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Love-tales, Gender, History- Collections from the Folklore of Kutch

Abstract

Kutch's geographical uniqueness had apparently carved a distinct identity for its people from the mainland Gujarat. The nature has played an important role in shaping the basic character of its people. The spirit of both women & men seem to be resilient whether they worked side by side in the fields or while women simultaneously handled the traditional household responsibilities. This fact has also been reflected in the numerous love-tales prevailing in and around Kutch. Since in love there exists a partnership between men and women, with one prevailing over the other. However the equal contributions of women in the medieval country societies somewhere in spite of being patriarchal appears to be giving the due space to women too. However the printed sources pretend it otherwise and the tale is complete only when the women emerge submissive. This could be due to the patriarchal influences. The love-tales reflect the dualities and contradictions within a woman's character regarding her individuality and independence. Eventually in many of the love-tales she becomes the victim of brahmanical patriarchy which legalizes the control of her so called 'uncontrolled sexuality'. This control perhaps becomes one of the reasons of their obscure absence from the traditional historical sources. I have categorized the love-tales according to the centrality or the marginality of gender as an evolving category which can be identified as struggle between the natural and normative course of action. This also informs on the choice of historically significant discourse, social relations and the event. The love-tales have been largely collected from the used sources, that is, from the collectors' collection. The details of which have been described in the notes.

Introduction

The paper examines the process by which the discourse of folklore in context with gender to entextualize and recontextualize the oral tradition in Kutch through a discussion of love-tales which is one of the version of folk-tales. Motifs from folk tales, myths, and popular epic poems are being re-appropriated by urban cultural norms— both popular as well as elite —to articulate new identities and subject positions. I selected these love-tales by considering the mode in which orality is inscribed and its obscure time period. The love-tales here in its varied versions attempts to re-constitute oral lore from historical incidents during medieval period, and the other re-inscribes an origin myth that is part of folk ritual into a new genre via the mediation of folklore discourse that is responsible for the first step in entextualizing the myth. This essay concludes by suggesting that love-tales conception of ever-pervading patriarchy gets temporally disrupted only to be re-established later by the folk ballads perhaps being appropriated by the new literary creators of oral lore. It is precisely because folklore's subject matter is supposed to be out of sync with the times that allows for conceptions of culture that are porous enough for innovation.

The realm of folklore can be seen as driven in particular by what the ethnographer Victor Turner (1964) has called 'liminal' moments¹. At such times, people strive to understand their lives in terms of their main relationships and how these processes shape their opportunities to do useful things with their lives. Uncovering or recognizing other possibilities from the mythopoeic or collective imagination can play a crucial role in rejecting oppressive social identity markers and being able to participate in meaningful ways. Folkloric dimensions are not simply imaginative. They link directly with historical events. These performances help to uncover connections between ideology and cultural conflict in power relationships. Typically, the story cycles preserve and transmit spontaneous insight into the norms that limit ideas, behavior and self-clarification; and they can lead to new perspectives.

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Yet, again, it is challenging to try and uncover the folkloric intent. In some country contexts, the present-day story-tellers are women and their audiences are women, and the tales portray the experiences of women, yet transmit the behavior expectations of the dominant patriarchal culture. The same is true when the word 'women' is replaced with men in patriarchal contexts. As an example of the former situation, stories often tell of compliant (good) girls, wicked stepmothers, jealous wives and dangerous (assertive/bad) girls. Here the historical use of the folkloric sphere is to condition the child for a domineered social role. Yet, dreams and aspirations of breaking imposed boundaries persist. In other versions of a story, we see emergent traces of resistance and fissures in the symbolic order.

While writing women's history or history of women, one can focus on a number of aspects to write women back into the mainstream history. This can include a study of dynamics of power relationships between men and women, women and women. It also could mean to discover heroines or make heroines out of some extraordinary women. Essentially it requires to conduct gender² analysis. In short the objective of women's history" is to make visible the invisible". Since there is a paucity of conventional sources to study women's history, thus this can be studied through the histories of mentalities i.e by analyzing ideals, values, mindsets and patterns of intimate personal behaviours. As women's perceptions of society have been left out by male authored histories, hence one medium of analysis could be through the study of varied camouflaged expressions of women that is songs, folktales lullabies etc.

This paper focuses on one such expression that is folktales. Those folktales have been used which center around the most common and yet most undefined human emotion-'love'. These love tales revolving around love - lore become the basis to understand the relationship between men and women and also become suggestive of the relative status viz a viz one another in society. The fundamental feature of the love - lore, transcends the boundaries of space and time and therefore the folktales become popular beyond the place of its origin.³ These love stories are largely products of general experiences and local beliefs of the people. It can be theoretically assumed that these folktales could be genuine creations or reflections of inner feelings, desires, aspirations, expectations, grief and frustrations etc of the Kutchi woman. Kutchi folklore presents a blend of Sindhi, Rajasthani and Gujarati languages and culture because various communities and tribes, which passed through Kutch or made it their homeland, have influenced the Kutchi dialect and its culture. Hence the folktales have certain similarities with those of Sindh, Punjab and Rajasthan.⁴

The love-tales taken here are by and large taken from collection of Dulerai Karani (1896-1989). In the twentieth century, what Jhaverchand Meghani had done for folklore of Saurashtra Dulerai Karani achieved for Kutch. Since Karani was conversant with languages like Sindhi, Urdu, Vraj and Kacchi, he introduced the people to the folklore and folktales of Kutch. His books include Shah Latifano Rasalo; Kachchna Santo Ane Kavio in four parts (1959-64);

Mekran Dada (1960); Kachhni Rasdhar in four parts, Kachhi Kehevato (1930); Kachhnu Lok Sahitya (1965); Kachhi Kathamrit (1970); Kachchi Piraoli (1974); and Kacchi Bal Akhiani (1981) and the least popular one which focuses on the love-lore of Kachch.⁵ In the folklores collected by Dulerai Karani there is coverage a struggle between collateral belief of women and men sometimes questioning the patriarchy, sometimes collaborating with it. The emphasis of the tales is naturally on love which should be speaking of equal partnership between men and women. However the appropriation of literati of the love-tales somewhere ends up undermining the factor of equality in favour of patriarchy. This study finds a pattern visible in every folktale where women eventually submit to the patriarchal norms, but not without a fight. Perhaps this was because of their out of the ordinary/ordinary behavior which earned them their place in the love-tales.

Kutch's geographical uniqueness had apparently carved a distinct identity for its people from the mainland Gujarat.⁶ The nature has played an important role in shaping the basic character of its people. The spirit of both women & men seem to be resilient whether they worked side by side in the fields or while women simultaneously handled the traditional household responsibilities.⁷ This fact has also been reflected in the numerous love-tales prevailing in and around Kutch. Since in love there exists a partnership between men and women, with one prevailing over the other. However the equal contributions of women in the medieval country societies somewhere in spite of being patriarchal appears to be giving the due space to women too. However the printed sources pretend it otherwise and the tale is complete only when the women emerge submissive. This could be due to the patriarchal influences. The love-tales reflect the dualities and contradictions within a woman's character regarding her individuality and independence. Eventually in many of the love-tales she becomes the victim of brahmanical patriarchy which legalizes the control of her so called 'uncontrolled sexuality'.⁸ This control perhaps becomes one of the reasons of their obscure absence from the traditional historical sources. I have categorized the love-tales according to the centrality or the marginality of gender as an evolving category which can be identified as struggle between the natural and normative course of action. This also informs on the choice of historically significant discourse, social relations and the event.

In the first love-tale,⁹ Kapuri (the daughter of a Sanghar chieftain, Sao Sanghar) the central character was physically stronger than men till she did not meet her male match.¹⁰ This was proven through her ability to draw a heavy iron pitcher full of water from a well, which was a show of strength. She used this unique feat to throw an open challenge to her suitors. Kapuri was admired and was viewed in awe by the men of her community and hence they were hesitant to marry her. Sao Sanghar, her father used this unique quality to the advantage of her daughter and turned it into a challenge for her suitors. Karayal Sama¹¹ an expelled thief (prince) from Sindh was able to defeat her and thus they were married. Kapuri a

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tribal princess had to marry a thief which she does not resist to as he is 'better' than her. After losing to a man and settling down with him in blissful domesticity, Kapuri's character loses its centrality and does not find mention in the margins except at the end of the tale.¹² Her character regains centrality with his death, and she is mentioned as a bereaving widow fringing upon insanity.¹³

It was a common practice for men to take more than one wife, it naturally made women apprehensive about their status within the family and the society. The women of the ruling families were commonly seen contending for their son's cause to succeed thereby to maintain their own status after the death of their husbands. However even while their husbands were alive they had to fight to secure a special position in his life. This was also a common practice in Kutch. The following love-tale depicts the above situation. Sodhi Rani the wife of Deda Ranmallji¹⁴ head of a tribe extorts a pledge from her husband to not to resort to polygamy and if he did, she would bequeath him.¹⁵ But a situation does arise when Deda Ranmallji had to protect honour of a woman and thereby had to fight a battle. The cosseted woman had to come under his patronage that completes only with the matrimonial relationship. Sodhi Rani as a true kshtriyani keeps her word and leaves. Deda Ranmallji follows her and tries to explain the situation but she could not turn back on her word, therefore does not return. While on his way back Deda Ranmallji meets his opponents and in battle lays down his life. This causes Sodhi Rani much anguish and she commits sati. Along with her, the second wife also kills herself, as she is left vulnerable from further exploitation. This proves that patriarchy operates in a cryptic fashion pervading the environs of the society. Here both the 'wife' and the 'other woman' suffer.

In the next love-tale, the struggle between 'wife' (Anahaldevi) and the 'other woman' (Nagmati) results in the coup of the 'wife' who was more of a ruler than her husband (Nagvado).¹⁶ Nagmati the daughter of Kansua Bheda (the Kathi chief of Kanmer), was said to be very beautiful and thereby was finding it difficult to find a suitable match. Her father decided on a *swayamvara*¹⁷ to marry her. But before the *swayamvara* could be arranged she falls hopelessly in love Nagvado who was a prince and was already married.¹⁸ She decides to elope with him rather than to face loosing him in the *swayamvara*. The news reaches Anhaldevi, the wife of Nagvado, a skilled rider and an excellent marks-woman.¹⁹ She decided to plan and avenge the betrayal of her husband and fights for her privileges. Upon learning about Anhaldevi's advance, Nagvado lost courage, but Nagmati gave him strength and encouraged him to elope with her. They decided to meet at a chosen hour outside the city. Nagvado escaped and reached the place but Nagmati failed to reach. Anhaldevi used her power to ensure that the gates of the city unbolt only in the morning. Unable to meet Nagmati Nagvado perceived this as a betrayal of Nagmati and in despair took his life. Nagmati finally reached the place to find her lover dead. She was distraught and in grief committed sati. Nagmati as the 'other woman' does not get any amnesty from the society nor had she any right to live

after the death of her lover, therefore had to die. Her death was justified by her courage to commit sati. The culprit Anhaldevi does not get any thrashing from the society for her connivance and instead being the 'wife' her act is justified. She also ruled as a representative of her husband.

The following love-tales discuss the acceptance of the society of the 'other woman' because she was ruling and had considerable power.²⁰ The lead character of the love-tale Mamul succeeded her father to the gadi in the absence of a son. She decided not to get tethered but nonetheless did not want to live a life of a single woman. She considered herself to be intelligent and therefore wanted a partner who would be the same. To gauge the wits of her pursuers, she laid a garden and set up a labyrinth. The one who would solve the labyrinth could become her partner. Rana Menghar solved the labyrinth.²¹ Rana Menghar though physically unattractive was ruler of a kingdom larger than Mamul's and was suitably already married five times. Both Rana Menghar and Mamul preferred to have a liaison rather than to conform to the institution of marriage. The reasons and justifications are not available in the love-tales but one can extrapolate from the given circumstances, of both the characters, that Mamul being the ruler could not physically leave her territory to perform the duties of a wife. Secondly, Rana being already married preferred a live-in relationship. This relationship provided him the thrill of a romantic adventure; an alliance with another ruler and an intelligent company. The couple enjoyed nightly trysts as both of them had their daily responsibilities to perform. The wives of the Rana naturally become resentful of their union, and therefore in the folktales are depicted as trying various means to uncouple the lovers, even it meant for a night. Their connivance succeeded and one night the Rana failed to reach on time. Eventually he discovered the plot that very night and decided to meet Mamul. He rebuked his wives and left to meet his lover. On reaching the palace, he was disheartened to find a man sleeping besides Mamul²² (who was actually Mamul's younger sister in a Man's attire). Instead of seeking any explanation he left. Mamul realized the momentous misunderstanding. She made a hasty departure to his kingdom to 'regain the confidence' of her lover. But she was not allowed to meet him by his wives. Therefore she had to dress up like a merchant to meet him. She explained the misunderstanding to the Rana in form of a narrative, which only Rana could understand. Rana realized his mistake and embraced her. But the embrace proved to be a fatal one for Mamul as the dagger on the belt of the Rana accidentally killed her.²³ The death of Mamul elevates her to the status of an 'extra ordinary' individual, hence she found space in the public memory. The women of the place unfortunately do not meet the same rostrum. It questions the very premise of women being allowed to even exist and act independently on the peripheries of some autonomy. The fact that Mamul was given power through being allowed to rule simply suggests that it was to suit the need of the situation. Her character by the folk bards was allowed to stay unmarried and rather be into a relationship, which did not conform to the limits of the society. She had to pay a price for

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making an attempt to live like a 'man'. Rana Menghar is totally accepted by the society, even when he was already married probably had children, yet was into an improper relationship. He places doubts on Mamul who was completely innocent and had more right to be into a relationship than Rana Sanghar (at least she was not disloyal to anybody). Yet it was Mamul who had to suffer like the 'other woman' and had to go to boundless lengths to clear the misunderstanding. Her being exterminated still does not place any doubt on the Rana who was responsible for her death. It was rather termed as 'sacrifice' of a righteous 'other woman'. This amply portrays that; women in any kind of society are placed at the mercy of the men. Their position depends quiet on the status assigned to them by the patriarchy.

In another love-tale, the central character of Sagai Sanghar gets completely subversive in spite of being strong and at par with 'man'. Sagai Sanghar was endowed with a gift of snake charming, and had controlled all the snakes except one, the Bhujija Nag.²⁴ She used her snake charming expertise to defeat, capture and humiliate men. Whenever any snake charmer would come to her she would capture him and make him her servant. Her younger sister Tagai was equally gifted. Both the sisters were the leaders of the tribe of snake charmers. She vowed to marry, only, someone who would kill the Bhujija Nag, the only snake that she had failed to control.²⁵ The man who could equal her was Bheruo Garudi of Jaisalmer.²⁶ Bheruo Garudi also was intrigued, once he heard of the feat of the women. Therefore he left for Kutch. To test Sagai's capability, he sent four of his hanger-ons. However they ended up as her captives. In spite of being in captivity, his friends sang sagas of their leader, as to how brave Bheruo was? Sagai was curious to learn more about him. To test him she sent her sister Tagai, who ended up getting captured after being defeated by Bheruo Garudi. This enraged Sagai and she hastened to get Tagai free. As soon as she saw Bheruo, characteristically, she fell in love with him, and so did he. The love-tale gives a total make-over to the personality of Sagai, as if she was waiting for love to happen to wake her socially provoked feminine self. Her poise waned; she hid behind her 'purdah' acting 'womanly'. The masculinity in the heroine is ruptured and she assumes a feminine self. Her sister Tagai tried unsuccessfully to revoke Sagai to her earlier self by appealing to her pride and ego. However Sagai had submitted to the social norm and she had become the 'right' woman.

Since the marriage of Sagai and Bheruo was conditioned to killing of Bhujija Nag, so Bheruo embarked in search of Bhujija Nag. The trickery of Bhujija Nag tricked Garudi. He was defeated and killed by the snake- his *gurubhai*.²⁷ During his conversation with Bheruo, Bhujija Nag constantly reprimanded him for falling to a corrupted woman and losing his manhood. This naturally gets substantiated later when the folk-bard puts the blame on Sagai.²⁸ They constantly refer that it was the venom of a woman, which killed Garudi and not that of the snake. Thus women are portrayed as a form of dangerous 'uncontrolled sexuality'. However in another version of the same love-tale the sanctity of Sagai's relationship

with Bheruo Garudi was maintained and she is not reprimanded for being desired. Sagai in this version is awarded the position of sati,²⁹ when she died on the pyre of her lover.

In the love-tale³⁰ Jam Odha, the leader of a pastoral tribe had to save himself from the sexual advances of Minavati, his sister-in-law. She was attracted towards him and persistently made crafty advances. Jam Odha consistently rejected these advances. The dissuaded Minavati got her husband to expel Jam Odha who eagerly left. His hoard of cattle was raided by Dhalura, chief of Sindh, after some time. The focus of the love-tale shifts from Minavati to Hothal Padmini.³¹ Hothal Padmini also the leader of a pastoral tribe, gets robbed of her cattle wealth, by Dhalura chief of Sindh. The distress of loosing all his cattle killed Hothal's father, who before dying extracted an assurance from Hothal Padmini to bring the cattle back and to restore the name and prestige of the family.³² Hothal was exceptionally beautiful and could lure the heart of any man. Her father had trained her exceptionally well militarily. She never trusted men, therefore was usually attired as a man, as Hotho. To avenge her father's death and to bring back her wealth, she set out alone to fight Dhalura.

On her way she came across Jam Odha with his group of armed men. Jam Odha was impressed by the sheer bravery of Hothal (whom she thought was a young man) to carry out such a difficult task alone. He was captivated by his (her) excellent marksmanship and exuberating personality. He offered to help her to retrieve the cattle, thinking her to be a delicate boy, who though was brave, was surely unable to carry such a task. Hothal since also had taken a liking for the Jam, agreed to take help. In a combined expedition they defeated Dhalura. They retrieved their cattle and move in separate ways, towards their respective provinces. The Jam was unable to forget Hotho (Hothal) and decided to follow him (her). He saw Hothal's horse standing near the bank of a river. He went there, to find her bathing. He was completely overwhelmed by her beauty, so much so, that he fainted.³³ When he came around he asked her to marry him. Hothal very much in love agreed to be his wife, but with a condition that he would not reveal her true identity throughout his life. She feared that if other men find out about their marriage, as apparently she had many suitors, they might do some harm to him. After a blissful married life, in which she bore him two sons, the Jam, in a drunken state, revealed her identity to some of his friends. Though her fears were unfounded and nothing happened to her and the Jam yet Hothal decided to leave him, true to her word. However she left her children in care of the Jam. In another version, she was a fairy and she could live on land only till no one knew of her true identity. After much pleading on the part of the Jam, she agreed to come back for their sons' marriages. It is also believed that she had moved out to mainland Gujarat and carved a small independent principality. Many years later, as she had promised, she returned for the marriages of her sons. The daughter-in-laws then successfully, persuaded her to stay forever.

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As a 'wife' Hothal Padmini gained substantial position in the love-tale. At times she even came across stronger than her counterpart 'man' and maintained that position throughout the love-tale. She subscribed to the norms of the society on her own terms. She married Jam Odho with her own conditions and willingly gave up her claim to the leadership of her tribe. She did not flaunt her beauty and also did not consider it to be an asset. Rather she insisted on hiding it to save her husband. Her survival in the story hinged upon adhering to the patriarchy. Yet while leaving her husband she was not scared how she would cope without him. She simply left him when she found out that she could not trust him. The love-tale actually gave her the freedom to survive without a 'man' and be independent. Jam Odho raised their two children and did not appear to take another wife, thereby maintaining the centrality of the character in favour of the 'woman'.

The other version is that of Hothalia Hill, wherein is the cave of Hothal Padmini, a famous character in local legend. She, when her father was dying and her brothers flinched, vowed to avenge him on his enemy Bamanio Badshah (Jam Bamanio). She assumed man's dress and armour and met with a Rajput called Odha, who was also marching against Bamanio. Odha had been banished from his country of Kachh by his brother Tamachi on a false complaint from his wife Minaldevi that Odha had outraged her modesty, the truth being that he had refused her advances.

In this strait he sought shelter -with his cousin Visalde Vaghela of Wadhwan~ and observed that Visalde mingled dust with his food, and on enquiring the reason, was told that it was because of the wrongs he had suffered from Bamanio Badshah. Odha and Hothal performed many exploits together, and finally one day when Hothal was bathing alone in a tank, Odha accidentally went there and perceived that she was a woman. Then Odha married Hothal, and he resided in this cave in the hill now called after her name. Here she bore him two sons, named Jakhro and Jesa¹.

After twelve or fourteen years spent thus Odha felt home-sick and begged Hothal to accompany him thither. She said, It is not , advisable that we should go thither, nevertheless if you wish it I will accompany you on condition that you will never divulge that I am Hothal Padmani." He promised her, and they returned to his village. Her sons were so brave and gallant that they slew a lion who had much annoyed the village. The villagers then enquired who his wife was to have born such gallant sons. Odha at first hesitated, but finally when pressed confessed that she was Hothal Padmani. When he returned home Hothal reproached him for what he had done, and taking Jesal with her departed to her cave. Odha begged her to stay, but she refused, but promised to return on Jakhro's wedding day, if he would light a piece of incense which she gave him, and think of her. When Jakhro was married, he lighted the incense, and immediately Hothal appeared bringing with her son Jesal. Jesal was married also at the same time as Jakhro, and after "the marriage Hothal departed alone for the cave. Odha followed her at a little distance, until she entered the cave, but when he arrived there

he (found her not, and it is conjectured that she was an Apsara who had displeased Indra, and had therefore been banished from Swarga until she should have taken. on her human incarnation and married a mortal. Now that her sons were married, her earthly mission was accomplished, and she was caught up to heaven. Odha remained till his death seeking and lamenting for Hothal. Her cave is called Hothal Padmani's cave to this date and the hill also is called the Hothalio.

The above love-tales show certain visible patterns. The women eventually had to submit to the patriarchal pressures but not after struggle. Eventually their character does loose centrality at some point or the other in favour of men. Almost all the women in the love-tales are the ones who find it difficult to find a suitable match. Therefore there were conditional marriages/relationships in which the girl or her father throws pre-requisite challenges to men to find 'appropriate match'. For example, killing the Bhujiya Nag, solving the camouflaged maze and lifting a very heavy, water-filled- iron pitcher. In all the cases the men were to be superior to the women, so that women could get acceptance from the society. The women did not always confer to the laid rules of the patriarchy, and for that they had to pay in the end.

When one reads between the lines, certain unmarked domains come to light in all the love-tales. For example in the love-tale of Sodhi Rani and Deda Ranmallajl, the condition of Sodhi Rani to leave if he married again, is a kind of a challenge, which is a rejection of polygamy. Polygamy was an accepted fact earlier and it is believed that most women accepted it as their fate. Through her, the love-tale entails a strong reaction against patriarchy. Similarly Hothal Padmini also abide by her pledge and she goes even a step further, by leaving behind, her husband, along with her two sons, which the modern Indian society today does not accept. Surprisingly the folk-bards are silent. In both the love-tales, as they are neither degrading or justifying their abandonment.

Nagmati the central 'feminine character' had crossed the theoretical, marriageable age of sixteen,³⁴ yet her beauty allowed her to 'choose'. She forces Nagvado to flee and shows strength usually ascribed to the male counterparts. The wife, Anhaldevi another central 'masculine character', in the same love-tale is also portrayed equally strongly. She possesses strong attributes that easily overshadows the weak character of her husband. She not only separates the lovers permanently but benefits major gains as well with the death of her husband. Nagmati the one more vulnerable to societal attack had to endure them. Therefore her relationship gets consecrated only after her death, in spite of her being the 'other woman', which the society usually despises.

Mamul is depicted as being an able ruler. She prefers Rana Menghar as her lover and not as her husband. There is another deviation in the form of the rejection of the institution of marriage. Nevertheless, at the same time, her lover, who has five wives, questions the infidelity of Mamul. The folk-bards justify Menghars stand by Mamul's suicide (in the Rajasthani love-tale) and by accidental death (in

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the Kutchi version). Once again patriarchy restores itself and gains an upper hand.³⁵

The above love-tales are of upper castes or clans mostly the warrior class. Historically their lineages can be traced to the actual families of the clans and tribes. For example, Sanghars³⁶ came to Kutch from the neighborhood of Byzantine.³⁷ They were basically, a pastoral community and considered themselves to be the descendent of Rajputs.³⁸ In the love-tale of Kapuri Sanghar and Karayal Sama, Dulerai Karani supports their claim of being of upper status by specifying that there was no objection on marriages between Rajputs and Sanghars.³⁹ Secondly, Mamul is portrayed as the daughter of Viram Chavada. Chavadas were one of the famous dynasties of Gujarat that established in the eastern part of Kutch.⁴⁰ Mamul finds a place in the love-tale, but she does not figure anywhere in the history of Kutch. Sodhi Rani belongs to the Rajput dynasty of Sodha of Tharkarkar.⁴¹ Nagmati belongs to Kathi tribe of Rajputs who derive their ancestry from Samma Rajputs. Their existence can be traced around fifth to eleventh centuries.⁴² Hothal Padmini was believed to be an apsara⁴³ but in her human forms, the Nagmara Rajputs raised her.⁴⁴ Yet their mention cannot be found in any of the written records. These love-tales reveal the attributes of women, their importance in the role of the history of the place, where they were born and continue to be told. A sincere attempt has been made to make visible the invisible and to reconstruct the visible into writing them back into the mainstream history.

Notes

1. Turner Victor (1982): 17
2. Note: A Social construct.
3. Govardhan Sharma and Bhavana Mehta: 87
4. Ram Singh Ratho: 259
5. Rajkumar Hans: 184 "The Role of Legends, Memories and Folk Culture in the making of People's History of Gujarat" in Popular Literature and Pre-Modern Societies in South Asia edited by Surinder S Singh & Ishwar Dayal Gaur, Pearson-Longman: Delhi, 2008
6. J.M.Campbell: 259
7. R.E. Enthoven: 22-25
8. Gail Omvedt
9. Note - The Origin of the Folktale can be traced from 11-13 Century.
10. Dulerai Karani: 70 - 97
11. Note-Possibilities are there that he might have been assigned a higher status. He was believed to be born of Narayan Sama, the Chief of Sama tribe in Sindh. The legend prevails that Narayan Sama in hope of a blessing for a son approaches a Sadhu, who tells him to pick a mango from a tree. The Chief, in greed, brought one mango and stole the other. The saint realized this and he cursed the son to be a thief.
12. <http://newsvizar.blogspot.in/2010/09/blog-post.html>
13. Note-In Kutchi *kafi*, the sadness of Kapuri is sung in the *rag* Karayal.
14. Dulerai Karani: 145-159.
15. Note-The Daughter of Sanghar Vadher.
16. Dulerai Karani: 160 - 182.
17. Note-A condition has to be fulfilled by various suitors; the one who is able to do so gets woman's hand for marriage.
18. Note-It is believed that Nagvodo's father being childless had undergone a penance. Nagdevta decided to be himself born to him and therefore he is known as Nagvado.

19. Note-But surprisingly after Nagvado leaves, there is nothing mentioned about Anhaldevi's reactions in the sense of grief.
20. Dulerai Karani: 137 - 144.
21. Note-He is believed to have bribed the maid to learn the way
22. Note-They were playing a game of Raja and Rani, and she was dressed as a Raja.
23. Note-There are two versions in this folktale in one version, Mamul dresses up as a merchant to reach the Rana. In both the versions Mamul dies.
24. Note-In another version, Bhujija Nag was responsible for the death of Sagai's father.
25. Chandulal Shukl: 49
26. Note-He had been born by the blessings of a *yogi*, to Morivji of Jaislmer.
27. Note-Bhujija Nag was the disciple of the same *yogi* with whose blessings Bheruo was born.
28. Chandulal Shukl: 51
29. Dulerai Karani: 20
30. Ram Singh Rathod: 21.
31. Note- Its believed that she was a fairy who had been born on earth as a result of curse of Indra. Dulerai Karani: 108
32. Note-Hothal was the only sister of her two brothers.
33. Dulerai Karani: 115
34. Dulerai Karani: 162
35. Watson: 154-155
36. Rushbrook Williams: 83
37. Bombay Presidency Gazetteer: 39
38. Ram Singh Rathod: 123
39. Dulerai Karani: 82
40. Rushbrook Williams: 69
41. Dulerai Karani: 149
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