CHAPTER V

ORGANOLOGY: TUDI AND KUZHAL

A. ORGANOLOGY

The study of a musical instrument in its cultural context is known as Organology. This discipline is related with Musicology and Ethnomusicology. When Praetorius gave the title *De organographia* to the second volume of his treatise *Syntagma musicum* (1618), he was the first to name the discipline that would become the science of musical instruments as Organology. The term comes from the Greek word *organon* meaning a tool or instrument used in some activity or trade (even an organ of the body). It was used for musical instruments as well as the organs governing the human voice. In classical antiquity the musical instrument was denoted by the Latin term *instrumentum*, and in the Middle Ages by the expression *instrumentum organicum*.

Only from the 16th and 17th centuries onwards did major Western works on musical instruments appear, including the treatise by Praetorius mentioned above, *Musica getuscht und ausgezogen* by Sebastian Virdung (1511), *Musica instrumentalis deutscher*, by Martin Agricola (1529), *Harmonie universelle* by Father Marin Mersenne (1636-7), and Pierre Trichet's *Traité des instruments de musique* (1640). Centuries earlier, however, ancient civilizations had approached the subject of musical instruments methodically. We know about the Oriental instrumentalism from rich and extensive documentation in the chronicles and in the ancient treatises of Chinese, Arab and Indian theoreticians. These works give the names and classifications of instruments, indications of the way in which they were played and their role in rites and ceremonies, and details concerning musicians and their training.

1. Definition

Organology covers the field of musical instruments in general, from every musical tradition; classical or art music, folk or ethnic music, western or non-western
music. Its boundaries are not precise, and those perspectives differ between historical musicology and ethnomusicology.

2. Features

Organology is comparatively a new discipline. Many of the scholars consider it as part of the ethnomusicological studies. Yet it has got great significance for the school of folklore and cultural studies concerned. Some of the features of this discipline are discussed below.

Organology is primarily the study of musical instruments considering the socio-cultural contexts of that particular instrument. So when we study a particular instrument, we try to understand the community for which it belongs, its socio-cultural and religious values, the myths and beliefs related to this instrument, etc. This study includes its use and function, the process of making, its particular features, and the type of music it produces. Through the study of a traditional musical instrument of a community, we can study the inner fabrics of a society namely its culture. In some traditional society certain musical instruments has got symbolic significance. For Ojibwa community in North America consider their Ojibwa drum as their identity indicator. They call the drum as ‘our grand father’ (gimishoomisinaan) (Vennum Jr.1982: 13). For the Paniya society in Kerala their musical drum called ludi is symbolizing the abode of the spirits of the ancestors and the pipe, kuzhal is their village head (Mooppan). The women call their husband or lover as kuyalan meaning pipe performer. Organology deals with such aspects of human life also.

3. Organological studies

Many scientific studies have been done in the field of organology since the mid 20th century. The study on the Ojibwa dance drums by Thomas Vennum Jr. (1982), is one of the best studies in this discipline. It is a study on the function and use of Ojibwa drums. Ojibwa is an indigenous group who belongs to North American Indian society inhabited in western great lakes, Canada and U.S. by the study of its history and its construction technique the author is highlighting the culture and social life of the Ojibwa community. The study is divided into two sections. First part deals with the history of this community, its music tradition, the history of this drum and its function,
and its present status. The second part is on the technology of drum construction, its decoration, accessories and variants. All this research is done with the help of William Bineshi Baker, Sr., an Ojibwa drum maker and singer. They consider this drum as their grand father (*gimishoo misinaan*). The mythology, belief and the traditions around this drum reveal a lot about Ojibwa community, its history, cosmology, and culture (see chapter one).

David Reck (1977) studies in detail on various types of musical instruments across the world, its features, classification, and the technique of construction. It also throws light into the culture of various societies. For example he asks the question: Almost everywhere the surface of the drumheads are in round shape. Why? The technical explanation to this was that the tension of the leather could be more evenly stretched if it were on a round shell of frame. The cultural explanation to this feature varies from place to place. In early society sun and moon, their gods are perceived in circular form symbolism of the circle. To the Coptic Christian the circle symbolizes eternity. In India, the *chakra*, a great mystic wheel of the gods and the representation of the cycles of existence. In China, it is the symbol of *yin* and *yang*, the opposing harmonic principle of the universe. (Reck 1997:103).

The study by Dilip Bhattacharya on tribal musical instruments gives a good picture on the status of the tribal music tradition in India. Bhattacharya (1999) gives detailed information of the musical instruments of the various tribal sects with its cultural and social features living in various parts of India. He says that ‘tribal music and musical instruments are attractive because of the richness and depth of myths associated with the birth of their first notes’. (Bhattacharya 1999:28). He classifies the musical instruments into four categories such as membranophone, chordophone, idiophone, and aerophone (ibid.p.93). Tribal music is an incredible expression of the supreme spirit. The songs and tunes of this music are generally association with cycles of life, seasons and agriculture. It is this supreme spirit for them to symbolize trees, rocks, birds and all other natural phenomena. Musical instruments act sometimes as a medium by which one can identify the material culture of a particular ethnic group (ibid.p.39). So he says that through the study of the musical instruments we can understand a society better.

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The book named *Traditional musical instruments in Sudan* by the researchers Ali al - Dauw, Abd- Alla Muhammad Abd- Alla and al-Sir Hasan Ibrahim (1985), gives scientific information about various traditional musical instruments in Sudan; their major features, the areas where they are found, their tuning, and how they are played.

A study on Nagas musical instruments is done by a Naga scholar named Kajen Mongro (1999), throws light into the musical tradition and the culture of the Naga people. It describes about the material culture of the Nagas associated with festival, ceremony, and head hunting practice, songs, and dances.

B. TRIBAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Tribal music and musical instruments are very attractive because of the richness and depth of myths and beliefs associated with them. A sense of sacredness is attached to all their instruments. Some of the instruments are considered as the dwelling place (abode) of the great spirits.

Tribal musical instruments are indigenous in nature. All the materials used for these instruments are collected from their own environment. And they themselves are the makers of these instruments. ‘Original musical instruments of the tribals comprise primarily the drum, the rattle and wooden or bamboo rasp made of notched sticks which are rubbed with another piece of wood or even with a scapula. They keep the time and rhythm of their dances by beating a drum. (Bhattacharya 1999: 28)

Experts believe that most of the ancient musical instruments served four purposes such as to scare away wild animals, to communicate, to pray and to entertain. Many old Indian *beens* (flutes), like the *nag phani*, were shaped in moulds of snakes and used to tame dangerous serpents. They have been serving the same purpose in some villages even today.

Nobody can say with authority the exact date when the first musical instrument was invented. The earliest recorded evidence comes from the non-Aryan races of the Central Indian belt who used a drum called *mandal*. This was played during prayers, used for communication between tribes and also for entertainment.
In South India, experts frequently come across the word Isai meaning music in Tamil literature dating back to the second century. The musician was referred to as Perum Panar and the three instruments predominantly used were yazh (harp) Kuzhal (flute) and maddalam (drum). Prasad says, The Aryans came to India over 4000 years ago and brought with them their music, the earliest evidence of which is found in the Rig Vedas, the oldest of the four Vedas. It is a simple recitation of three tones - Anudata, Svarita and Undatta. As the priests sang the devotional Vedas, their womenfolk played either the primitive bana veena or the nali (flute) and the temple's junior priest pounded on drums called dundhubi.

The first recorded evidence of ancient Indian music comes from Natya Sastra, one of the most authentic and elaborate treatise by Bharata who, two millennia ago, clubbed music into three groups: Ghana (ideophone), sushira (aerophone) and tala (chordophone). It speaks of the great scholar’s mastery over the subject that till date this ancient grouping hasn't been bettered and even Western classical music is based on the Bharata grouping.

Once music began to be established in India, its developments were overlapped as it became an intermixture of races and cultures. While north India came under the strong influence of the Muslim styles, the Deccan and southern regions evolved their own music. Then came the tribal contribution to music in the form of ragas. For instance, Chencho Karnbhoji was indicative of its relation to the Chenchus tribe of Andhra Pradesh which lived around the Kamboja area.

1. Classification

There are four types of musical instruments among the tribal communities.

They are: a) Membranophone (skin) b) Chordophone (string) c) Idiophone (metal) d) Aero phone (wind). In a tribal circle, chordophone instruments are less in number. They have more drums, rattles, trumpets and flutes. Musical instruments act sometime as medium by which one can identity the material culture of a particular ethnic group. The study of a musical instrument or the different use to which they are put can indicate the level of acumen that the particular group has acquired. (ibid.P.39)

a. Membranophone section
There are five types of musical instruments in the membranophone section.

1. Cylindrical type: It is a hollowed cylinder made of clay, wood or metal, both sides are mounted with hides stretched by tightening chords: Some the example are; Dholaki, Madal, Mandar, Urumili, Chenda, Dhol, etc. It is used by many of the tribal communities all over India.

2. Bowl type: Resonating chamber of drum comprises here in shape of a hemispherical bowl and stretching hide, laced to the body with loop, covers single opening. E.g.: Sambal, Timki, Nagari, Tamak etc.

3. Hour-glass type: Centrally contracted wooden sanding chamber (tube). The drumheads are covered with animal skin (hide). Both heads are tightened with rope or string in criss-cross manner. E.g.: Nirvoli, Dhak, Tudi, Uduku, Edakka, etc.

4. Rim type: A rim frame mounted with single membrane head. Hide in laced on the circular frame. E.g.: Changau, Dappu, Daki, Khanjan etc.

5. Pitcher type: A common water vessel made of mud (clay) is modified into a membranophone by chopping off its bottom portion and stretched with a hide. E.g.: Pulluvakudam, Ghoomra, Ghunclay, Charchani, Tantipanai, etc.

b. Chordophone category

They are called *Thattu* vadyam or string instruments. It consists of a string or strings with a resonator. Cup shaped frame that is covered with a solid soundboard or stretched membrane. Some of the *thattu vadyam* are - Banam, Dung Dungi, Kenda, Sarangi (way types) Penei, Kinnan (several types) pulluva veena etc.

c. Aerophone section

They are called ‘sushir vadya’ or wind instruments. Kombu, *Kuzhal* and *murali* (flute) come in this category. There are three kinds in this section such as lip-voiced trumpets, (e.g.: Sinha, Turhi, Khal) Flute voiced item like vansi, Tarpo, Turi, murali (flute) and Reed-voiced item like sur, kakadi, *Kuzhal*. 193
d. Idiophones section: (*Thattu vadhaya*)

They are mostly metal instruments which produce musical and by either striking or plucking. Some of them are jingle bells worn on the legs of the priests (*Chemmi*), gol kathi (dancing stick) *Jaras* (Bamboo stick). But-chhal (braze cymbals), *Manjeera* (cymbal), *Kansathal* (metal gong), *Thali* (Bronze plate with metal pipe), Bamboo-zithars.

All these instruments are made out of necessity as they are used for religious, social and entertainment, hunting and agricultural purposes. There are stories and beliefs regarding all their instruments about their origin, about their social status, about their inner power etc.

By analyzing the musical instrument and its socio-cultural environment, we try to understand the culture of the community where it belongs. A musical instrument can tell us a lot about the society, its values and worldviews. Orgonology deals with this aspect.

2. Socio-Cultural Significance

Musical instruments do play a significant role in any community. Most of the communities have their own musical instruments. They consider them as very precious and sacred. It is part of their cultural heritage. According to Shiv Shankar Prasad traditional musical instruments have four functions. First is to scare away the wild animals from their habitat. To keep away the animals from their cultivation and dwelling place, they beat their drum and keep vigil at night. It is seen everywhere. Second purpose is the communicative function. In order to pass on certain messages to the whole community they use musical instrument especially percussion instrument. During the wartime or some difficult situation, to gather the people they beat their drum or blew their *Kuzhal* (the pipe). For this purpose they use code language. Third one is ritualistic function. For all religious and ritualistic occasions musical instruments do have a significant role. To invoke the gods, to see them, to get their blessings the priest needed the musical instruments as accompaniments. In the ritualistic dance the musical instruments help the devotees to get into the mood of trance. Fourth function is for entertainment. For the village festivals, for the work
situation, for the marriage ceremony, they use these instruments to express their joy and companionship. For the village dances percussion instruments are more common in all tribal communities.

Musical instruments affirm social identity and social status. It plays a key role in keeping the community united and vibrant. Some of them have even symbolic value such as playing the role of the village head (kuzhal for Paniya society) village deity or ancestral spirits (the dance drum for Ojibwa community). In community celebrations they give a special life to the whole group and keep the community in a festive mood. Through its performance it passes on certain messages and values to the younger generation and keeps the community culturally vibrant.

3. Tudi and Kuzhal

_Tudi_ and _Kuzhal_ are the traditional musical instruments of the Paniya community. _Kuzhal_ (pipe) is called as _Cheeni_ in some of the regions in Wayanad\(^1\). Tudi is a double headed percussion instrument. Its frame is made of wood and its head (manj) is made of goatskin. _Kuzhal_ is a wind instrument, which is made of soft wood. The Paniya themselves make these instruments. The technology used here is very simple; no modernization is come to this field. Both these instruments look very ancient in nature.

_Tudi_ and _Kuzhal_ have got important place in the Paniya’s life. It is a must for all their life activities so much so that each Paniya village has got its own set of _tudi_ and _kuzhal_. Usually it is kept in the village head’s family. Tudi family consists of three _tudi_ and one _kuzhal_. It symbolizes the Paniya family; _kuzhal_ is the father, the big tudi is the mother and the small ones are the children. (Told by Chimban Mooppan) People give due respect to them because they believe that these instruments are god given ones and thereby sacred. More about them are explained in the following sections.

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\(^1\) Cheeni is the term used for kuzhal by Kattunaika and Adiya community. _Cheeni vili_ means kuzhal blowing, which is a common usage in tribal language in Wayanad region. It is not a Paniya word but they also use it in their conversation.
4. Similar Instruments in other Communities

Tudi and Kuzhal musical instruments are seen in other tribal and non-tribal societies. It may be due to its antique nature or due to culture contacts. There may be some variance in its size or shape but all do the same functions in its respective society.

In Adiya tribal society in Wayanad, tudi and Kuzhal is used for the ritualistic purposes like Gadhika and Kaka pola. Gadhika is a ritual performed for the sick persons by the village priest and kaka pola is the death rites for the deceased person. Adiya tudi is slightly bigger in size and it is played by hands and stick. Kattunaika community also uses kuzhal for their dance, they call it as cheeni.

Uraly Kurumbar in Wayanad also uses tudi and Kuzhal for their rituals and entertainments. Pulaya community in Kannur and Kasargod districts in Kerala use tudi for Theyyam performance. (Pallath, 1993: 97) It is a ritualistic dance. In Ernakulam district for the cherutudi vadhyam ritualistic performance they use three tudi and the chenda percussion instruments.

Thandar community in Kerala has a ritualistic performance called uduku kotti pattu. It is performed during the Sabarimala pilgrimage season. It is also called as Sastham pattu. Uduku is a miniature form of tudi. It is the sacred musical instrument of Lord Siva. Seven persons needed for this performance; six to play the uduku and one for the cymbal. (Folk arts directory1986:14). Uduku is used in Ayyappan pattu also. It is similar to the uduku kotti pattu, which is prevalent in Kerala particularly in Kottayam district. The devotees of Ayyappa do this performance as part of their pilgrimage.

Sambavar and Pulaya communities use tudi and uduku for mudiyattam, which is an entertainment dance seen in south Kerala. (ibid.p.202). Kumbara community in Palkkad district use uduku for kumbam kali. Kumbaras are pot makers. They perform this kali as part of the Mariamma pooja. (ibid.p.188) Tudi is used by Vannan society for poothavum tharayum ritualistic dance (ibid.p.164) and by Mannan community for pootham kali. (ibid.p.162).
Kuzhal is used by the Naikar community in Wayanad for their dance called naikar kali (ibid.p.132). It is also used by Kurumbars for kurumbar kali, which is staged during village festival and marriage occasion.(ibid.p.50) Irulas of Attapady use kuzhal musical instrument for Karadi attam, a ritual dance performed during Siva rathri festival.(ibid.p.27). Sambavar and Mannan community use kuzhal for Kuttichathanattam. It is seen in Palakkad and Malapuram districts. Nair community in Palakkad district use kurukuzhal, uduku, edaka, chenda and madhalam for the kanyar kali dance. Edaka is a refined form of tudi instrument. It is being used in the temple for sopana sangeetam.

a. Udukkai in Kongu Vellala community

Udukkai is a small hand drum used by the bards for story telling performance. It is usually made of wood. One end of the drum is covered with the skin of hare and the other with the skin of goat. It is always held in the left hand and played with the right index and ring fingers. The Gods Shiva and Parvathi are both said to dance to the sounds of udukkae and to be skilled at playing it. It is also closely associated with the worship of the seven-kannimar goddess (Beck, Brenda- 1982: 73-74).

Udukkai is used by the Kongu vellalar or Kongu counters for narrating the three twins folk epics. It is the story of the agricultural non-Brahmin community named Kongu vellar. They are various as well as agriculturalist. They eat goat, sheep, and chicken (they don’t eat beef). The men are proud of their militaristic personalities and of their agricultural skills. The basic themes of the brother’s legend touch on five core issues that form a structure also branching hierarchy. At the one end lies a basic theory about caste relations and the other the pattern of sibling rivalry with in the nuclear family (ibid, p.25).

The other communities who use Udukkai are Nadiar, Vanniar, Kuravar, Naikans and Pandarams. The local bards for the brothers story enactment also used this hand drum. Uduku frame is made of wood, metal or mud material and the soft cow skin is used for its head . It is used for uduku pattu, villu pattu and some ritual practice like divination, exorcism and magical practices. (Perumal,A.K and N.Ramachandran Nair 2001: 451)
b. Pampai and Pampaikkkar

It is a double drum fixed one on the top of the other. They are many stories about its origin. The Vedar community of the Annamali area says that, it was made form the skin of the Asura whom the goddess had killed. The bottom drum is made of wood and is female, while the top drum is made of metal, and is male. Each drum is said to have two eyes (Meyer, Eveline, 1986: 4)

Another story about the drum is that Angalaparameshwari gave birth to a son whom she wanted to play the pampai. She told him to kill two demon one male and another female who were guarding the fort of vellala Rajan. This he did and from their skin, he made this drum. Lower part of the drum is made by the female demon’s skin, and the upper part by the male demon’s. The goddess Angalama, danced to the rhythm of pampai (ibid.p.4).

The other story belonged to the Chempattavar community. They are also Pampaikaran. The story goes like this; there was a fisherman who had nothing in his hand. The goddess cut a sandal wood and made a drum. It sides are covered with the hide of the deer. She took the intestine of the deer and made a rope. From there, she hanged the drum around the neck of the angler. She told him not to go inside the three mandapam, stay out side the temple besides the Nandini. The goddess gave him a boon saying that ‘if I give you wealth you will loose it fast’. Due the duty for me, play the drum and I shall give you enough food each day and so it has been since. (ibid.p.4).

Pampai is played by Veddar and Chempattavar caste in the North. Arcot District the performers are Chempattavar. They sing and play the story of Anglamamman during the festival time. They also assist the priest in rituals. Angala Parameshwari cult is prevalent among Chengalpettu, Salem, South Arcot and Thirunelveli regions. The communities who celebrate this festival are Chettiyar, Vellarlar, Mudaliar, Naikar, Thevar, Pandarm, Vanniar, Pillai, Moopanar etc. (ibid, p. 86).

c. Villupattu and the Nadar community

Villu (Bow) is the musical instrument used for the performance of Villupattu (bow song), which is seen in south Tamilnadu and Kerala. Bow songs are performed at
temples during the month of January to May as a ritual as well as entertainment performance. The stories in the performance are related to gods and goddess and the village heroes.

Tamil bow is unique for its extreme length (10-14 feet) and its presence in a group of several instruments. It is made from hard palmeara wood and preferably from the female tree. It is shaped like a hunting bow. For performance the bow is wrapped with colorful paper or cloth and filled with bras or bronzes animal figures on each end. Several usually (nine) variously pitched cowbells hang from the frame. (Black-Burn, 1988: 11).

The Villu is played by striking its cowhide stings with a pair of slim wooden sticks. It is a special wood, which also produce bell sound while striking on the bow. It is used by the lead signer. Nadar community in Nagarcoil, Thirnelveli and Kanykumari district performs this Villupattu, men and women participate in it. They belong to the agriculture set. The stories of the Villupattu are related to their clannish god or heroes of the region. Some of the themes are like the birth of Sastha, the death of little brothers, the marriage of Muthapan etc.

Cadwell gives an account on Villu instrument. He calls it as an instrument of noise used it for devil dance. A series of bells of various sizes is tied to the frame of a big bow. The strings are tightening to emit a music note when it struck with a stick. The bow is rest on a large empty brazen pot. One strikes the strings of the bow with the stick and another produce base sound by striking the bronze pots and the third keeps the timing by a pair of symbols (ibid, p. 2).

d. Urumi and Kambalathunaikar community

In devarattam dance by Kambalathu naikar community urumi is used as a musical accompaniment. They call it as devadhundhubi and it is considered as a sacred instrument. Pookattu pandaram community performs this instrument for devarattam. About its origin, the story goes like this: Lord Siva and Parvathi after creating the fourteen worlds sitting in devalokam. Viswakarma came there. They asked him to make a musical instrument and he made one. It was like udukku but in a bigger size. He gave the instrument to the devas to play but they failed to perform it. At that time a
pookattu Pandaram came there to see Siva. Siva asked him to play the instrument and he played it, and the devas danced to the rhythms of this instrument (devaarattam). Lord Siva was pleased with his performance and gave the instrument to him. Thus, this community got the right over this instrument. (Perumal, A.K and N. Ramachandran Nair 2001: 451)

Sillavar community also uses urumi for their ritual performance. Arundhadhiyar community uses it in Nayandi melam performance. urumi is an ancient musical instrument and it is prevalent in Thoothukudy, Thirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts in Tamilnadu.

d.Parai and Parayar community

*Parai* is a percussion instrument used by the Parayar community throughout Tamilnadu. It is used for festivals in the temple and churches and for death rituals. The dance with *parai* is called *paraiattam*. It is also known as *thappattam*. The Parayar community itself makes Parai. The wooden frame is carved out of *veapu maram* (neem tree), buffalow hide is used for the membrane and two small sticks are used for the striking. The skin is pasted to the frame with the glue made out of tamarind nuts. Parai is used by the lower caste people for the upper caste people’ need. Only men perform this instrument. (Perumal, A.K and N. Ramachandran Nair 2001: 254-255).

In Tamil folk musical instrument traditions uduku, kodangi, and kudu kudupai come in the tudi category, and katte Kuzhal comes in the Kuzhal category. Uduku is used for uduku pattu and villu pattu performances. For villu pattu it is called as chithudukai. It is seen in Kerala also. Some use it for ritualistic performance like casting out the evil spirits, fore-telling the future, etc. (Perumal, A.K and N. Ramachandran Nair. ed. 2001: 451-452). Kodangi and kudu kudupai are the miniature form of uduku. The gypsy groups also use it for ritualistic purpose.

Katte Kuzhal is an aerophone, which is used for Kattekuzhal performance and Jimblamelam. It is a one and a half length pipe made out of karngali wood. The Kuzhal’s head part is made of braze metal and palm leaf is used for the reeds, which produce various tunes (ibid. p. 465).
C. TUDI MAKING

*Tudi* is the traditional musical instrument of the Paniya society. They make it and there are skilled members for this work. In my fieldwork, I could find four such persons. Now a day it is very difficult to get the necessary materials to make good tudi and the younger generation is not very keen on learning this skill either. They all said this opinion.

1. Parts

Tudi musical instrument has got six main parts. First part is called *tudimaram*. It is the tudi frame or the body of tudi, which is of one-foot length, hollowed wooden piece. Tudi frame construction needs utmost care and special skill. Kumil tree (Sterculia gutata), Jackfruit tree (Atrocarpus integrifolia) or Anjili tree (Atrocarpus hirsuta) wood is used for this part. Second part is called *manj*. It is the tudi head of the instrument. Each tudi has got two *manj*. It is made out of goatskin. In olden time monkey’s hide was available for tudi *manj*. *Manj* construction also needs special skill and care. The third part is called *Kutha*. It is a piece of wood attached to a special string, which is made of cane strip. *Kutha* is the tuning device for tudi, which is attached to the waist belt. The temper and sound of tudi varies according to the tightening and loosing the Kutha that is attached to the waist belt. The fourth part is the string, which is used for fixing the two *manj* on the tudi frame. In ancient time the bark of *manali*, ooram, palkayal or kannoonni tree were used for this string. Now plastic twine is used for this purpose. The fifth part is the shoulder loop, used to hang the tudi on the shoulder while playing. It is made of jute chord. The sixth one is the striking stick, which is made of bamboo piece. The details about each part is given in the following sections.(Fig.26)

2. Tools

For *tudi* making, Paniya society has its own traditional tools. This they have developed from their own experience and need. At present they make it with the help of the local blacksmith. The main tools are:

a. *Manthuli or tudimanthi*: It is a particular chisel which does the work of carving the inner side of the *tudi* frame (body). Some special skill is needed for this work.
1. Tudi Manj
2. Tudi Frame
3. Waist belt
4. Shoulder loop
5. Kutha
6. Connecting twine
7. Striking stick
This is a traditional tool; only a few skilled persons in the community have the possession of it today.

b. **Kuthuli**: It is a chisel having one-centimeter width, used to make the hole in the *tudi* frame. Carpenters also use it for various works. Different sizes of *kuthuli* are available in the market today.

c. **Veethuli**: it is a chisel having 2.5 cms width used for shaping the outer side *tudi* frame. Only skilled persons make use of this chisel.

d. **Vakathi**: it is a special knife, which is very essential for all he preliminary shaping work of the *tudi* frame. People commonly use it for their household needs.

e. Axes, small and big ones and the hand sword are the other tools needed for cutting the wood into small pieces.

f. Hammer for the chisels also used.

g. **Munayan**: It is used to make holes on the manj (*tudi* head) to fix it on the frame using the string.

h. **Pichtchatji**: It is a small knife to make decorations on the *tudi* frame. It is used for other purposes also.

The local blacksmith Mr. Rajan (30) made manthuli, kuthuli and veethuli for this purpose and it costs rupees three hundreds.

3. **Stages**

There are five stages involved in the construction of *tudi* musical instrument. They are as follows:

a. Selection and cutting the tree for *tudi* wood

b. Making the *tudi* frame

c. Carving and polishing the *tudi* frame

d. Processing of goat hide for *tudi* head
Making the *tudi*

I had an opportunity of closely following the various stages of making *tudi* which I am elaborating below (Plate 5.1).

**a. Selection and cutting the tree for *tudi* wood**

Polan *mooppan* (75) the adivasi headman of the village, (Eachome) and I went in search of a proper tree (Kumil tree) for *tudi* frame in different fields and finally found one good tree. We got the permission of the owner and fixed a date, which is suitable to cut the tree (*velutha pakkam* according to lunar calendar). On a good day that is on 29th April 2003 at 8 a.m. the Paniyas with the guidance of Polan *mooppan* came to the field performed the pooja for cutting the tree. At the foot of the tree Polan *mooppan* with the help of Raju (26), Aneesh (22) and Gopalan (28) prepared the ground for the pooja, tree ritual, that is paying homage to the tree and asking the permission and blessing from God, *the padachavan*, to cut it for a good cause. In a plantain leaf, they kept rice, flowers, incense stick, coconut, betel leaves, areca nut and lighted wick. *Mooppan (Chemmi)* initiated the prayer. He called all the gods and goddess and ancestors of their clan. In the presence of them he looked for the auspicious sign (a sign from the spirits to cut the tree). For this he took two one-rupee coins and thrown to the ground. If both get the head it is a good sign. Till they get the good sign *moopan* prayed and threw the coins. The coconut was broken and its water was sprinkled on the tree and the materials kept for the *pooja*. (Purification ceremony). The *moopan* threw rice and flowers on the tree, touched the tree and got its blessing and permission. All the others present there (elders and children) paid homage to the tree by throwing flowers and rice on it. Then *mooppan* blessed the cutting axe by sprinkling coconut water and offering flowers on it. He took the axe paid homage to the tree and to the spirits of the four corners, began to cut the tree. It was at 10 a.m. Raju got the axe from *mooppan* and continued the cutting work. Aneesh went up to the tree and removed all the trunks. Gopalan also helped him.

*Mooppan*, Raju and I had *murukkan*. It is a custom to give *murukkan* to everybody who participates in an auspicious ceremony. Children were also given *murukkan*. Boys and girls enjoyed very much the *murukkan*. The tree fell down by 11.30 a.m. It was cut into 5 pieces and in the afternoon it was carried down to the
PLATE 5.1
TUDI-KUZHAL MAKING - STAGE I

1. ‘Kumil’ tree for tudi frame
2,3. ‘Deivamkanal’ ritual before cutting the tree
4. ‘Chemmi’ announcing the willingness of the tree
5. ‘Chemmi’ starts the cutting of the tree
6. ‘Pala’ wood for kuzhal frame
7. ‘Tudi pooja’ - blessing of tudi
8. Polan Mooppan does ‘tudi pooja’
9. Madhu pays homage to tudi
10. Mooppan strikes the new tudi after the blessing
work campus where the workshop was organized for the tudi construction. Kumil tree is very good for making the tudi frame. It is a soft wood and it is used for carving statues and making the frame of various drums. It is also called kumbil. Jackfruit tree also is used to make tudi frame.

It was a rare and inspiring ceremony. I was touched by the reverence they give to everything in nature. They consider nature as their mother and father, as well as their abode. With all respect, for their requirement only they cut even a tree, that also after seeking the permission from the tree and their ancestors. It was a good experience for the younger generation also. Children were given instruction by the moopan informally on the importance of this ritual, the importance of tudi, etc. At the end of the ceremony children were given coconut. It is a custom to share sweet and coconut after the ritual as Prasadam, that is God is pleased with your ritual and prayer.

b. Making the tudi-frame

The second stage of the tudi construction was taken place on 19th May 2003 at TUDI Institute campus, Eachome, Wayanad. Under the leadership of Velli moopan (60) five Paniya youths (students) were initiated into the tudi construction work. They were Aneesh (22), Binu (20) Madhu (14) Balakrishnan (15) and Appu (14).

Velli (60) from Veettikunnu adivasi ooru (settlement) is an expert craftsman in this profession. His wife Ammani (50) and grandchild Leela (10) were with him for this workshop. Velli has got three children, one male and two females: Krishnan (30) Geetha (25), Radha (22). All got married and settled in different places. He has got 50 cents paddy field and 20-cents dry land, having an ordinary tiled house with two small rooms and a varandha. He is an agricultural worker.

Initiation Ceremony

The local priest of the tribal village has the right to do this ritual. We waited for Polan mooppan, the local priest (Chenni) to perform the ceremony but in his absence Velli Mooppan performed the ritual and initiated five youths for the tudi making training. For this ritual they arranged rice, coconut, seven betel-leaves with
areca nuts\(^2\), Nilavilakku, incense sticks, flowers and a white dhoti in front of the workshop hall. Velli Mooppan said prayers; all the students lighted the lamp. He called the spirits of the ancestors paid homage to them saw the auspicious sign by putting the coins. All the tools also were kept there for the pooja. After the prayer Velli, the teacher took the tudi wood and placed before the lamp (symbol of god) and started the chiseling work. He showed to the students how to begin the work. Then the students one by one after paying homage to god, took the chisel and hammer and did some work on the tudi wood.

After getting the blessing from God they shared murukkan and coconut to all gathered there. There were boys and girls of the nearby villages for this function. Since Polan mooppan (local priest) was absent for the ceremony, Velli mooppan kept his due portion, that is, half of the coconut, some rice and one rupee coin for him, respecting the local priest and his position.

The workshop started by 10 a.m. and continued till 5.30 p.m. on 19-5-03. Members were given food by the TUDI Institute. It was a good beginning for the youth. They got interested in learning this craft. The Mooppan said that if they were trained for one year they would become experts in this skill. He invited them to his house to continue the training.

**Measurements of tudi frame**

There are three tudi in a tudi family; big, medium and small. All the measurements given here are in local measurements and terms.

The length of the big tudi frame is one feet of an elder person (25cms). The diameter of the tudi head is one chan (14cms). The middle hole width is four fingers (3cms) and its length is the length of two middle fingers (10cms). Both side of the tudi frame is in bowl shape which gives the real sound for the tudi. Manthuli is used to make this part, which needs lot of attention and skill. Tudi construction work has done

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\(^2\) Seven is an auspicious number for the Paniya society. They believe that there are seven worlds above and seven worlds below. The betel leaves are given to ancestors who dwell in these worlds.
after 20 days of cutting the tree; usually 20 to 30 days are taken to begin the making of tudi.

c. Carving and Polishing the tudi frame

Making the tudi frame is a very delicate job, which needs a lot of attention and patience because at any time it can brake or cause damage. It takes about six months to make a tudi frame. After making an initial shape of tudi, the wood is kept in a room for four to five months. This is for drying the wood for further work. We cannot keep it in the sun for drying because it will break itself. So it will be kept safely in a room where it gets enough air and light.

Once the wood is dried, it will be taken for further polishing and carving. By that time the wood will be very light. In this stage the work should be done carefully. Using the tudi manthi, the craftsman will carve the inner side of the wood. It should be carved in a special way to get the bowl shape inside. Then only tudi get proper sound. Also the inside hole should be in the central position. The outer side of the tudi will be polished by glass pieces and small knife. With knife they will make beautiful decoration also on the tudi frame. They will not do the work at a stretch. It has got its own rhythm. To polish a tudi frame it will take 10-15 days. Usually the craft man does this work at his leisure time. After polishing and carving, he will keep the tudi frame inside the house for seasoning process. (It will not keep outside the house). Tudi is a sacred object, which cannot be disregarded.

Velli mooppan has got six tudi frames to his stock. Some of them are made out of jackfruit tree, Anjili tree and Kumil tree. All of them are different in size but the shape is similar.

d. Processing the goat hide for tudi

In olden days monkey’s skin was used for tudi head. It was very good in terms of tune, temper and stability (durability). Now due to government rules the Paniyas are not allowed to kill monkeys and therefore it is not available for this use.

On 21-5-2003 morning a friend of mine went to the goat slaughterhouse and brought one goatskin for Rs. 200/-. It was ordered in the previous day itself. While
buying a goat hide certain points to be kept in mind (Velli said). First is that the goat’s age should be between one and two year old (not too young or too old). Second is that it should not be socked in salt (usually butchers apply salt to the skin for tanning). Third is that black goatskin is better in quality than white goatskin.

1. Drying the hide

The hide has to be dried in hot sun for two to three days. For this Raju and Aneesh cleaned the courtyard at TUDI campus, spread the hide, put ashes on the ground, stretched the skin to the maximum and pined it to the ground. Then they put ashes on it in order to keep off flies or ants. We were on the watch out so that dogs will not come and take it away. (Once a dog made a futile attempt to take the hide away). By evening we took the hide from the ground and kept in a house safely. The next day also we did the same and it continued for three days. The skin becomes very strong, neat and clear.

2. Removing the hair from the hide

It was a tedious work, but Velli Mooppan with his skill found out a very practical method to remove the hair without damaging the skin. It was done on 27-5-03 at his house. He cut the hide according to the measurement of the tudi head and using a ‘bamboo-blade’ (knife made of bamboo stick) removed the hair. He put ashes on the hair and scratched it with bamboo blade. Madhu, Chandran and Appu helped Velli for this work.

3. Seasoning the hide

To increase the temper of the goatskin, the cleared skin is soaked in water and put into the Ural (pounding stand) with some rice husk and pound it slowly. It became very soft but too strong. Usually they do this process for old skin in order to get good temper. (Velli Mooppan explained all these matters to me).

e. Making the tudi

On 27-5-03 (Tuesday) the adivasi youth group who were initiated by Velli moopan, the teacher, for tudi construction, went to his village (Veettkunnu) to learn
the various stages tudi construction. I too joined them and we were eight in the group. We reached there around 10 a.m. Velli _mooppan_ welcomed us in his house. His brother-in-law, _Jati_ (50) also was there to assist him. We carried with us some rice and vegetables for the noon meal that was given to Velli’s wife Ammini. We were given tea and snacks in the morning and evening. Special lunch was prepared by Ammini and her daughter and served to us at noon.

The _tudi_ frame (body) was already ready there. It was made some six months ago. It was made of Kumil wood. They started the work of making _tudi-manj_ ( _tudi head_ ). _Jati_ was doing the work. _Manj_ is the frame, where the goat hide is fixed. It is made of bamboo reeds. It is in circular form tied by clothes.

_Tudi – head (manj) making_

Velli and Jati went into the field and brought a particular glue (paste) to paste the goatskin on the manj, the circular frame. The glue is the sap of the _Athi_ tree, collected from the tree. The goat hide was processed and kept ready for pasting it on the frame. Velli with the help of Jati and Aneesh made the _tudi_ – head. It was a difficult work, which need precision and attention. The more they stretch the skin and tightened it on the frame the tune will be better. With in an hour they made two _tudi_ – head (manj) and placed them on the sun to dry. Meanwhile Velli instructed others, to continue the work on _tudi_ wood shaping and carving the _tudi_ frame. Chandran, Aneesh and Madhu did the work.

The measure of the _tudi-manj_ will be according to the _tudi_-head. To tie the manj with the _tudi-frame_, we need a string. In olden time skin of certain trees were used for this purpose. They are _Kanoonnimaram, Manalichedi, Palkayal or Ooram_. Now they use plastic twine (string) for this purpose.

When the _manj_ is dried, Velli took them and measured it for making six holes in it at equidistance for the string to be tied. Making the hole was done by a piercing needle (_munayan_) put it on the fire and made holes. (Big _tudi_ has six holes and small _tudi_ has five holes)

_Tudi_ – frame is fixed to the _tudi_ – head (manj) with the plastic string. To tighten or loosen the string, a plastic wire is tied around, at the center, the _tudi maran_ 208
that is connected to a small piece of wood called ‘kutha’. By loosening or tightening the string using the kutha, gives the high or low pitch for the tudi. Another string is used (shoulder loop) to hang the tudi on the shoulder. The striking stick, tudi – stick, is made of bamboo piece. They made three sticks on the spot. By 4.30 p.m. a tudi was given birth at Veetikunnu village and Velli Moopan ceremoniously took it gave homage to the God and played it for sometime. It produced beautiful sound and all were happy to hear the cry of the newborn child!

Velli’s wife Ammini, prepared noon meal for us and served tea in the evening. She did all these things very cheerfully and gracefully. Here I experienced the generosity of the tribal people.

Another interesting scene was the grandson of Velli, Vishnu, a two-year-old boy, was very active and keen on beating the tudi-drum. He too was very good in playing tudi in his own way. I give Rs. 100/- as dhakshina (gift) to Velli and he gave the tudi to me saying that it has to be blessed by the local priest (Chemmi) by doing a special ritual (Tudi pooja). Then only it is to be taken outside for the performance.

We returned home by 5.30 p.m. A Nair family, who is a friend of Velli Mooppan and mine invited me for tea. I went their house also. There Mr. Kesavan Nair (60), the family head told stories and shared his experience among the Paniya people.

4. Blessing of tudi (tudi pooja)

‘Tudi pooja’ (blessing ceremony of Tudi) has been done on 31-05-2003, Saturday 6.30 p.m. Polan Moopan (the local priest) officiated the ritual. It was done in TUDI Institute. Adivasi children and some TUDI staff were present at the function.

The strong belief behind this ritual is that tudi gets life (sound) only by doing this ritual. And by this ceremony it becomes a holy object or a holy being. Tudi is considered as a human being. They believe that tudi sound is the sound of the gods. God or The Great Spirit gives it this sound.

For this ritual, symbols of the cosmic elements- earth, water, five, air and akash (panchabhootha) were kept. In a plantain leaf, there were rice, seven betel leaves with
areca nut, betel rice (aval), lamb, coconut, incense sticks were kept. Tudi is kept near the lamb. After seeing God, paying homage to Him, Moopan took the tudi and got the blessing from four directions. Seeing the good sign by putting the coins the Moopan called everybody to pay homage to the tudi by sprinkling water and putting flower on it. Then Moopan broke the coconut, threw over his head and saw the good sign once again. Then he took the tudi, revered it and started striking it. It is known as tudi arayal. Afterwards murukkan was given to everybody, coconut and aval is distributed with sweet (jagari) as a sign of joy and companionship. At 7.30 p.m. the ritual came to an end.

D. KUZHAL MAKING

Kuzhal (pipe) is another musical instrument of the Paniya community. It comes in the wind instrument (aerophone-reed type) category. Paniya believe that these instruments kuzhal and tudi are given by God (padachavan) for their children to play. The sounds of kuzhal and tudi are god's sound so much so that there are 101 kuzhal tunes and tudi rhythms as there are 101 gods. Those who make tudi also make kuzhal. Compare to tudi construction kuzhal making is rather simple.

Parts

Kuzhal has got six parts. They are ola, peeli, palaka, sootharam, thandu, and ummam. These words belong to the Paniya dialect.

a. Ola: It is a piece of palm leaf that produces the sound for the Kuzhal. It is the reed of the Kuzhal.

b. Peeli: It is a cock feather; the ola is fixed on it.

c. Palaka: It is a curved piece made out of coconut shell, to keep the Kuzhal to the mouth tightly and closely.

d. Soothram: It is a small piece of lightwood with a hole inside. It connects the peeli and the thandu (body of the Kuzhal). Chunda plant is used for soothram.

e. Thandu: It is the body of the Kuzhal, which is made of Pala, chuda or kumil wood. Chunda plant is better for the body of the Kuzhal.
f. **Ummam:** It is the head of the *Kuzhal*, which is made of *kumil* wood. *Pala* wood also is used (Fig.27).

2. **Tools**

   If the materials are available, it needs only five days to make one *kuzhal*. Many tribal and non-tribal communities use *kuzhal* for their ritualistic and musical performance. Very few tools are used for *kuzhal* construction. They are:

   a. **Vakkathi:** it is a sharp knife for cutting the plant or wood for the *kuzhal* body (thandu) and head(ummam).it is used for shaping the wood for this purpose.

   b. **Thiriyan:** it is a rotating chisel to make main hole on the trunk of the *kuzhal*. It is made locally either by the blacksmith or by the skilled person himself.

   c. **Munayan:** it is used to make holes on the thandu. There are seven holes on the thandu at an equi-distance of one finger (2.5 cms) each. The music is produced through the skillful use of these holes.

   d. **Pichathi:** it is a small knife used for decoration work on the *kuzhal*. *Kuzhal* makers do beautiful carvings on it according to their imagination.

3. **Stages**

   There are three stages involved in *kuzhal* making such as selection of the tree, making of the *kuzhal* and *kuzhal* pooja. The skilled persons use their free time to make *kuzhal*. Therefore, it takes its own time to complete the work. Usually the *Mooppan* of the village has one or two *kuzhal* in his stock. When the festival or other rituals come, he takes it and keeps it ready for the performance. I had myself personally followed making of a *kuzhal* in its three stages which I describe below.

   a. **Selection of the tree.**

   I went in search of proper wood for *Kuzhal*. *Pala* (*Alstonia scolaris*), *kumil* (*Sterculia gutata*), *chunda* (*Solanum torvum*), *kattadi* (*Cassurina equisetifolia*) are the suitable wood for this purpose. Velli Moopan said that *chunda* is the best wood for *Kuzhal*. For making the *kuzhal*, he gave instructions to me for the selection of wood
Fig. 27  PARTS OF KUZHAL

1. Oola
2. Peeli
3. Palaka
4. Soothram
5. Thandu
6. Ummam
and its seasoning. I could not find chunda plant, but got pala tree. On 20-5-2003 Aneesh (21) cut a branch of Pala tree for this purpose. It was kept under shade for seven days. Pala tree is a light wood tree, which is considered as a sacred tree by the adivasi. For kuzhal we need two to three inches diameter wood, which has a length of 20 inches.

b. Making the Kuzhal.

In consultation with Velli Mooppan we had decided to make the kuzhal seven days after cutting the Pala tree. On 28-5-2003 morning at 10 am., we Aneesh, Madhu, Sayooj and myself went to Mooppan’s house at Veetikunnu. We were well received by them. Velli Mooppan showed the methods of making the Kuzhal. Kuzhal has got six parts. It would take 4 to 5 days to make one Kuzhal. Morning he started the work with making the head part (ummam) of the Kuzhal. It is made of ‘Pala wood’, which has got a length of 15 cms. It is in the shape of a circular cone. With knife and rotating chisel (munayan) he made the head part. To smoothen the ummam he used the leaf of a tree called Parakan which will serve the purpose of sandpaper. It is quite surprising to see that how he smoothened the kuzhal head with in 15 minutes (Plate 5.2).

The length of the Kuzhal head (Ummam) is two fingers (5cms) to the head side and four fingers (10cms) to the tail side. (Total six fingers and 1 cm in between the head and tail). Then he showed how to make the trunk part of the kuzhal. It is called thandu. It is made of chunda plant or Pala wood. Chunda plant is a better choice. He used chunda plant for the thandu. It has got the length of 11 fingers (27.5 cms). The thandu has a diameter of one finger (2.5 cms). With small knife and rotating chisel, the hole was made. For this purpose he warmed the chisel and made hole. There is exact measurement for the holes on the body. 7 holes are made for the pipe, 2.5 cms in between the holes (1 finger). The length of the head part is 7.5 cms (3 fingers) and tail part is two fingers (5 cms). Smoothening of the body is done only after making the holes. The nature of the main hole is such that the hole will be small at the tail part and bigger at the head part.

The third part of the Kuzhal is soothram. It is made of a soft wood plant, which has got a hole in the center. Any soft wood can be made use for this purpose. It has got a length of two fingers (5 cms). The fourth part is called palaka. It is curved
PLATE 5.2
TUDI - KUZHAL MAKING - STAGE II

1. Asan (Teacher) Velli Mooppan with his tools
2,3. Tudi making - initiation ceremony
4,5. Tudi making process
6. A tudi frame (unfinished stage)
7,8. Seasoning the goat hide for tudi-head
9,10,11,12. Kuzhal making process by Velli Mooppan
in shape, made of coconut shell. It is a decorated item, with 3 holes at the center to fix the peeli on it. This will help to keep the kuzhal very close and tight to the mouth during the performance. Fifth item is called Peeli, which is made of the cock feather stick. It is a small pipe to keep the ola in it and it is fixed on the palaka, very minute part but does a good function. Sixth item is called ola made of palm tree leaf. It is the reed of the Kuzhal, which produce the sound. It is attached to the peeli and fixed on the palaka. Two pieces of leaf is tied together with a thread and it is used as the ola. Pichathi and munayan is used to make all the above-mentioned parts of Kuzhal.

Velli Mooppan explained to me in details the making and function of the Kuzhal. Since he had already prepared the ola, palaka, peeli and soothram he could complete the work of making kuzhal in one day. Kuzhal is used for all the important occasions in the Paniya life, like Deivamkanal, marriage, death ceremonies, and all other life-cycle ceremonies. There are many sruthis (pitches) and see! (ways) of playing Kuzhal according to various situations. Ammini, Velli’s wife gave us tea and lunch. Velli promised to prepare a good Kuzhal for me later. Evening I took their family photo of Velli thanked them and came away.

c. Kuzhal pooja

Polan mooppan did the ritual of blessing the tudi and Kuzhal at TUDI hall. It was attended by many tribals and non-tribals. It is their belief that Kuzhal gets its life only by this ritual. By this ceremony the Kuzhal get the sound/music of God (spirit). After seeing gods, the Moopan offered the kuzhal to the gods for their ‘blessing’. Then he said prayers to the whole cosmic powers for the well being of humanity and Nature. In the presence of Pancha Bhootha, he blessed the tudi and kuzhal.

Mooppan took the kuzhal and played for some time. Children performed tudi to accompany the kuzhal. The ceremony was on 31-05-2003. Sweets and murukkan were distributed to share the joy of a kuzhal and tudi being born by the grace of God.

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3 It means the five cosmic elements namely, earth, water, fire, air, akash (space).
Mooppan handed over the *kuzhal* and *tudi* to the Director of the Institute, Eachome. The whole ceremony was in the evening at the Institute, TUDI Kalakendram. There is a belief among the Paniya that any sacred elements or important matters have to be entrusted to people having certain authority and social status. Tudi and *kuzhal* are sacred musical instruments. Therefore, it has to be given to a person of authority. They believe that it will be safe with that authority.

4. Tuning of *Tudi and Kuzhal*

Tuning of *tudi* is done by tightening or loosening the lacing. *Tudi* being an hourglass shaped drum, squeezing the lacing is done by a waist–belt. The pitch of the *tudi* can be adjusted by tightening or loosing the waist-belt by the left hand: There are three *tudi* in a set that is of three sizes. The sound of the *tudi* varies according to its size. *Tudi* is called as *maram or tudimaram* by the Paniyas. During the performance the waist-belt synchronizes the tunes.

*Kuzhal* tuning is done by the performer by adjusting the *ola* (the reed: a leaf of the palm tree). Each *Kuzhal* has a distinct voice or sound according to its size and holes. The size of the *ola* (reed) also determines the tune of the *kuzhal*.

E. TUDI-KUZHAL: ORGANOLOGY

We have seen so far the process involved in *tudi* and *kuzhal* construction. Here we are analyzing the relationship between these two musical instruments and Paniya society. It is dialectical in nature: the classification of these instruments, the myth and beliefs attached to them, the *tudi-kuzhal* symbolism and the significance of these instruments in shaping Paniya life and culture are discussed in this section.

1. Viewpoints

Sue Cavloe De Vale (1990) classified the musical instruments into two category namely, exogenous and endogenous, which mean outsider’s and insider’s view point respectively. Tudi and *kuzhal* also can be classified following this criterion.
a. Exogenous view

_Tudi_ is a membranophone because its source of sound is a vibrating skin. It is a double-headed drum consisting an hourglass shaped wooden hollow body (frame), and a skin frame at both heads (manj) and connector that can be twines.

David Reck (1977:103) classifies drum into three types according to the shape of their body such as tube or long related shape, kettle or pot related and circular or square shape. According to this classification _tudi_ comes in the first category. It is in hourglass shape with thin waist. The frame (body) of tudi is made of wood. So tudi is a double-headed wooden frame drum.

According to Hornbostel-Sach’s classification tudi is a struck membranophone in the family of struck drums. It is a drum that is struck directly by a stick. Among the struck drums there is a tube drum without handle. So _tudi_ is also a tube drum without handle. With regards to the criterion of the number of skins used, _tudi_ will be classified as a single skin tube drum without handle. (Jairazbhoy 1990:90, 94). _Tudi_ does not have a handle, but it has a loop made of cord, which would help the instrument to be hung around the left shoulder of the performer during the performance.

With regard to the attachment of the skin to the body (frame) of the drum, _tudi_ comes in to the category of indirect lacing drums. Here the goatskin is attached or glued to a frame (hoop) called _manj_ and the hoops (frame) are placed on both side of the drumhead and laced each other, which gives the proper tension to the drum.

b. Endogenous view

In Kerala any percussion instrument is called _Thala vathyam_, meaning rhythmic instrument. The common people call any percussion instrument as _kottu_ (_Tudi kottu_). _Kottu_ means ‘to strike’ and ‘the drum that is struck’ is also called _kottu_. Paniyas in Kerala use the word _arachil_ for striking, and _tudi_ _arayal_ means striking the _tudi_ or playing the _tudi_.

Other groups like _Adiya_ tribe and _Pulaya_ caste _community_ also use this instrument. _Pulayar_ calls it as _Cheru tudi Vadyam_. The researcher met this group
during a performance context in Kalady, Ernakulam district, Kerala. In shape and form tudi is similar to udukae used by Kongu vellala group. A similar but refined form of tudi is edaka, which is used in temple music in Kerala. Uduku or udukae is a miniature form of tudi that is used by Thandar, Sambavar, Vedar, Pulayar and Nair communities for ritualistic and entertainment performances.

2. Kuzhal Viewpoints

Kuzhal also can be viewed in exogenous and endogenous way.

a. Exogenous view

Kuzhal belong to the wind instrument (aero phone) category. It comes from the family of flute. Flutes are in the family of musical instruments known as aerophones. The sound produced by an aerophone is the result of air vibrating. Flutes are the oldest instruments of this type. There are many kinds of folk flutes as well as orchestral varieties.

The concert flute is a western orchestral instrument. It is held horizontally, and played by blowing across the mouth-hole rather then directly into it. The earliest flutes were made of wood, but now all-metal flutes are in use today. The best-known single reed instruments are clarinet and saxophone. Shakuhachi, a bamboo end-blown flute from Japan, Dizu, a Chinese flute and Bansri, an Indian flute can also be included in to this category. (Dorling Kindersley 1992, Encarta Encyclopedia 2001).

b. Endogenous view

Kuzhal is an indigenous form of the flute. It is not exactly flute, we could call it as pipe and its music is similar to the magudi tunes of the snake charmers. Paniyas were wandering tribe and they lived in the forest. So their musical instruments and its music are evolved from their habitat. In other words there is a direct relationship between their musical instruments and their life-environment. Kuzhal is made of softwood, which has got seven holes. Kuzhal is a reed instrument. In Indian tradition, it comes in the family of Nagaswaram, which is a south Indian musical instrument. Irula, Adiya and Kattunaika tribal community use kuzhal for performance. Nair
community in Palakkad calls it as \textit{kuru kuzhal} and Tamil community calls it as \textit{kattekuzhal}.

3. Tudi-Kuzhal Myth and Beliefs

Tudi – Kuzhal myth

Polan \textit{Mooppan} (75) nellickal, Eachome, Wayanad told me this myth regarding the origin of \textit{tudi} and \textit{kuzhal}. He narrates the myth as follows; “It was told that we, the Paniyas have come from the mountain called \textit{Ippi mala}. \textit{Ippi mala Chemban} and \textit{Kempi} are our ancestors. While looking for food in the forest, they came to a ‘Kavu’ (sacred grove) to collect the left over food from the \textit{Kavu}. One night while searching for food in the \textit{kavu} premises they were trapped by the \textit{Ippi mala Kaundan} [goudar], domesticated them, trained them as slaves or workers. They were told by the \textit{Kaundan} to live as brother and sister above the waist and husband and wife below the waist. Thus they got five boys and five girls as children.

One day the children were crying for food. They did not have anything to give them. Then the parents, \textit{Chempan} and \textit{Kempi} went in to the forest, cut a tree and made a drum and pipe for the children. They named it as \textit{tudi} and \textit{koyalu} or \textit{kuzhal}. They believe that God has given this \textit{tudi} and \textit{Kuzhal} to their children because God made them cry, and God inspired them to make this sort of instruments. God gave good sound also. Thus, \textit{tudi} and \textit{Kuzhal} came in to being.

b. Beliefs

There are many beliefs related to \textit{tudi} drum and \textit{Kuzhal} pipe. Some of them are:

1. \textit{Tudi} and \textit{kuzhal} are holy musical instrument. It is given by God. The sound of the \textit{tudi} and \textit{kuzhal} are God’s sound.

2. Tudi has to be taken for performance only after the \textit{tudi pooja} (rituals related to the blessing of this instrument). Otherwise it will not get proper sound or life.

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\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ippi mala} is an imaginary mountain in Paniyas’ world. Ippi means something sacred or awful. They believe that they have come from this mountain. It is mentioned in their origin myth. See chapter II.

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3. *Tudi* and *kuzhal* are not simple objects. It has got life. It symbolizes Paniya family, which consists of four members. *Kuzhal* symbolizes the Moopan (family/village head) or husband or the male person in the family. Big *tudi* is the female person usually the mother or wife and the small ones are the children of the family. (Anthropocentric belief)

4. *Tudi* cannot be touched by women who are in their menses period. In addition, *tudi* should not be played by women because it is a holy object. If a woman touches the *tudi* it has to be purified by certain ritual.

5. *Tudi* construction is a sacred act. It has to be started with the ceremonial ritual called *deivam kanal* (seeing god ritual).

6. While making the *tudi* – frame, we should not stamp on the material which is carved out of the *tudi wood*. If we do it, it will affect the tudi’s sound. So it has to be collected and put into fire or kept in some secluded place.

7. *Tudi* is considered to be feminine in nature and *kuzhal* is masculine. Only when *Kuzhal* starts playing tudi starts its performance, which is followed by the dance of the women (*vattakali*). Formerly only women dance, now men also joins the dance in separate place.

8. In the month of *Makaram* (month of the dead) they will not perform the *tudi* or *kuzhal*. It is the rest period for them.

9. At home *tudi* and *Kuzhal* will be kept near the *thine*, the sacred place inside the house. Nobody will handle it with out respect. Usually the head of the family, paying reverences to the *tudi and kuzhal*, take them out for performance.

10. Each village invariably will have a *tudi* set and *kuzhal* and it is kept in the Mooppan’s (Village head) family.

11. *Tudi* set will be given freely to the close relatives. To others it will be given for rent. Rs.100 to 300 per set have to be given as rent for a set of *tudi*. Now a fresh *tudi* cost Rs.500/-. Tudi materials are not very common these days. Also the
craftsmen are very few. It is a tedious work, which needs a lot of attention. (As told by Velli (60), Polan (75) and Chimban (80).

4. Tudi – Kuzhal Symbolism

In Paniya society Kuzhal represent the village head (Mooppan) or the male member of the family. In a ritual context Mooppan performs the kuzhal first and then it is given to others. Kuzhal vili means playing on kuzhal. Vili means ‘to call’. By performing it the Mooppan is calling the spirits of the ancestors and gods for the particular celebration.

Tudi and kuzhal is considered as human persons. Tudi and kuzhal symbolizes the Paniya family. Kuzhal takes the role of the Moopan (village head) or husband and the big tudi is the mother or wife, the medium one and the small one are the children. They all are considered as the members of the village. When Mooppan starts the kuzhal, the men of the community start striking tudi and women and children of the community forms a circle and dance around the tudi. The dance is their life itself and it continues forever.

Adivasi, being the lower strata of the society, their musical instrument also is considered as insignificant and untouchable by the people of the upper caste and classes. But through the rituals the tudi and Kuzhal get magical powers that elevate its position in the society. In a ritual context tudi wards off evil spirits, invokes divine presence, rouses the dancers into trance. Tudi and Kuzhal are kept in the sacred place (thine) in the Moopan’s house. Thus it become holy and the abode of sacred spirits.

Tudi and Kuzhal also emerged as a symbol of protest. Now adivasi use this instrument to gather their people, to unite them, to organize them for a struggle. It has got a binding force, and a strengthening spirit.

Physiologically tudi symbolize the female and Kuzhal the male aspect of human reality. As soon as they hear the tudi and Kuzhal sound, the male is attracted to the female and vice versa and they begin the dance Vattkali. In the dance context they all become one entity where they experience the beauty of togetherness or oneness. Tudi shape itself is female and Kuzhal is male. A symbolic unity is seen in these instruments.
From the field experience and observation we have seen that tudi and *kuzhal* are one of the core elements\(^5\) of Paniya life. They have found ways and means to preserve these core elements properly in their life. *Thine-thare-kavu* pattern is one such way. Tudi and *kuzhal* are attached to all these three sacred institutions. They consider these instruments are also sacred and they are kept on the thine or thare after the performance. For all the rituals in *thine or thare or kavu* they use these instruments and Paniya life is centered on these sacred musical instruments.

In this chapter we discussed the various process involved in *tudi* and *kuzhal* construction and its meaning and implications related to the Paniya culture. The following concluding chapter is a summary findings of all the previous chapters. An ethnomusicological analyzes on the Paniya vattakali performance, the Paniya music tradition, and their musical instruments are included in this chapter.

\(^5\) Core elements mean the factors that determine or shaping the life of a community. Tudi and *kuzhal*, the *vattakali*, and the kinship pattern are some of the core-elements in Paniya life.