

**CULTURAL LIFE OF BADAGAS OF NILGIRIS:
TRADITION AND CHANGE**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In

Centre for Folk Culture Studies

BY

NAVEEN KUMAR N.

(Reg. No: 07SFPH01)



**Centre for Folk Culture Studies
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad
P.O. Central University
Hyderabad 500 046
Telangana**

September 2018

CULTURAL LIFE OF BADAGAS OF NILGIRIS: TRADITION AND CHANGE

A Thesis Submitted during September 2018
To the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfillment of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Centre for Folk Culture Studies

**NAVEEN KUMAR N.
(Reg. No: 07SFPH01)**

Supervised

By

Prof. P. S. Kanaka Durga



**Centre for Folk Culture Studies
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad
P.O. Central University
Hyderabad 500 046
Telangana**

September 2018



DECLARATION

I, **Naveen Kumar N.** hereby declare that this thesis entitled “**Cultural Life of Badagas of Nilgiris: Tradition and Change**” submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of Prof. **P.S. Kanaka Durga** is a bonafide research work and is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this university or any other university or institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

A report on plagiarism statistics from the University Librarian is enclosed.

Date:

Signature of the Student

Name: **Naveen Kumar N.**

Reg. No.: **07SFPH01**

//Countersigned//

Signature of the Supervisor



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Cultural Life of Badagas of Nilgiris: Tradition and Change**” submitted by **Naveen Kumar N.** bearing Registration No. **07SFPH01** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in **Centre for Folk Culture Studies** is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance.

This thesis is free from Plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.
Parts of the thesis have been:

A. Paper published in the following research journal:

1. “Badagas of Nilgiris : Polemics of Caste and Tribe”, IJRAR (International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews), Volume V, Issue III, July-September 2018 (ISSN: 2349-5138) pp. 415z-423z.

B. Papers presented in the following Conferences:

1. “Who is a Badaga? Seen and Shown”, SeSee-Saw: Contexts of Spectatorship, Visual Culture National Conference – UGC-SAP, S.N. School, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, February 25-27, 2010.
2. Paper presented: Death Rituals of Badagas in Nilgiris, FOSSILS National Folklore Conference, Dravidian University, Kuppam, April 8-10, 2010.

Supervisor

Head of Centre

Dean of the School

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i - ii
List of Tables	iii -iv
List of Diagrams	v
List of Photographs	vi
List of Maps	vii
List of Appendices	viii
Glossary	ix-x

Chapters

I. Introduction	1- 33
Significance of the study - Nature and scope of the study - Geographical area of the study - Literature review - Research works on Folklore - Status of knowledge on Badaga community - Pre Colonial writings - Colonial writings - Post Colonial writings - Field methodology and data processing - Lacuna in previous researches – Hypothesis - Aims and objectives – Methodology - Primary sources - Secondary sources – Methods - Quantitative-Qualitative - Observation Method – Ethnography - Post-Modern Ethnography - Narrative inquiry - Chapterisation.	
II. Origin Caste and Migration	34-57
Modern Period – Early European Visits – Caste of Badagas – Occupational Specialization – Purity Scale – Heirarchy of relationship – Commensality – Ascriptiveness.	
III. Folklore and Cultural Life of Badagas	58-135
Section I – Geography and Environment of Nilgiris – Climate of the Nilgiris – Rainfall– Edible fruits and Ethnomedicinal vegetation in Nilgiris –Fauna – Mountains, Rivers and Lakes – Doddabetta Range - Rivers – People - Section II- Cultural Life and Folklore of Badagas and other co-habitants: An Over view – The Badagas - Structure of <i>Hatti</i> , the Badaga hamlet - Religion and Temples - Social Organisation and Kinship - Socio-political organisation of Badagas - Functioning of the <i>Manta</i> - Crimes and	

Punishments - Badaga Economy – Agriculture Practices of Badagas – Shifting agriculture- The Agricultural Cycle - Upland agricultural economy of Badagas - Wet rice cultivation - Livestock – Badagas of Wynad - Paniyas and Badagas – Garden cultivation - Dry Field agriculture – Badagas and water resources – Ethno medical practices of Badagas – Dress and ornaments of Badagas - Badaga Tribal co-habitants in Nilgiris- The Todas – Religion and worldview of the Todas – The Kotas – The Kurumbas – The Irulas - The Paniyas – The Kattunayakans. Section III- Reciprocity of Relationships among the ethnic groups of Nilgiris – Badaga and Kasuva relationships – The sacred Dairy Temple center at Beragani – Badaga Hundis – The Livestock centers of Badagas and Kasuvas – Badagas and Kotas of Upper Nilgiris – Inter tribal relations among Badagas, Toda and Kota community – Influence of Britishers on the reciprocal relationships.

IV. Rituals as a Cultural Metaphor: The Rites of Badagas

136-214

Ritual studies an Overview- Badagas' Rites of passage – Birth ritual – The Ritual process – Pre-Birth phase – Sign/Symptoms of Pregnancy – Man during his wife's pregnancy –Do's and Dont's of Woman during pregnancy – Food during pregnancy – Restrictions on movement – *Kanni Hakko* Ceremony – Midwife care for pregnant woman – Behaviour during pregnancy - Birth phase – Preparation for delivery (birth) – Badaga midwives and their role – Badaga women and their role during delivery – Role of men during delivery – Badaga belief on birth and gender perception - Post-Birth phase - Initial days after delivery – Purity and Pollution - *Koosuthirukothu* (Infant's first visit to paternal home) – Childhood ceremonies – Puberty Ritual – *Hennu madakkae muttodhu* - Perception on menses – Onset of Puberty – Present day practice – Purity and pollution – The Ceremonial day – Menstrual Hut: A Traditional Institution: *Holagudi* (pollution place) – Marriage Ritual – Kinship and Marriage - Badaga marriage – Badaga Marriage ceremony – Sequence of Badaga marriage ceremony – Divorce - Death Rituals – Sequence of Badaga Funeral ceremony - The Phases in Badaga Funeral ceremony - Communal rites – Festivals of Badagas - *Hethe habba*(Festival) - Jadeswami festival - Agrarian Festivals - *Dodda Habba*(Sowing Festival) - *Devva Habba* (Harvest Festival) - *Sakkalathi* Festival(autumn crop harvest) - *Karuppuor Uppu Attuva Habba* (Annual Ceremony) - Uppu habba, Salt giving tradition - *Karuppu* or *Uppu Attuva*

Habba - The Annual Salt giving Ceremony - Completion of the Ceremony - Modern Festivals.

V. Conclusion	215-230
Photographs	231-242
Bibliography	243-261

Acknowledgements

Foremost, I express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor **Dr. P.S. Kanaka Durga**, Professor & Head, Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Centre for Folk Culture Studies for her encouragement and highly illuminating guidance. Without her help, guidance and support, the completion of this thesis would have been impossible. She motivated, guided, supported and advised me in both personal and academic life. I will ever remain thankful to her. Besides my supervisor I convey my heartfelt thanks and extend my immense gratitude to **Prof. Y. A. Sudhakar Reddy**, for providing conceptual clarity, insightful comments and encouragement in working out my thesis. The unceasing guidance, insightful comments and sharing of ideas by the above two widened my research from various perspectives.

My humble gratitude to **Dr. Joly Puthussery**, for his affection, help and kind cooperation. I earnestly acknowledge and thank my Doctoral committee member **Prof. B. V. Sharma**, Dept. of Anthropology for extending his guidance and valuable time during my research process.

My sincere thanks to **Dr. M. N. Rajesh** (Dept. of History) for his encouragement and help.

Furthermore, I am grateful to my fellow research scholars of folk culture studies- Resenmenla Longchar, Archana, Hashik, Justin, Karuna, Umesh, Hindola, Sudheer, Benny, Malli, Sunil, Venkat, Somaiah, Justin, Safia, Sapha, Atidhi, Sudharsan, Sarkar, Ravi Babu, Lakshmi Reddy, Lingaiah, Hemanta, Kausik, Sivanarayana, Shekar Babu, Vijaya Durga, Pavani, Vahini, Gowri Naidu, Santvana Santosh, Sriraag, Amphu, Geeti and others for their help when needed.

I would also like to thank all the staff members of the CFCS especially Mrs. Dhanalakshmi and Mr. Laxman for their generous help at times of need. I would like to acknowledge the assistance I have received from the library staff of *Indira Gandhi Memorial Library*, University of Hyderabad and other institutions. I am deeply indebted to the informants from the Nilgiris for their valuable time in providing me the data needed for this work.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family members and well-wishers who always wished me success and supported me in all my endeavours. Thank you!

Naveen Kumar N.

,

List of Tables

Content	Page Nos.
1. Monthly rainfall in Coonoor: 1836 - 2007	61
2. Edible vegetation on Nilgiris	63
3. Scheduled Tribes (Census 1981)	66
4. Badaga population by 1931	67
5. Badaga population between 1881 and 1931	67
6. Tribes of Nilagiris	67
7. Territorial distribution of Badaga population, 2008 census.	68
8. Ethnic groups settled in different levels in Nilagiri Hills	84
9. Location of Badagas and Kotas in Wynad region	91
10. Ethno-medical plants used in Badaga folklife.	96-115
11. Tribes of Nilagiris	117-118
12. Population changes in the Nilgiris from 1871-1891	137
13. Badaga Festival Calendar	203
14. Badaga Weekly calendar	204

List of Tables

Content	Page Nos.
1. Monthly rainfall in Coonoor: 1836 - 2007	61
2. Edible vegetation on Nilgiris	63
3. Scheduled Tribes (Census 1981)	66
4. Badaga population by 1931	67
5. Badaga population between 1881 and 1931	67
6. Tribes of Nilagiris	67
7. Territorial distribution of Badaga population, 2008 census.	68
8. Ethnic groups settled in different levels in Nilagiri Hills	84
9. Location of Badagas and Kotas in Wynad region	91
10. Ethno-medical plants used in Badaga folklife.	96-115
11. Tribes of Nilagiris	117-118
12. Population changes in the Nilgiris from 1871-1891	137
13. Badaga Festival Calendar	203
14. Badaga Weekly calendar	204

List of Diagrams

Content	Page Nos.
1. Relationships: Nilgiri Tribes and Badagas	49
2. Relationships: Badagas and Tribes of Nilagiris	50
3. Badaga Birth Ritual	171
4. Badaga Puberty Rites	178
5. Traditional Badaga Marriage Ceremony	188
6. Contemporary Badaga Marriage Ceremony	189
7. Badaga Death Ceremony	200

List of Photographs

Content	Page Nos.
1. Photographs of Badaga woman ornaments	116
2. Photographs of Badaga dress and ornaments	117

List of Maps

Content	Page Nos.
1. Geography of Nilagiris	3
2. Naduwise distribution of Badaga settlements in Nilagiris	69

Chapter: I

INTRODUCTION

Badaga is the major community that cohabits with the native tribal groups - the *Kota*, the *Toda*, the *Kurumba* and the *Irula* in the Nilgiri hilly tracts of Tamil Nadu. The name *Badaga* literally means 'Northerner', *i.e.*, the people that were migrated from the region situated to the north of Nilgiris¹, the Mysore region in Southern Karnataka. It appears that the name *Badaga* (northerner) is given by the local people to these immigrants. The name *Badaga* is a Kanarese appellation to the people coming from North which means, the *northerner*. The northern portion of Mysore State and a few portions of Bellary and Anantapur are considered as Badaganadu and the Kannadigas of these regions are called as *Badagavaru*². Ethnically they call themselves as *baduguru*, probably referring to the minority of population when compared to the other groups during the initial phases of their migration when the people hailing from *Badugunadu*. The community by virtue of their traditional profession agriculture, gradually crept into the heart of Nilgiris and occupied more than three hundred and seventy villages situated in different eco-zones on Nilagiri hills; *Mekunadu* (The Ithalar Region), *Porangadu* (The Kotagiri Region), *Todanadu* (The Ootacumund Region), and *Kundaenadu* (The Kundah Region).

Jacomo Finicio, an European priest (A.D.1603) in his report (Portuguese Manuscript now preserved in British Museum) mentioned the *Badagas* in his report for the first time, and observed them as the remarkable group of people flourishing amidst the other tribes in the uplands of Nilgiris³. Geographically, the Nilgiri District of South India is a hilly area of about nine hundred and eighty two sq. miles. It is situated between Karnataka in the North, Kerala in the West, Coimbatore district in the south and Erode district in the East. It spreads into the Western most part of Tamil Nadu. He noticed that each tribe has its own language and culture which could be distinguished one from the other.

The total population of the district according to latest official figures is 7. 35, 354⁴ (District Census 2011) of which according to the Academy of *Badaga* Culture,

Ooty (June, 2012)⁵ , the *Badagas* are around 2, 50,000 spread in around 468 villages and hamlets⁶ ethnically known as *hatti*. The rest of the population of the land constitutes mostly the migrated multilinguals who sought livelihood in different Colonial offices, as workers in tea and coffee plantations, labour in public utilities like road and other construction activities

In South India, the Badaga culture and history begins with the story of their migration from the south of Mysore district to the Nilagris in sixteenth Century due to the onslaught of Muslims and continues with their emergence as a prominent agricultural community by acclimatising themselves with its land and people- Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas, Paniyas and Kasuvas and entering into reciprocity. *Badaga* villages, wherein these agriculture groups inhabit is geographically situated in the hilly tracts of Nilgiris⁷. The district has now six taluks viz. Ooty or Ootacamund (Udhagamandalam), Pandalur, Coonoor, Kotagiri, Kundah, and Gudalur (shown in the page.3; Map.No.1). The *Badagas* are highly territorial in their identity formations. The traditional geographic divisions which the *Badagas* (including native tribes) recognize are *Mel Seeme*, *Kundenadu seeme*, *Thodhanadu Seeme*, *Poranganadu Seeme*, *Mekunadu Seeme* and *Wynaad Gaudas* . The seventeen *Badaga* tribes are distributed in 468 villages and hamlets. Nilgiri District is multi-ethnic settlement wherein *Badagas* and other tribal groups live. The region is covered by deep valleys, gorges, winding streams, hills that form the habitation for a rich diversity of vegetation and wildlife.

For academicians and culture specialists, the *Badagas* have confused origins for they are represented as the immigrants on one hand and on the other as indigenous tribal group flourishing along with other ethnic tribes, like the Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Irulas on Nilagiris since the days of yore. Though, *Badagas* migrated to Nilgiris in small numbers, in due course of time their population became so extensive that their endogamous community emerged as a highly hierarchized social group divided into ten heterogeneous main clans⁸ (phratries). The *Badagas* are hierarchically organised as: the *Odeyas or Woodaya*, *Kongaru*, *Haruvas*, *Adhikiri*, *Kanakkas*, *Kaggusis*, *Gaudas*, *Wynaad Gaudas*, *Badagas* of *Hasanuru* and *Toreyas*. They consider groups other than their community as a *holeya*, which means an outsider.

Map .No.1.Geography of Nilagiris⁹



Like any other community in India, the *Badagas* have their own rich cultural identities preserved in the form of oral traditions and artefacts. They have their own language, Badaga, a southern Dravidian language. The *Badaga* community consists of six distinctive dialectic groups¹⁰. There are perhaps three of these seemingly distinctive by reason of geography: speakers living in the Kundenad, Hasanuru and Wynaad areas used to be quite isolated from the main part of the community, a situation that would have encouraged the growth of separate dialects in the course of several centuries. The differentiation Woodaya and Kumbara-Beda from Standard Badagu cannot, however besides the villages where standard *Badagu* is spoken. Only if we postulate that these three groups came speaking a more modern form of Kannada than the earlier immigrants who spoke a medieval cast-dialect can we account for this disparity. The Adikaris and Kanakkas have a dialect hardly varying from Standard Badagu because of their ready intermarriage and frequent social inter-

course with Gaudas, Haruvas and kaggusis; the Odeyas, Bedas and Kumbaras are essentially endogamous groupings, and thus culturally a little more apart from the rest.

The Badaga identity lies in (i) their village construction and architecture of their dwellings (ii) religion and (iii) Language and culture.

(i) The village consists of numerous rows of small tiny houses, built alongside easterly protected side of hill slopes keeping in view the fluctuation in monsoonal rainfalls, temples for village goddesses like Hette and puranic pantheon- Siva and Vishnu¹¹, village pastures for cattle grazing, spaces for communal activities and councils, plantations etc.,¹² the villages were named after its topography, people, flora, fauna and geology. Traditionally, the characteristic Badaga house was built with a thatched rooftop and walls constructed using the native martial mixing wet clay, soil, animal dung, and straw; it consists of two rooms, a kitchen on one side and to its opposite a multipurpose room linked by an arched doorway¹³. During the early times of migration, the Badagas had joint family system. Now-a-days, nuclear families emerged living with married parents and their children. Prevalence of single-parent families and couples without children is not uncommon. Hence, in contemporary times, the houses are built with tiled coverings and walls made of brick, and multi-storied buildings with all ¹⁴amenities like electricity, piped water, media and access to public transport and services.

(ii) With regard to religion, besides local *Hette* and *Lingayat* Saivism, a good number of people also converted to Christianity due to the impact of the first evangelical endeavours in the Nilgiri hills in A.D. 1846 and A.D. 1867 by the Basel Mission which is an interdenominational Protestant Christian missionary society. The early conversions into Christianity by the Missionaries primarily caused tension among the Badagas resulted in the expulsion of Christians from the villages and hostility between them. The destruction of a Mission's building in A.D.1856 (Basel German Evangelical Missionary Society, A.D. 1856) is a manifestation of such conflict. In the later time the Christian Missionary activities were towards social welfare, especially in education and sanitary spheres. The other markers of Badaga identity lies in the distinct use of language known as

‘Badagu’ and cultural life constructed around their oral traditions, beliefs, folklore, folk medicine, kinship, and economic organization; limited contact with ‘lowland people’ is also helped Badaga in keeping their identity intact .

The *Badagas* are heterogeneous community and belong to Dravidian stock. These cultural groups from the level of clan to that of a major community sustains their distinctiveness throughout their journey in various aspects of their personal and communal live. Badaga identity as a culturally distinct community is constructed and sustained by their traditions, customs, food, religion, rituals, social organization, political and economic organization, even amidst the changing scenario. This can be ascertained by the fact that the Badagas condemned Kotas for wearing turbans on their heads imitating them; wearing turban for a Badaga symbolises a status which presumably of nobility¹⁵. They don’t want the others to copy their identity marker by the others. At the same time they adopted local practices in dress and ornamentation like tattooing and sustenance patterns (slash and burn agriculture and hunting and gathering in foothills of nilagirils, in the process of tribalizing their identities in the new contexts. The Badagas took the turban bearing practice from the *Gowdars* (Okkaligas) of Karnataka as a marker of their descendency and migration from land and community.

In the contemporary times an interesting event occurred on 15th May 1989 wherein a procession to the chief minister of Tamil Nadu was taken and demanded the recategorization of community as Scheduled Tribe from their prior Backward Caste status and fix them minimum prices for agricultural products¹⁶ and also provide them access to a number of special benefits, including reserved seats in university and reserved government jobs etc.,¹⁷ Still the demands are pending and there is no decision is being taken sofar¹⁸.

From the next year *i.e.*, A.D. 1990, the day of the incident is being rejoiced as ‘Badaga day’ on which the community reenact their cultural forms such as processions of *Hette*, etc., and thus celebrate their cultural and socio-political identity¹⁹. The Badaga day appears to be a public platform to display their communal and personal demands and solidarity as a distinct cultural group and to reaffirm and continue their identities in the changing times. The Badaga community still consider the day as representation of their cultural autonomy, harmony and solidarity.

Significance of the study

The time of British and missionaries entered the Nilgiri hills during the early period of 19th century, the *Badagas* lived with other native communities based on mutual relationships sustaining on economic exchange system where in the Badagas (agriculturalists), Kotas (Artisan, musician and cultivator) Todas (pastoralist) and Kurumbas (food gatherers, hunters, slash and burn cultivators and sorceress). But afterwards in 19th century, the Badaga economy, agriculture got much influenced. Badagas being the major agriculturalists of the region, they produced a real surplus of grains and English vegetables like cabbage, carrot and potato along with the commercial crops of tea plantation. They exchanged their products such as salt, mustard, potatoes, sugar, opium, cloth and deceased livestock in return for various goods and services. The Badagas were dynamic for; they were the first to shift to large scale commercial crop cultivation, English education in the missionary schools for their children, and gaining employment in local establishments. The other tribes maintained their subsistence way of life as what they are for several more decades²⁰.

In the post-Independence period, the *Badagas* are very much concerned with their ethnic status whether as a tribe or a caste due to the decline of Tea plantation and the migration of *Badagas* in search of employment. The challenges Badaga community face in the wake of their migration process ever since their first migration from *Badaganadu* to Nilgiri foothills, from thence to hilltop and their dispersal to different geographical regions on the hills-Poranganadu, Mekkunadu, Kundeanadu and Thodhanadu and finally again flying to the plains of Coimbatore and other places is highly enterprising. This is a significant journey in the cultural life of the Badagas. The customary interdependence that exists between the *Badagas* and other groups is being changed in different parts of the plateau. Some *Badagas* who emphasise on cash crops are uninterested to maintain age old ties. The factors like potentialities of a labour market, proximity to bus routes to the town, aboriginal dwelling patterns and nearness of tribal settlements that are in reciprocity of relationships determine the affinities of Badagas with their traditional obligatory bondage with the local tribes of Nilagiris.

The impact of modernization since past forty years improved the exposure of populace to communications, mass media, and television. The people were aware of

proper marriage time for girls, family planning, improved transport facilities, education of both sexes etc., very much conspicuous in the society. Traditional Badagas hold that the urban dwellers, men and women are taking jobs and promoting nuclear families and there was no space for the old generation in the new dwellings. Hence the older feel that the scope for perpetuation of traditional values to the younger generation is becoming less. The community swings along tradition, innovation, change and continuity of Badaga identity.

These developments evoked consciousness among the *Badaga* people who felt that their political and cultural identities are getting lost. They assert that they had a long cherished history.

Jacome Fenicio, an Italian priest who visited the Nilgiris in A.D. 1603 mentioned the *Badagas* as a people inhabiting in these lands. This is the first historical record available to support their habitational continuity in the Nilgiri Hills. In his records, Jacome Fenicio mentions about *Badagas* and Todas. They were again mentioned in the records only after about 200 years by William Keys²¹, the British official of A.D. 1812.

Badaga identity still stands amorphous since their long cherished customs and traditions have been thoroughly invaded by modern political system. There is a controversy with regard to the caste of Badagas. The controversy fluctuates on the issues of their origin as immigrants, scheduled tribes and backward community and again moving back to claim tribal status on par with the remote tribals. Interestingly the *Badaga* community co-existed for generations with the other tribal groups by availing their services in different spheres of their own socio-religious and cultural lives. Thus attempted to tribalise their identities to claim as sons of the soil on one hand and 'distinctiveness' as highly dynamic agriculturists that had long cherished history in Mysore region as peasants who could absorb and assimilate the land, people and cultures in processing their professional pursuits.

But their history and cultural practices remind that of the peasants of south India. It is also held that they were powerful peasant groups of Mysore region, a domain in the Vijayanagara ruler ship. After the fall of the dynasty due to battle of Tallikota (1565), the socio-economic life of the people and peasants got disturbed and

Badagas began to migrate to the south and settle near foot hills of Nilgiris. Their physical displacement from plains to hilly tracts and uplands and sometimes *viceversa* in Nilgiris resulted shifts in their social statuses and nature of professions. Historically the *Badagas* have always been proud of their independence and pristine lifestyle. The *Badagas* have their own democratic polity which consist of the *Badaga* village Council, Commune council and the chief community council designed to serve the democratic *Badaga* way of life. These are certain characteristics clearly perceivable from the society's folklores and narratives distinct of the *Badagas* which form the basis for their claim for a distinct identity. Their desire to retain those characteristics is apparent in their struggle to indigenise the modern administrative mechanism based on their respective customs and traditions.

Globalisation is another factor that awakened identity consciousness. It is a socio-economic phenomenon that transformed the entire world into a global village and merged the spatio-temporal boundaries of the universe. It stirs up awareness with regard to homogeneity versus heterogeneity. In the wake of globalisation, the *Badagas* felt the need to revive their tradition for the identity of their own and keep up their conventional heterogeneity amidst the homogeneity under cultural changes. The *Badagas*, being the major community of the Nilgiri Hills cohabit with tribes sharing the same ideology with regard to their identity formations.

Nature and scope of study

In the light of above discussion the present thesis entitled *Cultural life of Badagas of Nilagiri: A Study* broadly proposes to study the oral traditions of the community that has been shared among its members throughout the generations, though they have language, they don't have documented histories. Like any other oral society, the *Badagas* prevail upon their lore, the verbal and non verbal expressive behaviour deposited in the mnemonics of the people which is learnt and transmitted orally through the generations. The lore embodies the knowledge, beliefs and the institutions that influenced the people to sustain their culture from erosion and invasion throughout their journey from Karnataka to Nilagiris. Their folk (oral) lore is a rich source for reconstructing their histories and encompasses a wide variety of genres- folk narratives, songs, proverbs, music, dances, and material culture- which establish their distinctive origin and sustenance patterns and identity among the other

settler communities of Nilgiris. Further the study brings forth the change and continuity of *Badaga* tradition as construed in their folklore. The thesis examines the notion of identity as conceived by the *Badagas* in particular. The study further shows whether the *Badagas* got adapted to the changing environments reflecting changing livelihoods as they migrated from plains to uplands and *viceversa* in the past and present scenario. The issues of *Badagas* related to the theories of their origin, migration and shift of economic practices are proposed to discuss in the light of latest theoretical discourses. The research proposed to finalise caste-tribe dilemma in the identity construction of *Badagas* by upholding the concept of ‘tribalisation’ for identifying themselves on one hand with the locals, but on the other retaining their core community traits to construct their social identity amidst the others with which they are living.

The study focuses on the ritual life of the *Badagas* as metaphors of their community that sustained them in different ages and stages of their lives during the times of their migration and settlement in their socio-economic and political realms. The rituals as reflected in their lifecycle, territorial, communal, religious rites are being analysed to interpret their caste, profession, religion and so on. The study further highlights the ongoing process of the journey of migration and tradition and change and continuity in the cultural life of *Badagas*, especially in the realm of agriculture and rituals from sixteenth century to the contemporary times.

Geographical area of study

The geographical scope of my research pertains to some villages in *Badaga* territory-the *Thodhanadu* (*Udhagamandalam Taluk*), the *Mekkunad* (*Udhagamandalam & Coonoor taluk*), the *Porangad* (*Kotagiri and Coonoor taluk*), the *Kundae seeme* (*Kundah Taluk*) All these villages are populated by *Badagas* wherein the other natives also share the environment ²².

Literature Review

The survey of literature is done in three broad areas. They are: (i) Research works on Folklore (ii) Status of knowledge on *Badaga* community (iii) Field methodology and data processing.

(i) Research works on Folklore

The Grimm Brothers' book²³ is a collection of folktales meant for socialization of the children in the society. It is methodological research on folk narratives. This work is a part of their project in *Germanistik* (German studies) encompassing the fields of philology, law, mythology and literature. Grim brothers along with Friedrich Max Muller, an Indologist, upheld the 'Indo-European theory of mythic origins'. On the basis of comparative philology and comparative mythology, they attempted to reconstruct the myths and the mythic-religious beliefs that caused the emergence of these narratives.

Edward B. Tylor,²⁴ dealt with various aspects of culture; his conception of cultural evolution is drawn on the basis of observation of various materials gathered by the other ethnographers related to language, mythology, customs and beliefs and religion. His theory on social evolution contains three stages, savagery, barbarian and civilization. Tylor holds that savagery represents an early stage of cultural development, and barbarians as representatives of a middle stage. Civilizations, such as those of Europe, represent the third stage. He, being the founder of the British school of anthropology upholds that the 'myth' in modern folk society contains the survivals of 'savage myth' and substantiated it basing on his theory of social evolution.

Richard Bauman's work²⁵ puts forth an outline for understanding performance theory as it relates to speech events. He considered verbal art as performance than simply as repository of lore. He considers folklore as a performance framed in a given context between the performer and the audience.

Dan Ben-Amos holds that the domain of folklore revolves three aspects like a "body of knowledge, a mode of thought, or a kind of art"²⁶ although they are not limited of one other. He opines that there are three kinds of linkages that exist between folklore and the social context; they are 'possession, representation, and creation or re-creation' forms the basis for folklore study. Hence folklore is "artistic communication in small groups"²⁷.

A. K. Ramanujan opined that the Indian cultural ideologies and behavioural manifestations are driven by "context-sensitive" thinking. His studies on folklore highlight the concept of intertextuality²⁸ between oral and written literary tradition of India²⁹. "Context-sensitivity" is a theme that appears in Ramanujan's cultural essays,

and his works on Indian folklore and classic poetry. The “intertextuality” means that Indian stories talk about to one another and occasionally to further versions of the same story being told. Ramanujan noted that these inter-textual influences do not happen in a unidirectional form. He stresses that the Sanskritic and local traditions are in discourse with each other and reciprocally influence one another.

Soumen Sen’s essay focuses on how identity is expressed through the study of myth and ritual. He studied on the Khasi and Jaintai tribe of North-east India. Though these tribes have lost its significance in regard to the practice of indigenous religion but according to him the recent social and political movements draw much of its symbol and expressions from the myths.

Arnold Van Gennep³⁰ is renowned for the study on the rites of passage that traces substantial changeovers in the people’s lives due to birth, puberty, marriage and death. The individual is first ritually separated from the society, then he is isolated (kept in limbo) for a period, and finally he is incorporated back into the society with a new status. All the three phases of life are important not only to novice but also to the society as these phases socialize the novice to suites to be social needs and occasions.

Victor Turner³¹ improvised the concept of rites of passages devised by Van Gennep. His contribution to the said subject is on *liminoid* and *communitos*. His concrete data regarding ritual comes from his fieldwork with the Ndembu. Turner³² coined the term *liminoid* to refer to experiences that have characteristics of between and betwixt state where in the novices enjoy an alternate status negating the dominant there by appears anti-structural. They do not resolve a personal crisis but give relief to the existing one. The *communitos* is a collective experience of group of novices of *liminoid* who share the same feelings and aspirations thus become a community by itself for a temporary period. His approach to cultural studies is drawn from symbolic anthropology where in symbols are primarily the categories that connect the human beings with their worldview thereby reflect the very behavioural codes as observances and ceremonies. His works had an immense impact on human sciences.

Mary Douglas³³ critically examined the ideas of pollution and taboo as evident from varied cultures from a structuralist point of view. She saw liminality as the dominant element that exists between conflicting structural positions. Certain social

rules operate to regulate the pollution norms and reinforce the structure of society³⁴ through rituals and symbols.

Clifford Geertz's³⁵ work deals with human nature which presumably same everywhere, but comes only in its local varieties as a bewildering diversity that lies in languages, cultures, cultural practices, beliefs, mentalities, behaviors, prescriptions, proscriptions, taboos etc, as varieties of local knowledge that appear mutually and reciprocally repellent or incurably allergic to one another in their inconsistency as illuminations of the truth of experience or reality.

Status of knowledge on *Badagas*:

In this section, a few important works so far done on the *Badagas* community are analyzed briefly in three phases: (a) Pre Colonial phase (produced by the Italian Priest) (b) Colonial phase (produced by the British administrators and anthropologists) (c) Post-Colonial (the works that speak about culture, identity, globalization etc.)

(a) Pre Colonial writings:

Jacome Fenicio' "Two Portuguese Manuscripts on the Mission of Todamala"³⁶, gives an account of the mission of two priests to Nilgiris along with twelve guides and guards who travelled more than 50 miles and reached Todamala (the Nilgiri plateau). His two-day interaction with Badaga and Toda groups mention about the traditional long standing relations existing between them till 1930's. He describes the Badaga village Meluntao (present Melur or Mel Kundah), two other *Badaga* villages situated in these mountains. He describes about the livestock and the crops raised in this village. Later on the second day he visited the Toda villages.

(b) Colonial writings:

James Hough in his "*Letters On The Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, etc of the Nielgherry (or) Blue Mountains of Coimbatore, South India*",³⁷ gave an account of *Badagas* as one of the four distinct classes, the Thodawaras, the Kothurs and the Kurumbars of the Nielgherry, the others being. He considered the *Badagas* as the 'husband men' of the Neilgherries since they occupied the higher lands of Peringa, Thodawar, and Maika Naads; or rather, nearly the whole of the country immediately

below the highest range of hills. . He did not mention about the origin of *Badagas* but mentioned that nobody except the community can tell about their origin.

Johaann Friedrich Metz in his work, “*The Tribes Inhabiting the Nielgherry Hills; Their Social Customs and Religious Rites*”³⁸, mentions that there were 15000 Badaga souls, occupying 300 villages and hamlets. Their name signifies “people of the North”, from the greater part of them having come to the hills from the Mysore country. They are called by the Todas “Mav” (father-in-law), a kind of honorary title, not intended to imply any relationship. The ancestors of some of the *Badagas* were inhabitants of Taioor and Tagatoor near Nunjanagoody, others came from Sargoor in the territory of the Rajah of Oomatoor, and either accompanied or followed him in his flight to the hills. Those of Paranganaud *Badagas* came up from Talemalae, a range of low hills lying to the North-East of the Neilgherries. The people of those parts still look upon them as their relatives, and eat with them. A connection still exists between the Lingayats of the hills and those of Goondelpetta, from which places the priests pay the *Badagas* a pastoral visit every second or third year, generally receiving a cow or an ox of their trouble.

William Ross King³⁹, in his book *The aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills* describes the *Badagas* as one among the hill tribes having migrated from the plains lying to the north ward of the range, not much more than two hundred years ago. He holds that they are Hindus whose original characteristics and dialect got modified after five to six generations from which they had migrated. The *Badagas* are lighter in complexion and are remarkable through their turban worn by the males. There exists a hierarchy of class determined by the economic statuses. The wealthier own the only cows and oxen on the hills and herds of buffaloes. Most of them cultivate grain and other agricultural produce. The lowest class either work as labourers to the native communities or work with the Europeans for wages.

Charles E. Gover⁴⁰ deals with a chapter on *Badaga* Songs. He gives an account on the beautiful chants of the *Badagas*. The first of the song presented by the author is the funeral dirge that is sung at every cremation, a little before the actual cremation or burial. The next song that follows the dirge is of equally interesting character; it describes the other world – where parted spirits dwell. The third song

also expresses the same idea. The song is a dialogue between a tender curious woman and one of the 'wise man', who act as the adviser of the *Badaga*. Gover also presents story of Bali which is a *Badaga* Ballad.

James Wilkinson Breeks⁴¹ gives an account on the geographical features of the Nilgiris, the four divisions as recognized by the native communities: Todanadu, Porangadu Mekunadu, and Kundenadu. The author while giving accounts of the five native communities furnishes a very brief note on the *Badagas* as they are considered not to be an aboriginal or jungle race. The author while referring to the *Badagas* mentions that they being chiefly Hindus and belonging to the Saiva sect, have migrated from the Mysore region three hundred years ago, after the disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire. The *Badagas*, an agricultural race, produces poor sort of cereals. They are numerous and wealthier, having acquired land from Government at easy rates and many of them own large herds of cattle. They give a sort of tribute in grains to the Todas, and according to the then latest census, numbered 19,476 which is the highest in Nilgiris population. Their language is a corrupt form of Kanarese.

H. B Grigg⁴² views that the *Badagas* are the descendants of the Kanarese colonists from the Carnatic country, presently the north of Coimbatore and south Mysore. These two regions have at one time been the important part of ancient Kongu kingdom. The author estimates that the principal migration of the *Badagas* took place before 300 years after the breaking up of Vijayanagara Empire. The author also assumes that there is no doubt that the *Badagas* must have occupied the portions of Nilgiri plateau long before the estimated period, the reason being Nilgiris appertained rather to ancient Karnataka than to Dravida or the lands of the Tamils. The main reason for the migration of *Badagas* is viewed by the author as they are driven from home due to famine, political turmoil, or local oppression.

The language of the *Badagas* is an old Kannada dialect and their kinsmen below the ghats speak the modern Kannada dialect. The local distribution of the tribes on the district, and the absence among them of a tradition of the advent of the *Badagas* to the hills, the respect with which the *Badagas* are treated by the Todas, whose mode of addressing them is honorific, all these according to the author indicates the Kanarese ascendancy of *Badagas* at the time of migration. Griggs gives

information on the term *Badaga* and the other human groups of the Telugu country been addressed by the same term. He also notes that every class of the *Badagas* have some sort of history of its own, and some refer to the villages below the hills from which they came and where their relatives still live. Griggs talks about the eighteen castes in the *Badaga* community.

Geofry⁴³ gives some accounts on *Badagas* the author describes in short the meaning of the term *Badaga* which mean Northman. He gives an account of their villages, the crops which they produce, their ploughing method, their caste and religion.

W. H. R. Rivers⁴⁴ gives describes *Badagas* and their interrelations with Todas and other information of historical importance. The book is considered as a classic anthropological work on the Toda community.

Walter Francis⁴⁵ gives a descriptive and larger volume of accounts of Nilgiris dealing with different aspects of the district. The author in his chapter on people of Nilgiris gives certain accounts of *Badagas*. Francis describes the name '*Badaga*' is the same word as *Vadaga* and means northerner, and that the *Badagas* of the Nilgiri plateau have migrated from Mysore region due to food crisis, political chaos or native subjugation. He also supposes that this migration must have taken place after the advent of Lingayatism in the second half of the twelfth century. Most of the them followed Lingayatism. It is evident that even before the end of sixteenth century it is evident from the writings of Catholic priests (1603) that he found the *Badagas* settled on the south of the Nilagiris and following their own traditions. The date of migration is not easier to fix with the present state of knowledge. Additional information on *Badagas* occupation, villages and house structure, the *Badaga* woman, the crops they raise, the physical characteristics of *Badagas*, clothing of *Badaga* men and women, jewellery and prosperity, and a note on earliest writings at any length on the *Badagas*, their sub divisions and customs. Based on these earlier writings, the *Badagas* are split into six sub divisions, namely Udaya (Woodaya), Haruva, Athikari, Kanaka, *Badaga* and Toreya, of which the Toreyas are the lowest and the servants of others.

Thurston E. and Kadamki Rangachari⁴⁶ describe *Badagas* as the agriculturalist on the Nilgiri hills, and their co inhabitants, the Todas as pastoralist and Kotas as the artisans of Nilgiris. Thurston informs on the population of Nilgiri tribes as of nineteenth century. The author informs about a newspaper discussion on the poor conditions of *Badagas*, and further describes the *Badaga* custom of meeting sick relatives; The *Badagas* borrowing money from the Muslim merchants, the *Badaga* village and house structure, their fields and crops, prosperity and work culture, the *Badagas* taking to litigation and the lawyers on the hills, *Badaga* custom of taking oath at Maariamamma temple at Sigur and Ootacamund, the meaning of the name *Badaga* or *Vadaga*, the physical anthropology of *Badagas*, The *Badagas* origin legend, historical and archaeological evidences on migration of *Badagas*, the history of Hulicul a *Badaga* village, the Udaya Raya on the plateau, the sub divisions of *Badagas* – Udaya, Haruva, Adhikari, Kanaka, *Badaga* and Toreyas. The Udayas and Toreyas as a endogamous sect, whereas the other four *Badaga* sub divisions as exogamous sects, religion, the story of Kariyabetaraya, the founding of Adhigaratty village, the village *suthu kallu* and *mandakallu*, the *Badaga* village and house structure, cattle and cultivation, their interest in cultivation. The everyday life of a *Badaga* lies in the crops cultivation; *Badaga* woman play a greater role in this. Thurston and Rangachari gave much details about the Badaga Revenue settlement, the self-government, their clothing, pregnancy ceremony, tattooing, jewellery and ornaments, *Badaga* nick names, customs of the people, the Kurumba relation, Madesvara and Hetheswami temple worship, their other god and goddess and fairs and festivals; Their relation with other tribes and septs are also mentioned by the authors⁴⁷.

James George Frazer⁴⁸ theorised the concept of death and its ritual performance in the Badaga society. As a white collared Ethnologist, he has collected various rituals, customs, belief connected with life and death and conceptualised a theory which support fertility cults as the process of rites of passage. In *Badagas* culture the deceased soul is released by transferring the sins to a living calf which act according to him is a scape-goat mechanism used in several cultures to negotiate the spaces between natural and supernatural. This according to him is a magico-religious practice coming from the primitive customs.

(b) Post-colonial writings

Paul Hockings⁴⁹ basing on the interviews conducted over seven hundred *Badaga* people wrote a book. The book deals with theories of *Badaga* migration, *Badaga* village names and environment. In the first chapter his discussion begins with the dating of *Badaga* Migration; the published estimates of migrated dates, linguistic evidences and other historical evidences are also given. The second chapter provides information on the *Badaga* village names and the cultural ecology of the *Badaga* settlement. Further, the social groupings of *Badagas* (lineage, clan, phratry, moieties, and septs), *Jati*, and marriage preference and role ambiguity are discussed. The Traditional reciprocity of relationships that exist among the *Badagas* and Todas, *Badagas* and Kotas, *Badagas* and Kurumbas, *Badagas* and Irulas, Kasuvas and Uralis are explained. Exhaustive information is given on early patterns of trade, marketing of their products, before and after the advent of Britishers settling on Nilgiri Plateau. The issues like the growth of cash economy, the impact of British rule on *Badaga* economy, expansion of market economy (1850-1900), agriculture change, modern systems of marketing and the modern employment are put to discourse. The book describes customary law and socio-political organisation of the *Badagas*. The continuity and change in the traditions and lifestyle patterns of *Badagas* in changing times is well explained.

Paul Hockings⁵⁰ in other work describe the physical and geographical settlements of *Badagas*, the social history of the *Badagas*, environment and the economic constraints, family and house hold, the daily life, world view, social integration, the myth of Hette, and absolution of sins at a *Badaga* funeral. This book contains a collection of essays contributed by eminent scholars of different disciplines on the Nilgiris of South India, and the native communities inhabiting the plateau.

Paul Hockings⁵¹ in another published work on *Badagas* focused on the demographic transition and on social change over time. This work is a report of the author's twenty-seven years longitudinal study of the *Badagas*; it is a significant addition to the literature on demography and social change in India. The book basically divided into four parts consisting of twelve chapters gives accounts on; Part 1) The *Badaga* household in context, in which three Chapters the *Badaga* society, the research design, *Badaga* marriage and descent are dealt with. Part 2) Life and Death

in a Household, which consists chapter four a case study on M.N. Thesing: A life story and the fifth chapter on The Ebb of life. Part 3) Quantitative findings; accounts on family and household, the four villages, Age and sex, Birth and its control, Morbidity and Mortality, (consists in chapter six, seven, eight, and nine). Part 4) Modern Life: Work and the Mass Media; Chapter ten, eleven and twelve consists of the Household and Modern life, Education, Mass Media and the Future with some conclusions on it. Several works of Paul Hockings⁵² deal with the Badaga community from different perspectives.

Anthony Walker⁵³ investigates the Toda community, on its settlement and economic base, the organization of Toda community and one important topic dealt with is the Relations with the neighbours: Tradition abandoned – In this he analyses the traditional relations the Todas had with the *Badagas*, Todas, Kotas, and Kurumbas, and at present the tradition being gradually abandoned.

The writings on *Badagas* during the post colonial period is a major shift in approach and method, qualitative and quantitative research methods being applied, longitudinal study being carried out, the information on *Badagas* seems adequate, yet the sources from which the information is sought, and the nature and kind of information collected and presented as writings when critically reviewed gives ample prospect to study the *Badagas* from the folklore perspective. During this period, it is unfortunate to note that many folklore genres which were collected by missionaries and native monographers were unpublished and lost. To know the community from the people's perspective is the main aim of folklore studies. Though folklore is used by western scholars to study part of Badaga culture during this period, it has not been considered as a major approach in studying the *Badaga* community.

Gareth Davey⁵⁴ explores the cultural life of *Badagas* which was swinging between change and continuity due their rural to urban migrations in search of new avenues. At an empirical level, it reveals how *Badagas* understand themselves and the multifaceted changes in their culture and daily lives, exploring a relevant issue as the precursor of debate about the future from a global perspective. The book draws attention to the fact that people are for supple identities and lifestyles in an attempt to survive and thrive in a changing India and world, a new 'Indian-ness' formed at the

indigenous level. It offers a timely update on earlier works on Badagas, which dates to the 1990s, and also serves as a significant evidence for the people's experiences of the with regard to the social and economic transformation of Indian society as they become accustomed to new ideas, products, and ways of life. As such, it is a must-read for all those interested in quality of life in India and developing societies.

William Allister Noble⁵⁵ gives exhaustive information on the land and people of Nilagiris and the reciprocity of relationship that exists among all the ethnic groups on one hand and with Badagas on the other. The author analyses the geography and environment from the perspective of their sustenance patterns pastoralism agriculture, wet, dry, garden cultivation, growth of commercial crops and English vegetables, cattle rearing,. The politico-economic and religious interdependency among the groups is vividly described.

Jakka Partharathy⁵⁶ gives an account on different aspects of Badaga life in Nilagiris. The book analyses existing literature on the Badaga History and culture and deals with the issues of the Badagas like origin, the sharing of geography, environment and people of Nilagiris, socio-economic organisation, ritual life as reflected in life cycle ceremonies, communal festivals, belief system and folklore.

B.Balasubrahmanyam⁵⁷ throws flood of light on various aspects of Badagas like the origin, social structure, worship patterns, relationships with the other tribes of Nilgiris, the belief system, ritual practices- personal and communal. He further discusses on the impact of Britishers on Badaga life.

(iii) Field methodology and data processing:

Kenneth S.⁵⁸ emphasises how experience in the field improves the quality of research in folklore. For him methodology is only one of the requirements for successful data collection. He holds that unless the fieldworker has the inclination, temperament, or personality for data collection, he will never be successful in his pursuits since the mere use of methods and techniques do not serve the purpose. The chapters on problem formulation, pre-field preparations, establishment of rapport with informants, observation collecting methods, interview, collecting methods, and the techniques of motivating informants explain the nature of professionalism in field work that a researcher is supposed to develop. The book explains about data

collection techniques used for different genres, ethnographic method, the concepts in qualitative and quantitative research like positivism, naturalism, subjectivity, objectivity, reflexivity etc.

Samuel P. Bayard⁵⁹ tells about what constitute folklore material and how it should be collected. He distinguished folklore from cultural anthropology. He advocated that the folklore lies not in the traditions and, aesthetics and arts of the people but lies within the realm of thought and some aspects of the content and activities of peoples' minds."⁶⁰

Donald A. MacDonald⁶¹ explains the planning of the researcher for field work and prescribes several rules and regulations to be observed in the field. He tells about the field roles⁶² to be played by the researchers, methods and techniques to be adopted in the field basing on the context of collection of data etc.⁶³

Dennis Tedlock⁶⁴ work on 'ethnography of Speaking' enumerates the methods for transcribing, translating, and interpreting oral performances. He stresses the need for the extensive textual and contextual analysis to interpret them from the perspective of the people on whom the research is being carried. The ethno-poetics of the folk communities can best be explored through the new method of transcribing and translating the oral narratives in the spoken words.

Richard Dorson⁶⁵ prescribes the need for a folklorist has to master the skills that are essential to study and interpret folklore a distinct discipline of study. He grouped folklore into four categories: He further describes the field of folklore and folk life under four groupings: (i)verbal/ oral expression that include spoken, sung and voice behaviour, (ii) material culture (iii) social folk custom which comes between verbal expression and material culture and (iv) the performing folk arts.

Jacques Derrida's⁶⁶ work is a manifesto against structuralism. Derrida's essay proposed some theoretical limitations to structuralism. His post structuralist theory aims at textual analysis and upholds the idea of "self" not as a unified and comprehensible entity but an imaginary construct; rather, an individual consists of contrasting outlooks and epistemic milieus (e.g., gender, class, profession, etc.). The meaning the reader perceives is primary to the meaning that the author intended to convey. and established the relationships between the signifier, signified and the sign.

The meaning of the text differs in interpretation of some variables. In this process, the role of the 'reader's self' is significant. In post structuralist textual the reader 'supplants the author' as the focal subject of inquiry. This 'displacement' is cited as the act of "destabilizing" or "decentering" of the author and it has greatest effect on the text itself. Without primary fixation on the author, post-structuralist look for other sources for meaning (e.g., readers, cultural norms, other literature, etc.). The essay explains deconstruction of meanings in the binary oppositions of the structure.

Marcus and Cushman⁶⁷ explain how ethnographic accounts can constructed as cultural texts. He elucidates the concept of 'ethnographic realism' which is a style of ethnographic writing that recounts the writer's experiences and interpretations as if the reader was seeing or experiencing events at first hand. The author recognised nine features of ethnographic realism: a holistic description of another culture; an sagacious, non-invasive narrator; replacement of complex constructions for individuals; references to fieldwork in order to establish the authentic presence of the ethnographer; emphasis on everyday life circumstances; dogmatic assertion of the representation of the indigenous point of view; preferring generalizations over detailing of precise facts; use of jargon; theoretical abstractions which circumvent attention to the context of native language.⁶⁸

Stephen A. Tyler's,⁶⁹ proposes a completely altered meaning of ethnography which overcome the problem of representation in toto. His explanation of post modern ethnography⁷⁰ stresses the dialogical character of ethnography wherein the discourse is concerning with reader and writer rather than between the culture and the writer which he studies. His assertion is that all ethnographies are post-modern in effect and the post-modern ethnography has not yet been inscribed and may not even be possible.⁷¹ Tyler's essay is significant for discourse analysis, the ethics of ethnography, and the connection amongst writer, text and reader.

Michael Genzuk⁷² focuses on ethnography as a social science research method where three kinds of data collection are deployed: they are interviews, observation, and documents. He explains three methodological principles - naturalism, understanding and discovery for ethnographic method.⁷³

Jerome Bruner⁷⁴ argued that the mental structures operate its logic of reality through cultural products, like language and other symbolic systems. He gives an

account of ten ways of how a narrative constructs reality. This forms the basis for formulating data.

Richard Giovannoli⁷⁵ points out that the tenacity of narrative inquiry is to study individual experiences and the process of meaning-making in a methodical mode. He held that the narratives are essentially more than the telling stories; it is the way one creates and recreates the realities of one's own self.⁷⁶

William M. Clements⁷⁷ explains why personal narrative as a genre possesses several advantages over the investigation of more exotic materials. He suggested that while collecting personal narratives, the collector should familiarize with the informant prior to the interview, familiarity with the cultural milieu from which the informant comes, trying to get information on whether the informant has narrated his/her personal narrative, the collector of personal narratives can evaluate traditionality by considering the depth of artistry in the material he/she collect. He further state that, in the interview context, an informant may create narratives in response to specific questions from the interviewer.⁷⁸

Ram Ahuja's book⁷⁹ explains the technique of translating raw data into meaningful accounts which includes data processing, analysis, interpretation and presentation. Data handling chiefly encompasses different manipulations essential for making the data for analysis. It involves editing and classifying the open-ended questions by way of preparation of charts and diagrams. The data analysis nothing comprises collation of data into essential segments in order to get pertinent answers to issues to be solved in the Research process. It should be followed by the interpretation to explain meaning. The interpreted data has to be synthesised and the results are to be interpreted.

Janet Bean⁸⁰ emphasizes the need to have cooperation between the researcher and the cultural groups in the fieldwork situation. She expects the fieldworkers to gain understanding of various subcultures while to improve their research, record keeping, speaking, and writing skills.

Lacunae in previous researches:

So far the researches conducted on the *Badagas* were based on the Administrative records, field reports of the anthropologists and other such sources

which did not reveal the soul of the community- how it struggled through the ages to carve its own niche i.e., the cultural identity ever since the historical formations. Though some works focused on rituals, folk narratives and songs they are highly descriptive and interpreted more from the researcher's viewpoint. The content of the lore is given importance rather than the cultural context of their renditions. Some works are compilation of folklore genres meant for archival purpose. The rituals are though graphically described; they are not analyzed in the light of latest discourses on cultural semiotics and ritual theories. Further there appears a fear that the literacy, Cultural changes and globalization are threats to their personal and communal identities; and that one must save them from erosion. It is also suggested to 'preserve' their respective cultural heritage in audio-visual forms and print media. However, the culture, especially the oral traditions are highly dynamic, the verbal and non verbal expressions cannot be frozen and hence cannot be the 'objects' of museums. The methodology used by the colonial writers was primarily based on exploration and fieldwork and secondly the methods that they used were survey methods, observation and participant observation methods with the objective of trying to show how it really was. Therefore this literature has only description. Their writings became the sources for post-colonial writers on the *Badagas*. However their writings were more or less descriptive information on the *Badaga* culture, traditions and the life of the people. So folklore of the *Badagas* was not explored and is not taken into consideration for the study about the *Badagas*. Writings were not perceived from oral tradition or from the folk perspective.

Hypotheses

It is hypothesised that:

- *Badagas* of Nilagiri were of peasant descent emigrated from Southern Karnataka region (who were northerners to Nilgiri inhabitants) still sustaining partially on cattle rearing and fully on agriculture in the wake of globalisation.
- *Badagas* are highly adoptive to the changing environments and technologies in agrarian productions and distribution. In this process they have tribalised their cultural practices to identify themselves with the local tribes and claim ethnic identity

- The pattern of migration and social mobility of Badagas is processual and hence, poses questions related to identity between the realms of tribe and caste.

Aims and objectives

Basing on the hypotheses made above, the thesis entitled **Cultural Life of Badagas of Nilgiris: Tradition and Change** aims to:

- Study the caste, origin, migration and expansion of Badagas in the Nilagiris and interpret the interdependence and reciprocity that they maintain different native tribes.
- Collect different genres of *Badaga* folklore- folk narratives (mythology, folktales) proverbs, riddles folksongs, beliefs, and religion, ritual practices and personal narratives / life stories of the narrators in the field as source material for research.
- Interpret the process of ‘tribalisation’ that the Badagas undergone throughout the course of their journey as well as their stay on Nilagiris.
- To analyse the rites of the Badagas , both personal (life cycle) and communal and agricultural rituals to show how rituals are cultural constructs.
- To suggest new avenues of research in community studies.

Methodology

Methods can be defined as the procedures and techniques typical to a specific discipline or of domain knowledge in a systematic way. It infers that a methodical coherent arrangement is essential to any disciplinary knowledge. Methodology denotes the logical and the philosophical suppositions that underlie a specific study.⁸¹ The first stage in methodology is gathering of information. Data is nothing but structured information; it can be in the form of words, figures, quantities, observations or even just accounts of things. The data is collected from primary and secondary sources, but the information gathered from both these sources gets merged in the research process.

Primary sources

The prime source of the study is the data gathered from the field work. The *Badaga* culture is rooted in their folklore traditions transmitted orally throughout the generations since they have no written source. The study focuses on the oral narratives as the major source of study. Oral narratives are highly dynamic genres embodying the essence of culture; how it is being experienced, represented and transmitted to the other generations. Narratives are stories that have been shared in everywhere in human culture as a mode of communication, education, preservation of culture and to instil knowledge and values. Hence the people adapt narratives to contour and conceptualize their experiences to render in the form of stories which are nothing than their experiential expressions. The data include folknarratives (myths, folktales etc) metanarratives (narratives on narratives), personal narratives, life experience narratives and auto ethnographies of the informants in the field. Oral narratives on the traditional rituals and practices are collected from the older people who witnessed three generations. The data on the life cycle (childbirth, puberty, marriage and death) and communal rites and ritual process is collected in the form of oral narratives.

The material culture associated in the folklife of the *Badagas* is also collected from the dwellings of the people. The other folklore genres of the community are also collected.

Secondary Sources

The published or unpublished written data related to the topic of research constitutes the secondary source material. Besides the research works that were already analysed above in the survey of literature, administrative records of the British and Indian government and village reports form the source material.

Methods: Research methods are classified into quantitative and qualitative.

Quantitative research⁸² is defined as that which explains a “phenomenon by collecting numerical data that is analysed using mathematically based methods, particularly statistics”⁸³. It contains the data gathered from the structured research methods such as survey, questionnaires, checklists and experimentation.

(i) Quantitative methods: They are deployed towards documenting subject attributes expressed in quantity, extent, or measurable units in order to achieve

accuracy, validity, objectivity and reliability. The objective of this method is to quantify variables and to produce figures which will allow judgements which in turn will allow further processing the data to arrive at conclusions.⁸⁴ Survey method is a quantitative method. Before entering into the field, the survey method was applied. I acquainted fully with the literature on the area and its people to supply information, study the geography, weather conditions, and locations before entering into the field and attempted to reach the local people who may assist with the research. Survey method is a descriptive research method or an exploratory study.⁸⁵ This method helps to consolidate data into meaningful constituents to understand a given phenomenon on many levels. Survey method is always conducted in a natural setting; it is a field study.

In order to get information from the field using the above methods, different techniques like focus group discussions, interviews, informal discourses on different issues of the research topic with the communities are appropriated. Focus group discussions are conducted with the members of the councils and elders of the folk groups on different issues on religion, rituals, social norms, customary law etc. In the directive and non-directive interviews, the questions used are open ended which gave scope to the researcher to understand the perspective of the community. After field work, transliteration of data and transfer of data from audio through script is done which is called transcription. A researcher can employ multiple methods.

(ii) Qualitative methods: Qualitative research as an overarching term covering a range of interpretative techniques which seek to decode, describe, and translate the meaning of a phenomenon in the social world. The qualitative research is concerned with accuracy of phenomena occurring in the normal social contexts. It aims at minimization of shared subjectivity of researcher and researched⁸⁶. The qualitative methods include observation, ethnography, postmodern-ethnography (dialogical method) and narrative inquiry.

Observation method is used in obtaining data by direct observation, looking from the outside in and describing the site as the researcher sees it. There are Participant Observer and Non-participant Observer. Participant Observer has the advantage to participate and observe what is going around and feel the experience the actual role which the researchers assume. Non-Participant Observer may be able to

view the situation with an objectivity of which participant would have robbed him/her and as he/she is not in the centre of the action but may be able to take notes, view the entire kaleidoscope of activities and perhaps even be able to use a tape recorder to obtain a full report of the audio aspects of the event.

Ethnography is writing culture based on fieldwork with an emphasis on descriptive detail. It is observing, recording, and engaging in the everyday life of other culture.⁸⁷ Ethnographic method in short is the graphic study of culture of the races. Ethnography is a holistic research method founded on the notion that a structure's properties cannot certainly be precisely understood independently of each other.⁸⁸ It is the method of describing a culture from a people's point of view. The ethnographer generally develops close interaction with 'informants' who can deliver specific information on aspects of cultural life. While detailed written notes are the mainstay of fieldwork, voice recorders and cameras are also used. The ethnographic method involves observation and note taking.

Post-modern ethnography is a mutually evolved text entailing fragments of discourse between the researcher and the researched.⁸⁹ The concept of 'thick description' postulated by Clifford Geertz has immense influence on academic disciplines. Postmodern ethnographers are interested in understanding relations of power and domination in a given culture emerge and operate. Postmodern ethnographers' accounts are the best examples for emergent narrative forms and new ways of telling. Postmodern ethnography is a methodological tool in the theory of postmodern philosophy. Its theoretical underpinnings emerged as ethnographic practices. This School considers 'objectivity' as a fiction upheld by According to postmodern ethnographers, objectivity is a fiction promoted through pompous approaches, "poetics and politics of writing".⁹⁰ This methodology expects the fieldworkers to have self understanding and should not have prejudices; ideology and these ethnographers believe the fieldworkers should gain a fuller understanding of themselves, by uncovering their prejudices, ideology and implicit knowledge before they understand the others.⁹¹

Narrative inquiry is an 'inquiry in to the narrative' which is yet another method used to analyse and interpret the oral narratives. Narratives are stories which are told in ordered sequence of events that is combined with verbal communication to make

sense of what one experience, and also with different characters that communicate a message artistically. It focuses particularly on lives of the people and their lived experiences. It is a process of gathering research data through storytelling. Here, the researcher records a narrative of the experience. In the narrative inquiry, the narrated story is the primary source. Narrative in essence is the stories of lives and it is open to interpretation. This interpretation advances through relationship of researcher and the respondent. Production of narratives is a dialogical process between self of the narrator and the researcher. Hence the narratives and other data collected in the field is a product of employing the Dialogical method, which is reflexive, self emanating and emergent. It produces ‘a corpus of thick data’⁹² produced ‘dialogically’ by the ethnographer and the informant thereby merging the boundaries between the subject/object and researcher/informant. Narrative research directs a study and gathers information to bring out the appropriate objective research tools⁹³. Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience.

The study adopted both the qualitative and quantitative methods and data collected had been cross checked with the other source materials. Such process is known as method of “triangulation” which is essential while interpreting them from the perspective of the community. Triangulation denotes the use of multiple methods in finding solutions to the research question⁹⁴. Deniz explains four types of triangulation. They are: Data triangulation, Investigator triangulation, Theoretical triangulation and Methodological triangulation.

Chapterisation

Chapter-I: Introduction, deals with a brief introduction to the topic followed by significance of research issue, survey of previous literature, nature and scope of the research topic, lacunae in previous researches, hypothesis, aims and objectives, methodology, method and techniques of research, a brief gist of the content of the chapters.

Chapter-II: Origin and Migration of Badagas focuses on origin, migratory process and pattern of Badaga from (i) plains of Mysore region to the foothills and hilltop of the Nilagiris in the historical times and (ii) from Nilagiris hills to plains of Coimbatore in the contemporary scenario. The conditions that demanded migration of Badagas in both the context are interpreted.

Chapter-III: Folklore and Cultural Life of Badagas throws a flood of light on Folklore and cultural life of people inhabiting Nilagiris with special emphasis on Badagas. This chapter is divided into four sections. **Section I** focusses on the geography and environment of the Nilagiris ranges of the Western Ghats which accommodated the native as well as the ethnic emigrant groups successfully without disturbing the rhythm of their lives. In other words how the land and the people could adjust with each other to sustain and endure their mutual selves. **Section II**, gives a detailed picture of cultural life of the Badagas that constructs their identity amongst its co-dwellers. Further in this section a brief account of the tribes Toda, Kota, Irulas, Kurumbas, Kasavas, Paniyas and Katunayakans in relation of Badagas is given. **Section III** deals with the Reciprocity of Relationships among the inhabitants of Nilgiris. This section focuses on the reciprocity of the relationships that occur between Badaga community and the tribals of Nilgiris and *vice versa* in every domain of their folklife are analysed and interpreted from the perspective of communities that share the biodiversity of the Nilgiris.

Chapter-IV: Ritual as a Cultural Metaphor: The Rites of Badagas deals with the theoretical discourse on the rituals as metaphor of the people and communities that observe them. The thesis emerges culture specific models.. This chapter is divided into three sections. Section (1) deals with the life cycle ceremonies- birth, puberty, marriage and death. Section (2) deals with the territorial rites like house warming, cleansing rituals for cattle shed, sacred spaces etc. Section (3) deals with the communal rites performed by the Badagas like salt giving (*uppu habba*), sowing (*kovu habba*), harvesting (*kadae habba*) village goddess (Hette- ancestral goddess) rituals etc.,. This chapter further highlights how rituals of the Badagas construct their identity in the changing contours.

Chapter-V: Conclusion gives the possible conclusion with regard to the origin, migration, reciprocity, identity with rituals that emerged through the course of the research and suggestions for further research on Badagas of Nilgiris.

Endnotes:

¹ Paul, Hockings “*So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History*” New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 2013

- ² *Sangam* literature reveals certain Erumai as a Vadugar chief in whose territories the river Ayiri flows. It may be the river Agiri, which runs into Tungabhadra. The Telugus who reside to north and Badaga Kannadas in the west were called as *Vaduga* or *Baduga*.cf.downloaded from website: on 14th September, 2018. <http://badaga-anguage.blogspot.com/>
- ³ Fenicio, Jacome, 'Two Portuguese Mss. on the mission of Todamala', In A collection of annual reports relative to the state of the Portuguese Jesuit Missions in the East Indies; of various dates, from 1601 to 1659. Ff.477-82, Ms.40 vol.Trans, by A. de Alberti in Rivers 1906: 719-30.
- ⁴ *District Census Handbook of The Nilgiris*, Published by the Registrar of Census of India.2011
- ⁵ <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/coimbatore/Badagas-to-dig-into-their-past/articleshow/13159221.cms>. Accessed: 02/07/2018
- ⁶ *Idem.*, "So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History" New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 2013.p.5
- ⁷ *Badagas*, generally, refer to their village or hamlet as 'Hatti' spread around 'Nakku Betta' (the Nilgiris). *Nakku Betta* means four (*Nakku*) Mountains (*betta*) though there are many hills around which the villages are located
- ⁸ An exogamous subdivision of the tribe, constituting two or more related clans
- ⁹ Gareth Davey , *Quality of life and Well Being in an Indian Ethnic Community – The Case of Badagas*, Cham, Switzerland: Springer,2018
- ¹⁰ *Paul Hockings*, "So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History" New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 2013.p.31
- ¹¹ M.K.Belli Gowder,. *Historical Research on the Hill Tribes of the Nilgiris*, Ketti, Nilgiri District,(unpublished Manuscript), 1923-1941; James Wilkinson Brecks, *An Account of Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*, (ed.) Susan Maria Brecks, London: India Museum, 1873; K. Jessi Benbow, *The Badaga –Beliefs and Customs*, Bengalore: United Theological College,1930; H. B Grigg, *A Manual of The Nilgiri District in Madras Presidency*, Madras: Govt.Press, 1880; Henry Harkness, A description of a singular aboriginal race inhabiting the summit of the Nielgherry Hills, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatore in the southern peninsula of India, London: Smith, Elder.and Co, 1832; Johaan Friedrich Metz, *The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills; Their Social Customs and Religious Rites*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Press,1864; William Ross King, "The Aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills", *Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.1,1870, pp.18-51; Edgar Thurston and K.Rangachari, *Castes and tribes of South India*, Vol.1, Madras:Superintendent ,Government Press , 1909.
- ¹² *Paul Hockings*, *Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History* , The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1980; *Kindreds of the earth: Badaga household structure and demography*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999.
- ¹³ H. B Grigg, *A Manual of The Nilgiri District in Madras Presidency*, Madras: Govt.Press, 1880; N.A RANGA, *The tribes of the Nilgiris: their social and economic conditions*, Madras:Bharat Publishing House, 1934,pp. 55-59; Natesa Sastri and Sangendi Mahalinga, "The Badagas of the Nilgiri District", *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol.9, 1892, p.761 .
- ¹⁴ A Jebadhas and W Noble, 'The Irulas' *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*. (ed.) Paul Hockings, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p.289.
- ¹⁵ G. David Mandelbaum, *Society in India*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972, pp. 600-601
- ¹⁶ David G. Mandelbaum, "Cultural Change Among the Nilgiri Tribes", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43.1941, pp. 19-26
- ¹⁷ H. B Grigg, *A Manual of The Nilgiri District in Madras Presidency*, Madras: Govt.Press, 1880, pp.xlviii-li
- ¹⁸ *Pau Hockings*, *So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History* op.cit,. 2013.p.305.
- ¹⁹ Richard K. Wolf and Frank Heidemann, "Indigeniety, Performance and the State in South Asia and Beyond", *Asian Ethnology*, Vol.73.2014, pp. 1-18
- ²⁰ David G. Mandelbaum, "Cultural Change Among the Nilgiri Tribes", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43.1941, pp. 19-26

-
- ²¹ William Keys, ‘ A topographical description of the Nielgherry Mountains. From a letter by William Keys, Assistant Revenue Surveyor, to W. Garrows, Collector of Coimbatore’, 1812. In Grigg 1880: xlviii-li
- ²² All Six Taluks contain only Badaga community and the workers who work in their farms raising commercial crops.
- ²³ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *kinder und Hausmärchen* (Children’s and Household tales), German, 1812. For further details visit: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grimms'_Fairytale
- ²⁴ Edward B Tylor, *The Origins of Culture*, Gloucester, MA: Harper & Row, 1958.
- ²⁵ Richard Bauman, *Verbal art as performance*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers. 1977.
- ²⁶ Dan Ben-Amos, “Toward a definition of folklore in Context”, University of Illinois press on behalf of American Folklore Society, Vol.84, No.331,1971,, Jan-Mar, pp.3-5.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Idem.*, *Folktales from India, Oral Tales from Twenty Indian Languages*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.
- ²⁹ *Idem.*, “Where Mirrors are Windows: Toward an anthology of reflections”, in *History of Religions* 28.3 (1989): pp.187-216
- ³⁰ Arnold Van Gennep , *The Rites of Passage*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- ³¹ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, (1969), Aldine Transaction 1995.
- ³² *Ibid*, pp. 53-92
- ³³ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*, London, Ark Paperbacks, 1988.
- ³⁴ Mary Douglas. *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, New York, Routledge, 1996
- ³⁵ Clifford Geertz, *Local knowledge: further essays in interpretive anthropology*, New Jersey, Basic Books, 1983.
- ³⁶ Jecome Fenicio, “Two Portuguese Mss. On the mission of Todamala”, In *A collection of annual reports relative to the Portuguese Jesuit Mission in East Indies:of Various dates from 1601 to 1659*. British Museum Additional Ms. 9833,ff.464-65,Ms.Vol.25-26, and ff,477-82. Ms. Vol.40Trans. A.de Alberuni in Rivers:1906:719-30,1603,rpt.1906.
- ³⁷ James Hughs, *Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, etc of the Neilgherries (or) Blue Mountains of Coimbatore, South India*, London: John Hatchard&Sons, 1829.
- ³⁸ Johaan Friedrich Metz, , “*The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills; Their Social Customs and Religious Rites*,” 2nd Edn, Mangalore:Basel Mission Press,1864.
- ³⁹ William Ross King, *The Aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills*” London:Green. and Co.1870.
- ⁴⁰ Charles Edward Gover, “*The Folk Songs of South India*, Madras:Higginbotham & Co, 1871.
- ⁴¹ James Wilkinson Brecks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of Nilgiris*, Posthumus (Ed.) Maria Brecks , London:India Museum.,1926.
- ⁴² Henry Bidewell Grigg, *Manual of Nilgiri District of the Madras Presidency*, compiled and Edited by H.b.Grigg,Madras:E.Keys Government Press,1880.
- ⁴³ ‘Geofry’,*Ooty and her Sisters or Our Hill Stations in South India: Sketches of Hill Tribes – Their Customs, Caste, and Religion &c.....also tea,coffee and cinchona cultivation and &appendix of routes,distance and fares*, Madras:Higginbotham, and Co,1881.
- ⁴⁴ William Halls Rivers ,*The Todas*. London: Macmillan &Co. 1905
- ⁴⁵ Walter Francis, *Madras Districts Gazetteers: The Nilgirs. Vol.I*. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1908.
- ⁴⁶ Edgar Thurston and K.Rangachari, *Castes and tribes of South India,Vol.1*, Madras: Superinendent ,Government Press , 1909.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, United Kingdom; Macmillan and Co. 1890, pp. 8-9
- ⁴⁹ Paul Hockings, *Ancient Hindu Refugees:Badaga Social History1550-1975*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers: New Delhi:Vikas Publishing house,1980.

- ⁵⁰ Paul Hockings, *Blue Mountains: The Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: OUP, 1989.
- ⁵¹ Paul Hockings, *Badagas, Kindreds of the Earth: Badaga Household Structure and Demography*, New Delhi: Sage, 1999.
- ⁵² Paul Hockings (1968). "Identity in Complex Societies: Are the Badagas Caste or Tribe?", *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 2, pp. 29–35; "John Sullivan of Ootacamund", *Journal of Indian History*, 1973, pp. 863–871; "Pykara: An Iron-Age Burial in South India", *Asian Perspectives*, Vol. 18, 1976, pp. 26–50; "Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History", The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1980, pp. 1550–1975; *Sex and Disease in a Mountain Community*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980; "Badaga kinship rules in their socio-economic context", *Anthropos*, Vol. 77, 5/6, 1982, pp. 851–874; *Counsel from the ancients: A study of Badaga Proverbs, Prayers, Omens and Curses*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988; *Blue Mountains: The ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989; "Ethnic Identity in a Complex Society: The Badaga case", *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, Vol. 18, 2, 1993, pp. 347–364; *A Comprehensive bibliography for the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India, 1603-1996*, Bordeaux: Université Michel de Montaigne, 1996; *Kindreds of the earth: Badaga household structure and demography*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999; "All aboard the Nilgiri Express: Sustained Links between Anthropology and a Single Indian District", *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 19, 1, 2008, pp. 1–16; *So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2013.
- ⁵³ Anthony Walker, "Toda society: Between Tradition and Modernity", in Paul Hocking, (ed.) *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: OUP, 1989, pp. 186–205.
- ⁵⁴ Gareth Davey, *Quality of life and Well Being in an Indian Ethnic Community – The Case of Badagas*, Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018.
- ⁵⁵ William Allister Noble, Cultural Contrasts and Similarities Among Five Ethnic Groups in the Nilgiri District, Madras State, India, 1800–1963, 1968. LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses. 1409. https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/1409, downloaded on 17th September, 2018. From www.https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses
- ⁵⁶ Jakka Parthasarathy, *The Badagas of the Nilgiri District, Tamilnadu, A Caste Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam,: Tribal Research Institute
- ⁵⁷ B. Balasubrahmanyam, *Pamae' The History and Culture of the Badagas of the Nilgiris*, Bangalore: Elkon Animations, 2009.
- ⁵⁸ Goldstein Kenneth S, *A guide for field workers in folklore*, Pennsylvania, The American folklore society, 1964.
- ⁵⁹ Samuel P. Bayard, "The Materials of Folklore", *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 66, No. 259 (Jan.-Mar. 1953)
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 8
- ⁶¹ Donald A. MacDonald, "Fieldwork: Collecting oral literature", in *Folklore and folklife: An Introduction*, M. Dorson Richard, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1972, p. 9
- ⁶² *Ibid*. p. 415
- ⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 422
- ⁶⁴ Dennis Tedlock, *The spoken word and the work of interpretation*, University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia 1983
- ⁶⁵ Richard M. Dorson, op.cit.,
- ⁶⁶ Jacques Derrida, "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences" in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass. London: Routledge, pp. 278–294.
- ⁶⁷ Marcus and Cushman, "Ethnographies as Texts", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 11. 1980.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 31–36

- ⁶⁹ A. Stephen Tyler, "Post-Modern Ethnography: from Document of the Occult to Occult Document", (ed.) James Clifford and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: U of California P, 1986, pp. 122–140.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid, p.125 A post-modern ethnography is a cooperatively evolved text consisting of fragments of discourse intended to evoke in the minds of both reader and writer an emergent fantasy of a possible world of commonsense reality, and thus to provoke an aesthetic integration that will have a therapeutic effect.
- ⁷¹ Ibid, p. 136
- ⁷² Michael Genzuk, "A Synthesis of Ethnographic Research", Occasional Papers Series. Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Research (Eds.). Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Research, Rossier School of Education, University of Southern California. Los Angeles. Re-printed (Fall, 2003).
- ⁷³ Ibid, pp. 3- 4
- ⁷⁴ Jerome Bruner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality" (1991). *Critical Inquiry*, 18:1, 1-21.
- ⁷⁵ Richard Giovannoli, "The Narrative method of inquiry": <http://www.sonic.net/~rgiovan/essay.2.PDF>
- ⁷⁶ Ibid, p.1
- ⁷⁷ William M. Clements, "Personal Narrative, the Interview Context, and the Question of Tradition", *Western Folklore*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Apr. 1980), pp. 106-112
- ⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 111
- ⁷⁹ Ahuja Ram, *Research Methods*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2007.
- ⁸⁰ Janet Bean, *Field Guide: Instructor's Manual*, Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1997.
- ⁸¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Methodology>. Accessed: 16/07/2010
- ⁸² M.Aliaga & B.Gunderson, *Interactive Statistics*, thousand Oaks:sage,2002
- ⁸³ Ibid.,
- ⁸⁴ S.Sarantakos, 2005, *Social Research*, (Third Edition) New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005,p. 50
- ⁸⁵ O.R. Krishnaswami, 2001, *Methodology of Research in Social Sciences*, Mumbai, Himalaya Publishing House, 2001. P.58
- ⁸⁶ D.Frayer, "Qualitative Methods in occupational psychology: Reflections upon why they are so useful but so little used?" *The Occupational Psychologist*,14,3-6.
- ⁸⁷ G. E. Marcus, M. M. J Fischer,1986, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.18
- ⁸⁸ *ibid*
- ⁸⁹ S.A.Tyler, 1986, "Post-modern ethnography: from document of the occult to occult document", in J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus (eds) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 125
- ⁹⁰ Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus (editors), 1986, *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- ⁹¹ Gobo Giampietro, 2008, *Doing ethnography*, Los Angeles, sage Publication.
- ⁹² Clifford Geertz, 1973, *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture*, in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, pp. 15-18
- ⁹³ M.A. Richard Giovannoli, "The Narrative method of inquiry," P.3. <http://www.sonic.net/~rgiovan/essay.2.PDF>
- ⁹⁴ C. Cassels & G.Symons, "Qualitative research in Work Contexts", in C.Cassel& G.Symons (Eds.) *Qualitative Research in Organizational Research: A Practical Guide*, London: Sage,1999.

Chapter II

Origin and Migration of Badagas

The Badagas are an immigrant social group that coexisted with the native tribes – Todas, Kotas, Irulas, Kurumbas, Paniyas and Kasavas- and shared their geography and environment in Nilagiris District¹ which is located in Western Ghats of present Tamil Nadu State for its subsistence and endurance. The journey of Badagas is a long and continuous episode which took nearly four and half centuries to emerge successfully among all native tribes from the status of immigrants to that of a powerful community that derived and determined the socio-economic lives of the people in Nilagiris.

In South India, the Badaga cultural life begins with the narratives of their migrations from Southern Mysore region the Nilagiris. They emerged as dominant agricultural community by acclimatizing themselves with its land and people and by entering into reciprocity of relationships with the natives. The widely prevalent migration myth of Badagas runs as follows: In Badagahalli village situated in Talaimalai Hills near Mysore, there lived a family of seven brothers and a sister. Tipu Sultan while riding on a horseback saw the sister of the on seven brothers and desired to get married her. Being staunch Hindus, the seven brothers do not want their sister to be given in marriage to a Muslim ruler and consequently fled their home during the night to the Nilgiri hills where they established the Badaga community. The young woman disguised in tribal attire and decorated their forehead and arms with tattooing to escape from Tipu. Subsequently this became the distinct dress and tattoos of Badaga women. The Badagas believe that they were into Nilagiris between A.D.1500 to 1600 after the fall of Vijayanagar.

The consequences occurred after the fall of Vijayanagar Empire after the battle of Tallikota in A.D.1565 the feudatories of Mysore, the Udaiyars became independent and announced their overlord ship on the Wynad and Nilagiris. Earlier scholars hold that the Badagas migrated to the hills after the fall of Vijayanagar dynasty in the end of 16th century to protect themselves from the sway of Deccan Sultans. However, if the association of Muslim onslaught episode into consideration, their migration might had

happened in the Hoyasalas time during the invasions of Malik Kafur into South India during A.D.1307 -11 or after the fall of Vijayanagara due to Taillikota battle or during the struggle of Karnataka Nawabs, Hyderali and Tippu at times of their involvement in warfare, Anglo-Mysore Wars 1769-1799. In Badaga history, the time of migration is highly discursive. Basing on the language of Badagas which has no script it can be assumed that their dialect is mostly of Kannada, the Badaga language might have branched off before they adapted the script (c.2th century A.D.). On the other hand, the influence of Tamil on Badaga dialect reveals that the Badaga migration was slow and processed through the bilingual cultures of Karnataka and Tamil lands. If one takes into consideration the Badaga villages (Melkundha and Melur) formed by early sixteenth centuries as revealed by Jacome Ferrari, it is understood that there exists a pact between Badagas and Todas to give *gudu* by the former to the latter for obtaining permission to graze their cattle. It is clear that the Badagas are not one among the tribals of Nilagiris, but immigrated to the lands of the Todas; the Todas collected tribute (*gudu*) for availing the native land for their use. Thus, the Badaga communities in the Nilgiris, who hail from the *Okkaliga* caste of the southern plains of the Mysore region, were granted permission to settle in the hills by a council constituted by the Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, on the condition of payment of an annual tribute. A Kota folk story also reaffirms to the fact of a meeting of a council of the three resident tribes with the first Badaga refugees in the Nilgiris². The Badaga proverbs and origin myths throw a flood of light on the origins and early settlements of Badagas and later, their dispersal to other places within the hills. Badaga folklore also reveals their relationships with the native tribes.

The Todas are pastoralists and the Badagas are agriculturalists. While the Kotas are artisans, the Kurumbas are food gatherers and sorcerers. The services of Kurumbas were utilized to minister the Kotas and Badagas. Their magico-religious services are crucial to these groups. They welcome the services of Kurumbas in these activities. However Kurumbas is not allowed within the home confines for they were feared by the populace for their magico-religious practices. While Badagas wear turbans, Kotas do not. If any Kota put on a turban, Badaga feels that Kotas are excelling them in hierarchy. They consider it as an offence and beat the Kotas and condemn such practice in future with punishment. Though the Kota musicians perform in the rituals of Todas, the latter

purify their cattle sheds if the former come nearer and perform a purificatory ritual to ward off evils. Their entry is prohibited. Beyond that no obligation is being maintained with them.

The immigrant Badagas are Hindu agriculturalists that migrated from the Mysore region³. They supplied grains, salt, sugar and even opium to the tribal groups in return for items that the Badagas did not produce by themselves. The Todas are trans-human and thereby make a living out of Buffalo herds. They supplied dairy products and milk to the Badagas. Their company was considered essential at certain Badaga and Kota ceremonies. The Kotas who were primarily artisans and musicians and provided agricultural and household paraphernalia such as agricultural implements, pottery leather goods. The Kurumbas and Irulas are forest dwellers; both provided various jungle produce that apart, the Kurumbas also provide magical and ritual services to the Badagas. Though the earlier works and reports described the exchange system as 'symbiotic', the Badagas, in fact, by possessing greater wealth and superior skills as well as being of far superior numbers⁴ played the most key role in the exchange system. Their influence can be seen through the presence of predominance of their language, *Badagu*, throughout the Nilagiris. The Kurumbas⁵ mostly residing in the southern and eastern part of the Nilagiris were hunters and food-gatherers. Their dwelling-places are typically in isolated jungle areas⁶. Earlier ethnographic records designate them as hunters by catching birds, fish and animals and gathering wild foods from the wilderness⁷. The Kurumbas had closest ties with the Badaga in the exchange of goods and services amongst the tribes. Badagas communes were often situated nearby to Kurumba settlements; they provided forest produce and woven products (baskets, brooms) to the Badagas and also performed the role of medicine men and sorcerers. This exchange displayed as a definite set of mutual reciprocities.

Modern Period

An officer at Dannayakankottai was appointed to collect the revenues from the ethnic groups of Nilagiris after the migration and settlement of Badagas on to the hills. His jurisdiction of administration embraced the Hatties of Badaga. Hyder Ali, who usurped Mysore throne from the Udayars family, controlled Dannayakankottai, the

Headquarters of the Nilagiris. He and his son Tipu Sultan struggled hard to safeguard their empire, including the Nilagiris, from the frequent British incursions towards the end of eighteenth Century. The hill forts, the citadels of power in their empire played a crucial role in the Anglo-Mysore warfare.

During the Fourth Mysore war, Major John Cuppage took over the Nilgiri fort and the Anchetifort. Acquisition of Nepal (1814-1816) in the British War initiated the occupation of hill stations (Simla, Darjeeling, Almora etc.) in North India. The 'wars' against the Karnataka Nawabs paved the way to possess hill stations in the Nilagiris. After the Third Anglo-Mysore war that ended in 1792, the British, their allies Nizam of Hyderabad and Marathas shared the Malabar region. In the Tingnycotta Taluk of Barrah Mahal treaty signed in 1792 the British acquired of the hills. But they could not full charge over them for they got succeeded but not won not in the war with Tipu Sultan. The Treaty of Srirangapattam, 1799 confirmed the right of British over the Nilagiris, which they were ceded to them in 1792. The territories thus acquired were distributed to Salem, Krishnagiri and Dindukal districts. The Nilagiris, which was under the tahsil of Dannayakankottai was allocated to the Salem District, The land to the west of the river Cauvery (including Dannayakankottai Taluk) formed the new district with a new collectorate at Coimbatore. The Nilagiris under the revenue control of Dannayakankottai thus formed part of Salem district first and of Coimbatore district later in 1800, Wynad, the western part of the hills was repeatedly claimed by Keralavarma, but in vain, till his death.

Early European Visits

Jacome Ferreiri, a Jesuit priest of Calicut ascended the hills in late 1602 as per the orders of Francis Roy, the then Roman Catholic Bishop of Calicut. This was the first European visit to the Nilagiris. His mission i.e., finding out the reported Christian villages in the Todamala and converting them into Catholic, failed, however his accounts (originally in Portuguese) being first from the European angle, are very interesting. The next European attempt to conquer the hills happened after 200 years. The hills were in view of all British civil and military officers in Coimbatore for many years but only a few of them attempted to explore them.

The fear of Malaria kept the officers away who did not realize that the risk of the disease was not there above certain height on the hills. On October 22 1800 Francis Buchanan climbed up the hills from the East, to conduct enquiries into the extensive territories added to the East India Company. His report did not contain any significant events. Survey teams under Colonel Mackenzie in 1806, under Dr. Ford in 1809, under William Keys and McMahon in 1812 and William Keys and Lieutenant Ward in the reports of the above surveys did not produce any immediate result, whereas the descriptions of J.C. Wish and N.W. Kindersley the assistants of the Collector of Coimbatore, who took an expedition to the hills in February 1818, about the splendid landscape, temperate climate, the green meadows and clear and cool springs surprised the then Collector of Coimbatore, John Sullivan. This led to the personal visits of Sullivan and opening the hills for the Europeans. Developments in the British Period The inquisitiveness, love for nature and adventurous spirit of John Sullivan opened the silent doors of the Nilagiris. The history of the British Nilagiris begins from his explorations and establishment of the first European bungalows in the Nilagiris one at Dimbatti built in 1819 and another at Ootacamund in 1848. He was instrumental for all development that took place in the following years. A food grain and a Ghat were named after him to perpetuate the memories of the 'Father of Ootacamund'.

Sullivan made the Government and all the Europeans living in India to know about the aboriginal climate and suitable condition of European living. There was no hill station in India then, so those who wanted to escape from the exhausting heat, had to go to the cape or Mauritius. They were invited to this first hill station in India. When they came here they discovered far superior climatic conditions than those of the cape and Mauritius. It was envisaged that the plateau might become a British colony as flourishing as Australia or the 'Cape route' to the hills until the opening of Ghatat Coonoor.

The first medical reports on the hill is (1821) expressed the suitability of Ootacamund as the best site for an establishment for the invalids. The government sanctioned house plots and advances to the civil and military servants who wanted to stay in the Nilagiris. As a consequence of these conditions many private *havelis*, quarters were constructed and churches, hospitals, schools and libraries were developed. Ghats were opened and transport was increased. Many Europeans settled on the hills and

Ootacamund became a resort for retired and sickly army personnel. Thus the settlement was allotted to Military Commandant in 1830. Much to Sullivan's disgust, the civil jurisdiction of the hills as a whole was transferred to Malabar in the same year. The reasons advanced for this transfer were the prevention of smuggling of tobacco and facilitation of carriage of invalids from Bombay through Malabar. It was again the undaunted efforts of Sullivan, who by then was a member of the Council, that restored the hills back to Coimbatore District in 1843. The plateau was separated in 1868 and placed under a Commissioner who enjoyed the combined jurisdictions of Civil, Criminal and Revenue. Ootacamund ceased to be a military depot and town rose into a municipality. Jakatalla with its military installations became as Wellington military station. Natural resources were tapped and the hills' flora and fauna changed to a very great extent. Coffee, tea, cinchona plantations and vegetable crops were introduced which brought prosperity. The Commiserate was promoted to collect orate in 1882. From 1866 onwards Ootacamund became the- Summer Capital of the Madras Presidency. The provincial Government functioned in Ooty (Stone house) for six months, every year. The annual visit of the Governors and occasional visit of the Governors General to Ootacamund and other hill 56 stations in the Nilagiris led to overall developments. Before the Europeans leaving India, the Nilagiris had a good means of transport and communication, a hydroelectric power generation system, good schools, library, hospital and clubs. It had turned to be an important place in the maps of tea industry and tourism. Means of communication like posts and telegraphs and railways were introduced. The role of the district in the independence struggle is not least important. Despite the long association and close contacts with the Europeans, the native leaders were attracted by the writings and speeches of Dr. Annie Besant and Arundale who were stationed in Ootacamund by the British Government during the period of World War I, as one of the war-time measures Mahatma Gandhi visited some parts of the district once.

Tradition mentions that the Badagas got migrated from the plains in the south of Mysore region to the foothills of Nilagiris during sixteenth century after the fall of Vijayanagara dynasty in the battle of Talikota (A.D.1565) due to the threat caused by Muslim invasions and famine occurred in that region. They were set at the foothills of the Nilagiris by temporarily resorting to hoe cultivation and took the similar life of

tribals. Thence seeking opportunities and familiarity with the resident tribes of Nilagiris-Todas, Kotas etc., moved to the hill tops and survived there by establishing reciprocal relationships with the native tribes. Thus on one hand they emerged as part and parcel of Nilgiri people by sharing both human and environmental resources and on the other evolved as an eminent peasant community that could maneuver agriculture in different ecosystems – hilly (slash and burn, dry (millet producing), wet (rice, sugarcane etc), garden (kitchen gardens etc.) lands for commercial benefits and expropriate forest products up to the maximum extent for ethno medical benefits.

The expertise of the Badagas in the commercialization of agriculture by producing English crops, tea and organization of extensive trade deserve applaud for their optimal knowledge to mold and adapt to changing environment and emerge successfully. The eminence of Badagas among the native tribes on the Nilagiris in different realms of life again kept them on toes to move again to plains from the hilltop. The natural resources of land waters were optimized for agricultural productions carried out in varied eco-zones: wet, dry, garden and grass lands on the hills. The opportunities for further ventures in the hilltop are getting saturated. Hence the contour of migration of Badagas appears to have taken a new turn, i.e. from hilltop to plains. The researchers are univocal to accept the Badaga migration from southern Mysore to Nilagiris due to the above said reasons⁸. But, there exists a controversy with regard to the caste of Badagas. The issues like whether the Badagas are tribes or millet producing farmers; whether ‘Badaga’ emerged as caste from tribal stature through social mobility; and whether there exists tribe-caste continuum in their practices- are some issues connected with the caste polemics of Badagas, whether they are of caste or tribe or survive in tribe caste continuum? The dilemma of the Badagas whether they should to be considered as tribals or backward community in Indian constitution is still a burning issue. .

The word ‘Badaga’ means ‘northerner’ indicating that they came from southern part of Mysore region⁹. So the natives of Nilagiris call them as Badaga, the northerner for the original home of these migrants is situated north of Nilagiris region. Before going into the polemics of Badaga identity as a caste or tribe or something else, the origin and migration of the Badaga community has to be briefly discussed.

With regard to the origin and migration of Badaga community the information is scanty. There is no recorded evidence for their origin and migration. The oral narratives existing in the form of myths and legends help one to reconstruct the origin and the reasons leading to the migration of Badagas to the Nilagiris. A brief account of the narratives on Badagas is given below¹⁰:

- 1) During the regime of Tipu Sultan, the Nawabs of Mysore, there lived seven brothers with their beautiful sister in the village Badagahalli on Talamali hills, near Mysore. On an evening, she was milking her cows. At that time, a calf unknotted the rope to which it was tied and was about to fall. Noticing the danger to take place to the calf, the sister instantaneously uncoiled her long wavy hair and held it back to the tree. Then her brother mulched the cow. Then Tipu Sultan who was on his ride to the vicinity of this Badaga settlement watched the whole incident and got attracted to her stunning beauty and courage. He wanted to marry her. Then the seven brothers along with their sister in disguise fled to Nilagiris. In their journey, after they reached the river Moyar, they found the army of Tipu Sultan very close to them. As they were Saivites, they kept a *Sivalingam* on the ground and prostrated before it. Then the river Moyar got split and gave way for them to cross it while their chasers got in the waters and died. The Badagas took to the disguise and tattooed on their foreheads and forearms to make themselves unattractive and unidentifiable.

After escaping from danger, tradition says that they got settled in the village Bethelhada which is also presently known as Betllada. For some time, they lived there and then migrated to different regions of Nilagiris. Then the eldest brother asked his younger brother to go behind a deer and settle wherever it stops. Then as per the instructions of his elder brother, the younger settled at Kinnakorai (Hiriyasegai), for the deer stopped there only. Two of his brothers, one settled down at Koderi and the other at Hubbatalai. These brothers were the founders of the Porangad division of the Badagas. The second brother, Hethappa, had two daughters. One day, when Hethappa was not at home, two Todas rushed into his house and overpowered his wife. After knowing about the misdeed of the Toda brothers, Hethappa with the help of two Balayaru men took vengeance upon the Toda brothers.

The Balayarus killed the Todas on the condition that they should be given in marriage with his daughters. The contemporary residents of the Hulikal village are said to be the descendants born out of the marital relationship between Balayaru and Hethappa. The present day Hethappa and Hethe cult is attributed to the migration episode of the seven Badaga brothers and sister.

(ii) Another narrative tells that a few Badagas /Gowda families travelled upto Nilgirs and sought asylum in its deep forests. When they were rushing to move, they forgot to take their boy sleeping in cradle in the cave. A Toda man passing on the way got attracted to the boy and called him out. The boy crawled inside. The Toda man brought his son and sprinkled roasted seeds of *amaranths* in front of them. When the Toda boy began to pick them, the Badaga boy also came out to eat. Then the Toda father took the boy with him who in course became the founder of *Tothanadu* branch of Badagas.

(iii) Another narrative on the Badaga migration gives the following information: Tradition attributes the migration of Badagas from Mysore region to Nunthala of two brothers from Gowda group. On their way they were hungry. In this context one of the brothers shot a pigeon. He roasted it to eat. But, the elder brother avoided eating the bird. The brother who did not eat the bird is Hethappa who is considered as the progenitor of the Kundah region of Badagas.

All these accounts clarify that a group of people migrated from south of Mysore region migrated to the Nilagiris. They were considered as Badagas, the northerners by the natives. In proto-Kannada Badaga means, a northerner. The perception of the native tribes about the immigrant group as northerners clarifies that Badagas are not local but migrants. The origin narrative connects them with cattle rearing, a distinct feature of peasant community. The care and concern of the community towards the livestock got reflected in the attempt of the sister to protect the cow at the stake of life. Uncoiling the hair and using it as a rope to hold the calf though a thick literary expression, it shows the core perception of the community towards their main source of agrarian production.

The migration is said to have been corroborated with the fall of Vijayanagara Empire in A.D. 1565 and onslaught of Muslims during the times of Tipu Sultan the

Nawabs of Mysore. Rayas of Vijayanagar were most influential rulers in entire South India. They were projected as the protectors of Hindu dharma and strong bulwark against the Muslim attacks. Association of prominent personages and places of historical importance to events and people is very common in the process of folklore construction, exclusively as narratives. Thus the rule of Vijayanagara rule and the final battle of Talikota that ended the glory and fate of the empire emerged as significant motifs in the Badaga origin narrative. Further, the region from which Badagas are said to have migrated is an arid zone wherein the land and people are subjected to vagaries of monsoon which causes floods and famines which in turn creates uncertainty to the peasants. Such conditions lead to migrations of peasants along with their livestock during these times. It is natural to have socio-economic and political unrest among the people who are involved in production during the time of anarchy created during war times, and with Muslims/foreign rulers. Such may be the situation that the peasants of Southern Mysore might have been subjected which made them to move. The association of Tipu's army and episode of marriage depicted in the narrative reveals the threats people experience during the times of journey and strategies the migrants adopt to save themselves from the situation. Worship of Sivalinga and resultant miracle of splitting Moyar river to give them way to escape from the Muslim chasers reveals their staunch affiliation to belief of the *Okkaliga* peasants of Mysore and miraculous power that Siva exerts in saving his devotees.

The Badaga women tattooing on their foreheads and hands during the course of their migration appears to be an attempt made by them to disfigure their real identity and present to their chasers, the Muslim army as though they are native tribes of the land.

Seven brothers and sister as revealed in narrative (ii), leaving of the cradle child behind when they were hastily escaping from their chasers is symbolic act of remembering their past identity even when in search of new avenues in their immigrant life. Depiction of a Toda man in the narrative as benefactor to the discarded child who became founder of Tothanadu region of Badagas is noteworthy. Giving of seeds of *amaranth* to the child through his (Toda) own child is a strategy to identify the people through their food habits. In general paradigm that constructs the identity of people in

different cultures. In the narrative, the Todas are also represented as the offenders of Badagas for the former are accused of committing violation upon the wife of Badaga brother Hethappa. The Badaga brothers took to the help of Balayaru, who killed the two Toda offenders. Later the Badagas entered into matrimonial relations with Balayarus of Hulikal. This narrative attributes the origin of Porangad branch of Badagas to Hethappa. The relationship of Badagas with the Todas in this narrative is unfriendly for the latter offended the former's woman. However, the migration narratives always contain the episodes of adventures, strategies of survivals, heroism, disasters, and miseries and so on. Badaga migration is not an exception to such atrocities. Finally the narrative portrays the seven brothers as founders of different Badaga settlements and Hethappa and Hethe whose status got raised from terrestrial (earthly) to celestial (divine) realm. They are being worshipped as village god and goddesses and as memory and thank giving ceremony to the heroes in the form of Hethe and Hethappa.

The narrative (iii) throws flood of light on the classification of Badaga/Gowdas into vegetarian and non-vegetarian clans basing on the paradigm of purity and pollution based on food habit (vegetarianism and non-vegetarianism). Vegetarian Badaga brother Hethappa who did not eat the bird became the founder of Kundha region of the community. The diet of Badagas determines their hierarchy in the community. The narrative substantiates that the diet of the Badagas determine their distinctive status among the communities of Nilagiris. The Badaga proverbial scholarship illustrates the distinction between Badagas and its co-habitants, Kotas, Todas and Kurumba based on the food habits. The proverb “ *Badagagaba:da:se / kotagapo:ta:se; Todavagahulla:se / kurumaga je.na-se* ” which means that “the Badaga, Kota, Toda and Kurumba want respectively mutton, beef, grass and honey”, suggest the construction of identity based on their dietary traditions.

The Badaga society too has its own peculiar social group system. The diet of the Badagas reveals the position of his social order in the society i.e., either higher or lower in hierarchy. While the social order recognises Wodeya, Haruva, Adhikari, Kanakka, and Gowda or Badaga in the high to low rank, the Toreyas are considered as inferior to all others. Wodeya are considered as the aristocrats among the Badagas. They are said to be a branch of the ruling family of Mysore¹¹, Haruvas are priests, and the *Adhikars* are

strict vegetarians. The Kanakkas are said to be the accountants and the surveyors of the land¹². They also acted as physicians and exorcists. Majority of the Badagas are non-vegetarians. If a non-vegetarian Badaga girl is married to a Haruva vegetarian boy then she should remain a strict vegetarian and her children are called 'Haruvas'. On the other hand, if a Badaga boy marries a vegetarian Adhikari girl, then she has to change her diet or can follow her vegetarian diet but her children may remain as non-vegetarians¹³. Toreyas are the lowest among the Badagas, and are not permitted to eat food with the rest of the community. They are said to have worked as guards and menial servants to other Badagas. They are not allowed to marry from Badaga clans of higher hierarchy, like Haruvas, Wodeyas and Adhikaris. They are strictly endogamous. Among the Badagas the vegetarians are of high class and others are inferior to them.

Though the community is heterogeneous for being divided into different sects based on their dietary as well as commensality relationships and different reciprocal tasks they perform in their folklife to their society, all of them constitute Badaga solidarity for their identity and sustenance in challenging situations.

Paul Hockings¹⁴ basing on the traits upheld by Fredrik Barths called the people of Nilagiris as ethnic groups because of the factors such as; (i) they are - -perpetuating (ii) share vital cultural values which overtly express their unity in cultural forms (iii) possess good communication and interaction silks and (iv) membership is well identified within and outside the group. Though they are universal principles to categorize the people, he applied the same to the people of Nilagiris and concluded that the Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas are autochthonous and Kota and Badagas as immigrant ethnic groups.

Caste of Badagas

The scholars have pendulous swing with regard to Badaga identity whether as tribe or caste. Paul Hockings basing on the following distinct markers of identity, he arrived that the Badagas are tribes like that of other groups of Nilagiris. They are : i) Badaga language (ii) legitimate marriage; rules of exogamy and endogamy, (iii) bear culture specific marker of their respective sectarian identity –sectarian dress code, tattoo or mark on the fore head (iv) village identity and typical Badaga architecture in house construction and (v) kinship linkages between the members of same phartry. Paul

Hockings¹⁵ opined that the Badagas are not to be seen exactly a caste society, but they could still be regarded as a caste or a caste-block in a larger caste people in the Nilagiris. Their social relations with the Toda, Kurumba, Kota and Toreya formed a social system wherein each group was visibly defined and interdependent. They all worked to preserve their reciprocity of relationships which may otherwise threaten the proper functioning of the system that had been articulating them so far. Badagas are considered as the units of larger (caste) society, but has basic features that are considered in India as tribal.

It appears that the caste-tribe confusion is prevalent in the identity construction of Badagas and may be due to the popular and official usage of these two terms in administration. It is because; there exists a controversy with regard to naming the groups of people residing in Nilagiris whether as a caste, tribe or category. Badaga Community is presently treated as Backward Class in Tamil Nadu (OBC under Central Government). The Badagas of Nilagiris were originally treated as hill Tribes. The Badagas were described as 'Primitive Tribe' by the British Government. The State of Tamil Nadu made a recommendation for inclusion of 'Badagas Community' in the list of Scheduled Tribes of Tamil Nadu, vide letter dated 27 July 1990.

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs brings forth the earlier proceedings connected to the inclusion of 'Badaga Community' in the list of Scheduled Tribes in the State of Tamil Nadu. The Registrar General of India appears to have raised some objections on the issue of including Badaga Community under Scheduled Tribe. A section native community is not in favour of their inclusion in the Tribes. The State Government was called upon to submit a fresh proposal taking into account the observation made by the Registrar General of India. Representations dated 28 October, 2013 and 8 November, 2013 submitted by the Badagas is now pending with the authorities. They were forwarded by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, to the Secretary, Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department (Tamil Nadu) for follow up action. The matter is therefore pending with the State Government. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs mentions that the action is pending with the State government of Tamil Nadu. Hence it is considered that the Badagas constitute one among the other 'atypical mainstream social groups' of Nilagiris that survive on the subsistence interrelationships¹⁶

Depending upon the discourse of Misra, Dumont and Bailey¹⁷ with regard to the tribe-caste controversy of Indian tribes, Paul Hockings¹⁸ developed a ‘Polar Triangular model of Indian communities and their residential patterns’ basing on his ethnographic data on the Badaga community. His model enables to understand the variances that distinct pastoral or itinerant tribes from agricultural tribes for the latter are historical and got assimilated into local caste system with the passage of generations. For him Nilagiris is a caste society having numerous distinctive native cultures having origins in pre-caste social formations and the difference amongst them is in their content rather than in the structure of the society. He observes tribe-caste continuum exists in their identity formations. Basing on the works of Klass, Dutt, Blunt, Ghurye, Hutton Bailey¹⁹, it is observed that in order to consider a community as a caste, it should fulfill some traits. They are: (i) occupational specialization (ii) purity scale (iii) hierarchy of relationship.(iv) commensality and (v) ascriptiveness.

The ethnography of Badaga community when processed through the above criteria that stand as parameters for being a caste,, the caste-tribe dilemma may be solved..

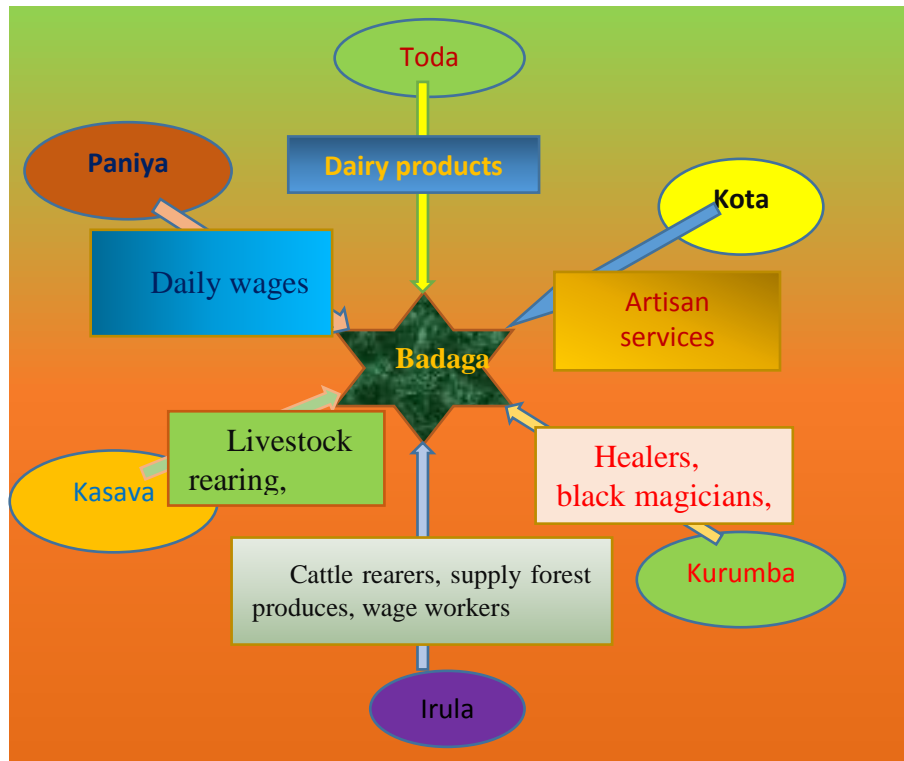
(i) Occupational specialization:

The Badagas who were a branch of Vokkaligas migrated to Nilagiris from the southern Mysore region nearly more than 400 years ago. From one of the Badaga proverb it can be inferred that the Badagas are *okkalas* (dominant peasants group in Karnataka) and they have agriculture as hereditary profession. The proverb *okkalama:tiuttuariyana/kurumanama:koleariyana* means that “Wont the *okkala* son know how to plough? Wont the *Kurumba* ‘s son know how to murder?” Though the proverb reflects the perception of Badagas on the Kurumbas whom they considered as participants in their religious rituals, it substantiates that the Badagas are the *okkalas*. It emphasizes the hereditary nature of occupations in the Badaga society. Their expertise in the appropriation of land, environment and people for their agricultural activities and cattle rearing substantiates that they are seasoned agricultural practitioners in dealing with dry, wet, garden and commercial crops and also skilled in handling managerial functions.

(ii) Purity scale (iii) hierarchy of relationship and (iv) commensality

The Badagas are in toto are in ten phratries divided into 44 clans including Christians Though clan and social hierarchy occurs in the matters of purity and pollution and life cycle as well as communal rituals, breaking of exogamous and endogamous relationships is not uncommon. Moreover, the Badaga economy though appears to be egalitarian, the association of other tribal communities living in Nilagiris in different spheres of Badaga lifestyle, economy and rituals reminds one the reciprocity of relationships that exist in the caste society of South Indian village. Though the Toreyaphratry had land and cattle, they are treated as lower in their hierarchy, *i.e.*, they play the role of ‘village servants’ to the Badaga hamlets. Formally for a minimum payment, they are obliged to fulfill time consuming tasks like carrying messages from one place to the other. The apex status in the hierarchy is given to the Wodeyas and Haruvas as they are the land owners and cattle keepers who received payments from villages for performing religious tasks. The Badagas have totems. The families belonging to their respective totem observes and maintains rules of exogamy and endogamy in their social world. Thus the Badaga community is heterogeneous. But all Badagas share common features in the matters of dress, house architecture, ritual life, economy, social organization and so on that construct the identity of their people as a Badaga folk group. The solidarity they build up in the matters of these aspects may be the homogeneity. Thus Badagas as a folk group is homogenous and thereby establish their group identity, but as a socio-culturally hierarchized and economically categorized and sustained reciprocity of relationship with other co-habiting indigenous people makes it heterogeneous similar to that of any peasant community of south India. The reciprocity of relationships that exist between Badaga community and the tribes of Nilagiris and *vice versa* is given in the following Diagrams, I and II²⁰.

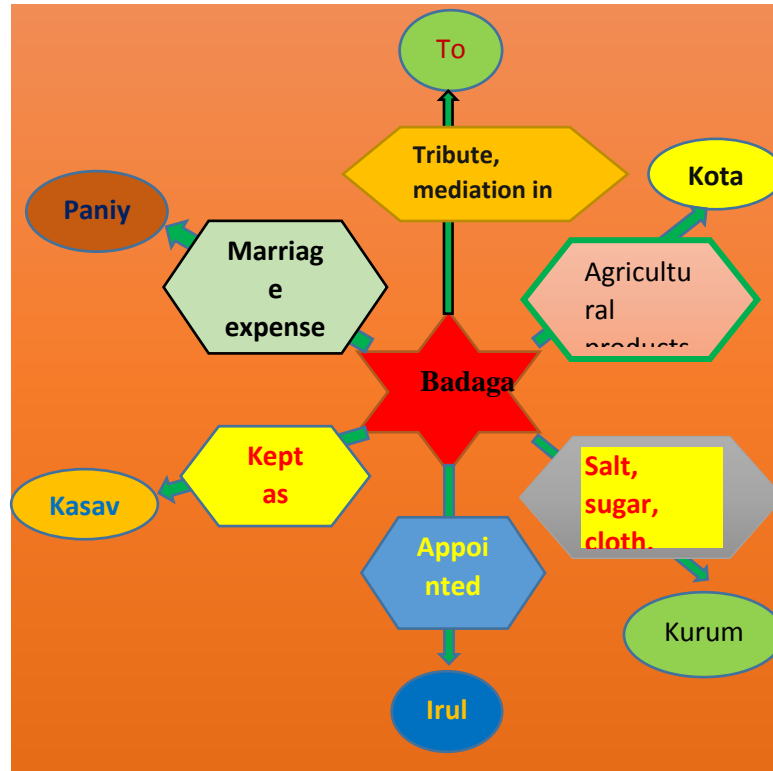
Diagram: I Relationships: Nilgiri Tribes and Badagas



The above diagram explains how different tribal communities are connected with the Badagas in their socio-economic and cultural life of the Badaga community by participating in reciprocity of relationships and contributed for the stability and sustenance of Badagas. Centrally located in the diagram, the Badaga receives dairy products from the Todas and maintain Badaga *hundis* in Toda sacred dairy temples. From Kota tribe Badagas receive ritual music and artisan services that are required in their ritual ceremonies and agriculture. Kurumbas give forest produces, baskets and take the function of healing through magico-religious practices. The Irulas are professional cattle rearers and wage workers to Badagas and supply forest produces. They further take part in funerals of Badagas as musicians. Kasavas are cattle rearers and livestock in charge of Badagas and supply forest produces and labour to them. In the same way, Paniyas are wage workers for the Badaga society. Thus the Badagas received services

from different tribes of the land and augmented environmental resources for exploring new avenues to conduct their agricultural ventures. It is shown in the following diagram.

Diagram: II. Relationships: Badagas and Tribes of Nilagiris



The above diagram diagrammatically represents the reciprocal relationship of Badagas with the other native tribal groups. The Badagas give *Gudu*, a gift of grains and other agricultural produce to the Todas in return for their services in the form of dairy products and as a token of gratitude for giving them land for their sustenance when they settled in Nilagiris. Further they extended their services to the Todas by participating in their panchayat system. Badagas provide clothes, agricultural produces to Kotas and participate in their rituals as guests in return for their ritual music services that they render to them. For, Kurumbas, Badagas give salt, crude sugar, grain in return for their services as village guard and ritual services. Badagas provide to Paniyas the clothing,

sites and materials for house construction, bear marriage expenses and provide agricultural produces in token for their service as wage workers. Badagas took the services of the Irulas as cattle herders and wage workers in their fields and gave grains, clothing, wages etc.,. The Badagas had similar exchange services with the Kasavas to maintain their cattle and agricultural activities. Hence, it is evident that the Badagas maintained purity and pollution norms to distinguish their selves with that of the others within their own community as well as with the others who share their environment. The reciprocity of norms and relationships the Badagas maintained with the local tribes in order to continue their profession (agriculture) in the process of give and take reminds of the typical agrarian village polity wherein the communities living in a peasant settlement sustain on mutual services in the form cash or kind in a hierarchy of relationships depending upon the profession they undertake. In the Nilagiris context, the Badagas, being basically the professionals in agriculture, could advance the services that are needed for successful agricultural operations in different eco systems –dry, wet, arid etc.,and emerge as entrepreuneuring social group. Such knowledge on environmental management could be possessed mostly by the peasants who could balance the rhythm of agricultural cycle with the environment. The dietary habits, prohibition of interdining and inter-sectarian marriages as cited elsewhere in the paper among the people of Badaga community are typical to any other peasant caste of South India.

(v) Ascriptiveness

It means that a person's caste was determined by birth. The caste panchayat has the power to excommunicate its members if they violate the custom and norms of the community. Customary law regulates the lives of the people in their respective caste. Badagas are not an exception to such ascriptiveness. At each level - village, commune, division and entire community, the responsible headman or the affected party can call together a council *manta* where the elders and elder sons of the families will gather. Every case has to pass through this hierarchy of councils. If the lower level of *manta* cannot solve the issue, only then it will be taken up to the next council. The case cannot be taken up in the highest level of meeting where the whole community is involved, unless it is an issue concerning the whole Badaga Community-all the four *bettas*. When a dispute arises between two persons or between families or parties the village headman

calls a council of head, from each household who inevitably should be the male headman of the family. The whole procedure takes place under his *gaundike* or headmanship. Another elder of the village who is considered wise will assist him. If the conflict is between the villages then the headmen of both or as many villages involved form the council. After listening to the discussion from both the parties, and the witness the headman will pronounce the punishment after consulting his other members. Even if Kotas or Todas are involved in the dispute, their headmen will also be present.

During the course of council proceedings, there is no entry to women. If they happened to be the witness, they can speak to the headman in private. Toreyas are allowed to attend the council but cannot be active in the discussions. They consider that the male deliberations are faster and reliable. There were occasions when one party was punished, but punishing both the disputants was also in practice. Usual issues for which the council met were; murder, theft, influencing the other for suicide, violation, land dispute, breach in obeying customs and traditions, illegal marriage and also the disputes unsettled in Toda *Noim* and Kota council, for similar offences find place for discussion in Badaga Council. For minor guilts, the offender may bow down inside the circle of the council to which all members are present. Murder and provocation to suicide are considered as heinous crimes. Though sometimes the above norms were followed in predicting punishments, normally the punishments were not a fixed one. The headman could alter or change the nature of punishment taking into circumstantial evidences. The Todas and Kotas regarded the Badagas superior to them²¹. No other community than the Badagas could achieve such highness in the treatment in day- to- day life of the multicultural environment as in Nilagiris.

Thus the prevalence of all these traits in the community life of the Badagas substantiates that they belong to the peasant community which has undergone a long journey of ups and downs to finally emerge as powerful among its co-inhabitants in Nilagiris.

In the light of above discussion it can be summarized that the Badagas as known from their distinct origin myths that they are of agriculturalists professionally connected to the dominant peasant group of *Vokkaligas* in southern Karnataka. They got migrated to the foothills of Nilagiris after the fall of Vijayanagara dynasty in A.D., 1565 on two

grounds.(i) Since Southern Karnataka constituting the dry-arid and low lying hilly regions were rainfed regions, they were all subjected to the vagaries of monsoons that resulted in floods and famines in the respective regions. Hence the peasants of this region had no alternative than migrating to a place where they could find new avenues of livelihoods. For them the Nilagiris appeared to be congenial for they are well aware of environment in dry and hilly terrains and they could get acclimatized to their changed ecological conditions. Peasant migrations to long distances were not uncommon in South India on the pretext of famines and floods (ii) Onslaught of Muslim incursions in to the civic life of the populace during the regime of Nawabs of Karnataka, Tipu Sultan, son of Hyder Ali is cited as a cause in the migration legend. Here is a probability of both the conditions occurring together or successively might have contributed for the displacement of the peasants to distant lands. Association of a prominent historical person to the occurrence of an event or an incidence is very common in the construction of folk narratives especially the legends. It is because establishment of such relationship between the event and the famous historical person would give legitimation to that incidence or event. These two grounds confirm their migration of Badagas to Nilagiris. The migration of the Badagas from southern Mysore region constituting Hasanur Taluk (Chamarajanagar district) can be attested by their prevalence in these regions till date. The migration of Badagas is continuous.

Having been displaced from the settled way of life as agriculturalists, they were compelled to start their new life in hilly environment as herders of the cattle and practitioners of slash and burn agriculture like that of any other tribes of India. After acclimatizing to the new environment by adopting tribal way of life, they got familiarized with the land and people of Nilagiris two centuries before the establishment of British station at Dimbatti (1820s). The Badagas tribalised their identities in different walks of their lives. Though the Badagas are well seasoned agriculturists, they readily adopted the tribal economy - hunting, food gathering and slash and burn agricultural activities- for their sustenance. Further as per the migration narratives as cited above, when the Muslim army chased the seven brothers and family, the Badaga women tattooed their foreheads and arms as that of the Toda women to conceal their real (Badaga) identity and escape from danger. This was a strategy followed by the Badaga

women to create an impression among their chasers that they are native tribes, but not immigrants. Even in the observance of puberty rite, the Badagas learnt the practice of keeping the girl in a hut raised temporarily outside the house during her puberty time from the Kotas. The participation of Badaga in the tribal council of the Todas reflects the affinity of the former with the latter. The Todas call Badagas as *Mama* showing affinal relationship between them. The origin myths as cited above show such relationships existing between the Badagas and Kotas. The reciprocity of relationships that sustained the existence and endurance of Badaga and tribals of Nilagiris emerged the former as strong peasant group on the hilltop, established their claim to desire tribal status on par with the natives. Thus tribalisation was a strategy of survival for the Badagas but in reality they are of well articulated peasant community who could augment land and environmental resources for their agricultural productions. The Badagas got consolidated as a distinct sub-group in their respective environment -Wodeyas, Haruvas, Adhikaris, Kanakkas, Gowdas/Badagas and Toreyas. They maintained kin relationships by observing the norms of purity and pollution. By that time Badagas emerged as dominant peasants among the other assorted tribal dwellers. Besides bartering their surplus agricultural produces in the Gundalpet (Mysore dt.) Sundapatti (Palghat dt.) and Karamadai (Coimbattoor dt.) markets, they entered into reciprocity of hierarchical relationships with the local tribal groups for mutual sustenance. After the intervention of Britishers into the socio-economic life of the inhabitants of Nilagiris, the Badagas grew as land owners and enriched themselves in the cultivation and trade of commercial crops like tea, coffee, potato, carrot, beetroot, cauliflower etc.,. On the other hand, Britishers also preferred the association of Badaga entrepreneurship to deepen their administration in Western Ghats. Thus the Badagas being the peasants were always innovative in their profession for they could understand and appropriate the dynamics of ecology and environment on one hand and could articulate and consolidate their relationships with other fellow communities wherein they live. It can also be concluded that the Badaga were not tribes and there is no tribe caste continuum. They migrated as peasants with their cattle and molded themselves with the land and people of Nilagiris. For that time being, they adopted the tribal way of life- gathering, slash and burn agriculture, cattle herding- and looked for the opportunities to expand more after their acquaintance with

the environment. Thus the journey of Badagas from Mysore region to Nilagiris and thence in the contemporary times has ups and downs. During the formative time of their relocation, they had a temporary setback of living like tribes. Through their professional negotiations with native tribal groups, Badagas established reciprocity of norms and relationships with them in their socio-economic and politico-religious lives. Sustenance on reciprocity norms is a clear feature of peasant society which Badagas maintained throughout their life course on Nilagiris and even now in the changed environmental conditions. They never lost the traits of peasant caste. They practiced hoe-agriculture along with the tribes for they knew craft of agriculture. The water resources on the hill-top and monsoons helped the agriculturist Badagas as a result of their agricultural entrepreneurship in developing agricultural cycle in relation to environmental resources. The Badagas had flourishing commercial crop production and marketing in a variety of agrarian products including tea. The tea plantation for Badagas was very beneficial and the yield was prosperous along with fetching good price up to the year 2000. Nilgiri tea even today has its presence in international market. In due course, the price drop which affected the tea market has impacted Badagas to a greater extent. Though there was an increase in tea production, the marketing was not encouraging due to the competition in the International tea market. Hence, there was a setback in Badaga economy from Tea production. As the Badagas became prosperous due to education and land owning, they developed professionalism in agriculture production. Thus, the new generation aims to acquire pertinent higher education which can fetch them jobs. Hence the Badagas are moving from hills to plains again in search of new openings in their lives. It continues to remain in their innate zeal and aspiration to own land and experiment with agriculture; however relocation has begun to Coimbatore region in these times. It is well demonstrated in the long journey of Badagas from the status of migrants to that of land owners and adapting to production of western crops makes one to understand the efficacy of the community with which they could introduce South India to Western world. The migration of Badagas is an ongoing process.

End notes

¹ Administratively, Udhagamandalam is the headquarters of the district. Two Revenue Divisions namely Coonoor and Gudalur constituted with 6 taluks such as Coonoor, Kotagiri, Udhagamandalam, Kundah, Gudalur and Panthalur. There were only 4 taluks; Coonoor, Kotagiri, Udhagamandalam and Gudalur in 1991. Kundahtaluk was formed by separating some areas of Udhagamandalam taluk. Panthalur taluk was formed by bifurcating Gudalur taluk.

² M. Emeneu, Kota Text, Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Linguistics, 1946; W. Francis, Madras District Gazetteers. The Nilagiris, Vol. I Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1908; H. Grigg, A manual of the Nilgiri District in Madras Presidency. Madras: E. Keys, government press 1880;

Paul Hockings, Ancient Hindu refugees: Badaga Social history, 1550-1975. The Hague: Mouton Publisher. 1980a; Paul Hockings, Kindreds of the earth: Badaga Household structure and demography. New Delhi: SAGE Publication. 1999; E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, Castes and tribes of Southern India. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press. 1909;

³ Ibid. *Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History 1550-1975*. New York: Mouton, 1980.

⁴ The Badagas comprised perhaps some three-quarters of the indigenous Nilgiri population in the 1820s, Paul Hockings, *infra*. 1989, 208.

⁵ In this study, the term 'Kurumba' refers to the Alu/Palu Kurumbas unless otherwise stated. Other Kurumbas in the Nilagiris include Mullu Kurumbas, Jenu Kurumbas sometimes called Kattu Nayaka. cf. Nunit Bird-David, "The Nilgiri Tribal System: A View from Below" in Paul Hockings (ed.) *Blue Mountains Revisited: Cultural Studies on the Nilgiri Hills*, New Delhi: OUP, pp. 5-22. 1989; Bettu Kurumbas, Urali Kurumbas and Mudugas, Veith Kamil Zvelebil, "Problems of Identification and classification of some Nilgiri Tribes: Irula-Uralis, Kattu Nayakas/Jenu Kurumbas, Solegas", *Anthropos*, 76: 467-528, Reprinted, 2001, in his *Nilgiri Areal Studies* (Jaroslav Vacek and Jan Dvorak eds.), 39-107. Prague: Charles University, 1981.

⁶ The name Kurumba, meaning 'jungle-dweller' in Badaga suggests this fact.

⁷ D. Kapp, and Paul Hockings, 'The Kurumba Tribes' in *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*. Ed. Hockings, P (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 236.

⁸ John Sullivan, 'To the editor of the Government Gazette'. Copy of an anonymous letter dated 30 Jan., reprinted in Grigg, Henry Bidewell, 1880, *A manual of the Nilgiri District in the Madras Presidency*. Compiled and edited by H.B. Grigg. Madras: E. Keys, Government Press. 1819; Ouchterlony, John, "Geographical and statistical memoir of a survey of the Nilgherry Mountains, under the superintendence of Captain J. Ouchterlony. 1847". *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1848, p. 81; Harkness, Henry, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal race Inhabiting the summit of the Nilgherry Hills, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatore in the southern peninsular of India*. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1832, pp. 105-6; Burton, Richard Francis, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, six months of sick leave*. With introduction by Dane Kennedy. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press. 1991. p. 334.

⁹ James Wilkinson Brecks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, London: India Museum. 1873, p. 128.

¹⁰ The narratives are reconstructed basing on the information from the field corroborated with that of available in the published works. Edgar Thurston, and K. Rangachary, (1909) *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras: Superintendent Government Press: pp 67-68. pp. 63-124.

¹¹ M.A. Sherrings. *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency: Together with an Account of the Tribes and Castes of Mysore, Nilgiri, and Travancore, etc.* Delhi: Cosmos Publications. 1975, p. 171.

¹² Paul Hockings, *So Long a Saga Four Centuries of Badaga Social History 1550-1975*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers. 2013. p. 25

¹³ A female informant Micchi (59) of Toneri village, Todanadu division from Gowda/Badaga sect explained the significance of dietary practices in their families.

¹⁴ *Op.cit*, p. 353.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 355

¹⁶ Paul Hockings, "Ethnic Identity in a Complex society: The Badaga Case". *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* (Osaka), 1993, 18:347 – 64 347-363).

¹⁷ Promode Kumar Misra, "Tribe-Caste: A non- Issue", *Journal of Indian Anthropological Society*, 1977, pp. 12:137-150; L. Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus*. University of Chicago, USA, 1970. (1980 edn.), pp, 137-150; Frederick G Bailey. "Closed Social Stratification in India", *European Archives of Sociology*, 1963, 4: 107-124; *Ibid.*, 'Tribe' and 'Caste' in India", *Contribution to Indian Sociology*. (o.s.), 1961, 5:7-19;

¹⁸ *Op.cit.*

¹⁹ Marton Klass, *Caste. The Emergence of the South Asian Social System*. Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1993. Dutt N. K. (1965): *Origin and growth of caste in India*, Vol. II: *Castes in Bengal*. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta. 1965; Blunt: *The caste system of northern India, with special reference to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*. S. Chand, Delhi. 1969; G.S. Ghurye, *Caste, class, and Occupation*. Popular Book Depot, Bombay. 1961; Hutton, J. H. *Caste in India*. Oxford University Press. 1981; G Frederick Bailey. "Closed Social Stratification in India", *European Archives of Sociology*. 1963, pp. 4: 107-124.

²⁰ I thank my supervisor Prof. P.S. Kanaka Durga for developing these diagrams and models in the chapter.

²¹ The information on customary law of Badagas is gathered from the fieldwork conducted at the villages Kadanadu (Todanadu), (Kinnakoraorangadu), Adhigaretty, Horanalli, (Mekunad).

Chapter III

Folklore and Cultural Life of Badagas

The Badagas though have their own Badaga language for communication; they don't have script to literally pass on their traditions from one generation to the other. Hence like any other oral society Badagas also transmitted their knowledge, customs traditions, beliefs, religion, rituals, politico-economic heritage, in a nutshell, their folklore, orally from one generation to the other. Folklore is tradition based creations of the people transmitted orally from one generation to other. Folklife is totality of living traditions and practices that are being observed as on day and passed to the next generation orally (verbally) and learnt by imitation or observation over a period of time and space within groups be it family, ethnic group and social class. Culture is an umbrella terms that brings every aspect of human behavior, both inherited learnt under its domain and can be transmitted across the generations through verbal, non-verbal and literal expressive forms. Culture hence, is a composite whole which includes custom, belief, art, knowledge, values, law etc., that man acquire as a member of society¹. Culture is the medium through which the lives acquire meanings, both locally and for outsiders. It is the entire way of life of people². The cultural life of Badagas is highly complex, dynamic and enterpreneuring throughout its course of its unending journey of migration since 16th century to till date. Badagas who started their life in the foothills of Nilagiris as immigrants from southern Karnataka a region emerged a culture of its own in different realms of their lives. In the process of which they incorporated and integrated the traditions and practices of those lands and people with whom they interacted. The Badaga life itself is an amalgamation of tradition and change in their cultural process.

The Badagas after their migration to Nilagiris shared the environment and established relationships with the native tribals living in it, viz: Kuruba, Kota, Toda, Irula, Paniyas etc., In this process they involved locals in their professional (herding, agriculture, trade, wage worker) and politico-economic and religious activities and tried to identify their community with the local tribals by adopting their dress, agricultural and hunting practices, buffalo taming and so on. The cultural life of the Badaga community throughout their journey is dynamic, their tradition is still alive in

their ritual practices, belief system and agricultural pursuits and every walk of their mundane lives. The adaptability to the changing environments emerged Badagas as dominant among the other dwellers of Nilagiri. All these groups survived in the same land and environment, but on a hierarchy of the reciprocity of relations. Thus the Badaga and other associated communities are experiencing change and continuity of folklore in their folk lives. Although the five Nilagiri ethnic groups have remained culturally distinctive, they influenced each other for the cause of sharing the environment. But different economic and politico-social formations made them to coexist together and enjoy the resources for their sustenance and continuity.

In order to study these aspects, this chapter is divided into three sections: Section I deals with geography and environment of Nilagiris that could accommodate and sustain different distinct cultures each maintaining its identity. Section II gives detailed information on the cultural life of Badagas followed by brief picture of culture and folklore of the major tribal groups Toda, Kota, Kurumba and Irula in Nilagiris. Section III focusses on the reciprocity of relationships that exist among the tribals and Badagas of Nilagiris.

Section I:

Geography and Environment of Nilagiris

Nilgiris are magnanimous range of hills situated in Tamilnadu between 11.10` and 11. 32` N. latitude and 76.59` and 77. 31` E. longitude. They are in Western Ghats and run down the western Peninsula of Deccan extending between the River Tapti and Kanyakumari. Nilagiris are spread partly in the territory of the native kingdom of Mysore on the North, Wynaad in Kerala on the East by the district of Coimbatore; on the South by Coimbatore and Malabar³. The Nilgiri plateau is from thirty to forty miles in length, and from ten to twenty-four in breadth. It contains several high peaks of which, Doddabetta, is 8,642 feet above the sea level and highest. The Coonoor and Ootacamund mountains are 5,886 feet and that of is 7,416 feet in height. The mountain is of two-thirds of their total height⁴. Their base covered with a belt of thick forests elevated to a height of from 2500 to 3500 feet. This is succeeded by an open grassy space, one or two miles wide, nearly destitute of trees.⁵ Above this, the vegetation is entirely different from that of the forest below, and the forests assume more the appearance of those found in minimum temperature chill climates.

Along the edge the plateau is, in parts, especially on the western side, very precipitous, broken by wooded ravines and exceedingly on the picturesque. The center of the plateau consists chiefly of grassy undulant hills, divided by narrow valleys, which invariably contain a rivulet wetland. In the hollows of the hillsides are situated small beautiful woods, locally known as shoals⁶.

Climate of the Nilgiri

In Ootacamund, the maximum temperature ranges from 60, 60° in May. The hottest months of the year are April and May; the coldest months are December and January. The hottest hours of the day in summer and winter do not vary more than normal time degrees, and the extreme variation of temperature throughout the year is only 21.25°⁷. From rainy to sunny to misty to foggy to chilly, the weather could change within hours or even minutes. According to climatologists, the unique climate of Nilgiri is determined by factors such as its closeness to equator the phenomenon of monsoons, its position relative to Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea and its distance from Bay of Bengal besides its Geographical features⁸. In recent years, human interference has also been a factor-affecting climate microclimates in the Nilgiris are decrees. They could differ of valley to slope, range to range and so on. At different periods in the year, different slopes and sides obtain variable weather conditions⁹.

The climate of the hills is moderate. Mornings are more (exceeding 90%) humid than the afternoons. High altitude of the region resulted in having low temperature. This is further lowered by the excessive moisture content of the atmosphere resulting out of the exhalation by the vegetation. The temperature ranges from 22° C in summer to 5° C in winter¹⁰. The temperature during the nights reaches some times zero degrees. Nilgiri gets the benefit of both the monsoons. The regions Gudalur, Pandalur and Kundha Taluk and some part of Ooty Taluk receive the south-west monsoon and a few parts of Ooty and the entire Coonoor and Kothagiri Taluks receive the north-east monsoon. The average rainfall is between 1500 to 3000 mm¹¹. A brief account of monsoons in Nilgiri is given as follows:

The weather in **North-east Monsoon** (December – March) at the Nilgiri contains clear sky, long duration of sunshine and low humidity¹². The beneficiaries of this monsoonal rains are eastern part of the Nilgiri, the Kothagiri and Coonoor regions. The western parts, Ooty and Gudalur are dry¹³. During the nights, frost showers from sky. The average temperature ranges from 12° -17° C and the winter in

December –January reaches lowest. On the western most parts, night frost may occur from October end of April¹⁴.

During the **First Inter Monsoon** occurring between April to May, rains occur along with thunders and lightening¹⁵. In this season seeds are sown. This a hot season with bearable warmth.

South-West Monsoon (June and September) in Ooty and Kundh regions¹⁶ is rich with higher winds and humidity. The rainfall intensity on the plateau during Southwest monsoon depends on the distance from the Kundha range¹⁷.

In Second, Inter Monsoon (October to November) stormy rains occur in the eastern parts of Nilagiris and Coonoor regions. Ghats receive more rains. Humidity is high and the land is subjected to floods¹⁸.

Rainfall

The average annual rainfall of the Nilgiris is about 67 inches but the distribution varies enormously according to the locations and the force of the south-west monsoon. All the western parts of the district receive the bulk of their rain during this period and the five months from December to April the district receives no rain. Coonoor receives 63 inches and Kotagiri 62 inches of rainfall. In the following table monthly rainfall in Coonoor district between 1836 and 2007 is given.

Table:No.1.Monthly rainfall in Coonoor: 1836 - 2007¹⁹

Months	Total	Average of 71 years
January	4760.2	67.0
February	5030.2	70.8
March	5993.0	84.4
April	8735.9	123.0
May	7413.9	104.4
June	4428.8	62.4
July	5646.9	79.5
August	6191.8	87.2
September	8856.0	124.7
October	22432.8	316.0
November	26243.4	369.6
December	12905.7	181.8

Sl. No.	Year	South west Monsoon			North East Monsoon		Winter Season	Hot weather Season	
		Actual	Normal	Actual	Normal	Actual		Normal	Actual
1	1995	1022.2	950.6	494.1	338.2	62.5	38.6	278.1	186.9
2	1996	1022.2	882.9	494.1	523.0	62.5	73.2	278.1	223.2
3	1997	1022.2	866.7	494.1	530.2	62.5	31.1	278.1	134.9
4	1998	1022.2	1042.6	494.1	679.4	62.5	32.6	278.1	146.5
5	1999	1022.2	610.0	494.1	645.9	62.5	33.9	278.1	199.9
6	2000	1022.2	928.5	494.1	386.4	62.5	46.2	278.1	207.0
7	2001	1022.2	799.1	494.1	385.3	62.5	14.0	278.1	287.9
8	2002	1022.2	602.9	494.1	236.7	62.5	16.2	278.1	192.6
9	2003	1060.0	577.0	367.7	471.3	62.5	20.4	278.1	203.0
10	2004	1060.0	943.7	367.7	564.8	30.8	49.2	237.2	427.9
11	2005	1060.0	1032.5	367.7	557.2	30.8	23.2	237.2	307.7
12	2006	1060.0	653.9	367.7	656.1	30.8	23.8	237.2	324.7
13	2007	1060.0	1142.6	367.7	515.5	30.8	35.9	237.2	178.8
14	2008	1060.0	1067.9	367.7	516.3	30.8	193.6	237.2	438.8
15	2009	1060.0	1265.2	367.7	893.0	30.8	1.7	237.2	286.5
16	2010	1060.0	1214.0	367.7	674.0	30.8	20.1	237.2	190.3
17	2011	759.9	915.4	478.2	509.9	30.8	23.2	237.2	140.8
18	2012	759.9	861.5	478.2	452.2	49.3	17.8	235.3	135.3
19	2013	759.9	1004.7	478.2	398.1	49.3	17.8	235.3	246.0
20	2014	759.9	1013.3	478.2	580.9	49.3	41.1	235.3	321.8
21	2015	763.7	644.3	494.0	580.8	49.3	12.4	235.3	120.2
22	2016	759.9	818.7	478.2	215.4	49.3	12.4	235.3	120.2

Flora

The flora in the high altitudes of Nilagiris is different from that of the plains. On the grassy land many (more than 3300) species of wild orchids grow. The natural vegetation of the valley is very dense. The forests of the Nilgiris are well known as Sholas²⁰. The following are different types of vegetation: (i) Shola grassland vegetation in the Nilgiris plateau, (ii) The open *Sandal* bearing scrub in the Sigur plateau, (iii) The moist deciduous and the dry deciduous Teak forest in the hills of Nilgiris and; (iv) the forests in south-eastern outer slopes. The forests are inhabited by

spotted deer, wild bears, elephants, langours, wood-pecker, etc. Tigers and Panthers are also commonly found.

Edible fruits and Ethnomedicinal vegetation in Nilgiris

The Nilagiri ranges is an abode of edible fruits and plants which are used in different walks of life - food, religion, festivities, insect repellents, biofertilisers, construction activities, household apparatus, agricultural apparatus and so on. Mostly they are of ethno medicinal value in the life of people in these regions. The following table shows some of the edible plants and fruits grown in the Nilagiris.

Table:2. Edible Vegetation on Nilgiris²¹

S.No.	Local name/Trade name	Botanical name	Family name	Description/ Habit	Non-Medical use
1	Sweet orange	Citrus sinensis	Rutaceae	Small tree	Fruits are edible
2	Sour orange	Citrus aurantium	Rutaceae	Small tree	Fruits are edible
3	lemon	Citrus lemon	Rutaceae	Shrub	Fruits used for making pickle
4	Rose wood	Dalbergia latifolia	Fabaceae	Tree	Wood is used to make furniture
5	Rose	Rosa spp	Rosaceae	Bushy shrubs	Grown as ornamental purpose
6	Guva	Psidium guayava	myrtaceae	Small tree	Fruits are edible
7	Bottlebrush	Callistemon lanceolata	myrtaceae	Shrub	Grown as ornamental purpose
8	Coriander	Coriandrum sativum	Apiaceae	Herb	Green leaves used for making chattini
9	Celery	Cuminum cyminum	Apiaceae	Herb	Leaves Used as vegetables
10	Lettuce	Lactuca sativa	Astraceae	Herb	Leaves Used as vegetables
11	Kind of chrysanthemum	Pyrethrum cineraraefolium	Astraceae	Herb	Whole plant used as insecticide and mosquito repellent
12	Potato	Solanum tuberosum	Solanaceae	Herb	Stem tuber contains starch. It is edible
13	Night queen or night jasmine	Cestrum nocturnum	Solanaceae	Herb	Grown as ornamental
14	Teak	Tectona grandis	Verbinaceae	Tree	Wood is used for making furniture
15	Kind of green bush	Lantana camara	Verbinaceae	Shrub	Plant grown as fence
16	Croton	Codiaeum	Euphorbic	Herb	Grown as

		variegatum	eae		ornamental plant
17	Bamboo	Bambusa arundinaceae and dendrocalamus giganteus.	Poaceae	Tall shrub (bush)	Used for thatching and roofing.
18	Fern	Nephrolepis sps	Nephrolepidaceae	Herb	Used as bio pesticide
19	Custard apple	Annona squamosa	Annonaceae	Tree	Fruit is edible
20	Lotus	Nelumbo sps	Nymphaeaceae	Aquatic Herb	Grown in pool as ornamental plant

Fauna

The Nilgiri plateau and a few other parts of the Western Ghats are especially known for Tigers and leopards often and wild dogs ascending from slopes. Bison and elephants, langur, hill-otter are found in the lower Wynaad. The migrant birds like wood cock, the game bird, snipe, pegions, black birds, etc. are found. Large eagles and horned owls are also seen. Prevalence a variety of birds and vegetation having many edible fruits in the Nilagiris formed base for those ethnic groups that had hunting and gathering as sustenance.

Mountains, Rivers, and Lakes

Most of the mountains and rivers of this region are venerated. There is not a square mile of level ground in the whole of this region as its surface is being broke by endless undulations, which in places swell into considerable and form as distinct ranges.

Doddabetta Range

On the Nilgiri plateau, Doddabetta is the highest peak measuring 8652 feet located in the middle of the Doddabetta range that runs across the District from north to south. It is remarkable for the flattened curve of its peak which commands panoramic view of the District and beyond. Thick wood decorate the hollows of its slopes. This range of hills plays a significant role in determining the climate. It forms a natural barricade that protects the western tract compromising the Taluk of Ootacamund.

Rivers

The Nilgiri plateau is drained by hundreds of beautiful streams, mostly perennial; almost every pair of undulations reins some stream drain either into the Moyar River on the east or into the Bhavani, which flows along the southern border²². The two rivers which embrace the Nilgiri hills drain into the *Bhavani Sagar*, bordering Erode District, where the waters are stored by the longest masonry dam in the worlds running to a length of 8km. The *Moyar* basin is fed by 24 rivers²³. The river *Kundha* drains the southern slopes of Nilgiris originates in the high Peaks along the dividing ridge between Tamilnadu and Kerala of the Western Ghats²⁴. In the upper reaches the Tributaries are Avalanche and Emerald which run down independently and then merge from the Kundha river feather down, the tributaries Sillahalla, Kanarahalla, Kowarimullihalla join the main river Kundha and still further Pegumballa²⁵. Finally, Kundha River joins the Bhavani River near Pillur (Adhikadavu). Further, down in the Nellithorai valley, the river is joined by the combine flows of Kateri, Coonoor, and Burlia and Kallar rivers²⁶. Thereafter Bhavani flows east along the base of Nilgiris enter the plains at Mettupalayam where the Hadathorai River joins it, 30km downstream; it merges with the Moyar River. The highest of waterfalls (a fall of 250 feet) is the Kolakambain fall, near Kothagiri²⁷. The Kalhatty fall (170 feet) off the Sigur ghat, the Kateri fall, near the village of that name are other major falls.

People

The Nilagiri is one of the smallest districts of Tamilnadu. Etymologically the word 'Nilgiri' means Blue Mountains. According to 2001 census, the total population of the Nilgiri district is 7.64 lakhs peoples out of which the total Scheduled Tribes population was 28378, constituting 4.32 percent of the total general population. The Scheduled Tribe population in Nilgiri district is not evenly distributed in the six Taluk. 32.08 percent of them live in Pandalur Taluk; 24.10 percent of the tribes live in Kundha Taluk; 9.27 percent of them live Udhagamandalam Taluk and remaining 6.96 percent live in Coonoor Taluk²⁸. In Tamilnadu, among the 36 scheduled tribes, the government of India identifies six, Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Irulas, Paniyas, and Kattunayakans as ethnic to Nilagiris.. Among them Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Paniyans live exclusively only in the Nilgiri district. The other two Irulas and

Kattunayakans live in Nilgiri district as well as other districts of Tamilnadu. The above-mentioned tribal groups except the Badaga community are considered as indigenous groups of the Nilgiri district²⁹. Kurumbas and Irulas call their village *Motta*, *Toda-Mund*, *Badagas-Hatti*, *Kotas-kokai*. The populations of the tribes as per the census 1981 are given in the following table:

Table:3. Scheduled Tribes (Census 1981)³⁰

S.No.	Name of the tribe	Population		Total
		Males	Females	
1	Adiyan	7	5	12
2	Irular	3572	3473	7045
3	Kammara	2	-	2
4	Kaniyar	1	-	1
5	Kattunaickar	647	598	1245
6	Kondareddis	8	8	16
7	Kota	242	250	492
8	Kudiya	45	35	80
9	Kurumbhas	2171	2183	4354
10	Malai Arayar	2	1	3
11	Karumars	44	47	91
12	Malai Pandaram	47	41	88
13	Malai Vedar	3	4	7
14	Mannar	3	7	10
15	Mudugar	1	1	2
16	Muthuvar	49	38	87
17	Palleyar	5	4	9
18	Palliyar	3	2	5
19	Palliyar	9	9	18
20	Paniyan	3091	3119	6210
21	Sholagar	8	9	17
22	Toda	428	436	864
23	Uraly	114	89	203

The above table did not include Badagas as tribes. But however, in the Census Report of 1901, Badagas constituted one among the tribals of Nilagiris. According to it, the Badagas Kotas and Todas were respectively 34,174, 1257 and 807 in number. E.A.Gaitt in his Census of India, 1911 mentioned Badagas as Hindu Animists and provided their male and female population respectively 38,171 and 18,892. M.W.M. Yeatts in his Census of India 1931 called Badagas as primitive and provided the male and female population statistics of Badagas, Todas and Kotas. It is shown in the following table:

No.4 : Badaga population by 1931³¹

Year	Page	Classification	Name of the tribe	Population		
				Total	Male	Female
1931	305	Primitive	Badaga	43,075	21,819	21,256
	306	Tribe	Toda	597	340	257
			Kota	1,121	562	559

Table No:5 Badaga population between 1881 and 1931³²

Years	Male	Female	Total
1881	12,253	12,145	24,398
1891	14,892	14,721	29,613
1901	16,561	17,617	34,178
1911	18,898	19,282	38,180
1921	20,097	20,232	40,329
1931	21,819	21,256	43,073

Table :6 Tribes of Nilagiris³³

Year	kotas	Todas	kurumbas
1891	1201	739	3966
1901	1267	805	4083
1981	492	864	4354

Section II

Cultural Life and Folklore of Badagas and other co-habitants: An Overview

The Badagas

The Badagas as discussed in the earlier chapters constitute major ethnic group that live on the Nilagiris and were said to have migrated from the Northern Karnataka region during the times of decadence of Vijayanagara Empire after the battle of Tallikota in 1565 A.D. They comfortably settled in and around of Nilagiri hills amidst the other ethnic group son a socio-economically patterned hierarchy of reciprocal relationships in their lives' it is discussed in the next Section. Tradition mentions that the Todas, the local primitive agriculturalists allowed the Badagas to cultivate and prosper in the land on the hills on the condition that the latter should pay one fourth of the produce as tax to the former. Formerly when Badagas entered the hills, the other ethnic groups were in a position to demand tribute from them. The Badagas who were formerly agriculturists in the dry parts of Mysore region know better to sustain and

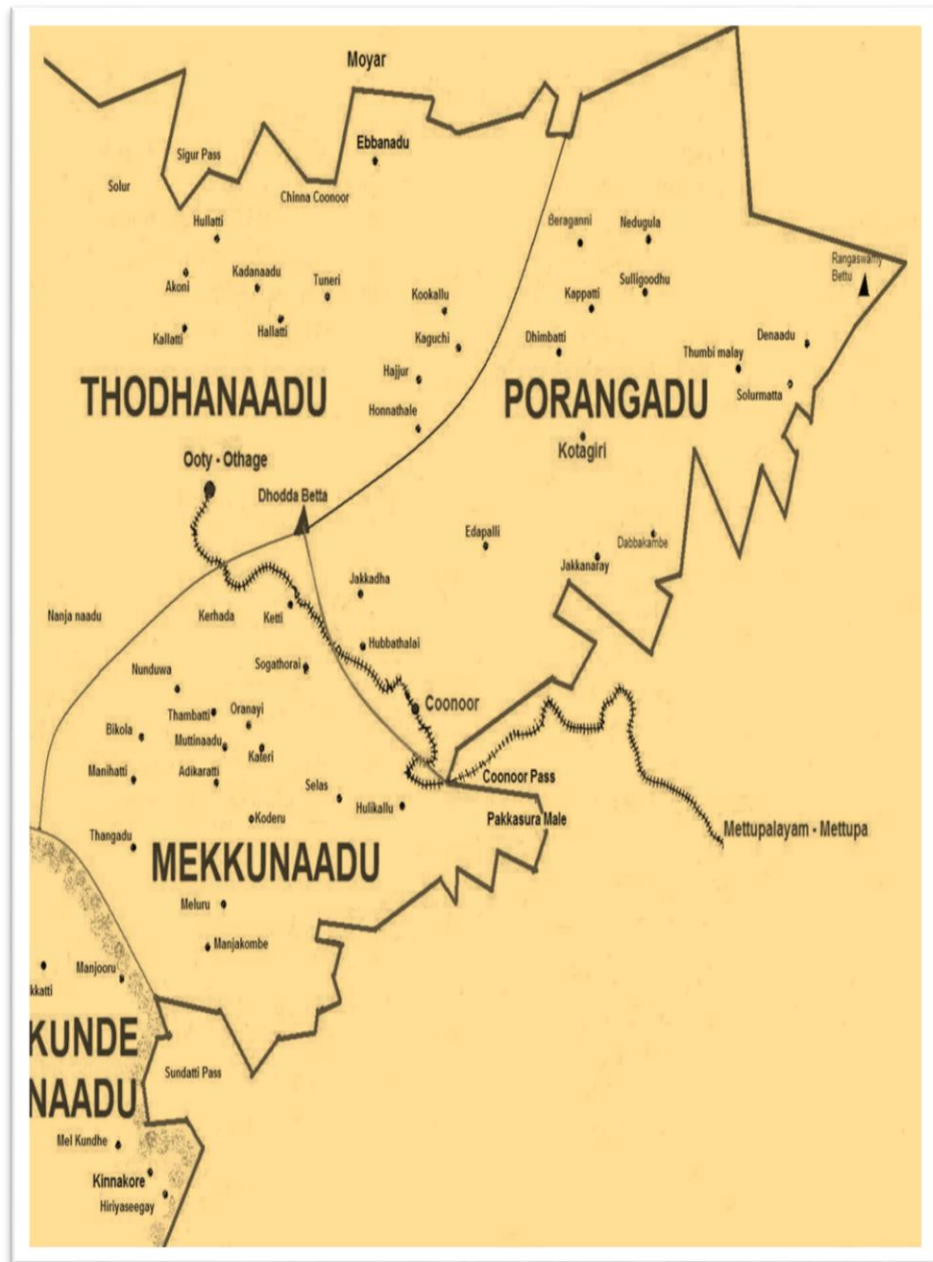
survive amidst climatic fluctuations. Even hundred years ago, the Badagas were said to have occupied the entire eastern half of the plateau excluding the way around Kodanad. In the west and Kundha region the Badaga settlements are sporadically dispersed. In the following table distribution of Badaga settlements in different territorial divisions of Nilagiris are given.

No. 7. Territorial distribution of Badaga population, 2008 census³⁴

S.No	Nadu	Badaga settlement	Badaga households	Total
1	Thodhunadu	83	6909	33960
2	Pranganadu	112	6761	33908
3	Mekkunadu	79	6836	35737
4	Kundhe seeme	28	2133	10355
Total		203	22639	113960

The Badagas could successfully mold themselves to the changed geographical and cultural environment and stabilized their economic ties by constructing socio-political linkages with thenative tribal groups. The distribution of Badaga settlement in different divisions of Nilagiris is shown in the following map.

Map.No:2. Naduwise distribution of Badaga settlements in Nilagiris³⁵



Already in the previous chapter, the origin, migration and caste of the Badagas are discussed. Here the socio-economic aspects like structure of hamlets, *hetti*, religion and belief system, agricultural practices, augmentation of human and environmental resources, agricultural products, exchange patterns etc.,. The political aspect briefly sheds light political organization on the local panchayat system. A note on kinship and social organization is given to substantiate their distinctiveness among the other groups of Nilagiris.

Structure of *Hetti* , the Badaga hamlet

The Badaga community is a closely-knit and well-articulated agricultural community. Their Badaga hamlets are known as the *Hetti*. It gets reflected in the alignment dwelling structures and spaces in them. Traditionally they are located nearly one to one and half miles to the east of grasslands where they accommodate Todas, the professional cattle herders of Nilagiris. Harkness³⁶ describes the age-old held Badaga settlement of Nanjanad village which has adjacent grass lands for the grazing of their cattle. The settlement is surrounded by agricultural lands. The houses were constructed in rows with flattened earth courtyards edged by low walls. The flattened court yard was meant for threshing and drying the grain and firewood, playgrounds for children, sites for performance of ceremonial rites and cultural programs like community songs and dances. House rows within a single community usually parallel each other and is frequently aligned in an east-west direction, but on flattened terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. The houses are planned in such a way that domestic waste and water are not spilled in east, the sun rising direction. A room or space within a community house row is designed for the 'women in pollution period', (menstruation or post-natal pollution condition). Even, house-like temples are built into house-rows. The traditional Badaga houses had front porticos and two rooms. One of it is a fire room with thatched roofs supported by posts. The walls are constructed by bamboos separated by a wall with a door. In latter times, the roofs were tiled and sleeping platforms were built by broad and thick planks. The bathroom (*himbara*) is built behind the front room (*ithamanai*). There exists an arched door way between front room and kitchen (*ogamanai*). Space is also allocated to dry the grains during the monsoons. In front of the kitchen wall, a sacred space, *hagotu* is designed for the processing of milk. This space is prohibited for women and could be accessed by men only. The entire roof of the kitchen is covered by an upper storage platform, *atlu*. It can be climbed by a ladder.

The village contains space for cattle to graze and enclosures for the cattle. The Badaga women frequently and mostly daily wash and plaster the front portion of house with cow dung to keep the courtyards clean and tidy. Short earthen or stone

walls were erected to define the boundaries of the court yards and thus protect the privacy of the people residing in the houses situated below them. The Badagas maintain kitchen gardens in which they raise coffee, tea and needy vegetables. Some Badagas own storage huts wherein they hoard agricultural implements, fertilizers, seed-potatoes, and other agricultural produces.

Religion and Temples

The Badagas worship Siva in Linga form. Almost all villages enshrine Siva as Linga and are being venerated. Siva is worshipped in many forms, each of which is considered as one of his aspects. 'Kakkayya' (vomit god) is one of the name with which Siva is being worshipped. Tradition attributes to swallowing and vomiting (*kakku*) of deadly poison (that emerged out of sacred churning of milky ocean with great snake Kabuki by demons and gods for the sake of nectar) to Siva. Hence he is named as 'Kakkayya'. Angamadesvara is another version of Siva being worshipped by Woodeyas and a few Adikiris. Angamasti, the consort of Angamadesvara is venerated by certain Woodeyas. Malaya Madappa and Mallesvara are forms of Siva that are being worshipped to safeguard their cattle from death and disease. Mallima, another aspect of Siva is considered as the one who protects them from the menace of elephants to their fields. The deity Muniyappa is worshipped with chicken and flesh to ward off the evils that may happened to the populace with the vision of his malice and anger. Thus these gods are treated as ambivalent, both malefic and benefic to the populace. They further appease nature as gods and goddesses. Water as Ganga is considered as goddess and consort of Siva.

The Badagas worship several village goddesses of which *Hette* deserves mention. She is depicted in the oral traditions as an archetype of typical Badaga woman hoard of mythology is constructed around *Hette* to depict femininity of Badaga woman as the personification of purity, perfection, guardian of village boundaries, health, cattle and agriculture³⁷. The *Hette* are considered as the personification of sacrifice. Though there are several versions and variation with regard to the myth of *Hette*, a popular version of it is given below:

“Once there was an old man. He has a beautiful daughter. He had also a sister who did not conceive and was barren. Then he married his daughter to the husband of his sister for the sake of successor in the family. After the girl attained maturity when

she comes to know that she is going to sleep with her old husband, she went to the forest with her friends, and collected fire wood. After her friends left the forest, she prepared funeral pyre for her self-immolation. She prayed god that he should bless her co-wife with children and continue her lineage if she is a real virgin. She sacrificed. When the smoke is from forests, the villagers went and enquired the matter. They performed her funerals. After sometime, the co-wife became pregnant”.³⁸

There are several versions and variations to this tale in each of which women’s sacrifice is upheld for the cause of village prosperity and is being worshipped as a token of thanksgiving for their self-immolate services to the welfare of Badaga community³⁹. Women are homologized with water and earth. Because, it is believed that women are venerated as personification of sacrifice and dedication to their consorts at the family level and the village in the public domain. Hence immolation is considered as beneficial and blessing to the society. The realm of benevolence for women expands to the level of society after their posthumous deification. The notion of *Hette* cult and the myths connected with them were introduced in the second chapter. An annual festival is celebrated to her with pomp and glory. Its ritual process is given in the next chapter.

The abodes wherein the *Hethes* are enshrined are known as *Hethemane*. These structures are miniature Badaga houses. Each *Badagamane*, house is portioned into an *idamane* the outer and *Ogamane*, (*hogamane*) inner apartment. If family has milching cows or buffaloes, a portion of the latter is converted into ‘milk stored house’(*Hagottu*)⁴⁰. The *Hatemanes* are the sacred temples of the Badaga domestic realm. The austerities that were observed in temples are being observed in *hogamane* of the domestic realm like not entering with *chappals* and women’s restricted entry during their menstrual time. The paraphernalia connected with dairy activities like big mud pot, *tatte* or *hosagu* and six feet long bamboo pestle *mattu* fixed to a pole in that are for churning curd were kept in *hogamane* as the Badagas consider the dairy and its products as auspicious and sacred for they are symbols of their sustenance⁴¹. Since the *hagottu* space is considered as auspicious, till date in some places, it is plastered with cow dung and an earthen lamp is lighted there every week. During *uppu habba*, salt giving ritual the cattle are fed with salt and worshipped in this sacred domain. The metal staff of the *Hethe* preserved in a bamboo receptacle is kept near her and is cleaned and purified with camphor. It may be cleaned in a stream or spring water to

keep up its purity. *Burigi* is a bamboo flute used as a musical instrument in *Hethe* worship. Every traditional Badaga house contains *burigi* and is considered as sacred. So it is kept under religious concern and preserved by applying butter. The music played by this instrument is spiritual. Interestingly *madimane* the pure/sacred cloth is a significant gift offering to be given to goddess. The cloth has to be woven and cleaned by *chetty*. He should observe some austerities to offer staff and *madimane* to goddess like not shaving, eating the self-cooked food and so on for a week. Later he waves and washes the cloth in sacred waters, *madihalla* and offers it to *Hethe* then only⁴².

Brecks gave a brief description of Badaga temple at Melur, a living testimony to the prevalence of a circular temple⁴³. “It’s basal portion had spaced posts standing upright around two or more varying circles with identical center. Sides were not walled and the roof, resembling an old-fashioned beehive, was thatched. Temples forming a Badaga temple type, not described in the literature concerning Badagas, are constructed in house-rows. They sometimes share a common wall with a house or storeroom, but separate temples aligned with houses in a row also exist. Row-temples are constructed with materials now employed in house construction and look rather like houses, but frequent presence of roof superstructures decorated with bulls and deity images automatically sets them apart. Their design closely parallels the plan used in traditional houses. Porches flank the entranceway. If a storeroom is built on a porch, it will be right of a left entranceway or left of a right entranceway. As in houses, arrangement of interior features is dependent upon a left or right entranceway. If there is a left entranceway, a sleeping platform will be built against the left wall in the front room. This room frequently has a back door, and the open doorway leading from front room to kitchen is arched. The kitchen fireplace, located opposite the door, is used for cooking food to be offered to the deity and then given to worshipers, A sacred room, entered through an arched doorway identical to doorways separating front and kitchen rooms in houses and temples, replaces the *hagotu* found in houses. Within the sacred room the deity's image is placed upon a shelf to the right. Besides other minor storage platforms, there is usually a storage platform covering the sacred room. Unlike houses, a temple does not have a bathroom”

Badaga temples are quite different from the other temples of India constructed for the village goddesses. The deity's image is enshrined in a small, dark

inner sanctuary surrounded by brick walls and often surmounted by an 'ornate cupola'. It is covered by the images of animals, goddesses, gods, and saints made of terracotta or rod metal covered by mortar, and then painted over with many bright colors. The sanctum of the temple has one or two attached rooms open-sided shed. Every Siva temple contains a Siva *linga* in its front. In the sanctum, besides Mahalinga, the sacred bulls are carved on the stones⁴⁴.

Social Organization and kinship

The Badaga community is a heterogeneous and patrilineal descent group divided into six sects. Five of them *Woodaya, Haruva, Adhikari, Kanakka, Gowda or Badaga*⁴⁵ are higher in hierarchy. The sixth sect, *Toreyas* is treated as inferior to the others. Traditional relationships between Badaga master families and *Torey* servant families cause some *Toreyas* to virtually remain serfs, despite outside job opportunities. Female and male *Toreyas* continue to work on Badaga landholdings and serve in Badaga homes. *Toreya* males trained, for example, to be barbers, blacksmiths, brick makers, carpenters, or washer men, have further served the Badagas. For their services, *Toreyas* are paid in cash and in kind. At periodic intervals and upon special occasions, such as *Toreya* weddings, presents are imparted by Badaga masters. Some of the Badagas got converted into Christianity due to the missionary activities of Roman Catholic and Protestant organizations established during 1846 and 1847. Though in beginning conflict arose among the converts and non-converts, in due course of time, the former were treated in respect as that of the others in the Badaga society for the missionaries contributed for the philanthropic and social welfare activities especially with regard to health, sanitation and education in Nilagiri region.

The Badaga community is divided into ten endogamous phratries, two of which (*Adikiris* and *Haruvas*) are vegetarian and all are basically agricultural. Each phratry is made of two to sixteen endogamous clans which in turn got segmented into a few exogamous lineages. In general every clan has four levels of lineages (i) maximal- *kudumbu*, (ii) major -*kutti*, (iii) minor – *kutti* and (iv) minimal- *guppu*. However, the segments of minimal lineages are extended families having linkages at least for five generations. Interestingly, Badagas live nearly in three hundred and seventy exogamous villages and marriage is virilocal wherein a married couple resides with or near the husband's parent's house. Thus each village is a home of one

or more patrimonial lineages all belonging to one clan. However, a clan is not confined to village. The example of Tuneri village, an earliest Badaga establishment is interesting. All Badagas headmanships are patrilineal within the family. Every other village has its own headman descended from its originator and clusters of neighbouring villages emerge as commune around a particular village. Its headman is acknowledged to be the commune headman. The whole of the plateau is divided into four quarters and one person is considered as the regional headman in each quarter. At every end of four levels of headship there exists a council madeup of inferior headmen⁴⁶. Thus the socio-economic and political organization of Badaga identity is constructed on the norms of kinship which is nothing than the network of consanguineal and affinal relationship construed by the community of users. In Badaga society, which is basically agricultural there exists continuity between the land and people stabilized and cemented through their closely knit family ties. Fertility is the core of being a head of family or a council. In the Badaga worldview, a man is supposed to be more fertile when he had more sons and daughters-in-law for acquiring more and more land under plough and multiply the agrarian productions. Even possession of more daughters is a contribution for the other families where in the girl is given in marriage for the new affinal kin ties they develop help in extending their influence in their respective domains. The notion of getting help in the times of need made these communities in entering into matrimonial relationships through cross cousin marriages*i.e.*, boy getting married to father's sister's daughter (daughter of paternal aunt) and mother's brother's daughter (daughter of maternal uncle). In the same way giving the girl 'in marriage' to son of paternal aunt and son of maternal uncle is found beneficial to stabilize affinal relationships of the parents with their siblings and their families. In crucial circumstances, marriage between girl and maternal uncle and husband of paternal aunt are permitted. At times, the rules of kinship are more preferential rather than prescriptive. The mythification of goddess,*Hette* is an illustrious example to substantiate on the exchange of women in the families to keep up the lineage at the familial and welfare and prestige of community in public realm. One of the versions of goddess *Hette* is told in Badaga society as follows:

- (i) “-----a young girl was given in second marriage to a childless oldman who had already a wife. The young girl did not like to co-habit with her old husband before his first wife get conceived. Meanwhile when her husband went to field to guard the heaps of grains, she heard that a fire was set

to them. The girl rushed to the fields and burnt in the fire thinking that her husband got perished in the flames. But the oldman was then with his loved woman from Chetti community. Her son Betrabala lived with a girl whom did not marry and addicted to non-vegetarian food hurtled the *Hette* and hence committed immolation. This lady appeared in the dream of one of the villagers and told them that she was an incarnation of goddess Parvati who came down to earth to protect Badagas honour and hence a temple and worship has to be undertaken and an annual ritual has to be conducted in her commemoration of her sacrifice for the community pride...”

Another two versions of the *Hette* myth runs as follows:

(ii) “..... an old man had three sons by his first wife. After she died, he got married to another woman to whom he begot three daughters. After the death of the oldman, his eldest son began to trouble his step mother for property. Taking advantage of the misconduct of the elder son, his servant became unruly and disruptive in his behavior with the mother. She got annoyed and drowned into well. She cursed her step son and blessed her other children. Later on she appeared in the dream of somebody as an incarnation of Sakti who can equated to *Hette*, the protector of Badaga community.....”

(iii) “.....once a person promised to give his daughter in marriage to a man working with him, but she was lured into another alliance. The man got disheartened. But as a console, her younger sister, Masi promised him to marry. But, the man in grief got sick and died. But at the funeral pyre of her husband she envisioned that her husband is calling her and hence jumped into the flames”.

In all the three versions of *Hette* myth fertility, chastity of women, family and community prestige and inheritance are core issues in Badaga folklife with regard to marriage and kinship. In all these myths women are personification of sacrifice for the benefit of family and society at domestic and public realms and the men and society are beneficiaries in establishing patrimony and perpetuating kinship through marriage and progenies.

The myth already mentioned above substantiates the responsibility of brother to extend his affinal relationship with his brother-in-law to procure a child for inheritance and continuity of their lineage. Hence he gave his daughter in marriage to his brother-in-law to beget children who extend the affinal network of relationship, a bulwark against calamities and threats in a migrated area.

In myth (i), the conflict of legitimate and illegitimate (tradition and counter tradition) succession and vegetarianism and non-vegetarianism in determining lineage and succession in Badaga kinship are exemplified. Myth (ii) substantiates the issues a

woman face with regard to the succession of properties based on the kinship norms with the step sons and the advantage and crucial role played by the servants in the peasant families. The helpless of women in the absence of their husband while dealing with kin and affinal bonds within the family which may culminate into self-elimination through immolation is best exemplified in this myth. In myth (iii) two women, one escaped from tradition of marrying the one whom the parents choose and other being in tradition of marriage to save the honour of family and thereby kinship. In all these myths, the women who could realize the norms and values that were conferred upon them by their respective societies through their self-sacrifice and suffering in the mundane world got migrated to celestial domain as divine powers and venerated as goddesses after their death. The women, who struggled to reiterate social values in their respective families when they survived, emerged as sacred goddesses to protect the entire community from becoming anarchic through her enlightened spiritual vision, periodically rejuvenated through annual rituals. These myths substantiate how the rules of kinship and gender roles are penetrated into the grassroots of society. It further appears that the Badaga kin ties in marriage are more accommodative rather than exclusive. Interestingly, the arrangement of *aliya se:tu*, living of son-in-law with the wife's family, appears to be undignified, but beneficial to those who do not have brothers-in-law. It is an alternate for those who do not have sons for succession and inheritance of property. The myth of Balasevana is best example for the suffering of mother who gives her son in marriage as *aliya se:tu* as he dies in a cattle raid⁴⁷. The cattle-herding, oxen driven ploughing, cross cousin and brother and sister exchange marriage system, avuncular, virilocal and patrilocal marriage ties, living in joint family set up are some of the economic drives that guided their kinship relationships.

The Badaga notion of patrilineal descendency finds expression in their theory of conception of child. The Badagas hold that only the semen of the father is sole responsible for the fertilization of egg and fetes formation. The biological role of mother is manifested in her duty to nurture fetes as well as the child after delivery. The child is not considered as the product of the flesh and blood of the mother. The rights on the wife rest entirely with the husband and his lineage. Divorce assures the responsibility of children to father, but the wife is sent back to her parents.

Since strength of the Badaga society rests on the bondage of relationships, they periodically visit the uterine relatives. Such association is a must for them for them to expropriate mutually material as well as human resources in the families. Visit of a man to his in-law's house is always treated in honour and dignity. He should be invited as a prime guest in the familial and village rituals of their village. Even his advice and counsel is taken in fixing the marriages of his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. If the villagers find that the son-in-law is not attending the functions in his father-in-law's house and that of village, he is considered as troubling his father-in-law for some or other pretext.

But visiting of sister and daughter in their in-law's houses should have an occasion or an invitation. However, they visit occasionally to manifest the strength of their bond wards them. Sometimes, the in-laws of the sisters or daughters may feel uncomfortable on the pretext that their visits may disturb their privacy and time. After their entry into the in-law's house, the girls are destined to live and die for the pride and prestige of their respective families, clans and villages to which they were given.

Only sons could inherit the property in equal portions after the death of the family head. The house can be given to the youngest and look after the mother and unmarried sisters by staying in it. The funerals of father and mother are to be conducted in the parental house under the guidance of the eldest brother. New houses may be constructed and given to the elder brothers. Till late Badagas were pre-literate though they have Badaga language, they did not write will for succession. The last words of the dying person are taken as final verdict on the sharing of his property. *Sa:la jo:li* is a verbal expression for written will and the wishes *sa:la* of the dying person were executed by his relatives and the followers. However property cannot be divided until family head dies.

If a man dies when his wife is pregnant, the in-laws wait till the delivery. If the new born is a boy he too will be the shareholder. The new mother is watched till she attains menstruation. After they confirm that she is not a pregnant, the property will be shared Toda mother and son. If a child is considered insane and illegal, his share is directly entrusted to the child or to any one of his caretakers. In the absence of progenies, the male can marry and beget issues. Sometimes he may encourage his younger brother to cohabit with her. He may adopt from his clan or lineage. When there is no male descendent or not adopted anybody, his property maybe shared

between his brothers. A portion may be given to the widow and sisters. If the widow dies, the property would reach the brothers of the dead. If younger brother die before the death of elder childless brother, the sons of the former may divide equally among themselves. While sharing property among the brothers, the eldest son of the eldest brother should be given *talaku:ru*(the head dividend) if he is elder to their sons. However, the eldest son of the eldest brother may inherit a little more property than others in the family. Thus the Badaga society is unique in its social organization basing on marriage and kinship resting on fertility and inheritance.

Socio-political organisation of Badagas

The Badagas is not a homogenous society, but is hierarchized into different sects into different sects *Woodaya, Haruva, Adhikari, Kanakka, Gowda or Badag*⁴⁸. The *Toreyas* are considered as inferior to the others. The food habits determine the hierarchy in Badaga society either high or low. The vegetarians are considered as high caste others as inferior to them. Each if these major branches have different *kulams* or sects. Tradition mentions that there exists sixteen *kulams*.⁴⁹. The members of a 'kulam' are considered as brother and they occupy certain villages and marriage is not allowed among them. The village and the *kulam* one belongs is crucial to Badaga society.the Badagas believe that they are superior to the otherethnic groups and address the non Badaga as *Holaya*⁵⁰

The Badagas consider themselves as superior to the other people. They address the non-Badaga by the term *Holaya*⁵¹. A Badaga leader (58)in Badaga panchayat told that in former days, at some places even today entry of non-Badagas into Badaga –*hattis* is restricted and food and water are being served in separate vessels kept exclusive for them. There prevails respect to the elders in Badaga society wherein the younger should bow their heads as a token of their respects and the former in return accept it by touching their head with their right hand. The Badaga villages are exogamous for every village belongs to a particular clan.

Every Badaga village belong to one particular clan or another, and hence is exogamous. A few *Gauda/Badaga hattis* may contain a few families of *Haruva, Kanakka, Adhikari or Toreya* groups.The social organisation of Badagas is situated their political institutions like their panchayat system which determines even marriage between the two sects. The position of families or persons in the political organisation

is also taken as a parameter in this issue. The Badaga administrative polity operates in four hilly regions, *Nakubetta* comprising of Todanadu, Tekkunadu, Pranganadu and Kundenadu⁵². These villages are predominated by many Badga families belonging to different clans. Each place contains thirty to forty *hattis*, incorporating formerly four to five houses and in contemporary times each eighty to hundred families. The headman *betta* of the *hatti* is selected from the clan which had more number of families in a particular clan of the village. These headmen of other villages function under the headman of the *betta*. Thus, the four heads and council members of four *bettas* are subordinates to the single 'chief or headman of the whole Badaga community. However, the office headman is a hereditary tenure at community as well as at all four divisions of Nilagiris. He is the paramount chief of the entire Badgas of Nilagiris. Till now the headman of Tuneri village continues to be the headman of Todanadu. For Badagas, *NaakuBetta* is an icon of the Nilagiris. Badagas say that more than two ethnic groups in a locality may raise conflicts but their entry into the Nilagiris helped them to settle the issues. Thus the Badagas were preferred by the Todas and others for to negotiate and decide wisely.

A hierarchy of officials are involved at each level -exists at each level- village, commune, division and the entire community-of administration. The concerned head man and aggrieved party can together hold a council, *manta* wherein the elders and elder sons of the families would gather together. Each and every detail of the case should pass through this hierarchy of councils. When the lower *manta* cannot solve the .Every case should be processed through a hierarchy of councils. It is said that if the case is not settled in the lower level of *manta*, then only it should be taken up to the next level. But the cases cannot be taken directly to the level of *nakubetta*. If the judgement is not found satisfactory to the disputed party, appeal can be made to the higher council. At each level, the head of the council should confirm passage of case through them. Interestingly if the higher council finds the judgement of lower council is partial or not genuine, he can punish the lower headman who gave judgement. There are checks and balances in the law and its execution at different levels of the society.

Functioning of the *Manta*

When a dispute arises between two persons or families or parties, the village headman calls for a council to which head of each household is invited. Men should

be the head of the family. The whole procedure takes place at the behest of *gaundike* or headmanship. He is assisted by one of the wise elder of the in the village. If the conflict is between the villages then the headmen of both or as many villages form the council. After listening to the discussions from both the parties, the headman consults members of the council and passes judgement. Even if Kotas or Todas are involved in the dispute, their headmen will also be present in the trial. During the proceedings, no woman is allowed to attend the meeting. If they happened to be the witness, they can speak to the headman in private. Toreyas are allowed to attend the council but cannot take active part in the deliberations. Male witnesses are allowed to believe that he would make the deliberations easy and faster. Children are not allowed to come to this council. A man's family or lineage or friends normally support him in any dispute and provide most useful 'witness' in the form of evidence, written documents, bill, receipts etc. Besides their testimony, re-enactment of events, oath-taking to test a man's innocence and using god as an instrument, postponement of the case to get evidence were also the methods used in finding out the truth.

Crimes and Punishments

In general punishment is given to both the accused and aggrieved parties. There are instances wherein offender gets punished. The crimes they deal are many like murder, theft, instigating suicide, rape, land dispute, breach of respective customs and traditions, illegal marriages., Further, the offences not finalised in Toda and Kota councils will also be settled in the Badaga settlements. Badagas tell that they have powers to hang the culprits of murders. If there was a planned murder of an adult the culprit would be hanged. But no evidence was found to substantiate. Sometimes, the proven or attempted murderers are punished with servitude of the aggrieved families. Failure to obey an important order of the headman results in exclusion or excommunication. The other issues that bring the punishment of ostracism are, disrespecting the council, failure in paying the fine decided by the village head, and rape of a father's wife. If ostracism was the punishment pronounced in the early days, the British period replaced it with a fine of Rs.48/-, which had to be paid to the council. For the rape of a son's wife, the punishment decided in the council was a fine of Rs.24/- or less. This punishment could be reduced if the woman had consented. For the rape of a brother's wife, a minimal fine was collected.

The punishment for beating a victim with leather or any other object was considered as a crime and the severity of the punishment was more. The accused has to shave his head in front of the people of the village. During the later days, this punishment was replaced with a fine of Rs.24/- to the council. If a woman beats a victim with a broom, she is made to parade through the village with a basket of ash on her head. Of course, this also was changed into a fine of Rs.24/-, which will be paid by the woman to the council through a male member of her family.

For minor misdemeanour, the guilty should bow down inside the circle of the council while all the members of the Village Council are gathered for the meeting. Murder and inducing suicide are considered as serious offences. Whereas attempted suicide is not considered an offence⁵³. Though sometimes the above norms were followed in predicting punishments, normally the punishments were not a fixed one. The headman could alter or change the method of punishment in each case according to the circumstances, the background of the accused, the economic standard of the parties and the severity of the crime.

The local administration of the Badaga *hattis* as well as the *naaku betta* was a successful one. The villagers respected the elders and the council and they commanded respect from the people. The acclimatization of Badagas to the changed environment and people emerged them as successful immigrants who could commend their participation in socio-political lives of the natives. The Badagas who were basically agriculturalists in northern Mysore area were professionals in dry/up land agriculture which made them to tide over all unfavourable conditions of environment and sustain their selves in the changing ecological conditions. This made them to sustain in the foothills by hunting and gathering, cattle rearing and practicing slash and burn agriculture. On the hill top of Nilagiri, the Badagas adapted to terrace and non-terrace agriculture and emerged as masters in tea cultivation, production marketing. The locals were employed in all the Badaga economic activities and tied them by mutual obligations. Such tie-up made Badagas strong and gave less scope for the Britishers to intrude into local customary legal system in execution of justice, law and order. The office of village headman continued to exist in their village government and the British gave this headman the title 'Manegar', same as *gaudas*, or headman at the commune level. Later on, towards the end of 19th century, the village

head was elected at village and commune levels by the Badags as *monegar* and *sub-manegar* and a salary was paid to the latter from the British.

Until the end of the 19th Century, this system of having *monegar* prevailed. However, towards the end of that century, the District Collector in the main communes appointed *monegar*, and the village head was selected by the Badagas both at the village and at the commune levels and received the title *Sub-monegar* and a small salary from the British⁵⁴. The British also created the post of accountant called 'Kamam', to keep village records. In spite of British influence, the village folk respect their headman and obey his commands. Their community spirit was not disturbed much by the British laws and rule.

After Independence, the Panchayat system continued, with many powers vested in its Local Administration. The Badaga community holds the name of their 'commune' high. So any crime however serious or trivial it is, they prefer to settle it among themselves with the headman and the Village Council, instead of dragging the whole problem into a police station or to a court. They do not like to wash their dirty linen in public, and thus they protect the name of their village from the dishonour of a police investigation and loose gossip. This is the same reason, why in modern times they try to resolve their cases in the lower level of councils, and prevent it from reaching higher councils. In spite of settling most of the cases within the local council, there are quite a many cases, which are judged by a law court. This kind of administration is called as *ambilegal* by Paul Hockings. Coming back to the Local Government among the Badagas, the village headman holds the power except in serious cases such as murder. Even today, the *Badaga* meetings take place periodically. The Badagas call it as four *nadus*; occasionally meet in Udhagamandalam when called by the paramount chief of the Badagas, *naku betta gauda* the headman of four mountains.⁵⁵ The Scheduled District Act of *Naakubetta* meeting even Badaga Women take Part⁵⁶. In this, the headman of all the 1874 had kept most of these areas administratively separate. The same situation was allowed to continue under the Government of India Acts 1909, 1919 and 1935⁵⁷. It was after Independence that the active participation of the tribes in the Local Governments is seen in a great number.

Badaga Economy

The economy of Badagas like that of any peasants in South India is based on agriculture and cattle rearing. But there are shifts in their mode of agriculture. Hailing from the plains of Mysore region, the Badagas settled in the foot hills of the Nilagiris and tribalized their agricultural operations that were suitable to forest and hilly environment. The shifting cultivation and maintenance of livestock were practiced initially to be friendly with the local tribes which are part of their “tribalization” activities. Later on, they raised gardens and commercial crops by following agricultural cycle. A brief outline of water resources in Nilagiris shared by its habitants, their agricultural practices and seasons are given in the following pages.

Irrigation for agriculture

The water resources are centrifugal and centripetal force to sustain agricultural economy especially, in the hills like that of Nilagiris situated at an elevation or height ranging from one thousand to two thousand thirty six meters above the sea level. The water resources of the district can be divided into four distinct basins –the Chaliyar, the Kabini, the Moyar and the Bhavani (both of which feed the Cauvery). Both the colonial British and Indian governments facilitated water resources to the people.

The following table shows the location of the ethnic groups at different levels on Nilagiri hills and availability of water at different levels on the hilltop.

Table No:8. Ethnic groups settled in different levels in Nilagiri hills⁵⁸

	Lower than 1000	1000-1800	Higher than 1800
Natural forests	Dry deciduous and scrub	Moist and dry deciduous	Shola, grasslands
Commercial forests			Cinchona, eucalyptus, pine, wattle plantations
Indigenous communities	Betta Kurumbas, Irulas, Kattunaikans, Paniyas, Kasava, Mullu Kurumbas	Alu Kurumbas, Irulas, Betta Kurumbas	Todas, Kotas

Other communities	Malayali, Tamil, Sri Lankan Tamil repatriates	Badaga, Tamils, Sri Lankan Tamil repatriates	Badaga, Tamils, Malayalis, Kannadigas, Sri Lankan Tamil repatriates
Water Resources	Mostly polluted water enters the Reserve Forests zone, passing through scattered tribal hamlets and large wildlife reserves. All <i>hallas</i> (streams) merge into the four basins through the few major rivers. The water carries massive top soil and wastes. In the monsoon, water sources are visible, but during the summer most of them are dry. The plantation sector suffers, and the reservoirs are half empty.	Streams become rivers and pass through urban and rural settlements. It is mostly a plantation and agriculture sector. The sources of pollution in this zone are domestic waste as well as industrial and chemical waste. There are large concentrations of populations, including immigrants, natives, tribals, service sector professionals, and the business community, all of whom use waters in diverse ways.	Water is trapped in the grasslands and sholas, releasing itself gradually through marshes and swamps. There is a network of hydroelectric projects for electrical power generation. The landscape has large reservoirs. The source of pollution in this zone is agro chemicals.
Cultivated crops	Coffee, pepper, jackfruit, silk cotton, tea, ginger, paddy (Gudalur), millets	Tea, coffee, pepper, jackfruit, silk Cotton	Tea and vegetables
Trade& business	Homestead produce, wage labour, tea (Gudalur), farm income	Timber, tea, small business, wage labour, homestead produce	Timber, tea, tourism, township

Agriculture Practices of Badagas

The Badagas having been migrated from dry and arid domains of Southern Mysore region, they were aware of agricultural seasons and their management in different climatic conditions. They are highly accommodative in availing the natural resources and act accordingly for agricultural productions. Thus the Badagas sustained their migration, settlement and cultivation agriculture across the ages by managing the available water resources in different ecosystems by different agricultural practices –shifting, dry, wet, garden etc.

Shifting agriculture

Formerly, by the time the British entered Nilagiris the Badagas were practicing *kottukadushifting* slash-burn agriculture⁵⁹. Till then, the *bhurty*, revenue system of taxation prevailed in upper Nilgiris. It provided the farmers the facility to hold ten times the taxed land he actually cultivated *inan* year. Often, vegetation in the lands is cleared and left without cultivation for some years. They may also preferred newly reclaimed lands for shifting agriculture. In western Kundahs region, a peasant who pays tax of one to one and half *annas* (one and half rupee of contemporary times) and four (twenty five paisa) to eight (fifty paisa) per *hoe* (*erkadu kottukadu* revenue system), can cultivate as much land as he can to in any of his chosen locality.

Even the dense forest lands were brought under revenue system. In this context, even the cultivated plots were abandoned in the lieu of new ones. However by 1863 a new system of taxation was implemented wherein the farmers were supposed to pay taxes on all claimed lands.⁶⁰

A new system of taxation was implemented in 1863. According to it, the revenues were collected from the peasants on all their claimed land. But lack accurate assessment to all these lands made the people to continue the former practice. During the process of Final Land Settlement in 1881-84, almost all claimed lands were mapped precisely and the individuals were given *patta* to hold the land. The government collected taxes based on the extent of land one held under the new system⁶¹. This system prevailed even after 1884 for many years. It is said that the plots of the individuals spread away from their holdings may be periodically cultivated or left for years uncultivated. The peasants followed a clear agricultural cycle and augmented the natural resources.

The Agricultural Cycle.

According to the information gathered from a Badaga man from Haruva sect, (80), a native of Manihatty, their peasant ecology contains two agricultural seasons corresponding to south western and northeastern monsoons. During the *karbokam*, the main season that runs between March and October, seeds were sown and planting is done. The harvesting season spreads over July-September. In this cycle, they grow dry crops like finger, Italian, and little millet, amaranth, barley, wheat, potatoes and

other English vegetables. In the lesser season, *kadaibokam*, sowing and planting are done from August to October and the harvesting occurs August into October, and spreads between December and February. In this season, seed potatoes and kitchen garden plants like assorted beans, cabbage, carrot, chick pea, coriander, fenugreek, garlic, lentil, maize, mustard, onion, pea, tomato, turnip etc., for domestic as well as commercial purposes are planted. Plants grown in kitchen gardens during the lesser season actually thrive in both seasons. They have both dry and wetland agriculture besides growing fruit gardens and both western and native vegetables for consumption and exchange.

Upland agricultural economy of Badagas

The Badagas before their migration to Nilagiris were upland millet producing peasants knowing very well about the climatic fluctuations and its repercussions on agricultural life of rain fed arid ones. This knowledge made them to adopt in the forest and foot hilly regions and later in the uplands of Nilagiris and sustain upon both terraced and non-terraced cultivation.

There was a need for protection of cattle. The plots adjacent to the communities were fenced. Deep ditches were also dug and bush walls were piled. Ground or fallow lands which were left for longer times without cultivation were cleared and burnt and thus made ready for cultivation. In this process plows were being used. The plows had a metal strip. Plowing was done by two methods. To begin with, a lead team of cattle draws a plow. It will be followed by five or six similar teams. After plows scraped a single furrow, paralleled furrows were formed by forcing the cattle to pull plows in lines paralleling the first. In the other method, a single team of cattle draws plow in the field for four or five times. Each re-plowing results furrows in soil gets crossed. After plowing, weed gets cleared, burnt and the ashes were spread in the field. The manure collected from the cattle pens is mixed with community debris and carried into fields by buckets. Seeds are broadcasted and fertilizer is being spread into the soil by plowing or with hoes. After being broadcast, the fertilizer was worked into the soil through another plowing or with hoes. Later on, men broadcast the seeds or in rows. Again the soil is plowed to cover the seeds and then women and children weed the field. All the workers function cooperatively. Generally, harvesting is done by the family members. Sickles are used in harvesting.

People carry head loads of straw with grain and there exists a separate space for threshing made temporarily.

However, the community or the individual families maintain a well cow dung painted ground for this purpose. To thresh out grain, cattle were muzzled, lined up, tied together and to a central post, and then driven around in circles over straw and grain. Women, however, used threshing sticks to thresh out grain on courtyards fronting houses. Sun-dried grain was stored away in large conical baskets plastered inside and out with cow dung, but finger millet was often kept in pits.

The potato cultivation needed a new technology to dig the soil deeper than before for the then used plow cannot turnover soil at deeper levels. For potato cultivation the soil was made ready through forks and hoes, the former being introduced by the Britishers⁶².

In the eastern Nilgiris, amaranth, mustard, finger millet, and Italian millet are still sown together. Barley, buckwheat, and wheat are usually sown separately. Women and children seldom weed grain fields more than once. Sickles are standard harvesting implements, and women usually remove the grain heads.

The millet is threshed from its husks, dried in courtyard for few days and winnowed after which the grain is packed in bags or wooden chests. The bags may be closed with strings and stored in a warm place till they get turned into brown colour. When the correct color is reached, grain heads are removed to threshing floors. Finger millet is dried and winnowed and stored.

Wet-Rice Cultivation.

During the dry season, after livestock have eaten remaining rice stubble, exposed soils on fields become hardened and cracked in the sun's heat. Livestock penned on changed locations help fertilize the earth. Starting in April, after some mango showers have loosened field surfaces, the men prepare a few fields. A single plow, usually pulled by two buffaloes, may be drawn back and forth over a field. At irregular intervals of days or even weeks the field will be re-ploughed until it has been plowed four to six times, with former plow lines being crossed at each re-plough. If several buffalo teams are available, ploughing gets speeded. Dikes to retain rainwater must also be rebuilt or repaired with the aid of hoes, and at least the final plowing is performed in fields well soaked by rainwater backed up behind the dikes. Drawn

harrowers aid in the leveling and mixing of soil. Puddlers are lastly used to flatten and smooth surfaces about to receive rice seeds. Prior to broadcasting, the seeds are usually mixed in a cow dung wash and left sitting for several days in a small heap covered with leaves. Broadcast seeds stick in mud and there take root. Plants may remain untouched until harvesting, but most seeds take root in selected nursery fields from which plants are later pulled up and transplanted. Because seeds are planted on nursery fields from April into June, the transplanting period extends from June into August. It is during this period that most fields are plowed, harrowed, and puddled.

In addition to the cow dung fertilizer, the green leaves and burnt leaves ashes are mixed and trampled by feet manually and livestock. There exists division of labour in agricultural operations. Men prepare the field for cultivation and the women transplant seedling. After forty days, the seedlings are removed from the field and made into bundles. Each bundle top is twisted to flatten their tops. They are carried to the field wherein the plants have to be planted. Two or three plants are planted together each time, and small clumps are spaced about nine inches to one foot apart. The amount of weeding performed by women and children before or after rice is transplanted depends upon the individuals concerned, but some weeding is usually done. As rice ripens, watch-huts built on stilts amidst fields or on hill slopes nearby are occupied in shifts by men, women, or children who make noises to drive away animals and birds.

Harvesting takes place mainly in January, but rice is also harvested in December and February. Grain removal is facilitated by the fields drying up before harvesters, mainly women, start working with sickles. Cut rice stalks are carried in head loads by men and women to threshing floors near the houses. Muzzled bulls are strung together and forced to walk abreast around posts rising from threshing floors. Hay of one feet thickness has to be spread to pour grain for threshing by oxen. Grains dried in hot sun is preserved within large grain baskets or wooden chests placed in homes. The remaining threshed straw is fed to livestock or used for thatching.

Livestock.

Sources mention that the Badagas reared chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, and sheep during the early nineteenth century. As Badagas are Saivites, they don't eat

beef but consume meat of goats and sheep. Milk and milk products are processed by men in the sacred hangouts. Later on livestock was meant for extra income or for domestic purposes. Local people say that in olden days, holiday was declared on Monday, some of the devotees of Lord Siva never milked their cows and oxen were not put to tilling.⁶³ It is known from the field that before the performance of the ritual of *Masti Hethai* at Bergani, the Badagas celebrate *Martu Pongal* festivities. Frontal court yards are cleaned, sanctified with cow dung and decorated with kitchen ash or powdered lime. Then a priest of the temple brings a cow into the street and stops at each house. When the cow stops at each house, the household should feed it with flat cake made of millet or rice in a platter kept on the design of square put by women in the courtyard. The women bend their heads to the ground when the cows eat the cakes. The mouth of the cow is washed and let it go. Later a calf is led in the same way as that of the cow. In the end the community people celebrate the festival with flat cakes with sugar. Finally, community families feast upon flat cakes served with sugar or curry.

Badagas of Wynad

The Badaga families are widely dispersed in Wynad region. It suggests their gradual migration and settlement in this region before the establishment of English hegemony in Nilgiris. The Badagas residing in both Wynad and Nilagiris regions are culturally articulated but the way they patterned their occupancies, that is, their houses is different for the environmental conditions of both these regions are quite different. The Wynad is a plateau spread by rolling hills and hillocks and is suitable for growing rice and also dry crops through terrace cultivation only for one season. The following table shows the different aspects of the Badagas and Kotas, the artisans in Nilagiris and Wynad region.

Table No: 9. Location of Badagas and Kotas in Wynad region⁶⁴

	Upper Nilgiris		Wynadu	
	Badaga	Kota	Badaga	Kota
Occupation sites	Hamlets and villages	Six villages	Hamlets and dispersed houses	One village
Associated Centre	Burial cremation and worship centres	Cremation and worship centres	Burial cremation and worship centres	Cremation and worship centres
Occupation types	Side gabled houses and half houses Side gabled temples, similar to the houses Variants of temple with cupola	Side gabled houses, similar to the Badaga Front gabled temples-single temple with cupola	Hipped roof houses pyramidal roof temples	Front gabled temple
Economy	Badaga master and thoriaya servant relationship Agriculture -few multilayer,more single layer,and many kitchen gardens orchards;mectarines,peaches,pears, Plums Dry field commercial crop production: mainly potatoes Secondary dry field crop production: amaranths, barley, millets, wheat -Acacia and eucalyptus trees grown for bark tannin,eucalyptus oil,and firewood -livestock rearing: chickens,buffaloes,cattle,goats,sheep -limited hunting: small to large game,jungle fowl -wage earning:laborers on plantations,gardeners,factory workers, clerks, school teachers, engineers	Agriculture: - similar to the badagas, But on a smaller scale -grow some acacia and eucalyptus trees - Livestock rearing: similar to the badagas Limited hunting: similar to the badagas -Trades: basket makers,blacksmiths,carpenters,musicians,potters -Limited wage earning	Badaga master and paniaya servant relationship -Agriculture: - multilayer, single layer, and small kitchen gardens -limited dry field crop production: millets -wet rice cultivation: subsistence base - livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle -some men working on plantation	-Agriculture: - a multilayer garden and small kitchen gardens -wet rice cultivation: subsistence base - livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle and goats -Trades: basket makers,blacksmiths,carpenters,musicians,potters

The Badaga communities of Basukolli, Devala, Kolapalli, Marakurai, Nundhatti, Pandalur, and Soladi scattered over the Wynaad regions were spread in deciduous forests and bamboo bushes. The tendency for Badagas to live in nucleated communities according to ancestral custom is well exemplified in Wynad region. Nucleated development of Badagas is done in three steps. They are: 1) next to courtyard, a single house is or a few joined houses are first constructed 2) then, a new house is raised adjacent to the courtyard situated vertical to the prior house, and 3) on the other side of the courtyard parallel to the earlier house a new house is built. There was a shift in the arrangement of house from single straight line to an 'L' shape and thence to 'U' shape. The typical Badaga traits, keeping *Tulasi* plant in rectangular

enclosure and plastering of courtyard often with cow dung are their identity markers in these regions. The Nilagiri Wynad Badaga house type is quite different from the one used by upper Nilagiris Badagas. "Each house has an earthen platform made of fine earth from termite hills. Six large posts embedded in the platform are surmounted by pole plates supporting a series of rafters. Out from these posts, on or along the edge of the platform, there are additional lesser posts surmounted by pole plates supporting the rafters. The steep-sided hipped roof slopes down from a short horizontal crest to a height of about five feet from the ground. Most roofs have rice straw thatch over bamboo strips lashed onto rafters, but a few houses now have tiled roofs. A rectangular house wall raised around the six large posts is constructed with mud similar to that used in the platform. The wall is built around wooden door frames and occasional window frames. Because there is space left between the wall and platform edges, a veranda runs around the house"⁶⁵.

Paddy is a staple crop and so wet rice production is done in valley lands. Hence, the valley sides are not much terraced. The Badaga houses were situated along the hillsides or hilltops located next to lower lying rice fields. Threshing floors and stacked hay lie near dwellings. Most houses are surrounded by different varieties of gardens which offer cooling shade during each dry season and protection against lashing rains with high winds during the monsoons. The cattle graze in the dry fields scattered a little away from their houses.

Women thus have to fetch water from streams in the valleys below. Interestingly Badagas of this region do not construct temples in their domestic realm but build separate worship centers with pagoda tree. A Wynaad Badaga temple may outwardly be constructed somewhat like a house. Excluding certain resemblances in the interior plan, The *Devala*, temple has no inner or outer posts and squared wooden rafters are attached to wall plates and an emplaced ridge piece. The hipped roof is tiled. Inside the temple there are two large stone bulls (*Nandi*) and an altar next to the center of the rear wall. Temples of a distinctive type serving as worship centers to Badagas and their neighbors have square bases, grilled woodwork in side walls, and pyramidal roofs plated with copper sheets. In each temple's interior there is a walled room holding a deity's image, a ceremonial knife, and other ritualistic paraphernalia. Smaller shrines with similar appearance have platforms in their central interiors.

Paniyasand Badagas.

The Paniyas who were the workers in the gold mines of Nilambu raja, appointed Chettis as supervisors. As they exploited the Paniyas as wage labourers, they sought the services under Badagas in plantations. They emerged as hereditary workers whose welfare was taken by their lords. They were rented mostly in harvest season by the Badagas they obtained meals and rice in exchange of services. The Paniyas were given house plots and material for house construction and food is also served during the time of house making. provided food during the course of construction. Annually they receive clothing from their masters. They also receive little money for their routine expenditure. They received every week betel leaves, areca nuts, and other chewing ingredients. During the festivals they were feasted with sweet meal ⁶⁶.In addition to receiving food allocated by their masters, Paniyas obtain produce from garden plants grown near their dwellings. They fish with aid of bamboo mats, bamboo fishing scoops, and fish poison. Bamboo seed or bamboo rice are occasion food source to the residents of Wynad region. When a Badaga enters into master-serf relationship with the Paniysa, both the men and women perform agricultural service to their masters. The women prepare grain with mortar, pestle, and winnower, and carry water to Badaga houses. Using split bamboos, Paniyas make any type of basket that is required. These people live in houses built akin to Badaga houses but smaller in dimensions. They are located nearer to the Badaga houses. Paniyas have their own burial centers and worship centers with shrines

Garden Cultivation.

The gardens of guava, jack, mandarin orange, mango, pagoda, pummel trees, areca, fishtail, palms, banana fronds, papaya plants, sugarcane, shrubby amaranth , brinjal, castor, chili ,coffee, okra, tomato, elephant foot yam , tapioca, taro, creeping lablab bean, bitter gourd, pumpkin, rose, sweet potato, and yam –are grown around the houses. Flowers and leaves of fishtail palms are used for ornamental purposes. Badagas also grow bananas in single layer gardens. After cutting off stems laden with green bananas, Badagas and Paniyas place them in banana pits with pots in which green wood is kept. The heat and smoke within pits sealed with planks and mud cause bananas to ripen rapidly in two or three days.

Leaves of amaranth and colacasia plants are eaten. Brinjal and chili seeds are first sprouted in a small nursery on stilts. Both plants are also planted in kitchen gardens with parallel earthen ridges.

Dryfieldagriculture

In uplands of Wynaad region, the dry lands are left uncultivated and a little portion of it was brought under plough. The field has to prepare before starting agricultural operations. The natural vegetation has to be cleared, dried and burnt to ashes and dung of the livestock has to be spread over the field. The soil should be loosened by periodical ploughing and clods of soil have to be broken with hoes or hoe forks. Sowing of seeds should take place in June-July so that the yield may be received in October, November and December. The cropping pattern is interesting. Finger millet is commonly grown, and little millet is occasionally cultivated. Mustard may be mixed with the grain crop. Sickles are used to remove grain heads. Grain is stored after being trampled out by buffaloes or cattle and dried in the sun. Men are responsible for heavy work in field preparation, plowing, sowing, and care of livestock trampling out grain. In dry land agriculture, women and children take active part. Women and children, does most of the other work take active part in dry land agriculture. In off seasons, the livestock is let to move in these soils for manuring purpose.

Preparation field for rice cultivation is done by men but the women take up the planting. Weeding of the field is a must. As rice ripens; watch-huts built on stilts amidst fields or on hill slopes nearby are occupied in shifts by men, women, or children who make noises to driveway animals and birds. Harvesting takes place mainly in January, but rice is also harvested in December and February. Grain removal is facilitated by the fields drying up before harvesters, mainly women, start working with sickles. Cut rice stalks are carried in head loadsby men and women to threshing floors near the houses. The grain dried in sunlight is stored within large grain baskets or wooden chests placed in homes. The remaining are threshed and straw is fed to livestock or used for thatching.

The Badagas obtained additional income by working in neighboring fields. A few Badagas obtain income by selling milk to coffee and tea shops in nearby villages⁶⁷.They are connectedto Todas in a ritual, economic, cultural and social

symbiosis⁶⁸. The Badagas produced grains; the Todas maintained Dairies and produced milk and milk products and the Kotas made tools artefacts and implements and rendered music. They exchanged their products/service with one another. Their settlements were very well located and distributed to make these transactions frequent and easy. The valleys and watery gentle slopes were occupied by the Badagas; the high grass lands were used by the Toda herdsmen and the seven 'Kokals (Kota villages) were so well planned and distributed all over the mountains so that the Kotas would be conveniently accessible to the other two communities. These economic exchanges had ritual and social dimensions and this will be discussed in the next section (c)

Badagas and water resources⁶⁹

The Badagas constitute major population in the Nilgiris. They depend upon water springs and rain for their sustenance. Thus water is precious and hence they consider it as sacred. The Badagas worship water once a year, in the form of a ritual the *Halla Paruva* (Water Worship). In this ritual, milk is poured into the water at its source and meal with first crop millets is cooked in the waters from the spring source and offered to waters. Then meal is served to people as *paruva*, ritual meal. This ritual is celebrated before the commencement of northeastern rainfall for having sumptuous rains in the monsoon. In Badaga villages' underground water springs, known as *huttu neeruis* are available and are being protected for drinking purpose. Since it is also considered as a sacred place, entry of outsiders is prohibited for outsiders. Hence, the chance of contamination of waters resources is less.

Information collected from village elders of Ajjur reveals that the location of the settlement of people depends upon the availability of spring waters emerging from *sembare kal* – a type of red soil. The presence of this soil indicates the availability of *Huttu neeru* or emerging spring. He says that to invoke the rains, a special *puja*, and worship is conducted in the month of May, which is done by looking at all the four directions and the clouds. During this period, there is also another interesting water ritual – connecting the cows (buffaloes in the olden days) and water. This is called *uppuattuhabba*, in which the cattle are given salt water in *uppu kal* or saltstones.

According to him the ritual of *Halla paruva* and the salt ceremony are part of the whole rhythm of life cycle. The Badagas are a predominantly agricultural community and the location of agricultural fields reflects the social stratification. The

Badagas have mostly better access and facilities to water than the *Toreya* Badagas (a sub group). For agricultural purposes, water is first utilized by the Badagas and then made available to the *Thoraiya* Badagas. Communities of *Toreya* Badagas and Sri Lankan repatriates are located in relatively lower elevations. Their water source is from the valley, which is also the water source used by Badagas for their agriculture. With changes in and non-availability of sufficient water from upper spring sources, Badagas have also had to depend on lower valley sources for their drinking water.

In the Badaga village of Alakare, water at Alakare emerges from an underground spring or *Baavi*, close to a Shola. The use of well had lot of restrictions. The people are supposed to collect water in daytime and nobody were allowed to use the well in the night. People say that the water spring recharges in the night in such a way that its entire water may be sufficient from the villagers in the next day.

Ethno medical practices of Badagas

Nilagiris is an abode of medicinal plants that served the preventive, therapeutic and remedial purposes of several diseases. Like any other ethnic group, Badaga sustain on the available native flora for treating their ailments. Nilagiri plateau is known for its richness in medicinal plants used by the natives for curative, preventive and therapeutic treatment of their diseases. A few of the plants considered and used by the Badagas as medicinal for treating different health issues are given in following table.

Table No: 10. Ethno-medical plants used in Badaga folklife⁷⁰.

S.No .	Local name	Botanical name	Family name	description	Medical use
1	Naegidu	<i>Achyranthes aspera</i>	<i>Amaranthaceae</i>	An erect branched herb, flowers greenish, common	The root decoction is orally taken as a remedy for cough and chest discomfort. The whole plant paste is applied to navel region of pregnant women to promote easy delivery (folk belief). The stem bark paste is used for healing wounds.
2	Kathalae	<i>Agave</i>	<i>Amaryllidaceae</i>	A xerophytic	The freshly

		<i>americana</i>		plant, flowers white or yellow, common	prepared leaf paste is externally applied to the site of bone dislocation to relieve pain.
3	Maghathae	<i>Ageratum conyzoides</i>	Asteraceae	An erect, hirsute herb, flower heads white or violet or purple, common	The external application of leaf juice kills the ticks in cattle. The plant paste is smeared on cattle wounds for healing
4	Nathalie	<i>Aloe vera</i>	Liliaceae	A xerophytic plant with orange flowers, rare.	The freshly collected leaf is placed on the affected part as analgesic. The leaf paste is a useful remedy for checking hair loss. The succulent parts are eaten for worm complaints.
5	Keerai	<i>Amaranthus paniculatus</i>	Amaranthaceae	A tall woody herb, Inflorescence terminal thyroid spike, flowers red, cultivated.	The decoction of both tender shoots and seeds are given to post-natal women as a restorative
6	Mullugidu	<i>Amaranthus spinosus</i>	Amaranthaceae	An erect armed herb, flowers green, and common	The leaf extract is given orally for abdominal discomfort and worm problems
7	Awu-mari-gidu	<i>Anotis leschenaultiana</i> Benth. & Hook	Rubiaceae]	An herb with pinkish, purple flowers, rare	The leaf paste is a useful remedy to get rid of tooth worms
8	Ahu-marigidu	<i>Arisaema leschenaultii</i> Bl	Araceae	A tuberous herb with greenish white flowers, rare	It is highly poisonous plant. The bulb paste is smeared to the site of bone fracture and regions of body pain (Only for

					external use)
9	Misagae	<i>Artemisia nilagirica</i> (C. B. Clarke) Pamp	Asteraceae	A tall aromatic herb with greenish flowers, common	The leaf paste is applied as a poultice on aching foot for relief
10	Jakkala	<i>Berberis tinctoria</i> Lesch	Berberidaceae	A shrub with yellow flowers, common	Root paste is given orally as a remedy for jaundice
11	Saranae	<i>Boerhavia diffusa</i>	Nyctaginaceae	A diffuse procumbent herb with pink flowers, common	The leaf decoction is taken orally to check bleeding in the post-natal women after delivery
12	Herruku	<i>Calotropis gigantea</i>	Asclepiadaceae	A branched erect shrub with whitepurplish flowers, common	Fresh root paste is a useful antidote for snake and scorpion bites
13	Kalavalai	<i>Canna indica</i>	Cannaceae	An herb with tuberous rootstock with bright-red flowers, common	The rhizome decoction is orally given to relieve gastric discomfort flatulence.
14	Ubbaisoppu	<i>Cassia leschenaultiana</i>	Caesalpiniaceae	A sub erect, under shrub with yellow flowers, common	The fresh leaves are warmed with (q-s) groundnut oil and applied to wounds and injuries for healing
15	Kutharae kombu	<i>Centella asiatica</i> Urban	Apiaceae	A slender creeper herb, 16flowers pin17k, Comm18on	The whole plant extract is given orally on an empty stomach to cure jaundice. It is also useful for treating urinary problems
16	Soppu gida	<i>Chenopodium ambrosioides</i>	Chenopodiaceae	An erect, 19 aromatic, branched annual herb with greenish flowers, rare.	The leaf paste mixed with coconut oil is applied to wounds for rapid healing.
17	Kannae	<i>Commelina coelestis</i> Willd	Commelinaceae	An erect herb with blue flowers, common.	The whole plant paste is applied to wounds for quick healing

18	Erugidu	<i>Coriandrum sativum</i>	Apiaceae	An herb with white, pale pink flowers, cultivated	The leaf decoction is given orally to relieve gastric discomfort
19	Smbarani mora	<i>Cupressus macrocarpa</i> Hartw	Cupressaceae	An evergreen tree with pale yellow flowers, common.	The gum is a good insect repellent when smoked in fire
20	Arishina	<i>Curcuma longa</i>	Zingiberaceae	A tall rhizomatous herb with pale green flowers, cultivated.	The tuber paste is applied to swollen regions for relief
21	Mushta kodi	<i>Cyclea peltata</i> (Lam.) Hook. f. & Thomson	Menispermaceae	A climbing herb with greenish flowers, common	The leaf paste mixed with garlic is applied to forehead for relieving headache.
22	Kodi jarikhi	<i>Cynodon dactylon</i> Pers	Poaceae	A perennial slender creeping prostrate grass with green or purplish flowers, common. 23	The juice of the whole plant is used as anti-dysenteric
23	Thunb	<i>Cynoglossum zeylanicum</i>	Boraginaceae	A24n erect shru25b with pale lil26ac or light27 blue flowers, common.	The leaf paste is applied for insect bites to reduce inflammation.
24	Dabbai	<i>Cyperus digitatus</i> Roxb	Cyperaceae	A perennial rhizomatous herb with yellowish brown flowers, common in wet grasslands.	The rhizome paste is a good external remedy for skin diseases, particularly ringworm type of afflictions.
25	Oomathugidu	<i>Datura metel</i>	Solanaceae	A shrub with purple or white flowers, common	The seed paste is applied to forehead after making certain incantations that will ensure success to a person. This is purely a folk belief of Badaga community.
26	Tharae	<i>Datura</i>	Solanaceae	A small shrub	The leaf with (q-

	thomba	<i>stramonium</i>		with white flowers, common.	s) groundnut oil is warmed up and applied as poultice for boils and wounds
27	Vlarigidu	<i>Dodonaea viscosa</i>	Sapindaceae	A branched shrub with greenish flowers, common.	The tender leaves are warmed in fire and applied to the affected parts for inflammation and joint pains
28		<i>Drymaria cordata</i>	Caryophyllaceae	A glabrous herb with white flowers, common.	The bulb paste is applied to the naval region of pregnant women to quicken labor.
29	Batha	<i>Eleusine coracana</i> Gaertn	Poaceae	An erect annual cereal with greenish flowers, cultivated.	The seed gruel (Kanji) is useful for anti-diarrhoeal purposes
30	Kanigidu	<i>Ervatamia divaricata</i>	Apocynaceae	A shrub with white flowers, common.	The equal quantities of leaf and root parts are made into a paste. This mixture is orally given to women to correct gynecological problems
31	Kapuramora	<i>Eucalyptus globulus</i>	Myrtaceae	A lofty tree with aromatic plant parts, flowers white, wild.	The tender leaf paste is applied to forehead to relieve headache. The leaves are soaked in water overnight and boiled. This water is used for bathing purposes to relieve all kinds of body pains
32	Oogidu	<i>Eupatorium glandulosum</i>	Asteraceae	A shrub with white flowers, common.	The whole plant extract is a useful remedy for wounds and sores

33	Atthimora	<i>Ficus religiosa</i> Linn	Moraceae	A small soft wooded deciduous tree with dark purple flowers, common.	The tender fruits are believed to promote fertility when consumed (folk belief). The latex is smeared to the corn region in the foot to get relief from pain.
34	Mukkuthi Sadai	<i>Galinsoga parviflora</i>	Asteraceae	An erect slender herb with white flowers, common.	The tender shoots with flowers are made into a paste and applied to quicken wound healing.
35	Kark mora	<i>Glycosmis pentaphylla</i>	Rutaceae	A shrub or small tree with white flowers, common.	The root paste in lemon juice is applied to swollen parts of the body for three days to get relief
36	Naraegidu	<i>Gymnema hirsutum</i>	Asclepiadaceae	A hairy thick twinner with yellowish green flowers, wild.	The leaf decoction is taken orally as a good remedy for jaundice, paralysis and also for antidiabetic purposes
37	Sulle	<i>Hedychium flaveces</i>	Zingiberaceae	A robust plant with horizontal rootstock, flowers pale yellow, rare.	The plant juice is applied to wounds, cuts and sores for quick healing
38	Vadamalli	<i>Helichrysum buddleioides</i>	Asteraceae	A shrub with yellow flowers, common.	The plant juice is applied for cuts and wounds for rapid healing
39	Anni chedi	<i>Impatiens chinensis</i>	Balsaminaceae	A prostrate annual herb with raised purple or white flowers, wild.	The whole plant juice is applied to body to get rid of burning sensations (possibly a refrigerant).
40	Thumbai	<i>Leucas linifolia</i>	Lamiaceae	An erect branched herb with white flowers, common	The fresh leaves are chewed to get relief from stomachache. The flowers are soaked in water overnight

					and this extract is dropped into eyes for conjunctivitis. The leaf extract is a useful remedy for controlling excessive bleeding.
41	Heyne	<i>Loranthus cuneatus</i>	Loranthaceae	A shrub with yellowish green flowers, common in shola forests.	The leaves and fruits are eaten orally given as a remedy for menstrual problems
42	Thoae thomba	<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i>	Solanaceae	A sticky herb with yellow flowers, cultivated.	The mature fruits are eaten for antidiarrhetic purposes
43	Karambaisopu	<i>Murraya koenigii</i>	Rutaceae	A small tree with white flowers, cultivated.	The leaf juice is useful for anti-emetic purposes. It is a refrigerant to eyes. It is believed to lower blood sugar levels according to their folk belief. The fresh leaves are chewed to relieve from urinary problems
44	Musaceae	<i>Musa paradisiaca</i>	Bai mora or Baa mora	An erect tree like herbs with dark purplish flowers, commonly cultivated.	The leaf with a drop of oil serves as a poultice for wounds. The fruits are given to children as a remedy for celiac conditions. Children eat it during measles for prophylactic purposes. The leaf ash is a useful remedy for asthma when inhaled.
45	Hogae soppu	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i>	Solanaceae	An erect herb or sub shrub with	The dry leaf powder is placed

				rose flowers, cultivated.	on the tooth to cure all type of dental pain
46	Ulla mazgi	<i>Oxalis corniculata</i>	Oxalidaceae	A diffuse herb with yellow flowers, common	The whole plant is eaten to relieve headache. The juice is useful for eye lotion purposes. The plant juice mixed with milk cures any type of headache when consumed
47	Odyannu	<i>Passiflora calcarata</i>	Passifloraceae	A climbing shrub with purple flowers, common.	The flower paste is applied to forehead to cure headache
48		<i>Pittosporum floribundum</i>	Pittosporaceae	A small tree with white flowers, rare.	The mature fruits are eaten as a refrigerant and also for gastric discomfort.
49	Papattugidu	<i>Plectranthus mollis</i>	Lamiaceae	An herb with yellowish flowers, rare.	The root paste prepared in lemon juice is applied to the tooth as a pain reliever
50	Gongu	<i>Polygonum punctatum</i>	Polygonaceae	An herb with white flowers, common.	The whole plant juice is mixed with milk and orally taken as a remedy for gastric discomfort and hip pain
51	Soondavalli	<i>Randia dumetorum</i>	Rubiaceae	A shrub with white flowers on transition becomes yellow, common.	The root paste is applied to treat skin eruptions in the body
52	Mullangi	<i>Raphanus sativus</i>	Brassicaceae	An erect, branched, annual herb with white flowers, cultivated.	The root decoction is orally taken as an anti-diarrhoeal. The boiled root extract mixed with salt is orally given to ease childbirth
53	Havandae	<i>Ricinus communis</i>	Euphorbiaceae	An evergreen shrub with pink	The seed oil is a powerful

				flowers, common.	laxative. It is also used externally on the forehead to cure headache
54		<i>Rhodymyrtus tomentosa</i>	Myrtaceae	A shrub or small tree with pink flowers, common.	The mature fruits are eaten for antidiarrhoeal purposes
55	Hehai	<i>Rosa leschenaultiana</i>	Rosaceae	A large climbing shrub with pink flowers, cultivated.	Flower petals are chewed during pregnancy for diuretic purposes
56	Thippa muli	<i>Rubus ellipticus</i>	Rosaceae	A prickly shrub with white flowers, common	Mature fruits are eaten as haematanic and also useful for anti-ulcer purposes
57	Gongalae	<i>Rumex nepalensis</i>	Polygonaceae	A tall stout annual or perennial herb, hermaphrodite, commonly cultivated.	The root paste is used for wound healing purposes. The leaf paste is useful for treating gynecological ulcers.
58	Arothgidu	<i>Ruta chalepensis</i>	Rutaceae	An aromatic woody sub shrub with yellow flowers, planted	The fruits are worn as garlands to get relief from fever and headache (Magico religious belief). The leaf juice is taken orally to cure fever in children. The leaf extract is useful for correcting gastric discomfort.
59	Aregidu	<i>Salvia officinalis</i>	Lamiaceae	An erect herb with lilac or white flowers, cultivated.	The fresh leaves are chewed on an empty stomach as anti-diabetic
60	Santhana mora	<i>Santalum album</i>	Santalaceae	A small tree with brownish purple flowers, rare.	The stem paste is applied externally to the body as a refrigerant
61	Marakkae	<i>Sechium edule</i>	Cucurbitaceae	It is a tuberous	

				root climber with pale green or whitish flowers, common.	The fruits are eaten as a remedy for ulcer in the stomach
62	Marigidu	<i>Sida rhombifolia</i>	Malvaceae	An erect, woody herb or sub shrub with yellow flowers, common.	The leaf paste is applied to the swollen parts to reduce swellings
63	Gakkal soppu	<i>Solanum nigrum</i>	Solanaceae	An erect herb with white flowers, common	The whole plant juice is given orally to check bleeding during piles and dysentery. The tender leaves with unripe fruits are eaten to cure mouth ulceration. The leaves are given to pregnant women as vegetable for restorative purposes
64	Kadu thamba	<i>Solanum sisymbirifolium</i>	Solanaceae	A low shrub with white or lilac flowers, common	The dried leaf powder is useful for Tooth ache and cough. The leaf paste is applied to wounded parts of the cattle to repel insects. 65The fruits are eat6en to cure stomachache.
65	Ghanakae	<i>Solanum tuberosum</i>	Solanaceae	An herb with white to bluish flowers, cultivated.	The juice of red potato variety is used for eye diseases and inflammation
66	Harikae	<i>Sonchus arvensis</i>	Asteraceae	A perennial herb with pale yellow flowers, common.	The white latex obtained from stem region is applied to burns for relieving

					painful conditions
67	Thunkana thadi	<i>Spergula arvensis</i>	Caryophyllaceae	An annual herb with white flowers, commonly cultivated.	The plant paste is applied externally to mitigate shoulder and body pains
68	Kodigidu	<i>Stephania japonica</i>	Menispermaceae	A slender twinning glabrous herb with greenish yellow flowers, common	The root decoction is orally taken as a remedy for various dental problems
69	Manaegidu	<i>Verbascum thapsus</i>	Scrophulariaceae	A stout erect herb with yellow flowers, common.	The dried leaves are smoked and inhaled for relieving severe cold and cough.
70	Gudigidu	<i>Vinca major</i>	Apocynaceae	An evergreen herb with blue flowers, common.	The leaf paste is given orally to women after delivery to check postnatal bleeding
71	Mathugidu	<i>Zantedeschia aethiopica</i>	Araceae	A perennial rhizomatous herb with white flowers, common	The leaf is warmed up with (q-s) groundnut oil and applied to get relief from inflammation

Dress and ornaments of Badagas

The Badagas were tattooed during the course of their migration to tribalise their identities with that of the Tadas and Kotas, the residents of Nilagiris. The Badaga men wore three pieces of white cotton clothes, one is tied as turban (*mundre*) and another is spread across the left shoulders (*seela*). The third piece is tied to waist (*mundu*). The entire Badaga woman from the age of puberty wears the three piece white dress. All use white cloth as dress code, use walking stick and leaf-made umbrella. Woman wear a white cloth covering body (Mundu), and white under cloth (Thundu) tied around her chest, tightly wrapped square across the breasts and reaching to knees with two cloth-belts *Rattus* or *satte*. They wear a typical head dress called 'Pattu,' the head dress 'turban' is an identity marker of the Badaga elderhood in Nilagiris. They brought the custom of wearing turban from Vokkaligas, for whom Badagas trace their origin. Gold ornament in left nostril, Necklets of small glass beads

and of silver links with four- anna piece pendent, silver and copper armlets above elbow are worn by the Badaga women. These features reflect their physical appearance as Primitive Tribal Group .The Kota craftsmen prepare the ornaments and domestic utensils for the community. Like all the other communities the Badagas are fond of gold and silver. Both men and women wear jewels of different kinds. The traditional earrings of the women are known as *Sinnah*⁷¹. Nose ring is called as *Mukuti*⁷². Two different ornaments known as *Sirpinige* and *Gubbigai* adorn the neck, *Bai* are the bangles used by the Badaga Women Badaga women also wear a kind of *chocker* called *Sarattadia* short child chain worn around the neck with a big pendant. They wear a silver long chain the *seruppane*, with coins fixed around. The other long chain with silver beads is *gubbimani*. The bangle or bracelet worn around wrist is *kadaga* and thick flat armlet just above the elbow is ‘*bae*’. It may be made of silver or gold. The anklets are *golusu* for girls and *gaggere* for boys.

Photographs of Badaga woman ornaments Mukuti (nose ornament) and Sinnah (ear) ornament⁷³



Photographs of Badaga dress and ornaments⁷⁴.



The cultural life of the Badaga life cannot be completed without the mention of their language and its expression in their oral communication in the form of proverbs, which is really their native wisdom that sheds light on different aspects of their life through out journey. Paul Hocking's work on proverbs⁷⁵ is *magnus opum* to understand and different perspectives of the community life of Badagas-caste, economy, kinship, social organization, belief, customary law etc.

Badaga Tribal co-habitants in Nilagiris

The Nilagiri environment is being shared by nearly six tribal groups, out of which Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Paniyans live exclusively only in the Nilgiri district and the remaining two Irulas and Kattunayakans stay not only Nilgiri but spread to the other parts of Tamilnad. The above-mentioned tribal groups except the Badaga community are considered as indigenous groups of the Nilgiri district. Kurumbas and Irulas call their village *Motta*, Toda - *Mund*, Badagas - *Hatti*, Kotas - *kokai*. In this section before going into details of the Badaga cultural life, a brief sketch of major tribal communities that coexist with Badagas is overviewed. The tribal population of Nilagiris⁷⁶ is shown in the following Table: no.

Table. No:11. Tribes of Nilagiris⁷⁷

S.No	Scheduled tribes	households	%	population		Total	%
				male	female		
1	Toda	418	6.39	785	695	1480	4.98
2	Kota	491	7.50	1009	976	1985	6.68
3	Kuruba	2076	31.71	5196	5157	10353	34.86
4	Paniya	1197	18.28	2795	2746	5541	18.65
5	Kattunayakan	452 5.	6.90	805	824	1629	49 6
6	Irulas	1913	29.22	4219	4495	8714	29.34
	Total	6547	100	14828	14874	29702	100

The Todas

Todas are one the major tribal groups that are natives to Nilagiris and descended from the Dravidian stock. They ranked high among the other tribes, Kota, Kurumba, Irula, Kasuva, Pariah etc., before the advent of Britishers. Later, the Badagas emerged as an eminent ethnic group in Nilagiris due to their adoptive entrepreneurship in new environment⁷⁸. However, by the early 19th century, the Todas have attracted "a most disproportionate amount of attention because of their ethnological aberrancy"⁷⁹ and "their unlikeness to their neighbours in appearance, manners, and customs." The Todas are pastoralists and they were notified as a scheduled tribe in Tamilnadu⁸⁰. They consider land cultivation as beneath their dignity⁸¹. They speak the language of their own known as Toda, a language of the

Dravidian family. Among the Todas, five clans exist; they are: *PaikiPekkan*, *Kuttan*, *Kenna*, and *Todi*. The term *Paiki* again among the *Hale-Paikis* of Naga, and the *Kumara Paikas* of North Kanara. The *Hale Paikis* of Manjarabad are called *DevaraMakkalu* or children of god, and the *paikis* who take the lead among the Todas, for them the *Palalor* high priest is chosen, call themselves also *Der Mokh*, or children of God⁸².

The Toda hamlet is known as *Mund* or *Mott*. Each *mund* or hamlet is constituted by five huts out of which three are for dwelling and one is meant for a dairy temple, *Tirierl* and the remaining may be for keeping the cattle for shade. The vicinity of the *Mund* is the cattle-pen. The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gudu*, which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Toda people are fair in color, tall, strong-built and well-shaped. The striking feature of the women is the arrangement of their hair, which is dressed in twists and runs down to the shoulders. The normal garment of a Toda is known as *putkuli*, which is made up of thick white cotton cloth with red and blue stripes which are embellished with embroidery by the Toda women; it is thrown around the body by the men and women like 'Roman toga'. Both men and women wear jewelry. The Toda society is patrilineal lineage a descent group⁸³ and is divided into two endogamous groups, *Tharthazoll* and *Theveioll*. They are vegetarians and polyandry is also known in the tradition.

Religion and worldview of the Todas

The Toda concept of religion is associated with dairy and buffalo. They worship the sacred buffalo bull known as *Heriadeva*. For them heaven is a place where they have plenty of buffaloes. The religious duties of Todas are to be performed by their priest known as *palals-pallem*, dairyman a mixture of ascetic and herdsman. Great sanctity is attached to the person of *palal*. They look after the dairy temples. The dairy temples of Todas are mostly half barrel shaped and some are conical, known as *poh*. Toda women are neither allowed to enter into the dairy temple nor to participate in any religious ceremony as they are considered to cause pollution. Milking and churning are holy too and no woman is allowed to perform⁸⁴.

They divided the buffaloes into sacred and secular. For the sacred buffaloes, every act connected with milking and its processing is celebrated with rituals like

Naming, first milking, givingsalt, calf sacrifice, lighting the god's fire etc. The temple buffaloes are ranked for they are connected with the idea of ritual purity of the Todas. They perform elaborate funeral ceremonies. On such occasions, they sacrifice a number of buffaloes. Toda rituals and religion revolves round dairy, sacred buffaloes and priest. All their religious festivals are connected with their funerals. In the past, when a Toda died, a number of buffaloes were collected and beaten to death. They have two types of funeral: green funeral and dry funeral. Green funeral means – death funeral - a ceremony, which was done with dead body. Dry funeral is a ceremony done with mortal remains that are recovered from a grave.

The Kotas

The Kotas are another group of ancient inhabitants of the hills. They also agriculturalists and practice the industrial arts such as gold, silver, and black smiths, carpenters, tanners, musicians, umbrella makers and potters, whose services were invaluable to other tribes⁸⁵. They are also known as *Kota*, *kotar*, *koter*, *kohatur*. The Todas call them as *kouf* (cow –people). They were considered low in social status, because they provided music for funerals, handled carcasses, worked with leather and ate the flesh of cows and buffaloes. When a Kota met a Badaga or a Toda, he used to make formal gesture of respect in the form of a subordinate to the superior⁸⁶. A Kota village is called as Kokal and they live in seven settlements having 30 to 60 detached huts at the center of Toda and Badaga villages. The size of the Kota population is almost the same as that of the Todas in the hills such as Kollimalai, Trichigadi, Kunda, Kotagni, Kil Kotaghri, Sholur Kokal, Agal and Kunda Kokal. These villages are situated between Badaga 'hatties' and Toda 'munds' to render services to them. Each Kokal has a family called 'Mundukathen' to perform the duties of priesthood. They are divided into *keris* (streets), and men of one *Keri* must seek a wife in another *Keri*⁸⁷.

Kota society has polygamy and fraternal polyandry. Women are supposed to stay with their legal husbands along with their legitimate children. But in the absence of husband, if he goes out even for one night, any of his brothers had right and obligation to take his role. The fear of Kurumbas, the sorcerers and black magicians of the Nilagiris who may attempt the lonely woman is one of the causes for such practice. Though any one of his brothers is a biological father, the husband is sociological and legitimate father. The kinship is classificatory and operates on the

principle of fraternal equivalence of real brothers⁸⁸. In South India polyandry is of frequent incidence.⁸⁹

The Kotasworship, Siva and Parvati as their supreme god and goddess in the name of Kambataraya and Kashama-Kalaikai, each represented by a thin silver plate. They are also known as Aiyanoor and Ammanoor. Each Kota village has at least two temples for these deities. Kotagiri is looked upon as their spiritual home and Kotas go here annually to celebrate their annual festivals of Kambataraya. On a small hill called Ranga Swamy peak, the festival lasts about a fortnight⁹⁰. They have separate temples for men and women. Kotas tell about an origin myth. The myth says that Kamataraya, their god perspired profusely when he wiped his forehead; three drops of sweat came out of which the three most ancient of the hill tribesmen the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas were born. Thus Kotas claim that their existence is as old as that of Todas and Kurumbas.

The chief Kota annual festival of Kamataraya, runs for fifteen days. On the first evening, the priest lights a fire in the *swami* house and then brings it to the main street of the village where it is kept lighting-up during the whole of the feast. On the three following days except digging clay and making pots no work is done and no particular ceremonies take place⁹¹. On the sixth day, men are sent to fetch bamboo rattan; and on the seventh day, the two temples are newly thatched and decorated; it is a must that this should be accomplished before the nightfall. The eighth and ninth days are feasting days. Contribution of grain and ghee are given to them by the entire neighboring Badaga villages and cooked in the annexures of the temples. Only boiled grain, ghee and a sort of pea soup are taken as meal on this event. A portion of the meal is laid before the temple, then firstly the priests take part in it and afterwards, the rest of the villagers all sitting in a row before the temple⁹² partaken in the meal. The tenth day is passed in dancing; the Kotas dress up to the occasion wearing the long robes and borrowing jewels of all sorts from the Badagas. They are obliged to propitiate their artisans by attending and contributing on this occasion. On the eleventh day, they decorate themselves with leaves, tie buffalo horns to their heads, and go through various appropriate pantomimes. The women also dance at this feast by singing at the same time to the tunes of the drum and horn played by the men folk. On the twelfth day, they make a fire inside their temple, by drilling a pointed stick round and round in a hole in a piece of wood and render '*shastras*' by saying to the god, "let all be well and prosper"⁹³.

Their tribal priests of the temples are known as *Devadis*. The tenure is hereditary. There are two to a village, one called Devadi, whose office is hereditary. He may appoint another but both do not live in the temple. They cook food during the festival of Kamataraya, and distribute it to the householders. During that occasion, they sow the first handfuls of grain, and make the first homageto the deceased souls. The Devadi is liable to be possessed by the deity. Occasionally a Kota is possessed by a spirit, which is considered to be a deity. They also have various festivals and ceremonies such as Nambi festivals, pacification of the soul of the dead, harvest festival and Aiyanoor and Ammanoor festivals. Though the Kotas belong to a non-vegetarian tribe, they do not offer animal sacrifices to their deities. Instead, they offer flowers, fruits and milk⁹⁴.

The Kota society is a partilineage descent group which automatically affiliates a child at birth through his male ancestors. They are ritual musicians to almost ethnic groups of Nilagiris. Instrumental tunes, *kolare* performed on the ceremonies of lifecycle and communal rituals. They have a stock of music and dance for funerals as well as for temple rituals⁹⁵. Each is characterized by broad stylistic features and is to a greater extent contextual and singular (piece by piece). Within each repertoire, a particular tune may be associated with a particular action (in a funeral, for example, one tune is associated with lifting and carrying the pedestal to the cremation ground)⁹⁶. In general, the ways in which the structure of instrumental melodies co-articulates with ritual structures can be analyzed as a system of indigenous classification⁹⁷.

The Kurumbas

The Kurumba is another ethnic group that lives in the dese Nilagiris on its lower slopes. They live in villages called Mottas or 'Kombais'. The Kurumbas are very poor, being generally improvident and idle. They keep shifting between a few rudely cultivated patches of ground on the lowest parts of Coonoorghat. Several families of them have small plantations of plantain and jackfruit trees by which they support themselves⁹⁸. Their main occupation is collection and sale of forest produces in the markets. Though they are known as Kurumbas, Kurumbar, and Kurumban prefer to be called askurumbas⁹⁹. They are divided into *bigasor* families and they do not intermarry. In Kerala, they are called as *KurumbaPuliyans*, *Mala Puliyans*, and *Pamba Puliyans*. The Kurumbas believe that they are descendants of Pallavas of

south who rose to their zenith in seventh century, lost their power to the rulers of Kongu, Cola and Calukya lineages. Since then the Kurumbas got scattered everywhere and many fled to Mysore; they became proficient in blanket making and sheep/goat rearing¹⁰⁰. They are the shepherds. The Kruumbas are of *Alu kurumbas*, *Mudugas*, *Betta kurumbas*, *Jenu kurumbas*, *Mullu kurumba* and *Uralikurumbas* the *AluKurumba* speak their own dialect called as Kurumbabashe, Jenukurumbas, and *Bettakurumbas* speak Kannada dialect, whereas *Mullu Kurumbas* speak Malayalam as their mother tongue¹⁰¹. The Kurumba settlement is known a *mottam*, representing a cluster of 15 to 20 houses or hunts in small hamlets. The *Mullu Kurumbas* follow the matrilineal rule of inheritance and succession. The *kurumbas* were hunters traditionally, shifting cultivators, effective sorcerers but now they have accepted variety of income generative economic activities¹⁰². They have a tribal council and a headman who presides over it. They were animists, and worship different god and goddesses under small shrines inside the forest. The Kurumbas worship anundressed round stone in the name of ‘Hiriadeva’. They set-up Hiriadeva in a cave and it is considered as Kurumba Kovil (temple). They also worship Kuriabhataraya, lord of many sheeps. Kurumbas sacrifice a goat and few fowls to him. Besides three caste deities are also worshipped namely ‘Kallatha, Aim Billi and Kadu Billala Only the *Alu kurumbas* have inter-ethnic relationship with Todas, Kotas, and Badagas. Jenu Kurumbas and Betta Kurumbas both speak Kannada as their mother tongue live in their settlement as neighbor and both have very good relationship with wild life and forest produce. *Jenu Kurumbas* are experts in collecting wild honey and *Betta Kurumbas* are experts in taming elephants. They even share the same territory for economic activities. They share and divide the territory for forest produce collection and in marketing their collected goods. They maintain ritualistic distance. *Jenu* and *Bettakurumbas* have their own priests but not worship the same gods and goddesses. Outsiders observing the cultures of the two communities think that, there are no differences between them and is in fact one tribal community. Perhaps more important is the nature of social intercourse. Kurumbas are often called from their jungle homes to Minister to Kotas and Badagas in their issues¹⁰³.

The Irulas

The name, ‘Irula’ is supposed to be derived from Tamil word *irul* which means ‘darkness’ which may refer to their colour the skin or untamed people living in

the dense forests. They live on the lower slopes of hills. Their villages are called 'Padi'. Irulas cultivate patches of dry grains. Besides, they collect forest products and exchange them with other tribes¹⁰⁴. They live in southern part of India in the states of Tamilnadu, Kerala, and Karnataka¹⁰⁵. They also called *Erlar* or *Pooosari*, while their neighbors refer to them as *Eralollu*, *Irulas*, *Shikari* and *Poojari*.

Thurston mentioned the *Kasuva* or *kasubaas* a sub caste of Irula. In Tamilnadu, they are settled in the Nilgiri, Coimbatore, South Arcot and North Arcot districts. Though the typical Irula is dark skinned and Platyrrhine(broad nose), possessed skins of markedly paler hue, and leptorrhine noses. The language of the Irulas is a corrupt form of Tamil. The Irulas will not eat the flesh of buffaloes or cattle, but will eat sheep and goat, field rats, fowls, deer, pig hares, jungle fowl, pigeons and quail. Irulas of Chengleput, North Arcot and South Arcot as Irulas or *Villains* (bowmen), who have settled in the town of Chengleput, about fifty miles distance from Madras, have attained to a higher degree of civilization than the jungle Irulas of Nilgiris, and defined, in the census report 1901, as a 'encultured forest tribe, who speak a corrupt Tamil'¹⁰⁶.

The Irulas are divided into northern and southern branches. The former are known as *Mudumas* and the latter as *Kasuvass*. The southern Irulas are: *Vette Kadu Irulas*, *Bette kaduuri Irulas*. The northern Irulas are called *Mele Nadu Irulas*. Like Kurumbas they live in *mottos* on the slopes and at the base of the hills. Round about their houses they cultivate a patch of land, scratching the soil with a hoe and sowing *tenneragi*, or kire, holding in some cases *pattas* from government. They pay no *gudi* to the Todas. Sometimes, Irulas and Kurumbas live together in one *motta*, and their habits of life are identical¹⁰⁷.

The Irulas are patrilineal and their rule of residence is patrilocal and neolocal. The whole Irula community is divided into twelve clans, *Kulas* according to. Of course, not all the 'Kulas' are found in the same village. At present, the Irulas of the Nilgiris follow seven 'Kulas'. These 'Kulas' are known by the place of original inhabitation and they are associated with a particular deity such as 1. Poongkaru, 2. Kudagar 3. Kalkatti 4. Venaka 5. Denaala 6. Koppilingam 7. Samba¹⁰⁸. The Nilgiri Irulas are further subdivided into smaller 'Kulas', for example, Samba Kula has its subdivisions as Alumala Samba and Buthanatha Samba. Uppiliga Kula has Ankapura Uppiliga and Mamanalia Uppiliga etc. However, family is the basic unit of

the Organisation. For practical reasons 'Kula' takes important place. Clans are a form of social stratification and Irula tribe is organized on an endogamous alliance system. This decides the individual's status in the social stratification. Each clan has their own specific role to play in every birth or marriage ceremony, and this duty, which is also considered a right, is specifically assigned to that particular clan. Among the Irulas, marriage is not merely a relationship between two individuals or families but it indicates a contract between two 'Kulas'. People belonging to different 'Kula' live in different villages. Not all the 'Kulas' are found in the same village. They follow monogamy. The other informal group existed in an Irula village are 'Pundar' which constituted unmarried men and women who are called 'Pundas' and 'Pundicii'. This group is appointed for doing certain jobs during temple festivals and some other auspicious occasion. There are a number of Irula hamlets on the Nilgiris¹⁰⁹.

Irula Ur or motta consist of several bamboo huts placed far away from each other amidst the forest. These bamboo huts are plastered with mud and generally, it is built in a square. Each house has two rooms partitioned with a set of woven bamboo sticks. The roof is thatched with forest grass. These huts need to be rethatched every year. The 'mottas' are scattered on the northern and southern slopes of the hills, the inhabitants of these 'mottas' lead a hard life especially due to the severity of the monsoon, and even more, they stay isolated from the mainstream. "The huts are very small, but tolerably neat. On the hills, the '*Iriligaru*' the Irula have small villages"¹¹⁰

Each *motta* has a burial ground. They put in the ground with the body the cloth commonly worn by deceased, and some rice, and with a rich man, sometimes an axe. They have no commemorative ceremony¹¹¹. They frequently attend the market, and barter jungle produce for salt, tobacco, and cloths, etc. The walls of their houses are made of split bamboos. They possess all the musical instruments known on the hills, except the Kota horn, and amongst themselves, they dance to the sound of the clarinet and drum as vigorously as any of the other tribes; but unlike the Kurumbas, they do not attend and play at the Toda or Badaga Ceremonies. The Irulas belong to the *Vedarsor* hunting people. They seem to have been the most important of the wild tribes. Their language is a dialect of Tamil¹¹². The Irulas are the followers of Lord Vishnu otherwise known as God Rangaswamy. Every year they celebrate the annual festival of Rangaswamy. On the top of the Rangaswamy peak near Kotagiri, they have two temples consisting of circles of rough stone, the larger temple called

‘Dodda’-great, and a smaller called ‘Chikka’, little, of lord Rangaswamy. In all the Irula temples, there is a winnow or fan, which they call ‘Mari’ and two rude stones, which they called ‘Masahni and KonadiMari’¹¹³. An Irula priest lives near the temple. He rings bell when he prays to the Gods. He invokes God by blowing a conch and beating a drum. The Irulas offer one goat and three cocks to their deities as sacrifice. In addition, Irula priest lives near the temples. He rings a bell while performing *Puja* to the gods. He wears the Vishnu mark on his forehead. His office is hereditary, and he is remunerated by offerings of fruit and milk from Irula worshippers. Every year during the time sowing a big ritual takes place and Badagas participate in this ritual festival. They bring plantains and milk as offerings to propitiate the Irula god.¹¹⁴ Here animal sacrifices are conducted.

The Paniyas

The term Paniyan may have been derived from the word ‘*pani*’ meaning work and the term mean the workers, as opposed to the proprietors. The Paniyan speak Malayalam among them and uses the same language of inter group communication. The script used for writing is Malayalam. The Paniyan are dark skinned, longheaded people of short stature with wavy or curly hair and show a broad nose form.¹¹⁵ Though they work as slaves or labourers to some high caste people, they live almost a jungle life as they are living away from the main stream population. The Paniyas has two sub-divisions according to their dwelling pattern. Paniyas of the plain land have contact with their own tribal people living in interior forests. The latter group is mainly found in Nilambur forests of Malappuram district. The Paniyans do not have broad sub-groups or internal subdivisions. They do not use any surname or title to their names. The Paniyans of regions consider themselves as higher in rank than the other tribes like Kurumbas and Kattunayakans of Nilgiri district. They followed endogamy marriage system; the Paniyas have matrilineal descent groups called *Illamor kulam*. They are followed unilateral descent, which, is referred as unilineal descent that is traced unilaterally through the mother, thus the rule of descent becomes matrilineal. Though monogamy is the most common in marriage there is no restriction for polygamy, but no Polyandry occurs. The bride price *arupthinalikanam* of 64 rupees is to be paid by the groom along with 1 *pothior* 40 kgs of paddy. Divorce is permissible in the Paniyans society due to incompatibility, adultery, and even of carelessness or little love.¹¹⁶ After the divorce declaration in the *kottani*, children are

of liability of father; if the children are below the age of 3, then up to 5 years of age, divorced mother has to keep her children and afterwards, children will shift to their father's house, though he is living with other wife.

The Paniyas worship Kuzhiyan, Kali, and Tamburatti, and Sivan. They believe in supernatural beings. They constructed many temples and shrines, for their spirits of the deceased ancestors, and for their non-human spirits, consisting of layers of stones under trees.

The Kattunayakans

The term Kattunayakans has been derived from the words *kadu* meaning forest and *nayakas*, meaning leader of headman¹¹⁷. The *Kattunayakan* or *KattuNaickan* exist in different states of South India who were categorized as primitive tribe because of their backwardness.¹¹⁸ Their socio-economic activities are closely knitted with the forest life.

While describing the social activities of the Kattunayakans, the informant, Nurit Bird-David held¹¹⁹ that the adult residents of one hamlet are not seen gathered together for the spatial distribution of huts in the hamlet and the subsistence pattern of their life don't demand such call for it. However, in the evening, after food, the couples warm themselves near their respective fires. In night times, the members in a nuclear family huddled on mat near their fire. The couples go to the forests independently and are sometimes accompanied by young children. Old people, pregnant women, new mothers and those who do not go to forest on that day remain in the hamlet. The spatial organization of the family is interesting. Individual and couples sit at a considerable distance from each other, facing different directions. They never gossip with each other.

The males of Kattunayakas suffix their community name *Nayakan* and consider the neighbouring tribes, Paniyans, Mullu Kurumbas, Betta Kurumbas, and Jenu Kurumbas as inferior to their clan. They are not connected to Kattunayakas of plain villages. The tribe is divided into three clans. They are: Karungali 2. Kuliagali and Kaligali. They never marry within their clan. All the members of the Karungali clan are brothers and hence, they can marry the Kuliagali or Kaligali clan.¹²⁰

Kattunayakans are semi-animists. They propitiate in open-air places without shelter or shade and worship untouched stones kept in a place. They worship Those

Deivamane and its adorers were made as the priests known as *deivapoojari*. They construct four wall around the goddess, cover it with thatched roof and call it as *deivabhadragudi*.¹²¹ The head of the tribal council decide sacred places of worship pattern of the gods and goddesses.¹²² The headmen will also act as medicine men. The headmen along with priests and some Kattunayakas together can do black magic by using peacock eggs, dry nuts, porcupine stings and the black rabbit. Some also utter chants to invoke and invite spirits for operating sorcery.¹²³ They celebrate their communal ritual festival Adiyantiramjatre in the month of March-April.¹²⁴ Further they observe Onam, Sankranthi etc., as that of the people in their respective states.

All these groups along with Badagas, survive on Nilagiris in reciprocity of relationships, atleast symbolically till date.

Section III

Reciprocity of Relationships among the ethnic groups of Nilagiris

Owing to the geographical isolation of Nilagiris situated in deep dense forests of Western Ghats, the its major ethnic groups viz: Toda, Kota Kuruba, Badaga and the Kurubas were not much exposed to the mainstream population on the plains except for few exchanges with them on the occasions of fairs and markets organized periodically. After the Britishers found Nilagiri as a congenial place for their summer stay as well as a site to establish their hegemony in the Western Ghats, they built a road way to the hill top and constructed there a hill station. Since then there was a brisk movement of populace from hill top to the plains and vice versa for different purposes. The biodiversity of the Nilgiris emerged these ethnic groups with different identities that get reflected in their lifestyle patterns –economy, religion, kinship relations, exchange, customary law etc. But all these groups sustain basing on the norms of reciprocity of relationships in their folklife¹²⁵.

The Todas are pastoralists and the Badagas are agriculturalists. While the Kotas are artisans, the Kurumbas are food gatherers and sorcerers. The services of Kurumbas utilised to minister the Kotas and Badagas. Their magico-religious services are crucial to these groups. They deployed the services of Kurumbas in these activities. However Kurumba is not allowed within the home confines for they were

feared by the populace for their magico- religious practices. Badaga folktales and proverbs refer to the mischievous nature of Kurumbas in their dealings with them. While Badagas wear turbans, Kotas do not. If any Kota put on a turban, Badaga feels that Kotas are excelling them in hierarchy. They consider it as an offence and beat the Kotas and condemn such practice in future with punishment. Though the Kota musicians perform in the rituals of Todas, the latter purify their cattle sheds if the former comenearer and perform a purificatory ritual to ward off evils. Their entry is prohibited beyond that no obligation is being maintained with them. The Badagas, who are Hindu agriculturalists and possibly earlier migrants from the Vijayanagar Empire (Mysore) some 450 years ago¹²⁶, supplied grains, cloth, salt, sugar and even opium to the tribal groups in return for items the Badagas did not procure themselves. The pastoralist, Todas whose economic and religious interests centered on their Buffalo herds, supplied milk and dairy products. Their presence was considered necessary at certain Badaga and Kota ceremonies. The Kotas who were the principal artisans and musicians, provided tools, leather work, pottery and other farm- and household implements. The forest-dwelling Kurumbas and Irulas both provided various jungle produces, with the Kurumbas also providing magical and ritual services. While the exchange system has often been described as 'symbiotic', the Badagas - being of far superior numbers and possessing greater wealth not to mention the agricultural productive capacity for the increase of both - occupied the most influential role in the exchange system. Their influence is indicated perhaps, by the predominance of their language, *Badagu*, throughout the Nilgiris.

The Kurumbas¹²⁷ were foragers and food-gatherers mostly residing in the southern and eastern part of the Nilgiris. Their dwelling-place, as the name Kurumba, meaning 'jungle-dweller' in Badagu suggests, is typically in isolated jungle areas. Previous accounts describe them hunting and snaring birds, mammals and fish and gathering wild foods from the jungle¹²⁸. In the exchange of goods and services between tribes, the Kurumbas had closest ties with the Badaga. Kurumba settlements were often located close to Badaga communes, where they provided medicine and sorcery, together with forest produce and woven products (baskets, brooms). This exchange exhibited a defined set of mutual obligations. According to Kapp and Hockings, "Kurumbas are expected to supply the Badaga commune with three baskets ... cane or reeds."¹²⁹ In return, the Badaga would often give the Kurumba salt, coarse

sugar, cloth and grain, the latter grown on fields upon which the Kurumbas themselves were often expected to work. The Kurumba males might also be expected to serve as watchmen for a Badaga commune, performing both guard duties against malign sorcery and occasionally curing Badagas ailments¹³⁰. For these reasons, Kurumbas were considered ‘associates’ of the Badaga, although some consider bonded-labour a more accurate term.

Particularly renowned for their sorcery, the Kurumbas, many Badagas believe to be the most effective of all South Indian sorcerers: “he can kill people as a distance with a spell, can secretly remove internal organs from the living, can rape women without their knowledge, can enter a locked door and can change into an insect or any sort of mammal”¹³¹. As a result Kurumbas were often held in fear and suspicion by neighbouring tribes. Early descriptions refer to the Kurumbas as having little or no intercourse with the more civilised inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The latter indeed prefer to keep them at a distance from their houses, as they stand in considerable dread of them, looking upon them as sorcerers or mischievous people, whom it is unlucky even to meet. If they suspect a Kadu Kurumba of having brought about illness or any mishap by his spells, they punish him severely, sometimes even putting him to death¹³². Fear of the Kurumbas thus by no means prevented them from attacks by other tribals and references to the Kurumbas are often replete with accounts of Badaga and Kota attacks on individual Kurumba families, which continued as late as the beginning of this century¹³³. Irula are found mainly in the southern and eastern slopes of the Nilgiris. They are generally considered to have drifted to the Nilgiris from the hilly terrain of Kerala to the West and Coimbatore to the south. The most numerous of tribal groups today, numbering roughly 6-7 000 the forest-dwelling Irula are considered to have led a primarily hunter-gatherer way of life thought by some¹³⁴ to have continued until the middle of this century; although, for many Irulas this had been complemented by a degree of wage-labour since the latter part of the 1800s¹³⁵. They are still well-versed in the art of foraging from which a good portion of their sustenance is derived.

Badaga- Kasuva Relationships

The Kasuvas were pastoralists. By taking advantage of temperate grasslands the Badagas established dairy temples like that of Todas and obtained economic gains not only by appointing Kasuvas for services but appropriated grazing lands

situated in tropical savanna woodlands, bamboo thickets, thorny thickets, and related savannas of the Mysore ditch covering present Gudalur area. After the Badagas migrated to the hilltops of the Todanadu (Ooty region), their association with the Todas as well as the Kasuvas made them to start dairy temples, the communal and sacred milk gathering places for the The Todas and appropriate their services in this process. Interestingly, the dairy temples for the Todas are only communal and highly sacred which can hardly be alienated from their settlement. They don't have domestic dairy temples. Though Badagas adapted to the practice of Dairy temples from the Todas, except for Gudalur area, every household has its domestic sacred dairy temples. They established dairy temples at Bergani (present Kotagiri region) and Kasuva-Badaga livestock centres in Mysore ditch regions.

The Sacred Dairy Temple center at Bergani

Badagas maintained a sacred buffalo herd at the Bergani (presently Koatagiri) dairy-temple center wherein the goddess Masthi Hethai was revered. It has a building with an inner dairy temple at the centre along with quarters for priest and shelter for the calves and rooms to shelter buffalo calves. There are several buffalo pens situated nearby. There is provision for the pilgrims to stay when they visit this building. Inside it is a sacred room; a Chetty weaves annually new clothing for the goddess's image and the priest. There is provision for cooking hundreds of pilgrims who visit the temple on the occasion of annual rituals. The dairy temples are supported by gifts in the form of buffaloes donated by the devotees. Before a week before the festival, the buffaloes were donated to the young priest who should take care of them for grazing, milking and preparation of clarified butter. This butler is meant to light the sacred lamps in the dairy temples and other sacred festivities. Any Badga male can go and visit the temple and can have buttermilk, but women are not allowed to enter the temple dairy compels for they are considered as polluted. Women from neighbouring Bergani hamlet come and stand at some distance and have buttermilk. The priest can also have buttermilk from processed sacred milk is also drunk by the priest. The priest is not supposed to eat non-vegetarian food and he will be furnished by the groceries and vegetables by the devotees or neighbouring Bergani Badagas.

An agricultural festival honoring Masthi Hethai takes place on a Monday in mid-January. Badaga males from all over the Nilgiris come with their Hethai sticks to worship the goddess. Women stand at a distance. Men and women put on white new

clothing. They should not carry anything made of leather, and should not eat meat during course of the festival. At the end of the festival two priests possessed by the goddss would predict the yield s in the ensuing crop season (*karbokam*) and bless some that their wives would get conceived soon. Thus the routine and season ritual festivals at Bergani are thus parts of a fertility cult related to the Badaga's economy and future prosperity.

Badaga hundis

The Badagas maintained seasonal center, known as *hundis* to graze their cattle with the help of Kasuvas. The *hundis* is located on western upper Nilgiri grasslands are inhabited while buffaloes and cattle are herded eastward in May or June. During the times of the British regime, more Badaga *hundis* prevailed than to day. The Badagas using the hundis should not only obtain permission from Madras Forest Department and also pay a basic fee of Rs.2.50, addition fee of 50 *paisa* for buffalo and 25 *paisa* per cattle herd for three months. Since the government wants to discourage the practice of opening *hundis*, for they found Badagas trespassing the law.

Bhavani Hundi, of Badagas built in 1963 on terrain situated more in grasslands than shola where there were no trees planted. The cattle-pen is bound by steep slopes down to two streams, a piled stone wall, and a bough barricade. The dwelling-hut has a low sleeping level, the necessary churn-pole for processing milk, and a fireplace set in a low platform. Five calf-huts surround the dwelling-hut. There exists a separate calf-pen. The entirehuts have thatched roofs and the walls were constructed with posts placed next to each other. Kinkara Hundidated to the sametime is situated near the Bhavani Hundi. In its vicinity a stream flows and next to it there existed a vast extensive shola land.

The Livestock centers of Badaga-Kasuvas

The Badagas employ Kasuvas of Mysore Ditch between the Nilgiri ridges and Moyar river basin to work as the herders of their livestock and also to plough their dry crops fields with hoes and plows. They work at periodical intervals. Badagas from the upper Nilgiris comes there to to visit their livestock. Badaga families do not come down, but entire Kasuvas with their families live with the livestock centers. Badagas pay Kasuvas for their services with .cash and in kind Kasuvas represent an offshoot of

Irulas and are treated as lower in social hierarchy. However, Kasuvas take more care of Badaga in savanna woodlands than on open grasslands. Other centers are situated amidst bamboo and thorny tracts wherein there is abundant fodder as well as shade to relax for the animals and the herders. Pens and dwellings were constructed side by side using bamboo and thatched roofs. In the dwelling places provision was made for the process of clarifying butter and also space for fire places to cook. To one side of the central section there is a sleeping room and to the other a calf room, but additional calf rooms may be built into the dwelling at either or both ends. Kasuvas also live in dwellings varying from the one generally associated with livestock centers. Badagas exchange cash and kind (the agricultural products) to the Kasuvas for utilizing their services to look after their cattle. Livestock centers in the Mysore Ditch are function throughout the year. They are also meant for cattle breeding. The livestock is always moving up and down in search of fodder. The buttermilk is appropriated by the Kasuvas but the clarified butter is being taken away by the Badagas.

Badagas and Kotas of Upper Nilagiris

Kotas served as the artisans to the residents of the Nilagiris during the megalithic times. They claim that they were living in the Nilagiris even before the entry of Badagas in to that Land and those they helped the latter when migrated to their region. It appeared that the agricultural artisans Kotas and pastoral Todas and the emigrant agriculturists Badagas were primarily tied by economic relationships through exchange of services and later the ties were made customary and obligatory for their mutual sustenance and for each carving their distinctive way of life style. To varying degrees, members of all five groups build their dwellings in rows. When the functional arrangement amongst the Toda, Kota, and Badagas are studied their agricultural practices viz: shifting/ slash-burn agriculture, use of plows, sustenance on millets, cereals, vegetables from kitchen gardens through barter system of exchange are similar before the advent of the Britishers.. Later, the Badagas appropriated advanced techniques in the agricultural and augmentation of dry and wet lands and monsoons and began to produce commercial crops introduced by westerners. But, the Kotas derive their resources by taking to the professions of basketry, blacksmithing, carpentry, hide curing, pot making, and the playing of music. Such lifestyle ranked their low hierarchy amongst their ethnic groups.

Intertribal relations among Kota-Toda-Badagas

The Todas were credited with the power to drive away the devils by treatment with herbs, and that devils are still cast out of Todas who are possessed with devils by certain Badaga and Hindu exorcists. They treat mild cases of sickness with herbs, and a red stone purchased in the Ootacamund bazar. Whenever a Todas meets a Badagas, they bend down as a token of their respect. The Badaga place his hand upon the head of the Toda reflecting his superiority by endowing his blessings upon him. The Todas believe that their tribe has always dwelt on the Nilgiris, and that the other tribes came up later from the plains. It is supported by a myth constructed on their tutelary deity Kamataraya and Kalikai, the incarnations of Siva and Parvati. The Kotas believe that Kamataraya created the Kotas, Todas, and Kurumbas, but not the Irulas. They hold that Kamataraya that, perspired profusely on his forehead. When he wiped his forehead, three sweat drops fell on the earth, three hill tribes; Todas, Kurumbas and Kotas got emerged out of them. The Todas were told to live principally upon milk, the Kurumbas were to eat flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas were given choice to select their food and informed that they may eat carrion if they could get nothing better¹³⁶. When the Badagas arrived on the hills, they put under cultivation land which previously belonged to the Todas who held that they were the original habitants of Nilagiris. As 'compensation allowance,' the Badagas give grain of various kinds (*gudu*) to the Todas in proportion to the abundance of the crop, only objecting, it is said, to do so when the crop is short. But there is reason to believe that the Badaga is not inclined to give as freely at the present day as in times gone by, and the Toda is commencing to be thrown on his own resources as a means of gaining the equivalent of his daily bread.

Thurston quotes an incident of murder of a Toda on the pretext that he had executed sorcery/witchcraft upon a little Badaga girl. It is also said that the Badagas revenged upon Toda fellow for the death of the girl suspected for sorcery when he came to Badaga village to collect their tribute. When a Toda meets a Kota, the latter kneels and raises the feet of the Toda to his head. From the Kotas the Todas acquire their iron implements (axes, mamutis, knives, &c.) and earthenware utensils. No payment in money is made, but, when a buffalo dies, the Kotas, who are eaters of carrion, are rewarded with the flesh, hide and horns. The Kotas supply the band at Toda tamashas, e.g., green and dry funerals; the musician's being paid in buffaloes

and rice. When a Toda meets a Kurumbar, the latter bends forward, and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumbar's head. The Todas and Kurumbars are not on good terms, and the Todas are afraid of them, because they are believed to be sorcerers, and to possess the power of casting the evil eye on 'them, and making them fall_sick_or die. The Kurumbars, when they come up to the plateau to get grain from the Badagas, apparently levy black mail on the Todas, and, if they demand money or buffaloes, the Todas dare not refuse to disgorge.

Though all classes look down on the Kotas are considered as excellent artisans, whose services as blacksmiths, carpenters, rope and umbrella makers, etc., are indispensable to the other hill tribes. Todas believe that the Kotas are a caste of artisans specially brought up from the plains to work for them. Each Toda, Irula, Kurumba, and Badaga settlement has its *Muttu* Kotas, who work for the inhabitants thereof, and supply them with sundry articles called muttu in return for the carcasses of buffaloes and cattle, *ney* (clarified butter), grain, and plantains. The Kotas eat the flesh of the buffaloes and cattle which they receive, and sell the horns to Labbi (Muhamadan) merchants from the plains. Chucklers (boot makers) from the plains collect the bones (which the Kotas might utilise as a source of income), and purchase the hides, which are roughly cured by the Kotas with *cliundm* (lime) and *dvaram* bark (*Cassia auriculata*), and fastened to the ground with pegs to dry. The Kota blacksmiths, who are skilled workmen, make hatchets, bill-hooks, knives, and other implements for the various hill tribes, especially the Badagas, and at times for Hindus ' and Europeans. "Within the memory of men still living they used to work with iron-ore brought up from the plains, but now depend on scrap-iron which they purchase locally in the bazar. The most flourishing smithy in the Kotagiri village is made of brick, of local manufacture, roofed with zinc, and fitted with appliances (anvil, pincers, &c.), of European manufacture. As agriculturists the Kotas are said to be quite on a par with the Badagas. Adjacent to their villages, they cultivated extensively the crops of potatoes, bearded wheat, *kirai* (amaranth), *samai* (*Panicum miliare*), *korali* (*Setaria italica*), mustard, onions, etc. Formerly, opium of good quality was cultivated by the Badagas, from whom the Kotas got poppy-heads, are used for medicinal purposes. Now-a-days, however, the Kotas purchased opium in the *shandis* and used it as an intoxicant.

Influence of Britshers on thereciprocal relationships

The former subsistence crop of the Badagas, millet, is being replaced by a cash crop, potatoes. There was a need to purchase imported agricultural implements to cultivate English vegetables and cash crops. Such change in economy endangered the economic base of the Kotas as they werethe traditional artisans who manufactured tools for agriculture and other domestic paraphernalia.The Badagas, however, have been deeply affected by the opening of the area for Brtishers. They were culturally linked to the caste society of Karnataka. Badagas renewed relationships caste society made them to give up old traits and adopt new practices. The Badagas consider the Kotas who are their musicians as very low. Hence many Badagas want to eliminate Kota music in their ritual performances. Some traditional Badagas found it detrimental to life in Nilagirs if they giveup old ties and so refused give up old tradtion with the Kota. This conflict has crystallized factional differences, and a fight between the pro-music and the anti-music party recently led to several Badaga deaths. It is the beginning of conflict among the people in Nilagiris on the issues of tradition, change and continuity. At this juncture, the interference of British influenced the relationships among the inhabitants of Nilagiris.Especially Badagas, being the prosperous agriculturalists, got hold on the hilltops for they could adopt the changes in economy and contributed for the undisturbed hegemony of British. Further, they could maneaover the local tribes by their involvement in the tribal life in the name of reciprocity.On the otherhand the English encouraged the other native tribe Todas. Their pastures lands were protected from encroachment and sale as they were governed by forest laws. At the same time Toda's ritual life which is connected with the dairies and pastures got affected. It is because the establishment of British stations at the places likes Wellington alienated the dairies from the ritual sphere which made the tribe to move away into the pastures because for them dairy and temple cannot be alienated.

With regard to Kotas, the interference of the British was not that much influential as that of Badagas. Unlike the Badagas, they are less connected to the natives of plains as they were situated in the hilltiop a little interior into the forests. Though the entry of British influenced their traditional economic relations, they compensated this loss by resorting back to cultivation. They maintained traditional exchange relations with toda, Kurumba and some Badaga groups. The Kotas still are

smiths, and the smithy plays significant role in social and religious life Nilagiris to larger a extent. In tribal fields millets and barley are being replaced by Tea, potato, carrot and English vegetables. Traditional dwellings were replaced by tiled roofs. Ancient tribal attire was chaged by tailored dresses. These changes did not affected the core of their lives.

The Kota life at Kotagiri got disturbed when its villagers were asked to use toilets constructed by British keeping in view the health and sanitation of people in around. The government built two two latrines, one for males, one for females, and the ordered the Kotas to use them. In Kotagiri bungalows were built around the village along with Police station, bazaars, English hotels, etc.,.A council of Kotas was held in this regard and it was decided that to should abandon the settlement. The evacuation of village was decided because the smell of new institution would offend the sensibilities of the village deities and ritual life.The Kotas divide into two groups and each group built a temple at two different places. In this context, two tribal deities got separated and its followerswho settled in two different places built two templesone kilometer away from one another. Shifting of of goddesses is a rare event in tribal histories and memories.As the verdict of the government appeared to be the final with regard to the temples and worship, the power and prestige of the priests got offended.

There are several significant changes in the traditional life of the people in Nilagiris. The old structure of Badaga society got changed by the advent of the English because of their readiness to accept and internalize the shifts in the life style patterns that occur across their course of journey.

Major changes occurred in Nilagiris with the advent of Britishers during 1820s. They considered the land as (i)an area for the rehabilitation of British soldiers (ii) a cool retreat in hot summer and (iii) an ideal climate and environment for tea plantation. The growth of tea plantations necessitated the migration of workers from Tamil and Kerala states which in fluenced the inhabitants of Nilagiris. The population of Badagas who were dominant in the Nilagiris till then began to get reduced and so they had to either compete with the changes or to or become subservient. They determined to take it as a challenge and switched to potato cultivation by min imizing the millet and grain production. This change influence their relationships with the native tribal groups of Nilagiris.

Table No.12. Population changes in the Nilgiris from 1871 – 1981¹³⁷

Ethnic Group ¹³⁸	1871	1981
Badagas	19,476	146,000
Irulas ¹³⁹	1,470	5,900-7,045
Kurumbas ¹⁴⁰	3,966 ((Alu K.: 613)	4,874 (Alu K.: 1,174)
Todas	693	1400
Kotas ¹⁴¹	1,112	832
Four 'original' tribes ¹⁴²	25,247	153,106
Immigrants ¹⁴³	27,707	630,169

The barter and the customary obligations that underpin it were reduced and restricted to exchange between certain individuals rather than families or communities as a whole¹⁴⁴. It affected other relationships. Forest produce was awarded in cash rather than kind (grains, clothes), and Kurumbas and Irula increasingly found themselves working for wages on Badaga fields. The Badaga agricultural productions got commodified and the tribals were compelled to go on wages for purchasing their needs. The commodification process was accelerated by the raise of revenues from the Nilagiris. Kurumba and Irulas got confined to the slopes of forest valleys. Since they are semi-nomadic, the concept of land purchase and ownership were beyond their worldview. It resulted the loss of their rights over considerable areas to the expanding tea industry¹⁴⁵ under the patronage of Britishers and support of middlemen like the immigrant Badagas and local Rajas. The life of the hunter-gatherer community got pushed into deeper forests as the deforestation was done for the sake of tea plantations. Their economic base was disturbed by prohibiting slash-and-burn agriculture and restricting hunting in the forests.

At this juncture, after independence, after the British left India, most of the Badagas taking jobs in British households and offices claimed ownerships over their properties and large plantations. The Badagas emerged as prosperous community because several people got shifted to tea and coffee productions and left garden cultivation. The Irulas and Kurumbas tribes affiliated with Badagas in their activities began to imitate their life styles. They reduced to rely on the forest produces and resort to the rice and other food of the plains. Both these tribes engage in wage-labour usually between three to four days per week work for nearby Badaga landowners. Improved transportation facilitated the middlemen and money lenders to enter the

tribal villages for buying forest produces and exotic art and craft pieces at minimal rates in exchange of liquor.

From the above discussion it can be surmised that the Badagas who were originally an off-shoot of the agriculturalist community, the Okkaligas of southern Karnataka region got migrated to the foot hills of Nilagiris due to socio-historical reasons like famine and muslim threats during the sixteenth century. After leading the life of the hunter and gatherer and hoe-agriculturist, a few of the Badaga families having established contact with the local Tribes like todas, who were also semi agriculurists besides being he pastoralists, moved up to the hilltop of Nilagiris. From thence they spread over the then territories-Thodhanadu, Mekkunadu, Kundenadu and Poranganadu and got consolidated into six culturally hierarchised sects, *Woodaya, Haruva, Adhikari, Kanakka, Gowda or Badaga* and *Toreya*¹⁴⁶. The entry of Badagas on to the hills as cited above is by paying nominal tax to the Todas as a token of seeking the permission of the local tribes to be there as an immigrant. Their entrepreneurship as agriculturists who could manage the pits and hinges of environment appropriated different landscapes of Nilagiris and could emerge as a dominant peasant group by adopting different techniques of cultivation from hoe to highly mechanized production of tea and coffee in the Nilagiri hills. They cultivated a variety of agricultural products from millets to that of commercial crops –potato, cabbage and other English vegetables- and a variety of gardens. In the process of establishing their dominance, the Badagas constructed reciprocity of relationships with the local tribals –Toda, Kurumba, Kota, Irula, Kattunayaka, Paniya and Toreya interms cash or kindin terms of commodities and services. It formed a network of relationships between the Badagas and the tribals of Nilagiris. Such understading leads to their mutual sustenance and peaceful co-existence without much disturbing the the land and environment of the Nilagirls.all these tribes aalong with Badagas settle on Nilagiris in different altitudes and sustains on water resources that can be appropriated by them for different patterns of subsistence, like hunting gathering, slash and burn agriculture, pastoralism, agriculture etc.

The advent and policies of British onto the Nilagiris influenced the ecology of land and life of the nativetribes as well as the immigrat Badagas. The civil constructions, forest policies and health/sanitation measures offended the practices

and belief system of the natives which made the tribes like Kurumbas, Irulas to recede into forests. But the Badagas got benefit out of the British for they could keep pace with the shifts in agricultural economy. They shifted from hoe to dry, wet and garden cultivation and agricultural produces from life sustaining crops like millets, beans, amaranth etc., to commercial crops like potato, carrot, and other English vegetables and highly commercial plantations of tea and coffee plantation. During the hey day of Tea plantation in Nilagiris, Badagas fame reached in the international market as dynamic and dominant peasant group in south India. Though the caste of the Badagas is controversial in academics, as discussed in the second chapter, they were peasants practicing dry land millet producing group from southern Karnataka. They are not tribals. But, they tribalized their identities by practicing primitive subsistence patterns- hunting, gathering, cattle rearing, hoe agriculture – and imitating tribal practices like tattooing. It was a strategy to identify themselves with the natives as sons of the soil to claim ethnic identity. Despite all these, Badaga social organization, kinship rules, hierarchisation of community into sects basing on profession and dietary habits, self-mangery and selfregulatory mechanism in socio-political organization, patterning of dwellings and ritual spaces in their settlements, extensive professionalism in agricultural activities, managerial skills, successful operation of reciprocity of relationships with the natives of the Nilagiris continue to exist in their cultural life and thereby confirm their ‘Badaga identity’ as distinct peasant group in Tamilnadu. The Badaga migration is now in third phase wherein the some families after the fall of Tea cultivation began to reach plains of Coimbatore in search new avenues.

Endnotes

¹Edward B Tylor, *The Origins of Culture*, Gloucester, MA: Harper & Row, 1958, p.1

²Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973, p. 14

³James Wilkinson Brecks, *Primitive Tribes and Monuments of Nilgiris*, Delhi: Cultural Publishing House, 1873, p.1-3.

⁴Edgar Thurston, *Provincial Geographies of India. The Madras Presidency with Mysore Coorg and Associated States*, Cambridge: Madras Provincial Gazetteer, 1913, p. 138

⁵Walter Francis, *Madras Districts Gazetteers: The Nilgirs*, Vol.I. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1908.

⁶H. Jervis, *Narrative of a Journey to the Falls of the Caverry: With an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Nilgherry Hills*, London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1834, p.46.

⁷Asylum, *Report of 1885*, Madras, 1885, p.86

⁸Jervis., *Op cit.*, p.37

⁹*Ibid.*, p.45

¹⁰Dharmalingam Venugopal, *The Nilgiris*, Nilgiris: Nilgiri Documentation Centre, 2001, p.32-44.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p.14.

- ¹²*Ibid.*, p.6
- ¹³ F.Driver and L.Martins, *Tropical Visions in Age of Empire*(eds), Chicago: The University of Chicago press, 2005, pp.3-5.
- ¹⁴ R Baikie, *Observations as The Neilgherries Including An Account of Their Topography. Climate, Soil and Productions*, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1834, p.25.
- ¹⁵ M.Panter Downes, *Ooty Preserved A Victorian Hill Station in India*, United Kingdom: Hamish Hamilton 1967, p.30.
- ¹⁶W.G Mclvor., Report on the Horticultural Gardens, Ootacamund, Nilgiri, 1852, p.12.
- ¹⁷ Walter Francis., *Op.cit.* p.3.
- ¹⁸*Ibid.*, p.34.
- ¹⁹M.S. Sankaran, *Soil Survey in Nilgiris*, , Nilgiris: UPASI – Krishi Vidyan Kendra, 2009, Pp. 14-17.
- ²⁰ N. L. Bor, “The Vegetation of the Nilgiris Indian Forester”, *The Indian Forester*, Vol 64, (Oct1938), pp.600-609.
- ²¹J. Patharaj, Kavya , Kannan R.J, “Flora used other than Medicinal purposes by Baduga ethnic in Nilgiri”, *International Journal of Scientific Research and Management*,Vol.3, (June 2015) pp. 3058-3061.
- ²²M. Gopalakrishnan, *Gazetteers of India, Tamil Nadu State: The Nilgiris District*, (ed), Madras: Commissioner of Archives & Historical Research, 1995.p. 24.
- ²³ C.R. Ranganathan, “Studies in the Ecology of the Shola grass land Vegetarian of the Nilgiri Plateau”, *The Indian Forester*, Vol 64, (Oct1938), pp.523-541.
- ²⁴ M. Gopalakrishnan, *Gazetteers of India, Tamil Nadu State: The Nilgiris District*, (ed), Madras: Commissioner of Archives & Historical Research, 1995. pp. 23-25.
- ²⁵William A. Noble., Nilgiri Dolmens (South India), *Anthropos*, 1976, pp. 90-128.
- ²⁶ Paul Hockings, *Blue Mountains: The Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, (ed.)New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 10.
- ²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.
- ²⁸ Jakka Parthasarathy, *The Badagas of the Nilgiri District, Tamilnadu, A Caste Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam: Tribal Research Institute, 2007 pp. 5-6.
- ²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ³⁰ M. Gopalakrishnan, *Gazetteers of India, Tamil Nadu State: The Nilgiris District*, (ed), Madras: Commissioner of Archives & Historical Research, 1995.p. 266.
- ³¹ M.W.M. Yeatts. *Census of India. Vol.XIV, Madras Province: 1931.*
- ³²Paul Hockings, *Blue Mountains: The Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, (ed.) New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 10.
- ³³ M. Gopalakrishnan, *Gazetteers of India, Tamil Nadu State: The Nilgiris District*, (ed.), Madras: Commissioner of Archives & Historical Research, 1995.p. 267.
- ³⁴J Jakka Parthasarathy, *The Badagas of the Nilgiri District, Tamilnadu, A Caste Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam: Tribal Research Institute, 2008. p.58.
- ³⁵<http://www.badaga-villages.blogspot.com/2008/11/seamy-moray-village-divisions-> Accessed:11/09/2018.
- ³⁶Henry Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatore in the southern peninsular of India*. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1832, pp.36-37.
- ³⁷Edgar Thurston and K.Rangachari, *Castes and tribes of South India*, Vol.1, Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1909.
- ³⁸Johaann Friedrich Metz, *The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills; Their Social Customs and Religious Rites*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Press,1864
- ³⁹Paul Hockings, *Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History1550-1975*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1980
- ⁴⁰ Description is made basing on my field work at Kadanad and Hebbanad villages in Nilgiri District.
- ⁴¹ Studied Badaga *Hethemane* from Beragani and Pedduva villages in Nilgiri District
- ⁴² Information from a Chettiar of Sirumugai region that is connected with Beragani village.
- ⁴³James Wilkinson Brecks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*, London: India Museum,1873, p.124
- ⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 122.
- ⁴⁵ Paul Hockings, “Badaga kinship rules in their socio-economic context”, *Anthropos*, Vol. 77, 5/6, 1982, pp. 854
- ⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 854

- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 855
- ⁴⁸ M.A.Sherrings, *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency: Together with an Account of the Tribes and Castes of Mysore, Niligiri, and Travancore, etc.*, Delhi: Cosmos Publications, 1975, p.171.
- ⁴⁹ Information furnished by Mr.Kumar of Bandhimai village on 31 Aug 2013.
- ⁵⁰ Information furnished by Mr. Jogi of Nanjanad Village
- ⁵¹ A Badaga elder Sevaniah from Thuratty village mentioned it.
- ⁵² Hockings, *Op.cit.* p.170.
- ⁵³ Hockings, *Op.cit.* Ancient Hindu Refugees, p. 171.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.172.
- ⁵⁵ The Hindu. 11 April 2005 p.3.
- ⁵⁶ Paul Hockings, (ed.) *Blue Mountains: The Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.p.214.
- ⁵⁷ T Subramanyam Naidu, *Strategic Planning for the Future Development of the Tribes in India*, Pondicherry University:Centre for Futures Studies,1999, p.4
- ⁵⁸ T. Nisha Bala, Water and livelihoods in the Nilgiris - Part I.
<http://www.indiawaterportal.org/articles/water-and-livelihoods-nilgiris-part-i>. Accessed: 16/08/2018
- ⁵⁹ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1807.p.462
- ⁶⁰ Walter Francis, *Madras Districts Gazetteers: The Nilgirs*, Vol.I. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1908.pp.268-270.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.* pp.274-278.
- ⁶² *Ibid.* pp.167-168.
- ⁶³ Information furnished by Mr.Rajan of Kadasolai Village in Nilgiri District
- ⁶⁴ Compiled from William Allister Noble, Cultural Contrasts and Similarities Among Five Ethnic Groups in the Nilgiri District, Madras State,India,1800-1963,1968.LSUHistoricalDissertations www.https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses, Accessed on 17/09/2018.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.* pp.167-168
- ⁶⁶ N.A RANGA, *The tribes of the Nilgiris: their social and economic conditions*, Madras:Bharat Publishing House, 1934,pp. 55-59
- ⁶⁷ Samuel Jennings, My visit to the gold fields in the Southeast Wynaad, London: Chapman & Hall, 1881.p.60.
- ⁶⁸ R. Antony Walker, *The Toda of South India: A New Look*, Delhi:Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 1986, p. 12- 24.
- ⁶⁹ <http://www.indiawaterportal.org/articles/water-and-livelihoods-nilgiris-part-ii>, Accessed on 20/07/2018.
- ⁷⁰ P. N. Arul Manikandan, "Ethno-medico botanical studies of Badaga population In the Nilgiri district of Tamilnadu", *South India* - Vol: No. XVII (3), (January -March – 2008), pp. 50-59.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.26.
- ⁷² Information gathered from interview with Mrs. Mallika. Edappalli village in Nilgiri District.
- ⁷³ www.https://sites.google.com/site/badagacommunity/badagajewellery- on Badaga jewelry. Accessed and downloaded on 17/09/2018.
- ⁷⁴ [www.http://www.badugaa.com/2014/10/dress.html](http://www.badugaa.com/2014/10/dress.html). Accessed on 17/09/2018.
- ⁷⁵ Paul Hockings, *Counsel from the Ancients: A Study of Badaga Proverbs, Prayers, Omens and Curses*, Berlin: Mount de Gruyter, 1988.
- ⁷⁶ K. Backia Lakshmi &Vasanthi, "Traditional Skills and Economic Life of Toda Tribes of Nilgiris- An analysis", *International Journal of Social Science and Economic Research*, Vol.2, (December 2017), pp.5406-5410.
- ⁷⁷ NilgirisAdiwasi Welfare Association (NAWA) census-2011.
- ⁷⁸ Murray B Emeneau,*Toda Grammar and Text*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984, pp. xiii.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.xiii
- ⁸⁰ K.S.Singh, *The Scheduled Tribes*, National Series Volume III, United kingdom: Oxford University Press,1994,p. 1145.
- ⁸¹ "A former Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances

by making him an overseer". Edgar Thurston and Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. 7, Madras: Government Press, 1909, p.118.

⁸² Johann Friedrich Metz, *The Tribes Inhabiting The Neilgherry Hills: Their social customs and religious rites*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Press, 1864, p.14

⁸³ H.R.H. Prince Peter, "The Mother Sibs of The Todas of The Nilgiris", *Eastern Anthropologists*, 1951, pp. 63-73.

⁸⁴ P.K. Nambiar, Census of India 1961. Vol IX, Madras, part V-C Todas. Madras:Janatha press, 1965, p.73.

⁸⁵ William Stokes, "Mission Work on the Nilgiri Hill" Report of the Second Decennial Missionary Conference held at Calcutta 1882 - 1883. Ed., J.M. Mithel and G.H. Rouse (Calcutta: J.W. Thomas Baptist Mission Press, 1883), p. 286.

⁸⁶ G. David Mandelbaum, *Society in India*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972, pp. 600-601.

⁸⁷ J.W.Brecks., *Op.cit.* p. 40.

⁸⁸ G.David Mandelbaum, *Polyandry In Kota Society*, Yale: Yale University Press, 1952, p. 87.

⁸⁹ L.K.Anantha Krishna Iyer.,*The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol I Madras, 1909, pp. 9.161.

⁹⁰ William Ross King, "The Aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills", *Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.1, 1870, p. 52.

⁹¹ David G. Mandelbaum. *Op.cit.* p. 828.

⁹² Paul Hockings (ed.), "Rain, God and Unity among the Kotas", *Blue Mountains Revisited: Cultural studies of the Nilgiri Hills*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 231-292.

⁹³ Richard K.Wolf., Of God and Death: Music in Ritual and Everyday Life. A Musical Ethnography of the Kotas of South India. Ph.D. diss. (Ethnomusicology), School of Music, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1997.

⁹⁴ Jakka Parthasarathy, *The Kota of Nilgiris: A Profile*, Ootacamund: Trihal Research Centre, 1998, pp.16-19.

⁹⁵ Suzanne Hanchett, *Coloured Rice: Symbolic Structures In Hindu Family Festivals*, Delhi: South Asia Books, 1988, p. 34.

⁹⁶ William P Harman., *The Sacred Marriage of a Hindu Goddess*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989, p. 53.

⁹⁷ Roderick Knight, *Tribal Music of India: The Muria and Maria Gonds of Madhya Pradesh*, Washington DC: Smithsonian Folkways, 1983, p. 428.

⁹⁸ The South of India Observer, Almanack and Nilgiri Guide and Directory, Ootacamund: South of India Observer Press. 1872, p. 22.

⁹⁹ Jakka Parthasarathy, *Kurumbas of the Nilgiri District*, Ooty: HADP publication, 2008, p.10.

¹⁰⁰ Edgar Thurston., *Op.cit.*, p. 156

¹⁰¹ W. Ross king., *Op.cit.*, p. 42

¹⁰² G. Mandelbaum, David, The Kotas in Their Social Setting in Introduction to the Civilization of India, (ed.) Robert Redfield and Milton B. Singer. 1956, pp. 288-332

¹⁰³ V. Zvelebil, Kamil., A Plea For Nilgiri Areal Studies., International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, Oxford University, 1980, p. 22.

¹⁰⁴ M.A. Sheering, Hindii Tribes and Castes... 3 Vols. (Calcutta: Thacker Spink Co, 1881), p. 175

¹⁰⁵ E. Thurston., Madras Museum Bulletin, Madras, Vol. II ,1900, p. 1

¹⁰⁶ Jakka Parthasarathy, *Irulas of Nilgiris*, Udhagamandalam: Tribal Research Institute, 2005, p.11

¹⁰⁷ L.K. Anantha Krishna Iyer., The Mysore Tribes and Castes, Mysore 1930, pp. 378-379

¹⁰⁸ K.P Bahadur, *Caste Tribes and Culture of India*, Delhi: ESS Publications, 1977, p.12

¹⁰⁹ G.R Damodaran, A Socio-Economic Survey of the Tribes of the Nilgiris District, Coimbatore: P.S.G School of Social Work, 1962, p.48.

¹¹⁰ Buchanan, Francis, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*. 1870 Vol.I, p.462.

¹¹¹ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, London: W. Bulmer And Co, Vol.I, 1807, p.462.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.71

¹¹³ Henry Harkness, *A Description of A Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatore in the Southern Peninsula of India*: London: Smith Elder and Co., 1832, pp. 88-89.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.70

¹¹⁵ K.S. Singh., *Op.cit.* p.974.

¹¹⁶ Madhusudan Trivedi., Entrepreneurship among the Tribals, Jaipur, 1994, p.51

¹¹⁷ K.S.Singh., *Op.cit.*, p.481

- ¹¹⁸ JakkaPathasarathy. *Kattunayakas of Nilgiri district Tamilnadu*, HADP publications, Ooty, 2005,p.12.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*,p.41.
- ¹²⁰ R. Misra, "Inter Tribal Relation in Erumad", *The Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol 2, 1972, pp. 135-148.
- ¹²¹ M.Cyril Nayagam., On The Origin of The Kattunayakas of Nilgiris, *Ancient Science of Life*.Vol.No Xvi 2 Oct, 1996, p.137-138
- ¹²² A.Aiyappan., *Anthropology On The March*, Edited By BalaRatnam, An SSA publicaion, New Delhi,1963, pp.29.
- ¹²³ Edgar Thurston., *Op. cit.*, pp.373
- ¹²⁴ W.Francis, *Op. cit.*, pp.128.
- ¹²⁵ Paul Nicholas Anderson, *Commodification, Conservation and Community: An Analysis and a Case Study in South India.*, Edinburg papers in South Asian Studies, Number 14, 2000,. Pp. 1-78.
- ¹²⁶ Paul Hockings, *Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History 1550-1975*. (New York:Mouton, 1980)
- ¹²⁷ In this study, the term 'Kurumba' refers to the Alu/Palu Kurumbas unless otherwise stated. Other Kurumbas in the Nilgiris include Mullu Kurumbas, Jenu Kurumbas sometimes called Kattu Nayakas (cf. Bird-David, 1989), Bettu Kurumbas, Urali Kurumbas and Mudugas (Zwelebil, 1981).
- ¹²⁸ D. Kapp, and Paul Hockings, 'The Kurumba Tribes' in *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*.Ed. Hockings, P Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989 p 236.
- ¹²⁹ D. Kapp, and Paul Hockings, 'The Kurumba Tribes' in *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*.Ed. Hockings, P Delhi: Oxford University Press,1989 p 237.
- ¹³⁰ E. Thurston and K. Rangachari. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.1909 vol. iv (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1987) p 166-167.
- ¹³¹ D. Kapp, and Paul Hockings, 'The Kurumba Tribes' in *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*.Ed. Hockings, P (Delhi: Oxford University Press1989) p 239.
- ¹³² J A Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, tr. Beauchamp Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906 p 76.
- ¹³³ E. Thurston and K. Rangachari. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.[1909] vol. iv Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1987, p 171.
- ¹³⁴ TRC.*Short Notes on Nilgiri Primitive Tribes*.(Udhagamandalam, Tamil Nadu: Tribal Research Centre, Tamil University, 1987) p.26.
- ¹³⁵ E. Thurston and K. Rangachari. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.[1909] vol. iv (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1987) p 2, 376-377.
- ¹³⁶ Edgar Thurston, *Todas And Kotas Of Tee Nilgiei Hills and Of The Brahmans , Kammalans, Pallis, And Paraiahs Madras City*, Madras: The Superintendent, Government Press.1896.p.195 and Passim
- ¹³⁷ Sourced from David G. Mandelbaum, "Cultural Change Among the Nilgiri Tribes", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43.1941, pp. 19-26; H. B Grigg, *A Manual of The Nilgiri District in Madras Presidency*, Madras: Govt.Press, 1880, pp.29-35; William Allister Noble, *Cultural Contrasts and Similarities Among Five Ethnic Groups in the Nilgiri District*, Madras State,India,1800-1963,1968.LSUHistoricalDissertations
[www.https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses](https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses), Accessed on 17/09/2018; M. Gopalakrishnan, *Gazetteers of India, Tamil Nadu State: The Nilgiris District*, (ed), Madras: Commissioner of Archives & Historical Research, 1995.p. 24.
- ¹³⁸ The figures are not as accurate as is usually the case in demographic studies. Many groups were and still have not been counted satisfactorily. This is particularly true of the Kurumbas who are too scattered, isolated and ill-defined.
- D. Mandelbaum, "The Nilgiris as a Region' in *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*. Ed. Hockings, P. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989) p 145-146.
- ¹³⁹ Includes Irula-Kasavas. One reason for heightened population growth is thought to derive partly fromChanges in classification and the desirability of belonging to certain classes, not the least for reasons of tribal designated state benefits (Mahias, 1997). It is not uncommon today for tribal children, even Kurumbas, to call themselves as Indo-Irula at school, a designation which often informs census considerations.
- ¹⁴⁰ Includes principal Kurumbas types: Alu, Jenu, Bettu, Mullu, Urali and Mudugas.
- ¹⁴¹ The decrease in the number of Kotas is partially attributable to a smallpox epidemic.
- ¹⁴² Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Badagas, excludes Irulas.

¹⁴³British, Malayalam, Tamils, Kannada-speakers and other immigrants. Since the 1960s, this category has increasingly been composed of repatriated Sri Lankan Tamils.

¹⁴⁴In most cases today, for instance, only the Kurumba headman, *Mudule*, retains any sense of duty toward his associated Badaga commune. Equally, few Todas “consider it worth the trouble or the indignity of going to each house to get their due [*Gudu* or gift, once annually given in remembrance of Toda help offered to Badaga immigrants], while few Badagas see it as a duty rather than mere charity to give visiting Todas anything” Hockings, 1980, p.116. Most Badagas, according to Hockings, are more concerned with such matters as the supply of credit and fertilisers, with the hiring of day labourers and with governmental programmes rather than with ancient links and prerogatives. Hockings, 1980, p. 213-45.

¹⁴⁵A. Jebadhas, and W. Noble., ‘The Irulas’ in *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*. Ed. Hockings, P (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p.289.

¹⁴⁶ M.A.Sherrings, *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency: Together with an Account of the Tribes and Castes of Mysore, Niligiri, and Travancore, etc.*, Delhi: Cosmos Publications, 1975, p.171.

Chapter – IV

Ritual as a Cultural Metaphor: The Rites of Badagas

The concept, 'Cultural metaphor' denotes any action or phenomenon, with which members of a given culture ardently and cognitively identify. Ritual is one such cultural metaphor which brings the community together to share a common belief and worldview. As such, ritual as cultural metaphor reflects the underlying values of a culture. Semioticians consider ritual as 'concentric system of signs or semiotic spheres. This phenomenon is represented in the ideological structures such as religion, belief and value system. The central part or core of ritual is to ensure the preservation consistency and forging of homogeneity in terms of identity, i.e. the 'self-identification of the group. This may be regarded as community's culture which is a form of organizing cultural experiences, one that emerged in the course of the history of a given community. Badaga rituals are no exception to this phenomenon.

Ritual Studies an Overview

Studies on 'ritual performances' opened up new panoramas in understanding nuances of cultural behaviour of social groups. Chiefly, they aim at interpreting cultures from eco-spatial perspective in order to appreciate synergetic relationships of human cultures with their environs. Ritual generally at theoretical level is considered as an action. Therefore, it makes a distinction from the conceptual aspects of religion such as myths symbols and beliefs. They emerge as forms of 'mental structure' or conceptual frame and stimulate, direct and encourage activity, but they themselves are not activities. Ritual, like action, will express and perform these intangible frames. Ritual is then described as routinized, customary, compulsive or imitative action, which is the mere physical expression of the 'mental construct'. In other words, beliefs and myths, can exist without rituals, whereas rituals cannot exist without beliefs and myths.

The notion of ritual first emerged, as a formal term to classify what is thought to be a collective category of humanoid experience. The nineteenth century **Cultural Anthropologists** pondered upon this concept and studied ritual as part of religious behavior. The occidental studies reflected the White Mythologies in the conception of

ritual as a tool to differentiate the Oriental cultures from it. The myth-ritual theorists for instance, looked at ritual as religion. Ritual for them is nothing other than the manifestation of the myth. Myth is that which narrates the process of creation, as it exists in the present form. The primordial being (god/supernatural power) that created the universe and its order inevitably became the object of worship and the enactment of myth is done through ritual. Every culture experiences creation and therefore renders reverence to its Author (god), which is manifested in the form of ritual¹. Thus ritual studies are placed close to theosophy and thereby to religious studies. The theories of Max Muller², Edward Taylor³, Herbert Spencer⁴, James Frazer⁵ etc., upheld the priority of religious ideas, born of pseudo-scientific explanations or passionate experiences, as the basis of religious conviction and ritual is considered as necessity to proclaim archetypal religious behaviour. Therefore 'ritual' is used as a synonym to 'sacred' and 'ritual behaviour' is to 'sacral behaviour', which forms the basis for emotional experience of the 'self'. All actions and enactments associated with ritual are perceived as 'religious' for they express an urge to relate themselves with the 'other' that is supernatural. Belief therefore, forms a driving force for ritual. The religious idea is well sort after in the ritual studies to understand human experience by the ritual theoreticians of the nineteenth century.

Later, in the beginning of twentieth century, **Social Functionalists** explored ceremonial activities in order to analyze society and the nature of cultural phenomena. For them, ritual is integral part of social dimension. This perspective received its fullest formulation in Emily Durkheim's work⁶ wherein religion is analyzed as both beliefs and rites; "rites could be defined only with regard to their objects where as in beliefs 'the special nature of this object' is expressed". They played an active role in social solidarity and consolidation. Durkheim presented the most significant social scientist view of ritual. He associated it to religious observances, which split the world into two categories: 'the sacred and the profane'. He asserted that the Rites are the rules of conduct which commend how a man should behave himself in the presence of these sacred substances. For Durkheim, worship of divinity is the emblematic means by which people pay veneration to their own society, their own mutual reliance. Thus the 'sacred' eventually denotes not to a 'super natural phenomenon' but rather to people's

emotionally charged interdependence i.e., to their societal engagements. Henry Hubert and Marcel Mauss⁷ proved how ritual actions efficiently sacrilege things, persons or occasions and how social deeds impact religious phenomena and ideas. In the course, ritual is reinforced as both a crucial sociological notion and a worldwide set of social life. For Max Weber (1922)⁸, it is the rituals through which hierarchies in a social stratification achieve and function in order to organically maintain the social setup. His theory of *rationalization* advocates for the emergence of ritual specialists in relation to power and authority in a given social environment. Thus the ritual studies in the beginning of twentieth century alienated ritual from religious perspective and conceived it as sociological phenomena.

The **Marxists** considered ritual as a product of ‘superstructure’ born out of specific production relationships that forms the ‘base’. The operation of the dialectics between the two takes place when the forces of the material production begin to overtake the system of social relations to which they earlier gave rise. As part of superstructure, ideology emerges as a rational explanation to the existing relationships of production⁹. Therefore ritual appears as a manifestation of religion and rationalizes actions of the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’. Those who cling to the idea of religion as opium of masses viewed ritual as a weapon to subordinate masses. It is the bourgeoisie consciousness that falsely express meanings to rituals to safeguard their own class interest and promote them as forms of art.

The **neo-Marxists** instead of looking at ritual as a superimposition of the ‘haves’ observed it as a process of dialectics which force the ruling class to accept it as a system of identity of the masses. Gramsci (1957)¹⁰ projected that hegemonic superimposition of power needs people to envisage and to overpower, to self-censor and to suitable freedoms to them. He contended that ruling classes establish domination not merely through explicit devices of control, but through a thought process to which the oppressed classes subscribe. Ritual as a part of dogma is a dispersed body of thoughts, but a way in which people live the affiliations between themselves and their worldview, a type of essential illusions.

Latter half of the twentieth century's scholarship witnessed new approaches to human sciences. The **Symbolic Anthropologists** viewed ritual as fundamental to the dynamics of culture. This perspective emerged basically due to the consideration of 'culture' as a type of analysis. The investigation of culture as contrasting to society and religion *per se* gave mainly a crucial placement to the ritual. The prominence of ritual in the work of cultural anthropologists such as Van Gennep (1909)¹¹, Victor Turner (1966)¹², Clifford Geertz (1973)¹³ and Edmond Leach (1976)¹⁴ suggested the cross disciplinary endeavor for ritual studies.

Van Gennep's *magnum opus* work systematically enumerated those rituals that celebrate an individual's changeover from one position to another within a specified society. He worked among different peoples of Africa and Oceania and observed birth, puberty, marriage, and death rituals. They are also found in every culture. The tangible ceremonies may differ, but their connotation is universal. He found three-way structure in ceremonial performances: separation, transition, and incorporation. Van Gennep presented explanations of the implication of these rituals as forms of societal renewal, grounded on such usual signs as death and rebirth. He contended that all rites of passage share analogous features, including:

1. Duration of separation from preceding lifestyle (initial stage);
2. Point of changeover from one position to another (liminal stage); and
3. Course of initiation to the fresh social position and the new lifestyle (post- liminal phase).

The idea of "liminality" (threshold) was formulated by Van Gennep to define the quality of the next stage of a ritual, especially a rite of passage that comprises certain modification to the participants, especially their cultural position. The liminal state is characterized by vagueness, plainness, and uncertainty. One's sense of individuality dissolves to some extent, bringing about bewilderment. Liminality is a transition period, thru which the regular behavior is tranquilized and opens the way to something new. He also recognized two sets of rite of passage:

1. Rites that mark the transition of a person from one social status to another during his or her lifetime

2. Rites that mark some important points in the passage of time (such as the new moon, new year, solstice, or equinox).

Van Gennep observed rites of passage as basically required for the well-being of society. He believed that rites of passage hold social consistency by discharging the stress built up in persons through giving them new social positions and new functions.

Victor Turner's cognition of ritual was influenced profoundly by the theoretical framework advanced by Arnold Van Gennep. Like Van Gennep, he also enunciates a three-way analytic outline describing the arrangement and development of rituals:

1. **Separation** from day-to-day doings, cultural conditions and communal relations as a reaction to some *catastrophe*, either in an person's life or in the life of a community.
2. **Liminality** is the consequence of the withdrawal from usual cultural life wherein day to day notions of time, space and identity are put off. During the liminal phase, ritual participants engage in imitative activity reenacting the crisis motivating the ritual. In so doing, they challenge the existing structure. According to Van Gennep "structure" and "anti-structure" in the liminal phase are concurrently enacted.
3. **Reintegration** is the process in which an individual or group is brought back into normal social life with intensity. The novice re-enter the cultural group with a richer understanding of the norms, obligations and their role in society.

Victor Turner interpreted cultures on the basis of vitality and disarray, seeing society not as an "object" but rather as a dynamic and oppositional structure. Turner's work is divided into two parts; the first addresses the structure and the role of allegory in Ndembu rituals, and the second, deals with the concepts of 'Liminality' and 'Communitas' as part of social structure. Turner theorized culture as a continuous tussle between structure and anti-structure. Turner took an interest in liminality. "Liminality, in terms of social structure and time, is a transitional state of being "in between" in which individuals are negated from their usual identity and their establishing social alterations while being on the verge of personal or social

transformation”. Turner's understanding of liminality in many respects is in accordance with the description of “ritual uncleanness by Mary Douglas”¹⁵.

According to Turner, liminality results in a state which he calls "communitas". Communitas and social organization are two conflicting yet reciprocally required modes of social life: the concept of structure is defined as “society as a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men in terms of ‘more’ or ‘less.’” Communitas is defined as “society as an unstructured or rudimentary structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders”¹⁶. For Turner, social systems necessarily uphold equilibrium between communitas and social order to survive. However, liminality and communitas are normally transitory and limited, thus paradoxically serve to reiterate the prevailing social order.

According to Edmond Leach¹⁷, maximum ritual events are concerned with movement across communal margins from one cultural status to a different one. The rites have the dual function of declaring the change of status and of mystically passing it about. From another perspective, they are the interlude indicators in the development of social process. In a very comprehensive sagacity all changeover rites have a three-phase similarity of structure. The neophyte who is experiencing a change of position must first be alienated from his (her) first role. This separation may be embodied in a diversity of ways. In general, these initial rites of separation have the effect of removing the newcomer from usual existence; he (she) becomes momentarily an unusual individual prevailing in abnormal time. Following the ‘rite of separation’, there follows an interval of social timelessness which may have duration of a few moments to months.

Clifford Geertz championed the concept of symbolic anthropology, which gives prime attention to the role of “symbols” in society. Symbols direct deeds. Culture, according to Geertz, is “a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.” The purpose of culture is to impose meaning and make it understandable. Geertz’s writings are rhetorical and metaphoric.

Geertz interpreted cultural symbols such as ceremonies, political gestures, and literary texts. Geertz was also concerned with the role of thought, especially religious thought. For analyzing this it requires “thick description” which is a probing evaluation of the meanings people's actions played out in their own settings. Through this method, Geertz established cultural symbols. He emphasized that anthropologists should focus on the rich texture of the lives of real human beings. Geertz’s own extremely erudite, but dense and occasionally intricate writing style demonstrates his powerful “interpretive” approach to cultural anthropology¹⁸.

These works point out ritual as a meaningful action precisely because it functioned symbolically to sustain culture and its manifestations in terms of institutions, systems and organizations. Ritual actions are highly structured, consistent sequences with symbolic meaning. Ritual action is monotonous and hence, redundant. However, these very issues serve as a significant means of directing emotion, guiding cognition and organizing social orders.

The **Performance Theoreticians** viewed ritual as a performance that appears to construct various relationships and categories in a social event. They base themselves on two interrelated points: first, people “think of their culture as encapsulated within discrete performances, which they can exhibit to the outsiders as well as to themselves” and second, such performances constitute for outside observer “the most concrete observable units of the cultural structure”. Since every performance “has a definitely limited time span, a beginning and an end, an organized program of activity, a set of performers, an audience, and a place and occasion of performance”. Milton Singer (1972)¹⁹ using this paradigm he coined the term ‘cultural performance’ to occasions that exhibit to an outsider such rituals. Singer did not merely suggest an approach to ritual that guarantees direct access to native units of experience. He also defined culture itself in terms of those very activities that appear to provide such clear access and observation to others. Cultural performances are the ways in which the cultural content of folklore is ordered and transmitted on specific occasions through particular media. Thus, these performances are not just abstract categories. Researchers and theorists are repositioned in performance theory as members of audience for whom the performance is being presented. In some cases performance theory appears to promote an even more intense mode of participation

and therefore Victor Turner calls for the study of performances as ‘performance of ethnography’²⁰.

Performance theory probably has one of its most sophisticated presentations in the work of Stanley Tambiah (1979)²¹. He is concerned with the significance of the semantic structure of the words and acts as well as to the significance of social relations both within the ritual itself and within the larger context of the rite. He argues that ritual does not evoke feelings or express the mental orientation of rituals in any sort of direct and spontaneous way. Rather he emphasizes the formalism of ritual as having a distancing effect that serves to articulate and communicate attitudes of institutionalized communication. He distinguishes three ways in which ritual is performative: (1) It involves doing things, even if doing is saying in the Austinian sense (1975)²². (2) It is staged and uses multiple media to afford participants an intense experience and (3) it involves indexical values in the sense laid out by Charles Pierce. The indexical features of rituals are seen in its graded scale of ostentatiousness, the choice of site, the degree of redundancy or elaboration and so on, all of which present and validate the social hierarchy indirectly depicted by them. As a system of communication, ritual involves both indexical features that refer to social hierarchy and symbolic features that refer to the cosmos. Thus the performance theory transforms ritual from a mere idea of an act to phenomena of communication.

The **Poststructuralists/Postmodernists** conception of ritual lies not in viewing it as simply an act or a communicative device but treats it analogous to ‘text’. Clifford Geertz (1973)²³ postulated three popular analogies to interpret social behaviours. It begins with the “game analogy then goes on to explore the drama analogy and finally turns to the text analogy”. The drama analogy, gives an appreciation to certain features of an action. However, it places all types of social action together as having the same form without any ability to appreciate the differences in content. The game and text analogies likewise illuminate certain features and confuse others. All these analogies are concerned with interpretation to social action. Marcus and Fischer²⁴ also viewed “ritual as public performance, which can be read like a text”. Geertz also explicitly approaches

ritualized activities as a text to be decoded. Paul Ricoeur²⁵ has argued that “meaningful action” is like a text that can be deciphered and interpreted. According to Jameson, “We textualise not because rites are intrinsically texts but because we approach both looking for meaning as something that can be deciphered, decoded and interpreted”²⁶.

The **Poststructuralists** like Jacques Derrida (1967)²⁷ denied the role of ritual in resolving oppositions as envisaged by the Structuralists. A series of non-temporal structural oppositions produce meanings either through mutual definition of two terms or through their mediation by a third term. Derrida describes this as a process of *difference* which is a ‘free play’ in which drawing of distinctions endlessly differ signification. Not only is ‘meaning’ never arrived at but it never present in any sense at all. However, in such a system of endless deferral signification, meaning may never be given but is always implicit. Derrida has proposed a ‘grammatology’ or science of signification by taking this idea. The process of signification is differed through a production of a series of oppositions and orchestration of these series into dominant and latent schemes. In this sense, ritual does not solve any opposition but in fact begets multiple oppositions so as to endlessly situate itself into ‘metaphysical presence’.

Thus, the ritual studies started as a part of religious studies and latter emancipated from it to become a component of sociological phenomena to understand how it functions to integrate different social realities in the form of symbolic structures. The epistemology on ritual never ends in a conclusion, but remains as a discursive phenomenon and as a dialogue between past and present, the thought and action, the theory and practice and observed and observer not as binary entities but relatable which construct meaning that do not exist otherwise.

Keeping in view the above discussion, the rites of Badagas are collected to understand their cultural identity. Some of the theoretic propositions are tested to know how a community which has migrated from the plains to the up-hills of Nilaguries could adopt to the new environs through the practices of rituals which not only foster their solidarity as a distinct social group but also impose hierarchical structure within the group.

The rites of Badagas can broadly be divided into two categories: I. The Rites of Passage and; II. The Communal Rites which include territorial rites and fairs and festivals.

I. Badagas' Rites of Passage

The rites of passage are observances that mark imperative transitional periods in an individual's life, such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Rites of passage generally include ritual events and traditions intended to relieve individuals of their original roles and prepare them for new-fangled roles. Most vital and common rites of passage are connected with the bodily crises that bring changes in 'social position' and, hence, in the 'social relations' and attitudes of the people concerned. The rites of passage are also referred to as 'Life Cycle Ceremonies'.

Birth Ritual

Among Badagas the pregnancy and child birth are perceived as revered events in the family life of men and women. Especially for woman these statuses are contexts of celebration to construct their new identities as a 'pregnant' and a 'new mother' in the family. Further the new born child opens his identity as a member of the family on one hand and the community on the other. Thus the child birth ritual is very important as it initiates the process of identity construction for both woman and for child.

The Ritual Process:

The rites of passage of Birth can be studied in Three Phases: (1) Pre- birth Phase; (2) Birth Phase; and (3) Post-birth Phase. Each Phase has certain norms and practices to follow.

(1) Pre- birth Phase

Pre- birth represents the period that begins with the moment the woman knows that she is pregnant and hence with the birth of the child.

It is recognized that conception could have occurred on any day up to the one when the last menses (*neerattojena*) was expected but failed to appear. Badaga woman

generally deliver after the ninth month is completed, but some do so ten to fifteen days before this, others ten to fifteen days after. There may even be successful births at the end of the tenth month generally in a subsequent delivery, not a woman's first. Such a birth, however, is probably accounted for by the pregnancy in fact having started only at the month following that which is being counted from. Otherwise when a birth is a long time overdue, it usually means there will be twins. One of these is always weak, and it needs the extra time to develop properly. Women give birth a day or two before the new moon or the full moon; so they must be careful as the new moon and the full moon approach. Sometimes they give birth on the days immediately after the new or full moon²⁸.

Signs/Symptoms of Pregnancy:

Generally a Badaga woman menstruates each twenty five to thirty days. If this does not happen at the usual time, she is taken to some knowledgeable old woman on the fortieth day after the last menses. She will know by the state of the breast if a person is pregnant: the main indicator is the nipple, which becomes darker. The breast becomes shinier and slightly bigger. Other signs of pregnancy are that a woman feels lazy about working, even about walking or speaking, and she either does not want to eat or wants unusual kinds of food. She always has a sensation of nausea, and especially when she eats. By such indicators it is known that the woman is pregnant. These signs continue until the sixtieth day only. By the end of the second month a woman can be quite sure that she is pregnant.

There is a kind of pregnancy without any preceding menstruation, considered a God-given pregnancy. This is quite common shortly after birth. A woman does not start menstruating until five or six months after a birth, but if she has meanwhile had coitus she may become pregnant again. In one village a girl was reported to have got pregnant before ever menstruating. She was aged about 15, and was otherwise a big, mature girl. (There are no stories of virgin births among the Badagas, however).

Man during his wife's pregnancy:

Once a husband knows that his wife is pregnant, he should grow his beard and moustache from then until her seventh month of pregnancy. Furthermore, a man whose wife is pregnant, he is forbidden to kill a serpent, lest the spirit of the snake enter the

fetus and the child be born dumb, looking like a snake, and with its tongue forever flashing in and out.

Do's and Don'ts of Woman during pregnancy:

There are also several constraints on the pregnant woman's behaviour. She is not allowed to eat onion or garden marrows; otherwise, the new born baby will have itches. She should keep herself busy with the household chores in order to give birth to a healthy child. Soon after the conception, the girl is prohibited from washing her cloths or putting on clean ones which may make her feel good and that may result in menstruation. She cannot go to any festivals or ceremony at which she might see something new or interesting. She must not cross any large river, and must not cross the boundary of her hamlet either. All of these restrictions apply only till ninetieth day of pregnancy.

During the dangerous period between the fortieth and sixtieth days the woman must have complete rest, and she generally goes to her father's house for this. During that time the pregnancy can be lost if she eats certain foods, those causing an excess of heat in the body. Furthermore, a woman should not carry a heavy load, or run, or take long strides, and should be careful while walking down steep places. A woman should not have intercourse from the time her pregnancy is first recognized until the third month. After that time she can have it, but only at long intervals. Prior to the sixtieth day the woman may abort, in which case the abortion is treated as a menses for social purposes²⁹. In her third month a woman can become active and eat without the nauseous sensation. Then, when laying in bed early in the morning, she feel the surface of her stomach and known there is something else there; and generally from the third month she will see some milk if the breasts are pressed. From the fifth month onwards the fetus moves in the womb sometimes. Between the seventh and ninth months the woman can sometimes feel it "gasping for breath".

Food during pregnancy:

No special foods or medicines are given to the woman from her this month onward, but if she is getting too much "heat" in the body then a particular mixture is fed

to her. This may cause additional “heat” and she may have a stillbirth in the seventh or eighth month, or else have a difficult delivery during the ninth month and produce a lean, unhealthy baby. If the woman’s eyes turned, she gets diarrhea, feels uneasy, and her lips are itchy; these signs indicate that she has over “heat” in the body, and that she is not having food regularly or in enough quantity. If there is a lot of “heat” she will have heartburn before or after meals, and will cough; but the excess “heat” can only be noticed by any of these signs, not by feeling the actual temperature of the body. The “heat” can be reduced by feeding the pregnant woman buttermilk or butter. In an extreme case she can be given a special mixture. Lime juice is put in a pot, and buffalo milk is milked directly from the animal onto the juice, and then drunk immediately. (Cow’s milk can be used instead, but is not so effective). This drink is given to her every morning for two or three weeks, before she takes any food.

Restrictions on Movement:

In the fourth, sixth and seventh months, the pregnant woman can be carefree. In even numbered months *i.e.*, the fourth, sixth, and eighth month, she may cross the hamlet boundary and visit her father’s house, provided she does not stay there overnight. In odd-numbered months, the fifth, seventh, and ninth, she can stay there overnight.

Kanni Hakko (Confirmation of Marriage) Ceremony – In earlier days: At an odd-numbered month, generally the fifth or seventh month of a girl’s first pregnancy only, she and her husband go through a ceremony that confirms their marriage. This occurs on a day after the new moon and before the full moon; it must be an auspicious day- a Monday, Friday, Wednesday, Sunday, in that order of preference. Although no mention is made of the pregnancy, everyone is aware that it has led to a stable marriage and the woman is no longer a mere servant of the man: “for the woman without children there is no house; for the man without an ox there is no place”³⁰. Hence the ceremony: On the day of the ceremony, the man and his wife are considered as polluted (*Thettu*), and are seated in the veranda to receive gifts. The mats used by them for sleeping are cleaned on the following morning, and they get rid of the pollution by way of bathing³¹. It is reported that the couple sleep on this night facing each other with a stick between them to symbolize the coming of child, and they are supposed to have intercourse. This however

is considered a more dangerous act in the fifth than in the seventh month. In the unfortunate event that this ceremony is not performed before labour begins; the nude woman is covered with a cloth while her husband ties the turmeric-smeared thread around her neck (the cloth simply saves the woman from some embarrassments). If the thread is not tied before her delivery, it signifies that the woman has no husband. If a woman does not get pregnancy, it closes the marriage contract and divorce can only be obtained through the decree of the *panchayat*³².

Midwife Care for Pregnant woman:

From the seventh month onwards, the fetus may be in the wrong position, and then the mother feels some lassitude and cannot do any work. One of a few old ladies who have the skill then massage with oil the woman's stomach till the fetus is back in the regular position. This oil used to come from the nuts of the castor-oil plant. This massage can only be done in the seventh or ninth month and the stomach should not be touched in the eighth month at all.

There is in fact a saying which translates: "in the 5th month the child will say, "Shall I come out or shall I stay inside?". Another states: "in the 8th month he will make a place for himself," it being implied that the fetus will be aborted then if it is not comfortable. The fetus can possibly get out of position when the woman walks or gets into bed. Hence another Badaga saying: "During pregnancy be careful about the legs; during the milk-giving time (i.e. until the child is weaned) be careful about the mouth." "Legs" refer to the woman's movements. She must be careful about the "mouth", i.e. her diet, because that food will be transmitted to the baby through her breast milk. The woman may do whatever she wants, and is given whatever she asks for, in the 9th month. She is usually at her father's village by this time, and there her relatives give her sweets, show her beautiful views, and if possible beautiful dresses. She has to be careful lest too many sweets lead to worms in her stomach or in her newborn child.

Behavior during pregnancy:

It is not unusual for sexual relations to occur in the latter part of a pregnancy. Because of the dangers just stated, it does not occur in the fifth or eighth month, lest the woman miscarry. When the confinement is imminent, the woman moves back to her

father's house, especially if it is her first pregnancy, because she will get better treatment there. Everyone in the hamlet should feed her meal. For succeeding births she may be permitted to continue at her husband's house, and may use the outer room for her confinement³³. For the first confinement, she is taken to her father's house³⁴.

(2) Birth Phase

Birth stage starts when the pregnant woman gets delivery pains and gives birth to child.

Preparation for delivery (birth):

Pregnant woman generally sense the labour pain and inform members at home following which a member from the house sends message to the midwife of the village. In the meanwhile, women from the household will boil water needed and spread mats on the labour space in preparation for delivery. In the old days delivery occurred only on the veranda, and never in the house, because it was an impure act. There were no separate menstrual huts for this. Now the birth generally takes place in one of the outer rooms of the house. Some women even give birth in the inner, more sacred room, while others go to a hospital³⁵. In the old days however a screen of planks or blankets would be erected on the veranda to protect the woman from wind and cold; for then as now her body was bare during the delivery. A loincloth is simply put over her shoulders for a little warmth. Now that the event occurs inside the house though, the door is closed to keep in the heat.

Badaga Midwives and their role:

There is generally more than one midwife in each village. There are usually also some girls studying midwifery, so that as the years pass the younger woman can take over from the old midwives. No male is allowed to be present at a Badaga birth. Any woman can be there, and generally women who know how to deliver a baby are asked to come, as are the girls who are learning midwifery. There is no rule that small girls should be excluded but they usually are because they may become afraid. For that same reason pregnant women are generally not allowed there. Women who are breastfeeding babies are also strongly advised not to come, since the strong smell may have a bad effect on both mother and child. Despite such warnings some brave nursing mothers may still

come, generally those who have had several births themselves. Most women in a village want to go and watch a delivery; but it is said to be a sin for any woman watching to leave before the delivery is completed. This is recalled in the saying, “Delivery is like having escaped death,” which means that the pain borne by a woman is merely as much as at death. In the same way, one should never pass a woman in advanced pregnancy, in case she is in labour and needs help. If too many come to the delivery one old woman selects who should stay to help and asks the rest to leave. Those who remain give encouragement to the expectant mother by saying “Be brave, there won’t be any pain.” Badaga expect the woman not to cry out; but she will if the pain is too much. “the man who has seen a tiger hunt is sacred like a woman just before delivery”, runs the proverb, probably in reference to a woman’s first delivery.

It is said that in the old days the grinding stone was in front of the woman for her to hold on to. Nowadays, following their experience in hospitals, some women are delivered lying flat on their backs on the floor, with face upwards. Usually the woman kneels on the ground, taking support of a girl. Her legs are apart, and an experienced midwife catches the baby before it falls onto the floor. During the actual delivery the midwife checks that the umbilical cord is not encircling the baby’s neck. In some instances gingili oil is applied to private parts to ease the delivery. (This is referred to in a proverb about there being an appropriate time and place for everything: “it is like delivering a child where oil is seen”).

In the old days midwives knew how to put a hand inside and pull the baby out, and some can still do this (after carefully cutting their nails and washing hands): it is only done as a last resort with a difficult delivery, though. Before that, in critical cases the midwife by touching the stomach tells if the baby is in the wrong position. If it is, then the pregnant woman is made to place her head on the pounding stone, and five or six women support her as she balances there, upside down with her legs held up in the air. Then a midwife who knows this skill shakes the woman’s legs until the baby comes into the right position. The baby is born.

Badaga women and their role during delivery:

Usually, eight to ten women attend at a birth, although no more than one of them is likely to be recognized as the midwife. Though it is not compulsory for them to be present they nevertheless come, mainly out of genuine concern for the girl's predicament but also partly because they expect their friends to render similar service when necessary for themselves or their daughters. It is clear that enmity among Badaga families does not particularly concern the woman, because even if the family is not on speaking terms with that of the pregnant girl, a woman from the "enemy" family will still attend the birth; or if that is not possible will come to her father's house afterwards to enquire after her- as indeed would a male of this "enemy" household. Such an "enemy" neighbour woman will not eat food provided by the girl's father while she attends at the birth, but she may well accept food provided by the girl's husband and take it home to eat. The thinking behind this pattern of behaviour is that the girl- at least when she was an unmarried child living in her father's house- was common to the whole village. Badaga children are always viewed in this light, rather than as exclusively members of particular families.

Role of Men during delivery:

Male relatives of the woman wait outside on the veranda or the street for any eventual help. Generally the husband of the woman is amongst these men. There is nothing in particular that he should be doing. It is her husband who must meet all expenses associated with the birth, even though it occurs in the home of the woman's father. Clarified butter, palm sugar, and several limes will always be required and the husband should have purchased them a few days beforehand. Even the black peppers and other ingredients for the special curry given to the woman after her delivery must all be provided by her husband. However, it is common nowadays for the girl's father to buy all of these materials, and her husband to reimburse him in cash³⁶.

Badaga Belief on Birth and Gender Perception:

It is believed that a male birth on the night of the full moon or the next day is auspicious, but if on the day of the new moon it is more inauspicious, than on any other day³⁷. This belief is enshrined in the saying, "The boy born on the new moon day is bad; the girl born on the full moon day is bad". (For purposes of Badaga ritual practice, and this particular belief too, a sunset ends one day and is the beginning of the next). A birth

coming on a day between the new and the full moon is lucky; whereas one between the full and the new moon is unlucky. It is exceptionally auspicious if a son is born at the full moon, and luckier still if this happens to be the mother's eighth delivery (though not necessarily her eighth live birth). Under these circumstances the family will prosper like a king's". If on the other hand it is a girl who is born at the new moon, or at her mother's eighth delivery, it is then believed that the family the child marries into will prosper, and so many will want to marry her.

The unfortunate boy born on the day of the new moon is called *Tippa*; and a girl born at the full moon is similarly *Tippe*. As soon as such an unlucky child has been born it is put into an old winnow and dragged a few inches across the floor. The name *Tippa* means "rubbish dump", and this act symbolizes throwing the baby away as rubbish: afterwards the inauspicious birth will not have a bad effect on the family. Later, at its naming ceremony, the child will be given two names so that it does not have to be called by this distasteful one³⁸.

A proverb asks, "if a mother gives birth to a male child, will the father object to it?" Obviously he will not, since it is a blessing to the family³⁹. The same idea is also expressed thus: "By delivering a son she is like a *prima donna* standing on a vantage point and calling out", or "the man who has begotten a son and the man who has planted a coconut (tree) will not spoil". Another saying puts it quite succinctly: "A strong boy, a weak girl"; and yet another emphasizes that girl babies are not much wanted: "Even though you repeatedly tell her, she is only giving birth to girls". Another state: "If a girl is begotten she is useless; if a boy is begotten he is an asset". Yet another proverb puts it thus: "Girls are a disappointment, but the eldest son is like a hearth". Daughters are accordingly cared for less well than sons during infancy, particularly if the couple already have several daughters. Nonetheless there is no evidence of the female infanticide among Badagas.

The Badagas will welcome the birth of a son or a daughter with equal gladness as the proverb says "One who has given birth is seven times as ill-fated as one who is without children". The most probable reason for this is that while Hindus see an

increasing burden and expense with the birth of a daughter, the Badagas see a future livelihood because the daughter as well as the son helps in the fields⁴⁰.

If a child is deformed since the birth that is God's will and nothing can be done about it; but if any damage was done to the baby during the delivery that can perhaps be rectified. Immediately after the delivery the mid midwife checks that all the limbs are in order, and at this time can squeeze the head to make it rounder if it seems very long, or can pinch up the nose if it looks flattened. If a child is born deformed but living, it is believed that either its parents or its patrilineal ancestors committed some great sin; whereas if the deformed child is born dead no such sin was involved. Many Badagas are born with eleven fingers or toes; but this minor matter is considered to be neither lucky nor inauspicious. Badly deformed children of either sex are still encouraged to live and are not done away with; this is even truer of twins who bring more respect to the parents than a single birth would. However, children blind or deformed from birth are extremely rare, and giants are unknown among the Badagas; dwarfs occasionally are found. One man, about a meter high, was briefly married and divorced, was a highly respected man who took an active part in the village council, and died in his sixties. He was nicknamed *nelamanca* "Groundling" but was respected because his conduct was excellent and he came from a good family, He had several brothers of normal stature but was respected more than they were.

It is important that a child should look like a mixture of both parents, even though it is believed to develop solely from the man's semen when in the mother's womb. If it resembles only one of them, that parent will die within a year of the child's birth. The skin should preferably be light in complexion, and relatives will then be very proud of it. If a child is born with grey hair or light coloured eyes, however, it is felt the family will not like it.

Badagas also believe that if a woman's first birth is a daughter and the eighth is a son, then the family will prosper. People also say that if while crawling, the infant is seen to peer at its genitals, and the next child born to the mother will be of the opposite sex⁴¹.

(3) Post-birth Phase

This stage covers the period between the child birth and the incorporation of mother and child into the family with changed statuses.

Stage I - Before the cutting of the umbilicus, the baby is laid on the floor on sacking or cloth. The umbilical cord is knotted with a piece of thread (in olden days a thread lamp wick), some eight centimeters from the belly. This string is to curtail bleeding. Then the umbilical cord is cut with a penknife or razor blade. In early days, significantly, it was only to be cut with a knife made by the Kotas and otherwise used in reaping. Immediately some amount of cold water is poured on the infants shoulders or dabbed on with a cloth. In particular the left shoulder of a boy is wetted, or the crown of the head if it is a girl. This act is intended to make the child strong. It is then bathed in hot water.

Stage II - In early days the next step was to cover the baby with oil pressed from the seeds of the castor oil bush. Now groundnut oil is applied to the entire body instead. The mother also is given a hot water bath. After this she sits down and is given a tumbler of cold water to drink. This is to make any shivering subside and to give her peace of mind. Now few women take a sip of brandy, a practice dating back a century or so. If a woman's family is too poor to afford nip of brandy, a little opium is perhaps given instead, or else very poor people might simply crush a dried poppy head and give it to the mother in a glass of coffee or tea. Typically a poor mother will get one dose of opium just after the delivery, and then another on the following two days. The problem with using opium as a medicine is that, whether it is taken after child birth or simply to cure a cold, it may become addictive. The mother is also given a slight palm jiggery (a kind of crude sugar that keeps for years). Next they give three or four cloves of garlic to eat, while one piece is put in each of her ears. After both mother and baby have been bathed, the child is brought back to her.

Stage III -The mother sits, holding the baby, with its face on her right hand side and at the right breast. Before taking its first suck, the child is given a drop of groundnut oil to drink. Then a lime is cut in half and smeared with fresh cow dung, a blade of Bermuda grass, and some clarified butter. Then an old, experienced woman takes the first half of the lime and runs it down the right side of the baby, not quite touching the body

(*sutthihakkothu*). As she does this she says: “This child belongs to both the father and the mother;” but she does not name the parents. This assertion of joint parentage is the whole point of the ritual. Then the half lime is sucked by the mother, touched to her child’s mouth, and thrown away. In the same manner, the other half of the lime is then run down the left side of the baby, the same pronouncement made, and the mother sucks the lime, touches it to the baby’s mouth, and throws it away too. The lime is perhaps intended to ward off evil spirits. If at an unexpected birth no lime is available, the ritual is either done using the leaf of a lime tree, or failing that it is done with the cow dung, grass and clarified butter alone. After this the baby is fed, first from the right breast, then from the left.

Bezoar⁴² is a “heat- giving” substances from the stomach of a cow, supposedly the one which leads to herd. A small quantity of it – about as much as a coriander seed - is covered with mother’s milk and given to a male infant just after he has drunk milk for the first time⁴³.

Bezoar can also be fed to him on the 3rd, 5th or 7th day of the life, and that day must be a Friday, Tuesday, or Sunday. The biggest Bezoarstones are perhapstwo centimeter in diameter. They are found in the stomachs of nearly all cows, especially those which are very healthy or those which are barren. Interestingly, all vegetarian Badagas give this substance to their infants, even though they know it comes from a dead animal. Like all children’s medicines, it is now obtainable in the town bazaars, though formerly it was supplied by the Kota tribe; it even comes in “tablet forms”.

If the woman is actually ill before the delivery, and in half of the other childbirth cases as a precaution, she is given a medicine before drinking the coffee offered her after the birth. Oil called *be venne*, which is prepared from the seed of the *neem* tree, is boiled with some garlic in it, allowed to cool for a while, and then the mother drinks a little and the remainder is rubbed over her head, neck and body. The oil is very “heat – giving”. A piece of garlic is tied with cloth to each of her big toes, to prevent her from catching cold. (If she gets a heavy cold, the illness is called *janni*, and the temperature of the body is below normal. Then a liquid medicine can be administered). Some five to ten minutes

after the oil is given, the mother is offered coffee with palm jiggery. This is given to all women after delivery.

Stage IV - After birth, a half-hour or so after the delivery, either before or after the mother takes a bath. If it is slow in coming she will have the bath without waiting for it; although in earlier days it was customary to wait for it. Nowadays government midwives, if called in, pull the afterbirth *ex utero* (*masu*) if it does not immediately follow the delivery; and some other do these too. Badaga women rarely go to hospital or even call a doctor during child-birth. If they do so one can be sure that things are very serious and often complicated. "One day a Badaga woman was carried to the hospital... It was a case of retained placenta of three weeks duration, as the relativestold us. The woman was semi-conscious and pale with the loss of blood"⁴⁴. However, with the increase in government programs for training midwives, such tragedies are becoming very rare. Some Badagas apparently knew of a medicine which they also provided Todas with to release a delayed placenta⁴⁵.

Stage V - Next, the floor where the child was born is washed with a cow dung solution. A handful of hay is lit with a brand from the fire and circled around several times over the damp spot. The burnt hay is then thrown away and the firebrand hit on the floor at that point. The same place is then scratched with a tool similar to an axe (*adze*), for it is said that if this is not done the child will get itches on the skin⁴⁶.

The afterbirth is then carried by a woman to somewhere, generally within the hamlet boundary, where it can be buried. This can be anywhere distant from the settlement. Men may come to dig the hole, but will not touch the polluting afterbirth. It is bundled up in the dirty clothes or sacks, all of which are buried with it. A big stone and thorn bushes are put on top of the burial place, simply to make sure that no jackals or dogs eat it. Should the infant die shortly afterwards, before it has been named, it too is treated as afterbirth material and buried at the usual cemetery. If someone asks the mournful family who has died, the answer must be "No one".

Initial days after delivery:

For the first day or two after the birth of the child, the mother is given a hot bath four or five times daily. Up till this time she cannot bathe herself, but must have some

woman help her. After that time, she bathes herself in hot water, twice daily until twenty five to thirty days after delivery, and thereafter once daily. Always, the water used is hot. The baby is given a bath three times daily for the first eight days, then twice a day till the nineteenth day, and thereafter once daily, in the evening only.

In the olden days, the newly delivered mother was given a special preparation of little millet. This was first baked, and then boiled till it was a mushy porridge⁴⁷. Now she eats a non-liquid curry. For that peppercorns are fried in a clarified butter, and then ground up on the curry grinder. Then some garlic is fried and salt, tamarind and clarified butter mixed with it while it is kept warm beside the fire. A limited amount of this food is given to the mother twice daily until the fourth or fifth day after delivery, by an old woman who will restrict the quantity even though the mother might want more.

Thereafter, for the next twenty to forty-days, according to the state of the mother's health, she continues with this as her morning meal, but in the evenings has paddy rice and lentil soup. She can take a small amount of milk, even from the day of her delivery. This can only be cow's milk, and must be boiled before drinking. It is recognized that a woman who has given birth may appear weak and ugly, and repeated births can lead to ill-health. A proverb puts it this way: "The appearance of a woman who has just given birth to one child is like the appearance of a heifer which has given birth that day".

Purity and Pollution:

Woman who has given birth may touch any household utensils till the third, fifth, seventh or ninth day after the first full or new moon. I was told; alternatively it has been reported that she must first see the crescent moon before the period of pollution can end⁴⁸. She should be given no work for eight days before or eight days after her delivery: during that fortnight her husband must provide for all her needs, even if he is on the point of divorcing her. It used to be that after five, seven, and nine or fifteen days she might begin to work in the house again⁴⁹. Earlier for her first birth, a woman would stay in the menstrual hut until the next waning for the moon. In later confinements she would remain in the hut for only three days⁵⁰. The mother of twins, even if poor, should however stay at home looking after them for at least three months, without doing any outside work. "A

girl who has delivered is a good sight; a field with good crops is a good sight”, according to one proverb.

***Koosuthiru kothu* (Infant’s first visit to paternal home):**

Within a month of the birth on an auspicious day, mother and child return to her husband’s house. The party must number (including both of them) at least five persons, and must be of an odd number unless it exceeds twenty one. Nowadays this tradition has been held on fortieth day if the family is poor and it can be ninetieth day if the family is financially stable. The mother and child wear new dress gifted by the mother’s family.

If a woman delivers at her father’s house, she returns to the home of her husband within a month of the birth of the child on an auspicious day. On arrival there, the infant is placed near the feet of an old man standing by a lamp within the milk-house. Placing his right hand over the head of the infant, the old man blesses the child. Before the commencement of feast, two cups are placed, the one containing milk and the other cooked rice. All the relations take up a little of the milk and rice, and touch the tongue of the baby with the hand a feast is held, at the end.

If a woman becomes pregnant for the twentieth time by the same husband (a previous marriage does not count) then, whether all the offspring are living or not, the couple go right through the wedding and seventh month of pregnancy ceremonies again. These are performed on a lavish scale, even if the husband has to borrow substantially.

Childhood ceremonies⁵¹:

- (a) **HesuruHikkojena (Naming CeremonyDay):** This important ceremony makes the child into a social being, and must be performed before the fortieth day of life. Should it die before the ceremony the child’s corpse is buried without a formal funeral. A Badga new born baby receives its name on the seventh, ninth, or eleventh day. A sumptuous meal is given to the community. The grandfather, (paternal, if possible) milks a cow, and pours the milk into a brass cup placed in the milk-house; with it a little cooked pudding (*samai*) is mixed. The baby is washed with water brought from a stream and marked on forehead with sacred ashes; a turmeric-smeared thread is tied round its waist; a silver or iron bangle

placed on its wrists; and a silver bead is tied by a thread around its neck. Thus decorated, the infant is taken up by the oldest man of the village who is not a widower, who gives it a name, which has already been chosen. He first feeds the baby with food of *korali* (*seteriaItalica*) and gives the name to the baby. The elder, the child's parents and grandparents then place a little milk in its mouth. This rite is performed by all assembled. Some names are of family deities and ancestors as, *matha* for *Mathespura*, *kalla* for *Kallkamraya*, *Nanja* for *Nanjundispura*, *Karia* for *Kariabetta Raya*, *Bellim* for (Friday), *Jogi* (Yogi or Sanyasi), *Nandi* for Siva's Vahana. *Linga* for *Sivalingam*, *Kari* for *Kareria* etc. Females also similarly named as *Gowry* (land), *Gangi* (water), *Mathi&Matha*, *Lingi*, *Nanji*, *Siva* and *Lakshumi* etc⁵².

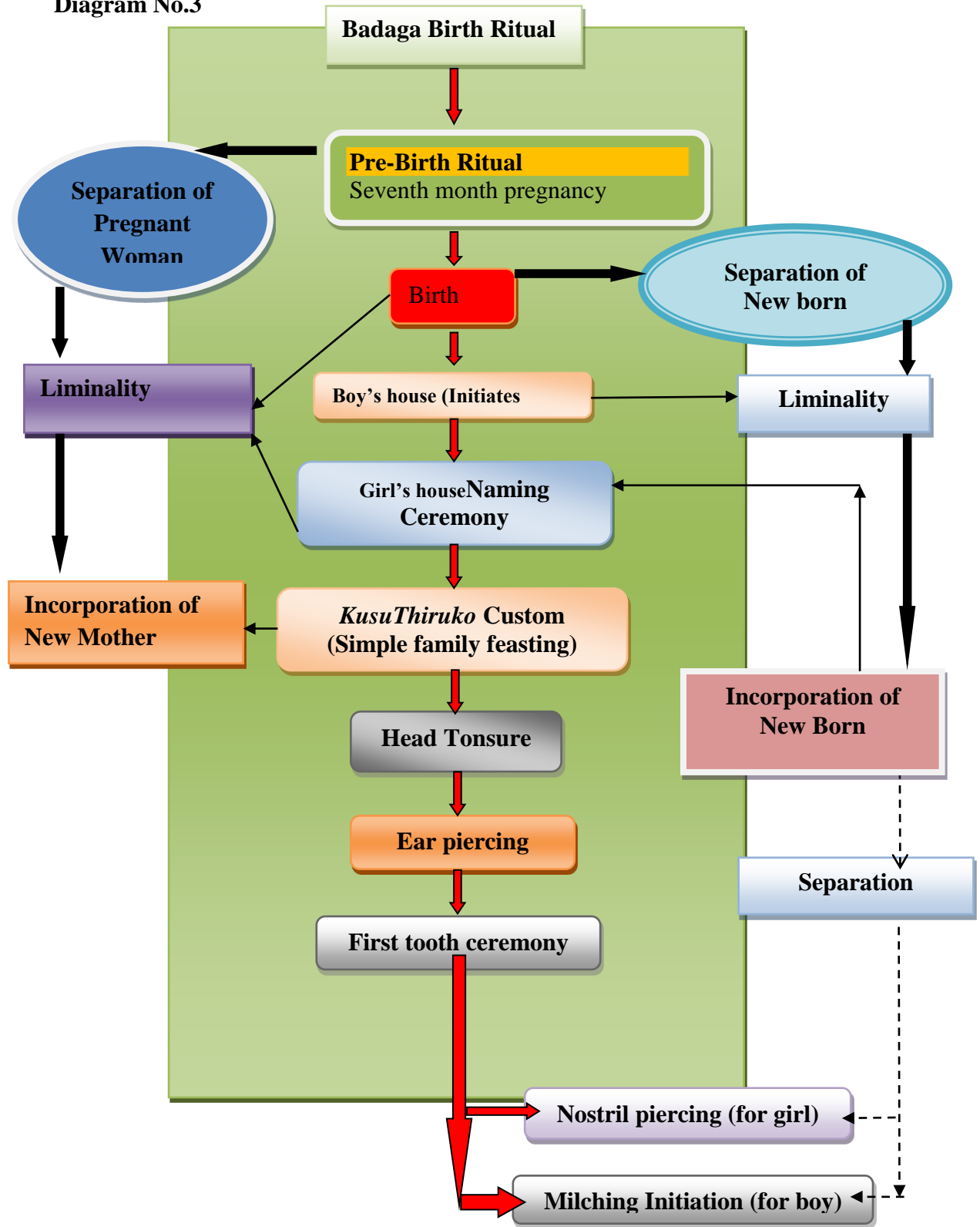
- (b) **Head Tonsure:** - This is usually combined with the ear boring, and should occur within about a year of the child's birth, but after the naming ceremony. The shaving is now done with a razor but formerly, used a fragment of bottle glass. Children should have a second complete shave at any time from two weeks to a year afterwards, but with no further ceremony, before their hair is allowed to grow long.
- (c) **Ear piercing:** This ceremony sometimes used to be combined with the naming ceremony, but otherwise it occurs during a child's first year. It should follow the shaving. An earring is simply touched to the child's ear, but several years later the lobes will be punctured without any further ceremony, using the point of an earring for this.
- (d) **First tooth ceremony:** Generally all babies get their lower teeth first, but in the case of a boy there will be a small ceremony if he gets teeth in the upper jaw first.
- (e) **Nostril piercing:** This is done in a girl's ninth, eleventh or thirteenth year on an auspicious day, but without any ceremony. In earlier times it was essential for a girl to have a nose-ring before she got married. Since A.D. 1960's the practice has stopped altogether, and before that it was often combined with girl's tattooing.
- (f) **Tattooing:** Today tattooing of girls is no more practiced among the Badagas. A century ago however all women were tattooed on the forehead. These designs are

made up of dots, dashes, crescents and circles and to be seen on shoulders of women, and the forearm and back of the hand were commonly tattooed as well. Although it was obligatory it was never an occasion for ceremony. Men are never present for a tattooing.

(g) Milking initiation: Between the boys naming and head shaving in infancy nothing ceremonial takes place. The initiation of the child into adult work between the ages of seven and nine, this constitutes the ceremonial milking of buffalo.

The milching initiation is clubbed with the '*linga*' initiation ceremony to the families and septs that have taken to Lingayat tradition of religious faith; this ritual is known as Lingayat initiation and is performed to Boys of several Lingayat clans, including the Woodeyas. They undergo a ceremony of investiture of the *linga* at about their thirteenth year. A *puja* is performed and the boys learn a prayer.

Diagram No.3



Badaga birth rituals can be seen in three stages as shown in the above diagram. Each stage represents a passage in the life of novice and is clearly marked by a ritual. The Pre-birth stage for the novice (pregnant woman) represents separation wherein she is separated from the former group and prepared for the new status/phase of life. The stage of 'Birth' which starts from the delivery is marked as liminal phase both for the new mother and the new born infants they are isolated and kept aloof. This process not only prepares the novice (new mother) for a new role or phase in her life, but also may serve to bind her to the new born child. In this liminal phase the neophytes (mother and child) are neither in their former group or position nor yet re-introduced into the society. During this time, the novice prepares herself for the future, and the responsibilities that will come-up. The Post-birth stage is marked by the passage of incorporation through a series of rituals such as naming ceremony, head tonsuring and ear piercing. All these ceremonies are done by the end of the year of the birth of the child. It is interesting to note here that after attaining eighth or ninth year the child is prepared for the new stage in life which is marked by certain ceremonies such as nostril piercing (for girls), milching initiation (for boys) and Lingayat initiation (for some faith-seeking sects of Badagas) which indicate 'separation phase' to the adolescence. It is interesting to note that 'milching' is the identity marker of the occupation of the Badagas.

Puberty Ritual

Hennu Madakkae Muttodhu (Puberty Ceremony)⁵³:

Badagas do not know why menstruation occurs, and simply attribute it to God's will. The intervals can vary from sixteen to forty days, tending to be shorter in fat women. Among young women menses occurs every eighteen, nineteen, or twenty days, with twenty two days as perhaps the maximum. With older women the period comes on the average after twenty five days, and may even span two months. Girls are reported onset of puberty at fourteen or fifteen years, but in some cases menarche comes at twelve years of age.

Perception on Menses:

These are simple physiological facts as Badagas know them, yet the social implications of menstruation are anything but simple. "Menses (*olavu*) pollutes nine

houses; and likewise a person who has not yet washed after a meal pollutes seven houses". As this proverb underlines, the event pollutes a woman and could pollute her home too; so that it has been customary for every woman to spend a few days each month in a special menstrual hut (*holagudi*). Every village used to have one (some still do), a fact that underlines the general threat women posed to the purity of the Badaga house. Thurston⁵⁴ and Miles⁵⁵ recorded that a girl might be sent to the hut on a Friday, a few days before the new moon, a few months before her first menses, lest this come on an inauspicious day. Should this occur, no further ritual precaution can be taken.

Onset of Puberty:

At the onset of a girl's first menses she is immediately taken to the nearest river, where no matter what the weather, she takes a bath (*Thorakollu*) and then puts on a clean set of clothes given by her parents. The girl throws her old clothes away before bathing, or else picks them up afterwards with a stick and disposes of them. Similarly, the new clothes which a girl wears during her first menstrual seclusion will also be thrown away and never touched again. Once these new clothes are on, she goes directly to the menstrual hut if her village still has one. Although it is no longer a common institution, some villages maintain one today merely for its ritual use at a girl's first menstruation and older women are not secluded in it. Where the hut does not exist the girl is sent off to a cowshed probably a disused one, because this is supposed to be a sacred building; or failing that a vacant house, or at least a separate room of her own house. This latter might be built for her on one end of the veranda, particularly if it is raining heavily at the time.

Present day practice:

At the onset the girl informs her mother or an elderly woman at home. She is then made to stay out of the home and then given (*burlupachaekallae*) to be eaten at that time. The mother and some elderly women at home and some girls of her own age take the girl to the riverside (*halla*) to take bath with *thorakollu* (body soap). Then discard the clothes in the stream or burnt. The changing dress brought by the mother will be given to the girl to wear (the girl is not allowed to touch the changing dress until she takes bath at the *halla*). Now the girl returns home where she is allotted *aeramane* (direction) room in which her required plates, tumblers/ bed mattress, bed spread/blanket- are provided and

should not be touched by others and similarly she is not allowed to go beyond her room (*eramane*) and front yard (*keri*). During this seclusion days (played *darulu* (game played with small stones) etc., during these seclusion days the girl's relatives come and visit the girl and offer her eatables. Only the girl's mother and her age group female friends enter the *eramane*. The visitors and others in the family do not enter the *eramane* where the girl spends her secluded days.

Purity and Pollution:

Once in her hut or room the girl is under severe restrictions. She must not touch milk⁵⁶. She cannot go to the public water source, nor should she pass near the temple or along the street where the Great House stands (that built by the founder of the village); nor should attend any suspicious ceremony or public festival. She should not step over the village's water channel or the path between the priest's home and the temple, or go beyond the territorial boundary of her own village. She must not collect dry firewood, lest she become barren. She must not face the village priest; so that when he starts out from his home for the temple he shouts "*hau;hau;*" (or rings a hand bell if it is a Lingayat village) as a warning to all menstruating women to hide themselves. The girl must cook her own food while she is in seclusion, and cannot be supplied with it already cooked from her own home. Instead, every household in the village should give the girl a small amount of rice, chili, salt, pulse, millet flour or vegetables. Such gifts are not to be returned later in equal measures.

The Ceremonial day:

A girl's first seclusion is for no fixed period. She can re-enter her home only on a Monday, Wednesday or Friday, but it must be either the first day after the new moon or else whichever of these three days falls most closely before the full moon. Although this is the Badaga custom, today one out of five girls would instead go to the nearest town and as in *Tamilian* fashion, consult an astrologer as to the most auspicious day for re-entering the house. On that day she bathes outside the house, puts on a set of totally new clothes, and cut her nails. Along with the other new clothes she is given the traditional head cloth, which she ties over her head before entering the home or which is replaced by the end of a *sari* held over her head, if she has adopted that mode of dress⁵⁷. Only after sunset, she

can see stars and then the girl cross the threshold with the right, auspicious foot first. It is reported that she used to be led up to the threshold by five elderly women⁵⁸. Once inside she goes to the door way that joins the two main rooms, kneels down, and touches her head to the floor. By this gesture she acknowledges that the further room, the *ogamane*, is a sacred place which she will never pollute by her menses. As the girl bows down, older people in that house say a prayer. She then stands and bows her head to the hand of the oldest person in the house, and then to all other relatives present.

Blessings from the village:

Next, accompanied by another girl of similar age such as a sister, she goes round the village and bows in the same manner to all people older than herself. On that occasion each household must offer her something to eat as a symbol of their mutual kinship. Generally the girl is given milk, but in a large village she may only taste a drop of that milk because she could not drink so much. And although the village may be large, the bowing cannot be postponed till morning but must be completed at every house, no matter how late the hour is. If necessary the girl must even knock on doors and waken people. Everyone should bless her, as her own mother has already done, with a formula wishing her: “May you, my darling, soon receive a husband, bring forth a son, build your own house and live happy”⁵⁹. From this time onward the girl is really a full-fledged member of the village community. There is a rule, no longer followed, that she should now bow down to any visitor from another hamlet, whether a man or woman. More importantly she is now recognized as being ready for marriage. Traditionally her forehead would be tattooed a few days later, leaving a visible sign of her marriageability⁶⁰.

Menstrual Hut: A Traditional Institution: *Holagudi*(pollution place)

The menstrual hut (*holagudi* – “pollution place”) was an important institution in the lives of adult women. They were customarily secluded there for a period of five to seven days⁶¹. If a woman discovered her condition before washing in the morning, that day would be considered as the third day of seven days of pollution. To be more exact: in calculating those days, the second day of observable menstruation is counted as the third; but if the onset is noticed before sunrise then that same day is already counted as the

nominal third day. This habit of mind is expressed in the proverb: "If dying today, it will be three days by tomorrow." Thus the entire menstrual period would cover five or six days. It was the custom that on the real third day of her five secluded days, the woman would bathe in cold water using bark of(*pellotory*) as soap. On the fourth day she was to repeat this bath, but could then put on a change of clothing, leave the hut, and spend part of the night on her own veranda. After cooking and eating her evening meal, there she would take bath again and then enter the outer, less sacred room of the house. Early next morning the spot where she slept was cleaned, and the woman bathed in the stream. Then she would return home, eat her meals in the outer room, and remain there until next morning, the sixth actual day, when the pollution period would terminate. During the entire period no one may touch a menstruating woman. Should a child nonetheless do so, he must be washed to remove the pollution, before he comes into contact with anyone else. The woman may even enter the inner, sacred room during the day; whereas a generation or two before that action would have resulted in her being divorced and sent home to her father. The outraged husband would then have the entire house cleaned out and would perform the rituals appropriate for the completion of a new building.

Although older women think the menstrual hut was a good institution, in that it gave women six days of complete rest each month, there is a general recognition that the present custom is not altogether inconvenient, since a woman now has already access to clean clothing, water, and some other household facilities. Some families still observe a custom that prohibits a woman from drinking buttermilk or entering cattle shed until the seventh day after menses. This indicates that the latter building is considered more sacred than the inner room of a house; (and indeed, in certain respects, a cattle shed could be used as a temple in earlier times).

Some other observations can be offered on the use women made of their time while in the menstrual hut. Each hamlet, and sometimes each clusters of hamlets, had only one such hut. This was the case even in hamlets that were riven by factions, for such disputes were mainly, the concern of the men. A woman may enter any convenient hut and if she were, for example, visiting her father's village she would use the menstrual hut there. A man may even send his wife away to another village for her period if there is a woman of ill repute currently staying in the hut in his own village. Married adolescent

girls who had never been pregnant would usually return to their father's villages to use the hut. Population might be so little that a woman would often find herself alone in the hut. In that case she would be afraid to sleep there by herself for fear of Kurumba sorceress and ghosts. (This fear ran counter to the Badaga belief that Kurumbas themselves were afraid of menstruating woman, and hence would never enter the hut and secretly ravish or attack any menstruating woman through sorcery). Because of this fear, a woman who was alone in the hut would persuade another who was due to menstruate in the next few days to tell her family the period had already begun, so that the two could sleep together in the hut. This ruse would not allow the second woman to spend extra time in the hut however, and she might well continue to menstruate after leaving it, but would keep the matter secret. Sometimes a woman would be already pregnant when she entered the hut for such purely social reasons. Since the number of weeks until she came to term might be calculated from the last day a woman was in the hut, it therefore could happen that she gave birth in what seemed to be the eighth month of pregnancy.

When a group of women were together in the menstrual hut they could engage in a number of interesting activities. The only work they were permitted to do was to gather firewood for use there, prepare their own food, and wash their clothes (at a place separate from the usual spot). It was generally while in the hut that an adolescent girl underwent tattooing. The only game the women *played* was "eye-bean", a game which involved the redistribution of beans in a series of a dozen depressions. In general, girls were not allowed to play this until they had their first pregnancy, but younger girls did play it too while in menstrual hut.

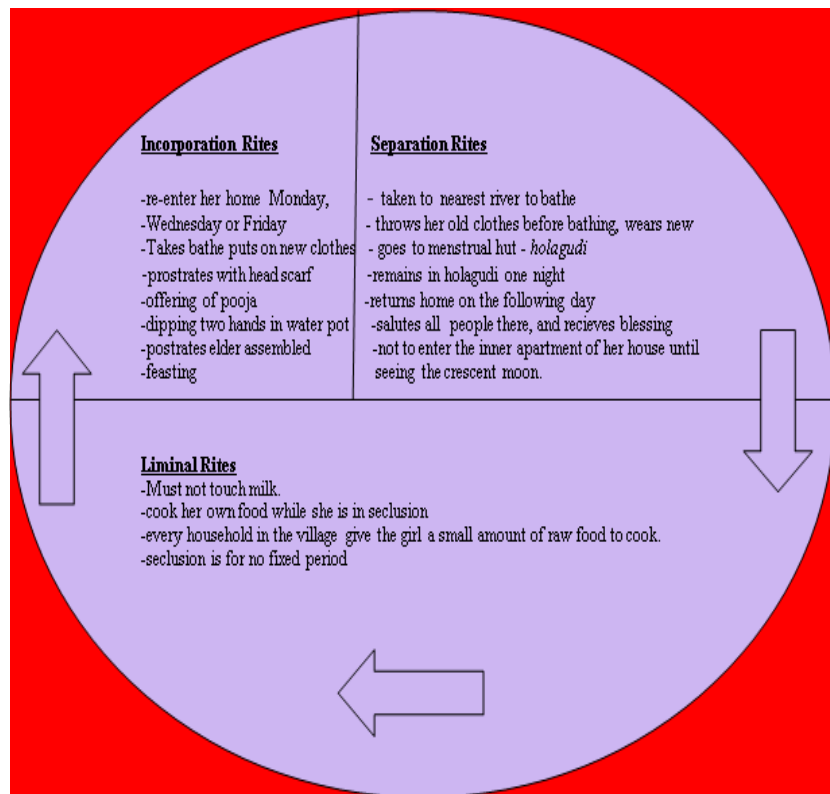
Cooking vessels kept in the hut were common to the whole village, and were in constant use. There was no need to destroy or even purify them after use, since everyone involved with them was in a state of pollution. Foodstuffs could be given to the women by their relatives, but it was taboo to give them cooked foods. No pot, basket or cloth would be taken to the hut with food, since it could not be taken back home afterwards. Thus when a woman in the hut was about to receive food, she brought a pot outside, left it on the ground, and stepped back about five meters while the visitor poured her foodstuffs into the pot. This was in fact the usual way of giving food to untouchables in South India. Women did not expect very good food in the menstrual hut they tended to

fill themselves up before leaving home: “The eye of the ox which has been ploughing is on the village; the eye of a woman just before menses is on the hearth”. Amore rambunctious proverb states: “The woman who has not eaten is like the one in the menstrual hut; the woman who does not fart is like summer” – summer being rather uncomfortable period⁶².

The following diagram represents the events in the puberty ceremony of the Badagas

Diagram No.4

Badaga Puberty Rites



Puberty is conceptualized as the age at which a person is viewed as capable of sexual reproduction and a rite of this landmark event is marked by a culture group. Puberty rites signals a community’s acknowledgement that one of its young women or young men had reached the age of responsibility and community productivity; these rites made an indelible impression on the participant and forms a part of socialization process.

In Badaga society, Puberty ritual in a subtle way start with nostril piercing ceremony (for girls) done between the age of nine and thirteen just before the onset of menstrual flow. The Manipulations of the Body such as the piercing the nostrils of the girl child denote the transition to new state. The state of puberty is as much physical as mental and therefore, requires separation from the routine life to make aware of one's own body as well as the members of opposite sex in the community to treat the novice as different but valuable member of the community who would be a prospective agent for community reproduction.

Marriage Ritual

Marriage in a Badaga society⁶³ emphasize marriage is strict rules of absolute trust, mutual affection between the couple and ability to adjust and share the responsibilities equally, the duties are demarcated and freedom given to both. Bride performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house as a serious household duty that she will perform as a wife in that house. In the same way she executes the ceremony of farm work to mark her participation in agricultural mores.

The marriage ceremonial among Badagas has always been very simple in nature. Badagas claim no divine origin for their religion or customs. Their customs are mostly pragmatic and relevant to their daily life. Their marriage customs also do not reveal any supernatural underpinnings. Badaga marriage patterns are determined by the existence of several descent groups to which the Badagas belong to. A Badaga would always marry outside of one's own group and might even refer to one's own generation fellow-siblings in the whole group, however extensive it may be, as brother and sister.

Kinship and Marriage:

The kinship structure among Badagas is well-organized. Each potential groom's/bride's patrilineage is always known. The partriliny of the Badaga system is very solid. On marriage, a Badaga girl relinquishes membership in her natal family lineage and village and joins those of her husband. Badagas trace their descent from one or other of certain specified exogamous sept descending in the male line and a boy and a girl in the same sept should not marry.

Social relations among Badaga villages are so close that the sept every potential bride/groom is known to one and all. Badagas are divided into a number of exogamous

septs which are traced to the male line, i.e. a boy or girl belongs to his or her father's sept. It is not at-all difficult to find out the sept to which a man or woman belongs to, as one can scarcely be found who does not know one's own sept by rote. In the unlikely eventuality of any doubt village elders are consulted and the sept identity is settled at once without need for any books or rules.

There is no uncle-niece marriage among Badagas, whereas, it is common in other Dravidian societies. It is believed that kin marriages prove to be more effective in promoting and reinforcing the relations between two groups involved in the marital alliance than the non-kin marriages. In view of this fact, kin marriages are generally preferred everywhere. In Badaga society, marriage with the genetic relatives on the maternal side and on the paternal side as well is permitted, preferred and also emphasized. The dominant culture of Badaga society recognizes two types of connubial union of genetic relatives that is, marriage with father's sister's daughter and marriage with mother's brother's daughter. Of late this trend is changing and people prefer to have alliance with genetically unrelated family.

Badaga Marriage

Most Badaga marriages⁶⁴ are arranged by their elders. Parents and guardians of marriageable youths and maidens meet to settle the preliminaries of the marriage. The custom of betrothal and that of the marriage ceremony followed in the Badaga community is perhaps unique. The marriage rites at the present day resembles largely to those of earlier Badaga generation in all essential particulars. Village elders officiate in all marriage rites. Marriage is celebrated at the house of the bridegroom. The bride is to live with bridegroom's family after marriage. The bridegroom has to take the bride to his home after wedding. Few days prior to the marriage close agnates of the bridegroom are invited for discussing about the preparation for the marriage.

Few days before the marriage, men, mostly youth meet around to their friends and relations and invite them formally to attend the ceremony. The bridegroom's relations and friends are invited by the bridegroom's party. But the bride's relations and friends are invited by the sides of bride and bridegroom. If the invitation is extended to bride's relations and friends from the bride's side alone invitees will attend only to the ceremony at the bride's residence. Hence, a representative from the bridegroom's also

accompanies the representative from the bride's side when inviting the friends and relations, of the bride. The girl visits her maternal uncle's house and prostrates in front of him. She is blessed with tokens of gifts. Maternal uncle is called 'guru' in traditional parlance.

Badaga Marriage Ceremony:

Marriage ceremony takes place always in the morning hours. In earlier times the early hour was selected to avoid the chance of coming across inauspicious objects. However, now-a-days an auspicious time is selected with the help of astrology for the marriage ceremony. The auspicious days are calculated, commencing with the first day after the new moon. For a marriage function, generally, Sunday, Monday and Wednesday are considered auspicious and the bright half of the lunar month is preferred.

For the marriage ceremony, mostly, a "*sappara*" (marriage booth) is created in front of the bridegroom's house and a dais is set up inside it. Decoration of the wedding place with garlands and lights culminates with cleaning and decorating the groom's house. Few elderly and close agnates go to market for buying things for marriage. While buying, the eldest of the agnates buys salt first. For cleaning rice, cereals etc., close female agnates assemble at the bridegroom's place. Likewise the close agnates of bride are invited at bride's place for discussion about the marriage. They too go for shopping with close agnates and buy salt first.

Sequence of a Badaga Marriage Ceremony

- (1) *Hennu Nodothu* (Match Seeking for Marriage)
- (2) *Kalidippadu* (Bethrodal)
- (3) *Ungaramani Kattodu* (Ring necklace tied)
- (4) *Honnu Ikkodu* (Paying Bride Money)
- (5) *Madhuvae Jana* (Marriage Day)
- (6) *Madhuvae Urvala* (Marriage Procession)
- (7) *Hennu Manaega Hikkodhu* (The Bride brought into the bridegroom's House)
- (8) *Kanni Hakodhu* (The bride groom Nuptial knot with turmeric smeared thread)
- (9) *Madhuvae Hittu* (Marriage Feast)
- (10) *MoiIkkodhu* (Gift Giving)
- (11) *Marumanae* (Married Couple visiting the Bride's House)

The Badaga marriage ceremony is generally performed at the bridegroom's house, and is considered as two day Marriage ceremony for the bride's family calculating the day before the actual marriage day.

1. *Hennu Nodothu* (Match Seeking for Marriage)

A proposal for marriage is initiated by the bridegroom's side and is preceded through go-betweens. Both bride and bridegroom may reject a number of suitors before he/she finally settles down on a suitable match. The consent of the bride will be obtained before she is given in the marriage. When both the parties agree to the marriage alliance their parents proceed to discuss further details like the auspicious days for the betrothal and wedding, the number of guests from bride's side that should attend are discussed.

2. *Kalidippadu* (Betrothal)

The actual ceremony related to marriage commence with the *kalidippadu* (betrothal) ceremony, an important event. When a marriage is under contemplation, the prospective bridegroom once visits to the prospective bride's house with a friend or a relative. After this, in few cases, bride groom's close relatives and friends make a visit to the bride's house. After a match has been arranged, the formal betrothal called '*kalidippadu*' takes place. At this ceremony the bridegroom's relations including an elder and younger agnate precede the house of the girl. There the elders of the bride's side are invited for the purpose. Mostly close agnates of the bride's side are invited. A man who is a brother or a classificatory brother of the bridegroom prostrates himself in front of the assembly; and all bless him. This is in token of getting concurrence from the girl's side for the marriage. While performing this ceremony an elder agnate asks the girl about her consent for the marriage. This is to ensure that the girl is not married off by compulsion in any way.

3. *Ungaramani Kattodu* (Tying Silver rings)

On the previous day to the marriage an odd number of men and women from the bridegroom's party go to the house of the bride, where a feast is held. They have to enter the bride's house before sunset. On this day the relations and friends of bride attend the feast and most of them give presents at the bride's residence. Before supper one of the

groom's parties (who are a classificatory brother of the groom) goes around to every house of village and secures consent by prostrating himself in front of elders and by clasping the hand if the guardian of a house is younger. The bride accompanied by a few friends goes to every house of her village to receive blessings. She is offered some edible items, mostly tea or milk. Some give presents to the bride for the prosperity of the girl. The bride prostrates in front of the elders of each house. After supper the floor of the bride's house is swept and "*doddadivige*" (big lamp) is lit. (Throughout the marriage process worshipping the lamp is there). The bride and others sit in "*idamane*" (outer room). The bride prostrates in front of the lamp. Elders bless her. She is marked with sacred ashes on her forehead. The lamp, especially "*doddadivige*" is kept burning on the occasion of marriage ceremony and is an important observance. An elderly lady of the bridegroom's party ties around bride's neck a golden necklace which strung with silver rings. In olden days the necklace was just a string of beads and called "*malemani*". And now-a-days, mostly it is called "*ungaramani*" i.e., "*mani*" (beads) with "*uñgara*" (ring).

4. *Honnu Ikkodu*⁶⁵ (Paying Bride Money)

The bridegroom has to pay "*honnu*" a token amount "*pariyam*" i.e., bride money to the bride's parents. "*honnu*" paying event is kept according to their convenience. However, it must be conducted before the marriage. For this purpose an elder kinsman of the bridegroom is sent to bride's house. The kinsman takes the token amount of rupees, often in lower denomination like five or 10 rupee denominations. The kinsman gives the money to an elder man on the bride's side by counting notes one by one. An elder on bride's side receives it on his "*sile*" (shawl) by stretching its corner portion on ground. After counting is over the groom's kinsman is given a lesser denomination as token in return as his pocket money. This is called as "*kaisirahana*". There is a small feast at the end of this event. . If this is kept on the marriage day itself, takes place after the bride sets out of her house⁶⁶.

5. *Madhuvae Jana* (Marriage Day)

On the marriage day⁶⁷ the bride gets up early in the morning and takes bath, she wears bridal clothes, mostly silk. She is adorned with jewels and decoration of garlands. Friends and others help her to dress-up. The bride salutes the lamp and prostrates at the

feet of her parents and elders for blessings. At an auspicious time she sets out from her house. She is accompanied closely by at least few women all along the way up to the end of the marriage function. An elder woman holds a garland decked umbrella above her. Generally they visit their village shrine and conduct some ritual. From there, they proceed towards the bridegroom's village.

6. *Madhuvae Urvala* (Marriage Procession)

On the marriage day, the bride's party arrives in a procession at the village of bridegroom and waits at a village temple. By then the bridegroom takes bath and wears new white clothes i.e., he wears white shirt and white dhoti. The bridegroom, at his house, prostrates in front of the lamp and his parents. From there the bridegroom along with some relatives and friends goes to the village temple⁶⁸. *Puja* is performed at the temple and both bride and groom prostrate in front of the idol. The man who conducts '*puja*', applies sacred ashes on the foreheads of the bride and groom. The bride and groom exchange garlands. From there the marriage procession goes towards groom's house⁶⁹. In the procession the bride stands to the left of groom, holding his little finger. Throughout the marriage procession both bride and bridegroom wear no foot wear. For the bride the bride's maid holds the umbrella and for the groom his best man holds an umbrella above their head⁷⁰. On arrival at the marriage "*pandal*" (booth), they are welcomed by the groom's party. The party is received with due respects which is shown by way of taking care of walking sticks and umbrellas of the guests on arrival, in addition, they are offered coffee⁷¹.

7. *Hennu Manaega Hikkodhu* (Brides entry into the house)

As soon as the procession arrives at the entrance of the groom's house, the bridegroom parts away⁷². The bride stands at the entrance of the house the groom and her mother-in-law or sister-in-law brings water in a vessel, and pours it into her hands thrice. Each time she lets the water fall over her feet⁷³. The mother-in law or sister -in-law leads her to the "*idamane*" (outer room), bride then enters the house with right foot foremost and sits on a mat. There she is fed with banana fruit and milk in a brass plate. Two women from bride's side and two women from bridegroom's side participate in partaking of the fruit and milk with the bride. They eat together taking up some from the same plate⁷⁴. The bride comes out of the house with the plate to wash and the bridegroom's

sister gives her water to wash her hands. The bride goes inside the house and keeps the plate there. The bride and two married women (preferably the bride grooms sisters) go to stream in procession and bring from there water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots. They pour it into two decorated new pots kept in the inner room. This performance is called '*melole*'.

8. *Kanni Hakodhu*⁷⁵ (Tying the marriage nuptial knot)

Another important rite is "*kannihakodhu*" or "*kannikatodhu*" (thread throwing or tying). It is this rite which seals the marriage contact. For this occasion the bridegroom wears white turban and covers his body with "*sile*" (a long white cloth, sometimes with red and blue stripes) in addition to the white shirt and white dhoti. The bride covers her body with a white "*mundu*" (dhoti) in addition to her silk clothes. While covering the "*sile*" and "*mundu*" they cover in such a way that their upper covering clothes go under the right arm and on left shoulder. The bride and bridegroom are seated on a new mat. Bride sits at the front and the bridegroom sits behind facing her back. In a new brass plate, which is given to bride by her parents, a little cooked "*samai*" rice (*samai* brought from bride's house) mixed with milk and is fed to the couple. They eat together taking up some from the same plate. The bridegroom should feed the bride. Taking up some of the rice, bridegroom puts it into the bride's mouth three times. After that they wash their hands and mouths⁷⁶.

The bridegroom asks his father-in-law whether he may throw the thread around the bride's neck. He repeats this three times and he receives permission every time. After that he proceeds to do so. The "*kanni*" (marriage thread) is blessed by those assembled and handed to the bridegroom. He gets the thread, which must have no knots in it and puts it around the bride's neck. The cotton thread is dyed with turmeric.

The bride's party gives odd number "*hana*" (i.e., a token amount of coins and a gold *fanam*). Normally, seven coins are given. The bride receives the "*hanas*" with both her hands. The groom's party gives to the groom an odd number but more than the number of *hanas* offered to the bride. Groom gives his '*hanas*' to the bride and in turn the bride gives the entire *hanas*' to the groom. He keeps all the '*hanas*' by tying it in a white cloth⁷⁷.

All the people assembled for the purpose are invited to be present on the occasion to take part in the cumulative blessings on the bridal pair⁷⁸. People are given pinches of rice, coloured yellow with the turmeric and these they shower over the heads of the recipients of the blessing. The bridal pair is to be blessed not by a few but by every one of the villagers or by at least as many as could be secured. The bride takes out the mat used by them and washes it in the nearby stream and returns it.

9. *MadhuvaeHittu* (Marriage Feast)

Every Badaga marriage is accompanied by vegetarian feasts. Almost all the people in the village are invited and fed sumptuously. The bridegroom's party should look to the comfort and convenience of every one of the bride's party during the time of marriage ceremony, when they are guests. The feast should be provided in a decent scale to the bride's party by the groom's party. Often all the villagers extend many kinds of help in treating the guests.

After the wedding feast, all are given betel leaves with arecanut. The eldest person in age and relationship among persons of each village who attended the wedding function are given "*kaanikke*" a token, with betel leaves.

10. *MoiIkkodhu* (Gift Giving)

The marriage concludes with a feast and gift giving; at the conclusion of which, in some cases, the bride and bridegroom sit on the raised verandah and receive gifts. Friends and relatives offer gifts to the bride and bridegroom. Mostly, the bridegroom's relatives and friends present gifts to the bridegroom and bride's relatives and friends give gifts to the bride. After this, those assembled for the marriage disperse.

The blessings of friends and relatives especially near and dear ones are accompanied by gifts of tangible material, costly ornaments, and valuable clothes. Distant relatives and mere acquaintance just make a token presents of a small amount or less valuable articles.

11. *Marumanae* (Married Couple visiting the Bride's House)

By the afternoon the bride goes to her house along with two women and two men of bridegroom's side. While going so, the bride takes five measures of rice from the bag which has been presented to her by her parents. She takes bath at her house and changes her dress. From the bride's house, the bride and those who accompany her return by

evening. The bride brings some sweets confectioneries and fruits. All the guests disperse by afternoon. But few women from bride's party stay there and return next morning.

Divorce

The relationship of marriage is one of trust and shared interest. When marital relationship faces problem it leads towards divorce. Before considering divorce one must decide to work through the marital conflicts with his/her spouse. The society emphasizes this always. The divorce system of Badagas is simple and that too officiated by village elders. However elders try their level best to solve the difference and unite the couple. In their last attempt only they agree for divorce. In the divorce process, elder agnates of bridegroom go to the bride's house and elder agnates of bride's side also participate on the occasion. The ornaments given to the bride and other things sent along with her on marriage occasion should be handed over to the bride's father. Similarly the '*honnu*' amount and other things given to the bride by the bridegroom's side should be given to bride groom. An agnate of the bridegroom's side prostrate in front of the elder agnates of bride's side and says '*niñgahennuniñgagaoppittu*' (your daughter is sent back to you). With this the process ends.

However, there is a room for reconciliation after divorce too. For this, a simple ceremony called '*hone tattuvadu*' (re-enacting bond) is to be performed. For this purpose elder agnates of bridegroom, go to bride's house and take back the bride to the bridegroom's house.

Diagram No.5

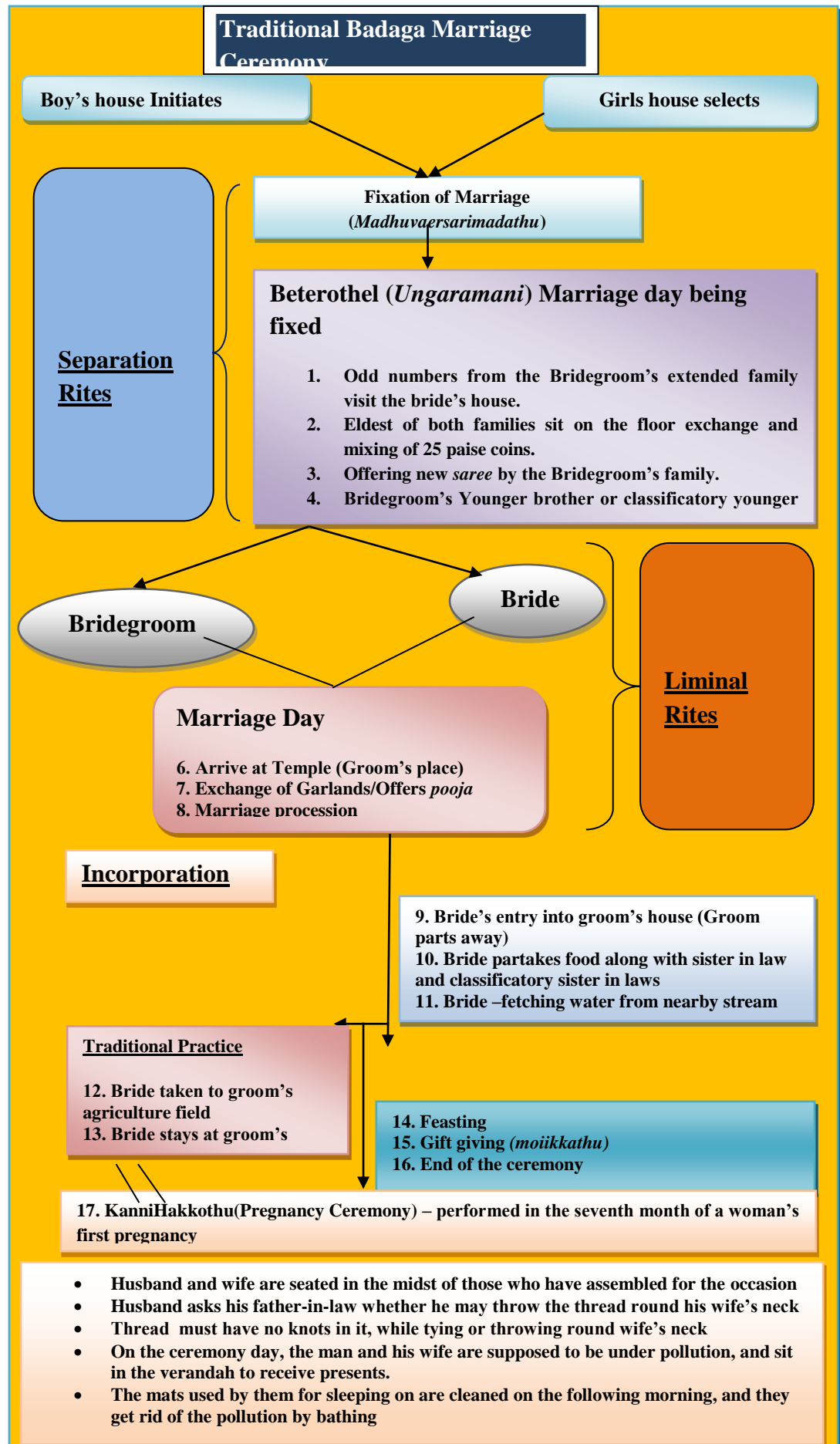
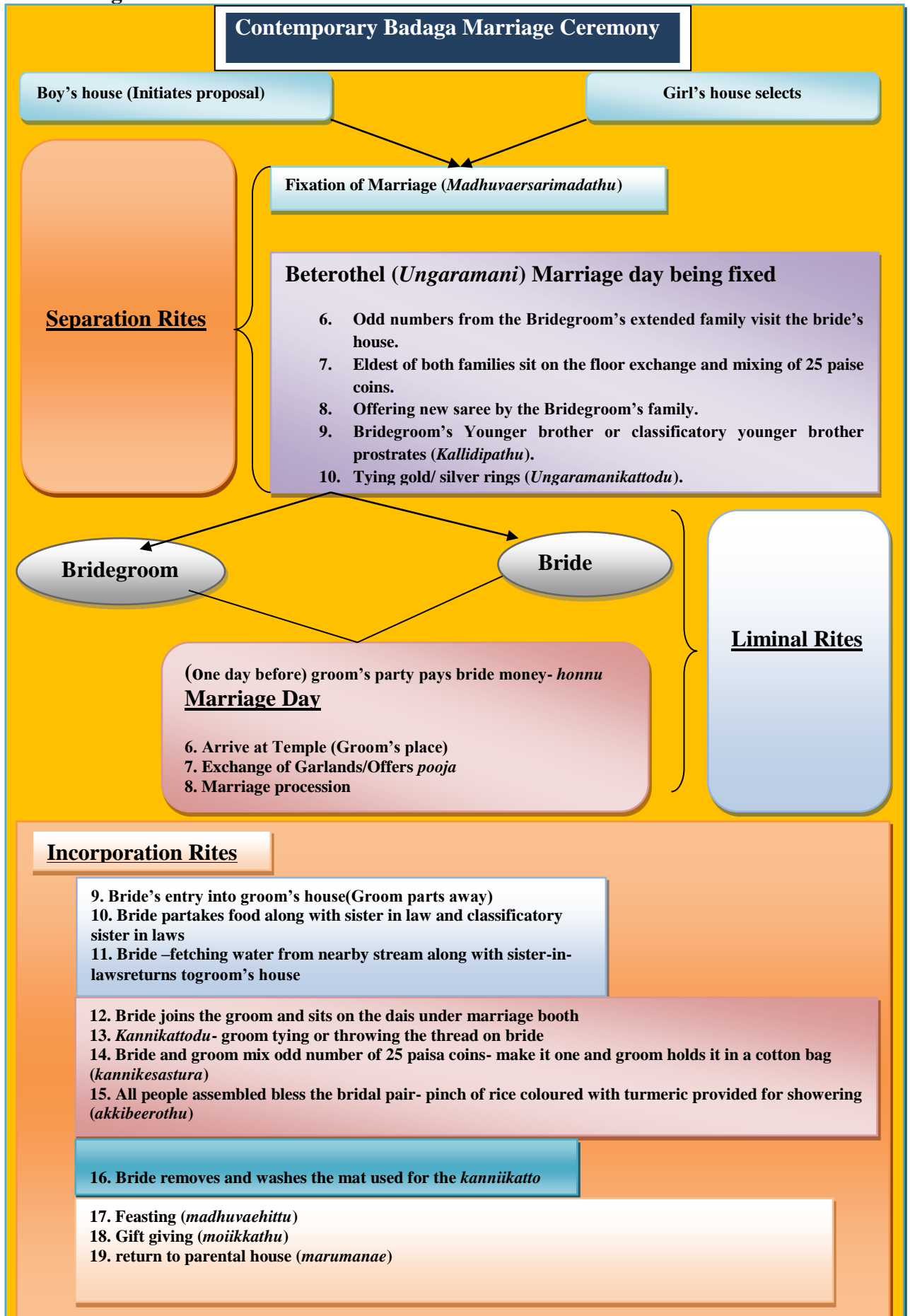


Diagram No. 6



Marriage ceremony in any culture is elaborate and jubilant and the Badaga culture is no exception to this. The event of marriage is marked as the onset for family's/community's reproduction and growth without which the family/community extinguish. Therefore, it is considered as most sacred and revered with observances of several dos and don'ts. In the case of the Badagas, in olden times as represented in the Chart one above, the conception of the bride marks the incorporation into the family of the bridegroom by way of tying the *tali*, the sacred thread, around the neck of the bride by the bridegroom and allowing the bride to the most auspicious and sacred place within the house which is termed as the ' *puja* room or god's room'.

Death Rituals

Death in the Badaga community generally occurs at home or in hospitals and like institutions and would be anticipated, and in other cases deaths occur, due to accident, suicide and the like which is sudden and unanticipated. The Badagas, funeral is the most complex of all ceremonies because it is the most important and a communal rather than a family ceremony (as a naming or marriage is).

Sequence of a Badaga Funeral Ceremony⁷⁹:

1. *nou kapathu* (moments before death)
2. *saavu*(occurrence of death)
3. *saavu jana* (funeral day)
4. *saavu sudothu* (cremation/burial)
5. *korambu kaipathu*(offering food for the dead)

1. *Nou kapathu* (Moments before death)

The funeral rites of the Badagas almost start even before the person dies. This is evident from the rites performed when a person is terminally ill. Message will be sent to the relatives and friends far and near in order to come and bless the unfortunate person who is about to dies. When the person is nearing his death, little amount of *samai* (fox millet) is put in his mouth and a spoon of milk is given to the dying person. This ritual act is performed by the eldest son of the terminally ill. Then men surrounding the ill person perform the same ritual act. Women do not perform this ritual act. A tiny old gold coin (a

Viraraya hana) or silver 25 *paise* piece covered with butter or dipped in clarified butter used to be put in the mouth to be swallowed if possible, otherwise just remains on the tongue.

2. *Saavu* (Occurrence of death)

Once when the life extinguishes, the first rite would be to place the body on the floor in the middle room of the house. Then the mouth and eyes of the dead is closed, two hands joined together nearer to the chest, two forefingers of the legs are tied together which is done in order to keep the body straight. Then the face of the dead person is washed. To keep the mouth closed, a coloured cloth is used as a thread to tie it around the head and below the jaw. An old one rupee coin is stuck on the forehead with the help of ghee. Then the body is covered with a white cloth from the neck to legs. Message of the death is passed to the village head who in turn visits the bereaved house. Stored water in vessels at the dead person's house is emptied; milk, curd, buttermilk and all cooked food and other ready eatables are emptied and thrown away immediately after the occurrence of death. A lamp is kept lit above the head of the dead. Relatives at the bereaved house see that the lamp burns continuously until the burial or cremation of the body. Further on the day of cremation or burial they take care for the whole night without sleep that the lamp is kept burning till the next day morning, which is called *thevigae kapathu* (watching the lamp burning). During the whole night prior to the funeral day ballads are sung and women who are close relatives of the dead sit around the corpse. A hand bell is kept near the corpse and is frequently rung. If death occurs in a hospital or some place outside the village, the corpse is not taken into the house, it is taken to the *dodda manae* (the great house). If the deceased is a married woman, message is passed to her native village and house immediately. In case of a deceased married man, the message is passed immediately to his wife's native village and her house, such that they prepare the material objects required for the funeral ceremony, which is an important ritual requirement.

3. *Saavu jana* (funeral day)

On the funeral day morning, the face, hands and legs of the corpse are washed and sacred ash is smeared on the forehead. New clothes are worn to the corpse, if the deceased is a male, his family gives the corpse new clothes- a new *dhothi*, shirt and head turban is worn; and if the deceased is a female, her father or brother or a relative

gives new clothes- a new white *dhothi*, a traditional white head scarf, and a big one rupee coin is stuck on the forehead of the corpse. A *puja* ritual is performed to the corpse.

In the morning few men go to the nearest forest to collect some woods required for constructing the funeral car. Nowadays every village has a common funeral cot and the required bamboo twigs which are used to construct the funeral car.

On the funeral day four or five village elder men go together to the nearest town to buy the materials required for the funeral and the feast. Decorative required for the funeral car which includes, flowers and garland, clothes, umbrellas, new mud pot, *puja* materials, rice and provisions required for the feast is also purchased. Only after the sunrise on the day of the funeral ceremony the corpse is brought out of the bereaved house and placed along with a cot in the *savu ker*i (death yard) and the funeral car is constructed, nowadays partly the funeral car is readymade and fixed easily with all decorative on it. The new clothes bought for spreading over the corpse and the clothes used to decorate the funeral car are called *bannae battae* (coloured clothes). Mostly the clothes covering the corpse would be white and the decorative clothes would be coloured. The house is washed cleanly after the corpse is removed from the house; all utensils and vessels are washed and kept dry. Eateries are prepared and sent with the daughter-in-law to place it under the funeral cot. This is kept in a basket called *manae kukkae*. In earlier days cow dung was used to clean the house. Only after these acts they cook anything in that house if at all required. If the deceased is a married man, his wife wears new clothes brought by her father or brother and performs certain rites. The foot nails of the corpse is cut using a small knife and is put in a copper plate which has water mixed with turmeric powder . This ritual act is performed only when the corpse is kept on the funeral car placed in centre of the open space. In the mean while during the funeral day, men and women, relatives distant and close, from far and near villages come in groups to participate in the funeral. Men carry umbrellas and elderly use walking sticks. These are collected and kept aside by a village member belonging to the deceased and kept aside as a token of reverence shown to people attending the funeral ceremony. Removing their foot wears, head turban These folk come together in groups shouting *hau hau*, and pay their final homage to the deceased by touching his/her feet if the deceased is an elder. If the deceased is a younger in age, blessings and respect are made by touching the head of

the corpse. Paying respect by touching the head and feet are performed only by men, whereas women come near the funeral cot and express their condolence to the women relatives of the deceased sitting around the corpse. Close women relatives of the deceased express their grief more emotionally crying aloud and joining head together with other women. Men belonging to the village of the deceased, serve all the members attending the funeral with tea or coffee.

Gadaparai, kai kodari, bettu kathi are kept. These are the implements used by the dead when he was alive. *Muram, ulakai*, a needle brought from her native village, a small *guthali* is placed if the dead person is a woman. A wooden pounder, two *muram*, three *kartalu* set, one needle, one hair comb, black and red beads are tied around the deceased woman which is to be brought by her parental home. These beads are removed from the corpse before the cremation or burial. Out of the two *muram* one will be given to the daughter-in-law of the deceased and the other will be used for the *hakki hakothu* ritual in which grains are placed. *Aegi* is a small basket in which this needle along with the eatables is kept under the funeral cot. *Thuppadittu* an eatery prepared with ghee and white flour is placed on a copper plate, sugar cake is also placed in the copper plate and placed under the funeral cot. On another plate cooked food is prepared and placed under the funeral cot. *Gan gi pori, keeripori*, and *samai* flour has also been placed. All the materials and articles used by the dead person are kept by the side of the dead man's corpse.

Gangae kukkae is a basket which is used especially in Badaga funerals. Many close relatives who are in relation to the deceased as daughters, sisters, and daughter-in-law are supposed to bring this *gangae kukkae* through their village people on the funeral day. It is only after the *manae kukkae* is kept under the funeral car, i.e. the small basket placed by the deceased man's daughter-in-law; the other small baskets brought by the sisters', daughters', and the daughter-in-laws' village is kept under the funeral cot. These baskets are smaller in size if the deceased is a woman. This bringing of *gangi kukkae* by close relatives is an important norm to be followed during every funeral of Badagas. Close relatives bring in these baskets *gangae, keera pori* if the deceased is a male. The basket has two containers, one above the other. The upper container will be smaller than the lower container, adjacent to these two containers there will be two smaller baskets

attached. The *pori* is filled in both the containers as well as in the adjacent small baskets also. This basket is generally available in the market and is made of bamboo or wood creepers. These baskets filled with the pore and sometimes with eatables are carried only by the women to the funeral. While bringing this basket, women come in group and place it under the funeral cot. While paying homage to the deceased, women bring these baskets on behalf of the close relative of the deceased, it may be on behalf of the daughter of the deceased person or may be on behalf of the sister of the dead person, daughter-in-law of the deceased, or in case the deceased woman being the daughter of a particular village. The women folk make the close relative of the deceased who weeps near the funeral cot to carry the basket on the head and walk towards the funeral car in group and place the basket by the side of the funeral cot.

If the deceased person is a married male, all the ornaments worn by his wife is removed, the ornaments is removed by the younger brother of the deceased. Tiny moranthai sticks are inserted in her ears after removal of ear ornaments. This removal of ornaments is performed near the corpse. If the deceased is a woman, ornaments will be removed before the *oolai katuva* rite.

In the Badaga marriage **kanni katuva** ritual act takes place during the seventh month of a pregnant mother. Recent trends in Badaga marriage shows that this ritual is performed on the marriage day itself. This ritual is performed during the funeral ceremony if the deceased is a married man leaving his wife pregnant (it is also performed if his wife has not conceived yet). The wife of the deceased is brought near his corpse and the corpse's two hands are raised holding the thread coloured with turmeric powder, and the thread is placed around the wife's neck. This ritual takes place before *olai katuva* rite.

The performance of dance takes place around the funeral car and generally elders, young men, some women, all belonging to the same and different village participate. The Badaga dance is a unique performance done with sequential steps in a straight line and is performed by both men and women. The dance includes orderly movements of legs and hands, bending the body down and up with rhythmic revolution of the whole body. As the dance performance continues people keep coming and paying homage to the deceased, sit aside where chairs are placed. Women sit with the women folk around yard in and near the deceased person's house. All keep watching the dance performance.

As time passes by, all the expected people will have turned up for the funeral ceremony. Generally the final rite of the funeral ceremony takes place between 2pm to 3pm. Most of the people participating in the funeral ceremony wait until the final rite is completed. The village men provide meal for all those who have come for the funeral ceremony. Food is prepared by the village people in common and served to all attending the funeral ceremony. Generally after the burial or cremation the feasting is done.

The funeral is carried after a final pooja is performed on the corpse. The corpse is carried to *savattanai* (a place) which is in between the dead person's house and the burial ground. Before carrying, the funeral cot is tied with the corpse in such a way that the corpse never rolls down or slips away while carrying it to the *savaattanai*. Only men carry the funeral cot and the leg portion of the cot moves first and the head portion is carried from the back. While carrying and walking men shout *hau hau*. During the procession coins are thrown on the way to *savattanai*. Once when they reach the *savattanai* the funeral cot is placed on a flat ground on the centre of the yard. Whenever the corpse is resting in the front yard or on the *savattanai*, its head is kept towards the threshold of the house (generally toward the west) and its feet are kept towards the east (but sometimes the head is toward the north). At that place, a milking buffalo, preferably one that belonged to the dead man is led counter clock-wise around the corpse three times.

This death chants is said by one or two older, knowledgeable men; with the crowd responding at the end of each line as the leader waves his right hand toward the feet. The prayer is actually a long list of all possible sins that the deceased might have committed rather than an outright condemnation, and the prayer asks for absolution. People do not stand in front of the feet of the corpse, to its north," and thereby face the man saying the prayer. Since the chant is very long, it is not surprising that almost any recitation of it differs from any other one.

Once the sins have been listed and the calf released, the corpse is thought to be pure. At this point most relatives walk three times around the corpse "with earth on their heads and hatchets in their hands" and put a little earth on the face as they say: "Mud for the mouth of the man that died; (but] gruel for the mouth of the living. This symbolizes three daily meals.

After this, they perform the "grain-carrying rite, the ceremonial placing of grain on the corpse. The Funeral Grassland is generally on the edge of the village, on the way to the cremation or burial ground. The corpse is left there with a few men as well as with some classificatory daughters and sisters, while everyone who is to be in the procession returns to the front yard of the Great House.

At the Great House, the village priest, or some postmenopausal lady who belongs to the village, hands out pounded grain that he or she has carefully mixed with bits of Bermuda grass and a little clarified butter. The grain has been husked beforehand in the Great House or in the house of the founder of the bereaved family's lineage, and it should be particular millet. A mortar there is first swept out with *hubbe* twigs (six distinct species), and then fresh cow dung is smeared on the inside of the mortar. Raw millet is placed in the mortar three times, and each time it is pounded and then winnowed. The woman who winnows mixes in the clarified butter and pieces of grass and then distributes a little to each of the people in turn.

All the males of generations junior to that of the deceased and related to the dead person as agnates stand in single file. They are first ranked according to their generation level and then within each level according to absolute age, with the oldest coming first. No one does it that is of a senior generation to the deceased.

One by one the people in the file come up to the old lady, who gives each a small quantity of the grain mixture from a winnow she is holding. They hold this above their heads between their two hands, with the grass and a knife projecting from between the fingers. The leading man of each generation level, who must also carry a small knife, has an umbrella held over him by a man of the village; he cannot be an affine. This man stands at his left side, as a mark of worthiness, so that the various generations in the line are clearly to be seen.

The line of people is led by the oldest male of the senior most generation, who walks with bared chest and carries a billhook (he may not be of a generation senior to the deceased). The women, who follow all the men and boys, are also organized according to age. This is the only part of the funeral for which they remove their head cloths. Behind them and last in the order is the surviving spouse, if there is one. A few close male

relatives who accompany this person may hold a canopy attached to four umbrellas over the head of the surviving spouse during this procession, while they chant o! hau! hau!.

The counterclockwise circuit of the other relatives, by contrast, is conducted in complete silence. The widow or widower, as the case may be, also carries the grain mixture, but in her/his case, the tool is a sickle, held with the point upward. This, as well as the other knives used in the ritual, is all kept ready in the house where the grain was distributed. Aside from the widow, women in this line carry no implements at all. They all go around the corpse three times in a counterclockwise direction, while the widow or widower goes around three times in a clockwise direction and stops at the foot of the cot (whether or not the surviving spouse was the younger one). Until she/he is in that place, the leader of the file cannot deposit some of the grain mixture on the corpse. Then, one after the other, everyone places a little of it on the head of the body. When they have all finished, the widow or widower places some of the mixture at the feet of the corpse. Next, the right and then the left earring of the widow or widower are removed and, with a widow, the finger and nose ring are removed as well. If she has a necklace, it is taken off and the *tali* (marriage emblem) are broken. All this is done by an agnatic relative for a widower or by a classificatory husband's brother for a widow. The objects are given to a man from the dead person's family. Special funereal earrings and a nose ring may then be put on or twigs of false bog-myrtle or rolled-up bits of palm leaf may be placed in her ears. Once this ritual is over, the couple is no longer considered married. The bits of twig or palm leaf are removed and tied into a corner of the corpse's cloth as a memento. Next, a sister of the deceased (whether the deceased male or female), plucks some hair from her head and tie it to the right toe finger of the corpse. She must then go around the cot once in a counterclockwise direction, starting at the leg to his right (east) of the head, bow down, and touch the ground with both hands, each time with somebody's help. Similarly, other close female relatives, such as a classificatory daughter, son's daughter, or sister, may go around doing this too (though this rite is no longer always done).

4. *Saavu sudothu* (cremation/burial)

At last the corpse is carried off by four men to the burial or burning ground while it is still on its cot. The order of the procession is, first, the man who led the grain-placing rite (now carrying a pot of fire from the Great House, with which to drive away ghosts

that lurk near the funeral ground), then one of the women (either a sister of a dead man or a husband's sister of a dead woman); then the cot with the corpse; then the male mourners; and finally a few women, some of whom carry baskets of food offerings and kitchen implements. A few rupees worth of small coins are thrown away in the air before or behind the corpse as it proceeds to the burning ground, mixed in with puffed rice and are thrown onto the pyre. On reaching the edge of the burial or burning ground, the party continues on with the corpse, as people enter this ground, they remove their footwear, out of respect for the dead. The corpse is carried counterclockwise once around the grave, and then the cot is put down at the north side, in a north south alignment. There all the jewelry and ornaments are taken off the corpse and given to a responsible man of the bereaved family, an act that is witnessed by some leading villager, such as the headman. The cot is put down near the wood, and an old man assumes the charge of building the pyre. The corpse bundle is now held and swung three times over the pyre by three, five, or seven men.

The flowers and garlands that were deposited on the cot by mourners are now thrown away. After a few moments delay the deceased is placed, lying on the back, on a bed of logs, with the feet toward the south; alternatively, although very rarely, a pyre of bundled sticks and logs, brought previously, is also built up over the cot to be burned. Normally just the body is covered with other logs, but before this, favorite possessions, like clothing or a walking stick, are placed beside the corpse, and then an embroidered shawl is laid over the entire body so that the head is covered. Once the pyre is completed, women, who have generally been sitting a hundred yards away, pour the contents of their baskets over the pyre and toss the empty baskets on top.

Then the man, preferably the eldest son of the dead, lights the pyre. Everyone present adds a token stick to the fire. All the foodstuffs brought are usually burned. Once the pyre is burning well, most of those present will then leave, although a few men always stay to the end. To purify themselves, people first go to the stream nearby to sprinkle some water on their heads and rinse out their mouths before returning to the village.

On the first night after a cremation or burial, close visiting relatives remain in the village, and men gather at the bereaved house. The next morning a few men, at least one

from each household, go back to the cremation ground for the *karitallođu* (picking through the charcoal) ceremony. They carry the pots filled with water in order to dampen the ashes, then collect all bone fragments on a bay leaf and tie them in a small cloth. One fragment, with a little ash, is kept in another separate cloth. Later, in remembrance of the dead, puja is performed on the remains. An old man, usually the one who led the grain placing rite, calls everyone together and gives each a handful of little millet. They stand in a circle around the cremation spot, with a break usually on the north side of the circle, through which the soul may depart. A little clarified butter is put on a leaf and placed on the puddle of water at the burning site. Each man throws some millet into the puddle (*battabirudu*), in order of his lineage's seniority, as though sowing a field, while simultaneously uttering a final prayer for the dead, the words of which are as follows:

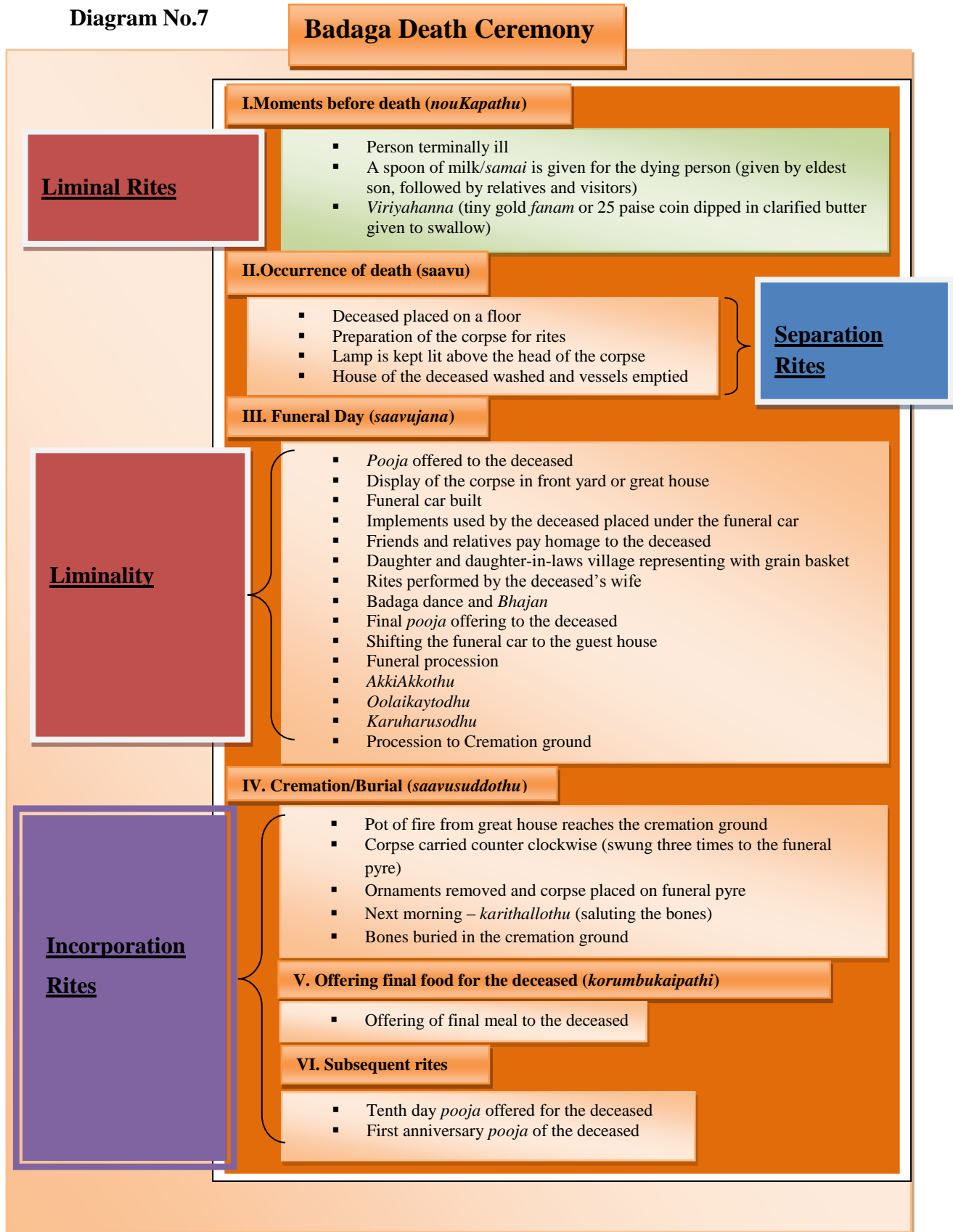
May the old ones and the young ones who have died [and become] clay;
May people of that age and people of this age,
Those [who have become] dust,
Who have died [and become] clay.
May they all mingle with their maximal lineage.

Then the leader holds the bone in the white cloth while each person touches it. The bundle of bones, together with some culms of Bermuda grass, is buried by any man two feet down in a stone-lined depository found in every cremation ground. When the people return to their village, they bathe and perhaps shave their heads and beards.

5. *Korambu kaipathu*(offering food for the dead)

After the funeral, a ceremony to release the soul, called *korumbu*, is performed; for men it will be on the next Sunday night after the funeral and for women on the following Thursday or Sunday night. Since Monday is the day sacred to male gods and Friday day is sacred to goddesses.

Diagram No.7



The Phases in Badaga Funeral Ceremony

- A. Liminal Stages: *nou kapathu* (moments before death)
 - B. Separation Stage: *saavu* (occurrence of death)
 - C. Incorporation Stages: *saavu jana* (funeral day) *saavu sudothu* (cremation/burial)
korambu kaipathu (offering food for the dead)
- A. Liminal Stages: Liminality in a Badaga funeral ceremony occurs at two levels. At the first level the phase begins when the person is terminally ill and there is no hope for recovery. This phase marks the transition stage from living to dying. The rite of making the unfortunate swallow a 25 paise silver coin dipped in clarified butter and the far and near relatives and friends visiting the unfortunate and blessing him makes the first phase of liminality in a Badaga funeral. The second level of liminality can be observed immediately after the disposal of the body (cremation). According to the Badaga belief the soul of the deceased still lurk around the house where it lived once. Thus the *korumbu ritual* (feasting ceremony), is conducted by the near and extended family for the lurking soul to depart permanently.
- B. Separation Stage: This second phase of liminality begins after disposal of the body (end of separation phase), and continues until the completion of the *korumbu* rites. However, there is an extended phase of liminality for the survivors of the deceased family till the first death anniversary of the deceased. During this period the family members of the deceased do not visit temples or holy places as they are considered to be in the state of *tiitu* (impurity).
- C. Incorporation Stages : In the case of members belonging to the deceased's extended family, it begins immediately after the *korumbu* rites. In the case of funeral participants' incorporation takes place after the disposal of the body (the participants return after disposal of the body, and bathe to purify them from the *tiitu* (impurity), funeral being considered inauspicious. Incorporation for the surviving family members of the deceased, begins after the completion of one year (from the date of funeral), by performing a *puja* (first death anniversary of the deceased member).

Death divides the deceased from the living. The period of preparing the dead for burial or cremation moves them into a liminal stage where they are neither what they have been nor yet what they will become. Such periods of transition often involve uncertainty and thereby viewed as potential danger. The ritual impurity of the corpse derives from its inability to respond to others, yet is still "present" in their everyday memories. Accordingly, people pay their respects to the dead, marking their former identity with them, express sorrow for the bereaved and, by so doing, reaffirm their continuing relationship with them. Supernatural powers may be invoked to forgive any evil the deceased may have perpetrated and to guide them into the afterlife. Gifts and goods may be provided to assist the individual to depart from this world to the next. A major goal of death rites is to ensure that the individual who has died leaves the realm of the living for the realm of the afterlife. Just as living persons become ancestors or souls in heaven so the living undergoes changes in relation to them.

Funeral rites involve a parallel process in which the relatives of the dead experienced grief over the deceased. Bereavement involves both the social change of status of people that is, from being a wife to being a widow, from being a child to being an orphan, or from being a subordinate adult to becoming the head of the family. It also involves psychological changes of identity associated with such shifts. Human beings become dependent upon each other. People become "part of" each other, and thus when one dies a portion of one's self perishes as well. Some theories of grief discuss this in terms of attachment and interpret bereavement as the loss that follows when attachments are removed.

II. Communal Rites

Festivals of Badagas:

Festival in Badagu is known as *Habba*. *Habba jena* (Festival day), *Habba Heagu* (Festival invite), *Habba madu* (Celebrate festival) are some of the expressions connected with festivals. Each village celebrates several festivals during the year. The Badga festivals can be categorised into three: (I) Communal festivals wherein the village gods

and goddesses are venerated; (II) Agrarian festivals connected with land and cattle wealth; and (III) Modern day festivals.

The important festivals are:

Dodda Habba (Great Festival) – which begins the agricultural year in February or March, and the *Devva Habba* (God Festival) – which celebrates the harvest in July or August. For non-Lingayat villages, the Hette festival venerates a communal ancestress. The ritual festivals of Badagas are given in the following festival calendar.

Table No. 13: Badaga Festival Calendar.⁸⁰

Festival Name	Native month	Tamil Month	English month	Purpose	Deity
<i>Dodda Habba</i> (Great Festival/Sowing Festival)			February or March	Begins the agricultural year	
<i>Devva Habba</i> (God Festival /Harvest)			July or August	Harvest	
Mari Habba				Intended to keep smallpox away for the year	Fire walking ceremony
Gauri Habba	Dhoda Divige		September or October		
Sakkalathi Habba	Thai	January-February	November-December		
Uppattuva Habba (Salt giving ceremony)					
Hette festival				Venerates communal ancestress	

The most important deities of the Badagas are: 1) *Hettesva:ni*, 2) *Mahalingasva:mi*, 3) *Hiriya udaya* 4) *MangaIi*, 5) *Jadesvami* and 6) *Rangasvami* at Ooty. The temple where these deities were installed is called *gudi* in their language and the

temples are constructed in the same architectural style. The seat of the deity is known as *irpu*, which are also similar in appearance. Each and every village has a separate *pujari*, the priest, belonging to their own sect. He must strictly follow vegetarian food. The routine life of Badaga along the week days is given in the following table.

Table No.14. Badaga weekly calendar⁸¹:

Day	Features
Monday	First day of the week; Holiday; God's Day; The most auspicious day; Vegetarian diet universally; Bad direction - east
Tuesday	Inauspicious for ceremonies; Bad direction - north
Wednesday	Third most auspicious day; Bad direction - north
Thursday	Inauspicious for ceremonies; Bad direction - south
Friday	Second most auspicious day; Goddesses' day; Bad direction - west
Saturday	A weekly holiday' but not widely observed as such for the past century; Inauspicious for ceremonies; Bad direction - east
Sunday	Partly inauspicious for ceremonies; Bad direction - west

(I) Communal Festivals

Communal festivals are those festivals which are celebrated to venerate village gods and goddess in the belief that they protect and prosper the village. Most of these deities have ambivalence character; they can be benevolent when venerated and turn malevolent when ignored. As benevolent deities, they protect the village from all natural

calamities and from evil-doers thereby cause prosperity of the village. In the malevolent form, they become ferocious and cause disease and death to the village i.e., land and people. This idea is not only true for the Badagas but to several others who follow agricultural pursuits as main profession.

***Hethe habba* (Festival)**

The festival in favor of Hette, the 'chief goddess' is celebrated in most of the villages. Goddess *Hethe* takes prominent role in the overall life and activities of the Badaga community. It is regarded that the entire Badaga community has been under the protection of this Goddess and she is its guardian deity. She is propitiated to serve all purposes including good harvest and wealth. Goddess Hethe is specially meant to illustrate the facts of Badagas way of life and to help the people to adjust themselves within the spiritual atmosphere in a limited circle. The existence of well-organized shrines of goddess Hethe and observance of yearly festival help to keep the people within its spiritual influence. She is identified by different names and most of them have obvious meaning. Hethe worship has been penetrated into the inner races of life and activities of the common folk. They feel it is essential necessity to approach her for kindness, advice and suggestions. She is regarded as the protector of the community. As a whole, goddess Hethe is identified as the goddess of wealth and prosperity. Hethe had got local origin and her worship is specially organized by the people belonging to the Badaga community. She is not exalted in any scripture because, in her surroundings, Badaga is only a spoken language.

Hette habba at the village Bi:raganni is considered as very important one when it is compared to the other places. The deity at the village Bi:raganni is called *Hettesvami*, for which a legend has been already noted. Since the Hettesvami festival is celebrated after the ploughing ceases, it is called *e:rumudivo habba* 'plough ending festival.' It always commences on a Monday in the month of January or February and usually lasts eight days. For this festival the Badagas get one *dubbati* 'a coarse cloth' and two *kacce* 'narrow strips of cloth'. These clothes are specially woven by a *Se:dan* or a *De:va:nga*, 'a weaving caste man' from a separate house at the village Bi:raganni. When the weaver attends this festival he will be given new clothes and money. Usually in other villages,

the Badagas go to the weaver's village and get the required cloths. Throughout the festival days, music - both instruments and vocal performances - will be taking place.

Except on the last day, the Badagas are not permitted to look at the idol of the goddess. On the morning of the last day, the *pujari* accompanied by all the Badagas takes the newly woven cloths to a stream for washing. After drying up the cloths, they all proceed to the temple to dress-up the idol. Then only, people are allowed to look at the idol. The idol is decorated with waist and neck ornaments and an umbrella.

Hethe Tradition⁸²

According to the age old tradition, no distinction between men and women is ever tolerated, nay, women are even considered to be superior to men. Badaga society is a subsistence agriculture and cattle economy. As these activities were going around domestic area, it absorbed the efforts of females continuously. Further they are dedicating themselves to the welfare of their family and spending their time mostly in daily domestic duties of an ordinary kind. They stand tall and are profiles in courage and strength with a feeling self-worth. It is worth to see the relevance of goddess *Hethe* in this background. Most of the *Hethes* determined to terminate their life after their respective husbands (*Ayyas*) demise. Absolutely there is not even an iota of compulsion and they did it by their own 11. They uphold lofty ideals. The morals of *Hethe* emphasize ; honour of women in general and Badaga women in particular, ost of the known *Hethes* (Beragani, Pedduva, Jakkada, Ketty, Ebanadu, Kunde, Chinnakunnur, Bebben, Kukkalu, Honnadale, Nedugula, Bandime, Uyilatty) followed the same path, though ;ir living environments were different. This gives the clue that; worship of *Hethe* is nothing but following an earlier tradition, many more such *Hethes* lived and their history shrouded in; past. *Hethe* worship had to help people to move away from the fugitive and trivial, towards permanent and purposeful values. The real justification lay in building up character with stress on compassion. Compassion is understood and imbibed by studying features of *Hethe* worship and its implication with religion, knowing the history of goddess *Hethes* will help us to ease the strain of modern living and give us a fuller and deeper vision of life and happy human relations. History of *Hethes* contains full and vivid accounts of ancient Badagas. The history relates the tragic stories of, *Hethes* and their husbands. The

voluntary self-immolation or ending life by other means of the wives is a part, a survival of the old human sacrifices and the action certainly has a religious faith. Hethe in Badaga means grandmother. The word Hethe originated wholly in Badaga surroundings and depicts the relevance of the goddess Hethe in the cultural setting of this society. . But in Badaga it always refers to goddess *Hethe* or grandmother. In Kannada grandmother is referred as *Hettamma* i.e. one who bears mother. In the same way paternal grandfather is referred there as *Hettappa* i.e. one who bears father. In Badaga, Hethe ordinarily refers to grandmother (mother of mother / father) or elderly lady. But in the sacred context, it refers to goddess Hethe. *Hettappain* Badaga refers to ancestor (male), instead of referring to grandmother. Anyhow goddess Hethe does not mean old or aged lady. Among the known thirteen *Hethes*, a few are unmarried Virgins, a few are middle aged married ladies and only a few are aged women. Here grandmother or old lady applies for reverence.

Ayya Worship⁸³ - In *Hethe* worship *Ayya* takes a prominent role. i.e. male companion deity of Hethe is worshipped along with goddess Hethe. Hethe is the prime deity, so there is a room to think somewhat lesser honour is given to the *Ayya* deity which is connected with the particular Hethe. However, the *Ayya* deity is more or less a component of Hethe worship. Anyhow the *Ayya* is not a subordinate deity. In Badaga *Ayya* refers primarily to grandfather (father of mother/father), any elderly man worthy of respect, deity. *Ayyan* in Tamil refers to father, elder brother, leader and one worthy of respect, deity. In Kannada *Ayya* refers to chief, grandfather, father, Jangama. In Kannada *Ayyanayya* is grandfather. Neither in Tamil nor in Kannada *ayya* refers to grandfather. The 'Ayyas' worshipped together with various *Hethes* have gained that epithet not because they died when they were old (indeed many died young), but because they were worthy of veneration. In that context *Ayya* refers to deity in Tamil too. In other Dravidian languages *Ayya* and its cognates might have had this sense. Even though the history of *Hethes* narrates very little about *Ayyas*, their valour, toil, faithfulness, good conduct etc. were worth mentioning. Most of the *Ayyas* died prior to *Hethes* and they manifested their godly hood to *Hethes*.

Hethe and *Ayya* are remembered with traditional Badaga robes. About Badaga women's robe, "The women wear a white body-cloth, a white under-cloth tied round the chest, tightly wrapped square across the breasts and reaching to the knees, and a white

cloth worn like a cap on the head" . These three clothes are mentioned as *mundu*, '*tundu*' and '*pattu*' respectively. To tie the '*tundu*' two lows are used one around the breast and another one around waist. These bows are called '*satte*', the upper one is called '*melatte*' and lower one is called '*nadu satte*' of the Nilgiri Badagas. Men cover their bodies with a white mantle with blue and red lines, called *sile*' and is sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by the Toda women. This embroidery "*sile*' is called '*kuttana lle*'. Men wear white turban and white lower cloth, dhoti. These dresses are called as '*mandare*' and '*mundu*' respectively. The "*mandare*" stands as a mark of respect. In addition to this Ayya is always remembered with a walking- stick.

The stick represents their matured or advanced age and an insignia, particularly; it gives most emphasis to the latter one.

Iramasi⁸⁴ - *Hethe* is usually called *Masi* or *Iramasi*. *Ira*' refers benevolence, an attribute of *Hethe*. *Iramasi* means a woman who (mother) is conferring benevolence. Till about twenty years back, female name *Masi* was so popular among Badaga women.

Unlike other names there is no equivalent masculine form to feminine noun *Masi* (Eg. "*Kade -Kada; Madi -Mada BcJJe – Bejja; Nanji -Nanja; Lingi -Linga; Masi -...?*"). With this it is clear that *Masi* is an abstract noun of feminine character i.e. *Masi* is derived from feminine attribute or deed done by female. Most of the *Hethes* are referred as *Masi*. This gives further evidence that *Masi* is referring a common feature of *Hethes*.

Hethemane⁸⁵ -The houses where *Hethes* lived or the houses (temples) constructed in memory of them are called *Hethemanes*. The physical features of the *Hethemanes* are very modest. There is no impressive platform, buildings or *gopurams*. Yet they are the manifestation of the strong and sincere faith of Badagas. *Hethemanes* are nothing but the typical Badaga houses in all respect. To our wonder all Badaga houses were built in the same model and it attracted many for detailed study. *Hethemanes* represent the traditional Badaga house. "Each (Badaga) house is partitioned off into an outer (*idamane*) and inner apartment (*ogamane*). If the family has cows or buffaloes yielding milk, a portion of latter is converted into milk -house (*hagottu*), in which milk is stored... To some houses a loft, made of bamboo posts, is added, to serve as a store-house. An *Hethemane* is the sacred home where *Hethe* lived before attaining deity hood". These homesteads are constructed according to the old tradition (which is adhered to

even when renovation is done).

Hethemanes are built in such a way to represent the traditional respect. Shoes and slippers are not allowed in to the '*hogamane*', so as not to defile the dwelling -place. Formerly women did not dine in '*hogamane*' and kept away from entering '*hogamane*' during their monthly period. The dairy articles were kept in the '*hagottu*' corner including a big mud pot, '*tatte*' (for keeping the milk), (some places it is mentioned as *hogasu*) nearly six feet long '*mattu*' bamboo pestle) for churning the curd would be attached to a pole in the area. The '*hagottu*' corner is sacred it is smeared with cow dung every week and an earthenware lamp is lit. The powdered salt to be fed to cattle on the relevant ritual day (at *uppu habba*) is placed at the '*hagottu*' and worshipped. *Hethe*'s staff is also deposited there in a long bamboo receptacle from which it is taken out only on the festival days. This sacred staff is washed with tamarind, coconut etc. which articles themselves are made pure by applying camphor vapour. The staff should be taken to the chattering place and washed there.

Some *Hethemanes* still have earthen floor to which cow dung is applied by the priest himself. Formerly all the walls of the *Hethemanes* used to be smeared by pujari with a special white soil. Now this is restricted to '*hagottu*' area alone. "The domestic rites are often more closely related to everyday life, since they are enacted inside the house, without any public audience or ceremonial setting". Rites connected with *Hethe* worship are basically domestic ones and even the public celebration shows its root with domestic ones. It is said that the domestic rites shows itself to be the forerunner of the religious practices. Hence, the *Hethe* worship are basically domestic and they show the popular religious settings of Badagas.

Jadeswami festival:

In this festival, the ceremony of walking through fire [burning embers] is carried out in Melur, Tangadu, Mainele, Jakkanare, Tenad, and Nedugula. At Melur and Thangadu the temple belongs to haruvas, who carry out all the details of the ceremony. The temple at Tenad is owned by the Udayas, by whom the ceremonial is performed. In other places, the celebrants are Badagas.

From the above brief description it is evident that all the festivals celebrated to the gods and goddesses are village festivals wherein the village as a whole takes-part

expressing their solidarity and identity as a group of 'peasant community'. Communal sharing of resources (men and material) is the chief character that is overtly expressed through the acts of group procession and communal dinning.

That apart, at the times of rites of passage, the family and relatives of the neophytes do venerate the village deities and seek their blessings for the well-being and prosperity. It is interesting to note here that most of the *Hethes* have tales/legends of 'tragic heroes' or 'victim heroes'. They being village goddesses, they are the she protagonists of the stories/legends and are persecuted and put to death. Later, through dreams and miracles they appear as supernatural and venerated by the villagers as deities. Therefore, they are as much human as divine and also as much real as fictitious. This 'collective memory' is the driving force of the community to perpetuate the festive occasions as part of veneration and also to release from the act of guilt of 'scapegoating' the victim. This process of scapegoating is a universal phenomenon in the peasant communities and Badagas, being agriculturalists, are no exception to this.

(II) Agrarian Festivals:

Badagas are agriculturalist and dominant land owning community in the Nilaguries and therefore, the agrarian festivals are most dear to them. They celebrate all these festivals as per the seasons and hence, follow agrarian calendar based on land yielding pattern. The village gods and goddess are the prime deities who are venerated during these festivals as well. Majority of these festivals are concomitant to the communal festivals discussed in the earlier section. Agricultural activities regulate the peasant village life and order their sequence as per the seasons. Land being the source of wealth and life, the Badagas give utmost respect to it by means of personification. Preparing the land for sowing to harvesting is analogous to life cycle of an individual and therefore, they are regarded as fertility cults wherein the idea of 'life-death-resurrection' is not only represented but manifested through these agrarian festivals.

Apart from the festivals related to land, the Badagas also perform festivals connected to cattle which are the main source for carrying agricultural activities. What is interesting to note here is that they specially celebrate festivals related to milching water buffalos and cows which are the source of dairy supplies. The major agrarian festivals are

described below as per the calendar. The Badaga calendar reveals the major festivals celebrated by the early Badaga settlers. The festivals can be classified into those relating to agriculture and those in honour of the gods.

The agricultural festivals were: (1) the seed sowing festival called ‘Dodda Habba’ along with the ‘saltlick’ festival for cattle called ‘Upphattuva Habba’ and (2) the harvest festivals at the end of the ‘Karboga’ and ‘Kadai boga’ season called ‘Devva Habba’ and ‘Sakkalathi’⁸⁶.

Important agriculture ceremonies are performed by the Badagas at the time of sowing and harvest. The seed-sowing ceremony takes place in the month of March and a Kurumba plays an important part in it.

***Dodda Habba (Sowing Festival)*⁸⁷:**

This festival, called ‘*Dodda Habba*’ is celebrated around March when winter is drawing to a close. This festival, heralding the sowing season, begins with the sowing of the land that is part of the ‘*Dodda Mane*’ or sacred house of the village.

On an auspicious day for the ritual of seed sowing, prayers are offered to Lord Shiva. In earlier days, a Kurumba was called to sacrifice an animal to the Lord and draw the first furrows with a plough. This was done on a piece land that is part of the ‘*Dodda Mane*’ or the ‘Sacred house’ of the village. However, with the barter system going to seed, the Badaga himself does the ritual ploughing. An elderly person of the village sows the land that has been ploughed, with a grain. Only after the completion of the ‘*Dodda Habba*’ can the land belonging to the villagers be sowed. This festival is performed in the ‘*Hakka-Bukka*’ village with all the agnate villages taking part in the rituals⁸⁸.

***Devva Habba (Harvest Festival)*⁸⁹:**

The harvest festival is celebrated in the month of July. This is one of the most important festivals for the Badaga and is celebrated with a lot of rituals. This festival is called ‘*Devva Habba*’. The festival coincides with the harvesting of the ‘*Kar bogam*’ crop, which is either ‘*Ragi*’ or ‘*Gothime*’. In earlier times, it was ‘*Korali*’. Only after the crop from the field that was sowed during the ‘*Dodda Habba*’ festival is harvested and

the “*Devva Habba*’ festival are done at the ‘*Hakka- Bakka*’ village with members of all the agnate villages attending these rituals.

The first harvested sheaves of millet are strung across the ‘*Hakka Bukka*’ structure and the rituals done. The prayers that are invoked during the rituals are unique to Hinduism and reveal the purity of thought of their ancestors. This ancient prayer that begins with paying obeisance to their ancestors helps in tracing their roots. In the early days of their migration, these prayers were incanted by the Badaga Gauda himself; subsequently the Haruva or the Wodeya was invited to Badaga Gauda villages to conduct the prayers

Sakkalathi Festival (autumn crop harvest)⁹⁰

One amongst the ancient Badaga festivals, Sakkalathi heralds the celebration of the harvest of the ‘Kadai Bogam’ or autumn crop for the Badagas. This festival is celebrated in the month of ‘Thai’ in the Badaga calendar corresponding to the English months of November-December. The Tamil month of Thai occurs in the month of January-February when the harvest festival of ‘Pongal’ is celebrated. The Badagas realising that their ‘Kadai Bogam’ harvest of the millet ‘Samai’ was completed by November, due to the climatic conditions in the Nilgiris celebrated their harvest festival in November-December. They retained the name ‘Thai’ of the Tamil calendar as this month signified a harvest festival.

Womenfolk make a garland of seven different flowers and place them on the ‘thresher’ known as ‘Okkalu’ and later remove it and place it on the roof of their houses. The courtyards of the houses are decorated with drawings depicting their pastoral and agricultural occupation. Images of cows, buffaloes, the plough, the Sun, the Moon, stars and lizards are drawn.

The harvested ‘Samai’ is cooked to a sweet delicacy called ‘Achikai’ offered to the gods and the remnants consumed as ‘prasadam’. Cattle are fed with pancakes made of wheat batter called ‘Pothittu’ along with sweetened coconut syrup. This festival called ‘Sakkalathi’ is akin to ‘Sankranti’ or ‘Ugadi’ celebrated in other southern states of India.

During the festival of ‘Sakkalathi’, the ‘saltlick’ festival for cattle called ‘Uppattuva Habba’ is also performed. In the ‘Uppattuva Habba’, cattle are offered

‘saltlicks’ to ensure that they will yield more milk. This pastoral festival is celebrated to ensure that cattle licked salt and in turn would feel thirsty and drink water. Drinking of a sufficient quantity of water was believed to ensure a higher yield of milk.

Karuppuor Uppu Attuva Habba (Annual Ceremony)⁹¹

The Badagas are one among the three communities on the Nilgiri Plateau in Southern India whose occupation includes cattle-keeping. For the Badagas cattle-keeping is subsidiary to agriculture; they now keep cattle only for their milk products, however several decades ago the Badagas used oxen for drawing their ploughs. They give salt to their herds once or more in a year and has a ceremonial for feeding the salt to the cattle. The Badagas also maintain what is to them a perfectly rational explanation for the act of giving salt to their cattle. After heavy rains the young grass "tastes saltless," and the herds graze unenthusiastically; their owners make up this dietary deficiency by giving salt to the animals.

Uppu habba, Salt giving tradition:-

Salt is regularly given to the cattle in March and at the end of December; in years when the grass is "saltless" a third dosage is given, generally in the month of June. On all three occasions the salt is given to the animals on a Monday, the weekly holiday of the Badagas, but it is only in March that the event is treated ceremonially. The Badagas have an extensive and generally credible body of orally transmitted history relating to their way of life in the days shortly before the British settled in the Nilgiri Hills (i.e., prior to 1820).

Procurement of Salt:-

These Badaga accounts are explicit about salt being one of the few items that the hill people used to carry up from market towns on the plains during their annual trading expeditions. Salt-giving was already a ceremony from the tradition that the men in these parties who were carrying salt specifically to give to their buffaloes were supposed to keep themselves in a ritually pure state, and were not allowed to carry any other trade items at the same time. One man would therefore carry salt for a number of men in the trading party, and they in turn would carry his purchases. Salt intended for domestic use

was never treated with such reverence. Once a market had been established in the new British hill town of Ootacamund, these old trading expeditions fell into abeyance because the Badagas could then purchase salt without having to leave the hills

Karuppuor Uppu Attuva Habba - The Annual Salt giving Ceremony

The annual ceremony of giving "new-grass salt," called *Karuppu* is performed separately by each hamlet in March of every year, on the Monday that falls within the eight days following the new moon. This ceremony is generally considered by the Badagas to be one of the most important, or as some put it, "most sacred," in the entire calendar of festivals. At about the time of the new moon itself one man is selected from every household in each hamlet to represent that family; generally the head of the family assumes the role, unless the purificatory preparations are too burdensome for him. Early in the morning of the ceremony, after the house has been purified, each of these men goes out to his cattle shed and brings in the salt he has purchased. At the appropriate time the hamlet headman comes along each street calling out, "Are you ready?" Each celebrant then picks up his powdered salt in its basket⁹² and stands near the doorway. At a signal from the head-man, the man who represents the Great House (i.e., that of the hamlet's founding family) is the first to leave his doorway. He goes and stands on the village green, and all of the other men selected immediately come out and line up behind him. They then start off for the stream where the salt-feeding will take place. The man from the Great House stays in the lead. At some distance behind this party of celebrants other members of their families follow, driving the cattle or just coming along to watch; but no women can be present. This group goes to the bank of a stream near the hamlet, carrying their baskets of salt, iron rods, pots, and hoes. Near the stream the man from the Great House digs a shallow, round hole with his hoe, two to three feet wide and a foot deep. The other men then follow suit, each using his own hoe to dig a hole for his own cattle. During the present century, however, the Badaga cattle herds have become much smaller than before, and so only one man from each lineage is usually selected to dig a pit for all the cattle belonging to that lineage⁹³. After each of these pits has been dug, the loose dirt in it is brushed out with a branch of the *hubbe* plant⁹⁴. The sun is now in the east, for it is still morning. When the pits have been dug, the man from the Great House takes a handful of salt from his basket and goes to the bank of the stream, facing toward the sun.

In one hand he holds a pot. The rest of the men do likewise, taking care to stand downstream from the leader. Each has a handful of salt and a pot, and each wears a cotton shawl which leaves the entire right arm bare. The leader (usually prompted in a whisper by someone else who knows it better) then pronounces the following prayer (pausing at the end of each line, whereupon the rest of the party repeats the last word in lieu of saying the entire line over)

Recital of Prayers⁹⁵:-

O Lord [Swami], we today celebrate things as our
fathers, grandfathers and forefathers have done.
Old is not new, and new is not old [i.e., old things
Are not neglected, nor new things added].
Whatever we sow, may it grow more than nine fold.
Whichever female cattle conceive, may they give us plenty of milk.
Whatever we put on the threshing ground, may it not be
wasted [i.e., may all the grain reach the store without mishap].
O God, may the cow or young buffalo be impregnated by
the male just after getting its second teeth.
Just before getting its fourth teeth, may its calf walk.
May the house be filled with children, and may the pen
be filled with cattle.
Let everything be good. *Hauhau!*

The prayer is uttered in this fashion three times. At the end of the second recital the men shout "*hauhau*" twice, and at the end of the third they shout it at least three times, in expression of their happiness.

As the final words of this prayer are uttered, each man stoops beside the stream, still with his salt in one hand and pot in the other. He mixes the salt in the running water and catches some of this saline solution in the pot. The leader then takes his pot of brine and pours it into the pit that he dug. The other men follow suit. Then all the cows and oxen, but not the buffaloes, are driven to the pits to drink. When the animals have

emptied a pit, more water is thrown in and further salt added without additional ceremony. Only after the cows and oxen wander away from these pits are the buffaloes finally allowed their drink of brine. A few of the men then refill their pots with water and pour it over the backs of the animals "to cool them." When this phase of the proceedings is completed, each man fills his pot with water again and then sits down in the grass nearby⁹⁶. After this; one of the Badagas goes to a dewberry bush and cuts off a branch. This is regarded as a ritual, and is done with a small knife made by Kotas especially for this purpose. Sprigs from the branch are distributed, and every man places a small sprig on top of the salt that remains in his basket. A branch is also cut from the hill gooseberry and distributed in exactly the same way. The celebrants now return to their homes, again led by the man from the Great House. Other male members of each family may follow this party, driving the buffaloes and carrying the hoes. Each man in the ceremonial party, however, has to carry his own potful of water, his iron rod, and his basket (which now contains a little salt, the two twigs mentioned, and also a remaining piece of the *hubbe* that has otherwise been used as a brush). As the men walk they chant "*hauhau*,". When they reach the hamlet they shout "kiihi, "which means," It is finished. "Then the party splits up. Each member goes to his calves and gives them a taste of the salty water he has brought back. After that he is ready to enter his house.

Completion of the Ceremony:

There is still more rituals to be performed, however, for the man must enter his house in a prescribed way. As he comes toward the entrance, the oldest woman in the family stands just inside the inner room, leaning out through its doorway in such a way that she can also see through the entrance to the house. As soon as she sees the man coming across the front yard, she asks him three times in succession, "Have all the cattle drunk salt well?" He answers "Yes" each time. During this interchange the man continues walking but his pace is measured so that he will not enter the house until he has said "Yes" for the third time. On reaching the doorway he is careful to step auspiciously across the threshold with the right foot first. Once inside the house he stands the iron rod against the wall near the door, and then puts the basket of salt on top of the hole in the floor where grain is usually crushed and where the salt was powdered earlier. The woman then comes from the inner room, takes the three sprigs from this basket, and hangs them

from the ceiling of the outer room. She carries the basket to the inner room, which is a kitchen and dining room, and she uses up whatever salt remains in cooking a meal. During the whole performance of the salt-giving ceremony she should use no other salt than this⁹⁷. The meal which is served at this time to the members of the household differs from ordinary morning meals in certain respects. The man who has represented the family in the salt-giving ceremony is served before everyone else; ordinarily this would only occur when no other adult male members of the family were present. Furthermore, he is served in the outer room of the house, although meals are otherwise eaten in the inner room, where they are cooked. He eats butter first of all; the rice and vegetable curry follow. Afterwards he must wash his hands in water. During the afternoon each of the celebrants carries his pot of water to the cattle pen and there pours it on the ground. Again the man from the Great House precedes everyone else and afterwards announces for the benefit of others that he has completed his duty. Only after the water has been poured into his cattle pen may anyone go beyond the hamlet boundaries. During the rest of the day, however, no one may do any outdoor work, not even something as trivial as picking up firewood. The permitted exceptions to this rule are that people may wash themselves and their clothes and that the men may clean out their cattle sheds and prepare bedding for the cattle⁹⁸.

The agrarian festivals of Badagas, as discussed above, reveal the peasant culture of Badaga community. The land being a major source of sustenance for Badagas, they celebrate festivals honouring the land as mother and yield of the land as symbolic fertility ritual. Both sowing and harvesting are treated as life and death of the life cycle of the agrarian order. The activity of sowing is like rearing children, the product of the *prakruti* and *purusha* which is revered as sacral and therefore, celebrated with joy and anguish. The act of harvesting is analogous to death and resurrection (rebirth) hence, ceremonised by the community as a special event. In both the rituals the process of celebration reflects the sequence of separation-liminality-incorporation which is similar to the linear movement of rites of passage as explained by Van Gennep. The community while celebrating these rituals expresses their solidarity by following communal feasting which has the element of sharing of not only the resources but also services of different cadres of the Badaga community.

What is interesting to note in the festivals discussed above is the festival of salt giving to cattle. In fact, this practice is borrowed from the Kurumbas, a neighbouring tribe within the Nilgiris. As the Badagas migrated from the plains to the hill tops, they experienced nomadic life living mostly on dairy products as well as hunting and gathering. While they were in plains in Mysore plateau, they practiced agriculture and thereby well versed in cultivation. In India most of the cultivation is associated with animals such as cattle for ploughing and performing other agricultural tasks. The association with cattle led them to animal husbandry and rearing of cows and water buffalos which are used for procuring dairy products. Badagas imitated Kurumbas in rearing water buffalos and also employed them in the service. They celebrate the salt giving festival as a major festival in the process of 'Tribalisation'. To gain access and control over the native tribes, the Badagas resorted to imitating the rituals of the tribe such as this widely practiced by the Kurumbas. As their wealth grew, they started wielding sway over the other tribes by commanding them to serve in certain villages tasks as watchmen, messengers, agricultural labourers, village servants etc. Here is a classic example is how ritual is used as a pretext to recruit and control the neighbouring tribes. As such the services of Kurumbas from whom they have imitated this salt giving ritual are also used even to celebrate this ritual. Thus, the agrarian character of the Badagas is reinforced through the festivals they celebrate with regard to the land and agriculture.

Modern Festivals

In the contemporary scenario, Badagas celebrate festive occasions on the auspicious days of Deepavali, Kartige and Margali have adopted from Tamilnadu. The magnificent ritual celebration of Dasara in Mysore region is being adopted by Badagas as a token of their origination. Further, Badagas had the tradition of *bhajan* and Krishna worship. The *bhajan* began about half a century ago and is now widely prevalent almost every village. The village had *bhajan* group and musical instruments who give weekly performances in which they sing hymns on miracles of lord Krishna in Tamil or Kannada, but not in Badaga language. It indicates the integration of the *bhajan* patterns of neighbouring state in Badaga worship order thus showing leanings towards their new identities. Interestingly, since past the past fifty years a variety of memorial ceremonies

has been instituted for the anniversaries of individual deaths; previously there had been no such commemoration⁹⁹.

A few corpses, or their ashes, have been buried at places beyond the village burial grounds, and stones have been raised to mark such spots, or even memorial statues erected. Here the closer relatives may perform an annual *puja*; or they may do *puja* at home before a photograph of the deceased. Some families invite more distant relatives to the ceremony; others do not, but may distribute food to the indigent. Some hold the ceremony in the daytime, others at night. Some will go straight to work after the *puja*, others would never work on that solemn day. In short, the scale and the form of a modern memorial ceremony will vary from family to family, yet the general pattern often reflects Tamilian Hindu influence.

To surmise from the above discussion, the culture of Badagas as landed gentry in the hills of Nilgiris is well established. Both the rites of passage and the communal rites reflect the caste nature of the Sudras within the *varna* system. They being peasants followed all the observance of agricultural festivals. Even in their rites of passages the materials and objects used are drawn from the agricultural tools and products. Thus, the Badagas reflect their worldview through the festivals and rituals.

Endnotes:

¹ Y.A. Sudhakar Reddy, "Ritual Performances And Theoretical Validity to Folklore: The Case of Andhra Pradesh", in *Dravidian Folk and Tribal Lore*, (ed.) B. Ramakrishna Reddy, Kuppam: Dravidian University, 2001, pp.293-313.

²Max Muller "Mr. Max Muller's Philosophy of Mythology", *Fraser's Magazine*, vol.24 (August1881), pp.166-187.

³ Edward Taylor, *Primitive Culture*, London: John Murray, 1871.

⁴ Herbert Spencer, "A Theory of Population, Deduced from the General Law of Animal Fertility", *Westminster Review*, 57 no.1, 1876, pp.468-501.

⁵ James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, London: Macmillan, 1890.

⁶Emily Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, New York: Free Press, Trans. J.W. Swain, 1915.

⁷Henry Hubert and Marcel Mauss, *Sacrifice: It's Nature and Function*, Chicago, Chicago University Press: 1964: Midway Reprint, 1981.

⁸Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, New York: Beacon Press. Trans. Ephraim Fischhoff, 1922.

⁹Marx-Engels, "Critique of Hegel's Dialectic and General Philosophy" in *Marx on Religion*, edited by John Raines Philadelphia: Temple University Press 2002 [1844]; Andrew M. McKinnon, "Opium as Dialectics of Religion: Metaphor, Expression and Protest", *Critical Sociology* (2005) vol 31, no. 1/2, pp. 15-38.

-
- ¹⁰ Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings*, New York: International Publishers. Trans. Louis Marks, 1957.
- ¹¹ Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, Rpt. 1960 [1909].
- ¹² Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, Chicago: Aldine Pub., 1969.
- ¹³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, Basic Books, 1973.
- ¹⁴ Edmund Leach, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by which Symbols Are Connected. An Introduction to the Use of Structuralist Analysis in Social Anthropology*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- ¹⁵ Mary Douglas, *Purity and danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*, London: Ark, 1984.
- ¹⁶ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, New York : Cornell University Press. p.96.
- ¹⁷ Edmund Leach, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 77-80.
- ¹⁸ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973, *Idem, Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, New York: Basic Books, 1983.
- ¹⁹ Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes; An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization*, Chicago: The University of Chicago. 1972.
- ²⁰ Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982.
- ²¹ Stanley J Tambiah, "A Performative Approach to Ritual", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 65, 1979, pp.113-69.
- ²² J.L Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, Harvard: Harvard University press, 1975.
- ²³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures, Op.Cit.*
- ²⁴ George E. Marcus and Michael M .J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, Chicago: Chicago University Press. 1986.
- ²⁵ Paul Ricoeur, "The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered as a Text", *Social Research*, 38 (Autumn), 1971, pp.529-562.
- ²⁶ Fredric Jameson, "The Ideology of the Text", *Salmagundi*, 31-32, Fall1975/Winter1976, pp.204-46.
- ²⁷ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* Baltimore: John Hopkins University press, Trans. G.C. Spivak, 1967.
- ²⁸ Paul Hockings, *Sex and Disease in a Mountain Community*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd, 1980, pp.71-85.
- ²⁹ This is the reason there is a custom of not sharing the news of pregnancy beyond close family members.
- ³⁰ Isaac Verghese, "An Evolution of the position of Badaga Woman of the Nilgiri Hills through proverbs", *Folklore, Vol.4*, 1963, p. 422.
- ³¹ Edgar Thurston and Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. 7, Madras: Government Press, 1909, pp.108-109.
- ³² Presently the Badagas carryout this rite on the marriage day.
- ³³ Edgar Thurston and Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. 7, Madras: Government Press, 1909, p.109.
- ³⁴ Hockings, *Op.cit.* Pp.71-75.
- ³⁵ Presently most of the deliveries take place at hospitals.
- ³⁶ Hockings, *Op.cit.*, pp.77-80.
- ³⁷ Elie Reclus, *Primitive Folk, Studies in Comparative Ethnology*, London: Walter Scott, 1885, p.203.
- ³⁸ Hockings, *Op.cit.*, pp.75-76.
- ³⁹ Edgar Thurston and Rangachari, *Op.cit.*, p.420.
- ⁴⁰ Isaac Verghese, *Op.cit.*, p.424.
- ⁴¹ Hockings, *Op.cit.*, pp.84-86.
- ⁴² Bezoar is a hard mass such as a stone or hairball, in the stomach and intestines of buffaloes (animals). esp. ruminants, and humans: formerly thought to be an antidote to poisons.
- ⁴³ It is believed that this substance will make the boy active, strong, and very brave; it is therefore not given to girls, lest they grow up to disobey their husbands.
- ⁴⁴ Hockings, *Op.cit.* p.73.
- ⁴⁵ William Hales Rivers , *The Todas*, London: Macmillan &Co. 1905,p.323.
- ⁴⁶ No spells are spoken; and it is not important to get the cow dung dried by the fire.

-
- ⁴⁷ DeBurgh Birch, "Topographical Report on the Neilgherries", *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol.8, 1839, p.104.
- ⁴⁸ Edgar Thurston and Rangachari, *Op.cit.*, p.109
- ⁴⁹ Isaac Verghese, *Op.cit.*, p.418.
- ⁵⁰ DeBurgh Birch *Op.cit.*, p.104
- ⁵¹ Hockings, *Op.cit.*, pp.97-99
- ⁵² M K Belli Gowder, *A Historical Research on the Hill Tribes of the Nilgiris*, Ketti:ManuScript, Vol. (Notes of 1923-1941).p11.
- ⁵³ Hockings, *Op.cit.*, pp.59-70
- ⁵⁴ Edgar Thurston and Rangachari, *Op.cit.*, pp.102-103.
- ⁵⁵ Arthur Miles 1933, *The Land of the Lingam*, London: Hurst & Blackett Ltd, 1933,p.73.
- ⁵⁶ Edgar Thurston and Rangachari, *Op.cit.*, pp.102.
- ⁵⁷ Paul Hockings, *Ancient Hindu Refugees:Badaga Social History1550-1975*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers: New Delhi:Vikas Publishing house,1980,p.10.
- ⁵⁸ Walter Francis, *Madras Districts Gazetteers: The Nilgirs*, Vol.I. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1908, p.131.
- ⁵⁹ Natesa Sastri and Sangendi Mahalinga, "The Badagas of the Nilgiri District", *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol.9, 1892, p.761; Walter Francis, *Madras Districts Gazetteers: The Nilgirs*, Vol.I. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1908, p.131.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p.760.
- ⁶¹ Edgar Thurston and Rangachari, *Op.cit.*, p.103
- ⁶² Paul Hockings, *Sex and Disease in a Mountain Community*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980,pp.59-65.
- ⁶³ R.K. Haldorai, *Marriage Among The Nilgiri Badagas*, Udhagamandalam : Nelikolu Publishing House, 2006.pp1-19
- ⁶⁴ Once people, especially women married by their earlier ages. But now the trend is changed. Most of the people insist that they should marry at time of their own choosing. The trend in marry late is in part due to the growing number of working people in Government services and Private companies, many of whom have earned college degrees. There is a little pressure for educated men to have their own incomes before getting marriage. However, there is no point in prioritizing marriage in one's younger days. There is a stark generation gap in Badagas' view on when to marry.
- Ibid.* p.14
- ⁶⁵ *Honnu* means gold and the *honnu* paying ceremony reveals that in olden days brides were given gold or money to buy gold. This amount also changed from time to time in accordance with price variation of gold. Once it was Rs.20/-, after that it raised to 30/- But now it is stabilised as Rs.200/- The idea behind this ceremony is to pay money to buy at least one sovereign of gold. In due course the purpose behind honnu paying ceremony is forgotten and it has become a custom of paying Rs.200/- only. Since time immemorial gold has been perceived as a symbol of status and safest savings. In addition to that lusture of gold has never failed to kindle the passion among women. A woman's passion for jewellery and sentimental value associated with it.
- ⁶⁶ Conveying marriage invitation to relatives and friends, buying articles for marriage function, cooking for the marriage feast, serving the guests etc., are some of the areas where the participation of villagers is seen.
- ⁶⁷ Sometimes few elderly agnates of bridegroom are invited for shopping of bride's side. Close female agnates of the bride/assemble at bride's place and clean rice, cereals etc. When every ceremony connected with a marriage is performed, young children (suckling babes) are kept away hidden in a separate house until the entire ceremony is over.
- ⁶⁸ The village youths who engage in *bajan* mostly with musical instruments precede the procession. Sometimes dancing also takes place. Then follows '*attikkuva*' ceremony by the male attendants. "*Attikkuvadu*" or "*owkikkuvadu*", i .e, making "*ow-ko*" sound is a special activity associated with religious or communal celebrations. Religious and social functions of Badagas always furnish this activity without fail. Basically the ceremony of "*attikkuvadu*" has a religious connotation. "*Attikkuvadu*" assumes a prominent role in marriage procession and it supplies an impressive backdrop. Contributing to the solemnity are participants males and females of both of the parties, finally on lookers.
- ⁶⁹ Procession of the bridal pair from village temple to groom's house is a significant one. The entire marriage procession may be divided into four parts for easy understanding. In the procession the bridal pair

is the centre of attraction. They are in their bridal attire and finery with garlands around their neck. They hold “*husendu*” (nosegay).

⁷⁰ Once, the marriage procession was held during night or before day break. The procession is accompanied by a man carrying a bag of rice. This grain is called “*ëru*” and it is given by bride’s parents. One bag of rice is minimum while some offer more bags of grain, mostly in odd number. Earlier days the bride is taken to a field to work for a few minutes and taken back home directly. Previously, bridegroom waits at his house the party comes directly there. The bridal pair exchange garlands in front of the house and prostrate in front of the people assembled. The bridal pair is blessed by all.

⁷¹ These days three decorated pots filled with water are kept at the entrance of the lane for the purpose. From there they take the water into the house. Among household duties of females, especially daughter-in-laws fetching water is considered as primary one. In this regard, to facilitate to use her own vessel in bringing water, bride is always given a water pot by her parents. “The bride salutes all her new relations and they in turn give her their blessing.

⁷² The party groom prostates herself in front of the procession after spreading a “*dhoti*” or “*shawl*” at the threshold.

⁷³ The idea of pouring water to legs is, to clean the legs, so that she can enter into house with dust free legs.

⁷⁴ Eating off on one plate is one of the major symbolic means of expressing unity and equality among the Badagas.

⁷⁵ In former days this ceremony was performed in the seventh month of a woman’s first pregnancy. Auspicious day was selected for this ceremony and it was performed during night hours after dinner. Pregnancy, especially first pregnancy of a woman has long been assumed to be a time of expect joy. It is thrilling time for women who look forward motherhood and it is a happy time for most. The ceremony performed during this stage indeed enthuse the motherly feeling of a woman. Some suffer depression during pregnancy and the ceremony performed during this period in the assembly of near and dears will help to treat it or atleast reduce it. In those days, the ‘*honnu*’ paying event was conducted before ‘*kannihako*’ ceremony.

⁷⁶ The couple are seated usually on a dais within the marriage “*pandal*” (booth) and the bridegroom puts the “*kanni*” (marriage badge) around the neck of the bride. But sometime this ceremony is carried out in “*idamane*” (outer room).

⁷⁷ The bridegroom prostrates in front of his father-in-law and receives his blessings. Due respect is provided to father-in-law throughout a man’s life. This is echoed in the Badaga proverb ‘*henna tanda mammanu kanna tanda sömiyo ndu*’ (he who gave his daughter, father-in-law and god, who gave eyes, are to be honored).

⁷⁸ At every stage elders bless the couple and prayer is offered to ensure a smooth life.

⁷⁹ Paul Hockings, Mortuary ritual of the Badagas of Southern India, (Fieldiana, Anthropology, New Series 32), Chicago: Field Meuseum of Natural History, 2001.

⁸⁰ Compiled from Paul Hockings. *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: OUP, 1989, pp.215-216; B Balasubramaniam, *Paame’ The History and Culture of the Badagas of the Nilgiris*, Bangalore:Elkon Animations, p.85.

⁸¹ Compiled from Paul Hockings. *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: OUP, 1989, pp.215-216.

⁸² R.K.Haldorai, *Goddess Hethe of the Nilgiri Badagas*, Udhagamandalam : Nellikolu Publishing House, 2005 p.vii.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p.3

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.5

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* pp.7-9

⁸⁶ B Balasubramaniam, *Paame’ The History and Culture of the Badagas of the Nilgiris*, Bangalore:Elkon Animations, p.85.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ In the afternoon rice is cooked in within the *hagottu*, and eaten on *minige* leaves. Throughout the day the villagers play at various ball games.

⁸⁹ B Balasubramaniam, *Op.cit.*, p.85.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p.92.

⁹¹ Paul Hockings, "On giving salt to Buffaloes: Ritual as Communication", *Ethnology*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Oct.1968), pp. 411-426.

⁹² Called 'uppukuk'ke, "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

⁹³ Generally a Badaga hamlet is made up of three or four lineages, one at least of which is recognized as having descended from the hamlet founder.

⁹⁴ Paul Hockings and Christiane Pilot-Raichoor, *A Badaga – English Dictionary*, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992,p.596. The term '*hubbe*' is used for six species of *Leguminosae* found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (i) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain *senna*; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasiavillosa*; and (6) mountain downy *senna*.

⁹⁵ The song is collected from S.Nanjan(70) and party in the performance context of *Uppu Habba* ritual in the village Adhigaratty *Hatti* ,Mekkunadu.

⁹⁶ At this point one or two Todas, who have been waiting for this moment, come for-ward and approach each Badaga in turn. The Badagas give most of the salt remaining in their baskets to these Toda friends.

⁹⁷ Nowadays she has generally finished cooking by the time the man returns home, and so just adds a pinch of his salt to the prepared meal.

⁹⁸ Until recently a heavy fine was levied on anyone trying to do other kinds of work on this day.

⁹⁹ Paul Hockings, *Mortuary ritual of the Badagas of Southern India*, (Fieldiana, Anthropology, New Series 32), Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 2001, p.61.

Chapter: V

Conclusion

The Badagas are an immigrant social group that coexisted with the native tribes –Todas, Kotas, Irulas, Kurumbas, Paniyas and Kasavas- and shared their geography and environment in Nilagiris District which is located in Western Ghats of present Tamil Nadu State for its subsistence and endurance. The name *Badaga* is a Kanarese appellation to the people coming from North which means, the *northerner*. It implies that the Badagas were the people who migrated from Southern Karnataka situated to the north of Nilgiris. The northern portion of Mysore State and a few portions of Bellary and Anantapur historically known as Badaganadu. The community by virtue of their traditional profession agriculture, gradually crept into the heart of Nilgiris and occupied more than three hundred and seventy villages situated in different eco-zones on Nilgiri hills; *Mekunadu* (The Ithalar Region), *Porangadu* (The Kotagiri Region), *Todanadu* (The Ootacamund Region), and *Kundaenadu* (The Kundah Region).

The journey of Badagas is a long and continuous episode which took nearly four and half centuries to emerge successfully among all native tribes from the status of immigrants to that of a powerful community that derived and determined the socio-economic lives of the people in Nilagiris. The consequences occurred after the fall of Vijayanagar Empire after the battle of Tallikota in A.D.1565 the feudatories of Mysore, the Udaiyars became independent and announced their overlordship on the Wynad and Nilagiris. Earlier scholars hold that the Badagas migrated to the hills after the fall of Vijayanagar dynasty in the end of 16th century to protect themselves from the sway of Deccan Sultans. However, if the association of Muslim onslaught episode is taken into consideration, their migration might have happened during the Hoyasla period and at the time of the invasions of Malik Kafur into South India between A.D.1307 -11 or after the fall of Vijayanagar. It may be during the struggle of Karnataka Nawabs, Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan at times of their involvement in warfare, Anglo-Mysore Wars that happened in 1769-1799.

Badaga history, the time and course of migration is highly discursive. Basing on the language of Badagas which has no script it can be assumed that their dialect is mostly of Kannada and the Badaga language might have branched off before they adapted the script (c.2th century A.D.). On the other hand, the influence of Tamil on Badaga dialect reveals that the Badaga migration was slow and processed through the bilingual cultures of Karnataka and Tamil lands. If one takes into consideration the Badaga villages (Melkundha and Melur) formed by early sixteenth centuries as revealed by Jacome Ferrari, it is understood that there exists a pact between Badagas and Todas to give 'gudu' by the former to the latter for obtaining permission to graze their cattle. Now it is clear that the Badagas are not one among the tribals of Nilagiris, but immigrated to the lands of the Todas. They collected tribute (*gudu*) from Badagas for availing the native land for their use. Thus, the Badaga communities in the Nilagiris, who hail from the Okkaliga caste of the southern plains of the Mysore region, were granted permission to settle in the hills by a council constituted by the Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, on the condition of payment of an annual tribute. A Kota folk story also reaffirms to the fact of a meeting of a council of the three resident tribes with the first Badaga refugees in the Nilagiris. Badaga proverbs and origin myths throw a flood of light on the origins and early settlements of Badagas and later, their dispersal to other places within the hills. Badaga folklore also reveals their relationships with the native tribes.

The Todas are pastoralists and the Badagas are agriculturalists. While the Kotas are artisans, the Kurumbas are food gatherers and sorcerers. The services of Kurumbas utilized to minister the Kotas and Badagas. Their magico-religious services are crucial to these groups. They welcome the services of Kurumbas in these activities. However Kurumbas is not allowed within the home confines for they were feared by the populace for their magico-religious practices. While Badagas wear turbans, Kotas do not. If any Kota put on a turban, Badaga feels that Kotas are excelling them in hierarchy. They consider it as an offence and beat the Kotas and condemn such practice in future with punishment. Though the Kota musicians perform in the rituals of Todas, the latter purify their cattle sheds if the former come nearer and perform a purificatory ritual to ward off evils. Their entry is prohibited. Beyond that no obligation is being maintained with them.

The scholars have pendulous swing with regard to Badaga identity whether as tribe or caste. Paul Hockings basing on the following distinct markers of identity, he

arrived that the Badagas are tribes like that of other groups of Nilagiris. They are : i) Badaga language (ii) legitimate marriage; rules of exogamy and endogamy,(iii)bear culture specific marker of their respective sectarian identity –sectarian dress code, tattoo or mark on the forehead(iv)village identity and typical Badaga architecture in house construction and (v) kinship linkages between the members of same phratry. Paul Hockings opined that the Badagas are not to be seen exactly a caste society, but they could still be regarded as a caste or a caste-block in a larger caste people in the Nilagiris. Their social relations with the Toda, Kurumba, Kota and Toreya formed a social system wherein each group was visibly defined and interdependent. They all worked to preserve their reciprocity of relationships which may otherwise threaten the proper functioning of the system that had been articulating them so far. Badagas are considered as the units of larger (caste) society, but has basic features that are considered in India as tribal.

It appears that the caste-tribe confusion is prevalent in the identity construction of Badagas and may be due to the popular and official usage of these two terms in administration. It is because; there exists a controversy with regard to naming the groups of people residing in Nilagiris whether as a caste, tribe or category. Badaga Community is presently treated as Backward Class in Tamil Nadu (OBC under Central Government). The Badagas of Nilagiris were originally treated as hill Tribes. The Badagas were described as 'Primitive Tribe' by the British Government. The State of Tamil Nadu made a recommendation for inclusion of 'Badagas Community' in the list of Scheduled Tribes of Tamil Nadu, vide letter dated 27 July 1990.

Badagas, known from their distinct origin myths,are agriculturalists professionally connected to the dominant peasant group of in southern Karnataka. They got migrated to the foothills of Nilagiris after the fall of Vijayanagara dynasty in A.D., 1565 on two grounds. (i) Since Southern Karnataka constituting the dry-arid and low lying hilly regions were rain-fed regions, they were all subjected to the vagaries of monsoons that resulted in floods and famines in the respective regions. Hence the peasants of this region had no alternative than migrating to a place where they could find new avenues of livelihoods. For them the Nilagiris appeared to be congenial for they are well aware of environment in dry and hilly terrains and they could get acclimatized to their changed ecological conditions. Peasant migrations to long distances were not uncommon in South India on the pretext of famines and

floods (ii) Onslaught of Muslim incursions in to the civic life of the populace during the regime of Nawabs of Karnataka, Tipu Sultan, son of Hyder Ali is cited as a cause in the migration legend. Here is a probability of both the conditions occurring together or successively might have contributed for the displacement of the peasants to distant lands. Association of a prominent historical person to the occurrence of an event or an incidence is very common in the construction of folk narratives especially the legends. It is because establishment of such relationship between the event and the famous historical person would give legitimation to that incidence or event. These two grounds confirm their migration of Badagas to Nilagiris. The migration of the Badagas from southern Mysore region constituting Hasanur Taluk (Chamarajanagar district) can be attested by their prevalence in these regions till date. The migration of Badagas is continuous.

Having been displaced from the settled way of life as agriculturalists, they were compelled to start their new life in hilly environment as herders of the cattle and practitioners of slash and burn agriculture like that of any other tribes of India. After acclimatizing to the new environment by adopting tribal way of life, they got familiarized with the land and people of Nilagiris two centuries before the establishment of British station at Dimbatti (1820s). The Badagas tribalised their identities in different walks of their lives. Though the Badagas are well seasoned agriculturists, they readily adopted the tribal economy - hunting, food gathering and slash and burn agricultural activities- for their sustenance. Further as per the migration narratives as cited above, when the Muslim army chased the seven brothers and family, the Badaga women tattooed their foreheads and arms as that of the Toda women to conceal their real (Badaga) identity and escape from danger. This was a strategy followed by the Badaga women to create an impression among their chasers that they are native tribes, but not immigrants. Even in the observance of puberty rite, the Badagas from the Kotas learnt the practice of keeping the girl in a separate hut raised temporarily outside the house during her puberty time. The participation of Badaga in the tribal council of the Todas reflects the affinity of the former with the latter. The Todas call Badagas as *Mama* showing affinal relationship between them. The origin myths as cited above show such relationships existing between the Badagas and Kotas. The reciprocity of relationships that sustained the existence and endurance of Badaga and tribals of Nilgiris emerged the former as strong peasant

group on the hilltop, established their claim to desire tribal status on par with the natives. Thus tribalisation was a strategy of survival for the Badagas but in reality they are of well articulated peasant community who could augment land and environmental resources for their agricultural productions. The Badagas got consolidated as a distinct sub-group in their respective environment -Wodeyas, Haruvas, Adhikaris, Kanakkas, Gowdas/Badagas and Toreyas. They maintained kin relationships by observing the norms of purity and pollution. By that time Badagas emerged as dominant peasants among the other assorted tribal dwellers. Besides bartering their surplus agricultural produces in the Gundalpet (Mysore dt.) Sundapatti (Palghatdt.) and Karamadai (Coimbatore dt.) markets, they entered into reciprocity of hierarchical relationships with the local tribal groups for mutual sustenance. After the intervention of Britshers into the socio-economic life of the inhabitants of Nilagiris, the Badagas grew as land owners and enriched themselves in the cultivation and trade of commercial crops like tea, coffee, potato, carrot, beetroot, cauliflower etc. On the other hand, Britshers also preferred the association of Badaga entrepreneurship to deepen their administration in Western Ghats.

Thus the Badagas being the peasants were always innovative in their profession for they could understand and appropriate the dynamics of ecology and environment on one hand and could articulate and consolidate their relationships with other fellow communities wherein they live. It can also be concluded that the Badaga were not tribes and there is no tribe caste continuum. They migrated as peasants with their cattle and molded themselves with the land and people of Nilagiris. For that time being, they adopted the tribal way of life- gathering, slash and burn agriculture, cattle herding- and looked for the opportunities to expand more after their acquaintance with the environment. Thus the journey of Badagas from Mysore region to Nilagiris and thence in the contemporary times has ups and downs. During the formative time of their relocation, they had a temporary setback of living like tribes. Through their professional negotiations with native tribal groups, Badagas established reciprocity of norms and relationships with them in their socio-economic and politico-religious lives. Sustenance on reciprocity norms is a clear feature of peasant society which Badgas maintained throughout their life course on Nilagiris and even now in the changed environmental conditions. They never lost the traits of peasant caste. They practiced hoe-agriculture along with the tribes for they knew craft of agriculture. The

water resources on the hill-top and monsoons helped the agriculturist Badagas as a result of their agricultural entrepreneurship in developing agricultural cycle in relation to environmental resources. The Badagas had flourishing commercial crop production and marketing in a variety of agrarian products including tea. The tea plantation for Badagas was very beneficial and the yield was prosperous along with fetching good the year 2000. Nilgiri tea even today has its mark in international market. In due course, the price drop which affected the tea market has impacted Badagas to a greater extent. Though there was an increase in tea production, the marketing was not encouraging due to the competition in the International tea market. Hence, there was a setback in Badaga economy from Tea production.

As the Badagas became prosperous due to education and land owning, they developed professionalism in agriculture production. Thus, the new generation aims to acquire pertinent higher education which can fetch them jobs. Hence the Badagas are moving from hills to plains again in search of new openings in their lives. It continues to remain in their innate zeal and aspiration to own land and experiment with agriculture; however relocation have begun to Coimbatore region in these times. It is well demonstrated in the long journey of Badagas from the status of migrants to that of land owners and adapting to production of western crops makes one to understand the efficacy of the community with which they could introduce South India to Western world. The migration of Badagas is an ongoing process.

The Badaga community is a closely-knit and well-articulated agricultural community. Their Badaga hamlets are known as the *Hetti*. It gets reflected in the alignment dwelling structures and spaces in them. Traditionally they are located nearly one to one and half miles to the east of grasslands where they accommodate Todas, the professional cattle herders of Nilagiris. Harkness describes the age old held Badaga settlement of Nanjanad village which has adjacent grass lands for the grazing of their cattle. The settlement is surrounded by agricultural lands. The houses were constructed in rows with flattened earth courtyards edged by low walls. The flattened court yard was meant for threshing and drying the grain and firewood, playgrounds for children, sites for performance of ceremonial rites and cultural programs like community songs and dances. House rows within a single community usually parallel each other and is frequently aligned in an east-west direction, but on flattened terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. The houses are planned

in such a way that domestic waste and water are not spilled in east, the sun rising direction. A room or space within a community house row is designed for the 'women in pollution period', (menstruation or post-natal pollution condition). Even, house-like temples are built into house-rows. The traditional Badaga houses had front porticos and two rooms. One of it is a fire room with thatched roofs supported by posts. The walls are constructed by bamboos separated by a wall with a door. In latter times, the roofs were tiled and sleeping platforms were built by broad and thick planks. The bathroom (*himbara*) is built behind the front room (*ithamanai*). There exists an arched door way between front room and kitchen (*ogamanai*). Space is also allocated to dry the grains during the monsoons. In front of the kitchen wall, a sacred space, *hagotu* is designed for the processing of milk. This space is prohibited for women and could be accessed by men only. The entire roof of the kitchen is covered by an upper storage platform, *atlu*. It can be climbed by a ladder. The village contains space for cattle to graze and enclosures for the cattle. The Badaga women frequently and mostly daily wash and plaster the front portion of house with cow dung to keep the courtyards clean and tidy. Short earthen or stone walls were erected to define the boundaries of the court yards and thus protect the privacy of the people residing in the houses situated below them. The Badagas maintain kitchen gardens in which they raise coffee, tea and needy vegetables. Some Badagas own storage huts wherein they hoard agricultural implements, fertilizers, seed-potatoes, and other agricultural produces.

The Badaga community is a heterogeneous and patrilineal descent group divided into six sects. Five of them *Woodaya*, *Haruva*, *Adhikari*, *Kanakka*, *Gowda* or *Badaga* are higher in hierarchy. The sixth sect, *Toreyas* is treated as inferior to the others. Traditional relationships between Badaga master families and *Toreya* servant families cause some *Toreyas* to virtually remain serfs, despite outside job opportunities. Female and male *Toreyas* continue to work on Badaga landholdings and serve in Badaga homes. *Toreya* males trained, for example, to be barbers, blacksmiths, brick makers, carpenters, or washer men, have further served the Badagas. For their services, *Toreyas* are paid in cash and in kind. At periodic intervals and upon special occasions, such as *Toreya* weddings, presents are imparted by Badaga masters. Some of the Badagas got converted into Christianity due to the missionary activities of Roman Catholic and Protestant organizations established during 1846 and 1847. Though in beginning conflict arose among the converts and

non-converts, in due course of time, the former were treated in respect as that of the others in the Badaga society for the missionaries contributed for the philanthropic and social welfare activities especially with regard to health, sanitation and education in Nilagiri region.

The Badaga community is divided into ten endogamous phratries, two of which (Adikiris and Haruvas) are vegetarian and all are basically agricultural. Each phratry is made of two to sixteen endogamous clans which in turn got segmented into a few exogamous lineages. In general every clan has four levels of lineages (i) maximal- *kudumbu*, (ii) major -*kutti*, (iii) minor – *kutti* and (iv) minimal- *guppu*. However, the segments of minimal lineages are extended families having linkages atleast for five generations. Interestingly, Badagas live nearly in three hundred and seventy exogamous villages and marriage is virilocal wherein a married couple resides with or near the husband's parent's house. Thus each village is a home of one or more patrimonial lineages all belonging to one clan. However, a clan is not confined to village. The example of Tuneri village, an earliest Badaga establishment is interesting. All Badaga headmenships are patrilineal within the family. Every other village has its own headman descended from its originator and clusters of neighbouring villages emerge as commune around a particular village. Its headman is acknowledged to be the commune headman. The whole of the plateau is divided into four quarters and one person is considered as the regional headman in each quarter. At every end of four levels of headship there exists a council made up of inferior headmenⁱ. Thus the socio-economic and political organization of Badaga identity is constructed on the norms of kinship which is nothing than the network of consanguineal and affinal relationship construed by the community of users.

In Badaga society, which is basically agricultural there exists continuity between the land and people stabilized and cemented through their closely knit family ties. Fertility is the core of being a head of family or a council. In the Badaga worldview, a man is supposed to be more fertile when he had more sons and daughters-in-law for acquiring more and more land under plough and multiply the agrarian productions. Even possession of more daughters is a contribution for the other families where in the girl is given in marriage for the new affinal kin ties they develop help in extending their influence in their respective domains. The notion of getting help in the times of need made these communities in entering into matrimonial

relationships through cross cousin marriages *i.e.*, boy getting married to father's sister's daughter (daughter of paternal aunt) and mother's brother's daughter (daughter of maternal uncle). In the same way giving the girl 'in marriage' to son of paternal aunt and son of maternal uncle is found beneficial to stabilize affinal relationships of the parents with their siblings and their families. In crucial circumstances, marriage between girl and maternal uncle and husband of paternal aunt are permitted. At times, the rules of kinship are more preferential rather than prescriptive.

The Badagas is not a homogenous society, but is hierarchized into different sects into different sects *Woodaya, Haruva, Adhikari, Kanakka, Gowda or Badaga*'. The *Toreyas* are considered as inferior to the others. The food habits determine the hierarchy in Badaga society either high or low. The vegetarians are considered as high caste others as inferior to them. Each of these major branches have different *kulams* or sects. Tradition mentions that there exists sixteen *kulams*. The members of a '*kulam*' are considered as brother and they occupy certain villages and marriage is not allowed among them. The village and the *kulam* one belongs are crucial to Badaga society. The Badagas believe that they are superior to the other ethnic groups and address the non Badaga as *Holaya*

The Badagas consider themselves as superior to the other people. They address the non-Badaga by the term *Holaya*. A Badaga leader (58) in Badaga panchayat told that in former days, at some places even today entry of non-Badagas into Badaga *-hattis* is restricted and food and water are being served in separate vessels kept exclusive for them. There prevails respect to the elders in Badaga society wherein the younger should bow their heads as a token of their respects and the former in return accept it by touching their head with their right hand. The Badaga villages are exogamous for every village belongs to a particular clan.

Every Badaga village belong to one particular clan or another, and hence is exogamous. A few *Gauda/Badaga hattis* may contain a few families of *Haruva, Kanakka, Adhikari or Toreya* groups. The social organisation of Badagas is situated their political institutions like their panchayat system which determines even marriage between the two sects. The position of families or persons in the political organisation is also taken as a parameter in this issue. The Badaga administrative polity operates in four hilly regions, *Nakubetta* comprising of Todanadu, Mekkunadu, Pranganadu and Kundenadu. These villages are predominated by many Badaga families belonging to

different clans. Each place contains thirty to forty *hattis*, incorporating formerly four to five houses and in contemporary times each eighty to hundred families. The headman *betta* of the *hatti* is selected from the clan which had more number of families in a particular clan of the village. These headmen of other villages function under the headman of the *betta*. Thus, the four heads and council members of four *bettas* are subordinates to the single 'chief or headman of the whole Badaga community. However, the office headman is a hereditary tenure at community as well as at all four divisions of Nilagiris. He is the paramount chief of the entire Badgas of Nilagiris. Till now the headman of Tuneri village continues to be the headman of Todanadu. For Badagas, *Naaku Betta* is an icon of the Nilagiris. Badagas say that more than two ethnic groups in a locality may raise conflicts but their entry into the Nilagiris helped them to settle the issues. Thus the Badagas were preferred by the Todas and others for to negotiate and decide wisely.

A hierarchy of officials are involved at each level -exists at each level-village, commune, division and the entire community-of administration. The concerned head man and aggrieved party can together hold a council, *manta* wherein the elders and elder sons of the families would gather together. Each and every detail of the case should pass through this hierarchy of councils. When the lower *manta* cannot solve the .Every case should be processed through a hierarchy of councils. It is said that if the case is not settled in the lower level of *manta*, then only it should be taken up to the next level. But the cases cannot be taken directly to the level of *nakubetta*. If the judgement is not found satisfactory to the disputed party, appeal can be made to the higher council. At each level, the head of the council should confirm passage of case through them. Interestingly if the higher council finds the judgement of lower council is partial or not genuine, he can punish the lower headman who gave judgement. There are checks and balances in the law and its execution at different levels of the society.

The rites of Badagas can broadly be divided into two categories: I. The Rites of Passage and; II. The Communal Rites which include territorial rites and fairs and festivals. The rites of passage are observances that mark imperative transitional periods in an individual's life, such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Rites of passage generally include ritual events and traditions intended to relieve individuals of their original roles and prepare them for new-fangled roles. Most vital and common

rites of passage are connected with the bodily crises that bring changes in 'social position' and, hence, in the 'social relations' and attitudes of the people concerned. The rites of passage are also referred to as 'Life Cycle Ceremonies'.

Badaga birth rituals can be seen in three stages as shown in the above diagram. Each stage represents a passage in the life of novice and is clearly marked by a ritual. The Pre-birth stage for the novice (pregnant woman) represents separation wherein she is separated from the former group and prepared for the new status/phase of life. The stage of 'Birth' which starts from the delivery is marked as liminal phase both for the new mother and the new born infant as they are isolated and kept aloof. This process not only prepares the novice (new mother) for a new role or phase in her life, but also may serve to bind her to the new born child. In this liminal phase the neophytes (mother and child) are neither in their former group or position nor yet re-introduced into the society. During this time, the novice prepares herself for the future, and the responsibilities that will come-up. The Post-birth stage is marked by the passage of incorporation through a series of rituals such as naming ceremony, head tonsuring and ear piercing. All these ceremonies are done by the end of the year of the birth of the child. It is interesting to note here that after attaining eighth or ninth year the child is prepared for the new stage in life which is marked by certain ceremonies such as nostril piercing (for girls), milching initiation (for boys) and Lingayat initiation (for some faith-seeking sects of Badagas) which indicate 'separation phase' to the adolescence. It is interesting to note that 'milching' is the identity marker of the occupation of the Badagas. Puberty is conceptualized as the age at which a person is viewed as capable of sexual reproduction and a rite of this landmark event is marked by a culture group. Puberty rites signal a community's acknowledgement that one of its young women or young men had reached the age of responsibility and community productivity; these rites made an indelible impression on the participant and forms a part of socialization process.

In Badaga society, Puberty ritual in a subtle way starts with nostril piercing ceremony (for girls) done between the age of nine and thirteen just before the onset of menstrual flow. The manipulations of the Body such as the piercing the nostrils of the girl child denote the transition to new state. The state of puberty is as much physical as mental and therefore, requires separation from the routine life to make aware of one's own body as well as the members of opposite sex in the community to treat the

novice as different but valuable member of the community who would be a prospective agent for community reproduction. Marriage ceremony in any culture is elaborate and jubilant and the Badaga culture is no exception to this. The event of marriage is marked as the onset for family's/community's reproduction and growth without which the family/community extinguish. Therefore, it is considered as most sacred and revered with observances of several dos and don'ts. In the case of the Badagas, in olden times the conception of the bride marks the incorporation into the family of the bridegroom by way of tying the *tali*, the sacred thread, around the neck of the bride by the bridegroom and allowing the bride to the most auspicious and sacred place within the house which is termed as the ' *puja* room or god's room'. Death divides the deceased from the living. The period of preparing the dead for burial or cremation moves them into a liminal stage where they are neither what they have been nor yet what they will become. Such periods of transition often involve uncertainty and thereby viewed as potential danger. The ritual impurity of the corpse derives from its inability to respond to others, yet is still "present" in their everyday memories. Accordingly, people pay their respects to the dead, marking their former identity with them, express sorrow for the bereaved and, by so doing, reaffirm their continuing relationship with them. Supernatural powers may be invoked to forgive any evil the deceased may have perpetrated and to guide them into the afterlife. Gifts and goods may be provided to assist the individual to depart from this world to the next. A major goal of death rites is to ensure that the individual who has died leaves the realm of the living for the realm of the afterlife. Just as living persons become ancestors or souls in heaven so the living undergoes changes in relation to them. Funeral rites involve a parallel process in which the relatives of the dead experienced grief over the deceased. Bereavement involves both the social change of status of people that is, from being a wife to being a widow, from being a child to being an orphan, or from being a subordinate adult to becoming the head of the family. It also involves psychological changes of identity associated with such shifts. Human beings become dependent upon each other. People become "part of" each other, and thus when one dies a portion of one's self perishes as well. Some theories of grief discuss this in terms of attachment and interpret bereavement as the loss that follows when attachments are removed.

Festival in Badagu is known as *Habba*. Habbajena (Festival day), *Habba Heagu* (Festival invite), *Habbamadu* (Celebrate festival) are some of the expressions connected with festivals. Each village celebrates several festivals during the year. The Badga festivals can be categorised into three: (I) Communal festivals wherein the village gods and goddesses are venerated; (II) Agrarian festivals connected with land and cattle wealth; and (III) Modern day festivals.

Communal festivals are those festivals which are celebrated to venerate village gods and goddess in the belief that they protect and prosper the village. Most of these deities have ambivalence character; they can be benevolent when venerated and turn malevolent when ignored. As benevolent deities, they protect the village from all natural calamities and from evil-doers thereby cause prosperity of the village. In the malevolent form, they become ferocious and cause disease and death to the village i.e., land and people. This idea is not only true for the Badagas but to several others who follow agricultural pursuits as main profession.

The Badagas worship Siva in Linga form. Almost all villages enshrine Siva as Linga and are being venerated. Siva is worshipped in many forms, each of which is considered as one of his aspects. 'Kakkayya' (vomit god) is one of the name with which Siva is being worshipped. Tradition attributes to swallowing and vomiting (*kakku*) of deadly poison (that emerged out of sacred churning of milky ocean with great snake Kabuki by demons and gods for the sake of nectar) to Siva. Hence he is named as 'Kakkayya'. Angamadesvara is another version of Siva being worshipped by Woodeyas and a few Adikiris. Angamasti, the consort of Angamadesvara is venerated by certain Woodeyas. Malaya Madappa and Mallesvara are forms of Siva that are being worshipped to safeguard their cattle from death and disease. Mallima, another aspect of Siva is considered as the one who protects them from the menace of elephants to their fields. The deity Muniyappa is worshipped with chicken and flesh to ward off the evils that may happened to the populace with the vision of his malice and anger. Thus these gods are treated as ambivalent, both malefic and benefic to the populace. They further appease nature as gods and goddesses. Water as Ganga is considered as goddess and consort of Siva.

The Badagas worship several village goddesses of which *Hette* deserves mention. She is depicted in the oral traditions as an archetype of typical Badaga woman hoard of mythology is constructed around *Hette* to depict femininity of Badaga woman as the personification of purity, perfection, guardian of village

boundaries, health, cattle and agriculture. The Hethe are considered as the personification of sacrifice. The abodes wherein the *Hethes* are enshrined are known as *Hethemane*. These structures are miniature Badaga houses. Each *Badagamane*, house is portioned into an *idamane* the outer and *Ogamane*, (*hogamane*) inner apartment. If family has milching cows or buffaloes, a portion of the latter is converted into 'milk stored house' (*Hagottu*). The *Hethemanes* are the sacred temples of the Badaga domestic realm. The austerities that were observed in temples are being observed in *hogamane* of the domestic realm like not entering with *chappals* and women's restricted entry during their menstrual time.

All the festivals celebrated to the gods and goddesses are village festivals wherein the village as a whole takes-part expressing their solidarity and identity as a group of 'peasant community'. Communal sharing of resources (men and material) is the chief character that is overtly expressed through the acts of group procession and communal dinning.

That apart, at the times of rites of passage, the family and relatives of the neophytes do venerate the village deities and seek their blessings for the well-being and prosperity. It is interesting to note here that most of the *Hethes* have tales/legends of 'tragic heroes' or 'victim heroes'. They being village goddesses, they are the she protagonists of the stories/legends and are persecuted and put to death. Later, through dreams and miracles they appear as supernatural and venerated by the villagers as deities. Therefore, they are as much human as divine and also as much real as fictitious. This 'collective memory' is the driving force of the community to perpetuate the festive occasions as part of veneration and also to release from the act of guilt of 'scapegoating' the victim. This process of scapegoating is a universal phenomenon in the peasant communities and Badagas, being agriculturalists, are no exception to this.

Badagas are agriculturalist and dominant land owning community in the Nilagiris and therefore, the agrarian festivals are most dear to them. They celebrate all these festivals as per the seasons and hence, follow agrarian calendar based on land yielding pattern. The village gods and goddess are the prime deities who are venerated during these festivals as well. Majority of these festivals are concomitant to the communal festivals discussed in the earlier section. Agricultural activities regulate the peasant village life and order their sequence as per the seasons. Land being the source

of wealth and life, the Badagas give utmost respect to it by means of personification. Preparing the land for sowing to harvesting is analogous to life cycle of an individual and therefore, they are regarded as fertility cults wherein the idea of 'life-death-resurrection' is not only represented but manifested through these agrarian festivals.

Apart from the festivals related to land, the Badagas also perform festivals connected to cattle which are the main source for carrying agricultural activities. What is interesting to note here is that they specially celebrate festivals related to milching water buffalos and cows which are the source of dairy supplies. The major agrarian festivals are described below as per the calendar.

The agrarian festivals of Badagas, as discussed above, reveal the peasant culture of Badaga community. The land being a major source of sustenance for Badagas, they celebrate festivals honouring the land as mother and yield of the land as symbolic fertility ritual. Both sowing and harvesting are treated as life and death of the life cycle of the agrarian order. The activity of sowing is like rearing children, the product of the *prakruti* and *purusha* which is revered as sacral and therefore, celebrated with joy and anguish. The act of harvesting is analogous to death and resurrection (rebirth) hence, ceremonised by the community as a special event. In both the rituals the process of celebration reflects the sequence of separation-liminality-incorporation which is similar to the linear movement of rites of passage as explained by Van Gennep. The community while celebrating these rituals expresses their solidarity by following communal feasting which has the element of sharing of not only the resources but also services of different cadres of the Badaga community.

What is interesting to note in the festivals discussed above is the festival of salt giving to cattle. In fact, this practice is borrowed from the Kurumbas, a neighbouring tribe within the Nilgiris. As the Badagas migrated from the plains to the hill tops, they experienced nomadic life living mostly on dairy products as well as hunting and gathering. While they were in plains in Mysore plateau, they practiced agriculture and thereby well versed in cultivation. In India most of the cultivation is associated with animals such as cattle for ploughing and performing other agricultural tasks. The association with cattle led them to animal husbandry and rearing of cows and water buffalos which are used for procuring dairy products. Badagas imitated Kurumbas in rearing water buffalos and also employed them in the service. They celebrate the salt giving festival as a major festival in the process of 'Tribalisation'.

To gain access and control over the native tribes, the Badagas resorted to imitating the rituals of the tribe such as this widely practiced by the Kurumbas. As their wealth grew, they started wielding sway over the other tribes by commanding them to serve in certain villages tasks as watchmen, messengers, agricultural labourers, village servants etc. Here is a classic example is how ritual is used as a pretext to recruit and control the neighbouring tribes. As such the services of Kurumbas from whom they have imitated this salt giving ritual are also used even to celebrate this ritual. Thus, the agrarian character of the Badagas is reinforced through the festivals they celebrate with regard to the land and agriculture.

To surmise from the above discussion, the culture of Badagas as landed gentry in the hills of Nilgiris is well established. Both the rites of passage and the communal rites reflect the caste nature rather than the tribal nature. They being peasants followed all the observance of agricultural festivals. Even in their rites of passages the materials and objects used are drawn from the agricultural tools and products. Thus, the Badagas reflect their worldview through the festivals and rituals.

Badaga Folk



Badaga Traditional jewellery



Badaga Temples



Local village temple



Akka Bakka premises



Kallati Temple premises



Kadanad Akaka Bakka premises



Kallati Temple premises



Hiredoya Temple

Badaga Communal Rituals



Badaga Naming ceremony



Badaga Puberty rites



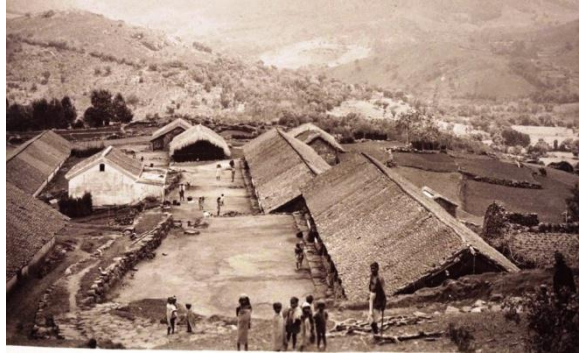
Badaga engagement and marriage ceremony



Badaga Funeral rites



Badaga Houses



Early Badaga Houses



Pre- modern Houses



Modern Badaga Village

Interior of the house



Worship area



Kitchen



Living room



Porch

Natural Landscape



Modern Agriculture (commercial crops)



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

(A) Informants

Name	Age	Village/Place	Period of Data Collection
Late. N. Bella Gowder (M)	90	Kinna Korai	February 2010; May 2011
K.M. Nanjan (M)	75	Kil-Kavhatty	May 2011
N. Ponan (M)	41	Kadanad	May 2011
Lingiah (M)	85	Nedugula	June 2011
P.K. Nanjiah (M)	72	Nanjanad	June 2011
Late. Sadhu Raman (M)	81	Ullada	June 2009
S. Nanjan (M)	74	Thavanai	February 2010; May 2011
Tharbi Iyyah (M)	65	Adhigaratty	June 2009
Late. Kunjal Nanjan (M)	70	Thangadu	July 2009
Mrs. Mani (F)	62	Nanjanad	July 2009
S. Mathan (M)	73		July 2009
L. Krishnan (M)	72		June 2009
Rajan (M)	53	Athikkal	Feb 2010
Shankaran (M)	68		Feb 2010
Basavaraj Gowder	74	Kalhatty	Feb. 2010
J Halan	70	Coonoor	July 2009
Rev. Malli	551	Coonoor	Feb. 2010
Harsha Belli	49	Coonoor	Feb. 2010
Devan	60	Thambatty	Feb. 2010
Raman	60	Ullada	Feb. 2010
Anand	67	Kothiben	Feb. 2010
Suresh	42	Ornai (Katary)	Feb. 2010
L Narayanan	63	Ooty	Feb. 2010
Chandran (M)	67	Kenthorai	June 2009
Murugan	56	Thuneri	March 2010
Nanjundan	45	Kukal	June 2009
Siddha Vathiyar	58	Nanjanad	

Bibliography

Ahuja, Ram, *Research Methods*, Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2007.

Aiyappan,A., (ed.), *Anthropology On The March*, BalaRatnam, New Delhi: SSA Publication, 1963.

-----, *Report On The Socio-Economic Conditions Of The Aboriginal Tribes Of The Province Of Madras*, Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1948.

-----, "Handmade Pottery of the Urali Kurumbars of Wynad, S. India", Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 47, 1947, pp. 57-59.

Aliaga, M., and Gunderson, B., *Interactive Statistics*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002.

Armstrong, Victoria, "A Tribal Welfare Project in Tamil Nadu", *Development in Practice*, Vol. 5, No. 3, (Aug., 1995), pp. 244-247.

Anderson, Paul Nicholas, "Commodification, Conservation and Community: An Analysis and a Case Study in South India", *Edinburg papers in South Asian Studies*, No. 14, 2000, pp. 1-78.

Austin, J. L., *How to Do Things with Words*, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Bahadur, K. P., *Caste Tribes and Culture of India*, Delhi: ESS Publications, 1977.

Baikie, R., *Observations as The Neilgherries Including An Account of Their Topography. Climate, Soil and Productions*, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1834.

Bake, Arnold, "Indian Folk- Music (Kota)", *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 63rd Session., 1936 – 1937, pp. 65-77.

Balasubrahmanyam, B., *Pamae' The History and Culture of the Badagas of the Nilgiris*, Bangalore: Elkon Animations, 2009.

Bauman, Richard, *Verbal art as performance*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1977.

Beck, Brenda EF, *Perspectives on a Regional Culture – Essays About The Coimbatore Area Of South India*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd., 1979.

Bean, Janet, *Field Guide: Instructor's Manual*, Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1997.

Ben-Amos, Dan, "Toward a definition of folklore in Context", University of Illinois press on behalf of American Folklore Society, Vol. 84, No.331, (Jan-Mar 1971), pp. 3-5.

Birch, DeBurgh, "Topographical Report on the Neilgherries", *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol.8, 1839, p.104.

Bird-David, Nurit, "The Nilgiri Tribal Systems: A View from below", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 28, (May, 1994), pp. 339-355.

Blunt, E.A.H., *The Caste System of Northern India, with Special Reference to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1969.

Bor, N. L., "The Vegetation of the Nilgiris Indian Forester", *The Indian Forester*, Vol. 64, (Oct 1938), pp. 600-609.

Bruner, Jerome, "The Narrative Construction of Reality", *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 18, No.1, 1991, pp.1-21.

Buchanan, Francis, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1807.

Cassel, C., and Symons, G., (ed.), *Qualitative Research in Organizational Research: A Practical Guide*, London: Sage, 1999.

Clifford, J., and Marcus, G. E., (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Cole, R. A., "On the Discovery of Cromlechs in Southern India", *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, Vol. 7, (1869), pp. 299-304.

Cyril Nayagam, M., "On The Origin of The Kattunayakas of Nilgiris", *Ancient Science of Life*, Vol. No. Xvi, (Oct 1996), pp.137-138.

Damodaran, G. R., *A Socio-Economic Survey of the Tribes of the Nilgiris District*, Coimbatore: P.S.G School of Social Work, 1962.

Davey, Gareth, *Quality of life and Well Being in an Indian Ethnic Community – The Case of Badagas*, Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018.

Derrida, Jacques, "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences" in *Writing and Difference*, London: Routledge, trans., Alan Bass, 1978.

-----, *Of Grammatology*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, Trans., 1967.
District Census Handbook of The Nilgiris, Published by the Registrar of Census of India, 2011.

Dorson, Richard M., (ed.), *Folklore and Folklife: An introduction*, London: University of Chicago, 1972.

Douglas, Mary, *Purity and Danger: An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*, London: Ark Paperbacks, 1988.

-----, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, New York: Routledge, 1996.
Downes, M. Panter, *Ooty Preserved A Victorian Hill Station in India*, United Kingdom: Hamish Hamilton, 1967.

Driver, F., and Martins, L., (eds.), *Tropical Visions in Age of Empire*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Dubois, J. A., *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.

Dumont, L., *HomoHierarchicus*, University of Chicago: USA, (edn.), 1980.

Dumont, Louis, and Pocock, D., (ed.), *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, Vol. 5, Paris: Mouton & Co., 1961.

Durkheim, Emily, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, New York: Free Press, Trans. J.W. Swain, 1915.

Dutt, N. K., *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. II: *Castes in Bengal*, Calcutta: The Book Company Limited, 1931.

Edward Gover, Charles, *The Folk Songs of South India*, Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1871.

Emeneau, Murray B., *Toda Grammar and Text*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984.

-----, "Some Origins of Kota –j (-)", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 120, No. 2, (Apr. – Jun., 2000), pp. 231-233.

-----, "Studies in the Folk-tales of India, I: Some Origin Stories of the Todas and Kotas", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 63, No.2, (Apr. – Jun., 1943), pp. 158-168.

-----, "Studies in the Folktales of India, II: The Old Man and Her Pig, *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 56, No. 222, (Oct. – Dec., 1943), pp. 272-288.

-----, "Studies in the Folktales of India: Jain Literature and Kota Folktales", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 67, No.1, Jan. – Mar., 1947), pp. 1-13.

-----, *Kota Text*, Berkely and Los Angels: University of California Publications in Linguistics, 1946.

-----, "Toda Vowels in Non –Initial Syllables", *Bulletin of the school of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 42, No. 2, In Honour of Thomas Burrow, (1979), pp. 225-234.

-----, "The Vowels of the Badaga Language", *Language*, Vol. 15, No.1.(Jan – Mar., 1939), pp. 43-47.

-----, "Proto- Dravidian *c-: Toda t-," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 15, No. 1, (1953), pp. 98-112.

-----, "The South Dravidian Languages", Journal of the American Oriental Society, No. 4, (Oct. – Dec.,1967), pp. 365-413.

-----"The Christian Todas", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 81, No. 1, (May31, 1939), pp. 93-106.

Francis Burton, Richard, *Goa and the Blue Mountains; or, six months of sick leave*, London: Richard Bentley, 1851.

Francis, Walter, *Madras Districts Gazetteers: The Nilgirs*, Vol.I, Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1908.

Freyer, D., "Qualitative Methods in occupational psychology: Reflections upon why they are so useful but so little used?" *The Occupational Psychologist*, Vol. 14,1991, pp. 3-6.

Frazer, James,*The Golden Bough*, London: Macmillan, 1890.

Friedrich Metz, Johan, *The Tribes Inhabiting the Nilgherry Hills; Their Social Customs and Religious Rites*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Press, 1864.

G. Bailey, Frederick, "Closed Social Stratification in India", *European Archives of Sociology*, Vol. 4, 1963, pp. 107-124.

G. Mandelbaum, David, "Cultural Change Among the Nilgiri Tribes", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43, 1941, pp. 19-26.

Geertz, Clifford, *Local knowledge: further essays in interpretive anthropology*, New Jersey: Basic Books, 1983.

-----,*The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973.

-----, *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture*, in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Gennep, Arnold Van, *The Rites of Passage*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, Rpt., 1960.

Genzuk,Michael, (ed.), "A Synthesis of Ethnographic Research",*Occasional Papers Series*, Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Research, Rossier School of Education, Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Re-printed, 2003.

Geofry, *Ooty and her Sisters or Our Hill Stations in South India: Sketches of Hill Tribes – Their Customs, Caste, and Religion &c....also tea,coffee and cinchona cultivation and &appendix of routes,distance and fares*, Madras:Higginbotham, and Co., 1881.

George Frazer, James, *The Golden Bough*, United Kingdom: Macmillan and Co., 1890.

Ghurye, G.S., *Caste, Class, and Occupation*, Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1961.

Giampietro, Gobo, *Doing ethnography*, Los Angeles: Sage Publication, 2008.

Gopalakrishnan, M., (ed.), *Gazetteers of India*, Tamil Nadu State: The Nilgiris District, Madras: Commissioner of Archives & Historical Research, 1995.

Gowder, M. K. Belli, *A Historical Research on the Hill Tribes of the Nilgiris*, Ketti: ManuScript, Vol. (Notes of 1923-1941).

Gramsci, Antonio, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings*, New York: International Publishers, Trans., 1957.

Grigg, H. B., *A Manual of The Nilgiri District in Madras Presidency*, Madras: Govt. Press, 1880.

Hales, William, *Rivers, The Todas*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1905.

Hanchett, Suzanne, *Coloured Rice: Symbolic Structures In Hindu Family Festivals*, Delhi: South Asia Books, 1988.

Harkness, Henry, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal race Inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatore in the Southern Peninsular of India*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1832.

Harman, William P., *The Sacred Marriage of a Hindu Goddess*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Heidemann, Frank, *AkkaBakka – Religion, Politik und duale Souveranität der Badaga in den NilgiriSüd – Indiens*, Berlin : Lit Verlag, 2006.

Hockings, Paul, (ed.) *Blue Mountains: The Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

-----, (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Nilgiri Hills*, Part 2, New Delhi: Manohar, 2012.

-----, (ed.), *“The Badagas” in BLUE MOUNTAINS: The Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

-----, (ed.), *Blue Mountains Revisited: Cultural studies of the Nilgiri Hills*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

-----, (ed.), *Blue Mountains Rivisited: Cultural Studies on the Nilgiri Hills*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

-----, "All aboard the Nilgiri Express: Sustained Links between Anthropology and a Single Indian District", *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2008, pp. 1–16.

-----, "Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History", The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1980, pp. 1550-1975.

-----, "Badaga Kinship Rules in their Socio-economic Context", *Anthropos*, Vol. 77, 5/6, 1982, pp. 854.

-----, "Badaga kinship rules in their socio-economic context", *Anthropos*, Vol. 77, 5/6, 1982, pp. 851–874.

-----, "Ethnic Identity in a Complex Society: The Badaga case", *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1993, pp. 347–364.

-----, "Identity in Complex Societies: Are the Badagas Caste or Tribe?", *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, Vol.2, 1968, pp. 29–35.

-----, "John Sullivan of Ootacamund", *Journal of Indian History*, 1973, pp. 863–871.

-----, "Pykara: An Iron-Age Burial in South India", *Asian Perspectives*, Vol. 18, 1976, pp. 26–50.

-----, *A Comprehensive Bibliography for the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India, 1603-1996*, Bordeaux: Université Michel de Montaigne, 1996.

-----, *Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History 1550-1975*, The Hague: Mouton Publisher, 1980.

-----, *Badagas, Kindreds of the Earth: Badaga Household Structure and Demography*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999.

-----, *Counsel from the Ancients: A Study of Badaga Proverbs, Prayers, Omens and Curses*, Berlin: Mount de Gruyter, 1988.

-----, *Counsel from the Ancients: A Study of Badaga Proverbs, Prayers, Omens and Curses*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988.

-----, *Kindreds of the Earth: Badaga Household Structure and Demography*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999.

-----, *Sex and Disease in a Mountain Community*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980.

-----, *So Long a Saga Four Centuries of Badaga Social History 1550-1975*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2013.

-----, (ed) 'The Cultural Ecology of the Nilgiri District'. In *Blue Mountains: The Ethnography and Biography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. 1989.

Hockings, Paul & Christiane, Pilot – Raichoor, *Trends in Linguistics – Documentation 8, A Badaga – English Dictionary*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992.

Homji Meher , V. M., "Phytogeography of the South Indian Hill Stations", *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club*, Vol. 94, No. 4, (July. – Aug., 1967), pp. 230-242.

Houghs, James, *Letters On The Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, etc. of the Neilgherries (or) Blue Mountains of Coimbatore, South India*, London: John Hatchard & Sons, 1829.

Hubert, Henry, and Mauss, Marcel, *Sacrifice: It's Nature and Function*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, Reprint, 1981.

Hutton, J. H., *Caste in India*, London: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Iyer, L. K. Anantha Krishna, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, Madras, 1909.

-----, *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, New Delhi: Mittal Publications 1930.

Jameson, "The Ideology of the Text", *Salmagundi*, 31-32, Fall 1975/Winter 1976, pp. 204-46.

Jennings, Samuel, *My Visit to the Gold Fields in the Southeast Wynaad*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1881.

Jervis, H., *Narrative of a Journey to the Falls of the Caverry: With an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Neilgherry Hills*, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1834.

K. Wolf, Richard, and Heidmann, Frank, "Indigeniety, Performance and the State in South Asia and Beyond", *Asian Ethnology*, Vol. 73, 2014, pp. 1-18.

Kapp Dieter B, " Palu Kurumba Riddles: Specimens of a South Dravidian Tribal Language", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol, 41, No. 3, 1978, pp. 512-522.

-----, "Paniya Riddles", *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 1, (1987), pp. 87-98.

Kenny, Judith T, "Climate, Race, and Imperial Authority: The Symbolic Landscape of the British Hill Station in India", *Annals of the Association of the American Geographers*, Vol. 85, No. 4, (Dec., 1995), pp.694-714.

King, William Ross, "The Aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills", *Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.1, 1870, p. 52.

Klass, Morton, *Caste: The Emergence of the South Asian Social System*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1993.

Knight, Roderick, *Tribal Music of India: The Muria and Maria Gonds of Madhya Pradesh*, Washington DC: Smithsonian Folkways, 1983.

Kosalram, S. A. "Political Economy of Agriculture in Tamil Nadu", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 1, No. 12, (Jul., 1973), pp. 3-21.

Krishnaswami, O.R., *Methodology of Research in Social Sciences*, Mumbai: Himalaya Publishing House, 2001.

Kumar Misra, Promode, "Tribe-Cate: A non- Issue", *Journal of Indian Anthropological Society*, Vol. 12, 1977, pp.137-150.

Lakshmi K. Backia, and Vasanthi, "Traditional Skills and Economic Life of Toda Tribes of Nilgiris- An analysis", *International Journal of Social Science and Economic Research*, Vol.2, (December 2017), pp. 5406-5410.

Leach, Edmund, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by which Symbols Are Connected. An Introduction to the Use of Structuralist Analysis in Social Anthropology*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

M. Clements, William, "Personal Narrative, the Interview Context, and the Question of Tradition", *Western Folklore*, Vol. 39, No. 2, (Apr. 1980), pp. 106-112.

M. Yeatts, M.W., *Census of India. Vol. XIV, Madras Province*, 1931.

Mandelbaum, David G., (eds.) "The Kotas in Their Social Setting", *Introduction to the Civilization of India*, Robert Redfield and Milton B. Singer, 1956, pp. 288-332.

-----, "Cultural Change Among the Nilgiri Tribes", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43, 1941, pp. 19-26

----- "Cultural Change among the Nilgiri Tribes", *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 43, No. 1, (Jan. – Mar., 1941), pp. 19-26.

-----, *Polyandry In Kota Society*, Yale: Yale University Press, 1952.

-----, *Society in India*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972.

Manikandan, P. N. Arul, "Ethno-medico botanical studies of Badaga population In the Nilgiri district of Tamilnadu", *South India* - Vol: No. XVII (3), (January -March – 2008), pp. 50-59.

Marcus, and Cushman, "Ethnographies as Texts", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 11, 1980, pp. 31-36.

Marcus, George E., and Fischer, Michael M. J., *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

McKinnon, Andrew M., "Opium as Dialectics of Religion: Metaphor, Expression and Protest", *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 31, No. 1/2, 2005, pp. 15-38.

McIlvor, W. G., *Report on the Horticultural Gardens*, Ootacamund, Nilgiri, 1852.

Metz, Johann Friedrich, *The Tribes Inhabiting The Neilgherry Hills: Their social customs and religious rites*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Press, 1864.

-----"On giving salt to Buffaloes: Ritual as Communication", *Ethnology*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Oct.1968), pp. 411-426.

Miles, Arthur, *The Land of the Lingam*, London: Hurst & Blackett Ltd, 1933.

Hockings Paul & Pilot-Raichoor Christiane, *A Badaga – English Dictionary*, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992.

Misra, R. "Inter Tribal Relation in Erumad", *The Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. 2, 1972, pp. 135-148.

Muller, Max, "Mr. Max Muller's Philosophy of Mythology", *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol.24 (August 1881), pp.166-187.

Naidu, T. Subramanyam, *Strategic Planning for the Future Development of the Tribes in India*, Pondicherry University:Centre for Futures Studies,1999.

Nambiar, P. K., *Census of India 1961*, Vol. IX, Madras, part V-C Todas. Madras: Janatha press, 1965.

Nilgiris Adiwasia Welfare Association (NAWA) census-2011.

Noble, William A., Nilgiri Dolmens (South India), *Anthropos*, 1976.

Ouchterlony, John, "Geographical and statistical memoir of a survey of the Nielgherry Mountains, under the superintendence of Captain J. Ouchterlony.1847",*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1848, p. 81.

P. Bayard, Samuel, "The Materials of Folklore",*The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol.66, No.259, (Jan.-Mar. 1953).

Parthasarathy, Jakka, *Irulas of Nilgiris*, Udhagamandalam: Tribal Research Institute, 2005.

-----, *The Badagas of the Nilgiri District*, Udhagamandalam: Hill Area Development Programme, 2008.

-----, *The Kota of the Nilgiri District*, Udhagamandalam: Hill Area Development Programme, 2008.

-----, *The Toda of the Nilgiri District*, Udhagamandalam: Hill Area Development Programme, 2008.

-----, *Kurumbas & Tribal Medicine (A Study Of Folk Belief System and Alternate Strategy Of Tribal Health Practices in the Nilgiri District)* , Udhagamandalam : Hill Area Development Programme, 2008.

-----, *Kattunayakas of Nilgiri district Tamilnadu*.Ootacamund:HADP Publications, 2005.

-----,*Kurumbas of the Nilgiri District*, Ooty: HADP Publication, 2008.

-----, *The Badagas of the Nilgiri District, Tamilnadu, A Caste Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam: Tribal Research Institute, 2007.

-----, *The Badagas of the Nilgiri District, Tamilnadu, A Caste Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam: Tribal Research Institute, 2008.

-----, *The Kota of Nilgiris: A Profile*,Ootacamund: Trihal Research Centre, 1998.

-----, *Kurumbas of Nilgiri District, Tamil Nadu – A Tribal Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam: Hill Area Development Programme, 2003.

-----, *Paniyans of Nilgiri District, Tamil Nadu – A Tribal Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam: Hill Area Development Programme, 2003.

-----, *Irulas of Nilgiri District, Tamil Nadu – A Tribal Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam: Hill Area Development Programme, 2003.

-----, *Kattunayakans of Nilgiri District, Tamil Nadu – A Tribal Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam: Hill Area Development Programme, 2005.

-----, *Problems of Indebtedness – Tribal experience in the Nilgiri District (A Study of Socio-Economic Problems of The Primitive Tribal Groups in Nilgiri District)*, Udhagamandalam: Hill Area Development Programme, 2007.

-----, *Tribes & Inter – Ethnic Relationship In The Nilgiri District, Tamil Nadu – a study from a cultural anthropological perspective, A Tribal Inter-Ethnic Status Documentation*, Udhagamandalam : Hill Area Development Programme, 2007.

-----, *Education and Development among the Tribes (A Study of Formal Education and Tribal Girl Child Dropouts in the Nilgiri District, Tamil Nadu), Tribal Education Status Documentation*, Udhagamandalam: Hill Area Development Programme, 2007.

-----, *Irula Women & Empowerment In Niligiri District Tamil Nadu – A Study on Alternatives for Tribal Development, Tribal Women Empowerment Documentation*, Udhagamandalam : Hill Area Development Programme, 2007.

-----, *Socio – Economic Appraisal of the Paniyans&Kurumbas of Nilgiri District, Tamil Nadu (A Study of the Poverty Assessment of Tribes)* Udhagamandalam : Hill Area Development Programme, 2007.

Patharaj, J., *et al.*, “Flora used other than Medicinal purposes by Baduga ethnic in Nilgiri”, *International Journal of Scientific Research and Management*, Vol.3, (June 2015), pp. 3058-3061.

Perialwar, R., “Portrait of Tribal Life in Irula Folklore”, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 3, (Oct., 1974), pp. 43-50.

Peter, H. R. H. Prince, “The Mother Sibs of The Todas of The Nilgiris”, *Eastern Anthropologists*, 1951.

Raines, John, (ed.), *Marx on Religion*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002.

Ramakrishna Reddy, B., (ed.), *Dravidian Folk and Tribal Lore*, Kuppam: Dravidian University, 2001.

Ramanujan, A. K. “Where Mirrors are Windows: Toward an anthology of reflections”, *History of Religions*, Vol. 28, No.3, (Feb.1989), pp.187-216.

-----, *Folktales from India, Oral Tales from Twenty Indian Languages*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.

Ranga, N. A., *The Tribes of the Nilgiris: Their Social and Economic Conditions*, Madras: Bharat Publishing House, 1934.

Ranganathan, C. R., "Studies in the Ecology of the Shola grass land Vegetarian of the Nilgiri Plateau", *The Indian Forester*, Vol.64, (Oct1938), pp.523-541.

Reclus, Elie, *Primitive Folk, Studies in Comparative Ethnology*, London: Walter Scott, 1885.

Ricoeur, Paul, "The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered as a Text", *Social Research*, Vol. 38, (Autumn 1971), pp. 529-562.

Richards, F. J., "Bowls from Ur and the Nilgiris", *Man*, Vol. 31, (Sep., 1931), pp. 203-204.

Rivers, William Hales, *The Todas*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1905.

Ross King, William, "The Aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills", *Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.1, 1870, pp.18-51.

S. Goldstein, Kenneth, *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore*, Pennsylvani: The American Folklore Society, 1964.

Sankaran, M.S., *Soil Survey in Nilgiris*, Nilgiris: UPASI – Krishi Vidyan Kendra, 2009.

Sarantakos, S., *Social Research*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, Third Edition, 2005.

Sastri, Natesa, and Mahalinga, Sangendi, "The Badagas of the Nilgiri District", *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. 9, 1892, p.761.

Sherrings, M. A., *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency: Together with an Account of the Tribes and Castes of Mysore, Nilgiri, and Travancore, etc.*, Delhi: Cosmos Publications, 1975.

Singer, Milton, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization*, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1972.

Singh, K. S., *The Scheduled Tribes*, National Series Volume III, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Smith, Marian W., "Kota Texts: A Review of the Primitive in the Indic Folklore", *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 61, No. 241, (Jul. – Sep., 1948). Pp. 283-297.

Spencer, Herbert, "A Theory of Population, Deduced from the General Law of Animal Fertility", *Westminster Review*, Vol. 57, No.1, 1876, pp. 468-501.

Stokes, William, "Mission Work on the Nilgiri Hill", Report of the Second Decennial Missionary Conference held at Calcutta 1882 – 1883, Ed., J.M. Mithel and G.H. Rouse (Calcutta: J.W. Thomas Baptist Mission Press, 1883), p. 286.

Sukumar R., H. S. Suresh, R. Ramesh, "Climate Change and its Impact on Tropical Montane Ecosystems in Southern Tamil India", Journal of Biogeography, Vol. 22, No. 2/3, Terrestrial Ecosystem Interactions with Global Change, Volume 1, Mar., - May, 1995), pp. 533-536.

Tambiah, Stanley J., "A Performative Approach to Ritual", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 65, 1979, pp.113-69.

Taylor, Edward, *Primitive Culture*, London: John Murray, 1871.

Tedlock, Dennis, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation*, University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1983.

The Hindu. 11 April 2005 p.3.

The South of India Observer, Almanack and Nilgiri Guide and Directory, Ootcamund: South of India Observer Press. 1872.

Thomas and Davis, *A Guide To The Neilgherries For The Use Of Residents And Visitors (Compiled From Authentic Sources)*, Madras: Thomas And Davis, 1886.

Thurston, Edgar, *Madras Museum Bulletin*, Madras, Vol. II, 1900.

-----, "Vision of the Uralis and Sholagas; More Marriage Customs in Southern India; Hook-Swinging; Paliyans", Madras Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 1, Anthropology, Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1903.

-----, "Anthropology Of The Todas and Kotas Of the Nilgiri Hills And Of The Brahmans, Kammalans, Pallis, And Pariahs Of Madras City", Madras Government Museum Bulletin, No. 4, Madras : Superintendent, Government Press, 1896.

-----, "Todas of the Nilgiris; Eurasian School-Boys; Meriah Sacrifice Post; Walking Through Fire; Malaialis of the Shevaroyes; Scissors People; Sorcery in Coimbatore; Nayadis of Malabar", Madras Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 1, Anthropology, Madras : Superintendent, Government Press, 1901.

Thurston, Edgar, and Rangachari, K., *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol.1, Madras: Superinendent ,Government Press, 1909.

-----, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. 7, Madras: Government Press, 1909.

-----, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1909.

Thurston, Edgar, *Provincial Geographies of India. The Madras Presidency with Mysore Coorg and Associated States*, Cambridge: Madras Provincial Gazetteer, 1913.

-----, *Todas And Kotas Of The Nilgiri Hills and Of The Brahmans*, Kammalans, Pallars, And Paraiahs of Madras City, Madras: The Superintendent, Government Press, 1896.

Tribal Research Centre, *Short Notes on Nilgiri Primitive Tribes*, Udhagamandalam, Tamil Nadu: Tribal Research Centre, Tamil University, 1987, p.26.

Trivedi, Madhusudan, *Entrepreneurship among the Tribals*, Jaipur: Printwell, 1994.

Turner, Victor, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982.

-----, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969.

Tylor, Edward B., *The Origins of Culture*, Gloucester, MA: Harper & Row, 1958.

Van Gennep, Arnold, *The Rites of Passage*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Venugopal, Dharmalingam, *The Nilgiris*, Nilgiris: Nilgiri Documentation Centre, 2001.

Verghese, Isaac, "An Evolution of the position of Badaga Woman of the Nilgiri Hills through proverbs", *Folklore*, Vol.4, 1963, p. 422.

Viswanathan, H., Deepa Edwin, M. V. Usha Rani and P. P. Majumder, "A survey of halotype frequencies and linkage disequilibrium at the DRD 2 locus in the Nilgiri Hill Tribes, South India", *Research Communications, Current Science*, Vol, 84, No. 4, (25 FEB 2003). pp. 566-570.

Walker, R. Antony, *The Toda of South India: A New Look*, Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 1986.

-----, *The Toda People of South India: Between Tradition and Modernity*, Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation. 2003, pp. 25-26.

Weber, Max, *The Sociology of Religion*, New York: Beacon Press, Trans., Ephraim Fischhoff, 1922.

Westlake, Graeme D, *An Introduction To The Hill Stations Of India*, New Delhi :Indus, 1993.

Wilkinson Breeks, James, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*, London: India Museum, 1873.

-----, *Primitive Tribes and Monuments of Nilagiris*, Delhi: Cultural Publishing House, 1873.

Wolf, Richard Kent, "Of God and Death: Music in Ritual and Everyday Life. A Musical Ethnography of the Kotas of South India. Ph.D. diss. (Ethnomusicology), School of Music, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1997.

-----, "Three Perspectives on Music and the Idea of Tribe in India", *Asian Music*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Tribal Music of India, (Autumn, 2000 – Winter, 2000), pp. 5-64.

-----, "Emotional Dimensions of Ritual Music among the Kotas, a South Indian Tribe", *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 45, No. 3, (autumn, 2001), pp. 379-422.

-----, "Mourning Songs and Human Pasts among the Kotas of South India", *Asian Music*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Tribal Music of India, (autumn, 2000 – winter, 2001), pp. 141-183.

Zvelebil, Kamil Veith., "A Plea for Nilgiri Areal Studies", *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, Oxford University, Vol. 2, 1980, p. 22.

-----, "Problems of Identification and Classification of some Nilgiri Tribes: Irula-Uralis, Kattu Nayakas/Jenu Kurumbas, Solegas", *Anthropos*, Vol. 76, 1981, pp. 467-528.

-----, "Jenu Kurumba : Brief Report on a "Tribal Language of the Nilgiri Area", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 108, No. 2, (Apr – Jun., 1988), pp. 297-301.

-----, "The Body in Nilgiri Tribal Languages a Contribution to Areal Linguistic Studies", *Journal of the American Oriental society*, Vol. 105, No. 4 (Oct. – dec., 1985), pp. 653-674.

-----, "The Language of the Sholegas, Nilgiri Area, South India", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 110, No. 3, (Jul. – Sep., 1990), pp. 417-433.

-----, "Irula Riddles", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 42, No. 2, In Honour of Thomas Burrow, (1979), pp. 361-368.

VERNACULAR WORKS:

Badaga Welfare Association, *Manthatha Mathu*, Madras. (13 – Editions), 1991-1996.

- Badaga Welfare Association, *Karuharasuvadu (Recitation during last rites)*, Madras, 1996.
- Basavaraj Gowdwer N., Harchanai, *Kotagiri*: Surya Press and Offset, 2006.
- Belli Gowder M. K., *Paapa Parigara Aagali*, Nilgiris: Kotagiri.
- , *Unpublished Notes of Belli Gowder*, (Accinakal) 1923-1941.
- Bhoj Kumar N. M., *Badugar Slogangal*, Kotagiri: Pauls Min Acchagam, 1991.
- , *BadugarKalachara Petagam*, Kotagiri : Pauls Min Acchagam, 1996.
- , *BadugarKalachara Petagam*, Kotagiri : Purnima Acchagam, 2007.
- , *BadugarKalachara Selvam*, Kotagiri: Purnima Acchagam, 2008.
- , *Badugar Kalachara Suvadi*, Kotagiri: Purnima Acchagam, 2008.
- Darmalingam, *Niligiri Badugarkal Thai TaivaVazhipaduMarabukkal*, Nilgiris: Priyapadhipagam, 2007.
- Haldorai R.K., *Badaga – English Self Instructor, (A Book to learn Badaga For all Who Know How to Read And Write English)*, Nilgiris: Nellikolu Publishing House, 2009.
- , *Marriage Among The NilgiriBadagas*, Udhagamandalam: Nellikolu Publishing House, 2006.
- , *BadugarTherThirupathhi (Funerary Rites of the Badagas)* Nilgiri: Nellikolu Publishing House, 2007.
- , *BadugarArruvadaiThirunal (Devva Festival of the Badagas)* Nilgiri: Nellikolu Publishing House, 2008.
- , *BadugumozhiPazhamozhigal – Badaga Proverbs*, Udhagamandalam: Nellikolu Publishing House, 2003.
- , *Badugu – OruDravidaMozhi (Badaga – A Dravidian Language)*, Udhagamandalam: Nellikolu Publishing House, 2006.
- , *HetheThaivam (Goddess Hethe)*, Udhagamandalam: Nellikolu Publishing House, 2004.
- , *Goddess Hethe of the NilgiriBadagas*, Udhagamandalam: Nellikolu Publishing House, 2005.
- Irudayanath, Philo, *Neelagiri Badugargal*, Chennai: VanathiPadipagam, 1991.
- Ilambarathy Rosy, *MogavaKanae (Face Vanished)*, Kotagiri :RukumaniPadipagam, 1993.

Kalla Gowder H. N., *Badaga Tribe and Resurrection Of Tribal Life On The Nilgiris, Coimbatore: Tribal Solidarity – The Nilgiris Chapter.*

-----, *Badugar Ullita Nilgiri Adivasigal Vazhkayil Marumalarchi*, Coimbatore: Tribal Solidarity – The Nilgiris Chapter, 1992.

Muttha Gowder J.B., *Baduga Slogangal*, Melethene: Kotagiri Printing Press, (Free Publications).

Nanjan K M., (ed), *Nakku Seeme - Monthly*, Nilgiris: Sharp Printers. (12-editions), 2005-2006.

Nanjan Pulavar, *KarunaiKadal Sri Kariyabettarayar*, Nilgiris: Siva Sakthi Nilaya Padipagam, 1995.

-----, *Karpukarasi Girijimadhi*, Nilgiris: Siva Sakthi Nilaya Padipagam, 1996.

-----, *ArulmiguKettiPaladaBokkapurammai*, Nilgiris: Siva Sakthi Nilaya Padipagam, 1996.

-----, *Sogathurai Thala Varalaru*, Metupalayam: Kumaran Offset Printers, 2000.

-----, *BadugarPanpadu*, Nilgiris: Siva Sakthi Padipagam, 2002.

Ragupathi, A *Badaga- English- Tamil Dictionary*, Nilgiris: Divya Bharathi Publications, 2007.

Raju K.P., *Araichi – Monthly*, 1982.

Sivagami N., *Badugar Panpadu, Kalacharam Pazhamozhi*, Nilgiri: Karpaga Vinayagar Publications, 2005.

Sivaraj, *Pokizha – HosaBadugaSloka*, Kotagiri: Neep Comprints, 2007.

Shankar Gowri, *Beragani Sri Hethe Amman PuranaVaralaru*, Nilgiris: Division Printers. Krishnan, Thangadu Ther, Thangadu, 2009.

WEBSITES:

<http://www.badaga-villages.blogspot.com/2008/11/seamy-moray-village-divisions->
Accessed:11/09/2018.

<http://badaga-anguage.blogspot.com/> Accessed: 14/09/2018.

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Methodology>. Accessed: 12/07/2017.

<http://www.indiawaterportal.org/articles/water-and-livelihoods-nilgiris-part-i>. Accessed: 16/08/2018.

<http://www.indiawaterportal.org/articles/water-and-livelihoods-nilgiris-part-ii>, Accessed on 20/07/2018.

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/coimbatore/Badagas-to-dig-into-their-past/articleshow/13159221.cms>. Accessed: 02/07/2018.

[www.http://www.badugaa.com/2014/10/dress.html](http://www.badugaa.com/2014/10/dress.html). Accessed: 17/09/2018

[www.https://sites.google.com/site/badagacommunity/badagajewellery-](https://sites.google.com/site/badagacommunity/badagajewellery-) on Badaga jewelry. Accessed and downloaded: 17/09/2018.

Richard Giovannoli, M.A., “The Narrative method of inquiry,” http://drgiovannoli.com/Academic_Papers_files/Narrative%20Method%20of%20Inquiry.pdf, Accessed: 11/02/2018.

Bala, T. Nisha, Water and Livelihoods in the Nilgiris - Part I, <http://www.indiawaterportal.org/articles/water-and-livelihoods-nilgiris-part-i>, Accessed: 16/08/2018.

Noble, WilliamAllister, “Cultural Contrasts and Similarities Among Five Ethnic Groups in the Nilgiri District, Madras State, India, 1800-1963”, Louisiana State University, Historical Dissertations 1968. [www.https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses](http://www.digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses), Accessed: 17/09/2018.

William Allister Noble, Cultural Contrasts and Similarities Among Five Ethnic Groups in the Nilgiri District, Madras State, India, 1800-1963, 1968. LSU Historical Dissertations [www.https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses](http://www.digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses), Accessed: 17/09/2018.

Jacob, and Grimm, Wilhelm, *Kinder and Hausmärchen* (Children’s and Household tales), German, 1812. For further details visit: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grimms'_Fairy_Tales, Accessed: 20/03/2018.

Giovannoli, Richard, “The Narrative method of inquiry”, <http://www.sonic.net/~rgiovan/essay.2.PDF>, Accessed: 17/03/2018.

International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews

An open Access, Peer Reviewed, Refereed, Indexed, online and printed International Research Journal



Approved by UGC
Journal No. 43602

E ISSN 2348-1269
Print ISSN 2349-5138
Impact Factor 5.75

Certificate of Publication

This is to certify that Prof. / Dr. N NAVEEN KUMAR had contributed a paper as author / co-author to

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF RESEARCH AND ANALYTICAL REVIEWS

Impact Factor 5.75fp

COSMOS Impact Factor 4.236

Title Badagas of Nilgiris: Polemics of Caste and Tribe

and has got published in volume 5, Issue 3, July – Sept, 2018.

The Editor in Chief & The Editorial Board appreciate the Intellectual Contribution of the author / co-author.

V.B. Jani

Executive Editor

R.B. Joshi

Editor in Chief

T. Pathak

Member Editorial Board

Badagas of Nilgiris: Polemics of Caste and Tribe

N NAVEEN KUMAR

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, Centre for Folk culture Studies,
School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad, Gachibowli, Hyderabad, Telangana-500046

Received: June 19, 2018

Accepted: August 02, 2018

Introduction

The Badagas are an immigrant social group that coexisted with the native tribes –Todas, Kotas, Irulas, Kurumbas, Paniyas and Kasavas - and shared their geography and environment in Nilgiris District¹, located in Western Ghats of present Tamil Nadu State for its subsistence and endurance. The journey of Badagas² is a long and continuous episode which took nearly four and half centuries to emerge successfully among all native tribes from the status of immigrants to that of a powerful community that driven and determined the socio-economic lives of the people in Nilgiris. Tradition mentions that the Badagas got migrated from the plains in the south of Mysore region to the foothills of Nilgiris during sixteenth century after the fall of Vijayanagara dynasty in the battle of Talikota (A.D.1565) due to the threat caused by Muslim invasions and famine occurred in that region (Hockings, 2013,p.14) . They were set at the foothills of the Nilgiris by temporarily resorting to hoe cultivation and took the similar life of tribals. Thence seeking opportunities and familiarity with the resident tribes of Nilgiris Todas, Kotas etc., moved to the hill tops and survived there by establishing reciprocal relationships with the native tribes. Thus on one hand they emerged as part and parcel of Nilgiri people by sharing both human and environmental resources and on the other evolved as an eminent peasant community that could maneuver agriculture in different ecosystems – hilly (slash and burn, dry (millet producing), wet (rice, sugarcane etc), garden (kitchen gardens etc.) lands for commercial benefits and expropriate forest products up to the maximum extent for ethno medical benefits.

The expertise of the Badagas in the commercialization of agriculture by producing English crops, tea and organization of extensive trade deserve applaud for their optimal knowledge to mold and adopt to changing environment and emerge successfully. The eminence of Badagas among the native tribes on the Nilgiris in different realms of life again kept them on toes to move again to plains from the hilltop. The natural resources of land waters were optimized for agricultural productions carried out in varied ecozones: wet, dry, garden and grass lands on the hills. The opportunities for further ventures in the hilltop are getting saturated. Hence the contour of migration of Badagas appears to have taken a new turn, i.e. from hilltop to plains. The researchers are univocal to accept the Badaga migration from southern Mysore to Nilgiris due to the above said reasons (Sullivan, 1819, p.1iv; Ouchterlony, 1848, p.81; Harkness, 1832, p.105-6; Burton, 1991, rpt. p.334). But, there exists a controversy with regard to the caste of Badagas. The issues like whether the Badagas are tribes or millet producing farmers; whether 'Badaga' emerged as caste from tribal stature through social mobility; and whether there exists tribe-caste continuum in their practices- are some issues connected with the caste polemics of Badagas, whether they are of caste or tribe or survive in tribe caste continuum? The dilemma of the Badagas whether they should to be considered as tribals or backward community in Indian constitution is still a burning issue. .

In the light of above discussion, the current research paper focuses on the following Objectives:

- To revisit the origin myths of the Badagas and bring forth the need for their migration, dispersal and hierarchisation.
- To process the fundamentals of Badaga culture through the traits of castes advocated by veteran social scientists.
- To emerge a logic to establish Badaga community as a tribe or caste or intermediary.
- To show the contour of Badaga migration.

¹Administratively, Udthagamandalam is the headquarters of the district. Two Revenue Divisions namely Coonoor and Gudalur constituted with 6 talukssuch as Coonoor, Kotagiri, Udha gamandalam, Kundah, Gudalur and Panthalur. There were only 4 taluks; Coonoor, Kotagiri, Udthagamandalam and Gudalur in 1991. Kundah taluk was formed by separating some areas of Udthagamandalam taluk. Panthalur taluk was formed by bifurcating Gudalur taluk.

²The total population of the Nilgiri district according to latest official figures (2011) is 7, 64, 826, of which according to the Young Badaga Association (June, 2010) are around 2, 50, 000 spread in around 370 hamlets and villages ethnically known as *hatti*.

Methodology

The primary source is field data collected from the community on different socio-economic and cultural aspects of their folklife. The secondary source constitutes the research works conducted in similar aspects on Badagas. Both quantitative (survey) and qualitative methods (observation, ethnographic and dialogical) methods are employed in the research process. The research tools like questionnaires (open ended and close ended), both oral and written interviews (directed and non-directed) were used in data collection. The data is checked for authenticity through the method of triangulation. Analysis and interpretation is done in the light of latest discourses in social sciences.

Discussion

The word 'Badaga' means 'northerner' indicating that they came from southern part of Mysore region (Breeks, 1873, p.128). So the natives of Nilgiris call them as Badaga, the northerner for the original home of these migrants is situated north of Nilgiri region. Before going into the polemics of Badaga identity as a caste or tribe or something else, the origin and migration of the Badaga community has to be briefly discussed.

With regard to the origin and migration of Badaga community the information is scanty. There is no recorded evidence for their origin and migration. Tradition existing in the form of myths and legends that help to construct the origin and the reasons leading to the migration of Badagas to the Nilgiris(Thurston & Rangachary , 1909, p.67-68) A brief account of the narratives on Badagas is given below³:

- (i) During the regime of Tipu Sultan, the Nawab of Mysore, there lived seven brothers with their beautiful sister in the village Badagahalli on Talamali hills, near Mysore. On an evening, she was milking her cows. At that time, a calf unknotted the rope to which it was tied and was about to fall. Noticing the danger to take place to the calf, the sister instantaneously uncoiled her long wavy hair and held it back to the tree. Then her brother milked the cow. Then Tipu Sultan who was on his ride to the vicinity of this Badaga settlement watched the whole incident and got attracted to her stunning beauty and courage. He wanted to marry her. Then the seven brothers along with their sister in disguise fled to Nilgiris. In their journey, after they reached the river Moyar, they found the army of Tipu Sultan very close to them. As they were Saivites, they kept a *Sivalingam* on the ground and prostrated before it. Then the river Moyar got split and gave way for them to cross it while their chasers got in the waters and died. The Badagas took to the disguise and tattooed on their foreheads and forearms to make themselves unattractive and unidentifiable.

After escaping from danger, tradition says that they got settled in the village Bethelhada which is also presently known as Betllada. For some time, they lived there and then migrated to different regions of Nilgiris. Then the eldest brother asked his younger brother to go behind a deer and settle wherever it stops. Then as per the instructions of his elder brother settled at Kinnakorai (Hiriyasegai), for the deer stopped there only. Two of his brothers, one settled down at Koderi and the other at Hubbatalai. These brothers were the founders of the Porangad division of the Badagas. The second brother, Hethappa, had two daughters. One day, when Hethappa was not at home, two Todas rushed into his house and overpowered his wife. After knowing about the misdeed of the Toda brothers, Hethappa with the help of two Balayaru men took vengeance upon the Toda brothers. The Balayarus killed the Todas on the condition that they should be given in marriage with his daughters. The contemporary residents of the Hulikal village are said to be descendants of the marital relationship between Balayaru and Hethappa. The present day Hethappa and Hethe cult is attributed to the migration episode of the seven Badaga brothers and sister.

- (ii) Another narrative tells that a few Badagas /Gowda families travelled upto Nilgiris and sought asylum in its deep forests. When they were rushing to move, they forgot to take their boy sleeping in cradle in the cave. A Toda man passing on the way got attracted to the boy and called him out. The boy crawled inside. The Toda man brought his son and sprinkled roasted seeds of *amaranthus* in front of them. When the Toda boy began to pick them, the Badaga boy also came out to eat. Then the Toda father took the boy with him who in course became the founder of *Tothanadu* branch of Badagas.
- (iii) Another narrative on the Badaga migration gives the following information: Tradition attributes the migration of Badagas from Mysore region to Nunthala of two brothers from Gowda group. On their way they were hungry. In this context one of the brothers shot a pigeon. He roasted it to eat. But, the elder brother avoided eating the bird. The brother who did not eat the bird is Hethappa who is considered as the progenitor of the Kundah region of Badagas.

³ The narratives are reconstructed basing on the information from the field corroborated with that of available in the published works.

All these accounts clarify that a group of people migrated from south of Mysore region migrated to the Nilgiris. They were considered as Badagas, the northerners by the natives. In proto-Kannada Badaga means, a northerner. The perception of the native tribes about the immigrant group as northerners clarifies that Badagas are not local but migrants. The origin narrative connects them with cattle rearing, a distinct feature of peasant community. The care and concern of the community towards the livestock got reflected in the attempt of the sister to protect the cow at the stake of life. Uncoiling the hair and using it as a rope to hold the calf though a thick literary expression, it shows the core perception of the community towards their main source of agrarian production.

The migration is said to have been corroborated with the fall of Vijayanagara Empire in A.D. 1565 and onslaught of Muslims during the times of Tipu Sultan the Nawab of Mysore. Rayas of Vijayaagar were most influential rulers in entire South India. They were projected as the protectors of Hindu dharma and strong bulwark against the Muslim attacks. Association of prominent personages and places of historical importance to events and people is very common in the process of folklore construction, exclusively as narratives. Thus the rule of Vijayanagara rule and the final battle of Talikota that ended the glory and fate of the empire emerged as significant motifs in the Badaga origin narrative. Further, the region from which Badagas are said to have migrated is an arid zone wherein the land and people are subjected to vagaries of monsoon which causes floods and famines which in turn creates uncertainty to the peasants. Such conditions lead to migrations of peasants along with their livestock during these times. It is natural to have socio-economic and political unrest among the people who are involved in production during the time of anarchy created during war times, and with Muslims/foreign rulers. Such may be the situation that the peasants of Southern Mysore might have been subjected which made them to move. The association of Tipu's army and episode of marriage depicted in the narrative reveals the threats people experience during the times of journey and strategies the migrants adopt to save themselves from the situation. Worship of Sivalinga and resultant miracle of splitting Moyar river to give them way to escape from the Muslim chasers reveals their staunch affiliation to belief of the *Okkaliga* peasants of Mysore and miraculous power that Siva exerts in saving his devotees.

The Badaga women tattooing on their foreheads and hands during the course of their migration appears to be an attempt made by them to disfigure their real identity and present to their chasers, the Muslim army as though they are native tribes of the land.

Seven brothers and sister as revealed in narrative (ii), leaving of the cradle child behind when they were hastily escaping from their chasers is symbolic act of remembering their past identity even when in search of new avenues in their immigrant life. Depiction of a Toda man in the narrative as benefactor to the discarded child who became founder of Tothanadu region of Badagas is noteworthy. Use of seeds of *amaranth* to negotiate the child through his (Toda) own child is a strategy to identify the people through their food habits. In general paradigm that constructs the identity of people in different cultures. In the narrative, the Todas are also represented as the offenders of Badagas for the former are accused of committing violation upon the wife of Badaga brother Hethappa. The Badaga brothers took to the help of Balayaru, who killed the two Toda offenders. Later the Badagas entered into matrimonial relations with Balayarus of Hulikal. This narrative attributes the origin of Porangad branch of Badagas to Hethappa. The relationship of Badagas with the Todas in this narrative is pessimistic. One as that of usurpers. However, the migration narratives always contain the episodes of adventures, strategies of survivals, heroism, disasters and so on. Badaga migration is no exception to these deeds. Finally the narrative portrays the seven brothers as founders of different Badaga settlements and Hethappa and Hethe whose status got raised from terrestrial (earthly) to celestial (divine) realm. They are being worshipped as village god and goddesses and as memory and thank giving ceremony to the heroes in the form of Hethe and Hethappa.

The narrative (iii) throws flood of light on the classification of Badaga/Gowdas into vegetarian and non-vegetarian clans basing on the paradigm of purity and pollution based on food habit (vegetarianism and non-vegetarianism). Vegetarian Badaga brother Hethappa who did not eat the bird became the founder of Kundharegion of the community. The diet of Badagas determine their hierarchy in the community. The narrative substantiates that the diet of the Badagas determine their distinctive status among the communities of Nilgiris. The Badaga proverbial scholarship illustrates the distinction between Badagas and its co-habitants, Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas based on the food habits. The proverb “*Badagaga ba:da:se / kotaga po:ta:se; Todavaga hulla:se / kurumagaje.na-se*” which means that “the Badaga, Kota, Toda and Kurumba want respectively mutton, beef, grass and honey”, suggest the construction of identity based on their dietary traditions.

The Badaga society too has its own peculiar social group system. The diet of the Badagas reveals the position of his social order in the society i.e., either higher or lower in hierarchy. While the social order recognises Wodeya, Haruva, Adhikari, Kanakka, and Gowda or Badaga in the high to low rank, the Toreyas are considered as inferior to all others. Wodeyas are considered as the aristocrats among the Badagas. They are said to be a branch of the ruling family of Mysore (Sherring, 1975, p.171), Haruvas are priests, the *Adhikaris* are strict vegetarians. The

Kanakkas are said to be the accountants and the surveyors of the land (Hockings, 2013, p., 25). They also acted as physicians and exorcists. Majority of the Badagas are non-vegetarians. If a non-vegetarian Badaga girl is married to a Haruva vegetarian boy then she should remain a strict vegetarian and her children are called 'Haruvas'. On the other hand, if a Badaga boy marries a vegetarian Adhikari girl, then she has to change her diet or can follow her vegetarian diet but her children may remain as non-vegetarians⁴. Toreyas are the lowest among the Badagas, and are not permitted to eat food with the rest of the community. They are said to have worked as guards and menial servants to other Badagas. They are not allowed to marry from Badaga clans of higher hierarchy, like Haruvas, Wodeyas and Adhikaris. They are strictly endogamous. Among the Badagas the vegetarians are of high class and others are inferior to them.

Though the community is heterogeneous for being divided into different sects based on their dietary as well as commensality relationships and different reciprocal tasks they perform in their folk life to their society, all of them constitute Badaga solidarity for their identity and sustenance in challenging situations.

Discussion

Paul Hockings (1993, p.353), basing on the traits upheld by Fredrik Barths called the people of Nilgiris as ethnic groups for each (i) is largely –self-perpetuating biologically (ii) shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms (iii) makeup filed of communication and interaction (iv) has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by other categories of the same order. Though they are universal principles to categorize the people, he applied the same to the people of Nilgiris and concluded that the Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas are autochthonous and Kota and Badagas as immigrant ethnic groups.

Caste of Badagas

The scholars have pendulous swing with regard to Badaga identity whether as tribe or caste. Paul Hockings basing on the following distinct markers of identity, he arrived that the Badagas are tribes like that of other groups of Nilgiris. They are : i) Badaga language (ii) legitimate marriage; rules of exogamy and endogamy, (iii) bear culture specific marker of their respective sectarian identity –sectarian dress code, tattoo or mark on the forehead (iv) village identity and typical Badaga architecture in house construction and (v) kinship linkages between the members of same phratry. Paul Hockings (1993, p.355) held that Badagas are seen not to be precisely a caste society, but they could still be viewed as a caste or a caste-block in a larger caste society, in that of Nilgiris. Wherein together with the four social systems of Toda, Kurumba, Kota and Toreya formed a social system wherein each group was clearly demarcated and interdependent. They all worked to preserve their reciprocity of relationships which may otherwise threaten the proper functioning of the system that had been articulating them so far. Badagas are considered as the units of larger (caste) society, but has basic features that are considered in India as tribal.

It appears that the caste-tribe confusion is prevalent in the identity construction of Badagas and may be due to the popular and official usage of these two terms in administration. It is because, there exists a controversy with regard to naming the groups of people residing in Nilgiris whether as a caste, tribe or category. Badaga Community is presently treated as Backward Class in Tamil Nadu (OBC under Central Government). The Badagas of Nilgiris were originally treated as hill Tribes. The Badagas were described as 'Primitive Tribe' by the British Government. The State of Tamil Nadu made a recommendation for inclusion of 'Badagas Community' in the list of Scheduled Tribes of Tamil Nadu, vide letter dated 27 July 1990.

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs brings forth the earlier proceedings connected to the inclusion of 'Badaga Community' in the list of Scheduled Tribes in the State of Tamil Nadu. The Registrar General of India appears to have raised some objections on the issue of including Badaga Community under Scheduled Tribe. A section native community is not in favour of their inclusion in the Tribes.. The State Government was called upon to submit a fresh proposal taking into account the observation made by the Registrar General of India. Representations dated 28 October, 2013 and 8 November, 2013 submitted by the Badagas is now pending with the authorities. They were forwarded by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, to the Secretary, Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department (Tamil Nadu) for follow up action. The matter is therefore pending with the State Government. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs mentions that the action is pending with the State government of Tamil Nadu. Hence it is considered that the Badagas constitute one among the other 'atypical mainstream social groups' of Nilgiris that survive on the subsistence interrelationships (Hockings 1993, pp.347-363).

Depending upon the discourse of Misra (1977, p137-150), Dumont (1972, p.120-122) and Bailey (1961, p.7-19; 1963, p.107-124) with regard to the tribe-caste controversy of Indian tribes, Paul Hockings (1993, p.361) developed a 'Polar Triangular model of Indian communities and their residential patterns' basing on

⁴A female informant Micchi (59) of Tuneri village, Todanadu division from gowda/Badaga sect explained the significance of dietary practices in their families.

his ethnographic data on the Badaga community. His model enables to understand the differences that separate pastoral or nomadic tribes from agricultural tribes for the latter are historical and got assimilated into local caste system with the passage of generations. For him Nilgiris is a case of caste society having several distinct indigenous cultures having origins in pre-caste social formations and the difference amongst them is in their content rather than in the structure of the society. He observes tribe-caste continuum exists in their identity formations. Basing on the works of (Klass 1993), (Dutt 1965), (Blunt 1969), (Ghurye 1961) and (Hutton 1981) Bailey (1963), it is observed that in order to consider a community as a caste, it should fulfill some traits. They are : (i) occupational specialization, (ii) purity scale, (iii) hierarchy of relationship, (iv) commensality and (v) ascriptiveness.

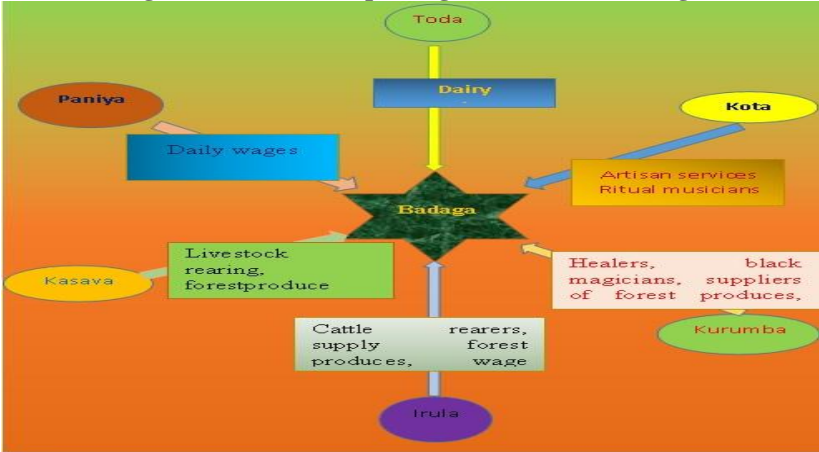
The ethnography of Badaga community when processed through the above criteria that stand as parameters for being a caste, the caste-tribe dilemma may be solved..

(i) Occupational specialization: The Badagas who were a branch of Vokkaligas migrated to Nilgiris from the southern Mysore region nearly more than 400 years ago. From one of the Badaga proverb it can be inferred that the Badagas are *okkalas* (dominant peasants group in Karnataka) and they have agriculture as hereditary profession. The proverb *okkala ma:ti uttu ariyana / kurumana ma:kole ariyana* means that “Wont the *okkala* son know how to plough? Wont the *Kurumba* ‘s son know how to murder?” Though the proverb reflects the perception of Badagas on the Kurumbas whom they considered as participants in their religious rituals, it substantiates that the Badagas are the *okkalas* . It emphasizes the hereditary nature of occupations in the Badaga society. Their expertise in the appropriation of land, environment and people for their agricultural activities and cattle rearing substantiates that they are seasoned agricultural practitioners in dealing with dry,wet,garden and commercial crops and also skilled in handling managerial functions.

(ii) Purity scale, (iii) hierarchy of relationship, (iv) commensality

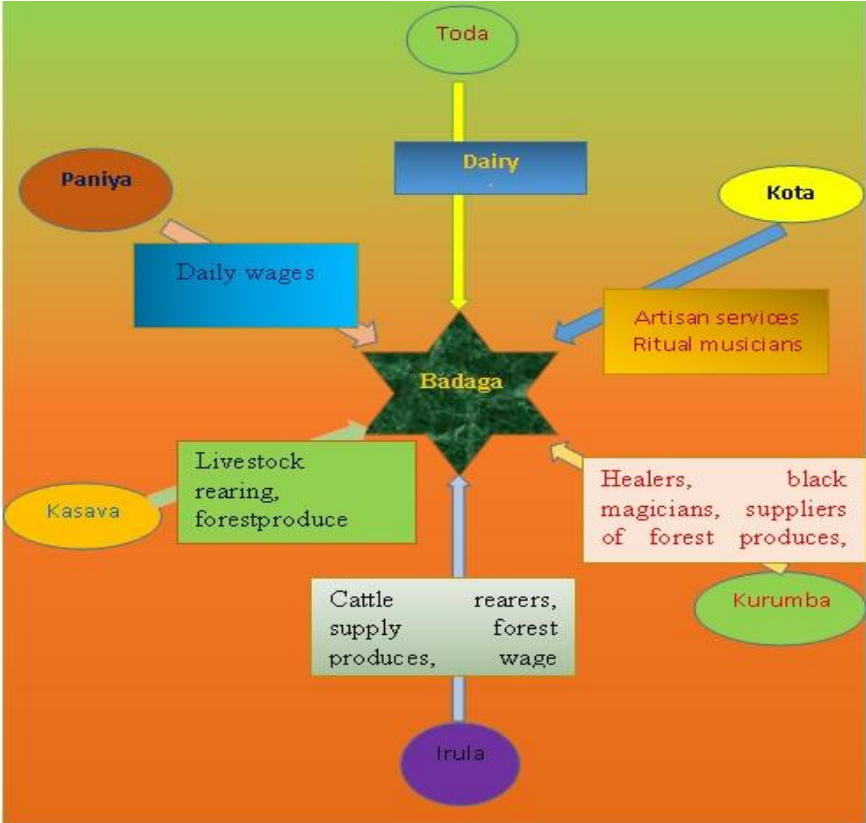
The Badagas are in toto are in ten phratries divided into 44 clans including Christians (1980, p.76). Though clan and social hierarchy occurs in the matters of purity and pollution and life cycle as well as communal rituals, breaking of exogamous and endogamous relationships is not uncommon. Moreover, the Badaga economy though appears to be egalitarian, the association of other tribal communities living in Nilgiris in different spheres of Badaga lifestyle, economy and rituals reminds one the reciprocity of relationships that exist in the caste society of South Indian village. Though the Toreya phratry had land and cattle they are treated as lower in their hierarchy, i.e, their role as ‘village servants’ to the hamlet and commune headman. Formally for a minimum payment they are obliged to fulfill many men and hours per year of time consuming tasks like carrying messages from one place to the other. The apex status among hierarchy were the Wodeyas and Haruvas , land owners and cattle keepers who received payments from families or villages for each religious tasks they undertake. The Badagas have totems. The families belonging to their respective totem observes and maintains rules of exogamy and endogamy in their social world. Thus the Badaga community is heterogeneous. But all Badagas share common features in the matters of dress, house architecture, ritual life, economy, social organization and so on that construct the identity of their people as a Badaga folkgroup. The solidarity they build up in the matters of these aspects may be the homogeneity. Thus Badagas as a folkgroup is homogenous and thereby establish their group identity, but as a socio-culturally hierarchized and economically categorized and sustained reciprocity of relationship with other co-habiting indigenous people makes it heterogeneous similar to that of any peasant community of south India. The reciprocity of relationships that exist between Badaga community and the tribes of Nilgiris and *vice versa* is given in the following Diagrams, I and II.

Diagram: I Relationships: Nilgiri Tribes and Badagas



The above diagram explains how different tribal communities are connected with the Badagas in their socio-economic and cultural life of the Badaga community by participating in reciprocity of relationships and contributed for the stability and sustenance of Badagas. Centrally located in the diagram, the Badaga receives dairy products from the Todas and maintain *Badagahundis* in Toda sacred dairy temples. From Kota tribe Badagas receive ritual music and artisan services that are required in their ritual ceremonies and agruculture. Kurumbas give forest produces, baskets and take the function of healing through magico-religious practices. The Irulas are professional cattle rearers and wage workers to Badagas and supply forest produces. They further take part in funerals of Badagas as musicians. Kasavas are cattle rearers and livestock incharge of Badagas and supply forest produces and labour to them. In the same way, Paniyas are wage workers for the Badaga society. Thus the Badagas received services from different tribes of the land and augmented environmental resources for exploring new avenues to conduct their agricultural ventures.

Diagram: II. Relationships: Badagas and Tribes of Nilgiris



The above diagram diagrammatically represents the reciprocal relationship of Badagas with the other native tribal groups. The Badagas give *Gudu*, a gift of grains and other agricultural produce to the Todas in return for their services in the form of dairy products and as a token of gratitude for giving them land for their sustenance when they settled in Nilgiris. Further they extended their services to the Todas by participating in their panchayat system. Badagas provide clothes, agricultural produces to Kotas and participate in their rituals as guests in return for their ritual music services that they render to them. For, Kurumbas, Badagas give salt, crude sugar, grain in return for their services as village guard and ritual services. Badagas provide to Paniyas the clothing, sites and materials for house construction, bear marriage expenses and provide agricultural produces in token for their service as wage workers. Badagas took the services of the Irulas as cattle herders and wage workers in their fields and gave grains, clothing, wages etc,. The Badagas had similar exchange services with the Kasavas to maintain their cattle and agricultural activities. Hence, it is evident that the Badagas maintained purity and pollution norms to distinguish their selves with that of the others within their own community as well as with the others who share their environment. The reciprocity of norms and relationships the Badagas maintained with the local tribes in order to continue their profession (agriculture) in the process of give and take reminds of the typical agrarian village polity wherein the communities living in a peasant settlement sustain on mutual services in the form cash or kind in a hierarchy of relationships depending upon the profession they undertake. In the Nilgiris context, the Badagas, being basically the professionals in agriculture, could advance the services that are needed for successful agricultural operations in different eco systems –dry, wet, arid etc,. and emerge as entreprenuring social group.

Such knowledge on environmental management could be possessed mostly by the peasants who could balance the rhythm of agricultural cycle with the environment. The dietary habits, prohibition of interdining and inter-sectarian marriages as cited elsewhere in the paper among the people of Badaga community are typical to any other peasant caste of South India.

(v) Ascriptiveness

It means that a person's caste was determined by birth. The caste panchayat has the power to excommunicate its members if they violate the custom and norms of the community. Customary law regulates the lives of the people in their respective caste. Badagas are not an exception to such ascriptiveness. At each level - village, commune, division and entire community, the responsible headman or the affected party can call together a council *manta* where the elders and elder sons of the families will gather. Every case has to pass through this hierarchy of councils. If the lower level of *manta* cannot solve the issue, only then it will be taken up to the next council. The case cannot be taken up in the highest level of meeting where the whole community is involved, unless it is an issue concerning the whole Badaga Community-all the four *bettas*. When a dispute arises between two persons or between families or parties the village headman calls a council of head, from each household who inevitably should be the male headman of the family. The whole procedure takes place under his *gaundike* or headmanship. Another elder of the village who is considered wise will assist him. If the conflict is between the villages then the headmen of both or as many villages involved form the council. After listening to the discussion from both the parties, and the witness the headman will pronounce the punishment after consulting his other members. Even if Kotas or Todas are involved in the dispute, their headmen will also be present.

During the course of council proceedings, there is no entry to women. If they happened to be the witness, they can speak to the headman in private. Toreyas are allowed to attend the council but cannot be active in the discussions. They consider that the male deliberations are faster and reliable. There were occasions when one party was punished, but punishing both the disputants was also in practice. Usual issues for which the council met were; murder, theft, influencing the other for suicide, violation, land dispute, breach in obeying customs and traditions, illegal marriage and also the disputes unsettled in Toda *Noim* and Kota council, for similar offences find place for discussion in Badaga Council. For minor guilts, the offender may bow down inside the circle of the council to which all members are present. Murder and provocation to suicide are considered as heinous crimes. Though sometimes the above norms were followed in predicting punishments, normally the punishments were not a fixed one. The headman could alter or change the nature of punishment taking into circumstantial evidences. The Todas and Kotas regarded the Badagas superior to them⁵. No other community than the Badagas could achieve such highness in the treatment in day-to-day life of the multicultural environment as in Nilgiris.

Thus the prevalence of all these traits in the community life of the Badagas substantiates that they belong to the peasant community which has undergone a long journey of ups and downs to finally emerge as powerful among its co-inhabitants in Nilgiris.

Conclusion

In the light of above discussion it can be interpreted that the Badagas as known from their distinct origin myths that they are of agriculturalists professionally connected to the dominant peasant group of *Vokkaligas* in southern Karnataka. They got migrated to the foothills of Nilagiris after the fall of Vijayanagara dynasty in A.D., 1565 on two grounds. (i) Since Southern Karnataka constituting the dry-arid and low lying hilly regions were rainfed regions, they were all subjected to the vagaries of monsoons that resulted in floods and famines in the respective regions. Hence the peasants of this region had no alternative than migrating to a place where they could find new avenues of livelihoods. For them the Nilgiris appeared to be congenial for they are well aware of environment in dry and hilly terrains and they could get acclimatized to their changed ecological conditions. Peasant migrations to long distances were not uncommon in South India on the pretext of famines and floods (ii) Onslaught of Muslim incursions in to the civic life of the populace during the regime of Nawabs of Karnataka, Tipu Sultan, son of Hyder Ali is cited as a cause in the migration legend. Here is a probability of both the conditions occurring together or successively might have contributed for the displacement of the peasants to distant lands. Association of a prominent historical person to the occurrence of an event or an incidence is very common in the construction of folk narratives especially the legends. It is because, establishment of such relationship between the event and the famous historical person would give legitimation to that incidence or event. These two grounds confirm their migration of Badagas to Nilgiris. The migration of the Badagas from southern Mysore

⁵The information on customary law of Badagas is gathered from the fieldwork conducted at the villages Kadanadu (Todanadu), Kinnakorai Porangadu, Adhigaretty, Horanalli, (Mekkunad).

region constituting Hasanur Taluk (Chamarajanagar district) can be attested by their prevalence in these regions till date. The migration of Badagas is continuous.

Having been displaced from the settled way of life as agriculturalists, they were compelled to start their new life in hilly environment as herders of the cattle and practitioners of slash and burn agriculture like that of any other tribes of India. After acclimatizing to the new environment by adopting tribal way of life, they got familiarized with the land and people of Nilgiris two centuries before the establishment of British station at Dimbatti (1820s). The Badagas consolidated as a distinct sub-group in their respective environment - Wodeyas, Haruvas, Adhikaris, Kanakkas, Gowdas/Badagas and Toreyas. They maintained kin relationships by observing the norms of purity and pollution. By that time Badagas emerged as dominant peasants among the other assorted tribal dwellers. Besides bartering their surplus agricultural produces in the Gundalpet (Mysore dt.) Sundapatti (Palghat dt.) and Karamadai (Coimbatore dt.) markets, they entered into reciprocity of hierarchical relationships with the local tribal groups for mutual sustenance. After the intervention of Britishers into the socio-economic life of the inhabitants of Nilgiris, the Badagas grew as land owners and enriched themselves in the cultivation and trade of commercial crops like tea, coffee, potato, carrot, beetroot, cauliflower etc.,. On the otherhand, Britishers also preferred the association of Badaga entrepreneurship to deepen their administration in Western ghats. Thus the Badagas being the peasants were always innovative in their profession for they could understand and appropriate the dynamics of ecology and environment on one hand and could articulate and consolidate their relationships with other fellow communities wherein they live. It can also be concluded that the Badagas were not tribes and there is no tribe caste continuum. They migrated as peasants with their cattle and molded themselves with the land and people of Nilgiris. For that time being, they adopted the tribal way of life- gathering, slash and burn agriculture, cattle herding- and looked for the opportunities to expand more after their acquaintance with the environment. Thus the journey of Badagas from Mysore region to Nilgiris and thence in the contemporary times has ups and downs. During the formative time of their relocation, they had a temporary setback of living like tribes. Through their professional negotiations with other tribal groups they established reciprocity of norms and relationships with them in their socio-economic and politico-religious lives. Sustenance on reciprocity norms is a clear feature of peasant society which Badagas maintained throughout their life course on Nilgiris and even now in the changed environmental conditions. They never lost the traits of peasant caste. They practiced hoe-agriculture along with the tribes for they knew craft of agriculture. The water resources on the hill-top and monsoon helped the agriculturist Badagas as a result of their agricultural entrepreneurship in developing agricultural cycle in relation to environmental resources. The Badagas had flourishing commercial crop production and marketing in a variety of agrarian products including tea. The tea plantation for Badagas was very beneficial and they yielded was prosperous along with fetching good price upto the year 2000. Nilgiri tea even today has its presence in international market. In due course, the price drop which affected the tea market has impacted Badagas to a greater extent. Though there was an increase in tea production, the marketing was not encouraging due to the competition in the International tea market. Hence, there was a setback in Badaga economy from Tea production. As the Badagas became prosperous due to education and land owning, they developed professionalism in agriculture production. Thus the new generation aims to procure relevant education in plains, other parts of the country and foreign countries. Hence the Badagas are moving from hills to plains again in search of new openings in their lives. It continues to remain in their innate zeal and aspiration to own land and experiment with agriculture; however relocation have begun to Coimbatore region in these times. It is well demonstrated in the long journey of Badagas from the status of migrants to that of land owners and adapting to production of western crops makes one to understand the efficacy of the community with which they could introduce South India to Western world. The migration of Badagas is an ongoing process.

References

1. Bailey, Frederick G (1963). "Closed Social Stratification in India", *European Archives of Sociology* 4: 107-124.
2. Bailey, Frederick G. (1961), "'Tribe' and 'Caste' in India", *Contribution to Indian Sociology*. (o.s.) 5:7-19.
3. Barth, Fredrik, (1969): "Introduction". In Fredrik Barth, (ed). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, the Social Organization of Culture difference*, London: George Allen & Unwin, pp.9-38.
4. Blunt, E. A. H. S. (1912): *Census of India 1911, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Part I-Report*, Vol. XV. F. Lauer Superintendent Government Printing Press, Allahabad.
5. Breeks, James Wilkison (1873). *An account of the primitive tribes and monuments of the Nilagiris*, London: India Museum.
6. Burton, Richard Francis, (1851 [1991]) *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, six months of sick leave*. With introduction by Dane Kennedy. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press.
7. Dumont, L. (1970): *Homo Hierarchicus*. University of Chicago, USA, 1980 edn.
8. Dutt, N. K. (1965): *Origin and growth of caste in India*, Vol. II: *Castes in Bengal*. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta.

9. Francis, Walter, (1908). (ed.). Madras District Gazetteers. The Nilgiris, Vol. 1. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press.
10. Harkness, Henry, (1832), A Description of a Singular Aboriginal race Inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatore in the southern peninsular of India. London: Smith, Elder. And Co.
11. Hockings, Paul E., (1980), Ancient Hindu refugees: Badaga social history 1550-1975. The Hague: Mouton Publishers; New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
12. ----- (1993) "Ethnic Identity in a Complex society: The Badaga Case". Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology (Osaka), 18:347 – 64.
13. ----- (2013), So Long a Saga Four Centuries of Badaga Social History 1550-1975. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.
14. Hutton, J. H. (1981): Caste in India. Oxford University Press,
15. Klass, M. (1993): Caste. The Emergence of the South Asian Social System. Manohar Publishers and Distributors.
16. Misra, Promode Kumar (1977). "Tribe-Caste: A non- Issue", Journal of Indian Anthropological Society 12:137-150.
17. Ouchterlony, John, (1847) "Geographical and statistical memoir of a survey of the Neilgherry Mountains, under the superintendence of Captain J. Ouchterlony. 1847". Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 15: 1- 138.
18. Sherrings. M A, (1975). The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency: Together with an Account of the Tribes and Castes of Mysore, Nilgiri, and Travancore, etc. Delhi: Cosmos Publications.
19. Sullivan, John, ('1880), To the editor of the Government Gazette'. Copy of an anonymous letter dated 30 Jan., reprinted in Grigg, Henry Bidewell, (1880) A manual of the Nilagiri District in the Madras Presidency. Compiled and edited by H.B. Grigg. Madras: E. Keys, Government Press.
20. Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary, (1909) Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Madras: Superintendent Government Press: pp 67-68. pp.63-124.

CULTURAL LIFE OF BADAGAS OF NILGIRIS: TRADITION AND CHANGE

A Synopsis of the Thesis Submitted
To the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfillment of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Centre for Folk Culture Studies

By

Naveen Kumar N.
(Reg. No: 07SFPH01)

Supervised

By

Prof. P. S. Kanaka Durga



Centre for Folk Culture Studies
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad
P.O. Central University
Hyderabad - 500 046
Telangana

September 2018

Cultural life of Badagas of Nilgiris: Tradition and Change

Synopsis

Badaga is the major community that cohabits with the native tribal groups - the *Kota*, the *Toda*, the *Kurumba* and the *Irula* in the Nilgiri hilly tracts of Tamil Nadu. The name *Badaga* literally means 'Northerner', *i.e.*, the people that were migrated from the region situated to the north of Nilgiris¹, the Mysore region in Southern Karnataka. It appears that the name *Badaga* (northerner) is given by the local people to these immigrants. The name *Badaga* is a Kanarese appellation to the people coming from North which means, the *northerner*. The northern portion of Mysore State and a few portions of Bellary and Anantapur are considered as Badaganadu and the Kannadigas of these regions are called as *Badagavaru*². Ethnically they call themselves as *baduguru*, probably referring to the minority of population when compared to the other groups during the initial phases of their migration when the people hailing from *Badugunadu*. The community by virtue of their traditional profession agriculture gradually crept into the heart of Nilgiris and occupied more than three hundred and seventy villages situated in different eco-zones on Nilgiri hills; *Mekunadu* (The Ithalar Region), *Porangadu* (The Kotagiri Region), *Todanadu* (The Ootacumund Region), and *Kundaenadu* (The Kundah Region).

Jacomo Finicio, an European priest (A.D.1603) in his report (Portuguese Manuscript now preserved in British Museum) mentioned the *Badagas* in his report for the first time, and observed them as the remarkable group of people flourishing amidst the other tribes in the uplands of Nilgiris³. Geographically, the Nilgiri District of South India is a hilly area of about nine hundred and eighty two sq. miles. It is situated between Karnataka in the North, Kerala in the West, Coimbatore district in the south and Erode district in the East. It spreads into the Western most part of Tamil Nadu. He noticed that each tribe has its own language and culture which could be distinguished one from the other.

The total population of the district according to latest official figures is 7,35,354⁴ (District Census 2011) of which according to the Academy of *Badaga* Culture,

Ooty (June, 2012)⁵ , the *Badagas* are around 2, 50,000 spread in around 468 villages and hamlets⁶ ethnically known as *hatti*. The rest of the population of the land constitutes mostly the migrated multilinguals who sought livelihood in different Colonial offices, as workers in tea and coffee plantations, labour in public utilities like road and other construction activities

In South India, the Badaga culture and history begins with the story of their migration from the south of Mysore district to the Nilagiris in sixteenth Century due to the onslaught of Muslims and continues with their emergence as a prominent agricultural community by acclimatising themselves with its land and people- Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas, Paniyas and Kasuvas and entering into reciprocity. *Badaga* villages, wherein these agriculture groups inhabit is geographically situated in the hilly tracts of Nilgiris⁷. The district has now six taluks viz. Ooty or Ootacamund (Udhagamandalam), Pandalur, Coonoor, Kotagiri, Kundah, and Gudalur (shown in the page,3, Map.No.1). The *Badagas* are highly territorial in their identity formations. The traditional geographic divisions which the *Badagas* (including native tribes) recognize are *Mel Seeme*, *Kundenadu seeme*, *Thodhanadu Seeme*, *Poranganadu Seeme*, *Mekunadu Seeme* and *Wynaad Gaudas* . The seventeen *Badaga* tribes are distributed in 468 villages and hamlets. Nilgiri District is multi-ethnic settlement wherein *Badagas* and other tribal groups live. The region is covered by deep valleys, gorges, winding streams, hills that form the habitation for a rich diversity of vegetation and wildlife.

For academicians and culture specialists, the *Badagas* have confused origins for they are represented as the immigrants on one hand and on the other as indigenous tribal group flourishing along with other ethnic tribes, like the Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Irulas on Nilagiris since the days of yore. Though, *Badagas* migrated to Nilgiris in small numbers, in due course of time their population became so extensive that their endogamous community emerged as a highly hierarchized social group divided into ten heterogeneous main clans⁸ (phratries). The *Badagas* are hierarchically organised as: the *Odeyas or Woodaya*, *Kongaru*, *Haruvas*, *Adhikiri*, *Kanakkas*, *Kaggusis*, *Gaudas*, *Wynaad Gaudas*, *Badagas* of *Hasanuru* and *Toreyas*. They consider groups other than their community as a *holeya*, which means an outsider.

Map .No.1.Geography of Nilagiris⁹



Like any other community in India, the *Badagas* have their own rich cultural identities preserved in the form of oral traditions and artefacts. They have their own language, Badaga, a southern Dravidian language. The *Badaga* community consists of six distinctive dialectic groups¹⁰. There are perhaps three of these seemingly distinctive by reason of geography: speakers living in the Kundenad, Hasanuru and Wynaad areas used to be quite isolated from the main part of the community, a situation that would have encouraged the growth of separate dialects in the course of several centuries. The differentiation Woodaya and Kumbara-Beda from Standard Badagu cannot, however besides the villages where standard *Badagu* is spoken. Only if we postulate that these three groups came speaking a more modern form of Kannada than the earlier immigrants who spoke a medieval cast-dialect can we account for this disparity. The Adikaris and Kanakkas have a dialect hardly varying from Standard Badagu because of their ready intermarriage and frequent social inter-

course with Gaudas, Haruvas and kaggusis; the Odeyas, Bedas and Kumbaras are essentially endogamous groupings, and thus culturally a little more apart from the rest.

The Badaga identity lies in (i) their village construction and architecture of their dwellings (ii) religion and (iii) Language and culture.

(i) The village consists of numerous rows of small tiny houses, built alongside easterly protected side of hill slopes keeping in view the fluctuation in monsoonal rainfalls, temples for village goddesses like Hette and puranic pantheon- Siva and Vishnu¹¹, village pastures for cattle grazing, spaces for communal activities and councils, plantations etc.,¹² the villages were named after its topography, people, flora, fauna and geology. Traditionally, the characteristic Badaga house was built with a thatched rooftop and walls constructed using the native martial mixing wet clay, soil, animal dung, and straw; it consists of two rooms, a kitchen on one side and to its opposite a multipurpose room linked by an arched doorway¹³. During the early times of migration, the Badagas had joint family system. Now-a-days, nuclear families emerged living with married parents and their children. Prevalence of single-parent families and couples without children is not uncommon. Hence, in contemporary times, the houses are built with tiled coverings and walls made of brick, and multi-storied buildings with all ¹⁴amenities like electricity, piped water, media and access to public transport and services.

(ii) With regard to religion, besides local *Hette* and *Lingayat* Saivism, a good number of people also converted to Christianity due to the impact of the first evangelical endeavours in the Nilgiri hills in A.D. 1846 and A.D. 1867 by the Basel Mission which is an interdenominational Protestant Christian missionary society. The early conversions into Christianity by the Missionaries primarily caused tension among the Badagas resulted in the expulsion of Christians from the villages and hostility between them. The destruction of a Mission's building in A.D.1856 (Basel German Evangelical Missionary Society, A.D. 1856) is a manifestation of such conflict. In the later time the Christian Missionary activities were towards social welfare, especially in education and sanitary spheres. The other markers of Badaga identity lies in the distinct use of language known as

‘Badagu’ and cultural life constructed around their oral traditions, beliefs, folklore, folk medicine, kinship, and economic organization; limited contact with ‘lowland people’ is also helped Badaga in keeping their identity intact .

The *Badagas* are heterogeneous community and belong to Dravidian stock. These cultural groups from the level of clan to that of a major community sustains their distinctiveness throughout their journey in various aspects of their personal and communal live. Badaga identity as a culturally distinct community is constructed and sustained by their traditions, customs, food, religion, rituals, social organization, political and economic organization, even amidst the changing scenario. This can be ascertained by the fact that the Badagas condemned Kotas for wearing turbans on their heads imitating them; wearing turban for a Badaga symbolises a status which presumably of nobility¹⁵. They don’t want the others to copy their identity marker by the others. At the same time they adopted local practices in dress and ornamentation like tattooing and sustenance patterns (slash and burn agriculture and hunting and gathering in foothills of nilagirils, in the process of tribalizing their identities in the new contexts. The Badagas took the turban bearing practice from the *Gowdars* (Okkaligas) of Karnataka as a marker of their descendency and migration from land and community.

In the contemporary times an interesting event occurred on 15th May 1989 wherein a procession to the chief minister of Tamil Nadu was taken and demanded the recategorization of community as Scheduled Tribe from their prior Backward Caste status and fix them minimum prices for agricultural products¹⁶ and also provide them access to a number of special benefits, including reserved seats in university and reserved government jobs etc.,¹⁷ Still the demands are pending and there is no decision is being taken sofar¹⁸.

From the next year *i.e.*, A.D. 1990, the day of the incident is being rejoiced as ‘Badaga day’ on which the community reenact their cultural forms such as processions of *Hette*, etc., and thus celebrate their cultural and socio-political identity¹⁹. The Badaga day appears to be a public platform to display their communal and personal demands and solidarity as a distinct cultural group and to reaffirm and continue their identities in the changing times. The Badaga community still consider the day as representation of their cultural autonomy, harmony and solidarity.

Significance of the study

The time of British and missionaries entered the Nilgiri hills during the early period of 19th century, the *Badagas* lived with other native communities based on mutual relationships sustaining on economic exchange system where in the Badagas (agriculturalists), Kotas (Artisan, musician and cultivator) Todas (pastoralist) and Kurumbas (food gatherers, hunters, slash and burn cultivators and sorceress). But afterwards in 19th century, the Badaga economy, agriculture got much influenced. Badagas being the major agriculturalists of the region, they produced a real surplus of grains and English vegetables like cabbage, carrot and potato along with the commercial crops of tea plantation. They exchanged their products such as salt, mustard, potatoes, sugar, opium, cloth and deceased livestock in return for various goods and services. The Badagas were dynamic for; they were the first to shift to large scale commercial crop cultivation, English education in the missionary schools for their children, and gaining employment in local establishments. The other tribes maintained their subsistence way of life as what they are for several more decades²⁰.

In the post-Independence period, the *Badagas* are very much concerned with their ethnic status whether as a tribe or a caste due to the decline of Tea plantation and the migration of *Badagas* in search of employment. The challenges Badaga community face in the wake of their migration process ever since their first migration from *Badaganadu* to Nilgiri foothills, from thence to hilltop and their dispersal to different geographical regions on the hills-Poranganadu, Mekkunadu, Kundeanadu and Thodhanadu and finally again flying to the plains of Coimbatore and other places is highly enterprising. This is a significant journey in the cultural life of the Badagas. The customary interdependence that exists between the *Badagas* and other groups is being changed in different parts of the plateau. Some *Badagas* who emphasise on cash crops are uninterested to maintain age old ties. The factors like potentialities of a labour market, proximity to bus routes to the town, aboriginal dwelling patterns and nearness of tribal settlements that are in reciprocity of relationships determine the affinities of Badagas with their traditional obligatory bondage with the local tribes of Nilagiris.

The impact of modernization since past forty years improved the exposure of populace to communications, mass media, and television. The people were aware of

proper marriage time for girls, family planning, improved transport facilities, education of both sexes etc., very much conspicuous in the society. Traditional Badagas hold that the urban dwellers, men and women are taking jobs and promoting nuclear families and there was no space for the old generation in the new dwellings. Hence the older feel that the scope for perpetuation of traditional values to the younger generation is becoming less. The community swings along tradition, innovation, change and continuity of Badaga identity.

These developments evoked consciousness among the *Badaga* people who felt that their political and cultural identities are getting lost. They assert that they had a long cherished history.

Jacome Fenicio, an Italian priest who visited the Nilgiris in A.D. 1603 mentioned the *Badagas* as a people inhabiting in these lands. This is the first historical record available to support their habitational continuity in the Nilgiri Hills. In his records, Jacome Fenicio mentions about *Badagas* and Todas. They were again mentioned in the records only after about 200 years by William Keys²¹, the British official of A.D. 1812.

Badaga identity still stands amorphous since their long cherished customs and traditions have been thoroughly invaded by modern political system. There is a controversy with regard to the caste of Badagas. The controversy fluctuates on the issues of their origin as immigrants, scheduled tribes and backward community and again moving back to claim tribal status on par with the remote tribals. Interestingly the *Badaga* community co-existed for generations with the other tribal groups by availing their services in different spheres of their own socio-religious and cultural lives. Thus attempted to tribalise their identities to claim as sons of the soil on one hand and 'distinctiveness' as highly dynamic agriculturists that had long cherished history in Mysore region as peasants who could absorb and assimilate the land, people and cultures in processing their professional pursuits.

But their history and cultural practices remind that of the peasants of south India. It is also held that they were powerful peasant groups of Mysore region, a domain in the Vijayanagara ruler ship. After the fall of the dynasty due to battle of Tallikota (1565), the socio-economic life of the people and peasants got disturbed and

Badagas began to migrate to the south and settle near foot hills of Nilgiris. Their physical displacement from plains to hilly tracts and uplands and sometimes *viceversa* in Nilgiris resulted shifts in their social statuses and nature of professions. Historically the *Badagas* have always been proud of their independence and pristine lifestyle. The *Badagas* have their own democratic polity which consist of the *Badaga* village Council, Commune council and the chief community council designed to serve the democratic *Badaga* way of life. These are certain characteristics clearly perceivable from the society's folklores and narratives distinct of the *Badagas* which form the basis for their claim for a distinct identity. Their desire to retain those characteristics is apparent in their struggle to indigenise the modern administrative mechanism based on their respective customs and traditions.

Globalisation is another factor that awakened identity consciousness. It is a socio-economic phenomenon that transformed the entire world into a global village and merged the spatio-temporal boundaries of the universe. It stirs up awareness with regard to homogeneity versus heterogeneity. In the wake of globalisation, the *Badagas* felt the need to revive their tradition for the identity of their own and keep up their conventional heterogeneity amidst the homogeneity under cultural changes. The *Badagas*, being the major community of the Nilgiri Hills cohabit with tribes sharing the same ideology with regard to their identity formations.

Nature and scope of study

In the light of above discussion the present thesis entitled *Cultural life of Badagas of Nilagiri: A Study* broadly proposes to study the oral traditions of the community that has been shared among its members throughout the generations, though they have language, they don't have documented histories. Like any other oral society, the *Badagas* prevail upon their lore, the verbal and non verbal expressive behaviour deposited in the mnemonics of the people which is learnt and transmitted orally through the generations. The lore embodies the knowledge, beliefs and the institutions that influenced the people to sustain their culture from erosion and invasion throughout their journey from Karnataka to Nilagiris. Their folk (oral) lore is a rich source for reconstructing their histories and encompasses a wide variety of genres- folk narratives, songs, proverbs, music, dances, and material culture- which establish their distinctive origin and sustenance patterns and identity among the other

settler communities of Nilgiris. Further the study brings forth the change and continuity of *Badaga* tradition as construed in their folklore. The thesis examines the notion of identity as conceived by the *Badagas* in particular. The study further shows whether the *Badagas* got adapted to the changing environments reflecting changing livelihoods as they migrated from plains to uplands and *viceversa* in the past and present scenario. The issues of *Badagas* related to the theories of their origin, migration and shift of economic practices are proposed to discuss in the light of latest theoretical discourses. The research proposed to finalise caste-tribe dilemma in the identity construction of *Badagas* by upholding the concept of ‘tribalisation’ for identifying themselves on one hand with the locals, but on the other retaining their core community traits to construct their social identity amidst the others with which they are living.

The study focuses on the ritual life of the *Badagas* as metaphors of their community that sustained them in different ages and stages of their lives during the times of their migration and settlement in their socio-economic and political realms. The rituals as reflected in their lifecycle, territorial, communal, religious rites are being analysed to interpret their caste, profession, religion and so on. The study further highlights the ongoing process of the journey of migration and tradition and change and continuity in the cultural life of *Badagas*, especially in the realm of agriculture and rituals from sixteenth century to the contemporary times.

Geographical area of study

The geographical scope of my research pertains to some villages in *Badaga* territory-the *Thodhanadu* (*Udhagamandalam Taluk*), the *Mekkunad* (*Udhagamandalam & Coonoor taluk*), the *Porangad* (*Kotagiri and Coonoor taluk*), the *Kundae seeme* (*Kundah Taluk*) All these villages are populated by *Badagas* wherein the other natives also share the environment ²².

Literature Review

The survey of literature is done in three broad areas. They are: (i) Research works on Folklore (ii) Status of knowledge on *Badaga* community (iii) Field methodology and data processing.

(i) Research works on Folklore

The Grimm Brothers' book²³ is a collection of folktales meant for socialization of the children in the society. It is methodological research on folk narratives. This work is a part of their project in *Germanistik* (German studies) encompassing the fields of philology, law, mythology and literature. Grim brothers along with Friedrich Max Muller, an Indologist, upheld the 'Indo-European theory of mythic origins'. On the basis of comparative philology and comparative mythology, they attempted to reconstruct the myths and the mythic-religious beliefs that caused the emergence of these narratives.

Edward B. Tylor,²⁴ dealt with various aspects of culture; his conception of cultural evolution is drawn on the basis of observation of various materials gathered by the other ethnographers related to language, mythology, customs and beliefs and religion. His theory on social evolution contains three stages, savagery, barbarian and civilization. Tylor holds that savagery represents an early stage of cultural development, and barbarians as representatives of a middle stage. Civilizations, such as those of Europe, represent the third stage. He, being the founder of the British school of anthropology upholds that the 'myth' in modern folk society contains the survivals of 'savage myth' and substantiated it basing on his theory of social evolution.

Richard Bauman's work²⁵ puts forth an outline for understanding performance theory as it relates to speech events. He considered verbal art as performance than simply as repository of lore. He considers folklore as a performance framed in a given context between the performer and the audience.

Dan Ben-Amos holds that the domain of folklore revolves three aspects like a "body of knowledge, a mode of thought, or a kind of art"²⁶ although they are not limited of one other. He opines that there are three kinds of linkages that exist between folklore and the social context; they are 'possession, representation, and creation or re-creation' forms the basis for folklore study. Hence folklore is "artistic communication in small groups"²⁷.

A. K. Ramanujan opined that the Indian cultural ideologies and behavioural manifestations are driven by "context-sensitive" thinking. His studies on folklore

highlight the concept of intertextuality²⁸ between oral and written literary tradition of India²⁹. “Context-sensitivity” is a theme that appears in Ramanujan's cultural essays, and his works on Indian folklore and classic poetry. The “intertextuality” means that Indian stories talk about to one another and occasionally to further versions of the same story being told. Ramanujan noted that these inter-textual influences do not happen in a unidirectional form. He stresses that the Sanskritic and local traditions are in discourse with each other and reciprocally influence one another.

Soumen Sen's essay focuses on how identity is expressed through the study of myth and ritual. He studied on the Khasi and Jaintai tribe of North-east India. Though these tribes have lost its significance in regard to the practice of indigenous religion but according to him the recent social and political movements draw much of its symbol and expressions from the myths.

Arnold Van Gennep³⁰ is renowned for the study on the rites of passage that traces substantial changeovers in the people's lives due to birth, puberty, marriage and death. The individual is first ritually separated from the society, then he is isolated (kept in limbo) for a period, and finally he is incorporated back into the society with a new status. All the three phases of life are important not only to novice but also to the society as these phases socialize the novice to suites to be social needs and occasions.

Victor Turner³¹ improvised the concept of rites of passages devised by Van Gennep. His contribution to the said subject is on *liminoid* and *communitos*. His concrete data regarding ritual comes from his fieldwork with the Ndembu. Turner³² coined the term *liminoid* to refer to experiences that have characteristics of between and betwixt state where in the novices enjoy an alternate status negating the dominant there by appears anti-structural. They do not resolve a personal crisis but give relief to the existing one. The *communitos* is a collective experience of group of novices of *liminoid* who share the same feelings and aspirations thus become a community by itself for a temporary period. His approach to cultural studies is drawn from symbolic anthropology where in symbols are primarily the categories that connect the human beings with their worldview thereby reflect the very behavioural codes as observances and ceremonies. His works had an immense impact on human sciences.

Mary Douglas³³ critically examined the ideas of pollution and taboo as evident from varied cultures from a structuralist point of view. She saw liminality as the

dominant element that exists between conflicting structural positions. Certain social rules operate to regulate the pollution norms and reinforce the structure of society³⁴ through rituals and symbols.

Clifford Geertz's³⁵ work deals with human nature which presumably same everywhere, but comes only in its local varieties as a bewildering diversity that lies in languages, cultures, cultural practices, beliefs, mentalities, behaviors, prescriptions, proscriptions, taboos etc, as varieties of local knowledge that appear mutually and reciprocally repellent or incurably allergic to one another in their inconsistency as illuminations of the truth of experience or reality.

Status of knowledge on *Badagas*:

In this section, a few important works so far done on the *Badagas* community are analyzed briefly in three phases: (a) Pre Colonial phase (produced by the Italian Priest) (b) Colonial phase (produced by the British administrators and anthropologists) (c) Post-Colonial (the works that speak about culture, identity, globalization etc.)

(a) Pre Colonial writings:

Jacome Fenicio' "Two Portuguese Manuscripts on the Mission of Todamala"³⁶, gives an account of the mission of two priests to Nilgiris along with twelve guides and guards who travelled more than 50 miles and reached Todamala (the Nilgiri plateau). His two-day interaction with Badaga and Toda groups mention about the traditional long standing relations existing between them till 1930's. He describes the Badaga village Meluntao (present Melur or Mel Kundah), two other *Badaga* villages situated in these mountains. He describes about the livestock and the crops raised in this village. Later on the second day he visited the Toda villages.

(b) Colonial writings:

James Hough in his "*Letters On The Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, etc of the Nielgherry (or) Blue Mountains of Coimbatore, South India*",³⁷ gave an account of *Badagas* as one of the four distinct classes, the Thodawaras, the Kothurs and the Kurumbars of the Nielgherry, the others being. He considered the *Badagas* as the 'husband men' of the Neilgherries since they occupied the higher lands of Peringa, Thodawar, and Maika Naads; or rather, nearly the whole of the country immediately

below the highest range of hills. . He did not mention about the origin of *Badagas* but mentioned that nobody except the community can tell about their origin.

Johaann Friedrich Metz in his work, “*The Tribes Inhabiting the Nielgherry Hills; Their Social Customs and Religious Rites*”³⁸, mentions that there were 15000 Badaga souls, occupying 300 villages and hamlets. Their name signifies “people of the North”, from the greater part of them having come to the hills from the Mysore country. They are called by the Todas “Mav” (father-in-law), a kind of honorary title, not intended to imply any relationship. The ancestors of some of the *Badagas* were inhabitants of Taioor and Tagatoor near Nunjanagoody, others came from Sargoor in the territory of the Rajah of Oomatoor, and either accompanied or followed him in his flight to the hills. Those of Paranganaud *Badagas* came up from Talemalae, a range of low hills lying to the North-East of the Neilgherries. The people of those parts still look upon them as their relatives, and eat with them. A connection still exists between the Lingayats of the hills and those of Goondelpetta, from which places the priests pay the *Badagas* a pastoral visit every second or third year, generally receiving a cow or an ox of their trouble.

William Ross King ³⁹, in his book *The aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills* describes the *Badagas* as one among the hill tribes having migrated from the plains lying to the north ward of the range, not much more than two hundred years ago. He holds that they are Hindus whose original characteristics and dialect got modified after five to six generations from which they had migrated. The *Badagas* are lighter in complexion and are remarkable through their turban worn by the males. There exists a hierarchy of class determined by the economic statuses. The more wealthy own the only cows and oxen on the hills and herds of buffaloes. Most of them cultivate grain and other agricultural produce. The lowest class either work as labourers to the native communities or work with the Europeans for wages.

Charles E. Gover⁴⁰ deals with a chapter on *Badaga* Songs. He gives an account on the beautiful chants of the *Badagas*. The first of the song presented by the author is the funeral dirge that is sung at every cremation, a little before the actual cremation or burial. The next song that follows the dirge is of equally interesting character, it describes the other world – where parted spirits dwell. The third song also

expresses the same idea. The song is a dialogue between a tender curious woman and one of the 'wise man', who act as the adviser of the *Badaga*. Gover also presents story of Bali which is a *Badaga* Ballad.

James Wilkinson Brecks⁴¹, gives an account on the geographical features of the Nilgiris, the four divisions as recognized by the native communities: Todanadu, Porangadu Mekunadu, and Kundenadu. The author while giving accounts of the five native communities furnishes a very brief note on the *Badagas* as they are considered not to be an aboriginal or jungle race. The author while referring to the *Badagas* mentions that they being chiefly Hindus and belonging to the Saiva sect, have migrated from the Mysore region three hundred years ago, after the disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire. The *Badagas*, an agricultural race, produces poor sort of cereals. They are numerous and wealthier, having acquired land from Government at easy rates and many of them own large herds of cattle. They give a sort of tribute in grains to the Todas, and according to the then latest census, numbered 19,476 which is the highest in Nilgiris population. Their language is a corrupt form of Kanarese.

H. B Grigg⁴² views that the *Badagas* are the descendants of the Kanarese colonists from the Carnatic country, presently the north of Coimbatore and south Mysore. These two regions have at one time been the important part of ancient Kongu kingdom. The author estimates that the principal migration of the *Badagas* took place before 300 years after the breaking up of Vijayanagara Empire. The author also assumes that there is no doubt that the *Badagas* must have occupied the portions of Nilgiri plateau long before the estimated period, the reason being Nilgiris appertained rather to ancient Karnataka than to Dravida or the lands of the Tamils. The main reason for the migration of *Badagas* is viewed by the author as they are driven from home due to famine, political turmoil, or local oppression.

The language of the *Badagas* is an old Kannada dialect and their kinsmen below the ghats speak the modern Kannada dialect. The local distribution of the tribes on the district, and the absence among them of a tradition of the advent of the *Badagas* to the hills, the respect with which the *Badagas* are treated by the Todas, whose mode of addressing them is honorific, all these according to the author indicates the Kanarese ascendancy of *Badagas* at the time of migration. Griggs gives

information on the term *Badaga* and the other human groups of the Telugu country been addressed by the same term. He also notes that every class of the *Badagas* have some sort of history of its own, and some refer to the villages below the hills from which they came and where their relatives still live. Griggs talks about the eighteen castes in the *Badaga* community.

Geofry ⁴³ gives some accounts on *Badagas* the author describes in short the meaning of the term *Badaga* which mean Northman. He gives an account of Their villages, the crops which they produce, their ploughing method, their caste and religion.

W. H. R. Rivers ⁴⁴ gives describes *Badagas* and their interrelations with Todas and other information of historical importance. The book is considered as a classic anthropological work on the Toda community.

Walter Francis ⁴⁵ gives a descriptive and larger volume of accounts of Nilgiris dealing with different aspects of the district. The author in his chapter on people of Nilgiris gives certain accounts of *Badagas*. Francis describes the name '*Badaga*' is the same word as *Vadaga* and means northerner, and that the *Badagas* of the Nilgiri plateau have migrated from Mysore region due to food crisis, political chaos or native subjugation. He also supposes that this migration must have taken place after the advent of Lingayatism in the second half of the twelfth century. Most of the followed Lingayatism. It is evident that even before the end of sixteenth century it is evident from the writings of Catholic priests (1603) that he found the *Badagas* settled on the south of the Nilagiris and following their own traditions. The date of migration is not easier to fix with the present state of knowledge. Additional information on *Badagas* occupation, villages and house structure, the *Badaga* woman, the crops they raise, the physical characteristics of *Badagas*, clothing of *Badaga* men and women, jewellery and prosperity, and a note on earliest writings at any length on the *Badagas*, their sub divisions and customs. Based on these earlier writings, the *Badagas* are split into six sub divisions, namely Udaya (Woodaya), Haruva, Athikari, Kanaka, *Badaga* and Toreya, of which the Toreyas are the lowest and the servants of others.

Thurston E. and Kadamki Rangachari ⁴⁶ describe *Badagas* as the agriculturalist on the Nilgiri hills, and their co inhabitants, the Todas as pastoralist and Kotas as the

artisans of Nilgiris. Thurston informs on the population of Nilgiri tribes as of nineteenth century. The author informs about a newspaper discussion on the poor conditions of *Badagas*, and further describes the *Badaga* custom of meeting sick relatives; The *Badagas* borrowing money from the Muslim merchants, the *Badaga* village and house structure, their fields and crops, prosperity and work culture, the *Badagas* taking to litigation and the lawyers on the hills, *Badaga* custom of taking oath at Maariamman temple at Sigur and Ootacamund, the meaning of the name *Badaga* or *Vadaga*, the physical anthropology of *Badagas*, The *Badagas* origin legend, historical and archaeological evidences on migration of *Badagas*, the history of Hulicul a *Badaga* village, the Udaya Raya on the plateau, the sub divisions of *Badagas* – Udaya, Haruva, Adhikari, Kanaka, *Badaga* and Toreyas. The Udayas and Toreyas as an endogamous sect, whereas the other four *Badaga* sub divisions as exogamous sects, religion, the story of Kariyabetaraya, the founding of Adhigaratty village, the village *suthu kallu* and *mandakallu*, the *Badaga* village and house structure, cattle and cultivation, their interest in cultivation. The everyday life of a *Badaga* lies in the crops cultivation; *Badaga* woman play a greater role in this. Thurston and Rangachari gave much details about the Badaga Revenue settlement, the self-government, their clothing, pregnancy ceremony, tattooing, jewellery and ornaments, *Badaga* nick names, customs of the people, the Kurumba relation, Madesvara and Hetheswami temple worship, their other god and goddess and fairs and festivals; Their relation with other tribes and septs are also mentioned by the authors⁴⁷.

James George Frazer⁴⁸ theorised the concept of death and its ritual performance in the Badaga society. As a white collared Ethnologist, he has collected various rituals, customs, belief connected with life and death and conceptualised a theory which support fertility cults as the process of rites of passage. In Badagas culture the deceased soul is released by transferring the sins to a living calf which act according to him is a scape-goat mechanism used in several cultures to negotiate the spaces between natural and supernatural. This according to him is a magico-religious practice coming from the primitive customs.

(b) Post-colonial writings

Paul Hockings⁴⁹ basing on the interviews conducted over seven hundred *Badaga* people wrote a book. The book deals with theories of *Badaga* migration, *Badaga* village names and environment. In the first chapter his discussion begins with the dating of *Badaga* Migration; the published estimates of migrated dates, linguistic evidences and other historical evidences are also given. The second chapter provides information on the *Badaga* village names and the cultural ecology of the *Badaga* settlement. Further, the social groupings of *Badagas* (lineage, clan, phratry, moieties, and septs), *Jati*, and marriage preference and role ambiguity are discussed. The Traditional reciprocity of relationships that exist among the *Badagas* and Todas, *Badagas* and Kotas, *Badagas* and Kurumbas, *Badagas* and Irulas, Kasuvas and Uralis are explained. Exhaustive information is given on early patterns of trade, marketing of their products, before and after the advent of Britishers settling on Nilgiri Plateau. The issues like the growth of cash economy, the impact of British rule on *Badaga* economy, expansion of market economy (1850-1900), agriculture change, modern systems of marketing and the modern employment are put to discourse. The book describes customary law and socio-political organisation of the *Badagas*. The continuity and change in the traditions and lifestyle patterns of *Badagas* in changing times is well explained.

Paul Hockings⁵⁰ in other work describe the physical and geographical settlements of *Badagas*, the social history of the *Badagas*, environment and the economic constraints, family and house hold, the daily life, world view, social integration, the myth of Hette, and absolution of sins at a *Badaga* funeral. This book contains a collection of essays contributed by eminent scholars of different disciplines on the Nilgiris of South India, and the native communities inhabiting the plateau.

Paul Hockings⁵¹ in another published work on *Badagas* focused on the demographic transition and on social change over time. This work is a report of the author's twenty-seven years longitudinal study of the *Badagas*; it is a significant addition to the literature on demography and social change in India. The book basically divided into four parts consisting of twelve chapters gives accounts on. Part 1) The *Badaga* household in the context, in which three Chapters; the *Badaga* society, the research design, *Badaga* marriage and descent are dealt with. Part 2) Life and

Death in a Household, which consists chapter four a case study on M.N. Thesing: A life story and the fifth chapter on The Ebb of life. Part 3) Quantitative findings; accounts on family and household, the four villages, Age and sex, Birth and its control, Morbidity and Mortality, (consists in chapter six, seven, eight, and nine). Part 4) Modern Life: Work and the Mass Media; Chapter ten, eleven and twelve consists of the Household and Modern life, Education, Mass Media and the Future with some conclusions on it. Several works of Paul Hockings⁵² deal with the Badaga community from different perspectives.

Anthony Walker⁵³ investigates the Toda community, on its settlement and economic base, the organization of Toda community and one important topic dealt with is the Relations with the neighbours: Tradition abandoned – In this he analyses the traditional relations the Todas had with the *Badagas*, Todas, Kotas, and Kurumbas, and at present the tradition being gradually abandoned.

The writings on *Badagas* during the post colonial period is a major shift in approach and method, qualitative and quantitative research methods being applied, longitudinal study being carried out, the information on *Badagas* seems adequate, yet the sources from which the information is sought, and the nature and kind of information collected and presented as writings when critically reviewed gives ample prospect to study the *Badagas* from the folklore perspective. During this period, it is unfortunate to note that many folklore genres which were collected by missionaries and native monographers were unpublished and lost. To know the community from the people's perspective is the main aim of folklore studies. Though folklore is used by western scholars to study part of Badaga culture during this period, it has not been considered as a major approach in studying the *Badaga* community.

Gareth Davey⁵⁴ explores the cultural life of *Badagas* which was swinging between change and continuity due their rural to urban migrations in search of new avenues. At an empirical level, it reveals how *Badagas* understand themselves and the multifaceted changes in their culture and daily lives, exploring a relevant issue as the precursor of debate about the future from a global perspective. The book draws attention to the fact that people are for supple identities and lifestyles in an attempt to survive and thrive in a changing India and world, a new 'Indian-ness' formed at the

indigenous level. It offers a timely update on earlier works on Badagas, which dates to the 1990s, and also serves as a significant evidence for the people's experiences of the with regard to the social and economic transformation of Indian society as they become accustomed to new ideas, products, and ways of life. As such, it is a must-read for all those interested in quality of life in India and developing societies.

William Allister Noble⁵⁵ gives exhaustive information on the land and people of Nilagiris and the reciprocity of relationship that exists among all the ethnic groups on one hand and with Badagas on the other. The author analyses the geography and environment from the perspective of their sustenance patterns pastoralism agriculture, wet, dry, garden cultivation, growth of commercial crops and English vegetables , cattle rearing,. The politico-economic and religious interdependency among the groups is vividly described.

Jakka Partharathy⁵⁶ gives an account on different aspects of Badaga life in Nilagiris. The book analyses existing literature on the Badaga History and culture and deals with the issues of the Badagas like origin, the sharing of geography, environment and people of Nilagiris, socio-economic organisation, ritual life as reflected in life cycle ceremonies, communal festivals, belief system and folklore.

B.Balasubrahmanyam⁵⁷ throws flood of light on various aspects of Badagas like the origin, social structure, worship patterns, relationships with the other tribes of Nilgiris, the belief system, ritual practices- personal and communal. He further discusses on the impact of Britishers on Badaga life.

(iii) Field methodology and data processing:

Kenneth S.⁵⁸ emphasises how experience in the field improves the quality of research in folklore. For him methodology is only one of the requirements for successful data collection. He holds that unless the fieldworker has the inclination, temperament, or personality for data collection, he will never be successful in his pursuits since the mere use of methods and techniques do not serve the purpose. The chapters on problem formulation, pre-field preparations, establishment of rapport with informants, observation collecting methods, interview, collecting methods, and the techniques of motivating informants explain the nature of professionalism in field work that a researcher is supposed to develop. The book explains about data

collection techniques used for different genres, ethnographic method, the concepts in qualitative and quantitative research like positivism, naturalism, subjectivity, objectivity, reflexivity etc.

Samuel P. Bayard⁵⁹ tells about what constitute folklore material and how it should be collected. He distinguished folklore from cultural anthropology. He advocated that the folklore lies not in the traditions and, aesthetics and arts of the people but lies within the realm of thought and some aspects of the content and activities of peoples' minds."⁶⁰

Donald A. MacDonald⁶¹ explains the planning of the researcher for field work and prescribes several rules and regulations to be observed in the field. He tells about the field roles⁶² to be played by the researchers, methods and techniques to be adopted in the field basing on the context of collection of data etc.⁶³

Dennis Tedlock⁶⁴ work on 'ethnography of Speaking' enumerates the methods for transcribing, translating, and interpreting oral performances. He stresses the need for the extensive textual and contextual analysis to interpret them from the perspective of the people on whom the research is being carried. The ethno-poetics of the folk communities can best be explored through the new method of transcribing and translating the oral narratives in the spoken words.

Richard Dorson⁶⁵ prescribes the need for a folklorist has to master the skills that are essential to study and interpret folklore a distinct discipline of study. He grouped folklore into four categories: He further describes the field of folklore and folk life under four groupings: (i)verbal/ oral expression that include spoken, sung and voice behaviour, (ii) material culture (iii) social folk custom which comes between verbal expression and material culture and (iv) the performing folk arts.

Jacques Derrida's⁶⁶ work is a manifesto against structuralism. Derrida's essay proposed some theoretical limitations to structuralism. His post structuralist theory aims at textual analysis and upholds the idea of "self" not as a unified and comprehensible entity but an imaginary construct; rather, an individual consists of contrasting outlooks and epistemic milieus (e.g., gender, class, profession, etc.). The meaning the reader perceives is primary to the meaning that the author intended to convey. and established the relationships between the signifier, signified and the sign.

The meaning of the text differs in interpretation of some variables. In this process, the role of the 'reader's self' is significant. In post structuralist textual the reader 'supplants the author' as the focal subject of inquiry. This 'displacement' is cited as the act of "destabilizing" or "decentering" of the author and it has greatest effect on the text itself. Without primary fixation on the author, post-structuralist look for other sources for meaning (e.g., readers, cultural norms, other literature, etc.). The essay explains deconstruction of meanings in the binary oppositions of the structure.

Marcus and Cushman⁶⁷ explain how ethnographic accounts can constructed as cultural texts. He elucidates the concept of 'ethnographic realism' which is a style of ethnographic writing that recounts the writer's experiences and interpretations as if the reader was seeing or experiencing events at first hand. The author recognised nine features of ethnographic realism: a holistic description of another culture; an sagacious, non-invasive narrator; replacement of complex constructions for individuals; references to fieldwork in order to establish the authentic presence of the ethnographer; emphasis on everyday life circumstances; dogmatic assertion of the representation of the indigenous point of view; preferring generalizations over detailing of precise facts; use of jargon; theoretical abstractions which circumvent attention to the context of native language.⁶⁸

Stephen A. Tyler's,⁶⁹ proposes a completely altered meaning of ethnography which overcome the problem of representation in toto. His explanation of post modern ethnography⁷⁰ stresses the dialogical character of ethnography wherein the discourse is concerning with reader and writer rather than between the culture and the writer which he studies. His assertion is that all ethnographies are post-modern in effect and the post-modern ethnography has not yet been inscribed and may not even be possible.⁷¹ Tyler's essay is significant for discourse analysis, the ethics of ethnography, and the connection amongst writer, text and reader.

Michael Genzuk⁷² focuses on ethnography as a social science research method where three kinds of data collection are deployed: they are interviews, observation, and documents. He explains three methodological principles - naturalism, understanding and discovery for ethnographic method.⁷³

Jerome Bruner⁷⁴ argued that the mental structures operate its logic of reality through cultural products, like language and other symbolic systems. He gives an

account of ten ways of how a narrative constructs reality. This forms the basis for formulating data.

Richard Giovannoli⁷⁵ points out that the tenacity of narrative inquiry is to study individual experiences and the process of meaning-making in a methodical mode. He held that the narratives are essentially more than the telling stories; it is the way one creates and recreates the realities of one's own self.⁷⁶

William M. Clements⁷⁷ explains why personal narrative as a genre possesses several advantages over the investigation of more exotic materials. He suggested that while collecting personal narratives, the collector should familiarize with the informant prior to the interview, familiarity with the cultural milieu from which the informant comes, trying to get information on whether the informant has narrated his/her personal narrative, the collector of personal narratives can evaluate traditionality by considering the depth of artistry in the material he/she collect. He further state that, in the interview context, an informant may create narratives in response to specific questions from the interviewer.⁷⁸

Ram Ahuja's book⁷⁹ explains the technique of translating raw data into meaningful accounts which includes data processing, analysis, interpretation and presentation. Data handling chiefly encompasses different manipulations essential for making the data for analysis. It involves editing and classifying the open-ended questions by way of preparation of charts and diagrams. The data analysis nothing comprises collation of data into essential segments in order to get pertinent answers to issues o be solved in the Research process. It should be followed by the interpretation to explain meaning. The interpreted data has to be synthesised and the results are to be interpreted

Janet Bean⁸⁰ emphasizes the need to have cooperation between the researcher and the cultural groups in the fieldwork situation. She expects the fieldworkers to gain understanding of various subcultures while to improve their research, record keeping, speaking, and writing skills.

Lacunae in previous researches:

So far the researches conducted on the *Badagas* were based on the Administrative records, field reports of the anthropologists and other such sources

which did not reveal the soul of the community- how it struggled through the ages to carve its own niche i.e., the cultural identity ever since the historical formations. Though some works focused on rituals, folk narratives and songs they are highly descriptive and interpreted more from the researcher's viewpoint. The content of the lore is given importance rather than the cultural context of their renditions. Some works are compilation of folklore genres meant for archival purpose. The rituals are though graphically described; they are not analyzed in the light of latest discourses on cultural semiotics and ritual theories. Further there appears a fear that the literacy, Cultural changes and globalization are threats to their personal and communal identities; and that one must save them from erosion. It is also suggested to 'preserve' their respective cultural heritage in audio-visual forms and print media. However, the culture, especially the oral traditions are highly dynamic, the verbal and non verbal expressions cannot be frozen and hence cannot be the 'objects' of museums. The methodology used by the colonial writers was primarily based on exploration and fieldwork and secondly the methods that they used were survey methods, observation and participant observation methods with the objective of trying to show how it really was. Therefore this literature has only description. Their writings became the sources for post-colonial writers on the *Badagas*. However their writings were more or less a descriptive information on the *Badaga* culture, traditions and the life of the people. So folklore of the *Badagas* was not explored and is not taken into consideration for the study about the *Badagas*. Writings were not perceived from oral tradition or from the folk perspective.

Hypotheses

It is hypothesised that:

- *Badagas* of Nilagiri were of peasant descent emigrated from Southern Karnataka region (who were northerners to Nilgiri inhabitants) still sustaining partially on cattle rearing and fully on agriculture in the wake of globalisation.
- *Badagas* are highly adoptive to the changing environments and technologies in agrarian productions and distribution. In this process they have tribalised their cultural practices to identify themselves with the local tribes and claim ethnic identity

- The pattern of migration and social mobility of Badagas is processual and hence, poses questions related to identity between the realms of tribe and caste.

Aims and objectives

Basing on the hypotheses made above, the thesis entitled **Cultural Life of Badagas of Nilgiris: Tradition and Change** aims to:

- Study the caste, origin, migration and expansion of Badagas in the Nilagiris and interpret the interdependence and reciprocity that they maintain different native tribes.
- Collect different genres of *Badaga* folklore- folk narratives (mythology, folktales) proverbs, riddles folksongs, beliefs, and religion, ritual practices and personal narratives / life stories of the narrators in the field as source material for research.
- Interpret the process of ‘tribalisation’ that the Badagas undergone throughout the course of their journey as well as their stay on Nilagiris.
- To analyse the rites of the Badagas , both personal (life cycle) and communal and agricultural rituals to show how rituals are cultural constructs.
- To suggest new avenues of research in community studies.

Methodology

Methods can be defined as the procedures and techniques typical to a specific discipline or of domain knowledge in a systematic way. It infers that a methodical coherent arrangement is essential to any disciplinary knowledge. Methodology denotes the logical and the philosophical suppositions that underlie a specific study.⁸¹ The first stage in methodology is gathering of information. Data is nothing but structured information; it can be in the form of words, figures, quantities, observations or even just accounts of things. The data is collected from primary and secondary sources, but the information gathered from both these sources gets merged in the research process.

Primary sources

The prime source of the study is the data gathered from the field work. The *Badaga* culture is rooted in their folklore traditions transmitted orally throughout the generations since they have no written source. The study focuses on the oral narratives as the major source of study. Oral narratives are highly dynamic genres embodying the essence of culture; how it is being experienced, represented and transmitted to the other generations. Narratives are stories that have been shared in everywhere in human culture as a mode of communication, education, preservation of culture and to instil knowledge and values. Hence the people adapt narratives to contour and conceptualize their experiences to render in the form of stories which are nothing than their experiential expressions. The data include folk narratives (myths, folktales etc.) metanarratives (narratives on narratives), personal narratives, life experience narratives and auto ethnographies of the informants in the field. Oral narratives on the traditional rituals and practices are collected from the older people who witnessed three generations. The data on the life cycle (childbirth, puberty, marriage and death) and communal rites and ritual process is collected in the form of oral narratives.

The material culture associated in the folklife of the *Badagas* is also collected from the dwellings of the people. The other folklore genres of the community are also collected.

Secondary Sources

The published or unpublished written data related to the topic of research constitutes the secondary source material. Besides the research works that were already analysed above in the survey of literature, administrative records of the British and Indian government and village reports form the source material.

Methods: Research methods are classified into quantitative and qualitative.

Quantitative research⁸² is defined as that which explains a “phenomenon by collecting numerical data that is analysed using mathematically based methods, particularly statistics”⁸³. It contains the data gathered from the structured research methods such as survey, questionnaires, checklists and experimentation.

(i) Quantitative methods: They are deployed towards documenting subject attributes expressed in quantity, extent, or measurable units in order to achieve accuracy, validity, objectivity and reliability. The objective of this method is to quantify variables and to produce figures which will allow judgements which in turn will allow further processing the data to arrive at conclusions.⁸⁴ Survey method is a quantitative method. Before entering into the field, the survey method was applied. I acquainted fully with the literature on the area and its people to supply information, study the geography, weather conditions, and locations before entering into the field and attempted to reach the local people who may assist with the research. Survey method is a descriptive research method or an exploratory study.⁸⁵ This method helps to consolidate data into meaningful constituents to understand a given phenomenon on many levels. Survey method is always conducted in a natural setting; it is a field study.

In order to get information from the field using the above methods, different techniques like focus group discussions, interviews, informal discourses on different issues of the research topic with the communities are appropriated. Focus group discussions are conducted with the members of the councils and elders of the folk groups on different issues on religion, rituals, social norms, customary law etc. In the directive and non-directive interviews, the questions used are open ended which gave scope to the researcher to understand the perspective of the community. After field work, transliteration of data and transfer of data from audio through script is done which is called transcription. A researcher can employ multiple methods.

(ii) Qualitative methods: Qualitative research as an overarching term covering a range of interpretative techniques which seek to decode, describe, and translate the meaning of a phenomenon in the social world. The qualitative research is concerned with accuracy of phenomena occurring in the normal social contexts. It aims at minimization of shared subjectivity of researcher and researched⁸⁶. The qualitative methods include observation, ethnography, postmodern-ethnography (dialogical method) and narrative inquiry.

Observation method is used in obtaining data by direct observation, looking from the outside in and describing the site as the researcher sees it. There are Participant Observer and Non-participant Observer. Participant Observer has the

advantage to participate and observe what is going around and feel the experience the actual role which the researchers assume. Non-Participant Observer may be able to view the situation with an objectivity of which participant would have robbed him/her and as he/she is not in the centre of the action but may be able to take notes, view the entire kaleidoscope of activities and perhaps even be able to use a tape recorder to obtain a full report of the audio aspects of the event.

Ethnography is writing culture based on fieldwork with an emphasis on descriptive detail. It is observing, recording, and engaging in the everyday life of other culture.⁸⁷ Ethnographic method in short is the graphic study of culture of the races. Ethnography is a holistic research method founded on the notion that a structure's properties cannot certainly be precisely understood independently of each other.⁸⁸ It is the method of describing a culture from a people's point of view. The ethnographer generally develops close interaction with 'informants' who can deliver specific information on aspects of cultural life. While detailed written notes are the mainstay of fieldwork, voice recorders and cameras are also used. The ethnographic method involves observation and note taking.

Post-modern ethnography is a mutually evolved text entailing fragments of discourse between the researcher and the researched.⁸⁹ The concept of 'thick description' postulated by Clifford Geertz has immense influence on academic disciplines. Postmodern ethnographers are interested in understanding relations of power and domination in a given culture emerge and operate. Postmodern ethnographers' accounts are the best examples for emergent narrative forms and new ways of telling. Postmodern ethnography is a methodological tool in the theory of philosophy. Its theoretical underpinnings emerged as ethnographic practices. This school considers 'objectivity' as a fiction promoted through pompous approaches, "poetics and politics of writing".⁹⁰ This methodology expects the fieldworkers to have self understanding and should not have prejudices, ideology and preconceived notions. These ethnographers believe the fieldworkers should gain a fuller understanding of themselves, by uncovering their prejudices, ideology and implicit knowledge before they understand the others.⁹¹

Narrative inquiry is an 'inquiry in to the narrative' which is yet another method used to analyse and interpret the oral narratives. Narratives are stories which are told

in ordered sequence of events that is combined with verbal communication to make sense of what one experience, and also with different characters that communicate a message artistically. It focuses particularly on lives of the people and their lived experiences. It is a process of gathering research data through storytelling. Here, the researcher records a narrative of the experience. In the narrative inquiry, the narrated the story is the primary source. Narrative in essence is the stories of lives and it is open to interpretation. This interpretation advances through relationship of researcher and the respondent. Production of narratives is a dialogical process between self of the narrator and the researcher. Hence the narratives and other data collected in the field is a product of employing the Dialogical method, which is reflexive, self emanating and emergent. It produces ‘a corpus of thick data’⁹² produced ‘dialogically’ by the ethnographer and the informant thereby merging the boundaries between the subject/object and researcher/informant. Narrative research directs a study and gathers information to bring out the appropriate objective research tools ⁹³. Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience.

The study adopted both the qualitative and quantitative methods and data collected had been cross checked with the other source materials. Such process is known as method of “triangulation” which is essential while interpreting them from the perspective of the community. Triangulation denotes the use of multiple methods in finding solutions to the research question⁹⁴. Deniz explains four types of triangulation. They are: Data triangulation, Investigator triangulation, Theoretical triangulation and Methodological triangulation.

Chapterisation

Chapter-I: Introduction, deals with a brief introduction to the topic followed by significance of research issue, survey of previous literature, nature and scope of the research topic, lacunae in previous researches, hypothesis, aims and objectives, methodology , method and techniques of research, a brief gist of the content of the chapters.

Chapter-II: Origin and Migration of Badagas focuses on origin, migratory process and pattern of Badaga from (i) plains of Mysore region to the foothills and hilltop of

the Nilagiris in the historical times and (ii) from Nilagiris hills to plains of Coimbatore in the contemporary scenario. The conditions that demanded migration of Badagas in both the context are interpreted.

Chapter-III: Folklore and Cultural Life of Badagas throws a flood of light on Folklore and cultural life of people inhabiting Nilagiris with special emphasis on Badagas. This chapter is divided into four sections. **Section I** focusses on the geography and environment of the Nilagiris ranges of the Western Ghats which accommodated the native as well as the ethnic emigrant groups successfully without disturbing the rhythm of their lives. In other words how the land and the people could adjust with each other to sustain and endure their mutual selves. **Section II**, gives a detailed picture of cultural life of the Badagas that constructs their identity amongst its co-dwellers. Further in this section a brief account of the tribes Toda, Kota, Irulas, Kurumbas, Kasavas, Paniyas and Katunayakans in relation of Badagas is given. **Section III** deals with the Reciprocity of Relationships among the inhabitants of Nilgiris. This section focuses on the reciprocity of the relationships that occur between Badaga community and the tribals of Nilgiris and *vice versa* in every domain of their folklife are analysed and interpreted from the perspective of communities that share the biodiversity of the Nilgiris.

Chapter-IV: Ritual as a Cultural Metaphor: The Rites of Badagas deals with the theoretical discourse on the rituals as metaphor of the people and communities that observe them. The thesis emerges culture specific models.. This chapter is divided into three sections. Section (1) deals with the life cycle ceremonies- birth, puberty, marriage and death. Section (2) deals with the territorial rites like house warming, cleansing rituals for cattle shed, sacred spaces etc. Section (3) deals with the communal rites performed by the Badagas like salt giving (*uppu habba*), sowing (*kovu habba*), harvesting (*kadae habba*) village goddess (Hette- ancestral goddess) rituals etc.,. This chapter further highlights how rituals of the Badagas construct their identity in the changing contours.

Chapter-V: Conclusion gives the possible conclusion with regard to the origin, migration, reciprocity, identity with rituals that emerged through the course of the research and suggestions for further research on Badagas of Nilgiris.

Endnotes:

¹ Paul, Hockings “*So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History*” New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 2013

² *Sangam* literature reveals certain Erumai as a Vadugar chief in whose territories the river Ayiri flows. It may be the river Agiri, which runs into Tungabhadra. The Telugus who reside to north and Badaga Kannadas in the west were called as *Vaduga* or *Baduga*.cf.downloaded from website: on 14th September, 2018. <http://badaga-anguage.blogspot.com/>

³ Fenicio, Jacome, ‘Two Portuguese Mss. on the mission of Todamala’. In A collection of annual reports relative to the state of the Portuguese Jesuit Missions in the East Indies; of various dates, from 1601 to 1659. Ff.477-82, Ms.40 vol.Trans, by A. de Alberti in Rivers 1906: 719-30.

⁴ *District Census Handbook of The Nilgiris*, Published by the Registrar of Census of India.2011

⁵ <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/coimbatore/Badagas-to-dig-into-their-past/articleshow/13159221.cms>. Accessed: 02/07/2018

⁶ *Idem.*, “*So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History*” New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 2013.p.5

⁷ *Badagas*, generally, refer to their village or hamlet as ‘*Hatti*’ spread around ‘*Nakku Betta*’ (the Nilgiris). *Nakku Betta* means four (*Nakku*) Mountains (*betta*) though there are many hills around which the villages are located

⁸ An exogamous subdivision of the tribe, constituting two or more related clans

⁹ Gareth Davey , *Quality of life and Well Being in an Indian Ethnic Community – The Case of Badagas*, Cham, Switzerland: Springer,2018

¹⁰ Paul Hockings, “*So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History*” New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 2013.p.31

¹¹ M.K.Belli Gowder,. *Historical Research on the Hill Tribes of the Nilgiris*, Ketti, Nilgiri District,(unpublished Manuscript), 1923-1941; James Wilkinson Brecks, *An Account of Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*, (ed.) Susan Maria Brecks, London: India Museum, 1873; K. Jessi Benbow, *The Badaga –Beliefs and Customs*, Bengalore: United Theological College,1930; H. B Grigg, *A Manual of The Nilgiri District in Madras Presidency*, Madras: Govt.Press, 1880; Henry Harkness, A description of a singular aboriginal race inhabiting the summit of the Nielgherry Hills, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatore in the southern peninsula of India, London: Smith, Elder.and Co, 1832; Johaan Friedrich Metz, *The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills; Their Social Customs and Religious Rites*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Press,1864; William Ross King, “The Aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills”, *Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.1,1870, pp.18-51; Edgar Thurston and K.Rangachari, *Castes and tribes of South India*, Vol.1, Madras:Superintendent ,Government Press , 1909.

¹² Paul Hockings, *Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History* , The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1980; *Kindreds of the earth: Badaga household structure and demography*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999.

¹³ H. B Grigg, *A Manual of The Nilgiri District in Madras Presidency*, Madras: Govt.Press, 1880; N.A RANGA, *The tribes of the Nilgiris: their social and economic conditions*, Madras:Bharat Publishing House, 1934,pp. 55-59; Natesa Sastri and Sangendi Mahalinga, “The Badagas of the Nilgiri District”, *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol.9, 1892, p.761 .

¹⁴ A Jebadhas and W Noble, ‘The Irulas’ *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*. (ed.) Paul Hockings, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p.289.

-
- ¹⁵ G. David Mandelbaum, *Society in India*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972, pp. 600-601
- ¹⁶ David G. Mandelbaum, "Cultural Change Among the Nilgiri Tribes", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43.1941, pp. 19-26
- ¹⁷ H. B. Grigg, *A Manual of The Nilgiri District in Madras Presidency*, Madras: Govt.Press, 1880, pp.xlviii-li
- ¹⁸ Pau Hockings, *So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History* op.cit., 2013.p.305.
- ¹⁹ Richard K. Wolf and Frank Heidemann, "Indigeniety, Performance and the State in South Asia and Beyond", *Asian Ethnology*, Vol.73.2014, pp. 1-18
- ²⁰ David G. Mandelbaum, "Cultural Change Among the Nilgiri Tribes", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43.1941, pp. 19-26
- ²¹ William Keys, 'A topographical description of the Nielgherry Mountains. From a letter by William Keys, Assistant Revenue Surveyor to W. Garrows, Collector of Coimbatore', 1812. In Grigg 1880: xlviii-li
- ²² All Six Taluks contain only Badaga community and the workers who work in their farms raising commercial crops.
- ²³ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *kinder und Hausmärchen* (Children's and Household tales), German, 1812. For further details visit: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grimms'_Fairy_Tales
- ²⁴ Edward B Tylor, *The Origins of Culture*, Gloucester, MA: Harper & Row, 1958.
- ²⁵ Richard Bauman, *Verbal art as performance*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers. 1977.
- ²⁶ Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a definition of folklore in Context", University of Illinois press on behalf of American Folklore Society, Vol.84, No.331,1971., Jan-Mar, pp.3-5.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Idem.*, *Folktales from India, Oral Tales from Twenty Indian Languages*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.
- ²⁹ *Idem.*, "Where Mirrors are Windows: Toward an anthology of reflections", in *History of Religions* 28.3 (1989): pp.187-216
- ³⁰ Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- ³¹ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, (1969), Aldine Transaction 1995.
- ³² *Ibid*, pp. 53-92
- ³³ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*, London, Ark Paperbacks, 1988.
- ³⁴ Mary Douglas. *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, New York, Routledge, 1996
- ³⁵ Clifford Geertz, *Local knowledge: further essays in interpretive anthropology*, New Jersey, Basic Books, 1983.
- ³⁶ Jecome Fenicio, "Two Portuguese Mss. On the mission of Todamala", In *A collection of annual reports relative to the Portuguese Jesuit Mission in East Indies:of Various dates from 1601 to 1659*. British Museum Additional Ms. 9833,ff.464-65,Ms.Vol.25-26, and ff,477-82. Ms. Vol.40Trans. A.de Alberuni in Rivers:1906: 719-30,1603,rpt.1906.
- ³⁷ James Hughs, *Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, etc of the Neilgherries (or) Blue Mountains of Coimbatore, South India*, London: John Hatchard&Sons, 1829.
- ³⁸ Johaan Friedrich Metz, , "*The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills; Their Social Customs and Religious Rites*, 2nd Edn, Mangalore:Basel Mission Press,1864.
- ³⁹ William Ross King, *The Aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri Hills*" London:Green. and Co.1870.
- ⁴⁰ Charles Edward Gover, "*The Folk Songs of South India*, Madras:Higginbotham & Co, 1871.
- ⁴¹ James Wilkinson Brecks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of Nilgiris*, Posthumus (Ed.) Maria Brecks , London:India Museum.,1926.
- ⁴² Henry Bidewell Grigg, *Manual of Nilgiri District of the Madras Presidency*, compiled and Edited by H.b.Grigg,Madras:E.Keys Government Press,1880.

- ⁴³ 'Geofrey', *Ooty and her Sisters or Our Hill Stations in South India: Sketches of Hill Tribes – Their Customs, Caste, and Religion &c....also tea, coffee and cinchona cultivation and & appendix of routes, distance and fares*, Madras: Higginbotham, and Co, 1881.
- ⁴⁴ William Halls Rivers, *The Todas*. London: Macmillan & Co. 1905
- ⁴⁵ Walter Francis, *Madras Districts Gazetteers: The Nilgirs. Vol.I*. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1908.
- ⁴⁶ Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and tribes of South India, Vol.I*, Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1909.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, United Kingdom; Macmillan and Co. 1890, pp. 8-9
- ⁴⁹ Paul Hockings, *Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History 1550-1975*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers: New Delhi: Vikas Publishing house, 1980.
- ⁵⁰ Paul Hockings, *Blue Mountains: The Ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: OUP, 1989.
- ⁵¹ Paul Hockings, *Badagas, Kindreds of the Earth: Badaga Household Structure and Demography*, New Delhi: Sage, 1999.
- ⁵² Paul Hockings (1968). "Identity in Complex Societies: Are the Badagas Caste or Tribe?", *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 2, pp. 29–35; "John Sullivan of Ootacamund", *Journal of Indian History*, 1973, pp. 863–871; "Pykara: An Iron-Age Burial in South India", *Asian Perspectives*, Vol. 18, 1976, pp. 26–50; "Ancient Hindu Refugees: Badaga Social History", The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1980, pp. 1550-1975; *Sex and Disease in a Mountain Community*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980; "Badaga kinship rules in their socio-economic context", *Anthropos*, Vol. 77, 5/6, 1982, pp. 851–874; *Counsel from the ancients: A study of Badaga Proverbs, Prayers, Omens and Curses*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988; *Blue Mountains: The ethnography and Biogeography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989; "Ethnic Identity in a Complex Society: The Badaga case", *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, Vol. 18, 2, 1993, pp. 347–364; *A Comprehensive bibliography for the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India, 1603-1996*, Bordeaux: Université Michel de Montaigne, 1996; *Kindreds of the earth: Badaga household structure and demography*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999; "All aboard the Nilgiri Express: Sustained Links between Anthropology and a Single Indian District", *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 19, 1, 2008, pp. 1–16; *So Long a Saga: Four Centuries of Badaga Social History*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2013.
- ⁵³ Anthony Walker, "Toda society: Between Tradition and Modernity", in Paul Hocking, (ed.) *Blue Mountains: the Ethnography and Biography of a South Indian Region*, New Delhi: OUP, 1989, pp. 186-205.
- ⁵⁴ Gareth Davey, *Quality of life and Well Being in an Indian Ethnic Community – The Case of Badagas*, Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2018
- ⁵⁵ William Allister Noble, Cultural Contrasts and Similarities Among Five Ethnic Groups in the Nilgiri District, Madras State, India, 1800-1963, 1968. LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses. 1409. https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/1409, downloaded on 17th September, 2018. from [www.https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses](https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=2408&context=gradschool_disstheses)
- ⁵⁶ Jakka Parthasarathy, *The Badagas of the Nilgiri District, Tamilnadu, A Caste Cultural Documentation*, Udhagamandalam,: Tribal Research Institute
- ⁵⁷ B. Balasubrahmanyam, *Pamae' The History and Culture of the Badagas of the Nilgiris*, Bangalore: Elkon Animations, 2009.
- ⁵⁸ Goldstein Kenneth S, *A guide for field workers in folklore*, Pennsylvania, The American folklore society, 1964.
- ⁵⁹ Samuel P. Bayard, "The Materials of Folklore", *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 66, No. 259 (Jan.-Mar. 1953)

-
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 8
- ⁶¹ Donald A. MacDonald, "Fieldwork: Collecting oral literature", in *Folklore and folklife: An Introduction*, M. Dorson Richard, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1972, p.9
- ⁶² *Ibid*. p. 415
- ⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 422
- ⁶⁴ Dennis Tedlock, *The spoken word and the work of interpretation*, University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia 1983
- ⁶⁵ Richard M. Dorson, op.cit.,
- ⁶⁶ Jacques Derrida, "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences" in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass. London: Routledge, pp 278-294.
- ⁶⁷ Marcus and Cushman, "Ethnographies as Texts", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 11. 1980.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 31-36
- ⁶⁹ A. Stephen Tyler, "Post-Modern Ethnography: from Document of the Occult to Occult Document", (ed.) James Clifford and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: U of California P, 1986, pp. 122-140.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.125A post-modern ethnography is a cooperatively evolved text consisting of fragments of discourse intended to evoke in the minds of both reader and writer an emergent fantasy of a possible world of commonsense reality, and thus to provoke an aesthetic integration that will have a therapeutic effect.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 136
- ⁷² Michael Genzuk, "A Synthesis of Ethnographic Research", Occasional Papers Series. Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Research (Eds.). Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Research, Rossier School of Education, University of Southern California. Los Angeles. Re-printed (Fall, 2003).
- ⁷³ *Ibid*, pp. 3- 4
- ⁷⁴ Jerome Bruner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality" (1991). *Critical Inquiry*, 18:1, 1-21.
- ⁷⁵ Richard Giovannoli, "The Narrative method of inquiry": <http://www.sonic.net/~rgiovan/essay.2.PDF>
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.1
- ⁷⁷ William M. Clements, "Personal Narrative, the Interview Context, and the Question of Tradition", *Western Folklore*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Apr. 1980), pp. 106-112
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 111
- ⁷⁹ Ahuja Ram, *Research Methods*, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, 2007.
- ⁸⁰ Janet Bean, *Field Guide: Instructor's Manual*, Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1997.
- ⁸¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Methodology>. Accessed: 16/07/2010
- ⁸² M.Aliaga & B.Gunderson, *Interactive Statistics*, thousand Oaks:sage,2002
- ⁸³ *Ibid*,.
- ⁸⁴ S.Sarantakos, 2005, *Social Research*, (Third Edition) New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005,p. 50
- ⁸⁵ O.R. Krishnaswami, 2001, *Methodology of Research in Social Sciences*, Mumbai, Himalaya Publishing House, 2001. P.58
- ⁸⁶ D.Frayer, "Qualitative Methods in occupational psychology: Reflections upon why they are so useful but so little used?", *The Occupational Psychologist*,14,3-6.
- ⁸⁷ G. E. Marcus, M. M. J Fischer,1986, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.18
- ⁸⁸ *ibid*
- ⁸⁹ S.A.Tyler, 1986, "Post-modern ethnography: from document of the occult to occult document", in J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus (eds) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 125
- ⁹⁰ Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus (editors), 1986, *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- ⁹¹ Gobo Giampietro, 2008, *Doing ethnography*, Los Angeles, sage Publication.

⁹² Clifford Geertz, 1973, *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture*, in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, pp. 15-18

⁹³ M.A. Richard Giovannoli, "The Narrative method of inquiry," P.3. <http://www.sonic.net/~rgiovan/essay.2.PDF>

⁹⁴ C. Cassels & G. Symons, "Qualitative research in Work Contexts", in C. Cassel & G. Symons (Eds.) *Qualitative Research in Organizational Research: A Practical Guide*, London: Sage, 1999.