Chapter 7

Grāmādevatās- A study of the Feminine Divine in Bangalore Rural district (16th to 19th A.D)

Conclusion

This research, on the topic “Grāmādevatās-A study of the Feminine Divine in Bangalore Rural district (16th to 19th A.D), makes an in depth study on the concept and images of the grāmādevatās as revealed in the prevailing grāmādevatā sculptures in Bangalore Rural district. The iconographic study of these sculptures belonging to various styles and the mythological conceptions of the goddess helped in understanding the grāmādevatās- as the feminine divine of Bangalore Rural district. The multifarious cult practices facilitated in analyzing certain aspects of the grāmādevatās and the worship exhibited her popularity among the rural and the urban masses of the district.

The study included the eight taluks of Bangalore rural district, the geographical parameter being vast and the time (between 16th century to 19th century), and an array of socio-religious, art historical and ethno-archaeological topics such as cult, mythology, sculptural styles, worship, ritual patterns pertaining to the grāmādevatās have been covered, yet the vastness lying in each of these fields did not permit this research to accommodate all the aspects in this limited study. Therefore, in spite of collecting a comprehensive qualitative data on the research topic due to the vastness it remains open for further research.

The author, during this research period marked by extensive library work and field visits, made several observations regarding the origin of the concept of the grāmādevatās and representation of the concept in the form of sculpture. These observations form the contents of this chapter. The analysis of these observations helps in understanding the grāmādevatās with a better perspective.

At the outset the grāmādevatās are the guardian deities of the village protecting the people from diseases and disasters. Majority of the grāmādevatās are female, venerated as Śaktis in Bangalore Rural district. The grāmādevatās, etymologically signify the 'Village Goddess' called under multifarious names. The grāmādevatā through the centuries has out grown in number and with its increasing popularity, became a dominant cult in the religious sphere of the people of Bangalore Rural district.
The main objective of this study was to explore the development of the grāmadvatā worship in Bangalore Rural district as evidenced through religious myths, as well as religious practices, cults and artistic representations. The period chosen between 16th to 19th centuries is of great importance, as the grāmadvatās presiding over the diseases, especially that of small pox appeared in texts in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. As the cult was based purely on oral tradition, its inclusion marked a very important development.

The area of research taken in this study is very vast, which includes the eight taluks of Bangalore Rural district consisting of several villages. The presence of the grāmadvatās in almost all the villages can be witnessed throughout the district. Each village with their own grāmadvatā are propitiated and appeased annually to get rid of diseases and disasters. Villages with grāmadvatās for different diseases like Māramma for the eradication of small pox, Plagueamma for the eradication of Plague etc can be witnessed; grāmadvatās belonging to different communities in the same village can also be witnessed.

This research is based mainly on ethno archaeological and art historical inquiry, which has brought a number of findings in the field of the Grāmadvatā cult, mythology, iconography, sculpture, worship, practices etc, from the regions of Bangalore Rural district. The entire study has been conducted as per the methodology guidelines.

At the outset, the first objective of this study was to choose the main topic. In this context, the very first inspiration came from grāmadvatā Māramma, the most revered goddess in Bangalore Rural district. Upon enquiry with the priest, elders and the devotees, she emerged as the Mother Goddess protecting the people from disease and disaster. Further information from scholarly works indicated the popular worship of the grāmadvatās under various names all over the country. The Bangalore district Gazeteers supplied authentic information on the grāmadvatās and prevalence of its worship in Bangalore Rural district. These provided ample information on the grāmadvatās in Bangalore Rural district.

The information indicated the grāmadvatās as a popular religion in Bangalore Rural district and a number of goddesses existed and worshiped since the ancient periods. As a matter of fact, the grāmadvatās as subject has attracted several scholars who have contributed scholarly works on it. But as observed in this research, the work conducted so far on this subject has been very general in nature. Thus a need was felt to conduct a study
on this topic, which may explore the cult, mythology, iconography, sculpture, worship, practices etc, pertaining to the grāmādevatās from the regions of Bangalore Rural district. The main objective of this study was to explore and collect maximum data and tangible evidences on the grāmādevatās of Bangalore Rural district.

The area of research taken in this study is Bangalore Rural district consisting of eight taluks with several villages, which between 16th to 19th centuries witnessed tremendous changes in the sphere of religion. Bangalore Rural district with eight taluks came into being on 15th August 1986 with the division of Bangalore District into Bangalore Rural and Bangalore (Urban). The Bangalore Rural district with its headquarters at Bangalore consists of Channapatna, Ramanagara, Kanakapura, Doddaballapura, Hoskote (excluding Bidarahalli hobli), Magadi (excluding Tavarekere hobli), Devanahalli (except Jala hobli) and Nelamangala (except Dasanapura hobli) taluks. The Bangalore Rural district is now organised into eight taluks which are grouped into two subdivisions, namely Doddaballpur sub-division, comprising of Doddaballapura, Hoskote, Devanahalli and Nelamangala taluks and Ramanagaram sub-division compising of Ramanagara, Channapatna, Magadi and Kanakapura taluks.

In the process of data collection, the textual sources are the foremost which included the primary and secondary sources. The primary sources which are very few inscriptional materials which has already been deciphered and documented are used in this research. In the case of secondary sources which are mainly the documented material and the main source in this regard are the state gazetteers, MAR's etc, undoubtedly are a great source of information, but as they were written years ago, in instances did not match with the present day situation as many of the historical sites are not the same. Several temples were visited in order to obtain the sculptural evidence of the grāmādevatās. In many instances photography was restricted, at several places the grāmādevatās were fully decorated; hence such sites were not much of a use in this study. In addition it was observed that new sculptures are replaced and the old ones are no longer worshiped at almost all the temples. Hence, at many places the original form of the grāmādevatās could not be analyzed. Thus, field visits were a challenge in this study.

The data collection through personal interviews of the rural folks, priests, devotees etc are taken into consideration. The knowledge of the local dialect helped a lot in the interviews. These interviews were purely random and impersonal where few questionnaires were instant. Such interviews although are not of authentic side, yet are
valuable as they become one of the methods to throw light on the socio religious practices of the grāmadevatā cult of Bangalore Rural district. The direct participation method employed in the research helped in understanding and visualizing the ritualistic aspects; participation in few grāmadevatā jātras helped to analyze the cult in close quarters. The documentation part which is very crucial was transferred into text format. In this section the maps and the photographs are considered very essential. Maps are included to provide a clear picture on the geographical boundaries of Bangalore Rural district. The photographs are the main content of this thesis as they provide the authentic data required for this study.

Planning the thesis was the main part in this study. In this regard the thesis has been formed with seven chapters which are inclusive of introduction and conclusion. The main chapters are subdivided into subchapters providing information on the main chapter.

The first Chapter entitled Introduction is discussed under seven sub chapters with subtitles (1.1) Grāmadevatās- Prologue; (1.2) Previous studies on the grāmadevatās; (1.3) Objectives of the present Research; (1.4) Scope of the present Research; (1.5) Limitations of this study; (1.6) Research Methodology; (1.7) Plan of the Research etc introduces the concept, relevance, further scope, planning the thesis, etc pertaining to the topic of grāmadevatās in Bangalore Rural district. The grāmadevatās, considered as Šaktis are a dominant force in the religious life of the people of Bangalore Rural district. The worship of the grāmadevatās existed at a pan Indian level, however, in Karnataka, especially in Bangalore Rural district; it evolved as a popular religious system of the people with the emergence of hundreds of grāmadevatās with various names. The chapter also throws light on the works of the previous scholars and also discusses the objectives and scope of the present research. As the area chosen is very vast, the limitation of the research is also discussed. The methodology which is very significant in the research is discussed in the chapter. The chapter is distributed into seven sub chapters of the main chapter.

The second Chapter entitled Antiquity of the Grāmadevatā Cult in Bangalore Rural district is discussed under five sub chapters by subtitles (2.1) A brief historical study of Bangalore Rural district; (2.2) Origin and development of the grāmadevatā cult; (2.3) Mythology of the grāmadevatās in Bangalore Rural district; (2.4) Worship of the grāmadevatās by different communities in Karnataka and (2.5) Grāmadevatās in inscriptions. This chapter gives a brief description of Bangalore Rural district. It
discusses the origin of the grāmādevatā cult with its development. The concept of the grāmādevatās can be traced to the pre historic past, the idea which developed as the protectors of the village who had control over diseases and disasters took a further dimension. The significant development that happened to the concept of the grāmādevatās is investigated in this chapter. The cult which developed with religious beliefs succeeded in transforming as a dominating cult in Bangalore Rural district. The study is supported by mythology and few are mentioned as contained in the sthalapuranas. The study of the mythology of the grāmādevatās acts as a backdrop for the study of her cult as well as iconography. The different communities in Karnataka have their religious life centered around the worship of the grāmādevatās, the chapter investigates this, thereby throwing light on her popularity and the faith of the people in this cult. Epigraphs of our country, apart from being indispensable source material for various branches of history, have a fund of information valuable for folkloristic studies also. Few inscriptions containing the information about the grāmādevatās are mentioned in this chapter.

The third Chapter entitled Grāmādevatās the Feminine Divine of Bangalore Rural district is discussed under two sub chapters (3.1) Characteristics of the grāmādevatā cult; (3.2) Jātras and rituals of the grāmādevatās. The chapter discusses the various characteristics of the grāmādevatā cult along with the jātras and the rituals which are an integral part to understand the concept and analyze the cult. The chapter is provided with charts under two sub titles (Fig 3.1) Few Rituals followed in the jātras of Bangalore Rural district: (Fig 3.2) Rituals of the grāmādevatā.

The fourth Chapter entitled Grāmādevatā Māramma is discussed under two subtitles (4.1) Grāmādevatā Māramma in Bangalore Rural district as the Feminine Divinity; (4.2) Worship of the grāmādevatās at the Rural and Urban Level. This chapter investigates Grāmādevatā Māramma in Bangalore Rural district as the Feminine Divinity. She is the goddess much propitiated and adored throughout the district. The chapter also investigates the worship of the goddess at the rural and the urban level by drawing the variations displayed in the cult. It also tries to derive that her worship is significant at both the areas and she is the Mother much adored by both her counterparts. The chapter is provided with tables and figures under seven subtitles (Table 4.1) Various names of the grāmādevatās; (Table 4.2) Worship of Grāmādevatā Māramma in taluks of Bangalore Rural district; (Fig 4.3) Grāmādevatā Māramma Worship in Bangalore Rural district; (Fig 4.4) Grāmādevatā Māramma Worship in Bangalore Rural district; (Fig 4.5)
Grāmādevatā Māramma Jātra in Bangalore Rural district; (Fig 4.6) Ritual of Konda and Sidi; (Fig 4.7) Grāmādevatā Māramma - Sacrifice.

The fifth Chapter entitled Worship of Grāmādevatās in Bangalore Rural district is discussed under eight subtitles (5.1) Grāmādevatās in Channapatna Taluk; (5.2) Grāmādevatās in Devanahalli Taluk; (5.3) Grāmādevatās in Doddaballapura Taluk; (5.4) Grāmādevatās in Hoskote Taluk; (5.5) Grāmādevatās in Kanakapura Taluk; (5.6) Grāmādevatās in Magadi Taluk; (5.7) Grāmādevatās in Nelamangala Taluk; (5.8) Grāmādevatās in Ramanagara Taluk. The chapter based on field work brings out the different facets of the grāmādevatā cult in the chosen area. The chapter is provided with eight tables under the titles (Table 5.1) Grāmādevatās in Channapatna Taluk; (Table 5.2) Grāmādevatās in Devanahalli Taluk; (Table 5.3) Grāmādevatās in Doddaballapura Taluk; (Table 5.4) Grāmādevatās in Hoskote Taluk; (Table 5.5) Grāmādevatās in Kanakapura Taluk; (Table 5.6) Grāmādevatās in Magadi Taluk; (Table 5.7) Grāmādevatās in Nelamangala Taluk; (Table 5.8) Grāmādevatās in Ramanagara Taluk.

The sixth Chapter entitled Grāmādevatās-Visual Study from Art Historical Perspective (Selected examples from Bangalore Rural district) is discussed under the subtitle (6.1) Visual study and aesthetic interpretation of the grāmādevatāa icons from Art Historical perspective. The chapter reveals the grāmādevatā icons from an art historical perspective. The icons are discussed from the folk sphere. The sculptural arts and the iconographical aspects of the selected grāmādevatās of the different regions of Bangalore Rural district are studied. This is basically an iconographic study based on extensive field work undertaken by the author. It includes an enquiry into aspects of the grāmādevatā images such as the features, attributes, weapons, vehicles and associates. This chapter is a formal study of the plastic form of the images that includes the stylistic variations and symbolism reflected in the grāmādevatā images. The chapter is provided with tables and figures under the titles (Table 6.1) Sample card showing the details collected about the grāmādevatās and the temples during field visits by the author; (Table 6.2) Sample card showing the details collected during library visits from literary sources to support the data collected; (Fig 6.3) Representations of Grāmādevatās.

The seventh Chapter entitled Grāmādevatās- A study of the Feminine Divine in Bangalore Rural district (16th to 19th C A.D)- Conclusion contains a resume of the work which includes conclusive observations and remarks concerning many aspects of the grāmādevatās like cult, mythology and iconography and other related issues of the
grāmadevata cult in Bangalore Rural district. In this chapter the entire thesis is condensed into an observational analysis of various aspects of the grāmadevata as borne out by the evidences as also socio religious customary practices of this living faith as far as Bangalore Rural district is concerned. List of references are provided at the end of each of these chapters.

Apart from the textual portion, the last portion of the Thesis contains 'Appendices' which are aimed at giving extra information on some of the topics. Also 'Glossary of Words' gives explanatory meanings of non-English words such as Kannada and Sanskrit words. The list of selected books referred during the course of this research, which includes original works, translations, secondary sources, journals, reports, periodicals, websites etc, are given in the 'Selected Bibliography' section. To facilitate better understanding of the subject and make it more authentic, maps and photo plates are systematically furnished in the Thesis. The photographs of the grāmadevataś and its related aspects are taken directly by the author. The final section of this thesis contains a list of articles written by the author, which has been published in various journals.

Thus this thesis concludes by bringing forth few valuable points on the grāmadevataś of Bangalore Rural district which thrived as a popular cult and as a dominant religion. On the basis of textual, archaeological, informal interviews with the rural folks, this study brings out several valuable data on the cult, mythology, sculptural arts of the grāmadevataś in Bangalore Rural district.

The grāmadevataś are worshipped all over the taluks of Bangalore Rural district with devotion. The grāmadevataś as Śaktis have dominated the religious sphere of the people of Bangalore Rural district. The folks venerate the grāmadevataś by propitiating them annually with rituals that are authentic of the cult. Over the centuries the grāmadevataś who were approached to guard and control the diseases are now approached for various other reasons also. Their identity of being the guardians and controllers of diseases has been transformed. They are no longer the dreadful or the feared deities. People in the district adore them with devotion. Though their identities have changed their functions remain unaltered. The research reveals the characteristic of the grāmadevata śhrines which were believed to be destitute of uniformity and comeliness are longer attributed, which are evident from the temples of Bangalore Rural district. The shrines of the grāmadevataś are charged with the deepest hopes, fears and beliefs of the people of Bangalore Rural district.
The grāmadevatās are worshiped with utmost devotion and the jātras are a regular feature of the grāmadevatā cult of Bangalore Rural district. The grāmadevatās are appeased annually or in accordance by performing the rituals in the jātras regularly. The devotees propitiate the grāmadevatās and fulfil their vows during the jātras. People believe that by conducting the jātras regularly the grāmadevatās are appeased and they protect them from diseases and evil spirits. A sense of satisfaction is achieved by conducting the jātras. Fresh vows are made in anticipation that their mother would fulfil them without fail. This belief provides them a fresh lease of life. The research reveals the pattern of the grāmadevatā worship in Bangalore Rural district. Though the villages in the district worship the grāmadevatās with utmost devotion, some of the villages have stopped performing the jātras for reasons like financial constraints, lack of unity etc. Few villages in the district conduct the jātra twice a year which is rare when observed among the rest in the district. Villages without the grāmadevatā temple in the village perform mārihabba yearly once or once in three or five years or as decided by the elders in the village without fail. The ritual pattern in the worship of the grāmadevatās also varies in the district. While few villages perform the ritual of konda, few do not practice this ritual. It is also observed that few villages have stopped this ritual for safety reasons. The ritual of sidi is almost disappearing in most of the villages as it is a heroic act. Other formats of sidi that are lesser painful are in practice in the district. Common rituals like thambittarati, thamputoruvudu, meravanige are carried out commonly everywhere in the district.

The research also analyses the feminine character, a mother who cannot remain angry with her children forever. The grāmadevatās of Bangalore Rural district, especially grāmadevatā Māramma, the goddess of small pox is believed to bring in the disease and take away the disease as well. She is the much propitiated, popular goddess in the district. The research attempted to analyze the cult of grāmadevatā Māramma in Bangalore Rural district and reveals her as the most popular feminine divinity of the rural masses and that she is a diasporic goddess whose cult has transgressed boundaries.

The important point noticed in this research is that while few practices and the rituals remain similar in few villages, few are not performed in other villages. Changes with modifications in the rituals are also witnessed at few villages of Bangalore Rural district. For example if the village of Muniyappanadoddi (Channapatna Tq) performs the konda and sidi, its neighboring village does not perform either, but worship the grāmadevatās with the other rituals. Another important point noticed in this research is the performance
of the jātras in all the eight taluks carried with the same religious fervor. The jātras are conducted around the same time between February and May in all the taluks of Bangalore Rural district. Only the number of days in performing the jātra varies; while few villages perform it for a day, there are villages performing the jātras for a week to fifteen days. The most common duration is for a day or for four days. The heroic acts performed during the jātras like the sidi, bai beega, konda etc can be said to be a token of gratitude to appease the goddess and pay tribute to the favors received. It can be viewed as to put oneself in a heroic situation to appease the goddess. The mother seeing her children go through rigorous acts melts down and immediately bestows favors.

This research also noticed the other formats in the rituals performed in the jātras, for example changes in the heroic act of sidi to a lesser painful version of it has been formulated. Changes in the rituals of sacrifice have occurred. While few villages perform the sacrifice strictly, others have stopped it completely. Few temples in Bangalore Rural district are refining the modes of piety by performing lingadharana to the grāmadevatās and offering chakkabhojana instead of bali. The concept of chakkabhojana can be witnessed in many villages, where only satvik forms of food are offered to the goddess. Konda which is a very important aspect in the worship of the grāmadevatās has been stopped at few villages. At few places konda is performed only by the priest and at other places it is performed by the devotees as well. The performances of the rituals have been refined in Bangalore Rural district over the years. The fear and gruesome characteristics attributed to these rituals are no longer attached. Other formats have appeared in the worship that has not altered the essence of the grāmadevatā cult. These adaptations have helped in a way to visualize the grāmadevatās as a loving Mother having a universal appeal.

The research also noticed the attempt of the folks in cooling the grāmadevatās by various measures to bring down her wrath. Turmeric water, curds, neem etc that are easily accessible brings out the knowledge of the folks. The things that are used to cool probably suggest the fertility aspect connected with the cult. The people of Bangalore Rural district appease their grāmadevatās with simple rituals and showcase their devotion through the heroic acts as well. To balance the whole concept, folk games are also are added.

The representations of the grāmadevatās also witnessed several stages of development from aniconic representation to iconic forms. The preliminary stages from crude stone structures to structures with limited features and to refined sculptures marked
the development in the sculptural arts of the grāmādevatās in Bangalore Rural district. The thesis made an effort to analyze these stages from rudimentary sculptures to the refined sculptures. An important point noticed in this research is that from being represented as a crude form, she acquires the status of the classical devi in the sculptural arts. Though new sculptures are being replaced, the presence of the old stone structures adheres to the fact that the old icons are undiminished in its purity and lustre. The colourful and vibrant depictions of the grāmādevatās are a symbolism apart witnessed in grāmādevatā cult in Bangalore Rural district.

The worship of the grāmādevatās brings out the different facets of the religious cult in Bangalore rural district. Apart from control over the diseases the grāmādevatās are approached for various other reasons. Inscriptions, viragals and yantras are also worshiped as the grāmādevatās. Deaths for the cause of village protection have deified human beings as the grāmādevatās. People who sacrificed their lives for the construction of the village dams are also elevated to the status of the grāmādevatās and worshiped in parts of Bangalore Rural district.

All religions aim to improve human life to guide men on the right path to face their sufferings courageously, to indicate ways to be contended and happy and to promote peaceful and loving relations between men. Having emerged at different time and places, a need to adapt to specific patterns of life, religions naturally differ in some of their precepts, in their approach to general problems of human life and the ways to be followed in order to solve the problems.¹ Hinduism cannot be understood without the Goddess, for the Goddess pervades it at all levels, from aniconic grāmādevatās to high-caste pan-Hindu goddesses, such as Durga.² This thesis has presented the central ideas, mythology and aniconic and iconic representations of the Goddess in village Hinduism.

It is noticed that, there are innumerable grāmādevatās, each one being unique to a particular place worshiped and propitiated regularly. The grāmādevatās such as Mārāmamma who protect the villages and their lands and represent the different castes of their worshipers have always been an important part of the religious landscape of South India. However, over the centuries this folk religion, became more important and influenced the more literate forms of religion. In the present century deities such as Mārāmamma have become linked to the 'great tradition' as the strata of society which worship the goddess has become integrated into the larger social order.
Probably the most profound message of these enigmatic feminine divinities of Bangalore Rural District is to preserve awareness of the necessity for women to become the initiators in the resolution of the sexual conflict and injustice of the patriarchal controlled society, something that is impossible for most men (cf. Devi Mahatmayam). The Mother Goddess summons her daughters to join in her continued battle against violence, to convert their anger into healing and transformation of society. Various sorts of beliefs are vested in the goddess that makes the grāmadevatās more powerful, and her popularity spread across the country. Many villages in the district have female priests for the grāmadevatās suggesting the relationship of the goddess with the women. It is also observed that majority of females are her ardent worshipers. Many rituals in the worship are female oriented. Her devotees have immense faith in her that they relate their problems to her and find solutions.

In India today as five thousand years ago, agriculture predominates. Every village has its Mother-goddess and other cult objects and the majority of the grāmadevatās are feminine. The villagers among whom Mother Goddesses and fertility Goddesses arose continue to center their religious life on rituals intended to restore the force of the soil. The grāmadevatās in Bangalore Rural district are considered as Śakti. These Śaktis act as the guardian of the village, presiding over diseases such as small pox, plague etc., bestowal of children to the childless, protectors from famine, pestilence, evil spirits and evil effects etc.

A culture is identified as an historic body of ways of acting, thinking and feeling; one of means and instruments which characterize a people's adjustment to the 'powers' of their total environment, in a particular region, and at a particular period of time. The science of any culture is that aspect of the culture which provides explanations of the 'powers' in the power area of the natural world, which are available to the people in their culture. The religion of any culture is the adjustment which people, make in their 'way of life' to the determining powers which operate in their accepted image of their total environment. It may be stated, therefore, that, an historic religion is a 'way of life' or 'way of salvation' with respect to the determinant 'powers' in the world, which are held to be existent and operative, according to the accepted science of the total culture. The grāmadevatās in Bangalore Rural district are the religious icons of this culture. And in the case of Bangalore Rural district, the worship of the grāmadevatās can be considered to be those 'powers' accepted and worshiped in reverence by the people which continues to live and flourish along with them as a popular religious cult.
The grāmādevatās who are considered as the feminine divinity in Bangalore Rural district are transitional figures; their role being defined by activity and dynamism. They retain a measure of mobility, in transit from demonic to divine. The grāmādevatās are mainstays of several Indian religions and despite diverse readings of Hinduism across India, grāmādevatās as the feminine divine guardians remain constant fixtures of gate, periphery and diseases. The unbridled wrath and the guardian image are unparalleled in Bangalore Rural district that is perhaps related in its appropriation with local traditions. Though the existence of the grāmādevatā figures is ubiquitous, the specific flavor of guardian deities is culturally contingent. The grāmādevatās of Bangalore Rural district can be derived as 'changing, yet changeless', in both the popular traditions.

Despite the considerable variation among the grāmādevatās, one unifying principle might be the liminal nature of the grāmādevatās that makes them particularly susceptible to syncretism and adaptation. Because guardians exist on the periphery, it is facile to change what is on the outside without significantly compromising the core religious creed. Their liminal identity as guardians lends itself to transformation which is a guiding principle for the grāmādevatas from diverse Hindu cultures and survives both at the rural and urban levels of Bangalore Rural district. The grāmādevatās remain suspended between outside and inside, profane and sacred, demonic and divine. Given the intricate complexity of religion in Bangalore Rural district it is likely that there many, many more that have survived the test of time and exist with all the rural religious fervor.

It is special to see a goddess who emerged at the local level transform herself as a goddess recognized at pan Indian level. The grāmādevatās as guardian deities have emerged as the Mother Goddess who can be approached for everything one desires. The worship of grāmādevatās as the feminine divine can be said to be reflections of our culture and religion. The grāmādevatās are cultural icons and the whole concept of the grāmādevatā cult in Bangalore Rural district can be viewed as a celebration between the Mother and her children.
References


