

எம்மெ

emme

‘எம்மெ’ (எருமை) பாலுட்டி இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்த ஒரு விலங்கு. பொதுவாக எருமை என்னும் சொல் பெண் எருமையையே குறிக்கிறது. படகுமொழியில் ‘கோண’ ஆண் எருமை. எருமையை நீர் எருமை என்றும் குறிப்பிடுகின்றனர். எருமையின் அறிவியல் பெயர் *Bubalus bubalis*. எருமையின் தோற்றம் இந்தியத் துணைக் கண்டம் என மரபியல் ஆய்வுகள் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன. எருமையில் பேரினம், சிற்றினம் என வகைகள் உண்டு. காட்டெருமை என இருந்தாலும், பொதுவாக எருமை என்ற சொல் வீடுகளில் வளர்க்கப்படுவதையே சுட்டுகிறது.

Buffalo is a mammal. Usually the word ‘emme’ (buffalo) refers to the female buffalo. ‘kōṇa’ is male buffalo in Badaga language. Buffalo is referred to as water buffalo also. Its scientific name is *Bubalus bubalis*. Genetic studies indicate that the buffalo originated in the Indian subcontinent. There are different types of buffaloes, like larger variety and small variety. Even though wild buffaloes are there, the term buffalo generally refers to the domesticated animal.

எம்மட்டி

emmatṭi

வறட்சிப் பருவத்தில் மேய்ச்சல் கிடைக்கும் இடத்தில் எருமைகளுக்காக அமைக்கப்பட்ட திறந்த வெளித் தொழுவத்துடன் கூடிய குடில் எம்மட்டி. பெரும்பாலும் இக் குடில்கள் இரண்டு அறைகள் கொண்டதாக இருந்தன. ஒன்று எருமையைக் காப்பவர் தங்குவதற்காக; மற்றொன்று பால் பொருள்கள் வைப்பதற்காக. எம்மட்டியில் பெண்கள் இருப்பதில்லை. சென்ற நூற்றாண்டின் தொடக்கத்தில் பெரும்பாலானவை பயன்பாட்டில் இல்லாதவையாகிவிட்டன. முன்னர் ‘எம்மட்டி’களாக இருந்தன சில பின்னர் படகர்ச் சிற்றூர்களாக மாறியுள்ளன. எருமை வளர்ப்பு படகர்க்கு முகாமையான தொழிலாக இருந்த காலத்தில் ‘எம்மட்டி’ கள் சிறப்பிடம் பெற்றிருந்தன.

“emmatṭi”, lit. buffaloes hamlet, was a temporary hut with an open-air kraal for grazing buffaloes during the dry season where grazing is avail-

able. Mostly these huts had two rooms. One is for the buffalo keeper to stay; the other is for storing dairy products. Women did not stay at 'emmatṭi'. By the beginning of the last century, most of them had fallen into disuse. Some of the erstwhile 'emmatṭis' were changed into Badaga hamlets. 'emmatṭis' were prominent during the heydays when buffalo keeping was the prime occupation of Badagas.

William Allister Noble, in his book "Cultural Contrasts and Similarities Among Five Ethnic Groups in the Nilgiri District, Madras State, India, 1800-1963" (1968) has to say the following about Badaga "emmatṭis" or "Badaga hundis".

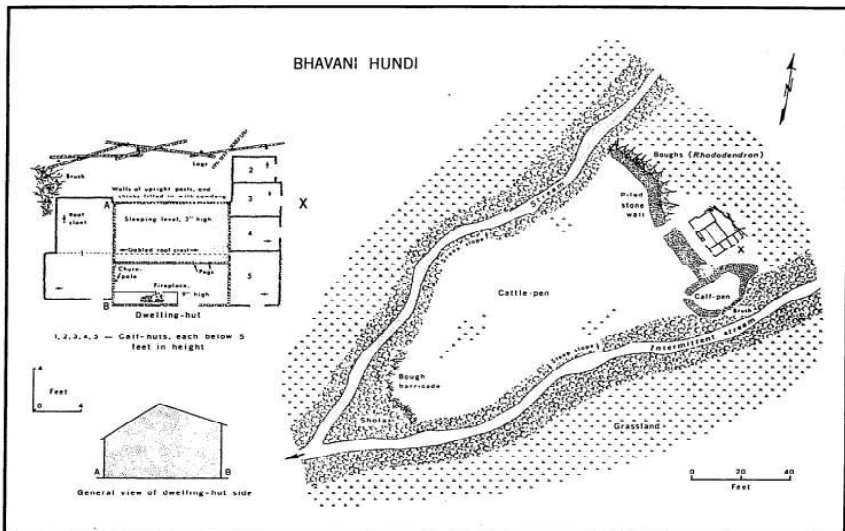
"The Badagas have for a long time used seasonal centers called hundis which consist of temporarily occupied huts and cattle-pens. The hundis, located on western upper Nilgiri grasslands, are inhabited while buffaloes and cattle are grazed near them in the dry season. The herds are brought westward in February or March and are herded eastward in May or June. During the days of the British Raj and before large grassland tracts had been planted with acacia or eucalyptus trees, there were more hundis than at present.

A listing of former hundis known to Ithalar and Nanjanad Badagas, along with abandoned hundi sites seen during fieldwork, testify to this fact. All persons using hundis must obtain grazing permits from the Madras Forest Department in Ootacamund. A basic fee of 2.50 rupees and an additional charge of 50 nayapice (100 nayapice equal one rupee) per buffalo and 25 nayapice per cattle head is paid for a three-month permit. Badagas using grasslands must follow all the Madras Forest Department and Nilgiri Game Association regulations. Because the Madras Forest Department desires to end, slowly and tactfully, the use of hundis, opportunities are pressed when Badagas living in them are found trespassing the law. Grazing permits may then be revoked, but a series of fines will also discourage Badagas from using the western grasslands.

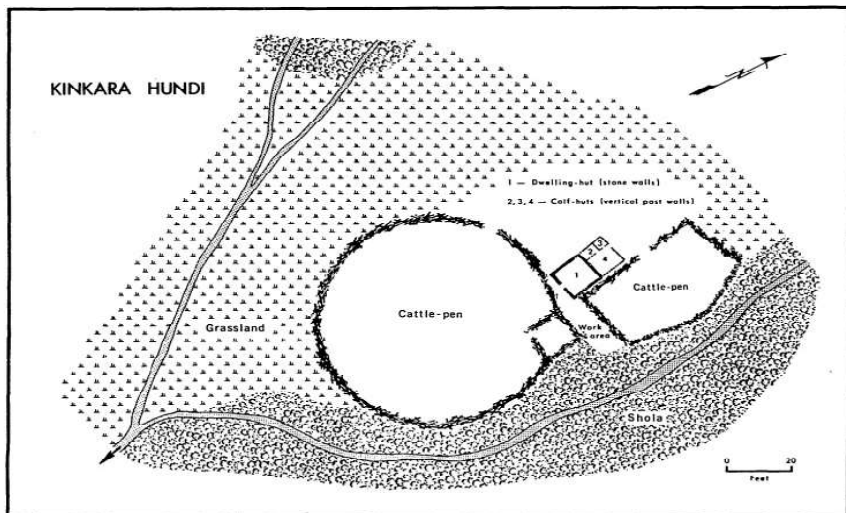
The occupance pattern at each hundi is basically the same, but there is no distinct hut type associated with hundis. In establishing Bhavani Hundi, used in 1963, Badagas took full advantage of terrain. The hundi is located in an area with more grassland than shola, where no trees have been planted yet. 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, and there is also a separate calf-pen. All the hut walls were constructed with posts placed next to each other, and roofs were thatched. Kinkara Hundi, also used in 1963 and located close to Bhavani Hundi, is situated next to a stream and extensive shola. Post, branch, and log fences enclose a large circular cattle-pen, a smaller cattle-pen, and a calf-pen. There are three calf-huts next to a dwelling hut. The calf-huts have post walls, and the dwelling-hut has stone walls. Grass thatching was placed over all the roofs.

During the 1963 season only one group of Badaga shepherds was contacted by the writer. The seven men taking turns in living at Kinkara Hundi were herding 92 buffaloes and 40 cattle. Livestock driven westward in February were to be taken back in May. The herders came from Ithalar and Poratti, where they left wives and other relatives during the dry season preceding the main agricultural season. Milk was daily supplied by the Badagas to tea shops near the upper Bhavani dam site, where all activities ceased during the westerly monsoon. Clarified butter was sold in the Ootacamund shandy. The daily walk to the tea shops was about six miles one way, while on periodic walks to Ootacamund by a different herder each time a distance exceeding 20 miles was covered. Grains and other edibles were obtained from homes, stalls near the dam site, and the Ootacamund shandy. Milk and milk products, excluding clarified butter, also formed a part of their diet. Livestock were being milked only in the morning, but this was due to the fact that pasturage was poor at the time (March). The herders expected grazing to improve as new grass sprang up from ground they had burned over. Herding is a simple task, unless there is a panther or tiger in the vicinity. Livestock may be left for long periods after being driven out in the morning and will usually graze their way home in the evening.”



A Badaga seasonal livestock center



Another Badaga seasonal livestock center

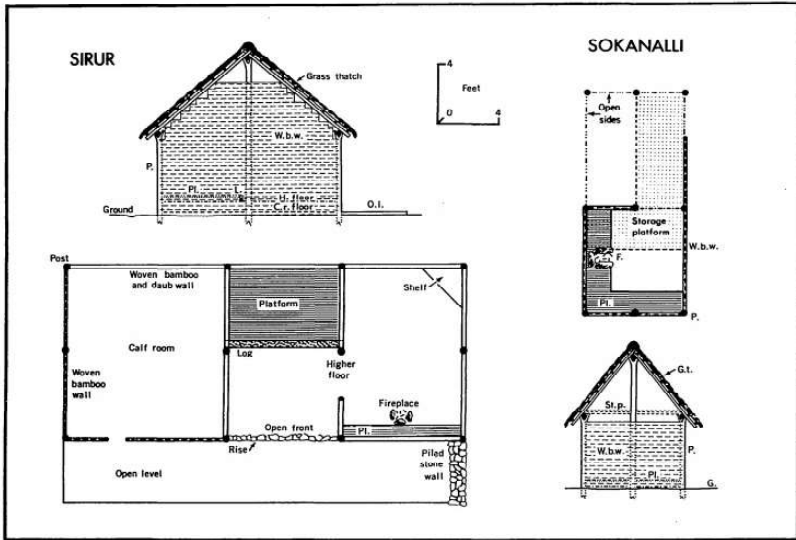
Badaga-Kasuva livestock centers:

Kasuvras living in the Mysore Ditch between the Nilgiri massif and Moyar River work on plantations in the area, serve Badagas as livestock herders... Despite biotic disturbances caused by annual fires and grazing, several livestock centers where Kasuvras take care of Badaga cattle are within savanna woodlands rather than on open grasslands. Other centers are situated amidst bamboo and thorny thickets in which there are grasses and adequate shade for livestock. Herds of elephants (*Elephas maximus* L.) and gaurs range over the area. Pens for holding livestock at night are constructed with posts and lashed on poles or bamboos, often surrounded by brush piled densely to a height of six feet or more. Large ovoid pens are typical; one measuring 110 feet by 80 feet was observed. Dwellings built next to pens are often of a side-gabled type with thatched roof. Their walls are of stone and clay, woven bamboo, or woven bamboo and daub. A central section opened to the front has a shallow platform and occasionally a fireplace. Herders use this section to churn milk or produce clarified butter. They sleep on the platform in hot weather, and sometimes sit there close to a fire while observing elephants at night. 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.

Buffaloes and cattle are herded by Kasuvras working for Badagas, but at periodic intervals Badaga masters from the upper Nilgiris tend to spend some time with their livestock. Badaga wives and children do not come down, but entire Kasuva families live in the livestock centers. Badagas pay Kasuvras for their services with cash and in kind. One interviewed Kasuva family received six rupees per week plus Badaga-grown grain and vegetables, while another family received ten rupees per week plus Badaga agricultural products. Furthermore, frequent issues of rice and yearly issues of clothing are given. On a special occasion such as marriage, gifts are usually bestowed.

Unlike the upper Nilgiri hundis, livestock centers in the Mysore Ditch are used all year. Before livestock may be herded, a general permit costing three rupees and a charge of 25 nayapice per buffalo or cattle head must be paid annually to the Forest Department in Ootacamund. Comparatively large herds are kept. At one livestock center in 1963 there

were ten buffaloes and 150 cattle, while 40 buffaloes and 140 cattle were kept at another. Excess of cattle over buffaloes may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Mysore Ditch is a rather dry region. The livestock centers are used for breeding, and grass near them provides alternate grazing for Badaga livestock. Frequent livestock movements between the upper Nilgiris and Mysore Ditch thus takes place. Dry cows are taken down, and good milk yielders are brought back up. When grazing is poor on the upper Nilgiris, but better in the virtually uninhabited Mysore Ditch, livestock will be sent down in larger numbers. There are always some milk yielders in the Mysore Ditch livestock centers, so dairying is a necessary activity. Milk and buttermilk may be consumed by Kasuva caretakers. Clarified butter carried up by Badagas or Kasuvas is either sold or consumed by Badagas.



Houses at two livestock centers in the Mysore Ditch

Erstwhile Badaga Pastoral Camps (emmeyatti or hallikadu) in their radial Circuits

1. அ0கெநா0டட்டி agenadatti
2. அங்கு அடி யட்டி angu adiyatti
3. அட்டுசேலெயட்டி attusoleyatti
4. அத்தியா0ட attiyada
5. அரெகா0டட்டி arekadatti
6. அலெ0கெநா0ட alegenada
7. அவலா0ட avalada
8. ஆலியட்டி aliyatti
9. உம்பிலி0கு0ட்டெ umbligudde
10. உலுதொரெயட்டி ulutoreyatti
11. உள்ளெநா0டட்டி ullenadatti
12. எ0டெதலெயட்டி edetaleyatti
13. ஏரெம்மெகொட்டு eremmekottu
14. ஒ0டெ0கரெயட்டி odekareyatti
15. ஒமெசப்பெ omesappe
16. க0த்தெயட்டி kaddeyatti
17. க0ப்பலிகா0டு kappalikadu
18. கணுவட்டி kanuvatti
19. கரிதொரெயட்டி karitoreyatti
20. கல்லநச்செயட்டி kallanccatti
21. கல்லுக0டவட்டி kallukadavatti
22. கல்லுகொரெ kallukore
23. கவட்டெயட்டி kavattayatti
24. கா0தொரெ katore
25. காங்கரெமட்ட kāngarematta
26. காவண்டிகல்ல kavandikallu
27. காவாலகொரெ kavālakore
28. கிருமநரிசப்பெ kirumanarisappe
29. கீங்கரெஉண்டி kīngareundi
30. கீமொ0கெயட்டி kīmogeyatti

31. கு0டுகா0டு kudugāḍu
32. குத்து0பாயிலு kuttubāyilu
33. கூலுபள்ளி kūlupaḷḷi
34. கெ0டெக்கெயோரெ kedakkeyōre
35. கெந்0திட் 0u kendiṭṭu
36. கேயி0தரெயட்டி kēyidareyaṭṭi
37. கொரலிஎ0டங்கலு koralieḍaṅgalu
38. கோ0டெமொரகண்0டி kōdemorakaṇḍi
39. கோலிதொரெயட்டி kōlitoreyaṭṭi
40. 0கரி0கல்லட்டி garigallaṭṭi
41. 0கரிக்கெயோரெ garikkiyōre
42. 0கு0த்0தெண guttaṇe
43. 0குண்0டட்டி guṇḍaṭṭi
44. 0குய்கல்லட்டி guykallaṭṭi
45. 0குய்நீரு ஒ0டெ guynīruoḍe
46. 0கொ0டகல்லட்டி godakallaṭṭi
47. 0கொட்டெமொரட்டி goṭṭemoraṭṭi
48. 0கோந்0தெகண்0டி gōndekaṇḍi
49. சீபட்டி sīpaṭṭi
50. செ0டெவெயட்டி seḍaveyaṭṭi
51. சேமுத்தோரெயள்ள semuttōreyaḷḷa
52. சோக்கெதோயட்டி sōkketōyaṭṭi
53. ஜ0கலிக0டவு jagalikaḍavu
54. ஜேநு0பரெயா0ட jēnubareyāḍa
55. தட்டள்ள அட்டி taṭṭalla aṭṭi
56. தட்டுநாயியட்டி taṭṭunāyiyāṭṭi
57. தப்பெகுத்து அண்ணி tappekuttu aṇṇi
58. தலெ0குய்யட்டி talegyyaṭṭi
59. தோவெய0டியட்டி tōveyaḍiyaṭṭi
60. 0தொ0ட்ட 0தே0கூரு doḍḍadēgūru
61. 0தொ0ட்ட0டுகட்டிமுக்கு doḍḍukaṭṭimukku6
2. 0தொண்0டொல doṇḍola
63. 0தோரெ0கூ0டட்டி dōregūḍaṭṭi

64. நஞ்ஜெம்மெயட்டி nanjemmeyatti
65. நரிமொக்கெயட்டி narimokkeyatti
66. நவிலுகல்லு navilikallu
67. நாரெயடி யட்டி nāreyadiyatti
68. நிடிக்கல்லு niḍikallu
69. நீத்தியோரெ nīthyōre
70. நூக்கெக்கொட்டயட்டி nuggēgodayatti
71. நெடுகாடு ஓரெ neḍukāḍuore
72. பண்டுக்கல்லு pandukallu
73. பகெம உண்டி bagemaunḍi
74. பசுரள்ளட்டி basurallaṭṭi
75. பரெயேணு அட்டி bareyēnuatti
76. பரகு ஆட்டி bargu āḍatti
77. பித்திலுகடவு bidilukaḍavu
78. பூத்திக்குட்டெ būdiguḍḍe
79. பெந்நாலெ bennāle
80. பேயட்டி bēyatti
81. பேருதொரெயட்டி bērutoreyatti
82. மணலியாட மaṇaliyāḍa
83. மணிகல்லாட மaṇikallāḍa
84. மண்டெக்கரெயட்டி maṇḍekareyatti
85. மந்தலேரட்டி maṇḍalēraṭṭi
86. மாறித்திண்ணை māriṭṭiṇṇe
87. மிடிக்கல்லட்டி miḍikallaṭṭi
88. முதுமொரட்டி mudumoratti
89. முண்டேரி மொக்கெ muṇḍerimokke
90. முல்லாட்டோரெயட்டி mullāḍoreyatti
91. மெட்டுக்கல்லு mettukallu
91. ஹத்திக்குரெயட்டி haddukoreyatti
93. ஹட்டிகோம்பெ haṭṭikōmbe
94. ஹரலட்டி haralaṭṭi
95. ஹாயிக்கல்லு hayikallu
96. ஹாலட்டி hālaṭṭi

97. ஹுலிசாக்குமொக்கெ (அ) ஹுலிவரெ
hulisākkumokke (or) hulivare
98. ஹூரெமொரகண்டி hūremorakaṇḍi
99. ஹெட்டெரிக்கொம்பெ heṭṭerikombe
100. ஹெம்பட்டெயள்ள அட்டி hembatṭeyalla aṭṭi
101. ஹொந்நெகல்லு honnekallu
102. ஹொரலாட ஹொலாடா hōralāḍa

Locale Generally Bellow 4000-3500 ft. slopes of Nilgiri

1. அண்ணிக்கொள்ளையட்டி annikoḷḷeyatṭi
2. அத்திதொரெயட்டி attitoreyattī
3. அரலெயட்டி araleyattī
4. ஆநெதடையட்டி ānedadayattī
5. ஆநெகொல்லியட்டி ānekolliyattī
6. இடுகுதொரெயட்டி idugutoreyattī
7. கப்புக்காடாலெ kappukāḍāle
8. கரக்குமொக்கெயட்டி karagumokkeyattī
9. காட்டிக்கொடலு kāṭṭigodaḷu
10. காரெத்திட்டட்டி kāredittattī
11. காரெசீகூரு kāresīgūru
12. கீயெமுடியட்டி kīyemuḍiyattī
13. குந்தெகோடட்டி kundekōḍattī
14. கூட்ட அரெயட்டி kūṭṭaareyattī
15. கொட்டடகல்லட்டி koddakallattī
16. கொங்காலியட்டி koṅgāliyattī
17. கொண்டெகாடு koṇḍekāḍu
18. கோமமூலெயட்டி kōmamūleyattī
19. கஜ்ஜலுதொரெயட்டி gaḷḷalutoreyattī
20. கிட்டுட்டட்டி kiḍḍattī
21. சண்ணெமுடியட்டி saṇṇemuḍiyattī
22. சுள்ளியேருகம்பெ suḷḷiyērukambe
23. சுஜ்ஜலுதிட்டு suḷḷaludiṭṭu
24. செல்லோரெயட்டி sellōreyattī
25. சோலெயடியட்டி sōyadyattī

26. தாந்தோரெயட்டி tāndōreyaṭṭi
27. தீடெகடவு ṭidekaḍavu
28. தோடெயட்டி tōḍeyaṭṭi
29. தோட்கோடுநாரெ doḍḍakōdunāre
30. நவலுமொநெயட்டி navalumoneyaṭṭi
31. நாசுமொநெயட்டி nāsumoneyaṭṭi
32. நெல்லிகண்டியட்டி nellikaṇḍiyaṭṭi
33. பாரதொரெயட்டி pāratoreyaṭṭi
34. பாலமொரட்டி palamoraṭṭi
35. பந அகெயட்டி banaageyaṭṭi
36. பாடகெபநெ bāgepane
37. பிக்கெகொடலட்டி bikkegoḍalaṭṭi
38. பூதிக்குப்பெ būdiguppe
39. பூதிக்கொரெ būdikore
40. பூதிநாயியட்டி būdināyiyāṭṭi
41. பெந்தட்டிபநெ bendattipane
42. பெந்நுகல்லட்டி bennukallaṭṭi
43. பெம்மண்ணுமடுவு bemmaṇṇmaḍuvu
44. பெளுவுதொரெயட்டி beḷuvutoreyaṭṭi
45. பெள்ளிக்கெரெயட்டி beḷḷigereyaṭṭi
46. பெஜ்ஜெமொரட்டி bejjemorāṭṭi
47. மாலபுரட்டி malapuraṭṭi
48. மொக்கெயள்ளிகாடு mokkeyaḷḷikāḍu
49. ஹுல்லங்கூரு hullaṅgūru
50. ஹுவெகோணெயட்டி hūvckōṇeyaṭṭi
51. ஹொந்நதிட்டட்டி honnadittāṭṭi

Badaga houses of yore

Writing in 1968, William Allister Noble, in his book “Cultural Contrasts and Similarities Among Five Ethnic Groups in the Nilgiri District, Madras State, India, 1800-1963” has to say the following about Badaga traditional houses:

“Prior to 1840 the Badagas lived in a house type with front porches and two rooms separated by a wall with a door. A small front door led into one room, and there was a fireplace in the other

darker room. Thatched roofs were supported by posts, and walls made with bamboos or reeds woven between the posts were then daubed. However, some houses had clay and stone walls (Harkness 1832: 36; Birch 1838: 103; Hough 1829: 89). According to data obtained by Jagor (1876: 193-194), each thatched clay and stone house in an examined house-row had an entranceway leading on the right to a front room. This room had a right side storage platform and a mortar built into the floor on the left. From the front room a door led to a bathroom extending the full width of the house, and another door led to a kitchen paralleling the front room. The fireplace for cooking was located across from the latter door. At the right of each entranceway there was a low porch and to the left a low porch and small stall, or a stall only. Buffalo calves were sheltered in each stall. The entranceway and features to right or left of it were protected by the single side-gabled roof covering all houses within the row.

By 1870 some houses were whitewashed; by 1880 whitewashing was a more widespread practice and house roofs were being tiled; by 1895 sleeping platforms made from broad and thick planks were replacing interior storage platforms; and by 1935 most Badaga houses had brick or stone walls, tiled roofs, and sleeping platforms (Shortt 1868: 58; Grigg et al. 1880: 225; Sastri 1892: 757; Ranga 1934: 5). However, despite these and other changes, the Badaga house type as described by Jagor and others remains essentially the same. Most houses now have whitewashed brick walls, and roofs are commonly made with sawn timbers, corrugated iron sheets, and tiles. Front entranceways may be located to the right or left. If there is a right entranceway, a sleeping platform replacing the storage platform mentioned by Jagor will be against the right wall of the front room. A mortar in the

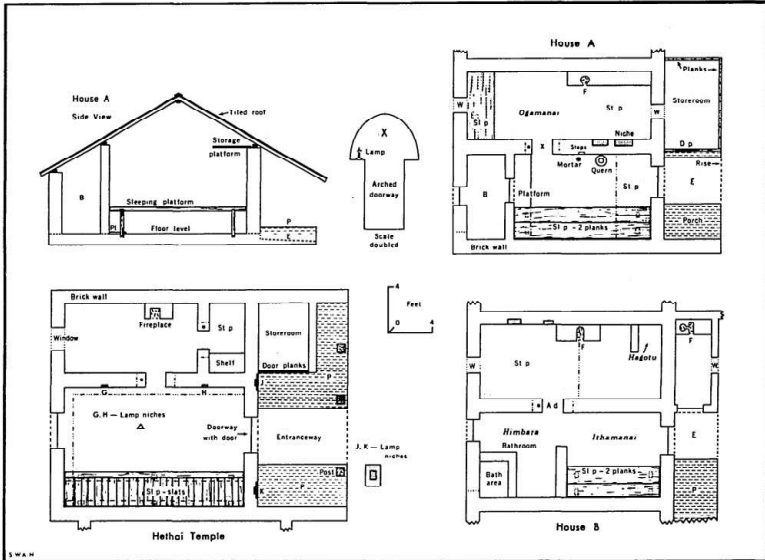
floor and rotary quern (usually present) will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other features within the house will be arranged accordingly. If there is a left entranceway, a sleeping platform will be against the left wall, mortar and rotary quern will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other interior features will accordingly be reversed from left to right. The room for bathing (himbara) no longer runs all the way across the back, but is located behind the front room (ithamanai). The open doorway between the front room and kitchen (ogamanai) is typically arched. Over the kitchen fireplace, opposite the door, there is usually a flat woven bamboo and cowdunged drying basket measuring three or more feet across. This is especially useful for drying grains during monsoons.

Near the front kitchen wall there may be a sacred hagogu for milk storage and processing, but many houses no longer have this feature. If a hagogu is absent, the front portion of the kitchen is still considered sacred and for men only. An upper storage platform (atlu) usually covers all or a portion of the kitchen. This and small upper storage platforms covering portions of the front room are reached by

a ladder which is sometimes set permanently into the central wall with arched door. As in Jagor's time, there is usually a porch to one side of the entranceway. The calf stall on the other side is now replaced by a porch, guest room with or without a fireplace, or a storeroom. Thus, if there is a right entranceway, there will be a porch to the right, and one of the above-mentioned features will replace the stall to the left. This relationship is exactly reversed when there is a left entranceway.

The traditional house type may be modified. Poorer families, or individuals sharing the inherited parental home, may dwell within half-houses formed by sealing in the arched doorway of the central partition. Two arched doorways are then built into two walls constructed about three-fifths the interior distance back from the front wall. The small back rooms will serve as kitchens (Figure 17). Sometimes the basic floor plan is maintained, but the house is so enlarged that its front and back walls no longer are aligned with walls of other houses in the house-row. The front porch area is often converted into an airy room. As a mark of prestige, a few Badagas have erected double-storied houses. The first floors in such buildings may have a floor plan similar to the one found in the traditional house

type, but the second floors have mixed rooms arranged in no set pattern. Most of these houses were built during and after World War II, and construction dates are often conspicuously displayed on their fronts. An enlarging minority of Badagas now live in houses which bear no resemblance to the traditional house type. Their houses follow no particular plan and, therefore, represent an odd medley of house forms.”



Badaga house (A), Badaga temple, and a Thoraiya house (B)