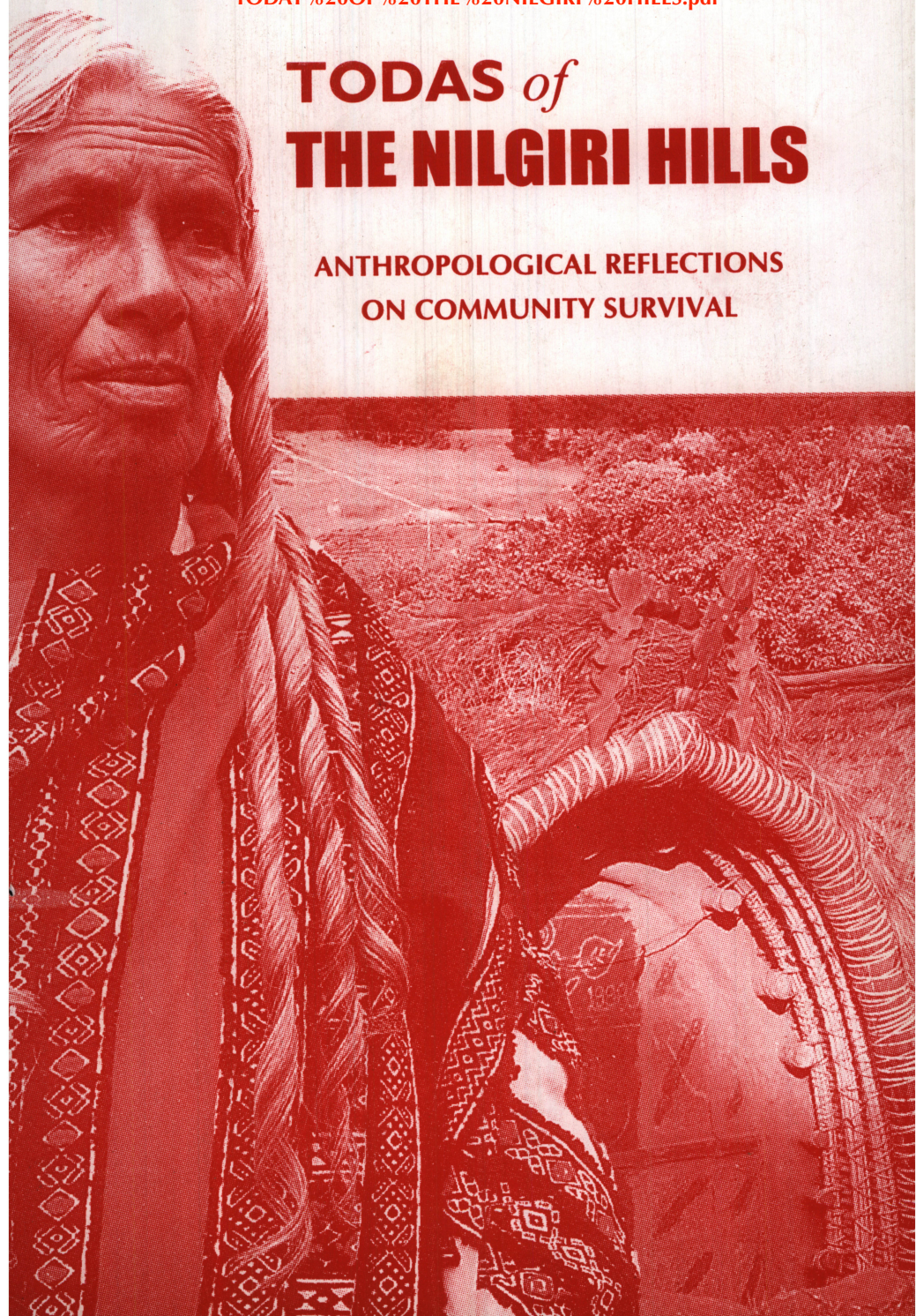


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TODAS *of* **THE NILGIRI HILLS**

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS
ON COMMUNITY SURVIVAL**





TODAS *of* **THE NILGIRI HILLS**

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS
ON COMMUNITY SURVIVAL

[Text of The International Women's Association (IWA) Endowment Lecture]

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The Nilgiris

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FOREWORD

Of all the tribes of South India, the Todas of the Nilgiris remain as the most widely studied ethnic group till date, owing to its unique physical characteristics (such as tall stature, fair complexion, pointed and long nose), culture traits (such as half-barrel shaped huts, buffalo-centred culture, lacto-vegetarianism, weaving of embroidered shawl, the *putkuli*) and linguistic features (such as the phonetic correspondences of proto-Dravidian *) $a/\tilde{a} > o/\tilde{o}$, $*l > s$, presence of residual suffixes and rich vocabulary of buffalo terms). Consequently, based on the above-cited unique characteristics, this tribal group has caused postulations of various hypotheses on their origin such as Scythian, Vedic Aryan, Israelite, Macedonian, which have been considered as mere fantastic suggestions and rejected by other schools of thought.

Government Museum, Chennai has acquired presented and studied the tangible objects of the rich Toda cultural heritage elaborately in its own way. By publishing the work of Prince Peter Greece on the "Possible Sumerian Survival in Toda Ritual" in 1951, the Government Museum, Chennai has also contributed to the controversial topic of Todas' origin. The 'Tribal Habitat' of the Indhira Gandhi Rashtriya Manav Sanghralaya, Bhopal and the Tribal Museum of the Tribal Research Centre, M. Palada, Udhamandalam are the other two museums that possess Toda objects at the National and State levels respectively.

Although the Todas have been studied and documented both intensively and extensively by various scholars of India and abroad, the people of the Toda community still feel and express that both their culture and language have not yet been understood correctly and completely. Probably an epic study on the Todas in near future by a native Toda researcher could fill up and fulfil this gap.

Dr. Jakka Parthasarathy, Director of the Tribal Research Centre at M. Palada, Udhamandalam, has made an attempt to present a vivid picture of this picturesque tribe, though this International Women's Association Endowment Lecture. I hope that through this academic venture the momentum of the Tribal Ethnography, in general and the Toda Ethnography, in particular once again would get revitalised with zeal and vibrance.

Chennai - 600 008,
24.11.2005.

(M.A. SIDDIQUE)

TODAS OF THE NILGIRI HILLS :

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON COMMUNITY SURVIVAL

INTRODUCTION :

The Term 'tribe' has been widely used in Anthropology, but there is no general consensus as to its precise definition or appropriate application. Seymour Smith (1986:281) while analysing the word tribe, stated that 'the Roman word *tribua* meant a political unit and was used to refer to social groups defined by the territory they occupied'. Maine (1861) characterized it as "a group in which legal relations were based on the principles of status rather than that of contract. In this sense of a pre-political or pre contract society, the term "tribe" passed into general usage as a synonym for a primitive social group."

In the Indian context, it may be best now to view tribe as an ethnic category defined by real or putative descent and characterized by a collective self- image or identity and a wide range of commonly shared traits of culture. The difficulty in defining a tribe arises from the fact that in India tribes are in transition.

The birth of the Constitution of India on 26th January 1950 marks the origin of the term "Scheduled Tribe". In the Constitution of India, Article 366 (25) refers to Scheduled Tribes as those communities who are in accordance with Article 342 of the Constitution. This Article says that only those communities who have been declared as such by the President of India through an initial public notification will be considered as Scheduled Tribes. For a community to be identified as Scheduled Tribe the required characteristics, as per the *Lokur* Committee are :-

- a. Primitive traits
- b. A distinctive culture
- c. Shyness of contact with the public at large
- d. Geographical isolation and
- e. Backwardness-social and economic

Now the term 'Scheduled Tribe' has become an objective one. Today in India, administrators and anthropologists refer to the list of Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of recognizing a tribe.

Anthropology, being the newest of the social sciences since its inception in the 1860s has largely been regarded as the study of mankind. Benderly (1977:18) has aptly remarked that, "Anthropology is a special way of seeing, too. It lets you see the hidden structures that support and determine much of daily life. But unlike ultra-violet lights and X-rays, it does not depend on special equipment. A trained eye and a curious mind are all you need". Thus, Anthropology as an inductive science has an objective and drives to set the ethnographic affairs of any primitive tribe on right lines.

This booklet seeks to examine the culture and long survival of Todas, a Primitive Tribal Group inhabiting in the Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu State in India.

METHOD OF STUDY :

I limited my study to nine Toda settlements, four settlements are exposed to towns and five settlements are in interior areas covering three taluks in the Nilgiri district. For collection of data on the community, I used the standard anthropological technique of participant observation between the period of 2001-2004. Case study, closed interview and genealogy are the other tools used for the data collection. The secondary data were based on the government records and academic reports.

AREA OF STUDY :

In India, as per the 2001 Census, the tribal population is 8.43 crores, constituting 8.2 percent of the total population. The population of tribes had grown at the rate of 24.45 percent during the period 1991-2001. More than half the Schedule Tribe population is concentrated in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Chatisgarh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Jharkhand and Gujarat. The main concentration of tribal population is in the Central India and in the North Eastern states. However, they have their presence in all states and union territories except Haryana, Punjab, Delhi, Pondicherry and Chandigarh.

Tamil Nadu, one of the major states of the Southern Zone in India, consists of important tribal groups. According to 2001, the Scheduled Tribe Population in Tamil Nadu is 651321, constituting 1.02 percent of the total general population. There are thirty six Scheduled Tribes of varying numerical strengths in the State. The literacy rate of the tribals is 27.9 percent. 90.31 percent of the tribals live in hilly areas and 9.69 percent of them live in the plains.

The present work is based on the data collected from the Toda Tribal community in the Nilgiri district. The Nilgiri district, also called as the Nilgiris or the Nilgiri hills is a hilly area of 2549.0 sq.Km. located at the junction of the Eastern Ghats and the Western Ghats with an average elevation of 6500ft. The Nilgiri district is bounded on the West by Kerala, on the North by Karnataka and on the Southeast by Coimbatore district. While describing 'The Nilgiris as a Region,' Mandelbaum (1989:2) has aptly pointed out, "the peoples and the terrain of the Nilgiri plateau have long attracted interest because of their unusual characteristics. Throughout the three principal periods- aboriginal, colonial, national independence- the Nilgiri region has constituted a singular and singularly instructive enclave, a distinctive locale as perceived by observers as well as by its inhabitants," Hockings (1989:365) adds that, "In broad ecological terms, the Nilgiri region has undergone a drastic and quite irreversible transformation since the advent of the British more than a century and a half ago".

According to 2001 Census, the total population of the Nilgiri district is 7.64 lakhs out of which the total Scheduled Tribes population is 28,373, constituting 4.32 percent. In the Nilgiri district, the following six Scheduled Tribes are found. They are Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Irulas, Paniyans and Kattunayakans. According to the Census of the Tribal Research Centre (2004) the Scheduled Tribe wise total population in the Nilgiri district is as follows: Todas 1648; Kotas 1985; Kurumbas 10353; Irulas 8714; Paniyans 5541; Kattunayakans 1629. These Scheduled Tribes along with the Badaga community are considered as "indigenous groups." The Badaga, an agricultural Backward Class community is also found throughout the district. The other populations, which

include Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu speaking people as well as North Indians are considered as the 'immigrant groups'. The Nilgiri district also became the second home of thousands of repatriate families who left Sri Lanka during the last three decades. In the Nilgiri district Todas are living on the higher altitude of the hills and their close neighbours are *Kotas* and *Badagas*.

The Toda

The Toda are known by several names like *Tudas*, *Tudavans*, *Toras* and *Todar*. They are found only in the Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu. The Government of India identified the Toda as a Scheduled Tribe and also classified them as one of the six Primitive Tribal Groups in Tamil Nadu. Now let me state what a few scholars mentioned earlier about the Todas.

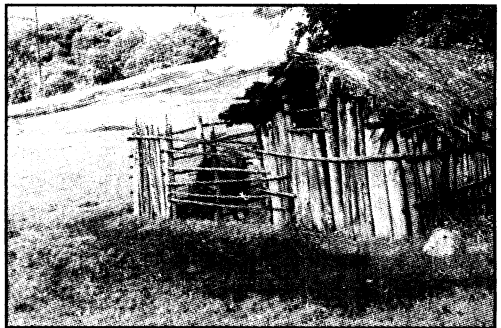


TODA WOMAN IN HER TRADITIONAL DRESS

❖ "in physique the Todas are by far the most pre-possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction with their, singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions that have at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from Europeans".

- (Dr. Shortt : 1869)

"The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gudu* which they levy in kind from *Badagas* and *Kotas*..... The Todas



SACRED BUFFALO SHELTER NEAR TODA DAIRY

TODAS OF NILGIRIS

have hardly a tradition or legend of any sort from which information as to their former condition can be obtained. They believe that their ancestors always inhabited these hills that is they have no knowledge or belief of their having migrated from elsewhere”.

- (J.W. Breeks: 1873)

- ❖ 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?... 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..... From 1602 to 1812 we have, so far as I am aware, no record of the Todas. As regards the evidence from Toda tradition, we are in no better case..... I was assured that they had always been on the Nilgiri hills..... 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..... 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 *Caucasic* origin..... 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”.

(W.H.R. Rivers : 1906)

- ❖ “The Todas are a purely pastoral people, who live on the produce of their herds of huge buffaloes and gifts of grain from the other tribes, claim to be the original inhabitants of the hills and lords of the soil.....Much taller and fairer than the general run of the inhabitants

of South India, in dress, appearance and language differ widely from their neighbours, have attractively dignified and fearless manners when conversing with Europeans; and practise unusual customs, such as polyandry, infanticide and buffalow sacrifice at their funerals."

- (W. Francis : 1908)

"If these several processes follow through to their logical conclusion, the Toda of tomorrow may well be unrecognizable as heirs to the pastoral society observed by Fenicio in 1602, Rivers in 1901-02, Emeneau in the mid 1930s and still more or less intact during my field studies in the 1960s and 1970s. But Toda, whose physical extinction has so fortunately been arrested, are unlikely to disappear without trace."

- (Walker R. Anthony: 1986)

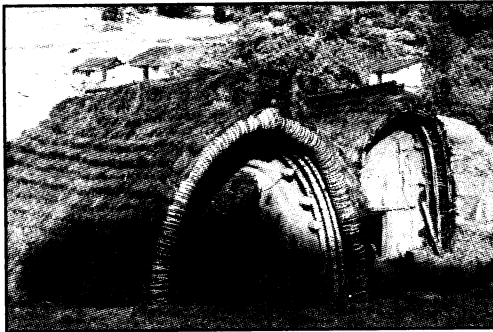
❖ "Analysis of the Toda marriage during pre- colonial and post -independence periods indicate that the Todas entered into the stage of monogamy out of polyandry through a stage of combined polyandry and polygyny. Revolt of the *Toda* Women against polyandry associated customs, threat of migrant population to the *Toda* culture, formal education, Christianity, alien Hindu marriage principles, aims and objectives of the *Toda* development committee etc., are a few which provoked the *Toda* youth to become hostile towards polyandry. Some Todas of to-day believe that the curiosity by others about the *Toda* polyandry is the cause for hostile thoughts".

- (Jakka Parthasarathy : 1996)

Thus the above mentioned statements by different scholars who had done research among the Todas of Nilgiri hills reveal the significance of culture and society of the Todas as an indigenous but unique tribal community. Further a few more interesting features of the Todas are mentioned below :

The name *Toda* is supposed to be derived from the word

"*tud*", the sacred *tud* tree (*Meliosma simplicifolia*) of Todas. Todas speak a dialect as which is an independent language of the Dravidian family. They lived in half barrel shaped houses. The Toda village is called a '*Mund*' means a herd of a cattle residence. Besides the huts, the mund has another hut with a smaller



TODA TRADITIONAL HOUSES WITH BACK GROUND OF MODERN HOUSES IN TODA MUND (HAMLET)

doorway, called '*Tirieri*' or dairy temple. In the vicinity of the mund is the cattle-pen. The striking feature of the women is the arrangement of their hair which is dressed in ringlets and flows waving down to the shoulders. The traditional garment of a Toda is known as '*Put-kuli*', is of thick white cotton cloth with red and blue strips which is embellished further embroidery by the Toda women, is thrown around the body by men and women like "Roman toga." Jewellery is worn by both men and women. They are traditionally lacto vegetarians.

The Toda community is divided into two endogamous divisions known as '*Tharthazoll*' and '*Thevelioll*', which are further divided into many exogamous clans. In the past, the Toda followed the fraternal polyandrous form of marriage. W.H.R. Rivers (1906) described the *Toda* polyandry at length and explained that, "when a girl is married to a boy, often at the age of two or three, she ipso facto becomes the wife of all his brothers, sometimes even of the brothers being born after her marriage with the eldest. All enjoy full sexual rights over her when she reaches puberty; she is involved at least to some degrees in a separate set of relationship. When



A TODA PRIEST STARTING RITUAL

she first conceives, a rite is performed in a forest in which one of her husbands presents her with a small bow and arrow, and they spend the night together, but away from their own settlement. From this day, the husband assumes the role of the father for the child in the womb. It is immaterial whether he is also biologically the begetter of the child or not; biological paternity is of very little significance in the Toda society; it is the sociological father hood that matters at large". Now a days due to various reasons, the polyandry has disappeared among the Todas. The rite of defloration marks a girl's entry into womanhood. The life-cycle rituals are markedly different from other tribes. During the dead body cremation, they sacrifice a buffalo. Rules of inheritance is restricted to the sons only. The property of the Todas consists of house, household materials, Jewellery, buffaloes and cultivable lands. The Toda Tribal Council is not a permanent body but only a group of elderly *Toda* males selected by common consent for a particular dispute. Their concept of religion is associated with the dairy and buffaloes. The Goddess '*Tokisy*' is honoured by them as their principal deity. A few Todas have embraced Christianity.

TODAS : ECONOMY, MODERNITY AND SURVIVAL

After the pains taken to ensure accuracy in enumeration, J.W Breeks (1873) accepted on 15th November 1871 that the Todas in the Nilgiris numbered 639 by the Census (376 males and 263



TODA MEN INFRONT OF THEIR TRADITIONAL HOUSE

total Todas were numbered 739 and in 1901 their population was 805. Census of India 1961 (P. K. Nambiar: 1964) enumerated Todas as 714 persons. Census of India 1981 (A.P. Muthu swami: 1988) derived Todas population as 874 members (434 males and

440 females). The Tribal Research Centre recently conducted census among the Todas with the help of educated Todas in the

year 2004 and found that 1648 Todas are living in the Nilgiri district, the number includes Christian converted Todas also. At present they are living in 69 occupied munds (settlements). Todas were pastoral people, often moving from one place to another on the hills along with their buffaloes in search of grazing lands and sholas. As gradual conversion of grazing lands into cultivable lands by non- tribals made disappearance of grazing lands, the Todas stopped moving to other areas along with families and buffaloes. They started permanently living in selected settlements and without leaving buffalo economy they also adapted agriculture and horticulture on their lands provided by the Government. Now they entered into mixed economy, besides even dominance of buffalow economy. The data (Table : 1) reveals the *Toda* economic activities of studied settlements

Table : 1. Occupational activities of the Toda households in studied area :

Sl.No.	Occupational activities	Percentage
1.	Pastoral activity (Herding)	3.71 %
2.	Rearing buffaloes near by settlements & milk selling	62.80 %
3.	Making shawls and selling in the market	15.15 %
4.	Cultivation (Agriculture / Horticulture)	13.69%
5.	Modern employment	2.15%
6.	Miscellaneous activities	2.50%
		100.00%

The formal education also helped the Todas to enter into other economic activities. Now two post graduates and five graduates are there among the Todas and their literacy rate is 39.85 percent, female literacy is 27.14 percent. They accepted modernity in all angles, particularly in housing, dress, food habits, cash economy, transport, jewellery, learning other languages, tourism, pilgrimage to other religious places and also in celebrating life cycle rituals besides using modern consumer goods which includes television, tape recorder, mixy, sewing machine, grinder, well decorated furniture etc., As mentioned elsewhere (Anthony R. Walker: 2004) many changes occurred among the

Todas of the Nilgiri district. Yet, their survival on the Nilgiri district is great to be analyzed specifically with the cultural anthropological perspectives. As mentioned elsewhere (Jakka Parthasarathy: 2003:70), as a different social science, Anthropology may be used to understand tribal affairs and survival identity of a tribal society. The following are some of the anthropological reflections on Todas long survival in Nilgiri hills and also true representation in the world Atlas of indigenous communities.

1. The continuous mystery on the origin and migration of the Todas.
2. *Toda* language and its curious linguistic affiliation with neighbouring languages.
3. Practicing lacto- vegetarianism.
4. Graded hierarchy of *Toda* dairies, sacred – non sacred buffaloes and dairy men.
5. The blessing pattern of traditional touching of toe of men to foreheads of women.
6. Untouched modernity on maintenance of *Toda* dairies and associated priesthood.
7. Knowingly discarded old customs and practices like polyandry, female infanticide, defloration rite of the girls, non selling of milk etc.
8. Identifying the gods of the mountains inside the evergreen shola habitat.
9. Adapting a few alien practices from Hindus and Christians in continuing their rituals of life events.
10. Permitting greater liberty to their womenfolk in political and economic area of the hills.
11. Appreciating the special breed of *Toda* buffaloes as their culture survival skill.
12. Wishing to die at home and in the mund amidst their own people and buffaloes.
13. Elaborate two funeral ceremonies initiated by sacrificing buffalo.
14. *Toda* shawl – ritual dress in continuing their cultural identity on the hills.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS :

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ANNEXURE

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

(As Gleaned from the Collection of Government Museum, Chennai)

The culture of an ethnic group gleaned from the material aspects of it is referred to as the 'Material Culture' of that ethnic group. Consequently, the material artefacts of tangible nature such as hut, dress, ornaments, household objects, materials of ritual paraphernalia, musical instruments constitute the material culture.

The tangible cultural artefacts such as hut (model), *putkuli*, the embroidered shawl, the household objects such as axe, walking stick, ladle, churning stick, certain artefacts burnt along with the corpse during the green funeral ceremony (imitation buffalo horn, basket), bow and arrow (given by the sociological father during the pregnancy binding rites), wooden club used in buffalo sacrifice, ornaments of iron, brass, copper, fibre and beads are some of the important artefacts present within the material culture of the Toda tribes.

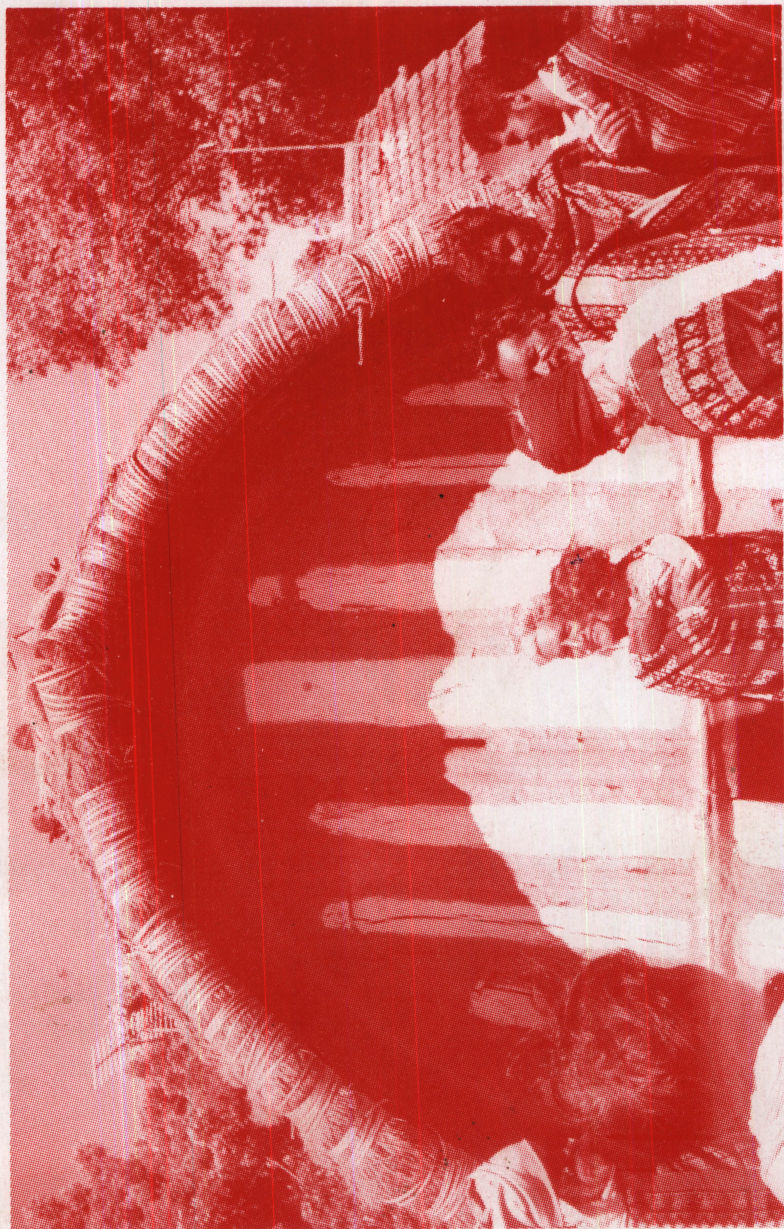
The following is the list of the Toda tribal artefacts that are in possession of the Anthropology Section of the Government Museum, Chennai acquired through field collection by Prof. (Dr.) A. Aiyappan and bequested by Lady Pentland, during 1917:

S. No.	Acc. No.	Name of the Artefact	Remarks, if any
1.	1323	Bracelet of iron, <i>Hibbal</i> worn by the Toda women on the left wrist	Round with cross hatchings; ends have pendants
2.	1324	Bracelet of iron, <i>Hibbal</i> worn by the Toda women on the left wrist	Round with cross hatchings; ends have pendants
3.	1325	Bracelet of iron, <i>Hibbal</i> worn by the Toda women on the left wrist	Round with cross hatchings; ends have pendants
4.	1326	Bracelet of iron, <i>Hibbal</i> worn by the Toda women on the left wrist	Round with cross hatchings; ends have pendants
5.	1327 a	Bangle of brass	Flat, broad and round; part covered with twisted brass wire.

S. No.	Acc. No.	Name of the Artefact	Remarks, if any
6.	1327 b	Bangle of brass	Flat, broad and round; part covered with twisted brass wire.
7.	1328	Bangle of copper	-
8.	1329	Bangle of copper	-
9.	1330	Bangle of copper	-
10.	1331	Bangle of copper	-
11.	1332	Bangle of round brass wire	Fairly thick
12.	1333	Bangle of round brass wire	Fairly thick
13.	1334	Bangle of round brass wire	Fairly thick
14.	1335 a	Armlet of heavy brass, <i>Tolwadi</i>	-
15.	1335 b	Armlet of heavy brass, <i>Tolwadi</i>	-
16.	1336 a	Armlet of heavy brass, <i>Tolwadi</i>	Relatively smaller than 1335 a & b
17.	1336 b	Armlet of heavy brass, <i>Tolwadi</i>	Relatively smaller than 1335 a & b
18.	1337	Armlet of brass	Similar to 1336 a & b
19.	1338	Armlet of nettle fibre	Bound with cotton thread and tassel of blue thread and cowries
20.	1339	Armlet of nettle fibre	Bound with cotton thread and tassel of blue thread and cowries
21.	1342	Chain of brass, <i>Thaggar</i> worn by Toda women round the waist	-
22.	1343	Chain of brass, <i>Thaggar</i> worn by Toda women round the waist	Relatively smaller than 1342
23.	1345	Ear ornament of brass	Probably a pendant
24.	1346	Ear ornament of brass	Umbrella like in contour
25.	1347	Nose ornament of brass	-
26.	1348	Hair pin of iron	-
27.	1349	Anklet of brass	Large and broad, opening in hinge
28.	1350 a	Anklet of hollow brass	With pellets inside for jingling
29.	1350 b	Anklet of hollow brass	With pellets inside for jingling
30.	1352	Necklace of brass beads	-

S. No.	Acc. No.	Name of the Artefact	Remarks, if any
31.	1353	String of small glass beads of pink colour	-
32.	1353a	Ring of brass	-
33.	1354	String of minute glass beads with tassels and cowries	-
34.	1355	A few strands of cotton thread with cowries at the end	-
35.	1356	Strands of grey cotton thread with cowries at the end	-
36.	1357	Embroidered shawl, <i>Putkuli</i>	-
37.	1358	Hafted axe of iron	-
38.	1359	Spoon of coconut shell	-
39.	1360	Metal plate of bronze for eating	-
40.	1361	Imitation buffalo horn of rattan, <i>Tebkuts</i>	Burnt at the green funeral ceremony of a male
41.	1362	Imitation buffalo horn of rattan, <i>Tebkuts</i>	Burnt at the green funeral ceremony of a male
42.	1363	Imitation buffalo horn of rattan, <i>Tebkuts</i>	Burnt at the green funeral ceremony of a male
43.	1364	Club, <i>Nanmakud</i>	Burnt at the green funeral ceremony of a male
44.	1366	Flute of bamboo, <i>Buguri</i>	-
45.	1367	Flute of bamboo, <i>Buguri</i>	-
46.	1368	Walking stick	With round knob at one end
47.	1369	Walking stick	With round knob at one end
48.	1370	Walking stick	With round knob at one end
49.	1371	Can of rattan	With handle part bent with a curve
50.	1372	Can of rattan	With handle part bent with a curve
51.	1373	Wooden stick	With round knob at one end
52.	1375	Churning stick of rattan, <i>Madth</i>	With a rattan ring placed like a wedge near the split ends
53.	1376	Long pole of wood	With cowries tied at intervals
54.	1379	Game stick of wood	-
55.	1380	Ceremonial bow of bamboo and wood	-

S. No.	Acc. No.	Name of the Artefact	Remarks, if any
56.	1381	Ceremonial bow of bamboo and wood	-
57.	1382	Arrow with iron arrow head	-
58.	1383	Arrow with iron arrow head	-
59.	1384	Arrow with iron arrow head	-
60.	1385	Arrow with iron arrow head	-
61.	1386	Arrow with iron arrow head	-
62.	1387	Arrow with iron arrow head	-
63.	1389	Imitation buffalo horn of rattan, <i>Tebkuts</i>	Burnt at the green funeral ceremony of a male
64.	1390	Imitation buffalo horn of rattan, <i>Tebkuts</i>	Burnt at the green funeral ceremony of a male
65.	1391	Ladle of wood	To stir rice food on ceremonial occasions both at temples and households
66.	1392	Ladle of wood	To stir rice food on ceremonial occasions both at temples and households
67.	1396	Receptacle of coconut	-
68.	1397	Basket	Large in size
69.	1398	Basket	Relatively smaller than 1397
70.	1400	Cloth purse of red colour	-
71.	1401	Cloth purse of yellow colour	-
72.	1402	Cloth purse	Larger than 1400 and 1401
73.	1403	Cloth purse of dirty brown colour	-
74.	1404	<i>Putkuli</i>	Relatively smaller one
75.	1405	Basket	Small (covered with red cloth and decorated with cowries – burnt at the green funeral of a female)
76.	1406	Buffalo horn with skull	-
77.	1407	Hut (Model)	-



TODA MEN IN FRONT OF THEIR TRADITIONAL HOUSE