

MEASURES AND NUMERALS

The Toda measure of length is the *mogai* or *mogoi*, which corresponds to the cubit, being the length from the elbow to the tips of the fingers. The word is probably related to *mogal*, the term for fore-arm.

The usual measure of capacity for liquids is the *kudi*, said to be equal to about four pints. Another measure is the *kòni*, two of which make one *kudi*. The *kòni* probably corresponds to the milking vessel, or *pun*.

For measuring out grain, the Todas use a special table of measures consisting of *âk* and *kwâ*, eleven *âk* making one *kwâ*. When measuring out grain, modifications of the ordinary numerals are used.

In the following lines I give these on the right-hand side of the page, those on the left being the ordinary numerals. *Urâk* is the equivalent of *ud âk*, or one measure.

<i>ud</i>	one	<i>ûrâk</i>
<i>erd</i>	two	<i>îrâk</i>
<i>mûd</i>	three	<i>mâk</i>
<i>nonk</i>	four	<i>oponi</i>
<i>udz</i>	five	<i>oiâk</i>
<i>âr</i>	six	<i>ârâk</i>
<i>ö or eu</i>	seven	<i>ôâk or euâk</i>
<i>öt</i>	eight	<i>ötâk</i>
<i>unpoth</i>	nine	<i>unpâk</i>
<i>poth</i>	ten	<i>pothâk</i>
<i>ponud</i>	eleven	<i>ukwâ</i>
<i>ponerd</i>	twelve	<i>ponerdâk</i>
<i>ponmûd</i>	thirteen	<i>ponmûdâk</i>
<i>ponnonk or pânk</i>	fourteen	<i>ponnonkâk</i>
<i>ponudz or podz</i>	fifteen	<i>ponudzâk</i>
<i>pâr</i>	sixteen	<i>pârâk</i>
<i>pö or pör</i>	seventeen	<i>pöâk</i>
<i>fât</i>	eighteen	<i>pâtâk</i>
<i>ponpoth</i>	nineteen	<i>ponpothâk</i>
<i>evoth</i>	twenty	<i>evothâk</i>
<i>evoth ud</i>	twenty-one	<i>evothudâk</i> (doubtful)
<i>evoth erd</i>	twenty-two	<i>ikwâ</i>
<i>evoth mûd</i>	twenty-three	<i>ikwâ ûrâk</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:

<i>mopoth</i>	thirty	<i>ikwâ ôtâk</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>mopoth mûd</i>	thirty-three	<i>mâkhwâ</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>nîfoth</i>	forty	<i>mâkhwâ ôâk</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>nâpoth nmk</i>	forty-four	<i>nâkhwâ</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>epoth</i>	fifty	<i>nâkhwâ ârâk</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>epoth udz</i>	fifty-five	<i>aiiwâ</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>âroth</i>	sixty	<i>aiiwâ oiâk</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>âroth âr</i>	sixty-six	<i>ârâwâ</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>övoth</i>	seventy	<i>ârâwâ oponi</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>övoth ö</i>	seventy-seven	<i>ökwâ</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>ötvoth</i>	eighty	<i>ökwâ mâk</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>ötvoth ôt</i>	eighty-eight	<i>ötkwâ</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>unvoth</i>	ninety	<i>ötkwâ ârâk</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>unvoth.unpoth</i>	ninety-nine	<i>unpawâ</i>
:	:	:
:	:	:
<i>anâr</i>	hundred	<i>unpawâ ud</i>

Above a hundred the numbers of *kwâ* are continued to *potkwâ*, *ponudkwâ*, &c., up to twenty *kwâ*, which make one *siligh*, and then the people begin again at the beginning.

This occurrence of the number eleven is probably a consequence of the transactions between Todas and Badagas.

There was some reason to believe that the true Toda measure is the *âk* (probably a contraction of *achok*) and that the Badagas brought their grain to the Todas in vessels called *kwâ*. The *kwâ* contained eleven of the Toda *âk*, and hence came about the very unusual proportion between two measures.

In giving ages or any other period of time, the word for year, *kwôdr*, is often abbreviated to *wâ*; thus *nâpoth kwôdr*, forty years, becomes *nâpothwâ*.

In counting the Todas use their fingers largely and have a special method of indicating the numbers. To signify one, the thumb is placed against the tip of the little finger; for two, against the tip of the ring finger; for three, against the middle finger; for four, against the forefinger; for five, the tip of the index finger is placed over the nail of the thumb; the same position is used for six, while that for seven is the same as for four, and so on, so that when ten is reached the thumb is resting again on the tip of the little finger.

MONEY

The Todas use the ordinary Indian currency. In their legends and ceremonies there is frequent reference to the *panm*, or four-anna piece.

Among the coins used by the Todas at the funeral ceremonies there are many of considerable age with Arabic inscriptions, and the earlier visitors to the hills describe the Todas as possessing old Venetian gold pieces. In the legend telling how the *kaltmokh* of the Nôdrs *ti* dispersed the invading Coorgs (p. 114), the boy made use of a small gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he had in his possession.

THE CALENDAR

The Todas have twelve months, each of which begins with the new moon. The first month of the Toda year is *Tai*, which begins with the new moon in October, so that this month usually includes part of October and part of November. Some of the chief Toda ceremonies, such as that of *tentiit-*

usthchi and the more important ceremonies of *erkumptthpimi*, take place soon after the new moon marking the commencement of this month, and these ceremonies were sometimes said to signalise the beginning of a new year. The following are the names of the Toda months, with the periods of our year to which they approximately correspond:—

<i>Tai</i>	October—November
<i>Emioti</i>	November—December
<i>Kûdri</i>	December—January
<i>Alâni</i>	January—February
<i>Nalâni</i>	February—March
<i>Âni</i>	March—April
<i>Âtheri</i>	April—May
<i>Âdi</i>	May—June
<i>Ovâni</i>	June—July
<i>Peritâthi</i>	July—August
<i>Tudeivi</i>	August—September
<i>Kirdivi</i>	September—October.

Each month has thirty days. A record is kept of the number of days from one new moon to the full moon, and from that to the next new moon. The full moon is counted as being on the fifteenth day after the new moon, and the new moon as being on the sixteenth day after the full moon.

THE WEEK

The names for the days of the week are as follows:—

<i>Âsvom</i>	Sunday
<i>Tûvom</i>	Monday
<i>Ôm</i>	Tuesday
<i>Pûthvom</i>	Wednesday
<i>Tâm</i>	Thursday
<i>Pilivom</i>	Friday
<i>Thanivom</i> or <i>Tanivom</i>	Saturday.

According to Schmid, who wrote in 1837, *Ôm* is regarded as the first day of the week. Schmid also notes that the names for Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday agree in etymology with Tamil, Wednesday being Buddha's day and Friday the day of Venus. He gives *Etnat* as an alternative name for Saturday.

ASTRONOMICAL IDEAS

We have already seen that the Todas reverence the sun, and that the period of the moon is of the greatest importance in the regulation of the times for their ceremonies. In this chapter we have to deal with their views as to the nature of these bodies and of the stars.

THE SUN

The Todas believe that when the sun goes down in the west, it goes to Amnòdr. The same sun illuminates both worlds, and this is shown very well in the story of Kwoto; when this demi-god tied down the sun, there was darkness both in this world and in the other, and the people of Amnòdr joined with those of this world in imploring that the sun should be restored to its proper place.

When the Todas know that there is going to be an eclipse of the sun, they abstain from food, but they do not shout out during the eclipse as we shall see they do in the case of the moon. When the eclipse is over, they have a feast with *ashkkartpimi*.

THE MOON

The new moon is called *mut* and the full moon *nêrv*. We have already seen the enormous influence of the period of the moon in Toda ceremonial and I have given above the method of counting between the periods of new and full moon so as to know the correct day of the new moon if for any reason it should not be visible.

The Todas see a figure in the moon which they call *mürs*, the hare.¹ The following story not only shows how the hare comes to be there, but also furnishes the explanation of eclipses of the moon and the origin of the Paikara river.²

Two men who were *matchuni* (see p. 501) went out one day to fetch honey. After a time they separated, and one

¹ In India the marks on the moon are frequently supposed to represent a hare.

² For another version of this story obtained by Mr. Thurston, see *Bulletin*, iv. p. 1.

found honey, while the other found none. The man who found the honey put it into a dairy vessel called *pun*, which he hid in a tree, and when he met the other did not tell him of his good fortune. After a time the *pun* containing honey which had been put in the tree suddenly broke, and the vessel became a snake, while the honey became the Paikara river. The snake ran after the man who had hidden the honey, and when the man saw the snake coming after him, he ran away. As he was being pursued, a hare came between the man and the snake. Then the man threw his cloak over the hare and hid himself, and the snake ran after the hare. The hare ran to the sky followed by the snake, and they came near the sun, which said, "Don't come near me because I am very hot. Go to the moon!" So the hare went to the moon, and the moon said, "Do not be afraid; I will protect you till the end of the world." The snake still goes sometimes to catch the hare in the moon, and when he goes the moon becomes dark and some people fire guns and send up rockets and the Todas shout. When it is known that there is going to be an eclipse the Todas abstain from food, and when they see the moon being eclipsed they shout out.

I was told that there was another incident of the story connected with shooting stars, but I was unable to obtain an account of it.

PLANETS

The Todas know Venus, which they call *Pili*, and they also speak of the "morning star."

CONSTELLATIONS AND STARS

The Todas have names for several stars or constellations. The Pleiades are called *Kadsht* and the constellation is believed to be composed of six stars.

Another heavenly body which I could not identify is called *Keirt*. *Keirt* has already been mentioned in Chap. XIV., and it is the evil influence of this body which is chiefly feared after:

childbirth. It is said to be a star which is never present in the same part of the sky as *Kadsht*. The reason for this is that once *Keirt* and *Kadsht* fought together, *Kadsht* had six men and *Keirt* only one. *Keirt* broke the leg of one of the six men, so that now there are five stars close together in the Pleiades and one lags behind. On account of this quarrel Swami ruled that *Kadsht* and *Keirt* must never be together, but that when *Kadsht* is on one side of the sky, *Keirt* must always be on the other.

When talking about *Keirt* in connexion with the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut, it was said that *Keirt* was near the sun and that the sun was dangerous because *Keirt* was near it. It seemed that *Keirt* was always near the sun, which led me to suspect at first that it was Venus. It was quite clear, however, that this was not so. No one could show me *Keirt*, nor was anyone clear as to the part of the sky in which it was to be seen at any time in the night, and I think it most probable that this mysterious inhabitant of the sky is not a star at all, but a being allied to the Hindu *Ketu*. On the other hand, at a funeral attended by Samuel, the setting of *Kadsht* and the appearance of *Keirt* was taken as the sign that the proceedings of the *azaramkedr* might begin, which looks as if *Keirt* was a real heavenly body. I think it is most probable that the whole idea of the injurious influence of *Keirt* is borrowed from the Badagas, and, if this is the case, the Toda word is probably merely an altered form of *Ketu*. I was told that *Keirt* was a Badaga word and that the Badagas feared its influence on women after childbirth.

A group of stars called *Pòdimin*, or porcupine star, corresponds to the stars in the sword of Orion. They are regarded as a porcupine from which the three stars of the belt are trying to escape.

A constellation of seven stars is called *Katikâlmin*. From the description it appeared to be the Great Bear. This constellation was not visible, but when I made a drawing of its seven chief stars, it was at once recognised as *Katikâlmin*.

A single star called *Ishtkati* is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishtkati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishtkati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*."

A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tûdrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably γ and ϵ Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky.

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tûdrval*, and so one star is called *tûdrvalmokh*. The *tûdrval* still sings "*Kudursami trrrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tûdrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas.

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

GAMES

It is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies, and in the old days when the *marvainolkedr* lasted two days, the first day, devoted to catching the buffaloes and putting them in the pen, must have been largely of a sportive character. Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is a spectacle which is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place.

The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired in a certain degree a ceremonial character.

In one of these games called *narthpimi*, a boy squeezes through a narrow tunnel formed by a flat slab of stone over two upright slabs. Two boys start from different distances, and the object of the nearer boy is to squeeze through the tunnel before the other can touch his feet. I did not have an opportunity of seeing this game, and I only saw the stones with which it is played at one village. This was at Nòdrs, where the three stones are called *menkars* and mark the spot at which one of the ordinary buffaloes is killed at the funeral ceremonies. The *menkars* is shown in Fig. 12 in front of and a little to the right of the entrance to the dairy.

Another game resembling tip-cat is called *eln*, and at some villages there is a special stone where the game is played. A piece of wood pointed at both ends is propped against the stone and struck with a stick, and should be caught by someone at a distance. The name for this game is probably Badaga,¹ and this suggests that the game has been borrowed from this people.

According to Breeks another game called *kâriâlapimi*, resembling 'puss in the corner,' is played by the Todas. The name suggests a true Toda game and I regret that I know nothing about it.

¹ The game is described by Breeks and Thurston under the name of *ilata*, but this again is certainly not Toda.

One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good performance.

At many villages there is a large globular stone called *tukitthkars* (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukitthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings.

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream called Kavageir, winning eighteen *nakh* (three-year-old

buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

The commonest toys with which the children play are little imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even little children in arms may be seen fondling these play-things. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all these games are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

in Torres Straits, where hardly a day would pass without seeing games being played.

The chief interest in the case of the Todas is the clear evidence they give of games arising owing to the sportive imitation by children of the more serious occupations of their elders. In some of these cases the games so arising are useful in providing the younger members of the community with practice in feats which they will in later life be called upon to perform.

RIDDLES

The Todas are very fond of riddles, which they call *werat*. The following are examples :—

<i>Mers</i>	<i>illâth</i>	<i>karthti,</i>	<i>poi</i>	<i>illâth</i>	<i>ûdti?</i>	<i>Mâ,</i>	<i>neln.</i>
Udder	without	milks,	mouth	without	drinks?	Rain,	earth.

I.e., What is it that gives milk without an udder, what is it that drinks without a mouth? Rain, earth.

<i>Urk</i>	<i>mers</i>	<i>illâth,</i>	<i>kâdak</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>illâth,</i>	<i>athinu?</i>	<i>Kûdi,</i>
In (or to) village	udder	without,	in forest	leg	without,	what is it?	Hen,

pob.
snake.

<i>Kerûd</i>	<i>mokh</i>	<i>perûd</i>	<i>aiu,</i>	<i>perûd</i>	<i>mokh</i>	<i>kerûd</i>	<i>aiu?</i>	<i>Kûdr,</i>
Little	son	big	becomes,	big	son	little	becomes?	Horn,

kevi.
ear.

This riddle depends on a comparison of the horn and ear of the buffalo. The horn of the calf is very small, the ear is relatively large.

<i>Pâv</i>	<i>pâvadi,</i>	<i>kaim</i>	<i>kaimadi?</i>	<i>Tâf.</i>
Flower	does not blossom,	berry	does not ripen?	Fern.

<i>Wârâdr</i>	<i>nolm,</i>	<i>mokh</i>	<i>pachtam,</i>	<i>pîr</i>	<i>ârchtam,</i>	<i>ithithanithi</i>
Whole year	days,	son	begetting,		pregnant,	this is custom

ank? *Pishkimân.*
to it?

Pishkimân is a tree which bears flowers or is giving fruit the whole year round.



<i>Puzhârqnûdr</i>	<i>adetpoloqthi?</i>	<i>Kûdi</i>	<i>kûgiti.</i>
Calls out if	why that says no?	Cock	crows.

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

<i>Neln</i>	<i>tiri</i>	<i>kai, pon</i>	<i>tiri</i>	<i>pûv?</i>	<i>Eln.</i>
Earth	goes round	fruit, sky	goes round	flower?	The tip-eat game.

<i>Muddl</i>	<i>pîr</i>	<i>vatvai,</i>	<i>pin</i>	<i>marsvati;</i>	<i>pin</i>	<i>pîr</i>
First	pregnant	who becomes,	later	is delivered;	later	pregnant
<i>vatvai,</i>	<i>mudil</i>	<i>marsvati?</i>	<i>Tâmi,</i>	<i>kodj.</i>		
who becomes,	first	is delivered?	A grain,	barley.		

Tami or *samai* (*patm*) is the grain from which *patcherski*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

POETRY AND MUSIC

I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kunedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarzam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarzam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

occasion, and Mr. Thurston¹ has recorded examples of several such compositions.

Dancing takes place at the funeral ceremonies, and exhibitions of these or other dances are sometimes given by the Todas. The only dancing I saw was at a funeral and it was of the simplest possible description, the men who took part forming a circle and moving slowly round and round.

The only musical instrument of the Todas is a simple flute, called the *buguri*. It is shown in Fig. 68, where it is being played by the man on the right. The instrument is not much used by the Todas and is not, so far as I know played on any ceremonial occasion. The music at the funeral ceremonies is always performed by Kotas.

¹ *Bull.* iv, p. 7.



CHAPTER XXV

LANGUAGE

MY chief purpose in writing this chapter is to give information which, I hope, may increase the value of the linguistic material which is scattered throughout this book, and especially to describe some of the doubts and difficulties which I encountered in my attempts to reduce the Toda language to writing.

At the end of the chapter I give some new facts relating to the sacred and secret languages of the Todas, and I will begin with a brief sketch of the views commonly held on the linguistic position of the Toda language.

The Nilgiri Hills are situated at the point of junction of three of the chief linguistic districts of Southern India. In the country on the South and East, Tamil is spoken ; on the West, the language is Malayalam, and the people of Mysore to the North speak chiefly Canarese. The Todas live at this meeting-place of three languages, but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these, but has very definite and distinctive characters of its own, as might, indeed, be expected from the character of the people. The Badagas with whom the Todas have much intercourse speak a corrupt form of Canarese, and the Todas have undoubtedly borrowed many words from their language.

Previous writers have differed in their views on the special affinities of the Toda language. No one has now, I think, any doubt that the language is Dravidian. Bernhard Schmid,¹ who wrote in 1837, appears to me to have known more of

¹ *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1837, vol. v. p. 155.

the true Toda language than anyone who has written since, and he ascribed two-thirds of the Toda vocabulary to Tamil and was unable to trace the remaining third to any other language. Caldwell¹ believed the language of the Todas to be most closely allied to Tamil. According to Pope² the language was originally old Canarese with the addition of a few Tamil forms, but he has included in his vocabulary words which have probably been borrowed from the Badagas.

The linguistic material which I have collected is far more extensive than that which was available at the time Pope wrote his sketch, and though the material is in one way less satisfactory since it has been collected after thirty more years of Toda intercourse with the outside world, it is in another way more satisfactory than any previous material in that by far the larger part of it is derived from the formulæ used in the religious ceremonies and in magic. It is, of course, well known that an ancient language may linger on in religious and magical formulæ long after it has disappeared from ordinary speech, and when I discovered how many of these formulæ were preserved by the Todas, I made a point of collecting as many as possible in the hope that they might preserve relics of the ancient speech of the Todas.

In collecting this material I suffered under grave disadvantages; firstly in not being a phonologist, and secondly, in my ignorance of any Dravidian language. I had had, however, a fairly large experience in taking down unwritten languages phonetically, and, whatever the errors into which I have fallen, I hope that they are consistent throughout my record. As a matter of fact, I find my spelling to be fairly constant, words taken down from different individuals and on different occasions being written in the same way.

From one point of view my ignorance of Dravidian languages is not an unmixed evil. When anyone hears a language which is allied to one he knows, it is almost impossible to avoid being influenced by this knowledge. This

¹ *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 557.

² *Outlines of the Toda Grammar* appended to Marshall's *Phrenologist among the Todas*.

CHAPTER XXV

LANGUAGE

MY chief purpose in writing this chapter is to give information which, I hope, may increase the value of the linguistic material which is scattered throughout this book, and especially to describe some of the doubts and difficulties which I encountered in my attempts to reduce the Toda language to writing.

At the end of the chapter I give some new facts relating to the sacred and secret languages of the Todas, and I will begin with a brief sketch of the views commonly held on the linguistic position of the Toda language.

The Nilgiri Hills are situated at the point of junction of three of the chief linguistic districts of Southern India. In the country on the South and East, Tamil is spoken; on the West, the language is Malayalam, and the people of Mysore to the North speak chiefly Canarese. The Todas live at this meeting-place of three languages, but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these, but has very definite and distinctive characters of its own, as might, indeed, be expected from the character of the people. The Badagas with whom the Todas have much intercourse speak a corrupt form of Canarese, and the Todas have undoubtedly borrowed many words from their language.

Previous writers have differed in their views on the special affinities of the Toda language. No one has now, I think, any doubt that the language is Dravidian. Bernhard Schmid,¹ who wrote in 1837, appears to me to have known more of

¹ *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1837, vol. v. p. 155.



the true Toda language than anyone who has written since, and he ascribed two-thirds of the Toda vocabulary to Tamil and was unable to trace the remaining third to any other language. Caldwell¹ believed the language of the Todas to be most closely allied to Tamil. According to Pope² the language was originally old Canarese with the addition of a few Tamil forms, but he has included in his vocabulary words which have probably been borrowed from the Badagas.

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influence has not been escaped by some of those who have previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,¹ Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz² noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,³ euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabularies is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

¹ London, 1868.

² *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i., p. 104.

³ These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

themselves. I have already pointed out that the great majority of the names of Toda places and institutions which have been recorded by previous writers are the Badaga names and not the Toda names, and, as might have been expected, many Badaga words have found their way into previously published Toda vocabularies.

In my own work my procedure was to take down a sentence first through the interpreter, then to go through the words of the sentence one by one asking the Toda to say each word carefully, and often he had to repeat it many times before I could satisfy myself about the nature of the sounds. Often I would get a second or third Toda to say the word, and I have frequently spent many minutes over one word, and have perhaps then been baffled in my attempts to write the word satisfactorily.

I noticed continually that the Toda words as pronounced by my interpreters were quite different in sound from those which came from the mouths of the Todas themselves. This was especially the case with the vowels, and in the addition of the initial *y*, so well known in the Tamil pronunciation of English. So far as I could detect, there was no trace of this initial *y* in Toda, although it occurs occasionally in some of the previously recorded Toda vocabularies.

These differences between the pronunciation of my interpreter and that of the Todas may often be the source of inconsistencies in my record, for on some occasions, owing to lack of time, I was unable to listen carefully to the Todas themselves, and had to content myself with the words given to me by the interpreter.

PHONETICS

In order to indicate the sounds of the Toda language, I have kept as closely as possible to the generally recognised system in use in India, but have been obliged to adopt many more signs than those usually employed.

The vowel sounds which I distinguished were very numerous. The following vowels and diphthongs certainly occurred:

*â, a, ä, ê, e, î, i, ô, o, ö, ò, û, u, ü, ai, au, ei, eu, oi.*¹ I am doubtful, however, whether in some cases a distinction between two sounds was not due to individual differences of pronunciation or to dialectical differences. This is almost certainly the case with the distinction between *ai* and *oi*. Some other cases which are more complex may be considered in detail.

Â, ò, and o. The first two sounds are often interchanged with one another. There is no doubt that the usual *â* of some Dravidian languages becomes *ò* in Toda, as in the change from *nâd* to *nòdr*, and most previous writers have regarded this change as constant, and have used the sign *â* for the sound which the Todas undoubtedly pronounce like the *aw* of the English word 'law.' I should much have liked to follow their example, and by so doing could have avoided the introduction of a new sign for the Toda sound, a sound for which there appears to be no generally recognised symbol in the phonetic systems used by anthropologists. I could not do so, however, because the Todas sometimes use the true *â* sound. There are certain words which are always pronounced with exactly the same sound as in the English word 'father,' and I never heard these words pronounced otherwise. In some cases there is a definite reason why this should be so. Thus the Toda word for 'again' is *mâr*, and I never heard this word uttered otherwise than as I have written it. If it had undergone the common transformation it would have become *mòr*, the *ti* word for buttermilk, and in one case at least there would have been occasion for misunderstanding, for one of the salt-giving ceremonies is called *mârup* or 'again salt,' while another is called *mòrup* or 'buttermilk salt.' The syllable also occurs in the words *pâtatmâr* and *ertatmâr*, and is never pronounced in these words otherwise than as I have written it. On the other hand, there are certain words in which the sound is always that of *ò*, and in other cases the two sounds are undoubtedly interchanged, and in the latter case I have usually adopted the spelling in *â*. A good example of this is *pârs* or *pòrs*, milk, for which

¹ For equivalents of these signs in English words see the Phonetic System at the beginning of the book.

I have throughout adopted the former spelling, though it is quite as often called *pòrs*.

The *ò* is often shortened into *o*, and this is especially the case with the word for 'man.' The general Dravidian form of this word is *āl*, but in Toda it becomes *òl* or *ol* (which I write as *ol*), and in compound words, such as *palol* and *wursol*, it is always, or nearly always, pronounced so as to be indistinguishable from the *o* of the English word 'olive.' The long *ô* is not a very frequent sound in Toda.

A and ä. The sign *a* is used, in accordance with the general Indian practice, for the sound of the English word 'hut,' one of the commonest of Toda sounds. It is undoubtedly interchanged sometimes with the sound of the English word 'hat,' for which I use the sign *ä*. In such cases of interchange, I use the sign *a* in preference, but when I always heard the *ä* sound, I have used it. It seemed to me that this sound was especially frequent in proper names, as in that of the village Päm and in such words as Kän.

Ū and u. These are used for the sounds of the words 'moon' and 'full,' and both are of frequent occurrence. The short form seems occasionally to be changed into *a*; thus, the word *mun* means 'maternal uncle,' but the word for 'sister's son' is *manmokh*. This is a good instance of the value of vowel sounds in Toda; the *mankugh* is the sister's daughter, but the *munkugh* is the name of the daughter of a maternal uncle. The two words which resemble one another so closely have two very different meanings, those of niece and cousin.

Ê and ei. I use *ê* for the sound of the *ei* in the English word 'their.' *Ei* is the sign which I use for the long *ä* of the English word 'date.' A sound for which I often use this sign is one which gave me a great deal of trouble. In it the vowel sound is prolonged so as to form almost a dissyllable, and in my earlier records I wrote it *êe*, the first *ê* having the sound of the *ei* in 'their.' I decided later to use *ei*, though I acknowledge it is not at all a satisfactory representation of the sound I heard.

Ī. The only point on which I have to remark about this sound is that it is sometimes prolonged so as to become a dissyllable as in the example already mentioned. In one

case, the word *mīis*, used in the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, this prolongation of the sound is so marked and so constant that I have preserved a record of it in the spelling, but in most cases I have been content to indicate it by *î* only.

Eu and ö. I use the former sign for a sound which seemed to me very much like the French *eu*. It often resembled very closely the German *ö*, and in some cases, as in that of the word for the numeral 7, I was doubtful which was the right sign. The sound for which I use *eu* is, however, more prolonged, and approaches a dissyllable. It occurs in the most definite form in the word for god, *teu*. This is undoubtedly derived from the Sanscrit '*deva*' in general use in Southern India, and it is therefore very interesting that this word, which has become '*Dieu*' in French, should have become the very similar *teu* in the Toda language.

U, ü, and i. The *ü* sound, almost exactly like that of the German language, was common, though in many cases I was doubtful whether to write *u*, *ü*, or *i*. Thus it was difficult to say whether the word for bow was *purs*, *pürs*, or *pirs*; the last named would bring it in line with general Dravidian orthography, but the first seemed to me the most frequent, and I have therefore adopted it.

Ai and oi. The sound *ai* is not very frequent in Toda, and when it occurs is often on the way to *oi*. Thus the *naim* or council was often *noim*, and *mogai* and *mogoi* were said indifferently.

I had very much difficulty in writing the consonants, being especially troubled by my lack of familiarity with linguals. The following were those which I heard:—*b, ch, d, ð, f, g, gg, gh, h, j, k, kh, l* and *l̥, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, sh, t, th, v, w, z, zh*.

In the text of the book I have not attempted to distinguish the lingual consonants, and I have also omitted the very common euphonic insertions, especially of *ch, sh, and th*.

B, p, v, w, and f. The sound expressed by *b* was heard very rarely, and I am doubtful whether it really occurs in true Toda. It is a common letter in Badaga, but when a Badaga word is pronounced by the Todas, the letter usually becomes *p*. In a few words I had much difficulty in making up my mind whether a given sound was *b* or *p*, and this was especially

the case with the word *kudupel* or *kudubel*, which is probably a Badaga word.

One of the most frequent consonants in Toda is *p*, which often changes into *v*, especially when *p* is the initial letter of the latter part of a compound word; thus the word *pet* or wand in *pôhpet* became *pôhvet*, *kugpali* became *kugvali*, and *nedrpol*, *nedrvol*. Occasionally *p* would become a distinct *w*, as in the name of the flower *kargwûv* for *kargpûv*.

The letter *f* undoubtedly occurs in Toda, though not very frequently. It is sometimes changed into *v*, but in some cases, as in the name of the ancient village Kusharf, I never heard any sound other than a distinct *f*. I did not hear *f* and *p* interchanged.

As already mentioned, the letter *w* may occasionally occur as a variant of *p* or *v*, but it also occurs in words where it is never interchanged with either of these letters. The most frequent example of the occurrence of the letter is in the word *wursol*, and here the sound was so elusive that for a long time I hesitated whether to write the word as *wursol* or *ursol*. Breeks wrote this word *varzhol*, and we may take it that he distinctly recognised the initial letter as allied to *v* and *p*.

D, d, t, th. I have used the sign *d* for two sounds in the text. One I could not distinguish from the English sound expressed by this letter. It is sometimes the representative of *nd* of Badaga, *mand* or village becoming *mad* in Toda,¹ while the Badaga form of Pidati is Benduti. The *d* of other Dravidian languages often becomes *t* in Toda; thus *pandava* becomes *pateva*, and the Teivaliol almost certainly derive their name from some form of the word *deva*.

More frequently, however, *d* is used for the lingual consonant *ḍ*, which is one of the commonest sounds in Toda. Very often this letter is immediately followed by the letter *r*, and the combination *ḍr* (which in the text of the book I have written *dr*) is an extremely frequent sound. Often to my ear it was quite indistinguishable from the simple *r*, and usually I had to refer to my interpreter to know whether a given sound was *ḍr* or *r*. Neither of my interpreters

¹ *Mad*, or more usually *madth*, is also the Toda word for churn, and this word is probably derived indirectly from the Sanscrit *mantha*.

seemed ever to be in any doubt, and they were so consistent on this point that wherever this spelling occurs it is probably correct. So far as I can tell the *ḍr* is the representative of *ḍ* in other Dravidian languages; thus, *nāḍ* of Canarese becomes *nòḍr*, and the *kēḍu* of Badaga becomes *kēḍr*. On reference to the list of Badaga and Toda names of villages given in Appendix III. it will be seen that the *ḍr* of the Todas is usually the equivalent of the Badaga *ḍ*, Telkodu becoming Telkudr, and Kudimal becoming Kudrmas.

The sound which I express by *ḍr* has been very variously spelt by previous writers; thus, the Toda future world has been written *Humanorr* or *Omnorr* by Harkness, *Amunāḍ* by Brecks, *Amnôr* by Marshall and Pope, and *Amnor* by Thurston, and the sacred plant *tudr* has been written *tûḍ*, *tûḍe*, *tiurr*, *tûre* and *tûr*.

When the sound *ḍ* occurs before letters other than *r*, I am afraid I may have often omitted it. Thus till nearly the end of my visit I wrote the word *teḍshk* as *teshk*, and the name of the village *Tedshiteiri* as *Teshteiri*, and I have little doubt that this letter, the presence of which I had so much difficulty in recognising, may have been omitted in other cases.

There seems to be no doubt that *ḍr* and *t* might sometimes be interchangeable. Thus the termination of personal names, *kûtan* seemed to be the same word as *kûḍr*. A horn is *kûḍr* and imitation-horns are *kûter*. An assembly is *kûṭ*, and the corresponding verb is *kûḍriti* (3rd person singular). Sometimes *ḍr* becomes *rt*; thus the word *kēḍr* becomes *kērt* in the compound word *kērtṇòḍr*, and the names of the clans *Kuḍr* and *Pieḍr* often become *Kuurt* and *Piert* in the words *Kuurtol* and *Piertol*.

I failed to distinguish between *t* and *ṭ*, and it is probable that my *t* includes both letters. My interpreters used the sign *th* for *ṭ*, as is common in the transliteration of missionaries and others in India, and I am afraid that in a few cases my *th* should stand for the lingual *ṭ*. It is very unfortunate that *th* should be used for *ṭ*, for the true *th* not only occurs among the Todas but is a very frequent consonant. It is frequently inserted euphonically in words which are at other times pro-

nounced without it, and this is especially the case in connexion with the letter *l*. The consonant *th* also occurs frequently apart from any other consonant, in such words as *pûthi*, *pathanmul*, &c.

I think it probable that under the sign *th* I have included two sounds, that of the English word 'though' and that of 'throw,' but I could not make up my mind whether the two sounds were definitely distinguished. The softer sound is undoubtedly the more common, and often it seemed to me to be even softer than this sound is ever heard in English.

K, kw, g, kh, gh, h. Perhaps the commonest Toda consonant is *k*, which often becomes *kw*, and it seemed to me that the two were sometimes interchanged, *kûdr* becoming *kwûdr*, &c.

The consonant *g* is less frequently heard, but *kûdr*, especially as the termination of the names of men and places, is often pronounced *gûdr*, and it seemed to me that this pronunciation is somewhat more common among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The sound *g* occurs very definitely, sometimes at the ends of words as in the names of villages, as in *Kwirg* and *Perg*, and in the word *kug*, and in these cases there is no doubt that it is a true Toda consonant.

The sounds which I have expressed by *kh* and *gh* are fairly common, though I do not feel quite confident that the two sounds are definitely distinguished from one another. I heard them very frequently in the words *mokh* and *kûgh*, and it certainly seemed to me that the final sound of the latter was always softer than that of the word *mokh*. When one or other of these sounds occurs at the end of a word, it is probable that I have in some cases omitted to notice it. A man named *Perpakh* was called by me *Perpa* till nearly the end of my visit, and it is probable that I made similar errors which were not detected. Similarly *kh* in the middle of a word may easily escape attention, and this has probably happened in some cases.

I also had much trouble about a sound occurring at the end of a word for which I have used the sign *h*. Its chief

occurrence is in the word *pôh*, and the same or a closely similar sound sometimes occurs in the middle of the word *pali*. The word *pôh* has usually been written *boath*, following Marshall, or *boa* (Breeks). The word certainly often sounded like a dissyllable, but I was doubtful whether this was anything more than the prolongation of vowels to which I have already referred in the case of *ei* and *i*. There is some kind of consonantal sound at the end of the word, but it is certainly not the ordinary *th* nor is it *kh*, and I have adopted *h* as the nearest equivalent though I recognise that it is not the right sign.

R, l. I have already considered the letter *r* in connexion with *q*, but it also occurs frequently by itself. At the end of a word it is sometimes distinctly rolled. When used after a short vowel, as in such a word as *persin*, it was sometimes not easy for me to detect its presence, and occasionally it is possible that I have omitted it from words in which it should occur.

The letter *l* is of fairly frequent occurrence, but has certainly often been lost in Toda in words which contain it in other Dravidian languages; thus the word *kêl*, lower, inferior, becomes *kê* in Toda, though the *l* has been retained in *meil* or *mel*, meaning upper or superior.

There are almost certainly two different *l* sounds in Toda which I failed to distinguish definitely. I have written the word for dairy *pali*, but the second consonant of the word is certainly a different sound from that of the *l* in *meil*, and is probably the representative of the *l* of Tamil. It is in connexion with this letter that the euphonic *th* is so often inserted, and I believe that the proper name for a Toda dairy is *palthli*. When this *l* occurs at the end of a word, it is sometimes hardly audible, and to my ear bears a very close resemblance to the French *u*. The end of the word *Kudreil* seemed to me to be pronounced almost exactly like the end of *Auteuil*.

It appears that *r* and *l* may sometimes pass into one another; thus, the name of the bow and arrow ceremony is *pursütpimi*, but the buffalo given on this occasion is called *pulkwadr*.

M and n. The letters *m* and *n*, indistinguishable to my

ear from the corresponding English letters, are of frequent occurrence. They are, however, often omitted in the Toda forms of Tamil or Canarese words; thus, as we have already seen, the word *mand*, village, becomes the Toda *mad*; the Tamil *ambu*, arrow, becomes *ab*; and the Toda form of Kurumba is *Kûrub*.

The *n* may also disappear from the Toda names of villages when it exists in their Badaga names; thus Tarnard becomes Taradr and Korangu, Kwirg. The omission of the letter *n* and other changes which words undergo in Toda are very well shown in the word *padjpateva*, which is the Toda form of the *Panchpandavas*. Although my ear failed to separate the *n* of the Todas from the English *n*, it is probably different and represents the *ṇ* of Tamil.

In addition to the ordinary *n* the Todas have another consonant which is extremely like the final French *n* for which I have used the sign *ñ*. The sound only occurs in certain exclamations or greetings; the *Oñ* which occurs so frequently in the dairy ritual is pronounced in this way, and so is *bañ*, which is uttered by the *palol* as a greeting to the Tartharol. The sound also occurs in the various kinship greetings. The commonest of these, *tioñ*, offered to an elder brother, is a corruption of *itian*, but I never heard the nasal pronunciation when the word *an* or *anna* was uttered in the ordinary way. In this case the sound I have expressed by *n* is undoubtedly the letter *ṇ* of Tamil, this word being *aṇṇa* in that language.

S, sh, z, zh, dz, j. The sound for which I have used the letter *s* is a somewhat harsh sound, harsher, I think, than is heard in English, but much like the sound which I have heard in English words pronounced by Scottish Highlanders. Breeks wrote *zh* for this sound, but I have used this sign for a different sound which was exactly like the *si* in the English word 'occasion.' It occurs not uncommonly in Toda in such words as *puzh*, earth, and in the verbal form *kaishvat*.

The sound *z* occurs frequently. I was often doubtful whether to write *dz* or *z*, especially at the ends of personal names, and in other cases what was obviously the same termination was pronounced more like *dj*; thus I was often

doubtful whether to write the name Piliodz in this way or as Pilioz or Piliodj (the three English equivalents would be the sounds of Dods, Boz and Dodge).

The sounds *s* and *sh* are often inserted euphonically ; thus, the name Kuriolv is as often as not pronounced Kursiolv, and, more rarely, Kurshiolv.

SACRED LANGUAGE

There are three varieties of sacred language in use among the Todas. There is the *kwazam*, the word or clause used in prayer and other sacred formulæ ; secondly, there are certain words and phrases peculiar to the *ti* dairy, and thirdly, there are certain words called by the Todas, *teu* language, which are only used in the legends of the gods.

The *kwazam* is used especially for the names of gods, persons or objects used in the first portions of the prayers. It is also used in the magical formulæ and in the funeral laments, but it may be that the last use is only due to an extension of the strict meaning of the term. When I began to collect the prayers, I hoped that the *kwazam* might turn out to belong to some ancient and otherwise forgotten language, but their general nature is evidently the same as that of other Toda words. The *kwazam* arises either by a slight modification of a name in ordinary use or as a phrase recording some historical or mythical incident.

I give here a short list of *kwazam* which, with a few exceptions, have not occurred elsewhere. The following are the *kwazam* of the Tarthar clans :—

The Nòdrsol, *Nòdrsthar-kùttars* ; the Karsol, *Kàrsthar-kunnadrpèdr* ; the Panol, *Pandàrpeshdthvaimokh* ; the Tara-drol, *Pùlkudutharpeithar* ; the Keradrol, *Kerâdrtharkerâdr-kùtan* ; the Kanòdrsol, *Munantharpinnantho* ; the Kwòdr-doniol, *Adutharathiars* ; the Pämol, *Pämùtharkathar* ; the Melgarsol, *Narzthar*. The *kwazam* of the Kuudrol is *Ivikanmokhkùtmeilteu* (see p. 101), but the other Teivali clans have no such special names.

The only one of the above, of which the meaning is quite

clear, is that of Pan, in which case the *kwarzam* gives the names of the two *kudr* of the clan (see p. 652). The latter part of the *kwarzam* of the Keradrol means a horn or son of Keradr, and is also the name of a man, and with further knowledge there is little doubt that the other *kwarzam* would be found to have some meaning.

The following are the *kwarzam* of the buffaloes of the different clans:—

Nòdrs, *karùdchîrkünâkh*; Kars, *inâtvidshti inâtvan*; ¹ Pan and Taradr, *Mutchôthvanmodethokvan*; Keradr, *miniapêr mâvelkar*; Kanòdrs, *Tîrztashkkarzikunp*; Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi, *Keitankeikar*; Päm, *Arzomolkutchi*; Melgars, *Narzulunatülnnâkh*; Kuudr and Pedrkars, *Kishvettarskvan*; Piedr, *Kûzherikwelupurserthunm*; Kusharf, *Nulkarsîrnazhuv*; Keradr, *Nelppârstîrkudeipar*; Kulhem, *Pelthîrîrkan*.

The *kwarzam* of the Keradr buffaloes refers to the tradition of their creation (see p. 192), and here again with further knowledge there is little doubt that most of the *kwarzam* would be found to have a definite meaning, probably derived from legends concerning the buffaloes or the villages to which they belong.

The second kind of sacred language, in use at the *ti* dairies, has been already considered. Every kind of dairy vessel or other object used in the dairy ceremonial has a name at the *ti* different from that used in the house or village dairy. These different names have been given in describing the dairy ceremonial, but I have not hitherto referred to certain other differences of language, especially in verbal forms. Different words are used in the two kinds of dairy for the verb 'to drink'; thus, when a village dairyman orders another to drink buttermilk, he says "*Maj ân!*" while at the *ti* the *palol* says "*Kaizhvat!*" This latter formula is interesting in that *kaizh* is not the usual *ti* word for buttermilk (*mòr*) and only occurs, as far as I can ascertain, in conjunction with the verb *vat*. A village dairyman uses the verb *part*, pray, while at the *ti*, the verb *pôhvetnört* is used. Thus the question "have you prayed?" would be "*partikudricha?*" at the village and "*pôhvetnörtikudricha?*" at the *ti*. Similarly

¹ See story of Kwoto.

different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have milked" at the village would be "*îrkartkudrvispimi*," often shortened into *îrkartspimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvukkudrivispimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*îrkarami*" at the village and "*îrkarpûkhami*" at the *ti*.

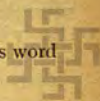
There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *irnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar tûrzhodthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*¹ was said to be the *teu* word for 'man.' The words *kawudrpedrshai* and *kaipedrshai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *teu* language.

SECRET LANGUAGE

The Todas have a large number of expressions which they use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *îtherkelv* or "front fact."

¹ The last syllable of the name Meilitars given to Kwoto is probably this word so that the name means 'superior man.'



The following are the chief instances of which I was told.

Ordinary Language.

Pârshk nîr at kwadr!

Milk to water mix give.

i.e., give milk mixed with water!

Pârs âdr

milk cook

i.e., cook food in milk!

Tôr tidshia?

Have you taken food?

At vokh!

There (or away) go!

Iren akaik ud!

The buffalo in the wood hide!

Kan odthi?

Is he not blind?

Secret Language.

Nonk nâr pudvaink

Four sides which came from

kagîr pârs at kwadr!

old buffalo milk mix give!

i.e., give milk mixed with what comes from the four teats of an old buffalo.

Nonk nâr pud mûdn tarsk

Four sides come three on up

idsht!

put

i.e., Put what comes from the four teats upon the three (stones of the oven).

Kâtô nôrth kershia?

Teeth between did you throw?

At erd af!

There (or away) two (legs) get!

kûdr valvpoi tôrs ûlâr kî!

Horn crooked wood into go!

Kûdren pom odthinâ

Black fruit has he not?

When a man is thought to be dying, the Todas may ask "Is this man going from one place to another?"

Whenever a Toda first sees a man, he looks at his feet, and, correspondingly, when a Toda asks another his opinion of a man, he says "*Kal pel ilûdinû*," "What sort of leg and nail has he?" In secret language the leg may be called *metipol*, "walk thing," also used for footprints or *pûmi ûlâr pî pol*, "thing that goes into the earth."

Many other things and persons have secret names; thus, a rupee, or money generally, is called *atchertvai*, that which is stamped; butter is called *pelthpol* or white thing; clarified butter (*nei*) is called *kârtpol* or melted thing; sugar and honey are called *tichedpol* or sweet thing; rice is called *peitpudvai*, that which comes from Peit, a place near Kavidi in the Wainad from which rice used to be procured; arrack (*saraim*) is called *êrthpol* or *pûshetpol*, each meaning "drink thing." The sun is called *etûdol*, "great man."

The various tribes on the hills have secret names ; thus, both Badagas and Tamils are called *tutâr katvai*, he who wears or ties the turban ; a Kota is called *kîmas ithvai*, he who is beneath ; a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, the man who watches the way ; a European is called *pelthpol*, or white man. A forest guard is called *petuni ütvai*, *petuni* being here used as a term for uniform, so that if a forest guard has come, they will say, *petuni ütvai podvuchi*.

Several of the words used in the secret language do not appear to have any other meaning and are not ordinarily used. Thus the ordinary word for tooth is *pars*, but in secret language *kâtô* or *kâtû* is used. This word is the name of the wall of a buffalo-pen and it is possible that it may mean stones, but I could not ascertain whether this was the derivation, and could only learn that it was another word for tooth. Similarly the ear, of which the ordinary name is *kevi*, is called *pertars*, and the question "Did you wear gold earrings?" becomes *pertarsk ütshia* ? "to ear did you wear?"



CHAPTER XXVI

PERSONAL NAMES

THE ceremonies of name-giving have already been considered, the chief point of interest being that the name of a boy is given to him by his maternal uncle, while that of a girl is probably given by her paternal aunt. In this chapter I wish to consider the general nature of the personal names of the Todas and some special customs connected with them.

The genealogies provide a large store of material, for it is exceptional for two Todas to have the same name, and no Toda should bear a name which has been borne by another for four generations, and certainly not one which has been borne by one of his own family.

The great majority of Toda names have distinctive terminations which are different for men and women.

The common terminations for males are *-van*, *-kûdr*, *-kût* or *-kûtan*, *-olv*, *-eidi*, and *-ners*. The first was said to be the same word as *pan* or *pun*, the Toda name for the stone circles found on the summits of the hills. The names of deities often receive the same termination; thus Nõtirzi is also called Nõtirzivan, and, in several cases, men received the names of gods or hills followed by the syllable *-van*. The same termination is also given to names which have other derivations.

The terminations, *-kûdr* or *-gûdr*, *-kût* or *-kûtan*, are different forms of the word *kûdr*, which means primarily 'horn,' and when it occurs in a name seems to mean 'child.' The termination in *-kûdr* or *-gûdr* seems to be much more

frequently used by the Teivaliol than by the Tartharol, and in both divisions it is rare in older generations.

I do not know the meaning of the terminations in *-olv* and *-eidi*: it is noteworthy, however, that *-olv* is also a frequent ending of the names of dairies.

The termination *-ner* or *-ners* sometimes becomes *-nôr*, and it may be the word for water, possibly with the idea of 'spring.'

The usual terminations of female names are *-veli*, *-veni* or *-vani*, *-eimi*, and *-idj* or *-idz*. Of these, the first is by far the most frequent, being usually pronounced with a *th* sound, as in *-velthli* or *-vilthli*. It is possibly the same word as a frequent Indian name of Venus, which is also the Toda name for this planet. The word also means silver and in the form *pelthiti* is used for 'white.'

The termination *-veni* or *-vani* is probably derived from *pani*, which is said to be an ancient name for a Toda woman. Occasionally the latter form occurred, as in the name of Sinadapani (67), and one of the wives of Kwoten was named Kwaterpani. I know nothing of the derivation of the terminations *-eimi* and *-idz*.

The names of Todas are often derived from villages, dairies or dairy vessels, hills and their deities, and objects of various kinds. There seems to be no objection to use the names of deities or of such sacred objects as the *mani* as personal names, but only as those of men. Recently the Todas have begun to use words of Hindu or even English origin for the names of their children.

It is the names of men which are chiefly derived from villages, and at least twenty examples occur in the genealogies. In some cases the name of the village is used without any suffix, as in Ushadr (48) and Madsu (58); in other cases one or other of the customary terminations is used, as in Keradrkutan¹ (26), Nongarsivan (62), Kuirsiners (18), and Karseidi (8). The special point of interest here is that the names of villages which have now disappeared may be preserved as personal names; thus Harkness mentions the village of Kattaual as being near Ootacamund, and, though the

¹ This name also occurs in the story of Kwoten.

village has now disappeared, its memory is preserved in the name Katolván (44), borne by one of the Melgarsol, to whom the village belonged. Again, the village of Kepurs, an extinct village mentioned in the legend of Kwoten, is preserved in the name of Kepursván (18), borne by one of Kwoten's clan, the Panol.

In general, when a man receives a name derived from a village or other place, the village or place is one belonging to his own clan. Names may be derived from *ti* places as well as from ordinary villages, of which Makars (10) and Pursas (42) are examples.

The special feature of interest about these sources of nomenclature is that personal names may thus preserve records of the past, and a full investigation of the genealogies from this point of view might bring to light the names of many other villages now extinct.

Names are also derived from dairies, buffalo-pens, stones, and other objects of the village; thus Tarziolv, the special name of the *kudrpali* of Kars, is borne by a member of the Karsol (15), and Tilipa (12) is probably a corruption of Tilipoh. A boy of Nidrsi is named Punatu (43) after the buffalo-pen of his village, and the men called Agar (7), Pepners (44), and Persinkudr (16), have received names connected with the operations of the dairy.

The names of stones occur in the examples Menkars (10) and Mutchud (45). Several men are named after the sacred bells, or *mani*, of which examples are Nalani (35), Kerani (35), Pongg (47), while Mudriners (57) is named after Mudrani, one of the *patatmani* of Kiudr. The name of Eshkiaguln of Kars (8) is very much like that of one of the bells of Nidrsi, Eshkiakudr, and in one case a man is called Maniners (62).

The *kwarzam* of the prayers form a frequent source of personal names. Thus the name of Puthion (64) occurs in the last clause of the Kuudr prayer, and no less than six men take their names, either directly or with some modifications, from the Kiudr prayer; these are Kil, Erai, Etamudri, Kwelthipush from Kwelpushol, Kishkar from Arsvishkars, and Keikudr, who was also called Parvakudr, derived from

another *kwarzam* of this prayer. In one of these cases the name is taken from the *kwarzam* with so much modification that I should not have guessed its derivation if I had not been told ; and if this extensive modification is frequent, there may be many more names derived from *kwarzam* than appears to be the case at first sight.

The names of deities are not uncommonly adopted as personal names ; the chief examples being Nòtirzi (47), Meilitars (44), Teipakh (20), Etepi (26), Karzo (12), Pòrzo (4), and Pakhwar (16). Two people are also called Tevò (3 and 53), which is a corruption of Teipakh, and a boy is called Kòdrthokutan (43). In many cases men are named after hills, of which Drugevan (40), Kòdrner (7), and Mopuvan¹ (16) are examples, and it is not improbable that these hills are also provided with deities. Two of the instances given above are the names of river-gods, and there is also a man, Palpa (16), named after the stream by which Kwoten met the goddess Terkosh. Punatvan (53) is named after one of the personages in the story of Kwoto. Among these names it is noteworthy that Nòtirzi, the name of a female deity, is borne by a man, and that there is no instance in which a man is named after one of the three ancient and important deities, Pithi, Òn, and Teikirzi.

This use of the names of deities as personal names seems to point to the absence of any high degree of reverence for the divine beings. The Todas are by no means free from the ideas of danger and disrespect connected with the utterance of names ; and if their gods still received any great degree of veneration, I think it is improbable that their names would be allowed to be in everyone's mouth, as must be the case when used as personal names. It is possible that this use of the names of deities is recent ; it is certainly more frequent at the present time than in the older generations recorded in the genealogies, and I strongly suspect that the practice adds another indication to those already given of the decay of the religious sentiment of the Todas.

It seems to be extremely rare for persons to have the same

¹ Mopuvan is named after the hill Mopuvthut, which is mentioned in the legend of Puzi (193).

names as buffaloes. There is only one doubtful example in the genealogies, Kerani (35). This is also the name of a bell, and I am doubtful whether it is really a buffalo-name. It is probable that the absence of the names of buffaloes is merely utilitarian and has no deeper significance. Buffaloes are generally referred to by name, and it would obviously be inconvenient that they should have the same names as people.

Many other names are derived from objects or from the language of everyday life. Examples of such are Nipa, stream; Perol, unsanctified man; Irsimitch, lime; Sakari, sweet; Kakar, a grass; Mogai, cubit; Kapur, camphor; and Pòl, a two-year-old calf. Sometimes such words become names by the addition of the terminations *-kùdr* or *-veli*, as in Panmkudr, the horn of a four-anna piece, and Nirveli and Kadakveli, derived from the words for water and for the wild rose. Probably with a wider knowledge of the Toda vocabulary, it would be found that a very large number of the names are formed in this way.

In one case a girl was called Mudukugh (72). She was the third girl in the family, and the name was no doubt given to commemorate the fact.

Often two or more children of a family are given names with a considerable degree of similarity to one another. In one case two brothers are called Mongeidrvan and Tergeidrvan (53); in another, Piliar and Piliag (52); and in a third, Singudr and Sinar (55); three sisters are called Teinesveli, Ternersveli, and Kenerveli (51), and in such cases it seems probable that new names are invented.

At the present time children are in many cases receiving Hindu names. Three young boys are called Arjun, Parvishki, and Sandisparan, and a young girl is called Natcham, which was said to represent Latchmi. Other Hindu names are Katcheri (Cutcherry), Sirkar, Kedjeri, and probably there are many others.

In a few cases names of English origin have probably been given, as in the case of Pensil, and the name Birkidj was said to be derived from Breeks.

The genealogical record shows clearly that this use of names derived from external sources is quite recent. There is a very

striking difference in general character between the names of the present and those of older generations, and a foreign origin is especially frequent in the names of children less than ten or fifteen years of age. The evidence from names would seem to point to a rapid spread of outside influence during the last ten years.

Shortened forms of names are often used. The termination of a word may be dropped ; thus Nurmaners is often called Nurman, Ultzkudr becomes Ultz, and Panioly, Pani. Sometimes the contraction is of a different kind ; thus the girls Astrap and Pumundeivi are usually called Asp and Pumidz, and the name of the boy Kulpakh often becomes Kulen.

In addition to his proper name nearly every Toda has a nickname, usually given to him by the Badagas. These names often refer to some personal peculiarity, and this is probably the reason why nicknames were usually given to me with great reluctance, there being a distinct reversal of the condition found in communities of lower culture, where the proper names are usually kept secret, while only nicknames are uttered. Arpurs (46) was nicknamed Suri (knife) on account of his sharp nose, and Nertolvan (16) is called Teinkan or 'Bee eye,' on account of the smallness of his eyes, like those of the honey bee. In other cases I do not know the origin of the Badaga names, but they have usually different forms from those of true Toda names, often terminating in *-oin* or *-iiln*. Sometimes the Badaga name is merely a modification of the Toda name, as when Tudrvan becomes Utudiki. In a few cases I heard the Badaga name of a man more often than his Toda name ; thus Tövoniners is usually called Aravoin, and a noted Toda of the last generation is always spoken of by his Badaga name, Mervoin. In a few cases, men long dead are remembered by their Badaga names, while their Toda names are forgotten.

As I have already indicated, nicknames are often used by people of low culture as a means of evading taboos, and though, as we shall see shortly, such taboos exist among the Todas, I met with no instance in which a Toda, who was unable to utter a name, gave a nickname in its stead.

From the foregoing account it is evident that in the names of the Todas we have a storehouse of words the investigation of which might lead to many discoveries in connexion with their half-forgotten folklore and past history. We have seen that the names of villages which have now entirely disappeared may still be preserved in the names of persons, and I have little doubt that a complete investigation of the names included in the genealogies would furnish a record of many more extinct villages and possibly provide clues to institutions which have now wholly disappeared.

CHANGE OF NAME

There are three chief conditions which lead Todas to change their names. If two men have the same name, and one of the two should die, the other man would change his name, since the taboo on the name of the dead would prevent people from uttering the name of the living. The most recent example of this occurred about six years ago. There were two men named Matovan, one of Pan (19) and the other of Kwòdrdoni (34). The Kwòdrdoni man died and Matovan of Pan changed his name to Imokhvan, and it is this name which will be found in his pedigree.

This change of name may also be effected even when there is only a similarity between two names. Thus when Punbuthuvi, the wife of Parkurs (8), died, Sinbuthuvi of Kusharf (65) changed her name to Pukuruveli. Similarly when Òners of Kuudr (56) died, Einers of Piedr¹ (64) changed his name to Tokulvan.

A person may also change his name merely because it is the same as, or very similar to, that of another, this being done simply to avoid inconvenience and misunderstanding. It sometimes happens that a child is given the same name as some other child, and then one or other is renamed. Thus a boy was named Oblodj, but it was found later that there was a girl at Kars called Obalidz (12), and so the name

¹ It will be noticed that, in these two cases, the old names are those which occur in the genealogies. My informant probably remembered these better than the new names, which had been assumed only late in life.

of the boy was changed to Meilitars (44). A boy of Päm was called Kudeners, but it was found that there was another Kudeners at Taradr (25), so the name of the former was changed to Arparners, often shortened to Arpar (38).

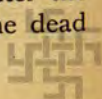
When Kainir (3) married, his wife's name was Kanir, but she changed it since it was so like that of her husband. It was said to have been changed to Singub, but she was always known as Udz at the time of my visit.

Change of name of this kind is not obligatory, and there are several cases in which two people now living have the same name. When a change is made because two people have the same name or similar names, it is the younger of the two who changes. In most of the cases in which two people bear the same name it will be found that one belongs to the Tartharol and the other to the Teivaliol, and I am doubtful whether in this case names are changed except as the result of death.

A third reason for changing names is illness or other misfortune. When a man is ill, change of name is sometimes recommended by a diviner, but this is not often done. One of my guides, Kutadri (7), had changed his name twice. His original name had been Okeithi or Okvan, but as there was another Okvan of Keadr (68), he became Tagarsvan. Later he fell ill, and, on the recommendation of a diviner, Tagarsvan changed his name to Kutadri, and I never heard him spoken of or addressed by any but this name during my visit.

TABOOS ON NAMES

The only definite restrictions on the utterance of the names of living people are those connected with kinship which have already been considered in Chapter XXI. A man may not utter the names of his mother's brother, his grandfather and grandmother, his wife's mother, and of the man from whom he has received his wife, who is usually the wife's father. The names of the above are tabooed in life, while after death the restrictions are still wider, and it is forbidden to utter the name of any dead elder relative, while the names of the dead are in any case only said reluctantly.



It may seem strange that this reluctance should exist among a people who possess so full a genealogical record. The reluctance probably only extends to the public utterances of ordinary life and disappears when the people discuss affairs in which genealogical lore plays a part, or when they are transmitting this lore to others.

In addition to the definite taboos, there is often much reluctance in uttering personal names. The Todas dislike uttering their own names, and a Toda, when asked for his name, would often request another man to give it. Sometimes my guide was obviously reluctant to give me the names of the people who came to see me, and it seemed to me that this was especially so when the people were related to him by marriage, *i.e.*, men who had married into his clan; but I could not satisfy myself definitely that it made him more uncomfortable to utter the names of such relatives than those of other people.

In some parts of the world the taboo on the names of the dead involves also a taboo on the names of the objects which correspond to the names of the dead or to parts of these names. If such restrictions existed among the Todas, they would have on the death of Nirveli and Panmkudr to find other names for water and for a four-anna piece. It was quite clear, however, that there were no such restrictions, and that this frequent cause of change of vocabulary has not been at work in the case of the Toda language.



CHAPTER XXVII

RELATIONS WITH OTHER TRIBES

IN this chapter I propose to put together the chief facts with which I am acquainted which throw light on the very difficult problem of the relations between the Todas and the other tribes of the Nilgiri Hills. The chapter could only be written with any degree of completeness by one who had studied the question from the point of view of each of the Nilgiri tribes separately. I have only been able to do so, and that incompletely, from the Toda point of view. My information is derived almost wholly from the Todas themselves, and gives their way of regarding the relations between themselves and the other tribes.

The five tribes inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills are shown in Fig. 68 (taken from Brecks), the Todas in the centre with the Badagas on their right and the Kotas on their left. Next to the Badagas are the Irulas, and next to the Kotas are the Kurumbas.

The tribes with which the Todas come into contact habitually are the Badagas and Kotas, while their points of contact with Kurumbas and Irulas are much less important. The Badagas are not only the agriculturists of the Todas, but are the constant intermediaries between the Todas and the extra-Nilgiri world. The two tribes regard each other more or less as social equals. The Kotas, on the other hand, who are the artisans of the Todas, are regarded by them as social inferiors. The relations with the former may be considered first.



Irulas.

Badagas.

Todas.

Kotas.

Kurumbas.

FIG. 68 (FROM BREEKS).—THE FIVE TRIBES OF THE NILGIRI HILLS.



TODAS AND BADAGAS

The Todas call a Badaga *Mav*,¹ which seems to be a form of the Canarese word for father-in-law or maternal uncle. The origin of this term is said to have been that when the Todas first met a Badaga, they asked his name and he answered "*Mav*." A Badaga who performs certain services for the *palol* is called *tikelfmav*. Certain elders of the Badagas are also called *madtin*.

Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two which is represented in Fig. 69. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin*, you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas.

The Badagas perform definite services for the Todas and give what may be regarded as a tribute of grain at the harvest. The tribute is called *gudu*. I did not myself investigate the nature of the *gudu*, and there is some difference of opinion among previous writers² as to whether a definite amount of grain

¹ *Mav* is also the Toda word for sambhar.

² According to Harkness, "each burgher, hamlet, or village" gives about two quarts (p. 108), or (p. 135) half a bushel to the *ti* and half a bushel to the other Todas. According to Breeks (p. 9), the *gudu* is about one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-fifth of the gross produce.

or a given proportion of the crop is given. I have no information as to the way in which the giving of the tribute is regulated, and it is eminently one of those points on which evidence must be sought from both Todas and Badagas. In the case of the Kotas, we shall see that there is a definitely



FIG. 69.—A BADAGA GREETING A TODA.

organised system regulating the relations of certain Kota villages to certain Toda clans, and some such system probably exists to regulate the supply of Badaga grain to different clans, but I have no information on the point.¹

¹ It is possible that the elucidation of this point might also help towards the explanation of the Badaga account of the Toda clans.

The contribution of grain from the Badagas has usually been regarded as given in return for the use of the land, the Todas being supposed to be the original owners of the soil. That this is not the whole explanation is shown by the fact that the Badagas also give a tribute of grain to two other Nilgiri tribes, the Kotas and Kurumbas. Harkness¹ was told by the Badagas that the portion given to the *ti* was in return for the prayers of the *palol*, and that they did not believe that "their crops or their cattle, themselves or their children, would prosper without his blessing." The Badagas also stated that they generally desisted from cultivating their fields when the *ti* was left without a *palol*. They looked on the tribute of grain to the Todas as given of their own good will, while a similar tribute to the Kurumbas was dictated by fear of the consequences of sorcery which might be employed if the duty were neglected.

It has been supposed that the fear of Toda sorcery is one reason for the maintenance of the tribute, and, since the Badagas undoubtedly fear the power of the Toda sorcerers, it is probable that this factor plays a part, though one less important than in the case of the Kurumbas.

Another view which has been taken is that the Todas maintain rights over old dairies in the middle of the Badaga fields, and that any recalcitrance on the part of the Badagas might be followed by the taking up of these old rights. It is possible that the Todas have at some time threatened to resume their rights over disused dairies, but, in the case of the more sacred dairies, the fear of defilement of the sacred buffaloes by approaching a Badaga village would prevent the Todas from putting such a threat into practice.

The grain is probably given, partly because it is an immemorial custom, partly because the Badagas believe that they receive benefits and avoid evils in consequence of the custom.

At the present time, the amount of grain supplied by the Badagas is not sufficient for the needs of the Todas, and both grain and rice are bought by the Todas in the bazaar. All the grain used by the *palol* must, however, be that supplied by

¹ P. 136.

the Badagas ; but if more grain is required than the Badagas supply, it is possible that other grain may be used, though it is always in this case procured through the Badagas. The rice used at a *ti* dairy must also be procured through the Badagas.

The supply of grain is far from being the only duty of the Badagas to the *ti* dairies. Each *ti* has one or more special Badagas, each called *tikelfmav*, or "*ti* help Badaga," who acts as intermediary between the *palol* and the Hindus. The earthenware vessels used in the inner room, the various garments of the *palol*, and other objects are made by Hindus, from whom they are procured by the *tikelfmav*. I did not learn of any material recompense given to the Badagas for these services, and the motive is probably some such belief as that described by Harkness.

One of the most important parts played by the Badagas in the Toda community is in connexion with the *naim*, or council, of which one member is a Badaga belonging to the village of Tuneri. He is only called upon to sit, however, in cases of difficulty, and probably one of his functions is to assist in the settlement of any dispute which may arise in connexion with the tribute of grain, or other transactions between members of the two communities.

There is little evidence that the Badagas have had much influence on the more important customs and ceremonies of the Todas. Few traces of their influence are to be found in the dairy ceremonial, but it is possible that some of the rites accompanying birth and death may have been borrowed from this people. The practice of making cicatrices on the arm (p. 576) is common to both Badagas and Todas, and may have been borrowed by the latter from the former, but the practice is not in any way of a ceremonial character. The only part played by a Badaga at a Toda funeral is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota, and, as I have suggested on p. 377, the whole ceremony with the calf in which this bell is used may have been borrowed from the Badagas. The idea of a thread bridge between this world and the next is said to be common to Todas and Badagas, but I have no evidence to show which has borrowed from the other.

In the ordinary life of the people there is more evidence of influence. At many Toda villages there may now be seen huts like those of the Badagas which usually result from the practice of allowing Badagas to occupy a Toda village when the proper occupants have gone elsewhere. The visitors build a hut of their own kind in which to live, and sometimes the Todas on their return inhabit this hut, though in general they only use it as an appanage to the hut of the proper kind.

The fact that the Badagas will thus come to live at a Toda village seems to show that when the Todas move from one place to another the pasturage is not necessarily exhausted, for the Badagas would not bring their buffaloes in this case. It seems that the grazing-grounds for the Badaga buffaloes are not very extensive, and that the Badagas are always glad to use the more extensive pasturage of the Todas, even when the grass has been partly eaten off.

Transactions in buffaloes between Todas and Badagas seem now to be fairly frequent. I often heard of a buffalo as having been received from the Badagas, but I have no very definite information as to the reasons for the transference. On the occasion of the ceremony of the ear-piercing of Tikievan's sons (p. 336), Tikievan received a present of two buffaloes from the Badaga *monegar* of Tuneri, and this present was said to be in return for things which Tikievan had previously given to the *monegar*, but I did not learn the exact nature of this gift.

In two departments there is very clear evidence of Badaga influence. The astronomical ideas of the Todas are almost certainly borrowed from their neighbours (see Chap. XXIV), and in the closely allied practical question of the calendar I think Badaga influence may be suspected.

The other department is medicine. There is no special reason to suppose that the magical remedies of the *u'kòren* (Chap. XII) have been borrowed from the Badagas, but the more strictly medical remedies used by the Todas are largely borrowed, the actual leaves or other substances employed being obtained from the Badagas. The practice of suicide by opium, said to be very prevalent among the Badagas, has, in

at least one recent case, been adopted by a Toda, and the threat of suicide by this means is said to be fairly common.

There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought upon the Badagas in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas.

If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well as in Toda sorcery.

It is probable that the relations between the Todas and Badagas have existed for very long. It is generally held that the Badagas are comparatively recent immigrants to the Nilgiri Hills. Breeks¹ states that the Badagas are said to have come to the hills about three centuries ago in consequence of the troubles that followed the fall of Vijayanagar, but it is certain that they have been on the hills much longer than this, for the account of Finicio in 1602 (see App. I) shows that the relations between Todas and Badagas were much the same then as they are now. The close connexion of Badagas with the *ti* dairies, their intermediation between the *palol* and the Hindu, and the fact that the *palol* must eat Badaga grain, are all indications of very ancient relations between the two tribes.

There is one fact which may be held to show that the relation between Todas and Badagas is recent as compared with that between the Todas and other Nilgiri tribes. This is the fact that the Badagas are not mentioned in one of the legends of the Toda gods, while Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas each play a part in one or more of these stories.

TODAS AND KOTAS

The Toda name for a Kota is *Kuv*. The relation between the two people is very different from that between Toda and

¹ P. 4.

Badaga. While a Toda regards a Badaga as his equal, or perhaps even as his superior, he looks down on the Kota as inferior, as hardly to be classed as a man with himself. In their secret language, a Toda speaks of a Kota as *kimas ithvai*, "he that is beneath," and in the remedies for the evil eye (see p. 264) the Kotas are the only hill tribe which is not thought worthy of mention—they are not thought to be of sufficient importance to be able to cast the evil eye. When a Kota meets a Toda, he raises both hands to his face and salutes from a distance. The two people do not touch one another in general, though I do not know that contact is definitely prohibited. A Toda will not sleep or take food at a Kota village in general, but makes an exception in the case of Kulgadi in the Wainad (see p. 200). It is usually supposed that the contempt of the Toda for the Kota is due to the flesh-eating, or even carrion-eating, habits of the latter, and this is certainly one of the elements which influence the relations between the two peoples.

The Kotas supply the Todas with the larger part of their pottery and ironware.¹ All the earthenware vessels of the dairies, except those of the inner rooms of the *ti* dairies, are supplied by the Kotas, and the various knives and other metal objects of the Todas are chiefly obtained from these people. The Kotas supply most of the things burnt at Toda funerals and they supply the music on these occasions.

Just as the Badagas do not supply grain to the Todas only, so the Kotas do artisan work for Badagas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Kotas are the artisans, not of the Todas only, but of the whole hill district.

The relations between the Todas and Kotas are strictly regulated, each Kota village supplying certain Toda clans. There are seven Kota villages on the hills, of which the following are the Toda and Badaga names:—

In the Todanad district:—

Tizgudr, Tizgadr, or Tizgwadr (Badaga, Tirichigadi), between Ootacamund and Kanòdrs, near the Toda village of Ushadr.

¹ According to Brecks, the Kotas who supply the Todas are known as *muttu* Kotas.

Kurguli (B. Padagula or Kuruvoje), near the Badaga village of Sholur.

In the Mekanad district :—

Kalmal (B. Kolamala or Kollimalai), not far from Kateri.

In the Peranganad district :—

Meilkukal (B. Melkotagiri or Perangada) in Kotagiri, one of the three chief European stations on the hills. Kikukal (B. Kilkotagiri or Kinnada), north-east of Kotagiri.

In the Kundanad district :—

Medrkukal (B. Menada).

The seventh is Kulgadi (B. Kalagasa) at Gudalur in the Wainad.

The village of Tizgudr is connected with the Toda clans of Kars, Melgars, Kanòdrs, and sometimes with the people of Kulhem. Kurguli supplies the clans of Nòdrs, Taradr, Kuudr, Piedr, and Kusharf, and occasionally Kulhem. Kalmal supplies Keradr, Nidrsi, Päm, Kidmad, and Keadr. Meilkukal and Kikukal are both connected with Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, and Medrkukal is the Kota village of the Panol. Kulgadi is connected only with the village of Kavidi, near Gudalur, which belongs to the Piedrol. When there were several Toda villages in the Wainad, it probably served them all.

The connexion between clans and villages seems to depend almost wholly on geographical distribution. The clans are supplied by the Kota villages which are nearest to their headquarters. An outlying village such as Kavidi has not the same Kota village as the rest of its clan. The Kidmadol, who are a branch of the Melgarsol, have not the same Kota village as the parent stock ; but, on the other hand, the Panol, who now live chiefly among other Todas near Governor Shola, are still connected with the Kundah Kotas.

Each Kota village is responsible for the supply of the clan or clans with which it is connected. Its inhabitants make the various utensils used in the household and in the less sacred dairy work of the Todas. At the funeral of any member of a clan with which they are connected, they provide the music and the following objects :—

At the *etvainolkedr*, a cloak in which the corpse is wrapped,

five to ten measures (*kwa*) of the grain called *patm* (*samai*), and one or two rupees. If the Kotas do not possess the grain, they may give another one or two rupees in its stead.

At the *marvainolkedr*, they supply a cloak; eight annas to pay for the embroidery of the cloak, which is done by the Toda women; two to five rupees towards the funeral expenses; a bow and three arrows; a knife (*kafkati*); a sieve (*kudshmurn*) and a basket (*tek*).

In return, the Kotas receive the carcasses of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, and on the occasion of a Kota funeral, the Todas supply one male calf from three to five years of age and one measure (*kudi*) of clarified butter. The Kotas also receive the bodies of any Toda buffaloes which die a natural death.

A Kota visiting a Toda village at any time is given clarified butter to take away with him. He is also given food consisting of jaggery and rice, which must be eaten on the outskirts of the village. A Kota is never given milk, buttermilk, or butter.

Once a year there is a definite ceremony in which the Todas go to the Kota village with which they are connected, taking an offering of clarified butter and receiving in return an offering of grain from the Kotas. I only obtained an account of this ceremony as performed between the people of Kars and the Kota village of Tizgudr, and I do not know whether the details would be the same in other cases.

In the Kars ceremony the Todas go on the appointed day to the Kota village, headed by a man carrying the clarified butter. Outside the village, they are met by two Kota priests whom the Todas called *teupuli*, who bring with them a dairy vessel of the kind the Todas call *mu*, which is filled with *patm* grain. Other Kotas follow with music. All stand outside the village, and one of the Kotas puts ten measures (*kwa*) of *patm* into the pocket of the cloak of the leading Toda, and the *teupuli* give the *mu* filled with the same grain.

The *teupuli* then go to their temple and return, each bringing a *mu*, and the clarified butter brought by the Todas is divided into two equal parts, and half is poured into each *mu*. The leading Toda then takes some of the butter and

rubbs it on the heads of the two Kota priests, who prostrate themselves, one at each foot of the Toda, and the Toda prays as follows :—

<i>Ullamā ;</i>	<i>Kūv</i>	<i>erdm</i>	<i>tānenmā ;</i>	<i>kadr</i>	<i>pelumā ;</i>
May it be well ;	Kotas	two	may it be well ;	fields	flourish may ;
<i>mā un mā ;</i>	<i>īr</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>mā,</i>	<i>nūv</i>	<i>pedr mā.</i>
rain may ;	buffalo	milk	may,	disease go	may.

The Toda then gives the two *mu* containing the clarified butter to the Kota priests, and he and his companions return home.

This ceremony is obviously one in which the Todas are believed to promote the prosperity of the Kotas, their crops, and their buffaloes.¹

In another ceremonial relation between Todas and Kotas, the Kwòrdoni *ti* is especially concerned. The chief annual ceremony of the Kotas is held about January in honour of the Kota god Kambataraya. This ceremony lasts about a fortnight, and, during part of the time, the proceedings are attended by Todas and other of the hill tribes. In order that this ceremony may take place, it is essential that there should be a *palol* at the Kwòrdoni *ti*, and at the present time this *ti* is only occupied every year shortly before and during the ceremony. The *palol* gives clarified butter to the Kotas, which should be made from the milk of the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the *ti*. Some Kotas of Kotagiri whom I interviewed claimed that these buffaloes belonged to them, and that something was done by the *palol* at the Kwòrdoni *ti* in connexion with the Kambataraya ceremony, but they could not or would not tell me what it was.

The relations between Todas and Kotas are probably of very old standing. The fact that the Kotas supply the bow and arrows burnt at a Toda funeral suggests that the connexion goes back to the time when the Todas used these weapons, while the special sieve supplied by the Kotas for a funeral is of a different pattern from that in use at the present

¹ The Kotas are agriculturists as well as mechanics, and, according to Breeks, they are quite as efficient as the Badagas in this occupation. They also keep buffaloes, though chiefly or entirely for their own use.

time. The Kotas are mentioned in Toda legend. The people of Tizgudr play a prominent part in the story of Kwoten (p. 195), and this deity is said to have been the first Toda who stayed at a Kota village, viz., at the village of Kulgadi (or Gudalur). He sat and slept on the Kota *tiin* and since that time the Todas have stayed at this village, though they will not stay at any other. The relation between Kwoten and the Kotas seems to have been especially close. The old woman, Muturach, from whom the present people of Kanòdrs are descended, according to the legend, may have been a Kota. The Kotas who give tribute to the Todas are known as their *muttu* Kotas, and the first part of the old woman's name may have been this word.

Our acquaintance with Kota mythology is too scanty to contribute much to our knowledge of the relations between the two peoples. Breeks states that Kurguli (Padagula) is the oldest of the Kota villages, and that the Badagas believe that the Kotas of this village were made by the Todas. At Kurguli there is a temple of the same form as the Toda dairy, and this is said to be the only temple of the kind at any Kota village.

Breeks gives a legend which records the origin of the different foods of the Nilgiri tribes. Kambataraya, perspiring profusely, wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and out of these formed the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to live principally upon milk, the Kurumbas were permitted to eat the flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas were allowed perfect liberty, being informed that they might eat carrion if they could get nothing better. My interpreter, Albert, was told a different version of this legend, according to which Kambataraya gave to each people a pot. In the Toda pot was calf-flesh, and so the Todas eat the flesh of calves (*i.e.*, at the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony); the Kurumba pot contained the flesh of a male buffalo, so this is eaten by the Kurumbas. The pot of the Kotas contained the flesh of a cow-buffalo, which may, therefore, be eaten by this people.



TODAS AND KURUMBAS

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurb*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them.

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrsi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *teiks*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood.

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubudrchiti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge.

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *teuol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners.

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf;

according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

In the story of Kuzkarv, the Kurumbas, together with the Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,¹ and this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

TODAS AND IRULAS

The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection of Toda legends, in the story of Kuzkarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwòdrdoni and Pedrkars, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

¹ It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Tên* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 9).



CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

IN this chapter I propose to give a short account of each of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan.

THE TARTHAR CLANS

NÒDRS

The people of Nòdrs owe their special importance to their connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nòdrodchi*, or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed certain special favours on her people. Chief among these is the possession of the Nòdrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact that the Nòdrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nòdrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *tesherst*, is also usually performed at a Nòdrs village.



Another title to fame is the possession of the *poh*, or conical dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.¹ It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members ; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnòrtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Oòrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday, and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkedr* and that a special bell (*mani*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Oòdr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Kùlthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poh*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

¹ By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts, so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the *poh* stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43). The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum.

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*. One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*. One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*. The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The *menkars*, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of *narthpimi*, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*. All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the *poh*.

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among

the villages of the Nòdrsol, and it was a question whether the *wursuli* dairy, though of the ordinary form, had not even a greater sanctity than the *poh* of Nòdrs. More difficulty was made when I wished to go close to it than at any other place during the whole of my visit (except, of course, at the *ti* dairy), but, unfortunately, the affair was complicated by the fact that on this day my usual attendant, Kòdrner, was not with me, and the difficulty may have been partly due to this. When I was allowed to approach the building, only



FIG. 70.—A VIEW OF NÒDRS. THE STONE IN THE FOREGROUND ON THE LEFT IS THE 'NEROVKARS'; THAT ON THE RIGHT IS THE 'UTEIKS.' IN THE BACKGROUND IN THE CENTRE IS AN OLD 'TU.' THE LOWER PART OF THE CONICAL DAIRY CAN BE SEEN BETWEEN THE BOY AND THE 'UTEIKS.'

one man came with me and he would not go within several yards of the dairy, while allowing me to go on. The special sanctity of this dairy is due to the fact that the two *mani* of the Nòdrsol are kept here. Both this dairy and a smaller *tarvali* are at a much greater distance from the village than usual, but with that exception there is nothing to distinguish them from the dairies of other villages. The *wursuli* is one of those which has two rooms. It is at the village of Òdr that the *palol* passes one night during his

ordination ceremonies, and I was shown the spot under a tree where he has to sleep, the same spot being also used by the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* when they undergo any part of their ordination ceremonies at Odr.

Another feature of interest is the connexion of this village with Kuudr. An Odr man must be present at the *irpalvusthi* and salt-giving ceremonies of Kuudr, and a Kuudr man must attend when these ceremonies are performed at Odr. Further, the *kwarzam* of Odr are said in the prayer of the *erkumptth-pimi* ceremony at Kuudr and the *Kwarzam* of Kuudr are said at Odr.

The following legend records the origin of these customs:—

Soon after Teikirzi had given the buffaloes to the different villages, the buffaloes of Kuudr and Odr were grazing together, and when evening came they could not be separated and both herds went together to the funeral place called Keikars. The *wursol* of Odr and the *palikartmokh* of Kuudr brought their milking-vessels, each to milk his own buffaloes, and they also brought their churning-vessels (*patat*) and cooking-vessels. After they had milked, the *wursol* of Odr went to pour his milk into his *patat*, and when doing so some of the milk splashed into the vessel of the *palikartmokh*. They then cooked some food with the milk, and as the food was boiling strongly, some of it went from one cooking-pot to the other. Then the people of the two villages met and decided that, as the two kinds of buffalo had been milked in one place and the two kinds of milk had been mixed with one another, each of the villages should mention the *kwarzam* of the other in its prayer, and people of one village should attend the ceremonies of the other.

Tedshteiri (Talapattaraimand). This is another important Nòdrs village. It was vacant at the time of my visit, but is still often occupied. It had at one time a dairy called *Okurshapali* with seven rooms, which was, like that of Nòdrs, a *kudrpali*. It fell into disuse at the same time as the Nòdrs dairy, and its site is still quite distinct; but though it seemed larger than usual, I could discover no indication of the number of rooms it had had. When I visited the village there were nine ovens standing in a row, which had been used to cook the

food when Teigudr (4) took his wife Uwer from Nertolvan of Pan (16). On this occasion Nertolvan came to Tedshteiri to receive nine buffaloes from Teigudr, and the number of ovens corresponded with the number of the buffaloes.

Kudrnakhum (Kudinagamand). The chief point of interest about this village is that it is the place where the ceremony of *tesherst* often takes place. It is an outlying village to the west which I was unable to visit.

Perththo (Perattitalmand). This is a village which is shared by two clans. The part occupied by the Nòdrsol is called Meil Perththo, or Upper Perththo. The other part of the village was said to be general property, but it is at present occupied by Melgars people.

Kozhtudi or *Kozhteidi*. The special feature of this village is that it has a *wursuli* in which everything has to be carried out *kabkaditi*, i.e., the dairyman is not allowed to turn his back to the contents of the dairy. This certainly points to the village having been at one time of importance.

KARS

This is at present the largest of the Tarthar clans, having sixty-seven male and fifty female members. It is represented in the *naim*, and there was some reason to think that it occupies a more important position in this body than the other Tarthar clans. The family of Parkurs (8) is called *tinkanikudupel*, ranking next to a *manikudupel*, and Parkurs was till lately a second or assistant *monegar*.

There seems to be no doubt that the Karsol have always been an important clan, and its members are often mentioned in the stories, though they do not appear to have had any legendary hero such as those of Melgars and Pan. Their *nòdrodchi* (ruler or presiding deity) is Kulinkars, now believed to live on a hill near Makurti Peak. The Kars people possess a *ti* which in importance and wealth is second only to that of Nòdrs.

Kars resembles Nòdrs in having two *kudr* differing greatly in size. Kutadri is the head of one, which comprises all the members of the family given in Table 7. It has two *pòlm*, headed by Kutadri and Peithol. The other *kudr* has eight

pòlm, of which the chief men are Parkurs (8), Pidrvan (9)¹, Piutolvan (10), Kudrvas (11), Kutthurs (12), Mongudrvan (13), Kiunervan (14), and Keitazvan (15). Till recently there appear to have been only five *pòlm* in the Kars clan, each of which has lately been divided into two. There is a very marked disproportion in the number of members of some of these divisions; thus the *pòlm* of Parkurs has sixteen males in five more or less distinct families, while others have only three or four males. Nevertheless each of the latter would contribute the same amount towards joint expenses of the clan as the sixteen males of the *pòlm* of Parkurs.

The chief villages of the Karsol are in or near Ootacamund, and this clan formerly had several other villages on sites now occupied by modern buildings.

The following are the chief places:—

Kars (Kandalmand). This village is one of the best known of Toda villages, being just on the outskirts of Ootacamund. It is a very typical example of a Toda village; there is a small group of houses, with a large dairy, the *kudrpali* (Fig. 21), called *Tarziolv*, close to them; just above the houses on the rising ground is a smaller dairy, the *wur-suli* called *Karziolv*, shown in the background of Fig. 42 and partly shown in Figs. 23 and 44. Opposite the *kudrpali* are two raised circular mounds with flat tops called the *imudrikars* (seen in the foreground in Fig. 21), on which the body of a dead man is laid before being taken to the funeral hut at Taradrkirsi. Above the *kudrpali* is the hut for calves.

In the middle of the enclosure within which the village lies, is a row of stones (shown in Fig. 42) which are the *irnörtkars*, and in the ceremony of *irnörtiti* the calf is driven across these stones.

Behind the houses there is a small circular enclosure which is now used as a *tu* and is called *Althftu*. The entrance to this enclosure is shown in Fig. 29 just in front of the boy carrying the dairy vessels. Formerly there was a dairy of the conical kind within this circle, of which the name was *Ishpoh*. About five generations ago, this dairy still existed

¹ Pidrvan died soon after my visit.

and was tended by a *wursol*; but several dairymen died in succession, and this so alarmed the Todas that it became impossible to obtain anyone to fill the office, and when the dairy decayed its remains were removed and the circular enclosure within which it stood has since been used as a pen. In size and appearance the enclosure is quite unlike other pens, and resembles much more nearly the circular walls round the conical dairies of Nòdrs and Kanòdrs.

Kuzhu (Kunditolmand). This, the second in importance of the villages of the Karsol, is a very picturesque place south of Ootacamund. There is a *kudrpali* called *Tudrpoh*, in front of which is a stone called *imudrikars*. The gold bracelet mentioned in the story of Kwoto is kept in this dairy. In front of the dwelling-huts is another stone called *menkars* (see p. 342). The *menkars* at Kuzhu and that at Nòdrs are the only stones of this name, but they do not resemble one another, and the Kuzhu stone is not adapted for the *narthpimi* game as is that of Nòdrs.

Keshker (Kakerimand). This is a large village near Ootacamund at which there is a *kudrpali*, but little else of interest. It is probably the Kishkeijar mentioned by Harkness.

Nasmiòdr (Aganadmand). This is a very old village which was probably at one time much more important than at present. It is situated about a quarter of a mile from the road leading from Ootacamund to Ebanad, not far from the Badaga village of Tuneri. There is now only a small dairy (*wursuli*) situated in the middle of a wood. When I visited Nasmiòdr, this dairy was unoccupied, and, as is usual in such cases, my Toda guide refused to go to the dairy with me, and remained outside the wood. Soon after I left the hills, it was to be occupied by the *wursol* of Kars, who would take his buffaloes there for a month.

This village is mentioned in two Toda legends, in both of which it seems to have been a village at which people were living. The dairy is called *Tilipoh* or *Pohtilipoh*, and it still contains the two *mani*, Karzod and Kòni, which were hung on the neck of Enmon (see p. 208). It is one of the few *wursuli* which have two rooms.

Pakhalkudr (Bagalkodumand). This village, not far from

Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalar*s which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning.

Isharadr and *Peletkwur*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol.

Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *erkumtthpimi* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Turskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tüli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr.

PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the

Kundahs, but they are only visited during the dry season, and for the greater part of the year the Panol live at the comparatively new village of Naters in the most thickly populated part of the hills. The legendary hero, Kwoten, belonged to Pan.

The clan is small, having now about twenty-seven male and nine female members. It is not represented on the *naim*, and in the Badaga grouping of the Todas this clan is joined with that of Nòdrs.

The Panol have two *kudr*, and provide the only example among the Tartharol in which the *kudr* have special names. The formation of the *kudr* is said to have been due to Kwoten, who divided the people into Panol and Kuirsol, named after the two chief villages of the clan. The two divisions are also called Pandar and Peshteidimokh.

The Pandar or Panol have three *pòlm*, headed by Timurvan (16), Todars (16), and Nòrtiners (17). The Peshteidimokh or Kuirsol have two *pòlm*, headed by Timners (18) and Imokhvan (19).

The *irnòrtiti* and *tuninòrtiti* ceremonies are performed in front of the *wursuli* at Pan or Kuirsol. The spots on which the ceremonies take place are not marked by any stones, and the ceremonies are spoken of as *paliknòrtiti*, i.e., "he gives to the dairy," though, as a matter of fact, the calf passes from the men of one *kudr* to the men of the other *kudr* as in other clans.

The *madnol* of Pan are said to be Sunday and Wednesday, and the funerals of men take place on Sunday or Tuesday, and those of women on Thursday or Saturday. It is probable that Tuesday is the proper day for the funerals of men, but that they are now sometimes held on Sunday.

The following are the chief villages of the Panol:—

Pan (Onnamand) is commonly known to Europeans as "One mand." It is a large village in the south-west corner of the Kundahs, with two houses of the long variety, with a door at each end and a partition in the middle. There is a *wursuli* called *Keinulv*, and a *kudrpali* called *Nersolv*, and outside the pen there is a stone called *mutchudkars*.

Kuirsol (Kolimand). This village is near Pan. It has a

wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolv* and the latter *Keinulv*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh.

Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshsteiks*, for the Kuirsiol. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place.

TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *etudmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members.

The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (Amnòdr) near Perithi.



The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

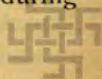
The following are the chief villages:—

Taradr (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most characteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *püdrshetikars* after the name of the buffaloes (*püdrshetipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalikartmorrh* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

Kudrmas (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.



Pushtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tesherst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed.

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members.

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pòlm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood.

KANÒDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *poh* is only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of

the hills. The clan is distinguished by its possession of the conical *poh* at Kanòdrs, and by the fact that many of the adventures of Kwoto or Meilitars took place in the region it inhabits. Although Kwoto was a Melgars man, he is regarded as having a close connexion with the Kanòdrs people, and various features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs *boh* are said to be derived from him.

The clan is at present a small one, with a distinct majority of females. In fact, it seems so usual for members of this clan to have no children or only female children that there is some likelihood that the Kanòdrsol may become extinct. The present numbers are about thirteen males and twenty-three females.

There was some doubt as to the number of *kudr*. I was told that there are three, headed by Arsolv (27), Kineri (29), and Pòlkab (30) respectively, but at an *irnörtiti* ceremony both Arsolv and Kineri would give to Pòlkab, while the latter would give to both, so that it seems probable that there are properly only two *kudr*, as in other clans. One of these has only one *pòlm*, that of Pòlkab. The other has three *pòlm*, headed by Arsolv, Neratkutan (28), and Kineri.

The following are the chief villages of the Kanòdrsol:—

Kanòdrs (Devarmand). This village now consists of the *poh* only. There are still two *mani* at this village, one of which is called *Piinkòghlag*, a name closely resembling the name of the churning-stick at the *ti*. There are at present no dwelling-huts at the place, nor any remains of such huts, though it would appear from the legend of Kwoten that the village was inhabited at one time.

Pishkwosht (Bikkapatimand). This is a large village where most of the Kanòdrsol now live. The only dairy is in ruins. Close to the village there are a number of flat stones almost level with the ground (Fig. 71) which are called *Teuâr*, "the god way," and are said to mark the spot where the gods (*teu*) used to meet. Just above these is a large buffalo pen, which is reputed not to have been made by man. Whenever the gods went this way they used to deposit pieces of dried buffalo-dung on this spot and these became the stones of the *tu*.

Near the village is a forest hut, and opposite this are two stones called *pedrkars*. The Todas once had a large gathering here, and a man jumped a long distance which was recorded by means of these stones.

The other villages of the Kanòdrsol, *Taknin*, *Kushu* or



FIG. 71.—THE STONES AT PISHKWOSHT CALLED 'TEUAR.'

Kushu, &c., are in the same neighbourhood, but I was unable to visit them, and do not know whether they have any objects of interest.

· KWÒDRDONI

This is the most outlying of Toda clans, but numerous tea estates have been established in its neighbourhood, and the people appear to have been a good deal influenced by the altered conditions. I was unable to visit any of the villages, and I know less about this clan than any other.

All the villages of the clan are situated in the district of the hills called by the Todas Purgòdr, and the people of the clan are, therefore, often called the Purgòdrol.

At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Òrudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòdrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katikar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Punmud*.

PÄM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Päm* was then adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Päm was called *Palikùdrbedz* and the buffalo-pen, *Tùgùdron*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmokh*.

The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kwatkash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near Inikitj. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English soldiers came to Päm and insulted the women and how Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at Wellington.

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Päm for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members.

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo.

There are two *mani*, called *Eshkiakudr* and *Eikudr*, each with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pineipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvali*.

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of these seems to be of any importance.

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*. Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

Akirsikòdri. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

an account has been already given. They are still capable of holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which are wholly unshared by other clans.

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Mòr vatiti, tòr tititi*. "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nòdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpülk mad oiiti*. "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpül*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti*. "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug putz nitz ihttothi*. "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pünrs ihttothi*. "Two *pünrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part. He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning

ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpataduthi*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The Melgars people themselves believed that their exceptional position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan. They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

There are other special features in which the Melgars people differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so

that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the *tarvali* of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other than that of Melgars.

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some special relation between the people of Melgars and those of Kwòrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwòrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.



The one *kudr* has four *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kiunievan (44), Artholvan (45), Nòtirzi (46) and Ilgeivan (48). Tergudrvan (47) belonged to the same *pòlm* as Artholvan. The families included in Table 49 are all extinct in the male line, and, with the exception of Tikon, I am doubtful to which *kudr* or *pòlm* they belonged.

Melgars, the chief village, is situated behind the gardens of Government House at Ootacamund. It has few features of interest, and there is little to be seen at the other villages of the clan. *Nùln* (Narigulimand) is situated in the Kundahs.

Two Toda villages, Ki Perththo and Padegar, are said to be the general property of the Tartharol, but at the time of my visit both were inhabited by the Melgarsol.

The village of *Katol*, which is now ruined, is mentioned by Harkness as one of the villages near Ootacamund.

The chief funeral place is *Ushadr*, mentioned in the story of Kwoto. There is another funeral place called *Mirzoti* common to Melgars and Kidmad.

KIDMAD AND KARSH

These are two sub-divisions of the Melgarsol which separated from the main body, probably about seven or eight generations ago. At first I heard only of Kidmad, and it was only when working over the Nidrsiol that I found there were people living with this clan who did not belong to it, but were an offshoot of the Melgars people and were called Karshol.

According to one account, both Kidmadol and Karshol separated from the main body at the same time, but, according to another, the people who first separated belonged to Karsh and then split some generations later into the two groups.

The separation was due to a quarrel between father and son. The Melgars people were holding a council and one of the chief men of the clan was late in coming. When he appeared in the distance, he was recognised by nobody but his own son, who, when asked who was coming, said "*pazuli padmokh pòti àtham nòtthred? Kùtm it vòrs!—i.e.,*

"A wanderer and bastard comes, why do you look at him? Let the council go forward!" (*Pazuli* is a name applied to a man who belongs to no clan, and *padmokh* is the name of the child of a woman with whom no man has performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony.)

The *manmokh* (sister's son) of the father was present at the council, and when his uncle arrived, the *manmokh* told him what had been said by his son in the council, and the father said, "I am no *pazuli*, it is you who are the *pazuli*: henceforward you must not live at Melgars; you will have nothing from me except what I give you to-day." The father gave the son a one-horned buffalo (*kwadrkutir*) and a portion of the Mirzoti funeral place.

Since that day descendants of the son have been separate from Melgarsol and they have held their funerals at Mirzoti, but not on the same spot as the Melgars people.

The Kidmadol and Karshol have lost certain privileges possessed by other Todas. The loss of these privileges is expressed by the Todas as follows:—

(i.) *Meitiün kitht ògadi*. "He may not sit on the *meitiün*." When a man of Kidmad or Karsh goes to any Tarthar dairy he is not allowed to sit on the raised bed on the right hand side of the door.

(ii.) *Nîrsi nest ògadi*. "He may not rub the fire-sticks." If fire has to be made at a male funeral, or on any other occasion, it must be done by a man of another clan.

(iii.) *Ertatpun pitth ògadi*. "He may not touch the *ertatpun*," a dairy vessel which may be touched by any other Toda man. The result of this restriction is that a man of these clans can never hold a dairy office.

Marriages are not allowed between Melgars people and those of either Kidmad or Karsh.

The village of Karsh no longer exists; it was near Akirzikòdri, but in the time of Kilpan (51) the people were so poor that they went to live with the Nidrsiol and have remained with them since. Though living at Nidrsi, they are still regarded as a separate people, and marriages may take place between the two clans. They have only three or four ordinary buffaloes. If a male dies they have to kill

a *persasir*, which they obtain from Melgars. The only males living are one man and his son, the father having also two sisters.

The Kidmadol are more prosperous, and the men of the clan appear to be fairly prominent people among the Todas, in spite of their disadvantages. Kijievan (5) has the reputation of being one of the ablest people of the whole community. The clan numbers five males and three females.

THE TEIVALI CLANS

KUUDR

This is the most important of the Teivali clans, at any rate from the social point of view. It has supplied the *monegar* since the institution of this office, and it is the only Teivali clan represented on the Toda *naim* or council. From the religious point of view the Kuudrol are less important and have no exclusive rights to any sacred office,¹ though they are exceptional in being greeted by the *palol* with the *kwarzam* of their clan, *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu*, followed by *idith* as in the prayers. The origin of this custom is said to be that long ago strangers came to the hills and massacred all the people of the clan except one boy, who hid himself in the buffalo pen. The present people of Kuudr are descended from the boy and his escape is commemorated in the greeting of the *palol*. The Kuudrol also possess the very sacred dairy of Kiudr.

The Kuudr clan is the largest of the Teivali clans and stands second in point of numbers among all the Toda clans. It has at least sixty-three male and thirty-five female representatives. I omitted to obtain the children of two families, and these would raise the numbers slightly.

I had much difficulty in obtaining a correct account of the organisation of the Kuudrol, the difficulty proving to be due to certain anomalies in this clan. It has three chief divisions, headed by Kuriolv (52), Ishkievan (60) and Tövoniners (61),

¹ For the story how the Kuudr people came to lose the right of providing the *palol* for the Nòdrs *tî*, see p. 114.

and each of these divisions is sometimes called a *kudr*. From the point of view, however, of the *irnörtiti* ceremony it is clear that the division of Tövoniners is not a definite *kudr*, for the men of this division do not receive buffaloes from any other division, although they may themselves perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, in which case the buffalo goes to the men of the other two divisions. The family of Tövoniners differs also from other families of the clan in having no place at the village of Kuudr. This anomalous position of the family is due to the part played by the men of the family in the quarrel which led to the separation of the Pedrkars people from Kuudr (see p. 675). The family of Tövoniners is probably not a *kudr* in the strict sense of the term, and if so, the Kuudr clan falls into line with other clans in being divided into two *kudr* only.

There was also some confusion about the *pòlm* of the Kuudr clan, one source of confusion being due to the trouble connected with the parentage of Teitchi (52), which has been already considered (see p. 564).

It was quite clear that the *kudr* of Ishkievan has two *pòlm* only, headed by Ishkievan and Tadrners (60).

Kuriolv's division was said to have eight *pòlm*, the head men being Kuriolv (52), Targners (53), Pöteners (54), Keitas (55), Tüliners and Tikievan (56), Mudriners (57), and Madsu (58). The men of the first four *pòlm* are known to be closely connected with one another, and, as may be seen in the genealogies, the first three claim common descent from Tudrvan. Similarly the *pòlm* of Tüliners, Tikievan and Madsu are known to be closely connected. About the position of the *pòlm* of Mudriners, as we have already seen, there is much doubt, the state of affairs being that it is really most closely connected with the *pòlm* of Tüliners and Tikievan, but that Kuriolv claims it as closely allied to his own through the relation of Teitchi to Kòrs. Formerly the family of Arsners (59) formed a separate *pòlm*, but owing to the fact that it now has only two young members, and is very poor, it has been joined to the *pòlm* of Madsu (58).

Including the families of Tövoniners and Arsners, there

would thus be twelve *pòlm*. This is not consistent with the information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Òdr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

Kiudr (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more sacred than Kuudr.

It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

the huts to the dairy a shallow stream flowing over broad flat stones is crossed. This stream is called *Keikudr*, and is of some ceremonial importance (see p. 307).

The dairy which is called *Kilpoh* is shown in Figs. 20 and 31, and is a large, well-built structure of the ordinary shape. It is situated within a high wall, which is much thicker than usual, and in front it must be several yards across, so that it is possible to walk about on the top of it. On this wall, on the right hand side, are two old stones (shown in Fig. 31), called *neurzülnkars*. Close to the dairy there are two ancient and weatherworn stones, shown in Fig. 32, to which the same name is given.

There are six bells in the dairy. Two are kept on the *patatmar* and are called *patatmani*, the individual names of the bells being *Mudrani* and *Kerani*. The other four are called *ertatmani*, and are kept on the *ertatmar*; their individual names are *Pongg*, *Nongg*, *Pundrths*, and *Pan*.

Kiudr is one of the villages which was said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. In favour of this is the fact that its dairy is called *poh* and that there are stones called *neurzülnkars* which are usually found at a *ti mad*. The people have also to play a part during the procession of the buffaloes of the *Nòdrs ti*, and there seems to be little doubt that the village is in some way especially connected with the *ti* institution, though exactly how is uncertain.

Kiudr is certainly a village especially revered not only by the Kuudrol, but by all Todas. It is a *sati mad*, and any Toda will be believed if he speaks in front of its dairy. Another sign of the sanctity of the dairy is the fact that the ceremony of *pilinörtiti* may be performed here not only by members of the Kuudr clan, but also by any other Toda.

Molkush. This is a recently established village, little more than a quarter of a mile from Kiudr. The scenes shown in Figs. 16 and 17 were taken at this village. It has no dairy and the milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut. This village may be regarded as an adjunct to the sacred village of Kiudr, at which the ordinary buffaloes are tended. At the time of my visit the wife of one of the men who usually lived at Kiudr gave birth

to a son and the seclusion-hut was at Molkush, and both before and after the birth the woman and those connected with her were living at this village. It seemed as if the restrictions connected with life at Kiudr are avoided by building at a little distance what is technically another village, at which the people live whenever for any reason they are not allowed to live at Kiudr. Its existence seemed to me to be one of the many devices by means of which the Todas keep the letter of the law with the minimum of inconvenience.

Miuni (Marlimand). This is a village of the Kuudrol which is revered by all Todas on account of the belief that it was formerly the meeting-place of the gods. It is a very picturesque village, situated near the Marlimand reservoir and has two dairies.

Kwirg is chiefly important as the place at which new *pep* is made for the Kuudr clan. Its prayer is given on p. 222.

Ars is an uninteresting village near Kuudr.

Peivòrs. This is a village near Paikara. It contains a double house, shown in Fig. 8, and has two dairies, one of which is now used as a calf-house. The second dairy was built when two families were living at the village, and the one dairy was not large enough for both.

Pirsush. This is a *kalolmad*.

Karia, a village near the Paikara road, from which a modern long house in the Tamil style is to be seen. Behind this are the old dwelling-hut and the dairy. At the time of my visit the new house was unoccupied and the people were living in the old hut.

PIEDR

The people of Piedr derive their special importance from the fact that they provide the *palol* for the sacred *ti* of Nòdrs. According to tradition, they had this privilege exclusively at one time; later, they shared it with the Kuudrol, and now they share with the people of Kusharf. They form a fairly large clan, having about twenty-eight male and fourteen female members.

As in the case of the Kuudrol, there was some doubt about

the divisions of the clan. There are said to be three *kudr*, of which the chief men are Teikudr (63), Eisòdr (64), and Nongarsivan (62). If a man of Teikudr's division has to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo goes to Eisòdr's division, and *vice versa*. If a man of Nongarsivan's division performs the ceremony, the buffalo would go to both the other divisions. Thus Nongarsivan's *kudr* seems to form an extra division, like that of Tövoniners among the Kuudrol. I did not obtain any explanation of this, but it is probably due to the fact that the people of Nongarsivan's division live at Kavidi in the Wainad, and are, in consequence, regarded as being outside the regular affairs of the clan. I failed to obtain an account of the *pòlm*.

The chief village of the clan is now rarely visited. It is in the northern parts of the hills near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I had hoped to have visited it and the neighbouring village of Kusharf, but had not time. Some members of the clan visit the village of Piedr once a year, but I did not learn what was done on the occasion.

Kuudi. This is now one of the chief villages of the clan. It has a modern house, the largest and most highly ornamented Toda dwelling which I saw on the hills.

Tavat kudr is a village of one hut and a dairy. It was this dairy which was burnt during my visit as a consequence of the revelation of *ti* secrets to me by Kaners, who lived at this village.

Eparskòdr is an ancient village at which the first Toda died (see p. 400). At present the village consists of a dairy only.

Kavidi is situated in the Wainad, not far from Gudalur. I did not visit it, but, so far as I could gather, it contained no object of interest and there was no evidence that it was an ancient settlement.

The clan has several funeral places, partly owing to the fact that the Kavidi people are at too great a distance from the top of the hills to hold the *etvainolkedr* in the ordinary funeral place. The Kavidi people, therefore, have two special funeral places, called *Sudvaili* for males and *Mòmanothi* for females. The second funeral, or *marvainolkedr*, was, however, held at the regular places of *Meroln* and *Pamarkol*.

A disused village in the Wainad is called *Potvaili*. The termination *vaili* of this village and of the male funeral place only occurs here, and is probably borrowed from some other language, possibly from the Kurumbas.

One abandoned village of this clan, *Nongarsi*, seems to have been situated near Ootacamund. Its Badaga name is Kettarimand, and it is possibly one of the villages mentioned by Harkness.

KUSHARF

The people of this clan are called indifferently Kusharfol or Umgasol. There seemed to be no doubt that Kusharf is the chief village, but, like Piedr, it is little used, and Umgas is coming to be regarded as the *etudmad*.

The Kusharfol seem to be in some way related to the Piedrol. They share with the latter the privilege of providing the *palol* for the Nòdrs *ti*, and the two clans are not allowed to intermarry. They have the same *nòdrodchi*, Teipakh, and it seems possible that they were originally two sub-divisions of one clan.

At present the Kusharfol are not numerous, having only about thirteen male and thirteen female representatives. They have two *kudr*, headed by Nòdrners and Ongudr, each of which has two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ongudr (65) and Pangudr (66); of the other, Nòdrners and Erkhud (67).

The chief village of Kusharf is near Hullatti, and, like the neighbouring Piedr, is rarely visited.

Umgas. This is at present the most important village of the clan; it is shown in Fig. 72. There are two large dwelling-huts shown on the right-hand side of the figure. The building to the left of them is the chief dairy, which is called *Kwotòdrvoh*. It is a *poh* and not a *pali*, though of the ordinary form, and is exceptional in being situated so near the dwelling-huts. The *pali* is situated still more to the left, hidden by trees.

The two tall stones in the foreground are called *nadrkkars*. They serve as *irnörtkars* and also mark out the path by which women must go on their way to the huts, the women

having to keep on the right-hand side of these stones. By the wall of the huts and close to the *poh* there are two stones, the *majvatitthkars*, at which women stand when they receive buttermilk (*maj*) from the dairy. About fifteen yards in front of the other dairy (*pali*) there is a stone called *imudrikars*. On one side of this there is a narrow well-worn track along which women must go on their way to the dairy,

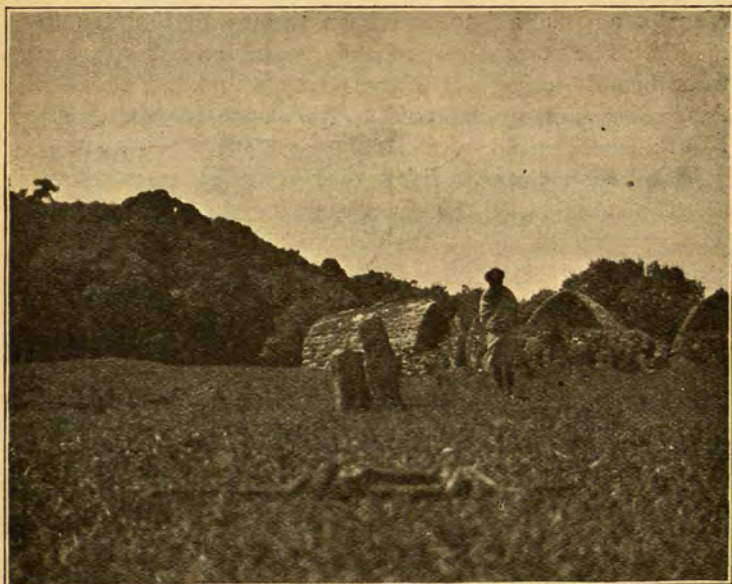


FIG. 72.—THE VILLAGE OF UMGAS, SHOWING THE 'NADRKKARS' IN THE CENTRE. BEHIND THE STONES IS THE 'POH' OF THIS VILLAGE, AND ON ITS RIGHT ARE THE DWELLING-HUTS.

and nearer the *pali* there are two *majvatitthkars*, where they stand when receiving buttermilk.

Between the *poh* and the *pali* there is the *tu* and at the far end of this is a large stone, the *muittthkars*, marking the spot where the *mu* is buried.

Teidr is not far from Nòdrs. It has two huts and a dairy. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs takes its name from this village, the *wursol* who gave the name to the stone being a *Teidr* man.

Teidr is one of the villages which is said to have been

X X

formerly a *ti mad*, and in support of the statement I was taken to see two stones called *neurzülnkars* at some little distance from the village.

Pòln is close to the tree known in Ootacamund as "the umbrella tree." There are two huts and a dairy, which was in ruins at the time of my visit. Under the "umbrella tree" there are two stones. One of these has been overgrown by the tree so that it is now firmly imbedded. It is called *Korateu* and is said to have been thrown by *Korateu* from his hill. The other stone is deeply imbedded and only shows three small projections above the ground. This is the *Nòtirzikars* and was thrown to this spot by the goddess *Nòtirzi* from her hill.

In a wood near at hand overgrown by trees, there is another stone called *Känkars*, marking the spot where the *pasthir* were killed at the funeral place which formerly existed here.

KEADR

This clan had at one time the privilege of supplying the *palol* to the Pan *ti*, but its numbers are now small, and the *palol* of this *ti* at present belongs to the Piedrol. There are now only eleven males and ten females belonging to the clan.

Till recently there was a branch of the clan called *Kwaradrol*, taking their name from the village of *Kwaradr*. According to some, the *Kwaradrol* were a separate clan, but there seemed to be little doubt that they were part of the *Keadrol* and formed one *kudr* of the clan. The division only became extinct in the male line a few years ago, and the genealogical record of the family is given in Table 70.

The head man of the other *kudr* is *Perner* (68), and this division has three *pòlm*, two of which are headed by *Perner* and *Pichievan* (69), while the third has only three young boys, *Karem* (69) and his brothers, as members. Since the *Kwaradrol* died out, the clan has only had one *kudr*, but during my visit it was decided that a new *kudr* should be

formed, and the *pòlm* of Karem was made the new division, so that in future the Keadrol will have one *kudr* consisting of one *pòlm*, and another of two *pòlm*. It was said that the original partition of the clan into Keadrol and Kwaradrol was due to Kwoten, who established the two divisions in order that there should be someone to take the place of a *palol* who left on account of a funeral in his clan.

Keadr. This, the chief village of the clan, is situated near Keradr. I was unable to visit it, and have no record of any features of interest it may possess.

Kwaradr, the village from which one division took its name, is near Avalanche, and is now falling into ruins owing to the dying out of the family which occupied it.

Pekhòdr is called by the Badagas Osamand, or "new village," and has only been in existence about ten years.

Kapthòri is now in ruins, but is mentioned in the story of Kwoten.

PEDRKARS

This clan is an offshoot of the Kuudrol, from which it has now for a long time been separated. The division arose out of a quarrel at a council which was once being held at Kuudr.¹ There were three parties in the *naim*, each wishing that a different ceremony should be performed. One party wished to give salt to the buffaloes, a second wanted to sacrifice a calf (*erkumptthpimi*), and a third were in favour of moving to another village (*irskidhtothi*). The three parties could not agree, and it was finally decided that those who wished to do *irskidhtothi* should separate from the rest. They did so and went to live near Kwòdrdoni, and have since been a separate clan, now known as the Pedrkarsol. The people who wished to do *erkumptthpimi* were the ancestors of Tövoniners, and it is in consequence of this quarrel that this family occupies its anomalous position and has no place at Kuudr.

At the same time the people of Pedrkars lost the privilege of being *palol* or *wursol*, but they may become eligible by performing the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr.

¹ This was evidently a council consisting of the members of the clan only.

For some time after the separation intermarriage was not allowed between Kuudr and Pedrkars, but recently such marriages have taken place, and several are recorded in the genealogies.

There are very few members of the clan, only seven males and five females. At present there is only one *kudr* and this has only one *pòlm*. Formerly there were two *kudr*, but one became extinct some time ago.

About three generations ago there was a quarrel between the people of Pedrkars and those of Piedr. A man of Pedrkars named Kavanadi had married a woman of Piedr and one day quarrelled with his wife's father. At Piedr there were at the entrance of the buffalo-pen two large wooden posts (*tüli*). After the quarrel Kavanadi went to Piedr and carried off both the posts with the wooden bars (*tasth*) by which the opening of the pen is closed. When Kavanadi had carried the posts and bars as far as a place called Kalin, near the Kota village of Tizgudr, a stone on the top of one of the *tüli* fell down. It may still be seen and is known as *Kalinkars*. Kavanadi went on, but he soon began to spit blood, and when he had gone some way further, he was obliged to drop the *tüli* at a place which is now called *Tülipudinpem*. He managed to reach his home at Pedrkars and then died. A council was held and it was decided that marriage should not be allowed in future between the Piedrol and Pedrkarsol, and no such marriages are recorded in the genealogies.

The stone called Kalinkars which fell by the way is now said to be able to move about and may be seen one day at one spot and on another day at another. The Kotas of Tizgudr have several times taken the stone to their village, but it has always gone back again. In spite of his unfortunate end, Kavanadi is regarded, more or less, as a hero by the Todas and is mentioned in the funeral eulogy of Pidrvan (p. 387).

All the villages of the Pedrkarsol are in the part of the hills near Kwòdrdoni. Pedrkars itself is said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. Some Tamil people once came to the hills and found some of the buffaloes of the *ti* standing by a

swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars ama, kwòdr nòdr ama*," "may the Tamil stone become; may the *ti* place an ordinary place become!" Then the people who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name from this village.

KULHEM

This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to sit on the *meitiin* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr* bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*, *kaltmokh*, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnörtiti* to Kuudr.

The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulthlem*, is near Kanòdrs.

The only other village of importance is *Konikwòr*, near Paikara. At the time of my visit several of the clan were living at a place called *Kultu*. This is not properly a Toda village, the people living in a hut of the Badaga form near a tea plantation in order to sell the buffalo dung to the planters.

This clan now numbers only six males and three females, all belonging to one family (72). They have neither *kudr* nor *pòlm*.



CHAPTER XXIX

TEIVALIOL AND TARTHAROL

THE existence of these two divisions of the Toda people raises one of the most interesting problems of their social organisation. The fact that the Todas are an Indian people at once suggests that we have to do here with some form of the institution of caste. Each division is endogamous, as is the caste, and each is divided into a number of exogamous septs resembling the gotras of a caste. Again, there is some amount of specialisation of function, the Teivaliol being the division from which the most sacred of the dairymen are chosen.

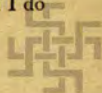
The names of the two divisions probably correspond with this differentiation of function. The Teivaliol evidently derive their name from the sacred office, *deva*, of Sanskrit origin, being in common use in South India for 'sacred,' while *devalayam* means a temple.¹ The origin of Tartharol² is more doubtful, but I believe that the word carries the idea of ordinary, *tār* being used sometimes in this sense.

There is little restriction on social intercourse between the two divisions. So far as I am aware, they can eat together, and a member of one division can receive food from any member of another.

Though intermarriage is forbidden, the irregular unions in which the man is the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman (see Chap.

¹ There is also a place called Devali in the Wainad which may possibly be connected in some way with the Teivaliol.

² Grigg (*Manual*, p. 187) derives the word from *tasān*, a servant. *S* or *sh* is sometimes inserted into the word Tartharol, but it is purely euphonic, and I do not think that this derivation is at all probable.



XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisation. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol. This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, the moment he ceases to hold office.

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive.

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very striking point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the Tartharol that there were certain differences in language between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was

shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again shortly ; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of their own inferiority in the social scale.

In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely than at present.

At the present time there are some features of the social organisation and social life which might be held to weigh strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol, and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship, however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the *monegar* is the collection of the assessment made by the Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village, they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol.

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*.

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *koòtiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said

that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr, and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tâsâr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other.

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamtpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali.

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division.

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another

difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial differences between the two divisions may be regarded as secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

Such a view would involve the consequence that at some time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened.

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:—

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	<i>chudi or sudi</i>	<i>kîrstegi</i>
Basket	<i>tôdri</i>	<i>putukêri</i>
Food vessel	<i>paterkh</i>	<i>tôdriterkh</i>
Round metal vessel	<i>kûdikunn</i>	<i>kûdichakh</i>
Milking-vessel	<i>pun</i>	<i>kônîpun</i>
A dairy vessel	<i>tal</i>	<i>kashat</i>
Iron instrument	<i>pôditch</i>	<i>pôtch</i>
Comb	<i>tîrkôli</i>	<i>siekhkôli</i>
Small boy's cloak	<i>kuchâr</i>	<i>kupichâr</i>
Roof	<i>pôdri</i>	<i>idrnîpôdri</i>
Western side of hut	<i>meilmerkâl</i>	<i>meilkushkôni</i>
Eastern side of hut	<i>kêmerkâl</i>	<i>kîkushkôni</i>
Mushroom	<i>kiîn</i>	<i>âlabi</i>
A tree	<i>tipôti</i>	<i>ketak</i>
A black fruit	<i>kalfom</i>	<i>akatpom</i>
To-morrow morning	<i>telikhaski</i>	<i>pedrkhaski</i>

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ!* but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ!* the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself—that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as *I* have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *pûli*.

Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it. When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

the Toda clans take their names, the Tarthar villages being in Roman type and those of the Teivaliol in italics. I have omitted the chief villages of those clans which I know to have arisen in recent times by splitting off from other clans, and I have included two villages of which I can only give the approximate positions. These are Piedr and Kusharf, which are now rarely occupied, and are situated off the main plateau, near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I also give



FIG. 73.

Pirspurs, the old *etudmad* of the Pämol. In Fig. 74 I give a second plan, showing the positions of all the villages which I know to be ancient, either because they possess sacred dairies or because they are mentioned in legend.

It will be seen that the greater part of the hills is occupied by the Tartharol, while the Teivali villages lie chiefly in the north-west part of the hills. The chief exception is the village of Keadr, which is situated some way south of the rest.

If, in coming to the hills, the Todas followed the routes now supposed to be traversed by the dead, the position of

Y Y

sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other.

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills.

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out some interesting differences between the two divisions. The data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett¹ would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,² the number of males for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol.

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

¹ *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

² I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

and the greater freedom from external influence is probably an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide among them at present, though it will not explain the greater prevalence in the earlier generations.

The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.



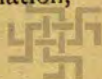
CHAPTER XXX

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE TODAS

I HAVE now given the whole of the material which I have collected on the institutions of the Todas. In describing these institutions I have discussed various general problems suggested by their nature, but I have said little about the points of resemblance or difference between the customs of the Todas and those of other peoples either in India or elsewhere. It remains in this last chapter to see how far the evidence which I have given throws any light on the very difficult questions: Who are the Todas? How do they come to be living on the Nilgiri Hills?

The evidence which might be available for our inquiry is of three kinds: records of the Todas in the past, traditions preserved by the Todas, and, lastly, evidence derived from the comparative study of physical and psychical characters, language, beliefs, and institutions.

The evidence coming under the first two heads is of the scantiest. Our earliest record of the Todas is contained in a Portuguese manuscript now in the British Museum. It records the visit of a Portuguese priest named Finicio to the Nilgiri Hills in 1602. This manuscript was partially translated and published by Thomas Whitehouse in a book dealing with the Syrian church of Malabar, under the title "Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land." As the translation given by Whitehouse is incomplete, I had the manuscript retranslated, and it was then found that several interesting details had been omitted, and that there were several errors in the translation. The new translation is given on pp. 721-730.



The account given by Finicio is very superficial, being the result of only two days' intercourse, but it is sufficient to show that there has probably been little change in the Todas and their surroundings in the three centuries which elapsed between his visit and mine. I have referred in the general body of the work to several of the points in which his account either corroborates or differs from my own. Perhaps the most important feature of his story is that it shows the relation between the Todas and Badagas three centuries ago to have been very much what it is at the present day, and shows clearly that this relation between the two tribes is of longer standing than has usually been supposed. Finicio's account is, however, so brief and superficial that it helps us little in our search for evidence on the evolution of Toda society. We know from it that the institution of the *ti* was in existence, and the scanty evidence goes to show that the life of the *palol* was much what it is now, but there is nothing to tell us whether the ritual had then reached the high pitch of development which it now shows, nothing to tell us whether since that time there has been development or degeneration.

From 1602 to 1812 we have, so far as I am aware, no record of the Todas. In the latter year William Keys, Assistant Revenue Surveyor, reported the existence of the Todas, or Thothavurs, and other tribes in a letter to the Collector of Coimbatore. His account gives little information about the Todas, except that they kept buffaloes and held it a sacred and inviolable custom to keep their heads uncovered. In 1819 "a Subscriber" wrote an account of the Nilgiri tribes which was published in the *Madras Courier*. Beyond a description of their appearance, the only information given about the Todas or Todevies is that it is against the custom to wear either turban or sandal, that they permit hair and beard to grow long, and that the Badagas pay a few handfuls of grain from each field as acknowledgment that they received their land from the Todas. In 1820 Lieutenant Macpherson reported the practices of polyandry and infanticide, and in the following year Captain B. S. Ward described the marriage customs more fully, and gave some account

of the dairies and priesthood. In 1826 the Rev. James Hough addressed a number of letters to the Bengal Hurkaru, giving an account of the Nilgiris and their inhabitants, and these letters were republished in a book in 1829. A more elaborate and most excellent account of the Todas was given by Captain Harkness in 1832, in a work entitled *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, and since that time very many of those who have visited the Nilgiri Hills have had something to say about the Todas and their ways. As I have already pointed out, these records from the earlier part of last century differ but little from my own, and do not furnish us with any evidence that Toda customs underwent any great change during that century.

As regards the evidence from Toda tradition, we are in no better case. Several writers have stated that the Todas believe that they came to the Nilgiris from elsewhere, but whenever I made any inquiries on this point I was assured that they had always been on the Nilgiri Hills, the first Toda having been created on the Kundahs in the manner already described.

It seems most probable that those who have ascribed such traditions to the Todas have been misled by the account of the Kamasòdrolam. These are the people who are believed to have been driven away from Kanòdrs by Kwoten (see p. 195). The Todas have a very sincere belief in the existence of these people, and when I showed one man the frontispiece in Marshall's book, representing a Toda village and its inhabitants, something unfamiliar in the arrangement of the scene made the man think that it must be a picture of the Kamasòdrolam. Any Toda who is asked whether there are other Todas and where they live will at once think of the Kamasòdrolam and will tell of these people, and the story might easily be mistaken for a tradition of their origin.

The Todas are also said to believe in their descent from Ravan, and I was told by one man that they were descended from the Pandavas, but I have little doubt that such beliefs are only recent additions to their mythology.

In studying the origin and history of the Todas we have

thus no record earlier than three centuries ago, and no traditions of any value, and we are altogether thrown back on the evidence furnished by the manners and customs of the people, their language, and their physical characteristics.

Though the manners and customs of the Todas are in many ways unique, or very exceptional, there is a general resemblance between them and those comprised under the general title of Hinduism, and especially with such more popular customs as are described by Mr. Crooke.¹ The great development of the ritual aspect of religion, the importance of ceremonies connected with birth and death, the sacredness of the milk-giving animal, the nature of the system of kinship, the marriage regulations and many other features bear a general, and in some cases a close, resemblance to institutions found in India generally, or in certain parts of India.

On the social side these resemblances are perhaps closer than on the religious side. The system of kinship is very similar to that of other parts of Southern India, and, so far as my knowledge goes, to that of India generally. The marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister should marry is found throughout Southern India and probably throughout the Dravidian population of India. The practice of polyandry probably exists scattered here and there throughout India, and has undoubtedly existed in recent times in Malabar. The practice of the *mokkthoditi* union between man and woman has also close analogies in Malabar.

On the religious side the high development of the dairy ritual, so far as I know, stands alone, but the customs connected with birth and death have many resemblances to practices followed in other parts of India, though this resemblance is general only and usually breaks down on going into detail.

Thus in Brahmanic ritual there are several ceremonies prescribed at different stages of pregnancy, and some Indian tribes or castes have pregnancy ceremonies peculiar to themselves, but I do not know of any tribe or caste except that

¹ *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. London, 1896.

of the Todas in which giving a bow and arrow forms the essential feature of a pregnancy ceremony, though it is not uncommon for this weapon to play a part in marriage rites, and in Coorg a little imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of a newly born boy.

Similarly, seclusion after childbirth is common in India, and in the Brahmanic ceremony of Jatakarma water is poured over the heads of mother and child by the priest. In some cases from Mysore (see p. 705) there is a still closer resemblance to Toda custom, but there are some features of the Toda ceremonial for which I can find no parallel.

In many points, again, there are distinct resemblances between the practices of the Todas and the more popular customs of India; thus the pounder, sieve and broom frequently play a part in the popular magic of India,¹ as of other parts of the world, but I do not know of any parallel for their being regarded as especially the emblems of women, as they appear to be in Toda belief.

It is perhaps in the funeral ceremonies that we find the largest number of resemblances between Toda custom and that of other parts of India. Thus, among those who cremate their dead, it is usual to have ceremonies some time after the cremation, and some have regarded the second funeral ceremony of the Todas, the so-called dry funeral, as the representative of the Sapindi ceremony of orthodox Hinduism. Among several tribes fragments of bone are preserved after the cremation, which become the objects of further ceremonies. Thus, the Hos and Mundahs² preserve large fragments of bone, which are hung up in the house and are buried in an earthenware pot much later, after being taken in procession to every friend and relation of the deceased. Again, among the Saoras of Madras³ fragments of bone are picked out from the ashes and covered over with a miniature hut.

Animals are frequently killed at funerals throughout India, and among the Saoras, just mentioned,⁴ the animal is a

¹ Cf. Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

² Dalton, *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., 1868, vol. vi, p. 37.

³ Fawcett, *Journ. Anthropol. Soc.*, Bombay, 1888, vol. i. p. 249.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

buffalo, which is killed close to the stone on which its blood is smeared. Again, among the Kois¹ a bullock is slain and the tail placed in the hand of the corpse.

A funeral practice which is very widely spread in India is the breaking of a pot, and in some cases the pot so broken is one which has contained the water used to quench the fire. Among the Naickers and the Reddies of South India² the body is bathed with water from an earthen pot, which is then dashed upon the ground, while in other places an earthen pot filled with water is carried round the body three times, after which the fire is lighted and later extinguished by water which runs from a perforation in the pot. The common Indian practice, according to Padfield,³ is for the chief mourner to throw a pot over his head behind him so that it is dashed in pieces.

That the kindred should retire with averted faces from the place where the corpse is left is prescribed by Manu,⁴ and the custom of burning or burying face downwards is practised by low caste people, the motive in this case being to prevent the evil spirit from escaping and troubling its neighbours.⁵

While there is thus a general resemblance between many of the manners and customs of the Todas and those existing in various parts of the Indian peninsula, there is one district which possesses customs and institutions which seem to stand in a much closer relation to those of the Todas than is the case elsewhere.

The social and religious customs of the west coast, and especially of Malabar, not only bear a general resemblance to the customs of the Todas, but this resemblance in some cases persists when followed into detail. The similarity would probably become still more obvious if we knew more of the customs of the less civilised inhabitants of this district of India.

In going over the resemblances I will begin with those on the social side. The most characteristic feature of the social

¹ Cain, *Ind. Antiq.*, 1876, vol. v, p. 357.

² Kearns, *Tribes of South India*, p. 51.

³ *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, p. 234.

⁴ IV. 240.

⁵ Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. p. 269.



organisation of the Todas is the institution of fraternal polyandry. The Nairs of Malabar have given their name to a different type of polyandry, but it is extremely doubtful whether the relations existing in recent times between Nair women and their consorts should be regarded as examples of polyandry. Nevertheless, there is undoubted evidence that true polyandry has existed in Malabar, and in the most definite examples known this has been of the fraternal type. From the Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, published in 1891, it is clear that, though polyandry is now extinct in North Malabar, it still persists in some districts of South Malabar. One witness before the Commission stated that at one time polyandry was very prevalent in South Malabar, and that it was still the practice for a woman of the Kammalar or artisan caste to have five or six brothers as husbands, and the witness had known personally a woman in Calicut who was the wife of five brothers, spending a month at a time with each. Another witness stated that polyandry existed in some parts of Cochin, and in a few places in South Malabar. Another said that among the Tiyans of North Malabar it was the custom for one man to marry a girl for all the brothers of the family. One of the names for marriage in Malabar is *uzham porukka*, which probably means "marriage by turns." The Kanisans or astrologers of Malabar proudly point out that, like the Pandavas, they used formerly to have one wife in common to several brothers, and that the custom is still observed by some.¹

Polyandry is not the only marriage institution in which there is a resemblance between the Todas and the people of Malabar. The *mokkthodvaiol* of a Toda woman seems to be very much like the consort of a Nair woman, and when these consorts are, as they usually are, Nambutiris or Malabar Brahmans—*i.e.*, belong to a different caste—the resemblance to the *mokkthoditi* custom becomes very close.

More important is the custom of giving a cloth as the essential marriage ceremony. The two chief features of a Toda marriage are the giving of a loincloth to the girl and the salutation of the girl's relatives by the husband. Simi-

¹ Logan's *Malabar Manual*, vol. i. p. 141.

larly the essential feature of the irregular union between man and woman is that the *mokhthodvaiol* gives a cloak to the woman, and the Badaga name by which the relation has previously been known is derived from this fact—the man is called the “blanket man” of the woman. Throughout the greater part of the Malabar coast the essential feature of the marriage ceremony is that the man gives a cloth to the woman. The Nairs have two marriage ceremonies,¹ of which the later, or *sambandham*, forms the actual alliance between man and woman. The ceremony of this marriage consists in giving a cloth, and various names for the ceremony, such as *muntukotukkuka*, *vastradanam*, *putavakota* and *pudamuri*, all mean “cloth-giving.” In South Malabar a marriage is dissolved by tearing up a cloth called *kachcha*,² and among the Izhavas,³ the actual wedding ceremony consists of the gift of a cloth.

The act of giving clothing as part of the marriage ceremony is found generally throughout India, but it seems to be a much more prominent and essential feature of marriage in Malabar than elsewhere.

Among the funeral ceremonies of the Todas there is one in which a cloth is laid on the body of the deceased. The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a man belonging to the clan of the deceased to those who have married into the clan, the cloth being then placed on the corpse by the wives of these men. The whole ceremony seems to be essentially a transaction between clans which have intermarried and evidently stands in a close relation to the regulation of marriage, and it is therefore of great interest not only that a cloth should play so prominent a part, but also that the word used for the cloth which gives the name to the ceremony should be *kach*, the same word as is used sometimes in Malabar for the cloth so important in the marriage ceremonies.

The resemblance between the Todas and Nairs in this direction goes, however, one step further. Among the funeral

¹ See *Malabar Marriage Commission* and Wigram's *Malabar Law and Custom*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1900.

² *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i., Eth. App., p. 136.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

ceremonies of the Nairs there is one called *potavekkuka*, in which new cotton cloths are placed on the corpse by the senior members of the deceased's Tarawad (corresponding to clan), followed by all the other members, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, and other relatives. The details of the ceremony differ in the two communities; among the Nairs the placing of cloths is the duty of a wide circle of relatives, but the resemblance between the customs is sufficiently close to make it highly probable that we have to do with two developments of one custom.

The ceremony just described is not the only point in which the funeral rites of the Todas resemble those of Malabar. The earthen pot which I have already mentioned plays a part in the rites of both Nairs and Nambutiris. By the Nairs¹ the pot is carried three times round the pyre while the water leaks out through the holes, and on completing the third round the pot is dashed on the ground close by the spot where the head of the corpse had lain. The Nambutiris burn their dead and bury the ashes three days later, and when the body is being burnt an earthen pot containing water is carried round the fire, and is then punctured and the water received into another vessel, from which it is thrown on the fire, and then the pot is smashed and thrown away.²

We have seen that according to Toda belief it is necessary that those who have not been through certain ceremonies in life must do so after death, and the same belief is entertained by the Nambutiris, who tie the *tali* at the funeral of an unmarried girl,³ just as the Todas perform the *pur-sūtpimi* ceremony.

The Nairs collect pieces of unburnt bones from the ashes fourteen days after the cremation, but they either throw them into the nearest river or take them to some sacred place, thus following a frequent Indian practice.

There is one feature of the *urvatpimi* ceremony of the Todas which also suggests a possible link with Malabar, and this is the name, *pūlpali*, given to the artificial dairy

¹ *Madras Gov. Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 247.

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 61. See also Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, Oxford, 1899, p. 17.

used by the Tartharol. The Nairs of Malabar have a ceremony at the ninth month called *pulikutu*, in which the woman drinks tamarind (*puli*) juice which has been poured over a knife by her brother.¹ The Toda word for the sour taste is *pülchiti*, derived from tamarind, and I have suggested that the name *pülpali* may mean 'tamarind dairy,' and be a survival of community between the Toda ceremony and that of Malabar.

I have now enumerated a number of points in which there is a close resemblance between the customs of the Todas and those of the people of Malabar. In some cases, as in that of the cloth ceremony of the funeral, the resemblance is so close that we seem almost bound to seek its explanation either in identity of origin or in borrowing. We may be confident that if there has been any borrowing from the inhabitants of Malabar, it has not been recent, and we may also be fairly confident that the physical barrier in the past must have prevented any but the most infrequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the Nilgiri plateau and those of Malabar. If we attach any significance to the resemblances I have indicated, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that the Todas at some time lived in Malabar and migrated to the Nilgiri Hills, and it remains to inquire whether there are any other facts in favour of this view.

On one line of evidence I cannot speak with any authority, but I strongly suspect that there is a very close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam.

I think there is little doubt that the Toda language is much more nearly allied to Tamil than to Canarese, and I believe that the contrary opinion of Dr. Pope was due to the inclusion in his material of many words borrowed by the Todas from their Canarese-speaking neighbours, the Badagas. Malayalam is closely allied to Tamil, differing from it chiefly in its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and in the large number of Sanscrit derivatives,² and I should like to make the suggestion, for the consideration of Dravidian philologists,

¹ *Madras Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 242.

² Cf. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 23.



that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives.

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.¹

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas.

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance.

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement

¹ It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

was larger than it is at present, and it is tempting to suppose that we have here evidence of the route of the Toda migration. There are, however, facts which make it improbable that this clue is of any value. If the villages about Gudalur had been survivals of the migration they would almost certainly have been sacred villages, but it was quite clear that they had no sanctity whatever and were not even saluted when seen from a distance. Unfortunately I did not visit Kavidi, the only village which remains, and if I had done so I might have discovered some evidence of sanctity and antiquity, but from what I was told it is very unlikely that any such evidence exists. This absence of sanctity is further in agreement with the traditions of the Todas, who say that the settlement at Gudalur is recent. There are, however, other facts which point to an ancient connexion of the Todas with this district. Some of the buffaloes of the most sacred and ancient Nòdrs *ti* are said to have come from Perithi in the Wainad, and the Taradrol, in many ways an exceptional Toda clan, are said to have their own future world or Amnòdr at this place.

It will thus be seen that, in addition to the points of similarity in custom and belief, there are definite facts pointing to connexion with Malabar, and if we suppose that the Todas migrated from this district we have next to conjecture the path by which they travelled. If any importance is attached to the belief in the paths taken by the dead, we should regard it as the most probable view that the Todas travelled over the Kundahs, the two divisions of the people travelling by slightly different routes. The Toda tradition that men were created on the Kundahs is perhaps in favour of this route, which would seem to correspond with the road to the Nilgiris known as the Sisipara Ghat. If, on the other hand, we attach importance to the settlement at Kavidi, the route followed would be that through Gudalur. At the present time the latter road is far the easier of the two, and, if the Todas had travelled during the last few years, it would have been the natural road by which to come, but it does not appear that there was any essential difference in the difficulties of the two routes before the roads were made. The evidence in favour of either route is very scanty, but if the Todas came from

Malabar it is probable that they came by one or other of these paths.

There are two other districts which have some claim to be considered as possible places from which the Todas may have migrated—*viz.*, Mysore and Coorg.

The Todas regard with some reverence a Hindu temple at Nanjankudi in Mysore, and visit it to pay vows, and there is little doubt that they have done this for a long time. Further, Nòdrs, one of the oldest and most sacred of the Toda villages, is close to the present road from Mysore and may have been near the most convenient route from Mysore in ancient times. I think, however, that, though not recent, the relations with the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi are not of very great antiquity, and I am inclined to ascribe the Toda reverence for it to their association with the Badagas, who almost certainly came from Mysore. I have not been able to find many parallels to Toda customs in Mysore. In one case, however, the resemblance is very close. Among the Gollavalu of Mysore¹ a woman after delivery is turned out into a leaf or mat hut, about 200 yards from the village, and on the fourth day a woman of the village pours water over her. In this case the woman lives in the hut for three months, her husband also living in a special hut. Again, among the Kadu (or forest) Gollas of Mysore² the mother and child remain in a small shed outside the village for seven to thirty days.

The other district which has customs especially resembling those of the Todas is Coorg. Among the people of Coorg cloth-giving appears at one time to have formed the essential marriage ceremony, and there still exist what are called 'cloth-marriages,' in which a man becomes the husband of a woman merely by giving her a cloth. There is also some evidence that polyandry has been practised in Coorg, and I have already referred to the resemblance between the *pursütpimi* ceremony of the Todas and the Coorg custom of giving a little bow and arrow to a newly born boy. The bow is made of a stick of the castor-oil plant and for the arrow

¹ *Journ. Anthropol. Soc.*, Bombay, 1889, vol. i. p. 535.

² *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, Pt. i. p. 521.



the leaf-stalk of the same plant is used. In Coorg the imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of the newly born child, but this custom is not widely removed from that of the Todas in which the bow and arrow is put into the hand of the mother shortly before the child is born.

The Todas know the people of Coorg, which they call Kwûrg, and have a tradition of an invasion of their hills by these people, but it is very improbable that there has been any direct borrowing, and it seems more likely that some of the customs of the Todas and Coorgs have had a common source.

The resemblance with the customs of Coorg are perhaps more striking than with those of Mysore, and the former region is much more likely to have been influenced by Malabar than the latter. The links with Coorg do not weaken, and perhaps even strengthen, the conclusion that the Todas owe much to Malabar.

If we accept provisionally the view that the Todas migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar, we are next confronted with the problem as to whether they are directly derived from any of the races now living in that district. The most diverse views have been held by those who have considered the racial affinities of the Todas. Leaving on one side the conjectures of those who have supposed them to be Scythians, Druids, Romans, or Jews, we find that the Todas have been supposed by several writers to be of Aryan or Caucasian origin. De Quatrefages¹ grouped the Todas with the Ainus of Northern Japan and Keane² follows him in putting the two peoples together, and regards both as witnesses to the widespread diffusion of Caucasian races in Asia. Deniker³ suggests that they belong to the Indo-Afghan race, with perhaps an admixture of the Assyroid race.

Previous writers have found no special reason to link the customs of the Todas with those of Malabar, and, so far as I am aware, no one has considered how far the Todas may be of the same race as any of the inhabitants of

¹ *Histoire générale des Races Humaines*, Paris, 1889, Introduction, p. 469.

² *Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 418.

³ *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 412.

this district.¹ In considering this matter, we may anticipate that even if the Todas and any of the tribes or castes of Malabar had the same origin, marked differences would have been produced by the long sojourn of the former on the Nilgiri plateau. How long the Todas have been on the Nilgiri Hills no one can say, but we may safely conclude that a very long time must have been necessary to produce the wide divergence in custom and belief which is found to separate them even from those other inhabitants of India whom they most closely resemble. If the Todas came from Malabar, they came from a country differing enormously in temperature and in general physical and climatic characters from the Nilgiri plateau. Life on the hills must almost certainly have altered the physical characters of the people, and it is perhaps now hopeless to expect that any exact resemblance would be found with the existing races of Malabar even if the Todas are an offshoot of one of them. Nevertheless, in comparing the physical measurements of the Todas, which we owe to Mr. Thurston, with those of various Malabar races taken by Mr. Fawcett, it would seem that the differences are not very great, and in the measurements to which anthropologists attach most importance, those of the head and nose, they are very slight.

In the table on the following page I give the chief measurements in centimeters for Todas, Nairs, and Nambutiris.

The average dimensions of the heads and noses of the Todas correspond very closely with those of the Nairs, and the differences from the Nambutiris are nowhere great. It must be remembered that the measurements on the Todas were taken by one observer, and those on the Nairs and Nambutiris by another,² and this may partly account for

¹ In a paper which I have only seen since the above was written (*C. R. de la Soc. de Biol.*, 1905, t. lix, p. 123) M. Louis Lapicque has called attention to the resemblance between Todas and Nairs. He regards the Todas as pure or almost pure examples of one of the two races of which he believes the Dravidian population of India to be composed, the Nairs being more mixed with the negroid element, which forms the other component of the population according to M. Lapicque.

² It must also be borne in mind that the figures of the Nambutiris and those of some of the Todas are based on the measurement of twenty-five individuals only in each case.

the large divergence in the case of the maxillo-zygomatic index, which is calculated from the bigoniac and bizygomatic measurements, in both of which there is considerable scope for differences between different observers. The only other measurements which show any decided divergence are the stature and the length from the middle finger to the patella, and the greater stature of the Todas may well be the result of their more healthy environment. The cubit of the Todas also differs very decidedly from that of the Nambutiris, though little longer than this dimension of the Nairs.

	Todas. ¹	186 Nairs.	25 Nambutiris.
Stature	169·8	165 6	162·3
Span	175·9	175·1	170·0
Chest	82·0	80·6	83·7
Middle finger to patella	12·0	10·1	10·5
Shoulders	39·3	40·0	40·7
Left cubit	47·0	46·2	44·2
Left hand, length	18·8	18·5	18·0
„ „ width	8·1	8·3	7·8
Hips	25·7	26·0	26·2
Left foot, length	25·0	25·4	24·5
„ „ width	9·2	8·8	
Cephalic length	19·4	19·2	19·2
„ width	14·2	14·1	14·6
„ index	73·3	73·1	76·3
Bigoniac	9·6	10·4	10·6
Bizygomatic	12·7	13·1	13·2
Maxillo-zygomatic index	75·7	80·1	80·4
Nasal height	4·7	4·8	4·9
„ width	3·6	3·6	3·7
„ index	76·6	76·8	75·5

We do not know the probable errors of these different groups of measurements, but the agreement between the Todas and the two castes of Malabar is so close as to suggest strongly a racial affinity between the three.²

The hairiness of the Toda is perhaps the feature in which he differs most obviously from the races of Malabar, while the robustness of his physique and general bearing are perhaps almost as striking. The latter qualities may be entirely due

¹ Some of these measurements are based on the examination of eighty-two men, others are derived from twenty-five men only.

² The relations existing between Nair women and Nambutiri men must have brought about an approximation of the two Malabar castes in physical characters, even if they were originally of different ethnical origin.

to his environment, to his free life in the comparatively bracing climate of the Nilgiris, and, so far as we know, the development of hair may have a similar cause. Of all the castes or tribes of Malabar, the Nambutiris perhaps shows the greatest number of resemblances to the customs of the Todas,¹ and it is therefore interesting to note that Mr. Fawcett describes these people as the hairiest of all the races of Malabar and especially notes that one individual he examined was like a Toda.

I am not competent to express a decided opinion on the amount of importance which is to be attached to the resemblance which is shown by the figures on p. 708, but it seems to me that the facts before us give no grounds² for separating the Todas racially from the two chief castes of Malabar.

The identification of the Todas with Nairs or Nambutiris would still leave their racial affinities somewhat indeterminate. The Nambutiris are often supposed to be Aryan invaders of Malabar, and, owing to the cause already mentioned, the Nairs are so largely of Nambutiri blood that, if the Nambutiris are Aryan, the Nairs must also be strongly Aryanised even if they were originally of pure Dravidian descent.

If future research should show that the Todas are an offshoot of one of the races now existing in Malabar, and if any definite conclusion can be drawn as to the time during which they have been on the Nilgiri Hills, physical anthropologists will be provided with a most interesting example of the influence of environment on the physical characters of a race. Few greater contrasts of environment could be found in a country than that existing between Malabar and the Nilgiris, and it is possible that the Todas may furnish a striking example of the influence of environment on physical characters.

¹ It is worth noting that they practise male descent, while the Nairs follow the Marumakkattayam system of inheritance.

² I should much like to know the ratios between the lengths of different limb bones, such as those shown by the radio-humeral or tibio-femoral indices. The observations on the cubit and the distance from the middle finger to the patella suggest that considerable differences might be found between the Todas and the Malabar castes in these ratios, which do not seem to me to have yet received from the physical anthropologist the attention they deserve.

In endeavouring to link the Todas with Malabar I have naturally dwelt on the points of resemblance rather than on the points of difference. The differences are, however, very great. The general manner of life of the two peoples is now wholly different, while on the religious side I may point to the wide prevalence of snake worship in Malabar, especially among the Nambutiris.

The hypothesis that the Todas are derived from one or more of the races of Malabar would not be tenable for a moment except on the assumption that the migration took place very long ago, and that the culture of Malabar has undergone great changes since the migration. As to the length of time during which the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, we can only offer the vaguest surmises. We know that three centuries ago the Todas were living on the Nilgiris, apparently in much the same state as at the present day. The appearance of some of their sacred stones suggests great antiquity, especially the well-worn polished appearance of the *neurziñkars*, which, if the accounts are right, are only rubbed a few times in the year.

On the other hand, the history of Malabar is highly conjectural. The two great positive landmarks in its history are the beginning and end of the rule of the Perumal princes. The date of the first Perumal is put at about the time of Christ, or somewhat later, and it is tempting to surmise that the Todas may have been driven or have retired from Malabar in consequence of the political changes which took place at this time. The last Perumal probably reigned about a thousand years ago, but there does not appear to have been any political upheaval at the time, the last prince having his period of office prolonged beyond the usual twelve years, and having then divided his dominions among his family and retainers.

If we assume that the Todas came from Malabar, the date of their migration would be of great interest in relation to the possibility of Christian or Jewish influences on the Toda religion. There are ancient settlements of both Christians and Jews in Malabar. Tradition assigns the starting-point of the native Christian settlements in Malabar to St. Thomas ;

but, leaving this on one side, there seems to be no doubt that both Christians and Jews were well established in Malabar more than a thousand years ago. An ancient document is still preserved by the Jews of Cochin, which was given to their leader by the Perumal of the day, and this document can be dated about 750 A.D. A similar document preserved by the Nestorian Christians can be dated 774 A.D.

If the Todas left Malabar at the beginning of the Perumal rule, Jewish or Christian influences can be excluded, but if at a



FIG. 75 (from Breeks).—A CAIRN ON THE NILGIRI HILLS.

later period such influences may have been present, though it is very improbable that they were important; for, unless the Todas have changed very much, they would have been very unlikely to have borrowed from religious settlers of an alien race. Still, in considering the strange resemblance between the Hebrew and Toda versions of the Creation, this possible influence should be borne in mind.

I have so far said nothing of the archæological evidence which may possibly help in the settlement of the vexed

questions which I have raised in the preceding pages. Our knowledge of the history of the Todas would be very materially advanced if we knew whether the cairns, barrows and other ancient remains which are found on the Nilgiri Hills are Toda monuments. In the cairns and barrows there are found objects which suggest a Toda origin, such as figures of buffaloes with bells round their necks (see Fig. 76, 9), but the vast majority of the finds are utterly unlike anything now possessed by the Todas. They include pottery of many designs, the lids of the vessels being often adorned with the figures of animals. Many other animal figures have also been found, and though that of the buffalo often occurs, figures of the horse (see Fig. 76, 10), sheep, camel, elephant, leopard (?), pig (?), and low-country bullock with hump are all found. Such figures can only have been made by those well acquainted with the low country, and none of these animals are ever mentioned in Toda legends.

Metal work is also found in the cairns and barrows; bronze vases, basins and saucers (Fig. 76, 1, 2, 3), iron razors, styles or pins (?), and daggers (Fig. 76, 8), while iron spear-heads (Fig. 76, 4, 7, 13) are frequently met with.

In addition to the more elaborate cairns, cromlechs and barrows found on the Nilgiri Hills, Brecks, to whom we owe most of our knowledge on this subject, found what he took to be ancient examples of the *azaram* or circle of stones within which the Toda buries the ashes of his dead at the end of the second funeral. In such *azaram* in the district between Kotagiri and Kwòdrdoni, Brecks found bronze bracelets and rings, iron spear-heads, a chisel, a knife and an iron implement in something of the style found in Malabar and differing from those usually found in the cairns.

Brecks points out that the characteristic feature of the cairns and barrows of the Nilgiris is the circle of stones, and that some consist of an insignificant circle hardly to be distinguished from the Toda *azaram*. He often found it difficult to say whether a given monument was a cairn or an *azaram*, so that it would appear that there are intermediate gradations between the more elaborate cairns or barrows containing the pottery and metal work and the simple Toda *azaram*.



FIG. 76 —VARIOUS OBJECTS FOUND IN THE NILGIRI CAIRNS, TAKEN FROM BREEKS.

From the amount of rust on the iron implements, however, Breeks concluded that there was a long interval of time between the most recent of the cairns and the oldest *azaram*, but he points out that if the latter are really *azaram*, they show that the Todas used at one time to bury such objects as iron spears.¹

As regards the cairns, Breeks points out that though the figures of many animals occur in addition to that of the buffalo, most of the animals are so badly imitated that it is difficult to identify them, while the figures of the buffaloes are singularly characteristic and often very spirited.

The only implements found by Breeks which might be agricultural were shears and sickles (Fig. 76, 12, 5), and he recalls the *kafkati* burnt by the Todas with their dead, which is a curved knife, different, however, in shape from the sickles often found in the cairns.

On the other hand, very few of the human figures found in the cairns resemble the Todas in any way; the women have the low-country top-knot instead of the Toda curls, and they carry chatties on their heads, which would never be done by a Toda woman at the present time, whatever she may have done in the past.

Breeks himself inclined to the view that the cairns are Toda monuments. One objection which has been made to this view is that the Todas exhibit little or no interest in the cairns, and offer no objection to their excavation. I have already given reasons² why this cannot be regarded as a conclusive argument against the Toda origin of the monuments. The Todas certainly identify the hills which possess stone circles with the abodes of their gods, and the absence of objections to the excavation may merely be due to the fact that they have no traditional injunctions against interference with these circles.

In dealing with the religion of the Todas, I have advanced the view that the ritual and beliefs of the people furnish us with an example of a religion in a state of decadence. It seems probable that the Todas once had a religious cult of a

¹ It will be remembered that the Todas claim to have once possessed a spear which had belonged to their god, Kwoten.

² See p. 445.

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture.

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great.

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.¹ Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show.

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

¹ The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

furnishes us with another example of material objects which have wholly disappeared from the active life of the Todas, and here again it is easy to see why the disappearance has taken place, for on the Nilgiris the Todas have had no enemies, either human or feral. This disuse of weapons has indeed so obvious an explanation that it cannot be treated as an instance of degeneration; and while the origin of the cairns remains doubtful, the only evidence of degeneration of culture is shown by the religion; and though it seems to me that the evidence here, especially that derived from the nature of the prayers, is conclusive, it may not be so regarded by all.

In the preceding lines I have put forward for consideration the tentative hypothesis that the Todas may furnish us with an example of a people who once have possessed a higher culture of which some features have undergone degeneration. If we combine this hypothesis with that advanced earlier, that the Todas came from Malabar, we may suppose that the Todas brought the higher culture with them from this district, and if this were so, the original culture of the Todas may have been on much the same general level as that of the dominant castes of Malabar at the present day. On this hypothesis, it seems to me most likely that in their new home the religion of the Todas underwent a very special development, its ritual coming to centre more and more round the buffalo, because in their very simple environment this was the most accessible object of veneration. I think there is little doubt that the extraordinary development of the ritual of the dairy must have taken place since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris; and, as I have already pointed out, it seems to me most probable that the degeneration of the religion has been largely a consequence of the extreme development of this ritual aspect of their religion.

If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institutions have in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation, the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environ-

ment provided by the Nilgiri plateau. I have already referred to the resemblance between certain Toda customs and those of one such tribe, the Hill Arrians, who live in the hills in Travancore and on the Travancore-Cochin boundary. These people are fair, about five feet six inches in height, and frequently have aquiline noses. They inherit in the male line, and have an early marriage ceremony, followed by another in which cloths are presented to the bridegroom. After childbirth the woman lives in a shed for sixteen days. They bury their dead, the earth being dug with the ceremony to which I have already alluded,¹ and though we are not told that a cloth is laid on the corpse at the funeral ceremonies, Fawcett² records the fact that a cloth is placed on the grave. There are thus several points of resemblance between their customs and those of the Todas, and this resemblance extends in some measure to the physical appearance and suggests, not only that they and the Todas have been influenced by the same culture, but even that they are people of the same race. We are here, however, plunged almost entirely in the region of conjecture, and we must wait for further information before we consider whether such tribes as the Hill Arrians are representatives of the same race as the Todas, both having been driven from the plains of Malabar into their mountain fastnesses, or whether the Todas and Arrians are two hill tribes of similar descent who have each been influenced by Malabar, of whom the Todas have advanced more in culture, owing to their exceptionally favourable environment on the Nilgiri plateau.

The whole of this last chapter is, I am afraid, open to the charge of being highly conjectural. It has, however, seemed to me desirable to raise some of the problems suggested by the existence of the Todas. In the settlement of these problems much further research is necessary, and I have somewhat reluctantly dealt so largely with the conjectural topics of the chapter, because they seem to point clearly to two lines of research in which further work is necessary. One is the archæology of the Nilgiris, which would, I believe, now well repay further investigation; the other is a detailed

¹ See p. 402.

² *Loc. cit.*

inquiry into the more popular customs of Malabar and especially of its less known peoples, such as the Hill Arrians, of whom I have just written. It is in the hope that further interest may be awakened in these lines of inquiry that I have devoted so much space to the hypotheses and surmises of this final chapter.

If further research should show that the Todas are derived from ancient races of Malabar, it is possible that the existence of this strange people may help to illuminate the many dark places which exist in our knowledge of the connexion between the Aryan and Dravidian cultures. It is even possible that the Todas may give us a glimpse of what the culture of Malabar may have been before the introduction of Brahmanism, a culture from which many features would have disappeared, while others would have undergone special development; and, if this were the case, the complex dairy ritual of the Todas would be the most striking instance of the development, a development, however, carrying with it the germs of that degeneration from which the Toda religion now seems to be suffering.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

I give here a translation of two extracts from Portuguese manuscripts preserved in the British Museum. The original spelling of the names of places and persons has been preserved and I have added some notes. I am indebted for the translation to Miss A. de Alberti.

*The Mission of Todramala.*¹—This new mission of Todramala belongs to the college of Vaipicotta, and it seems necessary to give your Rev. an account thereof that you may be informed of what has been discovered, as well as of what still remains to be done. Vague rumours had reached the Lord Bishop Dom Frco. Ros that in the interior of this Malabar, among some mountains, there dwelt a race of men descended from the ancient Christians of S. Thomas; in order to discover and open the way to them he sent from our seminary a Cassanar² and a Chamas, which means a priest and a deacon, who after travelling for more than fifty miles reached the summit of the mountain of Todramala. Here they came upon a race which appeared, in accordance with the rumour, to be of those who were driven from the territory of S. Thome by the many wars in former times and scattered through these parts. They did not call it by that name, however, but pointing in the direction of S. Thomas, they said that certain men came thence, some of whom settled in those mountains, and others went further down, of whom they knew nothing. The Cassamar thereupon took occasion to ingratiate himself with them, saying that those who settled lower

¹ Add. MS. 9853, pp. 464-5, MS. 25-26 vol. [Translation].

² Or Cattanar, a native priest of the Syrian Church.



down were his ancestors, and therefore they were all of one race, and they had come solely to visit them as their brethren and relations. This moved them to such love and pity that men, women, and children embraced and welcomed them with tears. They found no trace of Christianity in them; they had neither crosses nor books, though they said they had some once, but they were lost as those who could read had died out. They have no pagoda worship nor pagan ceremonies. On being questioned concerning their god they spoke of a bird, a father, and a son, from which it may be presumed that they had some notion of the Blessed Trinity. They rejoiced to hear of the creation of the world and other discourses which the Cassamar and the Chamas held with them; and they were very eager that they should remain with them a long while, but they could not do so, as their guide was very pressing that they should return. They are a somewhat white-skinned race and tall of stature; they grow long beards and wear their hair after the ancient Portuguese fashion, bushy on the head and falling on the shoulders behind. They have necessaries in abundance, namely, rice, some wheat, vegetables, and meat in great variety, both fowls and wild game; quantities of cattle, and so much milk that they cannot use it all and give it to the very cattle to drink. Many other things were related of their customs which I leave until more is known of them. Upon this information the Father Vice-Provincial, at the instance of the Bishop, resolved to send thither a priest well acquainted with the Malabar tongue, and therefore he commissioned the father who was going to the residence of Calicut to inquire the easiest road and best season for this mission. He found that it was much nearer Calicut through the territory of the Samorim, and that the best time was the month of January, when, by the help of God, a father will set out with several Cassamars, and of what occurs your Rev. will be informed next year.

*The Mission of Todamalâ.*¹—Last year your Rev. received a brief account of a new mission destined for Todamalâ to a certain race dwelling in the interior of this country of Malabar, among rugged mountains, at a distance of fifty leagues or thereabouts. These were supposed to be descendants of the Christians of S. Thomas who had somehow drifted to those parts. Though last year the Bishop of Angamale, Dom Frco. Ros, sent a priest belonging to the Christians

¹ Add. MS. 9853, p. 479, MS. 40 vol. [Translation].

of S. Thomas, accompanied by a deacon and a good guide, to explore the land and acquire information concerning this race, they did not bring back such full and certain intelligence as was desired. Therefore the Lord Bishop asked our Vice-Provincial to send one of our fathers, and the choice fell upon Father Yacomo Fenicio,¹ who has known the people of Malabar for many years and is well acquainted with their language. The father set out from Calicut, where he resides, and whence the road is easiest, and with the assistance of good guides reached the desired destination, though at the cost of great labour and risk. Having acquired ample information, he returned to Calicut from Thodomala, and on his arrival wrote a letter to the Vice-Provincial, dated the 1st of April, 1603, giving him an account of his discoveries, of which the following is a copy—

*Copy of a letter from FATHER YACOME FINICIO to the VICE-
PROVINCIAL OF CALICUT, 1st of April, 1603*

Thanks be to God, I am returned from Todamalâ, though with great labour and little satisfaction, for I did not find there what we hoped and were led to expect. And as the prosecution or abandonment of this mission depends upon it, I think it necessary to give you here a detailed account of all I discovered and endured. The road by Charti being impracticable on account of the wars which had broken out among the people, I was obliged to go by Manarechatem, and this was providential for us, it being the road taken by the Cacenar whom the bishop sent last year. It is thirteen leagues from the shore of Tanor. So far the way was safe and easy, this being the territory of the Samorim, and in every village we met people who knew our Christian Errari,² the nephew of the Samorim, who accompanied me. I was very glad of his company, because he offered it himself, and because he could speak Canara, the language of the Badegas, neighbours of the Todares. Before we reached Mararachate we had an interview with the chief ruler of the Samorim, who lives within two leagues. I gave him a palm-leaf from Carnor, chief ruler of the Samorim, in which he bade him give me the men and assistance necessary for my journey to Todamalâ, and to go with me himself if necessary. The ruler welcomed us with many

¹ In the translation given by Whitehouse the name of this priest is given as Ferreira.

² A member of the Errari or cowherd caste.

compliments, but as regards the journey he made many difficulties, and not only he, but many others of that place said that the way was very long and full of wild and rugged mountains ; that there were elephants and tigers, that it was very cold up there, and finally that there was a risk that some of us would die. The ruler wished to send two Naires, who knew the way, with me, but they would not go for fear of falling sick, even though I would have paid them well. Finding that they made so many difficulties I pressed the Errari to return to Calicut with his people, as it was feared that they would fall sick upon the way, and I would go to Manaracathe and there provide myself with a guide and escort. This touched the Errari upon a point of honour, and he bade me not to speak of such a thing, for he was resolved to go, and his Naires had all bound themselves by an oath to go likewise. The Errari had with him a Varser,¹ which is little less than a Brahmin, and he said to me, " Father, if I die on the road, bury me where you will ; it is of no consequence." I asked another young Naire if he wished to go, and he replied, " I will accompany your Reverence while I have breath." Upon this we took leave of the ruler and went to Manarecathe, where we found the very chatim who went with the Cacenar ; however, the Errari thought it best to take another more trustworthy, who had relatives in the country. Here we were told that it was six Canara leagues to Todamalâ, which is twelve Malabar leagues, and that it would take two days and a half to get there. Everyone provided himself with clothes against the cold of Todamalâ, and with provisions for the journey ; also with pots which the Naires carried on their heads, not for want of coolies, but because the Naires and Brahmins will not allow those of a different caste to touch the pots in which they cook their rice. The arms were left behind that the natives might not suppose that the people of Malabar had come to fight with them. Thus we set out cheerfully, and the first day, as we could not reach a village before night, we dined, and started between eight and nine in the morning, and marched quickly until evening that we might not be benighted in the thicket, for fear of the elephants, and yet our guide said we had only travelled two Canara leagues. That day we crossed a sandy mountain.

The second day we wished to start at dawn, but we met fifteen or sixteen men of that village coming by the road we were to pursue, all armed, and they told us that there were three elephants in the

¹ ? Vaishya.

way, so we waited until nine o'clock and in the meantime the elephants sought their pasture. This second day we supped at the foot of a very high mountain over which our road lay, and as there was no village and there were elephants about, after supper we climbed part of the mountain and slept there. After midnight we climbed nearly all the rest of the mountain by moonlight, with great labour and fatigue. On reaching the summit other great mountains appeared, and others beyond them, at which we were all astounded, for some of them were so steep that we were obliged to descend in a sitting posture. When the Errari found himself on these mountains, he said that God was punishing him for his sins, and that going up and down such mountains would shorten their lives by ten years. The chatim, our guide, looking down from a mountain, said that merely looking down dazzled his eyes, and so said the Naires on other occasions in similar circumstances. But I could not restrain my laughter, and began singing hymns in Malabar against pagodas, whereupon the others laughed too, and joined in the hymns. It was now noon, and we had still another mountain to climb before reaching the village of the Badagas, neighbours of the Thodares, but we were so tired that we could go no further. We wished to dine, and there was very good cold water flowing from a mountain, but we had no fire. The Errari offered to go up with the Brahmin and to send us down a light. I would not suffer him to take so much trouble, nor was it necessary, for the chatim, our guide, struck fire from two twigs, and thereupon everyone sat down to rest, cooking his rice meanwhile. When we had rested we climbed the mountain and reached the village of the Badegas. It is a village of 150 to 200 souls, called Meleuntað.¹ The Cacenar is reported to have visited it. Here we found the chief of the Todeos and spoke with him. He promised to go and assemble the rest, that we might speak to them. In this village they have fowls, cows, goats, rice, lentils, mustard seed, garlick, and honey. They brought me some wheat in the husk, which was very difficult to remove, and therefore it seemed to me more like barley or some other grain than wheat. The Badagos are like the Malabars, and they say there are two other villages like this in these mountains, four, five, and six leagues distant from each other. These trade with the Thodares and sell them rice, buying buffalo butter from them, which they carry to Manaracathe for sale. The next day I wished to discourse to these Badagas concerning our

¹ Whitehouse suggests that this is Melur.

law. I showed them the pictures of Our Lady of St. Luke, telling them that the child was God, who became man to teach us his law and save us. I showed them a gilt Bible and told them that it was the book of our law, and as they all surrounded me, I went up into a high place and the Errari with me. I spoke in Malabar and the Errari interpreted in Canara, which is their language. A Badaga who understood Malabar could not contain himself, but came up to where I was and spoke to me in Topas.¹ Then I taught him that the law given to us by the God made man was contained in ten commandments, &c., and they all rejoiced at the ten commandments and their explanation. Only at the sixth² commandment the Topas Badaga represented to me that the Malabars also had many wives. I told him that this law was not the law of the Malabars, but of God, and that they did wrong in having many wives, whereupon he was satisfied. Finally I told him that I had not come to teach the Thodares only, but them also if they would accept this law. They replied that the law was very good, but they did not dare adopt it, neither could I live in these barren mountains, &c. I make no doubt that if a priest were there they would all be converted. While I was in this village of Melentaõ the priest of the Thodares came thither, but he remained outside the village, for he may not touch a woman. I went to see him and found him seated on the ground with seven or eight others seated near him. He was a huge man, well proportioned, with a long beard and hair like a Nazarene falling on his shoulders, the front hair drawn back over his head, leaving his forehead uncovered. His dress was a shawl from the waist to the knees, and the rest of his body was naked; he held a sickle in his hand. When I had come up to him and sat down, he asked me how I was; I replied that I was well and all the better for meeting him, for it proved to me that God was my guide, since I had come from so far to see the Thodares and immediately met with their chief. He asked the purpose of my coming. I replied that I had come to see the Thodares, having heard that we were of the same race and laws, and that last year one of our people visited them and gave us a very good account of them. I asked him if they knew from whom they were descended. He said no, and thereupon would have taken leave of us. Then I said that it was not right to wish to leave us so soon, since we had come so far solely to visit them, and

¹ I do not know the meaning of this. One caste of the Badagas is called Torya.

² Seventh?

upon this he remained. Then I inquired of those around who he was, and what was his office. They replied that he was called Pallem and was like the Belicha Paro among the Malabars. Belichaparo is he who takes care of the pagoda, and sometimes the devil enters into him, and he trembles and rolls upon the ground, and answers questions put to him in the name of the pagoda. I asked if the Thodares had pagodas; they replied that they had a live buffalo cow for a pagoda, and they hung a bell round its neck, and the Pallem offered it milk every day, and then let it loose in the fields to graze with the rest. And every month or thereabouts, the Pallem seizes the buffalo by the horns and trembles, saying that the buffalo bids them change the pasture, and thereupon they change their place and pasture. By the milk and butter of this buffalo and that of its children and grandchildren, which already reach 120, this Pallem is maintained. On this mountain where I was there were 100 Thodares,¹ and they had three pallems between them, each having his buffalo for a pagoda. When the buffalo dies the Thodares assemble, choose one of these hundred, tie the bell round its neck, and it becomes a pagoda. Besides the buffalo they have 300 pagodas to whom they also make offerings of milk. I asked him why he carried the sickle in his hand, and he replied that God commanded him to carry no other arm or stick but only that sickle. He used it to scratch his head, which was swarming with lice, and they could be seen crawling among his hair. I asked if he was married; he answered that he and his younger brother were married to the same woman, but as he might not touch a woman in the house she always lived with his brother, but he sent for her into the bush every week or so, when it was a fine day. And when he liked he sent for any of the wives of the Thodares whom he chose, and the husbands allowed it so long as he paid them. I asked if they had books and he said no; none of them can read or write. He also told me that they had a father whom God took up to heaven, body and soul, and the buffaloes looked up to heaven after him, and that was why they made offerings to the buffaloes. At last I gave him one of the looking-glasses from Calicut, with which he was very pleased and said he would give it to his wife. Then I took leave of him, after showing him the pictures and Bible, at which he wondered. Besides this pallem they have another whom they call Ferral,² who is present

¹ By the context this should be 100 buffalo cows.

² Evidently the *wurso*.

when they give the buffaloes salt water, and he trembles, bidding them give them drink, and they will give much milk, and grow fat, and give butter in plenty, &c.

The next day we went to visit the villages of the Thodares. We climbed quite half a league above this village, and on reaching the summit nothing was visible on every side but mountains and valleys ; all was desert without a single fruit or forest tree, excepting in an occasional damp place where there were a few forest trees. There are no palm trees or jacks in all these mountains, nor any fruit trees, as I have said. As we traversed these mountains and valleys, every now and then we saw a herd of buffaloes in the distance with a Thodar or two guarding them. In this way we met four or five Thodares and sent them to fetch the rest. As no women were visible, I promised one a looking-glass if he would go and fetch them. He hastened away up a mountain and brought back four women, who remained at a distance through timidity and would not join the rest. I sent them word that they must approach if they wanted looking-glasses, and then they came up. After this we went on for another half a league or more and came upon two Thodar huts at the foot of a mountain. They were like a large barrel half buried in the ground, or like a covered bier. They were nine spans in length and the same in breadth ; and six spans in the highest part. The hoops of the barrel were of thick reeds like Indian cane, bent into a hoop with both ends fixed in the ground. Pieces of wood from the bush were laid across these reeds and covered with grass. The front was made of stakes set on end, like organ pipes, with no other filling whatever. The doot was a span and four inches wide, and two spans and an inch high, so that the Errari and myself could scarcely enter, and inside we had to kneel. There were two beds with grass mattresses on each side, and a small pit in the middle of the hut which was the fireplace. There was a little window on one side, a finger's length high and a span wide. Beside these houses was a pen for buffaloes, and close by another little house where they make the butter. They said the other houses were half a league distant from each other. Thirty or forty Thodares assembled ; they are clothed in a large sheet with no other covering but a small loincloth four or five fingers wide. Their arms are long sticks smeared with butter ; when new they look like strips of white paper at a distance, but they cure them and they turn black. They wear long beards, and rather long hair, but not so

long as the Pallem. It was two months since I had shaved or cut my hair, so that I looked like one of them, and they did not wonder at me as they did at the Cacenar, who went there with no hair or beard. They never shave except when one of them dies. At a death they kill half of the dead man's buffaloes, and the other half goes to his heirs. If he has no buffaloes each person gives one, and half of them are killed and the rest are left. They burn the dead body, but it must be wrapped in a veil of pure silk, which they call a toda-pata, worth five or six fanams ; and if this is lacking they must wait for it, though it be for a year. In the meantime, in order to preserve the body they open it at the loins, take out the entrails, and cut off the occiput ; then they place it in an arbour and dry it in the smoke. Two brothers marry the same woman ; she lives with the eldest at night, and with the youngest by day. Others have two or three wives. They do not eat fowls, cow's flesh, nor goat, and so they breed none of these. They do not eat buffalo's flesh, but only wild boar and venison. They eat no salt. They have no crops of any kind, and no occupation but the breeding of buffaloes, on whose milk and butter they live. They have no vassals, as was reported ; on the contrary, they are subject and pay tribute to the Badega chiefs. When they eat they hold the rice in their left hand, take a lump of butter in the right, mix it with the rice, and so eat it ; when their meal is finished they rub their hands together and wipe them on their hair, and so they all smell of butter. In colour they resemble the Malabars, some whiter and some darker ; they are generally moderately tall. Their ears are pierced or bored, not long like those of the Malabars, and some wear a silver circle in them like a ring. They wear black threads round their necks, and some have a large silver bead like a pater-noster in front. I had a skein of black thread in my pocket and drew it out ; a Thodar seeing it begged it of me earnestly two or three times. I told him that I must give it to the women, and I divided it in four and gave it to the four women above mentioned, and I gave them a looking-glass each, with which they were very delighted. The women wear nothing but a long sheet like the men ; they wrap it round them, throwing the right end over the left shoulder, and so cover themselves. Their hair hangs loose, but their faces are uncovered. I said that the women lower down wore bracelets, chains, and jewels on their arms and necks, and in their ears, and thereupon one

of them uncovered her arm, on which she wore four large well-made copper bracelets. The sheet worn by both men and women is so filthy that it looks as if it would not burn if you put it on the fire, and if water were thrown on it, it would not penetrate. The men look after the house, cook the rice, do the milking, make the butter, and mind the buffaloes. The women do nothing but pound the rice, and sometimes mind the buffaloes in the absence of their husbands. In speaking with the Pallem I asked him whether he or his wife cooked the rice; he replied that it was a great disgrace among them to allow the wife to cook the rice. The Thodares being thus assembled, I told them that, hearing that we were of the same race and law, I had come to visit them, and as I knew they had neither priest, book, nor law, I being a priest had come to teach them. I asked if they were glad to have me with them, and they replied that they rejoiced greatly at it. I asked if they would follow all my instructions, and they said they would. Then I asked if they would leave off adoring the buffalo and the 300 pagodas. They replied that they feared the buffaloes and pagodas would do them some harm. I said I would be answerable for it, and that I had more power than the pagodas. Then they said that if I would defend them they would willingly leave off adoring them. I asked if they would give up the custom of two brothers marrying one woman, and they said they would. I asked if they thought it right to give their wives to the Pallem; an old man replied, "If it is the command of God, what can we do?" After this they asked me of their own accord to show them the pictures and the book; I did so, and they paid homage to them with great rejoicing. I also gave them a looking-glass each, and after discoursing and conversing with them for some time I asked them to give me two children to take away with me; they excused themselves, saying that they could not do so just then. I asked from whence they were descended, and one replied that he had heard that they came from the East, and some remained there while some settled lower down. They were amazed at seeing white men, and asked me to uncover my arms for them to look at. They were delighted with the Errari's red tunic and gold buttons, and velvet cap with the gold braid.

At last I took leave of them, promising to return at some time during the year and remain with them longer. It did not seem to me necessary to delay any longer, nor to lay any foundation of our

faith, as I do not think that the present is a suitable time for the Company to undertake such out-of-the-way enterprises, since it cannot attend to others of greater importance which are close at hand, for want of workers. The Thodares only number a thousand, and these are scattered about four mountains, two belonging to the Malabar, where there are 300. I went to one of these which belongs to the Samorim, another belonging to the Naique, where there are another 300, or a little over; and another belonging to another king, near Charti, where there are another 300 or rather more; the whole distance being eight Canara leagues, which are sixteen in Malabar. And they live scattered about—every month or thereabouts they move their village. The whole district is uninhabited desert. The winds and climate are very cold; the water is excellent, but icy cold; it flows down from the mountains; it cannot be drunk at a draught because of the cold. One is obliged to pause, and after drinking one has to wait awhile for the gums and teeth to get warm. The journey there and back is very laborious and can only be undertaken in January and February. From Manarcate upwards it is impossible to travel in a litter. On the return journey I was very fatigued and asked if it were possible to find men to carry me. I was told that there were plenty of men, but that it was impossible to be carried over these mountains, where one person alone could only climb up and down with great difficulty. Besides this, the Errari and all the rest were very pressing that I should return before any of us fell ill; the Errari said he was himself indisposed, as well as some of the others. They could not tell me anything concerning the Blessed Trinity. I asked them why they wore their hair loose, and a Badaga replied that in the time of Charamparimatei they killed the father of the Thodares, and they asked, "Who killed our father?" and they answered that God killed him; whereupon they unbound their hair and said, "Never will we bind up our hair again until we have killed God, in revenge for our father [and] for the broken pots." On the return journey the Badegas showed us a shorter and less difficult road, which took us two days and a half, but saved going up and down the last steep mountains. However, there was no lack of mountains to climb, but they were not so difficult, though the first day we climbed down one which was very high and steep. We numbered fourteen with the guides. There was a Badega village at the foot of the mountain, and seeing us they took us for a hostile band and fled into the bush. Our

guides called to them not to fly, for we were men of peace who had been to visit the Thodares, whereupon they returned, and coming down we found them armed with their little lances, but we saw the women and children still hidden in the bush. A little further on we came upon four or five more houses ; these people also fled into the bush, the women carrying the children on their backs. The second day we slept in the bush two leagues from Manarecate. There were tigers and elephants about, but God preserved us and we all reached Calicut in safety, thanks be to Our Lord. Several afterwards fell sick, however, among whom was the Variel, who is still suffering. May God restore him, for he has promised me to become a Christian, and has already broken his own law as regards food, &c.



APPENDIX II

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APPENDIX III

LIST OF TODA VILLAGES (not including *ti mad*)

<i>Village.</i>	<i>Clan.</i>	<i>Badaga name.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Akîrsikòdri	Nidrsi	Taranadmand	male funeral place.
Ârpâr	Pâm		
Ârs	Kuudr	Anekkalmand	
Artol	Taradr	Aretalmand	
Âtimad	Taradr	Karadikottumand	
Eirgûdr	Nòdrs	Neîkodumand	
Erparskòdr	Piedr	Yeppakodumand	
Îdrtol	Kuudr	Edattalmand	
Inikitj	Pâm	Bettumand	
Isharâdr	Kars	Kadimand	
Iûdi	Kwòdrdoni		male funeral place.
Îvigar	Kuudr	Kekidamand	in ruins.
Kabûdri	Pan	Tebbekudumand	male funeral place.
Kâkhûdri	Melgars	Kaggodumand	
Kalmathi	Kars	Kalmattimand	in ruins ten years.
Kalmad	Kars	Kulamand	in ruins.
Kanòdrs	Kanòdrs	Devarmand	<i>etudmad.</i>
Kaphthòri	Keadr	Kunnapemand	in ruins.
Karars	Keradr		
Karia	Kuudr	Kariyamand	
Kârs	Kars	Kandalmand	<i>etudmad.</i>
Kârsh	Karsh		
Kashtkòdr	Kuudr	Kattikadumand	unoccupied.
Katerk	Nòdrs	Kaitarkemand	
Katikâr	Kwòdrdoni	Kodanadmand	
Katol	Melgars		in ruins.
Kâvâther	Nidrsi	Kabaiteraimand	
Kavîdi	Piedr		in the Wainad.
Keâdr	Keadr	Karrikadumand	<i>etudmad.</i>
Kebâr	Nidrsi		female funeral place.
Kedâr	Nòdrs	Kangatarmand	in ruins.
Keirod	Kuudr	Keradamand	[place.
Kerâdr	Keradr	Kannagimand	<i>etudmad</i> , also male funeral
Kerkârs	Taradr	Karrakalmand	
Keshkar	Kanòdrs		



<i>Village.</i>	<i>Clan.</i>	<i>Badaga name.</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Keshker	Kars	Kakerimand	also called Minikimand.
Kidmad	Kidmad		
Kîrsâs	Melgars		
Kiûdr	Kuudr	Kengodumand	<i>satimad.</i>
Kiûsh	Piedr	Karimulimand	
Kôdrers	Piedr	Hadamand	
Koers	Keradr	Kokimalmand	in ruins.
Kozhber	Kuudr	Kasubiramand	disused.
Kozhtûdi	Nòdrs		
Kûdimad	Taradr	Kulimand	
Kudòdrs	Nòdrs	Kombutukkimand	
Kûdrâdr	Keadr	Kudukkadumand	
Kûdrmâs	Taradr	Kudimalmand	<i>kalolmad.</i>
Kûdrnâkhum	Nòdrs	Kudinagamand	
Kugwuln	Kuudr		disused.
Kûirsi	Pan	Kolimand	
Kûlikâl	Kwòdrdoni	Kolikkalmand	in ruins.
Kulkòdri	Nòdrs	Kolakkadumand	in ruins.
Kûlmud	Kars	Malaividumand	female funeral place.
Kûlthpuli	Nòdrs		female funeral place.
Kûrkalmut	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Kurvâs	Nòdrs	Kurudamand	
Kushârf	Kusharf		<i>etudmad.</i>
Kûûdi	Piedr	Anaikundukulimand	(? Kôûdi).
Kûûdr	Kuudr	Kundakodumand	<i>etudmad.</i>
Kuzhû	Kars	Kunditolmand	
Kuzhû	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs : disused.
Kwarâdr	Keadr	Kugadodmand	
Kwatkash	Pâm	Marunallimand	female funeral place.
Kwîrg	Kuudr	Korangumand	
Kwòdrdôni	Kwòdrdoni	Kodudonnemand	<i>etudmad.</i>
Madôni	Pedrkars		
Madsû	Pâm	Manjathalmand	
Madsû	Kuudr		disused.
Marsners	Pâm		
Melgârs	Melgars	Manjakkalmand	<i>etudmaa.</i>
Melkòdr	Kuudr	Mekkodumand	
Melûr	Pedrkars	Madaliyurmand	
Merkwadrvalth	Kanòdrs		
Meroln	Piedr		male funeral place.
Mîrzôti	Melgars		male funeral place.
Miûni	Kuudr	Marlimand	
Molkush	Kuudr	Malkodmand	
Mòmanôthi	Piedr		female funeral place.
Mulòrs	Nòdrs		funeral place for boys.
Muthûkòr	Kuudr		disused.
Nasmiòdr	Kars	(Aganadmand)	
Nâtêrs	Pan	Natanerimand	
Nedrdol	Taradr	Kilmand	in ruins.



<i>Village.</i>	<i>Clan.</i>	<i>Badaga name.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Nelkush	Nòdrs	Neykadimand	in ruins.
Nerigudi	Nòdrs	Nergulimand	
Nerngòdr	Kuudr		disused.
Nersvem	Kwòdrdoni	Nervumand	in ruins.
Nersvem	Nidrsi	Nadumand	in ruins.
Neshkwòdr	Keadr	Nedikodumand	
Nidrsi	Nidrsi	Nidimand	<i>etudmad.</i>
Nìrkâtji	Kuudr	Nirkachimand	
Nìrsht	Piedr		
Nirsk	Päm		female funeral place.
Nòdrmad	Taradr	Nadumand	
Nòdrs	Nòdrs	Muttanadmand	<i>etudmad.</i>
Nongârsi	Kars	Kettarimand	in ruins (? belonged to Piedr).
Nülñ	Melgars	Nerigulimand	
Òdr	Nòdrs	Aganadmand	
Òrs	Taradr	Alaikudalmand	
Padegâr	Melgars	Kottapolmand	also called Kotapol, see p. 664.
Pâkhalkûdr	Kars	Bagalkodumand	
Paliners	Kuudr		
Päm	Päm		in ruins.
Pamârkol	Piedr		female funeral place.
Pan	Pan	Onnamand	<i>etudmad</i> : often called "One mand."
Panmuti	Nidrsi	Banatimand	
Parzkadi	Nidrsi		in ruins.
Pathâdr	Nòdrs	Buddankodumand	
Pathmârs	Pan	Bettumand	
Pêdrkârs	Pedrkars	Bedakalmand	<i>etudmad.</i>
Pegârsi	Keadr	Attumand	in ruins.
Peivòrs	Kuudr		
Pekhòdr	Keadr	Osamand	"new mand."
Peletkwur	Kars	Attakoraimand	
Pêrg	Pan	Yeragimand	<i>kalolmad.</i>
Perththo	Nòdrs	Perittitalmand	see p. 648.
Peshkimad	Pedrkars		female funeral place.
Pevar	Taradr	Pevarimand	in ruins.
Pidati	Nidrsi	Bendutimand	
Piedr	Piedr	Waragudumand	<i>etudmad.</i>
Pliith	Kuudr		male funeral place, near Kuudr.
Pineiars	Nòdrs	Pinnapolamand	in ruins.
Pirшти	Nòdrs	Baggulamand	
Pirsûsh	Kuudr	Billanjikadumand	
Pishkwosht	Kanòdrs	Bikkapatimand	
Pòdzkwar	Kars	Narigulimand	or Pûzhkwar.
Polñ	Kusharf	Pagulimand	
Pömad	Pemand	Kars	in ruins twenty years: near Peletkwur.
Pongûdr	Pedrkars		
Pòsh	Melgars	Onnekudimand	



<i>Village.</i>	<i>Clan.</i>	<i>Badaga name.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Pòti	Piedr	Pattimand	
Potvaili	Piedr		disused.
Pùlkwùdr	Taradr	Olakkodumand	
Pulthkùln	Keradr	Bikkolmand	
Punmud	Kwòdrdoni	Banukudumand	female funeral place.
Punumikâtuni	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Purati	Nòdrs	Portimand	
Puretimokh	Melgars		female funeral place.
Purskudiâr	Pan	Porikodiyoramand	
Pushtar	Taradr	Pattaraimand	
Putamad	Kuudr		disused.
Pûtol	Nòdrs	Puttalmand	
Püvars	Kars	Ammakoraimand	
Pûvi	Päm	Pudiyapalamand	male funeral place.
Sultar	Pedrkars		male funeral place.
Sudvaili	Piedr		male funeral place in the Wainad.
Tâktut	Päm		place for small male funerals.
Taknin	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs.
Tâmâkh	Kuudr	Tamogamand	
Târâdr	Taradr	Tarnardmand	<i>etudmad</i> , and male funeral place.
Târâdrkîrsi	Kars	Kavaikkadumand	male funeral place, also <i>kalolmad</i> .
Tarkòdr	Kuudr	Terkodmand	
Tavatkùdr	Piedr	Tavattakoraimand	
Tebmârs	Taradr	Urutharaimand	
Ted̥shteiri	Nòdrs	Talapatharaimand	
Teidr	Kusharf	Denadmand	
Telgùdr	Taradr	Telhodumand	<i>kalolmad</i> .
Tigòir	Piedr	Tukkaramand	
Tîm	Pan		male funeral place: possibly another name of Kabùdri.
Tòthikeir	Nòdrs	Jegadevarmand	in ruins.
Tòvalkan	Keradr	Tuvalkandimand	
Tùdrkwur	Kusharf	Todakaraimand	
Tùlchoven	Päm		male funeral place.
Umgâs	Kusharf	Yemmekalmand	
Ushâdr	Melgars	Kavaimand	male and female funeral place.
Wengùdr	Taradr	Yenakodumand	in ruins.



APPENDIX IV

In the following list I give the botanical names of the plants or kinds of wood used by the Todas in their ordinary life or in their ceremonial. I owe these names to the kindness of Mr. Thurston and Mr. K. Rangachari.

<i>Āmmul</i>	<i>Rubus moluccanus</i> , L.
<i>Āvelashki</i>	<i>Hedyotis stylosa</i> , Br.
<i>Kabūdri</i>	<i>Euphorbia Rothiana</i> , Sprengl.
<i>Kadak</i> or <i>kadakmul</i>	<i>Rosa Leschenaultiana</i> , W and A.
<i>Kākār</i>	<i>Eragrostica nigra</i> , Nees.
<i>Kākhūdri</i>	<i>Dregea volubilis</i> , Benth.
<i>Kākkūdri</i>	<i>Gardneria ovata</i> , Wall.
<i>Kākūd</i>	<i>Mappia foetida</i> , Miers.
<i>Kārkekoi</i>	<i>Rhamnus Wightii</i> , W and A.
<i>Karneizi</i>	<i>Acronychia laurifolia</i> , Bl.
<i>Kērs</i>	<i>Eugenia Arnottiana</i> , Wight.
<i>Kīāz</i>	<i>Litsaea Wightiana</i> , Benth. and Hk. f.
<i>Kid</i>	Probably <i>Olea robusta</i> .
<i>Kīri</i> or <i>Kīrsi</i>	<i>Amaranthus (speciosus ?)</i> .
<i>Kudi</i>	<i>Hydrocotyle asiatica</i> , L.
<i>Kārērs</i>	<i>Eugenia calophyllifolia</i> , Wight.
<i>Kurskat</i>	<i>Strobilanthes</i> , ? species.
<i>Kwadiki</i> or <i>kwadriki</i>	<i>Myrsine capitellata</i> , Wall. var. <i>lanceolata</i> .
<i>Kwagal</i>	<i>Polygonum rude</i> , Meissn. and <i>P. chinense</i> , L.
<i>Kwatimali</i>	<i>Coriandrum sativum</i> , L.
<i>Main</i>	<i>Cinnamomum Wightii</i> , Meissn.
<i>Melkūdri</i>	<i>Piper</i> sp.
<i>Mōrs</i>	<i>Michelia nilagirica</i> , Zenk.
<i>Nārē</i>	<i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i> , L.
<i>Pārs</i> (wood)	? <i>Sideroxylon</i> .
<i>Pārs</i> (leaves)	<i>Pentapanax Leschenaultii</i> , Seem.
<i>Parskuti</i>	<i>Eleagnus latifolia</i> , L.
<i>Pāsdr</i>	<i>Dodonaea viscosa</i> , L.
<i>Pathanmul</i>	<i>Solanum indicum</i> , L.
<i>Patm</i>	<i>Panicum miliare</i> , Lamk.
<i>Pelkkodsthmul</i>	<i>Rubus ellipticus</i> , Sm.
<i>Peshteinmul</i>	? <i>Phyllochlamys</i> sp.



<i>Pôhvet</i>	<i>Pavetta creniflora</i> , DC.
<i>Pôtûr</i>	<i>Anaphalis oblonga</i> , DC.
<i>Pâl</i>	<i>Ilex Wightiana</i> , Wall.
<i>Purs</i>	<i>Rhododendron arboreum</i> , Sm. and <i>Elaeagnus latifolia</i> .
<i>Pûthimul</i>	<i>Rubus lasiocarpus</i> , Sm.
<i>Pûv</i> or <i>pûf</i>	<i>Sophora glauca</i> , Lesch.
<i>Pûvkal</i>	<i>Strobilanthes</i> , ? species.
<i>Takmul</i>	<i>Berberis aristata</i> , DC.
<i>Tavat</i>	<i>Rhodomyrtus tomentosus</i> , Wight.
<i>Teinkûdri</i>	<i>Senecio corymbosus</i> , Wall.
<i>Tib</i>	<i>Leucas zeylanica</i> , Br., and <i>L. aspera</i> , Sprengl.
<i>Tirparikat</i>	<i>Strobilanthes</i> , ? species.
<i>Tiveri</i>	<i>Atylosa candollei</i> , W and A.
<i>Tôârsmitch</i>	<i>Diospyros</i> sp.
<i>Tôri</i> or <i>tôrimul</i>	<i>Berberis nepalensis</i> , Sprengl.
<i>Tûdr</i>	<i>Meliosma pungens</i> , Wall. and <i>M. Wightii</i> , Planch.
<i>Twadri</i>	<i>Girardinia heterophylla</i> DC.
<i>Wâdr</i>	<i>Ochlandra</i> sp.



GLOSSARY

Only the more important Toda words used in this book are included in the glossary. The words are arranged in alphabetical order, neglecting the quantity or other value of the first vowel. The numbers refer to the pages on which fuller descriptions of the terms are given.

- Âd̥r̥p̥ârs*, coagulated milk, curd, p. 64.
agâr, a stand in the dairy, p. 60.
al, the deposit after the clarification of butter used as food, pp. 50, 242.
alug, a vessel of the *tî* dairy, p. 90.
Amnôd̥r, the world of the dead, p. 397.
an (*anna*), elder brother, p. 486.
ân, ancient clothing of the Todas, pp. 196, 342, 572.
Anto, a dairy, p. 112; also a god, p. 188.
ârpat̥znol or *ârpasnol*, a sacred day, p. 407.
ârs, house, p. 583.
ârsait̥r, buffaloes of the Kwôd̥rdôni *tî*, p. 121.
ârsh̥p̥, a salt-giving ceremony, p. 175.
ashkkârt̥pimi, a food used on ceremonial occasions, p. 580.
ât̥îr, buffaloes of the Nôd̥rs *tî*, p. 112.
âv (*âvâ*), mother, p. 485.
âzâram, the circle of stones in which the ashes are buried at a funeral, pp. 337, 379.
âzâramk̥êd̥r̥, the last part of the second funeral ceremony, pp. 337, 378.
Epotirikht̥ôrs, a double hut, p. 29.
êr, a male buffalo, p. 47.
êrkum̥pt̥th̥pimi or *êrkum̥pt̥th̥iti*, the ceremony of sacrificing a calf, p. 274.
êrnkâr, sacrificial place at the *êrkum̥pt̥th̥pimi* ceremony, p. 276.
êrs, leaf.
êrsteiti, the act of making a leaf-cup, pp. 75, 148.
ertat̥pun, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
ertat̥mâr, part of the dairy where the less sacred vessels stand, p. 58.
ertat̥pur, the less sacred objects of the dairy, p. 58.
et̥h̥d̥pali, chief dairy, p. 40.



- etûdmad*, the chief village of a clan or other important village, pp. 24, 36, 419.
- etvainolkêdr*, the first funeral ceremony, p. 337.
- ichchil*, a condition of impurity due to death or child-birth, pp. 102, 326, 368.
- iqith*, "for the sake of," p. 216.
- îdrkwoi*, a vessel used at a *tî* dairy, p. 90.
- îdrtul*, part of a hut containing the sleeping-places, p. 583.
- îmûdrikârs*, stones at certain villages, p. 439.
- in*, father, p. 484.
- îr*, a female buffalo, p. 47.
- îrkarmus* or *îrkarmûs*, the milking-place, p. 53.
- îrkârtpun* (*îrkârithtpun*), milking-vessel, p. 58.
- îrnôrtiti*, the offering of a buffalo calf to the *tî*, p. 293; or to another division of the clan, p. 294.
- îrndêrthnol*, the day of migration, p. 124.
- îrpâlvusthi*, ceremony after the birth of a calf, p. 172.
- îrsankâti*, a funeral ceremony, p. 381.
- îrskidithbûtnol*, the day of migration, p. 124.
- Kaban*, iron.
- kabkâditi*, procedure in which the back is not turned to the contents of the dairy, p. 73.
- kachûtthti*, the cloth-giving ceremony at a funeral, p. 358.
- kadr*, the calf-pen, p. 26.
- kâsfati*, knife burnt at the *âzâramkêdr*, p. 381.
- kagûrs*, the *tî* name of the *kûvn*, p. 103.
- kaimûkkhti*, a salutation, p. 31.
- kaizhvatiti*, the rite of pouring out buttermilk for the *palol*, p. 97.
- kâkûdêrs*, leaves of the *kâkûd* plant, p. 79.
- kâkûl*, stick used in the *ponûp* ceremony, p. 178.
- kalkani*, part of the dairy, p. 58.
- kalmelpuûthti*, a salutation, pp. 34, 496.
- kalolmad*, villages where women may not live, p. 420.
- kâltmokh*, the attendant on a *palol*, pp. 42, 105.
- kalvol*, a path, p. 26.
- Kamasôdrolam*, legendary Todas, p. 195.
- kanârvasnûdr*, the evil eye, p. 263.
- kar*, a young calf, p. 47.
- karenpôh*, the calf-house of a *tî*, p. 85.
- kârpun*, a milking-vessel of the *tî*, p. 90.
- kârs*, stone.
- karûd*, younger, p. 485.
- karûvndêr*, the mother's village, p. 547.
- kârûvnol* or *kârivnol*, the day after a ceremony, pp. 105, 333.
- kâtû*, the wall surrounding a house or dairy, p. 24.
- kavulpûv*, a flower, p. 111.
- kêdr*, funeral, relics, etc., p. 368.
- keitankursîr*, the *wûrsulîr* of Nîdîrsi and Kwôrdôni, p. 71.
- kêpun* (*kaipun*), vessel to hold water, p. 57.



- kerk*, the name of the waist-string during the ordination ceremony, pp. 148, 572.
kértnòdr, a funeral place, p. 338.
kevenârât, mode of baring the right arm, pp. 31, 571.
kép, the broom, p. 32.
kétün, bed on left-hand side of dairy, p. 57.
kô, stake used at the *êrkumptthpimi* sacrifice, p. 276.
kôghlag, the name of the churning-stick at the *tî*, p. 89.
kôrûp, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
kubuntuni, the cloak of the *palol*, p. 103.
kudeipîr, the *wârsulîr* of Pan, p. 71; also the sacred buffaloes of Piedr, p. 81.
kudi, a measure used for liquids corresponding to about four pints, p. 588.
kûdr, horn, a division of a clan, pp. 37, 295, 542.
kûdr-pali, a Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 66.
kûdrpalikârtmokh, the dairyman of the *kûdr-pali*, p. 66.
kûdrs mani, the bells of the *punîr* of the *tî*, p. 91.
kûdrvars, fireplace made of four stones, pp. 57, 583.
kudupel or *kudubel*, family, p. 545.
kûgh, daughter, p. 485.
kûghîr, a buffalo whose horns bend downwards, p. 47.
kugvali, a sacred dairy of Târâdr, pp. 41, 76.
kugvalîr, the buffaloes of the *kugvali*, pp. 41, 77.
kugvalikârtmokh, the dairyman of the *kugvali*, pp. 41, 76.
kûlâtîr, buffaloes of the Nòdrs *tî*, p. 113.
Kûlinkârs, a god, p. 188.
kunedsti, funeral laments, etc., pp. 385, 600.
Kûrub, a Kurumba, p. 641.
kûrubûdrchiti, Kurumba sorcery, p. 262.
kush (? *kûdsh*), structure for young calves, p. 26.
kuter, floor, pp. 62, 583.
kûvn, the perineal band, p. 30.
kûvun or *kûpun*, a vessel used at the *kugvali* of Târâdr, p. 79.
kwainûr (*kwoinûr*), the *tî* name of the *pennûr*, p. 103.
kwarkûl, stick used at the *fonûp* ceremony, p. 178.
kwarsam, name used in prayer, etc., pp. 216, 384, 614.
kwoi, the milking-vessel of the *tî* dairy, p. 89.
kwoinîr spring supplying water for a *tî* dairy, p. 85.
kwoinôrtpet, a wand used by the *palol* when milking, p. 90.
kwotârs, the calf-house, p. 26.
Kwoten, a *teu* or god, p. 193.
Kwoto, a god, p. 203.
kwottün, seat, p. 29.
kwungg, the ordinary bell, p. 424.
Kwârg, Coorg, p. 114.
Mad, village, pp. 24, 338; head, p. 282.
madnol, sacred day of village, p. 405.
madol, village people or clan, p. 36.
madth, the churning-stick, p. 60.



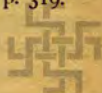
- maj*, buttermilk.
majparv, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
majvatitthkalvol, path reserved for women, p. 27.
majvatvaiidrn, spot on which women receive buttermilk, p. 28.
mair, a barren buffalo, p. 47.
mani, the sacred bell, pp. 40, 66, 424.
mankūgh, er's daughter, 488.
manmokh, sister's son, pp. 484, 488.
martir, the sacred buffaloes of the Kārs clan, p. 68.
mārp, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
mārvainolkēdr, the second funeral ceremony, pp. 337, 372.
masth, axe, pp. 57, 585.
matshuni, children of brother and sister, pp. 488, 512.
Māv, a Badaga, p. 630; also sambhar.
meilkūdr, extra share, 560.
meitūn, bed on right-hand side of dairy, p. 57.
merkalārs, double hut, pp. 29, 318.
mersgūrsir, the *wūrsulir* of Nōdrs, p. 71.
methkūdi, place of cremation, p. 343.
miniapir, the *wūrsulir* of Kerādr, pp. 71, 192.
mogāl, forearm, also segment of forelimb of calf corresponding to metacarpus, p. 281.
mogoi, a cubit, p. 588.
mokh, son, child, p. 485.
mokkthoditi (mokkthodvaiol), mode of union between the sexes, p. 526.
mokkūdrvaiol, man who gives away a wife, p. 494.
Mondārdsetipol, Toda name of a tribe living in the Wainad.
mōr, the name of buttermilk at the *tī*, p. 107.
mōrkuḍriki, a ladle of the *tī* dairy, p. 90.
mōrol, privileged visitors to a *tī*, p. 107.
mōrpun, a dairy vessel used to hold buttermilk at the *tī*, p. 90.
mōrp, the ordinary salt-giving ceremony at the *tī*, p. 175.
mū, a name given to several kinds of dairy vessels, pp. 58, 422.
muli or *mul*, a name for various plants, p. 145; also used for thorns, p. 194; and for the quills of a porcupine, p. 267.
mulinirōditi, the ordination ceremony of the *palikartmokh*, p. 148.
mun, mother's brother and wife's father, pp. 487, 492.
mūrn, the sieve, p. 32.
mūrthvichi, anger, p. 260.
Naim or *noim*, the council, pp. 32, 550.
nākh, a three-year-old calf, p. 47.
nan, a young shoot, p. 145.
nānmakud, a club, pp. 381, 586.
nārthpimi, a game, p. 596.
nāshperthir, sacred buffaloes originally given to Nōdrs, p. 69.
nēdrkursh, middle room of a three-roomed dairy, p. 57.
nēdrvol, intermediary, pp. 258, 527.



- nei*, clarified butter or ghi, p. 50.
nersatiti, a salutation, p. 304.
neurzūtīpol, name of the *kāltmōkh* at the migration ceremony, p. 139.
neurzūlnkārs, stones of ceremonial importance, pp. 129, 140, 438.
nīpā, stream, p. 26.
nīr, water, spring.
nīrōdibudnāḍr, the initial stages of the ordination of the *kāltmōkh*, p. 153.
nīrōditi, the ordination ceremony, pp. 144, 157.
nīrsi, the fire-stick, p. 60.
nōḍr, country, place; sometimes used for 'ceremony.'
nōḍrkūtchi, ancestors of buffaloes, p. 112.
nōḍrodchi, a ruler, pp. 183, 186.
nōḍrved, younger brother, p. 486.
Nōtīrzi, a goddess, p. 189.
Ol or *ḍl*, man, husband, p. 489.
oñ, a sacred syllable uttered in the dairy ceremonial, p. 65.
Ön, a god, p. 184.
Paiol, male relations-in-law, pp. 489, 492.
Pākhwār, a river, 418; also a god.
pālī or *pālthlī*, the dairy, p. 26.
palikārtmōkh (? *paḷlikāritmōkh*), the dairyman, p. 39.
palinol, sacred day of dairy, p. 405.
pālmān, staff used in churning, p. 52.
palol, the dairyman of a *tī*, pp. 42, 98.
paniūp, one of the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 175.
pāpun, a water-vessel at the *tī*, p. 92.
pārkuḷ, stick used at the *ponūp* ceremony, p. 178.
pārsērs, milk-leaves, p. 317.
pārsīr, buffaloes of the *Kārs tī*, p. 117.
pārskāḍrvenmū, vessel to hold butter, p. 58.
pāsthīr, the sacred buffaloes of the *Teivaliol*, p. 39.
pātat, vessel to hold milk, p. 58.
pātatmār, part of the dairy where the more sacred vessels stand, p. 58.
pātatpur, the more sacred objects of the dairy, p. 58.
patcherski, the husked grain of *patm* (samai), p. 580.
pātol, one who has held the office of *palol*, p. 104.
pātun, screen separating the two rooms of a *tī* dairy, p. 86.
pāv, threshold.
pāvnersatiti, saluting the threshold, p. 65.
Pedṛ, a Tamil.
pelk, the lamp, p. 60.
pelkkodichiti, the ordination ceremony, p. 144.
pelkkatitthwaskal, fireplace at a *tī* dairy used in lighting the lamp, p. 92.
pem, a plateau or a gradual slope of a hill.
pen, butter, p. 58.
pennār, the string supporting the *kūvn*, pp. 30, 572.
peḥ, buttermilk used ceremonially, pp. 64, 166.



- pepeirthti*, a rite at the *küdrpali*, p. 67.
- pepkarichâ* or *pepkarichti*, the ceremony of making new *pep*, p. 166.
- pepkarmus*, the milking-place of a *tî*, p. 85.
- peptörzum*, a dairy vessel of the *tî*, p. 89.
- pepâti*, the rite of drinking buttermilk at the ordinary dairy, p. 78; also the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk by buffaloes, p. 135.
- perithîr*, buffaloes of the *Nödrs tî*, p. 113.
- perkürsol*, the lower stage in the office of *kältmokh*, p. 105.
- perol*, an ordinary person, not ordained to any dairy office, p. 39.
- persâsîr*, sacred buffaloes originally given to Melgârs, p. 69.
- persin*, the vessel in which milk is churned at the *tî*, p. 89.
- persinîr*, the sacred buffaloes of a *tî*, p. 84.
- perûd*, elder, p. 485.
- petuni*, a piece of *tuni*, p. 105.
- pîan*, grandfather, p. 485.
- pîâv*, grandmother, p. 486.
- pîlikören*, sorcerers, p. 255.
- pîlinörtiti*, offering of a ring, pp. 294, 306.
- pîliûtpol*, a sorcerer, p. 255.
- pîliûtivichi*, sorcery, p. 255.
- pîneipîr*, sacred buffaloes originally given to Pan, p. 69.
- pöäri*, contributions from relatives by marriage, p. 396.
- pöärshtuni*, the loin-cloth of the *palol*, p. 103.
- pôh*, the conical and other sacred dairies, p. 45.
- pôhkârtpol*, the dairyman at Kanödrs, p. 79.
- pôhvelkârs*, seat on which the *palol* sits, pp. 87, 96.
- pôhvet* (*pôhpet*), a wand used by the *palol* when praying, pp. 89, 96.
- pöl*, a calf of one to two years, p. 47.
- pölm*, a portion, a division of a clan, pp. 37, 544.
- pölmachok*, a dairy vessel, p. 60.
- pon*, festival, pp. 85, 161; up, p. 383; see also p. 496.
- ponkârtvaimokh*, boy who takes a leading part at the *îrnörtiti* ceremony, p. 302.
- ponnol*, festival day.
- ponûp*, a salt-giving ceremony at the *tî*, p. 177.
- pörmunkursh*, outer room of dairy, p. 56.
- püärshtipîr*, the *würsulîr* of Kârs and Târâdr, p. 71.
- pûkârûputkûli*, the ornamented cloak, p. 572.
- pûl*, surroundings or outskirts, p. 85.
- pûliol*, relatives with whom marriage is prohibited, p. 509.
- punelkalvol*, path reserved for the dairyman, p. 27.
- punîr*, the ordinary buffaloes of a *tî*, p. 84.
- punrs*, a name for two days, p. 142.
- pürsîr*, buffaloes of the Kârs *tî*, p. 117.
- pursûtpimi*, the ceremony of giving a bow and arrow during pregnancy, p. 319.
- pût*, a stirring-stick, p. 60.
- pûthpep*, the buttermilk obtained in the *pepkarichâ* ceremony, p. 169.
- putîr*, ordinary buffaloes, p. 39.



- putkûli*, the cloak, pp. 30, 571.
puzhârs, seclusion-hut, p. 313.
puzhûlpîmi, the ceremony of throwing earth at a funeral, p. 344.
Satimad, a village of especial sanctity, p. 421.
sedvailasmokh, name of the woman in the *mokkthoditi* union, p. 526.
Tadri, pole used in funeral ceremonies, p. 376.
tadrp, the loin-cloth, p. 30.
tâf, fern.
tagârs, a chain.
tarsîr, buffaloes of the Pan *tî*, p. 119.
Târthârol, one of the two divisions of the Toda people, p. 34.
târâpunkudi, hole used at the salt-giving ceremony at a Tarthar village, p. 177.
târvali or *târpali*, the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 61.
târvalikârtmokh, the dairyman of the *târvali*, p. 461.
tasth, the bars in the opening of a pen, p. 153.
tasmokh, woman, wife, p. 489.
tedshk, a ring used in carrying dairy vessels, p. 60.
Teikîrzi, a goddess, p. 186.
teiks, stone or post at which a buffalo is killed at a funeral, p. 349.
Teipâkh, the Paikara river, p. 418; also a god, p. 187.
teirtîr, buffaloes of the Nôdrs *tî*, p. 112.
Teivaliol, one of the chief divisions of the Toda people, p. 34.
tek (*tekh*?), basket, p. 57.
têrersthi, custom of transferring wives, p. 523.
tersamtpîmi, a ceremony of childhood, p. 333.
terzantirikiti, the rite of putting curd or milk on the bell, p. 66.
tesherst, a qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol*, p. 154.
teshnîr, the first stage of the ordination ceremony of the *palol*, p. 157.
teu, god, p. 182.
teukwoi, clay vessel made at the *ponûp* ceremony, p. 179.
teuol, diviner, p. 249.
teutûtusthchi, ceremony of lighting a fire on a hill, p. 290.
tî, the most sacred dairy institution of the Todas, pp. 42, 83.
tîîr, the buffaloes of the *tî*, p. 42; also used of a special group of these buffaloes at the Nôdrs *tî*, p. 112.
tîkelfmâv, Badaga associated with a *tî*, p. 98.
tî mad, a village or place belonging to a *tî*, p. 83.
tôrathwaskal, fireplace at a *tî* dairy used to cook food, p. 91.
tôrsum, the *tî* name of the *mû*, p. 89.
tû, the buffalo-pen, p. 26.
tûdr, a sacred tree, pp. 67, 433.
tûkîthkârs, stone lifted as a sport, p. 597.
tûkulîr mani, a bell used in the funeral ceremonies, pp. 376, 424.
tûn, a seat or bed, p. 30.
tuni, the grey garment used by many dairymen, pp. 72, 572.
tuninôrtiti, offering of a *tuni*, pp. 294, 305.
tunitusthkâltmokh, the full *kâltmokh*, pp. 105, 152.



- târâvali*, the cooking-pot of a *tî* dairy, p. 90.
târi, knife.
twadrinâr, material made by the Todas, p. 574.
Ularwârthkârs, a wand, p. 60.
ulkkursh, inner room of dairy, p. 56.
unîr, buffaloes of the Nôḍrs *tî*, p. 112.
ûppun, a vessel of the *tî* dairy, p. 90.
ûppunkudi (? *ûppunkudi*), hole used at the salt-giving ceremonies, p. 176.
ûrvatpimi, ceremony during pregnancy, p. 313.
ûtkôren, people who apply certain magical or medical remedies, p. 263.
ûtpol, medicine man, p. 263.
Wâk, vessels burnt at the *âzâramkêḍr*, p. 381.
warsîr, buffaloes of the Nôḍrs *tî*, p. 112 ; and of the Pan *tî*, p. 119.
wask, grain-pounder, p. 32.
waskal, fireplace of three stones, pp. 57, 582.
wârsol, the dairyman of the *wârsuli*, pp. 40, 72, 74.
wârsuli, a Tarthar dairy, pp. 40, 71.
wârsulîr, the buffaloes of a *wârsuli*, p. 40.



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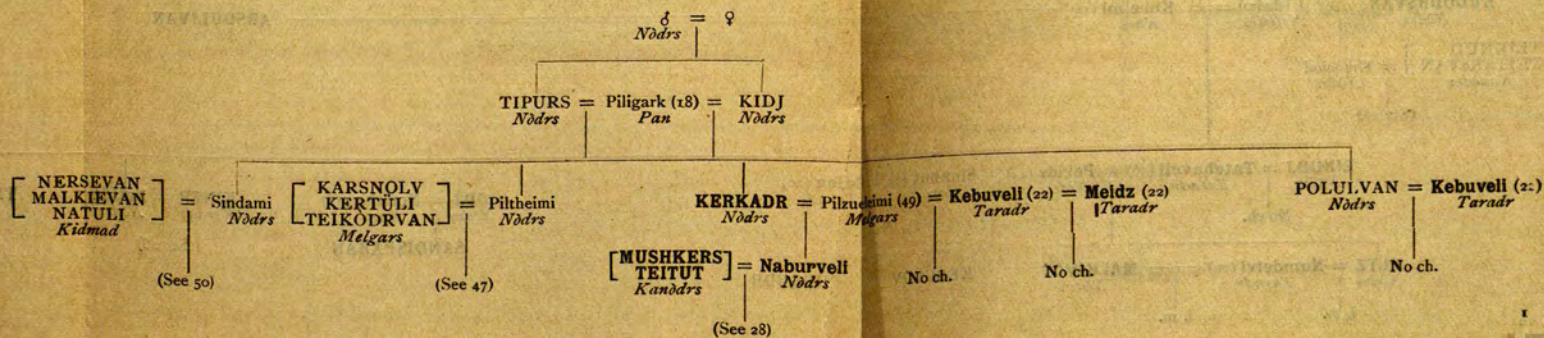
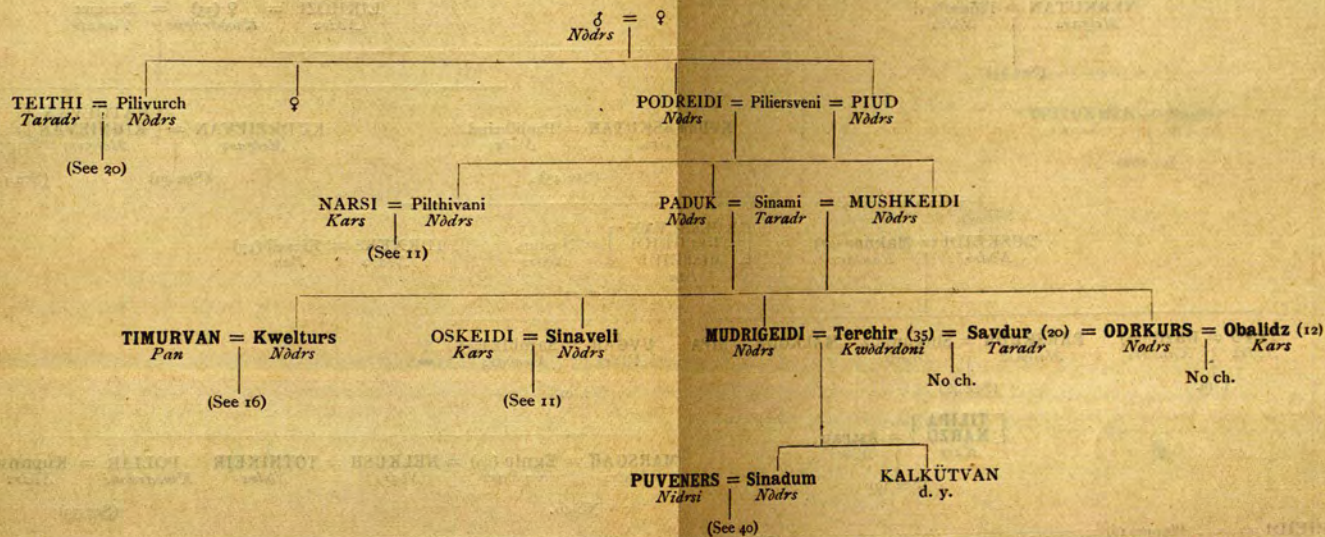
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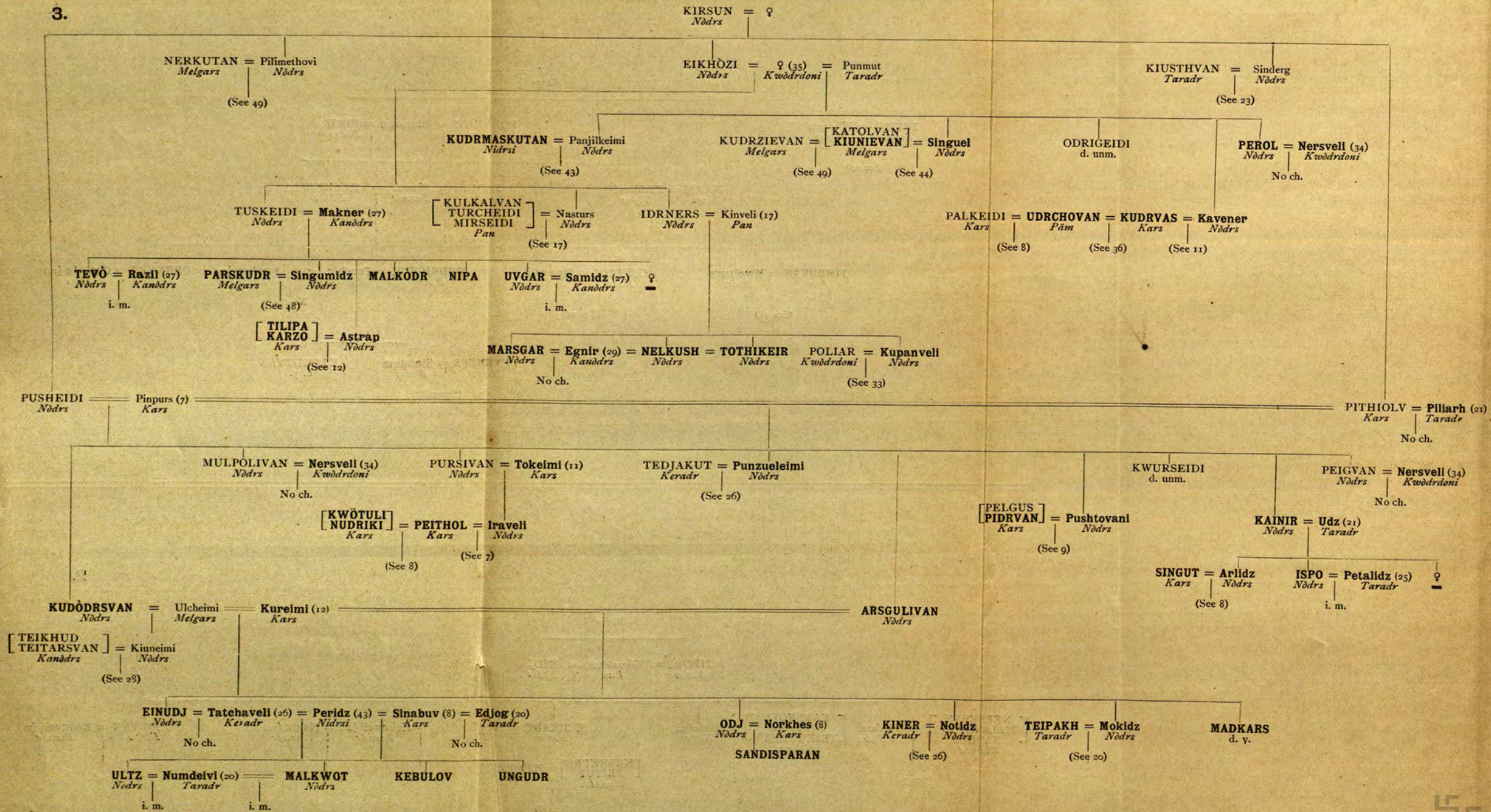
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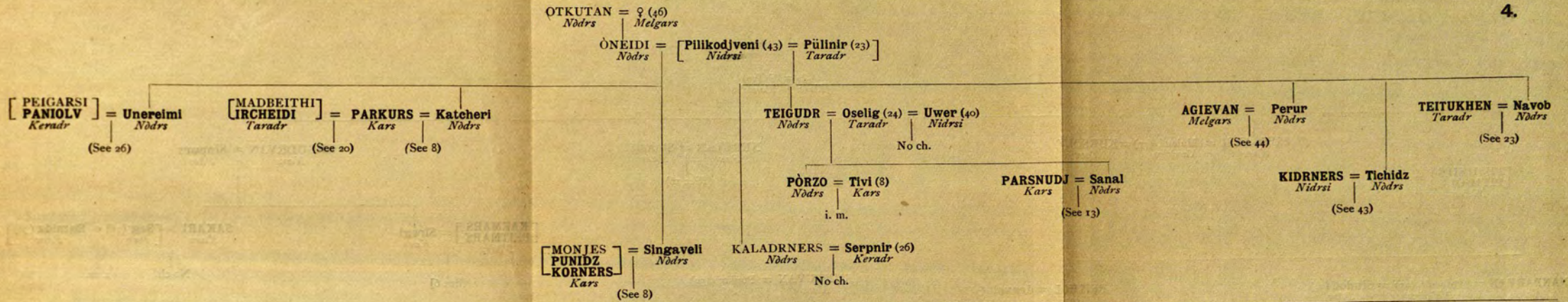
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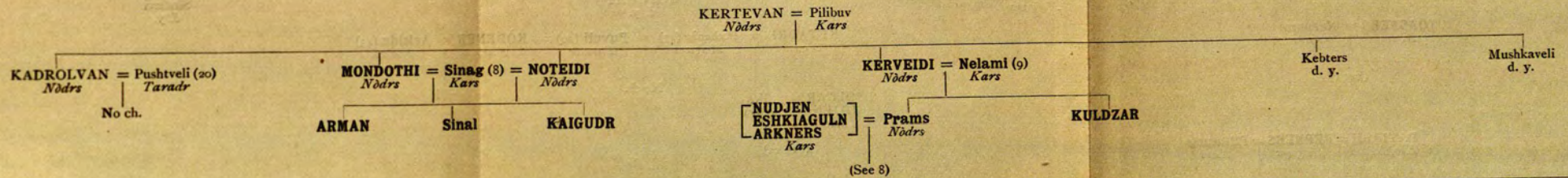




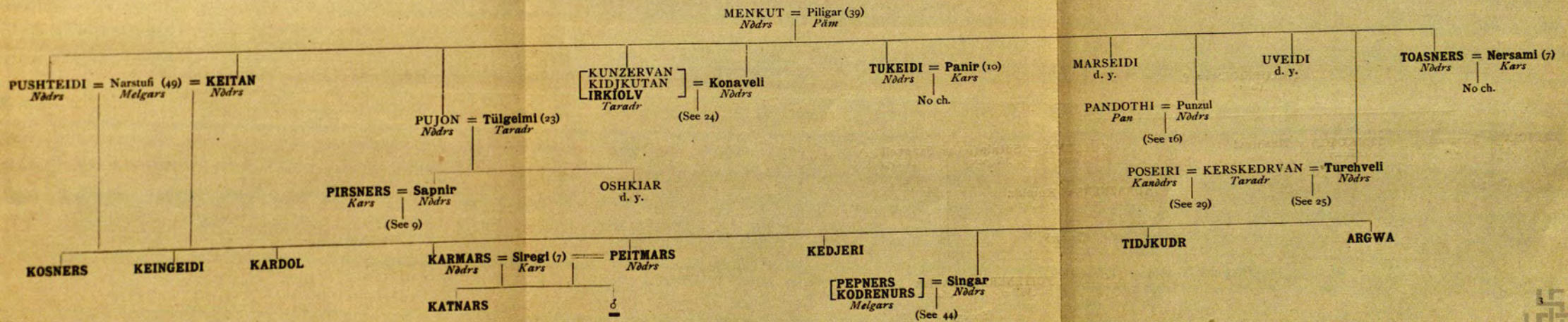
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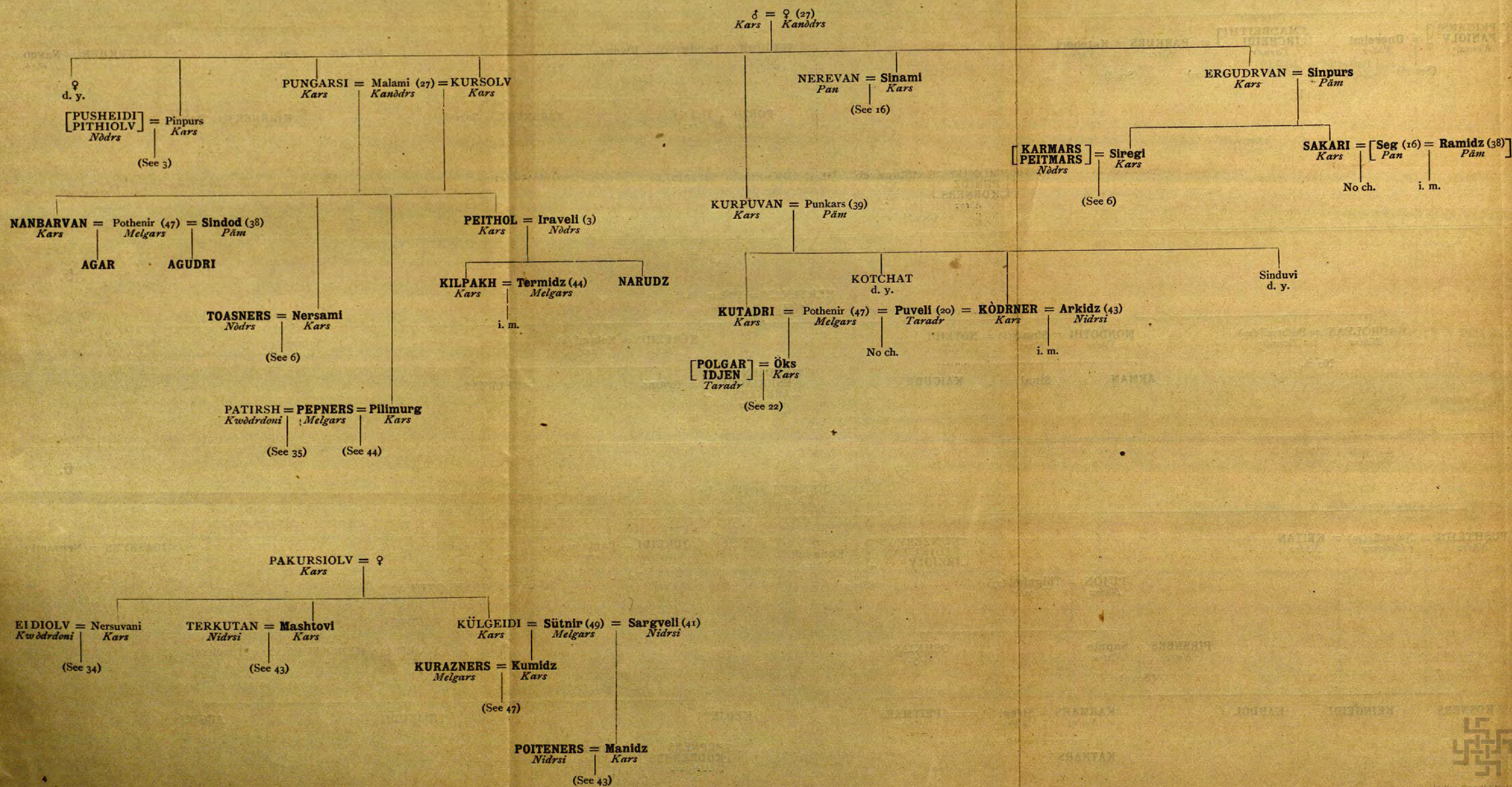


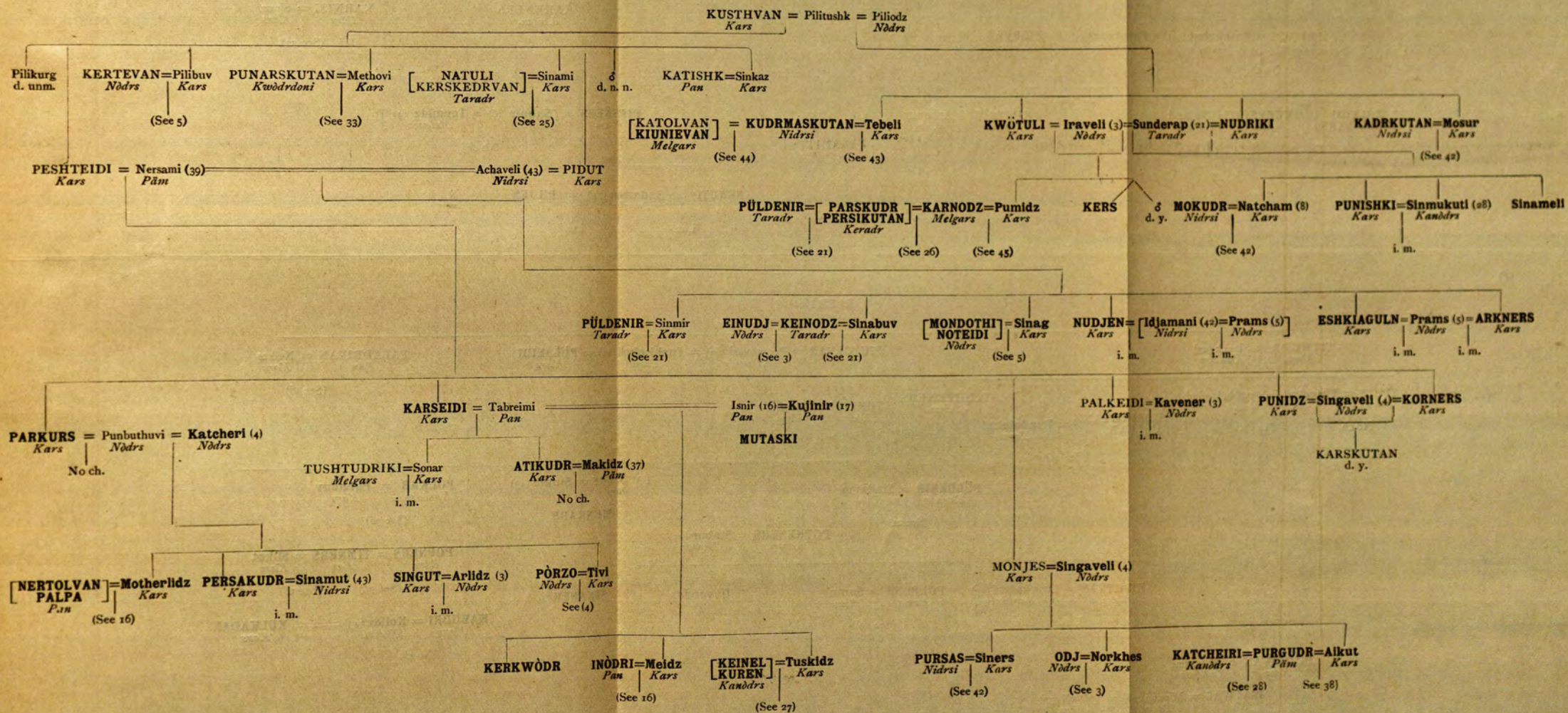
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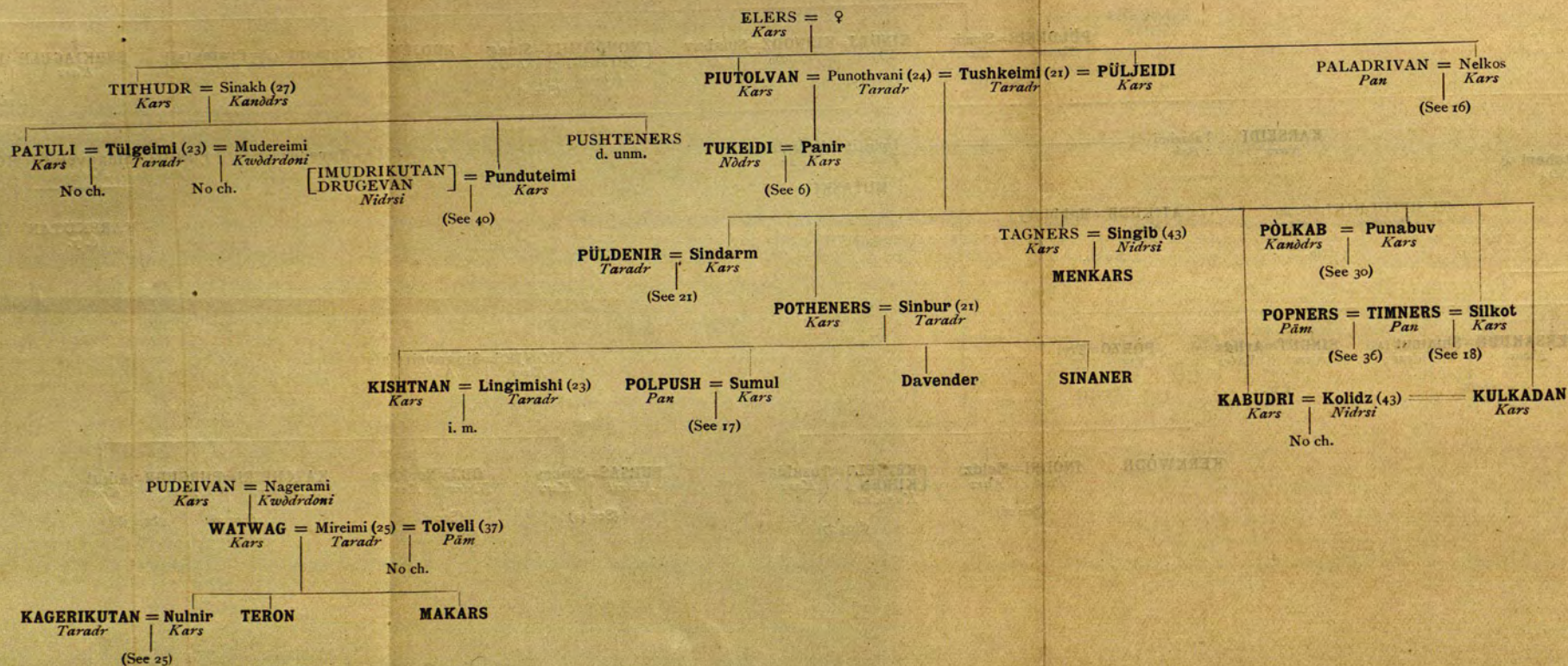
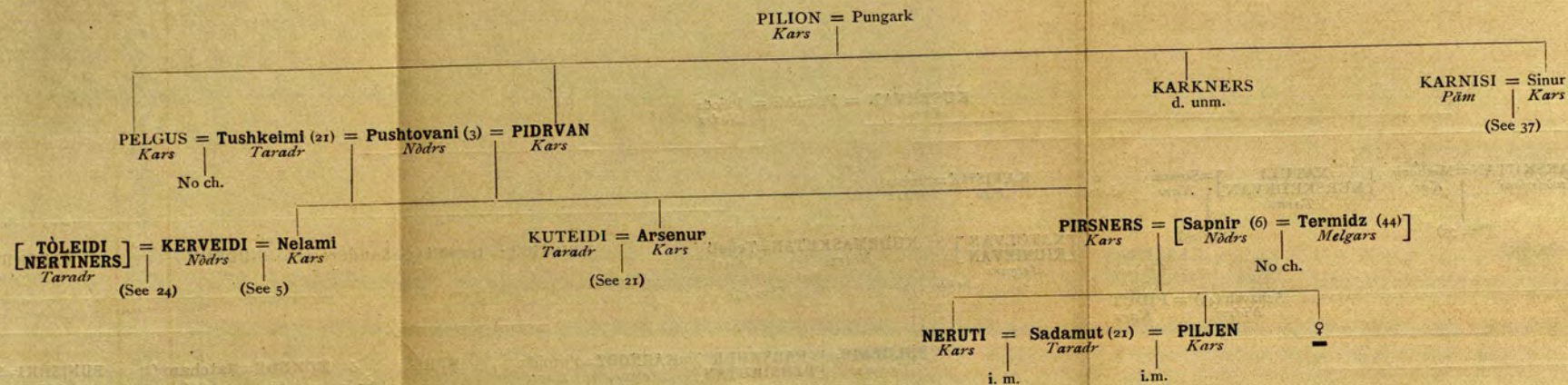


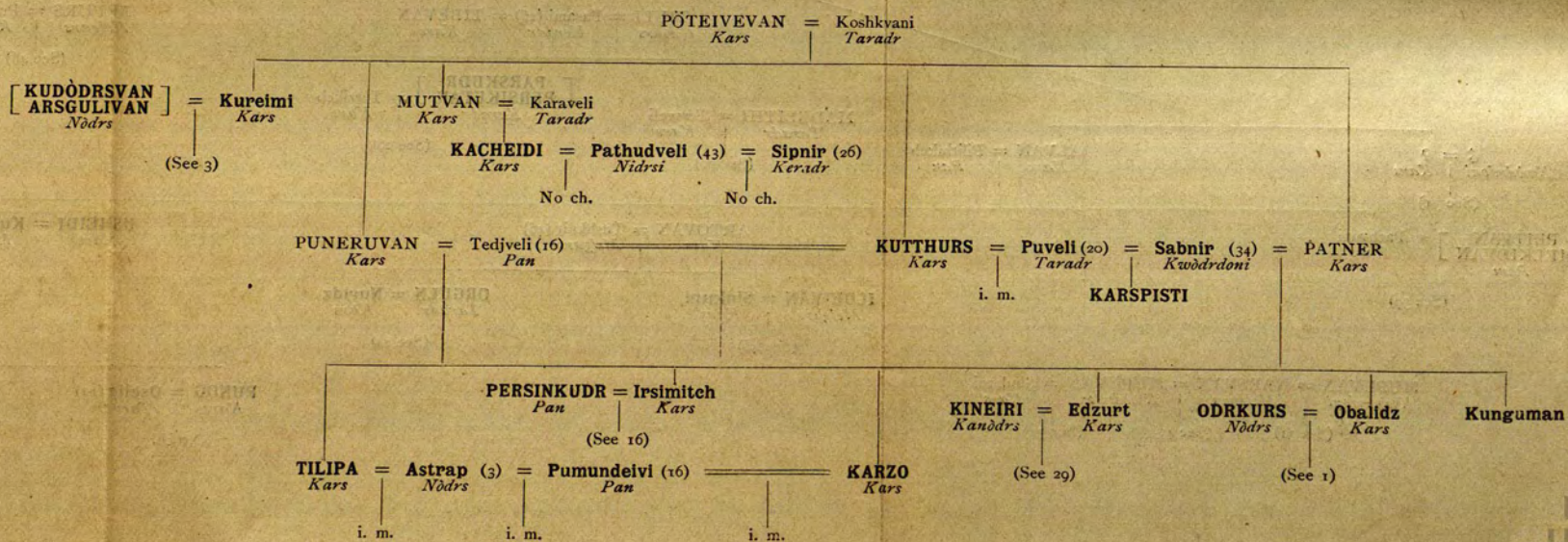
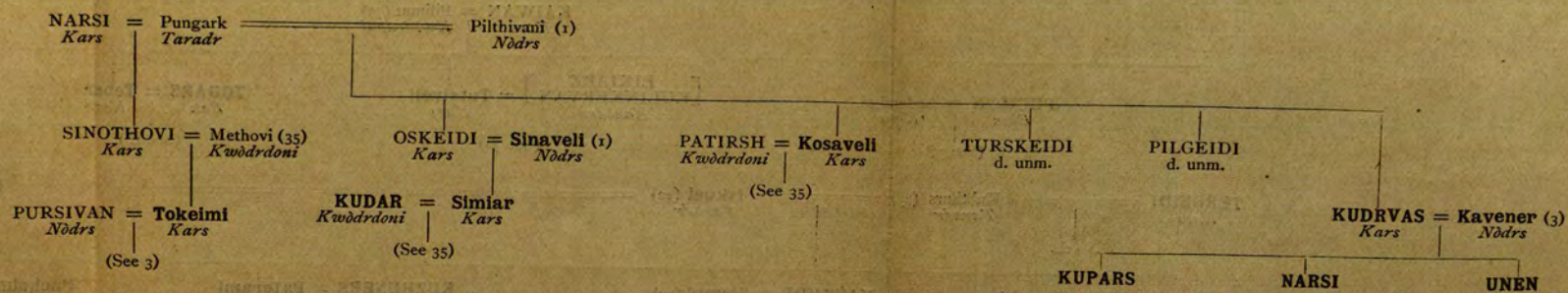
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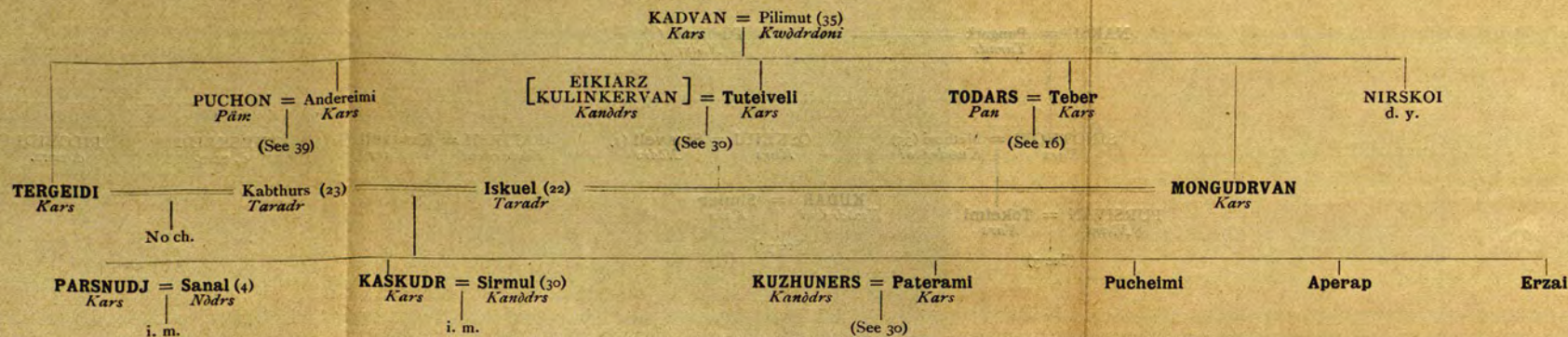




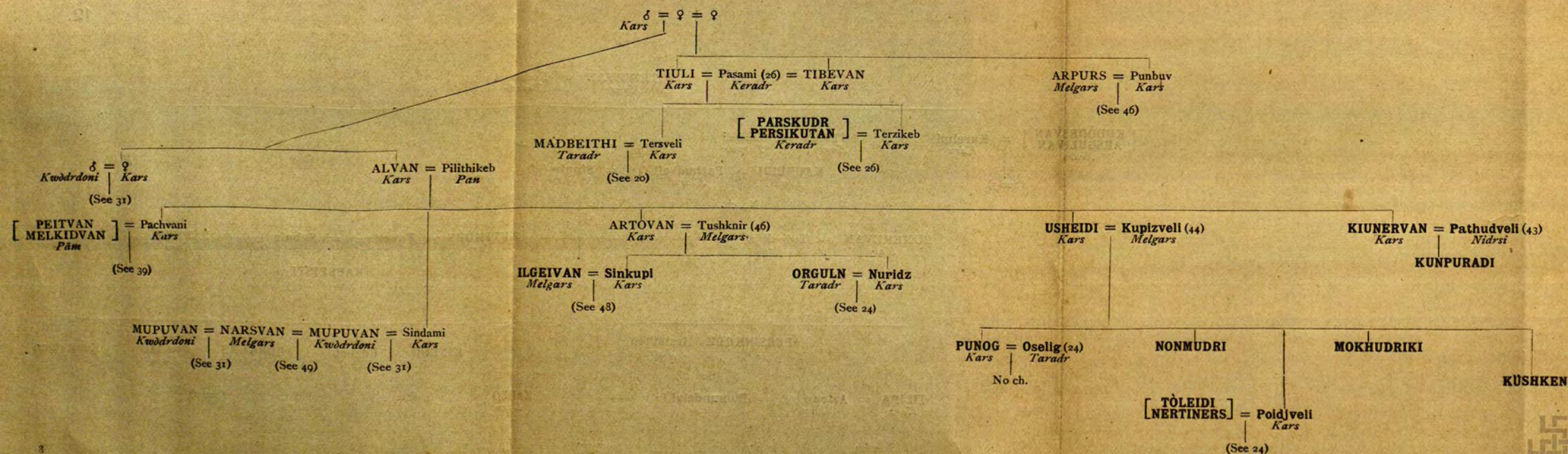


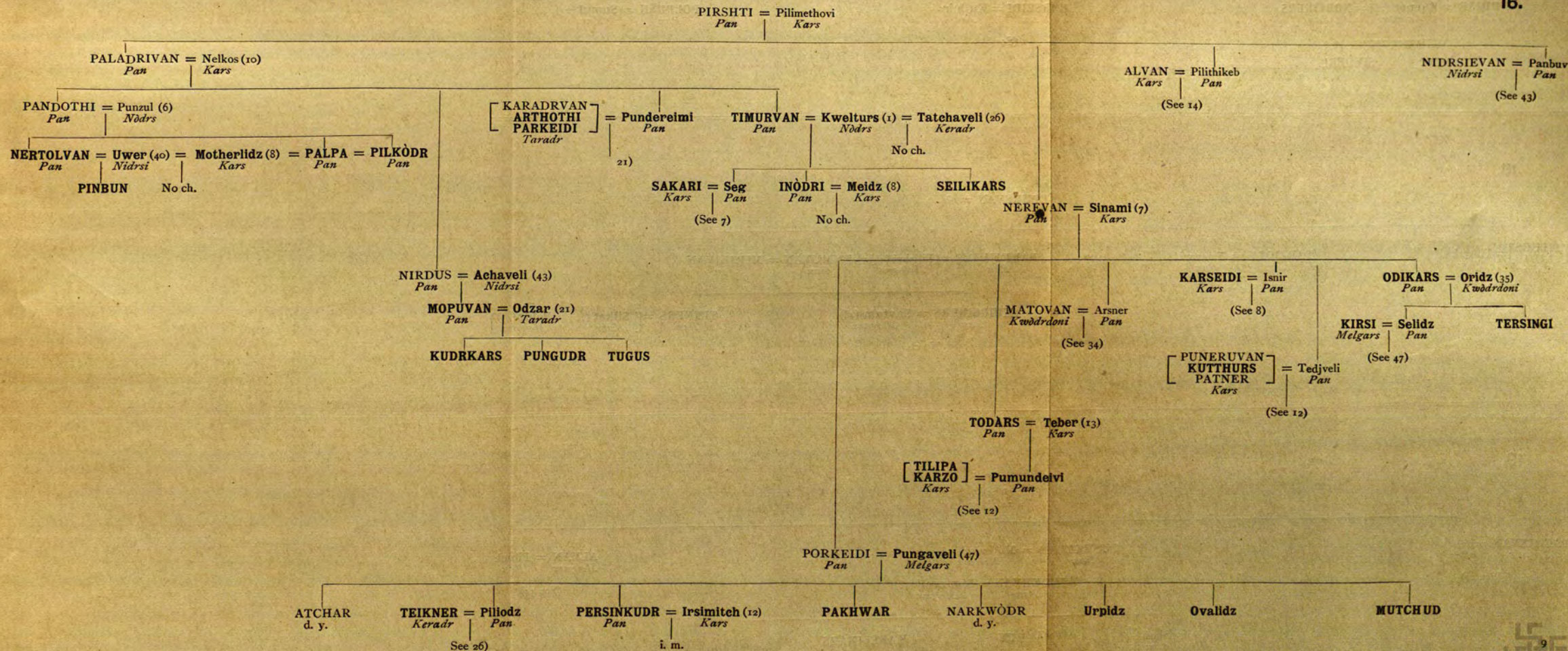
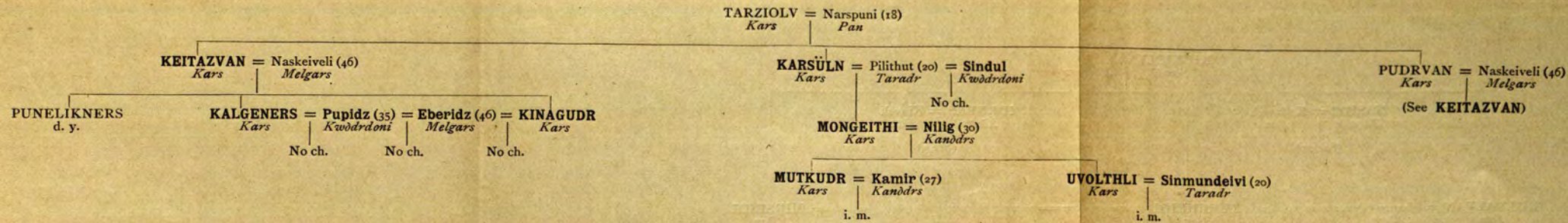


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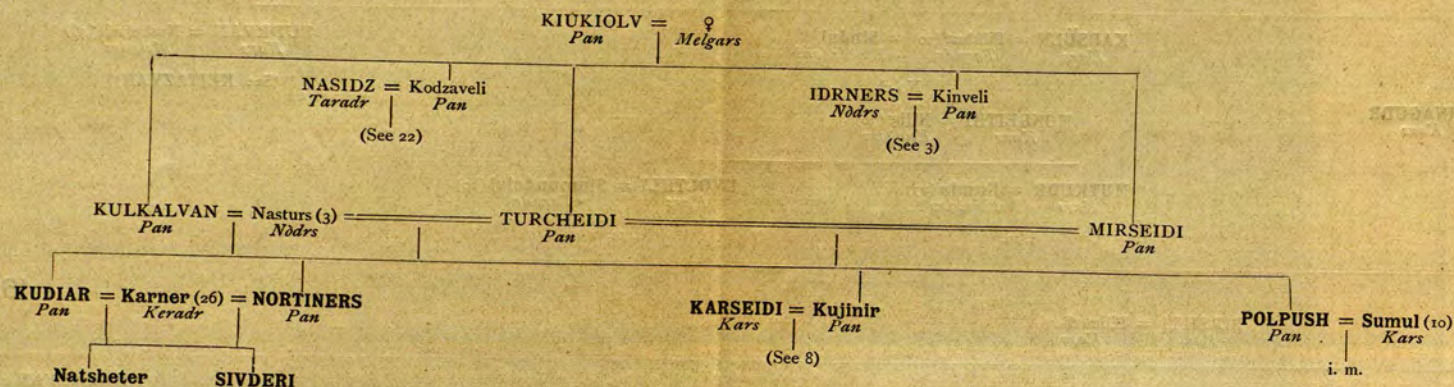


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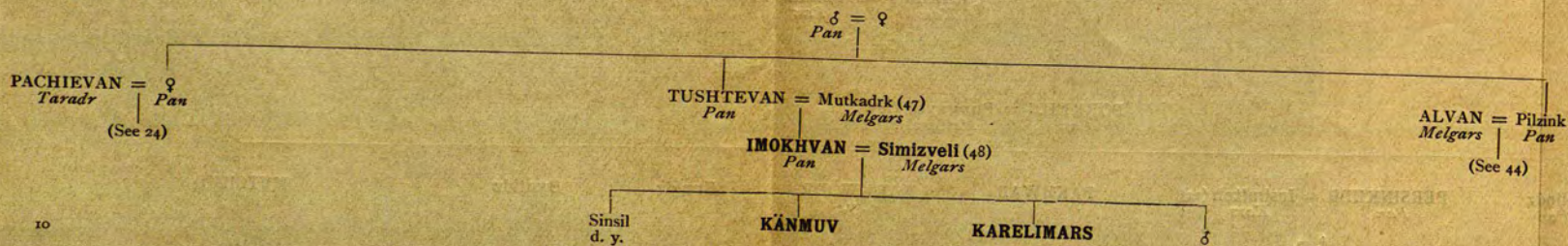
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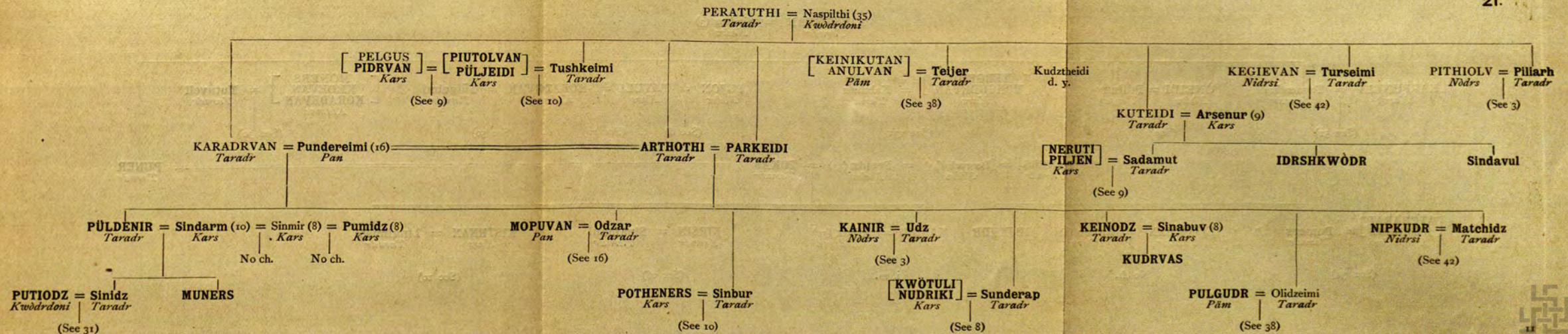
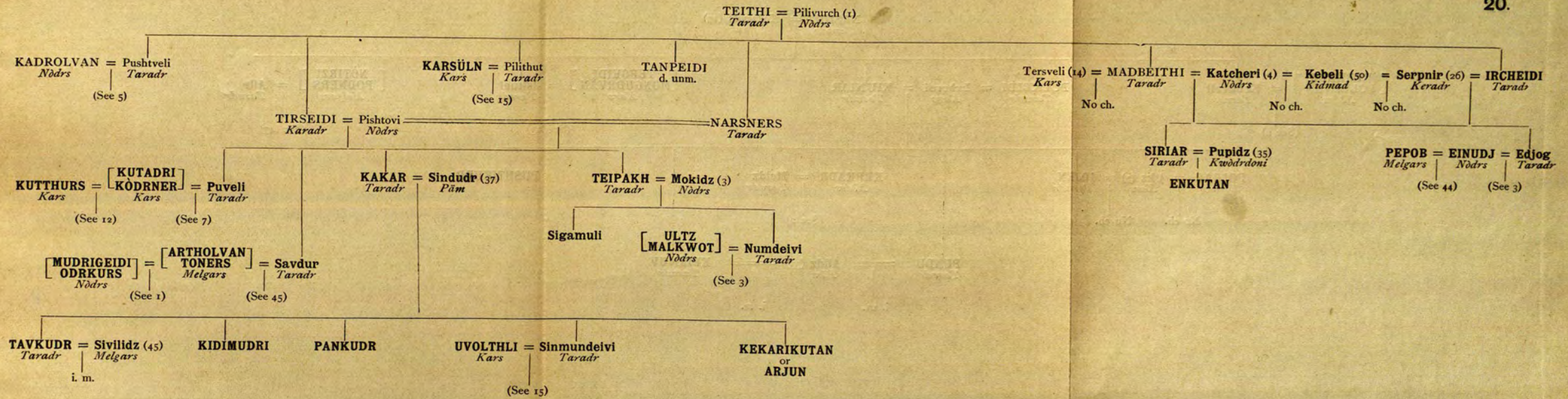


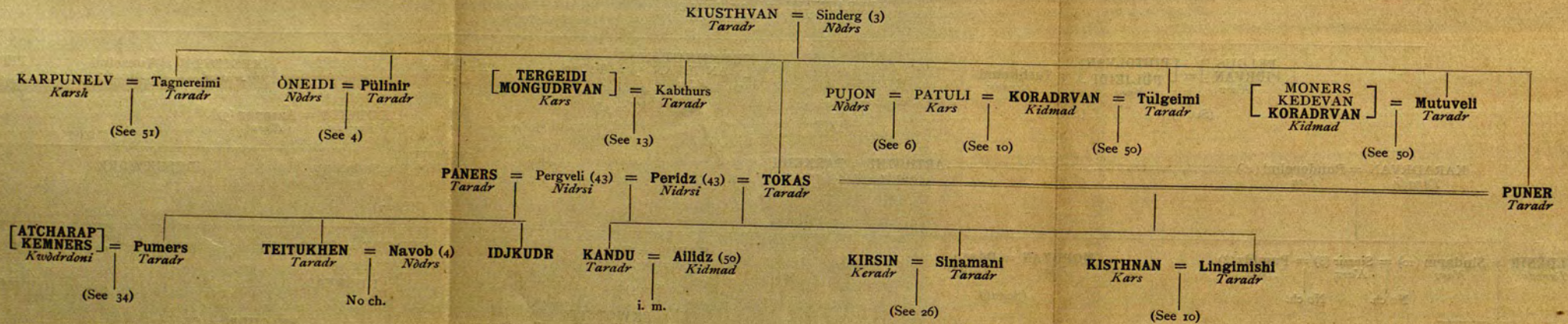
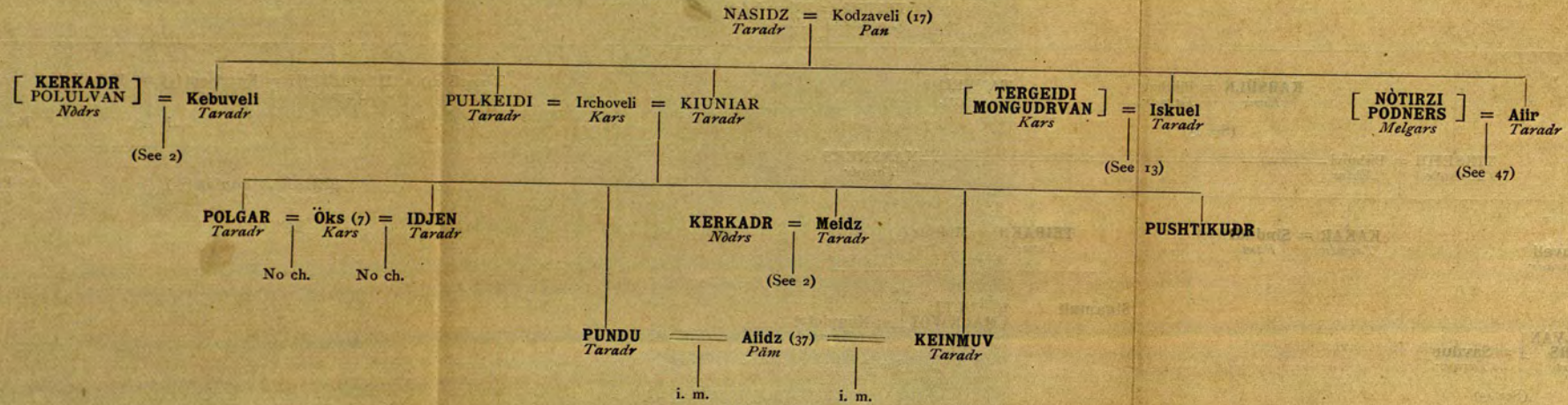
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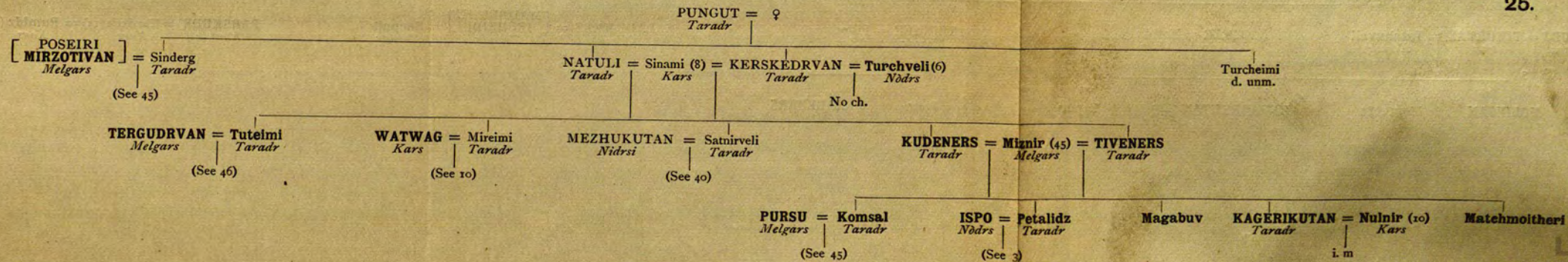
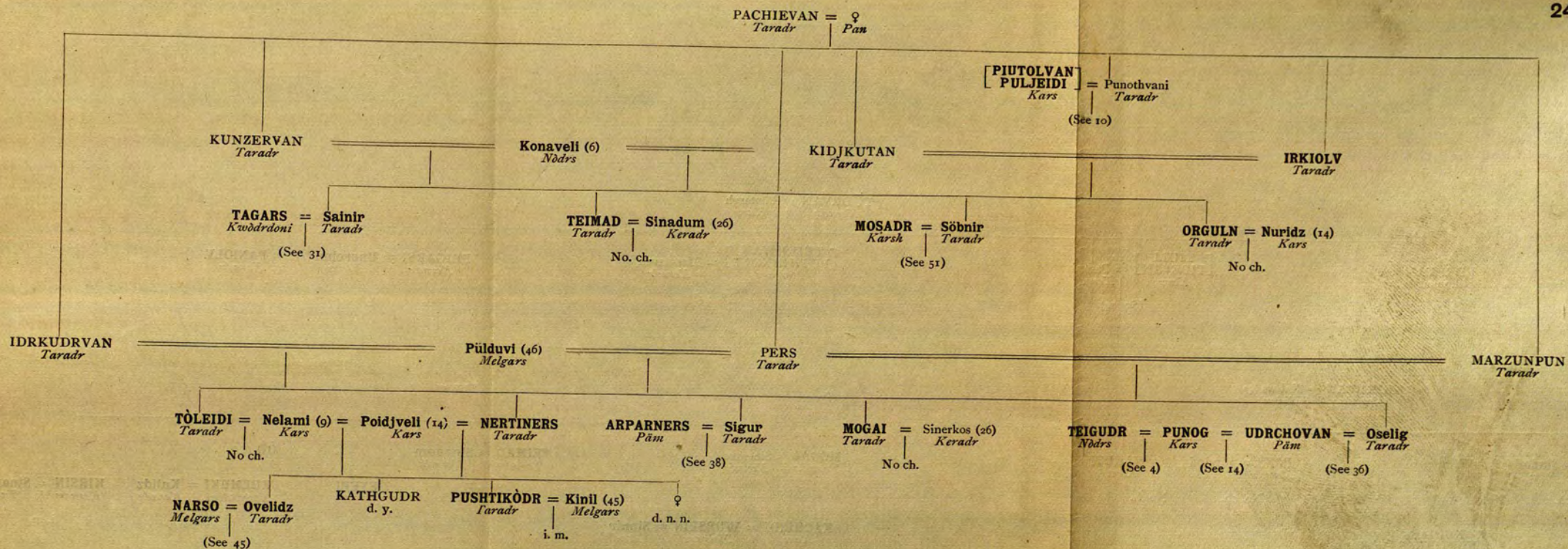


19.









TÜDRVAN = Püntergh
Keradr Kars

EDREVAN
d. unm.

[TIULI
TIBEVAN] = Pasami
Kars Keradr
(See 14)

[TEIKIEVAN
PUTHIANOLV] = Marsnaveli
Melgars Keradr
(See 43)

PEIGARSI = Unereimi (4) = PANIOLV
Keradr Nödrs Keradr

KEIREVAN = Kebars (40)
Keradr Nödrsi

PARSOV = Sindod (38) = Tipur (40)
Keradr Päm Nödrsi
No ch. No ch.

PONS = Sindod (38) = ELKUTI
Keradr Päm Keradr
No ch. No ch.

[KUDIAR
NORTINERS] = Karner
Pan Keradr
(See 17)

MOGAI = Sinerkos
Taradr Keradr
(See 24)

TEIMAD = Sinadum
Taradr Keradr
(See 24)

ÖD

ETEPI

KULMUKI = Kalidz
Kwödrdoni Keradr
(See 32)

KIRSIN = Sinamani (23)
Keradr Taradr
i. m.

KACHEIDI = WURSEIN = Sipnir
Kars Melgars Keradr
(See 12) (See 48)

PATSER = Pupidz (35) = Kwotidz = PUNGWUDR
Keradr Kwödrdoni Nödrsi Keradr
No ch. No ch. No ch.

TEDJAKUT = Punzueleimi (3)
Keradr Nödrs

EINUDJ = TIMURVAN = Tatchavelli
Nödrs Pan Keradr
(See 3) (See 16)

KINER = Notidz (3)
Keradr Nödrs

TEIKNER = Piliodz (16)
Keradr Pan

KALADRNNERS = [MADBEITHI
IRCHEIDI] = Serpnir
Nödrs Taradr Keradr
(See 4) (See 20)

PARSKUDR = Terzikeb (14) = Pumidz (8) = PERSIKUTAN
Keradr Kars Kars Keradr
No ch. No ch. No ch.

MOLINGAN

Monikidz

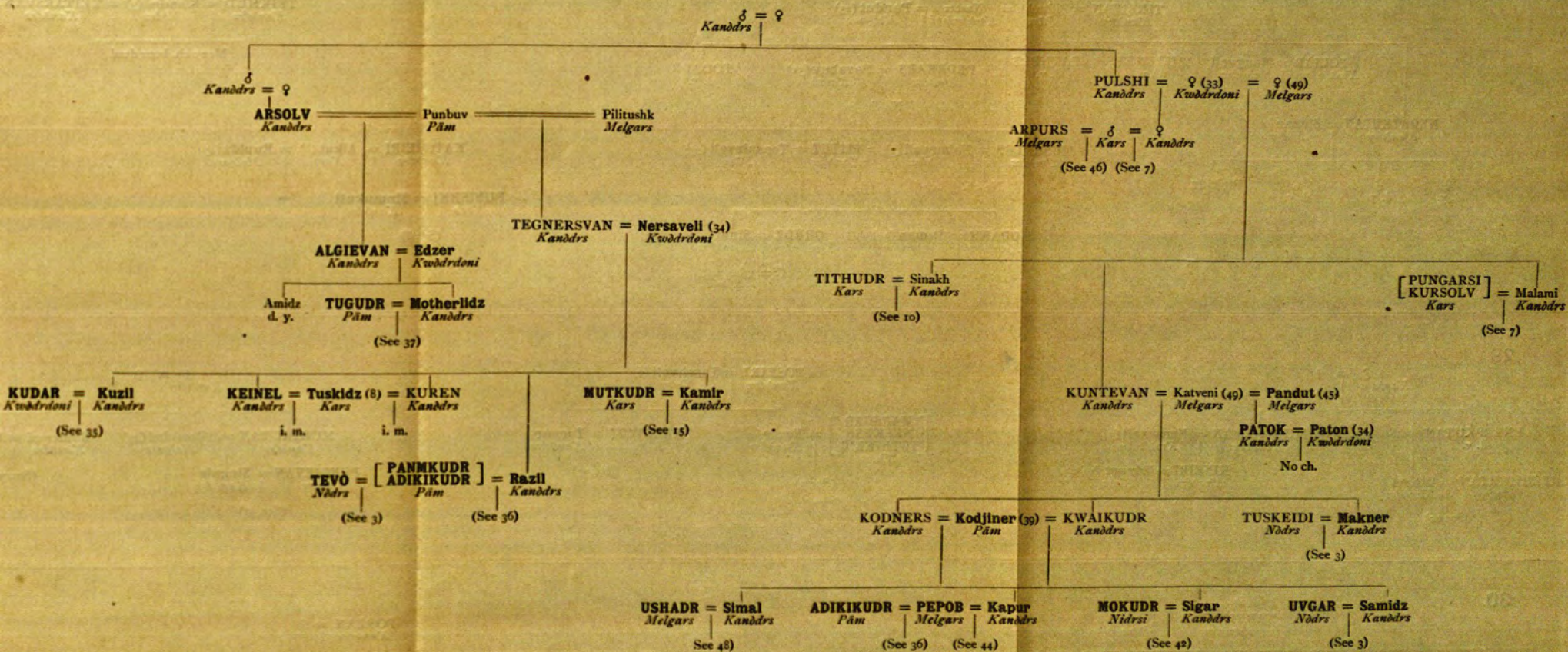
KERADRKUTAN

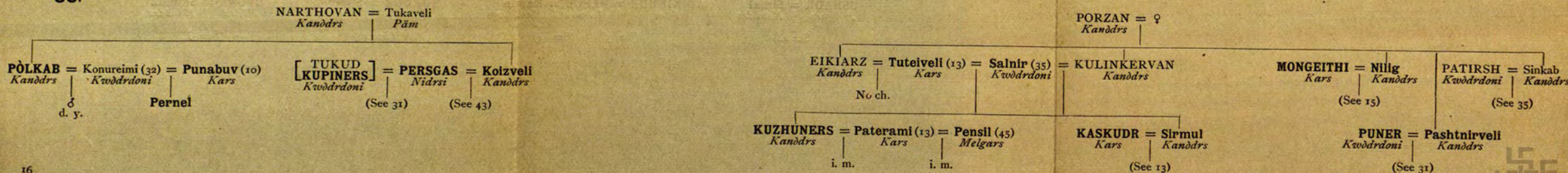
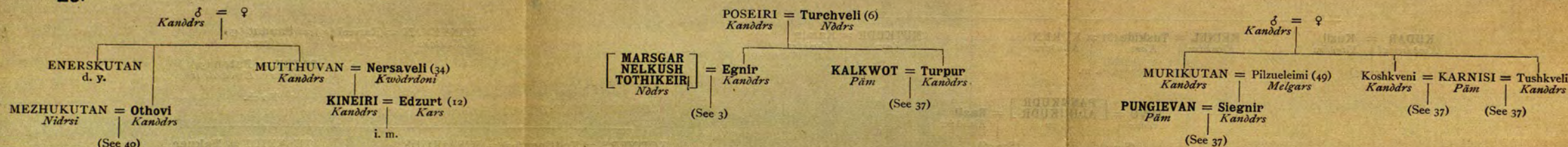
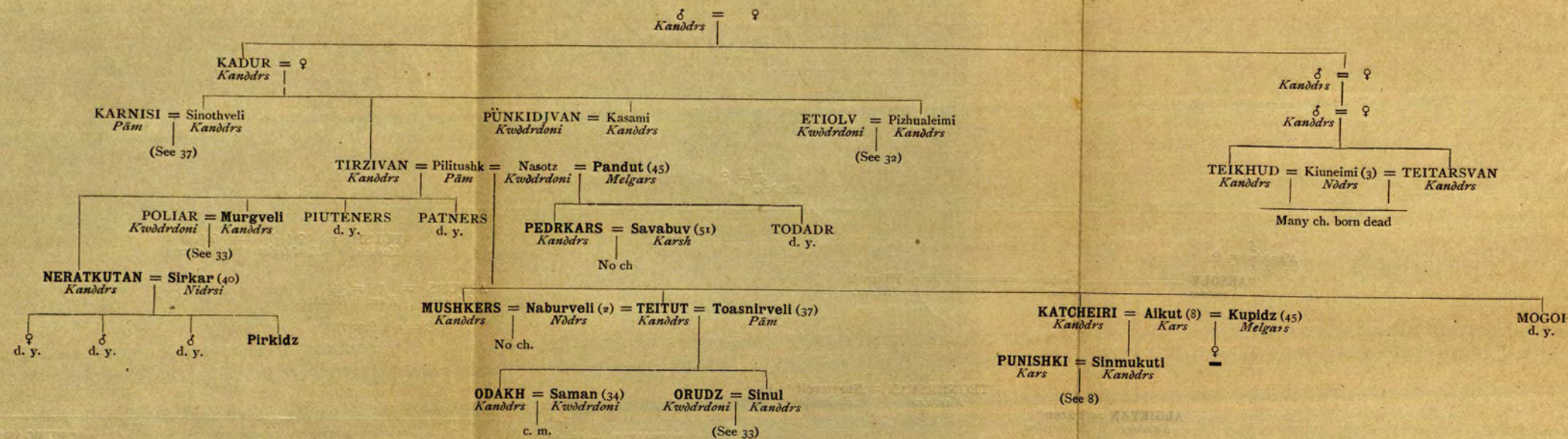
Espur

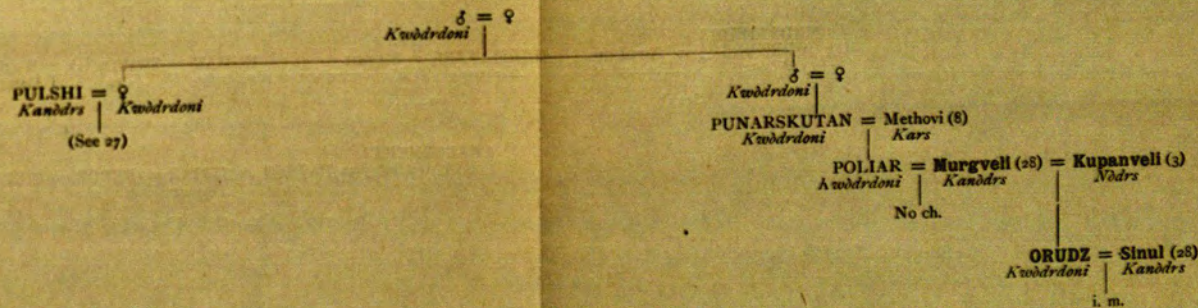
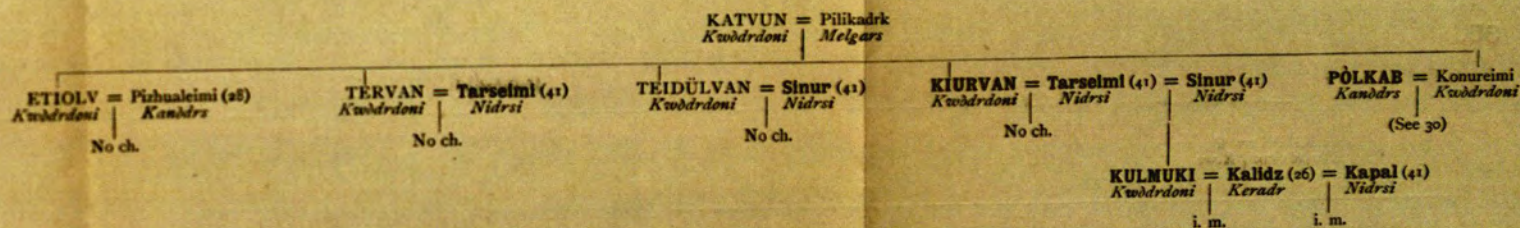
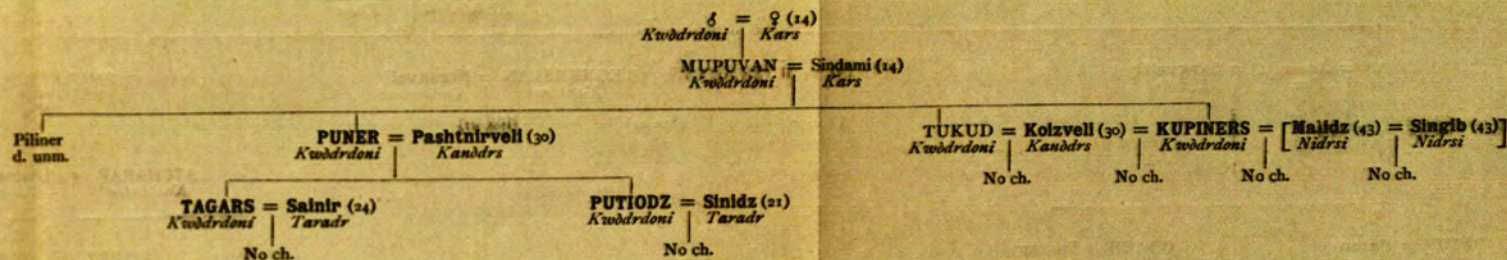
Isom

KADENERS

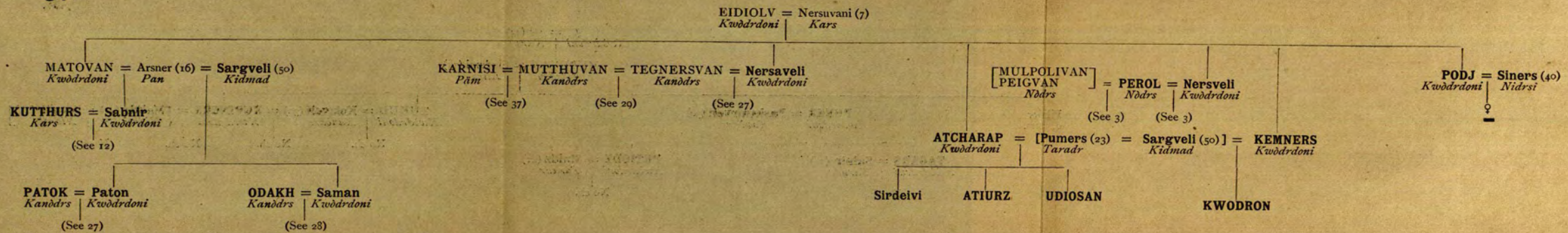




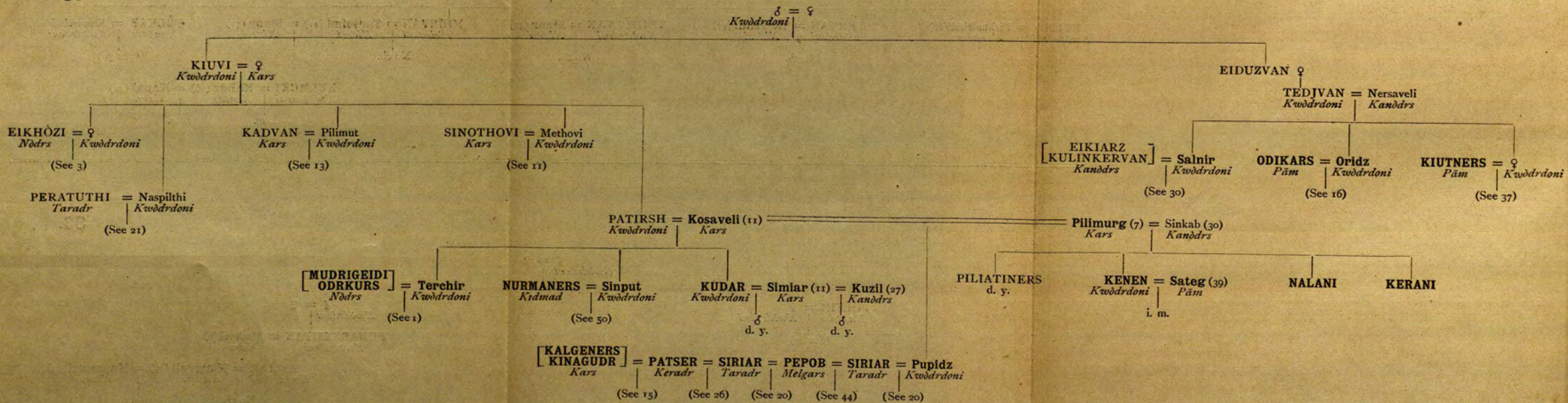


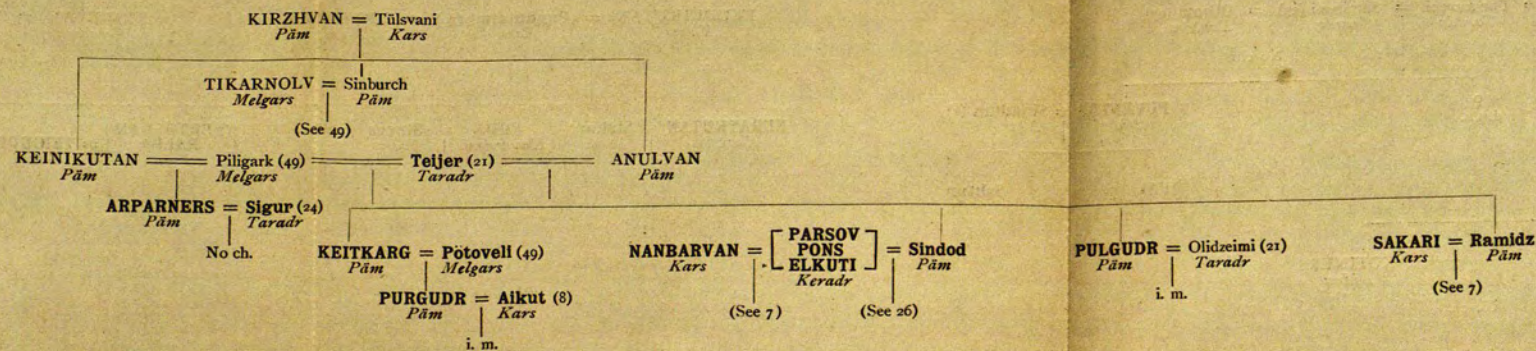
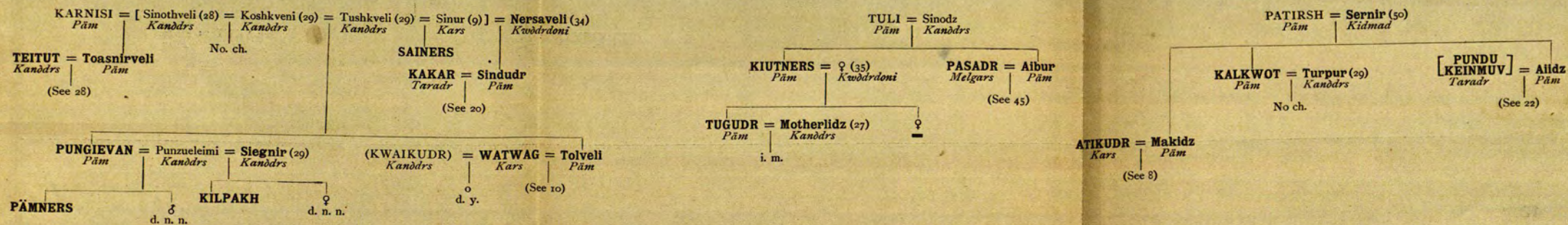
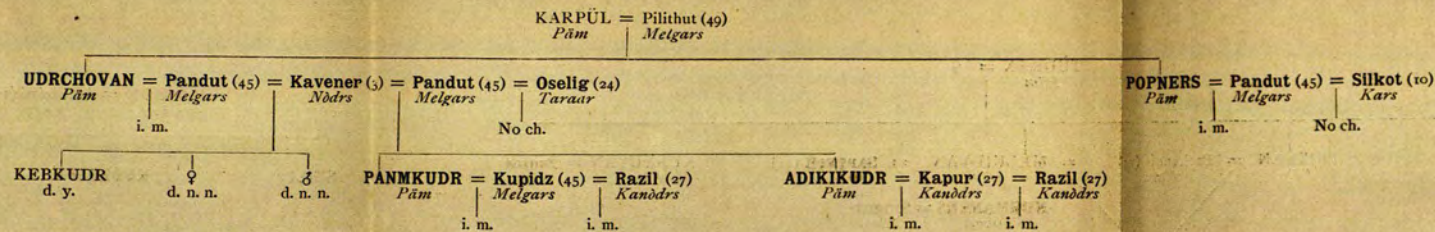


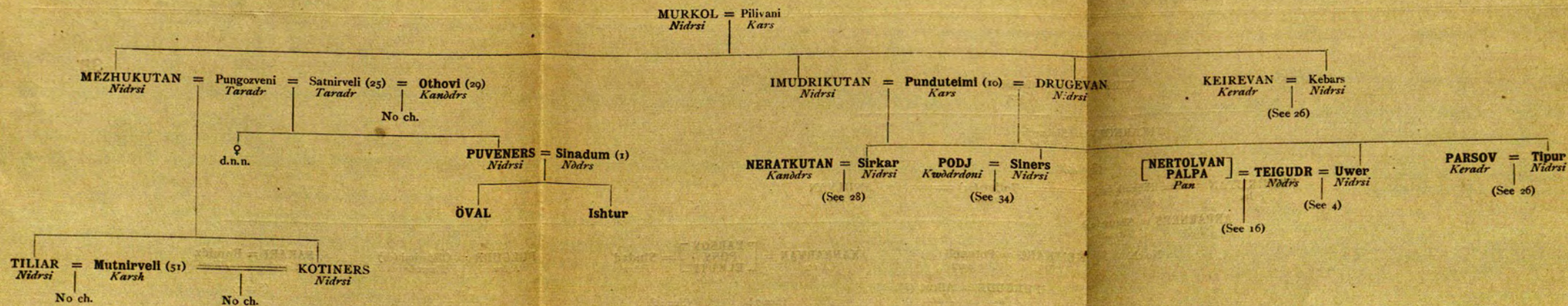
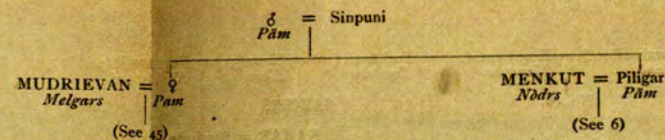
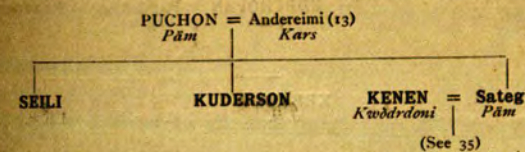
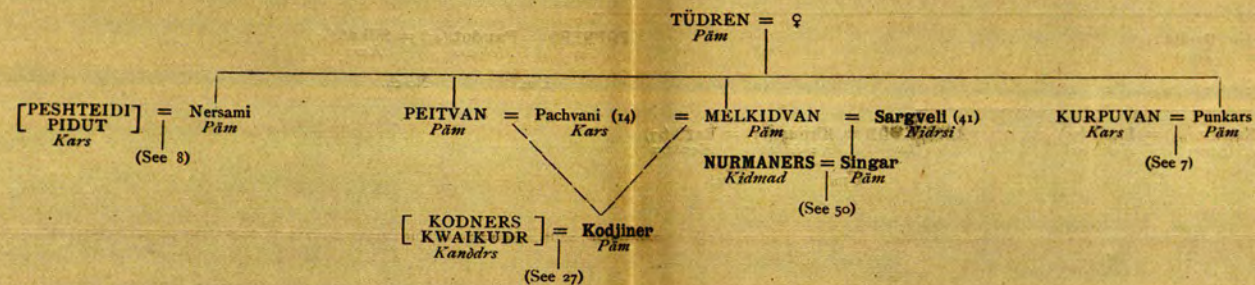
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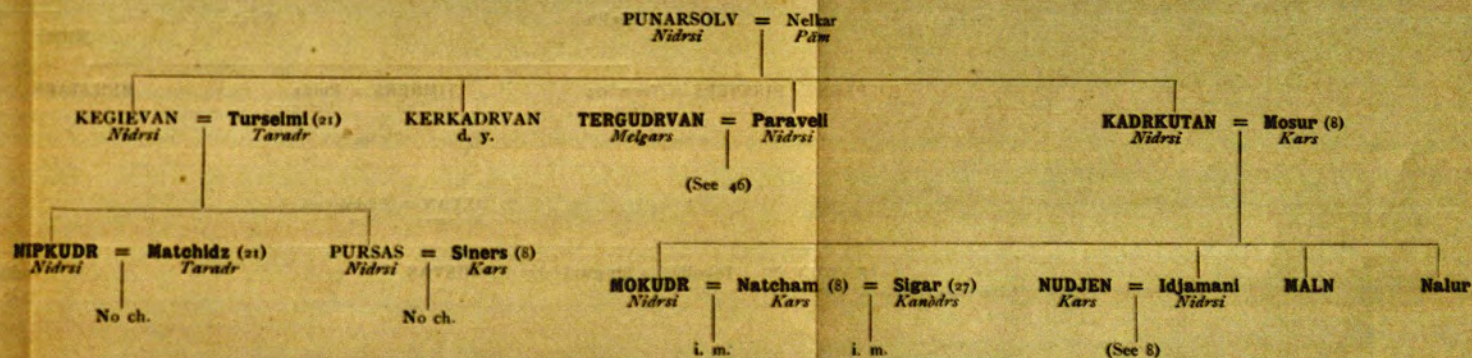
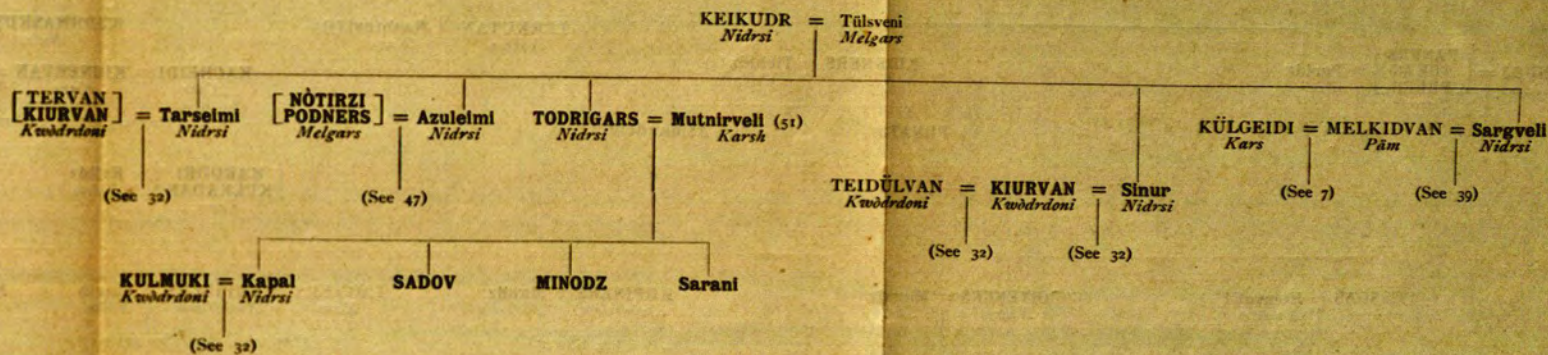


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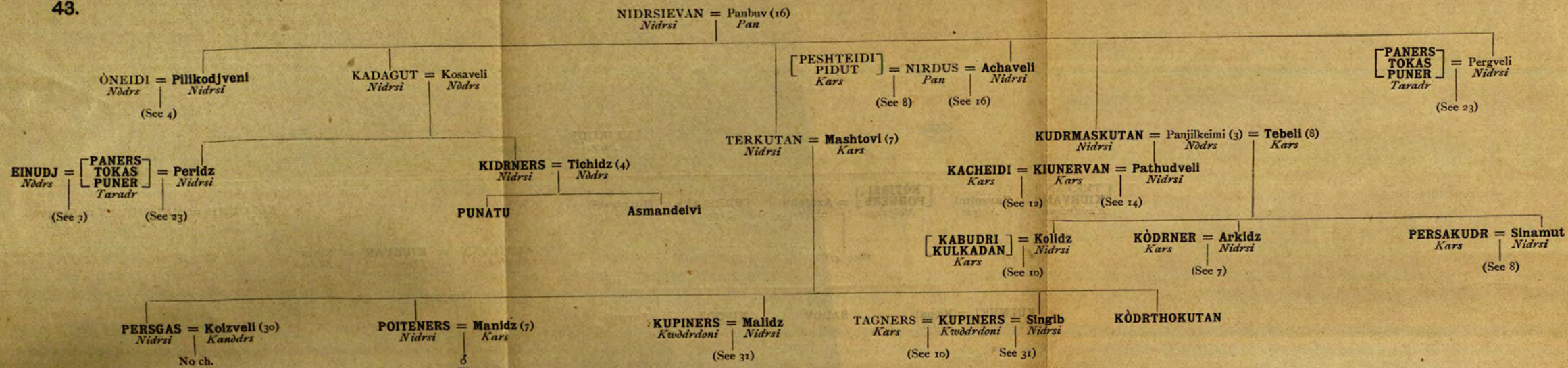




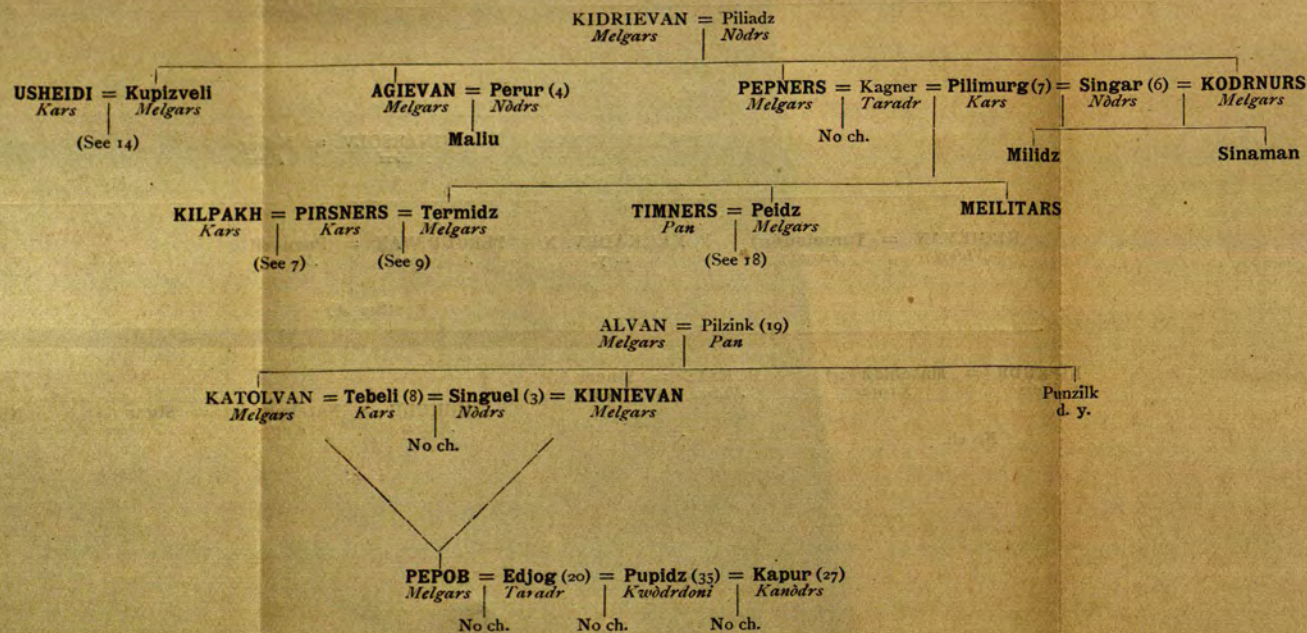


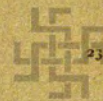
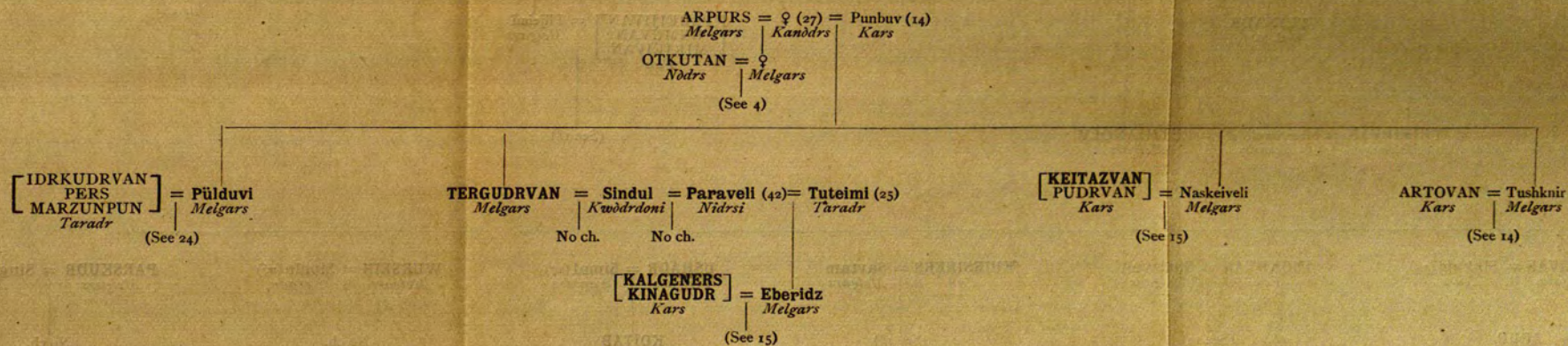
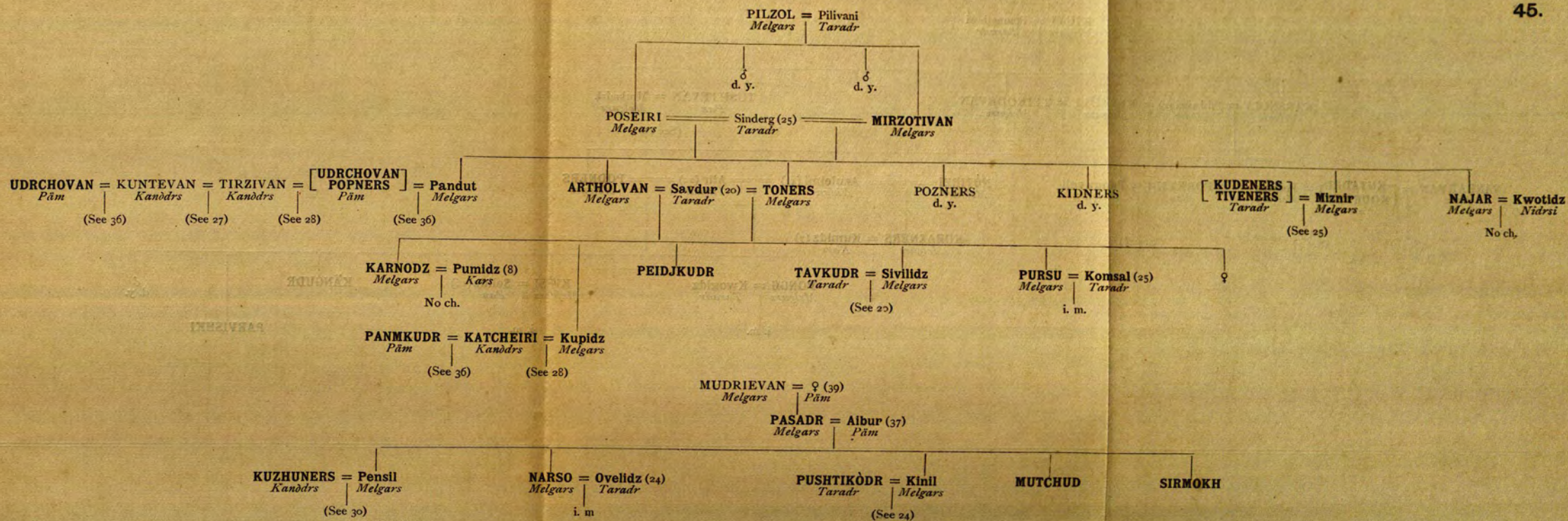


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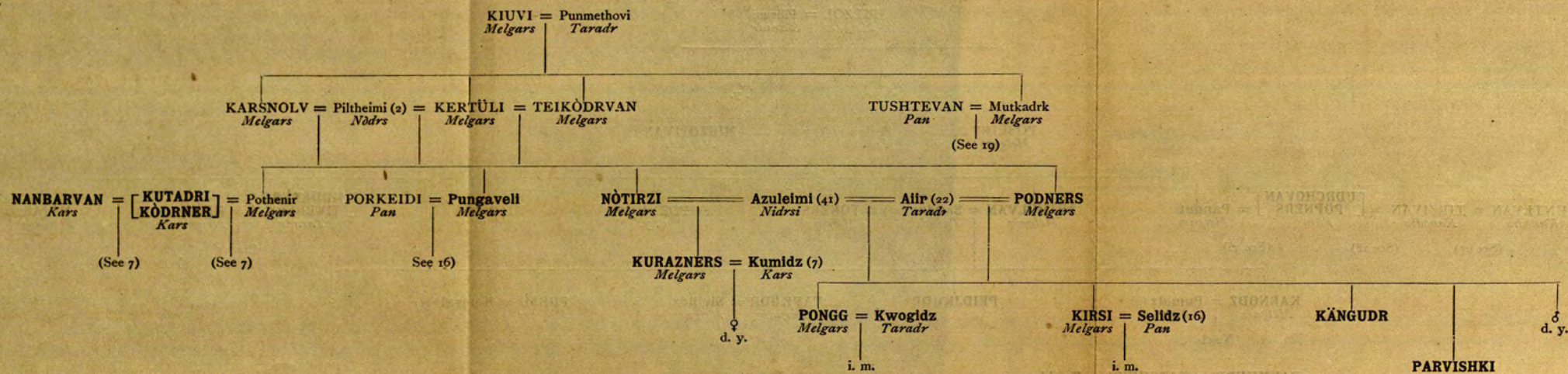


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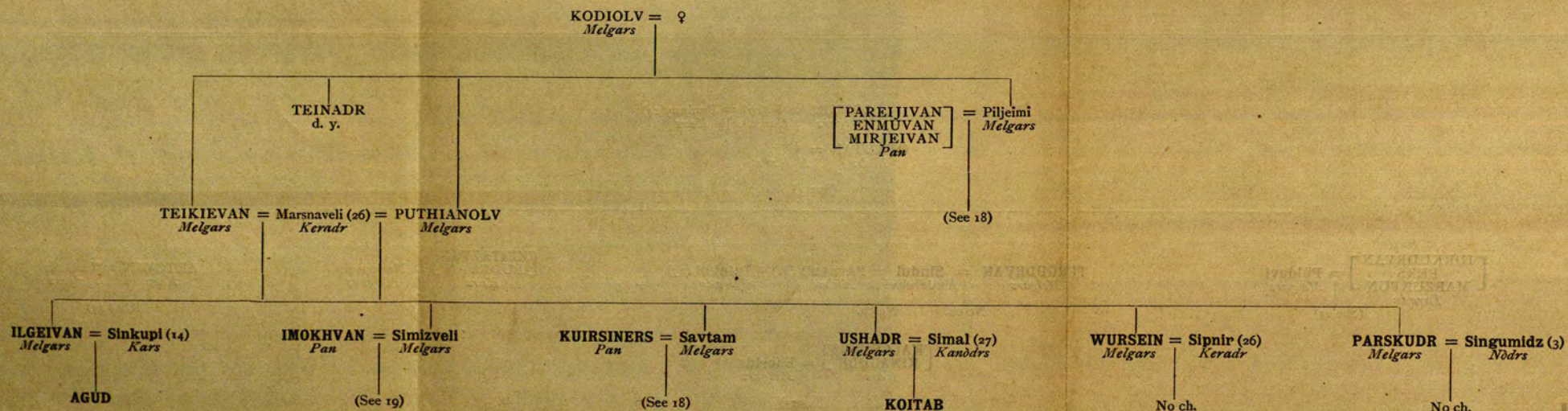


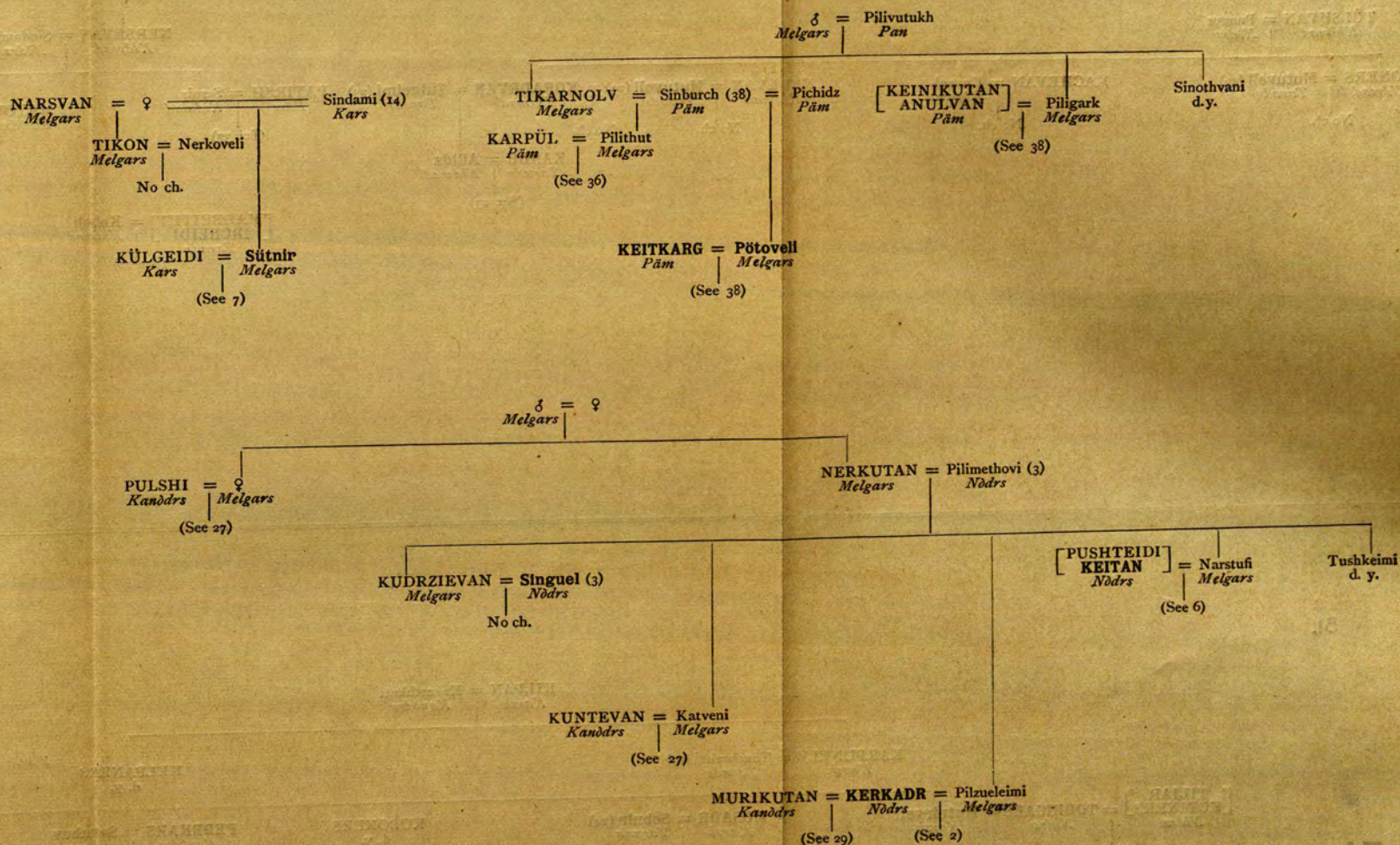


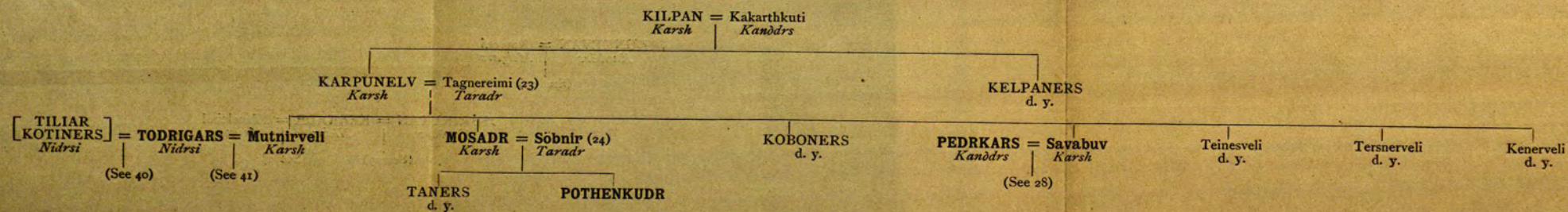
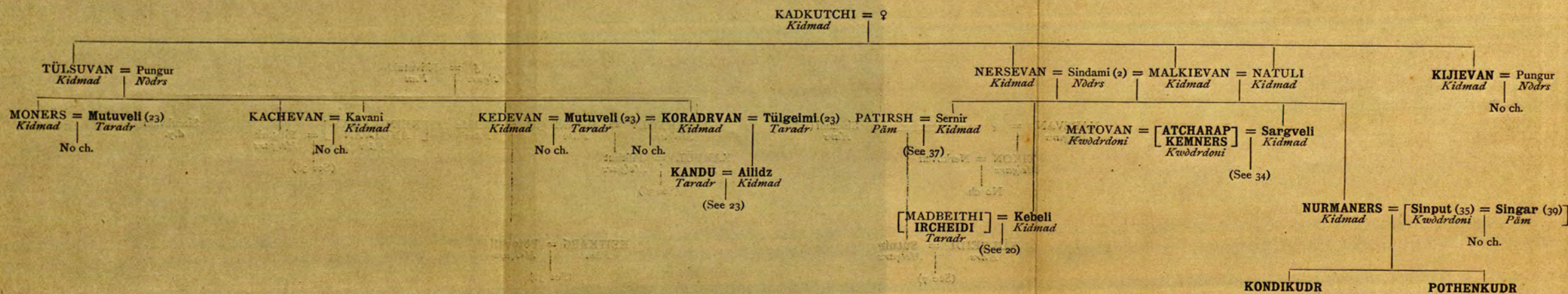
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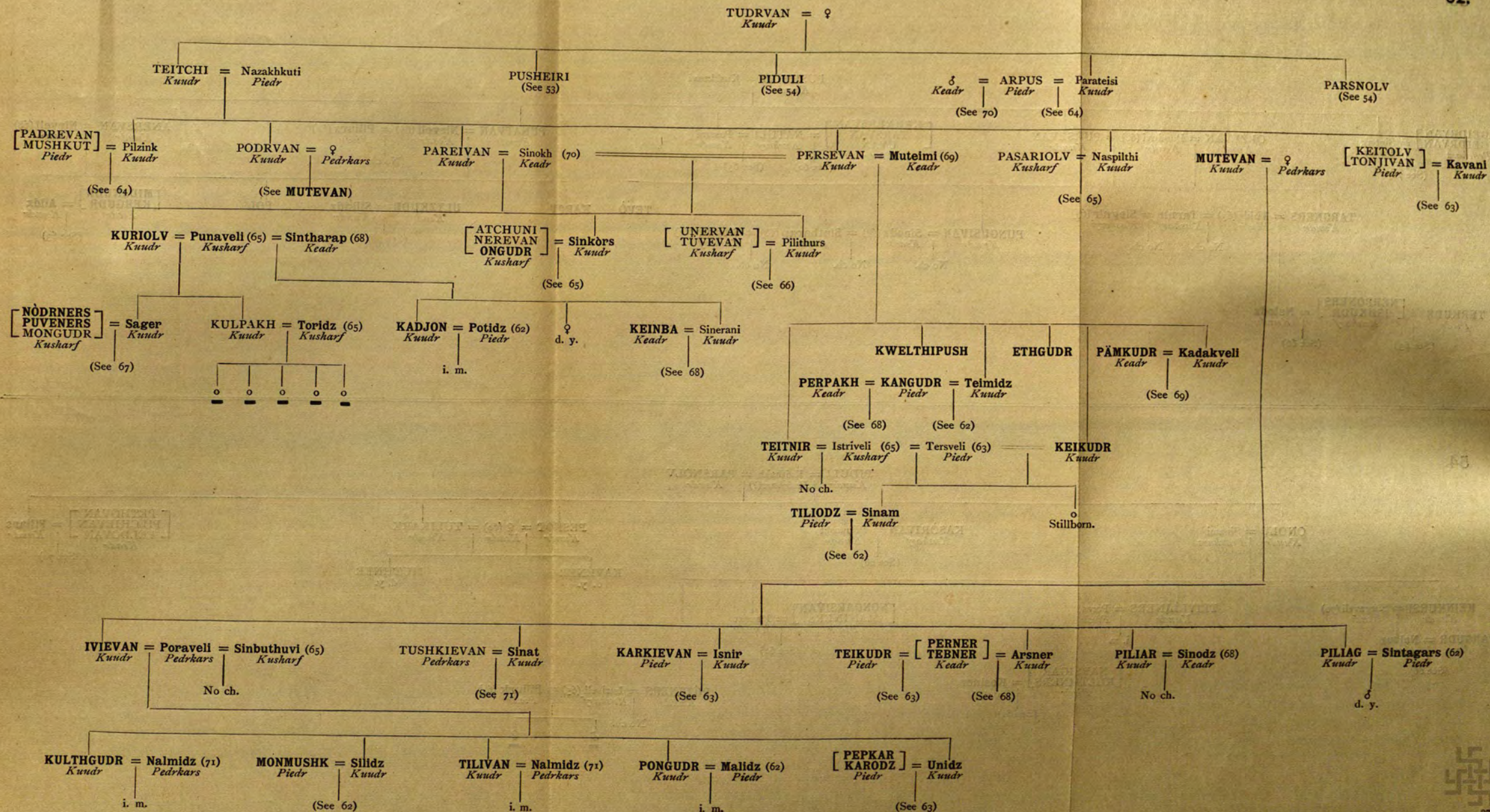


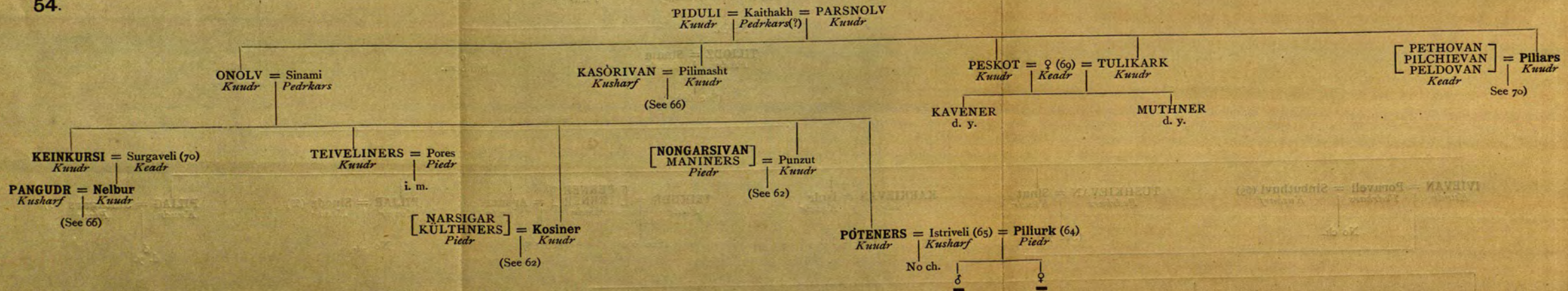
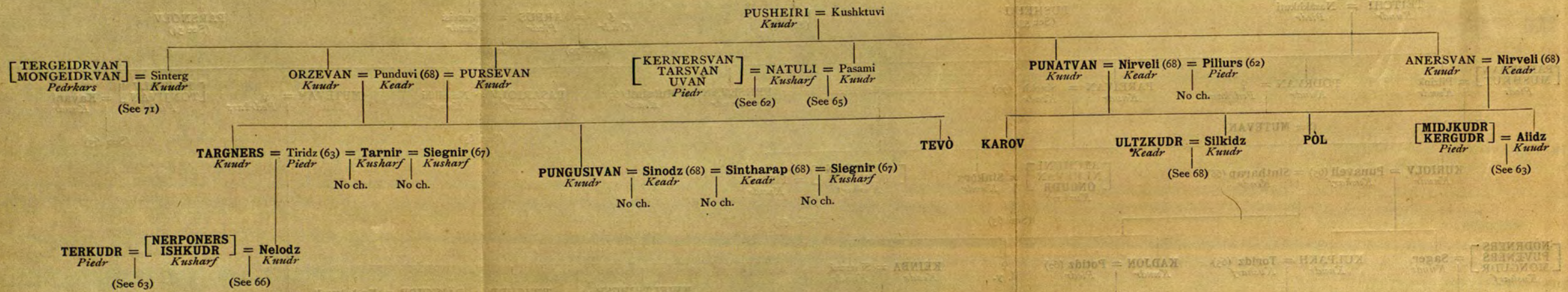
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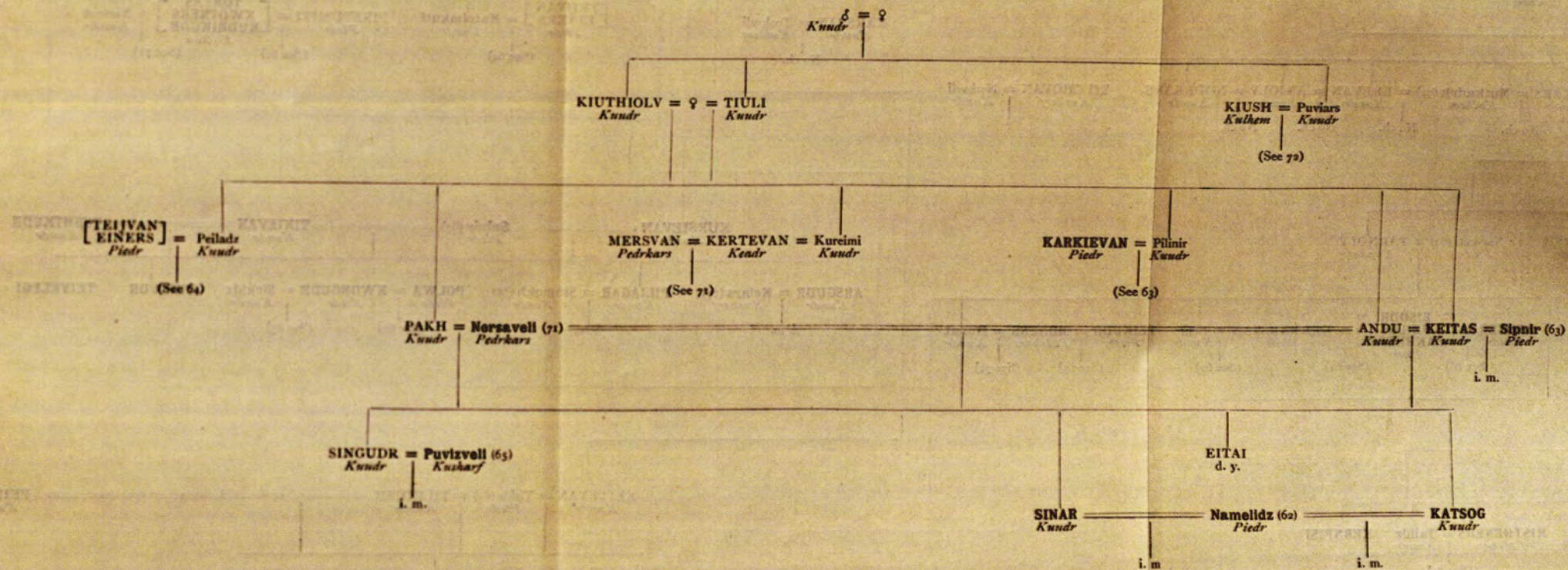


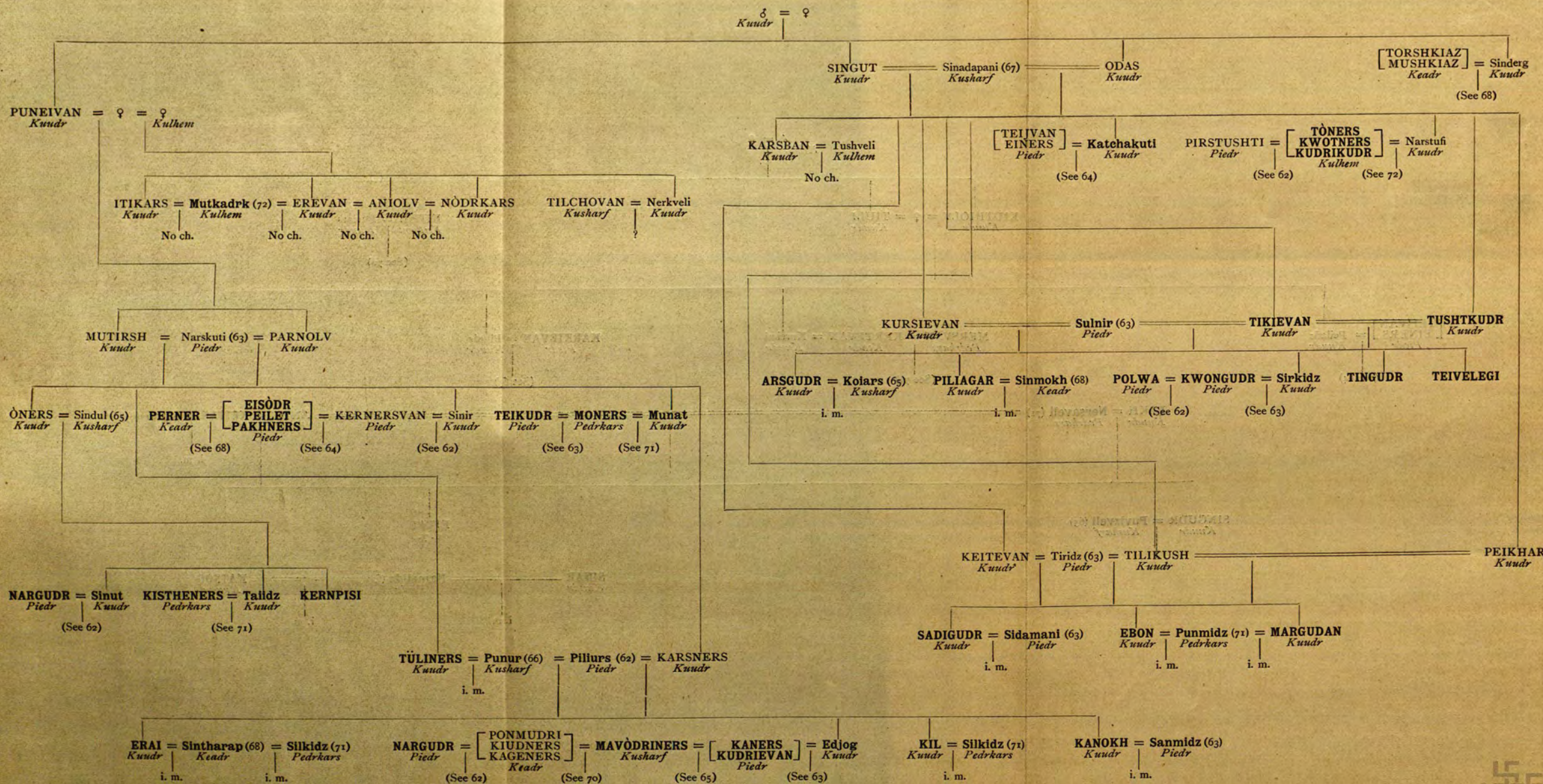


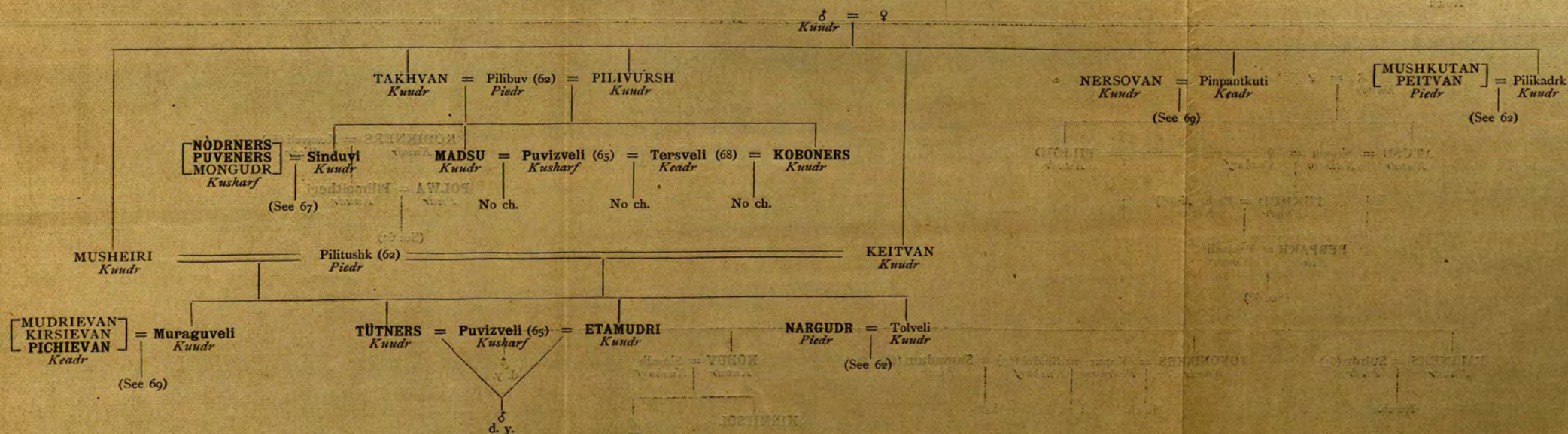
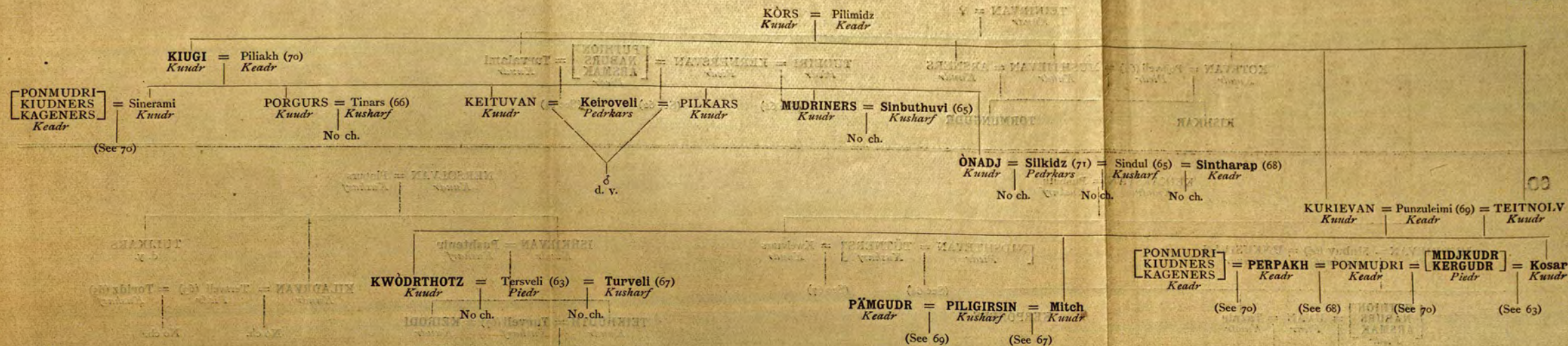


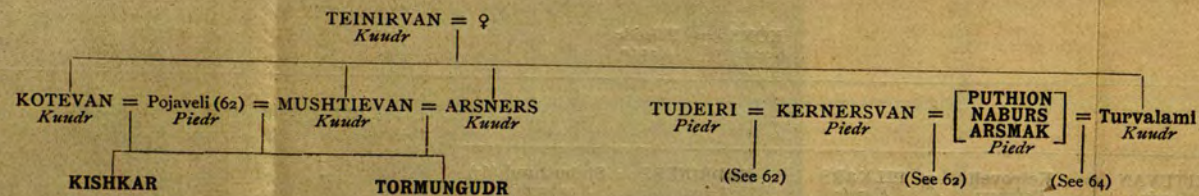




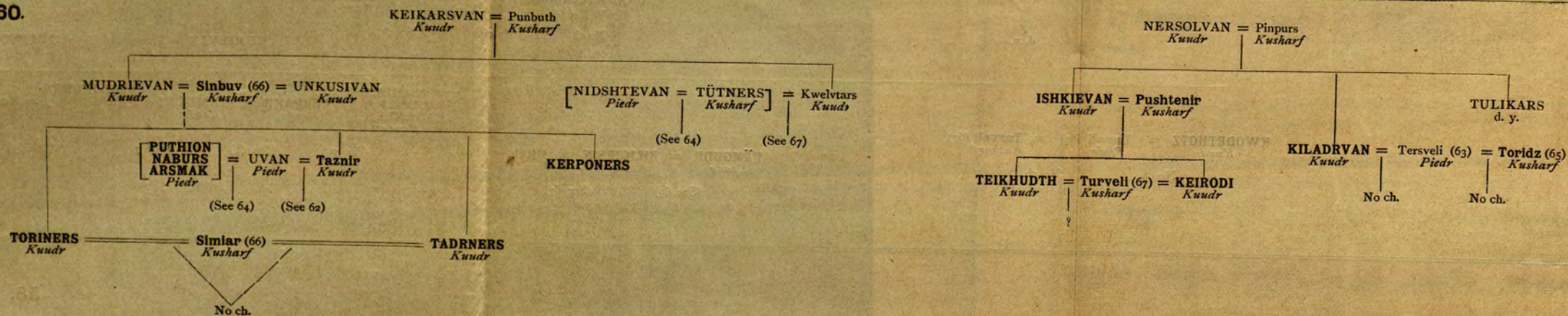




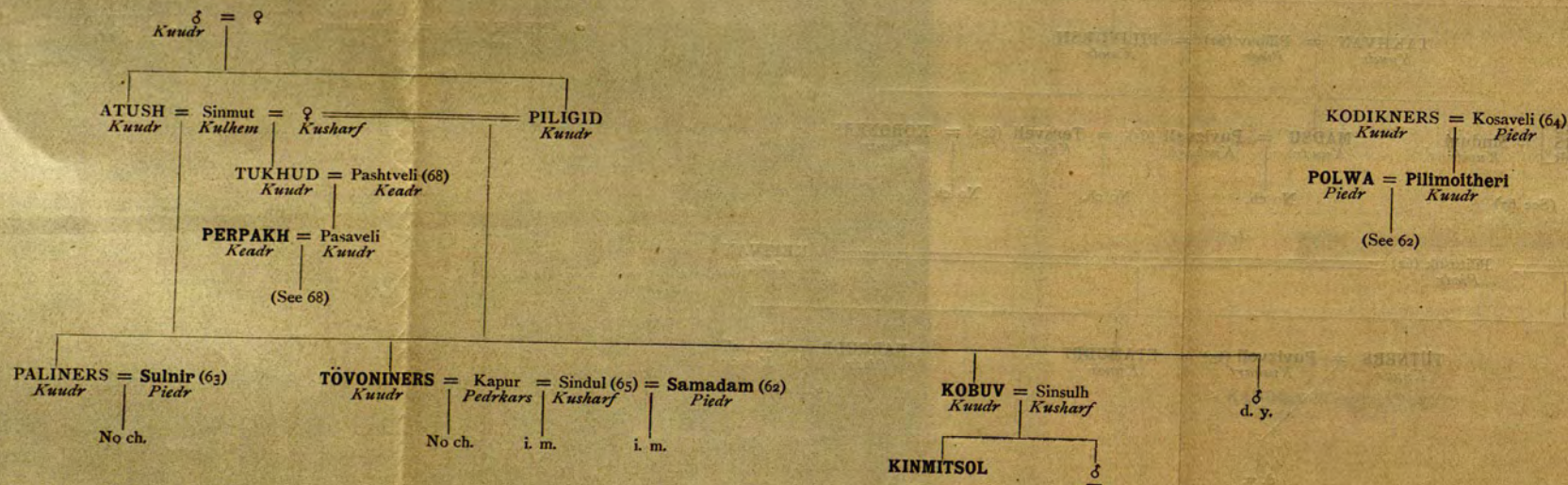


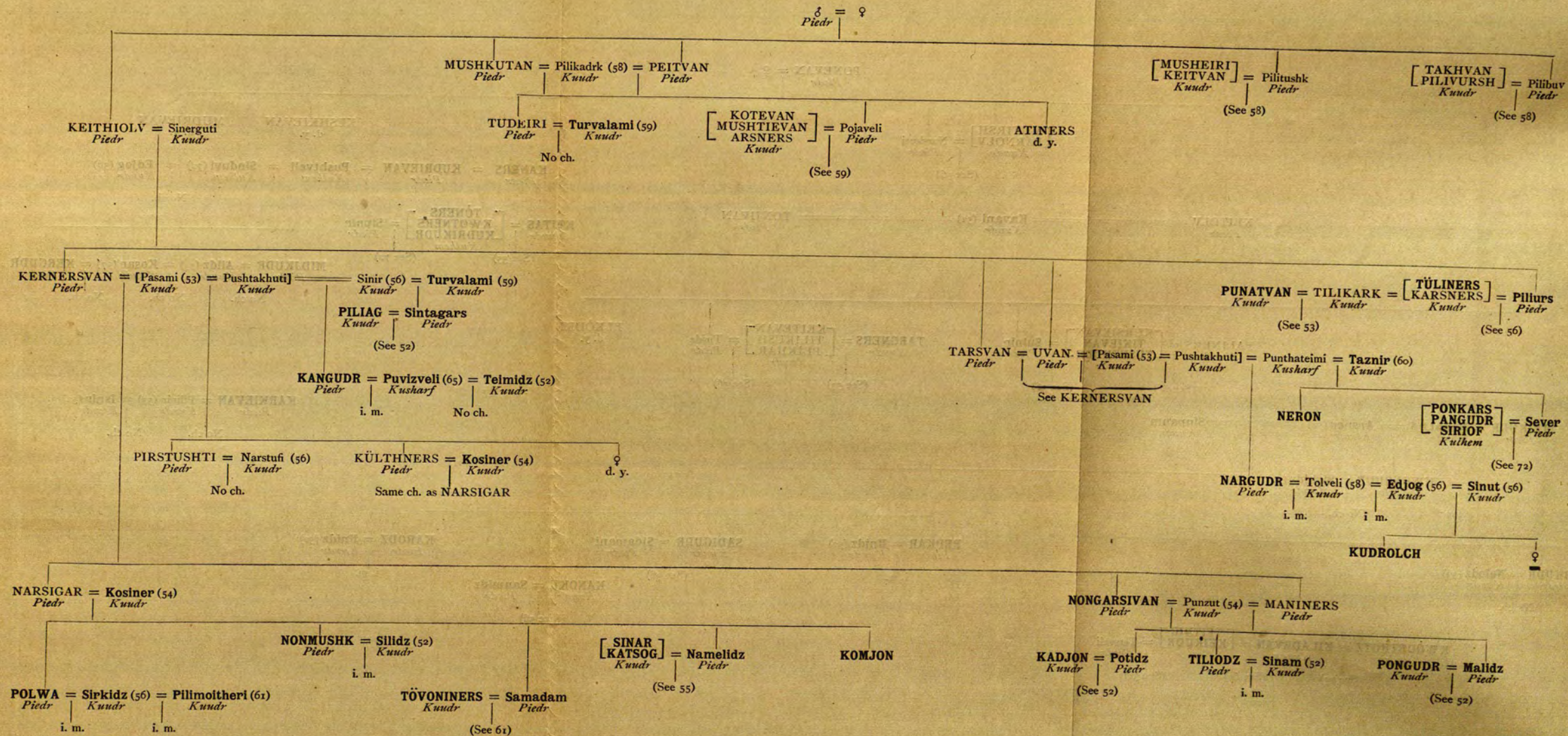


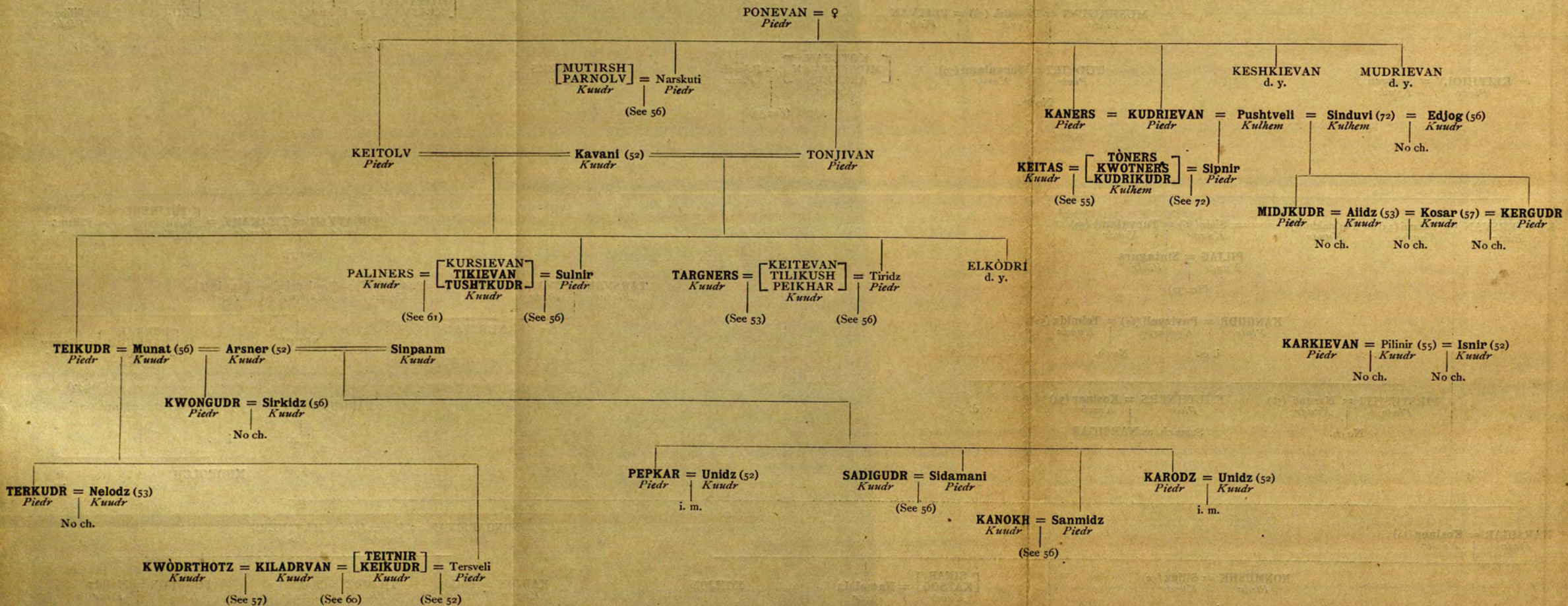
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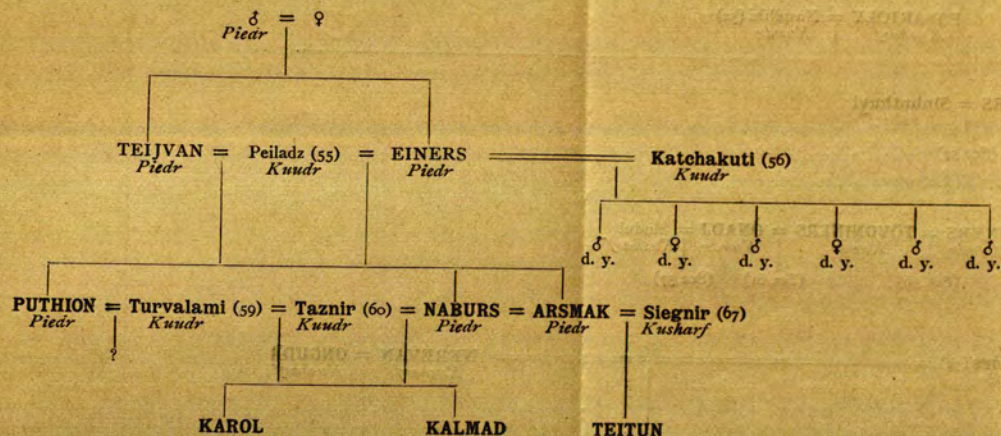


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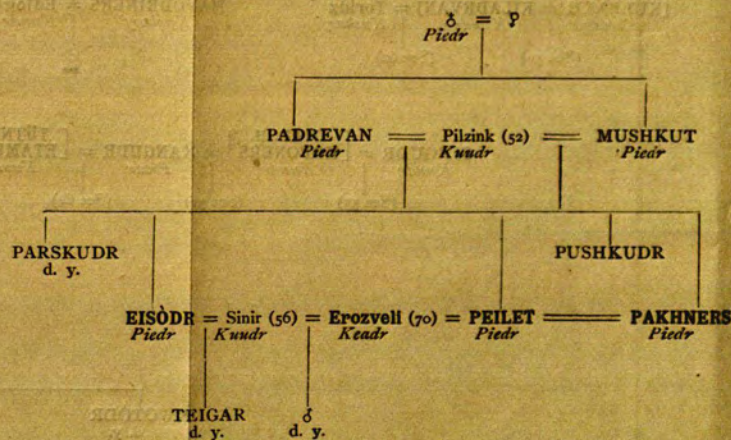
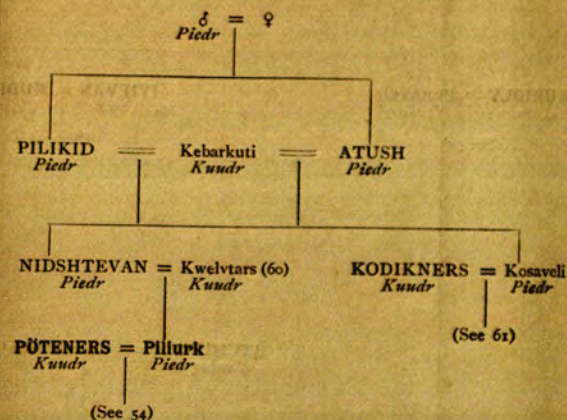


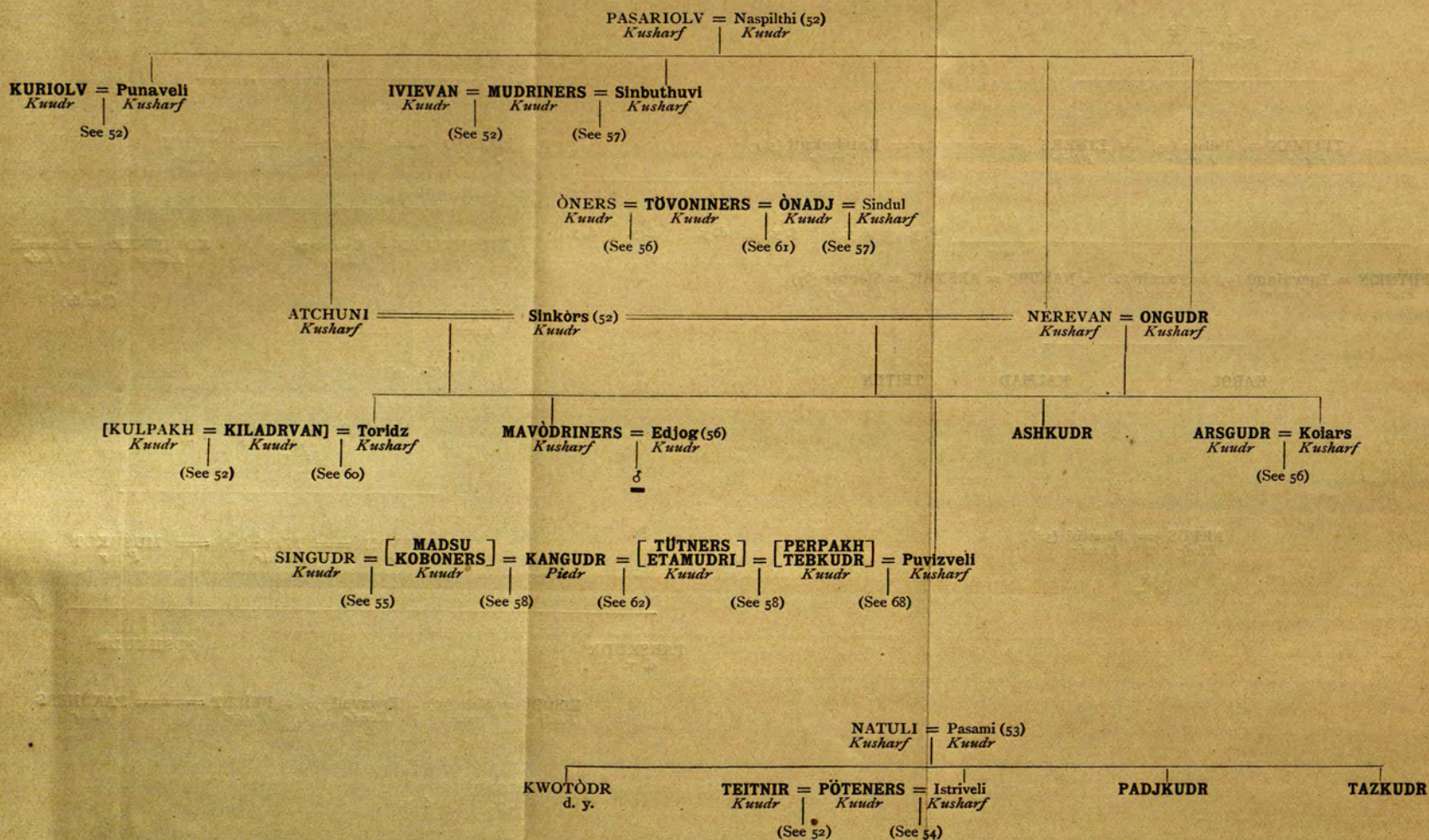


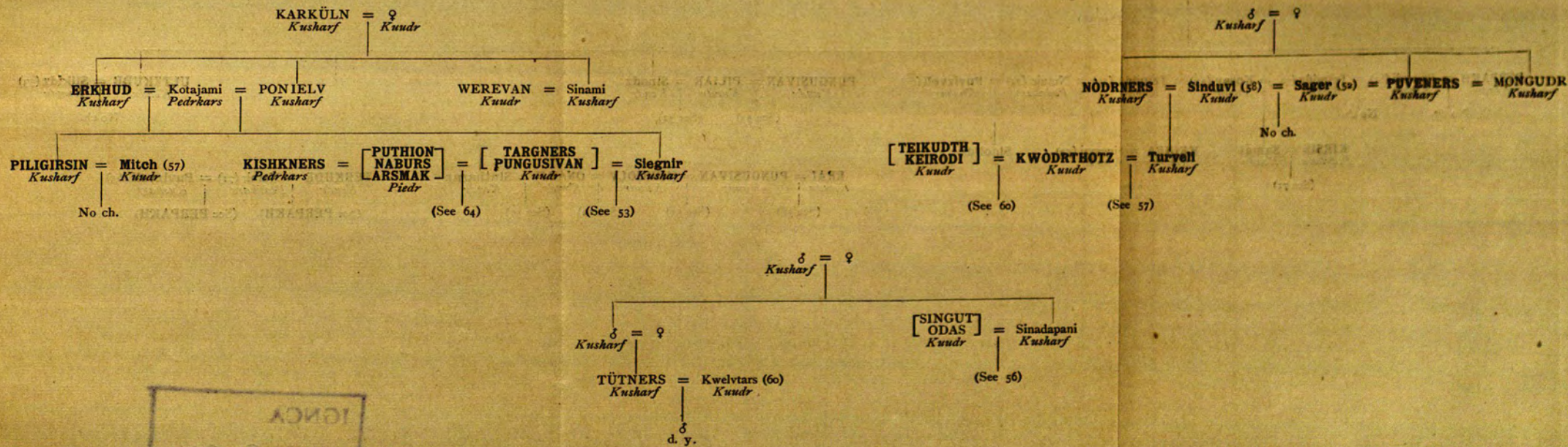
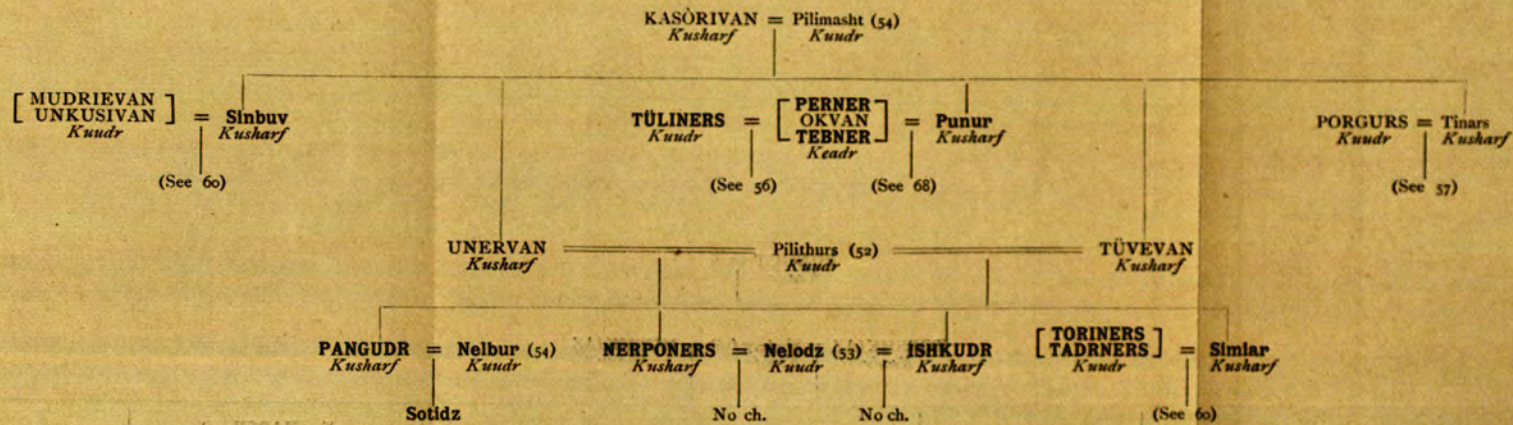




ARPUS = Parateisi (52)
Piedr Kuudr
 d. y.

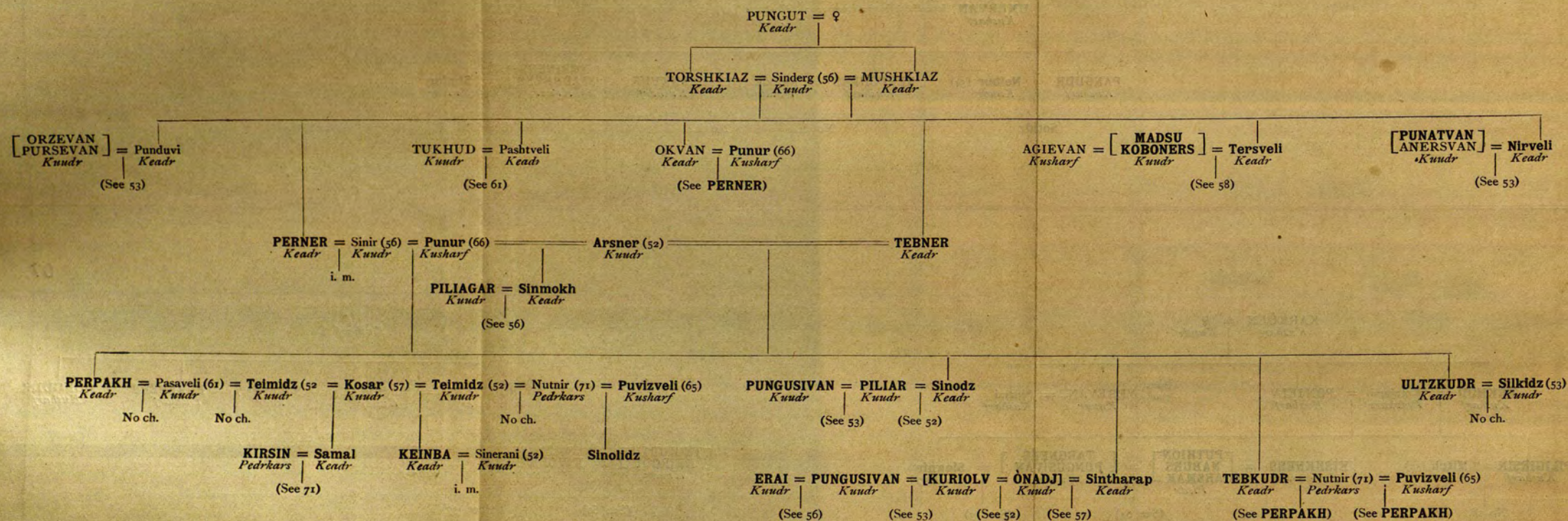






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Acc. No. 91-19275



