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TODA PRAYER.

BY W. H. R. RIVERS, LL.D.

(*Read at Meeting, 20th April, 1904.*)

THE forms of words recorded in this paper are used during the ceremonial which attends the work of a Toda dairy. I have given elsewhere¹ a brief account of the dairy ceremonial. The milking and churning operations in connection with the more sacred of the Toda buffaloes form a complex ritual which has evidently a religious character and at certain stages of this ritual formulæ are recited.

Not only is the daily milking and churning of a ceremonial character, but all the most important incidents of buffalo-life are made the occasions of ceremonies and in the course of these various forms of words are also recited.

I shall confine my attention in this paper to the formulæ which are used in the daily ritual of the Toda dairy. The frequency with which these formulæ are uttered varies with the sanctity of the dairy. In the lower grades of dairy, the prayer is offered only at the afternoon ceremonial. It is said when lighting the lamp before the churning, and it is repeated at the close of the day's work when shutting up the buffaloes in their circular enclosure for the night. In the highest grade of dairy, the prayer is offered twice at the morning operations, once before beginning to churn when lighting the lamp and once when the milking is finished. At the afternoon ceremonial it is offered three times, two corresponding to those of the morning and again when shutting up the buffaloes for the night. The prayer is not the same for all dairies, but there are differences according to the clan and village to which the dairy belongs and according to the grade of dairy in which the prayer is used.

¹ *Man*, 1903, p. 175.

All the prayers, however, are of the same general type, though varying greatly in length and subject-matter.

The prayer always consists of two parts: one which may be regarded as the prayer proper, and another preliminary portion. The 'prayer proper' consists of a series of clauses, such as "may it be well," "may there be no disease," &c., in all of which buffaloes are implied, the supplication being that the buffaloes may be well and that no ill may befall them.

This part of the prayer should be the same in every dairy, the only differences being probably due to individual preference or carelessness on the part of the dairyman.

The preliminary portion consists of a series of words or sentences called by the Todas *kwarzam* followed by the word *idith*, often contracted into *ith*. The *kwarzam* is most commonly the sacred name of a being or object of reverence. The name used for any being or object in the prayer is not that used in ordinary conversation but is a special name, the *kwarzam* of the being or object. Sometimes the *kwarzam* closely resembles the ordinary name; sometimes it is wholly different. In addition to this kind of *kwarzam*, there are others consisting of sentences referring to incidents in the history of the dairy or in the lives of gods connected with the dairy.

The word *idith* was said to mean "for the sake of," and I adopt this translation here, though I am not confident that it exactly expresses the idea in the minds of the Todas when they use the word.

The following is the usual form of the second part or prayer proper:

<i>Tānenmā</i>	<i>ārūmāmā</i>	<i>tr kark tānenmā</i>
may it be well	may it be well	with the buffaloes and calves
or	or	may it be well
may be blessed	may be merciful	
<i>nā ārk mā</i>	<i>kasan ārk mā</i>	<i>nudri ārk mā</i>
may there be no disease	may there be no destroyer	may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects)

<i>káuel árk má</i>	<i>per kárt pá má</i>	<i>pustht kárt pá má</i>
may there be no	may be kept from (falling	may be kept from floods
wild beasts (tigers, &c.)	down) steep hills	
<i>tut árk má</i>	<i>má un má</i>	<i>maj eu má</i>
may there be no fire	may we have rain	may clouds rise
<i>nir ár má</i>		<i>pul páu má</i>
may water spring		may grass flourish

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence followed by the words :

<i>átham</i>	<i>idith</i>	<i>emk</i>	<i>tánenmá</i>
them	for the sake of	for (or to) us	may it be well

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of those given above were omitted, while others were added, especially requests for protection against special animals, as *pob árk má*, "may there be no snakes," and *pírzi árk má*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdársink erdári ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray," but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows :

"May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

I had much difficulty in obtaining examples of the first portions of the prayers. I finally obtained the complete prayers of four village dairies and two of the prayers of the most sacred or *tí* dairies. I will give here an example of each kind.¹

The following is the prayer used in the dairy of Kuuḍr, the chief village of the chief clan of the Teivaliol division of the Todas. In the first column are given the *kwarsam*,

¹ The full record of these prayers will appear in a work on "The Todas of the Nil iri Hills."

each of which is followed by the word *iqith*. In the second column are given the objects, beings, or incidents to which the *kwazam* refer.

PRAYER OF KUUDR.

<i>Atthkâr</i>	Kuudr village and probably also of the Kuudr clan or Kuudrol.
<i>ðners</i>	Kuudr village.
<i>palitâdrpali</i>	large dairy at Kuudr (<i>tâdrpali</i>).
<i>palikidpali</i>	small dairy at Kuudr (<i>kidpali</i>).
<i>tâdrpalshpalk</i>	lamp (<i>palk</i>) of large dairy.
<i>kidpalshep</i>	all the sacred objects of small dairy.
<i>tâtâdrtho</i>	large buffalo pen (<i>tâ</i>) at Kuudr.
<i>tâkiddâ</i>	small buffalo pen (<i>tâ</i>) at Kuudr.
<i>kâdrtorikkaqr</i>	calf enclosure (<i>kâqr</i>) at Kuudr.
<i>keishkvet</i>	sacred buffaloes (<i>pasthr</i>) of Kuudr.
<i>tarskivan</i>	ordinary buffaloes (<i>putitr</i>).
<i>kanpep</i>	portion of buttermilk (<i>pep</i>) originally given by Teikirzi for <i>pasthr</i> .
<i>âtthpep</i>	portion of <i>pep</i> for <i>putitr</i> .
<i>mutchudkars</i>	stone in buffalo pen at Kuudr where the vessels of the large dairy are purified.
<i>tarskikars</i>	stone in pen where the vessels of the small dairy are purified.
<i>nîrkisntr</i>	sacred dairy spring of Kuudr.
<i>Êikisiou</i>	a buffalo whose milk was the origin of the spring.
<i>Pûlmlpûl</i>	a hill near Kuudr.
<i>Emalpâv</i>	a buffalo which once lived at Kuudr.
<i>Kakathâmâk</i>	a hill near Kuudr.
<i>Karstum</i>	a buffalo which once died on this hill.
<i>teikwaqik</i>	a bush by which a certain dairy vessel is buried.
<i>manikiars</i>	the <i>kiars</i> tree by which the sacred bell (<i>mans</i>) is laid when the dairy things are being purified.
<i>Keikars</i>	a hill near Kuudr.
<i>keitndâi</i>	place where the calf is killed at the Toda sacrifice.
<i>petût pati pathâst r</i>	chief buffaloes given when Teikirzi divided the buffaloes with wand in hand. Literally, "wand with divide chief buffaloes."
<i>pâthion nâkh tarâdr</i>	calf which was the ancestor of the Kuudr <i>putitr</i> .
<i>madj</i>	

Thus, the prayer would run, "*Atthkâr iqith; ðners iqith; palitâdrpali iqith;* and the translation would run, "For the sake of the village and clan of Kuudr;

for the sake of the village of Kuuḍr; for the sake of the large dairy of Kuuḍr;"

This prayer begins with two *kwarzam* of the village or clan, followed by others referring to the dairies and dairy vessels, buffalo pens and buffaloes. Then follow certain *kwarzam* of *pep* or buttermilk which is of great ceremonial importance in the dairy ritual,¹ and of stones of importance in the ceremonies attending purification of the dairy vessels. After the *kwarzam* of the dairy spring, there follow a number of *kwarzam* referring to certain incidents in the history of the dairy. Eikisiov is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuuḍr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground became swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring. The two following *kwarzam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. *Karstum* is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathû-mûk. It began to bellow and could not be induced to stop. The people tried to take the buffalo back to the pen. It would not go, but died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarzam* are followed by two referring to bushes or trees of ceremonial importance and then by the *kwarzam* of a hill near the village on which there are cairns and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarzam* of a different kind. The first refers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand or staff, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the form "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes with the wand." The last *kwarzam* is that of the calf from which the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir* of Kuuḍr are descended, but I was unable

¹ See *Man*, 1903, p. 175.

to ascertain the literal meaning of the words, with the exception of *ndkh*, which is the Toda name for a three-year-old buffalo.

THE *tî* PRAYER.

The general structure of the prayer of the most sacred dairy or *tî* is the same as that of the village dairy, but it follows more strictly a definite plan, consisting of sections composed respectively of *kwarsam* of the gods, of the buffaloes, and of the dairy. In some dairies *kwarsam* of one kind were of more importance and were recited at greater length; in others, *kwarsam* of other kinds had greater prominence. The following prayer is that of the *tî* belonging to the Kars clan, and is used at the chief dairy of the *tî* at Makars. In it the *kwarsam* of the gods and of the buffaloes predominate.

The prayer is recorded in the same manner as that of Kuuḍr, each *kwarsam* being followed by the word *idith*.

THE PRAYER OF MAKARS.

<i>Anto</i>	The god Anto.
<i>Nõtirzivan</i>	Nõtirzi.
<i>Kûlinkars</i>	Kûlinkars or Teikhars.
<i>Kuzkârû</i>	Korateu.
<i>Onkonm</i>	Onkonm who lives on a hill in the Kundahs.
<i>Kîrsam meidjam</i>	Teikirzi and Tirshti.
<i>Azo</i>	Azo and Mazo.
<i>Mazo</i>	
<i>Katadravanopoh</i>	place near Kûlinkars.
<i>Prigwa</i>	god living on hill near Makurti Peak.
<i>Karmunteu</i>	Karmunteu.
<i>Kotagârth</i>	the Paikara river (Teipakh).
<i>Kondilteu</i>	Kondilteu, a god opposite the hill of Kûti.
<i>Mîndilteu</i>	a god on a hill near the last.
<i>Onâtpoh</i>	place near Madjoḍr.
<i>Kuladrzenten</i>	god on a hill near Kaladrtho.
<i>kaban adi arten teu</i>	"iron door shut god"
<i>kaban kâl sîten</i>	"iron stick held god."
<i>teu</i>	
<i>mîḍrs ver arten teu</i>	"mîḍrs tree under event god,"

<i>kāgh tr kādr</i>	"crooked horned buffalo horn cut god."
<i>kwaten teu</i>	
<i>tekkāter at, tan</i>	"imitation buffalo horns took, his mother's brother's lap
<i>mun magrik teu</i>	god."
<i>māvel kāritan teu</i>	"sambhur from calved god." (The last six <i>kwarsam</i>
	refer to the story of Kuzkarv.)
<i>pūlnerkārz</i>	buffaloes of <i>tī</i> called <i>pūrstr</i> .
<i>teṭnṣrkan</i>	buffaloes of <i>tī</i> called <i>pūrstr</i> .
<i>pīrsk munaki po-</i>	"sun to facing that came buffaloes."
<i>tith tr</i>	
<i>nerk munaki po-</i>	"bell to facing that came buffalo."
<i>tith tr</i>	
<i>putādr mun ke-</i>	" <i>tādr</i> tree back rubbed buffalo."
<i>kith tr</i>	
<i>Kītheri kāth eth-</i>	"Kitheri stream to jumped buffalo."
<i>kith tr</i>	
<i>pātāsh katith tr</i>	"desolate pen from made buffalo."
<i>Warwark ethkith</i>	"Warwar (stream) to jumped buffalo."
<i>tr</i>	
<i>er khuberam kiṭj</i>	"seven heaps buffalo-dung fire setting buffaloes."
<i>erdith tram</i>	

Then there follow twenty-six more *kwarsam* referring to various objects at the different dairies of the *tī*, and then follows the prayer proper, "*tānenmā, tārmāmā. . . .*"

The first sixteen *kwarsam* of the prayer are those of gods or of god-inhabited places. Then follow six *kwarsam* referring to incidents in the life of the god Kuzkarv or Korateu. The following is an abbreviated account of the chief events of this life :—

One day the goddess Teikirzi was going from one village to another when she gave birth to a son in a cave called Teivelkursh, by the side of the stream Kathipakh. The name of the child was Azo-mazo.¹ The after-birth fell into the stream and was washed down to the river Teipakh (the Paikara river) as far as a place called Marsnavai, where two plants were growing called *purs* and *tib* in which the after-birth became entangled. It then slowly

¹ In the prayer two gods are mentioned, Azo and Mazo. It is possible that this is an example of the birth of twins. Unfortunately I omitted to make careful inquiry into this point.

arose and became the boy Korateu. The river god, Teipakh, was the brother of the goddess Teikirzi, so that he was the *mun* or maternal uncle of the boy. Korateu lived in the river or "sat in the lap of his uncle" till he was eight years old, and during that time he often played, making imitation buffalo horns out of wood, as Toda children do at this day.

When Korateu became a man he founded the *tī* dairy at Ōdrtho, and he cut off the horns of a buffalo whose horns grew downwards (*kūghir*) and gave these to the *tī* to be blown every night by the *kāltmokh* or attendant on the dairyman. Korateu was himself dairyman at first, but after a time he went away to the hill Korateu, where he lived in a cave with a door of iron.

Near the hill of Korateu there was a tree of the kind called *mōrs*. This tree was about 80 feet high. Korateu ordered that honey-bees should come to this tree, and soon after there were about 300 nests, which made the tree bend down with their weight. One day about twenty men came to collect honey; Todas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Todas made a fire under the tree and the Kurumbas and Irulas climbed the tree and collected the honey from the nests. When they had collected from all but three or four nests, the tree was so relieved of the burden which had been weighing it down that it sprang back and killed the Kurumbas and the Irulas, and the Todas went home.

At this time Korateu was unmarried. One day¹ a Kurumba woman came to the *mōrs* tree in search of honey. Korateu carried an iron stick and he knocked the woman on the head with this stick and she at once became pregnant. The same evening she gave birth to a daughter who was very beautiful. Korateu sent away the mother and fed the child with milk and fruit, and when she grew up he married her.

¹ I give these events in the order in which they were related to me, but it is probable that this incident should have been given as happening before the death of the Kurumbas and Irulas.

Soon after these events certain Todas went to Korateu and said, "We have no place ; give us a place." Korateu gave them a place and said that it should be called Keraḍr. The people then asked for buffaloes. Korateu gave them a sambhur calf and said that it should become buffaloes for them and that the buffaloes should be called *miniapîr* and the calves should be called *mâvelkar*, and the sacred buffaloes or *wîrsulîr* of the Keraḍr clan are descended from the sambhur calf and are called *miniapîr* and their calves are called *mâvelkar*.

The six *kwarzam* referring to incidents in the life of the god Korateu are followed by two *kwarzam* of the buffaloes of the dairy, and then follow six *kwarzam* referring to certain incidents in the history of the foundation of the dairy at Makars. The legend runs as follows :—

When Anto created the buffaloes, one buffalo wearing a bell round its neck went to Makars to the place where the *tîḍr* tree now stands. The buffalo rubbed its back against the tree, and some bark was rubbed off, and it is owing to this that the place became a *tî*, the dairy being built near the tree. When it reached Makars, the buffalo was very angry because there was no dairyman at the place and it raged furiously. While jumping about with rage, it jumped over the stream called Warwar, and after jumping over some stones it fell into the stream called Kitheri, but it succeeded in getting out and did not die. The buffalo was also angry that there was no pen, and it pushed stones together with its horns and made a pen.

The *kwarzam* following these refers to an incident in the history of the dairy. The *kwarzam* runs "seven heaps buffalo-dung fire setting buffaloes." The practice at the dairy was to make seven heaps of the buffalo-dung, and there was a law that this dung should not be sold. Once, however, the dairyman sold some and soon after the seven heaps broke out into fire, and the event has since been commemorated in the prayer. This is almost certainly an

example of the commemoration in the dairy prayer of a recent event, for the practice of selling buffalo-dung has probably only arisen since the advent of European tea-planters to the Nilgiri Hills.

The prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who overhears the prayer. I have several times stood outside a dairy and heard the prayer being recited by the dairyman within the building. I only heard a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. At the *tī* village of Mòdr I one day stood outside the dairy and heard the beating of a dairy vessel which accompanies the first prayer at this grade of dairy. At intervals in the noise there was a distinct pause. We have seen that in some dairies the *kwarsam* fall into definite groups, the *kwarsam* of the gods, of the buffaloes, &c., and I inquired whether the pauses occurred between and served to mark off these various groups. It seemed clear that this was not the case, but that the dairyman recited the words till he was out of breath, and that a pause was entirely due to the necessity of taking in a fresh breath.

Of the various features of interest presented by these formulæ, one which will especially interest students of folklore is the close relation between the formulæ and the legends of the people who use them. To the investigator of folklore, it is always very satisfactory to meet with the same fact or set of facts in different connections. When one man tells a legend or story of the past and later, another reveals a prayer which contains clauses agreeing with and rendered intelligible by the previously received legend or story, the investigator feels that the value of both parts of his information is enhanced. The mutual corroboration of lines of evidence collected from different individuals and at different times is a most valuable indication of the authenticity of the record as a whole. Further, many of the *kwarsam* of the Toda prayer suggested paths towards

the acquisition of Toda folklore which might otherwise have remained undiscovered and no small amount of my collection of Toda legends is due to clues given in the few prayers I was able to collect. If I had had time and persuasive power to collect the whole stock of the formulæ of the Toda dairies, I believe that I should have been put on the track of a collection of Toda folklore of which the legends I have actually succeeded in collecting would form an insignificant proportion.

Another of the interesting features of the formula is the change which has taken place and may still be going on in the relative importance of the two parts of the prayer. The first portion consisting of the *kwarsam* is now the most important part, while the words which seem to be of the nature of actual prayer are now often slurred over or may even be largely omitted. It seemed to me that the prayer proper was even now still undergoing a process of atrophy, and if it should disappear we should have only the series of *kwarsam*—a form of words which no one could recognise as prayer.

A further point of interest is that the Toda prayer suggests a possible explanation of some cases of meaningless religious formulæ. It is a familiar fact to students of comparative religion that the words used in religious formulæ are sometimes entirely meaningless to those who use them. The commonly accepted explanation is that the words of the formulæ belong to a forgotten language. We know that change or great modification of language is a very common phenomenon among primitive peoples, and it is supposed that the ancient language, or the more ancient form of the language, persists in connection with religious observances long after it has become entirely obsolete in ordinary life. There is little doubt that this is the correct explanation in many cases, but the nature of the Toda *kwarsam* suggests a possible alternative. There is little doubt that the Todas are now forgetting much of their mythology, or rather that their older legends are being

displaced from their memories by others of more recent date. Should these ancient legends be forgotten, many of the words in the Toda prayer would become meaningless to those who use them. If the story of Korateu were forgotten, six of the clauses of the Makars prayer would be unintelligible to the dairyman who five times a day recites them. I believe that this has already happened in some cases; there were certain *kwarsam* which the Todas seemed quite unable to explain, and the last *kwarsam* of the Kuudr prayer on page 169 is one of which only a very incomplete explanation could be given.

I do not think that meaningless religious formulæ are often the outcome of such a process, but I think the Toda prayer should be borne in mind as an example of one way in which a people may come to use forms of words which are devoid of meaning.

A further point of interest lies in the *kwarsam* itself. That objects should have two names, one for sacred purposes and one for every-day use, is, of course, a familiar fact to students of anthropology, but the Toda *kwarsam* is something more than this. The *kwarsam* which are of especial interest are those which consist of sentences rather than words, sentences expressing actions or incidents either in the lives of the deities or in the history of the institutions in which the words are used. At a Toda funeral, it is customary to recite the virtues of the deceased in the form of sentences to which the name *kwarsam* is also given. These are similar in form to the more complex *kwarsam* of the dairy formula, and it seems possible that after the death of men or buffaloes whose lives had had in them something of the miraculous, *kwarsam* were inserted in the prayers of the same kind as those used in the funeral songs, or, to put it in another way, that when the Todas wished to commemorate in their prayers a wonderful event, they used the same kind of formula which they were in the habit of using when extolling the virtues of their dead.

This incantation was freely rendered as follows: For the sake of Pithioteu, Òn, Teikirzi and Tirshti; by the power of the gods if there be power; by the gods' country if there be a country;¹ may his calves perish; as birds fly away may his buffaloes go when the calves come to suck; as I drink water, may he have nothing but water to drink; as I am thirsty, may he also be thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears only a ragged cloth, so may his wife wear only a ragged cloth.

In the magical incantations, of which this is an example, the names of certain gods are recited, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formula. In the sentences following these names, there seems to be an appeal to the gods, though of a peculiar kind. In this respect it seems that the magical incantation partakes more of the nature of an appeal to the gods than does the dairy formula. Now, if these magical incantations involve an appeal to the deities,—an appeal for a purpose which the Todas themselves would regard as evil,—it seems almost certain that the dairy formula which is directed to call down blessings on, and avert evils from, the buffaloes, must also involve the idea of an appeal to the deities.

It may seem remarkable that there should be more obvious evidence of appeal to higher powers in the magical than in the religious formula, and I am inclined to suggest as a reason the less frequent and less habitual repetition of the former. The dairy formula repeated, day by day, year after year, has been conventionalised and worn down, while the magical incantation, used only when the occasion arises, and handed on from one person to another far less frequently, has retained more clearly the element of appeal to higher powers.

If there is anything in this suggestion, the Toda prayer might be regarded as the result of a process of degradation,

¹ I am very doubtful whether the meaning of this and the preceding clause is correctly given in these words.

representing a downward stage in the progress of the Toda religion. There is some reason to think (it is little more than surmise) that we have in the Todas an example of a people who have had a higher degree of civilisation than they now possess. It may be that some of the higher features of the Toda religion have disappeared; that with the great development of the ritual aspect, some of the higher aspects have suffered and that one of the features which has atrophied is prayer. As we have seen, it is in favour of this view that the part of the dairy formula which most closely resembles prayer is tending to disappear.

If the nature of the magical incantation of the Todas be held to afford indirect evidence that the dairy formula involves the idea of appeal to higher powers, there still remains the question whether this appeal is a supplication or a demand. In the case of the magical incantation, I have no information as to the mental attitude of the Toda sorcerer. I do not know whether he is asking the four gods to injure his enemy, or whether he imagines he can compel the gods to do what he wishes by merely using the formula. In the case of the dairy formula, I have also no clear information as to whether the dairyman is asking or compelling, but the way in which the people spoke of these formulæ gave me the general impression that they were asking benefits from the gods. There is no doubt that the Todas regard the gods as beings who have power to inflict punishment in the case of any infringement of the laws regulating the procedure of the dairy, and there can be little doubt that they believe the gods to be equally capable of conferring benefits and averting evil.

In addition to prayer and magical incantation, a third kind of formula probably exists. There is little doubt that people sometimes use forms of words which are regarded as having virtue in themselves without any idea of appeal to higher powers. The Indian *mantra* seems often to be a formula of this kind. The question arises whether the

Toda dairy formula is of this nature. It seems more probable that the Toda formula furnishes an example of the way in which the *mantra* or similar form of words may be developed. I have already shown that the dairy formula is probably a prayer in process of degeneration. This process has to go but little farther to produce a form of words which no one could recognise as prayer, and in this stage the words would probably be held to have virtue in themselves without any idea of appeal to higher powers.

It seems probable that such a form of words as the Indian *mantra* may arise in two ways. In one, it is merely a development of that lower order of magic spell which involves no idea of higher powers, because those who use it have no idea of higher powers. In the other, it is a product of the degeneration of prayer, and the Toda prayer possibly shows us a stage in this degenerative process.

In conclusion, I may point out that the preceding pages have furnished material which shows how close the connection between magic and religion may continue to be, even in a people whose religion is so highly developed as is that of the Todas. Among these people magic and religion have undoubtedly diverged widely from one another. There is a clear separation between sorcerer and dairyman-priest, and yet both use forms of words which are obviously related to one another, bearing clear signs of a common origin. The sorcerer who wishes to injure his fellow-creatures uses a form of words closely resembling that used by the dairyman who wishes to promote the prosperity of his buffaloes, and there is some reason to believe that the attitude to the deities invoked is much the same in the two cases.

W. H. R. RIVERS.