

WOMEN AND NATURE IN CONTEXT: AN ECOFEMINIST READING OF *PADAYANI*
RITUAL

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Abstract

The fundamental issue of invasion (social, political, economic, and psychological) on women and the environment is worth exploring in the Indian context. Ecofeminism is concerned with the world's two most venerated and oppressed entities: woman and environment. Woman and nature are frequently compared in literary texts in almost every country. Thus, the concept of Ecofeminism emerges and develops into a significant area of study within the field of literature. It assists individuals in protecting/respecting both women and nature, as the world requires. Unlike other aesthetic studies that focus exclusively on pleasure and peace, this literary study primarily educates the imperfect world about the chaotic state of the present and instructs people to act prudently to avoid harming women and nature. The study **Women and Nature in Context: An Ecofeminist Reading of *Padayani* Ritual** examines the ritual *Padayani*, which is observed in select *Bhagavathy* temples in Kerala and discusses how ecofeminism is reflected in the study conducted on this ritual. Its purpose is to raise awareness of critical ecofeminist theories, particularly in the context of India, and to examine the ritual *Padayani* through that lens.

Key Words: Ecofeminism, *Padayani*, Ritual, Chaotic, Psychological, lens

1. Introduction

Kerala has a long and illustrious folklore culture. Kerala's folk art and melodies represent traditional beliefs, customs, and rituals. Folklore is an honest representation of human behavior and thinking in this region. Folklore, in general, can be characterized as the lore of ordinary people who were ignored during the reign of feudal kings. Keralites have their own culture and tradition, which is primarily based on agriculture. Sowing, planting *njaru* (seedlings), weeding, and harvesting are several agriculture processes, each with its own set of ceremonies. They are used to accompany a variety of songs and performances. Some of Kerala's ritual folklore include *Kanyarkali*, *Padayani*, *Mudiyettu*, *Malavaiyattam*, *Theyyam*, *Kothamooriyattam*, *NiraPuthari*, and so on. The rituals, customs, stigmas, and folk performing arts of Kerala's four cultural areas: Travancore-Cochin, Central Kerala, South Malabar, and North Malabar; each have their distinct cultural heritage.

Padayani, which translates as "military formations," is a traditional dance devoted to Goddess Bhadrakali that is performed as an offering to the deity in select *Bhagavathy* temples in the Central Travancore region during the months of *Kumbhaam*, *Meenam*, and *Medam*, *Padayani*¹(Kuttoo2009). Alapuzha and Pathanamthitta are the only two districts in Kerala where it is performed. It may be the last vestige of the ancient Dravidian notion of God and manner of worship, which included offering *rathi* (lust), *raktham* (blood), and *lahari*(intoxication) incorporating music, dance, painting, and humor, utilizes all sixty-four art genres. *Padayanithus* portrays the ancient society that existed before Aryanization and the four-caste system or Chaturvarnya. Without any racial discrimination, the entire village participates in *Padayani*. As a result, *Padayani* appears to be a one-of-a-kind religious and social event.

2. Statement of the Problem

Padayani comes under a ritual rather than a ceremony that is carried out primarily for symbolic purposes. Ritual is an outsider's or "etic" category for a set activity (or series of activities) that appears irrational, non-contiguous, or illogical to the outsider, according to Kyriakidis (2007). It can be performed by a single person, a group, or the entire community; in public, private, or in front of certain persons; in arbitrary areas or sites reserved explicitly for it. Individuals or communities may execute rituals on specified occasions or at their discretion. A ritual might be limited to a subset of

the community and can facilitate or emphasize the transition between religious and social states. They encompass established religions' and cults' worship rites and sacraments and certain cultures' rites of passage, atonement and cleansing rites, oaths of loyalty, dedication ceremonies, celebrations, presidential inaugurations, marriages, and funerals. Specific gestures and words, recitation of fixed texts, the performance of special music, songs or dances, processions, manipulation of certain items, usage of unique clothes, intake of exceptional food, drink, or drugs, and much more have all been part of past and present societies' rites. Animal sacrifice, human sacrifice, and ritual suicide have all been part of religious rites. Though most Hindu rites and ceremonies are performed at temples and are aimed toward a god or goddess, not all rites and ceremonies are performed in honor of the gods and goddesses. Ceremonial behaviors pervade almost every element of Hindu life.

Women have always maintained a higher status in our society. They play an essential role in all aspects of social structure. When discussing the dominance of women in our culture, the social orders of honey bees can be used as an example. *Padayani* carries on this tradition. In addition to being a cultural event, elements of environmental concern and feminine consciousness are represented in the art form. *Goddess Kali* has been held aloft as the embodiment of nature's multifaceted and multi-dimensional aspects. She is the embodiment of life's essential values of fertility, destruction, and regeneration. Otherwise, she is the faculty responsible for birth, sustenance, and reproduction, without which no living organism can survive.

3. Discussion

The study focuses on the *Padayani* ritual and how ecofeminism is mirrored in the research of this ceremony. In the Indian setting, the fundamental issue of invasion (social, political, economic, and psychological) on women and the environment is an idea worth exploring. It aims to highlight the vital ecofeminist theories, particularly in the context of India, and to study the ritual *Padayani* in that perspective. The importance of *kolams* in *Padayani* is also discussed, and how Grama devata or Bhagavathy devotion becomes a vital aspect of *Padayani* performance.

3. Ecofeminism as a Concept

Ecofeminism is a fusion of two theoretical enterprises: feminist and eco-critical discourses, as the name implies. As a conceptual instrument in the human sciences, ecofeminism began and evolved in the West. The human sciences look into the biological, social, and cultural aspects of human life and human behavior and relationships with other things; as a result, discourses like ecofeminism have emerged to address challenges involving women and nature. As major ecofeminists contend, feminism does not just relate to men exploiting women; it also alludes to how women are the first victims of environmental degradation because of their deep link with and reliance on it (Merchant, 1980; Plumwood, 1993, Shiva, 1988).

3.1. Women and Nature's Intersection

The empirical, intellectual, and epistemological assertions that commonly underpin the link between women and nature are empirical, conceptual, and epistemological (Eaton & Lorentzen, 2003; Warren, 1996). First, the empirical claim reveals that women are the first victims of environmental degradation in the name of scientific and technical advancement because of their close affinity with and reliance on nature. The second assertion is that society is constructed on "hierarchy and dualism" (Eaton & Lorentzen 2003:2), showing patriarchal ideology as the root cause of women's supremacy and environmental exploitation. The third assertion focuses on natural knowledge and is epistemological. Women have long been agrarian cultivators, promoting sustainable and renewable agriculture as a result. They are also lauded as environmental saviors, responsible for protecting, preserving, and nurturing the environment (Daly, 1978; Eaubonne, 1974; Merchant, 1980; Mies & Shiva, 1993; Ruther, 1975). Some feminist scholars, such as Carolyn Merchant (1992), have divided ecofeminist philosophy into cultural ecofeminism and radical ecofeminism. The first implies that nature and woman are the same because they engage in similar actions, such as procreation and creation. The latter is concerned with the idea that men and modernization are constantly destroying

both women and nature. Men's mistreatment of nature and women is a hot topic among radical feminists.

According to Vandana Shiva, a well-known Indian ecofeminist scholar and activist, women and the environment have a profound emotional bond and a shared history. She contends that the rise of a new world order based on industrialization, modernization, scientific and technological progress, and new reproductive technologies has resulted in the degradation of women and nature. Beena Agrawal (1992), another proponent of Indian ecofeminism, has established an alternative theoretical formulation for ecofeminism that she calls *Feminist Environmentalism*. In this worldview, male and female interactions with nature are grounded in intangible reality. It is founded on a shared experience of androcentric exploitation, degradation, and dominance. She also underlines how the division of labor, property, and power shapes the experience of "the people"—poor peasants, tribal people, and cultivators—who are the most because of their functional relationship with nature and awareness of it makes them more vulnerable to environmental damage.

4. Quick Overview of the Gramadevata Tradition

Gramadevatas are village deities who differ from goddesses in that they are not mentioned in Hindu scriptures. They exhibit two common qualities of old-world spirits: they may be found in nearly anything, and "it is possible to summon, propitiate, or ward them off through appropriate procedures." (Mus1933:10) *Gramadevata's* life is intricately related to village life Kinsley (1986:198). Village deities are generally female and unmarried, but not older women. However, there are a few outliers (Goudriaan 1987:79). A village or community does not need to worship a single *Gramadevata*.

A *Gramadevata* is frequently "at ease" with nature and is frequently portrayed aniconically by a shapeless rock, a snake hole, or a tree. While she can be found as pictures within more constructed and arranged shrines on the edges of villages, *Gramadevatas* are typically worshipped directly by devotees without the intervention of Brahman priests and hence without the need for elaborate Sanskrit recitations. These *Gramadevatas* priests and priestesses are mostly non-Brahmanic castes who only conduct essential cultic functions during unique festivals (Padma 2013: 49).

Amma appears in the names of many *Gramadevatas*. This term has at least two implications: mother and pox (Bean, Susan S1975:324), which show the origin and function of the *Gramadevatas*. They are usually in charge of one or more specific aspects of village life (Brubaker 1983:148), and this job is more important than her name (Padma 2013:49). She frequently serves the entire village or a sub-community within it, rather than just a single person (Kinsley 1986: 200). On the other side, Wiebe claims that there has been a shift as *Gramadevatas* are increasingly seeking personal favors (Wiebe1975:44). *Gramadevatas* are seen as "projections of female fertility's power" rather than female role models (Padma 2013:202). Furthermore, their fundamental role is to protect the town against disease. *Gramadevatas* are usually linked to agricultural fertility, marriage, and reproduction (Babb 1975:227). This association reveals her ambiguity because she can bring delivery and disease to moms and infants if she is not appeased enough (Dandekar 2011:221). *Gramadevata* is worshipped in a variety of ways. Some are worshipped on a cyclical basis, while others are only revered at times of crisis (Padma 2013:52). In general, the community celebrates the *Gramadevata* with a festival, whether regularly or in times of difficulty (Rani and Suguna 2002:164). The *Gramadevata* takes on a human being as a form of worship (a medium). Possession occurs in both men and women, albeit it is more common in women (Merz 2007:210). Healings are performed, questions are answered, and problems are resolved by the medium (Merz 2007:211). Offerings are made to the medium in honor of the goddess, even if the medium is not directly worshipped.

4.1. What Does Bhagavathy Worship Mean?

A prominent example of a *Gramadevata* changing into a supreme deity is *Goddess Bhadrakali*, a significant goddess in Tantric tradition (Curran2005:175). She is regarded as a *Mahadevi* (great goddess) in some locations, alongside *Sarasvati* and *Laksmi* (Sandness2010:510). The first mentions of *Kali* stem from the Middle Ages (Kinsley1986:116). *Kali* is often linked to death and bloodshed

(Kinsley1986:128). She is *Sakti's* furious aspect, albeit not usually coupled with a male god (Santiko1997:212). *Kali* standing or seated atop a dead or sleeping *Siva* is the most well-known representation of *Kali* and *Siva* together, signifying female power (Markale:1999). According to Kinsley, *Kali's* function in the goddess pantheon is as follows:

By reminding Hindus that certain aspects of reality are untamable, unpurifiable, unexpected, and always a danger to society's inadequate attempts to arrange what is ultimately disorderly: life itself, *Kali* puts the order of dharma in perspective, perhaps in its proper context. (Kinsley1986:129)

4.2. The Matriarch's Legacy As Represented in *Padayani*

Even before the Dravidian period, Keralites had developed a tradition of matriarchal rule. In the conflict between *Kali* and *Darika*, we can see how the maternal legacy triumphed over the paternal lineage. *Darikasura* represents darkness, whereas *Kali* represents light, which prevails over and destroys darkness. *Padayani's* inner strength can be explored through its arecanut leaf sheath-drawn *Female figures* or *Goddesses*. It emphasizes the importance of women in these traditionally male-dominated artistic fields. It is observed to honor womanhood and to stress the importance of her contribution to our cultural heritage. Numerous parallels may be seen between the two facets as the condition of women, and their feminist position has deteriorated daily. Natural materials inspire even the outfits used in *Padayani*. As a result, it becomes a combination of feminine and natural beginnings, which the primarily patriarchal society abuses. Nature has always been used by pleasure seekers and self-centered artists, just like women were. Hence, it is vital to maintain this art form's feminine relevance and protect nature and empower women.

In the light of a *chootu* (torch), *Padayani* performances are held in temple courtyards. The ceremonies begin only when the goddess has been invited to the kolam by the beating of it. Their mother, the village deity (*Gramadevatha*), is both guardian and destroyer. It is even thought that she lives invisibly in the blazing flames. The main attractions of *Padayani* are the thappumelam, (the beating of the thappu), *thavadi*², *pulavriham*³, *pardesi*⁴, *kuthira*⁵, *adavi*⁶, *nayattu*⁷, *kolam thullal*⁸, *pooppada*⁹, and *aalpindiyum vilakkum*¹⁰. We can see the physical and metaphysical aspects involved in the lives of Keralites in this ritualistic function. One of the things that lead to the old tribal life of Kerala is the *kolamthullal* in *Padayani*, which is the unification of the creative power of ancient tribal people. Among them, one of the fascinating ones is the *Paalakolams*. *Padayani* does not have any pre-planned make-up (Chamayam). The instruments that the *Padayani* performers use are Thappu and Ilathalam. In *Kolamthullal*, the physical appearance of the *Thullalkaran* (performer) is essential. The *kolams* are *Bhairavi*, *Pakshi*, *Yakshi*, *Madan*, *Marutha*, *Pisachu*, *Anthara yakshi*, *Sundhara yakshi*, *Ambarayakshi*, and *Bhadrakali*. The devotees of *Bhadrakali Devi* bear the expense of these *kolams* as an offering to the Devi.

4.2.1. The Significance of *Kolam* in *Padayani*

Each manifestation in *Padayani* is known as a *Kolam*. *Kolam* means 'shape' or 'form'. Each *Kolam* has unique features in face painting, craftsmanship to bring out those aspects. In *Padayani*, the dancers wear colorfully painted masks and elegantly designed headgear and act like God. The art form has several similarities with *Theyyam*, where the worship is done by invoking the immortals to the mortal body of the dancer.

According to Hindu mythology, *Padayani's* evolution is connected to *Kali's* birth. Once upon a time, an *Asura* (demon) named *Darika* delighted *Lord Brahma* by hardening his penance and obtaining the blessing that a woman would kill him. *Darika* continued to commit atrocities. After failing to defend *Darika*, the *Devas* approached *Lord Shiva*, and *Kali* mounted a *Vethal*(demon) and proceeded to *Darika's* abode, accompanied by *Koolee Ganam*. *Darika* and *Kali's* fight was breathtaking. *Kali* beheads him after the battle. She returns to *Kailasam*, holding his head in her hand and overcome with rage. *Devas* attempted to appease her with various forms of entertainment, including dance, mimicry, dialogue, and comedy, to pacify her and quench her thirst for blood. However, it was unsuccessful. The Goddess paused as she passed through the *Gopura*, seeing the painting depicting

her in anger, and she smiled. She cast another glance at the painting and burst out laughing. The *Padayani* celebration emulates *Lord Shiva* and his *Bhoothagana's* attempts to appease and delight *Kali*.

4.2.2. Marutha Kolam

Marutha is responsible for *vasuri* (smallpox) and other malicious diseases in human beings. *Marutha* is of many types, like *Karimarutha*, *Pachamarutha*, *Pandimarutha*, and *Pandaramarutha*. People believe that by conducting the performance of this *Marutha Kolam*, they will be free from the disease of *vasuri*. *Marutha* translates as *maru-than* or *another mother*. It demonstrates how women were treated in the past. This goddess originated in a society that had freed itself from the situation of devouring its children. This condition changed because of erasing the concept of *amma* or mother. *Maru* in *Marutha* indicates that she lost her first position when another goddess proceeded over her and refuted her to second place. *Marutha* can cultivate both seeds and plants. *Kari Marutha* in *Padayani* is a *Thalla Marutha* (or mother, *Marutha*). It appears in the *kolam thullal* along with her children. *Talla Marutha*, the leader or guru of the group, teaches her children various lessons about life.

4.2.3. Yakshi Kolams

Yakshi is considered the ultimate symbol of feminine energy. She is depicted as a symbol of unsatiated lust. So she stands only in midways, makes the air sweet with the scent of *Palappoo*¹¹, and with her long curly tresses, lustful eyes, and with her pearl-like teeth to attract men who pass by. She is so vicious that she tempts men into her illusionary world and satisfies her thirst for human blood. She is a blend of both astonishing beauty and terrifying looks. Even though she is powerful, she cannot withstand mantras and tantras. She has the power to deceive and disappear. The *Yakshiambalam* is located outside *Nalambalam*. *Mahayekshikkavu*, *Yaksikkavu*, and *Sarppakkavu* are other embodiments of this concept of *Yakshi*. Fear of this *Yakshi* made way for the creation of this *Yakshiambalam*. This fear remains the basis of this concept. It is believed that no male god possesses such destructive power as the *Yakshi* does.

The concept of *Yakshi* remains rampant even in the present days as it was in ancient times. The presence of such forces is an indicator of a society that lived closer to nature. People never call them *Amma* (mother), but they are always called *Yakshi*. Another aspect of this belief is that each *Devatha* (deity) possessed her *kavu*. Some places are still preserved as forests, and most of the temples in Kerala were once dense forests like *kavu*. Many of these were located near water resources. Each *Devatha* has the sea as her abode. All the *Yakshis* are not depicted as goddesses of agriculture, but there are (*Roga Devatha*) or disease-spreading demons. According to age-old beliefs, *Yakshas* lived in rivers and woods even before the land of Kerala was formed, though they are never acknowledged as influencing agricultural prosperity. For example, *Sundharayakshi* loves flower buds and flowering plants. The *Pooppada* ceremony was conducted in ancient times as a solution to the problems of women.

There is also a *Yakshi* in *Padayanippattu*, named *Ayaliyakshi*, who brutally murders her husband. *Marutha* is the *Devatha* (Goddess) of *Vasuri* (smallpox). Later, *Mayekshi* develops into *Kurumba*, who can develop seeds, grain, and *vasuri* (smallpox), *kali*, *kalam*, and *kavu*, and *Bhairavi*, born out of the fiery eyes of Lord Siva. Deities like *Marutha* and *Annary* are *GothraMathas* (the mother of the tribe). They lived in these *gotras*, fought for them, and died for them.

4.2.4. Yakshi and her Relationship with the Ecosystem

The external and internal structure of a society has an inevitable relationship with the ecosystem they exist. According to the myths, each *Yakshi* resides in a tree. Later, these trees became *Kulachihnam*¹² of different *gotras*. *Yakshi* likes every tree, but she has a fantastic liking towards *Karimpana*¹³. So the Chera dynasty accepted *Karimpana* as their *Kulachihnam*. There are references to seven different *Karimpanas* where the *Yakshi's* had presided over. According to the legends, the first *Karimpana* is the residence of *Sundharayakshi*, and the other one is *Sukumarayakshi*. The third is *Antharayakshi*, and the fourth one is of *Aakashayaksi* and in the

final one resides *Kalayakshi*. Besides this, the *Yakshis* have made *Pala* and *Champa* their residences. All this indicates that *Yakshi* is a deity of trees and possessed an inevitable relationship with the Ecosystem. There is also an allusion in *Padayanippattu* that the *Yakshi's* are *Kadal Devathas* (Sea Goddess). *Orukadal, irukadal, mukkadale...* The initial lines of *Yakshipattu* emphasize the fact.

4.2.5. The Significance of *Bhairavi Kolam*

Bhairavi Kolam is made of 101 Areca leaf sheaths. It is an accurate depiction of the fearful form of *Bhandrakali* after killing *Darika* and bearing the *Kolam* on the head, wearing *Kuruthola pavada* (coconut tender life skirt) over red silk. *Bhairavi* appears in the *Bhairavikolam*, which is otherwise called *Mangalakolam*. This *kolam* arrives after daybreak, after the retrieval of all other *kolams*. *Bhairavikolam* begs forgiveness for any errors or faults made during the *kolam's* performance at the *Padayani* rite.

4.2.6. *Kanjiramala Kolam*

Kanjiramala is like *Bhairavi*, except for a few differences. *Kolam* for *Kanjiramala* is made from eighty-one areca sheaths. In *Bhairavi Kolam*, elephants and lions are painted on their ears, whereas, in *Kanjiramala*, serpents and flowers are drawn in their place. *Markandeyabalan*, a sixteen-year-old boy, wins a victory against *Kalan*, the God of Death, by receiving the flames of *Agni* (fire). It is considered that all knowledge and *Kali* also arises from fire, i.e., Lord *Agni*. This ritual powerfully conveys a message to society to shoulder the responsibility of protecting *Mother Nature*, which will be reverted to humanity through her blessings, the ultimate form of the Mother Goddess. *Padayani* does not have an existence separate from its mother. The belief that the villages have to keep their holiness in the changed scenario indicates a revival of nature.

According to *Kadamanitta Vasudevan Pillai*, a well-known *Padayani* artist, "*Padayani* is an art form of light that rules over darkness" (*Padeni* 3). When the artist takes center stage in *Padayani*, he creates such an awe-inspiring feeling in the spectator that he envisions nature appearing before him in a different form. *Padayani Samooham*¹⁴ makes sincere efforts to depict environmental preservation in their performance. They work towards preserving and protecting the environment; hence they believe that mountains, forests, and the sea are the dwelling places of the Gods and Goddesses. Likewise, the hues, coconut fronds, and palm leaves are all derived from *mother culture*. While the story implies that *Padayani* is performed to summon *Kali*, this art form has a broader purpose or objective: the advancement of society. Changes in the social sector affect the devotional field as well. For instance, *Neelakesi*, who murdered *Darikasura*, possesses biological instincts comparable to human beings. This circumstance emphasizes the concept of *rathi-raktha-lahari*.

5. Conclusion

Man's relationship with nature is one of the pristine relationships formed in this material world. Unlike other pre-planned art forms, *Padayani* is more in tune with nature and society's needs and circumstances, as it utilizes what is readily available in nature. Physical effort required for other forms of art is insignificant in comparison to the effort required for *Padayani*. *Padayani's* deities have a solid connection to indigenous people and their daily social affairs, emphasizing the spiritual bond between woman and nature. This art form exemplifies a potent synthesis of ideology and cultural understanding regarding the evolution of an ethically sound society that values nature and women. In this light, we can conclude that *Padayanikolams* were performed to entertain the female members of society. Additionally, men performed *Padayanikolams*, which supports the preceding statement. As men were the performers, the audience could have been women who observed them for entertainment purposes. The *kolams* in *Padayani* advanced a maternal concept. As a mother breastfeeds her children and safeguards them against dangers and diseases, *kolams* are performed to appease goddess *Kali* and safeguard against all fatal diseases. It hints at the possibility that enticing your mother can keep catastrophic events at bay.

As a result, our primary goal should be to apply our knowledge and understanding of nature to supplement human beings' basic requirements, such as peaceful earth, clean water, clean air, and a peaceful sky. As a result, the evolution of art forms like *Padayani* is vital in today's world. As a

result, it is our fundamental obligation to protect the rich concepts represented in such art forms to ensure that the next generation develops a profound perspective of life. Let us restore Mother Nature's natural beauty by using art forms like Padayani to accomplish so. Because of their earnest attempts to conserve the art form, the Padayani Samootham continues to stand tall.

May Kaavilamma And The Saints Of Yore Shower Abundant Blessings On The Same.

Notes:

1. Kumbham, Meenam, Medam-Months in Malayalam Calendar (February 16th-May 15th).
2. Thavadi dance is one of the rituals in Padayani, performed by a group of men wearing towels wrapped around the head.
3. A vital ceremony held on the third day of the festival is the ritual of Pulavritam. The names also know as *Pula Nrutham*, *Pulanritham Kali*, or Pula dance. All the performers covering their heads with a towel or a cap made of spathe starts to sing and dance with devotion.
4. Pardesi kolam
5. *Kuthira* Kolams of Kaviyoor Njالييل *Padayani*
6. Adavi, which means forest in the regional language, is the most important ritual of the Padayani festival. Adavi is held mainly on the third, sixth or ninth day after the Kolam thullal.
7. A ritual in Elanthoor Padayani.
8. *Kolam Thullal* (dance of the effigies) is one of the fascinating aspects of the *Padayani* festival. The frenzied dance of kolams.
9. A ritual in which a performer who acts as a Kaniyan (astrologer) performs the prasnams (astrological calculation) is the ritual of Pooppada. A boy with his head covered with a cloth, holding a Pookkula (arecanut flower) in hand, is brought to the Kalam.
10. Ritual in Kunnanthanam Padayani.
11. Flower of *Alstonia Scholaris* known as Pala Maram in Kerala.
12. Symbol of family's name and prestige.
13. *Borassus flabellifer*, commonly known as doug palm, a native to the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia.
14. Brigade

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