



STORIES AND TALES: AN EFFECTIVE TOOL FOR THE LEARNING AND PRESERVATION OF CULTURE

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RESEARCH ARTICLE



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DOI:

<https://doi.org/10.70096/tssr.260402056>

Abstract

Indian culture encompasses a vast diversity of castes, communities, local traditions, and ritual practices and so on. Across regions, each village or community observes its own unique festivals—often referred to as grama devata jatre (fair), habba (festival). These festivals are rooted in distinct narrative traditions that may arise from local rituals, customs, social practices, or even food-related beliefs. Yet, in contemporary practice, the emphasis tends to fall primarily on the visible aspects of celebration—ritual performance, communal gathering, and entertainment. Beyond these outward expressions, however, festival narratives play a crucial role in shaping emotional well-being, fostering personal growth, and deepening value-based understandings of life. This article examines how stories and oral traditions convey the significance of relationships by analysing two distinct narrative traditions, one associated with the commonly celebrated Deepavali festival (Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata/vow) and the other with the local community fair of Dyavamma Jatre. By bringing together a popular festival story and a community-specific tale, the discussion seeks to examine whether narratives from diverse cultural contexts convey similar underlying messages or reflect distinct emphases. Through this comparison, the article aims to uncover the broader purpose of such festival/fair stories not merely as explanations for rituals, but as cultural frameworks that foster the understanding and practice of values within relationships. Methodologically, the study employs a qualitative narrative framework, integrating field observations, semi-structured interviews, and secondary sources. Purposive and convenience sampling ensured the inclusion of varied generational voices, illustrating how stories and tales remain critical in both preserving cultural memory and shaping communal learning in contemporary society.

Keywords: *Storytelling; Festivals; Oral Tradition; Cultural Transmission; Community Identity; Cultural Pedagogy*

Introduction

India is often referred to as the land of festivals, where religious and cultural celebrations constitute an integral part of everyday life. Indian culture represents a vibrant tapestry of traditions, customs, and rituals, and festivals play a pivotal role in reflecting and sustaining this cultural identity.

Among them, Hindu festivals hold a central place, embodying the diversity of beliefs, regional practices, and seasonal rhythms across the country. Indian festivals are characterised by their diversity, communal participation, and integration of the sacred with the social. They combine ritual worship, music, dance, drama, and food-sharing, reflecting both religious devotion and cultural celebration. Rooted in mythology, seasonal cycles, and regional traditions, festivals often mark transitions in nature while reinforcing social cohesion, collective identity, and intergenerational cultural transmission (Fuller 2004; Michaels 2004). Stories play a vital role in these celebrations, as mythological narratives and folk tales provide meaning to rituals, shape performances, and ensure the transmission of cultural values across generations (Blackburn 1989a).

Community and regional festivals in India function as vital spaces where cultural memory, social bonds, and local identities are reinforced. Unlike national celebrations, which often emphasize broader political or religious narratives, regional festivals reflect the distinct histories, ecological practices, and cultural values of specific communities. They serve not only as ritual occasions but also as opportunities for collective participation, economic exchange, and intergenerational transmission of traditions. Such festivals act as cultural markers, shaping regional identity while simultaneously fostering social cohesion across caste, class, and gender divides (Turner 1969; Kurin 1997).

As noted, Indian festivals have different features—festivals in Indian tradition are marked by their collective participation, ritual symbolism, and integration of storytelling, music, and performance. They function as occasions for reinforcing social bonds, celebrating seasonal cycles, and expressing devotion to deities or ancestral spirits. Beyond their religious significance, festivals also sustain local economies and serve as platforms for cultural continuity and intergenerational learning (Eck 1981; Turner 1969).

Festivals in India are deeply intertwined with storytelling traditions, where myths, legends, and oral narratives form the core of ritual practices and community gatherings. Stories associated with deities, ancestors, or local heroes are enacted through songs, dramas, and performances, transforming festivals into living texts that transmit cultural knowledge. These narratives not only provide religious legitimacy but also communicate moral values, social norms, and collective histories that sustain cultural identity. Storytelling within festivals thus functions as both entertainment and pedagogy, ensuring that traditions remain relevant while adapting to contemporary contexts (Blackburn 1989a; Ramanujan 1991; Smith 2006).

While festivals encompass diverse social, ritual, and cultural dimensions, this study foregrounds storytelling as the central lens of analysis. It argues that storytelling not only conveys the historical origins of fairs and festivals but also extends far beyond ritual contexts, revealing how stories and oral traditions help illuminate the significance of relationships, particularly in the narratives of the Dyavamma/Kerekodiyamma fair and the Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata.

Case Study of Dyavamma Fair and the Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata

In the village of Mosale, the Dyavamma festival (village fair) embodies this spirit of unity and inclusivity. Despite their differences, villagers come together in perfect harmony, united in their devotion to the revered Grama-devate (village goddess). This extraordinary display of communal harmony is a testament to the village's deep-rooted values of mutual respect and collective celebration. The Dyavamma or Kerekodiyamma fair, celebrated annually in Mosale village, Hassan District, Karnataka, is dedicated to the village deity, Dyavamma Devi. Observed after the second Saturday of Ganesh Chaturthi, it draws devotees from neighboring villages and remains deeply embedded in local customs and collective memory.

In Chikkaballapur and the adjoining Andhra Pradesh belt, Deepavali (common festival) celebrations incorporate the Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata, also called Nomudhaara practice. As a localised practice within the broader festival, it highlights a sub-narrative centred on the bond between sisters. This Vrata illustrates how regional variations of Deepavali embed familial values and distinct cultural meanings into shared ritual traditions.

Methodology

This qualitative study adopts a narrative research approach to explore the Dyavamma/Kerekodiyamma fair in Mosale (Hassan District) and Ullodu (Chikkaballapura District), focusing on the unique cultural significance of the Kedareshwar Gowri Vrata. Narrative inquiry, which emphasises lived experiences and storytelling (Clandinin and Connelly 2000), was used to capture the voices of devotees, community members, and participants.

Data were gathered through field observations, semi-structured interviews, and secondary sources such as digital media and scholarly articles. Storytelling during rituals emerged as a key medium for transmitting cultural memory and reinforcing the meaning of festivals. The study highlights how narratives within these celebrations sustain traditions, connect generations, and shape collective identity. Ultimately, it shows the role of festival/ritual stories in preserving cultural heritage and enriching community values.

Stories of Festival and Fair

Tale of Dyavamma/Kerekodiyamma Fair: In Indian tradition, every festival and rituals are rooted in a story, reflecting the diversity and vibrancy of cultural life. The Dyavamma fair and the Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata are no exception, each carrying fascinating narratives about their origins. Such stories not only add meaning to fairs and festivals but also underscore the central role of storytelling in sustaining Indian traditions. This narrative dimension is at the heart of cultural practice and illustrates the beauty of lived heritage.

Tale of Dyavamma/Kerekodiyamma Fair: In Mosale village, people still tell the tale of Dyavamma—known lovingly as Kerekodiyamma, the village's revered gram devate. Dyavamma was born and raised in Mosale, but after her marriage to a family in nearby Timmenahalli, her life took a difficult turn. Mistreatment in her marital home forced her to return to her parents' house in Mosale, seeking comfort and safety. Her brother Anjaneya welcomed her, urging her to stay. But Dyavamma, bound by the truth of womanhood, softly declared: 'My life belongs where I was wed, not where I was born'. This exchange stirred deep anger in Anjaneya. In his frustration, he stamped the village kere (pond) so fiercely that the kodi (rim) cracked apart. Yet Dyavamma stood firm. Crossing the broken waters, she seated herself on the rim of the pond, her determination shining through.

It was this unwavering resolve, her courage in the face of hardship, which transformed her into more than a mortal woman. From that moment, she became Kerekodiyamma—the guardian spirit of the people. In time, she made Kaushika village her sacred abode, where she continues to be worshipped as the powerful village deity. This account provides the foundational context for the establishment of the Kerekodiyamma fair.

The story, however, is not limited to explaining the fair's origin; it continues to play an active role within the rituals of the Kerekodiyamma fair. The significance of this narrative is reaffirmed annually during the Kerekodiyamma fair. On the first day at Mosale, Dyavamma or Kerekodiyamma symbolically returns from Kaushika to Mosale in a decorated adde or palakki

(Palanquin). She receives the first arishina kumkuma and madilakki from her brother Anjaneya and proceeds through each household in the village, collecting ritual offerings. The procession culminates at the Channakeshava temple, where the final puja is performed, and circumambulations around the shrine mark the completion of the ritual in Mosale.

From there, Dyavamma continues to Timmenahalli, her marital home, where she remains for a day as devotees from surrounding villages gather with puja, naivedya, and seva. At the conclusion, she returns to Kaushika, her permanent residence. The sequence of ritual movements illustrates her enduring connections with her birthplace, marital village, and chosen abode, while also foregrounding the festival's thematic emphasis on sibling bonds, feminine resilience, and community devotion. The entire ritual is centred upon the narrative described above.

Regarding this story, when a female respondent from Mosale explained, the story is remembered not merely as a myth but as a lesson in modesty, strength, and the sustaining power of relationship ties.

Interviewer: Can you tell us about the significance of the Dyavamma fair?

Respondent: Absolutely. For me, fair like Dyavamma is a time to connect with loved ones. We invite family and friends to join us, and everyone takes a break from their daily routines. It's a chance to celebrate, relax, and enjoy each other's company.

Interviewer: Can you share your thoughts on the story of Anjaneya and Dyavamma's sibling relationship?

Respondent: It is indeed a beautiful story. What stands out is the way Anjaneya expresses his concern and affection for his sister Dyavamma, which feels deeply relatable. At the same time, Dyavamma's flexibility is striking—despite the difficulties she faced, she never detached ties with her birthplace or her marital home. Instead, she continues to revisit both, honouring each as an important part of her life and identity.

Interviewer: That's interesting. Did you find yourself drawing any parallels between this mythological relationship and your personal experiences?

Yes. I have a close relationship with my sibling, and seeing Anjaneya's devotion to Dyavamma reminded me of the bond we share.

Interviewer: Okay. It sounds like the story of Anjaneya and Dyavamma has a connectable essence.

Respondent: Exactly. It's a powerful reminder of the importance of family and relationships in our lives.

The narrative of Dyavamma and Anjaneya's sibling relationship serves as a touching illustration of familial bonds in Indian culture. 'This cultural context pervades the narrative with a deeper meaning, and the cultural significance of storytelling in Indian tradition' (Ramanujan 1991). The central focus of this story lies in the role of mythological narratives in shaping a shared cultural vocabulary that allows people to express emotions and relational dynamics. It highlights how villagers connect with and reinterpret these narratives in their own context.

Story of Five Sisters: The Dyavamma fair carries within it another moving tale of five sisters whose bond and bravery are remembered through legend. On a serene day, the sisters stepped into the calm waters of Mosale kere for a refreshing bath, unaware of the danger lurking beneath. The pond was home to fierce crocodiles, waiting in silence. As the sisters played in the water, the predators attacked, surrounding them and cutting off their escape. Panic and chaos followed as the sisters struggled to survive, but the crocodiles' strength left them with grievous wounds.

Among them, Dyavamma endured the most devastating injury, her nose torn away, and from then on, she came to be known as Mosale Muguharaki. Her sisters, too, bore the marks of that fateful encounter, one losing an ear, another an eye, and others suffering in ways that changed them forever. Their new names—Kittane Kiviharaki, Kaushikada Kanne, Avvayadi Avva, and Ambugada Rambe stood as reminders of both loss and resilience. Though scarred, the sisters came to embody strength and endurance, and their story remains a testament to courage in the face of suffering, echoing through the traditions of the Dyavamma fair.

When questioned about the Dyavamma fair, villagers shared their insights with equal reverence.

Interviewer: How do you think the festival of Dyavamma fair impacts the community?

Elder person: The festival brings our community together, promoting unity and solidarity. It's also a time for spiritual reflection and renewal.

Interviewer: Can you explain the significance of the names given to the five goddess sisters?

Elder person: Yes, the names Mosale Muguharaki, Kittane Kiviharaki, Kaushikada Kanne, Avvayada Avva, and Ambugada Rambe reflect the physical attributes of each sister after the attack. It's a reminder of their struggle and bravery.

When a village youth was asked, he replied,

Interviewer: Can you start by telling us a little bit about the story of Kerekodiyamma and how it resonates with you? Or what does the story of the five Shakti Devate mean to you?

Village Youth: It's a powerful story about sisterhood and resilience. The sisters could have given up after the attack, but instead, they found a way to overcome their challenges and become stronger. Despite their physical scars, they continue to inspire devotion and reverence in the hearts of the villagers. As the five participating villages come together to honor the sisterhood, they reaffirm the values of courage, sisterly love, and the unbreakable bonds of family and community.

This ancient story not only explains the origins of the goddesses' names but also highlights the significance of the Mosalekere, which remains a sacred site to this day and importantly, the bonding between the sisters. Thus, the fair of Dyavamma serves as a poignant reminder of the sisters' bravery and resilience in the face of adversity.

These stories revolve around brother-sister ties and sisterhood. But there is also a story that beautifully portrays the connection between sisters, while gently teaching us the importance of remaining humble and kind in life.

Tale of Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata...: Deepavali, the festival of lights, is celebrated across Karnataka with regional variations that reflect the state's cultural diversity. While Mysore showcases grandeur and North Karnataka's distinct rituals, in Chikkaballapur and the adjoining Andhra Pradesh belt, the festival takes on a unique form. Here, the observance of Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata (Nomudhaara) emerges as a distinctive practice, carrying within it a subtle narrative that highlights the enduring bond between sisters.

The Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata, also known as Nomudhaara practice, is a profoundly fulfilling observance. According to legend, Goddess Parvati performed this Vrata to unite with Lord Shiva and become an integral part of his being. Notably, this sacred Vrata is accessible to everyone, regardless of their background or spiritual affiliation. Performing the Kedareshwara Vrata 21 times is believed to bestow immense benefits, including unparalleled prosperity and excellent health.

Story behind the Vrata:

On Mount Kailash, adorned with silver clouds, gem-studded peaks, and lush trees bearing vibrant fruits and flowers, Lord Shiva resided with Goddess Parvati and his loyal attendants, the Pramadha Ganas. This celestial realm was served by esteemed rishis, Siddhas, Gandharvas, and Kinnara-Kimpurush. One day, as Lord Shiva sat in court, surrounded by his subjects and other divine beings, including Surya, Agni, Indra, and the stars, he was treated to enchanting music by Sage Narada and other skilled singers. Rambha's elegant dance added to the splendour, while Bhrungi's comical dance moves brought joy and laughter to the assembly. Delighted by Bhrungi's entertaining performance, Lord Shiva praised and blessed him. Overwhelmed with gratitude, Bhrungi circumambulated Lord Shiva, but, in his enthusiasm, inadvertently ignored Goddess Parvati.

Observing this, Parvati asked her husband, Lord Shiva, 'O Lord, why did Bhrungi circumambulate only you, excluding me? There must be a reason worth knowing; please enlighten me'.

Lord Shiva replied, 'Devi Parvati, listen carefully. Yogis strive for ultimate liberation, and for that, they seek my blessings. What use do they have for your blessings, which grant worldly pleasures and bondage?'

Lord Shiva's words infuriated Parvati, who felt deeply insulted. Unable to bear the slight, she became enraged with Lord Shiva and departed from Kailash, descending to the earth, known as Bhu-Kailasa. Seeking solitude, she arrived at the hermitage of sage Gautama, where she began to perform intense penance.

The Ashrama of Gautama was a serene and sacred haven, teeming with wild animals and lush vegetation, including diverse trees, creepers, and shrubs. At his altar, Sage Gautama beheld the resplendent Devi Parvati and, with reverence, inquired, 'O Bhagavati, what circumstance has led you to graciously visit my humble abode?'

Parvati replied to Sage Gautama with a tinge of sadness, 'O revered Sage, please guide me on a penance that will unite me with Lord Shiva'. Sage Gautama advised her to perform the sacred Kedareshwara Vrata, a powerful observance that fulfils all desires and grants every boon. Eager to learn, Devi Parvati requested Sage Gautama to elaborate on the procedure for performing this Vrata.

Sage Gautama instructed Parvati, 'To perform the Kedareshwara Vrata, observe the following ritual during the auspicious month of Kartika. Begin by tying 21 silk threads, known as Dharam, around your right wrist. Offer worship to Lord Kedareshwara and maintain a fast throughout the Vrata period, adhering to the prescribed rituals and disciplines'.

Devi Parvati diligently performed the Kedareshwara Vrata as instructed by Sage Gautama. Lord Shiva, pleased with her devotion, appeared before her and granted her desire to be an integral part of his body. Overjoyed, Parvati humbly requested Lord Shiva to bless all devotees to perform this Vrata with similar fulfilment. Lord Shiva, moved by her kindness, graciously granted her wish. In honour of Parvati's devotion, Lord Shiva renamed this sacred observance as the 'Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata'.

The Tale of Punyavati and Bhagyavati in the Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata: Once, there lived a poor man named Komatu, who was blessed with two daughters—Punyavati, the elder, and Bhagyavati, the younger. Though their family lived in poverty, the sisters often heard of the great fortune that came to those who observed the Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata. Inspired, they approached their father with a request to perform the ritual. Komatu, though supportive of their devotion, expressed his helplessness: 'My daughters, I wish to see you perform the Vrata, but we cannot afford the required offerings'.

The sisters, however, would not be dissuaded. With unwavering faith, they chose the sacred Arali (Peepal) tree as their altar. Using the tree's gifts, they shaped their ritual: Arali leaves took the place of betel leaves, its nuts replaced areca nuts, and sand became their symbolic sweet offering (Kajjaya). From the same tree's leaves, they even wove a sacred thread. Their puja, though simple, was rich in sincerity.

Moved by their devotion, Lord Shiva blessed them with immense fortune. Their lives were transformed: Punyavati became queen of Ujjaini, Bhagyavati was married to the mighty Chola king, and Komatu himself rose from poverty to prosperity.

Yet, time brought change. Bhagyavati, dazzled by her royal wealth, grew arrogant and neglected the very Vrata that had granted her success. Misfortune soon followed. Banished from her kingdom, she wandered destitute with her young son until she found refuge in a hunter's hut. With sorrow, she sent her son to seek help from Punyavati.

When Punyavati heard of her sister's plight, her heart softened. She gave the boy money and sent him back. On his way, however, Lord Shiva appeared in the guise of a robber, seized the money, and later revealed his divine form. He told the boy, 'Wealth cannot remain with those who abandon the Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata. Your mother's neglect has brought her downfall'.

The boy returned, bewildered, and told his aunt everything. Punyavati, wise and compassionate, advised him: 'Tell your mother to resume the Vrata with devotion. Only then will fortune return to her'. She gave him more money, and this time, as the boy walked back, he found the original sum—returned by Shiva himself—lying on the path.

Hearing her son's tale, Bhagyavati realised her mistake. With repentance, she resumed the Vrata. Soon, fortune smiled on her once more. She was welcomed back into the Chola kingdom, and together with her husband, made it a tradition to observe the Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata every year. From then on, both sisters lived with devotion, prosperity, and peace until their last days. This tale, often narrated as part of the Vrata tradition, reminds devotees that prosperity is born of faith and sustained through devotion. To neglect the vow is to invite downfall; to honour it is to secure blessings for generations.

During a conversation with a devotee who regularly observes the Vrata, she was asked about its significance. In response, she shared the following insights.

Interviewer: What is the importance of Kedareshwar Gowri Vrata?

Respondent: It is an age-old practice. We should not skip the ritual.

Interviewer: What do you understand from this story?

Respondent: I understand that whatever wealth, health, prosperity, and other blessings we have are God's gifts. We should not forget this and must always remain humble and remember our past.

Interviewer: What do you learn from this story?

Respondent: To be humble, no matter what comes in life?

Interviewer: What happens if you skip celebrating the Vrata?

Respondent: How could I skip it? It is part of Deepavali, and without the Vrata, the festival is incomplete.

The story of Kedareshwar Gowri Vrata reveals a bond intertwined not merely through kinship but through the deeper values of humility, kindness, and sacrifice. In this tale, sisters show us that to be truly human is not to adhere to pride or possessions, but to embrace compassion, to listen with patience, and to walk side by side through life's challenges. Their journeys remind us that sisterhood is more than a bond of birth—it is an act of nurturing, guiding, and at times yielding, so that love may flourish free from ego.

Both the Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata tale and the Dyavamma fair story show how festivals become mirrors of human relationships. One emerges from a divine, widely practised tradition, while the other grows from local, intimate community memory. Yet both emphasise care, responsibility, and emotional bonding within families and among people. Together, they reveal that whether grand or humble, festivals carry the shared heart of human connection.

Hence, in this background, it becomes important to ask: in what ways can we understand the stories associated with festivals and fairs, and what roles or lessons do they convey within the community?

Discussion: What Do Stories Teach Us?

- As indicated above, the stories of Dyavamma and the Kedareshwar Gowri Vrata are not limited to outlining ritual processes or the rationale for celebrating the fair or festival; they also communicate teachings that are deeply important to human life. A few highlights are mentioned below;
- Humanise the divine - Both the fair of Dyavamma and the festival of Deepavali (Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata) are linked with fascinating stories, each emphasising the significance of the sibling bond. The narratives associated with Dyavamma reveal how oral traditions humanise the divine by attributing familiar, human-like qualities to the goddess. Community responses emphasize her reliability, approachability, and emotional proximity. Rather than being positioned as a distant abstraction, Dyavamma is perceived as a cultural presence embedded within daily life. This process of humanisation strengthens emotional intimacy, allowing devotees to identify their own struggles with those embodied in the narrative; thus, it helps carry forward traditions and enhances community resilience.
- Dignity and Self-Assertion - Dyavamma's story, in particular, reflects enduring life lessons. Her decision to leave both her husband's household and her brother's home reveals a firm assertion of dignity and self-worth, even when such choices clashed with prevailing social expectations. This act of boldness can be read as a model of courage in navigating complex social and familial challenges.
- Sisterhood and Spiritual Duty- The episode of Punyavati and Bhagyavati emphasises compassion, sisterly support, and the redirection of individual crisis toward ritual practice. The narrative establishes that while material wealth is transient, spiritual discipline and ritual continuity provide a more enduring form of security. Here, storytelling operates as a pedagogical tool, guiding communities toward the prioritisation of faith, humility, and ritual observance over purely material aspirations.

- Festival Narratives as Coping Mechanisms- the narratives of Kedareshwar and Dyavamma illustrate how communities have long used storytelling as a guide for navigating personal challenges. These stories frame everyday struggles, whether emotional, social, or moral, as experiences that can be met with resilience, dignity, and disciplined action. In doing so, festival and fair narratives function as subtle but powerful coping mechanisms and problem-solving that continue to inform personal life today.

Together, these stories show how oral traditions operate as guiding principles—humanising the divine, reflecting everyday dilemmas, and conveying enduring values of courage, devotion, and relational care. Thus, festival stories serve as a vital medium for shaping ethical understanding, reinforcing social responsibilities, providing guidance for navigating life’s challenges, and transmitting collective wisdom across generations.

Conclusion

Stories in Indian culture extend far beyond the boundaries of ritual narration. They serve as repositories of lived experience, transmitters of moral values, and mediators of social relationships, thereby shaping the fabric of collective life. Interpreting them simultaneously as sacred traditions and as cultural frameworks provides a more nuanced appreciation of their enduring significance.

This article examines how stories and tales convey the significance of relationships by analysing two distinct narratives: one associated with the widely celebrated Deepavali festival (Kedareshwara Gowri Vrata) and the other rooted in the local community fair of Dyavamma. Despite emerging from different cultural contexts, one mainstream and widely recognised, the other intimate and community-specific, both highlight the emotional and social importance of human bonds, particularly those between siblings and within families. The analysis reveals that these narratives function not merely as ritual explanations but as cultural frameworks that cultivate the understanding and practice of values within relationships.

At the same time, the observations drawn from these narratives raise an important question for further reflection: Should stories be understood merely as ritual accounts connected to festivals and deities, or do they demand a deeper engagement that looks beyond surface narration to uncover their cultural essence? Framing the discussion in this way highlights the need to explore storytelling not only as a ritual practice but also as a cultural force. Such an approach opens the possibility of understanding more comprehensively the pivotal role storytelling continues to play in shaping Indian culture.

Appendix

1. Arali tree - Peepal tree
2. Arishina- Kumkum - Turmeric and Vemilion
3. Avva – Mother
4. Dakshina – Monetary gift
5. Kajjaya – Name of the sweet
6. Kanne- Girl of Kaushika
7. Kiviharaki- Torn ear
8. Madilakki - Offerings of sacred items to the deity
9. Muguharaki,- Torn nose
10. Navadhanya- Nine sacred grains used in worship
11. Nomudhara - A sacred ritual thread
12. Rambe – Apsara
13. Tambula – betel leaf

Acknowledgment: We gratefully acknowledge the financial support provided by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi, for the project titled “Festivals as Historico-Cultural Representations: A Study of Regional Festivals of Karnataka,” which made this study possible. We also express our sincere gratitude to our key informants and respondents for generously sharing their valuable knowledge and insights during the course of our fieldwork.

Author’s Contribution: *Dr. Jai Prabhakar S.C:* Methodology, Analysis, Drafting; *Prof. H.S Ashok:* Methodology, Analysis, Drafting, Referencing; *Dr. Kavitha P.N:* Data Collection, Literature Review, Methodology, Analysis, Drafting, Referencing

Funding: Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR)

Declaration: All the authors have given consent for the publication.

Competing Interest: No

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