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# The Origin of Deity Worship in Tamil Culture (From Nadukal Worship to Small Deity Worship)

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This world is differentiated by various factors such as civilization, ethnicity, language, religion, culture, and tradition. Each country has its unique culture, tradition, and civilization, operating independently. Amidst these differences, certain cultural elements share a unified perspective across the globe. Examples include worshiping the divine and honoring ancestors. While different nations follow distinct methods of worship and ancestral reverence, the core idea remains unchanged. In ancient times, humans, being nomads, would abandon their dead in the wilderness due to lack of knowledge about handling corpses. Later, as civilizations developed, humans began burying their dead. To identify the burial site, they arranged stones around it. Over time, this practice evolved into erecting a single stone, known as Nadukal, bearing the name and details of the deceased in script. This Nadukal tradition aimed to honour and commemorate the dead, preserving their legacy for future generations.

Tamil society adapted this tradition, laying the foundation for idol worship. Although the Nadukal tradition is found worldwide, its significance in Tamil Nadu is uniquely intertwined with the lives of Tamils. While other nations also honoured their dead, Tamils took this tradition to greater heights, restricting it to warriors who died in battle, protected their communities or demonstrated exceptional bravery. In Tamil Nadu, Nadukal was not a common practice for every deceased person. Instead, it was reserved for warriors who died in battle, protected their villages, or performed heroic deeds. There is no evidence of Nadukal or inscriptions dedicated to ordinary citizens. Furthermore, this article focuses on the notion that Tamils were the pioneers of the Nadukal tradition, which served as a precursor to the global societal practice.

## The Origin and Definition of Nadukal

Exploring the etymology of the word Nadukal, it can be broken down into "Nadum + Kal" (Tamil). This can be easily interpreted as "Nadukal" meaning "a stone that can be erected" or "a stone that stands upright". However, not all stones that can be erected or stood upright can be called Nadukal. The word "Nadukal" has a significant historical background and mythological significance, especially in Tamil culture. In general, Nadukals were erected to honour and worship the memory of brave warriors who died in battle. Ancient Tamil society was primarily a warrior community. The concept of "survival of the fittest" was prevalent, and only the strongest survived. Various types of battles took place in this warrior society, and those who emerged victorious were revered.

Tamil literature, such as the Tolkappiyam, Agananooru, Purananuru, and Purapporul Venbamalai, provide detailed accounts of these battles. Specifically, they categorize battles into Vetchi war (cattle raid), Karanthai war (rescue of stolen cattle), Uzhinai war (siege), Vanji war (battle between two kings), Nochchi war (battle within a fort), Thumbai war (duel between two kings) and Vagai war (battle for supremacy)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> தேவநேயப் பாவானார் -வேர்சொல் அகரமுதலி-தமிழ்நாடு அரசு செந்தமிழ் சொற்பிறப்பு அகரமுதலி திட்டம் – சென்னை பக்-122

<sup>2</sup> புலியூர் கேசிக்கர் – ஐந்திணை எழுபது – செண்பகா பதிப்பகம் -2021 -பக்67

<sup>்</sup> முனைவர்.அ.ஜெகதீசன்- தமிழ் இலக்கியத்தில் கல்வெட்டியல் கூறுகள் – சென்னை -2008-பக்க 09-12

வெட்சி	நிரைகவர்தல்;	மீட்டல்		கரந்தையாம்;
வட்கார்மேற்	செல்வது	வஞ்சியாம்;	-	உட்காது
எதிரூன்றல்	காஞ்சி;	எயில்காத்தல்		நொச்சி;
அதுவளைத்தல்	<i>ஆகும்</i>	உழிஞை;	-	அதிரப்
பொருவது	தும்பையாம்;	போர்க்களத்து	7	மிக்கோர்
செருவென் றதுவாகை ய	<i>π</i> ω <sup>4</sup> .			

In ancient Tamil society, those who possessed large numbers of cattle were considered wealthy and held in high esteem. Battles were fought to acquire these cattle. When a warrior died in battle, his community would pay their respects by burying his body in a chosen location and erecting a stone (Nadukal) on the grave<sup>5</sup>. The Nadukal would bear the warrior's image, name, and details of his heroic deeds. Initially, Nadukals were erected at the burial site of brave warriors<sup>6</sup>.

# Nadukal and its Different Types

Nadukal is a general term referring to a stone that can be erected. According to Tamil grammar, any stone that can be erected is called Nadukal<sup>7</sup>. However, not all erectable stones are referred to as Nadukal. The term Nadukal has various types, categorized based on the reasons for their erection.

## i. Veerakkal (Heroic Stone)

Erected to honour warriors who died in battle, protected the community from enemies or wild animals, or performed heroic acts<sup>8</sup>. Pulikuthi Nadukal (Tiger-Slaying Heroic Stone), Pannrikuthi Nadukal (Boar-Slaying Heroic Stone). These Veerakkal Nadukals commemorate warriors who protected their community from tigers and wild boars<sup>9</sup>.

- ii. Other Types of Nadukal
- 1. Sadhikkal (or Sadhi Madha Kal)
- 2. Nisithi Karkal
- 3. Navakandam
- 4. Arakandam
- 5. Thongu Thalai

# 1. Satikkal (or Sati Mada Kal)

Satikkal memorial stones were erected for women who died after their husband's death, either by their own will or due to societal pressure. This practice differs from the custom of Sati (immolation) prevalent in other regions<sup>10</sup>. There is no evidence to suggest that Sati was widespread in Tamil Nadu during the Sangam period.

## 2. Nisithi Karkal

Nisithi Karkal memorial stones were erected to honour Jain monks who attained liberation through fasting unto death<sup>11</sup>.

# 3. Navakandam

Navakandam memorial stones were erected for warriors who sacrificed themselves by cutting their bodies into nine pieces as an offering to the Goddess Korravai, seeking victory for their King and Nation<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> புலியூர் கேசிக்கர் – தொல்காப்பியம் மூலமும் உரையும் – புறப்பொருள் பிரிவுகள் – பாடல் -2.1.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> முனைவர். இரா.ராமசாமி.கல்வெட்டியல் – தமிழ்நாடு அரசு தொல்லியல் துறை – சென்னை 1980

<sup>6</sup> தேவநேயப்பாவானார்-பழந்தமிழாட்சி – பூம்புகார் பதிப்பகம் – பக்க 28

<sup>7.</sup>தேவநேயப் பாவானார் -வேர்சொல் அகரமுதலி-தமிழ்நாடு அரசு செந்தமிழ் சொற்பிறப்பு அகரமுதலி திட்டம் – சென்னை பக்-122 -123<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup> ஐயனாரிதனார்- புறப்பொருள்வெண்பா மாலை -இயல் பதிப்பகம் – 2022 – பக்க-28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> தி.ஸ்ரீ.ஸ்ரீதர்.- நடுகல் அகழ்வைப்பகம்- தமிழ்நாடு அரசு தொல்லியல்த் துறை – 2010 – முன்னுரை பக்க*-*01

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> WESERMARCK ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MORA IDEAS VOIII LONDON-242

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> மயிலை சீனி வேங்கடசாமி – தமிழும் சமணமும் – சைவ சித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக்கழகம் – பக்க *77* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> தொ. இ. க. தொ. 12, க. எண் 106

#### 4. Arakandam

Arakandam refers to the practice of cutting one's own throat as an offering to Korravai, seeking relief from illness or fulfillment of a desired goal<sup>13</sup>.

#### 5. Thongu Thalai

A warrior willing to sacrifice for their cause or country's benefit would stand before Goddess Korravai. A bent bamboo tree would be planted, and the warrior's head would be tied to it. The warrior would then be beheaded, and their head would hang from the bamboo, bleeding. This ritual was believed to ensure the warrior's passage to heaven<sup>14</sup>.

## Natukal Term used in inscriptions in different names:

- 1. Thorumeedtal and
- 2. Thorukkavaruthal

# Terms used in Sangam literature:

- 1. Padukkai
- 2. Karpathukkai
- 3. Vallan Padukkai
- 4. Perumpadai
- 5. Nedungarkal<sup>15</sup>

## Regional names:

- 1. Silaikkal
- 2. Vediappan
- 3. Ayyanar Appan
- 4. Sanarappan
- 5. Muniyappan
- 6. Channasiyappan Kal
- 7. Krishnarappan
- 8. Meenarappan
- 9. Savu Mettu Vediappan Kal
- 10. Natha Mettu Vediappan Kal
- 11. Anjaneyar Kal
- 12. Sirai Meettaan Kal (also known as Nirai Meettaan)<sup>16</sup>

# Tamil Traditions of Hero Stone Establishment and Worship

The ancient Tamil text, Tolkāppiyam, provides clear guidelines on. Tolkāppiyam, the earliest and most fundamental work of the Tamil people (based on available texts), comprehensively outlines the customs and traditions related to:

- 1. Establishing hero stones (Nadukal)
- 2. Installing them in a specific location
- 3. Performing worship and rituals

This seminal text preserves the ancient Tamil practices and customs surrounding hero stones, offering valuable insights into Tamil culture and heritage.

காட்சி, கால்கோள் நீர்ப்படை நடுகல் சீர்த்தகு மரபில் பெரும்படை வாழ்த்தல் என்று இருமூன்று மரபில் கல்லொடு புணர (புறத்திணை இயல், 5)<sup>17</sup>

Tolkāppiyar explains the process of creating hero stones (Nadukal) in the context of Vetchi thinai (a

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<sup>13</sup> ஸ்ரீ.ஸ்ரீதர்.- நடுகல் அகழ்வைப்பகம்- தமிழ்நாடு அரசு தொல்லியல்த் துறை – 2010 – முன்னுரை பக்க -035

<sup>14</sup> திருச்சி பார்த்தி- தியாகத்தின் அடையாளங்களா – விகடன் நாளிதழ் – மே31 -2022

<sup>15</sup> இரா.வெங்கட்ராமன் MEOMORIAL STONES PAGE- 13

<sup>16</sup> ம.பவானி- நவகண்டம் – ஆய்வுக்கட்டுரை – பக்க -3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> புலியூர் கேசிக்கர் – தொல்காப்பியம் மூலமும் உரையும்- புறத்திணை இயல் – 5

genre of Tamil poetry). Additionally, the primary Tamil literary work, **Purapporul Venbāmālai**, categorizes and elaborates on the various aspects of hero stone establishment under the **Poyuviyal thinai** (genre). These aspects include:

- 1. Kalkāṇḍal (Selecting the stone)
- 2. Kalkōl nilai (Positioning the stone)
- 3. Kal neerpaduthal (Water consecration)
- 4. Kal naduthal (Installing the stone)
- 5. Kal muraip pazhichal (Rituals for stone consecration)
- 6. Irgkondu puguthal (Ceremonial procession)

**Purapporul Venbāmālai** also provides detailed guidelines on these processes <sup>18</sup>. **Kalkāṇḍal** specifically refers to the selection of an appropriate stone for engraving the image of the heroic warrior who died in battle.

ஆனா வென்றி அமரில்வீழ்ந் தோற்குக்

# கான நீளிடைக் கல்கண் டன்று<sup>19</sup>

The verse explains that brave warriors sought suitable stones to erect a hero stone (Nadukal) for the young hero who died in battle with an arrow and ascended to heaven.

The process involves:

- 1. Selecting the right stone (Kalkāndal)
- 2. Positioning the stone (Kalkōl nilai)

Kalkōl nilai refers to the placement or installation of the chosen stone for the hero stone. The verse highlights the importance of Choosing a suitable stone and Properly positioning it . To honour the fallen hero. மண்மருளத்

# விண்மேயாற்குக் கல்கொண்டன்று $^{20}$

The verse describes the ritual for selecting a stone for the hero stone (Nadukal) of a brave warrior who died in battle and ascended to heaven. It mentions:

- 1. Playing the Thudai (a musical instrument) and beating drums (Manmiralu)
- 2. Taking possession of the chosen stone (Kalkōl nilai)

The next step mentioned is **Kal neerpaduthal** (Water consecration): Submerging the chosen stone in water. வண்டுசூழ் தாமம் புடையே அலம்வரக்

கண்டு கொண்ட கல்நீர்ப் படுத்தன்று $^{21}$ 

This verse describes the ritual preparation of the hero stone (Nadukal), Placing the selected stone in a water body (Kal neerpaduthal), Adorning it with fragrant, colorful garlands attractive to bees and Purifying the stone. The next step mentioned is **Kal naduthal** (Stone installation): Installing the prepared hero stone in the chosen location. This process honors the brave warrior who died in battle. The rituals ensure the stone's sacredness and connection to the hero's legacy.

அவன்பெயர்கல் மிசைப்பொறித்துக்

## கவின்பெறக் கல்நாட்டின்று<sup>22</sup>

This verse describes that the hero stone (Nadukal) being installed with the warrior's name engraved on it. The ceremonial rituals performed during the installation. The verse highlights the significance of Honoring the brave warrior's memory, Inscribing his name on the hero stone and Performing sacred rituals. These customs ensure the warrior's legacy lives on. The verse provides insights into ancient Tamil traditions and cultural practices.

மாலை துயல மணியெறிந்து மட்டுகுத்துப்

<sup>20</sup> Ibid – பாடல் 4.3.2

<sup>21</sup> Ibid – பாடல் 4.3.3

<sup>22</sup> Ibid – பாடல் 4.3.4

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<sup>18</sup> ஜயனாரிதனார்- புறப்பொருள்வெண்பா மாலை - இயல் பதிப்பகம் – 2022 – பக்க-58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid – பாடல் 4.3.1

பீலி அணிந்து பெயர்பொறித்து வேல்அமருள் அமர்வெய்யோற்(கு) ஆண்தக நின்ற ஆகுஎன்று காண்தக நாட்டினார் கல்<sup>23</sup>

The verse describes the rituals performed during the installation of the hero stone (Nadukal), Adorning the stone with garlands (Malaichoodal), Sounding the bell (Maniyadithal), Offering libations (Madhuvai thelithal), Draping the stone with peacock-feather attire (Mayil thokaiyaaal) and Engraving the warrior's name on the stone. The hero stone is dedicated to honor the brave warriors. The rituals ensure the warrior's legacy and memory are revered. "Kal muraip pazhichal" (Stone consecration) refers to the rituals performed to honor and consecrate the hero stone.

நிழலவிர் எழில்மணிப்பூண்

# கழல்வெய்யோன் கல்வாழ்த்தின்று<sup>24</sup>

The verse instructs the Panan (a type of musician) to Praise the hero's bravery and valor in battle, Share stories of his conquests with gathered mourners, Honor the hero stone (Nadukal) erected for the noble warrior, Pay respects to the stone, symbolizing the hero's legacy.

"Irgkondu puguthal" refers to build a Building a temple or shrine for the hero stone and Establishing a sacred space to house the Nadukal. This ensures the hero's memory and bravery are honored and revered and passed down through generations. The verse highlights ancient Tamil customs and traditions.

வேத்த விளிந்தோன் கல்லென

# ஏத்தினர் துவன்றி இற்கொண்டு புக்கன்று<sup>25</sup>

This Tamil verse describes the honor given to brave warriors who died in battle between kingdoms. It emphasizes building temples to commemorate their valor, gathering to praise heroic deeds, installing hero stones (Nadukal) within temples, performing sacred rituals: Sacrificing to the sword, Sounding the bell and Offering libations. Purapporul Venbāmālai provides clear guidelines on the establishing hero stones, worship practices, rituals for installation and offerings and sacrifices

# The Cradle of Small Deity Worship:

Tamils revered not only warriors who died in battle but also valor and courageous warriors in general<sup>26</sup>. The custom of honoring warriors was deeply ingrained in Tamil culture. Even if warriors died, their heroic deeds should never be forgotten. To ensure this, Tamils installed hero stones (Nadukal)<sup>27</sup>. Future generations would learn about valor from these hero stones. Tamils believed that these stones would inspire posterity. The following verse from Purananuru illustrates how Tamils revered valor and warriors.

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இளையோர் சூடார்; வளையோர் கொய்யார்;
நல் யாழ் மருப்பின் மெல்ல வாங்கி,
பாணன் சூடான்; பாடினி அணியாள்;
ஆண்மை தோன்ற ஆடவர்க் கடந்த
வல் வேல் சாத்தன் மாய்ந்த பின்றை
முல்லையும் பூத்தியோ, ஒல்லையூர் நாட்டே?<sup>28</sup>
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This is a song sung by Keerathanar in Gudavai after seeing the death of Ollaiyur's son Perunj Sathan who died in the war. Mullai Malare, the younger player will not warm up; The braceleted young woman will not pluck; The melodious singing of Nallayalkot's panan will not warm up; Badini will not warm; After the death of the hard-working Satan who stood up and killed the warrior so that his masculinity could be revealed to everyone, are you also the flower, the eye of his Ollaiur country. So, sings the poet lamenting the death of Satan. Thus, we can

<sup>23</sup> தமிழ் இணையக்கல்விக் கழகம் – புறப்பொருள் வெண்பாமாலை

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> ஐயனாரிதனார்- புறப்பொருள்வெண்பா மாலை -இயல் பதிப்பகம் – 2022 – பாடல்– 4.3.5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid – பாடல் – 4.3.6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> வெள்ளைவாராகனார். சைவ சித்தாந்த சரித்திர வரலாறு – தஞ்சைத் தமிழப் பல்கலைக்கழக வெளியீடு-முதற்பதிப்பு -2002

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> கைலாசபதி – பண்டைத் தமிழர் வாழ்வும் வழிபாடும் – பாரி நிலையம் – சென்னை – பக் – *12* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> புலியூர் கேசிகனார் – புறநானூறு மூலமும் உரையும் – செண்பகா பதிப்பகம் – பாடல் *242* 

know the love Tamils have for the players. Apart from this veneration, the Tamils have followed a very fine ritual of worship for the tombstones planted in honor of the dead heroes<sup>29</sup>.

Tamils have also built a temple for Nadukal and worshiped it. We can know this through literary evidence<sup>30</sup>. Building a stone temple means this temple like structure was called Padukhai, Karpadukhai, Kalveedu and Perumpada. A stone with the image of a dead hero engraved on the middle stone of this temple structure called Padukhai is planted towards the east. Two slab stones have been planted on the north and south sides of this stone<sup>31</sup>. These three stones are joined together with a capping stone like a roof. It is open like a gate on the eastern side. Such stone house-shaped nadukals are mostly found towards the east. Temples were also built for nadukals in ancient Tamil Nadu in this way.

He followed certain instructions to build a nadukal and build a temple for the Tamils to worship them. The mode of worship of the Tamils is based on nature. This Mesolithic system is associated with the Sangam period. Since this Nadukal system of worship appeared before the institution of religion, this Nadukal system was based on nature without any connection.

ஒன்னாத் தெவ்வர் முன்னின்று விலங்கி ஒளிறேந்து மருப்பிற் களிறெறிந்து வீழ்ந்தெனக் கல்லே பரவி னல்லது நெல்லுகுத்துப் பரவுங் கடவுளு மிலவே<sup>32</sup>

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"We worship the hero stone (Nadukal) installed for those who fought against enemies, stood firm, and fell after killing majestic elephants with uplifted tusks. We offer rice, water, and other oblations to this stone, our only deity. No other god receives our worship. (Purananuru). Additionally, the hero stone was bathed with water, adorned with kolam (rice flour designs), decorated with thorana (festoons), offered liquor and other preferred items, worshipped with garlands of peacock feathers and leaves and honored with animal sacrifices. These hero stones were revered as deities, receiving daily offerings, as was the custom.

பெயர் மருங் கறியார் கல்லெறிந்து எழுதிய நல்லரை மராஅத்த கடவுள் (மலைபடுகடாம். 394 - 95)<sup>33</sup>

The fact that hero stones (Nadukal) under trees were considered deities is evident. During Nadukal worship, goat kids were sacrificed as offerings and drums beat loudly, producing thunderous sounds. This information is derived from **Agananuru**.

நடுகற் பீலிசூட்டித் துடிப்படுத்தத் தோப்பிக் கள்ளொடு துருஉப்பிலி கொடுக்கும் (அகம். 35)<sup>34</sup>

Offering sacrifices was a prevalent practice in deity worship among ancient people, as evidenced by these verses. Village residents bathed hero stones (Nadukal) with holy water, lit lamps with oil and offered fragrant incense. The incense smoke wafted through streets, and people performed daily worship and revered the hero stones.

<sup>34</sup> புலியூர் கேசிகனார் – அகநானூறு மூலமும் உரையும் – செண்பகா பதிப்பகம் – பாடல் 35

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> தமிழ்மாணி ஆய்வுக்கட்டுரை – நெதர்லாந்து – பக்க -7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> R. NAGASAMY - SEMINAR ON HERO STONES – TAMILNADU GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAE0LOGY-1974 – PAGE- 35

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> ஸ்ரீ.ஸ்ரீதர்.- நடுகல் அகழ்வைப்பகம்- தமிழ்நாடு அரசு தொல்லியல்த் துறை – 2010 – முன்னுரை பக்க -029

<sup>32</sup> புலியூர் கேசிகனார் – புறநானூறு மூலமும் உரையும் – செண்பகா பதிப்பகம் – பாடல் 268

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> மலைபடுகடாம் – பாடல் *394 – 395* 

இல்லடு	கள்ளின்	சில்குடிச்	சீறூர்ப்
புடைநடு	கல்லின்	நாட்பலி	யூட்டி
நன்னீராட்டி	நெய்ந்	நறைக்	கொளீஇய
மங்குன்	மாப்புகை	மறுகுடன்	கமமும்
அருமுனை	இருக்கை	(புறம்.	329)35
சிலையே	நட்ட	கணைவீழ்	வம்பவர்
உயர்பதுக்	கிவர்ந்த	ததர்கொடி	அதிரல்
நெடுநிலை நடுகல் நாட்	பலி கூட்டும் சூன் (அகம். 289) <sup>36</sup>		

Through the above many explanations, it is clear that our Tamil ancestors worshiped Nadukalla as a deity. There does not seem to have been a set code of worship in the early Tamil tradition. Before the Mesolithic Tamils had religiously worshiped anything else, yes, they worshiped natural forces like mountain, rain, thunder, lightning, rain, tree, water etc. to protect themselves due to fear of nature<sup>37</sup>. In general, the feeling of fear prevailed over the hope that Tamils would get well if they worshiped God. Fearing nature, Tamils worshiped God in the name of fear. Fear was the primary factor in the piety of the ancient Tamils. Then they saw the change as time went by and worshiped the Lord in the name of desire. After the new birth of the thought that if you worship the Lord, you will get the four things, they worshiped the Lord by giving or doing whatever they wanted. However, they followed a sense of awe towards God.

The Tamils who feared nature believed that God would punish them if they made a mistake, so they still say that they should have reverence for God. This was the earliest form of worship among the Tamils. There is no evidence that any rituals were followed in their early nature worship. Many Sangha literatures speak of the rituals followed by the Tamils for Nadukal. If we look at it in this way, there does not seem to have been any institutionalized religion or its worship remnants in Tamilnadu before Nadukal worship<sup>38</sup>. But it is clear that Tamils worshiped numerous village deities after the Nadukal cult. In other words, Nadukal worship was the beginning of village deity worship that appeared in later Tamils. Literature does not say that there was any large-scale deity worship during the Sangam period<sup>39</sup>. The literature describes only the five-fold earth god. There is no information about the Natar deities present in rural areas. It can be said that many national deities were formed in Tamil Nadu only after the Sangam period.

In general, national deities are elders who lived and died in their village, a warrior who died protecting the villagers, a warrior who died while guarding the village boundary, an elder who lived and died in their family, or a virgin who died as a virgin at a young age who had to live in the family<sup>40</sup>. These are the people who are worshiped as gods in Natar deity worship. If we compare this with the Nadugal system, both are of the same opinion. Nadukal worship and Natar deity worship are all high-spirited ways of honouring the ancestors. Also, the rituals followed in Nadukal worship such as making wine, sacrificing goats, burning peacocks, making postures, drumming, etc. are still followed in Nadukal worship.

In Tamil Nadu, it is customary to offer wine to village guardian deities like Sudalimadan, Muntaswamy, Karuppaswamy, Ayyanar, Kathavarayan, Bhavatairayan, Muniyaswamy, and Irlappa Swamy in temple festivals, sacrifice goats and play drums to Sami. Especially in the southern districts, every year during the temple offering ceremony (Trivizha), they put a ladder at an unreachable height and spread a wreath of rice and sacrifice goats,

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<sup>35</sup> புலியூர் கேசிகனார் – புறநானூறு மூலமும் உரையும் – செண்பகா பதிப்பகம் – பாடல் 326
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> புலியூர் கேசிகனார் – அகநானூறு மூலமும் உரையும் – செண்பகா பதிப்பகம் – பாடல் 289

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> தேவநேயப்பாவானார்-பழந்தமிழாட்சி – பூம்புகார் பதிப்பகம் – பக்க 35

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$  குளளாரியா வி.தாஸ்- சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் நடுகல் வழிபாடு- சர்வதேச தமிழ் ஆய்விதழ்- பக்க heta 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> தொ.பரமசிவம் – பண்பாட்டு அசைவுகள் – சரண் புக்ஸ் – 2021 – பக்க -22

<sup>40</sup> தொ.பரமசிவம் – இதுவே சனநாயகம் – காலச்சுவடு பதிப்பகம் – பக்க 12

chickens, roosters and pigs<sup>41</sup>. In Tamil Nadu, Padayal means Sudalai Matan, Moondaswamy, Karuppaswamy, Ayyanar, South Districts. Also there are rituals like making wine and sacrificing goats and chickens to goddesses<sup>42</sup>. During the festivals, women like Angalamman, Mariyamman, Uchinimakali, Muttharamman, Pathirakaliamman, Pechiyamman, Ishakiyamman are worshiped by offering eggs, pudding, chicken, goat and chicken etc<sup>43</sup>.

During the festivals of Sudalimadan, Moondaswamy, Karuppaswamy, Ayyanar, especially in North Tamilnadu, which are more worshiped in Angalamman festivals, rituals such as visiting the graveyard, showing Chittangu clothes, warming peacock feathers, and showing Neepil clothes are followed. It is clear that male and female deities are not included in Natar worship as similar rituals were performed for female deities as well as male deities. Sudalimadan in Tamil Nadu, and in many villages in Tamil Nadu it is customary to give more importance to female deities than to male deities. Also, the male deities are considered to be the guardians of the town and the female deities are considered to be the guardian deities who protect the people inside the town from disease. If we relate this to Nadukal method, Nadukal is taken for both men and women in Tamil Nadu<sup>45</sup>.

Both these stones are widely found in Tamil Nadu. In other words, the middle stone taken for a hero who died in war is compatible with the worship of a male deity who guards the village. And these methods followed in Natar deity worship are consistent with the rituals performed for Nadukal. So it can be said with certainty that Nadukal was the mother, cradle and creation of Natar deity worship.

#### The Evolution and Status of Nadukal Tradition

In Tamil Nadu, the method of setting up Nadukal was considered as the main duty to the ancestors. In Tamil Nadu, there are countless half stones, more than south Tamil Nadu, half stones are found in many places in North Tamil Nadu<sup>46</sup>. Middle stones have been found in Sengam, Kanchipuram, Dharmapuri, Krishnagiri, Chengalpattu etc. Many stone stones have been found in South Tamil Nadu as well. The Meridian shift in South Tamil Nadu can be associated with the Natar deity worship. Even today in districts like Tirunelveli, Kanyakumari, Nagercoil, Thoothukudi etc., temples are not built for the village deities. Idols are not erected to deities. At the place where the deity resides, a Phoodam (plinth) is made of bricks<sup>47</sup>. They are covered with white chalk only in the oblong rectangular shape. It will not have any other sign. Villagers also call it sugar knotting as the structure of the phoodam is in the shape of a mold of jaggery.

This phoodam is not easy to set up. For that deity, who is the family deity of a person, they bring soil from the place where the temple was originally and build a temple by placing the soil in a new place according to their convenience. In the place where I said that the temple was in the beginning, the deity may have died in that place. At that place, a middle stone may have been set up for him in the form of a padam, so from there they may have moved to another place according to their convenience and built a padam at another place and worshiped them. But this method of worshiping the national deities by erecting a pedestal is the reverse of the Nadukal method. It is the next stage of development.

They built a small temple-like structure for the middle stone erected during the Sangam period, called Kalveedu and Padukkai<sup>48</sup>. If the warrior who died in the war was worshiped by placing a center stone. After the death of the king who won the war and ruled well, there is no information about it in the literature and historical research. But after the Sangam period they built a small temple-like structure for the deceased king. It is called

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41 பேரா.சு.சண்முகசுந்தரம்- சுடலைமாடன் வழிபாடு -காவ்யா பதிப்பகம் – பக்க - 18

42 Ibid 19

43 தமிழ்நாடு அரசு இந்து சமய அறநிலையத்துறை இணையதளம்

44 முனைவர். இரா.சந்திரசேகரன் – நாட்டுப்புற வழிபாட்டு மரபுகளும் நம்பிக்கைகளும் – பக்க – 199

45 வி.நாராயணசாமி – A HERO STONES – பக்க 43

46 ப.காளிஈஸ்வர மூர்த்தி -
நடுகல் வழிபாடு -கோவை மாவட்ட வட்டார தெய்வங்களை முன் வைத்து- பக்க 0

47 முனைவர். இரா.சந்திரசேகரன் – நாட்டுப்புற வழிபாட்டு மரபுகளும் நம்பிக்கைகளும் – பக்க – 77
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48 (முனைவர்,சூ.கார்த்திகா- அகநானூற்றில் பாலை நில மக்களின் நடுகல் வழிபாடு – பக்க 02

"school force". The body of the dead king is purified four times at a chosen place, he performs rituals and educates him and installs a Shiva lingam at that place. Then his successor will show a kotham around it. This is also known as school army temples. An inscription of Pallavamannan Kambavarman at Cholapuram near Vellore mentions a Pallipat temple<sup>49</sup>.

Also, Sadasivabandarathar mentions in Pandyar History (page 73-74) that a middle stone temple was built for the Pallava king Apparajithavarman who died in the battle of Tiruppurampiyam and it was donated to Kachiyapar temple<sup>50</sup>. Also, many Chola and Pandyan kings have palipadai temples in Tamil Nadu. Even today in Tamil Nadu some communities have a custom of placing a Shiva Lingam on the deceased's samadhi when someone dies in their community. Especially these modern tombs are found in Sivagangai and Karaikudi areas. All these are metamorphosed under the influence of Mesolithic system.

In Tamilnadu the practice of burying the dead was mostly in the case. Even today, the custom of burying the dead remains the same among all religions in Tamil Nadu. Hindus in Tamilnadu often worship their ancestors by burying their dead in the forest. In the same way, according to their religion, Christians bury the dead man's body in graves and build a structure like a samadhi in it, just like how Hindus install an idol of Shiva in the samadhi, Christians will design their religious image on top of the samadhi. Ancestors are honored every year as the Tomb Festival. Similarly Muslims also bury the dead body. When the best of their forefathers or religious witnesses die, they build a mosque in their memory and worship it as a religious center. It seems that the tradition of worshiping all the dead as gods has changed from worshiping only dead soldiers.

After the death of the leaders who served as guides, reformers, revolutionaries and political leaders in the society and who served the people, the Nadukal system has reached many stages such as building large graves and erecting statues everywhere on the roads due to the abundance of love of the people who pass by them, and organizing a conference and general meeting on their memorial day. Even though the Mesolithic system is not practiced today, many remnants of it are still practiced today. Especially the soldiers in the militant group who fought for independence in the neighboring country Sri Lanka named the Tamil soldiers who died in the civil war as heroes. He erected separate tombs for each of the knights with a note including heroic deed. Especially in the contemporary times, the place where the graves were located in the neighboring country was named as Veerer Thuilumillam and the annual event of Veerer's Day was held to honor the dead soldiers. This system is largely related to the Mesozoic system of the Sangam period.

#### Conclusion

Ancestor worship and veneration of the dead are closely related to the life of Tamils. Even the name of Tamils for worshiping God as worship and worship may be a trace of Nadukal system. It is not enough to praise the dead hero to learn his heroism like his patriotic sacrifices from the dead hero, so people who pay homage to Nadukal must follow his path. Therefore, worshiping may have been adapted to the Chelatal Nadukal system. Even in death like this, it is the pride of the Tamils that they have shown the incomparable virtue of the Tamils. It can be said that the action that happened due to forgetfulness was done by virtue. This method done by Tamils to keep the soldiers' refuge forever may even become a guide for world civilizations.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> A.R.E.NO.429 OF 1902 E.I.Vol. VII. PAGE122-123

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> சதாசிவ பண்டாரத்தார் – பாண்டியர் வரலாறு - சரண் புக்ஸ் – பக்க -74

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