

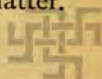
After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol* return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *ernkar* to look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then returns to the *ernkar*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him. At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tütmüis* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kakud*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *ernkar*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mörol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mad* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

In connexion with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kush*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kush* are spread some of the grass called *nark*¹ and some leaves of the *kiars*² tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pon*, i.e., he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

¹ *Andropogon Schenanthus*, a strongly-scented grass.

² ? *Kiaz*.



When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees¹ as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful.

The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Harkness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gompts.*" A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself.

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf.

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

¹ This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.¹ I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI PRAYER OF KUUDR

This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned: *Atthkâr* and *Ôners* (Kuudr), *Kidnârs* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars), *Moskar* and *Manêthi* (Ôdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsülh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteiners* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârnars* and *Tiindeuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karsêram parsêram*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Ôdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

¹ Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note II.

THE KARS PRAYER

This consists of the *kwarzam* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per mâ*, as in *Mutashkitik per mâ*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzam* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutashkiti* (Kars), *Karadrners* (Kuzhu), *Kingners* (Keshker), *Külunkars* (Taradrkirsi), *Nersmi* (Nasmiödr), *Edstârs* (Tashtars), *Keïkârs* (Kerkars), *Kuzhârmûdri* (Isharadr), *Pòdshners* (Pòdzkwar), *Peleiners* (Peletkwur), *Tarskidt*, *Tüli*, *Sing*, *Keitaz*. In the last four cases the *kwarzam* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzam* are followed by *ekîrzam meidjam*, *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ*. The place of *karsêram parsêram* in the Kuudr prayer is taken by *ekîrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *karsêram parsêram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *nòdrodchi*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzam* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzam*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *palikartmokh* says, "*Teikhârsk êr usht mâ*," may the buffalo appear to Teikhars, instead of *Nòtîrzk êr usht mâ* as the last clause. Teikhars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nòtirzi (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

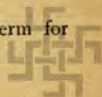
There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"¹ and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

THE TEUTÜTUSTHCHI CEREMONY

This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the foot of a hill by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The name *teutütusthchi* or *teutütusthtiti* means "god fire he lights." It

¹ I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.



is performed in the month which the Todas call Tai, beginning with the new moon in October.

The two *palol* and the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* perform the ceremony on the first or second Sunday after the new moon, and make the fire in alternate years at the hills called Kòti and Puthi. The two *palol* of the Kars and Pan *ti* set fire together at the hill Kònto on the following Tuesday. This ceremony is not performed by the *palol* of either the Kwòdrdoni or the Nidrsi *ti*. In 1902 the Nòdrs *palol* went to the hill Kòti on the second Sunday after the new moon (October 12th).

The hills of Kòti, Puthi, and Kònto are said to be chosen because they are very high, and have the highest *teu*, who are spoken of as elder brothers.

The *palol* and *kaltmokh* set out when they have taken buttermilk after the morning work, abstaining from other food till the ceremony is over. They take with them the *nirsi* or fire-sticks, some leaves of *kakud*, a piece of *tuni*, and some dried grass from the thatch of the dairy. Each *palol* wears both the *pòdrshstuni* and the *kubuntuni*.

When they reach the foot of the hill they make a heap of firewood. They then spread the *kakud* leaves on a stone and powder the thatch of the dairy on the leaves, and each *palol* makes fire with the fire-sticks and lights the powdered thatch. Then the *kaltmokh* says, "*Teutiütusthtkina?*"—"Shall I light the god(orsacred) fire?"—and both *palol* answer "*Teutiütustht!*" Then the *kaltmokh* takes the lighted thatch and applies it to the heap of firewood. As soon as the fire burns well, each *palol* takes off his *kubuntuni* and, standing some little distance from the fire, the two dairymen pray, using the usual prayer of the *ti* with the following additions:

<i>Kòr</i>	<i>páv</i>	<i>mā;</i>	<i>tein</i>	<i>páv</i>	<i>mā;</i>	<i>pom</i>
Young grass	flower	may;	honey	flourish	may;	fruit

<i>purzh</i>	<i>mā.</i>
ripen	may.

After the prayer the dairymen and their attendant return to their dairies so as to be in time for the afternoon work.

The object of the ceremony is to make the grass and honey

plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits, nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony was of great importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Teutiitusthchi* is certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though now it may be performed several times in the year. Even now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr kwadrthpimi*—i.e., we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death, but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk

given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—i.e., as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo.

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

IRNÖRTITI TO THE TI

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *teuol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310).

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become

very few in number, and this offering is also known as *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

IRNÖRTITI, TUNINÖRTITI AND PILINÖRTITI

We now come to three kinds of offering, with their attendant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature. These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*, and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance.

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pòlm* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*.

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed:—

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy.

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time.

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.



Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*; they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

For the first three of the offences it is customary that the *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol*, or day

on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others.

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatznol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted.

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible.

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed.

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the ceremony which has been ordered. The following is probably a typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*, who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *madnol* or sacred days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*. The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv) and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following vow at each :—

<i>Ir kar</i>	<i>ultâmâ,</i>	<i>pîrsk</i>	<i>ultâkh en,</i>	<i>irnörtkin</i>
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo."¹

From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not appear that anything is done. Only when some severe misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recovering from the illness or removing any other ills which his

¹ From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.



FIG. 42.—THE 'IRNÖRTKARS' AT KARS. IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE 'WURSULLI.'



offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering is only made when the sin has already had evil consequences and it is made in order to remove these consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

THE IRNÖRTITI CEREMONY

This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages, usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörthkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

On the day before the new moon following the vow to give the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the



FIG. 43.—GAP IN THE WALL AT NÖDRS THROUGH WHICH THE CALF IS DRIVEN AT THE 'IRNÖRTITI' CEREMONY.

ceremony is to take place, and all the men of the same *kudr* as the man who is giving the buffalo must also leave the village if they should be living there. Their place is taken by men of the *kudr* which is to receive the buffalo. If men of both *kudr* are living at the village, those of the giving *kudr* go and those of the receiving *kudr* remain ; thus, when Kòdrner, who lives at Kars, made his offering, he and his brother left and went to live at another village of the clan, while Parkurs and his brothers, who belong to the other *kudr*, remained behind. If there is a *wursuli* at the village, the *wursol* remains at his post. If the *palikartmokh* is of the same *kudr* as the offender, he leaves and a new dairyman from the other *kudr* is appointed. All the men who remain at the village sleep in the outer room of the dairy—at Kars, in the outer room of the *kudrpali*. The *palikartmokh* does his dairy work in the inner room as usual and sleeps in the outer room with the rest.

The people live thus at the village for a month, no women, no men of the offending *kudr* and no people of other clans being allowed to visit them.

The actual ceremony takes place at the end of this month, on the Sunday following the new moon. On the Saturday the man, called the *irnörtpol*, who is to make the offering brings a female calf between one and two years of age to a wood near the village and makes a rough temporary calf enclosure (*kadr*), tying the calf to a tree. If the calf is troublesome, the man and his companions may sleep in the wood by the side of the calf, but generally they leave it in the wood and go to sleep in the village where they have been living. The calf must have no blemish, its eyes must be clear, and no part of its ears or tail may be cut.¹

On the following morning a boy between ten and fifteen years of age is chosen, who is called *ponkartvaimokh*, the boy who observes the festival. It is his duty to drive the calf.

All those who are to be present take in their hands green sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs*. All have their right

¹ The special mention of uncut ears and tail in this and the *erkumtthpimi* ceremony suggests that the widely spread practice of cutting the ears of animals may occur among the Todas, but I have no other notes on the subject.

arms outside their cloaks (*kevenarut*), and must have bathed in the morning and abstained from food.

When the time for the ceremony comes, the *ponkartvaimokh*, who is followed by the *irnörtol* and other men of his division, drives the calf towards the village. The people in the village then call out "*Irnört! it vos!*"—"Give the buffalo! Come here!" and they go to the appointed place and stand on the dairy side of the *irnörtkars*, or other spot appointed for the ceremony, while the calf is driven up towards the stones or other mark from the side away from the dairy. The *palikartmokh*, naked except for the *kuvn*, and the *wursol*, with the *tuni* round his loins, stand with the people of the receiving *kudr*. When the *ponkartvaimokh* has driven the calf up to the place, he asks three times, "*Irnörtkina?*"—"Shall I give the buffalo?"—and the *palikartmokh* replies each time, "*Irnört!*" The boy then drives the calf across the stones or other mark to the place where the buffaloes of the receiving *kudr* are standing. According to one account, the calf is driven direct into the *tu*, but it seems almost certain that this is wrong, though it may be that it is the practice of some clans. The calf then becomes the property of the *kudr* whose representatives have been living at the village. At Nòdrs the calf is driven through the gap in the wall and across the pool of water in the direction of the conical dairy.

All those present, both the man who has given the calf and his companions and those who have received the calf, bow down to the ground, resting their foreheads on the ends of their cloaks (as in Fig. 44), and utter a formula different for each clan. At Kars it runs:—

Swâmi, Teikîrzi, Târziolv, Kârziolv, Kârzû ultâmâ; îr kark ultâmâ; îrnörtvuspimi,¹ ultâmâ.

Then all present go to the dairy or dairies and bow down at the threshold. At Kars they go to Tarziolv (the *kudrpali*), to Kârziolv (the *wursuli*), and to Karzu (the buffalo pen) and

¹ Or *irnörtvuspimi*, "buffalo giving have we come." The whole formula runs, "Swami, Teikirzi, the *kudrpali*, the *wursuli*, the buffalo pen, may it be well; may it be well with the buffaloes and calves; buffalo giving have we come, may it be well."

bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairyman, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*, which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the *irnörtpol* must again leave the village, but the only one of



FIG. 44.—THE 'NERSATITI' SALUTATION.

their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartvaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no

people other than men of the same *kudr* may visit the village during this time.

At the end of the month the people who have been occupying the village rub the dairy or dairies thoroughly with buffalo-dung (*palikâratiti*, dairy he purifies). All the people of the village then return and another feast takes place, in which the food is rice boiled in milk. Then the usual inhabitants of the village return to their houses, and if any men of the receiving *kudr* have come from another village, they return and life resumes its normal course.

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* may thus involve the removal of the usual inhabitants from a village for about two months, and the giving of two feasts, while the man who has offended also loses a calf. The Todas probably think little of the inconvenience of removal, though probably they are more troubled by it now than in former times, especially when they have to leave a village like Kars, which is, under normal circumstances, always inhabited at the present time. It seems that the inconvenience, together with the expense of the feasts, is sufficient to render the ceremony a very unusual incident in the lives of the Todas.

TUNINÖRTITI

The smaller importance of this ceremony as compared with *irnörtiti* is shown in several ways. The ceremony may be performed at any village at which there is a dairy, and it is not necessary for the people of the receiving *kudr* to stay at the village for a month before the ceremony is performed.

The prescribed day is Sunday, and on the previous day all the people of the same *kudr* as the giver of the *tuni* leave the village, and the men of the other division come and sleep in the dairy as before the *irnörtiti* ceremony. The man who gives the *tuni* is called the *tuninörtpol*, and he procures the garment from a Badaga, paying for it about 1 rupee 4 annas.

On the Sunday morning the *tuninörtpol* comes with some companions, all having abstained from food. The *palikartmokh*, who must be of the same *kudr* as the other men at the village, goes to the front of the dairy and one of the men calls out,

X

"*Tuninörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off, goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuninörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are not due to any offence committed by the man. In some cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*. If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food.

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr¹ which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtpol bon !*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pinlörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows :—

<i>Tānenmā,</i>	<i>tārmāmā ;</i>	<i>atch</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>mā,</i>	<i>atch</i>
May it be well,	may it be well ;	little	calf	give	may,	little
<i>mokh tā mā ; kar</i>	<i>kulāth,</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>kuleiti</i>	<i>tā</i>		
son give may ; calf	not refuse milk,	calf	take milk	give		
<i>mā, kar nesāth,</i>	<i>neseiti tā mā ;</i>	<i>opath</i>	<i>ātṁ</i>			
may, calf not kick away,	stand give may ;	once	meal			
<i>āthi punerd kwar arki madi ;</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>ārḱ mā ;</i>				
it is twelve years vow will ;	may there be	no disease ;				
<i>nudri</i>	<i>ārḱ mā ;</i>	<i>kazun</i>	<i>ārḱ mā ;</i>	<i>per</i>		
may there be	no trouble ;	may there be	no <i>kazun</i> ;	may there be		
<i>ārḱ mā.</i>						
no Tamil.						

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows :—

"May it be well ; may my buffaloes have calves ; may I have children ; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers ; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever ; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease ; may no evil befall me ; may there be no *kazun* (see p. 403) to kill me ; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

¹ This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

"Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is probably much older than this interpretation would indicate, and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas. "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.¹ The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *terersthi* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

¹ According to a later finding of the *teuol*, the death of Tersveli was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills. Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather, and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithi* to Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion, "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment. Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and

the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of *pilinörtiti* to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

social regulations exist without anything which can clearly be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than that they now possess.

If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the religious sanction has been added to the system of social punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the gods.



CHAPTER XIV

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CEREMONIES

THE ceremonies connected with childbirth begin before the birth of the child. These ceremonies are only performed for the first child or when the woman obtains a new husband, so that they may, from one point of view, be regarded as marriage ceremonies. Nevertheless, I prefer to consider them here, and to leave the ceremonies more strictly connected with marriage till a later chapter. These latter ceremonies are far less elaborate than those to be described in this chapter, and may be more fitly considered in connexion with the social regulation of marriage.

At or about the fifth month of pregnancy, a ceremony is performed which is called *ûr patitth kaitütitthpimi*, "village left, hand we burnt," or more shortly, *ûrvatpimi*, "village we leave," or *kaitütitthpimi*. The ceremony is named from its two essential features; the woman leaves the village and lives secluded in a hut and her wrists are burnt.

When it is known that the ceremony is to take place, a special hut, called *puzhars* (Fig. 45), is built in a prescribed place at some little distance from the village, or if this building already exists, it is put into good order. The word *puzhars* means "mud-house" or "earth-house," which would seem to point to a time when a temporary hut of mud was used, but at the present time it is built of wood, though it is of much simpler and rougher construction than the ordinary house.

The distance of the *puzhars* from the huts in which the people live depends on the degree of sacredness of the village. According to Breeks, the distance is greatest in those villages

which have a dairy of the conical kind, but it seems that there is no real difference between these villages and any other *etudmad*. In some cases when the dairy has a high degree of sanctity, the *puzhars* may be at an adjacent village; thus, a pregnant woman of Kiudr goes into seclusion at Molkush,



FIG. 45.—THE 'PUZHARS' AT MOLKUSH.

about a quarter of a mile away, and at this village the seclusion-hut (Fig. 45) is about a hundred yards from the house in which the people live.

I may mention here that the objection to the presence of a pregnant woman in one of the more sacred villages may extend to a time when she is not in the seclusion-hut. When I

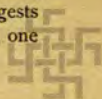
visited Kiudr for the purpose of testing the people of the village for colour-blindness, Sintagars, who was pregnant and was living at Molkush, was not allowed to come to the hut to be tested like the rest, but sat on the mound shown in the foreground of Fig. 7, about thirty yards away.

The features of the hand-burning ceremony as performed by the Tartharol differ considerably from those for a Teivali woman, and I will begin with a description of the former.

On the day of the new moon, the woman goes to the *puzhars*. The husband (or in his absence his brother or other near male relative) cuts six sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs* and sets them up so as to represent a dairy with two rooms, which is called *pülali*. He then cuts four bamboo-reeds called *wadr*, about eighteen inches long, which represent dairy vessels; two of them are called *patatpun*, and the other two *ertatpun*. He fills these with water taken neither from the *pali nipa* nor from the *ars nipa*, for if he touched the water of either of the streams, they would be defiled and their water could not be used. He therefore fetches the water from a stream at some distance from the village.

The husband brings the reeds half filled with water and places those called *patatpun* in the inner room of the *pülali*. He takes the other two—the *ertatpun*—to a two-year-old female calf (*pöl*), and pours out the water from one reed on the left side of the middle of the back (*älv*) of the calf, and catches the water in the other. He then gives two leaves (*kakuders*) to the woman, who makes a leaf vessel, into which he pours three times from the *ertatpun* the water which has flowed from the back of the calf. The woman raises the leaf vessel to her forehead and then drinks, and the man puts the two *ertatpun* into the outer room of the *pülali*.¹ The woman then bows down with her forehead to the threshold of the *pülali*, and the man takes up the sticks forming the imitation dairy and the four reeds and throws all away.

¹ It will be noticed that the *patatpun* are placed in the inner room and the *ertatpun* in the outer room. In the ordinary dairy both would be placed in the inner room, though in different places. The procedure of this ceremony seems, therefore, to resemble that of the *ti* rather than of the ordinary dairy. It suggests that we have here a relic of a time when every dairy had at least two rooms, one for the things of the *patatmar* and another for the things of the *ertatmar*.



The woman has brought with her a new earthenware pot called *mâtikûdrik*, into which she puts food (rice or grain) and water, and places it on a small oven made on the spot with stones. When the food is cooked, the woman takes two leaves called *pelkkodsthmuliers*, i.e., leaves used in the ordination of the *palikartmokh*, and portions out the food on the leaves. She then brings two pieces of wood called *parskuti* (*Eleagnus latifolia*), puts them in the ground and covers them with a blanket. The two leaf-plates with the food are now placed on the two pieces of wood, one on each, and the woman asks *Pîrn podia*, *Piri podia* ? (*podia* = have you come?) My informants could tell me nothing about *Pirn* or *Piri*, except that the former was supposed to be male and the latter female.

The woman throws the *parskuti* into the bushes, this procedure being called *tapi kûrs vutpimi*, "bushes stick throw we," and then makes a little roll of threads which is called *pashti*, puts it in the fire and burns herself with the roll in four places, two on each hand, once on the prominence formed by the carpo-metacarpal joint of the thumb, and once on the prominence formed by the styloid process of the radius. The burning is sometimes done for her by the woman who is to stay in the *puzhars* with her¹ during her period of seclusion. When the ceremony is over, the woman goes into the hut with her companion and stays there for nearly a month, till three or four days before the next new moon. While in the seclusion-hut, the woman is visited by relatives and friends, who do not, however, come near the hut, but stand some way off and say *kaitiütudpatia* ? ("Have you had hand-burning?") They leave a present of rice for the woman and go to the people of the village, by whom they are entertained.

When the woman comes out of the *puzhars* at the end of the month, there is a ceremony called *marthk maj atpimi*, "To the village buttermilk we pour." Early in the morning of the appointed day a man of the Melgars clan comes to the village and milks one of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) into the vessel called *kabanachok*. The buffalo must not have

¹ I was told at first that it might be done by her husband, but this appeared to be a mistake.

been milked by any one else since the time it last calved. The Melgars man places the milk in front of the hut where the woman usually lives, and then goes away, and the milk is taken by the people of the village. In the evening, after the day's work is over and the buffaloes are shut up for the night, a woman is chosen who has had no contact with the secluded woman, and she takes the milk drawn by the Melgars man to the *puzhars*, together with the leaves of the kind called *parsers*. She pours out the milk three times into these leaves and gives to the pregnant woman to drink. The latter has previously bathed and put on a new mantle, and after drinking she returns to the ordinary hut and may resume her household work.

The milking is done by a Melgars man for all the Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni, where the buffalo is milked by a man of that clan. I do not know why this clan forms an exception to the general rule, but Kwòdrdoni is one of the most remote Toda villages, and it is possible¹ that the difficulty of getting a Melgars man to come to them has led the people to do this part of the ceremony themselves.

For fifteen days after leaving the seclusion-hut, the woman must drink buttermilk procured from a Melgars dairy, and must take food called *peritòr*,² viz., grain or rice which has been cooked in Melgars buttermilk. At the end of the fifteen days she gives up taking the *peritòr*, but continues to drink Melgars buttermilk for another fifteen days.

For a woman of the Teivaliol, the ceremony of *urvatpimi* is much more simple. No *pūlpali* is made, and the husband fetches two pieces of reed only, which are called *ertatpun*. They are half filled with water, which is poured from one over the back of a calf into the other as in the Tarthar ceremony, and the woman drinks in the same way, but this is immediately followed by the hand-burning, and the rite with the two sticks and the invocation of Pirn and Piri is entirely omitted.

¹ The fact that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni are not allowed to intermarry suggests, however, that there is some relation between these clans which is the cause of the exception.

² This may possibly be a corruption of *perithòr*.



The Teivali ceremony on coming out of the *puzhars* takes place in the early morning. A man (not the husband) fetches water from the *ars nipa* in a brass vessel called *achok*. He takes the vessel to a pregnant buffalo and tries to milk the buffalo over the vessel of water. Although no milk comes, the attempt is supposed to convert the water in the vessel into milk. The woman then leaves the seclusion-hut and is given two leaves (*parsers*), of which she makes a leaf cup, and the man pours the water which is supposed to be milk into the cup three times, and the woman drinks each time after raising the cup to her forehead. The woman and her companion then go to another special hut, called *aliars*, and stay there for a week, or if there is in the village a house of the kind called *merkalars* (see p. 29), the woman may go to the hinder part of this house instead of to the *aliars*, but in this case all the household things have to be removed from the *merkalars*.

At the end of the week in the *aliars* or *merkalars*, there follows the ceremony called *marthk maj atpimi*. Early in the morning the *palikartmokh* brings *penmaj* (i.e., butter and buttermilk) in an earthenware pot and two firebrands (*tiitkuli*) to the front of the hut, puts the brands on the ground, lays the pot on them for a time, and then puts the pot on the raised platform in front of the hut. He then goes away, and a woman brings a brass vessel (*terg*) and transfers the butter and buttermilk to the *terg*, and gives it to the woman, who drinks and goes to the ordinary hut.

While the woman is in the *aliars* or *merkalars*, she is not confined to the dwelling as when in the *puzhars*, but may go about. She must not, however, do any household work, nor go to any other village, nor to the ordinary huts of her own village. If in the hinder part of the *merkalars*, she must not go to the fore part of the house.

Thus the ritual of the Tartharol differs greatly from that of the Teivaliol in these ceremonies. The rite of making an artificial dairy is entirely omitted by the Teivaliol, and, as we shall see later, it is also omitted in a similar ceremony performed after childbirth, though the pieces of reed used to pour water over the calf are named after dairy vessels in both cases. I could obtain no explanation of the difference of

procedure, nor of the omission of the invocation of Pirn and Piri by the Teivali division. It is possible that this latter ceremony has been borrowed, but if so, there is no obvious reason why it should have been borrowed by one division, and not by the other.

In the ceremonies accompanying the return to ordinary life, it is perhaps natural that the Melgars man should only take part in the proceedings of his own division. The other chief difference in the procedure of the two divisions is that the return takes place in two stages among the Teivaliol, while the Tarthar woman goes directly from the *puzhars* to the ordinary hut. I was told that the difference was connected with the fact that the Tarthar women drank milk, whilst the Teivali women did not, but I could not discover why this should lead to a difference of procedure.

THE PURSÜTPIMI CEREMONY

About the seventh month of pregnancy a ceremony is performed, which is called *pursütpimi*, "bow (and arrow) we touch." This ceremony begins on the evening before the day of the new moon. The pregnant woman goes into a wood about a furlong from the village at which she is living. She is accompanied by her husband, or if she has several, by the husband who is to give the bow and arrow. The husband cuts a triangular niche in a tree,¹ of which the Toda name is *kers*. The niche is large enough to contain a lamp, and is made a few feet above the ground, so that it is about on a level with the eyes of the woman when she is sitting on the ground. Ghi is then put in an earthenware lamp, which is lighted and placed in the niche. Some sort of arrangement is made on the tree to provide a covering under which the woman is later to sit, but I could not satisfy myself exactly how this is done. Husband and wife then go to find the wood called *puv*,² and the grass called *nark*.³ A bow (*purs*) is made from the wood by stripping off a piece of bark and stretching it across the bent stick so as to

¹ *Eugenia Arnottiana*.

² *Sophora glauca*.

³ *Andropogon schenanthus*.



form the string of the bow.¹ The grass is put in the little artificial bow so as to resemble an arrow.

The husband and wife return to the tree with the bow and arrow, and the relatives of the pair come to the spot. The father of the woman promises a young female calf, the offspring of a given buffalo, which he names, saying after the the name *pòl todein*, or "calf I have given"; thus, *Kemars pòl todein* would mean, "I have given a calf, the daughter of Kemars."² Then husband and wife salute certain people by bowing before them and raising their feet to the forehead (*kalmelpudithi*). The wife salutes in this way all her male relatives and those of her husband older than herself—i.e., she salutes those whom she would salute in this way under normal circumstances (see Chap. XXI). The husband salutes all the male³ relatives of his wife, irrespective of their being older or younger than himself.

The wife then sits down beneath the tree in front of the lamp, and the husband gives her the imitation bow and arrow. In doing so he says the *kwarzam* of his village followed by the words "*Teikirzi Tirsk, pursvat!*"—i.e., "To Teikirzi and Tirshti, hold the bow and arrow!" The wife replies, "*purs iveru?*"—"What is the name of the bow and arrow?"—and the husband then gives the name of the bow and arrow, which is different for each clan. The question and answer are each time repeated so that they are said three times. The formulæ repeated on this occasion differ for each clan in the *kwarzam* of the village and in the name of the bow. For the Kuudrol the latter was *pursgârûv*, so that a Kuudr man would first say, "*Atthkar Teikirzi Tirsk pursvat*," and in answer to his wife's question he would answer, "*Pursgârûv*." The only clan which does not say the *kwarzam* of the village is that of Nòdrs, where only the names of the gods are mentioned.

I only obtained the special names of the bow from three clans—those of Kuudr, Kars and Taradr. That of

¹ See the bow in the hand of the boy in Fig. 57. This bow is the same as that used in the *pursûtpimi* ceremony.

² The buffalo given in this way is called *pulkwadr*, or bow and arrow gift.

³ My notes do not make it absolutely clear as to whether he may not also salute the female relatives of his wife, but I do not think that he does so.

Kuudr has already been given ; the name of the Kars bow is *pulkiùkhm* and that of Taradr *pursüdsk*. When the husband gives the bow and arrow to his wife, she raises it to her forehead and then, holding it in her right hand, turns to gaze at the lamp in the tree. She looks for an hour or until the lamp goes out, and then all present¹ go to the village for food, except the husband and wife. The man makes a fireplace, lights a fire and cooks jaggery and rice in a new pot, using only ghi, and not butter, to mix the rice, and while he is doing this his wife ties up certain kinds of food in a cloth and puts the bundle under the tree. This food includes rice, ragi, barley, wheat, the grain (?) called *kirsi* (see p. 266), some jaggery and salt. Some pieces of honeycomb are also placed on leaves, which are then thrown away. When the food cooked by the man is ready both husband and wife eat together.

Later the relatives return from the village and all pass the night in the wood, the relatives keeping at some distance from the married pair. At daybreak on the following day, the day of the new moon, all return to the village and feast, food being given to all visitors.

Several of those who have described this ceremony have included in the description an account of "tying the *tali*."² So far as I could ascertain nothing of the kind is done. I inquired into the point many times and all agreed that it formed no part of the Toda ceremony and that its equivalent was the giving of the bow and arrow. More than one man spoke of the *pursütpimi* ceremony as "tying the *tali*," but the latter expression is merely the equivalent of "marriage ceremony," and the very man who used this expression denied vehemently that tying the *tali* or anything else round

¹ According to a recent account given to me by Mr. Thurston, the people leave the spot about six o'clock in the evening. The time is determined by the opening of the flowers of *Eurotia tetralix*, which is called by the Todas *âr mani pâv*, or six o'clock flower. This flower is a garden escape, so that this special practice must be recent, but it suggests that the general practice of telling the time of day by means of flowers may be an old Toda custom.

² Mr. Natesa Sastri (*Madras Mail*, August 28th, 1894) states that the bow and arrow are tied round the neck of the woman, so that they definitely take the place of the *tali*.

the neck of the woman formed any part of the Toda ceremony.

It seemed, however, that after *pursütpimi* the woman is allowed to resume her ornaments, which she has been prohibited from wearing up to this time, and it is possible that this resumption of her ornaments may have been mistaken for "tying the *tali*." It seemed clear, however, that the ornaments were not put on by the husband, nor did the resumption of the ornaments partake in any way of a ceremonial character.

As I hoped to have a chance of witnessing this ceremony during my visit, I did not thresh out the details of *pursütpimi* as thoroughly as those of most other ceremonies and my account is not as complete as I could wish.

The ceremony of *pursütpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and, as we shall see later, the fatherhood of the child depends entirely upon it. The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony.

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children. One of the most serious scandals in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony.

Both the pregnancy ceremonies are performed at the first funeral of an unmarried or barren woman. In the case of an unmarried girl the bow and arrow are given at the *pursütpimi* ceremony by a *matchuni* of the deceased—i.e., by a relative whom the deceased girl might herself have married. The hand-burning of the *urvatpimi* ceremony is usually performed by a woman of the same clan as the deceased.

Since the ceremonies are only performed at the first pregnancy, or when it is desired to change the fatherhood of a child, it seems clear that they closely resemble marriage ceremonies. They would seem to be either marriage ceremonies which have been postponed till shortly before the

birth of the first child,¹ or, what is more probable, pregnancy ceremonies resembling those customary in India, which have acquired social significance and have come to resemble marriage ceremonies. But the numerous ceremonies which are performed during pregnancy by the Hindus take place during every pregnancy and are, therefore, sharply differentiated from the Toda rites.

CHILDBIRTH

When the woman returns from the seclusion-hut after the *urvatpimi* ceremony she lives in her usual home with the rest of the family and does her usual work, and she is delivered there. It seemed that any one might be present, and that there was no special ceremony connected with delivery.

During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck. She is tended by a woman, usually by one noted for skill in these matters. If there is much delay, all men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and say :

“*Swâmi maz vûrmâ ; swâmi pûdikan termâ.*”

If this is not efficacious a man brings water in a vessel and prays, stirring the water with a piece of grass of the kind called *kakar*. When the prayer is finished, the man sprinkles the water over the woman.

The cord (*pekû*) is cut with a knife, being held down with a stick while it is being cut.

The afterbirth is called *naj* or *pekûkûdri*. If there is delay in its delivery, a medicine called *najmad* is given which is procured from the Badagas. The afterbirth is buried on the day on which the woman goes to the seclusion-hut, a few days

¹ This seems to have occurred in a similar ceremony practised by the Badagas, among whom it is said that a woman is not fully considered a wife till about the seventh month of the first pregnancy, when a cord is put round her neck by the husband and the legal marriage becomes complete. (See Thurston, *Bull.* IV., p. 167.)

after delivery. If the child is still-born its body is buried at the same time.

A caul is named *kwadri* (umbrella), but no importance is attached to it, nor is it kept.

SECLUSION AFTER CHILDBIRTH

Two or three days after childbirth the mother and child go to the seclusion-hut, or *puzhars*, the same structure being used as after the hand-burning ceremony. Various rites are performed, both when going to and leaving the seclusion-hut, and these have many points in common with those which take place before and after the hand-burning. As in that case, the procedure for the Tartharol differs considerably from that of the Teivaliol.

The general name for the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* is *pòlk pòtha nir utpimi*—"to the calf back (or hind quarters) water we pour," from one of the chief features of the proceedings. The ceremony takes place either in the early morning or in the evening.

The woman who is to be secluded, whether she be Tarthar or Teivali, rubs ashes on her head and face (*pùthi adipimi*, ashes we rub), and comes out of the ordinary hut in which she has been living since the delivery. She holds over her head a branch of the 'Nilgiri holly,'¹ which has spreading leaves so that it resembles an umbrella; this leafy umbrella is called *tòrikwadr*, and the act is called *tòrikwadr patipimi*, "we hold the umbrella." The head is also covered with the *putkuli*. From the moment she leaves the hut the woman is very careful to keep her face turned away from the sun, not on account of its noxious influence, but in order to avoid the star or other body called Keirt, which is supposed to be near the sun. The child is carried in front of the mother by another woman, who also holds a *tòrikwadr* to shelter the infant from the evil influence of Keirt. Among the Tartharol a small artificial dairy is made, exactly as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, and four reeds are cut to represent dairy vessels.

¹ Called by the Todas *tòri* or *tòrimul* (*Berberis nepalensis*); its leaves are used in the ordination of the *kugvalikartmokh*.

As the woman walks towards the place where the *pūlpali* has been erected, another woman lays on the ground before her a leaf of *kakud* on which she puts some threads taken from a *madtuni*—i.e., the garment worn by the *wursol*. These threads are called *tunikar*,¹ and they are taken up by the mother and put in the string round her waist on the right side.² Water



FIG. 46.—TERSVELI SITTING AT THE DOOR OF THE 'PUZHARS' AT KARIA WITH HER FACE TURNED FROM THE SUN.

is then poured by the husband from the imitation *patatpun* over the hind quarters (*pòtha*) of a calf, so that it falls into the *ertatpun* just as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony. Before the woman drinks this water, three drops of it are put into the mouth of the child and a four-anna piece (*panm*) into its hand. The mother then drinks three times

¹ Possibly this means "calf of *tuni*."

² It will be noticed that the woman puts the fragments of *tuni* in her waist-string on the right side, while the various dairymen who wear *petuni* put it on the left side.

and bows down at the threshold of the imitation dairy, after which she goes into the seclusion-hut. During the whole of the proceedings she is careful not to turn her face towards the sun.

Among the Teivaliol there is no imitation dairy and, as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, only two reeds are used as *ertatpun*. A fire is made on an improvised fireplace of three stones, and lighted by means of thatch brought from the hut,¹ and food is put on a fragment of an earthenware vessel and placed over the fire.

After the woman has drunk of the water which has been poured over the back of the calf, she breaks the earthenware fragment over the fire, saying, *Namavku*, "to Namav," this rite being called *Namavtur kwudrtipimi*, "to Namav we give." The woman then goes to the seclusion-hut, being assisted by her husband, who now acquires the impurity which is called *ichchil*, and any one else who touches the woman after this ceremony also becomes *ichchil*.

I saw the ceremony of going to the *puzhars* on two occasions, the woman each time belonging to the Teivaliol. The most striking feature of each occasion was the obvious and intense dread of Keirt. In one case, soon after leaving the hut, the woman, Sintagars, called out for another umbrella as she feared that the *tòrikwadr* was not sufficient to shelter her from Keirt, and during the rest of the proceedings she held over herself both the leafy umbrella and one of the ordinary kind.

I was told that all the chief incidents of the ceremony—the rubbing on of ashes, the holding of the leaf umbrella, the pouring of water over the calf and the giving to Namav—were all designed to avert the evil influence of Keirt, which they call *Keirtpudrtvuti* (see p. 269).

After the woman has gone to the seclusion-hut she is visited by relatives and friends, who stand at a distance, just as they did after the hand-burning ceremony. They bring rice with them as a present and call out

<i>Marsvut</i>	<i>sivn</i>	<i>mikh</i>	<i>mokh</i>	(or <i>kugh</i>)	<i>udpatia?</i>
Confined	life	remaining	son	(or daughter)	had you?

I am doubtful whether this is essential.

"Have you had a son (or daughter) and are yet alive?" The visitors then go to the huts of the village and are entertained.

The woman and child stay in the seclusion-hut, accompanied by the husband and by a woman who is usually the assistant at the birth. If the child is not the first, the mother remains in seclusion till a few days before the next new moon, this kind of seclusion being called *nâtersper*. If the child is the first-born, the stay in the seclusion-hut is longer and is called *kadrthersper*. In this case the woman stays in the hut till a month has elapsed after the new moon following the birth. Thus Sintagars went into seclusion on Sunday, October 19th, and came out on Thursday, November 27th, 1902, exactly four weeks after the new moon of October 31st.

The proceedings on leaving the seclusion-hut are like those which take place after the seclusion following the *urvatpimi* ceremony, but with a few additional rites.

Among the Tartharol there is only one ceremony, called *marthk maj atpimi*, in which a buffalo is milked on the morning of the day by a Melgars man. Before the woman drinks the milk in the evening, another woman lays threads of *tuni* on leaves of *kakud*, and puts them on the ground before the mother, who puts them in the right side of her waist-string as when going to the seclusion-hut. After returning to the hut the woman drinks Melgars buttermilk and eats food cooked in Melgars buttermilk in exactly the same way as after the hand-burning ceremony.

Among the Teivaljol the return to ordinary life takes place in two stages, as after the hand-burning ceremony. The woman first goes to the *aliars*, or to the hinder part of the *merkalaras*, after drinking water, which has been supposed to be turned into milk by pretended milking from a pregnant buffalo. I saw this ceremony on one occasion (Fig. 47) when the pretended milking was done by a small boy, Pongudr (52), and the supposed milk was poured into the leaves and given to the mother by a woman who had not been present in the seclusion-hut with her. The person who pretends to milk the pregnant buffalo becomes *ichchil* by doing so, and the reason

why a young boy was chosen for this office was that the adult members of the family might escape the disabilities attendant on this condition. On this occasion especial care was taken that the mother should sit facing the sun during the ceremony. She at first sat down with her face turned away from the sun, and she was made to turn round, so that



FIG. 47.—SINTAGARS DRINKING AT THE 'MARTHK MAJ ATPIMI' CEREMONY.
THE BOY, PONGUDR, IS SITTING BEHIND HER.

she directly faced it. This was the exact opposite of the procedure followed when going to the seclusion-hut.

After being in the *aliars* or *merkalar*s for a week there follows the ceremony of *marthk maj atpimi*, which is the same as that after the *urvatpimi* ceremony, with the addition that a representation of a hut is made with five or six sticks of

the kind called *kwadrikurs*. A boy goes within the imitation hut with a brass vessel (*achok*), and coming out gives this to the woman, who bows down (*nersatiti*) with her child at the threshold of the imitation hut. She then takes butter and buttermilk which have been placed by the *palikartmokh* on fire-brands (see p. 318). After taking the mixture the woman goes to the dwelling-hut and resumes her ordinary duties.

It is the custom for everyone present on this occasion to give the child a four-anna piece (*panm*), and near relatives may often give more. A small loincloth (*tadrp*) provided with a pocket called *terigs* is put round the child, and into this pocket the money is put, this action receiving the name of *terigs katpimi*, or "we tie the *terigs*." I did not hear of this pocket in any other ceremonies, and, so far as I know, it is only made in the *tadrp* used on this occasion, or if a constant feature of the *tadrp*, it has no other ceremonial use. So far as I am aware, the representation of a house is only used by the Teivaliol, while the imitation dairy made on going to the seclusion-hut after hand-burning and childbirth is only made by the Tartharol.

It is tempting to suppose that the water poured in these ceremonies from an imitation dairy vessel over the back of a calf is regarded as milk, and if this is so, the drinking of milk, real or fictitious, would be the essential feature of all these ceremonies. Further, the conjecture is natural that the drinking is designed to promote the formation and flow of milk in the woman. It is perhaps in favour of this that in the ceremony after childbirth, when this motive would be especially important, the water is poured over the hind-quarters of the calf and not over the middle of its back, as in the earlier ceremony. But if the promotion of lactation is the leading motive of the ceremonies, it is difficult to see why a buffalo in full milk should not have been chosen instead of a two-year-old calf.

It is possible that there is some reason why an adult buffalo should not be used on such an occasion, and that a calf is used as a substitute, and, on the whole, the view that some features of the ceremonies had their origin in the motive

suggested is the most probable one ; but this can only be conjecture, for it is, I think, quite clear that the ceremonies have now become purely ritual, and are performed with no other reason than that they are prescribed by custom.

The use of an artificial dairy among the Tartharol, however, has almost certainly a deeper meaning. It is a striking fact that a pregnant woman and one soon after childbirth should have relations with a dairy, even if only artificial, when in ordinary life they have nothing to do with it or its ceremonial. Still more remarkable is the fact that a Tarthar woman after childbirth puts round her waist threads from the garment worn only by dairymen, a garment which has a distinctly sacred character. If this were done only in the case of a male child, it might be supposed that the idea is one of initiation into the life connected with the dairy, but the artificial dairy after the hand-burning ceremony is made when the sex of the child is unknown, and, so far as my information goes, the use of the dairy and the threads from the *tuni* occurs after the birth of either a boy or girl. It is possible that the ceremonial observances are relics of a time when women had more to do with the dairy and its ritual than they have at present ; or it may be that contact with the sacred objects, real or fictitious, is held to neutralise in some way the dangerous nature of pregnant and parturient women.

There is some reason to believe that the material of which the *tuni* is made is the same as that of the ancient clothing of the Todas, the cloth called *än*. As we shall see later, the *än* is still used in the funeral ceremonies, and it is possible that the threads of *tuni* are used in these ceremonies as relics of the ancient clothing of the Todas, and that they are obtained from the *madtuni* because it is the most convenient way of obtaining the ancient material. If this had been the motive, however, I think the word *än* would almost certainly have been used, as it still is in the funeral ceremonies. Nevertheless, this remains as a possible alternative explanation of the use of a sacred dairy garment by a woman after childbirth.

A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that

the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas.

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word *pūlpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar ceremonies. *Pūli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.¹ It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pūl* would be used for outskirts in this special sense.

UNCOVERING THE CHILD'S FACE

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some time after, the child has its face covered, and no one except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month² the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mūtār terithiti*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mūtār terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed.

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majvatvaiidrn*, the place where the women go to receive

¹ Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p. 242.

² According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

buttermilk from the dairyman, and there the mother uncovers the child's face.

I was not told that the covering of the face is designed to protect the child from the influence of the evil eye, but this is the probable motive. The object of the ceremony is probably to minimise the danger incurred when the covering is removed by putting the child, if a boy, into relation with the three sacred objects, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes, and the sun. If a girl, the child is taken to the spot nearest to the dairy where women are allowed to go.

NAMING THE CHILD

The child is named after its face has been uncovered. The ceremony is called *per vasthpimi*, "name we give," and it may take place immediately after the ceremony of uncovering the face, or a few days later. In the former case, the child, if a boy, is taken by his father from the place where the buffaloes are standing to the front of the house, and there the father shaves the middle part of the head of the child. Then the boy's maternal uncle (*mun*) gives the name, and promises a calf, saying, *pòl ud todein*, "calf one I have given," followed by the name of the child,¹ and raises each foot to the head of the boy and touches his forehead, the salutation on this occasion being called *kalkartiti*. Three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the boy and three into his back-hair, and then the grains are thrown away.

There was some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named. It seemed clear that the name is given by a woman, and I was told definitely by some that it is given by the father's sister (*mumi*) of the child. The wife of the *mun* would also be the *mumi* of the child, and it is possible that this relative may give the name. No calf is given to a girl, this being only done when boys are named.

After the naming, the parents of the child may give a feast if they are rich, but this seems to be now exceptional. After receiving its name, the child is given food for the first time, having been suckled up to this day, but my notes do not

¹ For the nature of the name see Chapter XXVI.

make it clear whether the child is weaned at this time or continues to be suckled.

When the child is shaved, a bone of a bird called *mâtpûl* and a stone procured from the bazaar called *kansutimani* are put round its wrist. The bone is cut into small pieces and strung alternately with pieces of the stone so as to form a kind of bangle. It was said that the child would become ill if this charm were not used, and the name of the stone (*kan*=eye) shows that it is intended to avert the evil eye.

THE TERSAMPTPIMI CEREMONY

This is a ceremony closely connected with the naming of a child, but only performed after the second funeral (*marvainolkedr*) of a Tarthar man. It seemed probable that at one time the name was actually given during the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, but as the *marvainolkedr* of Tartharol now occur only at considerable intervals, it has become the custom to bestow the name in connexion with the ceremony of uncovering the face.

The ceremony of *tersamptpimi* is performed on the day after the funeral, this day being called *karvnol*, and as in the ceremony of naming, the chief part is taken by the child's maternal uncle. The uncle comes to the village where the child is living, bringing a stake of wood of the wild rose¹ called *kadakmân*. He splits the piece of wood into two pieces, each of which is called *ketkark*, and putting the hair of the child between the two *ketkark*, he cuts off a lock. If the child is of the Tarthar division, the hair is cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*,² while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife (*turi*), but both *kanab* and *turi* on this occasion receive the special name of *tersampki*. After cutting the lock of hair, the uncle puts it on one side together with the *ketkark* and the *tersampki*, and if the boy has not already been named, the name is now given by the uncle and a calf promised.

Before this ceremony, the bangle of bone and stone, put

¹ *Rosa Leschenaultiana*.

² Lit. 'eye arrow.'

round the wrist of the child when it was shaved, is taken off and replaced by a piece of creeper called *peival*.¹ After the ceremony the *peival* is removed.

There was some doubt as to what was done with the lock of hair. Mr. Natesa Sastri states² that the hair is carefully preserved, but my informants did not confirm this, and it seemed as if they did not even adopt the precaution of hiding the hair, which is generally practised (see p. 268).

THE EAR-PIERCING CEREMONY

The ceremony of piercing the ears is called *kevi kūtiti*, and may be done at any time from infancy up to even twenty years of age. The ceremony is often delayed until it can be performed for several members of a family at the same time in order to avoid the considerable expense connected with it. The ceremony must be done on a Sunday or Wednesday, and there must be no *kedr* in the clan, *i.e.*, it must not be performed if the funeral ceremonies of a member of the clan are still unfinished.

On the day appointed for the ceremony many guests assemble at the village, and the boys whose ears are to be pierced are dressed in their best clothing. The piercing is performed by two men, one for each ear. One is the mother's brother (*mun*) of the boy, while the other is a man of the division to which the boy does not belong—a Teivali man if the boy is one of the Tartharol and *vice versa*.

The piercing is done with a piece of a small ring, so fine that it is like a needle. The ring used in this way may be of silver or gold, the latter only being used by the richer members of the community.

Each boy then salutes (*kalmelpudithiti*) all those present older than himself, both male and female. Each man as he raises his foot to the head of the boy says :—

<i>Tānenmā,</i>	<i>tārmāmā,</i>	<i>pathk mā,</i>	<i>peda mā,</i>
May it be well,	may it be well,	may he prosper,	may he prosper,
<i>īr anūr ḍl mā,</i>	<i>ār mokh pai mā.</i>		
buffaloes 100 may he rule,	six sons may he have.		

¹ Probably here *pei* = demon (see p. 180).

² *Loc. cit.*

Each man also gives four annas to the boy and each chief Toda may give one rupee.

The salutation of their elders seems to be conditional on this gift of money. One of the most recent cases in which the ceremony has been performed was when the ears of six of the sons of Tikievan of Kuudr and his brothers (56) were pierced. On this occasion Tikievan refused to take any money from those present, and the boys only saluted those men who had celebrated the occasion by giving buffaloes to their father.

As the *kalmelpudithi* salutation was omitted, the words given above as usually said by each person were on this occasion said collectively by all present while the six boys bowed down their heads to the ground. The ears of these boys were pierced by Teikudr (63), the first cousin of Sulnir, the mother of the boys, but regarded according to the Toda system as elder brother of the mother.

The representative of the Tartharol who pierced the other ear was Pidrvan (9), probably chosen because he was one of the oldest and most influential of the Todas who lived at Pakhalkudr, not far from Peivòrs, the home of the boys.

After the ceremony all those present receive two balls of the food called *ashkkartpimi*, even a young child receiving his two balls of food. Each person then makes a hole in his food, into which ghi is poured, and all eat, washing their hands afterwards in water brought from the *ars nipa*.

Only the ears of boys are pierced, and a boy may not enter upon the more sacred offices of the dairy till this ceremony has been performed. Among the Teivaliol, he cannot become *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*, but he may be *palikartmokh*. Among the Tartharol, a boy cannot become *palikartmokh* at any kind of dairy till the ear-piercing ceremony has taken place.

In the case of the ceremony for the sons of Tikievan I inquired into the actual expenses of the day. These were as follows :—

grain	17 rupees
jaggery	10 „
rice	7 „
10½ <i>kudi</i> of ghi . . .	21 „
tobacco and salt . . .	2 „

amounting to 57 rupees.



On the other hand, six buffaloes were given to Tikievan ; two by the Badaga Monegar of Tuneri ; one each from Perner and Tebner (68), whose daughter Sinmikh had married Piliagar, one of the boys. The other two buffaloes were given by Teikudr, the uncle of the boys who had taken part in the ear-piercing.

Several of these buffaloes were either given in return for buffaloes which Tikievan had previously given, or Tikievan would be expected to give buffaloes in return when any suitable occasion arose in the families of the donors.



CHAPTER XV

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

THE funeral ceremonies of a Toda may be prolonged over many months. Soon after death the body is burnt and the general name for the ceremony on this occasion is *etvainolkedr*, the first day funeral (literally, "first which day funeral"). After an interval which may vary greatly in length, a second ceremony is performed connected with certain relics of the deceased which have been preserved from the first occasion. The rites on this occasion are more elaborate than at the *etvainolkedr*. The Toda name for this second funeral ceremony is *marvainolkedr*, the second day funeral, or "again which day funeral." The final scene, in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried, takes place before daybreak on the morning following the *marvainolkedr*, and this part of the ceremony is known as *azaramkedr*, the name being derived from the *azaram*, or circle of stones within which the final cremation takes place.

The funeral ceremonies are open to all and visitors are often invited by the Todas. In consequence, the funeral rites are better known, and have been more frequently described than any other features of Toda ceremonial. Like nearly every institution of the Todas, however, they have become known to Europeans under their Badaga names. The first funeral is called by the Badagas *hase kedu*, the fresh or green funeral, and the term 'green funeral' has not only become the generally recognised name among the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills, but has been widely

adopted in anthropological literature. The second funeral is called by the Badagas *bara kedu*, the 'dry funeral,' and this term also has been generally adopted. I never heard these terms used by the Todas themselves, who always spoke of the *etvainolkedr* and the *marvainolkedr*, though it seemed that the first funeral might sometimes be called *karchokedr*, which probably means fresh or green funeral.

The funeral ceremonies have undergone some modification in recent times owing to the intervention of the Government. Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person. This has had most influence on the second funeral ceremonies, which, largely owing to this prohibition, are now much less elaborate and prolonged than in former times.

The funeral ceremonies are held at certain appointed places called *kertnòdr*, different for each clan. Sometimes these places are at, or close to, villages where the people are now living; sometimes they are at places which were formerly inhabited; while in other cases, again, there is no evidence that the funeral places have ever been inhabited. In every case, whether inhabited or not, the place where a funeral is held is called a *mad*, the same name as is used for a village.

Each clan has at least two funeral places, one for males and the other for females, and in several cases a clan has more than one funeral place for each sex. Some clans have different places for the two funeral ceremonies, and the Piedrol, who have one outlying branch of their clan at Kavidi in the Wainad, have special funeral places for the first funeral of members of this branch, the second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, being held at the chief funeral place of the clan. Others, again, have a special place for boys who have not passed through the ear-piercing ceremony.

In general, a funeral hut (see Fig. 48) is specially built for the reception of the dead body, this hut being usually erected within a stone circle found at the funeral place. At the funeral of a male, this hut is called *kertnòdrpali* or *neilpali*. It is

left standing after the funeral and may be used on a second occasion if it has not fallen into too great disorder.

Five clans of the Tartharol possess special dairies, each with three rooms which are used as funeral huts. These buildings are habitually or occasionally used as dairies; but when a man of the clan dies his body is laid in the outermost of the three rooms, either on the day of the funeral or for two or



FIG. 48.—FUNERAL HUT ROUND WHICH WOMEN ARE LAMENTING. SEVERAL PAIRS ARE PRESSING THEIR FOREHEADS TOGETHER. THE HUT IS NOT WITHIN A STONE CIRCLE, SHOWING THAT THE FUNERAL IS NOT BEING HELD AT AN OLD FUNERAL PLACE.

three days before it. While a dead body is lying in the dairy, women are allowed to enter the outermost room just as they may go into any other funeral hut, but they may not pass beyond. Men are allowed to enter the middle room, but the innermost room is only entered by the dairyman, who carries on his dairy work as usual.

The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the village. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *nersars* for the first funeral, and *kursars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

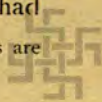
because her funeral was being held at the *kertnòdr* of her father and not at that of her husband.

At every funeral place there should be a second circle of stones forming a *tu*, or buffalo-pen. These pens are now rarely, if ever, used, and are a relic of the time when the ceremonies of the *marvainolkedr* were prolonged over two days, the buffaloes being caught and penned on the first day, and killed on the second. A third ring of stones is the *azaram*, at the opening of which the ashes are buried at the final scene of the funeral rites.

There are specially appointed days for the funeral ceremonies. These days differ to some extent for different clans and for the two sexes. Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday are the most general days for the funerals of males, only two clans having Saturday as a funeral day for men. For females Thursday and Saturday are most frequently chosen, two clans only holding the funerals of women on Tuesdays. In no case could I find that funerals are performed on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. These days are, on the other hand, the most usual days set apart as *madnol* or *palinol*,¹ and villages which have their *madnol* or *palinol* on Sunday or Tuesday do not appear to have their funerals on these days. The general rule is that a funeral must not take place on a *madnol* or *palinol*. In several cases I was told that if the *mani*, or sacred bell, were used, the funeral must be on one day of the week; thus for the Karsol, it must take place on Sunday; for the Kwòdrdoni people, on Tuesday. These obligatory days of the funeral ceremonies often involve the necessity of keeping the corpse for several days.

I did not make special inquiries into ceremonies of the deathbed, but Marshall states (p. 171) that a man who is not expected to recover is dressed in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, which he will wear till he dies or recovers; and Marshall mentions an instance of a man who had revived from what was thought to be his deathbed who paraded about, wearing the finery with which he had

¹ The *madnol* and the *palinol* are sacred days on which certain activities are prohibited (see Chap. XVII).



been bedecked. In this case, it was said that he would be permitted to carry the ornaments till his death. Marshall also states that the relatives give the dying man milk to drink when on the point of death.

After death the body should be wrapped in a dark cloth called *än*, which is of the same material as the *tuni* worn by the *palol* and other dairymen, and, like the *tuni*, is procured from the Badagas of Jakaneri. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom of enwrapping the body in the *än* is now kept up with any regularity. Outside the *än* should be an ornamented mantle (*pukuruputkuli*) and then a mantle of the ordinary kind.

The body of a woman is kept in the hut in which she has died till the day of the funeral, and, with special exceptions, this is also done with the bodies of men.

When a man dies at the village of Nòdrs, his body is taken into the three-roomed *tarvali* and placed on the right-hand bed (*meitiün*) of the outermost room. While the body is lying here, the building is still used as a dairy, but women are allowed to enter the outermost room except when the *palikartmekh* is actually engaged in the business of the dairy. It is only when it is being used as a funeral hut that women are ever allowed to enter a dairy, and then they may only sit on the left-hand bed—the *kitiün*.

On the day appointed for the *etvainolkedr*, the body is carried to the funeral place. In some cases certain ceremonies are performed at the village at which the death has taken place; thus, at Kars, the body of a man is first laid in front of the *kudrpali* and then on one of the two eminences called *imudrikars* (see Fig. 21), which stand near the dairy, and from this it is taken to the other *imudrikars*, and after lying here for a while it is borne to the special funeral village of Taradrkirsi. At Kuzhu, another village of the Karsol, the body is taken from the hut and laid by the side of the stone called *menkars*; then it is taken to a stone called *imudrikars* in front of the *kudrpali*, and laid with the head at the stone and the feet towards the dairy. A buffalo of the ordinary kind (*putiir*) is then milked; the milk is put into a vessel and from this poured into a leaf cup of *kakud* leaves, and

from this cup milk is poured three times into the mouth of the dead man.

In other villages at which there is no *imudrikars*, the body is laid in front of the dairy and fed with milk in the same way.

The body is borne from the village to the funeral place on a wooden bier, called *mānpedrkudr* (wood bier). It is taken by a specially appointed route, and in some cases certain ceremonies are performed by the way. Thus, when the body of a man is taken from Kars to Taradrkirsi, earth is thrown at two places. We shall see shortly that one of the most important features of the funeral of a man is that earth is dug at the entrance of a buffalo pen at the funeral place and thrown on the corpse and into the pen. On the way to Taradrkirsi this is also done at two places, which are probably the situations of the old buffalo pens of villages which have now disappeared. I did not hear of any similar practices for any other clan, but Kars is probably not exceptional in this respect.

Before the body arrives at the funeral place the people will have begun to assemble, and when the funeral procession reaches its destination all those present go one by one to the corpse, bow down by the side of the bier, and touch the body with their foreheads. Those older than the deceased and those related in certain ways (see Chap. XXI) bow down at the head of the corpse. Those younger and those related in certain other ways bow down at the foot. When all those present have saluted, the body is placed in the funeral hut, or in the dairy if the funeral is being held at one of the places where funeral dairies still exist, and late-comers enter the hut or dairy to perform their salutations. As soon as the body is placed in the hut or dairy, the female relatives and friends of the dead person collect round the hut and lament together in the characteristic Toda manner, arranging themselves in pairs and pressing their foreheads together while they wail and weep (Fig. 48).

While this is going on the men are busied in making preparations for the cremation. A place is cleared in a wood near the funeral place—the *methkudi*—and here a pyre is

built of wood, some of which has been brought by the funeral party, while the rest is found near the burning ground. The wood used on this occasion must be of the kind called *kers*¹ and the pyre is built of an oblong shape, rising about three feet above the ground.

The first of the funeral ceremonies is different for the two sexes. At the funeral of a male the ceremony of *puzhutpimi*, "earth we throw," or *kedrpuzhutpimi*, "funeral earth we throw," is performed, while the corresponding ceremony for a woman is to place certain leaves in the armlet on the right arm of the corpse.

THE PUZHUTPIMI CEREMONY

In the *puzhutpimi* ceremony a man digs up a little earth in front of the entrance to the buffalo pen. The digger must belong to the Tartharol, if the dead man is one of the Teivaliol, and *vice versâ*; thus, at the funeral of Pursevan (53)² of Kuudr, the earth was dug by Kedjeri (6) of Nòdrs. In this case the Tartharol were told to send someone to dig, and they selected Kedjeri.

At the funeral of a Tarthar man the earth is first thrown by the *wursol*, who must be, on this occasion, one of the Teivaliol. A Melgars *wursol* may not perform this office. After the *wursol* has thrown earth, it is thrown by certain relatives of the deceased who are present. At a Teivali funeral only the relatives perform this ceremony, no one corresponding to the *wursol* taking part.

Before the people begin to throw earth, one of the dead man's division asks "*Puzhutkina?*"—"Shall I throw earth?" and a man of the other division replies, "*Puzhut!*"—"Throw earth!" At the funeral of Pursevan a Teivali man asked the Tartharol in this way, and the Tartharol responded. At this funeral earth was thrown by the following: Punatvan (53), a younger brother of the dead man; Kuriolv and Piliar (52), Pöteners (54); Targners, Pungusivan and Tevò, the sons of the

¹ *Eugenia Arnottiana*. This is the tree in which the hole is cut at the *pursütöpimi* ceremony.

² This was a *marvainolkedr*, but the rules for the earth-throwing are the same at the first funeral.

dead man, and Pòl, the son of Punatvan. In this case all who threw earth were not only Kuudrol—*i.e.*, of the same clan as the dead man—but were also of the same family, so that their relation to one another can be traced in the genealogies. Kuriolv, Piliar and Pöteners would all have called Pursevan "*aia*," or father, and were first cousins once removed according to our system of kinship. I do not know whether the earth-throwing is usually limited to the nearer relatives in the same clan. The family to which Pursevan belonged was unusually numerous, and it is probable that in most cases other families of the clan are called upon to take a part.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse¹ the earth was thrown into a circle made of rough stones laid upon the grass with an opening on one side, and Mr. Thurston² records a similar case in which the earth was thrown into a circle of stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been constructed for the occasion. This is probably done when the funeral is held at a place where there is no *tu*, and it is possible that these funerals were not being held at regular funeral places of the clan, and that the circles of stones were intended to represent buffalo pens. At the funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse the 'priest' handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to the stick with which they turned up the earth.

Each man, as he throws, kneels down, facing the opening of the pen, and then bows down so that he touches the earth with his forehead, many saying "*Swami*" as they do this. Three handfuls of earth are thrown into the pen, and then three handfuls are thrown backwards on the corpse, the man standing up as soon as he has done this. Each man covers his head with his cloak before he throws, as shown in Figs. 49 and 50.³

¹ *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 274.

² *Bull.*, 1901, iv., p. 12.

³ These photographs were obtained from Messrs. Wiele and Klein, and I do not know the place or nature of the funeral which they illustrate, but there is no indication of a pen in the picture; they probably represent throwing earth at the entrance of a former pen. There is such a place at Taradrkirsi, the male funeral place of the Kars clan. Here earth is thrown by the side of a wood where the forest has grown over the site of an old *tu*.

Fig. 50 shows the special action employed in throwing backwards, the hand being turned inward.

The earth-throwing ceremony is one of several funeral rites, in which men of one division take part in funerals belonging to the other division. Thus, at a Tarthar funeral



FIG. 49.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. IN THE CENTRE IS THE CORPSE. THE FOREMOST MAN ON THE LEFT IS KNEELING DOWN PREPARATORY TO THROWING EARTH.

the earth is dug by one of the Teivaliol; the Tartharol then ask for permission to throw the earth, and the permission (or order) is given by the Teivaliol—*i.e.*, those who have dug the earth have to give the word that the earth may be thrown.

THE TIVERI TÛR CEREMONY

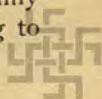
At the funeral of a woman no earth is thrown, but a ceremony is performed which is said to correspond to it. A woman goes in search of the leaves of the *tiveri* plant,¹ the leaves being called *tiveri tûr*. The woman who plucks the leaves must be the *motvilth* (daughter-in-law) of the dead



FIG. 50.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. THROWING EARTH BACKWARDS ON THE CORPSE.

woman, but if it is a child who is dead the leaves are plucked by the mother-in-law or potential mother-in-law. If a dead woman has no daughter-in-law, it was said that her daughter might pluck the leaves, but at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), a childless woman, the leaves were sought and plucked by Naburveli, the wife of Mushkers (28), who would have called the husband of Kiuneimi "brother," being of the same family and generation, although only his second cousin according to

¹ *Atylosia Candollei*.



our system of kinship. In this case, therefore, the leaves were plucked by a sister-in-law, or, more strictly, by the wife of the 'brother' of the dead woman's husband. In this case both Kiuneimi and Naburveli were daughters of Nòdrs men, but this was probably only a coincidence.

At the funeral of Kiuneimi, Naburveli was accompanied by a man and by another woman, but it was quite clear that they would on no account be allowed to touch the leaves, which must be plucked by the daughter-in-law or other relative who is performing the ceremony. When found, the *tiveri* leaves are put by the woman in the armlet on the right arm of the dead woman. Then the men present say to the woman :—

" Parthùl	ütchka,	tiveri	tûr	parch	pudthka?"
In the armlet	is it put,	tiveri	leaves	plucking	have you come ?

and the woman replies :—

" Tiveri	tûr	parch	pudthpimi,	parthùl	ütchpimi,
Tiveri	leaves	plucking	we have come,	in the armlet	we have put,
ir	patz !"				
the buffalo	catch !				

The woman thus announces that this ceremony has been completed, and that they may proceed to the next event of the funeral rites, that of catching the buffalo.

The *tiveri tûr* ceremony of a woman's funeral was said to correspond to the earth-throwing ceremony of a man's funeral, but this correspondence may only mean that each is the first of the actual funeral ceremonies. Since, however, a woman belongs to the clan of her husband, the leaves are always put into the armlet by a woman of the same clan as the deceased. In this respect the ceremony resembles that of earth-throwing, but my informants laid stress on the fact that the ceremony should be performed by a *motvilth* or other relative-in-law, and no reference was made to the fact that they would be of the same clan. This makes it probable that there is no real correspondence between the two ceremonies.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE BUFFALOES.

The next stage in the proceedings is the catching and killing of the buffalo or buffaloes. At the present time the Todas are only permitted by the Government to kill two of these animals, and if the family of the dead person is poor only one may be killed. At the funeral of a man it is customary that one of the animals killed shall be an ordinary buffalo (*putiir*) and the other a sacred buffalo; one of the *pasthir* in the case of the Teivaliol, and usually one of the *wursulir* in the case of the Tartharol. At least one sacred buffalo must be killed at one or other funeral ceremony for every man, but this may be done either at the *etvainol*- or the *marvainolkedr*. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, never at those of women.

When it was the custom to slaughter more than two buffaloes, there was often a rule that these should be of certain kinds; thus, at Nòdrs, it was once the custom to kill seven buffaloes at a man's funeral—viz., two *wursulir*, two *putiir*, and one each of the following kinds: *nashperthir*, *pineipir*, and *persasir*.

If the family possess no sacred buffalo, they must procure one by exchange, and it is customary to give two ordinary buffaloes for one of the sacred kind.

There is a definite spot appointed for the slaughter of each kind of buffalo. The ordinary buffalo is usually killed near the funeral hut, and sometimes there is a stone marking the spot at which the animal is to die. The *wursulir* are killed at a place usually marked by a stone called *teiks*. In cases where there is no stone the spot is marked by a wooden post (see Fig. 51), which has the same name, and I was told that it should be made of teak.¹

In some cases there are other appointed stones or unmarked spots where buffaloes of other kinds are slaughtered; thus, at Nòdrs there are seven stones, at each of which a

¹ If the word *teiks* is the same as that of teak wood it would make it probable that the buffalo was formerly killed by the side of a wooden post and that the use of a stone is secondary.

buffalo used to be killed, and the people of Pan have two stones called *teiks*, one for each division of the clan.

The catching of the buffalo is one of the most exciting incidents of a Toda funeral. When only one or two buffaloes are to be killed it is usual to take about four buffaloes from the village of the dead person to the neighbourhood of the funeral place. When the preliminary ceremonies are over, all those who are attending the funeral move towards the place



FIG. 51.—THE WOODEN 'TEIKS' AT INIKITJ.

at which the buffaloes are standing, while several of their number are chosen to catch the appointed animal or animals. At the same time, the buffaloes, which are usually standing in some hollow so that they cannot be seen from the funeral place, are driven towards the people. As soon as they appear the appointed men drop their cloaks and race to meet the buffaloes. The buffaloes are driven on from behind in a more vigorous manner than that to which they are accustomed, are more or less infuriated, and often rush wildly about in their efforts to

avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences.

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among the younger and more agile of the community, but at an important funeral the older and more experienced men may undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for the adroitness with which they perform the feat.

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is not satisfactory.

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

may return to the dairy of its own accord at the proper time.

At one funeral at which I was present the buffalo was so alarmed or so infuriated by the proceedings that it lay down and absolutely refused to move, and the efforts of all present were insufficient to drag the animal to the slaughtering place. This incident will be described more fully later, but I mention it here to show that it may often be difficult to drive the buffalo, and that the unaccustomed vigour with which the animal is beaten may have a natural and not a ceremonial reason.

Before the buffalo is killed two things have still to be done. A bell or its substitute has to be hung on the neck of the buffalo, and butter rubbed on its back, head and horns.

If one of the *wursulir* is to be killed there is hung on its neck the sacred bell called *mani*, while the ordinary buffalo or *putiir* is given only the *kwungg* or household bell. A *mani* may also be used for the varieties of sacred buffalo called *nashperthir*, *persasir*, &c. Probably at one time there was a *mani* for each kind, but some of the sacred bells have been lost, and it is only in some clans that a bell can now be used. Those clans which have no *mani* do not use an ordinary bell, but they tie the sacred buffalo to the *teiks* by means of a piece of the creeper called *kakhudri*, about two yards in length. This is the case with all the Teivaliol except the people of Piedr and with the Melgarsol among the Tartharol. The *kakhudri* is said to be used in place of the *mani*.

The details as to the use of the *mani* differ somewhat in different clans. The Nòdrs people have two *mani*, called Kòdj and Kagur, which are now kept at Òdr. When a Nòdrs man dies these bells are fetched from Òdr by the *wursol* and one is hung on the neck of one of the *mersgursir* and the other on the neck of one of the *nashperthir*.¹ After the *etvainolkedr* these bells are kept outside the conical dairy at Nòdrs in a special hole in a stone called *karsalb*. The people of Kars similarly take their *mani* to Taradrkirsi for the

¹ Owing to the fact that the Nòdrs people do not kill both of these kinds of buffalo at one funeral at the present time, they now only bring one of the two bells from Òdr.



FIG. 52.—LEADING THE BUFFALO TO BE KILLED.



first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are completed.

Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthenware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to the *kudeipir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan). It is dug up by the Teivali *palikartpol* and given by him to a Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head between the horns. This should be done by a man of the same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *îrkipti*. It is done by striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe (*masth*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in some cases more are necessary. The *wursulir* are killed by the *wursol* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same division as the deceased, but of a different clan. Certain clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo; thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr man a member of one of the other clans performs this function. Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol. At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing might also be done by a man of Päm or Nidsi. Each buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiks* at which the *wursulir* are killed is at some distance from the funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot lest she should see the sacred bell.

Though there is no definite landmark for the killing of the *putiir*, each buffalo is killed at an appointed spot; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 392), the buffalo at the *etvainolkedr* was killed on the left-hand side of the funeral hut.

As soon as the buffalo is felled, the corpse is brought up and placed by the head of the dying animal (Fig. 53). At the funeral of a man, the covering of the body is unfolded and the right hand of the dead man is made to clasp one of the horns. At the funeral of a woman, the body is laid with its feet by the



FIG. 53.—THE CORPSE BY THE HEAD OF THE DYING BUFFALO.

mouth of the buffalo.¹ At the funeral of a Pan man, Kwoten's ring is placed on the finger of the deceased before his hand is made to clasp the horn. Then the men present come to the buffalo and salute it by bowing down and placing their foreheads on the horns and on the head between the horns.

The people then group themselves round the buffalo and corpse and cry together by placing forehead to forehead so that their tears and cries mingle. In the case of the sacred

¹ Some observers have stated that the feet of the corpse are placed within the mouth of the buffalo, but I could not confirm this.

buffalo, wearing the *mani*, this circle is composed of men only. The lament¹ usually consists in calling first the name of the buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name, but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry :

“ *Pundrsia*, *en potch aia ivanersia*, *en potch aia*
O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia*, except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination ‘*ia*.’

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, “*en mokh ūpa*”; for an elder brother, “*en potch anna*”; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry “*iza kughia*,” and for a husband a woman cries “*iza mokhia*” (*iza* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

Within the group of mourners there is much going hither and thither. After two people have mourned together for a while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithi* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

¹ More elaborate laments are given on pp. 385-8.



FIG. 54.—SALUTING THE DEAD BUFFALO.



form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed which is known as *kachütthti*¹ (*kach*, cloth, *ütthti* or *ütiti*, he

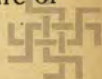


FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception² has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

¹ This ceremony is also called *kachpütchpimi*.

² Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.



Toda funerals. It takes place in the middle of a crowd, who gather round the corpse possibly while the lamentation is still going on or while other ceremonies are in progress. In the first funeral I witnessed the ceremony took place while dancing was going on, and I missed it entirely, though I was told afterwards that it had taken place as usual, and was able to obtain the names of the chief actors.

In the ceremony of *kachüttthti*, a man belonging to the clan of the deceased gives a cloth to one of his *paiol*, or brothers-in-law. The latter gives the cloth to his wife or wife's sister, or to some woman whom he would be allowed to marry, and the woman places the cloth on the corpse. The man who originally gave the cloth then takes it from the body and gives it to another *paiol*, and the ceremony is repeated till the cloth has been given to all the *paiol* present.

The man who gives the cloth should belong to the same clan as the dead person. At the funeral of a male, the proper person is the father of the deceased, if he is alive, or some other elder of the clan. At the funeral of a woman, a man of the clan of the woman's husband is chosen. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3 and 28), a widow of Kanòdrs, the cloth was given by Neratkutan (28), who was of the same family as the husbands of the dead woman and the eldest representative of their generation. At the funeral of Sinerani (52), the cloth was given by Tebkudr (68), who was the younger brother of the father of Keinba, the husband of the dead child.

The men called *paiol*, to whom the cloth is given, seem to include all those who have married women of the same clan as the giver of the cloth. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi the cloth was given to Pepob (44) of Melgars, and to Nelkush and Tevò (3) of Nòdrs, who had all married women of Kanòdrs.

At the funeral of Sinerani, the cloth was given to Kuriolv (52), who was the father of the dead child, not, however, for this reason, but because he was the husband of Sintharap, Tebkudr's sister. At this funeral the only other man to whom the cloth was given was Piliag (52), who received it in the place of his brother, Piliar (52), who was not present. The latter, like Kuriolv, was the brother-in-law of Tebkudr (68).

If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,¹ and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present. Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-kedr* of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52) to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife, if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife, who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the dead body.

The father of each woman who places the cloth on the body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth-rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachiitthti*, the men who have married into the family of the dead person have to perform this ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth-giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

¹ The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister (see Chapter XXI).

man of certain fees from those members of other clans who have married into the family.

The cloth used is a red loincloth of a kind which is never worn by the Todas, but, so far as I could ascertain, it is only an ordinary cloth procured in the bazaar.

THE CREMATION

After the *kachiütthti* ceremony the body is replaced on the wooden bier and borne to the *methkudi*, where the funeral pyre has been erected within the wood, usually at no great distance from the funeral hut.

The bier is laid by the side of the pyre, and the dead person is then supplied with the various necessities for the other world. Many of the things are placed in the large pocket, or *kudsh*, between the two folds of the cloak in which the body is enclosed.

The things supplied are chiefly food, ornaments, and money. The food includes grain, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey. Some of the food is put directly into the *kudsh*, while some of the grain, rice, and honey are mixed together and put in a metal bowl. Tobacco, coconuts, ghi, or articles of food from the bazaar may be added.

A number of square boxes made of rattan and called *pettei*¹ are also placed on the bier. They are procured from Mitur in the Wainad, and are often called *miturpettei* or *mitudpettei*. Jaggery and other things are put into each of the boxes, and they are covered with cloth, tied with thread, and adorned with cowries.

The ornaments placed on the corpse included rings for the fingers, armlets, necklaces, and earrings.

The money is collected from all present and put in rolls into long purses, called *tinkani*. Most of the money used for this occasion is old with Arabic inscriptions and is known by the Todas as *irajkars*, the more recent coinage being called *englishkars*. In one collection of coins which

¹ At the *azaramkedr* (see p. 381) these boxes are only burnt at a woman's funeral, their place at a man's funeral being taken by bamboo vessels called *wak*. This is probably also true of the *etvainolkedr*.

I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and among the more recent coins were included two Japanese yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral of a man this must be done by means of fire made by friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"Kedr	tūtth	tâzâr	mud	tirk	tûkitth	tâthi."
Funeral	fire	over	three	times	lifted	must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tūtth tâzâr tûkitth kûrs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed and redistributed to those who had given them. The people told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face downwards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall¹ and Walhouse² thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston and myself the body was put on the fire with the face upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that if this were not done, the dead person would have to make the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set towards his future abode.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.

² *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.



At some time during the day, Kotas will have arrived, some to act as musicians (Fig. 56), others to take the flesh of the slaughtered buffaloes. The musicians play on their instruments, which may include a clarionet, a drum, tambourine, and brass horn, though usually I saw only the clarionet and drum. The musicians become especially active while the body is consuming. The other Kotas, who carry sharp sticks on which to carry away the flesh, begin to cut up the



FIG. 56.—KOTAS PLAYING MUSIC AT A TODA FUNERAL.

buffaloes as soon as the people have left the neighbourhood of the funeral hut. On more than one occasion I noticed Tamil women sitting not far from the funeral scene, and was told that they had come to buy some of the flesh from the Kotas, and I believe that it is not unknown for the flesh to find its way to the bazaar at Ootacamund.

Before the body is finally placed on the fire, a lock of hair is cut from the head to serve as one of the relics for the second funeral. It is cut by a near relative of the dead person; in the case of Sinerani, it was cut off by her boy-

husband. According to Breeks,¹ one of the nails should also be removed, but I could not hear of this being done at the present time, and similarly I heard nothing of the practice of keeping the knee-cap bone, which is said by Hough² to have been preserved. When the burning is over, a piece of the skull is sought from among the ashes, and this, together with the hair, is put within two pieces of bark and wrapped in a cloak to be kept for the *marvainolkedr*.

The remainder of the ashes are left on the burning-ground till they are dispersed by wind and rain.

SOME SPECIAL FUNERAL CEREMONIES

In the previous account certain ceremonies which may be performed by special individuals have been omitted. In general, at the funeral of a man, the part of chief mourner and director of the ceremonies is taken by a brother or son of the deceased. At the funeral of a woman the husband takes the chief place.

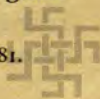
While the mourning is going on, a ceremony will have been performed if the dead person should be a man or woman whose spouse is still alive. The husband of a dead woman goes to one of his *paiol*, most commonly to his father-in-law, if he is living, and the *paiol* draws up the cloak of the widower so that it covers his head. The man who has his head covered in this way is called *mad âr mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands" (see Fig. 61). The widower keeps his head covered in this way as a sign of mourning and does not take off the cloak till the end of the second funeral. When the *paiol* has arranged the cloak of the mourner, the two men cry together with forehead to forehead.

Similarly the wife of a dead man has her cloak drawn over her head as a sign of mourning, and this is done for her by her own father or someone of his clan who takes his place. This ceremony is performed by a relative of the woman, whether it is husband or wife who is dead.

It is the duty of the widower or widow to mix the grain and honey which is put into a bowl on the bier.

¹ P. 21.

² Letters on the Neilgherries, 1829, p. 81.



Other special ceremonies fall to the lot of the *mokhthodvaiol* or *sedvaitazmokh* of the dead person if there should be such. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman is the recognised lover whom she may have in addition to her husband or husbands. The *sedvaitazmokh* is the name of the woman in this Toda institution. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a dead woman goes to the funeral wearing his ring on the ring finger of the left hand. Before the buffalo is caught he pays the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father of the woman; bows down before him and raises each foot to his head. He then puts into the pocket of the cloak of the woman some limes, three handfuls (*mudteir*) of *patcherski* and one large piece of jaggery. He also puts a piece of the dark cloth called *än* into the pocket of the cloak, this act being called *än kudshk it pudithti*. The *mokhthodvaiol* asks the husband of the woman three times "*än kudsh idukina?*" ("Shall I put *än* into the *kudsh*?") and the husband answers each time "*idu!*" In putting the various things into the pocket, the *mokhthodvaiol* has to use his left hand throughout.

When a man dies his *sedvaitazmokh*, if there be one, goes to the funeral ceremony wearing a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, and similarly puts limes, grain, jaggery, and a piece of *än* into the pocket of the dead man's mantle. Before doing this the brothers of the dead man do *kalmelpudithti* to the father of the woman, and this was said to be done in order to obtain permission from him for his daughter to put things into the cloak.

At the funeral of a girl, or of a childless woman, there are performed the ceremonies of *urvatpimi* and *pursütpimi* which are usually performed during pregnancy. In life the *urvatpimi*, or hand-burning ceremony, is performed before that of *pursütpimi*, but after death the order may be reversed. These ceremonies are most frequently performed at the funerals of children, and a full description may be reserved till a later section (see p. 391).

In the case of an adult the ceremony is only performed if it has not been performed in life. If a woman dies in the later months of pregnancy after these ceremonies have taken place, they would not be performed at the funeral.

If an unmarried boy dies, a girl who should be the *matchuni* of the dead boy, is chosen to act as his wife. It seemed that the girl might be of any age, but she must be unmarried, and therefore must nearly always be young. One of the elder brothers of the dead boy performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithi* to the girl's father, or if there are no brothers this will be done by the boy's father. The head of the girl is then covered with her mantle by her father and the girl puts food into the pocket of the mantle of the dead boy. Thus, there is no *pursütpimi* ceremony in the case of an unmarried boy, but a girl is chosen to act as his widow would have done if he had been married.

At the funeral of a Teivali or Melgars male who has not held any dairy office, a piece of *tudr* bark is placed in the right hand of the deceased by a man of the Tartharol. Every male of the Teivaliol or Melgarsol who has been a dairyman of any grade will have been purified with *tudr* bark during the ordination ceremonies, and the piece of bark is only given after death to those who have not been so purified.

THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE TWO FUNERALS

As soon as the body is consumed at the *etvainolkedr*, the people go home, the near relatives taking with them the relics of the deceased. These relics are enclosed in two pieces of bark called *pitüdri*, taken from the tree called *mütmän*. I was once told that *tudr* bark was used, but this is unlikely. The relics and bark are covered with plain cloth, and the whole is enclosed in a mantle of the kind ordinarily worn.

The relics, which are known as the *kedr*, are not taken to the chief village (*etudmad*) of the clan, but to other villages, usually to a definitely appointed village for each clan. If the clan should only have one village, or if the appointed village should be inconveniently distant, a small hut may be especially built in which to keep the relics till the second funeral. The near relatives of the dead person may not go to the chief village in the interval between the first and second funerals. If they are living at the chief village at the time of the death,

they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *puzhut*, and incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—i.e., they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *puzhut*.

During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

clan in which the death has occurred must tie their hair in a knot in front, as is shown in the case of the second man in Fig. 61. This method of wearing the hair is called *mad tutvai*, or "head (or hair) who rolls." When the people of a clan are in this condition they must not hold any of the feasts in which the food called *ashkkarthpimi* is used, but they may attend as guests at feasts held in the villages of other clans.

A person who is keeping the funeral ceremonies should not traverse the path by which the *ti* buffaloes go from one grazing ground to another. The ostensible reason why the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* did not journey to Anto at their usual time in 1902 (see p. 131) was that Teitnir, whose wife had died, had passed over the road. The *ti* buffaloes, also, may not pass a place where the relics of a dead person are being kept between the two funerals. In 1902 the relics of the dead wife of Teitnir were removed from the village of Karia in order that they should not be in the way of the buffaloes. On this occasion the relics were followed by a procession of people and Teitnir gave a feast. This was said to be very unorthodox, and on cross-examination it was found that the procession and the feast were not connected with one another, the latter being part of another ceremony which was being performed on the same day.¹

There are special regulations for widowers and widows—*i.e.*, for those who have their heads covered at the *etvainolkedr*. While they wear the mantle over the head they must never put out their hand or arm from above the mantle, but always from below. When they salute by raising the hand to the forehead (*kaimukhti*), they must do so by putting out their hand below the cloak, and in eating and all other acts they must do the same. When the mantle is over the head, it is probably most convenient to put the hand out of the mantle from below rather than from above, but it was quite clear that it was now regarded as wrong to do the latter.

¹ This experience gave me a very striking object-lesson, showing how easy it is to make mistakes in anthropological investigation. The first account given to me seemed to make it absolutely clear that the removal of the relics was made the occasion of a feast.

When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatznol*.

The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

hills, Tersveli, the wife of Teitnir, died while Sintagars was in the seclusion-hut after the birth of her first child, and on the morning on which Sintagars went from the *puzhars* to the *aliars* (see p. 327), she visited Karia to salute the *kedr* of Tersveli. Her first act after her period of seclusion was to show her respect to the remains of her dead relative. If anyone is too ill or feeble to visit the village the remains may be taken to them for salutation.



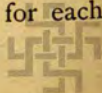
CHAPTER XVI

FUNERAL CEREMONIES—*continued*

THE MARVAINOLKEDR

THE second funeral may be held little more than a month after the *etvainolkedr*, or there may be an interval of a year or more, and in the case of a child both funeral ceremonies may be performed on one day. In the old days the *marvainolkedr* was a great occasion. The proceedings lasted for two whole days, and were prolonged till daybreak of the third. Many buffaloes were slaughtered; they were caught on the first day, when they were shut up in the circular pen and bells put on their necks. On the second day they were taken from the pen to the slaughtering place, and various ceremonies took place in connexion with and after their deaths. This kind of funeral was called *tuiitthkedr*, meaning "the putting in buffalo-pen funeral." In the old days this putting into the pen was sometimes omitted, especially in the case of poor or unimportant people, and the catching and killing of the buffaloes were both carried out on one day, and this kind of funeral was known as *marppitkedr*. At the present time the Todas only have the *marppitkedr*, owing to the restrictions on the number of buffaloes killed. The Todas seem now to believe that the Government have actually prohibited them from putting the buffaloes into the pen at the funerals, but I could not find that this was the case.

It is now the custom, and seems long to have been so, to hold the *marvainolkedr* of several people at the same time. The Government allows two buffaloes to be killed for each



person, and if two or more funerals are held simultaneously it gives an appearance of the olden times. So far as I could ascertain, however, the funerals of two or more people only take place together when they belong to the same clan.

In some cases, however, the funeral places of two or more clans are very near one another. In such a case there might be a certain amount of combination of the different ceremonies, but some of the rites would be carried out at different spots for each clan. Something of this kind appears to have happened at the funeral ceremonies recorded by Mr. Thurston (*Bull.* i., p. 176). Similarly the *marvainolkedr* of a man or woman of the same clan may be held simultaneously owing to the fact that the funeral places for the two sexes are usually close to one another. The buffaloes would, however, be killed at different places, and the remains would not be burnt and buried at the same *azaram*.

Owing to the custom of having the *marvainolkedr* of several people simultaneously, it has often been supposed that the Todas have a kind of anniversary ceremony for all those who have died during the year, but there is no doubt that this is wrong. There was a large *marvainolkedr* soon after I left the hills (in January, 1903), but it was a ceremony for two women only, Narskuti (63 and 56), and Tersveli (63 and 52), both belonging to the Kuudrol, and it was held at Kurkalmut, the proper funeral place for the women of Kuudr. It is quite possible that owing to the restrictions on the slaughter of buffaloes it may become more and more the custom to hold several *marvainolkedr* simultaneously, and that this custom may develop into an anniversary ceremony. This could only come about, however, by throwing over the custom that the funerals of each clan should be held at a definitely appointed place, and there is no doubt that this has not yet happened.

At the second funeral ceremony the relics are placed in a special hut, and at a man's funeral the hut has the same name as at the *etvainolkedr*, and apparently it may sometimes happen that the same hut is used at both ceremonies. The second funeral is not always held, however, at the same place

as the first, and the interval between the two ceremonies may be so great that it may have become necessary to rebuild the hut. At the only *marvainolkedr* at which I was present a new hut had been built for the occasion.

The hut at the second funeral of a woman differs in name from that of the first funeral, being called *kursars* instead of *nersars*. After the second funeral the *kursars* is burnt down, but my notes do not make it clear whether the *nersars* is always burnt down after the first funeral, or whether it may not sometimes be kept for the second ceremony. The difference of name, however, makes this improbable.

If the *marvainolkedr* of two or more people are held simultaneously, a hut is built for the remains of each; thus, at the ceremony in January, 1903, there were two huts, one for Narskuti and the other for Tersveli.

The relics, now called the *narskedr*, are brought to the funeral place on a bier made of bamboo, and called *kailpedrkudr* instead of *mānpedrkudr* (wood bier) as at the first funeral. The *narskedr* is wrapped in an embroidered mantle (*pukuruputkuli*) and placed in the hut, and then all the women of the dead person's division who are present cry together, forehead to forehead, in the usual manner. The chief things to be burnt with the remains are also placed within the hut.

At a funeral witnessed by Mr. Thurston the relics were taken from a hole cut at the base of a tree, and the hair was unwrapped from off the skull, burnt in an iron ladle, and anointed with clarified butter before being placed in its cloth. This was probably a ceremony which should have been performed on the following morning at the *azaramkedr* (see p. 379).

As on the former occasion, a man's funeral begins with the ceremony of earth-throwing, which is carried out in the same way as at the *etvainolkedr*. The *narskedr* is laid at the entrance of the buffalo pen, and earth is thrown into the pen and on the remains in the manner already described. There is nothing corresponding to the *tiveri tur* ceremony of the woman's first funeral.

At the present time the driving, catching, and killing of the buffaloes are carried out in very much the same way as at the

etvainolkedr. At the funerals of Teivaliol the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol and killed by Teivaliol of a clan different to that of the deceased. At the funerals of the Tartharol the buffaloes are caught by Teivaliol, and killed by the *wursol* or by a Tarthar man of a different clan, according as they are of the sacred or ordinary kind.

As the buffalo dies, the *narskedr* is brought up and laid by the head of the animal, and the lamenting and saluting take place around the buffalo and the remains, exactly as at the first funeral.

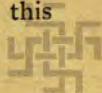
Sometimes a ceremony occurs immediately before the buffalo is caught. A man takes a ring of the creeper called *kakhudri* and throws it at one of the driven buffaloes. It should fall on the horns or neck of one of the buffaloes, but it does not matter whether on a buffalo which is to be killed or on another.

This throwing of the creeper, which is called *kakhudri erspimi*, or *kudri erspimi*,¹ "we throw the creeper," is done by the *wursol* at a Tarthar funeral, while at the funeral of the Teivaliol it is done by a *palikartmokh* of the same clan as the deceased. This ceremony used not to be performed at those funerals which lasted two days, when the buffaloes were shut into a pen on one day and killed on the next, but it should always be performed when the funeral ceremonies are limited to one day. It seems possible that the circular ring of creeper may be intended to represent the act of putting the animals in the circular pen, but the Todas could give me no information on this point. It seemed clear that it is only done at those funerals in which the buffaloes are not put into the pen.

THE KOÒTITI CEREMONY

Among the Tartharol, with the exception of the people of Melgars, a ceremony is performed at the funeral of a male which is called *koòtiti*. In this ceremony blood is used which in the present day is drawn from one of the slaughtered buffaloes, but formerly a special buffalo was killed for this purpose.

¹ *Kùdri* is the generic word for creeper.



According to the old custom the buffaloes were killed about four o'clock in the afternoon. About an hour later another buffalo of the ordinary kind was brought to the funeral place and killed by striking it on the head with a stone, and not with the back of an axe, as in the case of the other buffaloes. It might be killed by any Tarthar man, and then the *wursol* made a cut in the right side of the animal at the part called *kegampkwûdr* (over the ribs near the forelegs). The blood which ran from the wound was received into a cup made of *tudr* leaves, and powdered *tudr* bark was mixed with the blood in the cup. It is to this part of the ceremony that the name *koûtiti* ("blood he takes") is properly applied. At the present time the blood is drawn from one of the buffaloes killed in the ordinary course of the ceremony. However the blood may be obtained, the next step is to bring a female buffalo calf less than one year old. The mantle with which the remains have been covered is taken off, and is worn by a Teivali man who has adorned himself with many ornaments, including those ordinarily worn by women, such as the chain (*tagars*), necklace (*keiveli*), earrings (*kevthveli*), and bracelet (*pulthi*). He also holds a long pole called *tadri*. The remains, which are now covered with a loincloth (*tadrp*) only, are carried by two women to the place where the calf is standing.

The *wursol* and Teivali man then walk to the calf, the former throwing before and behind him as he walks the mixed blood and *tudr* bark from the cup. When the *wursol* comes to the calf he throws down the leaf cup, and the Teivali man then hangs on the neck of the calf a bell of the kind called *tukulir mani*, and, taking a bow and arrow in his hand, he says three times to the Tartharol, "*purs adikina*?"—"Shall I touch with the bow?" Each time the Tartharol reply, "*Purs ad!*" The Teivali man then touches the remains with the bow and arrow. He puts down the *tadri* on the ground, and the calf is driven away from the spot on which it had been standing. As soon as it begins to move all present, Tartharol and Teivaliol, cry out, "*ua! ua!*" and fall down and touch the earth with their foreheads. The bell is then removed from the calf, which is not killed,

but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for another funeral.

The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *ârtûrverutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—i.e., funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narskedr*.

One of the most important features of this *kodtiti* ceremony is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used. The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*.

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnòdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi pona*," "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.¹ It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

¹ See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii. p. 4.

After the buffalo is killed dancing takes place at the funeral of a male. The men only dance and they may begin soon after the killing of the buffalo, while other ceremonies are still in progress. In the dancing the same tall pole (*tadri* or *tadrsi*) is used as is carried by the Teivali man who wears the cloak of the *narskedr*. It is a tall pole which, it was said, might sometimes be as much as 39 feet in length. I only saw a *tadri* at one funeral, when it was much smaller. It is decorated with rings of cowries, which are called *nîrpul*, the ornaments in general being called *tadri asteram* (see Fig. 67).

The pole is procured from Malabar through the Kurumbas. It is used at the funeral of males only of both the Teivaliol and Tartharol, and is burnt at the end of the *azaramkedr*.

In the only dance which I had the opportunity of seeing the men danced within the circular wall surrounding the funeral hut. In this case the floor of the enclosure was below the general level of the ground. The men formed a circle and danced round in slow step; one man said the name of the slaughtered buffalo—in this case, Purkirsi—and another repeated this name; then the first man said "*hau! hau!*" which was repeated by the second man.

After a time one of the men took the *tadri* and they danced round in a similar way, taking the pole with them as they danced (*i.e.*, they did not dance round the pole).

After the dancing is over, food is distributed to all the people present and most return to their homes, while the remainder wait at the funeral place till the following morning, when are held the final ceremonies, which are known as the *azaramkedr*.

THE AZARAMKEDR

This is the name applied to the ceremonies connected with the final burning of the remains and burial of the ashes. After food has been distributed at the *marvainolkedr*, many of those attending the funeral return home. The remainder stay at the spot during the evening, those nearly related to the deceased lamenting in the usual fashion almost continuously. At a funeral attended by Samuel, the people took

the setting of Kadsht and the appearance of Keirt¹ as the indications that the final ceremonies were to begin, and this was about two o'clock on the following morning.

At every funeral place used for the *marvainolkedr*, there is a circle of stones, smaller than that in which the hut is built, with an opening which in some cases faces the east. This circle of stones is the *azaram*, and before the ceremonies begin, a man digs a hole by the opening in its side. The various objects to be burnt with the remains are now brought from the hut in which they had been placed on the previous day, and are laid outside the *azaram* and the *narskedr* is laid by their side. As the remains are removed from the hut, the wailing becomes louder and the people cry bitterly. Outside the stone circle a fire is made of the wood called *kidmän*,² upon which clarified butter is poured. This fire, which is known as the *puntüt*, is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased. At the funeral of a male, there is burnt on this fire the dairy vessel called *ertatpun* which had belonged to the dead man, and the imitation buffalo horns called *petkuter*, about ten in number for a man and five for a boy. At the funeral of a woman, I think that a *majpatitthpun* is burnt, viz., a vessel used for fetching buttermilk from the dairy, but I am not certain of this.

There now follows the ceremony called *narsatipimi*, i.e., "the *nars* we rub," in which the leading part is taken by a person of the same sex as the deceased. I only have a full record of this ceremony at a woman's funeral, and in this case a woman took the relics out of their covering, and threw away the pieces of bark in which they had been enclosed. She rubbed butter on the pieces of skull and the hair, put the hair between two pieces of skull, tied them together with thread, and replaced them in the ornamented cloak (*pukuruputkuli*). She then bowed down and touched the remains with her forehead, and then this salutation was performed by all those present.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Thurston,³ this ceremony was performed on the previous day at the *marvainolkedr*, and in

¹ See Chap. XXV.

² Probably *Olea robusta*.

³ *Bull.*, i. 176.

this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtiüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.¹ In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtiüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntiüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.² Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntiüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkaarhpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the *azaramtiüt*, at the funeral of a male :—

(a) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

¹ As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

² My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntiüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtiüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus.

(b) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi tavat*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*.

(c) A *nanmakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(d) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *kootiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(e) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(f) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(g) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(h) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(i) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *îrkîpmasth*.

(j) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(k) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place.

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there follows the ceremony¹ called *îrsankâti*. At the funeral of a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *azaram*, where they

¹ There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased, the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *azaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water (*kêdr tiit ârs kudrchî*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out¹ and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwungg*) and goes round the

¹ This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

burial-place three times ringing the bell, while another man goes with him holding him by the waist. The man who rings the bell then takes a new pot, ordinarily used for carrying water, and, raising it over his head, brings it down and breaks it on the stone covering the ashes. He bows down and touches the stone with his forehead, gets up, and goes away to the funeral hut without looking back toward the *azaram*. All the others present bow down to the stone in the same way and go away from the spot without looking back. The ceremony of bell-ringing and stone-saluting is called *kwungg túki kârs nersatiti*, "bell lift, stone he salutes."

At the funeral of a woman, the bell is rung and the pot broken by her husband or by one of his brothers if he be dead. If it is the husband, he will have been wearing the cloak over his head¹ up to this time, and he takes it off just before he bows down to salute the stone. At the funeral of her husband, a widow will similarly remove the cloak from her head before she salutes the stone.

After saluting at the *azaram*, all go to the funeral hut, where they take food, having fasted during the night. Each person cuts a lock of hair from the head as a sign of mourning and then all return home.

At the funeral of a woman, the funeral hut is burnt before the people leave, this being called *ars pon atipimi*, "house up we send." It is the duty of the woman who first lighted the *azaramtüt* to set fire to the hut.

The foregoing account of the second funeral ceremonies is that of the proceedings at the present time. When the *marvainolkedr* was prolonged over two days, the proceedings of the first day opened with the capture of the buffaloes, which were put in the pen, and then followed a scene in which the Todas entered the pen, flourishing heavy clubs. The animals were belaboured and driven round and round the pen, and at intervals several men would catch and hold down a buffalo. According to some accounts the bells were hung round the necks of the buffaloes during this performance, but at a funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse² this was not done, and he believed that the

¹ See p. 365.

² *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii. p. 35.

object of the fray was that the men might exhibit their agility and skill. There is little doubt, however, that the bells were put on the buffaloes at some time on this day. The remainder of the first day was occupied with dancing, singing, and feasting. On the second day, the proceedings began again in the middle of the day with more dances and with a repetition of the driving and catching within the pen. In the afternoon, after the earth-throwing ceremony, the buffaloes, now wearied and subdued, were dragged from the pen and killed, and then followed the ceremonies which have already been described.

At the funeral witnessed by Mr. Walhouse, part of the second day was occupied by the proceedings of a diviner, and divination seems to be a frequent feature of funerals, having been also seen both by Mr. Thurston and myself. In the latter case, the occasion of the divination arose directly out of the proceedings, but it is probable that the gatherings are used as opportunities of consulting the gods on other matters. A funeral may also be used as an occasion for settling disputes, especially those which concern the people especially connected with the funeral.

FUNERAL LAMENTS

At some stage in both funeral ceremonies laments for the dead may be sung or said which consist of sentences praising the virtues of the deceased and recounting incidents of his or her life. To these sentences the same term *kwarzam* is applied which is used for the words and clauses of the prayers. I am not certain at what stage of the proceedings the recital of these laments takes place, but it is certainly after the killing of the buffaloes, probably in many cases during the general wailing round the buffalo and the remains. At the second funeral of a male, however, I believe that the lament is recited during the dancing.

I did not succeed in obtaining any examples during my visit, but soon after my departure Samuel sent me two laments, one composed by Teitnir (52) and uttered by him at the second funeral ceremony for his wife Tersveli. The

other was also composed by Teitnir for the first funeral ceremony of Pidrvan (9) of Kars.

The Toda name for these laments is *kunedstkin* or *kunedsti*, and certain men have great reputations as composers both for funerals and on other occasions, and Teitnir was one of these. The following is the lament for Tersveli:—

<i>Iza</i> O	<i>kūgh</i> woman	<i>ia</i> , ¹ oh !	<i>iza</i> O	<i>kutei</i> , woman,	<i>atāth</i> not born before
<i>atia</i> , you were born,	<i>pervoth</i> renowned	<i>perpia</i> , you were born,	<i>pūv</i> flower	<i>īrsimitch</i> lime	<i>ia</i> oh !
<i>pūv</i> flower	<i>elet</i> (a bush)	<i>ia</i> , oh !	<i>kavath</i> proper husband (?)	<i>kud</i> found	<i>katethik</i> , you married,
<i>patath</i> proper wife	<i>kud</i> found	<i>patiathenk</i> , I married,	<i>tevukhk</i> (<i>kwarzam</i> of Piedr) to	<i>nurs</i> beautiful	
<i>īr</i> buffalo	<i>notei</i> looked	<i>kadrthenk</i> , I gave,	<i>āthkark</i> (<i>kwarzam</i> of Kuadr) to	<i>nurs</i> beautiful	<i>mokh</i> woman
<i>notei</i> looked	<i>patiathenk</i> , I married,	<i>kuteia</i> built	<i>mun</i> house	<i>kutenathuk</i> , we built,	<i>kokiji</i> ² imitation bracelets
<i>kis</i> made	<i>narsiathūk</i> we played,	<i>kūter</i> imitation buffalo horns	<i>kis</i> made	<i>narsiathūk</i> , we played,	
<i>ār</i> six	<i>mokh</i> children	<i>puchiathūk</i> , we would produce,	<i>ār</i> six	<i>īr</i> buffalo	<i>tū</i> pen
<i>odethūk</i> , we would enjoy,	<i>orppasan</i> (?) liberal	<i>oithik</i> you were,	<i>pudrkwad</i> umbrella tree	<i>ners</i> shade	
<i>oithik</i> , you were,	<i>īrom</i> we will live	<i>ed</i> that	<i>ithothūk</i> , we thought,	<i>pukhom</i> we will go together	
<i>ed</i> that	<i>peithūk</i> , we went,	<i>kalav</i> strong	<i>īr</i> buffalo	<i>kadathūk</i> , we bought,	<i>pūa</i> <i>tadri</i> ? pole
<i>pusiathūk</i> we beat,	<i>tudm</i> fine	<i>athi</i> <i>ed</i> it is that	<i>kadrthethūk</i> , we gave,	<i>udi</i> have	<i>athi</i> <i>ed</i> it is that
<i>kadrt thūk</i> , we gave,	<i>kutei ath</i> built	<i>kotei</i> bungalow	<i>peithūk</i> , we went,	<i>keirtith</i> running waters	<i>keir</i> reservoir
<i>peithūk</i> , we went,	<i>ō</i> seven	<i>katcheri</i> courts (law)	<i>peithūk</i> , we went,	<i>ō</i> seven	<i>kapel</i> ships
<i>peithūk</i> we went,	<i>pedrk</i> Tamil to	<i>muri</i> complaints	<i>ituthūk</i> , we spoke,	<i>pash</i> words	<i>it</i> spoke

¹ This is also the usual vocative termination.

² *Kakoji* is the Kota name for a toe-ring worn on the second toe of the right foot by Kota women (see Breeks, p. 123). A similar word is used for bracelets of vine made by the Todas as a game.

<i>puđth</i> prize	<i>kisthúk</i> we won (made),	<i>puđth</i> prize	<i>it</i> spoke	<i>puđth</i> prize	<i>kisthúk,</i> we won,
<i>úkudrem</i> we will not be shaken	<i>ed</i> that	<i>thúk,</i> we said,	<i>kan</i> eye	<i>udjem</i> we will not fear	
<i>ed</i> that	<i>thúk,</i> we said,	<i>mún</i> face	<i>ánem</i> ?	<i>ed</i> that	<i>thúk,</i> we said,
		<i>en</i> me	<i>it</i> here		<i>en</i> me
<i>puđhvínia,</i> keep you went,	<i>en</i> me	<i>it</i> here	<i>puđhvínia,</i> leave you went,	<i>purs</i> right	<i>kan</i> eye
<i>puđhvínia,</i> I shed,	<i>purs</i> right	<i>metúvi</i> nostril	<i>kurseivínen,</i> I smart,	<i>patnenk</i> I bewailed	<i>kanánen,</i> I could not find,
<i>pesoduthenk</i> I called out	<i>kanánen,</i> I could not find,	<i>enk</i> to me	<i>ud</i> one	<i>swâmi</i> god	<i>aivínen.¹</i> I have.

The free translation of this is as follows:—

“O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower, lime, O flower, tree. Having found a proper husband you married; having found a proper wife I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuodr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me.”

This translation is based partly on the literal meanings of the *kwarzam*, partly on explanations and renderings given to Samuel by Teitnir. The dead wife was a Piedr woman and the husband a Kuodr man. The mention of injustice refers

¹ In some cases Samuel could not give the literal meanings, and has only given the general sense of the *kwarzam*.

to trouble which arose when other men wished to take his wife from Teitnir. The visits to bungalows, &c., probably refers to a time when Teitnir and his wife lived in Ootacamund under the protection of the Zenana Mission. The ships must be purely imaginary on Teitnir's part, unless he is referring to boats on the lake at Ootacamund. The numbers six and seven are those generally used for 'many' under ordinary conditions, and there is a clause towards the end which probably refers to the evil eye. Teitnir was under, or pretended to be under, missionary influence, and his reference to "one God" at the end is certainly due to this.

The following is the lament composed by Teitnir for Pidrvan :—

<i>Epukers</i>	<i>ia!</i>	<i>elipukers</i>	<i>ia!</i>	<i>Pedth</i>	<i>tedshk</i>
<i>Kwarzam of mair</i>	oh !	<i>kwarzam of mair</i>	oh !	rattan	ring
<i>ir</i>	<i>ia!</i>	<i>Pekh kudeik</i>	<i>ia!</i>	<i>peivalei</i>	<i>muk</i>
buffalo	oh !	? ?	oh !	? ?	oh !
<i>keiveli</i>	<i>mêdr</i>	<i>ia!</i>	<i>kapasth</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>ia!</i>
necklace	neck	oh !	trousers	leg	oh !
<i>âna</i>	<i>metu</i>	<i>ia!</i>	<i>arshan</i>	<i>mudr</i>	<i>ia!</i>
elephant	foot	oh !	European	walk	oh !
<i>nurs</i>	<i>irk</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>âkithenk,</i>	<i>kalochikum</i>	<i>ed</i>
beautiful	buffalo to	eye	I kept,	old woman to (?)	that
<i>thnk,</i>	<i>kaldlkum</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>thnk</i>	<i>inâtvidshti</i>	<i>inâtvan,</i>
they said,	old man to (?)	that	they said,	<i>kwarzam of</i>	Kars clan,
<i>iza</i>	<i>kâra</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>vür</i>	<i>kada,</i>	<i>pûrvunkâra!</i>
O	chief	seven	village	chief,	conqueror oh !
<i>pudrvantol</i> ¹	<i>ia!</i>	<i>kavatâra!</i>	<i>Kavanadi</i>	<i>pali</i>	<i>put</i>
peace-loving man	oh !	strong man oh !	Kavanadi	dairy	carried
<i>oia!</i>	<i>tâ</i>	<i>vut</i>	<i>tûli</i>	<i>ia!</i>	<i>atâth</i>
oh !	pen	carried	posts	oh !	not born before
<i>atithik,</i>	<i>pervoth</i>	<i>ud</i>	<i>pertithik,</i>	<i>pûa</i>	<i>kûtm</i>
you were born,	renowned	one	you were born,	?	council
<i>paneithik</i>	<i>saver</i>	<i>âkithik,</i>	<i>ter</i>	<i>ud</i>	<i>ðlk</i>
you held,	money fine	you imposed,	buffalo fine	one	man to
<i>edstethik</i>	<i>mokh</i>	<i>ud</i>	<i>ðlk</i>	<i>kisethik,</i>	<i>mair</i>
you told,	girl	one	to man	you made,	barren buffaloes
<i>kodtk</i>	<i>peithik,</i>	<i>pfrer</i>	<i>nòdik</i>	<i>peithik</i>	
in the midst	you went,	buffalo	to the neck	you went,	

¹ A play on Pidrvan's name.

<i>puḍr</i>		<i>ḍdichi</i>	<i>peithik,</i>		<i>pan</i>		<i>ertevithik,</i>
chosen number		beat	you went,		chosen number		you ran before,
<i>kal</i>	<i>ḍt</i>	<i>ḍdithik</i>	<i>peiveli pileidik</i>	<i>ninth</i>	<i>ud</i>	<i>kalvi</i>	
leg	dance	you danced	? ?	your	one	new things	
<i>kisethik,</i>	<i>ninth</i>	<i>ud</i>	<i>kek</i>	<i>kisethik,</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>kan</i>	
you made,	your	one	invention	you made,	to-day	eye	
<i>mān</i>	<i>āvini,</i>	<i>Kars</i>	<i>kazun</i>	<i>podstha?</i>	<i>parsners</i>		
face	I saw,	Kars	kazun	has it come?	<i>kwarzam</i>	of <i>kazun</i>	
<i>podstha?</i>	<i>methkūdis</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>kooisivini</i>	<i>āzīratrs</i>	<i>kargh</i>		
has it come?	burning-place at	ashes	heaped,	<i>azaram</i>	at	grass	
<i>patevini.¹</i>							
grew up.							

The first part of this lament begins with the *kwarzam* of the *maiir*, or barren buffalo, slaughtered at the funeral. It is not quite clear which of the clauses at the beginning refer to the buffalo and which to the man. I do not know the meaning of the second clause. The free rendering of the third and fourth was said to be, "Your horns crept so well; your horns crept well to the front." The general sense of the other clauses was said to be as follows: "O, your leg like trousers, your horns like a car, your foot is like that of an elephant, you walk with a step like a European soldier, your appearance is like that of a sambhar. I saw you were the most beautiful buffalo of all." It seems probable that the lament so far refers altogether to the buffalo. Then follows, "They said that you would be the parent of the dead, but now you are dead yourself"; or, "When old people are yet alive, why are young ones taken?" Then follows the *kwarzam* of the Kars clan, and the rest obviously refers to Pidrvan himself: "O chief of many villages, conqueror, peace-loving and yet strong man. You were like Kavanadi, who carried the posts of the buffalo-pen.² O man of wonderful birth, renowned you were born; you held councils; you fined some by money and some by buffaloes; you settled who should marry the women. In

¹ As both these funeral laments were obtained from Samuel, I cannot guarantee that the method of spelling adopted is the same as that used elsewhere in the book; this is especially the case with the sign 'th,' which, in agreement with the practice customary in South India, was used by Samuel for the lingual 't,' and sometimes for a sound for which I have used the letter d.

² For the story to which this refers, see Chapter XXVIII.

the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing."

PURIFICATION CEREMONIES

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*.

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

second funeral, and it is at Òdr that the purification takes place.

Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *azaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnòdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnòdr-vusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *azaram*. If the places for the *etvainol*- and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *azaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nòdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

After a funeral, the members of the Tarthar clans, except the Melgarsol, shave their heads, but this is not done either by the Melgarsol or Teivaliol. I did not inquire fully into this matter, and do not know what regulations there are in connexion with the practice, or whether it is regarded as purificatory.

THE FUNERALS OF CHILDREN

The body of a still-born child is buried at the same time as, and together with, the afterbirth, without any ceremonial. In one case which occurred during my visit, this was done by the woman who assisted at the delivery. The body was buried in the early morning on the day on which the mother underwent the ceremonies attending removal to the seclusion-hut.

If a child less than two years of age dies, both funerals are held on one day. The *etvainolkedr* takes place in the morning, the *marvainolkedr* in the afternoon; a buffalo is killed at each, and the *azaramkedr* is held on the following morning as usual. If the child is very young, less than a month old, a male buffalo only may be killed, but if the father chooses, two buffaloes may be killed as at the funeral of an adult.

Thus, the child of Piliag and Sintagars (52) died while the mother was in the seclusion-hut, and two ordinary buffaloes were killed. On this occasion, the two funerals were held on the same day as that on which the child died, owing to the death having taken place on one of the appointed days for a funeral of the clan. When the youngest child of Podners (47) died, only one male buffalo was killed for both ceremonies.

When a male child dies who has not cut his teeth nor been through the ear-piercing ceremony, the funeral is not held at the usual funeral place for males, but at another. Thus the Karsol do not take the body of such a child to Taradrkirsi but to a place called Punpali.

When I attended the funeral of a girl named Sinerani (52), the daughter of Kuriolv of Kuudr, both ceremonies were performed on the same day, and a number of incidents occurred which were very interesting as illustrations of many of the practices which have been described throughout this chapter. The child was about two years

old and had not yet been betrothed, but as soon as she was dead it was arranged that she should marry her *matchuni*, Keinba (68), a little boy about four years of age, the son of her mother's brother, and this boy occupied a prominent position among those taking part in the funeral rites. Owing to the marriage of the dead child to this boy, the dead child would come to be one of his clan, the Keadrol, and there seemed to be no doubt that, according to strict custom, the funeral should have been held at the funeral place of this clan. Kuriolv, however, arranged that the funeral should take place at Kurkalmut, the funeral place for women of the Kuudrol, but as the girl did not properly belong to this clan the funeral hut was not erected within the circle of stones at this place, but outside it.

The beginning of the funeral ceremonies was delayed for some time because the little boy, Keinba (Fig. 57), had to be taken by his father, Perpakh, in search of the wood and grass out of which to make the bow and arrow to be used in the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and they had to go far to find the proper plants for the manufacture of the mimic weapon.

After this delay the ceremonial took its natural course till the buffalo which had been caught by the Taradr men was being taken to the place appointed for its slaughter by the side of the funeral hut. The people had great difficulty in making the buffalo move, and at last it lay down on a boggy piece of ground, and the efforts of all failed to make it go further. The diviners, Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, were then called upon to ascertain the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo, and then followed the performance which I have already described (see p. 252).

The reasons given by Midjkudr were not very clear, and there seemed to be a good deal of doubt as to what he had really said, but the following appeared to be the chief reasons given :—

The buffalo, Kursi, which had delayed the proceedings, was the property of Kuriolv and was descended from a buffalo which had belonged to Teitchi, Kuriolv's grandfather. Since this buffalo was thus family property, it should go to the sons, and ought not to be killed for a daughter, and especially for

one who now belonged to another clan. Kuriolv ought to have used a buffalo which he had acquired in his own lifetime. Midjkudr went on to say that Kuriolv, having done wrong, must pay compensation to the dead, and told him to give the buffalo named Perov. As a sign that he would do



FIG. 57.—KEINBA AND PERPAKH; THE FORMER IS HOLDING IN HIS HAND THE IMITATION BOW AND ARROW AND HAS HIS CLOAK OVER HIS HEAD.

so, Kuriolv performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of Keinba and also through Sintharap, of the dead girl.

Another reason given was that the buffalo had been caught at the wrong place—viz., at the place where it ought to be

caught at the funeral of a male. I only heard of this reason a few days later, and I do not know whether it was one of the reasons given by Midjkudr or whether it was a later surmise. A third reason was that Perner and Tebner, his brother, had been on bad terms; and to put this right Tebner, the younger, performed the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to Perner.

The next special feature of the ceremony took place after the buffalo had been killed and before the *kachiutthi* ceremony. Keinba knelt down before Kuriolv and Piliag and the two men touched the head of the boy with their feet, thus accepting him as the husband of Sinerani. Then followed the *pursiitpimi* ceremony. The mantle covering the dead child was opened, her right hand unclenched, and Keinba placed the little bow and arrow in the hand, and the fingers of the dead child were closed over the bow so that they held it as they would have done in life. Then the bow was taken out of the hand, placed on the breast of the child, and the mantle was again folded over her. Teitnir, the half-brother of Kuriolv, who had now become the *paiol* of Keinba, came up and covered the head of the boy with his *putkuli* as a sign that he was a widower, and then Teitnir and Keinba put their foreheads together and cried. After crying together for a while, Teitnir touched Keinba's head with his foot. Then Sintharap, the mother of Sinerani, gave grain and jaggery and limes to Keinba, who put them in the pocket of the mantle of the dead child. Sintharap and Keinba then cried together, and Sintharap touched Keinba's head with her foot.

After the cloth-giving ceremony, the body was taken to the burning place, and Keinba mixed honey and grain in a metal bowl; when Keinba began to stir the grain and honey he put his right arm out from above his cloak as usual, but was speedily corrected and made to put out his hand from below the cloak in the manner proper for a widower.

The wrists of the girl were burnt as in the *urvatpimi* ceremony, the burning being done by Silkidz (53), the wife of a younger brother of Perpakh, Keinba's father, and, before her

marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Silkidz also lighted the pyre.

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kuriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

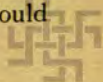
Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainolkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *azaramkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidzeimi (21), the ceremony of *pursütpimi* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matchuni*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidzeimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*pursadikina*?"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Pursad!*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidzeimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

FUNERAL CONTRIBUTIONS

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainolkedr*, it was the rule that every *manmokh*, or sister's son, should



supply a buffalo, while in the case of a child it seemed that buffaloes were sometimes given by the *mun*, or mother's brother.

Buffaloes were also given by the husbands of the daughters of a man, whether they were the *manmokh* of the man or not. They might be given by other relatives, but it seemed that the gift was especially a duty of the *manmokh* and *paiol*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should also contribute a buffalo for her second funeral.

At the present time the limitation of the number of buffaloes which may be slaughtered has removed the necessity for these gifts, but it still remains the custom for one of the buffaloes to be supplied by the *manmokh* or some corresponding relative, or, at any rate, it seems to be usual for one buffalo to be supplied by relatives of a man on the male side, and the other by relatives on the female side; thus, at the funeral of Sinerani (52) one buffalo was given by Kurioly, the father of the dead child, and the other by Perner (68), the father of the child's mother, and also the grandfather of her husband.

Contributions in money may be made by any relative, and all those who have married into the family of the deceased, even if only boys, should contribute eight annas or a rupee towards the general expenses, this custom being called *tinkanik panm útþimi*. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman should contribute at least five rupees to the expenses of the second funeral.

The ceremony of *kachütthti* (see p. 358) also involves a payment from his sons-in-law to a man of the same clan as the dead man. The money is not paid, however, till the woman who places the cloths on the body has attended twenty funerals and is, therefore, probably not paid at all in many cases, but it may be regarded as tribute from those who have married into a family at each death in the family.

The contributions of buffaloes and money from a man to the relatives of his wife are called *pòdri*.

Contributions of food are received from various relatives, who also contribute certain of the objects used for the

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *manmokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle.

Many of the necessities for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased.

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

AMNÒDR

Amnòdr¹ is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world,

¹ This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

and this was given as the reason why the dead used to be burnt face downwards. It will be remembered also that Õn was looking downwards when he saw his son Püv in Amnòdr (see p. 185).

Amnòdr is presided over by the god Õn, who went there after the death of his son Püv, and it is often called Õnnòdr after him, while this world, presided over by the goddess Teikirzi, is known as Inanòdr or Eikirzinòdr.¹ The people of Amnòdr or Õnnòdr are known as the Amatol. Formerly the Todas used to go freely to and fro between Amnòdr and Eikirzinòdr, but this was stopped owing to the behaviour of Kwoto, and since his time only the dead go to Amnòdr and they do not return.

The Amatol live in much the same way as the inhabitants of this world. They have their buffaloes and their dairies, and the daily life of the people appears to be much like that of the living Todas. As the people walk about, however, they wear down their legs. They have to walk every day, and when a man has worn down his legs as far as the knees Õn sends him back to this world as another man.

Õn will not allow any pigs or rats to enter Amnòdr, as they would root up and spoil the country.

Dead people travel to Amnòdr by well-defined routes, which are different for Tartharol and Teivaliol, while the Taradrol have a separate Amnòdr for their clan.

The dead do not set out for Amnòdr till after the second funeral, taking with them the things burnt at the *azaramkedr*. Both Tartharol and Teivaliol journey westwards towards the Kundahs and cross the Pakhwar or Avalanche river at the same spot.

The paths for the two divisions then diverge. The Tartharol go by a place called Katchâr, while the Teivaliol go by Kusheigûdr, situated by the bridle path now leading from Avalanche Bungalow to Avalanche Top. Whenever a Teivali man passes this spot for the first time he throws three stones called *oviônîkârs*. Similarly, a Tarthar man passing Katchâr for the first time throws three stones in

¹ This is one of several instances in which the initial *t* of a word is omitted in compound forms.

the same way. At the top of the hill there is a spot at which every Toda salutes (*kaimukhti*) in all directions.

The two paths meet again at a stone called Nidzmûtkârs (hot knock stone). When the dead Todas reach this stone they knock on it, and in so doing lose all their love of this world. They proceed and reach the stone called Panîpikârs, on which also they knock, and by so doing lose all their diseases and become strong again, so that they are sound and vigorous when they reach Amnòdr.

After knocking on Panîpikârs, the dead pass a wood called Katiârnpül, in which there is a tree called *main*, and as they go they make a cut on this tree with the *kafkati* or knife burnt with them, and Todas who pass by Katiârnpül on the day after a funeral have often seen the newly made cut on the *main* tree. For women there is another place in the wood called Patkadipem, and here the woman pounds with the *wask* burnt at her *azaramkedr*.

On proceeding the dead Todas come to a ravine and river called Püvûrkin, near Sisapara. Across this river there is a thread bridge, and those who have been bad Todas during life fall into the river and are bitten by leeches (*püv* or *püf*). The people who cross the thread bridge successfully go straight to Amnòdr, but those who fall are helped out of the river by the people of Padrmukhteir (crowd plain swamp), who belong to all tribes and live on the further bank of Püvûrkin. The people of Padrmukhteir may keep the offending Todas in their country for some time. The greater their offences, the longer are they kept, but all, however bad, reach Amnòdr sooner or later.

The following are the people who fall into Püvûrkin:—(a) the *karainol*, selfish people; (b) the *kashtvainol*, jealous and grudging people; (c) the *kaspivainol*, those who have committed any offences against the dairy, whether *pali* or *poh*.

The danger of falling into Püvûrkin does not seem to have much influence on the people. It has been spoken of as the Toda Hell, but it is rather a mild variety of Purgatory, and only involves some discomfort and delay on the journey to the next world. The people of Kavidi in the Wainad may travel direct to Amnòdr without going over Püvûrkin at all,

and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Taradr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panîpikârs, nor do they cross Püvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

ORIGIN OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS

The various funeral customs are said to have been partly ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.¹ While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrûvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

¹ *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.¹

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *kòòtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present.

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always

¹ Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

called *pali* or dairy, even when built for the occasion, all bring the funeral ceremonies of men into connexion with the religious dairy ceremonial of the Todas. On the other hand, even in those cases in which a dairy is used as a funeral hut, the dairyman of that dairy has nothing to do with the funeral ceremonies; thus, at Nòdrs the dairy in which the body of a dead man is laid is the *tarvali*, but the *tarvalikartmokh* has no duties in connexion with the funeral, and does his dairy work as usual, while it is the dairyman of the conical *poh*, the *wursol*, who takes an active part in the funeral rites.

The earth-throwing ceremony is of especial interest, because it would seem to be a relic of burial. Earth is thrown three times on the corpse before it is burnt. In connexion with the idea that the ceremony is a relic of a previous stage, in which the Todas buried their dead, it may be mentioned that a ceremony with some points of similarity is performed at the funerals of the Hill Arrians of the Western Ghats,¹ who bury their dead. A man of the same clan as the deceased takes a new cloth and tears from it a narrow strip which he fastens upon himself. He then goes backwards to the place fixed for the grave and digs with a hoe, removing three hoes full of earth. In this ceremony he is said to be calling on the earth to give up six feet for the dead. There is a suggestive resemblance between the ceremonies performed by these two hill tribes of South-west India, which lends some support to the view that the earth-throwing ceremony of the Todas is a relic of inhumation.

It perhaps may be regarded as a fact inconsistent with this view that the earth-throwing ceremony is performed at both funerals, and again the throwing of earth into a buffalo pen is so essential a feature that it is possible the whole ceremony may have some other meaning.

It is tempting to extend the conjecture by supposing that the dead were at one time buried in the *tu* or buffalo pen, but there is, as far as I know, no evidence that this was ever done by the Todas or by any other Indian tribe. Unless, indeed, the *azaram* is the representative of a *tu*, in which case the burial of the ashes at the entrance of the *azaram* may be

¹ See Fawcett, *Journ. Anthropol. Soc. Bombay*, 1890, vol. ii., p. 146.

a survival of a time when the body was buried at the entrance of a pen.

The custom of burning the hut at a woman's funeral is probably a survival of the common custom of burning the house of a dead person, but it is possible that in the case of the Todas this may have been associated with the belief that the hut would be useful in the next world. The funeral hut of a man is not burnt, and this is almost certainly because it is, or represents, a dairy. The motive for the burning of the house of a dead person is probably to remove a place which the ghost may haunt, and the sanctity of the dairy was probably such as to render this precaution unnecessary after the death of a man.

The Toda custom of cremating their dead is accompanied by a belief that the dead go to a distant spirit-world. It seems quite certain that the Todas believe that the dead do not set out on their journey to the next world till after the second funeral ceremonies, but I am not at all clear what is supposed to become of the spirits of the dead in the interval between the two ceremonies. The spirit of a Melgars man during the interval is said to be a *kazun* or malignant spirit, but I was unable to obtain a full account of the Toda belief about the *kazun*, nor was I able to find out whether there is any belief in the malignity of the spirits of the dead of other clans.¹ That such spirits are impure is, I think, shown conclusively by the impurity of the relics of the dead and of all those who have been in contact with them. The intense objection to the sacred *ti* buffaloes or their guardians coming into relation, however indirectly, with the relics is evidence of the belief in the impurity, if not in the malignity, of the spirits of the dead between the two funeral ceremonies.

There is one rite which seems to point to the influence of the spirits of the dead on the living, and this is the obscure ceremony of *tersamtpimi*, which is performed on the day after the *marvainolkedr* of a Tarthar man (see p. 333). The ceremony consists in cutting a lock of hair from a young child. One obvious explanation would be

¹ In Teitnir's lament for Pidrvan (see p. 387) he speaks of a Kars *kazun*, which suggests that each clan has its own *kazun*.

furnished if we supposed that the spirits of the dead are malignant and that the ceremony was postponed till after the spirit had set out on his journey to Amnòdr, but there are two objections to this explanation. If the Todas had had this in their minds, they would have said that the ceremony might not be performed while there was *kedr* among the Tartharol, *i.e.*, while the funeral ceremonies of a Tarthar man were still incomplete. For the *tersamptpimi* ceremony, however, it seems that a child has to wait till after a *marvainolkedr* even if there has been no recent death among the Tartharol. Further, if the proposed explanation had been correct, there is no reason why the *karvnol*, or day immediately after the funeral, should have been appointed for the ceremony. The fact that this day is prescribed points rather to some beneficial influence which it is hoped may emanate from the dead.



CHAPTER XVII

SACRED DAYS AND NUMBERS

WE have seen that nearly every Toda ceremony has its appointed day or days, and that the choice of these is often dependent on another Toda institution, the sacred day, either of the village or of the dairy. Every clan has certain days of the week on which people are restricted from following many of their ordinary occupations, although they are not the occasions of any special ceremonies. These sacred days are the *madnol* or village day, and the *palinol* or dairy day. Another occasion to which the same kinds of restriction apply is the *arpatznol*, the day of the week corresponding to that on which the father of a man has died.

THE MADNOL AND PALINOL

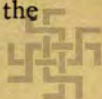
The *madnol* is literally the village day. Each village has its *madnol*, and in some cases it would seem that different villages of a clan might have different *madnol*, but in general the *madnol* is the same for the whole clan.

Certain things may not be done on the *madnol*:—

(i) *ponkisthögadi*, a feast may not be given (lit. feast may not divide, i.e., food must not be shared out).

(ii) *kêdrvîtögadi*, funeral ceremonies may not be performed.

(iii) *kwadrtögadi*, nothing may be given (from the village). Since buying implies the departure of money from the village, a secondary consequence is that nothing may be bought on the *madnol*, but if anything is given to an inhabitant of the village, he may bring it into the village on this day.



(iv) Women may not leave the village, nor may women from other places come to the village.

(v) The people may not bathe nor cut their nails on the *madnol*, and the men may not shave. Clothes may not be washed, nor may the usual cleansing of the house with buffalo-dung be done. The ordinary meals may be prepared, but the people must not cook rice with milk.

(vi) The stone called *tukitthkars* may not be touched.

(vii) The dairyman may not leave the village, and the ordination ceremonies of a dairyman may not take place on this day.

(viii) The people may not migrate from one village to another, nor may the buffaloes be taken from one place to another.

Among the Teivaliol the *madnol* is the only sacred day of the week, but among the Tartharol there is also a dairy day or *palinol*, and if there is more than one dairy there may be one such holy day for each kind of dairy, each named after the dairy, the *wursulinol*, the *kudrpalinol*, or the *tarvalinol*. Similarly, Taradr has a *kugvalinol* and Kanòdrs a *pohnol*.

On these days milk and ghi may not be given out from the dairy, nor may they be sold. Butter and buttermilk may be distributed, but only to the people of the village. Buffaloes may not be driven on these days. Women may not leave the village, though women of other villages are allowed to come. Cleansing with buffalo-dung must not be done. There was some difference of opinion as to whether money might leave the village on these days. Some said not, but it seemed clear that at Kars money might be taken from the village on the *palinol*. The rules were said to be the same for the holy days of all kinds of dairy.

There are various recognised methods of evading the rules for the holy days, and of avoiding the inconvenience which the regulations might entail on a village.

Money may be taken out of the village on the day before the *madnol* and buried or left in some spot where it can be found on the following day, so that if there is an urgent reason why a purchase should be completed on the holy day this can be done.

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law.

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days.

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

THE ARPATZNOL.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*.

Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and the *teuol* found that the desecration of the *arpatznol* was one of the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday, the *madnol* of Kars.

There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days. There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *wursulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days ; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *wursulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was chosen.

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and if the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans ; thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I have no doubt that the *irpalvusthi* ceremony could not be performed.

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their *madnol* or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Päm, Kwòrdoni, and Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about which my information is less complete than in other cases. None of the larger and more important central clans about whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either *madnol* or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies, at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if my information about the outlying clans had been more complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt that with fuller information about the customs of different clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very frequently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however, these days are not altogether without influence, for certain ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan. Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they might fall.

Several previous writers, when recording the choice of certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday, Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi* ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the present time a given act is done or not done on a given day, the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing that the act shall or shall not be done on that day.

There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations connected with certain days of the week which have probably arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days.

There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays, on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol* is visited by Todas other than the *mòrol*. Such facts suggest that the three days on which the rivers should not be crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday. The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to the whole community may be connected with the belief in lucky and unlucky days.

Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas evidently regard the first half of the month as most auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for the period of the full moon or for the second half of the moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may take place in the second half of the month, but I have no doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity.

The definite values assigned to different days of the week is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madnol* we have an institution very closely resembling that of the Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the existence of different *madnol* for different clans of the community would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on the business of life, and such a community would probably agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At present the *madnol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other

sacred days, and if the latter were then to be neglected, we should have a community in which various activities were prohibited on one day of the week, and the institution so arising would differ very little from the Hebrew Sabbath. It is possible that the Todas show in an early stage the institution of a Sabbath in which the whole community has not yet settled on a single and joint holy day.

SACRED NUMBERS

Certain numbers recur with great frequency in the dairy ceremonial, and may be regarded as having a special sanctity on this account. There seems to be a general preference for uneven numbers, and this preference comes out very strongly in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which an uneven number of men must take part on any one occasion. The number of men performing this ceremony together must be three, five, seven, nine, &c.

In the dairy ritual the numbers which occur chiefly are three, seven and nine, but other numbers have also been singled out in other branches of Toda lore. The numbers which occur in ceremonial may now be considered in detail.

Three.—A large proportion of the ritual acts of the dairy are performed three times, usually with the accompaniment of the sacred syllable *Oñ* uttered thrice, once with each performance of the act. This three-fold performance is especially marked in the ceremony of putting milk or curds on the sacred bells and in the ceremonial drinking of butter-milk. In the ordination ceremonies, the number occurs less frequently. The purificatory drinking is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, but after drinking, the candidate rubs himself three times with the shoots or bark, and, at the ordination of a *palol*, the candidate drinks three times seven on several occasions. Other acts during the ordination of the *palol* are also performed thrice, and the same number occurs in the ordination of the *kaltmokh*.

Acts are performed thrice with special frequency in the ceremonial of the *ti*, and, at the ordinary dairy, this number is especially connected with the 'feeding' of the sacred

bell, and there is no doubt that it is a number regarded as especially sacred. Whenever the sacred syllable *Oñ* is used, it is nearly always uttered thrice, and there seems to be a special association between the number three and this word.

In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony three branches of *tudr* leaves are used, and they and the log with which the calf is killed are passed round the body of the animal thrice. Later in the ceremony three pieces of wood are thrown over the fire.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth, the woman drinks thrice on various occasions, in the *pursütthpimi* ceremony the name of the bow is asked and the answer given three times, and in the ceremony of name-giving three grains of barley are put into the mouth of the child and three into his hair.

At the funeral ceremonies, earth is thrown three times on the corpse and three times into the pen, the body is swung on the fire three times, and at the final scene of the *azaramkedr* the man who rings the bell goes round the burial place of the ashes thrice. Three *oviðnikârs* are thrown by the man who crosses the pathway of the dead. The number three is not limited to the dairy ritual, but is of frequent occurrence in the whole of Toda ceremonial.

The number three also appears in connexion with magical or semi-magical practices. The various methods of treatment used by the *utkòren* are carried out three times and never more frequently than this, and the sufferer who drinks hot water to allay the effects of fright also does this thrice. A remedy is probably held to be more potent if repeated the same number of times as in the case of so many sacred acts.

Five.—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial except in certain ceremonies at the *Nòdrs ti* which are repeated five times because there are five groups of buffaloes belonging to this dairy. The number in this case has, however, no ceremonial significance, and is merely a consequence of the fact that one *palol* at this *ti* has three groups and the other two groups of buffaloes. The only other occurrence of the number is at the *Kars ti*, where the ancient lamp probably had five cavities, but even this is doubtful.

The number five comes in one place into Toda magic. The

sorcerer, who wishes to injure one who has not granted his request, hides five stones tied together with hair in the thatch of his enemy's hut.

Six.—This number does not occur in the dairy ceremonial, but it seems to be regarded as an auspicious number in some ways. In Teitnir's lament for his wife, reference is made to the hope that they might have had six children and six buffaloes, and in the prayer on the occasion of the ear-piercing ceremony, one clause runs "may he have six sons."

Six sticks are used to make the artificial dairy of the hand-burning ceremony, but this is an obvious result of the fact that the dairy has to have two rooms.

Seven.—This number is especially prominent in the ordination ceremonies. The purificatory drinking out of leaf-cups is always done seven times or some multiple of seven, the *palikartmokh* drinking seven times only, the *wursol* seven times seven, and the *palol* three times seven, seven times seven and nine times seven at different periods of his prolonged ordination ceremonies. At the dairies of Taradr and Kanòdrs, the number occurs in a different form, seven different kinds of leaf being used in the purificatory ceremonies.

The number occurs again in connexion with the lamp. At the Nòdrs *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and possibly at other dairies, there used to be lamps, each of which had seven cavities and seven wicks. Some of these lamps have been lost, but two remain at the dairies mentioned. I have already referred to the fact that some of the ancient lamps were said to have had five wicks, but it seems clear that in the only two examples which survive there are seven wicks, and it is possible that this was the number in all.

Another occurrence of the number seven is in the old dairies of the Nòdrs clan which had seven rooms. The funeral dairies, which are undoubtedly very ancient institutions, have three rooms, and the Nòdrs dairies, also undoubtedly ancient, had seven, but I heard of no case in which a dairy had four, five, or six rooms.

Outside the dairy ceremonial, the only occurrence of this number is in the lament of Teitnir for his wife, in which he speaks of their visiting seven courts and seven ships.

It is perhaps significant that the number seven should be a sacred number to a people who have so highly developed the cult of different days of the week. It is possible that the purificatory drinkings of the ordination ceremonies were at one time performed seven times with the idea that the candidate was sanctifying himself for each day of the week, but at the present time it is clear that the act is performed seven times because this number is prescribed by custom. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the sanctity of the number seven occurs predominantly in the religious cults of peoples who have a seven-day week.

Nine.—This number only occurs in the dairy ceremonial during the ordination of the *palol* when the seven-fold purification with *tudr* is performed nine times.

Twelve.—I only met with this number once, in the prayer at the *pilinörtiti* ceremony, when the expression "12 years" is used as if it were equivalent to "for ever."

Sixteen and Eighteen.—The chief interest of these numbers is that they are used in connexion with the gods. There are said to be 1600, 1800 gods, and these numbers are mentioned in the prayer of the Kanòdrs dairy and in the legends. The numbers are probably used in the way in which we should use the word 'infinite,' but there must be some reason why they should have been chosen.

The number 18 occurs in another connexion in the rule that the *palol* should perform a certain ceremony after eighteen years of continuous office.

I have one possible clue to the choice of the number eighteen. The Todas say that a species of *Strobilanthes* growing on the Nilgiris as a shrub only flowers once in eighteen years. They call this shrub *püvkat*, and it was in flower during the year of my visit. Albert, my interpreter, had only seen it in flower once or twice, but had not paid special attention to the duration of the flowering period. The number of times that several Todas had seen the flowers agreed approximately with their probable ages. Thus, Kutadri saw the flowers in 1902 for the third time, having seen them for the first time when he was twelve years old. This would make his age forty-eight, which seemed from other sources of information to be

approximately correct. The Todas use the flower as a record of age, and some Todas are reputed to have seen the flowers seven times, which, taking five years as the age when they were first seen, would make them over 110 years.

There is another *Strobilanthes* called *tirparikat* which is said to flower every twelve years, and another every six. I do not know of any confirmation of the flowering periods of these plants except the last, which probably refers to *Strobilanthes sexennis*.

Whether the Toda belief in the eighteen-year period of the plant they call *püvkat* is correct or not, it seems probable that it may have furnished the suggestion for the special position taken by the number eighteen in Toda lore.



CHAPTER XVIII

SACRED PLACES AND OBJECTS

THE Todas show undoubted signs of reverence to various material objects. Many of the objects so revered have been mentioned incidentally in the account of the dairy ritual and in other places, and in this chapter I propose to consider how far these objects are regarded as sacred, and to give an account of some sacred objects not hitherto noticed.

Of the various objects of reverence the following are the most important: hills and rivers; villages, dairies, their thresholds and contents; bells; the buffalo and its milk; trees and plants; the sun, fire and light; and stones.

HILLS AND OTHER PLACES.

Any place connected with the gods is revered by the the Todas, and this is especially the case with the hills where they dwell. Only some hills, however, are shown reverence by means of the *kaimukhti* salutation. One of these is the hill of Nòtirzi (Snowdon), and every Toda visiting this hill salutes with hand to forehead in all directions. Another place where a similar salutation is performed is a spot at Avalanche Top. When I visited this place with Kutadri he saluted in all directions with both hands to his face, and told me that a man who once omitted to do this was killed soon after by a tiger. In this case I could not learn that Kutadri was saluting any particular hill or other spot. He seemed to be saluting the region of the Kundahs on which he was about to enter.



There are doubtless other places where the same sign of reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the rank of *perkursor*.

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas.

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue to be treated with some degree of reverence.

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be. When going from Ootacamund to Paikara by the bridle path the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *naim* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages," where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation which could be given was that owing to the short time they are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a woman may live being distinguished as *ishnidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them.

The following are the only existing villages of this kind :—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars ; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr ; Perg, belonging to the Panol ; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kalolmad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute arises between two men they are taken to the front of the dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has happened, and anything a man says under these conditions will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die.

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs¹ is also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

In his book written in 1832,² Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

¹ At this place there is now only a dairy.

² Pp. 18 and 67.



This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room.

In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops.

THE THRESHOLD

As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination.

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kakar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

BELLS

These are the most sacred of the sacred objects of the Todas. It is necessary, however, to distinguish three kinds of bells, the *mani*, the *tukulir mani*, and the *kwungg*, and it is only the first of these which has any great sanctity.

The *tukulir mani* is only used in the *kòdtiti* ceremony of the second funeral (p. 376), and between these occasions is kept by the Badagas or Kotas. I am doubtful whether it is a true Toda object, and suspect that it is a Badaga or Kota bell which is used in a ceremony borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these peoples.

The *kwungg* is the household bell and is kept in the hut. It is used in the funeral ceremonies on two occasions, being hung on the neck of one of the ordinary buffaloes before the animal is killed, and it is also the bell which is rung in the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. The bell may be touched or carried by women, and I have seen a *kwungg* removed from the neck of a slaughtered buffalo by a Kota who handed it to a woman. Though the bell is used in ceremonial, the fact that it may be touched by both Kotas and women shows clearly that it is not regarded as possessing any sanctity whatever. In general appearance, however, the *kwungg* probably differs little from the *mani*, being a large bell of the same oblong shape which is characteristic of cattle-bells.

The *mani* is a bell which, so far as I could ascertain, never has a tongue, though this loss may be nothing more than a sign of its antiquity.

There are several kinds of *mani*. At the *ti* dairy there are two distinct varieties: the *mani* proper which is kept in the inner room and is hung on the neck of a chosen calf of the *persinir* on the occasion of the migration ceremonies, and the *kudrsmani* which is kept outside the door of the dairy. The latter appear to have little sanctity, but the former are probably the most sacred of Toda objects of veneration. They are said to be extremely ancient; some are reputed to have come from Amnòdr, and others are believed to have had miraculous origins, one having been born in a vessel of milk

while the buffaloes were on their way from Amnòdr, while another came from the sea. The Todas believe that some of these bells are of gold, and one was reputed to be made of three metals—gold, silver, and iron. The bell born in milk is said to be of iron.

It seems probable that each of the more sacred herds at the village had at one time its own *mani*, and that a clan which possessed both *wursuli* and *kudrpali* would have had two bells of this kind or two sets of such bells.

At the present time, many of the clans have lost their sacred bells, and those which possess *mani* have only one or two of them. My most definite account for the Tartharol comes from Kars, where it is clear that the *wursuli* has two bells, the same as those reputed to have been hung on the neck of Enmon in the legend of Kwoto.¹ The *kudrpali* also had two bells which have now been lost, but the place where they used to hang still shares in the dairy ritual and is fed with milk just as the bells would have been if they had been there.

Since it is the *wursol* who takes the prominent part in the funeral ceremonies of a male, it seems also clear that the bells which are hung on the necks of the slaughtered buffaloes are those of the *wursuli*, but I did not definitely ascertain whether the bells of a *kudrpali* might not be used for this purpose, and indeed I am not altogether certain that any rigorous distinction is made between *wursuli mani* and *kudrpali mani*.

One striking distinction between the dairies of the Teivaliol and Tartharol was said to be the absence of *mani* among the former, except in the Piedr clan, and here there was something exceptional, for when this bell is used at a funeral it is hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to Nòdrs. I was often told that, with this exception, the Teivaliol had no *mani*, and it was only towards the end of my visit that I became aware of the existence in the dairy of Kiudr of six bells called *mani*, two distinguished as *patatmani* and four as *ertatmani*.

¹ According to another account, these bells are kept at the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr, and the *wursuli* of Kars has three *mani* in addition to these.

Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind, and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent, regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

Possibly the Todas may have some clear ideas about the connexion between their bells, gods, and dairies, but I could not discover them, and am inclined to believe that the people are now very hazy about the exact place of the bell and the god in their theology.

It was quite clear that they believed an offence against the dairy was punished by the gods, and I cannot say definitely that in this case the bell may not have been personified as a god, but I do not think that this was so.

It seems to me probable that the present sanctity of the bell has come about by a process of transference¹ from the buffalo to the object worn by it. Probably at one time the buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be at present. There is evidence that even in recent times the bell-cow or buffalo which carried the bell was an object of especial veneration. In such books as those of Harkness and Marshall, the bell-cow seems to occupy a more prominent position than, so far as I could tell, it occupies at present.

In the present day the *mani* of the *ti* is only hung on the neck of a buffalo at the migration from one *ti mad* to another and at the Nòdrs *ti*, only for a few minutes even then. At the village dairy, the *mani* is never, so far as I could tell, put on the neck of a buffalo except at the funeral ceremonies. The idea in the latter case seems to be that a sacred buffalo should wear its bell, and in order that the buffalo slaughtered at a funeral should go to Amnòdr with its bell, the *mani* is hung on its neck while it is being killed. The legend of Kwoto and Punatvan shows that the bells are believed to travel to Amnòdr with the buffaloes.

The following may be suggested as a sketch of the probable evolution of the sanctity of the bell. At one time the buffaloes were the chief sacred objects of the Todas. Then this sanctity was concentrated in the persons of the bell-buffaloes, and later became partially attached to the bells, and the Todas then probably reached a stage in which it was doubtful how far the sanctity of the bell-buffalo was due to its position

¹ As we have already seen (p. 243) there is some reason to think that there has been example of such transference of sanctity to an object in the case of the *mu* or buried dairy vessel.

as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas. We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more and more attached to the bell, less and less to its possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and in the funeral ceremonies.

There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

RELICS

The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

THE BUFFALO AND ITS MILK

In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes by which they were borne.

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one time to have been more sacred, or to have received more definite signs of reverence than at the present time. The evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mad* at Makars was a very human animal.

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *palol* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals.

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world.

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the

dairy ritual, but it is a question whether the sanctity does not attach much more closely to the objects connected with the buffaloes than to the buffaloes themselves.

I think it is clear that at the present time none of the Toda buffaloes are so sacred that their milk in the form of ghi may not be used. Some writers have supposed that no profit is made from the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*, but at present this is certainly not so, and the ghi made from the milk of the sacred buffaloes is sold with the rest and may be used by all.

In earlier days, when the Todas led simpler lives than at present, when the bazaars of Ootacamund and Coonoor were not in existence to act as incentives to the acquirement of gain, it is possible that the Todas did not sell the ghi made from the milk of their more sacred buffaloes, and, as I have already suggested, it is even possible that at one time they were content to allow these animals to suckle their calves and made no use of their milk. Even at the present time a sacred buffalo will not be milked unless it is provided with the appropriate dairy and dairyman. The buffaloes of a *ti* which has no *palol*, or of a *wursuli* which has no *wursol*, are not allowed to be milked though they may be looked after by other men. With this exception, however, I believe that, at the present time, every buffalo, even of the most sacred herds, is a source of profit by the sale of the ghi which is made from its milk.

The various offerings of buffaloes made in connexion with ceremonial are also not allowed to interfere with the economic value of the animals. In the *irnörtiti* ceremony of the village, the offered buffalo simply passes from one division of a clan to another, and when a buffalo is said to be devoted to the gods, it does not mean that the owner profits a whit the less on account of the oblation, but only that he may not kill it at a funeral, and must allow it to die a natural death.

Even the slaughter of animals at the funeral ceremonies appears to be managed so as to interfere as little as possible with the profits obtained from the sale of the milk. I think there is little doubt that it is an established custom to kill old and barren buffaloes on these occasions. An animal is not sent to the next world till its owner has got the utmost out of it in this.

Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the Todas seek no further profit, and the carcasses become the property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas.

OTHER ANIMALS

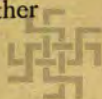
The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence which I possess concerning their relations with animals in general.

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Òn when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis¹ states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

¹ Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.



erkumtthpimi, and here it is used by both Teivaliol and Tartharol alike.

The leaves of *tudr* used in any of these ceremonies must be perfect, and the bark must be knocked off the tree by means of



FIG. 58.—BOUGH OF THE 'TUDR' TREE. (From Marshall.)

a stone, this being one of the Toda practices which show the persistence of stone implements in ceremonial. The identity of this sacred tree is important, for it may furnish a clue to the home of the Todas. So sacred a tree would almost certainly have been already known to the Todas when

they reached the Nilgiris, though it is, of course, possible that it might have been chosen on account of its resemblance to some tree sacred in their past history. The tree has, however, a wide distribution in India.

Pope has suggested that *tudr* is connected with *tulasi*, *Ocimum sanctum* or holy basil. This is a small flowering plant, and it is improbable that there is any connexion between the two plants except a resemblance in name.

Another tree which appears to be especially sacred is the *kiaz* tree (*Litsæa Wightiana*). Whenever a tree is used to mark the spot where the *mani* is laid during purificatory and other ceremonies, the tree must be of this kind. The wood of this tree is used when making fire for most sacred purposes.

The leaves of trees and shrubs are used in various branches of the dairy ritual. Those in most frequent use are various kinds called generically by the Todas *muli*, three of which belong to the genus *Rubus*. The young shoots of the same plants are used in the ordination ceremonies.

Grasses are also used in Toda ceremonial, and one of these, a slender grass called *kakar* (*Eragrostica nigra*) is used on several occasions, those of especial importance being the ordination of the Teivali *palikartmokh* and the sweeping of the threshold of the dairy by a girl at the migration ceremony. The same grass is also used in one of the methods adopted to promote speedy delivery in childbirth.

Of the various kinds of grain used by the Todas, that called *patm* or *samai* (*Panicum miliare*) seems to be in most frequent use in connexion with ceremonial, but it cannot be said to be sacred in any way. Barley (*kodj*) seems to have a peculiar place in Toda belief. The *tōratthadi* or cooking-vessel of the dairy may not be used for this grain, although any other kind may be boiled in it. On the other hand, three grains of barley are put into the mouth and three into the hair of a boy at the naming ceremony. In explanation I can only offer the surmise that barley is not cooked in the dairy vessel because its use by the Todas is an innovation, and that similarly the use of barley in the naming ceremony is also an innovation borrowed from the Badagas or some other tribe.

THE SUN, LIGHT, AND FIRE

There is no doubt that the sun is an object of reverence to the Todas. It is the duty of every man when first he leaves his hut in the morning to salute the sun by raising his hand to his face in the *kaimukhti* salutation. The sun is also saluted by the *palol* as he comes out of his dairy to milk the buffaloes. All my informants were unanimous in saying that the salutation of the *palol* was both to the buffaloes and to the sun. The doors of the great majority of the dairies faced more or less in an easterly direction, so that the dairyman, on coming out of his dairy in the morning, would see the sun, and when the dairy had a different orientation, as at Mòdr, the *palol* had to turn so that he would perform the salutation looking eastward. At the afternoon ceremonial the salutation was performed in the same direction as in the morning, so that, so far as the salutation is performed to the sun, it would appear that it is to the place of the sun-rise rather than to the sun itself.

The sun plays a part in the ceremony which takes place when a woman goes to the seclusion-hut after childbirth, but there was some reason to think that this was due to the belief in the noxious influence of the mysterious body, Keirt, which is near the sun, and not to the influence of the sun itself. When performing the ceremony on leaving the seclusion-hut the woman faces the sun, and this may be an act of reverence, since now Keirt is no longer feared. It seemed quite clear that the moon is not saluted in the same way as the sun with the *kaimukhti* salutation. No salutation is paid at all to the new moon when it is first seen, but after a day or two, usually on the third day, it is the custom to bow down the head, so that the forehead rests on the corner of the *putkuli* lying on the ground. The salutation is that called *nersatiti* shown in Fig. 44. I only heard of one custom indicating reverence to the full moon. When the Todas throw away water on the day of the full moon, they do not throw it towards the moon, but away from it. Thus, if the moon is opposite the door of the hut, the people will go round to the back in order to throw the

water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light it gives are also undoubtedly revered, and lighting the lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character.

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not revered merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces, one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light the sacred lamp directly from it.

The fire of the *tòratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, and especially at those called *teutütusthchi* and *erkumptthpimi* and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman conducting the ceremony. At the *azaramkedr* of a man the fire is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this

is probably also the case at the first funeral ceremony. I did not definitely ask whether fire by friction is ever made by a woman, but I am fairly confident that this would never happen.

I only heard of one case in which men were prohibited from making fire. The Kidmadol and Karshol, who suffer under several disabilities, are not allowed to make fire by friction, and this is due to a quarrel with their parent-clan many years ago.

Whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose¹ the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call *kiaz* or *headj*, except in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which the wood of *muli* is used.

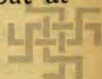
There are also definite regulations as to the kind of wood which is to be burnt in the fires of all ceremonial occasions. In various ceremonies I have recorded the Toda names of the woods prescribed, and if more were known about their identity, it is possible that some light might be thrown on the original home of the Todas, in the same way as has been suggested in the case of the sacred *tudr* tree.

STONES

The Todas have many stones which may be held to have some degree of sanctity; certainly many have their place in the religious ceremonial. All these stones have names, either general or individual, but two stones with the same name need not necessarily have the same function.

At the *ti* there are stones marking the spots where the dairy vessels are taken up and put down during the migration ceremonies, but the most interesting stones at these dairies are those called *neurzülnkars*. At several dairies these stones are anointed, and their appearance indicates that they have undergone the process for very long periods of time; at other places they are so weathered and worn away that they must obviously be of great antiquity. At some dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* these stones take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh* in the ceremonies accompanying migration, but at other places they are said to have different uses.

¹ For the special method employed see p. 581.



At an ordinary village the stones usually belong to one of the following classes :—

(a) Stones to mark off boundaries or places, such as the *majvatvaikars*, marking the path or spot used by the women in fetching buttermilk from the dairy.

(b) Stones used in the ceremonies in which offerings are made, the *irnörtkars* and the *pilinörtkars*.

(c) Funeral stones, at which the buffaloes are killed. These are, of course, only found at funeral villages, but there are certain other stones, such as the *imudrikars*, which may be found in any village. Such a stone may mark the spot where the body is laid, or may even, as in the case of the *imudrikars* of Kars, form a mound on which the body is laid.

(d) Stones in or near the *tu* or buffalo pen, such as the *mutchudkars* and *pudothkars*. I do not know the origin or use of these, but in some villages there are stones in the pen marking the places where the *mu* or dairy vessels are buried, and it is possible that the above stones are in some way connected with the buried dairy-vessels.

(e) The lifting stone or *tukitthkars*. This is usually a large round stone which sometimes resembles in appearance stones of a ceremonial character.¹

(f) Commemorative stones. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 13), and certain stones with the same name lying between Nòdrs and Teidr, had their origin in events connected with the death of a man belonging to the village of Teidr who was once *wursol* at Nòdrs. When he was told to milk one of the buffaloes, he replied, "If I milk it, the milk will not fill this place," pointing to a small depression on his thumb. Still the people told him to milk, and when he did so the milking-vessel was completely filled. Then the *palikartmokh* was very angry, and, taking the wand which the *wursol* was carrying, he struck him so that he flew in the air and fell down midway between Nòdrs and Teidr. When the people came to the place they found that the man was dead, and they tried to take up his body and carry it to the funeral place. But

¹ Burton (*Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 316) brands the Todas as inveterate liars, because, evidently owing to some misunderstanding, he was told that a "putting stone" was the "grandfather of the gods."

the body would not move and so they held the funeral on the spot and made a *tu*. At the entrance of the *tu* they placed two women carrying pounders¹ in place of the posts or *tüli*, and these women were changed into stones and their pounders became the *tasth* of the entrance of the pen. The stones which are now found on the spot are the remains of the pen and the *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs marks the spot where the *wursol* milked the buffalo.

In the village of Tovalkan there is a mound shown in Fig.



FIG. 59.—THE MEMORIAL OF KEIREVAN.

59 which is much like the *imudrikars* of Kars, but it is of modern origin, having been made to mark the spot where Keirevan (26) fell out of a tree and was killed.

(g) Stones connected with special features of the dairy ceremonial. I only know of one stone of this kind at a village, the *pârsatthkars* of Nidrsi, on which the *palikartmokh* puts milk every morning and evening.

Stones are often used for more than one purpose ; thus, the

¹ It will be remembered that at the *azaramkedr* of a woman, two women stand at the entrance of the *azaram* one of whom holds a pounder in her hands.

irnörtkars of Umgas (see Fig. 72) is also a boundary stone, and the *menkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 12) used for the game called *narthpimi*, and the *teidrtolkars* at the same village are also funeral stones at which buffaloes are killed.

I have given a brief list of the chief stones which may be called sacred owing to their coming in one way or another into Toda ceremonial, but I should like to make it clear that no great idea of sanctity attaches to these stones, and in no case are they shown any definite signs of veneration or worship. They, and many of the other objects described in this chapter, are not sacred in the same sense in which the *etudmad* or the *mani* are sacred.



CHAPTER XIX

THE TODA RELIGION

THE last seventeen chapters have been almost entirely devoted to the religious institutions and ceremonies of the Todas. In the earlier chapters I have described the ritual of the dairy and have discussed some of the problems of general interest which this ritual suggests. In later chapters I have described the ceremonies which are associated with the chief incidents of life: birth, growth, and death. In these and in the chapter dealing with sacrifice I have described many details of Toda ceremonial which clearly establish its religious character, and Chapter X is especially devoted to the formulæ which bring the ceremonial into definite relation with the Toda gods. In Chapter XI I have described practices and beliefs all of which stand in some relation to religion, though most of them must be regarded as belonging to a different category. In the last two chapters I have collected a number of special features of the Toda religion, the existence of sacred days and the part played by numbers, places and material objects in the various religious observances, and I have discussed how far the attitude of the Todas towards these objects can be described as one of worship.

There remains the general nexus which binds all these beliefs and practices into a whole so that they constitute the Toda religion. I have given in Chapter IX the stories of the Toda gods, giving them in this place because they were necessary for the proper understanding of the dairy formulæ, and I can now discuss more fully than was then possible the essential nature of these deities.

THE GODS

The Toda gods are definitely anthropomorphic beings, who are believed to have lived in this world before man existed. Both man and buffalo were created by the gods, and the Todas seem to picture a time when gods, men, and buffaloes lived together on the Nilgiri Hills, and the gods ruled the men. At this time the gods seem to have lived much the same kind of life as the Todas themselves. Öñ was *palol* to the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, his son Püv was *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, and other gods are believed to have filled dairy offices. From the earliest times, however, the gods were connected with the hills—*i. e.*, they were believed to dwell on the summits of the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. At first they seem to have mixed at times in human society and at other times to have retired to their hill-tops. The earliest of the gods was Pithi, who was born in a cave, and the Todas and many of their buffaloes were created by his son Öñ and his wife. Later death came to the gods in the person of Püv, the son of Öñ and Öñ followed Püv to the world of the dead, called Amnòdr, of which he has since been the ruler. He left behind him as predominant among the deities Teikirzi, a goddess, who ruled over the Todas. It is to her that the origin of most of the Toda institutions is ascribed, and there is some reason to think that she was predominant among the gods even before Öñ went to Amnòdr.

The Todas seem to believe that Teikirzi was at one time a person living among them, giving laws and regulating the affairs of the people. At the present time she is believed to be all-pervading; and, though she has her special hill, she does not dwell there only, as in the case of all but one of the other Toda deities.

There seem to have been many other gods contemporaneous with Öñ and Teikirzi, and certain of these are believed to have been related to these deities and especially to Teikirzi. The gods are believed to be very numerous: the Todas speak of the 1,600 gods, the 1,800 gods, but it would seem that these expressions are used in the sense of "an infinite

number." The gods are believed to have held their councils, meeting on some special hill, to which each god came from his own hill-top. The hill of Pòlkab, near Kanòdrs, and the village of Miuni are both renowned as meeting places of the gods.

There is a very definite association between the Toda gods and the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. Nearly every one of the gods has his hill where he dwells, and often when speaking of the gods the Todas seem to identify the god with the hill. There are two river gods, Teipakh and Pakhwar, associated with the two chief streams of the district, but there is some reason to believe that even these gods have their hills where they sometimes live, while at other times they inhabit or are identified with their streams. In the case of Teipakh, the god and the natural object seem to be very closely identified, and Kuzkarv, growing up in the river Teipakh, is said to be sitting in the lap of his maternal uncle. Again, one god is associated with a bubbling pool, but he also has his hill-top and is believed only to visit the pool on certain occasions. There can be little doubt that most of the Toda gods are hill-deities and that the association of the gods with hills is so strong that even the gods of streams and pools may be assigned their hills in general belief.

There is one important feature which is said to be common to all the hills inhabited by deities. They all have on their summits the stone circles which the Todas call *pun*. My informants were very definite about this and fully understood that these stone circles corresponded to the cairns and barrows opened by Breeks and others.

I was not able to examine into the question for myself and ascertain whether the circles called *pun* were actually present on the god-inhabited hills, but I have no reason to doubt that this was usually the case. Most writers on the Todas have been inclined to suppose that the cairns and barrows, with their contents, were in no way connected with the Todas, and they have based this opinion largely on the indifference of the Todas to these monuments. The people who are so jealous of their dairies that they will not allow anyone to enter or even view their contents, will allow any stranger to open the

cairns and take their contents, and will even assist in the demolition. When I asked the Todas what they thought of the rifling of the *pun* they showed just the same indifference. They did not seem to think the matter any concern of theirs, and yet they believe in a definite association between the presence of a *pun* and the abode of a deity.

There seem to be three chief possibilities. One, that the cairns are Toda remains and that the association of the stone circles above them with the presence of a god is the last surviving relic of the fact. The second is that when the Todas came to the Nilgiri hills they found mysterious stone circles on certain hills, which marked out these hills as possessing features out of the common, and that this gave them a sanctity which led to the idea that they were inhabited by gods. A third possibility is that the same peculiarities which led the original builders of the circles to choose certain hills also led the Todas to choose them as the abodes of their deities, and that it was only later that they came to recognise the association between the circle and the presence of a god.

Whichever possibility may give the true explanation, one would have thought that the Todas would have objected to the disturbance and excavation of the cairns. There is little doubt that they were ignorant of the fact that objects were buried beneath the stone circles, but they are quite intelligent enough to know that there is a connexion between the stones and the objects beneath them when once these have been found.

I have very little doubt that the true explanation of the indifference of the Todas towards these monuments is that they have no definite traditional injunction against interfering with the circles. The Todas are the slaves of their traditions and of the laws and regulations which have been handed down to them by their ancestors. Till the Europeans came to the hills, it had never occurred to anyone to meddle with these stones or explore the soil beneath and around them. In consequence there was no reason why injunctions against interference should be handed down, and when the European arrived with his spade and pickaxe the Todas found nothing in their traditional laws telling them that it was wrong to

interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.¹

Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

¹ I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grandfathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence.

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men.

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personifications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence whatever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces.

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is revered, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neur-sülukars*.¹

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual

¹ I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

process of transference of sanctity from the buffalo to the object worn by it, and I think it not unlikely that this transference may have reached its full development in comparatively recent times.

If my view be accepted, it would still leave open the religious status of the buffalo, and especially of the bell-buffalo, and here, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to me probable that the buffalo was never regarded as a god in the same sense in which this word is used for the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops. In the oldest legends, in which the buffaloes spoke like men, it is clear that they were in subjection to the gods, and were in no way regarded as themselves divine.

Some writers on the Todas have supposed that the *palol* is regarded as a god, but at the present time it is certain that he is in no way divine. He is treated with respect, but nothing of the nature of worship or adoration is paid to him. His position among the Todas is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity. That his isolation is not a sign of divinity is, I think, shown by the results of infringement of his isolation. If the *palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches incurs no penalty. The sacrilege, according to Toda ideas, would attach not to him, but to the *palol* who, in spite of being touched, should persist in performing the duties of his office.

Whether the *palol* may ever have been more sacred in the past I cannot say. An indication that he may at one time have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special clauses of the Kiudr prayer which are uttered on the occasion of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*. Here the *kwarzam* of the *palol* is *eupalol*, which stands for *teupalol*, or "god palol," but in the next *kwarzam* the same prefix is given to his garment, the *tuni*, and I have little doubt that these *kwarzam* simply refer to the sanctity which attaches to the *palol* and his garment as part of the sacred institution of the *ti*. There is no doubt, however, that, according to tradition, the gods held the office of *palol* and that the *palol* of the

Nòdrs *ti* is the direct successor of the god Òn, but to whatever extent Òn may have passed on his divine character to his immediate successors, there is little doubt that at present the *palol* has lost any divinity which may at one time have been ascribed to him.

It is very difficult to ascertain how far at the present time, according to Toda belief, the gods intervene in human affairs. Each clan is believed to have its *nòdrodchi*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nòdrodchi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler. Thus Teipakh is connected with both Piedr and Kusharf, Atioto with both Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, while Etepi, who is the *nòdrodchi* of Keradr, and Kuzkarv, the *nòdrodchi* of Keadr, are almost certainly one and the same deity. In the two latter cases a Tarthar clan has the same god as a clan of the Teivaliol.

Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nòdrodchi* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo. The Todas certainly believe that misfortunes are due to the anger of the gods. It is clear that the various offerings described in Chapter XIII are piacular and propitiatory. They are designed to atone for wrong done and to avert any future evil consequences of the offence which has been committed.

The power of the gods is believed to show itself in various ways. In several cases dairies have been disused because the dairymen have died in office, and this was said to have happened because the gods of those places were severe. It was apparently believed that they had visited infringements of the laws regulating dairy ritual with death.

The various misfortunes which befell different members of the community as the result of my visit were all ascribed to the anger of the gods. Again, the untoward incidents of the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 391) were ascribed to the anger of the gods because there had been an infringement of funeral custom. These and other cases show clearly that

the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual. In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teuol*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

In the process of divination men are possessed by gods ; and another example of possession by the gods may be mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village.

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, and this suggests that the practice of divination may have been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas.

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence ; but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods.

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the individual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are

very vague. On the other hand, certain gods of obviously more recent origin seem to be replacing, to some extent, the older gods. The lives of Kwoten and Meilitars can be related by many in great detail, but though they seem to inspire more interest among the Todas I cannot say that I observed anything to show that they receive any special worship or reverence. Meilitars is especially mentioned in the Kanòdrs prayer, but this would only put him on a level with many objects of no great amount of sanctity. The attitude of the Todas towards these two beings seemed to me to be rather that of people towards heroes than towards gods, though the mythology has raised them to the level of the gods.

Nevertheless, the idea of "god" is highly developed among the Todas and I am inclined to believe that the most satisfactory explanation of the Toda deities is that the people came to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes have been raised to the ranks of the gods and that the lives of these heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the progress towards complete obliviscence; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods.

The Todas, then, show us a stage of religious belief in which gods once believed to be real, living among men and intervening actively in their affairs, have become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible and intervening in the affairs of men in a mysterious manner and chiefly in the case of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given.

The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated

by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this domination has taken a form in which ritual has become all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarzam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degenerated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

them over the fire, and are then removed. The emblems of womanhood are taken out of the hut when the *wursol* goes there to sleep, but the women themselves remain. Probably the behaviour of the *kaltmokh* in the sleeping hut during the ceremony after migration (p. 142) is a sign that he should not be there, and is evading an uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous custom.

The Todas seem to show us how the over-development of the ritual aspect of religion may lead to atrophy of those ideas and beliefs through which the religion has been built up and then how, in its turn, the ritual may suffer and acts which are performed mechanically, with no living ideas behind them, may come to be performed carelessly and incompletely, while religious observances which involve trouble or discomfort may be evaded or completely neglected. The Todas, in fact, show us, in little, the general traits characteristic of the degeneration of religion.

To people living in the simple surroundings and with the simple life of the Todas we might well look for material to help us to understand the evolution of religion, but, if I am right, we must look for this in vain. If the religion of the Todas is a product of degeneration, it is hopeless to seek among the customs of this people for evidence of the mode of growth of religious ideas and practices. Thus, it is natural that we find among the Todas no clear trace of totemism, or of those ideas connected with animals which are probably allied to totemism. There are several reasons why the Todas should not furnish any clear evidence of this frequent starting-point of religion. In the first place, they are people to whom one animal has become so predominantly sacred that it might be expected that any other relations with animals of a sacred character would have disappeared; the cult of animals in general would have been swamped in the cult of the buffalo. Secondly, if I am right in the supposition I have advanced in this chapter, it is probable that the Todas came to the Nilgiri Hills with the cult of the buffalo or other milk-giving animal already to some extent developed, and if at this time they had customs and beliefs connected with other animals, these would naturally soon disappear if these animals were

absent in the new country. At the same time, it is perhaps not without significance that the Todas are allowed to eat the flesh of the sambhar. In their former home, in the low country, it is almost certain that this animal would not have been a totem, and therefore it would be natural that on their reaching the Nilgiris they might be permitted to eat it.¹

It is doubtful how far the Todas have an idea of a supreme god. At the present time they speak of and constantly appeal to Swami, and they will say that Swami is above all the gods, but I have very little doubt that this is a recent idea. Swami was chiefly spoken of and revered by the younger men, and it is quite clear that the name should not properly occur in the formulæ of any Toda ritual. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that the idea is old. It is probable that at one time there existed direct appeal to gods in the Toda prayer, and this direct appeal may have been to some supreme being who was addressed as Swami.

Apart from this question of the meaning of Swami, two deities stand out from the remainder of the Toda gods. One of these is Meilitars, whose cunning was able to deceive the gods, and who was able to perform miracles which were regarded as beyond the powers of the other gods. His story seems to show one way in which a god might rise above his fellows, and might become a supreme god, but this has certainly not happened in his case. There is not the slightest evidence to show that Meilitars is in any way worshipped as a supreme god. There is a much stronger case for the supremacy of the goddess Teikirzi. Teikirzi is said to be the foundress of many of the Toda institutions; the final explanation of all things in the Toda mind is that "it is the will of Teikirzi." She is said to be all-pervading, and

¹ I do not wish to lay any stress on this argument, for, as I have already indicated, it is possible that the eating of sambhar is a recent innovation, which has arisen since the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiris. Also I do not wish to indicate by the above that I commit myself to a belief in the universality of totemism as a stage in religious development. I only wish to point out that if this has been so, the Todas furnish a good case in which we might expect all traces of this descent to have disappeared or to have become so blurred and scanty as to be of little value.

is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional *kwarzam* uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti.

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Òn who rules the world of the dead.

INFLUENCE OF OTHER RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,¹ whose temple is near Mettapollayam.

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At the present time there is no doubt that their temples are visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas

¹ These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however much money they take away with them from their villages, all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

know that, three centuries ago, priests visited the Todas and preached to them, and it is stated (see p. 720) that one chose the Hebrew story of the creation for his lesson, and it may be that the incident, striking the fancy of the people, was incorporated into their own tradition of the origin of man. The resemblance between the Toda *madnol* and the Sabbath may also excite the suspicion that the former institution is founded on ideas borrowed from Christians or Jews. I think we may be confident that, if this has been the case, the borrowing took place very long ago. I hope to show in the last chapter that it is probable the Todas came from Malabar, and it is possible that their migration to the hills took place after the settlement of Christians or Jews in that district. If Christianity has affected the religious beliefs or practices of the general body of the Todas, I think it is certain that this influence has not been recent.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

A word may be added, at the end of this chapter, on the relation between the magic and the religion of the Todas. I have already pointed out reasons for believing that the Toda religion is one in process of degeneration, and we must not therefore expect to find among this people material for the study of the evolution of religion from magic or for the method of divergence of the two from some original stem which was neither magic nor religion.

The chief interest of the Todas from this point of view is that they show how side by side with a relatively high form of religion there may exist a body of beliefs crystallised in magical formulæ which bear a very close resemblance to the formulæ of the religious ritual. Their aim and their general nature leave no doubt that the formulæ given in the later part of Chap. XII are magical in nature, and yet they show more distinct evidence of appeal to deities than is to be found in the definitely religious formulæ of the dairy. These magical formulæ of the Todas seem to show us a stage of magic in which religion has been called

to its aid. The sorcerer does not endeavour to effect his purpose merely by the belief in the efficiency of like producing like, or other ideas which dominate the lower forms of magic, but has called to his aid the power of the gods and uses a form of words almost identical with that used in the religious ritual. Magic and religion are here closely allied, but it is possible that this alliance is but one of the products of the degeneration to which I believe the Toda religion is subject. It is possible that we have here evidence that during the process of degeneration of religion, religion and magic may approach one another—an approach which recalls their common origin from those low beliefs and ideas of the savage to which the name of neither magic nor religion should perhaps be properly applied.



CHAPTER XX

GENEALOGIES AND POPULATION

THE preceding chapters have dealt with the ceremonies and religious aspect of the life of the Todas. This and succeeding chapters will deal with the social organisation and the more secular side of the life of the people.

The social organisation has been studied largely by means of the genealogical record which is given in Appendix V. Before going to India I had worked out the details of the system of kinship, of the regulation of marriage, and of the social organisation generally of two Papuan communities on the basis of the pedigrees preserved by those communities.

It is a familiar fact that, both in ancient writings and in the memories of peoples to whom writing is unknown, long lists of ancestors may be preserved, going back in some cases to mythical times. Among existing peoples good examples of such genealogies are found in Polynesia and Uganda, but such a genealogical record is of little value for the investigation of social organisation.

The records which I obtained in Torres Straits were of a different kind ; they only extended back for three or four generations, but included all collateral lines, so that a man was able to tell me all the descendants of his great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather, and knew the descent of his mother, his father's mother, his mother's mother, and his wife as fully as that of his father. By this means I was able to collect¹ a record of the great majority of marriages which had taken place in the community for the last three or four

¹ See *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 122.



generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same completeness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.

It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead.

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versa*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure.

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect.

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1-72. This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres*

Straits Expedition, with the modifications rendered necessary by the presence of polyandry and infant marriage among the Todas. In any one table the descendants in the male line only are given, descendants in the female line being recorded in the genealogies of the husbands. Thus, if one wishes to ascertain the descendants of Pilivurch in Table 1, it is necessary to turn to Table 20 recording the genealogy of Teithi, the husband of this woman. The names of males are in capital letters, those of females in ordinary type, and the name of a wife always follows the name of her husband or husbands. Under the name of each individual is placed, in italics, the name of the clan to which the individual belongs, or, in the case of a married woman, of the clan to which she had belonged before marriage. The names of those now living are given in Clarendon type, of which Mudrigeidi and Savdur in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviation i.m. stands for "infant marriage." The abbreviations d.y. and d.n.n. stand for "died young" and "died before being named" respectively. The latter implies that the child died within a few weeks of birth.

When the names of men are enclosed in square brackets, polyandry, and when the names of women are so enclosed, polygyny, is indicated.

In the *Torres Straits Reports* I have shown that there are definite reasons why the people should have preserved their pedigrees so fully. The pedigrees are not preserved for amusement nor out of idle interest in the doings of ancestors or neighbours. In Torres Straits the complex and far-reaching nature of the marriage regulations form the chief motive for the preservation of the pedigrees, while the transmission of property is perhaps of almost equal importance.

Among the Todas we shall see that the marriage regulations are far simpler than among the Papuans of Torres Straits, and in their case the chief motive is probably connected with the inheritance of buffaloes, the only form of property in which the Toda takes much interest. In the succeeding chapters we shall find several examples of social transactions in which the knowledge derived from the genealogical record has determined the issue.

THE VALUE OF THE GENEALOGICAL RECORD

In the succeeding chapters I shall show the value of the genealogies in working out the nature of the system of kinship and in providing statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The greater part of my work on the social aspect of the life of the Todas is based on material derived from the genealogies ; or perhaps I should rather say that most of the information I give has been checked, if not entirely obtained, by means of the genealogies.

I wish, however, to draw attention here to a far wider use of the genealogies in anthropological investigation. They bring a concrete element into anthropological work which greatly facilitates inquiry. The lower one goes in the social or intellectual scale in mankind, the greater difficulty is there in dealing with abstractions. The savage mind is almost wholly occupied with the concrete. Discuss his laws of inheritance with him, and you probably soon become hopelessly entangled in misunderstanding. Take a number of concrete cases, and his memory will enable him to heap instance upon instance showing how property was inherited in given cases. Similarly, in ceremonies, ask the savage to give an account of a given ceremony, and he probably omits many essential points, not because he forgets them, but because they are so familiar to him that he thinks you, like himself, take them for granted. Ask him to tell you exactly what A and B did when they performed a given ceremony, and he forms a mental picture of A and B going through the ceremony, and tells you exactly what they did and how they did it. When another individual comes into the ceremony, he too comes in as a concrete personage, and his sayings and doings are faithfully recorded.

The Todas are so intelligent that the genealogies were not so essential an instrument of investigation as was the case in Torres Straits, but they were nevertheless of enormous value in giving concreteness to the accounts of the Toda ceremonies. The Todas certainly gave fuller and more faithful accounts of their ceremonies when they described actual events, but such descriptions would have been of little value to me if I had

not had my pedigrees as a guide. An account of a Toda funeral, for instance, with its many *dramatis personæ* would probably have baffled my powers of comprehension if I had not had my book of genealogies for reference.

I always worked with this book by my side whenever I was investigating any ceremonial in which the social side of life was concerned. I asked for a description of some ceremony recently performed of which the memories were fresh. The chief actors in the ceremony were always mentioned by name; and whenever a name occurred, I looked up the clan and family of the person in question and noticed his relationship to other persons who had taken part in the ceremony. The actors in the ceremony were thus real people to me as well as to my informants, and the account of the ceremony proceeded with the maximum of interest and the minimum of fatigue both to myself and to my informants.

The method had the further advantage that it afforded me the means of checking the accounts which I was given. An informant inclined to be careless soon found that I had the means of checking his narrative on many points; and some of the people, not knowing the source of my information, credited me with more knowledge than I really possessed, and were in consequence extremely careful not to wander from the truth, or perhaps I should rather say, not to tell me anything of which they were not absolutely certain. I have already stated my belief that the Todas are very truthful and that they err far more often from carelessness than intention, but the fact that I had a fund of knowledge of which the source was somewhat mysterious probably saved me from having much of my time wasted by careless or inaccurate information.

I think that my familiarity with the names and circumstances of the people helped me to acquire their confidence. Among the more simple people of Torres Straits, I used sometimes to let a man know, much to his astonishment, that I was acquainted with some of the affairs of his family. Among the more reticent Todas, it seemed to me unwise to do this, but, on meeting for the first time a man with whom I was already acquainted through the genealogies, I often referred to something I knew he had done, perhaps to the skilful

way he had caught the buffalo at such and such a funeral, and the fact that I knew something of him and his doings often helped to put us at once on friendly terms, and at the same time put him on his mettle to give me the best of the knowledge at his command.

THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE GENEALOGIES

Before using the genealogical record as a means of studying the details of the social organisation, it may be well to consider what guarantee we have that the genealogies form a truthful record of the past. In Torres Straits, where I gained my first experience in these matters, I was so incredulous of the accuracy of the record that I obtained almost every particle of information from two or three different and independent sources, and it was only when I had finished that I found the whole mass of material to furnish a record so consistent in itself that it could hardly have been other than veracious.

Further, on investigating kinship and the regulation of marriage, both on the basis of the genealogical record, it was found that the results of one investigation closely corroborated the results of the other, and that the combined investigations gave so consistent and coherent a result that it was incredible that the genealogies on which the investigations were based should have been other than faithful and accurate records.

The Toda community is considerably larger than either of those with which I worked in the islands of Torres Straits, and when I found that the memories of the people extended back as far or nearly as far as in those islands, it became obvious that I was confronted with a task of considerable magnitude, and the question arose whether it was necessary to obtain separate accounts of every family from independent witnesses, as I had done previously, or whether I might not rely on the account of a family given by one witness and only seek corroboration occasionally. I began by following the same procedure as in Torres Straits, but soon found that the accounts obtained independently showed a close

agreement, and I therefore contented myself in my later work with one account, though every now and again I went over a piece of a pedigree with a second witness. When I had finished, the consistency of all the parts of the record with one another seemed to afford conclusive evidence that I had obtained what is, on the whole, a veracious record.

Of course, in so large a mass of material there are mistakes.¹ In one family no doubt a child has been omitted, especially when it died young and had no posterity to make its name important; in another case perhaps a child has been added to a family who was really the offspring of another mother. That there are such mistakes is certain, but they are probably few in number, and I have no doubt that, with one exception to be presently considered, such mistakes as have crept in do not appreciably impair the value of the genealogies as a record of the working of social regulations.

There is one deficiency of the record, however, of the existence of which I have little doubt—a deficiency entirely due to my own carelessness. To me the chief interest of the genealogies is that they are a record of the past—a record of the working of social regulations which at the present time may be already affected by the new influences coming into the lives of primitive people all over the world. In my absorption in the records of the past, I have often neglected the present and have omitted to ascertain carefully the children of families at present in process of growth. In several cases I have failed to obtain the names of children of people now living, and I have very little doubt that I have in several or many cases omitted the names of other children of growing families. I had one excuse for this in the fact already mentioned, that I had to obtain my information about a given family from people of some other family. A man would often know all about the members of the given family in the past, but, living perhaps at some distance from the family in question, he was often hazy as to the exact number and names of the children recently born, and it is the record of

¹ For a few cases in which an individual is entered as the child of a man who is known not to be his real father, see p. 534. In such a case I have assigned the child to the parent who is regarded as the legal father by the Todas.

children under five years of age which I know to be deficient.

If the number of the Todas now living and recorded in the genealogies be counted, it will be found that there are 736 individuals, 419 males and 317 females. In the census of 1901 the total population is given as 805, 451 males and 354 females. My record falls short of that of the census by 69 individuals, 32 males and 37 females.

Further, when I arrange the people now living according to age, it is found that there is a distinct deficiency in children under five years of age. Thus, my records of age come out as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
Above 65 years.	9	3
61—65 "	4	7
56—60 "	19	9
51—55 "	20	17
46—50 "	26	21
41—45 "	26	18
36—40 "	26	27
31—35 "	40	25
26—30 "	40	33
21—25 "	38	28
16—20 "	32	31
11—15 "	41	20
6—10 "	54	33
5 and under	44	45
Total	419	317

The ages upon which this table is based could only be obtained very roughly, and the figures must be taken merely as rough approximations to the truth. The irregularities of the table may be due partly to this defect, but it is very improbable that there are about the same number of children of five and under as of children between six and ten, and we may be fairly confident that but for omissions the numbers of the youngest group, especially of boys, would have been larger.

I have reason to believe, further, that I have not omitted any appreciable number of adults or children over five years of age. I tested 320 males and 183 females for colour-

blindness, and as I was anxious to test every member of the community who was old enough, I obtained towards the end of my visit the names of all those who had not been tested. I only attempted to test children when over five years of age, and I have therefore an independent record of the living Todas above this age, so that it is fairly certain that the greater part of the deficiency in the genealogical record is of children about or below the age of five, though it is possible that I may also have missed a certain number of women.

This deficiency does not in the slightest degree affect the value of the pedigrees as a record of marriages or of the working of social regulations, but it does impair the value of the statistics concerning the average size of a family and other matters of biological interest, though only for the last generation.

On looking through my genealogical tables, it will be seen that different clans and families differ very greatly in the fulness of their record. In some cases I have pedigrees going back to the great-grandfathers of men now in middle life; in other cases I have only the names of the fathers of such men. The briefness of the record is especially marked in the case of the outlying clans, such as Kwòdrdoni, Pedrkars, and Päm, which I only visited for short periods. During these visits there was so much to be done that something had to suffer and the genealogies were usually the victims. If I had had more time, I have little doubt that I could have obtained much fuller records in many cases.

BUFFALO PEDIGREES

Marshall has stated that the Todas preserve the pedigrees of their buffaloes in the female line, and when I had found how carefully the Todas preserved their own pedigrees my next step was to endeavour to ascertain if the pedigrees of their buffaloes were preserved with the same amount of care and completeness. I returned to this subject again and again, but with very imperfect success. The Todas always treated my inquiries on this subject as if they were trifling and ridiculous. It is possible that this was one of the points on

which they were reticent, but I am inclined to think that I was told all there was to tell.

To a certain extent it is correct to say that the pedigrees of the buffaloes are preserved, and in the female line only. If any given buffalo were taken as the starting-point, the owner could usually tell me the names of the mother of the buffalo and of the mother's mother, and occasionally I obtained the names of the immediate ancestors in the female line for four generations. Thus, Nertiners of Taradr (24) had a buffalo named Kârstum who was the daughter of Idrsh. Idrsh was the daughter of Persud, who was the daughter of Nerûv, who was the daughter of Kiûd. Another of his buffaloes, Keien, was descended from Koisi, Nerûv, and Kâsimi in the order named.

I could not ascertain that the Todas kept any record of the collateral lines of descent, nor was there, so far as I could find, any idea of kinship between buffaloes descended from the same recent ancestor. Two buffaloes born of the same mother would be known, of course, to be sisters, but no importance seemed to be attached to the relationship.

An obvious reason for the limitation of the pedigrees of the buffaloes to the female line is the fact that only female buffaloes are named, so that there are no means of recording male parentage. We shall see later that among themselves the Todas attach little importance to paternity, and the same indifference is found in their attitude towards their buffaloes. The essential reason for the nature of the record of buffalo-descent is the complete absence of desire to maintain the purity of the breed, even of the most sacred herds, and the complete lack of attention to ties of consanguinity between buffaloes mated together.

THE TODA POPULATION

The chapters on kinship and marriage will furnish object-lessons on the method of application of the knowledge derived from the genealogies to the study of social regulations. In the remainder of this chapter I propose to consider various problems connected with population, of biological as well as

of sociological interest. The data derived from the genealogies are here of distinct service, though, for reasons already considered, their value is not so great as in the investigation of social regulations.

Records of the numbers of the Todas have been taken at various times, beginning with what must have been a very rough estimate made by Keys¹ in 1812, in which the number of the Todas or Thothavurs was placed at 179. In 1821, Ward² estimated the numbers of men and women at 140 and 82 respectively, of whom the great majority lived in the Todanad district of the hills.

Hough³ in 1825 found the population to consist of 145 men, 100 women, 45 boys, and 36 girls, altogether 326.

In 1838, Birch⁴ gives the population as consisting of 294 men and 184 women, amounting to 478, but elsewhere in his paper he says that the number of the Todas was computed at about 800.

In 1847, Ouchterlony⁵ found the number of the Todas to be 337, made up of 86 adult males, 87 male children, 70 adult females, and 94 female children. The proportion of males to females is only 173 to 164, showing a very much smaller preponderance of males than in any other estimate before or since.

In 1856, Grigg⁶ gives 185 males and 131 females, altogether 316.

In 1866, Grigg gives the population as 704. If the estimates of this year and that of 1856 were correct, it would show that the population had more than doubled in ten years. It is evident that the census of 1866 is the first which gives anything approaching an accurate record of the Toda population. Even in this year there is one obvious source of error, for it would seem that those living at the foot of the hills, near Gudalur were not included, and probably twenty or thirty, if not more, would have to be added on this account.

¹ Grigg's *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, 1880, Appendix No. 17, p. xlviii.

² *Ibid.* App. No. 20, p. lx.

³ *Letters to the Neilgherries*, London, 1829, p. 75.

⁴ *Madras Journ. of Lit. and Science*, 1836, vol. viii, p. 86.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1848, vol. xv, p. 1.

⁶ *Manual*, p. 27.



For the census of 1871 the records are conflicting. On p. 29 of the *Manual*, Grigg gives the numbers as 693, 405 males and 288 females. On p. 187 he gives instead of these numbers 376 males and 263 females, making a total of 639. Breeks gives the latter numbers and also a revised result which brings out the total population as 683. This figure, or the earlier of Grigg's figures, evidently approximates to the correct population, which shows a slight falling off as compared with five years earlier.

In the census of 1881, the numbers would appear to have continued to diminish, the population being put at only 675 ; 382 males and 293 females.

In 1891, the number had risen to 736 ; 424 males and 312 females.

In the census of 1901, which was taken with especial care to record all the Todas, there were found to be 451 males and 354 females, making together 805.

The population as recorded in my genealogical tables compiled in 1902 was only 736 ; 419 males and 317 females. My numbers fall far short of those of the census taken a year previously. As I have already pointed out, my genealogies are untrustworthy as a record of the young children of the community now living, and it is possible also that I have omitted a certain number of women. The excess of men over women is distinctly greater in my figures than in the census of 1901, and this may be due to the fact that I failed to hear of a certain number of widows or unmarried women or girls. If so, it is probable that these defects are in the genealogies of the Teivaliol, and it is in them that the excess of men is greatest.

The earlier records of the population are certainly far below the mark. Captain Harkness, writing in 1832, estimates the attendance at a funeral at 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and girls. Those seen by Harkness may not have been all Todas, since Badagas and Kotas undoubtedly attend Toda funerals, but we may safely call this a total attendance of 500, which would show that the records of Hough in 1825 and of Birch in 1838 are far below the mark, and that Birch's rough estimate of 800 is

probably far more nearly correct, and may even have been too small.

The records have probably been fairly complete since 1866, and if so, they show a falling off in population from this date till the 1881 census. It is, however, possible that the gradual increase in numbers during recent censuses has been due to the greater care taken at each succeeding census. Unsatisfactory as the records are, they seem to point to a diminution of population about the middle of the last century, which ceased between 1880 and 1890, since which time the population has probably increased.

Mr. R. C. Punnett¹ has analysed the data furnished by my genealogical records to ascertain the average size of the Toda family. He divided the families recorded in the genealogies into four groups : (A) those where the eldest child would in 1903 be over 90 years of age ; (B) those where he would be between 60 and 90 ; (C) and (D) those where he would be between 30 and 60 and between 0 and 30 respectively. He has recorded the results for Tartharol and Teivaliol separately in the following table.

Group.	Tartharol.			Teivaliol.		
	No. of families.	Average size of family.	♂ s per 100 ♀ s.	No. of families.	Average size of family.	♂ s per 100 ♀ s.
A	9	3·0 [4·2]	237·5	4	4·5 [6·0]	200
B	49	4·1 [5·0]	159·7	21	3·8 [5·4]	259
C	87	3·3 [3·7]	131·4	40	3·8 [5·0]	202
D	104	2·5 [2·8]	129·2	45	2·3 [2·9]	171

The figures in square brackets give the average size of the family for each generation, making allowance for cases of female infanticide, which we shall see presently to be a Toda custom which is almost certainly diminishing in frequency.

The conclusion Mr. Punnett draws from this table is that there has been a marked decrease in fertility during the period covered by the genealogies.

The defects in my record as regards young children make

¹ *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

any conclusions about the last generation very inconclusive, but since the record for very young children is certainly defective, and since many families now existing will certainly increase in size, it is probable that any progressive decrease in the size of a family has now been arrested, and the details of the genealogical record would therefore agree with the Census Reports in showing the presence of a distinct tendency of the Toda population to increase.

None of the previous records have given any indication of the numbers of the two chief divisions of the Toda people. According to my genealogical records, there were living, in 1902, 528 Tartharol and 208 Teivaliol. The defects in my record are probably somewhat greater for the Teivaliol than for the Tartharol, but any difference there may be is certainly not great, and I think we may conclude that, though these figures are not accurate, they represent approximately the true proportion of the numbers of the two divisions. It is quite certain that the Tartharol are more than twice as numerous as the Teivaliol. Mr. Punnett's table does not show any great difference between the two divisions in the average size of the family, so that the proportion between the numbers of the two divisions has probably not altered during the period covered by the genealogical record. It is probable that the Teivaliol have always or for a very long time been the smaller division.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record then agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers.

There can be little doubt that any decrease in the Toda population about the middle of last century was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. The adverse influences which came into the lives of the Todas probably owe their origin to the large immigration of native servants and to the development of the bazaar. Though Europeans first began to come to the Nilgiri Hills about 1820, it was not till twenty or thirty years later that they arrived in any considerable numbers, so that it was probably the middle of the century

before the injurious influences made their effects felt to any great effect.

The especial influences injurious to fertility have probably been syphilis and sexual immorality, for the Todas do not appear to have fallen to any very great extent under the influence of alcohol or opium. They certainly take both, and especially after the market day at the Ootacamund bazaar, I have seen Todas obviously under the influence of drink ; but I believe this to have been only an influence of minor importance on the health of the people. Syphilis, on the other hand, has undoubtedly affected them to a considerable extent. At the present time its ravages are not very obvious, though, without looking for it especially, I saw several examples of its effects. There can be little doubt, however, that it has been a potent factor in the past. In a note in a book by A. C. Burnell,¹ it is mentioned that in 1871 thirty-one Todas were treated at Ootacamund for venereal disease, and of these thirty were syphilitic. This means that in one year over 4 per cent. of the total Toda population were treated for syphilis at one place, and we may be fairly confident that all those suffering from the disease did not apply for treatment.

Another factor working towards the diminution of the population has probably been sexual immorality. I shall have to return to this subject again later, and must be content here to point out that the Toda women have a very bad reputation, though perhaps their laxity is not as great as is usually supposed. Still, there can be little doubt that the women of some villages are extremely immoral, and it is probable that this has distinctly tended to produce sterility.

If the diminution in the size of the Toda family is due to these adverse influences, it should be found to be greatest in those sections of the Toda community which have been most subject to these influences. The best way of throwing light on this question is to compare the fertility of the different clans of the Tartharol. Some of these, such as Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr, and Kanòdrs, either live in outlying parts of the hills or are sufficiently remote from the chief centres of the European population not to have been influenced very greatly.

¹ *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, Mangalore, 1873.

The chief village of the Kars clan is situated close to Ootacamund and has suffered greatly from its neighbours, but many of the villages of the clan are more remote, so that the clan may be put down as one partly influenced. The people of Päm and Nidrsi, on the other hand, are more influenced than any other of the Toda clans, as is shown by the alterations in their villages and the neglect of the ritual of their religion. The villages of the Pämol are, or were, near to Wellington Barracks, and it is certainly the most degenerated of all the Toda clans. The following table, taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, shows the average size of the family in each case, and though the figures are somewhat irregular, they bear out the view that sterility is greater the more the people have come into contact with Europeans and their followers.

Name of clan.	No. of families.	No. of offspring.	Average size of family.	Average size of family for group.
Nòdrs } Pan } Taradr } (uninfluenced) Kanòdrs }	14 8 9 11	54 21 43 33	3·84 } 2·37 } 4·77 } 3·00 }	3·59
Kars (partly influenced)	25	76	3·04	3·04
Päm } Nidrsi } (much influenced)	10 10	22 30	2·20 } 3·00 }	2·60

PROPORTION OF THE SEXES

The records of the Toda population in the past all show an excess of men over women, and with the exception of the record of Ouchterlony, which is certainly untrustworthy, the excess is considerable. In view of their untrustworthiness no importance can be attached to the records taken earlier than that of 1866, and in the report for that year I have been unable to ascertain the proportions of the sexes. In 1871 there were 140·6 men for every 100 women; in 1881, 130·4 for every 100; in 1891, 135·9, and in the census of 1901, 127·4 men for every 100 women. My figures, derived from the

genealogical record, give for 1902, 132·2 men for every 100 women, a proportion distinctly greater than that of the census, which suggests that it is in the female portion of the community that my records are most defective.

In the table on p. 474 taken from Mr. Punnett's paper, it is seen that the data derived from the genealogical record agree with those of the Census Reports in showing on the whole a progressive decrease in the excess of men over women. The number of families in the first group is too small to give them much importance, but for the three succeeding generations of the Tartharol, the numbers of males for every 100 females are 159·7, 131·4, and 129·2, while for the Teivaliol the figures are 259, 202, and 171 respectively.

The Census Reports and the genealogical record thus agree in showing a progressive diminution in the excess of men over women.

There can be little doubt as to the cause of this. All accounts of the Todas agree in attributing to them the practice of female infanticide, though, at the present time, the Todas are very chary of acknowledging the existence of the practice. They deny it absolutely for the present, and they are reluctant to speak about it for the past.

I do not think that there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. The chance remarks of children to my interpreter, Samuel, had shown him that the practice is still followed occasionally, and I think it far from unlikely that it is even now not a very rare occurrence.

In Mr. Punnett's table, it will be seen that the genealogical data show that the excess of men is far greater in the Teivaliol than in the Tartharol, and the excess in the former is so great as to leave little doubt that the practice is still followed in this division not infrequently. If this is so, it is probably due to the fact that the Teivaliol chiefly inhabit the more outlying parts of the hills, so that, on the whole, they have been less affected than the Tartharol by the various influences which have come into the lives of the Todas. An

accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more conservative.

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk.

The most probable account is that given to Marshall¹ by an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method of disposing of the bodies of still-born children.

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessities for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which

¹ Pp. 194-5.

seems at present to exist may be due, wholly or in part, to the diminution of infanticide.

There is one indication that female infanticide has almost entirely ceased during the last five years, and even that there may now be an excess of female births. In the table of ages given on page 469, it will be seen that the pedigrees record more girls than boys of five years and under. There is no reason why my record of such young children should have been more defective for one sex than for the other, and the proportion here may be approximately correct.

TWINS

Twins are called *ömumokh*, and it is the custom to kill one of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or, at any rate, would have been killed in the past.

There is one case of twins in the genealogies. Itraveli, the wife of Kwötuli and Nudriki (8), gave birth to twins about twelve years ago. Both were boys, and I was first told that one had died shortly after birth, but later inquiries made it almost certain that the boy had been killed. Some time after the birth of the twins, one of the buffaloes of Kwötuli and Nudriki is said to have had a calf with one body, two heads, and four legs. The buffalo died before the calf was born, and the monstrosity was found by the Kotas, to whom the body was given. It was generally expected that something would happen to Kwötuli or Nudriki, but they have since been very prosperous.

THE DETERMINATION OF AGE

This is a suitable place to say a word about the method I adopted to ascertain the ages of the Todas. Like all people at a low stage of culture, the Todas are very uncertain about their ages, though their knowledge is more accurate than that of many peoples. Every Toda knows, however, whether he is older or younger than another, this fact determining the

names and salutations they give to one another, as we shall see in the next chapter. A few of the younger men seemed to have accurate knowledge of their ages, and building up on this basis, and with a knowledge of the relative ages of the different members of the community, it became possible to arrive at estimates which probably do not deviate very widely from the correct ages; even in the case of the older people, I do not believe that my estimated ages are likely to be more than five years out in any case. As already mentioned (see p. 416), the Todas make use, in the estimation of age, of their belief in the eighteen-year period of a flower, and the ages so estimated in a few cases agreed fairly with those arrived at in other ways.

Among those now alive, it seemed that the usual time which separates the birth of two children of the same mother is about three years, and I have taken this time as the rule in estimating the ages of all those whose names are included in the genealogies. Similarly, so far as I could tell, women begin to bear children when about eighteen to twenty years of age.

The ages of the four groups given in the table on p. 474 were calculated on the assumptions that a woman had her first child when twenty years old, and that the interval between the births of two children was three years.

The oldest Toda now living is Kiugi (57). He looks an extremely old man, and is said by the Todas to be nearly a hundred years of age. There is evidence which makes it probable that he is at least eighty or ninety. Kòrs, the father of Kiugi, performed the *pursütipimi* ceremony before the birth of Teitchi (52) (see p. 564). Teitchi's grandson, Kuriolv, is now about fifty-four years of age. When Kòrs gave the bow and arrow he may have been only a young boy, and if we assume that he was fifteen years old, that Teitchi and Pareivan had their first children when twenty years old, and that the interval between the birth of Pilzink and that of Pareivan was six years, it would make the age of Kòrs, if he were still alive, 115. If Kiugi was born when his father was twenty years old, it would make his age ninety-five. If, on the other hand, we assume that Kòrs gave the bow and arrow when

only ten years of age, and that he did not have his first child till he was thirty, it would make Kiugi's age eighty. Kiugi's eldest child, if alive, would now probably be about sixty, and this supports the view that the lowest possible estimate of Kiugi's age is eighty, and he is not improbably a good deal older.



CHAPTER XXI

KINSHIP

THE system of kinship was studied chiefly by means of the genealogies. The Todas are sufficiently intelligent to be able to give satisfactory definitions of their terms expressing different kinds of relationship, but the genealogies were very useful in checking these definitions and in working out several points in detail.

The Toda system of kinship is of the kind known as classificatory with several interesting special features. Perhaps the most important of these is the use of the same terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand, and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other hand. This is a natural consequence of the regulation which ordains that the proper marriage for a man is one with the daughter either of his mother's brother or father's sister.

Another important feature of the Toda system is the existence of two well-marked groups of terms expressing bonds of kinship; one used when speaking of relatives, and the other when speaking to relatives and in exclamations. The latter, which may be regarded as vocative cases of the former, are fewer in number and used in a much more general sense; and if the two are not distinguished, it is easy to understand that one may find only "inextricable confusion in Toda ideas as to relationship."¹ I will first give a list of kinship terms, together with the forms used in direct address, and the approximate definitions, and these will be followed by a

¹ See Marshall, p. 213.

discussion of the exact meaning of each term. The vocative forms are enclosed in brackets.

Pevian, great-grandfather.

Peviaiv, great-grandmother.

Pian (*pia*), grandfather.

Piav (*piava*), grandmother.

In (*aia*), father.

Av (*ava*), mother.

Mokh (*ena*), son.

Kugh (*ena*), daughter.

Mokh pedvai mokh (*ena*), grandson.

Mokh pedvai kugh (*ena*), granddaughter.

An (*anna*), elder brother.

Egal (*egala*), brother of same age.

Nòdrved (*enda*), younger brother.

Akkan (*akka*), elder sister.

Nòdrvedkugh (*enda*), younger sister.

Mun (*mama*), mother's brother and wife's father.

Mumi (*mimia*), father's sister and wife's mother.

Manmokh (*ena*), sister's son.

Mankugh (*ena*), sister's daughter.

Matchuni, child of a mother's brother or father's sister.

Òl (*òl* or *òlia*), husband.

Kotvai or *tazmokh* (*tazmokh* or *tazmokhia*), wife.

Paiol, general name for male relatives of wife.

Motvilth (*ena*), son's wife.

A general name for those of the same clan is *annatam*, but I am not sure that this is not properly a borrowed word.

In giving a more detailed account of these terms of kinship, it will perhaps be convenient to begin with the relationship of *in*, or father.

In. A person speaks of his father as "*en in*," "my father," while "his father" would be "*tan in*." An *in* is addressed as *aia*. These names are applied not only to the father, but also to the father's brothers, whether they are husbands of the mother or not.

The names *in* or *aia* are also given to all the males of the clan (*madol*) who are of the same generation as the father;

also to the husbands of the sisters of the mother, sisters here including both own sisters and clan-sisters, *i.e.*, to the husbands of all those who are of the same clan and generation as the mother. Elder brothers of the father (either own brothers or clan-brothers) are often addressed as *perudaia*, while younger brothers are called *karudaia*, and in speaking of such men the expressions "*en in perud*" and "*en in karud*" would be used. When a man speaks of one of his more remote fathers, and it may be doubtful of whom he is speaking, he may add the name of the man; thus Siriar (20) would speak of Paniolv (26), the husband of his mother's sister, as "*Pani in*."

Av. A mother is spoken of as *en av* or *tan av*, and addressed as *ava*. These names are also applied to the wife of a father other than the actual mother, to the sisters of the mother, to the wives of the father's brothers, and to the sisters of the wife's father. Every woman of the same clan and generation as the mother is an *av*. In general the wife of an *in* is an *av*. As in the case of the *in*, a distinction is made between the elder and younger sisters of the mother, the former being addressed as *perudava* and the latter *karudava*. Similarly the wife of an elder brother of the father is *perudava* and of a younger *karudava*. Such relatives may be spoken of as "*en av perud*" and "*en av karud*."

Mokh and Kugh. Every one whom a man calls *in* or *av* calls the man *mokh*, and every one to whom a woman gives these names calls the woman *kugh*. In direct address, both *mokh* and *kugh* are called *ena* (? *enna*).

In speaking of his brother's children, a man may make clear whether he is speaking of the child of an elder or younger brother; thus he may say "*en nòdrvedvain mokh*," "my younger brother's son." *Mokh* is often used as a general term for "child" and may be applied to persons of either sex.

Pian. This name is given to both paternal and maternal grandfathers and to their brothers, certainly in the narrow sense and probably in the wider. Every male of the speaker's clan of the same generation as the father's father would certainly be called "*en pian*." The brother of the father's mother is also called *pian*, but I am doubtful whether the term is used for all the clan-brothers of the father's mother.

Similarly I am uncertain how far the clan-brothers of the mother's father and mother's mother receive this name. A *pian* is addressed as *pia*.

Piav. This is the name of both paternal and maternal grandmothers, and in general the wife of a *pian* is a *piav*. A *piav* is addressed as *piava*.

All those addressed as *pian* or *piav* will address the speaker as *ena*. When speaking of his grandson, a man will say "*en mokh pedvai*" or "*en mokh pedvai mokh*," literally "my born to my son" or "my son born to my son," and there were no less elaborate terms.

The son of a daughter is called *en kugh pedvai mokh*, "my daughter who born to son," taking the words in order, or "my son born to my daughter." A daughter of a son is called *en mokh pedvai kugh*, and the daughter of a daughter, *en kugh pedvai kugh*. Since, however, *mokh* is often used as a general name for "child," I believe that this word usually takes the place of *kugh*, and that in consequence a grandchild of either sex is called *en mokh pedvai mokh*.

Pevian and *peviav*. These words for great-grandfather and great-grandmother have a similar wide connotation. The word *pef* is an ancient term for "great" which is used in some of the magical incantations (see p. 267).

An. This is the name for elder brother and for all members of the clan of a man or woman who are of the same generation as, and older than, the man or woman. An *an* is addressed as *anna*.

Nòdrved. This is the name for younger brother and for all members of the clan of the same generation as, and younger than, the speaker. *En nòdrved* or *nòdrped* means literally "my born with." A *nòdrved* is addressed as *enda*.

Egal. A corresponding relative who is of the same age is called *en egal* and is addressed as *egala*.

These terms are used both by men and women of and to men.

Akkan. This term is applied by both men and women to an elder sister, and is also given to all female members of the same clan who are of the same generation as, and older than, the speaker. An *akkan* is addressed as *akka*.

Nòdrvedkugh. A younger sister is spoken of by this name, which is also given to all the female members of the same clan and generation, but younger than the speaker. Such a relative is addressed by the same term as is applied to a younger brother, viz., *enda*. Two sisters of the same age are *egal* and *egala* to one another.

These terms for "brother" and "sister" are also applied to one another by the children of two sisters. Thus a man would call the son of his mother's sister *an*, and address him as *anna* if the latter were older than himself, and would be spoken of by the latter as *en nòdrved* and addressed as *enda*. If of the same age they would be *egal* or *egala* to one another. Similarly a man addresses the daughter of his mother's sister as *akka* or *enda* according to age. I am doubtful how widely the terms for brotherhood and sisterhood are applied in this case. I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in a large clan like that of Kars would call one another brother and sister.

Thus the children of two brothers are brothers and sisters, and the children of two sisters are also brothers and sisters, while, as we shall see shortly, the children of brother and sister receive another name. The children of two sisters belong to different clans except in those cases in which the sisters have married men of the same clan. Thus a man may have brothers and sisters in several different clans.

Mun. This is the name of the mother's brother, of the father's sister's husband, and of the wife's father. The last is also spoken of as *paiol* together with other relatives of the wife. In the case of the orthodox Toda marriage, in which a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, or of his father's sister, the *mun* is at the same time both wife's father and either mother's brother or father's sister's husband, but the wife's father is still called *mun* even when a man marries a woman to whom he is unrelated.

The term *mun* is not only applied by a man to the own brothers of his mother, but also to her clan-brothers. When a man has many *mun*, he may show to which he is

referring by mentioning his name; thus Siriar (20) would say "*Karsūln mun*" if he referred to this relative, the husband of his father's sister, and he might speak in the same way of a clan-brother of his mother.

A distinction is often made between older and younger *mun*; thus, if a man's mother had two brothers, the elder would be called *en mun perud* and the younger *en mun karud*. A *mun* is addressed as *mama*.

Mumi. This is the name of the father's sister, of the wife of a mother's brother, and of the wife's mother, the terms brother and sister being again used in a wide sense. In general, the wife of a *mun* is a *mumi*. A *mumi* is addressed as *mimia*.

Manmokh. A person would apply the term *manmokh* to his sister's son and his wife's brother's son. It is a term reciprocal to *mun* in so far as this term is one for mother's brother and father's sister's husband. I am not quite certain whether it would be used for a son-in-law who was not also a sister's son, but I am almost certain that this would be done.

The term is also applied to the sons of clan-sisters, and when used in this more distant way a distinction is sometimes made. *En manmokh* would mean "my (own) sister's son," *Em manmokh*, literally "our sister's son," would be used for children of a more distant sister.

Mankugh is used in exactly the same way as *manmokh* for sister's daughter, &c.

Matchuni. This is the term applied to one another by the children, both male and female, of brother and sister. While the children of two brothers are brothers or sisters (*an, egal, akka* or *nòdrved*) and the children of two sisters are also brothers and sisters, the children of a brother and sister are *matchuni*. In other words, the children of an individual's mother's brother or of his father's sister are the *matchuni* of the individual.

When a man addresses his male *matchuni* he calls him *anna*, *egala* or *enda*, according to their relative ages. Similarly when a woman addresses her female *matchuni*, she calls her *akka*, *egala* or *enda*, according to age.

When a man addresses his female *matchuni*, he calls her either *tazmokhia* or *kughia* (see below). He gives her the former name because he is allowed to marry her; she is a woman who might normally be his wife and he therefore addresses her as wife.

Similarly a woman addresses her male *matchuni* as *òlia*; she calls him husband because he may become her husband.

As in the case of other relationships, a man may define more exactly of whom he is speaking when he refers to a *matchuni*, and may say instead *en munkugh*, the daughter of my *mun*. Two kinship terms are thus used which resemble one another closely, but have very different meanings:—*en munkugh*, my uncle's daughter, and *en mankugh*, my sister's daughter.

Òl, husband. A woman speaks of her husband as *en òl* and addresses him as *òlia*.

Kotvai and *tazmokh*, wife. A man speaks of his wife as *en kotvai*, and addresses her as *tazmokhia*.

Paiol. This is a general term for the male relatives of the wife. It is applied especially to the wife's father, the wife's brothers, and the brothers of the wife's father.

It seemed that this term should only properly be applied to the near relatives of the wife. Those whom the wife would address as *aia*, *anna*, or *enda*, because members of her clan, need not be called *paiol* by the husband.

Paiol is a reciprocal term, and it is therefore applied by a man to the daughter's husband, the sister's husband, and to the husband of the brother's daughter.

A *paiol* is addressed as *anna*, *egala*, or *enda*, according to age.

Motvilth. This term is the equivalent of daughter-in-law and is applied by a man to his son's wife. A woman is also the *motvilth* of the brothers of her husband's father. A *motvilth* is addressed as *ena*.

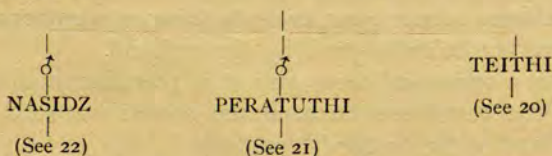
There did not seem to be any brief term for the sister of a wife, and a man would speak of her as *en kotvai akkan* if older, or as *en kotvai nòdrved* if younger than the wife.

Sometimes the Todas add to some of the kinship names

the word *potch*, which is said to have the meanings "begetting" or "begotten." I met with this especially in the lamentations used at funerals. A man would say, "*en potch aia*"—"O my father which begot me"; "*en potch anna*"—"O my elder brother begotten with me." For a younger brother, however, this word would not be used; a man would not say, "*en potch nòdrved ia*," because *ved* has the same significance as *potch*, *nòdrved* meaning also "born with" or "begotten with."

Every male of a man's own clan is either his *pian*; his *in*; his *an*, *egal*, or *nòdrved*; his *mokh*, or his *mokh pedvai mokh*. In most cases a clan consists of several families, and these families may be unrelated to one another so far as the evidence from the genealogical record goes. Nevertheless, every Toda knows exactly the proper kinship terms to apply to all the members of his clan. I inquired in detail into the basis of this knowledge in the case of the Taradrol, consisting of six *pòlm* or divisions. All the members of each *pòlm* trace their descent from a man whose name is known, and the pedigrees of the six *pòlm* are given in the genealogical tables 20 to 25.

It was known that three of these *pòlm* were closely related to one another, and that the other three were also closely related. The following table expresses the relationship in the first case:—



It was not perfectly certain whether Teithi and the two men whose names were not remembered were own brothers, but it was known that they were closely related and of the same generation. They were certainly clan-brothers and possibly own brothers. The kinship names applied by members of the three *pòlm* to one another were all in accordance with this scheme; thus, there was no one living in these three *pòlm* whom Siriar (20) called *aia*; he would have given this name to Nasidz or Peratuthi if they had been

alive. He calls Arthothi and Parkeidi *anna*; they are the sons of Peratuthi, who was of the same generation as Siriar's father. The following are called *mokh* or *ena*:—Püldenir, Keinodz, Idrshkwòdr (21), Polgar, Pundu, Keinmuv, and Pushtikudr (22), although at least one of these men is older than Siriar, and several others are approximately of the same age. Similarly, Muners (21) is the *mokh pedvai mokh*, or grandson of Siriar.

The other three *pòlm* of the Taradr clan are known to be related in a similar way: Kiusthvan (23), Pachievan (24), and Pungut (25) being either own brothers or men closely related and of the same generation. I was thus able to ascertain definitely how each member of the first three *pòlm* knew the appropriate name to be given to members of these families, and similarly how members of the other three *pòlm* knew the exact terms of kinship to apply to one another.

Each member of the first three *pòlm* also knew, however, the proper kinship terms to apply to members of the other three *pòlm*, although I could not obtain, and there seemed to be no record of, the way in which the two groups of families were connected. Thus Siriar addresses as *aia* Paners and his brothers (23) and Irkiolv (24). He addresses as *anna*: Teitukhen, Idjkudr and Kandu (23), Tòleidi, Nertiners, Mogai, Teimad and Orguln (24), and Kudeners and his brother (25). The children of these men are the *mokh* of Siriar, and are addressed by him as *ena*.

The explanation seems to be that the mode of relationship is handed down from generation to generation; thus Teithi, the grandfather of Siriar, called Kiusthvan (23) brother, and in consequence Ircheidi and Paners, their sons, also call one another brother, and so Siriar, the son of Ircheidi, knows that he has to call Paners father. In this way a man would know the correct term to apply to every member of his clan, though the links by which their pedigrees are connected may have been completely forgotten.

I also worked out the relationship of the different divisions of the Kuudr clan in the same way, and may perhaps give the record briefly.

Teitnir (52) calls the following Kuudr men *aia*:—Mutevan (52), Punatvan (53), Keitas (55), Tüliners (56), Kiugi (57), Tütners, Etamudri, Madsu, and Koboners (58), Ishkievan (60).

He calls the following *anna*:—Kuriolv and Ivievan (52), Targners (53), Keinkursi (54), and Mudriners (57). The following are his *nòdrved*, and are called by him *enda*:—Kwelthipush and his brothers, Piliar and Piliag (52), Pungusivan, Tevò, Karov and Pòl (53), Pöteners (54), Sinar and Katsog (55), Erai, Kil, Kanokh (56), Onadj and Kwòdrthotz (57), Kishkar and Tormungudr (59). All the sons of these brothers are the *mokh* of Teitnir.

In the above list Teitnir omitted Tikievan and Tushtkudr (56), who according to the genealogies are his *pia* or grand-fathers, while their sons, though much younger than Teitnir, are his fathers, and are addressed by him as *aia*.

The other kinship terms are used in the same wide way. If a man's mother belonged to Kuudr all those Kuudr men would be his *mun* who were the *an*, *egal*, or *nòdrved* of his mother; and all the children of those men would be his *matchuni*.

The terms used for the relatives of a wife are also used for the corresponding relatives of a *sedvaitazmokh*. This is the name of the woman in the Toda institution according to which a woman consorts with one or more men in addition to her husband or husbands (see p. 526). The man, or *mokhthodvaiol*, calls the fathers and brothers of the woman *paiol*, and calls her father *mun* and her mother *mumi*.

Relatives are often spoken of by the Todas in a way that defines their relation to the speaker more exactly than is usual in the classificatory system. Thus, a man may call his brother's son "*en nodrvedvain mokh*"—"my younger brother's son"; or he may speak of his wife's elder sister as "*en kotvai akka*," an abbreviation of *en kotvai tan akka*—"my wife her elder sister." Similarly, a wife's younger sister may be called "*en kotvai nòdrved*."

It seemed to me that the Todas afford an interesting example of a people who are beginning to modify the classificatory system of kinship in a direction which distinctly approaches the descriptive system. The essential features

of the system of kinship are those known as classificatory, but the Todas have various means of distinguishing between the near and distant relatives to whom the same kinship term is applied. Two examples of this have already been given; the son of an own sister may be called "my sister's son," while the son of a clan sister is called "our sister's son," and the own brother of a mother is simply called *mun*, while in the case of a clan brother of the mother, the name of the man is added. Further, a term which is definitely descriptive may be used in the examples quoted above.

The Todas have reached a stage of mental development in which it seems that they are no longer satisfied with the nomenclature of a purely classificatory system, and have begun to make distinctions in their terminology for near and distant relatives.

Another point of interest about the Toda system is that the two sets of kinship terms—those used in direct address and those used when speaking of a relative—do not correspond closely with one another.

The terms used in direct address are few in number compared with the kinship terms used when speaking of a relative. Brothers of all kinds, *matchuni* and some *paiol* (brothers-in-law) are all addressed as *anna*, *egala* or *enda*, according to age. Children, grandchildren, sisters' sons and sons-in-law are all addressed as *ena*. If exclusive attention were paid to the kinship terms used in address we should seem to have a kinship system which is almost wholly based on relative ages and generations, all other distinctions being ignored.

The Toda system distinguishes widely between elder and younger members of the family and clan. This feature, which is of very general occurrence in connexion with the classificatory system, has been highly developed by the Todas, and their system differs from any other with which I am acquainted in having a special term for relatives of the same age.

When two members of a clan or two men related in other ways address one another as brother, the terms employed depend altogether on their relative ages, and are not influenced by the relative seniority of the branches of the family or clan to which they belong.

The Toda system appears to be closely related to that of the Dravidians of Southern India. In several cases the names for certain kin are identical with or closely resemble those of other South Indian languages.

The three most characteristic features of the Toda system are (i.) the use of the same term for mother's brother and father-in-law, &c. ; (ii.) the marked development of vocative forms of the kinship terms ; (iii.) the marked development of distinctions according to age. These three features are also found in Tamil, and as far as my information goes in Telugu and Canarese. The Toda system appears to be a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity. The resemblance between the Toda and the Tamil names seems certainly to be closer than that between the Toda names and those of the Telugus and Canarese.

I do not wish here to consider these resemblances and differences in any detail, but in the Table on the opposite page I have given a list of those kinship terms in which the Todas resemble other inhabitants of Southern India. The Tamil terms I owe to Mr. K. Rangachari of Madras ; the others I have taken from Morgan's *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race*.

KINSHIP TABOOS

A man never mentions the name of his *mun*. If he wishes to make clear of whom he is speaking he will give the name of the place at which his *mun* lives, as "*Tedshteiri ithvai en mun podchi*," "My uncle who lives at Tedshteiri." This restriction only applies to the own brothers of his mother. Other more distant *mun* may be spoken of by name, and as we have already seen, if a man wishes to make it clear of whom he is speaking, he mentions the name in addition to the kinship term.

A man is also prohibited from uttering the name of the man from whom he has received his wife—*i.e.*, to whom he has done *kalmelpudithi* (see p. 502). This man, who is called the *mokhudrtvaiol*, is usually the father of the wife and would normally be also a *mun*, but sometimes the place of the

mokhudrtvaiol is usurped by somebody else and in such a case there might be no restriction on the name of the wife's real father. In the only case of this kind of which I have a record, the marriage of Siriar (20) and Pupidz, the place of *mokhudrtvaiol* was taken by Kuriolv, who was living with Pilimurg (7), the girl's mother, and though he was no real

	Toda.	Tamil.	Telegu.	Canarese.
Son.....	mokh	maghan		
Elder brother ...	an (anna)	aṇṇan (aṇṇa)	anna	anna
Elder sister	akkan (akka)	akkal (akka)	akka	akka
Mother's brother.	mun (māmā)	amman or maman (mama)	mena mama	mava
Father-in-law ...	mun (mama)	mamaner (mama)	mama	mava
Father's sister ...	mumi (mimia)	attai		
Wife of mother's brother	mumi (mimia)	ammami		
Wife's mother ...	mumi (mimia)	mamiyar (ammami)		
Sister's son	manmokh	maruman or marumakan		
Mother's brother's son	matchuni	maittunan (?)		
Father's sister's son	matchuni	attan or maittunan		
Wife's brother ...	matchuni or paiol	machchinan or maittunan		

relative of the wife, Siriar might not mention his name. In spite of the fact, however, that Kuriolv had become his *mokhudrtvaiol*, Siriar went privately to Patirsh (35), the real father of his wife, and did *kalmelpudithi* and would also refrain from saying the name of this man.

A man is prohibited from saying the name of his wife's mother (*mumi*), but my notes do not make clear whether he is also prohibited from saying the names of other *mumi*—i.e.,

father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this restriction only applies to near relatives.

A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

KINSHIP SALUTATIONS

There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithi*, in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

before women, and men even may bow down before women (see p. 502).

Since, owing to the *mokhthodvaiol* connexion, a Tarthar woman may have a Teivali *mun* and *vice versa*, the *kalmel-pudithti* salutation takes place between people of the two divisions, and I have often seen a woman of one division placing her head beneath the foot of a man of the other division.

When a person meets one of his kin, he uses a form of greeting which depends on the nature of the relationship. Most of these greetings consist of some form of the word *iti* or *itvi*, which was said to mean "blessing" or "bless," together with the kinship term.

A man would greet an elder brother or anyone whom he would call *anna* by the word "*tioñ*," cut very short so as to sound like a single syllable. This is a corruption of *iti anna*. A person greets a younger brother or one whom he would call *enda* by uttering his name followed by the word *ers*, as in "*Sakari ers*," "*Pakhwar ers*." A father is greeted as *itiai*, a mother as *itiava*. An elder sister as *itiakka*; a younger sister as *itvena*, and this latter form is used for any female relative younger than the speaker. It is the duty of younger female relatives to perform the *kalmelpudithti* salutation, and as soon as a man says *itvena*, the woman at once bows down and places her head beneath the raised foot of the man, helping him to raise it at the same time.

A mother's brother or father-in-law (*mun*) is greeted by *itimoiñ* and a *mumi* is greeted by *itimimia*, but so slurred as to be hardly recognisable. The grandfather and grandmother are greeted in the words *itin pia* and *itin piava*.

Whenever a new Toda came to join people who were with me, there would be a chorus of greetings, and the newcomer would look round carefully to see who was present, giving to each his proper salutation and obviously taking the greatest care that no one was overlooked. Since the relationship of brother is the most frequent, the greetings heard most often on these occasions were "*tioñ*" and "*... ers*."

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to

the salutation of the dead. When the body first reaches the funeral place it is saluted by all present, and in the case of kin, the mode of salutation varies with the bond of kinship. Those related to the deceased as *in*, *av*, *pian*, *piav*, *mun*, *mumi*, *an*, or *akkan*, bow down at the head of the corpse and touch the body with their foreheads, while all those whom the deceased would have called *enda* or *ena* bow down at the feet. The place saluted by those who are not kin is determined by age, but in the case of kin, the bond of kinship is more important than the age, so that the former condition determines the mode of salutation. Thus at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3), Kòdrner (7) saluted at the head of the dead woman. He was the younger, but was her *mun* owing to the fact that Kiuneimi's step-mother Kureimi, was a Kars woman whom Kòdrner called sister.

THE DUTIES OF KIN

The funeral ceremonies provide the greatest number of examples of kinship duties, the parts taken by many of the mourners being determined largely by their bonds of kinship to the deceased. The place of chief mourner is taken by the brother or son of a dead man, by the husband of a dead woman, and by the father of a dead child, though, at the funeral of a girl, the husband plays the most important rôle.

Various duties fall to relatives of the same clan or of the same family of the clan. The earth-throwing at the funeral of a male, the smearing of butter on the buffalo, lighting the pyre at the first funeral and the two fires at the *azaramkedr*, and ringing the bell at the final scene, are all performed by near relatives of the same clan and family as the deceased.

Cutting off a lock of hair and mixing food are acts performed by the chief mourner, who is of the same clan as the deceased, whether brother, son, husband, or father.

The *manmokh*, or sister's son (who may be also son-in-law), has certain definite duties. Formerly, when many buffaloes were killed, one was always given by the sister's son, and he still gives a thread cord, called *pennar*. Many other relatives give these cords, but that given by the *manmokh* is especially

honoured in that it is put round the body of the dead man inside his cloak, and not merely laid on the covering of the body as are the others.

The *mun* does not appear to have any duties at a funeral, though in old days he contributed a buffalo, and, at the present time, one of the two buffaloes slaughtered may be given by the *mun* or other representative of the mother's family.

The *matchuni* (child of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt) has several duties, of which the most important are those at the *irsankati* ceremony of the *azaramkedr*. The other duties are the secondary result of the marriage regulation which makes the *matchuni* the natural bridegroom or bride, and, in consequence, it is the *matchuni* who performs the *pursiutpimi* ceremony at the funeral of an unmarried girl. Similarly, the *matchuni* may take the place of a *paiol* at the cloth-giving ceremony.

The duties which have, however, the greatest social interest are those performed by the relatives by marriage. At the funeral of a woman certain ceremonies, such as that in which leaves of the *tiveri* plant are put in the dead woman's armlet, the *urvatpimi* ceremony for an unmarried girl, rubbing the relics, lighting the fire at the *azaramkedr*, and burning the funeral hut, should be performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman or the mother-in-law of a girl. These relatives are, however, of the same clan as the deceased, owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of the same clan as her husband; and I am therefore doubtful how far these relatives perform the duties in question as members of the same clan, and how far as relatives by marriage. Some of the duties, such as lighting the funeral fires, are done by men of the same clan at the funeral of men; and I am therefore inclined to believe that they are performed by a woman for this reason and not because she is mother-in-law or daughter-in-law, but this point is one which must remain indefinite with our present information.

Similarly the duty of covering the head is a little difficult to understand. The head of a widower is covered (see p. 365) by one of his *paiol*—his father-in-law or his brother-in-law—and in this case it is clearly a duty which falls to a relative by

marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tersampt-pimi* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

they pass in company over either of the two sacred rivers of the Todas, the Paikara (Teipakh) and the Avalanche (Pakhwar). As the two men approach the river, they pluck and chew some grass, and each man says to the other "*pò tñdrikina, pò kudrikina?*"—"Shall I throw the river (water), shall I cross the river?" or, instead of the second sentence, they may say "*pò pñkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the river?" They then go to the side of the river and each man dips his hand in the water and throws a handful away from him three times and then they cross the river, each with the right arm outside the cloak as is usual when crossing these sacred streams.

If the *matchuni* cross on a Tuesday, Friday or Saturday¹ they do not throw water, but are content with chewing the grass, and if the funeral ceremonies of a person belonging to the clan of either are not complete the water will not be thrown.

This ceremony performed by *matchuni* when crossing a sacred river was said to be connected with the legend given on p. 592, in which two *matchuni* are concerned.

¹ Properly the river should not be crossed at all on these days (see p. 418).



CHAPTER XXII

MARRIAGE

THE custom of infant marriage is well established among the Todas, and a child is often married when only two or three years of age. When a man wishes to arrange a marriage for his son, he chooses a suitable girl, who should be, and very often is, the *matchuni* of the boy, the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. The father visits the parents of the girl, and if the marriage is satisfactorily arranged he returns home after staying for the night at the village. A few days later the father takes the boy to the home of his intended wife. They take with them the loin-cloth called *tadrp* as a wedding gift and the boy performs the *kalmelpudithiti* salutation to the father and mother of the girl, and also to her brothers, both older and younger than himself, and then gives the *tadrp* to the girl. Father and son stay for one night at the girl's village and return home on the following morning. Sometimes the girl returns with them to the village of her future husband, but, much more commonly, she remains at her own home till she is fifteen or sixteen years of age.

If a man has not been married in childhood he may undertake the arrangement of his marriage himself, and visit the parents of the girl unaccompanied by his father; and in this case the girl may at once join her husband if she is old enough.

From the time of the child-marriage the boy has to give a *tadrp* twice a year until the girl is ten years old, when its place is taken by a *putkuli*. The *tadrp* which is given at first is very small, worth perhaps only four annas, but as the girl

becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik pannu âtpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tâzâr ütiti*, or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division and to any clan, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,¹ different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

¹ The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madnol* or *palinol*.

relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents ; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier ; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village.

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage.

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The

fact, however, that this restriction should exist in connexion with a ceremony suggests that even to the Todas there is something reprehensible in intercourse between man and woman of the same clan (see also p. 530).

There are certain special prohibitions against marriage between members of certain clans. Among the Tartharol the Panol are not allowed to marry the Kanòdrsol, a prohibition said to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, and it is said that since that day no marriage has ever taken place between the clans of the two men. In the genealogical record there is no case in which these two clans have intermarried.

I was also told that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni might not intermarry, but there are three examples of such marriages in the genealogies. I could not obtain any reason for the restriction, and the information is probably incorrect. The restrictions on marriage between the people of Melgars and those of Kidmad and Karsh have already been considered.

Among the Teivaliol there are also prohibitions against intermarriage between certain clans. The people of Piedr may not marry those of Kusharf. Judging from the genealogical record, the prohibition is not strictly followed, for three such marriages have taken place in recent times. In one of these cases, however, in which a Piedr man married a Kusharf woman, the woman soon became seriously ill, and the marriage was annulled. I could obtain no reason for the prohibition of marriage between these two clans. Marriage was also prohibited between the Piedrol and the Pedrkarsol, this being due to a comparatively recent quarrel between members of the two clans, of which an account is given in Chapter XXVIII.

I have analysed the genealogical records with the view of ascertaining whether certain clans intermarry with any special frequency. Among the Tartharol, I find that the people of Nòdrs marry most frequently those of Kars and Taradr. The Karsol, the largest of the Tarthar clans, distribute their marriages widely over the whole Tarthar division. The Panol chiefly marry with Kars and Melgars,

The Taradrol have married most often with Nòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Keradr, a very small clan, shows no special predilection. The people of Kanòdrs have intermarried most often with Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Kars and Melgars. The people of Kwòdrdoni marry most often people of Kanòdrs, Kars and Nidrsi. The Pämöl have married chiefly with Kanòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Most of the Nidrsi marriages have been with Kars. The Melgarsöl have married in fairly equal proportions people of Nòdrs, Kars, Taradr and Päm.

These facts are interesting in that they show that there is a tendency for the three clans of Nòdrs, Kars and Taradr to intermarry. These are not only the most important Tarthar clans, but they occupy the same district of the hills, in the centre and towards the north and north-west. Similarly, the clans of Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni and Päm, situated towards the north-east and east, show a distinct tendency to intermarry. Further, the Melgarsöl, who form a special group standing somewhat apart from the rest, distribute their marriages fairly equally, but have often married with Päm, a clan seated near them geographically.

The analysis of the genealogies shows that the geographical distribution of the Tartharöl on the hills has had a definite influence on the intermarriage of the different clans.

Among the Teivaliöl, intermarriage has been greatly influenced by the enormous size of the Kuudrol as compared with the other clans of the division. In order to marry outside their own clan, the people of Kuudr have married nearly all the available members of the other clans of the Teivaliöl, leaving very few to intermarry with one another. Thus the genealogies record 161 marriages between Kuudrol and members of the other five Teivali clans, leaving only sixteen marriages between the members of those five clans. Owing to the enormous development of one clan, the Teivali division has almost come to be in the position of a community with a dual marrying organisation in which every member of one group must marry a member of the other group, but there is no reason whatever to think that this is due to any other reason than the excessive development of one clan in numbers.

On studying the marriages in detail, it is found that the Kuudrol have married members of the Piedr clan most frequently, but this is chiefly because the Piedrol stand second to the Kuudrol in point of numbers, although it is also furthered by the restriction in marriage between Piedr and Kusharf. The marriages of the Kuudrol with other clans seem to be determined more by the numbers available than by any predilection for special clans.

Both Pedrkars and Kulhem are said to be offshoots of the Kuudrol, but apparently the separation is so remote that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. It is possible that the necessity of providing spouses for the Kuudrol has tended to break down a restriction which probably once existed.

The Todas have never married people outside their own community, and a strong prejudice against such marriages still exists. This may be illustrated by two recent cases.

A woman, married in the usual way, was divorced by her husband because she became ill. She returned to her own home, where she was visited by a Tamil blacksmith. The latter was very anxious to marry the woman and on one occasion took her away to the plains, but she was followed by her relatives and brought back to her home. Later she married two Toda brothers and was taken by them to their village, but she was followed by the blacksmith, who brought her back to the village of her parents. The Todas seem to have no strong objection to her relations with the stranger so long as she remains among themselves.

In the other case a woman about twelve years ago was visited by a rich Mohammedan who gave money to her husbands, and it was said also that he bribed the chief Toda people, *i.e.*, the members of the council. The Mohammedan wished very much to marry the woman and for a sum of money the Todas consented. After the woman had lived for a few days in the bazaar with her new husband, her relatives came and took her away, and I was told that the Mohammedan took the loss so much to heart that he died of grief, but my informants were doubtful whether his grief was due to the loss of his wife or whether it was because

he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had given. Here again the people appear to have had no objection to the relations of the woman with the Moham-medan so long as she remained in the community.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general term, *pūliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *pūliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *pūliol* of a man :—

- (i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.
- (ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.
- (iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, *i.e.*, his *mumi* and his *mankugh*.
- (iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, *i.e.*, of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *pūliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *pūliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *pūliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *pūliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

kinship which a Toda has chiefly in his mind when he considers whether he may or may not marry a given woman. He has not two kinds of prohibited affinity, one depending on clan relations, and another on relations of blood-kinship, but he has only one kind of prohibited affinity, to which he gives the general term *piiliol*, including certain kin through the father and certain kin through the mother, and there is no evidence that he considers the bond of kinship in one case as different from the other as regards restriction on marriage.

The fact that the Toda includes all those kin whom he may not marry under one general term, and that the kin in question include members both of his own and other clans, goes to show that the Todas recognise the blood-kinship as the restrictive agency rather than the bond produced by membership of the same clan.

The analysis of the genealogical record has shown that these restrictions on marriage are enforced. I have already stated that the genealogies show no single case in which marriage has occurred between members of the same clan. *i.e.*, between *piiliol* who come under the first head in the list given above.

I have also failed to find a single case in which marriage has taken place between the children of two own sisters, or of marriage between the children of two women who would call each other "sister" whose names occur in the same genealogical table. Thus I have found no case in which a marriage has taken place between the children of two women so closely related to one another as Punzueleimi and Nasturs, of Table 3, these women being first cousins according to our system of kinship.

It would be a prolonged task to ascertain whether marriage ever takes place among the Tartharol between the children of two clan-sisters in the widest sense, and I do not know whether such marriage may not sometimes occur.

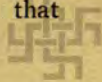
Among the Teivaliol marriages between clan-sisters even in the widest sense must be very rare owing to the fact that nearly all marriages take place between people of Kuudr on the one hand and members of the five other Teivali clans on the other. Since in most cases two women of any one

of these five clans marry men of Kuudr, marriage between their children would be restricted under the first prohibition, and similarly the children of two Kuudr women could only intermarry in those cases in which members of the other five clans have married one another. Among the Teivaliol, I do not believe that marriages take place between the children of sisters in the widest sense, and I have little doubt that they are very exceptional among the Tartharol.

There is no case in the genealogies in which the third restriction has been broken, in which a man has married his father's sister or his sister's daughter, his *mumi* or his *mankugh*.

There is at least one case in the genealogies in which there has been an infringement of the fourth restriction given on page 509. The marriage of Nargudr (62) with Tolveli (58) is an example of the marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister. I believe that this restriction is part of a wider regulation. Using Toda terms of kinship the law would run: a person must not marry the child of his *matchuni*. The marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister, such as that of Nargudr with Tolveli, would be an infringement of this law. I have only found one other case in the genealogies in which this law would have been broken, *i.e.*, in the marriage of Teitnir (52) and Tersveli (63). Tersveli's father, Teikudr, is the son of Kavani, the sister of Pareivan, Teitnir's father. Teikudr is therefore the *matchuni* of Teitnir, who has married his daughter.

I was told that though a man might not marry the daughter of his sister, he might marry the children of this woman. I do not know of any such marriage and it is improbable that it would often come about, since it would involve the marriage of a woman with the brother of her grandfather. There is, however, at the present time an example of the marriage of a woman with her father's mother's brother, whom she would therefore call *pia*, or grandfather. This is the marriage of Kaners and his brother Kudrievan (63) with Edjog (56), the daughter of Tüliners, the son of the sister of the two men. I was told, however, that this marriage met with a good deal of disapproval among the Todas, but I could not learn that there was any definite prohibition against it.



THE MARRIAGE OF MATCHUNI

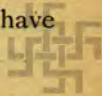
While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man. The orthodox marriage is marriage between *matchuni*, the children of brother and sister. Thus it is obviously not nearness of blood-kinship in itself which acts as a restriction on marriage, but nearness of blood-kinship of a certain kind.

I have analysed the genealogies to ascertain the frequency with which marriages between *matchuni* occur. The genealogical tables record about 550 marriages, of which 373 are Tarthar and 177 Teivali. Only a small proportion of these are marriages between children of own brother and sister. Among the Tartharol there are 40 and among the Teivaliol 25 such marriages, making together 65 or 11·8 per cent.

Since, however, the *matchuni* of a man include a much wider circle of relatives than the children of his mother's own brother and father's own sister, the number of marriages between *matchuni* is very much larger than this.

Nearly all the Teivali marriages are marriages between *matchuni* in this wider sense, while among the Tartharol there are also many other marriages of this kind.

One of the reasons why the orthodox marriage custom is not still more commonly followed is the existence of the practice called *terersthi*, to be considered later in this chapter. According to this practice wives are transferred from one man to another, and in this transference no attention appears to be paid to the kinship tie. The woman, or rather girl, originally married to a man may have been his *matchuni*, but the woman who finally becomes his wife by the working of the *terersthi* custom may not be and probably in most cases is not his *matchuni*. In many cases in the genealogies, the original infant marriage may have been forgotten, and the marriage recorded may be the result of the *terersthi* custom. If I had a complete record of all infant marriages, I have no doubt that the proportion of marriages between *matchuni* would have been larger.



In some families marriages between *matchuni* in the near sense occur much more frequently than in others. Thus out of the forty *matchuni* marriages among the Tartharol, the husband or wife belonged to the Taradrol in fifteen cases, and in one large Taradr family, that of Parkeidi (21), six out of eight children married their *matchuni* in the near sense. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the Taradrol have been comparatively little affected by outside influences. They are a clan which might be expected to keep up the orthodox Toda custom.

Another example of a family in which the orthodox marriage custom has been frequently followed is that of Table 52, where there may be found eight cases of the marriage of *matchuni* in the near sense, and several others where the *matchuni* relationship is more distant.

In some cases marriages have taken place between the children of *matchuni*. Thus the marriage of Uvolthli (15) with Sinmundeivi (20) among the Tartharol, and of Pangudr (66) with Nelbur (54) and Kanokh (56) with Sanmidz (63) among the Teivaliol, are all cases in which marriages have taken place between the children of two men who called one another *matchuni*. There may be other cases, but these examples are perhaps sufficient to show that these marriages may be held to take the place of the orthodox *matchuni* union.

While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful. The more distant tie of kinship from our point of view is unlawful, while the nearer is commanded.

Marriage with a *matchuni* may often involve considerable disproportion of age. In one case at the present time a boy of about two years of age is married to a woman of about twenty. The woman, Nulnir (10), was still unmarried when she reached this age, so she was married to her *matchuni*,

Kagerikutan (25), the son of her mother's brother. In this case the orthodox marriage was resorted to when the woman had failed to obtain a husband in any other way, although it involved marriage with a baby.

In another case, the marriage of Keitkarg (38) and Pötoveli (49), in which the woman is considerably older than her husband, the husband and wife are *matchuni*.

There is one ceremonial marriage in which the husband always stands in the relation of *matchuni* to the wife. This is in the performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony at the funeral of a girl unmarried at the time of her death. The boy who is chosen to give the bow and arrow and to act as the husband is always, so far as I could discover, the *matchuni* of the dead girl.

Similarly, if an unmarried boy dies, the girl who is chosen to act as his widow should be his *matchuni*. In one case of which I have a record, the son of Tütners (58) died and Sotidz (66) was chosen to act as widow. None of the brothers of Puvizveli (65), the mother of the dead boy, had at that time a son, so the duty was undertaken by the daughter of Pangudr, of the same clan as Puvizveli, but belonging to a different family. In this case the *matchuni* was the daughter of a clan-brother because there was no nearer *matchuni* available.

Keinba, who acted as husband at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 394), was the *matchuni* of the dead girl in two ways, as the son of her mother's brother and as the son of her father's half-sister.

A *matchuni* may be either the child of a mother's brother or of a father's sister, and I have examined the genealogies to see if a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister the more frequently, and find that there is no great difference, though the former marriage is somewhat the more frequent. There are among the Tartharol twenty cases in which a man has married the daughter of his mother's brother, two of marriage with the daughter of a step-mother's brother, and one with the daughter of a stepmother's half-brother, making twenty-three cases in all. On the other hand, a man married the daughter of his father's sister in fourteen cases, twice he married the daughter of his father's

half-sister, and once the stepdaughter of his father's sister, making seventeen cases in all.

Among the Teivaliol marriages with the daughter of a father's sister are the more frequent, there being fifteen of these as compared with ten cases of marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother. There is evidently no special preference for either kind of marriage.

POLYANDRY

The Todas have a completely organised and definite system of polyandry. When a woman marries a man, it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers at the same time. When a boy is married to a girl, not only are his brothers usually regarded as also the husbands of the girl, but any brother born later will similarly be regarded as sharing his older brothers' rights.

In the vast majority of polyandrous marriages at the present time, the husbands are own brothers. A glance through the genealogies will show the great frequency of polyandry,¹ and that in nearly every case the husbands are own brothers. In a few cases in which the husbands are not own brothers, they are clan-brothers, *i.e.*, they belong to the same clan and are of the same generation. Instances of such marriages are those of Toridz (65) with Kulpakh (52) and Kiladravan (60), and of Sintharap (68) with Kuriolv (52) and Ònadj (57).

There is only one instance recorded in the genealogies in which a woman had at the same time husbands belonging to different clans, *viz.*, the marriage of Kwelvtars (60) with Nidshtevan of Piedr (64) and Tütners of Kusharf (67), and in this case the men were half-brothers by the same mother, the fathers being of different clans. While I was on the hills, there was a project on foot that three unmarried youths belonging to three different clans should have a wife in common, but the project was frustrated and the marriage did not take place.

¹ In cases of polyandry the names of the husbands are enclosed in square brackets.

It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present, and it is perhaps in favour of this possibility that in the instance of polyandry given by Harkness¹ the husbands were obviously not own brothers. It must be remembered, however, that this case came to the notice of Captain Harkness because the polyandry had led to disputes, and, as we shall see shortly, it is in those cases of polyandry in which the husbands are not own brothers that disputes arise.

The arrangement of family life in the case of a polyandrous marriage differs according as the husbands are, or are not, own brothers.

In the former case it seemed that there is never any difficulty, and that disputes never arise. The brothers live together, and my informants seemed to regard it as a ridiculous idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies of the kind that might be expected in such a household. When the wife becomes pregnant, the eldest brother performs the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow, but the brothers are all equally regarded as the fathers of the child. If one of the brothers leaves the rest and sets up an establishment of his own, it appeared, however, that he might lose his right to be regarded as the father of the children.

If a man is asked the name of his father, he usually gives the name of one man only, even when he is the offspring of a polyandrous marriage. I endeavoured to ascertain why the name of one father only should so often be given, and it seemed to me that there is no one reason for the preference. Often one of the fathers is more prominent and influential than the others, and it is natural in such cases that the son should speak of himself as the son of the more important member of the community. Again, if only one of the fathers of a man is alive, the man will always speak of the living person as his father; thus Siriar (20) always spoke of Ircheidi as his father, and even after Ircheidi is dead, it seems probable that he will so have fallen into the custom of speaking of the latter as his father that he will continue to do so, and it will only be when his attention is especially directed

¹ See his account at the end of this chapter.

to the point that he will say that Madbeithi was also his father.

In most of the genealogies, the descent is traced from some one man, but there can be no doubt whatever that this man was usually only one of several brothers, and the probable reason why one name only is remembered is that this name was that of an important member of the community, or of the last surviving of the brother-husbands.

When the husbands are not own brothers, the arrangements become more complicated. When the husbands live together as if they were own brothers there is rarely any difficulty. If, on the other hand, the husbands live at different villages, the usual rule is that the wife shall live with each husband in turn, usually for a month at a time, but there is very considerable elasticity in the arrangement.

It is in respect of the 'fatherhood'¹ of the children in these cases of non-fraternal polyandry that we meet with the most interesting feature of Toda social regulations. When the wife of two or more husbands (not own brothers) becomes pregnant, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall perform the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow. The husband who carries out this ceremony is the father of the child for all social purposes; the child belongs to the clan of this husband if the clans of the husbands differ and to the family of this husband if the families only differ. When the wife again becomes pregnant, another husband may perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and if so, this husband becomes the father of the child; but more commonly the *pursütpimi* ceremony is not performed at all during the second pregnancy, and in this case the second child belongs to the first husband, i.e., to the husband who has already given the bow and arrow. Usually it is arranged that the first two or three children shall belong to the first husband, and that at a succeeding pregnancy (third or fourth), another husband shall give the bow and arrow, and, in consequence, become the father not only of that child, but of all succeeding children till some one else gives the bow and arrow.

¹ I use the term 'fatherhood' instead of 'paternity' because the latter term seems to imply a meaning which does not belong to the Toda notion of 'father.'

The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursiit-pimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as the father of a child if no other man has performed the essential ceremony.¹

In the only case in the genealogies in which the husbands of a woman were of different clans, it happened there were only two children, and that one father gave the bow and arrow for the first child and the other for the second.

If the husbands separate, each husband takes with him those children who are his by virtue of the *pursiitpimi* ceremony.

There is no doubt whatever as to the close association of the polyandry of the Todas with female infanticide. As we have seen, the Todas now profess to have completely given up the practice of killing their female children, but it is highly probable that the practice is still in vogue to some extent. It has certainly, however, diminished in frequency, and the consequent increase in the proportion of women is leading to some modification in the associated polyandry.

It has been stated by most of those who have written about the Todas that the custom of polyandry is dying out, but a glance at the genealogies will show that the institution is in full working order even in the case of the infant marriages which are being contracted at the present time. There is, however, some reason to believe that it is now less frequent for all the brothers of a family to have one wife only in common. A study of the genealogies shows that often each brother has his own wife, or that several brothers have more than one wife between them. It seemed to me, however, almost certain that in these cases the brothers have the wives in common. In compiling the genealogies, one informant would give me the names of two or more brothers each with one wife, while another would give me the name of one brother with two or three wives, and would say that the other brothers had the same wives. When I pointed out the discrepancy and asked which was the true account, they usually said it made no difference and were almost contemptuous because I seemed to think that there was any disagreement

¹ For an instance, see p. 535.

between the two versions. I think it probable that it has become less frequent for several brothers to have only one wife in common, but I am very doubtful whether this indicates any real decrease in the prevalence of polyandry.

It seems to me that the correct way of describing the present condition of Toda society is to say that polyandry is as prevalent as ever, but that, owing to the greater number of women, it is becoming associated with polygyny. When there are two brothers it does not seem that each takes a wife for himself, but rather that they take two wives in common.

It is probable that this will lead in time to a state of society in which each brother will come to regard one wife as his own ; and in a few cases it seemed to me that there was already a tendency in this direction. If this forecast should be fulfilled, the custom of monogamy among the Todas will have been developed out of polyandry through a stage of combined polyandry and polygyny.

One case happened during my visit which seemed to indicate that though several brothers might be regarded as husbands of a woman, the part of husband for ceremonial purposes might be taken only by one or two of them. In this case I was told that four brothers had one wife, but when the wife died only two of the brothers acted as widowers and performed the ceremonies associated with that condition. When I asked for an explanation of this, I was then told that the other two brothers were not husbands, but I strongly suspected that this was a mere device to enable two of the brothers to avoid the disabilities attendant on the condition of widowerhood. I have very little doubt that while the woman was alive, all the four brothers were her husbands, but after her death it became convenient to assume that only two had been husbands, leaving the others free from the restrictions of widowerhood.

Many writers have believed that the widely spread custom of the Levirate is a relic of polyandry. If it were true that the custom of polyandry is dying out among the Todas, this people might have provided material for the study of the relations of polyandry and the Levirate. It will be obvious,

however, from the account already given, that polyandry is still strongly established among the Todas. Still, there are a few cases in the genealogies which seem to show that when two brothers had different wives, and one brother died, the widow might be taken by the surviving brother. Thus, in Table 34, two brothers, Matovan and Kemners, had one wife, Sargveli, while Atcharap had his own wife, Puners. When Matovan died, Sargveli was regarded as the wife of both Atcharap and Kemners.¹ Again, after the deaths of Mulpolivan and Peigvan (3), the widow of Nersveli was married by Perol, the clan-brother (first cousin) of the husband.

In other cases, the widow of one brother has not become the wife of her husband's brothers, but has married elsewhere; and though the evidence is necessarily very unsatisfactory, it seems on the whole probable that the Todas show no special relation between polyandry and the Levirate custom.

If the widow marries a man who is not one of the brothers of her dead husband, the new husband has to pay a certain number of buffaloes. He does not, however, give these buffaloes to the brothers of the dead man, but to his children; thus, when Karnisi of Päm (37) died, his widow, Nersaveli, married Mutthuvan (34) of Kanòdrs, who paid fourteen buffaloes to Pungievan, the son of Karnisi. This payment of buffaloes is known as *terkudrichti*, "compensation he gives," and it is the custom for the number of buffaloes in this case to be twice the number given by the dead man for his wife; in this case Karnisi had taken Nersaveli from another man for seven buffaloes.

In relation to the Levirate, the important point here is that the buffaloes are paid to the sons of the dead husbands, not to his brothers.

I do not think that the Todas provide any definite evidence towards the solution of the vexed question of the relation between polyandry and infanticide. It is possible that at their first arrival in the Nilgiri Hills, the Todas had few sources of food, and had a severe struggle for existence; that

¹ It will be noticed that I am using the term 'Levirate' in a wider sense than that in which it is sometimes employed, for Sargveli was not a childless widow.

they therefore adopted the practice of female infanticide, and that polyandry followed as a consequence. At the present and during recent times there has certainly been no economical motive for infanticide, and I am very doubtful whether it has ever existed. I think it far more probable that the Todas brought the practice of polyandry with them when they came to the Nilgiris; but if this view should be adopted, there is still no evidence to show whether they also brought infanticide with them, or whether this custom developed owing to the fact that polyandry diminished the need for female children.

POLYGyny

In the last section we have seen that there is a tendency for the polyandry of the Todas to become combined with polygyny. Two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule the two men have the two wives in common. In addition, polygyny of the more ordinary kind exists among the Todas, and is probably now increasing in frequency, as one of the results of the diminished female infanticide.

One example of polygyny is the marriage of Kuriolv (56) with two wives, one of about the same age as himself, the other a young wife whom he shares with Onadj (57). In another case Odrkurs (1), has two wives, the second wife being a young girl recently married in the hope of obtaining a son (see p. 550).

There is one example of polygyny in the genealogies in which a young boy, Mokudr of Nidrsi (42), has two wives, both young girls. He has been doubly married in order that he may get rid of one of his wives by the *terersthi* custom and so become rich. He has been married to two wives in order that he may sell one.

When a man or a group of men have more than one wife, the two wives usually live together at the same village, but sometimes they live at different villages, the husband or husbands moving about from one village to the other.

EXCHANGE OF BROTHER AND SISTER

Although I was not told that it was the custom for a brother and sister of one clan to marry a sister and brother of another, examination of the genealogies makes it clear that this frequently happens. A good example which may be cited is the marriage of Kuriolv (52) with Punaveli (65), while Sinkòrs, the sister of Kuriolv, married the three brothers of Punaveli. Two other similar instances may be found in Table 52, and they are of general occurrence throughout the genealogies.

In some communities this custom of exchange is definitely connected with the bride-price, which may be so large as almost to compel a man to give his sister in exchange for the wife he takes from another clan. In the case of the Todas the bride-price is so inconsiderable that it is unlikely that it would form a motive for exchange, and I think it improbable that in such marriages as those cited above, the idea of exchange is even definitely formulated, but that the combination of marriages comes about for such obvious reasons as may occur in any community. The marriage of *matchuni*, if widely practised, would obviously lead to an appearance of exchange, and it may be that among the Todas this is the chief cause of its occurrence.

Similarly, instances will be found in the genealogies of two brothers (or two groups of brothers) marrying sisters. An example may be given from Table 53, where Orzevan marries one woman and his two brothers marry her sister. Another instance may be found in Table 58.

In several cases in which a man or group of men have had two wives the wives have been related. Thus, Kutthurs (12) and his brothers first married Tedjveli (16). After her death, Kutthurs, the only surviving brother, married Sabnir (34), the daughter of Arsner, Tedjveli's sister. Again, Paners (23) and his brothers first married Pergveli, and when she died they married her brother's daughter. Pungusivan (53) married his *matchuni*, Sinodz (68), and when she was taken from him by the *terersthi* custom, he married Sintharap, her sister.

There is often very great disproportion of age in Toda marriages. I have already given two cases in which the woman is the older, in each of which the disproportion of age is due to the custom of marrying a *matchuni*. More commonly the man is much the older, and there are at the present time many cases in which elderly men are married to young girls. This is partly due to the practice of infant marriage. Unless a widower can take advantage of the *terersthi* custom, which is always expensive, he may have to marry a child and wait till she has reached a marriageable age. Thus, Kòdrner, my guide, lost his wife some years ago, and then married a girl whose present¹ age is only thirteen, Kòdrner being forty-two. The girl is still living with her parents, and will probably not go to her husband for another three or four years.

THE CUSTOM OF 'TERERSTHI'

The marriage tie among the Todas at the present time has become very loose. Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old. The amount of the compensation or *ter* is settled by a council, and from this the transaction has received its name of *terersthi*, or "compensation he tells (decides)."²

There is much reason to believe that this custom has altered its character in recent times. I was told that formerly the custom only applied to cases in which a man had lost his wife by death. If he wished to marry a woman who was already the wife of another or others, he went to the father of the woman and asked for his consent. The father would consult with two other elders, and if they were in favour of the proposed transaction the three elders would go to the woman, and if they obtained her consent they then went to her husband for his. If husband or wife were unwilling to be parted nothing was done, but if both consented, the new and

¹ In 1902.

² *Ter* is also used in the sense of 'fine,' but is only used when the fine takes the form of a buffalo or buffaloes. A money fine is called *saver*.



the old husband, the father of the woman, and the two elders met and decided on the number of buffaloes to be given as *ter* or compensation. This meeting was called *terersthi*. The *ter* had to be paid within a month, and all the buffaloes given had to be females. The man who was giving up the woman went to the village of the new husband and received his buffaloes, of which he was allowed to choose a certain number. If he had been awarded more than four buffaloes, he might choose three, if four or less, he might only choose two. Among the Tartharol, a man would usually choose *wursulir*, and among the Teivaliol, *pasthir*.

At the present time the number of buffaloes given as *ter* varies very greatly; the most frequent number is three, but often more are given, and in one case, about ten years ago, a man had to give twenty-five. The number seems to depend largely on the size of the herd possessed by the man taking a new wife. The more buffaloes he has, the more he has to pay.

When the buffaloes are given, the new husband has to give a feast, after which the old husband drives away his buffaloes. In a recent case Teigudr of Nòdrs (4) had taken Uwer from Nertolvan and Palpa of Pan (16) for nine buffaloes. These two men went to the village of Tedshteiri, where Teigudr was living, and were feasted, the food being cooked on nine ovens, corresponding to the number of the buffaloes. This correspondence between the number of the ovens and of the buffaloes given as *ter*, suggests that there may have been some definite ceremonial in connexion with this feast of which I failed to obtain an account.

The custom of *terersthi* has some reason on its side. Wherever infant marriage exists in a small community, it must often happen that a widower finds all the women of his community married, and without some machinery by which he is allowed to take the wife of another, he must remain unmarried or be content with marriage to a mere child. Even at the present time, we have seen that an adult man who has lost his wife may marry a girl only a few years of age.¹

¹ For an instance in the past see p. 538.



At the present time the custom of *terersthi* has a far wider range. It is obvious that when a widower takes the wife of another he is simply transferring his difficulty, and the man whose wife he has taken will have to seek a new partner. It often happens that a man takes the wife of a boy married, perhaps, to a girl of about the same age as himself, and when this boy reaches manhood he will have to seek a wife and will naturally try to obtain the wife of another rather than be content with a child perhaps only three or four years of age. It would be impossible that such a custom as that of *terersthi* should remain limited in scope, but there is no doubt that at the present day it has become the custom for any man who takes a fancy for the wife of another to endeavour to obtain her for himself, and I was told that he would give large bribes to the elders of the Todas to attain his object. It seems quite clear that, at the present time, it is not considered necessary to obtain the consent either of the wife or of the husband, and in some cases the wife has been taken from her husband by force.¹

In some recent cases the aggrieved parties in such disputes have appealed to the Government, and during my visit a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the Governor of Madras, asking that the abuses of the *terersthi* custom should be remedied.

DIVORCE

Divorce exists among the Todas quite apart from the transference of wives just considered.

I was told that a man divorces his wife for two reasons, and for two only, the first reason being that the wife is a fool and the second that she will not work. Barrenness is not generally regarded as a reason for divorce, though I was told of one case in which a man had sent away his wife on this account. It seemed more usual in such a case to take a second wife. In some cases the illness of the husband has been regarded as a ground for divorce. Intercourse between

¹ For an instance see p. 535.

a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

In addition to the regular marriage, there is another recognised mode of union between men and women, which is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz., “man who keeps *mokh*,”¹ and the woman is called *sed-vaitasmokh*—viz., “woman who joins.” The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

¹ *Mokh* here means ‘child’ in general, not son.



even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitasmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursūtpimi* ceremony.

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursūtpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages.

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitasmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadr̥ti*, i.e., "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudith̥ti* to all the *paiol*, i.e., he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitasmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitasmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.¹

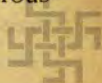
The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,² the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nōtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage. A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudith̥ti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

¹ For a full account see p. 366.

² Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.



and expensive for the *moklthodvaiol* than for the husband. Further, in some cases the *sedvaitazmokh* of a Teivali man may live with him exactly in the same way as a wife. Except for the prohibition against Teivali women living at Tarthar villages, and the important difference in the mode of descent of the children there seems to be little essential difference in some cases between the *moklthoditi* union and marriage. In describing the institution, one of my informants laid great stress on the disability of a man of one division to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a woman of the other division and treated this as the essential point of difference. He seemed to regard this ceremonial disability as primary and the other differences as the secondary results, but I do not know how far this is the general Toda view.

SEXUAL MORALITY

From the foregoing account it appears that a woman may have one or more recognised lovers as well as several husbands. From the account given of the dairy ritual, it appears that she may also have sexual relations with dairy-men of various grades—that, for instance, the *wursol*, on the nights when he sleeps in the hut, may be the lover of any Tarthar girl. Further, there seems to be no doubt that there is little restriction of any kind on sexual intercourse. I was assured by several Todas not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong. It seemed clear that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. My interpreter, Samuel, had translated the Commandments shortly before my visit, and only discovered while working with me that the expression he had used in translating the seventh Commandment really bore a very different meaning.

When a word for a concept is absent in any language it by no means follows that the concept has not been developed, but in this case I have little doubt that there is no definite idea in the mind of the Toda corresponding to that denoted by our word 'adultery.' Instead of adultery being regarded as

immoral, I rather suspected,¹ though I could not satisfy myself on the point, that, according to the Toda idea, immorality attaches rather to the man who grudges his wife to another. One group of those who experience difficulty in getting to the next world after death are the *kashtvainol*, or grudging people, and I believe this term includes those who would in a more civilised community be plaintiffs in the divorce court.

In nearly every known community, whether savage, barbarous or civilised, there is found to exist a deeply rooted antipathy to sexual intercourse between brother and sister. In savage communities where kinship is of the classificatory kind, this antipathy extends not only to the children of one mother, but to all those who are regarded as brothers and sisters because they are members of the same clan or other social unit. In some communities, such as those of Torres Straits, this antipathy may extend to relatives as remote as those we call second and third cousins, so long as descent through the male line from a common ancestor and membership of the same clan lead people to regard one another as brother and sister.

It is very doubtful whether this widespread, almost universal abhorrence is shared by the Todas. I was told that members of the same clan might have intercourse with one another, and in the preliminary ceremony for the office of *palol*, a special part was taken by a woman who possessed the qualification that she had never had intercourse with a man of her own clan, and it was said it was far from easy to find such a woman. When I collected this information, it seemed clear that this meant that a woman who, before marriage had belonged to a given clan, had never had intercourse with a man of that clan. But since a woman joins the clan of her husband, and since, marriage taking place at an early age, the woman belongs to her husband's clan from this early age, it has since occurred to me that an alternative explanation of the restriction is possible, though it does not seem to me to be likely. It is possible that what is meant is that the woman

¹ The definite appearance of jealousy in the history of Kwoten must, however, be noted in this connexion.

should never have had intercourse with any of her husband's clan except those who are properly her husbands. If this explanation were the correct one, the prohibition would seem to be directed against practices resembling communal marriage, and would be interesting evidence in favour of the existence of this type of marriage, since there are no prohibitions against what does not exist nor has ever existed. As I have said, however, I think it very unlikely that the prohibition is to be interpreted in this way, but I regret very greatly that it did not occur to me to inquire carefully into this point on the spot.

So far as I could tell, the laxity in sexual matters is equally great before and after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be called upon to give the bow and arrow at the *pursütpimi* ceremony and would be the father of the child, even if he were still a young boy, or if it were known that he was not the father of the child. I only heard of one case in recent times in which an unmarried girl had become pregnant. In this case a man who was a *matchuni* of the woman was called in to give the bow and arrow, but he did not regard himself as married to the woman and did not live with her. That some stigma was attached to the occurrence may possibly be shown by the fact that this woman remained unmarried for some years, and then only married a man who was certainly below the general standard of the Todas in intelligence. The child, a daughter, of the woman died soon after birth, so that I had no chance of ascertaining whether the irregularity of her birth would have had any influence on her position in Toda society. If, however, a child is born without the *pursütpimi* ceremony having been performed, it is called *padmokh* and an indelible disgrace attaches to it throughout life.

From any point of view, and certainly from the point of view of the savage, the sexual morality of the Todas among themselves is very low. It is an interesting subject of speculation how far this laxity is the result of the practice of polyandry, for since low sexual morality brings in its train various factors which tend to sterility, we may have here, as

Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,¹ a reason why polyandry is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

By means of the genealogical record I was able to work out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

¹ *Loc. cit.*

seems to show that colour-blind men, or rather males of colour-blind families, had colour-blind descendants more often than perhaps might have been expected if the Todas are in practice quite as promiscuous as their social regulations allow them to be. The record of the affinity of the colour-blind suggests that in spite of the theoretical promiscuity, the husbands are, in practice, very often the fathers of their children.

A few histories of individuals may be given as examples of the various marriage customs which have been described in this chapter. One of the most married of Toda women is Puvizveli of Kusharf (65). She was married in infancy to Singudr (55), of the same clan as Sinkòrs, the mother of Puvizveli, and the two were probably the *matchuni* of one another, though only in a distant way. Puvizveli was taken from Singudr by Madsu and Koboners (58), who gave for her three buffaloes. From them she was transferred to Kangudr of Piedr (62), it being arranged that he should pay eleven buffaloes. Soon after joining Kangudr, Puvizveli became ill, and since there is a prohibition of marriages between the clans of Piedr and Kusharf, it was agreed that the pair should separate, and the woman was taken by Tütners and Etamudri (58). The eleven buffaloes had never been paid by Kangudr, so Tütners and his brother gave their buffaloes directly to Madsu and Koboners, but only four instead of eleven. All these transactions took place while Puvizveli was still young, but by her new husbands she had a son who died soon after birth. During her second pregnancy, she was taken by Perpakh and Tebkudr (68), who gave six buffaloes. The transference took place before the *pursütpimi* ceremony had been performed. Perpakh gave the bow and arrow, and the daughter since born is regarded as the child of Perpakh and Tebkudr. Puvizveli has also a Tarthar *mokhthodvaiol*.

Edjog of Kuudr (56) was married in infancy to Nargudr (62), the son of her mother's brothers, and therefore her *matchuni* in the nearest sense. From him Kiudners (70) and his two brothers took her for five buffaloes. Kiudners died

before the buffaloes had been paid, and Edjog was taken by Mavòdriners (65), who arranged to pay the five buffaloes to Nargudr. He did not do so, but after having a son by Edjog, he sent her back to the father, paying a *kwadr* of one buffalo. So far, Nargudr had not received his five buffaloes, but he now obtained them from Kaners and Kudrievan (63), who took the woman although she was the granddaughter of their sister Narskuti. The marriage met with disapproval among the Todas on this account, though there does not appear to be any definite regulation against such a marriage; and at the time of my visit Edjog, a young woman of about twenty-seven, was still the wife of the two old men, aged about seventy and sixty-seven respectively.

Kuriolv of Kuudr (52) first married Punaveli (65), by whom he had two children. He then took to live with him Pilimurg (7), a Tarthar woman, giving to Pepners (44), the husband of the woman, fifteen buffaloes. Though Pilimurg is only legally his *sedvaitazmokh*, Kuriolv treats her as a wife. She lives at one of the Kuudr villages, while Punaveli lives at another. Pilimurg has had one son, Meilitars, since she has been living with Kuriolv, and Kuriolv always speaks of the boy as his son, though legally he is the son of Pepners, and his name will be found in the genealogies among the children of this man.

Recently Kuriolv has also married Sintharap (68), sharing her with Ònadj (57), of the same clan as Kuriolv, but belonging to a different family. Sintharap has had three children, for the first of whom Kuriolv performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and since no one has performed this ceremony for the succeeding children, they are also regarded as the children of Kuriolv. One of these children was Sinerani, whose funeral ceremonies have been described.

Kuriolv's son, Kulpakh (52), married Toridz (65), sharing her with Kiladravan (60), of the same clan as Kulpakh, but of a different family. At the first pregnancy Kulpakh gave the bow and arrow, and was regarded as the father of that child and of two succeeding children who were born while Kulpakh was alive. After the birth of the third child Kulpakh died,

and Toridz has since continued to live with Kiladrvan and has had two more children. Kuriolv, the father of the dead man, succeeded in preventing Kiladrvan from performing the *pursiutpimi* ceremony before the birth of either of these children, and consequently they are regarded as the children of the dead Kulpakh and belong to Kuriolv's division (*pòlm*) of the clan and not to that of Kiladrvan. Here, by virtue of the *pursiutpimi* ceremony, a dead man is the legal father of two children who are known to be really the sons of his fellow-husband.

In the preceding cases the people belong to the Teivaliol. Among the Tartharol there are similar histories.

Pupidz of Kwòdrdoni (35) was married in infancy to two brothers, Kalgeners and Kinagudr, belonging to the same clan as the mother of Pupidz, so that she would probably have called them *matchuni*, though they were not nearly related. From these boys Pupidz was taken by Patser (26), who gave for her three buffaloes. From Patser she was taken by Siriar (20) for five buffaloes. Some time later Pepob (44) wished to marry Pupidz, but both she and Siriar were unwilling to be separated. Pepob, however, persuaded the council to arrange that he should have the woman for three buffaloes, and soon after five or six men carried off the woman by force, entering Siriar's hut at night. Two of the men held Siriar while the others carried off his wife, who became pregnant by Pepob, but Siriar, who had been trying to get back his wife, succeeded when she was about at the sixth month. The hand-burning ceremony had already been performed, but Siriar gave the bow and arrow, and is therefore the legal father of the boy born afterwards, although Pepob is known to have been the real father. Siriar had to give Pepob eleven buffaloes, though he had only received three, and had given five to the previous husband.

Nanbarvan of Kars (7) first married Pothenir (47), by whom he had one son. Nanbarvan went to England with a party of Todas, and Pothenir then married Kutadri, Nanbarvan's first cousin. On his return from England, Nanbarvan married Sindod (38), by whom he had a second son. Then he fell ill, and in consequence sent Sindod away,

and since that time he has had no wife, though he claims that Iraveli, his brother's wife, is also his. There seems to be no doubt, however, that he does not live with his brother in the same way as in most cases of polyandry, and is a wanderer with no regular home of his own, but I could not discover the cause of this.

A dispute about a marriage was in progress while I was on the Hills, which I did not understand completely, but it appeared that Oselig (24), who had been first married to Teigudr (4), was then taken by Punog (14). Punog was said to have treated his wife badly, and to have failed to perform his duties when there was a funeral in the family of Nertiners, the brother of Oselig. He had not given the proper *pödri*, nor had he taken part in the cloth-giving ceremony, so Oselig ran away from him and took refuge with her brother. After a month Punog demanded back his wife and also twelve buffaloes which he had left with Nertiners for grazing purposes. Nertiners refused to send back his wife, and returned only eight of the buffaloes. He also proceeded to arrange that Oselig should marry Udrchovan (36), and Punog accused Nertiners of having got up the whole quarrel in order that Oselig should make this marriage. The matter was referred to the council, and it was decided that Oselig should become the wife of Udrchovan, but I did not hear for how many buffaloes, nor how the other disputes about buffaloes and *pödri* were settled.

At this time Udrchovan had another wife, Pandut (45). She had been the wife of Udrchovan and his brother Popners from infancy, and after having three children, who died young, she had been sent away and Udrchovan married Kavener (3), while his brother married Silkot (10). Later Kavener was taken from Udrchovan by Kudrvas (11), and Udrchovan remarried Pandut, who in the meantime had had two other husbands.

To the foregoing accounts, which I give as exceptional and not as typical examples of the uncertainty of Toda married life, I add one taken from the book published by Captain Harkness in 1832, p. 121. The notes are added by myself.

THE HISTORY OF PINPURZ KUTAN

"I was not seven years old, when my father, taking a child's garment, in value about a quarter of a rupee, and selecting one of the best of our herd, desired me to accompany him to the morrt¹ of Kinōri. This Kinōri had, a month or two before, a daughter born to him. Soon after we had arrived at the morrt, it being understood that Kinōri gladly consented to the propositions which had been made by my father, I was directed to bow myself down, and in the presence of the whole family to ask his foot. This I did; and touching it with my forehead, the buffalo and the garment were presented him, and I was considered to be affianced to his daughter. We remained there for some days, during which period it was agreed upon, what number of kine I was to receive in dower, on my intended spouse coming of age, and we again set out to return to our own morrt. I had no brothers, or they also would have been affianced to my intended, as this was part of the agreement, in case of my father having any more sons born to him. In this case Kinōri's daughter would have been wife to us in succession as we arrived at manhood, and we should have formed one united family—the supreme authority, however, still resting with me. The next year, my father presented to my intended bride a garment, double in value to the first which he had presented, and in each succeeding year, one proportionately increasing in value. We also sacrificed a buffalo, and presented a kutch² on every occasion of a death among any of the relations of my intended's family, and one also at their obsequies. In case of any accident of the kind in our family, we expected the same to be observed towards us, except the presenting of the kutch, from which my bride's father was exempted on account of the dower he had to give with her, which would greatly exceed in amount any expense which I could be

¹ This is evidently the same word as *marth*, which occurs in Chapter XIV as a word for village.

² This is the *kach*. Harkness states that it was generally a piece of dyed or printed cotton as at present,

to my father. My father died, and when I had attained man's estate, I was not pleased with my betrothed; and presenting her father with three kine, the contract was by mutual consent dissolved. Had the reverse been the case, and the bride or her father had declined to allow of consummation, I could have claimed of the latter a fine equal to fifty kine, and till this fine was paid the former could not marry any other. Freed from my contract with my first bride, I sought to affiancé myself in a manner more to my own inclinations, and wishing to be connected with the family of my present wife, Pilluvāni, who was then only six years of age, I spoke to her father, and, obtaining his consent, presented her with a garment in value, according to her age, of about a rupee and a half, and a milch buffalo. I continued to present her with a garment every succeeding year; and on the occurrence of a death among any of the relations of her family, and at the obsequies, I always sacrificed a buffalo, and presented the kutch. Pilluvāni was afterwards betrothed to two others, Khakhood and Tūmbūt. When she had arrived at a certain age, and had for eight days been living with one of her female friends in a dwelling separate from those of the family,¹ intimation was sent to me, and I went to her father's morrt, that is, Kerjwan's, her second father, the first one being dead. I was feasted and bedded; and after a few days, Kerjwan, laying on his hands, gave us his blessing, and I returned with my wife to my own morrt, receiving with her in dower four buffalo kine; her father also presented to her on this occasion a pair of ear-rings, a pair of armlets, a necklace, a brazen salver, and five rupees.

"Now, according to our customs, Pilluvāni was to pass the first month with me, the second with Khakhood, and the third with Tūmbūt; and the two latter, waiting in succession on the father-in-law, were to ask his blessing and claim their privilege in right. I was to give her raiment the first year, Khakhood the second, and Tūmbūt the third. I had the option of claiming the first three children, Khakhood the second three, and Tūmbūt the third three; when the option again revolved to me. It was my place to go to her father

¹ This is a custom of which I failed to obtain any account.

two or three months prior to the birth of a child, and, delivering to him a small piece of wood, which we call a billu,¹ to claim the forthcoming infant, whether male or female, and acknowledge before him and his relations that I would protect and nourish it; and that, whatever might happen, I allowed this to be in satisfaction of one of my claims. On this occasion, also, I was to present him either five or ten rupees, and in return he was to allow me to select, if I presented him five rupees, three; if ten rupees, six of the best kine of his herd. If the child proved a boy he would have to present me with a heifer, and another one also on the birth of each son, but not on the birth of a daughter, as it is supposed that she will soon be betrothed, and that a fortune will accrue to her in that way.

"After the third birth the same observance and privilege would have fallen to Khakhod and Tūmbūt successively, or if I chose to give up any of my rights the two latter would successively have had choice of adoption, &c., &c. We all three should have been equally bound to protect the whole of the children, to marry, and to give them in marriage; but the superior authority would always have rested with me.

"The case of Pilluvāni and myself, however, was at variance with this custom. We were very fond of one another and determined not to separate. I offered to pay the usual fines, but the other party would not accept of them. I had been unfortunate. A murrain had attacked my herd; the greater part of Korrōr,² and which belonged to my fathers, had been forsaken by the Marvs and Cūvs,³ from the oppression of some of their rulers, and from being a leading man among my own people I was now reduced, but principally by the oppressions of my wife's relations, to comparative poverty."

¹ This is evidently due to misunderstanding of the *pursūlpimi* ceremony. The Tamil word for 'bow' is *vil*.

² Probably Keradr.

³ Badagas and Kotas.



CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

IN this chapter I propose to bring together a number of matters connected with the social organisation ; to consider the various sections into which the clan is divided for social or ceremonial purposes, the method of government, the laws concerning property and inheritance, and the position of women.

We have already seen that the primary fact in the social organisation of the Todas is the existence of two divisions, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol,¹ and the last chapter has shown that these divisions form endogamous groups, each of which is divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans. In some respects the clan is a definite unit in the social organisation with a certain amount of power in regulating its own affairs, owning property and having in many cases social or religious usages peculiar to itself.

THE CLAN

The clan system is territorial, and I could discover no trace of its ever having been totemic. The clan owns a number of villages and takes its name from the chief of these, the *etudmad*. The connexion of the clan with the village is so generally recognised that in some cases in which the *etudmad* of the clan has disappeared, or is rarely visited, there is a tendency to name the clan after the chief village

¹ A full account of the two divisions and of their relation to one another will be given in Chapter XXIX.



still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season.

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position.

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans.

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nòdrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

prise the remainder of the Tarthar clans—viz., those of Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòrdoni, Päm and Nidrsi. I could obtain no direct information from the Todas which would explain why the Badaga classification should differ from their own. It is possible that it is an old classification of the Todas, but this is unlikely, since it is probable that the intercourse with the Badagas is not very ancient. It seems to me possible that it may have arisen out of the constitution of the *naim* or council. This has four Toda representatives belonging to Kuadr (representing the Teivaliol), Kars, Nòdrs and Taradr. This would correspond to four of the Badaga divisions, and the fifth, the Melgarsol or Pekkan, would certainly be well known to the Badagas through their privileges as *mòrol*. It is possible that the Nòdrs representative used also to represent Pan, and that the Taradr member represented the remaining clans, and, if so, it would point to there having been some old five-fold division of the kind believed in by the Badagas. It is quite clear that the five-fold division has no influence on the marriage regulations and Peiki, Todi and Kuttan all marry freely within their divisions. Except in connexion with the *naim*, I could learn of nothing which would show that the five-fold division has any social significance; and I know of no other way in which the Panol are associated with the Nòdrsol nor of any other way in which the six clans included in the Kuttan are associated together. It is possible that the five-fold division is connected with some customs regulating the payment of the Badaga tribute to the Todas, but I could learn nothing of such customs.

Each clan has divisions of two kinds called *kudr* and *pòlm*. The *kudr* is a division of ceremonial, the *pòlm* of practical, importance.

THE KUDR

Normally each clan has two *kudr* and two only, and, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, these divisions become of the greatest importance in connexion with the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the whole regulation of which is dominated by the division into *kudr*. So far as I could ascertain, the *kudr* has now no

other significance, and I do not know whether the division is one which formerly possessed a social significance which it has now lost, so that the *kudr* only persists in ceremony, or whether it is a mode of division of the clan which has arisen purely in connexion with the *irnörtiti* and other allied ceremonies.

In one or two cases there was some doubt as to whether a certain division of the people was a clan or a *kudr*. This was especially the case with the Kwaradrol, now extinct, who were said by some of my informants to have been a clan, but it seemed clear that they only formed a *kudr* of the Keadrol, and were not properly a distinct clan. This is one case in which a *kudr* has a distinctive name, and another example occurs in the Panol where the *kudr* have separate names, one the Panol or Pandar, the other the Kuirsjol or Peshteidimokh. In general, each *kudr* is named after its leading man, thus the two *kudr* of the Nòdrsol are spoken of as the *kudr* of Mudrigeidi (1) and Kerkadr (2). The man who gives his name to the *kudr* is probably responsible for the general management of the ceremonies in which the *kudr* is concerned.

In a few cases a clan was said to have more than two *kudr*, but on cross-examination it turned out in each case that the statement was due to the fact that the clan contained a section which had no part, or only a subordinate part, in the *irnörtiti* ceremony and that this section might sometimes be spoken of as a *kudr*. Thus, in the Kuudr clan there are three sections, two which have reciprocal relations in the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a third consisting of the family of Tövoniners (61) which lost certain privileges owing to a dispute many generations ago (see p. 675). This family could perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but in such a case the buffalo would go to the members of the two other divisions and Tövoniners would receive nothing if either of the other divisions performed the ceremony. Another example of a clan said to have three *kudr* is that of Piedr, where the family of Nongarsivan (62) stands in the same relation to the other divisions as is the case with the family of Tövoniners in the Kuudrol. In this case Nongarsivan's exceptional position is

probably due to the fact that his family lives at Kavidi in the Wainad.

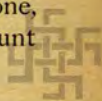
When a *kudr* becomes extinct a new division of the remaining *kudr* may take place, but, as a rule, this is not done till an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony arises. There are several cases in which one *kudr* of a clan has now been extinct for several years, but though the re-division is often a subject for discussion, it is not probable that a new *kudr* will be instituted till the necessity arises. Occasionally, however, it would seem that a new *kudr* may be decided on apart from an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony, for about the time of my visit the people of Keadr, who had lost one *kudr* by the dying out of the Kwaradrol, decided that the family of Karem (69), of which the sole living representatives are three boys, should form a new *kudr*. I could not learn what had been the motives for the decision. Some unimportant clans which have arisen by fusion from other clans, such as those of Kidmad and Kulhem, have no *kudr*, and do not appear ever to have possessed these divisions.

THE PÒLM

The word *pòlm* means 'portion,' and is the name of the section of the clan by means of which is regulated the sharing of any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole. Any expenses which the clan may incur as a whole are not equally divided among the individual members of the clan, but are equally divided among the *pòlm*. The chief occasion on which such expenses arise is in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy.

When a clan owns a *ti* and a dairy of the *ti* needs to be rebuilt or repaired, the expense also falls on the clan, and is equally divided among the *pòlm*, as in the case of the village dairy.

The outlay is equally divided among the *pòlm*, however much they may vary in size. Thus in the Kars clan one *pòlm* has sixteen adult male members, while another has only one, but this one man would contribute exactly the same amount as the other sixteen.



Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another.

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter.

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers, who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source.

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted.

The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

monegar and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*. They take messages and act generally as servants at the meetings, and the families with these functions are called *kavòdiputipol kudupel*, or servant families. They are also sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes into their charge.

LAWS OF DESCENT

Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow and arrow to his mother at the *pursùtpimi* ceremony. In the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the Teivaliol and *vice versâ*, but on further inquiry it is found that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to perform the *pursùtpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the *pursùtpimi* ceremony had not been performed, the child would belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother, but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.¹ I did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursùtpimi* ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

¹ Another name for a man of no clan is *pazuli*, but I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

is determined entirely by the *pursütipimi* ceremony. If in a polyandrous marriage the husbands belong to different clans, a child belongs to the clan of the husband who has last performed this ceremony, and, as we have already seen, in the case of the death of one of the husbands, the dead man may become the legal father of several children, if the surviving husband does not perform the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow to the wife.

Again, in the case of a woman becoming pregnant while still unmarried, the father of the child is the man who is called in to give the bow and arrow, although he may have had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony. Further, if for any reason the husband of a woman should be prevented from performing the *pursütipimi* ceremony, some other man is called upon to give the bow and arrow and he becomes the father of the child. Lastly, in the numerous cases of transference of wives from one man to another by the *terersthi* custom, one man may be the real father of a child, but another will become the legal father if the transference should take place in time for him to perform the essential ceremony.

The Todas show few traces of mother-right. In some communities there is little reason to doubt that such acts as are performed by a Toda towards his sister's son are survivals of a condition of society in which the mother's brother was responsible, largely or altogether, for the welfare of the child. Among the Todas, however, the *mun* stands in two relations to a child. He is the mother's brother, and he is also the prospective or actual father-in-law, and we have no means of telling in which of these two rôles he performs his duties. If the duties of a man towards his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote.

The Todas have a special name for the village of a man's mother—viz., *karuvnòdr*, or "honoured place," and when a *manmokh* gives a buffalo or other contribution on the occasion of a funeral, he speaks of it as a gift to his *karuvnòdr*. When a man visits his *karuvnòdr*, he goes to the door of the dairy

and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold, and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

Marshall in his book¹ on the Todas has suggested that the existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there came in inheritance through males among themselves, while they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time in the early stages of human society. We have various groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

¹ P. 132.

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves.

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect.

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies.

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pòlm* of the father.

There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan.

There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nòdrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

GOVERNMENT

The most important feature of Toda government is the *naim*, or *noim*,¹ a council having a definite constitution. The *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general, and, in addition, more informal councils,² consisting of the chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim* may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs of a clan.

The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri, from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the *naim*. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations between the Todas and Badagas.

The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda representatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8) and Piutolv (10) of Kars, Kudòdrvan (3) of Nòdrs, and Ircheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had not been taken by Piutolv, the second Kars representative. All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

¹ A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kùtkùdriti*, "the assembly assembles," or *kùtpuniti*, "the assembly makes."

² It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

Kuriolv, they are too old or infirm to serve. Kuriolv is still on the *naim*, and his influence is entirely predominant, and it appears that he has been instrumental in altering the constitution of the council very largely. The number of representatives has been increased, and the following were the members in 1902 : —Kuriolv and Ivievan (52) of Kuudr, Perner and Tebner (68), of Keadr, Parkeidi (21), Paners (23) and Siriar (20) of Taradr and Pidrvan (9) of Kars. Thus several members of the Kuudrol and Taradrol are serving, while there appears to be no representative of the Nòdrsol ; and I was told by several Todas that Perner and Tebner are on the council because they are friends of Kuriolv, though, as members of the Keadr clan, they have no right whatever to the position.

On the slopes below the hill called Mirson, near Paikara, there are the remains of ruined walls marking a place where the *naim* used to meet. This place is called Idrgûdipem, and seems to have been at one time the chief meeting-place.

At the present time the *naim* meets anywhere. I have seen the council sitting in the compound of the bungalow at Paikara and on one occasion, when I was working in a bungalow at the Ooty Club, the *naim* sat in the grounds of the club. In general, they now meet at the places which happen to be most convenient for the chief members.

The members usually sit in a semicircular row. If they are considering a dispute between two parties, representatives of the parties take part in the sitting, and in these cases the members of the *naim* sit in the middle of the row while the representatives sit on either wing.

During my visit the council was chiefly occupied with the various complicated transactions which are always arising out of the custom of transferring wives from one man to another. This custom is the chief source of disputes among the Todas, and at times the *naim* may sit for several days before one case is settled.

I am doubtful whether the *naim* should have a definite head, but at the present time it certainly has such in the person of Kuriolv of Kuudr. He is the senior representative of the *manikudupel* of Kuudr, and is therefore the natural representative of this clan on the *naim*. He is highly intel-

ligent, and gave me the impression that he might have risen to a high place in any community. He has the reputation among the Todas of being very eloquent and of having great persuasive powers. When persuasion fails, there is very little doubt that he resorts to intimidation of some kind, though I could not discover what his means of intimidation are.



FIG. 60.—KURIOLV AND PILIMURG.

On one occasion the *naim* spent a whole day discussing a marriage case in the compound at Paikara. On the following day they met in a distant part of the hills to continue the discussion of the case, and I was told that this was arranged by Kuriolv because he hoped to enforce his wishes in some secluded spot more effectively than in the publicity of Paikara where the evidences of the 'government' probably lent moral support to his opponents.

However Kuriolv effects his purpose, there is no doubt that

he almost entirely dominated the Toda people at the time of my visit. We have already seen that he has succeeded in altering the constitution of the *naim*, and several examples are given in this book of his interference in the normal course of Toda affairs ; interference usually in favour of his own family or friends. In at least one case (see Chap. XVI) during my visit he considered himself superior to ceremonial laws.

He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community ; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died.

I did not obtain a full account of the duties of the *naim* and of the affairs which come under its jurisdiction. There is no doubt, however, that it is largely concerned with the settlement of civil disputes arising between individuals, families, and clans. As I have already mentioned, it seemed to me that it was almost exclusively engaged during my visit in the regulation of the disputes arising out of the *terersthi* custom. In one such case the question of funeral contributions was involved, and I have no doubt that the settlement of any dispute arising from this source would come within the province of the *naim*, and probably any doubtful point in the working of the social regulations would be submitted to it.

In addition to its functions in disputes between individuals, the *naim* has wide functions in connexion with Toda ceremonial. It decides when many ceremonies take place, and has the chief word in regulating the affairs of the *ti* dairies. Thus it appeared that the various arrangements and alterations of arrangements in connexion with the migration of the buffaloes of the *Nòdrs ti* which were made during my visit were the work of the *naim*, or, at any rate, of its chief members.

CRIME

I have no knowledge about the power of the *naim* in criminal as opposed to civil matters. I never heard of inquiry by the *naim* into any criminal offence committed by one man against another or against the community. It is, however,

doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view. Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

Again, the custom of *terersthi*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, sometimes leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be carried off by force from the home of the former, but, however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

SUICIDE

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times ; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on mēdr kati kēdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kēdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

THE MONEGAR

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

The earliest *monegar* whom the Todas remember is Teitchi or Teiti (52). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Mutevan, who is still alive. The two eldest sons had died before their father, and Persevan, the third son, was said to be weak-minded, and Mutevan was therefore chosen to succeed.

Mutevan is now a very old man, probably about eighty years of age, and his office was taken over some years ago by his eldest son, Ivievan. Though Ivievan is the *monegar* he is not the chief representative of his family on the *naim*, this position belonging to Kuriolv, the son of Pareivan and Persevan. Ivievan is helped in collecting the assessment by an assistant *monegar*, and till lately this place belonged to Parkurs of Kars.

It does not appear that the *monegarship* is a real Toda office, but that the earliest *monegar* was appointed by Mr. Sullivan, the first British official of the Nilgiris. The family, however, to which the *monegar* belongs is called the *manikudupel*, which may mean the *monegar* family, but I could not discover definitely whether this title is older than the institution of the *monegarship*. It is possible that Teitchi was one of the chief men of the *naim* when the Europeans first came to the hills and that he was therefore appointed as *monegar*.

It is quite clear that at the present time the *monegar*, Ivievan, is not the most important man among the Todas, but that the predominant position belongs to his cousin, Kuriolv, the representative of the family on the *naim*.

HEADMEN

Though it is very doubtful whether the institution of *monegar* is not an innovation, and whether the Todas as a whole have properly any true chief, it is fairly clear that the clan and its divisions have definite leaders.

Each clan has a headman or *etudol*; usually, it seemed to me, one who had come to the top by virtue of his character and ability. I did not learn how far his position was generally recognised nor by what means he was chosen. It was quite clear, however, that the leading man of a clan

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions.

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *pòlm* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property.

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy¹ was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual

¹ For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, Bull. i. 182.

sum from the Government as compensation for land taken from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves, and I heard of no disputes between members of different clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*), are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan. There probably never arises any real question of ownership, but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole clan, each *pòlm* of the clan contributing an equal share.¹

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves considerable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the *palol*, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases, little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

Houses. Each house belongs to a certain family. The normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

¹ I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, and is handed on to the children of the brothers.

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they) shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers will occupy the house.

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages, such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only, is that the families which possessed the houses at these villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively that a house at such an important village may not, in some cases, be taken over by another family.

Brecks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they

live, and when they die he continues to live in the parental home, of which he becomes the owner.

Buffaloes. These are to a very large extent individual property. In practice, owing to the fact that brothers usually live together, a herd of buffaloes is treated as the property of a family of brothers, but whenever the occasion arises there are definite rules for the division of the buffaloes among them.

I have already referred to the fact that certain herds of buffaloes, such as the *ti* herds and the *kugvalir* of Taradr, are the common property of a clan, but the great majority of both sacred and ordinary buffaloes belong to families or individuals.¹ When a man who owns a certain number of buffaloes dies, the buffaloes are not necessarily divided among his sons. If the sons are all living together, the buffaloes may be treated as if they were common property. The milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut, and that of the sacred buffaloes in the dairy, and the produce in each case is regarded as the property of the whole family. It is only when dissensions arise, or when some reason makes it desirable that the brothers should separate and live in different villages, that the laws regulating the partition of buffaloes come into force.

When such an occasion arises the buffaloes are equally divided among the brothers, with the exception that the eldest son and the youngest son each receive one buffalo in excess of the rest. This custom is known as *īrvākkhñūdr meilkūdr*, or "if divide buffaloes, superior portion."

If there are only two sons, each will get *meilkudr*, and the buffaloes are equally divided; but if there should be an unequal number of buffaloes, the odd buffalo is taken by the elder son.

If there are more than two sons, the buffaloes are equally divided with *meilkudr* to the eldest and youngest, and any odd buffaloes are in this case sold and the proceeds equally divided, or, more commonly, one of the brothers takes the odd buffaloes and gives the right proportion of their value to the other brothers.

¹ On p. 70 I have given an example of the ownership of sacred buffaloes in the Kars clan.

Thus, if sixteen buffaloes are to be divided among four brothers, the eldest and youngest would each take four, the second and third brothers would each take three, and the remaining two buffaloes would either be sold and the purchase money equally divided, or taken by one of the brothers, who would divide three-quarters of the value of the buffaloes between the other three men. If there should be only fourteen buffaloes, the eldest and youngest sons would each take four buffaloes and the others three.

The *meilkudr* is also operative if a man divides his buffaloes among his sons in his lifetime. In this case a man usually keeps some buffaloes for himself; thus I was told that a man who had sixteen buffaloes and three sons might give four buffaloes to the eldest, three to the next, and four to the youngest son, keeping five for himself.

The Todas told me of one apparent exception to the law of *meilkudr*. If, in a family of four brothers, the two elder brothers marry one wife and the two younger marry another and the two groups separate, the buffaloes would be equally divided, but this is because each would receive a *meilkudr*. If, on the other hand, the eldest and youngest son married one wife, and the other two sons married another woman, the first group would receive two buffaloes in excess of the second. The former example is, of course, an obvious consequence of the law of *meilkudr*. I only mention it because the Todas told me of it especially, and seemed to regard it as a case which might be thought to be a departure from custom.

I gave the Todas a number of hypothetical problems of buffalo division, and all were solved in accordance with the law of *meilkudr*. I have not been able to learn of any exact parallel in other parts of the world, and it seems possible that it is an independent invention of the Todas. The division is called *kudr*, or horn, and it seems to me quite possible that at some time it occurred to an ingenious Toda that the two extremities of the family should be regarded as the two horns of the family, and that this fact should be recognised in the division of property, or, it may be, that the custom of endowing the eldest of the family above his fellows

existed among the Todas as among so many other races, till it was pointed out that this was like a buffalo with one horn, and the youngest son was therefore similarly endowed to restore the symmetry of the family. The buffalo influences the Toda mind so much that I do not think this is a far-fetched explanation of a custom which appears to be the unique possession of this people.

The word *kudr* is also the name of one of the divisions of the clan, and it seemed clear in this case that the proper number of *kudr* in each clan is two.

There is much transference of buffaloes from one man to another, or from one family to another. Many ceremonies involve gifts of buffaloes, and these are usually presented by a member of one clan to a member of another. Marriage is one of the chief occasions of such gifts. Refusal to fulfil the marriage contract and divorce involve the payment of buffaloes, and the *terersthi* custom is a great source of the passing of buffaloes from one clan to another. Similarly, buffaloes are given at the ceremonies of naming, ear-piercing, &c., and as I have already pointed out, these transferences have led to great confusion in the classification of the different kinds of sacred buffaloes, as a man may have in his possession animals belonging to several named groups.

In the case of ordinary buffaloes, or *putiir*, it seemed that a distinction is made between buffaloes which have been acquired by a man and those descended from animals which had been in the possession of his father and grandfather. My attention was drawn to this point by the occurrence at the funeral of Sinerani. The recalcitrant buffalo on this occasion was one of the latter kind, and I was told that it should not have been killed at the funeral of a girl because, being descended from a buffalo which belonged to Kuriolv's grandfather, Kuriolv's heirs had a right to it of which they were deprived by its slaughter for a girl. If the dead child had been a boy the slaughter of this buffalo would have been proper, for the dead child in this case would have been one of the heirs.

Transferences of buffaloes also take place between Todas and Badagas, as we have seen in connexion with the ear-

piercing ceremony described in Chapter XIV. In this case the gift appeared to be nothing more than a friendly compliment, but it is possible that transferences of buffaloes may in some cases be connected with the other complicated relations between the two tribes.

Household Goods. These are equally divided among the sons, though, as in the case of the buffaloes, they are used in common so long as the sons live together. If household goods have to be divided among the members of a family they are shared as equally as possible, and this is also the case with any ornaments. If the man had only one ring, it was said that this ring would either be broken up and shared equally, or its value would be divided. Money is shared equally among the sons.

If one of several brothers who has his own wife should die and leave children, the sons would take their father's share at any division of property. Thus, at the time of my visit, Piutolvan and Püljeidi (10), two very old men, were thinking of dividing their buffaloes among their descendants. In this case Menkars would receive the number which his father Tagners would have received if he had been alive. If Tagners had left two sons, the portion which their father would have received would be divided between the two boys or devoted to their common use.

Daughters inherit nothing. They only receive from their parents what they are given as dowry (*adrparn*).

Any property given to a woman as dowry goes with her if she changes husbands, but any ornaments or other property given to a wife by her husband are kept by the husband if the wife is transferred to another man or group of men.

Harkness records a case in which a dispute about property arose. In this case a woman bore two children to three husbands. One of the husbands died and the other two husbands married other wives. The two children claimed one-third of the property of the mother and her first husband, and Harkness was told that this was generally recognised to be a just claim. I did not inquire into this special case but according to the laws of inheritance of property which I have given, it would seem that the children were entitled to

one-third of the whole of the property of the three brothers. If the property had been divided among the three brothers, the man who died would have received one-third, and the children should have received his share.

In all cases of distribution of property, inheritance depends on descent as determined by the *pursütpimi* ceremony, and not on the real descent, even if this should be well known. Thus the boy Meilitars (44), who is really the son of Kuriolv, but is legally the son of Pepners, should not inherit any of Kuriolv's buffaloes, but will receive those of his legal father, Pepners, of whom at present he is the only son.

If the whole of a family, such as is given in one of the genealogical tables, should die out, the inheritance of the buffaloes and other property is determined by the nearest links of descent, of which a tradition may be preserved, even if the actual relationship cannot be definitely traced.

Several interesting features of Toda law are illustrated by a case out of which a lawsuit may one day arise. If the family of Kiugi (57) should become extinct, there would arise a dispute about the succession to the property, which would turn largely on a case in which the *pursütpimi* ceremony was performed several generations ago. When the eldest child of Tudrvan (52) was about to be born, Tudrvan was away from home, and had not performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. There was a danger that the delivery might take place before the ceremony could be performed, and Kòrs (57) was therefore called in to give the bow and arrow, and Teitchi, who was born soon afterwards, was, according to Toda custom, the child of Kòrs. When Teitchi grew up, however, he decided to regard himself as the son of his real father, Tudrvan, and being a powerful and influential person like his grandson Kuriolv, he appears to have had his way, and his descendants have been regarded as the descendants of Tudrvan. Tudrvan himself gave the bow and arrow in the succeeding pregnancy, and there is therefore no doubt about the legitimacy of Pusheiri and his younger brothers and sisters.

Owing, however, to the part played by Kòrs before the birth of his grandfather, Kuriolv has lately directed that Kiugi, the son of Kòrs, should belong to the same *pòlm* as

himself in order that he or his family may succeed to the buffaloes of Kiugi's *pòlm* if this should die out. It is known, however, that Kiugi's *pòlm* is closely related to that of Tùliners (56), so that should the *pòlm* of Kiugi become extinct, there would arise a lawsuit between Kuriolv and Tùliners or their representatives for the possession of Kiugi's buffaloes.

The essential point of the situation is that Kuriolv is trying to make use of his double position as the descendant of Tudrvan by real paternity and of Kòrs by virtue of the *pursiitpimi* ceremony. According to the latter he is of the same *pòlm* as Kiugi, but if equity prevails in the decision of the *naim* which may have to settle the dispute, Kuriolv or his representative will have to decide whether he is descended from Tudrvan or Kòrs, and will not be allowed to take advantage of both lines of descent.

As a matter of fact, I was assured by several Todas that though they have apparently fallen in with Kuriolv's wishes, they still regard Kiugi's *pòlm* as most closely allied to that of Tùliners, and if Kuriolv should die before the extinction of Kiugi's family, I have little doubt that the *naim* would decide that the buffaloes of Kiugi should go to the family of Tùliners.

This potential lawsuit is important as showing the rôle played by the genealogies in the social regulations of the Toda community. We see that an eventuality which may never arise and probably will not arise for many years to come is already the subject of consideration and discussion, that the crucial point upon which the lawsuit will turn is an event which occurred probably about 120 years ago, and that the ties of kinship which will be involved in the dispute are carefully preserved in the memories of the people.

The history is also very interesting in showing that a century ago a man of force was able to set aside a fundamental regulation of Toda society, and that his grandson, who has apparently inherited the powerful character of his ancestor, is following in his footsteps, and, as we have seen frequently during this volume, is able to put on one side Toda customs or laws when they conflict with his interests or desires.

DEBT AND SERVITUDE

It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt, and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kūlvatkerthchi* or *kūlvatkerthiti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

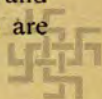
community towards the sex. The laws regulating the relations of the dairymen with women also can hardly have contributed to raise the esteem in which they are held. The special ceremonies in which women are concerned involve various disabilities due to the ideas of impurity connected with these ceremonies. The seclusion-hut of a woman has attached to it the same ideas of impurity which attach to a corpse or its relics.

Not only are women excluded from any share in the work of the dairies connected with the sacred buffaloes, but they are also prohibited from any part in the milking of the ordinary buffaloes or in the churning of their milk, which is performed solely by males in a part of the hut with which women have nothing to do. It seems that at one time women had the one function of tending the buffaloes at the time of calving, but even this is no longer allowed them.

In other household matters, the duties of women are very limited in scope. Their chief work is the pounding and sifting of grain, the cleaning of the hut, and the decoration of clothing. I am doubtful whether they are allowed to cook, at any rate to cook food in which milk forms one of the ingredients. With such occupations as divining and sorcery they have nothing to do, but one woman has the reputation of possessing the powers of healing which belong to the *utkòren*.

I could not learn of any matters of social importance in which women are consulted. When collecting genealogies in Torres Straits, I found that women were often repositories of this important branch of knowledge, but I received no indication that this was the case with the Toda women, though I cannot say definitely that they may not have possessed some knowledge of this and cognate subjects.

Though thus unimportant in ceremonial and of little influence in the regulation of social affairs, women have nevertheless much freedom. In general social intercourse the two sexes always seemed to be on the best of terms, and I never saw or heard anything to indicate that women are treated harshly or contemptuously.



In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

dependent on the transference of a young girl to the clan of a boy who acts as husband to the corpse. By her marriage to Keinba, the dead girl became a member of the Keadrol, and her funeral should have been held at the burning-ground of this clan. Many of the features of the ceremonies were in accordance with this change of clan, and since all were not so, the various mishaps which occurred at the funeral were ascribed by the Todas to the departure from prescribed custom.



CHAPTER XXIV

ARTS AND AMUSEMENTS

THE arts of life among the Todas are extremely simple. The fact that their agriculture is done for them by the Badagas and that all the objects they use in their daily life are made for them by the Kotas leaves them free to devote their whole attention to the care of the buffalo and the dairy. This employment has acquired so ceremonial a character that, having dealt with the ceremonies of the Todas, we find little left to consider in connexion with the regulation of the affairs of daily life.

The artistic side of life among the Todas is but little developed. Their interest is so much absorbed in ceremony that little is left for the development of art, even of a primitive kind. The decorative arts are of the simplest and are directed only to the adornment of the clothing or the person, and even here we shall find that the methods of wearing the clothes or the hair are quite as much influenced by ceremonial as by æsthetic considerations. In their amusements again we shall find that the influence of ceremonial is so great, that many of the games are merely imitations of ceremonial occupations.

I have included in this chapter an account of the ideas which are held about the heavenly bodies, the primitive astronomy of the people. To the Todas, though in a less degree than to many people of low culture, it is the sun, moon, and stars which are the chief objects of those observations and speculations which are the beginnings of science.

CLOTHING

The clothing of the men consists of a large cloak called the *putkuli*, a loincloth called *tadrp*, and a small perineal cloth called *kuvn*, kept in its place by a string round the waist called *pennar*.

The *putkuli* is made of a large piece of double cloth, which is usually worn by placing one side over the left shoulder and then throwing the whole garment round the back and over the right shoulder and across to the left shoulder, so that it completely envelops the body. This method of wearing the cloak, which is shown by the third man of Fig. 61, is called *kai ulk iit nidvai*, "hand into laid who stands," or "who stands with hand placed within the cloak."

The double layer of cloth of which the cloak is made is sewn together at the edges except at the upper part of one side, leaving the opening of a large pocket which is bounded by lines where the two layers of the cloak are again sewn together. This pocket is called *kudsh* and is very capacious, so that a Toda may produce a surprising number of articles from it. As we have seen, many of the articles given to the dead are placed in this pocket.

There are two methods of wearing the cloak adopted on special occasions. One of these is that called *kevenarut* (adopted by the second man in Fig. 61), with which we have already often met. The right arm is put out of the cloak, so that the arm and shoulder are bare whenever a Toda approaches certain sacred personages or objects. The cloak is worn *kevenarut* whenever the wearer is engaged in prayer or employed in any way at the dairy. It is also worn in this way when approaching a *palol*, when performing the *kaimukhti* salutation, and when crossing either of the sacred streams.

The other method is that shown by the fourth man in Fig. 61 and is called *mad ar mitch nidvai*, "head on covered who stands." The cloak is worn in this fashion by a widower between the middle of the first funeral ceremony and the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. It is also worn in

this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony of each funeral.

The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus, probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago, according to Brecks, the cloth was procured from weavers who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar. When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*, made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *ān* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of



FIG. 61.—SHOWING METHODS OF WEARING THE TODA GARMENTS AND OF DOING THE HAIR.



material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordination of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

Many of the older and more important Todas now wear the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

At the present time a man always removes his turban when performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kôdrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

METHODS OF WEARING THE HAIR

There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

rolls," and the second man in Fig. 61 is wearing his hair in this fashion, a girl of his clan having died not long before, whose second funeral ceremonies had not yet taken place.

Another method of wearing the hair is shown by the third man in Fig. 61. This method is called *mad nadrk vai*, "head (or hair) long to who." It is adopted by anyone who



FIG. 62.—TILIPA (12) WEARING HIS HAIR LONG ON ACCOUNT OF A VOW MADE AT A HINDU TEMPLE.

has made a vow. In Fig. 62 another man is shown in the same condition, but his head has a different appearance owing to the fact that he has tied two locks behind in order to keep the long hair away from his face. This tying back has no other significance.

Women wear their hair as shown in Figs. 3 and 11, in long ringlets, and there do not appear to be any differences in

the method of wearing the hair under different conditions corresponding to those of males.

After a funeral the Tarthar division of the Todas except the Melgarsol shave their heads, and this may also happen in connexion with vows made at the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi or elsewhere.

The hair of a child is shaved about the third month of life (see p. 332), so that the head has the appearance shown in Figs. 63 and 64. The head is shaved on the top and sides, and in a strip from the top to the forehead, so that three locks are left, two in front, called the *mikuti* (? *meikuti*), and one behind, called the *kut*.

In the case of a girl, there is some difference in the method of shaving according to the position of the child in the family. If a girl is the eldest of the family, she wears three locks like a boy, but younger girls and the eldest girl, if she should have an elder brother, wear only the two front locks, the *mikuti*.

SKIN-MARKS

The only kind of skin-mark made on males takes the form of a cicatrix on the right shoulder and, less commonly, on the elbow. It is produced by means of a stick made hot by the drill method of producing fire, exactly as in the production of fire for ceremonial purposes. The operation is not, however, accompanied by any ceremonial and may be performed by anyone. The marks are made when a boy is about twelve years old, at which age he begins to milk the buffaloes. The object of the marking is to cure the pain arising from the fatigue of milking. If the operation has not the desired result and the boy still feels the fatiguing effect of milking, a second mark is made, and occasionally a third or fourth may be necessary. In one case, in which a man had three marks one on the shoulder and two on the elbow, the third mark was not made till he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, three or four years after the first mark had been produced. This was done because, even after this lapse of time, he still suffered from aching in his arm after milking the buffaloes. Another



FIGS. 63 AND 64.—TO SHOW METHOD OF SHAVING THE HEAD OF A CHILD.



man had four scars on the shoulder, this being the largest number I observed.

Occasionally I observed a man without any of these scars, and, in more than one of these cases, the reason given was that the man had been one of a large family and had not had to do much milking. The cicatrices are usually raised well above the surrounding skin and are often distinct lumps of scar tissue (keloid). This appears to be the result of special treatment of the burn. A leaf called *kudiers* is put on the wound with butter, and this keeps it open for a considerable time. If the wound remains open too long, another leaf, called *pöturers*, is used to hasten the healing.

Similar, but less raised, marks are occasionally seen on the wrist or elsewhere. In men these are always the result of treatment for pain or illness and are made in the same way by means of a hot stick. Sometimes a metal instrument called *sunurkudi* is now used for this purpose.

The ceremonial burns made on the wrists of women during the first pregnancy have already been fully considered.

Tattooing is only practised by women. The patterns consist of rings and dots arranged in straight lines, and they are most commonly to be seen on the chest, shoulders, and upper parts of the arms.¹

I believe that there is some kind of ceremonial connected with tattooing, but unfortunately I failed to obtain satisfactory information about it. When I began the subject one day, I received an intimation that it was not a matter to be discussed in public, and later the subject slipped my attention and was never properly investigated.

The tattooing is performed by certain women, but it seemed that any woman who had learned how to tattoo might undertake the business. The following are at present recognised as experts: Achaveli (43), Sinpurs and Edjog (20), Sinpurs being probably the same woman who acts as one of the *utkören*. The woman who tattoos is given eight or twelve annas and she also receives food.

The tattooing must not take place before puberty, but it may be done either before or after childbirth.

¹ Some patterns are given by Mr. Thurston, *Bulletin*, i. 1896, pl. xii.

Little use is made by the Todas of pigments. The juice of a fruit called *ilpom*, which has a red colour, is sometimes used to adorn the forehead, and another reddish juice from a fruit called *puthimulpom*¹ is used for the same purpose. The yellowish juice of the *pelkurthpom* is rubbed on the face, but this was said to be done in frosty weather only, as a protection against the cold. Ashes are now occasionally rubbed on the face and head, especially by women at the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth. The last is certainly a recently borrowed custom, and I suspect the other adornments just mentioned to be modern imitations of the forehead marks of the Hindus.

ORNAMENTS

The men usually wear silver rings on the fourth digit of one or other hand. Often earrings are worn by the men and these are not uncommonly of gold. Harkness says that men sometimes wore chains of silver round the neck, but it is doubtful whether these are ever worn now. Formerly it seems that men used to wear far more solid rings, and one such ring is preserved which is said to have belonged to the hero or god Kwoten.

The ornaments of the women are more numerous and take the form of bracelets or bangles; armlets, often adorned with bunches of cowries; necklaces, sometimes made of silver coins; earrings; and a brass circlet worn round the waist. These ornaments are usually of brass or silver. At one time they seem to have been very massive, Brecks recording that a pair of brass armlets worn on one arm weighed six pounds. Formerly gold ornaments seem to have been commonly worn, and, so far as one can judge from older accounts and illustrations, it seems that Toda jewellery has greatly degenerated and is of a very paltry kind compared with that worn in the past.

¹ This is the fruit of one of the plants (*Rubus lasiocarpus*) of which the leaves are used in the ordination ceremonies of the dairymen of Taradr and Kanòdrs.

FOOD

The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice, and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is given by Mr. Thurston.¹ There is very little doubt that at one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkkartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkkartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*tòdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey, are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.² A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four.

The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are

¹ *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

² *Ashk* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat.

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men.

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide.

FIRE-MAKING

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon,

and with a few powerful manipulations he was rapidly successful.

Several kinds of wood are used for the fire-sticks, the Toda names of these being *kiaz* or *keadj*, *mòrs*, *parskuti*, and *main*. Only the first of these, however, may be used if fire is being



FIG. 65.—KAROL (64), THE 'WURSOL' OF TARADR, MAKING FIRE.

made for sacred purposes, and I was told that it was much easier to make fire with this than with any other.

In some Toda villages a stone is kept called *tütmúkal*, which was used at one time for making fire by striking it with a piece of iron. Probably this method was employed for non-sacred purposes in the period between giving up the fire-sticks for ordinary purposes and the introduction of matches.

The Todas have two kinds of fireplace, the *waskal*, con-

sisting of three stones, and the *kudrvars*, with four stones. The former is found in the dwelling-hut, in the *wursuli*, and in the *ti* dairy, and the latter in the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*; but I did not discover why the more sacred dairies should have the same kind of fireplace as the house. According to one account *waskal* is the name used by the Teivaliol and *kudrvars* by the Tartharol, and it may be that this is the explanation of the apparent anomaly.

THE HOUSE

Various parts of the house have definite names, and may only be used for certain purposes. As we have already seen, there are raised seats both outside and inside the house, the latter being used as beds. These are made of earth, the upper surface of which is made level, and the whole is usually well coated with a layer of dried buffalo-dung, sometimes nearly half an inch thick. The general name for these raised parts is *tün*, the seats outside the building on either side of the door being called *kwottün*, while the bed on the right side of the interior is the *meitün*, and that on the left side the *kitün*. The part of the hut where the bed or beds stand is called the *idrtul*.

The floor is called *kuter*, and this is divided into two parts by the hole in which the women pound the grain. The part near the door is called *kikuter*, and it is in this part only that dairy operations may be carried on. The part behind the pounding hole is especially assigned to the women and is called *meilkuter*.¹

The end wall, on which various objects, such as sticks, are kept is called *tashten*, and the fireplace, usually on one side, is called *waskal*. The part above the fireplace where firewood is kept is called *waskalkübi*, and the place of the cooking vessels is called *adikudi*. The western side of the hut is sometimes called the *meilmakol*, and the eastern side the

¹ It might have been expected that the part of the floor near the door used for the dairy operations would be the *meilkuter*, but it is not so. *Meil* also means 'west' and the explanation may be connected with this.

kimakol, but I do not know if this implies any rule as to the orientation of the houses.

The method of building is illustrated by Fig. 66, which shows a hut only partially built. Certain Todas have special reputations as architects, and the most famous of these at the present time is Kijievan (50), who superintended the building of the hut at Kiudr shown in Fig. 7, the most spacious and artistic of the strictly Toda dwellings which I saw on the

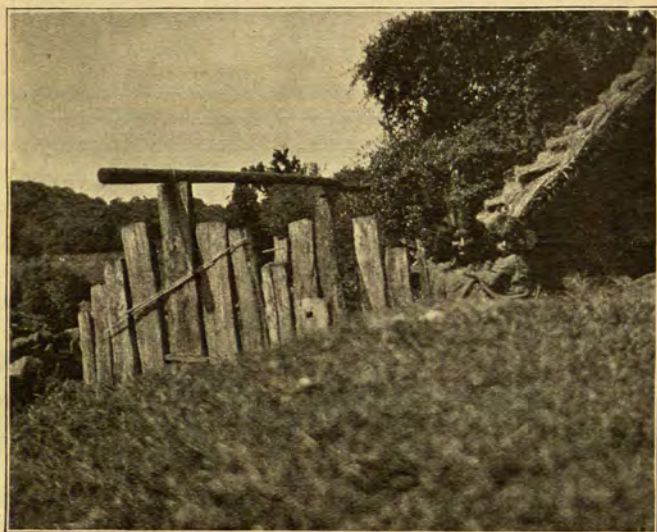


FIG. 66.—TO SHOW A STAGE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A HUT.

hills. Especial care is often taken with the arrangement of the rattan on the front of the hut, which is shown in Fig. 20. This is a picture of a dairy, but it shows the arrangement which is also found in the best of the houses.

The hut used for the seclusion of women before and after childbirth is a rough structure of wood and thatch, but its name, *puzhars*, means "mud house," which suggests that huts made of earth may at one time have been used by the Todas,



IMPLEMENTS AND UTENSILS

The most important objects in the economic life of the Todas are their dairy vessels, which have been already amply considered. Cooking vessels and implements used for cutting wood or for any other purpose are, like the vessels of the village dairy, procured chiefly from the Kotas, though at the present time the source of supply is probably supplemented by purchases in the bazaar.

As the Todas practise few arts, their need of implements is very small. At one time they used thorns as needles, but now steel needles have taken their place. Thorns are also used for tattooing. Leaves are used as plates and cups, and the fingers take the place of forks. The only definite implements used are knives and axes, the latter being especially needed for procuring firewood.

In some of their ceremonies, the Todas have preserved practices which may possibly be survivals of the use of stone implements. In the funeral ceremonies the buffaloes destined for the next world are killed with the back of an axe, but the buffaloes killed at the *koòtiti* ceremony and at the ceremony of purifying the funeral places must be killed with a stone. Further, the bark of the *tudr* tree used in so many ceremonies must always be knocked off the tree by means of a stone. The latter of these practices must certainly be very ancient, and may well be a relic of an age in which implements were made of stone.

THE POUNDER, SIEVE, AND BROOM

The interest of these articles lies in the fact that they are evidently regarded as the emblems of woman. When the *wursol* sleeps in the village hut, these articles are removed from the hut, and when the *ti* buffaloes pass the village of Kiudr, the women who leave this village take with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

In the case of the *wursol*, this sacred personage may associate with the women themselves if the three objects which seem to be emblematic of womanhood are removed.

The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmurn* is also burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at all funerals, both of males and females.

The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,¹ but I do not know of any other instance in which they are especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club and the bow and arrow.

The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the *azaramkedr*, and several other special sticks are also burnt, which may have been of the nature of clubs.

The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man, and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas. The bow and arrow are also used in the *kodtiti* ceremony of a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumtthpimi* ceremony, the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or arrow. In the ceremony of *tersamptpimi* a lock of hair is cut from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments, and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when

¹ See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii, pp. 187-191.

the Todas were so much isolated that their only iron was that of the tips of their arrows.

The bow and arrow are also mentioned in the legend of



FIG. 67 (FROM BREEKS).—THE FIRST MAN ON THE LEFT IS HOLDING A BOW AND ARROW; THE SECOND A CLUB (PROBABLY THE 'NANMAKUD') IN HIS RIGHT HAND, AND THE 'TADRI' IN HIS LEFT; THE THIRD MAN IS CARRYING A CLUB, AND THE FOURTH MAN IS PLAYING THE 'BUGURI.'

Kwoten. Teikuteidi was killed by an arrow shot by a lame man who lay down when he shot. It is possible that this legend points to an ancient custom of shooting the bow and arrow by means of the legs.

