



Queen of the Palace of Illusions

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Abstract:

This article purports to study the rewriting of the mythical story of Draupadi in Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni's *The Palace of Illusions* (2008) as the real *stree parva* or woman chapter of *The Mahabharat*. Draupadi has been an archetypal symbol of the suffering and humiliation that a woman undergoes in a patriarchal society. Hence, retelling her story in an autobiographical vein gives voice and representation to the personal life of women and their tale of suffering. My argument is that re-imagining the story of Draupadi and re-imagining her in the above mentioned work compel us to reinterpret and subvert the traditional and archetypal models of femininity not only for the purpose of offering resistance to the existing system but also exhibiting potential for new models of femininity underpinned by a resistant consciousness. I have alluded to and drawn upon the theoretical formulations of Adrienne Rich, Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan and others to analyze the feminist preoccupations of the novel.

Key Words: Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, Autobiography, Feminism, Re-interpreting myth

Introduction:

I had read Adrienne Rich's "When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-Vision" earlier also and quoted her in some of my articles. But when I read her today, I sensed that I caught her vision. A clear comprehension dawned on me, which, I think, I was searching for. Previously I was perplexed, whether mythology has empowering effect on women or it moulds women to conform to the stereotypes? The essay enthused me not only to rethink "the writing of the past, and know it differently than we have ever known it; not to pass on a tradition but to break its hold over us," but also stimulated my perception on the act of creative and critical writings (p. 19).

In recent years there has been a spurt in writings on the reinterpretation of myth from *women's* view point (I hate the word feminist). A lot is being said about the influence that the myths and images of mythical women have on all of us who are products of culture, the most cited being Sita and Draupadi, the heroines of *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharat* respectively, as both the epics are deeply ingrained in Indian cultural imagination. Particularly, *The Mahabharat* often inhabits my meditation (as, like Iravati Karve I believe, it makes a more human portrayal of its characters than *The Ramayana*) and loads my mind with numerous questions. In the light of this revisionist trend, the foremost question that perturbs me is, "What and how *The Mahabharat* will tell, if narrated by a woman?"

I know that Jyotirmoyee Devi had a deep suspicion of the "Stree Parva" or Woman Chapter of *The Mahabharat*. In her novel *The River Churning*, originally published in

1967 as *Itihashe Stree-Parva* (The Woman Chapter in History), she points to the defects in male historiography in all ages:

In actual fact, even Vedavyasa could not bear to write the real streeparva. Cowards do not write history. There are no great poets among women, and even if there were, they could not have written about the violation of their own dignity . . . ‘Hence there is no recorded history of the real stree-parva. The stree-parva of humiliation by men? The streeparva of all time? The chapter that remains in the control of husband, son, father and one’s own community—there is no history of that silent humiliation, that final pain. The stree-parva has not yet ended; the last word is not yet spoken. (p. xxviii)

Here, Jyotirmoyee Devi draws attention to the ellipses of the epic, especially when it concerns telling women’s story, which has remained in the control of men, and therefore, I believe, there is need for revision and re-vision. Adrienne Rich elaborates on the concept of re-vision thus:

Re-vision—the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction—is for us more than a chapter in cultural history: it is an act of survival. Until we can understand the assumptions in which we are drenched we cannot know ourselves. And this drive to self-knowledge, for woman, is more than a search for identity: it is part of her refusal of the self-destructiveness of male-dominated society. (p. 18)

Women writers address the aporias and gaps in mythical narratives and attempt to construct a *Stree Parva* in their works. The present essay studies the re-writing the story of Draupadi in Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni’s novel *The Palace of Illusions* (2008) which brings to the surface the broader and deeper aspects of Draupadi’s mind that lie submerged in the majestic sweep of the grand *Mahabharat*.^[1] My argument is that re-imagining the story of Draupadi and re-imagining her in the above mentioned work compel us to undermine and reinterpret the conventional and archetypal models of femininity not only for the purpose of offering resistance to the existing system but also revealing potential for new models of femininity underpinned by a resistant consciousness.

Autobiography of Draupadis:

The first thing that draws attention towards the novel is that it has been narrated in autobiographical vein. In the Author’s Note to the book, Divakaruni observes that the epic *Mahabharat* has powerful, complex women characters, but their roles ultimately remained subservient to those of their fathers and husbands, brothers and sons. So she desired:

If I ever wrote a book . . . I would place the women in the forefront of the action. I would uncover the story that lay invisible between the

lines of the men's exploits. Better still, I would have one of them tell it herself, with all her joys and doubts, her struggles and her triumphs, her heartbreaks, her achievements, the unique female way in which she sees her world and her place in it. And who could be better suited for this than Panchaali? (2008, p. xv)

And she invokes the readers, "It is her life, her voice, her questions, and her vision that I invite you into in *The Palace of Illusions*" (p. xv). A biographical narrative by Divakaruni cast in the form of an autobiography, the book affirms that a woman's story in a patriarchal world doesn't differ much from each other—it tends to be an account of love and betrayal, oppression and exploitation, humiliation and denial of rights. Justifiably, I have named this section of the essay as "Autobiography of Draupadis".

Writing, specially writing autobiography, has been universally acclaimed by the feminists as a means of women empowerment for "when a woman writes she assumes maleness and authority" (Bhattacharya, 2015, p. 35). Julia Swindell claims,

Autobiography has now the potential to be the text of the oppressed and the culturally displaced, forging a right to speak both for and beyond the individual. People in position of powerlessness—women, black-people, working class people have more than begun to insert themselves into the culture via the autobiography, via the assertion of a personal voice which speaks beyond itself. (qtd. in Anderson, 2007, p. 103-4)

Autobiography, thus, assigns agency to the narrator in the art of self-representation. Divakaruni's novel articulates a woman's voice and voices the unspoken and the forbidden in a woman's life—Draupadi's desire tinged with devotion for Krishna, her preference for Arjun over the other four husbands, and her secret yearning for Karna. Draupadi is cognizant of the power of storytelling. She tells, "A story is a slippery thing. . . Perhaps that was why it changed with each telling. Or is that the nature of all stories, the reason for their power?" (2008, p. 15). She is well aware of the bias in man's story too. Dhri and Draupadi tell the story Dronacharya and Drupad with different perspectives. Dhri's story is a defence for King Drupad, while Draupadi's narration seems unbiased. This shifting of narration from Dhri to Draupadi not only suggests the slippery nature of a story, but also points to the manipulative power of language to propagate one's point of view which has been the case of male historiography.

Women are made, not born:

As the novel is an autobiography of Draupadi, it will be befitting to start with her birth. The subordination of women as an integral part of the social structure is implied in the beginning of the novel as soon after Draupadi and her brother came out of fire at their birth, their father held out his arms for the son alone. It speaks of how

unwanted a girl child is and she is not cherished even by a king. Thus, the first point that disturbs one is that class does not make any difference in the position of a woman. The point gets additional endorsements in course of Draupadi's life to which I shall refer in the subsequent part of this essay.

It is well known that the oppression and undervaluation of women has its basis in tradition which is a repository of memory from past. As a continuation of tradition, women are expected to learn and live by certain patriarchal codes regardless of their own needs and desires. One may recall the famous statement made by Simone de Beauvoir in her *The Second Sex*, 'Women and men are made, not born' (though overused, it is not yet a cliché) which proposes that a person acquires the identity of a man or a woman over time, by means of complex social processes. Draupadi's early life is also primarily a narrative of education, showing the process by which she learns the lessons women 'should' learn, but more significant is her determination to unlearn. In conformity with the age old practice prescribed by patriarchy, Draupadi is taught to draw, paint, sew and trained in singing, dancing and playing music. Dissatisfied with her interest in her brother Dhri's lessons, Dhri's tutor opines that "a kshatriya woman's highest purpose in life is to support the warriors in her life: her father, brother, husband and sons. . ." (p. 26). Moreover, Draupadi is subjected to the lives of Gandhari, who remained blindfold for her devotion to her husband, Savitri, who saved her husband from the clutches of the Lord of Death, Sita, who was eternally faithful to her husband, even when abducted by the demon king, and Devyani, who, in spite of her father's warnings, insisted on falling in love with the wrong man and was left brokenhearted (p. 76). But, a rebel against conventions, Draupadi silently asserts to herself that she would do other things with her life. In fact, she remains a rebel against unjust patriarchal conventions prescribed for women till her end. People discourage Draupadi to accompany her husbands for the final journey for no woman had ever attempted it and her response is: "The more people dissuaded me, the more determined I became. Perhaps that has always been my problem, to rebel against the boundaries society has prescribed for women" (p. 343).

The Swayamvar:

When it is time for her marriage, Draupadi's father sets the condition of the swayamvar which conceals his political motive to get the most powerful warrior as his ally. Draupadi cries, "Why even call it a swayamvar, then?" (p. 56-58). It becomes obvious that a woman is a pawn to settle political score. Swayamvar did not give princesses real right to choose their husbands, the conditions being decided by the father. Also, the subtle diplomatic intention lurked behind the superficial liberal attitude.

The contradictions of a patriarchal society becomes apparent, when Draupadi's opinion is not sought when she is subjected to polyandry and becomes wife to all the five Pandava brothers, a condition very different from polygamy. Divakaruni's Draupadi perceives it and complains, "My situation was very different from that of a man with several wives. Unlike him, I had no choice as to whom I slept with, and when. Like a communal drinking cup, I would be passed from hand to hand whether I

wanted it or not” (p. 120). The boon that she would gain her virginity after spending a year with each husband, she alleged, was designed more for the husbands’ benefit than her.

Also, Divakaruni makes the readers aware that a woman’s life is about learning the ways of the man towards woman, as much as it is about “becoming a woman.” From the husbands’ inaction on the day of her disrobing, Draupadi learnt that though they loved her—as much perhaps as any man can love—there were other things they loved more (p. 195). The notion of honour and reputation were more important for the Pandavas than her suffering. Even the revenge for it would be accomplished in time which would bring them heroic fame. She learnt another lesson about the man’s ways during their year of incognito in the kingdom of Virat, when queen Sudeshna’s brother Keechak lusted for her. It made her think, “Is this how men looked at ordinary women, then? Women they considered their inferiors?” (p. 228). These lessons she stored in her memory.

Stories from memory:

In a woman’s life memory plays a vital role and woman’s writings of self were more familiarly known as *smritikatha* or “stories from memory.”^[2] Draupadi’s life integrates the memory of suffering, the anger, the desires, the humiliations of her predecessors like Sita, Amba and Kunti and many other Draupadis of the past and the present. The compression of such memory in female body from generation to generation results in creating “collective memory” of women. Contemporary usage of the term *collective memory* is credited to the philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in his book *La Mémoire Collective*, 1950 (*On Collective Memory*). He claimed that individual memory is understood only through a group context. Though a substantial scholarship has grown around the concept, I find it relevant to mention Susan A. Crane who adds to the theory of collective memory by suggesting that “collective memory is a conceptualization that suggests continual presence of the past” and it is the framework within which historical remembering takes place in as much as historical memory is the narrative form for the content of collective memory. In the initial pages of Pratibha Ray’s *Yajnaseni* (1984), Yajnaseni makes a subtle reference to the collective nature of women’s grief in the most poignant line: *If I am no longer my own, why should my grief remain mine?* (p. 4). Similarly, Divakaruni’s Draupadi wonders about Sikhandi, “Could he really have been Amba in a previous incarnation. . . Or did he—through some strange empathy—feel her sorrow so deeply that he resolved to avenge her?” (p. 49).

Draupadi’s own humiliation at the Kuru court has been iconic of woman’s suffering. The scene of dragging Draupadi, a menstruating woman with one piece of cloth on her body in *The Palace of Illusions* (and in the original *Mahabharat*) carries emotional appeal being the greatest dishonor and shame a woman faces under patriarchy. When “the worst shame a woman could imagine was about to befall” her, she thought of Krishna. He seemed to say, “*No one can shame you, if you don’t allow it*” (p. 193). Divakaruni did not make her Draupadi to seek benign intervention to

save her honor, though she thought of Him. Like Mahasweta Devi's Dopdi, she thought aloud, "Let them stare at my nakedness . . . Why should I care? They and not I should be ashamed for shattering the bounds of decency" (p. 193). The thread that connects Divakaruni's mythical Draupadi and Devi's Dopdi (a tribal woman) is that both of them are similar in resisting domination and repression. Besides, both suffer similar humiliation in the hands of men. Even Draupadi of the myth is counted among man's belongings which (*not who*) can be lost in a game of dice and become the slave of another. The fate of a slave woman is no better than that of a low class tribal woman. It leads to the inference that even class superiority does not guarantee protection for a woman.

The ordeal and suffering of women do not terminate even in rebirth. In *Rethinking India's Oral and Classical Epics: Draupadi among Rajputs, Muslims, and Dalits*, Alf Hiltebeitel writes about the transformation of Draupadi in rajputized folk traditions:

Here the violent, agonistic, and sacrificial dimensions of her character rise again to the fore in new and powerfully reimagined forms. Instead of coming to an end, the cycles of violence only become vaster and potentially unending. Dissatisfied with the blood she obtained in her life as Draupadi, she must be reborn as Bela to get what she missed. Even as Bela, we are left unsure whether she has had enough. And then there is another Draupadi yet to come: the reborn Rani of Raja Desing. One can only wonder what dissatisfactions will motivate this new Draupadi named Yakajoti, reborn from a Rani who became sati through "no sin" of her own. Both backward in time and forward in time, we cannot glimpse the end of such Draupadis. (1999, p. 509)

As mentioned earlier, the methodological framework of Divakaruni's novel extends beyond individual experience to construct a collective engagement with a (continuing) history. It integrates countless Draupadis of the past and present and amplifies the consciousness of discontent as well as identity of women as an oppressed gender on a collective scale.

Unveiling the secret of the heart:

Women are not alone in safeguarding the unacknowledged secrets too. After hearing the conversation between Karna and Bheesma on the bed of arrows about Karna's parentage, and witnessing Kunti's offer of Draupadi to Karna for coming to the Pandava side, and the confession of his desire for Draupadi, Draupadi could connect herself with Kunti, "I found that by some inexplicable osmosis Kunti's secret had become my secret. I, too, would guard it now" (p. 281). Draupadi's secret love for Karna runs throughout the narrative. The duel between loyalty and desire in her saturates the pages of *The Palace of Illusions*. She admitted that though she was a good wife, she didn't love Bheem the way he longed to be loved or any of her husbands in that way because none of them had the power to agitate her the way the mere memory of Karna did (p. 213). Divakaruni makes no inhibition in intoning the secret of a woman's heart by throwing the patriarchal precincts to the wind and in the

hour of her death she makes Draupadi think of Karna rather than her husbands. Even Draupadi wondered, if she had made the wrong choice at the swayamvar (p. 351). She ends her narrative on a powerful note:

I am buoyant and expansive and uncontainable—but I always was so, only I never knew it! I am beyond name and gender and the imprisoning patterns of ego. And yet, for the first time, I'm truly Panchaali. I reach with my other hand for Karna—how surprisingly solid clasp! Above us our palace waits, the only one I've never needed. Its walls are space, its floor is sky, its centre everywhere. We rise; the shapes cluster around us in welcome, dissolving and forming and dissolving again like fireflies in a summer evening. (p. 360)

Iravati Karve in *Yuganta* (2007) points out that according to the critical edition of the *Mahabharat*, Karna didn't attempt to win Draupadi in the swayamvar. In the whole of the *Mahabharat*, Karna and Draupadi had nothing to do with one another. The notion that she loved him came in a later Jain Purana, not in the *Mahabharat* itself. The Draupadi of the *Mahabharat* stormed and raged, but to the last moment, she remained a faithful wife. There is not a single incident in her life that casts the slightest suspicion on her. I believe, Divakaruni's choice from the later Purana must have been deliberate as she intends her story to be an act of rebellion and portrays Draupadi as a rebel against patriarchal conventions.

It is relevant here to mention Rich who reflects on the issue of women's writing while discussing Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*, "Virginia Woolf is addressing an audience of women, but she is acutely conscious—as she always was—of being overheard by men: by Morgan and Lytton and Maynard Keynes and for that matter by her father, Leslie Stephen" (1972, p. 20). Rich goes on to make the generalisation, whose universal appeal would foreclose any kind of debate, that no male writer has written primarily or even largely for women, or with the sense of women's criticism as a consideration when he chooses his materials, his theme, his language. In contrast, to a lesser or greater extent, every woman writer has written for men even when, like Virginia Woolf, she was supposed to be addressing women (p. 20). They are acutely conscious of the male gaze. Divakaruni's novel *The Palace of Illusions* challenges the male gaze by providing prominence to Draupadi's secret yearning for Karna in the narrative and problematizing her veneration as a sati (chaste wife) from traditional point of view. I find, Divakaruni's conclusion to her story is connected to Rich's conclusion to her essay. I am well aware of the long quotes I have cited, but citing in small fragments would have lessened the effect. Rich writes:

In closing I want to tell you about a dream I had last summer. I dreamed I was asked to read my poetry at a mass women's meeting, but when I began to read, what came out were the lyrics of a blues song. I share this dream with you because it seemed to me to say a lot about the problems and the future of the woman writer, and probably

of women in general. The awakening of consciousness is not like the crossing of a frontier—one step, and you are in another country. Much of woman's poetry has been of the nature of the blues song: a cry of pain, of victimization, or a lyric of seduction. And today, much poetry by women—and prose for that matter—is charged with anger. I think we need to go through that anger, and we will betray our own reality if we try, as Virginia Woolf was trying, for an objectivity, a detachment, that would make us sound more like Jane Austen or Shakespeare. (p. 25)

Thus, the very act of writing by women not only becomes an act of identity and empowerment, but also a gesture of defiance, subversion, resistance, transgression.

Draupadi: Celebrating Prakriti and Shakti:

It is noteworthy that Divakaruni epitomizes Draupadi as a modern woman with an identity of her own, but she does not conceive Draupadi under Western eyes. Draupadi is a celebration of both Prakriti and Shakti. Rajan in “Is Hindu Goddess a Feminist?” elaborates these concepts:

Radical feminists repudiate ‘male’ values and spheres of power, and valorise in their place women’s ‘traditional’ qualities of care, sacrifice, and sustenance in family and community; while other feminists argue that women’s equality calls for struggle and requires participation in and control of the existing structures of political power. The arguments in support of the feminism of the goddess deploy both arguments, the former in the celebration of Prakriti, nature as feminine principle, and the latter of Shakti, the autonomous force of the destructive goddess principle. (2012, p. 9-10)

Draupadi is in the tradition of the classical feminine as envisaged by Vyasa and other Vedic philosophers playing the role of a dutiful daughter-in-law and devoted wife making sacrifices, rescuing her husbands when needed, nurturing her family and hundreds of guests even in her forest retreat with the husbands, yet she is sophisticated, knowledgeable, well-versed in fine arts, warfare and like a contemporary woman she can protest and demand justice.

Still, traditionally, the various “inauspicious” trials and tribulations Draupadi undergoes prevent her elevation as a role model for Hindu girls who are brought up listening to exemplary heroines from the myths, the most important ideal being Sita. Irawati Karve makes an in-depth analysis of the differences in the position of Sita and Draupadi and valorizes the later. She says that Sita was merely found, whereas Draupadi was desired. Sita's marriage with Rama brought her status and gave Rama a beautiful and devoted wife. On the other hand, Draupadi's marriage to the Pandavas brought them a wife, status and a kingdom. As the wife of all the five brothers she was also the source of their unity and solidarity. Karve sees Draupadi as a more powerful character than Sita. She saved her husbands from ruin by asking

Dhritarashtra the boon of liberating them even after her utter humiliation at the Kuru court. Both Sita and Draupadi had to undergo vanavasa (living in the forest) for a long period. Unlike Draupadi's, "Sita's exile was unshadowed by hatred and suffering. For more than twelve years, she lived in a continual honeymoon [before Ravana, the demon king abducted her] . . . of the burden of the real world there was nothing—no smart of remembered insult, no yearning for absent children, no crowds of guests" (Karve, 2007, p. 82). Sita's story was fantastic, romantic and other worldly, while Draupadi's troubles were human. I think, it connects contemporary women more to Draupadi than to Sita.

In "Tales of Women's Suffering: Draupadi and other Amman Goddesses as Role Models for Women," Alleyn Diesel compares Draupadi to Goddesses like Kali and Durga, offers positive connotations of these Goddesses and proposes that drawing strength from them can empower women to fight against injustice: "Throughout the attempted disrobing as well as at other moments in the narrative, Draupadi's actions and responses are reminiscent of other fierce Goddesses: of Kali, in her victorious stance on the battlefield, and of Durga, a female figure recognising and condemning patriarchal forces—represented by male demons—for their denial and destruction of the moral order (*dharma*) of society (*Devi Mahatmyam*). Draupadi's interest in *dharma* and justice challenges women to initiate the critique of male violence and to work for the healing of society" (2002, p. 10). It also posits that feminism in India is not a Western import, but has its roots in the *shakti* cult of Indian mythology according to which goddesses like Durga and Kali are embodiment of strength and power and stand for woman empowerment. Diesel believes that the ancient, indigenous South Indian Amman religion, dominated by female deities especially Draupadi and brought to KwaZulu-Natal by the original Hindu immigrants, offers women empowering role models, encouraging them to challenge patriarchal structures and injustice perpetrated against women. He writes of the fire walking ceremonies held at some traditional Hindu temples in KwaZulu-Natal every year in which hundreds of people walk barefoot and unharmed across a pit of glowing coals to demonstrate their devotion to the Mother Goddess, Draupadi (p. 5). It postulates that the image of Draupadi, Goddess patron of the festival, is to some extent acting as an empowering role model for those women.

Stories are told for teaching:

In conclusion, I would return to where I began. Like Pratibha Ray's *Yajnaseni*, I seek to obliterate the distinction between 'finis' and 'beginning' as 'finis' intimates another beginning. I am optimistic of this new beginning which does not initiate suffering of other Draupadis, but is a prologue to their tale of resistance and empowerment. I would like to close the essay with the hopeful dream of a world where women will not be the queens of the palace of illusions, happiness will not be a flitting vision, and women can no longer be primarily mothers and muses for men, but "we have our own work cut out for us" (Rich, p. 25). I believe, Divakaruni's Draupadi imparts the same message. Her narrative supplements the gaps, lapses, silences, omissions and forgotten parts in men's narratives and reiterates the belief that a woman's story can be candidly transmitted only via a woman to empower women to rule her own world.

Significantly, Draupadi had the realization, “Stories were important. Even when I was a child, I’d realized that they had to be understood and preserved for the future, so that we didn’t make the same mistakes over and over” (p. 270). The act of storytelling is important for the Divakaruni as well as Draupadi since it is not only important for preservation of community memory, but also gives the author as well as her character a voice, lets them break out of the silence they have been conditioned into. Besides, it tends to impress and empower the readers as “stories are told for the teaching.”

Notes:

1. Besides Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni’s *The Palace of Illusions*, some other notable re-visions of the story of Draupadi are Pratibha Ray’s *Yajnaseni*, Saoli Mitra’s *Five Lords Yet None a Protector and Timeless Tales* (Kolkata: Stree, 2004), Shashi Deshpande’s *The Stone Women* (Calcutta: Writers Workshop, 2000), Dr. Chitra Chaturvedi’s Hindi novel *Mahabharati* (New Delhi: Jnanpith Prakashan, 1986), Dr. Dipak Chandra’s Bengali novel *Draupadi Chirontoni* (Kolkata: Dey Books, 1982), and Amreeta Syam’s long poem “Kurukshetra” (Calcutta: Writers Workshop, 1991). Also see, Dharamvir Bharati’s *Andha Yug* (New Delhi: D.K.Publishers, 2004); Girish Karnad’s *Yayati* (New Delhi: Oxford UP, 2007); Adya Rangacharya’s *Sanjivani* (Pune: Mehta Publishing House, 2004).
2. It is pertinent to mention here the observation made by Partha Chatterjee with regard to the third world nineteenth-century Indian autobiographical writings in his book *The Nation and Its Fragments* (1999). He says that men generally modulated their personal situation and experiences into the public sphere such as nation and succeeded in configuring a robustly confident self-identity with the result that their autobiographical writings deserve the status of *carit* and *atmacarit*. He adds that details of daily life lived within the network of families and kinsmen within “home” and those of social history smothered woman’s self so much that their writings were more familiarly known as *smritikatha* or “stories from memory,” failing to deserve the appellation merited by male autobiographical writings (p. 139).
See, Partha Chatterjee. (1999). *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. 1993. New Delhi: Oxford UP.

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