of us got together and each of us would plant 200 bags of potato in that whole area. It was during those days, that we seeked the help of Ekoni people and put a road through their fields. Earlier, if it rained, we could

cross the stream and come this side for 2 or 3 days. Then we took the help of a 'Boyan' and wrote the block level development, who granted Rs 3,000/- with which we built the bridge. I was the one who helped the road as well as the school to our village. There was one Maruthanayaken, a development officer, who said a school was sanction and it must be contracted and built properly. So we gathered the people of Ekoni and together, we built the school with Rs 1,500/- from Govt, and Rs 1,500/- village contribution. I this I lost Rs 1000/- but I did not

mind it. Now it is a high school. Today
a there are 4 people from our village
working in the Government. One is in
the Municipality, one in Agriculture, one
in Chinchona, and my son is in the
Education department as a Junior assistant.

Earlier we used to go to the
Nanjangud temple yearly once. We would
walk till Masinagudi. From there,
we would go by bullock cart to
Gundlupet and thence to Nanjangud
and Mysore. About 4 to 5 people would

get together and go. When we go from here, we would pack some food. Then go to Nanjangud and then to Chamundeshwari in Mysore and return. Those days it would not cost much. Now-a-days it would ~~that~~ cost over Rs 500/-

29/6/93

1/7/93

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22nd Oct 1991

Barramannu

Chinna coonoor area

Dolla Gowder, Age 56.

~~In my~~ Since my grandfather's days and before that I do not know. But since my grandfather's days and my father's days, we used to put patti and keep buffaloes in Irgur area. Because we had a lot of buffaloes, it was not possible to keep them here and graze them. And here it is a cold region, whereas Irgur area is a hot area, thus cattle and buffaloes were better suited to those parts. And my grandfather used to keep a lot of livestock there.

During the rainy months, the livestock will be kept down in the hot tracts, and during the sunny months, the cattle would be brought up here. And here, we used to make dung fertilizer that was necessary for our fields. We did not have synthetic fertilizer those days. So we used dung to fertilize our fields and grow Ragi, Potato etc and do agriculture.

There used to be only about 10 cattle for each household those days, but buffaloes were many depending upon the capability and affluence of the households. Each would have 30/40 if affluent, or 5/10 buffaloes if poorer. And people who had 5/10 buffaloes, would take them down use labour from locals and their own labour,

milk the buffaloes, make butter, clarify it, and bring it and sell it at Ooty. Agriculture was also there, but agriculture was only for the consumption of the household. It was not for growing more, transporting it to the market, selling the produce etc. That attitude of trading of agricultural produce was not there. Agriculture was only for the home, harvesting about 4 bags, or maximum 10 bags for the year. And that was all the agriculture that was done. And for that agriculture, the cow dung manure was essential. This dung was not made during rains but only during the sunny season. In the rains the livestock would be at Sigur, and we would drive it up the slope during the dry season.

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Now, things have improved, and we do not do that livestock rearing on that scale any more. There used to be many pattis there. Tengumarada was the last patti for us. Above that there was To Hakki, above that Halamaratti, then Kootrapatti, then Matipatti, then Paldhatti, then above, Arakadavu, this side Odagarai, then Anaikatti, near that Khanatti. Above that Ambalatti, then Malappuram, then Chokkanalli, then Jailkadavu, then Goluatti, then Moyar, then Chemmanattom, then Matinagudi, then Chadavupatti, then Bokkapuram. Beyond that on that side I do not know the pattis. These were the pattis I know and I have gone to.

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Those days, there was no major agriculture in Sigur plateau. There was some agriculture of chillies about 500/1000 plants at Anaikatti, some brinjals, some Ragi. Similarly in Sirur. Moyar there was agriculture. In Bokkapuram our Badagas used to do agriculture. In Moyar, there were agriculturists who had come from Mysore. They were called Kurumbakki Gowdars. There were Mysore residents who had come there many generations ago. They speak Kannada. They used to grow Cholam, Ragi, Chillies etc. Agriculture was practiced there those days, but cattle and Buffaloes were many.

In those days 4 Kasavas used to help in keeping livestock and extracting butter and ghee

They would not come towards towns and villages. Only after we went there and used them to keep livestock our interaction increased. Before that, we do not know anything about their culture and livelihood. I know those people from the period of my father. Those days they were our helpers. They helped in keeping our cattle and buffaloes, and we would give them weekly subsistance & ~~wages~~ grain and wages. Earlier to that I do not know.

All the Badagas on this edge of the plateau, - Ebanad, Linnacoonoor, Hullatti, Karakuzhi, Ekoni, Sholur, Kukkathorai - and that in the limit. All the Badagas here would

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keep cattle in the Sigur area. Only people in this border used to keep cattle / buffaloes there and not people in Kunda & nor the Todas. Earlier there were more buffaloes than cattle. Now-a-days we have given up livestock keeping. This is because the government wants to make the whole area a sanctuary. They want to increase wild animals and decrease domesticated animals. That is the view of the current government. This is the view for about 10 years now. Now we cannot even take the dung from there, and this dung is essential for our agriculture. Earlier we did not carry up dung, but we used to make dung here by driving the cattle up

Now, since agriculture has increased here, and when the graze is good there, we would keep the cattle there and transport the dung by a vehicle. Now, there is a ban on all that. Even now sometimes if the graze here is good we could bring the cattle up. But there is no grass here three days. So, we do not bring it up.

Now, there are more cattle, three days buffaloes used to be more. If one had 70 buffaloes he was a big man. Normally each would have 20, 30, even 5 buffaloes. Three days in my childhood days, in our village each household would have buffaloes, some 10 some atleast 2 buffaloes. And with three 2 buffaloes he would

ike a livelihood. This is our traditional occupation. livestock rearing and agriculture are our traditional occupation. How much money would he get from keeping 2 buffaloes? It would not be enough. We had to have some Ragi, and potatoes to supplement. In those days, like they used to say, for the British, their ships were paramount, for us buffaloes were paramount. Only those who had buffaloes were cultured humans. This was only for this edge and border villages. Beyond this the people of Kanilore, Kadanad had no connection with livestock rearing. This border

area included. Kukkal thorai, Vailatti (near Kukkal thorai), Edanad, Chinna coonoor, Hullatti, Karpulla, Ekoni, Sholur. That was the limit. Beyond Sholur there are no Badaga villages. Near Kadanad agriculture used to be fertilized with cattle/stall fed in the village itself. From Solur till Kukkal thorai, each of the households in the village used to have many buffaloes in the Sugar area that could not be kept here. Now of course the cattle/buffalo population is much more. But even earlier there were quiet a large cattle/buffalo population. May be there were was much livestock earlier. But there were not so much wild animals to

predate on buffaloes. If 10 wild dogs got together, ~~they~~ in one day they would finish 10/20 calves. Those days there were not so many wild dogs. Game license used to be issued, and if a buffalo was killed by a hoger, 'dorai' would stay on the kill and with license definitely kill the hoger off. So there was not much predation. Now, we cannot even kill one wild boar. The wild animals have increased tremendously now. Thus a lot of the buffaloes have been predated upon.

Once there was an epidemic on buffaloes. So one who had 50 buffaloes was left with 20, one with 100 was left with 50. The ones that escaped that epidemic have now increased their population. But since wild animals have increased, and because of such goverment laws to prevent killing of wild animals, many have sold their livestock and some have maintained them. Now, we cannot even keep dogs in our villages. The gount. come and killed our dogs because they kill wild boar. The gount. folcies are very hard.

During British days, I would not know about the towns, but our villages were very prosperous. There was not much education, but ~~means~~ ways and means of ~~livelihood~~ livelihood looked good. Now, we say we have many facilities, but still all these facilities life is cumbersome.

OH 6.3

23rd October 1991

Ebanad

Sale Gounder, Age 70. I was in Masinagudi keeping buffaloes there. I was there for 10/12 years. This was only after 1957. Before that I used to be a 'Killadi', a loafer. I used to be loafing around all over. I have loafed all over - even till Kashi. I have loafed all around Nilgiris.

My days were very good. We used to be true to the words. We would not steal, we used to be scared of the law. Now, people

would do anything. As the government changes so will the people change. Just as the government's ~~ma~~ wrong doings, so are the people. I have 10 children. ~~Now~~ We were scared to do an operation, but now, we all get the operation done with government incentives.

Earlier there was a lot of food, a lot of milk and butter. Now things are bad. When I was in Masinagudi, there were 3000 households there. I kept buffaloes at Mallapuram. There are many hero stones around there. Those days in the perevious yuga, that was

Satya Kala, and there were good rains.
Masinagudi area had about 2808 villages
are something. There were 2 jamins. One
at Chemmanattom and one at Masinagudi.
Makamakkatti by name there is a kotai a
fort. That is near Masinagudi, on the
way to Wazhattotam, on the left side by
the road, there is a tank where buffalos
drink water. Just beyond there is a fort½.
There were 2 jamin's, 2 major rich agricultural
territories. These two jamins together had
one Raja. The jamindars were Uddarayya

and Muthavayyah. They were lingayats or Shivachari. There were 20 villages there with a lot of agriculture. This was told to me by the elders. Ragi and Cholam were the main crops. There was one stone at Satyamangalam and beyond Gudalur was a stone. These were the limits of the jamin. Beyond Gudalur was ~~Kattubkatti~~ Kallukkutti area. The area that side of Gudalur was included in Chemmanattam. It was a huge area. There were all kinds of ~~peo~~ communities in the area, including Muslims. It was villages of many communities.

Even now, you can identify these village sites with agricultural fields, forts and ragi storage bins. It was during that period, all the sculptor was done in the area. The villagers have all migrated to Mysore. That was many years ago - before my period. When I was there, there was not much of agriculture - only small pockets of agriculture, at Vaghatthotham, Masina-gudi, Mogar, Bokkapuram. All small agriculture of Cholam, Ragi, Amaranthus, potato, etc. All that stopped because of

oduced animals in cages

disturbance from elephants, wild pigs.
Even these days there was disturbance from
elephants, but the people were braver. They
had guns and they could shoot elephants.
Now, we cannot shoot animals. Even the
buffalos that we had, we sold them
because of high predation from wild dogs.
Wild dogs and forest guards would trouble us
a lot. Each day dogs would catch 8/10
calves. Earlier we could shoot them, but
now we cannot shoot them. The government
is helping the adivasis now. They have been

there for many years. There were Irulas, mainly, Kurumbas etc. Masinagudi was only built later. The place was empty earlier. We used to keep buffaloes there. Even Moyar ~~had~~ was a cattle pen patti. It was called Kadai hundi. There were places ~~we~~ where buffaloes were penned. Hundi means a patti. It was the Denad Shivachari people who had a patti at Moyar – Kaliyyah, Rajayyah. It was their grandfather who had a patti there. During dam construction all their land was bought up. Even now they have some land, and a house there. His ~~fa~~

grandfather was called Pattimadha. Now there are two people Kalliyyah, Rajayyah there.

Those days there were lot of natural forests, but now wildlife has increased. In the Moyar area from Sathyamangalam and Bhavanisagar to Moyar there were 300/400 pattis. I have seen many of them. The pattis would have cattle and buffaloes. The studs buffaloes would be in the forest and would come to the patti during the mating season.

Those days, cattle-buffaloes were plenty and now-a-days because the govt. supports the adivasis, they are not inclined to look after the cattles and buffaloes in the paddys. So we have given up and are giving up cattle / buffalo rearing.

Those days rains was good. Thus graze was plentiful. ~~Those~~ In-between rains were poor, and this year rain has been good again.

I gave up my livestock 7/8 years ago. Before that I had cattle / buffa-
-loes at Mallapuram &, Chinnanattom.

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Odagarai, Arakkadavu, Melhatti. We used to make Ghee and sell it at Ooty. These cattle / buffaloes were confined there to the Sigur plateau and to Ebanad etc.

Now, as the days go by, this cattle / buffalo herding is decreasing. This is because graze is low and decreasing, the workers, the Todas do not work properly, they are disobedient and do not follow instruction. They retort back. All this because the government discourages us and tells us of get out of that place - vacate the pattis. Now, the cattle and buffaloes are not looked after properly by the Todas. So, our people have

sold much of their livestock. Earlier, the Todas used to fear us and be obedient, and do their pūjs properly, but now they do not listen. Earlier, they of course used to try some black magic on us, but now-a-days it does not succede. Earlier, if you mention the name Kurumbal, ~~our~~ people of our clan would fear, because they would do a lot of black magic. They would become invisible and come and they would come and ~~kill~~ even kill people. Earlier, there were many such Kurumbas. Now, all of them ~~are~~ go to school etc. Even their population was more those days. Then, they all got scattered all over and were lost.

Now-a-days they do agriculture, but ~~ear~~ in

these days, they used to do some small agriculture, eat honey. For food our people used to give some money and grain, and that was their food. They would go to the forest and collect some tubers, there are many tubers that are edible. Even now these tubers are there, by the hill slopes. They would collect these, steam them, and put salt and eat them. And if our people saw them there, they would fling stones and chase us away. If they come to our paths, we had to feed them, or else they would curse us. Earlier if their name is mentioned, people in our village would flee. There were only

about 60 houses in our village during my childhood.
It has been about 8,000 years since our village
was built. It means that it has been so many
years since our Badagars come to the Nilgiris.
That is the count and the ~~accounting~~ reckoning.
By tradition, we have 100 years each
head or generation, and we ~~count~~ count so many
head units. Thus ~~we~~ according to my calculation,
according to such head units, we have been
here for 8,000 years. 2000 years before now when
Christ was born, the Badagas had already been
in the Nilgiris, and after that we has been
here for 2 head counts.

People now say all kinds of things after reading books, that we come at the time to Tippu. All that is false. All is only stories. We do speak some sort of Kannada, but we do not have a script. We come before the Christian era. Our basis for saying this is our kept a head unit count. We do not have a script or writing. So we have an oral tradition that says, one head unit is 100 years. It is not true that we came here during Tippu's period. You take a count of the villages, the old villages that the Badagas built. And our peoples villages, the old villages, are all

over the Nilgiris. People say Tippu was king of Mysore just before the British. And if you calculate from then onwards to today, you will get a lot of difference in the time receiving. During the British people, ~~after Tippu fell~~ before Tippu's period, when we rebuilt our houses, we found some buried old treasures. This we did not give to the government, but made them into jewellery for ourselves. It was all silver. Thus to say that we came during Tippu's reign is wrong. We did not come here because of Muslims. Our basis is our estimates according to oral tradition, that we came 8,000 years ago. To prepate such notions that we came here because of Muslims is

wrong.

In the Badaga villages, there is one village called Melur in Merkanad. Then there are Anianuru, and Kolanekombe ~~th~~ all have been disused and spoit. Thus, now we have Mela-uru and Kila-uru in Merkanad, it is beyond Coonoor. Everybody knows Mela-uru. It is before Melkundah. There you will find some basis and counts for our coming to the hills. There is one person called M. P. Nanja in Ketti. If you go to him, he would have all the old stories.

According to my notion and our

tradition, it is true that we come from the North. Then we have built villages here and there in the Nilgiris. All these villages, Ebenad and others are old villages. We do not know which route we came, but we did come from Mysore. During later periods, Shivacharis have come, ie Kongar have come; Kumbharans have come, people who made pots; Kalkatti there is a community, they are linked to the Shivacharis. It is these 3 communities that came during the later periods. The Kotas are traditional and indigenous here and came almost during the period we were here. The Todas say they too were first here, and we say

we were here first. If you ask how was that. according to my researches, if you have soils, then you have to pay taxes or tributes of the king. And we have been the ones paying the taxes. Taxes have been there right through history. Who has been the persons paying taxes. Not the other communities. It is the Badaga among the three communities who have been paying the taxes - among the Kota, Todawa, Irula, and Badaga. And it is only the Badaga who pay taxes, and no other communities. Thus. I conclude that we are the original inhabitants, the first inhabitants.

Now, if anybody owns lands he has to pay taxes. This is not only after the British - even before that taxes were there. We had to pay taxes before the British came at a place near Satyamanga - lam, at a fort there.

Above Kalkatti there is a fort called Malaikkottai. The tax that was collected at Malaikkottai used to be deposited at the kottai at Satyamangalam. It is beyond Srimungan. That was the main head office of the kingdom. Then when the British came, they captured

that area and fort. That was the last reign of a king before the British. Even now the Malaikottai ruins can be seen.

There are four nads in the Nilgiris: Todanad, Merkanad; Todanad is this area, beyond Ooty is Merkanadu. Porangad in Kotagiri, Kattabettu. And Kundanad is beyond the Merkunad river. There are Badagas in these four nadus. In this area Ebanad is a main village and the first village. Mela-uru and Kila-uru are the main and early villages of Merkunad ie,

the area beyond Ooty. Cinnacoonoor people are supposed to be the persons who are settled in 14 Ketti villages and 14 Kunda village. They were people who had migrated from here, this area. Now, they have gone there and increased in population.

Todamanad means: during the period of Uddarayya, who was a Shinachari. He was in charge of the Jamin. During those times itself Aniuvuru, Kolakambe in the area now called Mela-uru. ~~That~~ Those villages have been spoilt by a curse. Like the Anaikatti area

had been spoit, that area had also been spoilt. People had abandoned that village. Earlier, about 15 years ago, the place that I mentioned, Anaikatti, rich people could not stay there. It was a curse of those days. A high caste women desired a low caste person. Those days the high caste and low castes was a rule. When they were making love, when the people found out, the killed the girl and buried here. When her lover come to see the girl, he found a hand of the buried girl's head, and then he cursed that the 281 villages

in the area he spoilt - and so it was.

And so after 14 years, no one can stay in that area.

So even here those two villages were spoilt, and we have at present Mala-uru. Then we have Ketti and Kunda. In that side we have Tudigi soodai, called Toodigi, near Ekoni, and those people spread till Nanjanad. There there are 14 villages in Nanjanad. So those days there were 300 and few villages. Now, there are thousands of villages around.

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58 CQ5 PSE 7 DBT-- F GE W FO 3
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0 0 UI 1 -1.4784 11.55 0.2850 0.5130 3.1500 2.8500 2.0000
2 0.2353 0.0882 0.0000 0.0196 0.0196 0.5196 0.8333 1.0830 1.4170 0.0000
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In those days, other communities would look after our buffaloes, and they would make Ghee. For their food, we would provide them. The Kotas would have to prepare the iron implements for us. We used to grow a crop called Samai. It is a very tasty grain. We would give them some of Samai and some money. They in exchange would give us implements. Such have been the exchanges with other communities too. Beyond this we have no marriage or other relations. They do not come inside our houses. They would come to our door step and exchange goods.

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25 CO2 PSE 7 LBT-- F GE W FI 2
0.0000 0.0000 1.5684 0.7339 4.7989 3.7586 0.0000 0.0000 0.0000 0.0000
26 CO2 PSE 8 LBA-- F GE W SI 1
3 0.3627 0.0784 0.0000 0.0392 0.0000 0.4020 0.1667 0.0833 1.0830 0.0000
0 0 UI 1 -1.4784 17.08 0.3135 0.5415 3.2500 2.9000 2.2000
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During the British period, there were a few estates here and there. And before independence they had already made a lot of money and left the country.

Agriculture was mainly Samai, Ragi, Amaranthus, Ganji, many varieties of Avarai, some potato. Potato come much later. Earlier there was no potato. It was only after the British that potato was introduced. Then after independence all kinds of influences have come in. Their estates were brought up by locals and other Tamil people.

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Earlier, the sholas were only confined to the valleys in the hills and the rest of the area was good grasslands for grazing the buffaloes. Many of these sholas have been destroyed, and many sholas of wattle and eucalyptus have been raised by the department. Eucalyptus & Wattle have increased only in the past 20 years or 30 years.

Badagas is one community with many 'mama-maccha' groups. Largely 4 groups for the 4 seemas, and marriages are only among these 4 clans or these 4 seema people. The would be

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people of the other seemma in this area with ~~whole~~ whome marriages are made. I am an Ebanad person. There would be a person of Todanad seema or a person of Kodanad with who we have marriage.

Earlier the houses were all straw houses. It has been over 50 years since we converted them to tiled houses.

Earlier the iron implements made by the Kotas were ~~also~~ out of iron extracted from the ores here. But since my childhood, all the iron for making implements have been bought

from around here. We have heard that people extracted Iron from the ore here. They are called Kollas or something. This was before the British occupation. The lamps that are there of iron at the temple of Chennanattam were made from iron ore stones available at Anaikatti.

When people used to feed on prickly pear fruits in the Sirgur area, those were days when there was a famine in those parts. It was called "Kattalla kkai panja" or prickly-pear-fruit-famine. When we were eating this, it was a drought period. It was only after this

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many people came to the Nilgiris. Including the people whome we called Gounders. It was then that a lot of immigrants came to the Nilgiris. It may be 57 or 58 I do not know. I have not kept any record of these.

All the Harijans who are around this village, settled around here, It was I who went and got them here from Sabyamangalam. I brought them up from Sabyamangalam and kept them on my patta lands. After that slowly more and more people came here and there; and some

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were given 1 acre or 0.5 acres by us and by the government. I brought them here in 1957. I brought them here to do agriculture. Befor that we were doing our own agriculture and our numbers were small and our agriculture was small. When they came in those early days they would fear to come near our houses. They would stay in the fields. During that famine, I brought a lot of people. After I seeing that more people come and were brought. I brought about 10 families. I brought them promising labour and food.

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Those days the coolie rates was 0.50p ~ Re 1/-.

Why I am called Sait Sale Crowder is a story. There was a big man a Muslim who had a shop in the P mondi at Mettupalayam. During deepavali, he would buy clothes and distribute them to all. He gave us also clothes. and he brought me a muslim cap and I was wearing it. It should have been 50 years ago. So since them, people have been calling he Sait Sale Crowder. Even in court my name is Sait - S. G.

There have been ~~Cholera~~ many epidemics before the doctors come over

here. They was cholera, that we called Black, then there was the 'lice' disease. Then after the doctors come following the British, there are no epidemics.

OH6.4

24th October 1991

Kodumudi.

Naija Gowder, Age 78.

In old days, our agriculture was different. We would go into the fields, and cut back all the shrubs, bushes, herbs etc. We would ~~ten~~ then heap them and burn them on the field. Then the field would be cleaned and prepared, and Samai, Beer Ganji, Ganji, Ragi, etc would be sown. Beer Ganji, etc would be cultivated near the villages. We used to use only cow dung manure. No other manure would be put. Then we would sow by broad casting the Samai. After 3/4 months after sowing Samai would be ready for harvest.

Samai would be sown in April. Some people would plough the lands and them sow - those who have the facility, other poor folk would use the hoe to turn the soil. By Aug. after April - May - June - July, by August the harvest would be made. Each person would harvest 3 bags 1/4 bags 1/5 bags and that is all - because only family labour is employed and only the family is to be ~~feed~~ fed. We could not keep coolie and outside labour to work the fields. So each was the agriculture during my father's day. and I was aware of these practices. Samai, Ragi, Ganji, Wheat all these in the April crop. Those days

we would have only one crop annually. From April to August. After August we had only coolie jobs to look for — no agriculture

After that, we started growing potatoes. When we used to sow potato, the rains were good. And we have synthetic (foreign) fertilizer, supplied by Parry & Co, Shaw Wallace, Mysore Co. etc. They had agents here and they would give us fertilizer on account. In each village there used to be agents, who would give fertilizer on account. These were company agents. They would trust us and

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make advances. Then, during harvests of potato etc in ~~and~~ 4 months, the agents would pick up the potato and sell them and the advance was settled. Such was the modus. The market was at Kottupalayam.

After the harvest of potato, in the same fields, Samai, Gowji, Ragi, Wheat etc would be sown. For these no fertilizer etc was required because the fertilizer put for the potato is enought for these crops. Even cow dung manure is not necessary. The crop will come up in the same ~~fiel~~ fertilized field. Those days, there were good potato crop, good grain crop and we were happy and contented. After those

few good years, the rainfall started troubling us. Because of rainfall problems, we could not sow and reap potato well. We used to plant potato in April, and harvest in May - June - July August. Then again in November, we would sow water potato; potato for which we would bund water. Not rain fed. And De Jan Feb March, it would be harvested. Then if we leave March, from April onwards we would put hill potato. Now, we do not have that convenience. That was the rotation cropping those days.

1/7/93

(Cont)

OH 6.

6/11/91

(Cont)

OH 6.4 (Cont)

OH 6.5

OH 6.6

OH 6.7

Ottb. 4 (Cont) 1/7/93

Lake Blithe started, and from then onwards our work ceased. We do not have the capability to grow potato any more. Now, even if some one puts potato, those who sow 1/2 bag now sow 1/4 bags, and somehow we manage, with debt upon debt. When we were thus sowing potatoes with heavy loans, the Government advised us to sow atleast some tea saying we have been destroyed by sowing potatoes. Now, please plant Tea, so you can atleast manage. They gaurenteed us thus. Last year we put tea and the whole thing was

destroyed. We put the saplings in November because they gave the plants in Nov, Dec-Jan-Feb-March are dry periods and when they gave it in Nov, none of them survived the dry spell. Now, again we have again put Tea, which they gave in good time, and that has survied. In the same plot if we had put potatoes and wheat following, we would atleast get food & to eat for 2 months. Now, if ~~we~~ we do not put potato there, we cannot ~~put~~ sow wheat there. Now-a-days we do not put any organic fertilizer for wheat. We only grow vegetables etc and then grow wheat ~~with~~ in those fertilized fields.

There have been Eucalyptus and Wattle plantations for a long time, since my grandfathers

period onwards. In this area there are not many Shola forests anyway.

In Anaikatti we used to keep cattle. We could not keep 200/300 buffaloes and cattle and graze here. So, we used to keep them there. There was no agriculture here and there was no problem ~~of~~ of grazing in agricultural fields. We would just leave the livestock that would graze in the forests. ~~Horse~~ Animals would graze on its own and come back. We only had to milk the ~~co~~ livestock, make Ghee; ~~not~~ ~~could~~ there was no question of selling milk. We would sell the Ghee and manage with it. During my father's time, that was what we were doing. Now, we keep one cattle per house, and sell

some milk to the cooperative and manage. Those days there was no question of selling milk.

Ownership of land has always been there with pattas. We never used to have lease lands. We would lose the soil and burn the organic matter that had grown there during the fallow period. That burnt matter was our fertilizer. These organic matter would be there after about 2 years of fallow. This year we would cultivate one patch, and the next year another patch while the first would be fallow. After 2 years again we would cultivate the first patch after burning the organic matter. That is the nutrient for cultivation. Every two / three years, we would cultivate that

patch. This was the agricultural practice of the Badagas all over the Nilgiris. Later, after potato spread, and synthetic fertilizer came, when seed potato spread, the agriculture was intensified.

The was ~~the~~ wildlife around here and the White men came for hunting. Dorai's would come for hunting tigers, wild boar, sambhar. There are one or two ~~the~~ Tahr, but it is difficult to shoot them. I have seen Tahr near Bikkepatti by my eyes about 30 years ago. Now, there are no Tahr, because there is no hunting. Since hunting is banned, the Tahr are not sighted. Only hunters would see the Tahr. ~~Below~~ Below Bikkepatti, by

the sides of streams, only crags, they used to be there grazing. I have seen it when I went hunting. Now, the guns have been taken away and none goes hunting. I am sure, even now Takin must be there.

OH 6.5

24th October 1991

Kurkal

G.K. Jogi Gowder, Age 73, a Badaga. When I was just of age 10 years, agriculture, our basis was different. There was no fertilizer. We used only organic manure. We would use organic ~~fert~~ manure and so a little agriculture. During those days, we would put organic manure in fields, ~~the~~ and grow Ragi, Samai, and consume that. But if you consider the fruits in the forest, how many varieties there were! Oranges, Jack etc, etc, some 10 different fruits. I have ~~my~~ myself consumed so many fruits

in the forest - Nagamara fruits, Gottemara, Cuing, Peaches, etc all this would grow in plenty. Oranges, one could not even describe and imagine. Even around the villages there used to be many fruits. Even I have contracted them for over Rs 2 lakh. The fruits we got only for 3 seasons. After that the fruit trees were attacked by an epedemic.

Ragi, Samai, Gram is Wheat, Amaranthus, Sesame, etc were our main crops, and productivity was good. We only used the hoe to work the soil - no ploughing because there are no flat areas around

here. We would turn the soil, break the clods and sow the seeds. Kullu, Kottu, Kammuttis were our agricultural implements. The Kotas of Tirunchigadi were the ones who made these implements for us. When I was of age, Kullu was available in the market. The rest of the implements are got from the Kotas.

After 1962, Lake Bliss came and agriculture itself was made researched impossible. The govt. supplied all kinds of insecticides and fungicides, but none of

them were effective permenantly. Anyhow, during rains, some disease would strike and that was the end.

The rains have also progressively decreased. How many springs were here. Innumerable of springs were here. All the springs had dried. Even the big streams the headwaters of Kurkkal thorai became dry. In my childhood the stream was perennial. During this season, it was not possible to cross the stream. The

bridge across was put in 1972, during MGR's reign. Before that we had to cross the stream, and the stream was full so that two of us had to hold each other and cross it. That was if we had to go to Kotagiri to buy provisions. There was only a short cut to Kotagiri via Gundada, Tanadu, and we had to carry provision on our heads. It would take . We would need jaggery, some rice for festivals, salt, oils etc. But we also used to make oil. Even now oil pressing units were around. We have a lot of castor, that we used to

processes. All that has changed with the decrease in the rainfall for the past 10~12 years. We used to have 2 harvests - 2 growing seasons each year. Ragi would be sown in March end, and 4 months later harvest it. ie July end. There was not too much potato. Only ½ bag, 1 bag. Ragi and Samai were in the same season. After that, if it rains well, we would sow Wheat, Ground, Anarai etc. Anarai can be put in both seasons. But the second season is sown only after seeing the monsoon. During Oct - Nov normally there is a lot of rain. Such was the rain. But since the ~~s~~ crop disease

struct rain has decreased and crops have become unviable. Oranges that were planted in pits used to yeild a lot. In the forests there were Nori, Negamara, Kottamara etc that used to bear fruits that were like Ghee and Honey. In this area there was lots of such forests. Not so much in the Kotagiri area. After the monkeys evolved, there is not one fruit left on the trees. The ~~many~~ monkeys eat them all. Now, they have increased so much in population, and come so close to human habitation - and eat all fruits. There there are also many wild boar that trouble our agriculture. There are no

elephants here. They are confined to our Sirur area. But Sambhar are many. Kattu adu or barking deer, wild boar, rabbits, etc. Earlier people used to come for shikar. But the present government has taken away our licenses and our guns. Here and there, there are a few guns, but the older people have died, and the younger people do not know how to use them.

Now, you cannot imagine the wild boar population. It has become impossible. Even agriculture has become difficult. In the day time monkeys, and in darkness, wild boar.

The estates around here were held

by white men. There was a lot of coffee and no tea at all. There was so much coffee around here. But since the rain has decreased coffee has been replaced by tea. It must be 15 year since. Oh! the coffee estates here were unimaginable. In our village, Ooty Krishnappa etc, an Iyer was holding a big estate here. Then there was a Mandrakocchai Estate, it was a Badaga holding 200 acres of coffee. Then Tuneri Combai, Ariengi, is still being held by our man. He is a man of Kagguchi. Cheria, a Shivachari, that was a big estate. Guddenna Estate of 700 / 800 acres, is now bought by

a Kannadiga. Earuky Estate nearby was an estate of a dorai and that has been sold. Then below that Gegili, Munda dodana, it was a white man's estate that was sold off. Geemona was another dorai's estate that has been sold. There were many white men here who have sold their estates. All these estates have been bought up by our folks and are now doing agriculture in them.. Now, rains are decreasing. Only this year rains have been good, but even then the springs have not sprung up.

06 SEQ. 6168 DATE 18-MAY-86 08:51:19 MONITOR I.I.SC. TOPS-10 7.01 *START*

Spring brings about water all over the place. Now, that water is not there. Even for our drinking water has to be ~~dss~~ brought from Billicombai. Even that has to be rationed. Now, it is in surplus. There is a lot of demand for water. For the past 10 years it has been difficult.

Eucalyptus & Sugai used to be there, but little. There was only silver in the coffee estates. That was most important for coffee estates. Silver would also regenerate on its own. Now, for the tea estates they plant them. There were not

06 SEQ. 6161 DATE 18-MAY-86 08:46:49 MONITOR I.I.SC. TOPS-10 7.01 **END**

many Eucaly and Seegai. Only now they have increased.

We used to keep cattle in Sirur. In an year, 9 months the cattle/buffaloes would be there. Only if there is some big festival or something the cattle/buffaloes would be brought up. After Ragi, Wheat, Samai have been harvested, the cattle/buffaloes would be driven up here to graze the straw of the plants. They would be brought up in Jan-Feb-March, by April-May

they would go down again. That time for the ~~st~~ good straw and grass here they would be brought up. ~~Br~~ At other times the cattle / buffaloes would be there itself. They were not for selling milk, but for ~~a~~ making Ghee. There is a walking path from here to Sirur. Even now there is a big temple at Sirur that is looked after by our village. By tradition, our elders were doing agriculture at Sirur, and at that time

a god ~~in~~ came and ~~made a~~ proclaimed a truth - that "you have to do service to this ~~g~~ deity without a break." And since then, by generations, we have looked after the temple. It is the Irulas who ~~offer~~ are the priests at the temple. It is we who have appointed them and pay them wages for it, and food for them. It is a forest area, and elephants come, tigers come, and for this we have drums, and drum beats to scare them away. And these are still there at times. There is a village ~~he~~ headman at times who is responsible.

Those days we would keep cattle and buffaloes at Sirur. One person who have atleast 10 heads, 50/60 was more like it. The Irulas would look after them, but we must also be there. ~~Kattu~~ The cattle/buffaloes must be milked, it must be converted to Ghee and then sold. We would stay there. Once a week we would come here and collect our provisions and walk down to Sirur. It would take about 3 hours to go and 4 hours to come back here. The route is via Kukkal Thorai.

Tengumarada is people from the Kotagiri side. They have bought land there and do agriculture there. It is none of us. These days agriculture was done at first, but now-a-days there are no possibilities to do agriculture. Now, the Tudas do a little agriculture here and there of chillies etc.

When I was a young there were only 35 houses & in this village when I was off reasonable age, about 50-60 years ago. Now, there are nearly 150 houses here.

ALL OCCURENCES DATA FROM

OH 6.6

25th Oct 1991

Meeting

Kukkal thorai

There is a hill called Durgamalai in these parts. It is beyond Guddanni Estate, beyond Marualla Estate, you have to go down after 2 miles. There, people used to come from the Barracks to hunt and play Shikar. Two, or three people would come, out of which one was a Gurkha, he was in the military, he was staying here, working in the barracks. He has gone once to those parts and says 2/3 things. If there are some who have gone with the hunting party

and we ask them, they would be able to say something. There are some like that in Loonoor, who used to go along with them for hunting, but I do not know their name. They say, on top the hill there is a tank or a well, and that tank or well is always full of water, and ~~it~~ this since here, in the rainy season gets muddy and would carry all kind of fruits that call on its bank like fig fruits, these fruits would also be seen in the well on top of that hill. How did these fruits surface there? This is a mystery.

Secondly, in the next hill, there is a big tunnel, and that is straight connected to Mysore they say, but we cannot get into it. It a fort. I have not seen it, but only heard it from the Shikaris. The nephew of the person who went to hunt in here in the 'shed' at Kukal thorai, and he would be able to tell you about the Shikari in Coonoor. Stanley he is called.

There is a temple there called Dondarayan Even now we go and offer prayers

at that temple. Earlier the Kurumbas used to be the priests at the temple. These days, when they go and offer prayers there, they buy & take things from the shop to offer prayer, and after prayer if you push a stick inside the sanctum the money spent for the prayer things would be reimbursed. So say the elders. But now, this does not happen after a person asked for reimbursement twice. So that hole in the rocks ~~is~~ in the sanctum is closed. There is a chain that rotates in the stream, and even now the sound is heard.

I have gone to the temple. People have gone till the Chettigorai waterfall. Beyond which is the Durga malai.

The floods occured here in 1978 and caused a lot of destruction. There was a land slide, above the check dam in Vailatti, and the check dam was filled up impounding water. When water level rose, it broke the dam and gushed down, and within 3 to 4 minutes, the whole village was inundated. From a bhai shop 5 people were missing. Then one and two here and there, and a total of 11 people were killed. The houses were all destroyed. It happened in

on the 4th Nov, at 7 pm. In Nov 5 and 6 there was no communication to here. Then MGR was abroad, and he was informed who said he would come to the village on his return. Then he came to Ooty, visited Kotti that was damaged and then ~~came~~ come to this place and agreed to ~~done~~ make all arrangement.

~~They visited~~ He immediately arrangened for the bridge. Then for 68 houses to be built, he got reserved forests denotified from the central Government. Then along with a Christian organization, GT Pandiya Raj and his brother Soundara Pandiyan ~~Raj~~ agreed to built the houses.

There is a place of Puzhinjur, on the way to Chamarajnagar in Karnataka 12 kms of the border. There, there are Badagas. Here in Tamilnad, near the Talavadi hill area - Kottada, Hosatti, Mavatti, Seekatti, Devarmattam, like this there are 4/5 villages of Badagas and some Lingyats.

From those villages some people have came and settled here recently. They are the majority. And there is a lot of contact between this village and those there regarding marriage etc. If we take a women from

there we would bring her here and then finish the marriage. We ~~marry~~ marry into both places, here in Kukkal and other areas. But ~~often~~ other villages in Kukkal etc do not have marriage relations with those in Hasanur, Talavadi. In this village, the majority is not the people who were born and brought up here, but people who come from Hasanur are more. Another important reason is that this is a very dry area, before orange come here. From here, people used to go to Attikon Estates, stay there for months, work and

bring back wages. Attikan Estate is BR Hills in Karnataka. And since we kept going and coming to those parts, we have since been having relations there. Then, slowly when this area started progressing with orange plantations etc, people started migrating from Hassanur area to this area. So ~~fro~~ people migrated from here over ~~a~~ 80 ~~to~~ ago to Attikanam Estate area.

The Hassanur area Badagas are all people who went from Nilgiris and settled down there. This person is from Pulinjur in Karnataka. And all those Badagas are people who have migrated from Nilgiris.

Those days we had to walk from here. The route goes via the Dandavayan temple. It would take 1½ days from here to reach Mysore - Talamalai / Thanali. So the Hasanna Bedagas are people who have migrated from here. This area was a dry area and that place was sparsely populated to herd cattle / buffaloes, and there are a lot of forests there to graze cattle. Here, that facility was not there. So, these people have gone with their cattle / buffaloes

and settled here and there. like the Todas who have mands here and there with just 2/3 houses, similarly the Bodagas have settled all over there in Hassanur.

I have come here 14 years ago. There we grow Ragi, Samai, Varagallu, Sala anari, etc. all these crops and all the agriculture is rain fed. There is only one crop in the year. All other cultural & characteristics are similar. The Hettaamman festival is common. When we conduct

the Hethe amman festival here, these people would come and mingle. There must be about 200/300 houses in that area. They also marry among themselves. Even those people there have the same exogamous clans like Mekunad, Todanadu, etc for marriages.

Example I am a Kukkal area person. This is a part of Todanad. In Todanad there are two groups, one Todaguyi; and other is the Kukkal group.

We have 4 major divisions in the Badagas:
Todanadu, Porangadu, Merkunad, Kunda.
We do not have much contact with
Kunda people. In Todavanad area there
is Ebanad village who is our mama-maelan
so we can take women from there.
Similarly, for Ekroni etc, we cannot have
marriages because they are considered
clan
Kulkkal/: Our families are there: Nanjanad,
Ekoni, Kalhatti.

Now, if we have a child we
would decide the marriage after enquiring

the clan to which he belongs. This division into clans has been done since time immemorial. There are many groups. There is a seperate group called Sholur, Kukkal, Todanad, Kaikar, Merkunad, Kunda; then there are some Lingayats in Deenatti who we do not give or take women, but we exchange with the Kaggucchi people, and they ~~we~~ homes marriages ~~a~~ with the Deenatti Lingayats. We cannot directly marry with the Dheenatti Lingayats. And the Lingayats do not eat meat, and the ~~culture~~ habit of ~~meat~~ eating is followed according to the patriclan.

Dheenatti are a Lingayats sect, but do not wear the linga. The Lingayats who wear the linga - we have no links with them at all. They are Kongu people, and we do not enter their houses, even though we speak the same language. Thus there are many groups.

1/7/93

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26th Oct 1991

Kodanad
Pangadumand.

K. P Nasi is my name. There are many mands around here. This is Pangadumand. There is one called Bedkal mand where my yonger brother lives. Maddumimand is down there, and there is Kordumimand, and Nerdal mand. Overall there must be about 50 houses here. There must be some 10/12 buffaloes with me. All the buffaloes that I had have died. If you include all the

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four mands, there must be about 50 buffaloes. There is a small temple and a Ji in there on the other side about 1 mile away. It does not have a name. Even now it exists, but there is no one caretaking for 4/5 years now. The tradition discontinued because we could not get buffaloes here. We should have a white buffalo and that is not available.

There are not many mands in these parts, most of us Todas live on

the other side towards Ooty. We have been here since my grandfather's days. How they came here, I do not know. They must have moved here from Ooty but we have been here for very long. We are the same Todas as anywhere else. There are two groups of Todas: Tartar - and Themali. Our temple priests come from the Themali group. Tartar do not become temple priests. I am a Themali. There are no marriages between them.

No giving or taking girls among the two groups.

Earlier we used to drive the buffaloes from one mand to another. Even now we sometimes drive the animals from place to place. But here I do not go - Beyond Anaconda there is a mand. They drive the buffaloes from there to other areas. People here do not go from mand to mand.

During the dry season, normally they would drive the buffaloes from place to place. They would go only if they have a mand in higher places. In rainy season, they would return to their own mand. The Analanche mand people do this regularly, even today. It is the Tartar peoples mand. Only those people will go. ~~Exact only~~ The Tartar people go from mand to mand. Even the Themali could go, but they should have a

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mand to go to. If there is a mand, then they can drive the buffaloes there.

We used to kill buffaloes at our funerals. Now, we kill one only for each death. Earlier we would kill many.

The mates for the buffaloes are kept here itself. If the buffaloes become many then we would sell them to the Kakkas who would drive it from Mastmagudi for slaughter.

We regularly go for pilgrimage to Nanjangud. I have gone there 2/3 times. I have gone with my father from here. We go to Nanjangud to offer prayers, and to shave our heads, bathe in the stream etc. This has been a tradition even from my grandfather's period. Those days we had to walk for some distance and then take a bus.

The government has given us land at abnt 5 acres / each.

PROPORTION P.C.J.J STD.DVN.

The total land in all the mands would be about 100 ~ 150 acres in all. We do some agriculture there, we put potatoes, cabbage. We have only planted 2 acres of Tea - my brother has planted them.

Some Todas have become Christians I am a Hindu. & If we do not have means, they help us. There is a Daniel Kodan, even in these days they converted Linguis amma. That was a long time ago, when they were of-

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3/7/93 Your age maybe