TRAVERSING THE COLONIAL SCRIPTORIUM: A POSTCOLONIAL CRITIQUE OF ORIENTAL FOLKTALES AND LEGENDS

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: Traversing the Colonial Scriptorium: A Postcolonial Critique of Oriental Folktales and Legends

The study explores the construction of the European cultural imaginary of the Orient in the colonial folkloristics projected by the selected British functionaries who collected, translated, and published the indigenous folktales and legends of Punjab during the British colonial era. The study delineates how the production of the colonial discourse about the Punjabi Orient is an attempt to define and perpetuate its otherness through targeted marginalization. Otherness can be unfolded by rethinking and reconstructing the manners appropriated and used by the colonial masters to misrepresent, repress, omit, and stereotype the colonized. The study, through the textual analyses of the selected folktales and legends from Richard Carnac Temple's *The Legends of the Panjab (Vol I, II, & III)* and Charles Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Punjab*, has investigated the contribution of the colonial folk narratives in reinforcing the orientalized exotic images of the Punjab and its inhabitants via circulation among European readers, focusing too strongly on the difference. The study employs an eclectic approach consisting of multiple postcolonial perspectives informed by the theoretical insights of Peter van der Veer on syncretism and Edward Said's framework on Orientalism. It also invokes Spivak's theorization of epistemic violence to showcase the coloniality of the texts under discussion. The researcher focuses on the colonial construction of oriental syncretic saints through the analyses of the figures of Puran Bhagat and Sakhi Sarwar. Moreover, the researcher investigates how the colonial narratives construct and propagate the saint-like oriental lovers to orientalize and marginalize the indigenous other through the romantic tales of Hir and Ranjha, Sassi and Punnun, and Mirza and Sahiban. These colonial folk narratives have underscored an ambiguously syncretic religious identity of the Orient in Punjab. To validate this viewpoint, the researcher has used the native versions of a few similar folk narratives to underline the discourse of difference vis-à-vis the colonial assertions. It is envisaged that the study will inspire certain future research projects illustrating the production of the Orient in different indigenous languages by colonial folklorists.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my **FAMILY**.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The chapter introduces the context of the study of the collection, translation, and publication of the folktales and legends during the British colonial rule in the Sub-continent. It also explicates the need to critically study the colonial production of these genres from the postcolonial theoretical perspectives. Hence, it establishes the need for a critical inquiry into these narratives in the current postcolonial studies. It also describes the overall plan of the research project by unveiling the focus, the controlling research questions, and the significance of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

India's fertility in the field of folktales and legends continues to attract the Western eye; Western scholarship has made India a locus of their attention in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Stith Thompson expounded his Indianist theory of the origins of folktales (Thompson 375-88), whereas Richard Dorson propounded the solar theory about the origins of myths (Dorson 393-416). The postulation of a common Indo-European parent speech being the source of origin of the majority of the European and Western Asian Languages also came under discussion. Regardless of the outdatedness of these theories about India, its contribution to the international repository of folktales and legends remains unchallenged. Since the arrival of the earlier Britishers (1757) and after their subsequent transformation from traders to colonizers, their administrators and missionaries have claimed to have vastly documented the cultural richness of Indian territories during their service and stay. One should always remember that their main objective was not the collection and preservation of the folktales and legends but the performance of their civil and religious duties. The anthologization was mostly triggered by certain colonial and potential Orientalist "concerns".

The colonization by the East India Company started in 1757 and lasted till 1858 practically. Along with the Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the annexation of several other provinces, such as a few parts of Punjab, Orissa, Asam, Bihar, Oudh, some parts of

Burma, Maratha provinces, and multiple small states, took place during this period. It provided the British with an opportunity to colonize almost the whole of India within the time of a century. The early years of the Company rules saw the influx of Europeans who came to India to exploit the cornucopia of this El Dorado. Governor-General (1798-1805) Lord Wellesley was the first to start the reforms in the bureaucracy of East Indian Company as he removed all native officials to replace them with the enormously privileged Englishmen who enjoyed a great superiority over the Indians forming, in Stuart Mill's words "the most complete despotism that possibly exists in a country like this" (qtd. in Bose 32).

Nonetheless, when Warren Hastings assumed the charge of the Governor-General of Bengal in 1772, being himself a linguist and a cultural scholar, he appointed William Jones, Henry Colebrooke, and Charles Wilkins to study the Sanskrit language. Subsequently, William Jones became the founder of an institution of oriental research with the formation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. He also translated *Sakuntala*, regarded as the magnum opus of Kalidas. Meanwhile, Charles Wilkins translated the famous Hindu religious text, *Bhagavad Gita*. Despite the foundation of the Muslim Madrasah College at Calcutta, the Muslim community was diligently checked to enter the civil services because of being the immediate past rulers of India. The policy even became registered after the failure of the War of Independence in 1857, in which Muslims played the leading role against the British colonizers (Islam 11). On the other hand, a Sanskrit college was conferred at Benaras, and certain Hindu scholars were bestowed with monetary stipends at the institutions at Poona and Nadia. The overall intellectual atmosphere of India was conditioned by the advancement of English education, the press, and the missionaries' preaching.

Another major development took place when Bentinck – Governor of Fort William (1828 to 1834) and the First Governor General of India (1834-1835) - decided "to substitute English for Persian as the official language" and considering the "position of the language", he manifested it to be a "decision of incalculable importance" (Spear 261). The year 1835 saw English becoming the medium of education in India, acceding to Thomas Babington Macaulay's suggestions (Thompson and Garrat 315). After the War of Independence (1857), the British became more careful and concentrated on ruling

India as though the powers of the Council of India British Crown took charge from the East India Company.

Moreover, after the War of Independence in 1857, to define the uniqueness of Indian civilization, the British government took various measures. “This definition included the development of an apparatus for the study of Indian languages and texts, which had the effect of standardizing and making authoritative, not only for Europeans but for Indians themselves, what were thought to be the “classics” of Indian thought and literature.” The history of India was also being revisited “through the encouragement of the production of school books”; thereupon, “Indians began to write history in the European model, often borrowing European ideas about the past of India.” The archaeological survey of 1860 empowered the Europeans to decide “what were the great mountains of India, which monuments were fit for preservation or description as a part of Indian “heritage”. Ethnographic survey and census operations described “the peoples and cultures of India” to “make them available in monographs, photographs and through statistical tabulations not only to their officials but to social scientists so that India could be part of the laboratory of mankind.” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 182-183).

British condescended to the Indian “arts and crafts” and considered them to be a victim of continuous decline and deterioration vis-à-vis Western advancement; therefore, they asserted “their arts and crafts had to be collected, preserved and placed in a museum” (182-183). British also established many art schools “where Indians could be taught how to produce sculptures, paintings, and craft products, Indian in content but appealing and acceptable to Western tastes” (182-183). Also, in the field of architecture, buildings were built in the European style but loaded with the “Oriental” decorative motifs.” Moreover, “The imperial government established committees to search for and preserve Sanskrit, Persian and vernacular language manuscripts. Educated Indians increasingly were to learn about their own culture through the mediation of European ideas and scholarship.” It tends to mean “The British rulers were increasingly defining what was Indian in an official and ‘objective’ sense” (182-183). A new India was being designed and “The reified and objectified vision of India, its life, thought, sociology and history were to be brought together to celebrate the completion of the political constitution of India, through the establishment of Victoria as empress in India” (182-183).

Consequently, an entire archive of European texts was established and circulated, subsequently constituting a collective unconsciousness of Europe, i.e., the cultural imaginary of the Europeans. This cultural imaginary is a compendium of various stereotypical images of the non-Europeans portrayed and carried forward by a multitude of literary, anthropological, historical, and many other texts from different fields of studies produced by Westerners. Furthermore, these texts strengthen the colonial cause and enable the colonizers to establish and maintain their political and economic control over the non-Europeans. The images of decadent (India), empty (Australia and Canada), dark (Africa), and El Dorado (South America) were widely accepted by Westerners in the past.

The analysis of the frame through which one sees, experiences, and comprehends the world reveals the discursiveness of one's worldview. Pramod K. Nayar avers that the study of colonial discourse is "the study of the various kinds of representations through which the Europeans described, catalogued, categorized, imagined and talked about Asians or Africans." He adds that such a study "examines common themes, ideas, stereotypes, and such constructions of the non-Europeans in Europeans texts" (Nayar 82). Colonial discourse greatly impacts the "management of racialized imperial relations" (82). He does not view the discourses as mere "reportage or fictions of mind", but he posits that they "define and constitute the reality of that person or event for the viewer, listener, and reader" (82). Therefore, discourse cannot be taken for granted as reality since it is "the only means of accessing the reality" (82).

The troping of the Orient and Oriental as the "undiscovered, mysterious, the ruined civilization, a vast and varied culture, the morally degenerate and the childlike figure" constitutes a reasonable proportion of the writings of English writers before and during the colonial era. Such representation is excessively traceable in the available corpus comprising the colonial enterprises of discoveries, domination, renovation, administration, conquests, etc. (2). Said's Orientalism informs that the production of knowledge about the "Orient" and its dissemination in Europe was accompanied by the colonial power. It created a collective imperial gaze, which, in return, helped in the consolidation and functioning of colonial power (Loomba 86). The representation of non-European culture was also a form of colonial thinking. Said explicated how different

literary, anthropological, historical, and several other texts propagated the same politics and ideology as those that spurred the military and economic endeavors (Nayar 3).

Following a similar pattern, the Europeans targeted India, its people and culture as objects and generated information, documentation, and representations, i.e., discourse. Hence, the one-way flow of the colonial discourse made India a field of study for the European colonizer. As a corollary, different stereotypes propagating myriads of myths, beliefs, and prejudices were produced, which were even accepted by the natives without questioning their authority and objectivity. Under the mask of the Civilizing Mission of the Empire, scientific observations, and philanthropy, these representations and stereotypes helped the Europeans establish and consolidate their power over the indigenous people (80).

Colonial regimes relied on the written text but found that they had to work with predominantly oral cultures in many of their occupied territories. Familiarising imperial functionaries with local history and culture meant transcribing and translating orally transmitted knowledge. Moreover, the British Empire comprised the predominantly oral societies of Asia, Australia, Africa, and the Caribbean. British derived "all knowledge about these continents and people" from "oral sources, and within this, the collections of folktales were a special category" (Naithani 88). Naithani identifies two major purposes behind this collection, i.e., "of creating knowledge for scholars and administrators in England, and of entertaining the general public" (88). The process was entirely unimaginable without translation. Its value and the changes caused by it were interlinked with the translation. Naithani argues, "Indeed, it is a unique case of translation – where the translated text was more important than the original" because "none of the colonial collectors kept the manuscript in the vernacular languages (88). The status of English texts has gained even more significance due to this absence" (88).

Clouston argues, "it has been justly remarked that the literature of a nation furnished the best guide to researches into its character, manners, and opinions; and no department of literature contains a more ample store of data in this respect than the light and popular part consisting of tales, romances, and dramatic pieces". He continues to observe "the lighter literature of medieval Europe affords us an insight into customs, manners, and superstitions which have long passed away; but in "the unchanging East", the literature of the Asiatic races, produced at the same period, continues to reflect the

sentiments and habits of the Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims at the present day" (Clouston v).

1.2 Folklore

Folklore is an umbrella term that subsumes many different sub-categories under it. Folk literature is one of them. It comprises two types of activities – what the folk do and what the folk say traditionally. It embeds the concept of tradition. In general, the myths, traditional beliefs, customs, practices, and tales of people spread informally, often orally, are folklore. Nonetheless, nowadays, with the courtesy of modern technology, several other media have revolutionized the process of their dissemination. It developed as a proper field of study in the 19th century. Earlier, it was taken to be a component of the ideology.

1.2.1 Folktale

Folktale is one of the most important categories of oral tradition. To comprehend the term "folktale", the following set of definitions can prove helpful as it contains multiple perspectives regarding folktales by several scholars of folktales from different parts of the world. Linda Degh opines

> Like novels and short stories, their sophisticated counterparts, folktales are told primarily for entertainment, although they may have secondary purposes. They are believed to be fictitious and are cited as lies by the storytellers and commentators who mean the tales are the creation of human fantasy. (qtd. in Dorson 75)

Bascom states, "Folktales are prose narratives which are regarded as fiction. They are not considered as dogma or history, they may or may not have happened, and they are not to be taken seriously" (Bascom 4). Stith Thompson asserts, "As we use the term folktale, we usually mean *marchen* and eliminate myths, sagen, fables. We mean prose fiction preserving its life primarily orally. We mean oral fiction" (Thompson 3-4). Folktales constitute an indispensable part of the oral tradition of narrative prose in the genre of folk literature. The creative sensibility in the moments of high ecstasy produces folk literature, and the oral tradition functions to preserve, adapt, and disseminate it. In this way, an essential segment of folklore is created and propagated. Folk literature

pertains to the common people of the society. It underlies their indigenous feelings, sentiments, and thoughts in a simple, humble, and native manner (Dorson 59).

It voices people's experiences and allows them to register their voices since time immemorial. People have used it to explore the metaphysics of the world and question the nature of human beings and their social values. Folktales keep their deep roots in these values as the individual and group emotionality condition them. They are cogent, easy to comprehend and remember, and engaging and entertaining. They do not have a fixed form in orality. With the continual renditions, they differ, merge, and blend; nevertheless, they are stiffened when penned down (59). In European scholarship of folklore, folktales find a significant place. They are studied with serious literary attention. The French authors with moral proclivities wrote them to articulate and propagate their versions of morality in the 18th century. Germans also took the task, and writers like Mausus published *Volksmarchen* and Wieland authored epics in fairy tales. Goethe also liked to pen down dreamlike supernatural writings.

The Romantics took folktale more seriously and made it a part of the poetical canon. They majorly benefitted from the work of the Grimm Brothers, first published in 1812. It paved the way for the onslaught of the plethora of folktales in European scholarship. Many researchers have attempted to explore the structural formation and the historical development of the genre of folktales along with their route of transmission and diffusion. The origin of the folktales has remained a question ever since; however, one may find only hypotheses as answers without any authentic generalization (Luthi 1).

1.2.2 Legend

James Frazer inscribes

> By legends, I understand traditions, whether oral or written, which relate the fortunes of real people in the past, or which describe events, not necessarily human, that are said to have occurred at real places. Such legends contain a mixture of truth and falsehood, for were they wholly true; they would not be legends but histories. The proportion of truth and falsehood naturally varies in different legends; generally, perhaps, falsehood predominates, at least in details, and the element of the marvellous or the miraculous often, though not always, enters largely into them." (Frazer xxix)

Linda Degh says, “While the folktale hero is blindly guided by advice and tasks, the man in the legend acts according to his initiative and satisfies his hunger for acquiring knowledge about the unknown” (Degh 42). Dorson argues that legends or folktales are one of the most popular forms of folklore, forming a part of oral tradition. The folktales and legends are the carriers of the worldviews of a particular society, which distinguish them from the rest of the world and designate them with a peculiar cultural distinctiveness. A worldview “from the inside-out rather than from the outside-in” and an “autobiographical ethnography” of society, such are the observations of Alan Dundes on the subject of folklore. The folktales and legends of the South Asian region collected and disseminated during the colonial era demand a comprehensive study of the tradition of folktales so that its ideologically embedded narratives may be analyzed and situated in modern postcolonial studies (Dundes 57).

Notwithstanding the authors' primitiveness and anonymity, folktales and legends have remained of much importance to the literary circles, for they showcase a variety of cultural constructions informing the posterity about the origin, development, and culmination of certain societies through simple oral or written narratives. The folktales are also the bearers of many customs, traditions, norms, rituals, rites, and other miscellaneous practices that also communicate the underlying ideologies of civilization. The undercurrents of these ideologies surreptitiously construct significant social, political, religious, and gender constructs that bring forth some archetypes, resulting in the setting of a particular hierarchal order in society.

1.3 (Post)colonialism

Elaborating on the difference between colonialism and imperialism as offered by Said, Ashcroft et al. note that the term ““imperialism” means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory and the term “colonialism, which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory” (qtd in Ashcroft et al. 40). To demarcate a line between colonial and postcolonial eras, Carl Olson writes, “colonialism was a time of subjugation by western political powers, whereas postcolonialism is a period during which those formally subjugated critically respond to their trails” (Olson 317). Robert Young asserts that postcoloniality concerns the “intellectual and cultural traditions developed outside the west constitute a body of knowledge that can be deployed to great

effect against the political and cultural hegemony of the west" (Young 65). Furthermore, Spivak distinguishes between colonialism and neocolonialism by saying that colonialism is the creation of the Europeans between the eighteenth century and the twentieth century, whereas neocolonialism represents a dominant political, economic, and cultural development that took place in the mid of the twentieth century as a result of the dissolution of the territorial empires (Spivak 172).

Postcolonialism "deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and society" (Ashcroft et al. 168). Historians are concerned with its chronological meaning and regard it as "the post-independence period" (168). The literary critics after the 1970s used the term to note "the various cultural effects of colonization", and subsequently, the term has been "widely used to signify the political, linguistic and cultural experience of societies that were former European colonies" (168). To elucidate the use of the term, he argues,

> "'Post-colonialism/ postcolonialism'" is now used in wide and diverse ways to include the study and analysis of European territorial conquests, the various institutions of European colonialism, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of subject construction in colonial discourse and the resistance of those subjects, and, most importantly, perhaps, the differing responses to such incursions and their contemporary colonial legacies in both pre- and post-independence nations and communities. (169)

Ashcroft also provides a working definition of postcolonial reading as "A way of reading and rereading texts of both metropolitan and colonial cultures to draw deliberate attention to the profound and inescapable effects of colonization on literary production; anthropological accounts; historical records; administrative and scientific writing" (173). Robert Young argues that "postcolonialism" questions the" Western Knowledge formations" and "The postcolonial has always been concerned with interrogating the interrelated histories of violence, domination, inequality, and injustice (Young 20). He continues, "postcolonial is in many ways" pertains to "the continuing projection of past conflicts into the experience of the present, the insistent persistence of the afterimage of historical memory" (21).

1.3.1 Postcolonial Discourse - Orientalism and Foucauldian Assertions

In Foucauldian stance, “a discourse is a strongly bounded area of social knowledge, a system of statements within which the world can be known” (qtd in Ashcroft et al. 40). To give a comprehensive definition of colonial discourse is almost an unfruitful effort because of its unwieldy scope as Robert Young also notes a gap in the field by writing that it “has never been fully theorized” (Young 385). Nevertheless, he offers an elaboration on the nature and scope of the analysis of colonial discourse. He avers that the study of “colonial discourse examines linguistic evidence, like most forms of history, but it is primarily concerned with analysing the forms of representation, how they are structured, what assumption for example of ethno – or eurocentrism – they contain” and also “what western ideologies they project” (390). Young also appreciates Said’s development of “Orientalist discourse” because “that operates at the level of representation, and criticizes it on the grounds of the misrepresentation of the real in a hegemonic power/knowledge structure” (391). About the postcolonial discourse and criticism, Homi K. Bhabha argues that they emerge from the past colonial context and testimony of the Third World countries and the postcolonialists “formulate their critical revisions around issues of cultural difference, social authority, and political discrimination in order to reveal the antagonistic and ambivalent moments within the ‘rationalization’ of modernity” (Bhabha 6).

Said acknowledges the instrumentality of the colonial discourse as he argues that the construct of “Hindu” or “Muslim” is the intellectual creation and a mental and social construct of the Western scholars constructed through the operation of Orientalism (Said 5). To comprehend the nature of power and text, Said prescribes Michel Foucault’s works. Said avers that in Foucault’s notion of text, a book tends to assume greater authority and utility over time than the actual phenomenon it allegedly describes (Said 93). It produces a crisis for the people who insist that readers happen to be shaped according to what they have read. Therefore, Said regards the texts to be the instruments of power. Hence, in the colonial context, with the development of Orientalism, the colonial discourse produced through the texts established the hegemony of the Western powers. Furthermore, it promoted an unequal relationship between the oppressed Orient and unfortunate colonized and the Western political powers as the oppressors and

colonizers. Moreover, Said asserts, “Texts incorporate discourse, sometimes violently” (Said 47).

Not only does Said shape his understanding from Foucault’s notion of text, but he also borrows his understanding of discourse from Foucault. Foucault’s discourse concentrates on the discursiveness of knowledge. It means that discourse concerns social consciousness and social subjects, which are the creations of ideologies. These ideologies are embedded in class relations and economic positions. According to Foucault, this process occurs through circulating power, which tends to shape the social subjects by specific means such as regulation, construction, and exclusion. Such forms of knowledge control what can be said and what cannot be said (Foucault 21-39).

Said continues to adopt another assertion of Michel Foucault as he accedes to the proposition that discourse always involves some violence. It means that discourse is strong enough to impose its linguistic order on the world. Therefore, according to Said, Orientalism is one of the forms of discourse that, in an attempt to govern it, represents a type of Western projection of the Orient (Said 95). To accentuate the significance of understanding the discourse, Edward Said argues that the late eighteenth century can roughly taken as the beginning point of “Orientalism”, and it “can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient” (Said 3). When Said talks about dealing, he means to say such as “authorizing views of it”, “making statements about it”, “describing it”, “settling it”, “teaching it”, and “ruling over it” (3). Hence, Orientalism emerged as a style of the West to restructure, dominate, and have authority vis-à-vis the Orient. Said also acknowledges the utility of the “notion of discourse” proposed by Michel Foucault in “*Discipline and Punish*” and “*The Archaeology of Knowledge*” (3). Said continues to inform us about his “contention” that failure to examine “Orientalism as discourse” results in the inability to understand the “enormously systematic” Western discipline of the European culture of managing and even producing the Orient in the fields of politics, sociology, military, ideology, science, and even imagination in the era of post-Englightenment (3).

1.4 The Land of Punjab – An Overview

The land of Punjab, also known to be the “Gateway of India,” had a palpable political and cultural significance since the time ancient. It has been popular with

different names in the annals of history. Etymologically, the word Punjab has been coined by combining two Persian words, i.e., *panj* meaning "five", and *aab* meaning "water". The reason behind calling it Punjab is the cohort of five rivers flowing through its fertile lands. The names of these rivers are Chenab, Ravi, Jhelum, Sutlej, and Beas. The origin of these rivers is the mountains of the Himalayas. The *Rigveda* names this land *Sapt-Sandhu,* meaning the "land of seven rivers" - Chenab, Ravi, Jhelum, Sutlej, Beas, Sindhu and Saraswati. The epics of *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana,* and the *Puranas* document it as *Panchand*. The Greeks documented its name as *Pentopotamia,* which had the same meaning as "land of five rivers". One of its names was also Taki, given to it after the popular tribe of *Tak* that lived here (Ghai 31).

During medieval times, the name of the "Province of Lahore" was given to a big part of this land, whereas during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, it was known as the "Lahore Kingdom". When the British colonized it in 1849, they named it the "Punjab Province" (Chand 184). This period is regarded as the British Period in the history of Punjab. Under British rule, there were two types of territories in Punjab. British Crown occupied one, and the other was under the possession and control of the Native Chiefs of the Punjab. British divided the Punjab into five divisions. The names of the divisions were Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, Jullundhur and Ambala. For better administration, these five divisions were divided into twenty-nine districts. The number of Native States that grouped and had direct political relations with the British Government was nineteen. There were thirteen other princely states that had political relations, through the Agent to the Governor General, with the Government of India (Saini 368).

The British administration separated some of its parts in the north-western areas and formed a new "North-West Frontier Province" in 1901. Delhi was also detached from it in 1911, and finally, as a corollary of the partition of the sub-continent in 1947, it was divided into two parts. West Punjab became a part of Pakistan and the East Punjab of India. During the British period, Punjab had three major religious communities. The total population of Punjab in 1901 was 26,842,611. The Muslims constituted the majority, with 49.61% of the population. Hindus formed 41.25% of the total population, and Sikhs were 8.63% of the total population (Mittal 13-14). The terrain of Punjab served to be a friendly site for developing cultural, religious, literary,

philosophical, and economic growth. Islam flourished in Punjab when Muslims occupied it during the middle ages. Punjab is also the birthplace of Sikhism.

When missionaries entered India, they exhibited full-fledged devotion to propagate Christianity. To fulfill their objectives, they attacked Indian society on purpose and represented the socio-religious institutions of India as primitive and false (Majumdar 180). The proselytization alarmed the Indians, and they feared that the missionary might engulf the entire India (Chand 179). It was the time when Indians also felt concerned and initiated the great Indian Renaissance during the middle of the nineteenth century. Among these movements, the Aligarh Movement, Arya Samaj, and Singh Saba are worth mentioning here. On the other hand, the British Government was also profoundly interested in detailing Christianity as they found the "Pathans" and "Sikhs" communities capable of revolting at any time in Punjab. "Pathans" were centred at "Pishore" and the "Sikhs" at "Majha". British Raj sensed that if they took over these areas, they would gain control over entire Punjab (Letters of Queen Victoria pp. 68-69).

1.5 Punjabi *Qissa* and the Scriptorium of Colonial Folkloristics

The genre of Punjabi *Qissa* can be traced back to the pre-modern Punjab, and it is one of the most important literary contributions. It is because of the genre of *qissa* that a poet like Waris Shah gained equal acceptance and popularity in the sub-continent – India and Pakistan. Johal notes that because of the popularity of the genre, the bards sang the poetic versions of these stories written down in Qadir Yar's *Puran Bhagat* and Hasham Shah's *Sassi and Punnun* (Johal 38). Equally popular were the *Hir and Ranjha* and *Mirza and Shaiban* among the bards. The scope of the genre of *qissa* allows the inclusion of almost every narrative with a focus on romances, auto/biographies, and historical narratives. In the nineteenth century, *qissa* focused on narrating the folktales of the Punjab and the Islamic hagiographies. One of the reasons behind this shift is the influence of the Persian *masnavi* on the *qissa*. The etymology of the word *qissa* locates its origin in the Arabic language, and from there, it made its space in the Persian language.

In Arabic, it means "to tell a story, narrate" or "recount an event by giving all the details successively" (Bosworth et al. 185-186). Originally, it conveyed the meaning of the miracle, religious or moral tales; however, in the ninth century, it transformed to

connote both “myth” and “story of marvel” (185-186). In Persian, the word *qissa* replicates the meanings of *dastan, afsanah,* and *hikayat,* which all tend to encompass a genre of narratives focusing on the fictional, romantic, and religious biography (185-197). Since Persian remained the official language during the Mughal era, it was the time when the word found its place in the Punjabi language.

For elaborating on the salient features of *qissa,* it can be said that through the genre of *qissa,* a well-renowned fable or a fictional tale is narrated. It consists of a narrative poem with rhyming stanzas or couplets that tend to develop through a dramatic dialogue and narrative action. It may also allow the rendering of local folklore and some actual occurrences. It also clarifies the scope of the genre of *qissa*. The *qissa* may cover anything from a humorous story to some mystic love allegory. It can also accommodate the literariness of the Persian *masnavi* and the indigeneity of a folk narrative. Serebryakov, in *Punjabi Literature,* defines *qissa* as a genre that narrates some “authentic historical or imagined” tale/tales, and it “is a harmonious integration of well-knit plot, psychological analysis, fascinating narrative, and perfect composition” (Serebryakov 38).

Furthermore, he also considers it “a poetic narration of some length whose theme is derived from events of national scale” (38). The tradition of Punjabi *qissa* regards Waris Shah as the figure who has relieved the problem of describing the poetics of Punjabi by giving a template in the form of the presentation of his *qissa* of Hir and Ranjha. It has the classical status and canonized the literary genre through its prolific treatment of the subject. He has also been said to have given a framework to measure the early “classical” and later “adulteration” in the genre of *qissa*.

Moreover, the linguistic barrier may keep a foreigner away from the study of Punjabi *Qissa*; however, the subject matter makes an essential part of the cultural canvas of Punjab. Before the “arrival” of the British in India, *qissa* subsumed several cultural traits and tropes of North India and the culture of Islam. *Qissa* has not lost its popularity in Punjabi culture, as one can see that for every book on Punjabi literary tradition, the mention of Punjabi *qissa* poets is indispensable. It is unfortunate to see the neglect in identifying the developmental subtleties of the genre of *qissa* in favour of finding the Sanskritic background vis-à-vis the Islamic one. It is being done to trace the indigenous roots of the genre against the Persian influence with an Indological ideology.

According to The Oxford Learner's Dictionary, the word "scriptorium" gives the meaning of "a room for writing in, especially in a monastery" (The Oxford Learner's Dictionaries). I've used the word as a connotation. It serves as a space accommodating the colonial folkloristics in my research. The researcher contends that, in the colonial scriptorium, the exploration of the Indian folk narratives helped the Europeans develop and consolidate their discursiveness about never changing East. Both colonial folklorists – Temple and Swynnerton - collected their folktales and legends from the local wandering bards popularly known as "bhat", "mirasi", and "bharain". They acknowledge this fact in the prefaces/introduction to their books. Temple prefers them because he thinks that they are never "ever recorded on paper" and they are replete with "nothing but the poverty of the rustic imagination" (Temple 1 v). He also believes the bardic version is "the older and more valuable form" (v).

Moreover, on the one hand, he finds folktales to be "interesting and pretty", and on the other, he considers the bardic recitations replete with "uninteresting repetitions" still "valuable" in terms of their "matrix" (vi). About these wandering bards, Temple writes they are of different categories. "There is a bard proper, kept at the courts of the native grandees" who recites the family history and genealogy of the native chiefs, but he "shifts and changes to suit the exigencies of the hour". He adds, "he is not always a very reputable personage" and belongs to lower classes that "hang about an Indian chief's palace" (viii).

He also mentions a "priestly depository" of the Hindu bards who sing "on payment always" (viii). Then, he refers to wandering devotees who claim attachment to a saint, maybe a Hindu or Muslim and whose business is to "collect alms" (viii). "Mirasi" – a professional ballad singer – is another category that he talks about. Temple asserts, "He will sing any kind of song", even "the filthiest dirt imaginable, and he is invariably a most disreputable rascal" (viii). The colonial folklorists profited heavily from their strategic location. Temple describes that he met "mirasis" and wandering bards and other such people on the roads and in the streets "and stopped them, and in due time made them divulge all they knew" (ix). Temple also admits, "I have had cases before me which turned on disputes arising out of such occasions and have succeeded in unearthing the singer whom officiated, and inducing him to sing me" (ix).

Temple also notes that to induce a bard to sing, one had to bear with "vices and faults" (ix-x). For example, "the *mirasi*", "the *bhat*", "the *faqir*", "the *jogi*", "the *bharain*", and other such people "are in truth but a sorry set of drunkards as a rule" who are addicts to "opium" and "tobacco" (ix-x). He also writes that they are "amply satisfied" with a meager payment of "one or two rupees" for a song separately (ix-x). Additionally, they are also happy to send their "brethren" to him if they were kept in an abundance of food and an excess of "their favourite drugs" during their employment (ix-x). He continues that one of them would recount nothing at all until and unless he had consumed "opium" in such colossal quantity enough "to kill an ordinary human being" (ix-x). Even the "most respectable people" of his storytellers, like "Brahman" and the religious cleric of "low castes", would agree to narrate for a "chit" or a meager payment (ix-x).

Charles Swynnerton, too, collected the stories from the bards as he writes that he collected the stories "of the professional bards", and those stories "have been translated without any conscious embellishment" (Swynnerton xvii). The strategic location of Swynnerton amplifies his position to affect the process of the collection of the tales when he describes the colonial agents lighted their "pipes and sat listening and scribbling". At the same time, the "group of Muhammadan story-tellers" squatted on the floor (xvii). Sadhana Naithani notes, "Rev. Swynnerton recorded narratives" while "sitting in the house of a British civil servant friend in Peshawar (Nathani 42). She also describes Swynnerton's source and locale of the collection of the tales. She documents that he had "the wandering professional narrators available" who were "invited at the residence or camp" and they narrated "in a scenic, relaxed atmosphere, much enjoyed by the collector himself" (81).

Swynnerton never elaborates on his method of documenting and translating the tales, but Temple tries to impart an air of authenticity to his collections by informing about his method of collection and translation of the tales. Temple claims that his process of recording the folktales and legends is accurate, for he has made sure to get them recorded under his "superintendence". Temple claims that the native manuscript is "accurate" as "he never interrupts the bard" (Temple 1 x). Concerning the "unintelligible words and passages", he does not "expect much in the way of elucidation from him", and he thinks "you will be disappointed, for he is always very ignorant and often very stupid

to boot, having learnt his task purely by rote, with at best but a traditional knowledge of the meaning of obsolete words." He declares his method of collecting the tales "involves a very tedious process and would inevitably take up much time, would fully occupy indeed such as a busy Indian official" like him "can never hope to have" (xi). He also tells of the involvement of his "*carefully trained* munshis" in the process of recording (xi emphasis added). To finalize the translation after having it recorded by the munshi in a "clear Persian hand" he says, "I then transcribe the whole into Roman characters myself, and translate it. The Roman transliteration and the translation is then gone over by the munshi who heard the song sung, and both are revised by myself in consultation with him" (xi). He is also aware of the lacunae in his collection method to address the anticipated question of savouring "too much of mere egotism" he pleas that the "contents of this work purport to be based on *facts that cannot be verified*, and therefore those that do me the honour to read these pages are entitled to expressly told on what grounds my claim to accuracy rests" (xi-xii).

I contend that British folkloristics was conditioned with the Indological assertions, and instead of popularizing and translating the well-acclaimed *qissas*, they spotlighted the folkloric versions sung by the bards. Temple knew about the classical *qissas* of Hir and Ranjha, Mirza and Sahiban, Sassi and Punnun, and Puran Bhagat. He refers to some of the accounts of his bards to be of the great Punjabi *Qissa* writers named Hasham Shah, Qadir Yar, and Pelu. Also, in some narratives, the master *qissa* poets like Waris Shah and Damodar have been ridiculed, as I have discussed in the analysis of my study. On the other hand, Swynnerton's version of the tale of Puran Bhagat seems to be a prosaic translation of Qadir Yar's *qissa* Puran Bhagat. I underline that these colonial manipulations target the adulteration of the genre of Punjabi *Qissa* to mis/represent the Punjabi culture and society. Nevertheless, I would like to extend that the structural analysis of the classical *qissas* and their colonial versions is not among the objectives of my study.

However, here, it is pertinent to intervene that the selected colonial collections have not only distorted the thematic appeal of the Punjabi folktales and legends but have also adulterated the structural and stylistic features of the Punjabi *qissa*. For example, a "*qissa* is divided into three constituent and stereotyped movements: the prologue, the main body, and the epilogue" (Deol 23). The poet describes "the geographical setting of

the poem, the beauty and nobility of the protagonists" (23). The genre also follows a proper metre and the *baint* – "the Punjabi *baint* is a metre of two lines with a Persianate *qafiya-radif* -rhyme scheme" (24). These features and myriads of others impart *qissa* purity and acceptance as a genre. Nonetheless, as mentioned earlier, it does not constitute the central contention of my research, but it can be taken up as a recommendation for a future research project.

1.6 Colonizers and Missionaries as Folklorists

The royal proclamation in 1858 caused a behavioural change in the attitudes of the British civil servants as well. They had the directives to get "closer to the people, to learn their language, and to honor their cultural heritage", for, usually, British administrators kept the natives at arm's length as a norm except for a few (Islam 14). To comprehend the role of British bureaucracy in inscribing Indian ethnology, folklore, and anthropology, understanding their relationships with the Indians is of great significance. As the colonial administrators often distanced themselves from the natives, they neglected one of the most significant obligations till the middle of the nineteenth century: studying the structural foundations of Indian society and giving their true introduction to the West. In this regard, the early efforts appeared in the form of *District Gazetteers, District Manuals, Imperial Gazetteers*, and *Census Reports*. Such archives recorded a multitude of anthropology, ethnology, and Indian folklore.

Moreover, in 1903, the Governor-General- Lord Curzon, initiated the official ethnographic survey of India. The first volume of the Linguistic Survey of India became public in the same year. The colonial civil servants focused on the ethnology of India in particular; nevertheless, a few also indulged in the collection of folktales and legends. Some relatives of the colonial administrators and missionaries also took an interest in gathering these tales and legends. Most of them did not have expertise in the parallel development of the field, and they were driven by their interest in this field.

Like the British civil servants cum folklorists whose major concerns were administrative rather than the collection of the folktales and the legends, there were some missionaries as well who, along with their mission of nation-building under the White man's burden, "themselves were allies in this process of *Western innovation*" (Spear 262). Some necessitated a relationship between missionaries and anthropology, as

Eugene Nida evinces, “Good missionaries have always been good anthropologists” (Nida 253). The missionaries had governmental support for “going to, or remaining in, India for the purposes of accomplishing the *benevolent designs of missionaries*” authenticated by the House of Lords, for they wanted to ensure that “sufficient facilities” should be “afforded by law to persons desirous” in this regard (Richter and Moore 151). In the literary field, the missionaries had two main objectives in India. First, they made efforts to translate the complete Bible into all major Indian languages. Secondly, they wanted to explore the literary terrains of India to set the stage for preaching in it. The second task included diverse activities such as exploring the histories of Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and other religions of Indian minorities and knowing about the customs, manners, and castes of natives through anthropological exploration. They also focused on doing philological readings of the major Indian languages to have deeper insights into their grammar and dialects. During the accomplishment of these tasks, missionaries exploited Indian folklore.

Exploring the history of folktale collections in India, Mazharul Islam divides the phenomenon into four periods. He keeps the “random travelers” in the first period that covers the years from 1838 to 1878 who published some myths, legends, or tales while adding their own experiences. Islam thinks that the second period belongs to “still largely amateur anthropologists, folklorists, linguists, and ethnologists” who happened to be “the British administrative officials or European missionaries” (Islam 34). He dates this period from 1878 to 1920. They wished to understand native people through the collection of superstitions, folk beliefs, and folktales, and they were also supported by the colonial administration. They utilized the tales “to illustrate points of ethnology” (35). He writes that the third period (1920-1947) was dominated by some expert scholars who opened new avenues in the study of folktales. His fourth period (1947 to present) is marked by the separation of India and Pakistan and the subsequent nationalism (35).

Richard Carnac Temple and Charles Swynnerton – the authors of my primary texts - *The Legends of the Panjab* and *Romantic Tales from the Punjab* – both belong to the second period according to the second period of the collection of folktales and legends in India according to the classification of Mazhurul Islam. The former was a civil servant in the British colonial administrative machinery, and the latter was a British missionary. Captain Richard Carnac Temple was an ex-army officer who was handed

over to the civil administration later. He came to India in 1871 as a soldier. After participating in Afghanistan in 1878-79 and Indian Western Frontiers, he was conferred upon a civilian appointment of the Cantonment Magistrate of Ambala in the Indian State of Punjab. There, he took an interest in Indian, particularly Punjabi folklore, and claimed to believe in the scientific study of folklore.

R.C. Temple's collection of folklore was not devoid of political undercurrents. "Richard Carnac Temple makes his political interests clear: collections "will enhance our influence over the natives and render our intercourse with them more easy and interesting" (Morrison 150). Moreover, Morrison notes that Temple pursued anthropological and scholarly interests during his civil appointments. It was the period when he collected folktales and legends. Temple also offered his cooperation to Flora Anne Steel in the collection of Kashmiri and Punjabi folktales for her book *Wide Awake Stories* in 1884. In 1883, he started a periodical *Punjab Notes and Queries.* The periodical was "miscellant" in nature as the writings it "banned from the outset were contributions critical of government" and accepted the writings from British officials only (Morrison 152). During his service in Punjab, he collected three volumes of *The Legends of the Panjab*. His first volume of *The Legends of the Panjab* (1884) consists of seventeen legends, and the second volume (1885) comprises nineteen Punjabi legends. His third volume (1900) contains twenty-one legends in the contents.

His collected legends are mostly folksongs immersed in the elements of folktales. He has frequently used annotations and footnotes to add his viewpoint to the legends and written lengthy prefaces to these volumes to prove his folkloric scholarship. I maintain that his prefaces, introductions, footnotes, and annotations attempt to appropriate the legends for the reading of Western readers according to their existing cultural imaginary of the Orient and to add many new images. Furthermore, it appears that his series of comments on the nature and culture of the Punjab and Punjabis are to perpetuate his colonial *self* to other Punjabi people as a homogenous entity, depriving them of their socio-cultural and religiopolitical identities. I also argue that his legends are engineered with multiple inclusions and exclusions to tailor them to Western tastes. I have analysed these contentions in my analysis in detail. I have concentrated on the textual analysis of his texts and not on his methodology of collecting the legends in particular; however, I have referred to a few where it became inevitable.

Among the collection of Punjabi folktales, Reverend Charles Swynnerton is considered to be the first missionary to publish several collections of Indian folk narratives. There are many common folktales collected by Swynnerton and Temple. I have used such tales to study the versions of both to locate different mis/representations of the Orient and also to study how the collection of the folktales of a missionary differs from that of a civil administrator. He published a collection of his folktales in 1884 titled *The Adventures of the Punjab Hero Raja Rasalu and Other Folk-tales of the Punjab*. *The Romantic Tales from the Punjab* (1891) is another book of his that contains six major folktales and six shorter tales. I have analysed a couple of folktales from his latter book for research purposes in this study. I contend that the religious undercurrents condition Swynnerton's delineation of folk narratives, and he gropes to find space for the execution of his ecclesiastical interests through the collection and publication of these Punjabi folktales.

1.7 The Focus of the Research

I state that my research focuses on Punjabi folktales and legends. I feel that there exists a dire need to identify the epistemic violence perpetrated through the misrepresentation of certain Punjabi cultural tropes and also through the manipulation of a syncretic Muslim identity that obfuscates the right to religio-ethnic self-determination by accentuating a forceful syncretism aiming at the underlying objectives of control and conversion. I also assert that the colonial collectors seized upon the "folkloric" rather than orthodox aspects of Islam as a construct more "sellable" to their European audiences. The Empire used the figures of "syncretic" saints and lovers cum saints as an approved model of Islam that could be deployed to marginalize stronger and challenging Islam, thereby cutting the potential for resistance.

To determine the need for my study, the last two decades of the nineteenth century are quite crucial in the collection and publication of Indian folktales and legends. Captain Richard Carnac Temple and Reverend Charles Swynnerton are two big names who contributed to the anthologizing of Punjabi folktales and legends. For my research project, I have selected folktales and legends from Temple's *The Legends of the Panjab Vol. I* (1884), *The Legends of the Panjab Vol. II* (1885), *The Legends of the Panjab Vol. III* (1900) and Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Punjab* (1891) because the unexplored and unaddressed thematic study of the folktales identifies a research gap in

the modern Indo-Pak literary and postcolonial critique. The current study aims to bridge this gap by adapting the eclectic theoretical framework predicated on multiple postcolonial theories expounded by Edward Said, Peter van der Veer, and Gayatri Spivak.

To be more specific, I have endeavoured to study the construction of the Oriental saint and lovers in various versions of the romantic tales and legends such as *Hir and Ranjha*, *Mirza Sahiban*, and *Sassi and Punnun* collected, translated, and published by Temple and Swynnerton in the selected texts. I have investigated how this construction has been executed to Other these culturally celebrated symbols of love in the colonial folkloric discursiveness. Furthermore, I have attempted to study the construction of the syncretic saints and their culture through the tales and legends of *Puran Bhagat* and *Sakhi Sarwar* in the selected colonial narratives. The desire to control the "other" on the part of the Empire entailed misrepresentation of "native culture" is needed. Both literary/ folk romantic lovers or actual saints within local syncretic religious practice could be re-presented (misrepresented) by imperial agents to confuse both the other's identity and allow the selves of the Empire to feel superior. It also provides the basis for the hagiographic representation of lovers and syncretic hagiologies.

Consequently, this framework helped them elucidate the manipulative religious syncretism to confuse the other's religious identity. It also helped the British Empire pave the way for the inculturation and justify the mission's presence in India by spotlighting a society with confused religious practices/inclinations. The construction of the other in the selected texts is embedded with multifarious forcefully inducted exotic/oriental features explained by the collectors, translator, and the "appropriator". The significance of the "paratext" – "the exterior presentation of a book, name of author, title", etc. and "peritexts" – "interview" and "review", etc. cannot be underestimated as they constitute a large pool of knowledge besides the original text (Genette and Maclean 262). The opening notes, endnotes, footnotes, and prefaces of the books the collector/translator wrote are also significant; therefore, I have developed a strategy to refer back to them when and where required.

I have also sought guidance from some indigenous texts depicting the same tales and legends to validate my viewpoint. These include Qadir Yar's original text of

The Epic of Puran Bhagat by Qadir Yar (1983), translated by Taufiq Rafat and *Hasham Shah Sassi Punnun* (1985) by Christopher Shackle. I have also used Harjeet Singh Gill's *Heer Ranjha and Other Legends of the Punjab* (2003). These versions of the tales and legends tend to be the native or neutral voice in English, and they have helped me register the counter-narrative vis-à-vis colonial discourse. Subsequently, the approach has equipped me to point out the colonial appropriations and the mis/representations conditioning the discourse of difference as an undercurrent of targeted epistemic violence. Not only do these native versions have their roots in the Punjabi folklore tradition, but they also have a vast deal of acceptance among the literary circles for their embedded literariness. Hence, their equal popularity among literary and folk traditions liberates them to be the true representative texts of the land of Punjab and the Punjabi culture.

1.8 Statement of the Problem

The researcher contends that the folk narratives selected for the study are the segments of colonial folkloristics inscribed within the premises of the colonial scriptorium with an agenda of Orientalizing and exoticizing the Punjabi folklore along with its indigenous culture. The collection, translation, and publication of Punjabi Oriental folktales and legends by British colonial administrators and missionaries have interjected new Oriental/exotic images into the already extant cultural imaginary of the West. The pretext of literary promotion and anthropological preservation of the Oriental folktales provides, arguably, the Europeans with the praxis of epistemic violence through the creation and mis/representation of the other that undergirded the empire.

1.9 Research Questions

1. How do the selected folktales and legends contribute to the European *cultural imaginary* of the Orientals?
2. What kind of *epistemic violence* does each collection inflict upon the culture of Punjab?
3. How does the anthologizing of the texts under discussion valorize the colonial discourse of difference?

1.10 Theoretical Underpinnings and Research Methodology

The methodology of this study is qualitative research, and the method used for it is the textual analysis of the selected folk narratives collected, translated, and published by the colonial machinery. Textual analysis is an approach to understanding a text, considering it from a particular theoretical perspective, such as socio-historical, gender, cultural, or thematic studies. This study is a qualitative textual analysis of the text and focuses on locating power in social practices by understanding embedded inequality in the frames of critical theories such as postcolonialism and Orientalism. Qualitative approaches to textual analysis may also have their foundation in literary theory, social science, and critical theory, such as Marxist approaches, cultural studies, and feminist theory. My research focuses on exploring the syncretic/exotic and orientalized representation of the Orient through the selection, translation, and packaged publication of folktales and legends. It also elaborates on the infliction of dual epistemic violence on the "Orientalized" folk narratives, i.e., the epistemic violence inflicted through the means of representation and also as a causal effect of the "Orientalized" representation.

The theoretical framework that guides this study has been drawn from the theories of postcolonialism. Researching how otherness is signalled and how the dominant group is considered the norm against which "others" are compared as a way to maintain otherness has helped to clarify how postcolonialism and orientalism are interrelated. Colonial discourse strongly focused on folk narratives reflecting the lives of culturally exotic colonized groups within the colony to strengthen their cultural identity and celebrate superiority. I have used the theoretical lenses of Edward Said, Peter van der Veer, and Gayatri Spivak concerning the concepts of Orientalism, Syncretism, and Epistemic Violence, respectively, to read my primary texts. To avoid the burden of repetition, I have discussed the theoretical framework and detailed research methodology of this study in Chapter Three in detail, which controls the dissertation at large.

1.11 Limitations of the Study

The study has been delimited to the critical analyses of the selected folktales and legends from Richard Carnac Temple's *The Legends of the Panjab* (1884-1900) and Charles Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Punjab* (1891). Although I have used an eclectic theoretical approach, it cannot subsume all the explorable aspects of the selected

texts. In the current study, the accuracy and theory of translation are not the central concern, merely a tool in the inspection of orientalist production, as the translation of the selected texts in itself requires a comprehensive critical treatment. Nonetheless, it is envisaged that some translation studies scholars may concentrate on the intricacies and subtleties of these texts to unveil yet another dimension of these indigenous folktales conditioned by colonial discourse.

1.12 Research Plan

Guided by the nature and scope of my research project, I have divided it into six chapters. I have introduced my research project in Chapter One and situated the selected texts and their writers in the paradigms of colonial folkloristics, Orientalism, and the larger framework of postcolonialism. The chapter sets out the controlling questions and the significance of my study. In Chapter Two, I have reviewed the literature to contextualize and justify my research. The chapter reviews the prior scholarship, research work and existing theories to locate the gaps and interconnect them with recent and previous research developments to corroborate their research viability. The Literature Review also allows me to choose an appropriate research methodology, research methods, and theoretical underpinnings to conduct my study. Subsequently, I have discussed my adopted research methodology and theoretical underpinnings that I have used to analyse my primary texts in Chapter Three of my study.

Chapter Four explores the Legends of the Puran Bhagat and Sakhi Sarwar to unfold the construction of the oriental cultural imaginary pandering to Western tastes concerning the depiction of saintly oriental figures. It explicates the colonial mis/representation of the narrative of the legend of the Indian Punjabi saint Puran Bhagat, whose original beauty has been distorted by specific colonial manipulations. It also questions the syncretic representation of the character of a Punjabi Muslim saint, Sakhi Sarwar, by Orientalist appropriations. I have questioned the inclusion and exclusion of certain episodes of popular narratives. I have also challenged how a culture of syncretism and religious rivalry becomes part of folk legends to make it foreign to the native eyes and ears. To augment my analysis, I have also benefitted from the most popular legend of Puran Bhagat, written by Qadir Yar and translated by Taufiq Rafat.

Chapter Five reads the colonial portrayal of the romantic Punjabi figures of Hir and Ranjha, Mirza and Sahibah, and Sassi and Punnun. I have contended their colonial mis/representation against the grain in terms of their acceptability among the literary and folkloric circles. I have emphasized how the vested and colonial interests have conditioned the development of these folktales and legends and how the social, cultural, and religious locales have been showcased with the profound exotic/oriental alterations that compel the indigenous people to raise their eyebrows doubting the originality and veracity of these folk narratives. I have also taken an opportunity to contest the cultural significance of certain episodes of these narratives and their acceptance among the natives as a part of the Punjab and Punjabi cultural canvas.

The Conclusion winds up the discussion of my thesis. In this section, I recapitulate my research argument to highlight the necessity of approaching the selected narratives in the particular way I have adopted. I have succinctly delineated my research findings in this part to mark if this research is a palpable addition to the existing research already conducted in the field. It also informs about certain future research possibilities this dissertation has not addressed due to its limitations. This section establishes the significance of the research in the field of the study of folktales and legends in contemporaneity. The conclusion exhibits how the primary texts have been curtailed and interpolated to harmonize them with European imaginations and expectations. It also explicates how a syncretic society has been imagined in these narratives that have helped the Britishers accentuate a homogenized oriental/exotic Indian Other. It also shows how the cultural mis/representation and archiving of the Other and its culture has turned out to be an agenda item on the table of colonial Mission and administration for the praxis of epistemic violence.

1.13 Significance of the Study

Neglecting the study of folk literature in Indo-Pak literary corpus barricades the gateway to scholarship in the said field and region. Folktales are the carrier of several (un)desirable practices and traditions. These folktales also serve the purpose of oral historians through their “traditional intellectual” arrangements. The structuralist/binarist presentation of all the relations in the folktales allows the researchers to examine the positioning of power relations in society and their implications in their lives. It also interrogates the wholesome effect of certain ideologies on the social/cultural fabric of

society. The unveiling of underlying ideologies will develop awareness about the detrimental/favourable aspects of folklore and help appropriate it for the modern context, i.e., the promotion of critical folklore studies. This study is also significant as it will provoke the culture of selecting the available texts in one's native language – though it may be translated – to promote indigenous languages. In addition, it would be – if not the only – one of the few studies available in this area of scholarship. Furthermore, it will also entice young scholars to engage with folktale studies in the literature.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Regardless of the availability of an extensive gamut of postcolonial scholarship, I have selected the most pertinent works that imbricate the points of concern of my research project and locate the gaps in the existing scholarly and critical paradigms through this Chapter. As my study investigates the colonial folkloristics of the later twentieth century from the postcolonial perspectives, the sources under review address the books and articles on the topics of Orientalism, exoticism, syncretism, epistemic violence, and folklore. My literature review, by and large, deals with the themes as I advance my discussion thematically and correlate them with the points of contention set for my research project. The review of the secondary sources helps me establish the relevance and comprehensibility of my research by highlighting the similarities and differences through examining these sources. It also allows me to validate the gaps and contextualize the analysis of my selected primary texts. In the concluding part of this Chapter, I tie up my review of the literature with the next Chapter.

Considering the tentacularness of my study and the relationality of my controlling research questions, my research becomes multi-pronged and susceptible to several variables in determining its path. Hence, I have selected the secondary sources quite carefully to situate my research in the past and contemporary knowledge in the pertinent fields and also to identify the gaps in the previous works to bridge them in my project partially, if not altogether. I am also aware of the researchers' dilemmas of overdoing or missing the not-to-be-missed; therefore, I have used a selective approach to review the scholarly works in my specified area. I have utilized only some inevitable works from the existing scholarship concerning the topos of Orientalism and exoticism. The colonial undercurrent provides the study with a well-recognized point of reference. To posit my counter viewpoint, I have concentrated on the scholars giving their critical

insights into the topics mentioned above through the problematization of the postcolonial discourses.

The chapter introduces key concepts of the current research to foreground them for the readers. It traces the origin of these concepts and emphasizes their systematic development to situate them in recent days. It also synthesizes the concepts with the research problem/questions to validate their relevance to the current study.

2.2 Colonial Paradigm and Archaeology of Knowledge

The colonial hegemony provided room for the creation of certain literary, cultural, and historical intellectual paradigms. Foucault looked for a "method" to unearth the "archaeology" of knowledge (Foucault 187), Mary Louise Pratt attempted to unveil the role of the "gaze" of the Imperial Eyes (Pratt 28), and Edward Said investigated it as "Orientalism". All three of them took their theoretical positions to examine the processes concerning the generation, construction, and dissemination of different forms of knowledge that assisted the colonizers in achieving ideological hegemony and undergirded the establishment and furtherance of the Empire. It is an investigation of the implications of the colonial perceptions they propagate about the Other, along with establishing and consolidating their political systems.

The epithets like primitive societies, backward civilizations, and noble savages help grow many ideas about Other peoples and their societies. Even though many nations have been successful in the governmental decolonization of their countries and nations, ideological perceptions and cultural notions about them continued to be governed by the archaeology of knowledge that was developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Academia focused on the deconstruction of the archaeology of such knowledge in the latter half of the twentieth century under the umbrella term of postcolonial theories that concern both chronological history and ideological perspectives.

Postcolonial studies question and investigate the colonial paradigms critically to unfold multiple postcolonial perspectives. The independence of several nations from the clutches of colonization helped the emergence of different streams of thought in the earlier half of the twentieth century. The conducive intellectual environment of academia further nourished such streams, and, in this way, the questions are posed to the colonial

forces across the globe according to the indigenous experiences of the colonization defining and limiting the knowledge about a particular colony and its people.

Colonial forces have also benefitted abundantly from the collection, translation, and publication of the native folklore of the colonized to create a set of pieces of knowledge about the colonized countries and their people. The true representation of folklore can portray the peoples and nations in a way that can help them make a unique identity and place at the global level; however, the other way around can mar and distort the nations and peoples by making them unpresentable and unacceptable for the rest.

2.3 History of Folklore and the Predicament of Defining Folklore

In 1846, William John Thoms – an English antiquary - proposed the term "Folklore" to substitute the "popular antiquities"; however, the ground-breaking of the discipline of folklore is traceable back to the beginning of the nineteenth century (Boggs 3). Some German philologists and English antiquaries had already developed an interest in closely looking at the modes of living of the underprivileged classes. In this wake, the Brothers Grimms published their voluminous folk narratives on German mythology in 1812. Folklore Studies as a discipline is not exclusive. It borrows multiple concepts and methods to conduct the study. Literary studies, linguistics, sociology, anthropology, women's studies, psychology, etc., are continuously approached for this purpose. They are necessary to comprehend the cultural history of the literature in orality properly. Folklore is not time-bound because it keeps the capacity to amalgamate the civilization and culture of the past with the present and future to help develop a clear understanding.

It can be construed that it is not meant to be preserved as "original". It is transitory and not static. The folks uninformed of its implications for posterity are its producers. The phenomenon is continuous, ceaseless, and spontaneous. Not only the rural and quasi-urban populations are involved in the process, but also the urban masses have also become an active part of it. Alan Dundes rejects the idea of primitive or urban folklore. He evinces that the folk was omnipresent, and it transformed with the ways of living of the man, i.e., when man civilized and changed his modes of living, the folklore also travelled and settled with him (Dundes 5). Defining "Folklore" is not an easy task. Folklore is an umbrella term that subsumes different disciplines under it. It does not restrict itself to orally transmitted knowledge from one generation to another. It includes

nearly everything ranging from personal and collective experiences, rituals, religious beliefs, individual and collective identities, emotions, feelings, etc. Considering the complexity of giving a single definition to folklore, people from various societies and cultures attempt to define their folklore in their own ways.

The folklorists and the critics of the folklore of the nineteenth century seem to have developed a unanimous consensus on the folklore material dated back to the primitive past. The term became synonymous with ancientness, antiquity, bygone, etc. It was also conditioned with many derogatory terms such as backward, superstitious, barbaric, primitive, and illiterate. Even the anonymous ancient folklorists – preservers and transmitters of folklore - have been named "savage" by modern folklore critics. However, Edwin Sidney Hartland refers to the "most civilized races" as the ones who "have all fought their way slowly upwards from a condition of savagery", and since no savage can either write or read, "the knowledge, organization, and rules" accumulated and stored in the memory and they are transferred through the vehicle of mouth and various other acts; through the overall systemization of this phenomenon a "tradition" gets generated and the science of this tradition is called "Folklore" (qtd. in Bronner 91).

Alan Dundes comes forward to answer the question, "Who are the Folks?" as he argues, "It is possible to define both folk and lore in such a way that even a beginner can understand what folklore is. The term "folk" can refer to any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor."; he thinks that to be a member of a group should "probably know the common core of traditions belonging to the group, traditions which help the group have a sense of group identity" (Dundes 2).

Alan Dundes's approach to reading and defining folklore is more inclusive. He does not fix it as a rural phenomenon related to the peasantry only. He also questions the common mindset of nineteenth-century folklorists who attributed folklore to the peasantry and called them savages. He places these rural folks somewhere between the traditionally primitive pre-literate and culturally civilized literate classes. He does not find the folklore of these peasants to be of the savages but of a class that is not formally educated like the urban populace. It separates the pastoral, natural, unpolluted, and simple peasantry class from the politically and intellectually conditioned urban societies. Exploring the nature and scope of "folklore" in Pakistan and India, Trilochan Pande argues

> The term *Folklore* has always remained a debatable subject since its coinage by Thoms in 1846 among the European and American scholars, and in India and Pakistan the situation is not much different… but as regards its exact scope and meaning the state is still more confusing than in the western countries (Pande 105).

2.4 History of Oriental Folklore Research

The primary texts selected for my research were collected in the nineteenth century by British colonial stakeholders. As it was the pre-partition era of the subcontinent, it necessitates exploring the historical development of folklore research in India. The following section of the study will give an overview of folkloric research in India to situate it in the critical paradigm.

Indian folklore research emerges and develops a parallel with international folklore scholarship. Max Muller highlighted the interrelatedness between the European and Indian mythology that Jacob Grimm initially suggested. This fact necessitated the study of the folklore of India ever since. Clouston, Benfey, and Cosquin go one step ahead and think that India is the place of the origin of all of the folk narratives of Europe. Wilson asserts that India is a chief force and source of German Romanticism in particular and the rest of Europe in general (qtd. in Blackburn & Ramanujan 19).

The experts in linguistics and philology dominated this first stage of research. They worked in oriental languages such as Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit with no or intangible knowledge of Indian ways of living. The scholars of the second phase changed the locus of their attention. They switched their focus to the collection of folk material and anthologized them into the indigenous Indian languages. The British colonial administrators, their families, and the missionaries anthologized and popularized myriads of genres in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The names of R.C. Temple, Charles Swynnerton, and William Crooke are atop the list of the colonial office-holders that introduced Indian folklore to the global audience and scholars. William Crooke investigated the folklore of Northern India and published two volumes on it titled *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (1896), along with a few others. On the other hand, R.C. Temple gathered the folklore of Punjab and became popular by publishing three volumes of *The Legends of the Panjab*. Among the missionaries, the name of Charles Swynnerton is indispensable. He collected

and published *The Adventures of the Punjab Hero Raja Rasalu* and *Romantic Tales from the Punjab*.

The Europeans indulged in Indian folklore and mythology as they had a *want* to comprehend them better; nevertheless, they emphasized the study of the classification of Indian folklore and myths instead of pure thematic concerns. Regarding the reception and acceptance of British folklorists, different popular viewpoints exist. Critics like A. K. Ramanujan and Stuart H. Blackburn hold the works of Temple and Crooke in high esteem and categorize the work of the former as "unmatched in scope and depth" and the latter as "great scholarship". In contrast, the scholars like Sadhana Naithani find another angle for studying their works. She sets a non-conformist approach to their writings and tries to read them with the help of the naked Indian native eye (20).

Critiquing the colonial collectors and their collections, Nathani questions how scholars like Heda Jason, Richard M. Darson, and A.K Ramanujan have appreciated the colonial folktale collectors in India, but she doubts why "they never specified the roles and capabilities of these native collaborators"; furthermore, she suspects the scholars of the latter days have not inquired the "distinct intellectual motivations" of the colonial aides. Also, the colonial scriptorium reduced the role of the *munshi* to a mere clerk. Therefore, colonial perspectives have overshadowed colonial studies (Naithani 5).

In the third stage of the Indian folklore research, the Sanskritists of America investigated the interconnection between the modern folktales of India to explore their interconnectedness with the classical Indian tales, i.e., Panchatantra, Kathasaritsagara, Jatakas, Hitopadesha, etc. Maurice Bloomfield was the most influential among them; nevertheless, the works of W.N Brown are worth mentioning here, who looked for the themes of Panchatantra in modern Indian folktales. He concludes that among the three thousand Indian folktales, almost half had near-equivalents in Sanskrit. It validates the intertextuality and borrowing between the classical and folk traditions.

The recent trend in folklore benefits from the written literature, and the tales written in this era are labeled to be modern. As regards such folklore, it is conditioned by certain cycles of transmission. It is an iterative phenomenon. This transmission undergoes many changes during the process of (re)composition. It implies that a tale had

an oral origin and was collected and written by a collector, then it was again told to a teller who recounts it orally to give it a new colour of orality.

2.5 Orality and Folk Narratives

Folklore, convention, memory, and cultural heritage have emerged as part and parcel of oral literature since time immemorial. The second half of the twentieth century has seen a growing interest of anthropologists, auto-ethnographers, ethnographers, and ethno-methodologists to interpret the culture through oral literature. Particularly, since the 1960s, researchers from the fields of anthropology and ethnography have tried different interpretative polyphonic strategies to negotiate the meanings of culture. Sensing the intricacy involved in the phenomenon of defining "culture", Raymond Williams complains, "I don't know how many times I've wished that I'd never heard the damned word" (qtd. in Bennett 63).

Susana Amante (2020) also thinks "culture" to be one of the most difficult concepts to define; however, this difficulty has helped art, and culture emerge symbiotically unveil the underlying meanings of this complex concept. She raises some very basic questions about the interrelatedness of culture and oral heritage. Her major concerns investigate how oral heritage can be a part of a culture and what culture means. She also negotiates can the oral heritage be accepted to be a "valid means of conveying culture" and taken to be a representation of collective identity? (Amante 1).

As discussed earlier, culture is an umbrella term. Its earlier use dates back to the Middle Ages in the Old French. At that time, it connoted religiosity "to indicate a religious cult, or religious worship or ceremony" (Rocher 46). In Latin, it is used as *cultura* which finds its roots in the word *colere*). It embedded the primary meaning of cultivation. William endorses the idea that "[c]ultura took on the main meaning of cultivation or tending, though with subsidiary medieval meanings of honour and worship… in all its uses [culture] was a noun of process: the tending of something, basically crops or animals" (William 77).

In the 16th century, people started to use it as a metaphor, particularly for the nurture of the children of human beings. In the 18th century, the German philosophers borrowed the word *Culture* from the French and spelled it *Kultur*. They defined it as "…

progress, the improvement of the human spirit, a step toward the perfection of humanity. Others used it to mean civilization, that is the refinement of mores, customs, and knowledge" (Rocher 46). Kroeber and Kluckhohn validate this as they note the emergence of the topos of *Kultur* in the 18th century, and it signified "the distinct "higher" values of enlightenment of a society" (67).

The scholars of the 19th century took the term seriously and started to scrutinize it to seek an appropriate definition. In *Primitive Culture*, Tylor defines, "Culture, or civilization, … is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (qtd. in Kroeber and Kluckhohn 81). In this sense, culture is something acquirable in any given circumstance rather than something genetic or innate. The anthropologists and ethnographers of the 20th century further popularized the term.

Sapir (1921) argues, "culture (…) is the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives…" (qtd. in Kroeber and Kluckhohn 89). Radcliffe-Brown (1949) thinks it to be the process of the handing on of beliefs, language, ideas, knowledge skills, aesthetic tastes, etc., of a particular social class or group from one generation to the other (qtd. in Kroeber and Kluckhohn 92). During this period, intellectuals switched their concentration, underlining the embedded traditional aspects reflected in indigenous cultural symbols and patterns.

Nevertheless, a difference of opinion existed as Franz Boas questioned this "tendency to taxonomize cultures" along with his disciples (Bennet et al. 68). Such voices existed even in the 18th century, where Herder was found saying "[the] very thought of a superior European culture is a blatant insult to the majesty of Nature" (qtd. in Williams 79). Boas followed the same track and argued in favour of historical particularism. He said that the environment of a race did not determine culture; rather, it is the ramification of certain historical events and different circumstances. Due to such standpoints, the concept of cultural relativism became current, favouring the study of a culture in its paradigm in the absence of standard culture.

Boas also paved the way for many other social scientists to cross their ways with anthropology. Under this influence, Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict talked about the interrelatedness between personality and culture. They referred to the imbrication

between psychology and anthropology. They wanted the culture to be considered as a set of principles regulating behaviours that result in commonly shared customs and traits among the masses. This common set of traits and the sense of fear about the unfamiliar and unknown lead to Eurocentric vision and nationalism.

Benedict avers that the current times are "in need of individuals who are genuinely culture-conscious" who are equipped to receive others' "socially conditioned behavior" with an objective approach and do not see the aliens with contempt (Benedict 10-11). She resists the preoccupation with racist thoughts affirming the essential superiority of the white man to others. Benedict continues that such a frame of mind provides the basis for imperial and colonial adventurism to suppress and colonize non-whites. She proposes a change of approach to the other cultures and the cultural other. She also emphasizes the need to understand the "relativity of the cultural habits" and asks for the recognition and location of cultural assumptions triggering the "race prejudice" (11). Responding to Benedict's proposed panacea, Kroeber and Kluckhohn contend that "human behavior" cannot be "determined by culture" and, therefore, it "cannot be used as differentiating criterion of culture" (155). It is a fact that the unscientific and arbitrary construct of race is always politically charged; however, its advocates have tried to defend it in their parlance.

The first half of the 20th century proved conducive to anthropological concerns. In the wake of this anthropological concern, researchers made efforts to negotiate with the multiplicity of the meanings of culture and its implications. During the next half of the century, culture became more relevant as it was taken up as text for study. It also authenticated the polyphonic nature of culture as it is evident from one of the definitions given by A.L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn in which they state, [C]ulture is inevitably an abstraction. (…) Culture is a design or a system of designs for living: it is a plan, not the living itself; it is that which selectively channels men's reactions; it is not the reactions themselves" (120). Such an idea tends to translate culture as a conceptual vehicle that carries the collectivity to exhibit it. It frees the term from a single definition. It also invites multiple positions of interpretation to give value to the collective cultural imaginary of/for a group by keeping its experiential value under consideration and assigning it a unique identity. In sociological jargon, Max Weber

explores this connection between value and culture as the “concept of culture is a value-concept” (Weber 76).

Weber brings forth the debate of “those segments” of reality which become relevant to us. Those segments are instrumental in the phenomenon of othering as they spotlight the problems of distinction and difference. Here, culture comes to accentuate the politics of difference while seeing at and negotiating with the cultural Other. It is how the groups are given identities and represented vis-à-vis another culture. In capitalist terms, it also refers to the binaries between the mass and popular or high and low culture. The high culture is attributed to the elites who exhibit cultural elitism. They regard intellectual achievements aesthetically higher and categorize the artistic items according to their life span. Arendt points out, “From the standpoint of sheer durability, artworks are superior to all other things; since they stay longer in the world than anything else, they are the worldliest of all things” (Arendt 209). It validates the fact that only those objects are of “cultural value” and worthy of “preservation” that will last through centuries and be regarded as identitarian insignia (209). Unlike common products, they oppose consumerism and enter the rank and file of culturally superior objects.

Clifford Geertz pinpoints the impacts of the ethnographic interpretative approaches on the development and meanings of the concept of culture as “art and culture emerged after 1800 as mutually reinforcing domains of human value, strategies for gathering, marking off, protecting the best and most interesting creations of “Man””; hence, he continues, “*Culture* in its full evolutionary richness and authenticity, formerly reserved for the best creations of modern Europe, could now be extended to all the world populations” (Geertz 234).

Since the word culture has been subject to multiple contexts and has undergone many semantic transformations, choosing a single definition is a tricky task. The point to remember is that culture documents human beings to tell them who they are. What their ways of thinking are, how they behave, how they express their values, and how they communicate as individuals and groups. It must also be considered that culture is an internal as well as an external process. It moves continuously inside a community without failing to interact with external entities to evolve. Despite its unstoppable evolutionary nature, culture is always charged with the meaning of tradition and heritage.

The symbols and patterns of a culture strive to achieve a unique traditional identity and a distinct heritage. Now, learning how to differentiate between heritage and tradition also becomes essential. Bascom opines that culture is "man's "social heritage" and "the man-made part of the environment"; moreover, he considers that under the term of culture, "anthropologists include all the customs, traditions, and institutions of a people, together with their products and techniques of production. *A folktale* or *a proverb* is thus clearly a part of the culture (Bascom 27 emphasis added). The interchangeable use of the words tradition and heritage is frequent; however, some scholars draw a clear line of distinctions between these two words. To trace the roots of the word "heritage", one will have to see the use of the words "inheritance" and "heirloom" in the 13th century. It was also used in the spiritual sense, related to the concept of the people Chosen by God. With time, the term involved more inclusiveness and stood for the cultural significance among the group members.

Etymologically, the word tradition finds its root in the Latin word *tradere*. In the 14th century, the word meant to deliver or hand over. Williams argues that not everything handed over can be described as a tradition (Williams 319). William continues, "it takes two generations to make anything traditional" (319). Several other Scholars and Sims and Stephens contend that "time may be a matter of 'years' or of 'moments'" (Sims and Stephens 66). They move forward to call the tradition not something only "linear and chronological". They link it with the idea of the cultural web proposed by Clifford Geertz as well (69). Tradition does not depend on the past always. It brings certain fragments of the past to elaborate on the present and consequently create a group's identity.

The selected folklorists exhibit a commonality, as noticed by Raglan; when they made minor or otherwise changes to the text, the outcome was not worse but rather "worst". I argue that Richard Carnac Temple and Charles Swynnerton visualized culture following Weber's approach as a value-concept and exploited the empirical element through the selection of the relevant segments to spotlight the distinction and differences from the others. It helped them in othering the native cultures through the exploitation of the segment relevance of the culture. Moreover, I question their "tendency to taxonomize cultures" following Boas's foot-steps (Bennet et al. 68). I also question their innate "thought of a superior European culture" against the indigenous Punjabi culture and

consider it “a blatant insult to majesty of Nature” in Herder’s parlance (qtd. in Williams 79). The researcher also contends that the collection and translation of the text under discussion are part of the Empire's globalizing enterprise and contributed to the growth of mass-market consumption as per Arendt’s insights (Arendt 209).

2.6 The Significance of Narration in Folktales and Legends

When Linda Degh argues, “narration is ageless”, she highlights the ever-present proclivity of storytelling of human beings. The propagation of folk narratives accompanies the process of civilization. People always tend to tell and listen to stories. This way, the stories can assimilate into any other social or native environment. Due to this, they remain old but new and contemporary. A. K. Ramanujan observes the role of the folks in the narration and dissemination of the folk narratives as a “group of people” that becomes a medium and mode of oral transfer of their cultural context – language, profession, or religion making a group of folk elements, also including folk tales. He continues, “A folktale then becomes a poetic text that carries cultural context within it; it is a travelling metaphor that finds a new meaning in context with each new telling” (9).

2.7 Problem of Translation

While focusing on the translation of folktales and legends, it is important to recapitulate that the translation has always remained under discussion. Critics differ in their opinions on whether the translation should be literal or free. Even people like St. Jerome also reported their concerns about the Bible's translation. Dryden is among the pioneers of defining translation systematically. His division of metaphrase, paraphrase, and imitation marked a new era of translation studies. Gradually, the roles and functions of the translators and the translation have undergone multiple changes. Translation, as a category, is divisible into certain sub-categories like literal translation, linguistic translation, ethnographic translation, etc. Nonetheless, in general, translation is the transfer of textual material or message from one language to another in one way or the other. Primarily, it relates to language; therefore, it is known to be a linguistic activity. It underlies the transfer of ideas between cultures from the Source Language (SL) to the Target Language (TL). Since all languages are culturally charged, translation involves the reconstruction of culture as well as linguistic activity. Translation is an intricate

process, and the job of a translator is also not easy. Octavio Paz thinks that translation is one of the principles that help us comprehend the world that we live in.

It means that the translator introduces us to the world, but he hides behind another author. He has different responsibilities fixed on his shoulders. He is bound to follow the norms of literary fidelity and excellence. He must accompany a non-native reader to the realm of another culture to transform him into a native reader. These responsibilities, along with many others, make one cognizant of the non-linearity and open-endedness of the translation. The translator, the original author, the reader, and the original text are all involved in this process of meaning-making by exploring two different languages, the pertinent historical context, the culture, and the aesthetics of that culture. Such open-endedness also opens a new discussion about the different roles of translators and the translations concerning their geographical and hierarchal positions. Since East and West have different cultures, frames of reference, and political positions, the functions and roles of translations differ in both territories. Eastern spiritualism and metaphysics are subjects of "Otherness" for the West. The opposite worldviews assign different roles and agendas to the translators.

Many lexical, contextual, and structural restraints impede translation activity. An oversimplified definition of translation states it to be the replacement of text from one language to another with an equivalent text; nevertheless, it does not underscore the difficulty associated with it. It is also worth flagging that the task of finding the cultural and linguistic equivalence is also quite restive. The symbiosis of culture and language ramifies in the form of untranslatability and zero equivalence of the linguistic components that are culturally charged. Although the translation process consists of three basic steps – analysis, transfer, and restructuring, it remains complex. Having acknowledged the limitations of "untranslatability" (Apter 584) and "zero-equivalence" (Šipka 172), it is easy to understand that every text is an individual piece and its translation results in a "metatext" (Tymoczko 447) or another version of it. This limitation allows the translator to manoeuvre the text purposely. This allowance makes the translation a project that is politically and culturally charged; it also helps him achieve his aims and objectives of asserting the cultural identity to subjugate the colonized through ideological hegemony.

In the sub-continent, multiple folk narratives, such as folk tales, legends, memoirs, fairy tales, etc., were anthologized, translated, and published by British administrators, their relatives, and missionaries. They used the translations with an embedded agenda of the domestication of Oriental subjects. It benefitted them from two angles: on the one hand, it carried forward their manifesto of colonial oppression, expansion, and hegemony, and it also opened new avenues of gaining access to knowledge about the other to further his subjugation. The Orientalist translators took the translation to be an implied form of politics. They propagated this activity as patronage and protection of the Eastern classics.

Despite the fact that in my study, the issues and technicalities of the process of translation are not the central concern; however, I maintain that the translation of the Punjabi folk narratives provided the Orientalist folklorists a space to create the oriental Other and propagate it along with certain other orientalist techniques that I have discussed in chapter four and five of my study. It is also suggested that a comprehensive study of these orientalist anthologies of colonial folkloristics concerning the issues of translation is much needed, and it can open multiple new vistas in the field of the translation of Punjabi folk narratives.

2.8 Approaching the Folk Narratives

2.8.1 Ruth B. Bottigheimer

The folk narrative experts argue that “folk and fairy tales are historically determined, a belief that content, style, and plot grow out of the surrounding culture rather than representing an ageless and unchanging tradition” (Bottigheimer 343). Several studies also use them to “investigate social conflicts, psychological phenomenon, the attitudes or even the daily habits of broad segments of society.” Rebel and Taylor operate the Brother Grimms’ Tales as “historical sources whose applicability is limited to late eighteenth-century” (qtd. in Bottigheimer 344). Weber believes that “fairy tales can tell us a great deal about real conditions in the world of those who told and those who heard the tales” (344).

Here, it is essential to spotlight that the legacy of colonial folkloristics in India is also historically emotive/charged. The collection of folktales and legends by Richard

Carnac Temple and Charles Swynnerton informs the readers about the colonial Indian Punjab. These cannot be critiqued by excluding those who told, heard, and anthologized the tales.

Bottigheimer points out the complications grown out of the "ahistorical treatment of the folk and fairy tales" by historians. She suspects that they believed those narratives "had reached the printed page by an unexceptionable and unedited route." She also problematizes the question of how to place a narrative in literary or folk tradition. Furthermore, she challenges the "concept of a continuous oral tradition, uncontaminated by and independent of literary influence." She notices that Rebel neglects "the publishing history of the many fairy tale collections which preceded and nourished the Grimms' collection" (345). Keeping this in view, it is worth highlighting that one cannot accept the claim that the collection of folktales and legends in India remained unaffected by the historical happenings. It is also equally questionable whether these collections are a true continuation of the oral convention unsusceptible to literary and colonial influence. She adds that if they had been cognizant of the subsequent folk and literary studies, they would have given a different treatment to the sources more cautiously. The "contemporary and/or subsequent literary and folk narrative studies which are skeptical of the fairy tale = folk equation" (345).

On similar patterns, colonial folktales and legends collected in India are also not free of the editorial "epistemic violence" along with the collectors' prefaces, glossary, and notes (mis)guiding the readers. The instances of the filtering of the folk content by the British administrators and the missionaries are also present in the Orientalist collections. Here, I stress that the colonial Indian folktales and legends are not true folk narratives but with adulteration. A postcolonial critique of the selected Oriental folk tales and legends unfolds that the colonial administration and missionaries also wanted to impart a national Indian character through their collections. Here, the targeted national character is romantically exotic, sexually incontinent, and religiously syncretic. Bottigheimer contends that the studies in the field of folk and fairy tales suffered from "numerous internal contradictions" methodologically.

Similar lacunae can also be located in the selected Oriental folktales and legends as the collectors themselves write about the questionable exotic character of the "Bhats", who are the native informants in the case of the colonial folktales and

collections. Richard Carnac Temple looks down upon these local informants who are drug addicts and always in search of a "chit" of recommendation by the colonial administration or favour in any other form. These propensities of the "Bhats" drag their characters and tales under investigation. It always posits a million-dollar question of whether any folk narrative told by an intoxicated socially outcast menial is valid and documentable.

Bottigheimer is also convinced that "Terms like "oral" and "folk" mean something vastly different today from what they connoted only a generation ago", and the folklore scholarship disputes certain unresolvable controversies too (347). Exploring the tradition of feminist studies in folk and fairy tales, Bottigheimer quotes Kaye Stone, who pinpoints the difference between the archaic Snow White and the Disney-formulated Snow White critically. She finds the latter "sweetened… poisonously to saccharine level." The next lot of feminists try to locate "preserved evidence of ancient matriarchal societies" in the folk narratives. The third group of feminist folk narrative specialists "investigates plot and language in the light of the tales' narrators and editors" (348).

Here, I also contend that on doing the deep-rooted postcolonial analysis of the selected Oriental folk tales and legends, it is learned that the female representation in the tales suffers from dual subjugation. There are two major reasons behind it. First, the collectors only refer to the male "Bhats" throughout their narratives. Therefore, ecriture feminine is always absent from them, and what one finds is the patriarchal depiction of the Indian female in folk tales and legends.

Secondly, in the pursuit of Indian Hottentot, the colonial collectors and missionaries have chiseled the image of the Indian female as per their conceptualization. Even if they have not designed them a hundred percent, they still have not forgotten to add the inevitable ingredients as per the requirement of the Western cultural imaginary about Indian women. It is a form of another folk epistemic violence perpetrated by the colonizers in India. They have increased its gravity by adding unduly derogatory comments about the Indian female in the commentaries.

About the "orality" and "folk" elements of the selected Oriental folktales and legends, I contend that the collection of these tales gives rise to some pertinent questions.

Is the source really the folk one? Does it exist as portrayed by the collector? Was it the best available folk source to collect from? Why does the collector only want to illuminate the attitudes and beliefs of the marginally literate or illiterate people or those of the dead long ago? As Bottigheimer argues, the inclusion of various "non-'folk'" elements in the field of the scholarship of folk narratives has also affected the Indian colonial folkloristics. The British white collectors, urban publishers, and the thirst to achieve high sale targets have proportionately and respectively adulterated the Indian folk narratives to cater to the taste of the Comprador class in India and the European white audience. In this regard, the role of the controlled publishing industry in the publication of Indian Folkloristics is also questionable for the limited selection and publication of Punjabi folktales and legends. I argue that the targeted outcome could not have been achieved without the perpetration of this epistemic violence.

Another factor contributing to the Indian colonial folkloristics is their selection of resources. Here, it was not the case that they did not have better sources to benefit from. Rather, they purposefully included/excluded the folk narratives to create knowledge about the "other" through their version of the folklore. It is worth mentioning that the legend of Puran Bhagat, as described in *The Legends of the Panjab*, mentions the Qadir Yar as the writer but is narrated by the Bhat. However, the collector did not bother to look for the original version of Qadir Yar – a skilled and meritorious folk poet of Punjab. It is a fact it was not an uphill task for an administrator of the rank of Richard Carnac Temple – Cantonment Magistrate of Ambala - to do it. But it seems to be an intentional/strategic move for the original legend described by Qadir Yar is of much greater significance and does not cater to the Western cultural imaginary of Europe.

2.8.2 Constituent Material of Folk or Fairy Tale

Bottigheimer writes about the diverse opinions concerning the constituent elements of a folk or fairy tale. She tells about the "varieties of information provided by the tale" and also emphasizes the "manner in which it has been recorded." In the first place, she mentions the "'book tale'" like the Brother Grimms' published books. Secondly, she mentions the tales that are "tape-recorded" with a "plot and language" and particular metalinguistic features that can only be indicated by the publisher but not reproduced (349-350). Thirdly, she speaks of "a live performance of a tale-telling event" that exists in "two registers, aural and visual." She continues that the responses of the

audience are also missing in the published tale, but they "help steer the narrative." Here, she also stresses the role of the storyteller in the live performance, for he pulls the narrative string and accommodates them as per the "perception of the audience". This characteristic imparts a unique character to every telling.

At this point, I will take an opportunity to talk about the fact that the "postulated 'original'" Oriental folk tales and legends also suffer from similar lacunae. They, too, are designed for public performances and an implied audience. The collectors themselves call them to be narrated by the Bhats, who are the live performers especially trained to perform at the fairs. Hence, the postulated '"original"' tales do not give any details about the metalinguistic features or other nuances of the aurally or visually recorded folk narratives.

2.8.3 The Content Analysis

To critique the content, the historico-geographic method popularized by the Finnish School has influenced the analysis of folk and fairy tales for a century. It introduces a set of "invaluable reference tools for detailing the extent of a tale's distribution and nature of its variants" (350). Two major contributions in this regard are the "Aarne-Thompson Tale-Type Index and the Motif Index of narrative elements in folk tales, ballads, myths, fables, medieval romances, exempla, *fabliaux*, jest-books, and local legends". It was augmented by the reference work of Bolte and Polivka for Brother Grimms' Tales, comprising five volumes (350-351). Nonetheless, cautious use of these reference works is always suggested nowadays for "the tale-type and motif indexes incorporate the gender biases of the previous generations." Furthermore, "the definition and the traditional concept of motif have been challenged" (350).

The given methods of critiquing the folk and fairy tales open multiple new vistas for reading Indian Folkloristics. It is envisaged that different researchers can work on these methods to explore the commonalities and differences between Indian Folkloristics and European folk and fairy tale traditions in the future.

2.8.4 Convention vis-à-vis Pieces of Information

According to Bottigheimer, "certain elements of folk and fairy tales are stable conventions and cannot, therefore, be treated like other pieces of information" (351). She

adds that studying these conventions in isolation “can be extremely misleading with reference to the storyteller’s worldview and social attitudes” (351). In this context, she gives the example of the convention of “narrative magic” and emphasizes that “magic narrative manifests and reveals folk optimism.” It emerges to be “an integral component of nearly all fairy tale plots with a happy ending” (351).

It requires careful investigation of how colonial collectors of Punjabi folktales and legends tend to use the collected folk narratives as pieces of information instead of placing them in their specified tradition and convention. This manipulation of the folk material results in misleading as it is embedded with the editor’s European worldview and social attitudes.

2.8.5 Language of the Folk and Fairy Tales

Bottigheimer believes that the vocabulary of a tale “provides indicators about the author/narrator’s mental world which plot alone can and does not” (351). It is arguable that “word choice and the distribution of stylistic features like direct and indirect speech represent unconscious deployments of language in the service of otherwise unarticulated values” (351). The degree of the exploitation of these services is measured by “the degree to which the text has been edited and by the storyteller’s skill in deploying language” (351). She also admits that “among narrators, there are degrees of awareness and levels of skills”. She thinks that “carefully crafted texts are far less penetrable to the historian’s probe since their authors play unendingly with the language itself” (351).

Bottigheimer suspects the existence of a single “‘correct’” form of a tale. However, she does not forget to emphasize that “Tales collected from peasants smell of barnyard … tales written down in the salon exude other fragrances” (352). Although the culturally rich folk terrains of Indian Punjab contained the incensed literary salon of tales, the selected Oriental tales and legends under discussion stink/smell of the barnyard introduced by the colonial folkloristics. It is another form of the praxis of the epistemic violence exercised by the colonial mission and administration. Moreover, the editorial play and the deployment of language by the colonial collectors cannot be licensed unconditionally, for these factors result in a high degree of exploitation of the folklore.

2.8.6 Textual Probity

Bottigheimer agrees that the availability of “unedited material” is rare. She stresses, “Every folk and or fairy tale text, whether oral or written, taped or published, has passed through one or more editorial filters”, resulting in “expurgation and euphemization” (352). The available material “has often been scrubbed to a certain extent” (352). She also calls for attention toward the content and style of the “published texts” as they permit many “interferences” in terms of the marketability and “particular audience”. She interrogates the “editing decisions” of every age, for they are based on the “marketing decisions” governing and developing the taste of the public. Similarly, folktales and fairy tales of the past are disqualified from becoming the “source of cultural history”, but the “editing and narrative decisions” emerge to be one of the biggest mistakes in this regard (352).

Here, it is worth flagging that a trick is involved in the field of Indian Folkloristics because the society under glass is colonized, and the editorial filters employed on it are of the colonizers to formulate a final orientalist text. Also, the storyteller is an Englishman who is publishing text for a particular European readership and a limited anglicized lot back in the colony. These factors make it obvious that the editorial interferences and decisions mar the indigeneity of the Oriental folk narratives in an effort to establish them as a source of the cultural history of the sub-continent.

2.8.7 Narratives and Narrators

“… in the nation- and tradition-forming days of the nineteenth century”, Bottigheimer argues that “the notion of anonymity” defined and dominated the existing research. Two claims exist about such anonymity. First, “such information was unrecorded”. Second, “one may reliably assert the collective authorship of folk and fairy tales”, but the tendency changed in the twentieth century, and “folklorists turned their attention to known storytellers” (353).

Here, it becomes inevitable to say that the colonial enterprise of collecting and publishing folklore was historically charged. The assertive collectors/narrators appropriated the narratives to cater to the taste of the Western cultural imaginary. They also used all options in editing the texts to acclimatize them to the Western conception of

the Orient. The rigorous process of translation, prefacing, and editing helped them achieve their objective of preparing an end product that was marketable and sellable in Western society.

2.8.8 Difference Between Literary and Folk Narrative

The minds of the contemporary folk narrative scholars are ready to accommodate the "literate or the semi-literate" storytellers with direct participation in finance and power over the environment rather than an "illiterate storyteller". Hence, the narrators are leisured, not the workers with a planned schedule (Holbek 147-149). It also certifies that "oral narrators in a literate society are well aware of their social marginality" that eventually may affect the "formulation of tale content, and second on the way in which researchers might understand tale content" (Havelock 344-346). The current development in European literary studies has provided the space for "studies of the interplay between published and oral material… incorporating twentieth-century concerns."

With regards to the selected Oriental tales and legends, it is to say that a study of these tales highlights how a great difference between the depiction of the same folk tale or legend by English personnel of the colonial era and a native exists. It also authenticates the premise that the origin of these folk narratives is not the "mela thela", "haveli", or "dara" of a village but the annexes of the colonial administrators and the missionaries "who helped" the "Bhats" to undergird and justify their colonial enterprise through their rendition of the folk tales and legends. Their prefaces and editorial ventures served to be the topping on the cake.

She also questions how to delimit the nomenclature of the "folk", "Urban or rural. (354) Literate or semi-literate or illiterate? Where one is socially (e.g., priest) or where one has come from (e.g., peasant's household)? (354). The questions are very relevant. Therefore, it is not inappropriate to ask why the Colonizer folklorists and Missionary folklorists selected/included the illiterate, poor, and subaltern to collect the folk tales and legends. Why did they ignore/exclude the upper social strata to anthologize the folk narratives of Indian Punjab? Why did they only comment on the exotic elements of the folk tales and legends to spotlight them? Why did they intend to read the Indian Punjabi folk from European perspectives?

2.8.9 Grimms' Tales Being Used as a Source of Cultural History

Grimms' Tales are one of the seminal works in the field of the study of folk and fairy tales. Historians have frequently used them as a source of cultural history. Grimms' Tales consist of "seven Large Editions and ten Small Editions" that have undergone several alterations in "content and style". Bottigheimer points out the collection can offer an accumulation of the folk attitudes of the relevant centuries. Still, it is hard to term them as the "compendium of folk expressions", for it has undergone a rigorous and "long process of careful editing" (355). To valorize her stance, she refers to a contemporary "problem generated by ignorance of the editorial history of *Grimms' Tales* in a recent dissertation on the fairy tale as a repository for legal lore" (355).

Having developed such concern, I see the colonial administrators and missionaries on a mission to collect the pitfalls and exotic elements of Indian Punjabi society. They were preoccupied with the exotic cultural imaginary transferred to them by the European Orientalists and incorporated them into their collections. I have analyzed these elements in the fourth and fifth chapters of my study in detail. One should not forget the suspicious unavailability/absence of "archival holdings" of genuine materials concerning the collection and publication of Oriental folktales and legends. Bottigheimer also suggests the researchers enquire the tale collections by comparing them with Brother Grimms in terms of their "efforts to 'Grimmify' the tales (356). Regarding the above-mentioned critical insights, the research emphasizes that the selected Oriental folktales and legends under discussion are the product of an editing phenomenon targeted to the manipulated representation of the Indian Punjab through the colonial gaze. Had the intent been just the collection and the propagation of the culture of the Indian Punjab, the archiving and unedited publications would have sufficed the purpose.

2.8.10 Turning Point in Folk and Fairy Tale Studies

Bottigheimer evinces that the contemporary era has undergone a major shift in the field of the study of folk narratives. It critiques the fairy and folk tales from different perspectives compared to those of the preceding times. Subsequently, "more socio-culturally related areas of research" (356) have replaced the older ones, and they have focused on how "contemporary folk narratives turn increasingly to social history to understand how fairy tales suit the cultural reality of the community in which they are

told" (356). She believes that the "reliance on a single tale in folk and fairy tale analysis" is considered to be alarmingly limiting because it lacks variability (357).

Once again, it is not irrelevant to say that the selected folk narratives are the historically determined documents about the Indian Punjab that are collected, edited, and published with an underlying agenda of exoticizing the land and its inhabitants. It ultimately helped the colonizer to document his other through edited archiving of the folk tales and legends. Rainer Wehse (Translated by Ruth B. Bottigheimer) points out the presence of the current "interest in the genre, Marchen and folktales, and in their narrators" (Wehse 246). He suggests that the text of a tale tends to be a "self-enclosed entity. In addition, it directly reflects the character of the bearer of the tradition and his or her specific human situation. And a "product" can only be completely understood by an acquaintance with the "producer" (247).

He states that it was believed that the "producers" and "the narrators" were believed to "belong to peripheral or lower social groups". They included "wetnurses, servants, agricultural workers, peddlers, vagabonds, minstrels, bards", etc. He also explains the scholarly shift to "broadening of the circle of "people worth noticing" in art and many areas of scholarship to perceive the narrator behind the tale" (Wehse 246). Wehse observes the currently developed interest in making these individuals the "objects of scholarly inquiry" that comprises "the unimportant" achievements of "the unimportant people" (246).

Wehse maintains that the era of Enlightenment, by using the expression of "wetnurses' tales", first showed a soft corner towards them. Christopher Martin Wieland (1786) agreed to the oral transmission of these stories, but he did not want them to be published. He continues to underscore the changing attitudes towards the field. In the Romantic era, he states that the "educated classes" also started to "appreciate folk tradition". During this period, storytellers were approached, and the "text occupied the center of the attention", but the text "was by no means the text as it was recounted". "For most varied reasons", he notes that "the text was corrected and improved" (247). Here, I emphasize that this period parallels the collection of Indian folklore as a colonial enterprise. Colonial stakeholders also approached the native Indian storytellers and focused their attention on the text of the Indian folktales. Similarly, the text was by no means the text recounted by the native Bhats. Also, for varied causes, the "text was

corrected and improved". Wehse also observes that the "peripheral narrators" were "unimportant" to such a degree that the collectors did not take them seriously and did not document adequate information about the "informants" (247). English did the same to the Indian folktales and did not credit the native "informants". If they did it in some places, they did it vaguely.

Rainer Wehse uses the term "Epoch of Realism" in research to highlight the growing interest of recent researchers to collect "their material from people themselves and become correspondingly curious about the people to develop insights and theories based on this knowledge" (249). He suggests that the precedence of the text remains unchallenged. This approach takes the researcher a step beyond the domains of philology, and he strives to acquire "knowledge of human beings" along with the exploration of the text. He considers that this approach influenced the formation of the "Irish Folklore Commission in Dublin in 1930". It was established on the "guiding principles" set by Sydow and Norwegian Reidar T. Christiansen, who accentuated the systematic "documenting the repertoires of specific storytellers as well as also studying them individually" (249).

He contends that the school of the Germanist Julius Schwietering formulates another perspective on this debate. It spotlights the "narrative situation". It assumes that the "social function of the narrative act takes center stage". At this point, Rainer Wehse points out the gradual movement of the emphasis. He notices that the earliest researchers focused on "content", then the emphasis was laid on "teller", "and currently the telling in terms of performance, situation, and relationship to vital processes". It encompasses the "three most important viewpoints in oral folk tradition". He opines that at this level, nothing new can be added to this field of research. Only the method and technique of the research may differ. They depend upon the "kind of the narrators being investigated, whether defined by gender, ethnic group, age, or job" (250).

He acknowledges the contribution of German-American Franz Boas in the field of "Ethnological oral narrative" research. Wehse thinks that he "integrated the study of storytellers into his principle of holistic observation of culture". It proved to be a stimulus for several researchers who engaged in it. To him, "the storyteller was only one component of his or her contemporaneous socio-cultural system" (250). *Oral Repertoire*

and World View by Juha Pentikainen predicates its argument of the "same premises" (250).

Rainer Wehse diverts attention to a "problem area" of this field. He asks, "What happens with a fairy tale or a folk narrative when it is transmitted orally?" (254). He answers himself simply that it gets changed like a "parlor game "Telephone". The final message gets so much distorted that it "bears no resemblance to the original". However, he contends it with a contradictory argument and gives the example of "Cinderella" and considers it to belong to a "certain fairy tale and folk tale content" that may "exist almost unchanged for centuries, sometimes for millennia and over several continents" (246). After overviewing the experimental works of Walter Anderson, Ortuary, and Kurt Shier, Wehse discusses the "Conduit Theory" postulated by Linda Degh and A. Vezsonyi in 1971. Having reviewed the Conduit Theory, he states that according to this theory, "folklore messages do not ramble erratically from one person to another but follow definite routes consisting of communicative sequences of individuals with similar personality characteristics, who share similar attitudes towards their messages" (256). It is worth flagging here that reading Indian folkloristics through the lenses of communication theory may be a huge contribution to this almost neglected field of research. It is strongly recommended further reading for the readers and researchers.

2.9 Evolution of the Orient in the European Cultural Imaginary

The image of the Orient and its representation has always obsessed Europeans generally. When Sir Walter Scot was writing his Oriental novel, *The Talisman* (1825), he disclaimed that it was difficult for him to paint a "vivid picture" of an exotic world that was entirely unknown to him; except, he could recall some of the *Arabian Nights*' "early recollections". Nevertheless, a large number of his contemporaries claimed to be as much "enlightened upon the subject" just like the native inhabitants of the land being talked about (Scott 170).

Until this time, the quest for knowledge about the Orient was increasing daily. Nevertheless, the authenticity remained a valid question as many Westerners imagined the Orient to tailor to their subject, and the tale-books like *Arabian Nights' Entertainment* provided them ample material to proceed in this context. Earlier, when Dryden wrote his *Aurang-Zebe* (1676), the majority of the audience was reasonably

unaware of the concept of the Orient. Due to this, the audience might not have felt surprised when the characters of Aurang-Zebe and Nourmahal referred to Greek mythological figures of Jove and Cupid instead of alluding to the Indian mythological deities or certain Islamic points of reference. Similarly, Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas: Prince of Abyssinia* (1759) contributed to constructing the image of the Orient in the European cultural imaginary. Unsurprisingly, his depiction of the Orient was based on his pure imagination or secondary sources, as he has never been to any Muslim or Arab country.

To the audience of the Restoration tragedy, the Orient was a distant subject, and only the Indian names satisfied them. They accepted them without any native colour and indigeneity; however, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, European cultural imaginary was replete with multiple exotic images of the East, and Orient evoked through the publishing of several translations of fantasy tales, folktales, legends, travelogues, memoirs, and certain other narratives.

The Orient was a less-explored and far-fetched entity in the last three decades of the seventeenth century. It had a political background as the Eastern European countries and the Ottoman Empire indulged in frequent territorial disputes. On the other hand, Britain and France have expansionist agendas, investing their forces in exploring the new world. European traders found a place in the Mughal Empires as petitioners. India and China had many active Jesuit missionaries around. The Ottoman Porte and French Porte had functional diplomatic relations. The English and French universities laid the foundation stones of Arabic chairs but did not start studying other Asian languages. The city of Calcutta had not been built yet.

European knowledge about the Orient had undergone a paradigm shift at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Europe's exploration of the new world has culminated in bringing the Orient/Oriental with the home in general. French were defeated at Plassey by the British East India Company, and the latter took over Bengal as a vassal state. They also started their territorial expansion in the Subcontinent. The newspapers in Britain covered the Marhatta and Mysore wars and presented the Tipu Sultan, Sindia, and the Peshawa as exploiters. Warren Hastings and Robert Clive availed themselves of the opportunity to defend themselves in the Press and in Parliament to absolve themselves of corruption charges. At Abukir, Napolean managed to defeat the

Turks; nonetheless, the British defeated him at the Battle of Nile. Different explorers had explored the waters of the Ganges and the Nile for the reported sources.

The expansionist agenda was not limited to political and economic endeavours only. It also allowed and helped expand the intellectual domains. The enlightened idea of the universality of mankind was challenged, and it gave way to the documentation of the variety. Archaeological and philological discoveries brought the East into the limelight. The field of translation was gaining popularity day by day. *The Holy Quran* was translated into English by George Sale. The *Arabian Nights* was translated into French by Antoine Galland, and it was also translated into English without any delay. In India, *Sakuntala* was translated from Sanskrit into English by Sir Willian Jones. In Bengal, an Asiatic Society was constituted. Learning Sanskrit became a fashion symbol. It was also the seed-sowing of the fashion of learning and mastering other indigenous Oriental languages.

In the parallel developments, the discovery of the Rosetta stone also took place. Robert Southey published his epic *The Curse of Kehama* and *Thalaba the Destroyer*. *Gebir* by Walter Savage Landor also came into print. These epics contributed highly to the cultural imaginary of Europe and introduced the exotic Orient to the genre of English poetry. *Lalla Rookh* by Thomas Moore was already available in print, and *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* by Byron also became available to English readers.

These external changes affected the European intellectuals' Westernized imagination about the Orient and Asia. Earlier in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Orient's impact remained limited to the externalities. China and India were taken to be suitable for the exotic settings used in pantomimes and operas without damaging the plot and the characters. Writers like Johnson and Montesquieu and a few others used Oriental characters to deliver philosophical, moral, satirical, etc. statements about the West. They used Oriental images to embellish their social commentary with a fantastic engagement. They did not aim to prove it to be another culture. They utilized it to articulate the reference to the Eastern trade of goods instead of emphasizing the cultural differences of the Orient. They vacillated between the material and ornamental Orient to decorate their artworks.

The nineteenth century introduced some quantitative and qualitative changes in the concept of the Orient in the European cultural imaginary. The writers changed their approach and focused on writing, making the Orient the central figure. It is pertinent to quote Victor Hugo here, who thought that the concept of the Orient played the same role of the catalyst as the Greeks had for the literary scholars of the fifteenth century (Figueira 31). Byron concludes the significance of the Orient urging Thomas Moore to "Stick to the East; - the oracle, Stael, told me it was the only poetical policy. The North, South, and West have all been exhausted; but from the East, we have nothing but Southey's unsaleables" (Marchand 59). Assuredly, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and *Turkish Tales* by Byron also attempt to avert from the pedantic Oriental tale and search for the cultural and sexual substitutes of Europe. Scott, More, and Southey adopted a careful approach to articulating the Islamic East and India.

Romanticism continued to use the eighteenth-century exploitation of exotic settings but was more invested in the wholesale construction of images and concepts attached to the "Orient". The *Arabian Nights* (1708) by Antoine Galland can be regarded as the very first Oriental influence on the European literati in terms of defining the Orient. No doubt, at first, it received a mixed response from English and French literary scholars. Some found these tales only suitable to the taste of women and children. Still, it is a fact that the contemporary youth took it seriously and when they had grown up reading the original or the English translation of the *Arabian Nights*, they found it inevitable in their imaginative growth. Also, the *Arabian Nights* was raised to the status of the touchstone to compare and contrast the Oriental writings of the Romantics. In an anonymous review of *Lalla Rookh* (1817), a critic comments that we are promised something like a reminiscence of the cherishable moments of childhood related to the study of the *Arabian Nights* (Review of Moore's *Lalla Rukh*, 457).

2.9.1 Imaginative Orientalism

From the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, Orientalism remained a popular system of representation that determined how Europe thought about the "East". It is quite easy to explore the Oriental elements in the writings of Pushkin, Goethe, Byron, and Hugo. The image of India dominated British fiction frequently. British used the Indian backdrop to imagine and portray their imagined exotic Orient, as the French used Algeria.

Nevertheless, both French and English borrowed the images of the exotic Orients from each other. The phenomenon started with the translation of Galland's *Arabian Nights* (1704-1708). It was instantly translated into English in 1706. It is worth mentioning that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Byron, along with many others, read *Arabian Nights* and Byron and Scott were studied by many well-known French Orientalists such as Delacroix, Gericault, Vernet, etc. Also, Victor Hugo perused *Asiatic Researches* and the works of William Jones.

French explored the writings of Byron and Scott immediately after they were published. One may find the reviews of their writings published in 1812 and 1815. French started to translate British Oriental writings quickly to enrich their cultural imaginary. *Bride of Abydos* by Byron was translated into French in 1815. His *Turkish Tales* were translated in the years 1819 and 1820. Moore's *Lalla Rookh* and the novels of Scott were published in 1820. It is surprising that till 1830, Scott's share in the published novels of France was one-third of the whole. The French painters abundantly used the images of British poets in their paintings as they were confident that the British had first-hand knowledge of the subject.

Nevertheless, Said considers the Orient to be of more significance and an indispensable part of the culture and civilization of Europe. Hence, he argues it to be not "merely imaginative". He also discusses that Orientalism provides the framework for the representation and expression of that particular part of culture and ideology. It acts as a discursive mode and, of course, not without the help of supporting vocabulary, institutions, imagery, scholarship, doctrines, colonial styles and colonial bureaucracies (Said 2). An in-depth discussion of the Saidian approach concerning the Orient is done in the third chapter of this study.

2.9.2 The Contribution of the *Arabian Nights*

The *Arabian Nights* opened new vistas for defining and discussing the Orient. Galland's translation got the status of a canon immediately. It set the trend of such Oriental writings, and many similar writings were to follow. Its success led to the publication of similar collections, such as Petit de la Croix's *Persian Tales* (1714). In fact, 86 editions of the *Arabian Nights* and its imitators appeared in English between

1713 and 1800. *The London News* ran it as a serial that occupied three years and 445 instalments, beginning in 1723.

The next important popular publication. Sir William Jones's translation of *Sakuntala* did not appear until 1789. Jones's translation attracted considerable attention, though not on the scale of the *Arabian Nights*. It went into five editions over twenty-five years and was retranslated into German in 1791 and French in 1803. In total, it was translated 47 times into twelve languages over the course of the nineteenth century. Possibly, its greatest influence came in the form of its repeated adaptations to the European stage in the form of ballet and opera.

The *Arabian Nights* introduced the Islamic Orient and Oriental vocabulary at the grassroots level. It also unveiled a frame of reference for the imaginative tales of the Islamic Orient to European readers. In *The Arabian Nights in Victorian Literature,* M.C Annam notes that phrases such as "open sesame" and "Aladdin's lamp" became part of the household vocabulary, and "Arabian Nights" became synonymous with wonder and enchantment. Meadows Taylor uses intriguing sexual elements of the tales in his Indian novel titled *Confessions of a Thug* (1839). These stories also became the yardstick to measure the Orient and associated Oriental features. Some Europeans certified the authenticity of the tales as their original experience of living in Eastern countries was quite similar to the locale portrayed in those stories. Even if one excludes the magic, the *Arabian Nights* were considered the true representation of the Islamic world across Europe. William Makepeace Thackeray observed that the love of the *Arabian Nights* echoed the love for "odd and picturesque", and it is just like boarding an Oriental vessel to take a dip into the Oriental cities (Thackeray 280).

2.9.3 The Recognition of the Orient and Transformation of the European Vision of the Orient

Gradually, European cultural imaginary changed concerning the identification and qualities of the Orient. Previously, they focused on some exterior and shallow exotic constructions that involved a body of knowledge comprising exotic names and materialistic objects of luxury, trade, and excess. Until this point, Oriental languages were not included in the phenomenon. English writers like Steele, Addison, and Pope used the costumes depicted in the *Arabian Nights* to embellish their tales. Due to the

Arabian Nights, the Orient became a cultural entity rather than the Orient of luxury and trade.

It introduced certain social and religious aspects, architectural motifs, and foreign nouns to European readers. It does not mean that the writers ruled out the inclusion of the image of the Orient that pertained to luxury trade because the writings of English writers quoted them consistently and abundantly. Byron's poetry is replete with luxurious and exotic Oriental goods. Oscar Wilde's short stories and the novels of Theophile Gautier also carry excessively loaded luggage of objects that are foreign and unhomely; nonetheless, many Eastern elements were included to supplement the existing ones, such as multiple allusions to Prophet, Islam, and Persian poetry were included in the writings. Besides, the characters of the writings also started to represent their culture, customs, rituals, traditions, etc. Also, Muslim characters were found uttering many Arabic phrases and so on.

Europe had a set cultural imaginary about different countries that helped them to identify the people and places. For instance, when they thought of the Islamic world, they thought of the turbans and the dome. While imagining India, they perceived it to be the land of elephants. And when they heard about the silhouette of the pagoda, they thought about the lands of China and Japan straight away. It was the reason that when the child characters of E. Nesbit's book *The Phoenix and the Carpet* (1902) entered a town with the help of a magic carpet, they seemed to be already familiar with the Indian locale "by the shape of domes and roofs" and by the sight of a man riding "an elephant" (Nesbit 248).

Also, the hero of *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1872) by Jules Verne inquires about reaching a place: "a curious place this India?" (Verne 53). The answer is loaded with the predominantly anticipated details like "Mosques, minarets, temples, fakirs, pagodas, tigers, snakes, elephants!" (Verne 53). Such a portrayal of the "Oriental" is not different from that found in the highly acclaimed Oriental writings. In The *Triumph of Alexander* (1890) by Gustave Moreau, some dominant Indian motifs are women in saris, elephants, and architectural descriptions.

Critics noticed this tendency and criticized different writers based on the uses or abuses of Orientalism. Reviewing *The Giaour* (1813) by Byron, Francis Jeffrey wrote

that Kiosks, Caiques, and Muezzins, indeed, are articles with which all readers of modern travels are forced to be pretty familiar. Many critics ostracized Byron for his knack for "disfiguring his pages with words that are not English" (qtd. in Christensen 136). Critiquing Scott's Orientalism, critics asserted, "Scott's lees is better than other men's wine" (qtd. in McCracken-Flesher 161).

Lalla Rookh (1817) by Thomas Moore and *Anastasius, Or the Memoirs of a Greek Written at the Close of the Eighteenth Century* (1820) by Thomas Hope were two famous Orientalist books of that era. *Lalla Rookh* had its seven editions published within ten months of its first publication. It kept being published for almost thirty years after its first edition. One of the reviewers wrote in *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, "The public eagerness was such, that the whole edition was sold in one day." (Review of Moore's *Lalla Rookh* 535). *Anastasius* (1819), first written anonymously and attributed to Byron due to its intertextuality with *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812), was later claimed by Thomas Hope for its authorship. The novel had been published in thirteen editions and four languages till 1831 due to its great popularity and regular demand among the masses.

Southey's epics were replete with explanatory notes and footnotes that expose his dislike for the culture under discussion as he said that "the little of their [India's] literature which has reached us is equally worthless with their decorative art" (qtd in Yohannan 154). The fertile minds like Byron and William Makepeace Thackeray soon realized the incapacity of the technique they used to paint the exotic Orient. They found it to be deficient and unsatisfying. Since both had direct experience of visiting the Oriental places, this might have triggered their concern of inaccuracy. Having been disillusioned with the imagined Orient, Thackeray notices that the cultural gap between the East and West as depicted in the Oriental tales is not a real and existing situation is quite different for "now that dark Hassan sits in his divan and drinks champagne, and Salim has a French watch, and Zuleika perhaps takes Morrison's pills" (Thackeray 285).

2.9.4 Pursuit of Exactness

Now, achieving exactness and accuracy in the depiction of the Orient became the order of the day. On a similar pattern, Moore said, "[*Lalla Rookh*] is founded on a long and laborious collection of facts. All the customs, the scenery, every flower for

which I have drawn as an illustration, were inquired into by me with the utmost accuracy" (qtd. in Brown 578). Scott's correspondence and journals also reflect that his sources for *The Talisman* (1825), and *The Surgeon's Daughter* (1827) were extracted from authentic resources on the Orient, i.e., memories of the returned officers of East India Company, Orme's history of India, *The History of Persia* (1815) by Malcolm, Sir William Jones's writings, Elphinstone's writings on Kabul, etc. Most canonical Oriental writings were written during the writer's visit to exotic Oriental places. For instance, Sir William Jones wrote his poetry during his appointment as a judge in Calcutta, where he studied Sanskrit. East was a career for the Westerners as William Makepeace Thackeray predicted, "There is a fortune to be made for painters in Cairo and materials for a whole Academy of them" (Thackeray 285).

Writers and artists paid their attention to India also. Some amateur painters portrayed many known Oriental scenes complicit with the European imaginary, though professionals were fewer in number there. Larger numbers who did not happen to visit the East visited the European libraries to collect the data for portraying the characters and other artefacts. People also depended on the reminiscences of relatives, neighbours, and others to supplement their works of art. De Quincey satirized this approach as he said, "Everybody has an Indian uncle" (qtd. in Leask 19).

In Scott's *The Surgeon's Daughter* (1827), Captain Hillary exotically describes India. Exploring his descriptions, it is observed that there was a mushroom growth of palaces and "aromatic shrubs" in India. India is also abundant in the "luxuries of Natch" and other specified Oriental beauties targeting sexual pleasure in their "Eastern domes" (Scott 321). Regardless of its authenticity, it affected the masses. It evoked dreams in youthful minds. It wondered the simpletons and made wiser suspicious. It moved everybody to some extent, depending upon their bent of mind. His descriptions "supplied the themes which had been at first derived from the legend of the nursery." (322).

2.9.5 Colonial Administration and Oriental Obsession

As Thackeray predicted a fortune for the painters in Cairo, similarly, the British colonial administrators and missionaries anticipated a fortune in the exploration of the Orient in India. A few nonprofessional East Indian scholars devised a framework

for the European literati to understand India's religions, culture, and society. Wilkins and William Jones focused on the Hindu religion and translated *The Bhagvad-Geeta* and *The Laws of Manu,* respectively. Multiple volumes of *Asiatic Researches* also played their role in this domain. Another lot of scholars belonged to the employees of East India Company, their relatives, and their mission. They focused on the collection, translation, and publication of folklore.

2.10 Oriental Cultural Imaginary

The intriguing point in these folktales and legends is the Orientalist mindset working behind their collection and translation. The ultimate concern of this effort seems to highlight their defining Oriental characteristics with colonial intervention and appropriation to bring them under the umbrella of the Orient. These folktales and legends are loaded with multitudes of hegemonic ideas and vocabulary in the prefaces, texts, footnotes, etc., to appropriate and create an Orient catering to the European taste and subsequently satisfying their extant cultural imaginary. Eventually, it results in the creation of a targeted Orient of the imagination constructed on the idea of the Oriental excess.

The colonizer folklorists and the missionaries belonging to a powerful nation hankering after the Oriental curiosities in the colonized less powerful land places him at a vantage point. They set his focus on politically exotic and useful information underlying a creative supposition. This information has a truly receptive audience at home. Besides, it carries a multitude of information about the foreign, exotic, and distant lands garnished with fanciful information about the political and territorial Other. It also arouses a desire to know them well to rule.

The stereotypical representation of the colonized is a deliberate attempt to strengthen and perpetuate the White man’s rule, for they devise the text to make a context to rule the colonial Other. Rana Kabbani asserts that the colonizer’s worldview exacted the inscription of stereotypes of the race to validate the “notion of savagery”. Furthermore, the Oriental images attached to the Indians were the “killer of children” and “abductor of women” to invent a justification for the whites to act against the brutality of the natives (Kabbani 4).

At another place, she evinces, “In the European narration of the Orient, there was a deliberate stress on those qualities that made the East different from the West, exiled into an irretrievable state of ‘otherness’” (5-6). Kabbani notices that the nineteenth century allowed the Europeans to express their “imperial confrontation”, suggesting that Eastern peoples were slothful, preoccupied with sex, violent, and incapable of self-government. So, the imperialist would feel justified in stepping in and ruling (5-6). Commenting upon the political and economic concerns, she notes, “Political domination and economic exploitation needed the cosmetic cant of *Mission civilizatrice* to seem fully commendatory (6). Kabbani comments on Burton’s articulation of the Orient and Oriental woman as “Oriental women were thus doubly demeaned (as women, and as ‘Orientals’) while being curiously sublimated” (7).

British Administrators and Missionaries in India exploited the emerging field of anthropology as Kabbani argues that they produced a category of the Orient in which “The Oriental is a mental mummy who is often entertaining, but always despicable” (9). Confounding and abasing became the order of the day, for “If they abased the natives, then their own stature would seem much greater by contrast.” (9). Burton's description of the Sindhi people is pertinent for a study in this regard. His Sindhi man is “unclean”, “apathetic”, and habitually intoxicated. He is also a “coward” in danger and insolent when there is nothing to fear, culminating in a “model of treachery” (9).

About this documentation, Edward Said remarked, the Occident came to document itself. The translation of folktales and legends contributed to the production of some popular pieces of the genre. It was controlled by the prevalent notion of the East and the Orient for surfacing the imagery. The *Arabian Nights* is the supreme example in this regard. The works of British administrators and missionaries in India were also an attempt to find an Other in India through folk narratives. The names of R.C. Temple and Charles Swynnerton are inevitable in this respect. They collected the folklore that undergirded the Orientalist paradigm. Kabbani evinces that “European culture came to be framed by warped representations of the East – since, in the end, the dominant taste and mythologising instinct triumphed” (10).

There is a symbiotic relationship between the collection and translation of the folktales and legends in India and colonial pursuits. There is a claim of the documentation of the folklore; however, it is an attempt to label and construct the Other

and exercise authority over their lands, women, and people. Kabbani notes another commonplace in Orientalism: "… the West knows more about the East than the East knows itself" (10). It reveals that the imagination of the West results in the creation of the East. It happened in the case of the collection and translation of the folktales and legends of Punjab as well.

The dawn of the nineteenth century saw the publication of a plethora of literature in Great Britain to know the lands they occupied. Orientalism emphasizes the presence of "a predetermined discourse" about the Orient (10). Similarly, the Britishers in India were predominantly occupied with certain antiquated metaphors and some archaic concepts. They conditioned their literary and ethnographic ventures with a predetermined colonial discourse. Kabbani notes that "this condition of literary and cultural dependence reduces the orient to a literary cliché." (10-11).

Not only does Kabbani notice that the Orient provides a rich cultural Oriental imaginary to the Europeans, but she also stresses, "for the Orient to continue to provide the Occident with such wealth of personas to choose from, it must remain true to itself, in other words, truly Oriental" (11). She also underlines the obstinacy of colonial legacy in the existing West-East discourse. She suggests that "a serious effort has to be made to review and reject a great many inherited representations" to liberate such discourses from colonial obstinacy (11-12).

The exploration of folklore in India focuses on the production of Oriental stereotypes that warrant the superiority of Western self-respect and Western values to the rest of the world. The picture of subcontinental culture presented in the folktales and legends collected and translated by the British administrators and missionaries is abundant in willful errors conditioned with a great deal of mythomania. It enhances the "We-they" dichotomy already extant in the cultural imaginary of the Europeans through the usage of an appropriated version of Indian folklore.

2.10.1 Creation of a Text Out of Flexible Material from the *Arabian Nights*

It is worth flagging here that the British administrators, their relatives, and missionaries played the same role as the Frenchman Antoine Galland. They, too, joined

the league of the Galland and other orientalists of the *Arabian Nights* as they created an appropriated text out of the flexible material available to them and contributed to the Western phenomenon of portraying an imaginary space of the East. In this case, the Orient is Indian and Punjabi particularly. They were on a career hunt as a scholar of literature, linguistics, ethnography, anthropology, etc. They were their own Indians and Punjabis, as Galland was to his Scheherazade and Flaubert was to his Emma. It is not unjustifiable to say that they were on a venture to tweak an India according to European expectations and desires with the help of their collected/translated folktales and legends.

They not only extended the legacy of Antoine Galland, but they also superseded him as they were better placed than he was in most of the cases. Galland had to translate a manuscript available to him; however, the British in India had the liberty of selecting and collecting the folktales and legends that suited the European cultural imaginary. They also had the power to (un)voice the native informant, i.e., the storyteller. Moreover, their authority allowed them to include and exclude different sections of the stories since they were being collected through orality. Finally, they enjoyed and exercised their position to interpret and comment on the text by introducing the texts through their lengthy prefaces and mostly inappropriate footnotes, explanations, etc.

2.10.2 Oriental Tales as a Commodity and Their Reception in Europe

Kabbani thinks, “The tales yet became another commodity from the East, which circulated around the world like the other commodities of spices and cloths, and were exchanged in humble sea-ports and in elegant salons.” (qtd. in Kabbani 24). Europeans received the folktales and legends with great warmth and enthusiasm as they gave them an escape from “the stern dominion of rationalism” and provided them with “desiring imaginative space and relief from sobriety” (28). She adds that it was the time when “Europeans wished to become acquainted with cultures that were not Christian. The East was an obvious repository of such cultures” (28-29). Pointing towards a big gap, she argues that such tales had a deep impact on the cultural imaginary of many Europeans. They faced difficulty discerning between the “real East” and the “East of the stories”. Hence, “Thus it produced in the European reader’s already susceptible imagination a strange ‘sense of reality in the midst of unreality’” (qtd. in Kabbani 29).

2.10.3 The Manipulative Role of the Orient of Western Imagination

Kabbani asserts, “The *Arabian Nights* was manipulated into an occasion for a sexual discourse, and the tales became valuable as text to be annotated and augmented.” She adds, “The Orient of the Western imagination provided respite from Victorian sexual repressiveness. It was used to express for the age the erotic longings that would have otherwise remained suppressed” (36).

It is quite relevant to say here that the collection, translation, and publication of Oriental Indian folktales and legends was an attempt to parallel and replicate Galland’s model to get fame and attention as Orientalists on one side. On the other, it was an endeavour to establish the incapacity and inappropriateness of the Orient to rule. It also ultimately aimed at justifying the *Mission civilizatrice* and seeking justifications to prolong the British rule and stay in the subcontinent.

Carey A. Watt notes, “the phrase of ‘civilizing mission’ usually conjures up the idea of European colonialism”. She traces it to be a “nineteenth-century expression”. Speaking about the aims and objectives of the civilizing mission, she argues that during the imperialistic era of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, “the civilizing mission was an ever-shifting set of ideas and practices that was used to justify and legitimize the establishment and continuation of overseas colonies, both to subject peoples and to citizens or subjects in the homeland” (Carey 1). To uncover the meaning of civilizing mission according to the “British Raj in India”, she observes that it “meant many things, including bringing the benefits of British culture to the subcontinent in the form of free trade and capitalism as well as law, order and good government” (1).

The British government was “supposed to bring an end to a supposed condition of chronic warfare, violence, disorder and despotic rule in India, and it would institute peace and order in the form of Pax Britannica” (1). She also informs how, through the civilizing mission, a “fundamental *difference*” was posited between the British overlords and their colonial subjects in India, which placed the “Indians and other subject peoples” on purpose “at lower or ‘inferior’ positions in new ‘scales of civilization’, and the British (and Europeans generally) at the top” (1). The civilizing mission also aimed at making the people of India “more civilized and modern”. Hence, it

was all “about morally and materially ‘uplifting’, ‘improving’ and later ‘developing’ the supposedly ‘backward’ or ‘rude’ people of India” (1).

2.10.4 Manipulation of Text under the Pretext of Collection and Preservation

Doubting the accuracy of the text of the *Arabian Nights*, Richard Hole says, “We are of course as much acquainted with the merits of the original as we should be in respect to the former beauty of a human body form contemplating its skeleton” (Hole 10). The readers of the nineteenth century were almost preoccupied with the textual accuracy of the *Arabian Nights*. “They appealed to the intellect seeking cultural data, and they became important as sociological document as well as diverting narrative” (37). Exploring different objectives of numerous writers behind the translation of *Arabian Nights*, Kabbani documents, “Henry Torrens delineated his intention as ‘less to give the incident of a tale, than the manners of a people’”. She finds the culmination of this intention in the translation of E.W. Lane, “where the text is mainly a pretext for a long sociological discourse on the East” (37).

2.10.5 The Pretext of Authentic “Scientific” Representations and Colonial Governance

The colonial administration utilized the pretext of authentic “scientific” representation of the East to execute their colonial administrative agendas. It allowed them to other the colonized natives in addition to ruling them effectively. The writers also had an embedded agenda of obtaining celebrity status back home. This status was impossible without gaining popularity as a field expert. The underlying lack of interest of such scholars was also observable, for they did not pay heed to the genuine authenticity of the things. Their reliance on the Orientalist system as authoritative added fuel to the fire. The praxis of this approach resulted in the pseudo-scholarship of the indigenous subjects and harmed the true representations of the indigenous cultures. The case of the Punjabi folklore was not otherwise, too. R.C. Temple and Charles Swynnerton also followed in the footsteps of the Orientalists. They selected and appropriated the folktales and legends to accomplish their vested interests along with undergirding the foundations of the colonial empire.

2.10.6 E.W. Lane's *Arabian Nights*

Kabbani underscores that "Lane attached to his text the paraphernalia of academic discourse: he introduced, footnoted, expanded upon and augmented frivolous text, making it seem thus an important and culturally reflective one" (43). She notices that he exercised his authority to misrepresent certain facts and trope the East with multiple images already existing in the European cultural imaginary through his narratives. She asserts, "Lane upheld many of the traditional epithets about the Easterner in his narrative. He considered the native to be indolent, superstitious, sensually over-indulgent, and religiously fanatic" (39). It should also be remembered while discussing Galland's *Arabian Nights*, Kabbani argues that he "created a text out of the flexible material he had at his disposal". She also asserts that besides being a translator, he was also an "inventor of a Western phenomenon", and his circular narrative "portrayed an imaginary space of thousand and one reveries" (23-24).

2.10.7 Inclusions and Exclusion

Kabbani also notices the technique of interruption and omission employed by the Orientalists in their narratives. She refers to certain narratives in which "a scene where certain details were augmented, and others carefully omitted" and "when describing a mode of behaviour he wished to employ existed in the East – and only there - he would interrupt his own account as being too risqué for an erudite European to write, or a respectable European to read". Here, the writer wanted to emphasize the sexuality of the Orient to mark that "the East was full of strange apparitions, and some were too erotic or too violent even to be evoked in the language" (39-40). In Saidian parlance, they aimed at projection of the East as the "living tableau of queerness" (Said 103).

2.10.8 Commentary/Glossary/Footnote

Digging deeper into the intentions of Lane behind the translation of the *Arabian Nights*, she thinks that his intention was "to present the Orient as fully as possible, to contain it in a narrative, to comprehend its elements and to fit them into an amenable structure" (Kabbani 44). In Saidian terms, Lane wished to achieve the "imposition of a scholarly will upon an untidy reality" and to appear only in the persona of annotator, translator, and lexicographer. (Said 164).

Following the tradition of using the “text as a pretext, " the British people collected, translated and published folktales and legends. They also manipulated the text according to their agendas. They never hesitated in documenting and critiquing the tales based on their own experiences and the experiences shared by their fellow Englishmen whose authenticity remains unchallenged as per their viewpoint. Kabbani pinpoints, “Their authority cannot be suspect, for they are guarded against the possibility of dubious testimony by the strength of their nationality.” (Kabbani 39). She adds, “Europeans in the East depended on each other’s testimony to sustain their communal image of the Orient” (39).

The attitude of the English writers in the subcontinent verifies the statement of Kabbani as it can easily be explored in their writings that they refer to other fellow English writers working in India to validate their statements and findings. Furthermore, they used the space of preface, index, and glossary to establish their deceptively descriptive and enumerative approach in the field of literary and folkloric scholarship. British in India also exerted to stage the “living tableau of queerness” and “decadent East” in India through folktales and legends.

It is also relatable that British folktale and legend collectors exercised their authority and took advantage of their position while documenting and translating the folk narratives. Not only did they exclude many parts by calling them of less or no significance, but they also included several explanations of the incidents and events that suited the agenda of strengthening British rule on the empire.

2.10.9 The Name Game

Lane attempted to develop a narrative “conforming to the ethical codes of middle-class morality. It strove to inform without offending, to place before the Victorian public an East tailor-fitted to please”. Moreover, he was also interested in uplifting his status as a literary scholar by translating and publishing a book “that would nevertheless bear the imprint of learning”. Almost every Englishman who translated the *Arabian Nights* had an underlying agenda of getting the status of an Orientalist scholar. Critiquing Lane and Burton, Kabbani says that Lane’s “prudery ended by complementing Burton’s pruriency: each man used the *Arabian Nights* to express his

personality and his preoccupations, and both of their texts taken together illustrated the contradictory penchants of the Victorian age" (45).

2.10.10 Burton's *Arabian Nights*

Besides being a British official, Burton was another Orientalist with a keen interest in Oriental writings. He was among the first British officials who quickly realized that the East was a commodity, and he had a career in it. His translation of the *Arabian Nights* has kept him alive in the field of Orientalist scholarship to date. He also strove to explore his ideal Oriental woman and East on the pages of the *Arabian Nights*. "Burton's fascination with the *Arabian Nights* was greatly enhanced by the fact that they upheld his views on women, race, and class" (48).

Culturally, "The tales of *Arabian Nights*" aimed at addressing "an all-male audience desiring bawdy entertainment." She carries on, "They were purposefully crude and pandered to the prejudice of the uneducated men who listened to them being narrated" (48). Nevertheless, Orientalists like Burton use the "flexible material" to mould it and bring it in a form that is acceptable and desirable for European society and accommodates the already extant European cultural imaginary. About the representation of the women that Burton emphasized in the *Arabian Nights*, Kabbani states, "Such representations of women were in keeping with the general Victorian prejudice. All women were inferior to men. Eastern women were doubly inferior. Being women and Easterners" (51).

Defining the role of the translated and annotated Orientalist versions of the *Arabian Nights* in consolidating the Orientalist viewpoints, Kabbani claims, "Thus the *Arabian Nights* helped perpetuate the Victorian notion of promiscuous Eastern women, and Burton's translation, in particular, gave added substance to the myth. His footnotes and addenda articulated for the West, the 'carnal' nature of native women." She also informs about their viewpoint regarding Oriental women. She quotes, "Eastern women were not only irrepressively lecherous, but devilish as well." (51). She validates her argument with their commentary as well. Burton says, "Debauched women prefer negroes on account of the size of their parts" (Burton 6). He continues, "In my time, no honest Hindi Moslem would take his womenfolk to Zanzibar on account of the huge attractions and enormous temptations there and thereby offered" (6). Burton contends,

"During the unhappy campaign of 1856-1857 … there was a formal outburst of the Harems, and even women of princely birth could not be kept out of the officers' quarters" (236). His Orientalist approach becomes obvious when he comments, "Orientals are aware that the period of especial feminine devilry is between the first menstruation and twenty when, according to some, every girl is a possible murderess" (212).

Lane seems to be a sober Orientalist vis-à-vis Burton; nevertheless, he also cannot help himself to keep away from contributing to the European cultural imaginary of the devilry of Eastern women. Lane continues that the "things are named, and subjects talked of by the most genteel women, that many prostitutes in our country would probably abstain from mentioning" (Lane 296). Burton extravagates his Orientalist scholarship, and claims, "The student who adds the notes of Lane … to mine will know as much of the Moslem East and more than many Europeans who have spent half their lives in Orient lands" (Burton xvii).

She also argues that the sexual (mis)representation of the Eastern woman was a part of the agenda of the consolidation of the "imperial world-view". She opines, "To perceive the East as a sexual domain and to perceive the East as a domain to be colonized, were complementary aspirations" (Kabbani 60). She also dissects the racial biases underlying such narratives as she suggests, "This kind of narrative did not only reflect strong racial bias – it reflected deep-seated misogyny as well. Eastern women were described as objects that promised endless congress and provoked endless contempt" (59). Kabbani notes, "Burton's footnotes to the *Arabian Nights* were often irrelevant to the text they were annotating, a mere addition to the purposes of entertainment, erotic highlights of a sort" (60).

2.10.11 European Quest for the Orient

Europe had an invariable taste or distaste for the Orient. The topos of the Orient always attracted or haunted the Europeans. "Europe was charmed by an Orient that shimmered with possibilities, that promised a sexual space, a voyage away from self, an escape from the dictates of the bourgeois morality of the metropolis". Europe's reaction to the Orient was ramified in two scenarios. "The European reacted to the encounter as a man might react to a woman, by manifesting strong attraction or strong

repulsion" (Kabbani 67). Europeans found the East to be both erotic and exotic simultaneously. However, "The eroticism that the East promised was mysterious and tinged with hints of violence. The Oriental woman was linked, like a primitive goddess, with cycles of the supernatural" (68).

2.10.12 Kabbani's View on the Creation of Orient

She argues that upon the interaction between the Orient and the Occident, "The onlooker is admitted into the Orient by visual seduction". He is male, European, and "armed with language – he narrates the encounter in a reflective, post-facto narrative; he creates the Orient". Concomitantly, "The Orient, then, is caught in a state of timelessness, crammed full of incidents remarkable for their curiosity or eroticism, hushed into silence by its own mysteries, incapable of self-expression, mute until the Western observer lends it his voice" (73).

2.10.13 The Politics of Difference – Judgement of East Based on Differences vis-à-vis West

Kabbani argues that the "East was judged on its similarity to or difference from the West" (138). To strengthen the narrative of difference, the West always looks for incongruities, exceptions, contradictions, and exclusions to spotlight the otherness of the Orient. Due to the changed power relations and political circumstances, the binary opposition of the Orient and Occident also underwent a gradual change. Subsequently, "the literary fabrication of the Orient became invaluable to the Western imagination" (138). Orientalist Studies were begun to "deepen Europe's acquaintance with the peoples over whom it would ultimately come to have control". Also, "Europe could now afford to study the East calmly and carefully, and as England was the chief world power, it naturally took the lead in this" (138). Consequently, "the reality was often confused with the fabrication of an Orient" and "The East became codified and static in ways that were final; no deeper perception was possible given the weighty heritage of prejudice." Unfortunately, the bulk of the Orientalist narrative concerning the East "was so strongly coloured by bias and supposition." Since it was marred by the bias, therefore, this form of scholarship "lead to an expansion in knowledge of the world, but it was a tainted knowledge that served the colonial vision" (139).

2.11 Various Elements of Orientalist Representation

English society had the inherent capacity to receive and consume the Orient. The Orientalists used different elements of representation to articulate the Orient and disseminate the discourse of difference through its othering. Below is an overview of some of such elements.

2.11.1 Exoticism/Exotic

Julie Park suggests that the prevalence of exotic commodities empowered the English society to use "an exotic idiom for displaying and constructing the self" in a way that "the eighteenth-century 'self' would be forever tied with 'the other', even as the process of domestication gradually softened the marks of novelty and exoticism in foreign goods and eventually made them a 'natural' feature of daily life" (Julie 4-5). bell hooks considers this consumption of the exotic Orient to be a "cannibalistic" activity backed by the politics of difference as she puts forward that "the commodification of difference promotes paradigms of consumption wherein whatever difference the Other inhabits is eradicated, *via* an exchange, by a consumer cannibalism that only displaces the Other but denies the significance of Other's history through a process of decontextualization" (31).

The phenomenon also (un)voices the consumed as only the consumer finds and exercises the opportunity to showcase his fantasies, anxieties, and assumptions. Saidian paradigm views this sort of consumerism as a way in which the West exercises its colonial authority over the Orient through the appropriation of an Oriental commodity that it utilizes to legitimize the existing notions of the stereotypical Orient it is preoccupied with. The exotic and the erotic are elements in the system of Orientalist representation that creates and preserves the colonialist binary of self/ other in which the first term is always superior to the second. To comprehend the praxis of exoticism and eroticism, sociocultural and ideological contexts are indispensable in the Saidian worldview.

The exotic is always conditioned by the elements of time and space. In connection with time, it may be referred to as primal, primitive, embryonic, archaic, etc. Nonetheless, the process followed for the formalization of the desire and the emphasis

laid determines the nature and qualification of the exotic. Sometimes, it is also presented in terms of being infantile to express the indeterminacy of the origin. It can also be noted that in many instances, as the erotic relates to the private spheres, in a very similar way, the exotic relates to the public places to problematize the limits of self, belief, religion, mysticism, “ignoble”, etc. With the location of the exotic and erotic representations in their socio-cultural and historical locales, the referral to exoticism becomes possible and tangible.

The interconnectedness of the phenomenon of exoticism with temporality is more general than the exotic, for its time consciousness is perpetually suspended. With the incongruity of the phenomenon, it activates to redefine the “anthropos” not in a sublime way but reducing to a state of object and assignment of the desired identity through a precise processual dichotomy. The poetics of difference and otherness works rapidly. When a difference is recognized, it surfaces within a fraction of a second to be metamorphosized again to produce another variety as a central manifestation of the theme. However, it is nothing more than the presence of the previous with a subtle transformation.

Segalen suggests that exoticism tends to idealize different eras of time, countries, territories, men, women, children, the aged, etc., and to do this, it borrows the “banal” touristic associations along with the self’s more interiorized exoticism. The colonial administration and Civilizing Mission of the Empire, backed by the long tradition of Orientalism, searched for the prevalent though continuously transformable exotic as they had already colonized and controlled the natives. They had also overcome the fear of the “Dark continent” and “Savage Orient,” and they aimed at exploring the nuances of the exotic for appropriation and propagation of a suitable colonial discourse (qtd. in Deliss 13). They looked for Oriental religions, body language, occult practices, rituals, traditions, customs, music, etc. The roots of exoticism can be traced back to the sense of curiosity, desirable disorientation, and an erotic bodily journey towards some utopian sensations often considered “primitive”; however, in actuality, it is partly invention and partly discovery and projection.

The construction of exotic objects gives rise to an epistemological tension because it involves the representation done by one group on behalf of the other. Nevertheless, the perspective and the voice of the other are under erasure. It tends to

contradict James Clifford's view of the close collaboration between two interest groups as the colonial exotic tends to replicate the Oriental already present in the European cultural imaginary with no or a little bit of transformation and reduces them to an eventual Orientalist resonance of the Other. This epistemological tension also questions the phenomenon and asks to focus on multiple ruptures existing in the construction and representation of the Oriental Other. It also asks for questioning the power relations present between the representative and the represented at the time of the construction of the dichotomic discourse. Hence, it also aims at the location of the continuous dialectic of exoticism to (re)inscribe the erotic/exotic Orient ramifying in the consistent (re)creation of Self and Other.

2.11.2 Eroticism/Erotic

Eroticism lacks any positive implication at large; however, it provides a context to initiate the questioning. It empowers the subject to indulge in the exploration of the public and private spheres of self to generate two different types of discourses, often articulating the former. Luce Irigaray asserts that the "sexual pleasure" is submerged in the body of the Other, and it is produced because the Other, in part, escapes the grasp of discourse" (97).

"Exoticism and eroticism are now considered as textually "subjectified" (i.e., implicit) layers of experience which have to be rediscovered, and it is this presupposition of the linguistic presentation of these two domains which characterizes" the analysis of the anthropological, ethnographic and literary discourse (119). Also, "The construction of the exotic quite clearly involves a different process today" as "the locus of the object of research has shifted from material to text". Subsequently, "Mystery and novelty now become buried in the labyrinths of language and poetics of linguistic discourse" (128).

Therefore, "A textual reflexivity then allows for the creation of mystery in deconstruction" and "Eroticism and exoticism are still suspended between definitions of self and other however indirect experience of the other becomes" (128-129). Eroticism is trammelled within its self-finalized and self-(re)productive discourse; nevertheless, it is worth studying for its representation of the Other's sexuality. This sexuality relates to the anthropic representation of the Other. This study delimits itself to the emergence of "anthrop" in the selected Punjabi folktales and legends.

The problematization of the dialectics of eroticism often jeopardizes the reverse danger of essentialism and reduction; nevertheless, it is practicable to locate a gambit of conditions that reciprocally reflect the phenomenon of distraction and polarization. The collection and translation of the folk narratives contribute to the field of Orientalism and result in the fixity of the representation of the Orientals. It also proffers the cross-fertilization of Orientalist ideas among several academic disciplines through "intellectual" exchange. Not to forget, it is not inadvertent but a conscious and willful process conditioned by multiple factors varying with context and changing power relations. The generation of the discourse of eroticism also provides a fair opportunity to raise certain questions concerning sexuality and power.

The semantic iceberg of the term "eroticism" melts into its multiple dimensions. First, it suggests the Baudrillardian sense of "perpetual seduction of sign" involving the order of reversibility, of indetermination, built upon irony and ambiguity. Secondly, it reinstitutes the hierarchical and dictatorial power relations, resulting in the formation and consolidation of the master/slave and male/female binaries. In the Baudrillardian worldview, femininity is the rule of incertitude that makes the sexual poles vacillate and oppositions impossible (22). On the other hand, Bataille disregards femininity as a particular aspect of femininity and refers it to the writing to/of the body through a process in which the epistemological discontinuities are paralleled with the rupture of the boundaries in the physiological understanding of the self. Hence, eroticism unravels to establish a peculiar relation to the object before returning to the self, i.e., the subject. It demands space to locate itself in certain areas where the body of the mirrored subject becomes the locus and through a negative phenomenon on a selected object.

Now, "fetishism" comes into play to allow the subject to make larger investments in personal fantasies. Masks are used due to their favorability in the process of eroticism. They warrant sudden dispossession of an identity, i.e., self and the acquisition of another, the Other. Here, the subject behind the mask finds himself in an irresolvable problem wherein he is incapacitated to give a true reflection of himself and also to conceptualize this particular shortcoming. It may replicate some already existing stereotypes that may suggest symmetry or asymmetry, but it cannot realize the transformation of its Otherness. However, the object's sense of immateriality seduces the instigator to perceive the Otherness. Hence, the dichotomic play of binaries starts and

hoaxes them at the time of transformation by accentuating some shades. It also encourages gradual fading in the ideal hope to extend the seduction beyond the transition back to its presupposed sense of positivity.

Therefore, eroticism requires necessary mystery to redefine the objects for their erotic elaboration and reject the "absolute" natural symmetries. Similarly, it is also required to parody idealism and aestheticism, and the mask is devised to embody the wearer's superficial identity rather than the in-depth reflection. Such processual transformations ramify in the enhancement of the image of the erotic and erotic introduces us back to eroticism. It is not in a tautological manner but in the modes of representation to materialize the dialecticism of Self and the Other, irrespective of the degree of abstraction involved in the phenomenon. It suggests that making an object erotic means making it other, and this erotic creation or objectification, in the literal sense, is the exotic drawn from some unexplored outside terrains. The concepts of exoticism and eroticism facilitate the hegemonic discourse and imperial gaze. Therefore, Said contends

> …the imagery of the exotic places, the cultivation of sadomasochistic tastes…, a fascination with the macabre, with the notion of the fatal woman, with secrecy and occultism, … For Nerval and Flaubert, such female figures as Cleopatra, Salome, and Isis have a special significance … … they are preeminently valorised and enhanced female types of this legendary, richly suggestive sort. (Said 180)

2.11.3 Demonizing

With the rise of the Industrial Revolution, diverse media, i.e., newspapers, journals, magazines, novels, etc., also became popular. They precipitated the phenomenon of popularizing Oriental images to the Western cultural imaginary. Many geographical adventures were patronaged to collect information about the distant Orient and unexplored places such as the "Dark Continent" (Schneider 20). Also, many ethnographic exhibitions were conducted to introduce exotic flora and fauna to the Europeans. The morphological interests to distinguish the races resulted in the organization of such ethnographic exhibitions. Many animals and human beings were showcased for the propagation and promotion of the exotics among Westerners. In 1877, to "educate" and inform the locals about the primitivity of the other land, an ethnographic exhibition was organized in which various animals (camels, giraffes,

unusual breeds of cattle, elephants, miniature rhinoceros, and ostriches) along with fourteen “Nubian” were exhibited (128).

There was such a huge level of preoccupation with the physicality of the colonial Other that in 1886, in France, Ceylon’s show was arranged to pull a large number of visitors. It included some highly Oriental items such as an “elephant show”, a “devil dance”, a “dance on stilts”, dwarves, snake charmers, etc. A year later, a mock battle between two hostile tribes was enacted in the Ashanti show (136). The reception of such exhibitions soared with every coming year, and an estimate stated that the Tierra del Fuego show pulled 400000 visitors in a couple of months. On a single Sunday, the number of visitors was calculated to be 54000. Such a representation of the Orient provides an understanding of the setting of an Oriental “spectacle” in the Western minds. Both British and French empires nurtured the cultural imaginary of their native Europeans both with ethnographic exhibitions and through the publication of certain printed material concerning Oriental images.

Critiquing the French colonial representational images of Africa between 1870 and 1900, Schneider bifurcates it into two parts, i.e., the “Africa of Exploitation” and the “Africa of Conquest” (151). Comparatively, the image of the “Africa of Exploitation” was favourable as it promoted the image of a continent with untapped “abundant” natural resources that exacted the (re)organization as per European standards. In ideological terms, the “Africa of Exploitation” laid its basis upon economic liberalism and social-imperialism (157). It ignited various socioeconomic interests and enterprises, such as a boost in trade activities, constructing and developing communication routes, and building railroads. In this category, the scientific interests concentrated on physical geography and topography rather than spotlighting indigenous people's physical features.

The image of the “Africa of Conquest” was in contrast with that of the “Africa of Exploitation”, for it was devoid of any relationship with contemporary socioscientific theories. Its pivotal focal point was the elaboration of racist generalizations. Schneider notes that it focused on “despotic” leaders and “unusual religious customs”, and they were “taken as an indication of barbarism and savagery” (162-63). It concluded that Africa and Africans had “inherent biological limitations.” Schneider also elaborates on the presence of the “Africa of the Conquest” over the other as he writes about an exhibition in the “Jardin d’Acclimation” in 1893. The great amusement that the guests at

the Jardin d'Acclimation give the public is the mock battle. The troupe divides into two bodies; one attacks the native village, and the other approaches. Each side is armed with rifles. One should see for oneself how prudently these blacks advance on the enemy! They moved crouched behind their fetishes, hidden behind every fold in the terrain, behind every obstacle they find; the two groups, those who attack and those who defend themselves, advance until they are within firing range of one another. The battle normally ceases not from lack of combatants but from lack of ammunition – where there is no more powder, it stops. In this manner, there is never jealousy among these black people because Pai-Pi-Bri is naturally free, noble, and proud and would never consent to lose, even if only for the crowd (171).

Also, the Europeans expounded and evolved the idea and practice of translating a culture through the collection of objects. It appropriated the transformation of a cultural object to European contact. In this regard, Marcel Mauss, Paul Rivet, and Lucien Levy-Bruhl founded the "L'Institut d'Ethnologie de' 'L'Université de Paris" for the sake of specialization and ethnographic equipment. It aimed to help equip the colonial administrators and functionaries serving in different colonies. It also arranged missions and claimed to make centralized research and investigation in the said field. Diderot problematizes the human interaction between the "cultured" Western travellers and the "savage" natives to connote the European ethical standpoint through the dialogues between two individuals representing the Occident and the Orient, respectively. He is skeptical about the authenticity of the reports based on the lack of explanation and as they end up suggesting that the Oriental savages, almost all of them in their primitivity, can be reduced to abnormality like anthropophagy, extermination, or sexual reproduction (Deliss 111). The representation of the "rituals" highlights the cruelty that allows Diderot to compare divinity and supernaturalism with national and civic laws. Diderot uses the "Adario motif" to comment on the cultural imperialism that precludes the recognition of the local values embodying the "naturalness" and original happiness in the prescribed culture. He also refers to a dualistic antagonism existing between the "artificial man" and the "natural man" (113).

2.11.4 Feminizing

When studying the exotic narratives, it may be a misleading approach to ascertain the differences between the portrayed and projected Oriental foreign land

woman and the Occidental woman at home. The concept of exoticism cannot reify this distinction; however, this is innately present in the text of the narratives. The texts already contain the Other in them, and this Other is already subjugated in the Western model of cultural presentation. In them, the others cannot speak. Therefore, their dimension remains missing. In the texts, the boundaries of the existential self are also problematized. These factors question the relationship between the writer/ethnographer, the erotic self, and the exotic other. The construction of the erotic/exotic/oriental woman can be identified with multiple perspectives.

It can be studied in the context of the idealization of an exotic woman through the use of different metaphors by drawing a parallel between the desire for an Oriental Exotic Other and the Self. Then, the exoticism can also be studied for the identification of the antithesis of an ideal Oriental Exotic Other to emphasize the ignobility of her body, confirming the undesirable character of that Oriental woman who is projected to be an epitome of animal instincts and "savagery". It also informs how exoticism can be used to project the desire as well as repulsion for the Other.

The Greeks followed the classical style for the representation of the exotic woman. They idealized the noble bodily aspects and disregarded all sexual dimensions. This deified image of the woman accompanied an antithesis in the form of a libidinous hag with shrunken flesh and sagging breasts (Bucher 46). She also finds parallel imagery in the protestant representation of the women "wild with sagging breasts" in the sixteenth-century Amerindian iconography. She also associates the image of the hag with the contemporary theory of natural degeneration (63). The "wild with sagging breasts" is outside Western culture and nature. It also implies deformity and ambiguity in the form and shape. It tends to be suggestive of monstrosity and anomaly that ends in the devilish seduction of a holy and pious conscience. This exaggerated distortion of the body of the exotic woman is deliberate in establishing an association between the devil and the "savage" woman.

Kniebiehler and Goutalier (Paris 1985), in "La Femme aux temps des colonies", i.e., "The Woman in the Days of Colonies", find out three salient features in the construction of the Oriental Woman as fantasized erotic and exotic other (22). First, the Orientalists appropriated the Ottoman Empire to use it as the prime image in explaining sensual fantasies and fairytales projected to be the Eden of harems and

lascivious pleasures. In 1704, the translation of the *Arabian Nights* into French prompted artists like Montesquieu *Lettres Persanes*, Boucher, Watteau, and Ingres *Le Bain Turc* to go after the fantastic dimensions of the temporal and spatial Other. During this era, an idea also prevailed that imagined the colonies favourable for sexual/romantic adventures, where polygamy liberated men from socially constructed monogamic constraints. They also highlight how Oriental female cosmetics, languorous pastimes, and fashions concretized the European cultural imaginary about Oriental/Exotic, Other women.

The second image described by Kniebiehler and Goutalier referring to the sexual Eden is that of "noble" and "innocent". This type of exoticism is often used to mask the diverse cultural locales and stereotype the psychological and cultural representation of the female individuals under discussion. Here, authors give local colour to the key traits of foreign culture so that the objects, natural settings, surroundings, the description of apparel, etc., bring a real effect to the reader, and they can compare and contrast the foreign and local cultures. Since these descriptions are superficial, the females and wives in such settings look alike. They may occasionally be charming, curious, or discomforting. Still, they are not worthy to grab the attention that allows one to think about them more than an object out of the prescribed cultural and social milieus. Raciality is also dominant in the description of the costume of exotics as they are considered to be closer to the borderline to demarcate a line between human beings and apes. Due to these reasons, they are considered a misfit in European dresses and inferior to the European race. This Orientalist approach classified the Oriental woman closer to the animality ontologically vis-à-vis the European woman. It also reflects an ambiguous behaviour characterized by attraction, repulsion, and distaste simultaneously.

Their third dimension consists of the topos of the turpitude of exotic islands reigned by immorality. The portrayal of the instinctive inclination of the Oriental woman towards sexual activities exaggerates it. The justification of such a narrative is often attained from "scientific" theories or hypotheses.

2.12 Conclusion

I have reviewed the works selected from the existing scholarship on folklore and the multifaceted larger framework of postcolonialism. This literature review defines the context for the analyses of the selected primary texts consisting of oriental folktales

and legends in the fourth and fifth chapters of my study. I have also tried to review and relate the works with my research project to identify the gaps. Through the literature review, I have highlighted the research gaps concerning the Orient's construction, othering and exoticization. The identification of editorial epistemic violence in Grimms' collection of folktales has clued the research to look for the role of collectors' prefaces, glossary, and notes that may (mis)guide the readers. The review of literature has also guided the research to search for the role of the folk narratives in asserting a targeted national character of a romantically exotic, sexually incontinent, and religiously syncretic Punjabi Orient. Moreover, by discussing the construction of the Orient through the translation and publication of the *Arabian Nights*, the researcher has also discovered a pathway to tread that helps highlight the images of the Punjabi Orient that have enriched the already extant European cultural imaginary.

This particular section of the study has enabled me to study the role of the inclusion/exclusion choices exercised by the author's positionality in collecting, translating, and publishing colonially collected folktales and legends. The discussion has allowed me to explore how the selected texts of my study enhance the "We-they" dichotomy already extant in the cultural imaginary of the Europeans through the usage of an appropriated version of Punjabi folklore, valorizing the discourse of difference. It has also allowed me to investigate the presence of various elements considered essential for constructing an Orient in the Orientalist paradigm through the critical analyses of the selected folk narratives. The practice has enabled me to ensue the analysis of the selected folktales and legends in the fourth and fifth chapters of the study. Having reviewed the relevant works, found the existing gaps, and kept the theoretical perspectives that my research questions exact me to follow, I have used a research methodology and methods and a theoretical framework discussed in depth in the next chapter of this research.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The review of the literature has guided me to select the appropriate theoretical perspectives to study my primary texts. I want to look at the selected colonial texts by R.C. Temple and Charles Swynnerton working with Punjab folklore that requires considering the nature of colonial textual operations. So, I shall base my analysis of the texts on models of colonial discourse, in particular on Said's construct of Orientalism. I review the scholarship on discourse theory, postcolonial literary theory, syncretism, and Said's work. That then might show specific angles/tools that can be brought into my analysis; it might show how scholarship so far has favoured Orientalism concentrated on high culture, leaving a gap in folkloric work. It might show a lack of attention to Punjab that needs to be addressed and corrected.

Furthermore, I can also select the most befitting research methodology and research method for the investigation of my project, keeping the research gaps identified in the literature review. This chapter informs of the theoretical framework that I have employed in my research for the analysis of the selected folk narratives. Also, I have described my research methodology and methods in detail in this chapter.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

Under the umbrella term of postcolonial studies, the eclectic framework of my research subsumes certain concerns contributing to the construction and development of colonial discursivity about the colonized territories and subjects. The theories of orientalism, syncretism, exoticism, and epistemic violence guide my study regarding its theoretical underpinnings. I have questioned the colonial discourse comprising the Punjabi folktales and legends with a native gaze and as an insider of the culture and

Islam. To impart clear-sightedness to my study, I have discussed its framework in the following section of my project.

3.2.1 Orientalism

Edward Said's *Orientalism* informs the usage of several strategies of production of the "Other" adopted by the Occident. For a researcher, it becomes imperative to comprehend the role of the propagation of ideologies in forming and disseminating different discourses. It also requires an understanding of the formation of the subject and racialization of identity. Said's *Orientalism* provides theoretical approaches to unwrap the ideological establishment of the Colonial Other. His work also uses the binaries of Self/Other to unfold and inspect the production of colonial identities and racialism. This binary framework also helps to explore the construction of racial identities in the colonial context.

The binary paradigm places one's "Self" on a vantage point vis-à-vis "Other". The colonial Self can be identified as white, heterosexual, Christian, and male. This Self is at the helm of affairs and controls the power relations through its hegemonic discourses and subjugation of the Other. The Other is for granted someone who is different from this Self and utilizes that Other to assert his identity following the belief that we can know ourselves by understanding what we are not. Said investigates the production of the Other by unveiling the colonial mystification of the Oriental East, considered to be the truth of Asia.

3.2.2 The Scope of Orientalism

The scope of Orientalism is quite wide. It instantiates a full-fledged body of knowledge produced about multiple epistemologies, pedagogies, religions, ethnicities, and geographical locations through the usage of a reductive approach classifying all of them in a single category of the Orient; therefore, the Orient becomes an epistemological construct of the Occident. It reflects the imagination of the West about what it is not. Said argues that Orientalism as a field is equipped with a "corporate" and "cumulative" identity, and it is also "strong" because it is associated with "traditional learning" like "philosophy", "Bible" and other "classics" (Said 202-203). It is also associated with "public institutions" and "generically d*etermined writing*" (fantasy, travel books, exotic

description, books of exploration) (Said 202-203, emphasis added). Orientalism results in a specific type of "consensus" on the "statements" aiming at the "*Orientalist correct*" (Said 202-203, emphasis added). Thus, he regards Orientalism as a manner of "Orientalized" or "regularized" writing, study, and vision dominated by the perspectives, imperatives, and certain *ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient* (Said 202-203, emphasis added). Hence, the Orient is administered, taught, pronounced, and researched with discretion. Therefore, he considers Orientalism to be "a system of representation" controlled and framed by an entire league of "forces" responsible for bringing the Orient into "Western consciousness", "Western learning", and eventually "Western empire" (Said 202-203).

Orientalism interrogates power, knowledge, representation, subversion, transgression, etc. It encourages several theoretical lenses, i.e., postcolonial, semiotics, feminism, queer, etc., to develop and post arguments in the said paradigm. Edward Said rightly accounts the Orientalism as a "Western style of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" aimed to achieve and substantiate the "hegemony of European ideas about the Orient, themselves reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness, usually overriding the possibility that a more independent, or more skeptical, thinker might have had different views on the matter" (3-7). Said focuses on how Europeans have invented false myths and images of the third-world Orient to justify their domination over and suppression of the East. Said notices that Orientalism is a well-thought way of distinguishing the ontological and epistemological distinctions between the East and the West. Drawing upon Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault, Said examines how the Western power produces knowledge about the Orient to justify and prolong their colonization.

3.2.3 Orient

Explaining the Orient and Orientalism, Said asserts that Orientalism is "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience." He considers the Orient "the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images on the Other." For the Westerners, "the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of the Orient is merely imaginative. The

Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture." He notes, "Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies, and colonial styles" (1-2).

Orientalism, to Said, is an umbrella term, and he means "several things" from it; however, "all of them" remain "independent". But he emphasizes, "The most readily accepted designation for Orientalism is an academic one", and among them, he includes anyone "who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient – and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist." He continues to say that either in "specific" or in "general" aspects they stand out to be the Orientalists and what they do is Orientalism (2). Said's major motive behind the study of the phenomenon of Orientalism was not to explore the "correspondence between the Orientalism and the Orient but with the internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the Orient (the East as a career) despite or beyond any correspondence or lack thereof, with a "real" Orient" (5). Elaborating on "Orient and Occident" relation, he puts forward that it "is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (Said 5). He does not take it to be "*an airy European fantasy about the Orient, but a created body of theory and practice* in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment" (6, emphasis added).

Continuous investment in Orientalism made it "a system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as the same investment multiplied – indeed, made truly productive – the statements proliferating out from Orientalism into the general culture" (6). The "*positional* superiority" of West empowers the Westerner to be in a "whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand." Subsequently, "The scientist, the scholar, the missionary, the trader, or the soldier was in, or thought about, the Orient because he *could be there,* or could think about it, with very little resistance on the Orient's part" (7). Thereupon one finds

> Under the general heading of knowledge of the Orient, and within the umbrella of Western hegemony over the Orient during the period from the end of the eighteenth century, there emerged a complex Orient suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theoretical illustration in anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial, and historical theses about mankind and the universe, for instances of

> economic and sociological theories of development, revolution, cultural personality, national or religious character. Additionally, the imaginative examination of things Oriental was based more or less exclusively upon a sovereign Western consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an Oriental world emerged, first according to general ideas about who or what was an Oriental, then according to a detailed logic governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires, repressions, investments, and projections. (7-8)

3.2.4 The Role of the Author in the Production of Knowledge

Questioning the polemics of the political or non-political nature of knowledge, Said discusses that no method has ever been devised for "detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of a society." He accentuates the fact that "knowledge is not therefore automatically nonpolitical" (10). Moreover, he asserts that it is impossible for the domain of the "production of the knowledge in human sciences" to "disclaim its author's involvement and his circumstantial subjectivity is always there; therefore, he thinks that while "studying the Orient there can be no disclaiming the main circumstances of his actuality" (11). According to Said, "European and then American interest in the *Orient was political*"; nevertheless, he thinks "that it was the *culture that created the interest, that acted dynamically with brute political, economic, and military rationales to make the Orient the varied and complicated* place that it obviously was in the field I call Orientalism" (12, emphasis added).

Elaborating on Orientalism further, Said states it is "a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts" of the "Oriental world". He continues that it is also "an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also a whole series of interests" that are created and maintained "by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape, and sociological description". He calls it "a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world" (12). Keeping the arguments above in view, he argues

> … it is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with *power political* (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), *power intellectual* (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), *power cultural* (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what "we" do and what "they" cannot do or understand as "we" do." (12, emphasis added)

The dominance of "political imperialism" over an "entire field of study, imagination, and scholarly institutions" subsequently makes "its avoidance an intellectual and historical impossibility" (Said 14). What interests Said most "as a scholar is not the gross political verity but the detail". He finds himself least interested in the Orientalists' "indisputable truth that Occidentals are superior to Orientals, but the profoundly worked over and modulated evidence of his detailed work within the very wide space opened up by the truth" (15). To explore the relationship between authority and Orientalism, Edward Said argues that "authority" does not have anything "mysterious or natural" in it; he also terms it to be "formed, irradiated, disseminated" and "it is persuasive; has status, it establishes canons of taste and value; it is virtually indistinguishable from certain ideas it dignifies true, and from traditions, perceptions, and judgments if forms, transmits, reproduces" and finally "authority can, indeed must, be analyzed" (19-20).

Here, it is also pertinent to highlight the role of the author during the process of anthologisation. Coleman argues, "Anthologisation is also a form of advocacy, an opportunity for an editor to express a set of personal preferences and endorsements. This is one of the reasons why they are often also so contentious" (Coleman 85). He continues to raise certain valid questions, such as "why has the editor included X but not Y, and what about the largely overlooked and critically neglected Z" (85). He also suspects that the process becomes "evident, and problematic, when works are selected and re-packaged for the purpose of anthological consumption" (84). In the colonial paradigm, anthologisation is closely connected with appropriation. To explain appropriation, Ashcroft et al. opine, "Appropriation may describe acts of usurpation in various cultural domains, but the most potent are the domains of language and textuality" (Ashcroft et al. 15). They also note that "The process is sometimes used to describe the strategy by which the dominant imperial power incorporates as its own the territory or culture that is

surveys and invades" (15). It is equally helpful in the articulation of "social and cultural identities" (15).

These colonial authorial assertions result in the uprising of differences between the colonizer and the colonized. Ashcroft et al. note that the cultural difference "suggests that the cultural authority resides … in the process of how these objects come to be known and so come into being" (Ashcroft et al. 53). Bhabha argues that the process of coming to be known discriminates between the several "'statements of culture or *on* culture'" and imparts authority to the productions of the fields of references through which we tend to order them (Bhabha 20). Hence, the difference emphasizes one's awareness about the "'homogenising effects of cultural symbols and icons'" and emphasizes the questioning tendency towards "'authority of cultural synthesis in general" (20).

3.2.5 Said's Methodological Devices

Strategic location – "a way of describing the author's position in a text with regard to the Oriental material he writes about" and *strategic formation* – "a way of analyzing the relationship between texts and the way in which group of texts, types of texts, even textual genres, acquire mass, density, and referential power among themselves and thereafter in the culture at large." He uses the "notion of strategy" to identify the problem of the Orientalists while addressing the Orient, i.e., "how to get hold of it, how to approach it, how not to be defeated or overwhelmed by its sublimity, its scope, its awful dimensions." To make his framework more comprehensible, he writes

> Everyone who writes about the Orient must locate himself vis-à-vis the Orient; translated into his texts, this location includes the kind of narrative voice he adopts, the types of structure he builds, the kinds of images, themes, motifs that circulate in his text – all of which add up to deliberate ways of addressing the reader, containing the Orient, and finally, representing it or speaking in its behalf. (20)

Critiquing the Orientalists, he puts forward, "Every writer on the Orient (and this is true even of Homer) assumes some Oriental precedent, some previous knowledge of the Orient, to which he refers and on which he relies." Also, "each work on the Orient *affiliates* itself with other works, with audiences, with institutions, with the Orient self." Consequently, Said looks forward to identifying an "analyzable formation" among the

"works, audiences, and some particular aspects of the Orient" of "philological studies, of anthologies of extracts from Oriental literature, of travel books, of Oriental fantasies – whose presence in time, in discourse, in institutions (schools, libraries, foreign services) gives it strength and authority" (20).

Said is more concerned with the "exteriority" of the text or "what it describes". Said continues, "Orientalism is premised upon exteriority, that is, on the fact that the Orientalist, poet or scholar makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West." Regarding the Orientalist, he writes, "What he says and writes, by virtue of the fact that it is said or written, is meant to indicate that the Orientalist is outside the Orient, both as an existential and as a moral fact." He notes the Orientalist perspective of Aeschylus in *The Persians* in which "the Orient is transformed from a very far distant and often threatening Otherness into figures that are relatively familiar" (20-21).

Said also points out the "dramatic immediacy of representation" in the Greek play *The Persians* that obfuscates "the fact that the audience is watching a highly artificial enactment of what a non-Oriental has made into a symbol for the whole Orient." Right away, he takes "such representations *as representations*, not as "natural" depictions of the Orient" through the identification of textual evidence. (Said 21 emphasis original). He finds the evidence prominent in "the so-called truthful text (histories, philological analyses, political treatises) as in the avowedly artistic (i.e., openly imaginative text." To explore the evidence, "The things to look at are style, the figure of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances, *not the correctness of the representation nor its fidelity to some great original*" (21, emphases added).

It also establishes the Orient's incapability to speak because "the exteriority of the representation", Said thinks, "is always governed by some version of the truism that if the Orient could represent itself, it would; since it cannot, the representation does the job, for the West, and *faut de mieux* for the poor Orient" (21, emphases added). About his insistence on exteriority, he evinces, "I believe it needs to be made clear about cultural discourse and exchange within a culture that what is commonly circulated by it is not "truth" but representations" (21). The role of language in the development and propagation of discourse is pivotal. In Saidian parlance, "… language itself is a highly

organized and encoded system, which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange messages and information, represent, and forth on." He puts it emphatically, "In any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as *delivered presence, but a re-presence, or a representation*" (21, emphases added). It all contributes to the production of an Orient, and "The value, efficacy, strength, apparent *veracity of a written statement about the Orient therefore relies very little, and cannot instrumentally depend, on the Orient as such*" (21, emphases added). To the reader, "the written statement is a presence" for "having excluded, displaced, made supererogatory any such *real thing* as "the Orient" (21, emphases original).

As the ramification of the continuous phenomenon, "Orientalism stands forth and away from the Orient" means that to impart sense, Orientalism "*depends more on the West than on the Orient*, and this sense is directly indebted to various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clear, "there" in discourse about it." (22, emphases added). The Orientalized "representations rely upon institutions, traditions, conventions, agreed-upon codes of understanding for their effects, not upon a distant and amorphous Orient." Since the European approach to conceiving the Orient became more "scientific" in modern Orientalism; therefore, it found an opportunity "to live in it with greater authority and discipline than ever before. Subsequently, Europe had an "expanded scope" and refined techniques to address the Orient. Such developments also paved the way for "viewing the linguistic Orient" along with "a whole web of related scientific interests" (22).

Regarding the cultural ramifications of Orientalism, Said suggests, "Orientalism responded more to the culture that produced it than to its putative object, which was also produced by the West." It also establishes a history of Orientalism with "both an internal consistency and a highly articulated set of relationships to the dominant culture surrounding it." When Said tries to analyze and show different shades of Orientalism, he also questions "how Orientalism borrowed and was frequently informed by "strong" ideas, doctrines, and trends ruling the culture." Therefore, the Orient has multiple dimensions, "there was (and is) a linguistic Orient, a Freudian Orient, a Spenglerian Orient, a Darwinian Orient, a racist Orient – and so on" (22).

Having discussed the "material effectiveness" of Orientalism, Said calls his perspectives to be "historical" and "anthropological" as he believes "all texts to be

worldly and circumstantial in of course ways that vary from genre to genre, and from historical period to historical period" (23). Said does not set free the individual writers for their contribution to the field of Orientalism, as he believes "in the determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts constituting a discursive formation like Orientalism." He also inquires how Orientalists benefitted from Orientalism to impart their texts "the kinds of distributive currency they acquired." He thinks his work is "the dialectic between individual text or writer and the complex collective formation to which his work is a contribution" (23).

To situate Orientalism in the field of literature, Said asserts, "For students of literature and criticism, Orientalism offers a marvelous instance of the interrelations between society, history, and textuality" (23). Furthermore, "the cultural role played by the Orient in the West connects Orientalism with ideology, politics, and the logic of power", such concerns are "the matters of relevance", he thinks, "to the literary community". Orientalism concerns "the strength of the Western discourse, a strength too often mistaken as merely decorative or "superstructural"". Said expects to "illustrate the formidable structure of cultural domination and, specifically for formerly colonized people, the dangers and temptations of employing this structure upon themselves or upon others" (25).

The nature and scope of Orientalism reduce the Orient to a phenomenon as Said suggests that the "intellectual power", i.e., Orientalism, was a sort of "library or archive of information commonly and, in some of its aspects, unanimously held. What bound the archive together was a family of ideas and unifying set of values proven in various ways to be effective." He also informs that the Orientalists employed the ideas to record the Oriental behaviour for "they supplied Orientals with a mentality, a genealogy, and atmosphere; most important, they allowed Europeans to deal with and even to see Orientals as a phenomenon possessing regular characteristics" (41-42).

I have used the Saidian lens of Orientalism to critically evaluate the construction of the Orient and subsequent Other in the selected folktales and legends from the colonial scriptorium of Punjabi folklore. I have unfolded various mis/representations of the colonial others, and I have also pinpointed several strategies employed by the colonizers cum folklorists to streamline and appropriate the Oriental folk narratives for the European audience exploiting their positional and power axis.

3.3 Syncretism

"Syncretism is a contentious term, often taken to imply 'inauthenticity or 'contamination', the infiltration of a supposedly 'pure' tradition by symbols and meanings seen as belonging to other, incompatible traditions" (Shaw and Stewart 1). In this critical sense, Islam and Christianity which are notionally taken to be the "world religions" turn out to be the prime examples of syncretism particularly in the missionary and theological writings. Many historians and anthropologists, name a few, Wagner 1980; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Handler and Linnekin 1984; Marcus and Fischer 1986 tend to criticize concepts like "cultural plurality" and "authenticity" while pointing to the "invention of tradition". Semantically, the word is derived from two Ancient Greek words, *syn* meaning "with" and *krasis* meaning "mixture". Plutarch develops an interlinkage between the word "syncretism" and "Cretans", *kretoi*. Which literally translates as "the coming together of Cretans; a combination of Cretans". The "syncretism" of Plutarch is quite idiosyncratic; Kenneth George (1992) asserts, "Plutarch's story should remind us that the arena of 'syncretism' is a deeply politicized site of difference, contact, and reconciliation" (qtd. in Shaw and Stewart 3).

The re-emergence of syncretism can be seen in the Renaissance era when Greek philosophers such as Aristotle and Plato started to impact the ecclesiastical reading of Christian theological texts. Erasmus (1469-1536) cherishes the concept that Christianity had accommodated the classical influences; he considered it a positive advancement (Screech 21). This syncretic approach is still delighted by a cohort of modern Greek ideologues and folklorists who see a continuity of Ancient Greek traditions with Orthodox Christianity (Shaw and Stewart 3). Syncretism takes another considerable dimension in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. George Calitux, a leader of the protestant movement, along with certain other theologians, asked for the "reconciliation of the diverse Protestant denominations with each other." (qtd. in Shaw and Stewart 4). The movement investigated the doctrinal issues and "mutual access to each other's ritual of communion and baptism" that were known as the "syncretic controversies." The opponents of this movement disregarded it as "an entirely unprincipled jumbling together of religions." From there onward, Syncretism became "a term of disapprobation denoting the confused mixing of religions" (4).

Bryson evinces that the fourth historical phase surfaced in the second part of the nineteenth century; its usage was again pejorative. Different scholars and students of comparative religion investigated the religious traits of the "Roman and Hellenistic world, characterizing in terms of "disorder", confusion and reduction to a "lowest common denominator" (Bryson 7-10). Researchers have also regarded it to be an "imperialist strategy" used by the Roman emperors "would have all the varieties of mankind called in and restamped at the mint" by "appropriating the foreign cults of those they conquered" (qtd. in Bryson 8). Here, comes the reversal of meaning in Plutarchan sense of syncretism; hence, "syncretism now becomes an assimilative weapon of that enemy". A few scholars have also regarded it to be "an intermediate stage before Christian monotheism". Bryson continues "'Syncretism' thus became an 'othering' term applied to historically distant as well as geographically distant societies, in line with Tylorean evolutionist thinking" (7-10).

Subsequently, the term came into the use of the clerical polemics; however, it has been successful in "giving rise to a view of traditions as 'given' entities which render syncretic forms as 'ambiguous or 'deviant' by definition" (Droogers 16). The melting-pot ideology of America has encouraged anthropologists to find an optimistic colouring in the word syncretism. The researchers like Herskovits (1941) explored the syncretized "Africanism" to trace the history of the Africans residing in America and analyse their "acculturation" to highlight the "myth of negro past", which has ever since validated the "concept of negro inferiority". It cannot be ignored that the concept of the irreversible movement of "acculturation" seems also to be challenged in the past couple of decades in the North American ideology; the fractious multiculturalism seems to be taking precedence over the melting pot; therefore, "syntheses, adaptations, assemblages, incorporations or appropriations are renegotiated and sometimes denied and disassembled" (Shaw and Stewart 5-6).

The term syncretic has remained subject to continuous constitution and reconstitution, therefore vacillating in meaning in different eras. It may involve an "ongoing process of synthesis and erasure." To explore syncretism in any field requires the focus to be given to its discourses, questioning the "workings of power and agency" necessarily. Revisiting syncretism "as the politics of religious synthesis" asks for the consideration of "the antagonism to religious synthesis" recalling the "defence of

religious boundaries" – anti-syncretism (6). Anti-syncretism looks for the "authenticity" that is associated with notions of "purity". Also, "originality" and "authenticity" are not dependent on the concept of purity. They can qualify as "uniqueness"; again, pure and mixed traditions can qualify for purity, and "what makes them 'authentic' and valuable is a separate issue, a discursive matter involving power, rhetoric, and persuasion" (6).

The claim of "authenticity" is not inseparable from the "notions of purity"; it depends on the political acumen and persuasiveness of cultural spin doctors. Nevertheless, in the ethnic, regional, or nationalist discourses, the "premise" that "pure=authentic" consolidates a "nativist" stance. "Studies of religious and ritual change in particular settings suggest the outcomes of such processes are highly variable over time, as specific configurations of power articulate with shifting communities of reference from the local to the "universal" (qtd. in Shaw and Stewart 28). British colonial regime permitted a major positional change in the role of the missionaries. Colonialism carried a distinguished idea of religion as a distinct domain separable from politics, which can be controlled with the imposition of the bureaucratic check. The mid of eighteenth-century had already started to experience vital change due to this advancement in the local temple systems. "This bureaucratic conception of religion, together with the colonial administrative and judiciary system which implemented it, made it possible for Catholic priests to impose an exclusive authority over popular cults" (86). Also, "supported by the colonial administration, Catholic priests helped make concrete the European conception of religion as "a bounded domain of action separate from other domains" (87).

"It is always the specificity of power relations at a given historical moment and in a particular place that triggers off a strategy of pseudo-historical explanations that camouflage the inventive itself" (Sollors xvi). Boas's followers continue to look at the cultures as syncretic formations but the cultural participants "have often resisted such self-ascription" (Shaw and Stewart 137). Nationalism and religious ideology always come into play to resist "against openly embracing the many contributors responsible for any collective identity." Also, the "decisions to acknowledge or deny the relative importance of any group's influence are constantly tempered by a host of political and socio-economic situations". It is always questionable how the "cultural performances have been used to articulate competing ethnic, religious and national interests" (137).

Different communities “accentuate quite different elements” of the “mix” yet “while strategies may vary, intentions are often remarkably similar – the reassertion of community and the construction of a unique cultural heritage” (138).

The struggles for self-determination call for a “sharp public focus” on the “emergence of national or ethnic identity”. The strife started in the backdrop of the First and Second World Wars and paved the way for the “nation-states which were largely couched in terms of anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and national independence”; however, nowadays, many recent movements can be witnessed that “seem rather be directed against the existence of these very nation-states in their multi-ethnic, multireligious and multicultural composition” (153). Initially, concepts like “syncretism” and “anti-acculturative” movement had an “ambivalent relationship in terms of explanatory power (153). However, soon, the idea came into vogue that acculturation does not qualify to “be a neutral term” (153).

3.3.1 The Parallel Politics of Syncretism and Secular Multiculturalism in India

Keeping the complexity of assigning a single meaning to the term “syncretism”, overviewing Berlin in his essay, Peter van der Veer points out that although in history and anthropology mostly, it is used to refer to the “‘borrowing, affirmation, or integration of concepts, symbols, or practices of one religious tradition into another by a process of selection and reconciliation’” (qtd. in van der Veer 185). Before reading the praxis of syncretism in the Indian context, he regards it essential to write the term to be “hardly a neutral one” in modern religious or Christian history as a topic of the religious debate and also as the analysis and description of that particular debate. He further suggests, to problematize the debate, “the term ‘syncretism’ refers to a politics of difference and identity and that as such the notion of power is crucial in its understanding” (185). To him, the matter of stake is also of serious concern, and that is “the power to identify true religion and authorize some practices as ‘truthful’ and others as ‘false’” (185). Without negating the fact that some regard “syncretism” as positive for the promotion of “tolerance” and others negative for the “decline of the pure faith”, he suggests that syncretism in religious societies is parallel to multiculturalism in secular societies.

Peter van der Veer notes that in the history of Christian theology 1519, Erasmus of Rotterdam approached this term "in the sense of reconciliation among Christians", and Calixtus of Helmstadt used it for the first time in a debate in 1645 to "mean the sinking of theological differences" (185). He also notices that on parallel grounds, "syncretism" has also been "seen as the loss of identity, an illicit contamination, a sign of religious decadence" (qtd. in van der Veer 185-6). Religious controversies consider it "a betrayal of principles, or as an attempt to secure unity at the expense of truth." Hence, "Syncretism is seen as a corruption of truth" (186). He also tries to find a relationship between the "emergence of the notion of syncretism" and Lord Herbert's production of "a universal definition of religion" that emerged to be known as "natural religion" in the later days (186). Taylor writes that the Deist perspective prevailed the eighteenth century "that the great truths of religion were all universal and that true religion was ultimately natural religion, open to reason and not bound to particular historical events of revelation which divided one religious community from other" (qtd. in van der Veer 186). The idea was improved on and changed to the notion "that there is only one absolute Truth and that expressions of that Truth are ultimately authorized by the universal, Catholic Church" (186).

He also proposes, "Syncretism as the union of different, supposedly equal, theological viewpoints can also only come up when the idea of absolute Truth is abandoned" (186). However, it could not be materialized in Europe, too, because the Catholic Church always attempted to "establish itself as the single source of authentication" (185). Although seeing the rise of the Protestants, the church's Truth was forced to accommodate "a plurality of religious truths and communities" (186). In the beginning, it resulted in "large-scale civil strife, based on religious differences", and one response to the caused chaos "was the rise of the absolutist state and its successor, the secular nation-state" (qtd. in van der Veer 186). It saw another response in the form of "the combined notions of syncretism and religious tolerance" that often was "condemned as proselytism" (186). van der Veer suggests that "Natural religion" may differ for every person, but their "differences are private matters without political consequences", and such a "conviction remains private and does not operate on the level of the society at large" (187). Comparing "syncretism" and "secular nationalism", van der Veer asserts that "in societies in which secularism is a defining aspect of national culture, the debate

shifts from religion to national culture, from syncretism to multiculturalism and from conversion to assimilation" (187).

Peter van der Veer also traces a parallelism between the duo of "Multiculturalism" and "assimilation" operating in a secular society and "syncretism" and "conversion" working in a religious society. He also notices a "unity in diversity" present in the national culture in which "cultural differences as a sign of national unity" are paraded, and also sometimes "a positive image of the blending of equal elements" is boasted off (187). The metaphor of "melting pot" is a prime example of such claims of positive images. Nevertheless, such an "'*E Pluribus Unum*" is also contested by some separatist voices that refer to "the negative imagery of loss and contamination" that aims at locating the "pure origins and clear boundaries" (187). Peter van der Veer analogizes the failure in both cases, i.e., "failure of conversion" in the case of syncretism and "failure of assimilation" in the case of multiculturalism. In the former, it is the incapacity of the "church apparatus"; in the latter, it is the incapacity of the "state apparatus" (187).

The questions are also posed to the so-called entire success of the project of melting pot in the wake of the permission of the parade of the cultural difference among the public and consequent "celebration of difference in the heart of assimilation machinery" (187). "As long as the cultural difference is, like religious difference, something practiced in the margins", it remains "depoliticized"; however, "as soon as difference is emphasized", subsequently, "it becomes a political issue of the first order" (187). While making a comparison between "syncretism" and "multiculturalism", van der Veer carries on to suggest that "a radical opposition between religious tradition and secular modernity is untenable". He also recalls how "the problems of the cultural pluralism" have been portrayed as the "'transitory ills'" of the "traditional societies in the Third World". Exploring the "postcolonial context of India", he overviews current "debates and conflicts which are in India largely conducted in religious terms" and notes that "both ethnic and religious identities are important in India". He also writes that in India, "syncretism" and "multiculturalism" can be used interchangeably in the contemporary nation-state (187).

While locating the history of the "continuing violence between Hindus and Muslims", he refers to the partition of India and Pakistan as the "most important political fact" of South Asia in the twentieth century. He thinks that Indian political parties like

The National Congress Party attempt to project India as a site of secular "multiculturalism", guaranteeing a peaceful coexistence of several religious and ethnic communities in a projected secular. This "institutionalization of difference" is an important feature of modern India. The "secular nationalism of India sees the role of the state as that of an arbiter of inter-communal disputes, which transcends the various communities that make up Indian society" (187). The matter of religious representation is always crucial in India due to its "potentially disruptive nature of politics the unifying role of the nationalist imaginary is crucial" (189).

Religion has been used by the political stakeholders as a ploy in post-partition India as it has been by the British Empire in the pre-partition period. Among the Indian nationalist leaders and some factions of media, there is a common notion of believing in the existence of a "'folk culture' or a popular religion' in India which is at the grassroots level 'pluralistic' and 'tolerant'" (189). Also, some Indian intellectuals like Ashis Nandy have tried to project the "Western, liberal utopia of 'multiculturalism'" onto a '"traditional society'" to mark a sharp distinction "between faith and ideology" (189). Nandy describes faith to mean '"religion as a way of life, a tradition which is definitionally non-monolithic and operationally plural"', and he explains religion as an ideology to be the "religion as a sub-national, national or cross-national identifier of populations contesting for or protecting non-religious, usually political or socio-economic, interests." He continues, "Such religions-as-ideologies usually get identified with one or more texts which, rather than the ways of life of the believers, then become the final identifiers of the pure forms of the religions" (Nandy 70).

Nandy claims to find the "religion-as-faith" among the "non-modern majority of Indian society" living in remote rural Indian areas. Nandy's notion seems to be conditioned by the politically emotive ideologue of Gandhi, as Nandy himself writes

> Gandhi used to say that he was a *santani*, an orthodox Hindu. It was as a *santani* Hindu that he claimed to be simultaneously a Muslim, a Sikh, and a Christian and he granted the same plural identity to those belonging to other faiths. Traditional Hinduism, or rather Santan dharma, was the source of his religious tolerance. (91)

Peter van der Veer notices the presence of discourse in India, articulating

> … the religious violence we see all over the place is the work of shrewd manipulators, of fanatic religious and political operators. This is, of course, *a kind of discourse which is very similar to that of the current authorities and their colonial predecessors.* (van der Veer 190)

Not only does van der Veer see the overlapping of the colonial and the current Indian nationalist discourse, but he also raises his brows at the authenticity of this passivist image as he sees "the contemporary, nasty facts of rising communal violence in India". He also gives reference to the Babri Mosque dispute in which the "Hindu nationalists launched a political campaign to replace the so-called Babar Mosque in Ayodhya with a Hindu temple", and he also tells about the collateral damage caused by this dispute as "Thousands of people have died in riots between Hindus and Muslims over this issue" (190). After the demolition of the Babri Mosque in 1993, van der Veer necessitates "to examine critically the notion of the essentially tolerant and pluralistic character of Indian civilization".

"Indian Islam" is the term that shows the syncretic elements mixed in true Islam. Aziz Ahmad – a historian – says, "Indian Islam represents a mosaic of demotic, superstitious and syncretic beliefs" (Ahmad A. 44). Imtiaz Ahmad argues, "the Islamic theological and philosophical precepts and principles on the one hand and local, syncretic elements on the other' are integrated in Indian Islam" (Ahmad I. 14). Robinson alleges Imtiaz Ahmed "of deliberately emphasizing syncretism to show the 'Indianness' of Indian Islam" (van der Veer 192). Referring back to Nandy's "pluralism", van der Veer doubts the possibility of the creation of harmony and tolerance by a syncretic "borrowing from one tradition into another", and he also proposes that "In some contexts, one would almost be tempted to propose an inverse relation: growth of syncretism implies a decline of tolerance" (192).

His material data also negates "Nandy's notion that there is a relation between this kind of syncretism and communal harmony", negating the discourse of their colonial predecessors (194). I have studied my primary texts in the light of the syncretic reflections of van der Veer and see how a syncretistic Indian Islam is portrayed in the selected Punjabi folktales and legends. I have also given the indigenous response to colonial folk narratives by locating the syncretistic Indian Islam, subsequently showing the hierarchal positioning of the Muslim saints vis-à-vis others and also the invention of the syncretic tradition contending the true orthodoxy. The syncretistic colonial portrayal

and projection of the Hindu or Muslim saint are some of the main objects of my research project.

3.4 Epistemic Violence

Epistemology is an important branch of the discipline of philosophy that tends to raise questions such as "What is knowledge?" (Greco 1) to identify the scope, nature, and limits of knowledge. All claims concerning the domain of philosophy require epistemological questioning and attention. It also deals with the problems of knowledge concerning beliefs, truth, and justifications. Classical had an absolutist view of epistemology; however, the later theorists emphasized knowledge's "relativity or situation dependence" and also "its continuous development or evolution, and its active interference with the world and its subjects and objects" (Lisa and Callan 43). The postmodern paradigm challenges the absolutist and foundationalist approach of knowledge grounding resting on the foundation of the discourse of rationality. It interrogates the privileged epistemic discourses due to the want of socio-political and cultural contexts. Klein suggests that the recent epistemologies pose a lack of "rules for belief acquisition that are appropriate for all peoples and situations" (35).

The epistemologies of postcolonialism, feminism and subaltern studies reject the basis of absolute knowledge and justify knowledge as a causal condition. These theoretical paradigms question the production, dissemination, and subjugation of knowledge forced upon the subjects. Gayatri Spivak uses the notion of epistemic violence to unfold it within the premises of imperialism that subsequently constructs an epistemic other schematically in the colonial/postcolonial discourse. As an exponent of poststructuralism, Foucault renounces the traditional frameworks of epistemologies and suggests new ways of evaluating such epistemological predicaments.

He rejects the ahistoric approach along with the manipulated justifications and propensities of universalization. Foucault's concept of episteme is crucial to his epistemological foundation. He considers the historical to be "a priori" that shapes different discourses and possibilities of the creation of knowledge in an era. He argues the notion of genealogy to be an "insurrection of subjugated knowledges"; it is basic to developing a critique of the dominating absolutist epistemological theories. (Foucault 81). He uses genealogy as a method to unfold the marginalized discourses and also looks

into the historical constitution and reconstitution of a subject. The subjugated knowledge is scrapped by the mainstream, and it is also thought to be insignificant due to its nativeness. Foucault explains subjugated knowledge as "the historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence of formal systemization", and he thinks of them as the "blocs of historical knowledge which were present but disguised within the body of functionalist and systematizing theory"; Secondly, he talks about "a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity" (81-82).

Subjugated knowledge remains in contestation with everything surrounding it. It is historically labelled to have slighter significance and corroborates imposed cached principal knowledge forms that are historically submerged through the power praxis. O'Farrell thinks that Foucault argues that archaeology is an investigative procedure used "as the method of strategically disseminating such knowledge so that it can be effective for people's struggles" (68). Foucault's theorization has strongly influenced postcolonial studies; it also cues Spivak and Said to develop their epistemological frameworks of the postcolonial analysis for the critical analysis of the colonial discourse to unveil the schematic generation of the knowledge about the colonized and also to analyze the governing manners used by the imperial powers to unvoice the subaltern knowledge/s.

To contest the monolithic controlling epistemic claims and parallel production of knowledge, Spivak introduces the notion of "epistemic violence". Khatun interconnects the problem of epistemic violence with the question of "how power and desire appropriate and condition the production of knowledge" (4). Barton views it as a subjugation through "a mechanistic, phallogocentric mode" (150). Hubbard argues that epistemic violence occurs as a ramification of the phenomenon in which upfront "power involves or arises from knowledge" and subsequently formulates historical discrepancies to silence the terrain of knowledge (301). Godrej advocates it to be "an appropriation of otherness for one's own purposes, and an exertion of hegemonic control over the text or its adherents"; it is empowered to shake the epistemic foundations of the subjugated through silencing or erasure (91-92). Desai et al. view that the Spivakian notion of epistemic violence engages "the specific transactional elements involved in particular collaborative projects of knowledge production" (61). Gilson proposes that it investigates

the reinforcement of justification schemas used for the approval of projects like "'White Man's Burden' and 'Civilizing Mission'" (33). To Cary, it is "an imperfect allegory of the way violence is part of the possibility (the production) of epistemological spaces" (14).

Spivak addresses the issues of colonial performances through the identification of epistemic violence. With the help of epistemic violence, she questions the exploitative and strategic historicity of colonialism. Donaldson asserts that the concept of epistemic violence "describes one of colonialism's most insidious yet predictable effects: violating the most fundamental way that a person or people know themselves" (51). Human beings turn out to be the subjects of epistemic formulations. The process of deliberate archiving veils the legitimate subjects and sources, and the West emerges as the subject in effect. The praxis of the epistemological privilege empowers the West – subject – in terms of its socio-discursivity to obscure the oppressed. The colonial discourse shapes its subjects by producing them schematically with privileged knowledge to highlight the difference. This production of knowledge is conditioned by the epistemological assumptions of Enlightenment that are absolutist. Subsequently, this onto-epistemological schematic taxonomy of imperialism drives toward constructing an "objectified Other" (Yu 20). The formulation of the West as the subject can be considered to be the extension of the self to claim the knowledge of the Other. Its worldliness "violates the subjectivity of the colonized by obliterating any trace of their ontological and epistemological existence" (Godrej 301).

Spivak invokes Foucault's "subjugated knowledge" to trace the epistemic violence. Comparing Spivak's and Said's investigational methods, Kennedy argues that her "formulations of a theoretical model of the heterogeneous experience of colonized subjects focus more on the modes of functioning of the power and discourse of the imperial center than on the resistance of the colonized" (126). Therefore, Spivak contends that texts should only be read, interpreted, and placed as an integral part of social and political realities with undercurrents. In the opinion of Castro-Gomez, power relations involve the development of ideologue; therefore, "the colonial imaginary permeated the entire conceptual system of the social sciences from their inception" (219). Eliade overviews the repercussions of Enlightenment in words by writing, "We have indeed pillaged other cultures" (68). The colonial episteme can be explored for this

epistemological pillage constituted by certain uniform theoretical assertions corresponding to a propensity to give a privileged position to select knowledge in the hierarchy of subjugation. Oldmeadow underscores the colonization of knowledge through the dominant narratives to create a series of stereotypical representations of the Orient as "irrational, despotic, oppressive, backward, passive, stagnant" and "feminine" "East" (8).

The epistemological construction of "other" cannot be free of the implications of powerful colonial nexus. The manipulated hegemonic misrepresentation and the historical discourse imprison the other in its native culture and history compared to the dominant universalism. The discourse generated on the fundamentals of universal is deep-rootedly ethnocentric and controlled by the axis of power, and the subject formed is a corollary of asymmetric power relations. Spivak's focus is on unfolding the praxis of power in the process of knowledge production that is situated within binary oppositions. She gropes for the substitutive accounts of the colonized narratives vis-à-vis historical interventions of the Europeans. Her notion of epistemic violence aligns with the Saidian theorization dealing with the construction of the colonial subject through the praxis of epistemic violence. Her *Can the Subaltern Speak, Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism,* and *The Rani of Sirmur* deal with the location of a similar agenda.

Spivak thinks that the formation of an epistemic other is accomplished schematically with the help of certain strategies involving an imaginary conception. This sort of imagination undergoes the phenomenon of knowing the unknown through the universal. She also terms the Western project of theorization, the subject aims to construct "the subject of the West or the West as Subject" (Spivak, "Can the Subaltern" 271). And the subsequent, the colonized "other" turns out to be an inevitable artefact of the colonial discourse of the West. Foucault avers that institutionality has the power to form "effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge" for the formation of the subjective "other" (Foucault 102). Spivak poses questions that challenge this dominant form of the production of knowledge used by imperialist institutions. She also thinks it to be mandatory for an intellectual or critic to unfold "the discourse of society's Other" (Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak" 272). Spivak critically evaluates several imperial schemes in the field of literature, culture, history, and philosophy to unveil the configuration of the epistemic other as a distorted appropriation. Europe's act

of forming itself as a sovereign subject and its colonies as the other is an unignorable factor in studying the programmatic production of knowledge.

In this process, Europe uses the "Third World" as a "convenient signifier" for the articulation of an alternative historical description of the "worlding". Also, the sovereign subject is empowered to do the systematic documentation and theorization of the colonies. Besides it, the Third World suffices to be a privileged discursive field where legitimacy is granted to the role of the West as a subject to know/construct the other (Spivak, *Rani of Sirmur* 247). Such a representational worlding of the other concocts a silenced signifier – an object of knowledge. Foucault's concept of "overhaul" of episteme informs about the treatment of sanity to bring it in accordance with Europe's history of the eighteenth century. Spivak appropriates "overhaul" to critique the colonial discourse for critiquing the much deeper implications of colonialism. For her, "epistemic violence is the remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other" (280-281). She continues that this project is "also the asymmetrical obliteration of the trace of that Other in its precarious Subject-ivity" (281).

Spivak investigates the proximity of the colonial educational program of Lord Macaulay and the systematization of Hindu law as colonial education amplifies the production of law. She discusses the four sources of foundational Hindu texts, i.e., *sruti* (heard), *smitri* (remembered), *sastra* (learned from another), and *vyavahara* (performed-in-exchange) (281). Spivak emphasizes the lack of correspondence and continuity in the first two sources and asserts the last two to be "dialectically continuous". She claims that the theorists and the practitioners of law do not know whether the texts provided the basis for the development of a law body. Hence, she declares this heterogeneous constitution of legal prosecution illogical "internally" and freeing at either end through a binary approach to encompass a narrative codification. To her, it is a form of epistemic violence.

Imperialism aims at the creation of an indigenous class to create the native informants' elite class through colonial education who help the colonial administration in the extension of their administration. In Spivakian words, the colonial other is constructed within the epistemic premises. English education does not empower the colonized but prepares them to reject the local world. Spivak locates the formation of the self-consolidating *other* through Macaulayan education. Educational projects like this are

also the explicit imperial phenomena to conscientize through dominant political ideologues.

Representation is another tool of epistemic violence; mis/representation through a structural formation with regards to unexplored knowledge. While analyzing Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire*: *vertreten* "speaking for" and *darstellen* "re-presentation as in art or philosophy", Spivak unfolds two types and levels of epistemic representation. The inscription of the colonial other as "faulty and inferior beings" prioritizes the self as a subject through the development of knowledge and consciousness (Lister 51). In the context of the representations, Spivak identifies the praxis of epistemic violence in British India wherein is "an alien legal system masquerading as law as such, an alien ideology established as the only truth, and a set of human sciences busy establishing the 'native' as self-consolidating other" (Spivak "Critique" 205). The text-inscribed blankness is not corroborated as the space of production of the *other,* but she regards it to be the dominant's displace for the self-consolidating procedure. Such modelling of an imperceptible and translucent subject also suggests the perpetration of epistemic violence that silences and buries the subaltern subject in the text. Here, intervenes the notion of "double origin". There is the hidden manoeuvring behind the British efforts to exterminate the custom of *Sati* (widow sacrifice); the other one comes out to be the justification provided by the classical Hindu Vedic traditions. Consequently, the self emphatically shifts the "consciousness beyond the point at which monocentrism in all spheres of thought could be accepted without question (Ashcroft et al.12).

The archives of the colonial era are central to the location of the epistemic violence perpetrated on the colonized through the generation and imposition of episteme on/about the *other*. Archives constitute a huge scriptorium of colonial knowledge about the other and claim to be a repository of the "facts" about it. According to Spivak, This colonial knowledge and its method of production of knowledge should remain "always open to question when one deals with writing or other inscriptions" (LaCapra 92). Spivak also suggests, "for the early part of the nineteenth century in India, the literary critic must turn to the archives of imperial governance as her text" (Spivak "Rani of Sirmur" 250). Regarding the study of nineteenth-century English literature, Spivak determines the need to know the imperialistic role played in the domain of the

representation of culture in the social politics of English society as it was the "imperialist project, displaced and dispersed into modern forms" (Spivak "Women's Text" 243). It should also be read with an eye to how the colonizing cultures of Europe developed a discourse of the Worlding to constitute the Third World through the cultural and epistemological exploitation of their literary heritage. There is always space to identify the production of knowledge with a set framework of programmatic adulteration and infiltration.

The schematic knowledge production and the textuality are interlinkable in the Spivakian view. Textuality corresponds to the emphasis of theory and practice to spotlight the veiled, silenced, and ignored elements through reduction. Nevertheless, Spivak goes one step further to say that "the notion of textuality should be related to the notion of the worlding of a world on a supposedly uninscribed territory" (Spivak and Harasym 1). This radical textuality underlies a colonial current of imperialism with the assumption of the territorialization of the uninscribed space. The imperial self-targets the indigenous culture and literature that are epistemologically unvalued to engrave this space. Hence, "a world, on a simple level of cartography, inscribed what was presumed to be uninscribed" (1). "texting, textualising, a making into art, making into an object to be understood" are also the ways to assume this world (1). Spivak also asserts that looking at language positioning in terms of a paradigm is also a form of worlding (1). Also, the text as "life", "fact", and "practice" are worlded in the colonial discourse of epistemic violence.

Spivak explores the spatiality and temporality of texting for the location epistemological undercurrents of the text making. Her treatment of text as a "fact" also explores an interrelatedness between the ideologies generated through knowledge and power and politico-cultural domains. In colonial discourse, the "fact" is a misrepresentation instead of a reinscription that is fabricated for the reinforcement of knowledge about the *other* to know it schematically. The praxis of such textual epistemic violence is a notion to transgress the unmentioned colonial mission designed to educate the subject. Worlding is a dynamic process that aims at generating knowledge to reinscribe the text while assuming an epistemic blankness imposed on the existence and the experience of the margins. Hence, textuality is a nexus of power relations that situates the texts to challenge and demarcate the imperial power's laid boundary lines.

The colonial *self* is secured by making the colonized indulge in the process of emotional investment in the creation of "the space of the Other" in his indigenous territory and stepping into the "worlding their own world"; subsequently, the colonized cultivates the colonizer as his master (Spivak "Rani of Sirmur" 253). As Spivak quotes Captain Geoffrey Birch when he sees himself embarking on a journey "to acquaint the people who they are subject to, for as I suspected they were not informed of it and seem only to have heard of our existence from conquering the Goorkah and from having seen a few European passing through' the country" (qtd. in Spivak "Rani of Sirmur" 254). She also identifies the exploitation of the colonial discourse in which they use their colonial power to mis/represent the heterogeneity in a monolithic way. Spivak quotes an excerpt from General Sir David Octherlony's letter where he writes about the hill people to be as "only possessing all the brutality and perfidy [sic] of the rudest times without the courage and all the depravity and treachery of the modern days without the knowledge of refinement" (qtd. in Spivak 254-5). His depiction of the hill people is that of an "object of imperialism", and she continues that the Imperialism yokes the epistemes violently "that will "mean" (for others) and "know" (for the self)" concerning the colonial subject as "history's nearly-selved other" through instances of deletion whereby meaning and knowledge interconnect power" (255).

To explain the colonial production of text, Spivak invokes Freud's essay *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1911). In the essay, Freud introduces the concept of "over-determination" behind the production of images in the "dream-text". Therefore, Spivak evaluates the production of the imperial text in line with the determinate representations. She critiques the colonial representations rupturing the indigenous discourses through the epistemic violence for self-determination. Spivak uses the topos of psychoanalytic transference for the analysis of epistemic sources used for the portrayal of the past's repetitive displacement into the present that impacts the future. Such a notion of transference reflects the construction of history aspired by the colonial intellectuals. It is not desirable to conceive the "narrative of history-as-imperialism as such an originary text, a "fundamental history" (251). Its basic aim is to critique the narrative/episteme that is manipulated and silenced and also to suggest that the tale of "history-as-imperialism" is irreducible.

To highlight the "worlding of the worlds", Spivak investigates the contention and contestation between Birch's intention to save Rani of Sirmur from Sati and Rani's wish to be a Sati. She critiques, "British ignore the space of *Sati* as an ideological battleground, and construct the woman as an object of slaughter, the saving of which can mark the moment when not only a civil but a good society is born out of domestic chaos" (268). She attempts to locate a space of epistemic violence between the colonial object-constitution and the patriarchal subject-formation. She labels the whole episode of the "construction of self-immolating colonial subject for the glorification of the social mission of the colonizer" (Spivak, "Three Women's Text" 251) as the pinnacle of epistemic violence. It is also an instance of the imperial project underlying the objectives to transport knowledge for ignorance and to emphasize freedom for bondage that authenticates the "subject-constituting project". There is a hegemonic description of indigenous epistemology/literature to portray a signifier that is a kind of hegemonic description that is buttressed with imperialist history. This also masquerades the Truth ideologically to depict the natives to be the self-consolidating *other*.

The colonial *self*-producing knowledge practices the institutional power and ideology. Spivak prompts to challenge this institutionally sponsored system of the production of knowledge by practising power and position. She also argues about the intellectual's incapacity to remain in a "non-institutional" space; subsequently, he is "imprisoned with an institutional discourse" where the universals govern and determine the norms ramifying into "doubly displaced" (Spivak, *Post-colonial Critic* 4). She continues, "the institutionalization of the West as West, of the West as the world, there is no extra-institutional space, even paraperiphereal space in terms of Centre-periphery definition is not outside the institution" (5). The notion of imperial *self* perpetuates its idealist champion to be the "universal human being" through internalization for making its partakers humane by educating them. This internalization at its core aims at perpetuating the epistemic violence – "the Western intellectual's longing for all that is not West, our turn towards the West – the so-called non-West's turn toward the West is a command" (Spivak and Harasym 8). The worlding of the subaltern by the violation of its intellectual proprietorship manipulates the subjectship of the knowledge. The English education system glorifies the image of the universal human being. It generates the imperial discourse to muddle the genuineness of the knowledge of the subaltern with the help of the replacement of the inscription.

Ricoeur explicates the *self* and *other*'s dialecticism in which the latter constitutes selfhood in the backdrop of "knowing" (18). Keeping the influence of Foucault and Derrida's writings intact, Spivak calls for locating novel ways to signify the underprivileged and the silenced ones. Palimpsests and subtexts provide a framework to see and value the knowledge of the *other*. The produced epistemic *other* is classified to be immature, unrecognized, and insufficient. Allen thinks Spivak's other is powerful and persuading, conditioned by "something Other, something not valued, something 'subjugated' something that is under the rules of other" (25). Nevertheless, the imperialist narrative posits the knowledge value compared with the "subtext" in a new "palimpsest story". Spivak develops a palimpsestic narrative to create new possible ways of looking into the subjugated knowledge along with the Foucaldian overhaul of episteme. This opening up of a new space for the narration palimpsestically allows for gauging the gravity of the colonial power to subjugate the subaltern's knowledge. Such a subtext emerges to be equivalent to a nontext that emphasizes the nonexistence or erasure of knowledge. This nontext of the subaltern becomes the palimpsestic tale of erasure, silence, unvalued, subjugation, and other. It also leaves the epistemology of other as intentionally unexplored and strategically absent knowledge.

Shaikh identifies the perpetration of epistemic violence that occurs "when a way of thinking is changed so that you construct your object of knowledge in a different way; in other words, how you know is changed" (187). In the Spivakian approach, the text is critiqued in the spatial perspective in which a procedural worlding done to violate the existing knowledge is explored. Her spatial approach challenges the production as well as the administration of a "real" Orient that does not exist and also the notion of the extraneous created experience. Spivak is also cognizant of the matter of ideological production. It is also normative to relate consciousness with knowledge, and the subsequent constitution of social relations through knowledge is also a reality. Considering this, Spivak anticipates doing an ideological reinscription of the colonial texts. Her re-interpretive stance targets and seeks guidance from archiving, critical colonial discourse, historiography, etc. She focuses on the problem of consciousness and the associated issue of the validation of episteme that mainly concerns what a narrative is unable to articulate.

I have used Spivak's critical insights to explore the perpetration of epistemic violence in the selected Punjabi folktales and legends. I have discussed how archiving the Punjabi folktales and legends underlies an agenda of the imposition of misrepresented socio-cultural and politico-religious traditions. I have also unfolded how the praxis of this epistemic violence helped undergird the British Empire to prolong its colonial rule through the creation of a nonexistent other.

3.5 Research Methodology

Since I have opted to make a postcolonial reading of the selected folktales and the legends collected, translated, and published by a colonial administrator and a missionary; therefore, due to the demand of the study, the research has emerged to be exploratory and reflective/reflexive. It exacts the use of a qualitative approach for data analysis. It is in line with Mats Alvesson and Kaj Skoldberg's suggestion in terms of focusing on the "interpretive (and) political aspect of the analyzable content" (Alvesson and Skoldberg vii). Mostly, the interpretive approach to critique the selected texts takes the lead; however, to avoid redundancy and unifocality, I have also validated the critical insights with certain cross-references consulting other relevant sources allowing a diversity of perspectives. It has helped me write a compact conclusion with a variety of interpretations. Reflection in research parlance means "interpreting one's own interpretations, looking at one's own perspectives from other perspectives, and turning a self-critical eye onto one's own authority as interpreter…" (vii). The approach has guided me during the examination of the texts at hand.

Terry Eagleton has simplified Goerge Gadamer's theory of textual interpretations by questioning: "What is the meaning of a literary text? How relevant this meaning is to the author's intention? Can we hope to understand works that are culturally and historically alien to us? Is "objective" understanding possible, or is all understanding relative to our own historical situation?" (58). Keeping it in mind, along with the indeterminacy and relativism of meanings in the postcolonial theories, I have strived to evade a reductionist or essentialist approach. The inductive and subjective nature of qualitative research permits the researcher to go behind the multiple interpretations of a single text, particularly the ones desired by the writer. Terry Eagleton also overviews E.D. Hirshe Jr.'s *Validity in Interpretation* (1967), which attempts to fix the problem of meaning's fixity/unfixity of a text while banking upon the subjective "author-intended

meanings" and the possible objective meanings derived by the readers (58). Hirshe's research method emerges to be suitable for qualitative research conditioned by the interpretive nature. It can also not be generalized because of its process-orientedness and advances assuming a dynamic reality to discourage fixture-making.

Also, qualitative research concerns the comprehension of human attitudes and behaviours emanating from the researched or the researcher's viewpoint. I have again made an effort to justify this by analyzing the selected colonial texts. I have remained open to exploratory, inductive, descriptive, and expansionist qualitative approaches to maximize the application of the contingency and the elasticity of the postcolonial theories for analysing the primary texts of my study. I have not ignored the postcolonial methodologies used in the field of academic research. The mis/representation of the Orient has become an integral part of postcolonial and cultural studies. The subjugation and objectification of the colonized subjects is a traditional undercurrent of the qualitative research methodology and practices. Most postcolonial theorists agree on the marginalization and the misrepresentation of the colonized Orient. Orientalism has often been employed as one of the colonizing tools by European writers with an imperialist agenda.

I have used an eclectic set of postcolonial and cultural approaches to analyze the orientalist traits of the selected texts. I have also focused on the fact of how these mis/representations can contribute to the agenda of strengthening the *Mission civilizatrice* and the British Empire. I have also attempted to raise the native voice to document the indigenous viewpoint concerning the Punjabi culture and the Muslim religions against the Syncretic and Exotic/Orientalist enterprise of the British Raj through the manipulation and the adulteration of the Punjabi folk narratives. My research has also unfolded the emotive nature of the texts under discussion to pinpoint those aimed advantages targeted under the garb of folkloric preservation and publication.

Following Grotjahn's design of research, my qualitative research project uses an "exploratory-interpretive" research design. I have benefitted from any of the non-experimental methods for my qualitative data; therefore, my research is an interpretive analysis. That also permits me to use an interventionary allowance of "asking-doing space" that David Nunan notes to contain "studies in which there is a high degree of intervention, but a low degree of control" (7). In *Research Skills for Students* (2016),

Brian Allison *et al*. describe several research forms under the general banners of Phenomenalism and Positivism. My research subscribes to the former, for it encourages interpretation instead of generalizations. I consider every folktale and legend to be a unique "phenomenon" that has been "conditioned" by different variables like location, culture and time (Allison et al. 8).

Three qualitative research designs, i.e., ethnography, historical research, and phenomenology, imbricate my research. In Norman Denzin and Yvonna's parlance and owing to the tentacular strategies, as a researcher, I have played the role of a *bricoleur* by performing "a large number of diverse tasks ranging from… interpreting personal and historical documents, to intense self-reflection and introspection […]" and my work qualifies the definition of a *bricolage* (qtd. in Schwandt 10). The definition of *bricolage* sanctions liberty to the researcher of strictly following the foundational principles of qualitative research; as Schwandt notes, "the bricolage appears to vary depending on one's allegiance to ideas like hermeneutics, causal explanation, feminist theory, and deconstruction, to name a few" (11). As a researcher, I have benefitted from a single research method that is the most befitting for my qualitative research.

3.6 Research Method

Griffin and Phoenix argue that the research methods "are connected with how you carry out your research" and also the "choice of the method will depend on the kind of research one wants to conduct" (Griffin and Phoenix 3). Because my research questions are exploratory in nature and my research focus is to study folk narratives, textual analysis is the method that I have employed to conduct the qualitative research in this project.

3.6.1 Textual Analysis

The nature and scope of my research allow me to prioritize textual analysis as a method. In "Textual Analysis as a Research Method", Catherine Belsey writes, "textual analysis is indispensable to research in cultural criticism, where cultural criticism includes English, cultural history and cultural studies, as well as any other discipline that focuses on texts" (Belsey 157). I accede to Belsey's interpretation of Roland Barthes's concept of "'destination' of the text" (161) and her explanation of the reader's position,

analogizing it with the common man's position after getting the charge in the French Revolution. About the manifesto of Barthes, Belsey asserts that it "has to locate the reader in the place of the people" who enjoy the liberty of interpreting the text without any institutional restriction or influence (162).

As a researcher of colonial folk narratives, I have to depend on the writer's intention and the secondary sources for the analysis. Innately, folk narrative writers tend to help the reader interpret because they are the medium through which the information is shared; however, a free reader's role remains essential. For the sake of validating the genuine indigenous views, secondary sources, too, help the reader develop the discourse of impartiality. Due to this objective analysis, Belsey argues that the reader can discover and proliferate new meanings by an interpretation that "attends to all the quotations that make up the text" (162). It should also be kept in consideration how people misconstrue the meaning of the reader's empowerment from the study of Roland Barthes's *Death of the Author* (1977). Often, the reader exhibits the notion that the reader completely takes over the author's authority while interpreting the text.

Belsey aptly asserts that the textual analysis aims at unravelling "something new" through the objective analysis; she continues that interpretation invariably "involves extra-textual knowledge", owing to the "first impulse" of the majority of the researchers on being confronted with the "unfamiliar text, is to look up what others have said about it on the internet, in the library, [and] in bibliographies provided for the purpose" (160-162). Belsey's overview of Barthes never allows the reader or the researcher to consume the text at the expense of the authority of the author. It also informs us that a reader should not indulge in the praxis of "vague subjectivism" but read it to underline the differences. Also, it is important to remember that practically the death of the author is out of the question as he/she remains to be the confluence of the disseminated information. It also determines the salience of the secondary sources that equip the reader to go beyond the author-oriented information. It also allows looking for new vistas of interpretation and analysis. Keeping this in view, I have consulted the secondary sources to find "what is distinctive about the text emerges as its difference from all others" through the consultation of "the analogues" (160).

Having said that, it also necessitates explicating the steps I have followed for selecting textual quotations and their analyses. I've selected the quotations concerning

the Oriental representation of Punjabi lovers and saints without failing to inform the reader about the proper context of the selected text throughout the fourth and fifth chapters of analyses. If needed, after paraphrasing them without altering their meaning, I initiate the process of textual analysis. I focus on locating the answers to why the selected writers have used the quoted text by focusing on its different parts. In this respect, I synthesize the co-relation between the particular research question I have asked in the first chapter of my study and, subsequently, the central statement of the problem of my study. Here, the quotes are specifically evaluated to unveil their relevance with Said's concepts of "strategic location" and "strategic formation", van der Veer's critical insights into the concept of "syncretism", and Spivakian topos of "epistemic violence" to help the reader establish the significance of the study.

As my selected texts are the inscriptions of the colonial stakeholders, how they collect, translate, and finally inscribe the Punjabi folk narratives exacts a wholesome debate in the postcolonial context. Besides, because research is exploratory, certain kaleidoscopic postcolonial perspectives encourage the tentacular interpretation of the primary texts. Keeping the authors' intentions in view and without compromising the objectivity of the interpretation, the textual analysis ramifies into the articulation of free and unprejudiced culture to unravel "something". This something new points out the politics of difference existing between the colonizer and the colonized. I emphasize the local interpretation of the folk narratives by supporting my arguments with references from other native inscriptions covering similar folktales and legends. Belsey, too, talks about the multiplicity of the interpretation to note "how interpretations come to differ from each other." She also emphasizes that despite the fact that the "meanings are not at our disposal, we not only iterate them with a difference, however infinitesimal; we also recognize them with a difference, however marginal" (165).

Belsey also believes that the selection of the "text" is essential and imperative for it "sets the agenda" of the research to be conducted, and any text cannot be guaranteed to be dovetailed into a predetermined agenda (167). The textual analysis also warrants that the text guides the interpretation. Due to this fact, textual analysis befits the exploratory research at large. Moreover, the textual analysis does not certify the articulation of any definite answers to the questions or a final resolution of the disputes. In this context, referring to Griffin, Belsey avers, "a text is made of multiple writings,

drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue" and "contestation" (162). It also suggests that when a text is prone to diversity and multiplicity with regards to the cultural influence and the meanings, "there cannot be a final signified" and also "one proper meaning, the reading that would guarantee closure, is not an option" (173). The folk narratives are the site of such cultural and religious contestation. I have presented an analysis with an indigenous gaze; however, the texts are prone to any type of further interpretive critical inquiry.

3.7 Conclusion

Keeping in view the imbricating crossroads of various disciplines, the employment of a single method of research with an essentialist approach is a tough task. It is a fact that multiple varying cultural and textual factors always influence the texts. However, by deploying a single research method, I have attempted to unravel all underlying truths of the text at hand by concentrating on my selected research method. Since I find that the iterative explanation of the research method is not going to add any extra value to the analysis section; therefore, I have avoided mentioning in my research what particular research method I am using while analyzing the text. I also take this liberty by being preoccupied with the thought that my reader has gone through my Research Methodology and Research Methods first before moving toward the analysis.

Having defined my research methods and methodology, I now proceed toward an objective and critical analysis of the colonial narratives under discussion. My critical study of the selected texts aims to seek the answers to my set research questions by employing the predefined theoretical reflections controlled by the above-given research methodology and methods.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONSTRUCT OF ORIENTAL SAINTS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher examines the construction of the Oriental Saints in the selected folktales and legends collected and published by Richard Temple. For this purpose, the researcher has chosen the folktales and legends depicting the characters of a Hindu Saint named Puran Bhagat and a Muslim Saint popularly known as Sakhi Sarwar. The researcher has also used the native portrayal of the saints where available. The researcher proposes that through the portrayal of different versions of folk narratives about these Saints, the colonial worldview concerning the syncretic religious dispositions has been (over)emphasized. The illustration of various rituals, customs, and situations tweak these folktales and legends for the occidental readership.

The research argues that the narration of these tales and legends is conditioned by the Western frame of reference undergirding the colonial Empire. The colonial gaze mis/represents the figures of Hindu and Muslim saints to hegemonize the Oriental folktales and legends through organized Orientalization. This systematic mis/representation allows the colonial machinery to propagate ideological contestations vis-à-vis Oriental regions. It also aims at distorting the religious identities of two major religions of India, i.e., Islam and Hinduism. Temple has purposefully used the legends of Saints of both religions as he theorizes that India is a “priest-ridden society” and, therefore, the Saints, along with their doings, invariably make a considerable part of Indian folk narratives (Temple 2: xii-xiii).

The researcher also argues that to validate his viewpoint, he appropriates Oriental folktales and legends. Temple also puts forward his “favorite theory” to the readers about the religion of an “average villager” of “Panjab and Northern India”, articulating that he at heart tends to be “neither a Muhammadan, nor a Hindu, nor a Sikh, nor of any other Religion” (xxi). He continues to discuss that “his ‘Religion’ is a confused unthinking worship of things held to be holy, whether men or places; in fact

Hagiolatry" (xxi). Temple, purposefully, has selected the "legends of the East" that are "taken up with hagiology" because Temple holds a strong belief that "Saints and holy men are still living power in the India of to-day, and miracles are worked all round us as a matter of daily occurrence and not of much wonder" (xv). To substantiate his viewpoint, he goes to this extent by saying, "I have conversed with a man who fully believed that his father had been raised from the dead (see page 68) as an ascertained fact of general notoriety" (xv).

The study argues that Temple forgets not to tempt the European minds with the description of the character of the Oriental witch in the "Indian story", and his obsession with the Oriental *deus ex machina* and *miraculous vehicles* is evident as he keeps referring to and fro to them. He classifies the "metamorphosis" and "disguises" as the vehicles of a miracle (xviii-xix). Temple emphasizes the role of metamorphosis in the Indian story. He is astonished to find a "metamorphosis" that is of the "most startling kind" in the folktales (xviii-xix). His focus on the exploration of metamorphosis makes him a die-hard Orientalist searching for an exotic Punjabi Orient to further his colonial Self. The research also contends that Temple's subscription to the colonialist view of India as "priest-ridden" is productive for him to single out the folkloric popular saint and everyday faith as a positive counter to a manipulative priestly caste (that might have greater potential to muster opposition to the Raj).

It also contends that his collection of Punjabi folktales and the legends about Puran Bhagat and Sakhi Sarwar is driven by this particular theory, and he is biased to prove the Indian Punjab is a syncretic society that did not have any specific religion. He is misrepresenting the "facts" through the appropriation of the flexible folk material at hand to authenticate his theory concerning the Oriental religions of the Indian subcontinent. The syncretic delineation of the saintly characters problematizes his anthology of folk narratives, for he seems to be searching for the cracks and fissures in the religions under discussion, along with homogenizing two separate codes of living proposed by two different religions. The particular stance prepares his European readers to fantasize about the Punjabi folk narratives about Oriental Saints to augment their Oriental cultural imaginary.

The researcher takes on that through delineating the religious syncretism and sometimes religious animosity, Temple aims to give the picture of almost a primitive and

pagan society that is easily affected and subdued by any supernatural force that it confronts. It also makes the space for the presence and promotion of the Civilizing Mission of Empire in India as a syncretic society is almost a society with no particular religion or complete code of life; nonetheless, the researcher also claims that in this way, Temple is portraying an Oriental society that has no specific religion and whose inhabitants are religiously syncretic who share their saints irrespective of their base religion, i.e., Islam and Hinduism in the case under discussion. This portrayal provides Temple with a space in the Orientalist paradigm, winning him fame and appreciation among the European literati and general populace.

In the study, the researcher contests that the syncretic mis/representation of Muslim Saints in the folk narratives collected by the colonial stakeholders is considerably removed from the reality of the Punjabi Indian society. The exhibition of syncretism in the folk narratives is a colonial strategy to vindicate the Orientalist assertions that they are already occupied with. Therefore, colonial aspirations are projected to be the true representation of Oriental Punjabi society. The dissertation challenges this colonial mis/representation of Muslim saints in the selected folktales and legends as it silences the voice of the Muslims in Punjabi folklore. The Chapter studies Temple's collection about the Punjabi Saints controlled by his syncretic assertions. It also foregrounds how the colonial folklorists portray different forms of sub-continental Punjabi saints.

4.2 Temple's Puran Bhagat

The legend of Puran Bhagat, collected and translated by Sir Richard Carnac Temple in the second volume of *The Legends of the Panjab,* characterizes multiple features of colonial manipulation. It is compared with a native version of the legend of the Puran Bhagat in this chapter to unveil this colonial appropriation. In *The Legends of the Panjab,* the concluding lines are "This is the lay of Puran Bhagat as made by Qadaryar" (Temple, 2: line 969). In the footnote, "Qadaryar" is referred to as "the author" as well; however, the veracity or authenticity of this claim is questionable as the original legend composed by Qadir Yar is still intact and available. Here, Temple has exercised his *positional superiority* in labelling the Punjabi Orient. He has also strived to ensure the emergence of a complex Punjabi Orient suitable for publication and study in the academy.

The anthologisation of the legend of the Puran Bhagat also becomes questionable because of the editorial advocacy and expression of personal preferences and endorsements rendered by Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Although the original legend is composed and published in Punjabi, Taufiq Rafat translated it into English. It allows me to analyse and compare these two versions to validate my viewpoint to spotlight the colonial interpolations and appropriations to strengthen the colonial empire by purposefully establishing and consolidating it. Temple's focus on the exotic cultural imaginary of the Indian Punjabi locale attempts to align the narrative with the *determined writing* emphasizing an *orientalist correct*. Also, the text is replete with the colonial *ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient*.

James Clifford et al. write that anthropologists write culture. It is processed with a presumption that the culture must be reduced for the sake of conveyance in multiple ways. Even though in textualization, the factor of interpretation is always recognized as one of the grey areas. As natural sciences trace their origin back to factual observations and material knowledge, they develop a cultural model not only to equate the culture with the text but also to be understood in terms of a text (Geertz 41-51). Deconstruction is applied to the writing to transfer the discourse that is acknowledged as traversing beyond the linguistic parameters. It also means that the poetics of the analysis of eroticism and exoticism deals with the representations of the texts and images after keeping them on equal status without excluding the element of perception and conceptualization. This provides the appropriate framework for the problematization of the "interpretative" and "subjective" in "writing a culture", in which the novelty and mystery are buried in the mazes of language and the poetics and politics of linguistics.

The making of a successful exotic requires the process of distantiation to bring the subject's reverse self and the idealized object into the limelight, irrespective of the fact whether it disparages the other or not. The scientific and "cultural" advancement of Europe has resulted in delimiting Europe vis-à-vis other continents for illuminating the exotic. The features of European cultural progress are placed and searched in the foreignness of the Other culture to locate the "sameness" in certain ethnocentric aspects like sexuality, intellect, physique, etc. Consequently, these are declared to be "natural" to the indigenous culture and also legitimized to be the final. Such ethnographic differences can be comprehended by reading the exotic closely in terms of both the Self and the

Other. Besides space, time is another significant factor that impacts the distancing mechanism needed for the sake of exoticism. Exotic's temporality always fails to be considered the reference point in comparison with the outward references. It depends upon the narrator to assign an identity to the exoticized object. A narrator can call it "primitive" or "archaic" based on his subjective disposition and underlying agendas contributing to existing or desired power politics. Consequently, the use of the authenticity of time, in general, and that of history, in particular, can be identified as the device to create the exotic in terms of geographical distances and differences.

The legend of Puran Bhagat in *The Legends of the Panjab* starts with the arrival of a Hindu saint, Gorakh Nath, from Tilla in Sialkot. His character is glorified as he is stated to be accompanied by "Fifty-two hundred" visible and invisible disciples with him (line 2). His presence is miraculous, for upon his entry into the city of Sialkot, the "lakes" are filled with water and the "groves" turn green for them (line 6). The description of Gorakh Nath's retinue is reminiscent of Oriental images as it speaks of the excess and the supernatural. The metaphysics of the Orient has always remained to be a subject of interest for Orientalists. It also allows Richard Carnac Temple to dominate, restructure, and have authority over the Orient, accentuating the exotic characteristics of Punjab folklore.

Raja Salwan starts his journey toward the city of Udanagri after meeting Guru Gorakh Nath and being prophesied to have a son only if he married Achhran – the daughter of Chaudhal. On his way, he plays "Chaupur in the midst of the desert plains / with the Four Saints... celebrated for righteousness and faith" (lines 23-24). In the footnotes, Richard Temple writes, "I think it is clear that *Char Pir* are meant here" (377). He continues, "The Char Pir or Four Saints are the reputed founders of all the sects of Musalman *faqirs*" and gives their names: "They were (1)' Ali himself; (2) Khawaja Hasan Basri, … (3) Khawaja Habib Ajami or the Persian, … (4)' Abdu'l- Wahid bin Zaid Kufi" (377). Temple's *strategic location* requires serious attention because he has focused on building a pure Oriental structure, corroborating his *Orientalist correct* by highlighting his selected Oriental images and themes. He also does not fail to speak on behalf of the Orient. How he confidently certifies Four Saints' names exemplifies his *strategic location*.

Qadir Yar's original Puran Bhagat starts with the birth of the saint Puran Bhagat. He begins with, "Attend closely: A son is born / to Sialkot's ruler, Raja Salwan (Qadir Yar, lines 1-2). All the details documented in R.C. Temple's legend before the birth of Puran are extraneous, and there is an abundance of images in it that make Temple's narrative exotic and erotic. Furthermore, his explanations reflect his pure Orientalist approach, where he attempts to designate a particular Oriental role to the characters of the legend. He also endeavours to showcase the moral depravity of Muslims to enter the Orientalist circle of scholarship and join hands with them. The depiction of a scene in which four saints and a king who belong to two different religions are playing a gambling game is enough to remind the European readers of something from their existing cultural imaginary established by reading an orientalist work like *Arabian Nights*. Temple's strategic formation is reminiscent of the Eurocentric approach. It is revealed when he attempts to find the commonalities between the Punjabi and "the Greek and Roman classics" to acclimatize the Punjabi folk narratives with the European locale and exercises his allegiance with the European tradition (Temple, 2: ix).

It is also noteworthy that the righteous and faithful saints are shown indulged in playing the unlawful game of "Chaupur" to scandalize their characters. While explaining the game of Chaupur, Sir Richard Temple writes, "Gambling can be carried on by betting on the various throws and on the result of the game" (Temple, 1: 244). Temple's version continues to mitigate the characters of the Four Saints, for they become helpless in front of King Salawan because "When they cried twelve it fell six, and when they cried six it fell four" (Temple, 2: line 25). He says Salwan "won the game from the Four Saints, and the Saints Lost" (line 26). This part of the legend aims to glorify the Hindu saint and denigrate the Muslim saints.

This portrayal suggests the superiority of the Hindu religion to the Muslims as the Four "righteous and faithful Saints" lose a game of "Chaupur" from a king who has the blessings of a Hindu saint. It is not difficult to observe the ideology of the divide and rule that is working through the verses of this legend. This ideology suits the colonial administrators and their colonial adventures to establish and maintain power relations per their needs. In Kabbani's parlance, before dividing the natives, they are first devising them to bring them into an appropriate form where they can eventually justify their invasion, subjugation, and colonization. It refers to Richard Temple's strategic location

too. He has been a Cantonment Magistrate in the Ambala district. Therefore, according to Saidian perspectives, his writings cannot be detached from his personal and professional life.

This manipulation aims to document a rivalry between Hindus and Muslims in India. In the backdrop of the Independence War (1857), the colonial administration propagated and promoted the idea of divide and rule to highlight and widen the rift between Hindu and Muslim communities. Also, at the beginning of the legend, Sir Richard Temple tries to establish Raja Rasalu as "the Hindu legend the king who successfully fought the first Muhammadan invaders of India" (375). In The *Legends of the Panjab*, Richard Temple successfully Orientalizes the image of Indian women following the images already existing in European cultural imaginary. For example, when Salwan is going to marry Achhran, different people tell him about her beauty and nature. Upon reaching the gate of her city, the guard tells him about Achhran as a "lovely woman" (line 43) who beautifies herself with the perfumes prepared from "sandal-wood" (43). Her beauty has attracted many princes from their homes, and they have fallen victim to the "angel of death" (line 44). Her brutality is exaggerated as she cuts off the heads of her victims and throws their corpses under her feet. The guard threatens him to leave the place and save his life (line 46). It also equates to the demonization of the Oriental female, which is one of the essential elements of Orientalizing the Eastern female.

Here, Achhran is portrayed as an exotic creature who is a combination of beauty and beast. She is beautiful and deadly and, therefore, erotically exotic. Scenting of her with the sandal-wood is another exotic image. Europeans loved to know about the cosmetics of Oriental women and their exotic details, frequently assimilating them into their culture. Her act of cutting the heads and throwing the bodies of the Rajas who come to win her hand again evokes the image of a deadly Oriental woman, accentuating her vampire-like character. To emphasize the animality of the beautiful Oriental woman, it is portrayed that the kings come to win her hand but struggle to remain alive to return to their homes. It is another attempt to highlight the image of a conventional Indian woman that is tweaked to cater to the taste of a European reader by making her an exotic and oriental creature. Even a pitcher is shown to be complaining about her cruelty as it says to King Salwan, "Never have I been cleaned: The Princess is a very bad woman", and if

you happen to be a wise king, you should not marry her (lines 68-69). Achhran again is spotlighted as a Rani who is cruel and unclean, unsuitable to be married by a king of Salwan's rank, status, and wisdom. The lines highlight the Orientalized character of an Indian woman through Rani Ichran, who is filthy and uncivilized. Otherwise, this has nothing to contribute to the development of the plot of the legend.

The Orientalists linked the antique notion of the affluent East with eroticism. Kabbani asserts, "The luxury of wealth is associated with libidinousness and idleness. Easterners are seen as decadent languishers", and they "do not exert themselves as do the energetic English." The English Orientalists emphasized the descriptions with "a predictable similarity and reinforced each other to create a definitive edifice of sexuality and despotism" (qtd. in Kabbani 18). The Orientalists described the scenarios that "summed up the East for the Western readers: a sexual lieu, a despotic and capricious one to boot. … The cruelty of the Oriental in narrative constructions went hand in hand with his lasciviousness" (19). She accentuates the "crystallised dichotomy" by evincing, "the West is social; stability; the East pleasure, unrestricted by social dictates" (21).

She exposes the concept of the sexual Eastern woman existing in the European cultural imaginary. She proposes, "The Europeans retained a sense of sexual expectancy from the East, having encountered in both mythological and theological texts the prototype of the seductive Eastern woman" (22). Kabbani critiques the tales of the Arabian Nights, "they were mentioned by historians or literary commentators, to the level of inferior entertainment" (23); however, Europeans used them to draw the images of the Orient from them at large. She continues that there were multiple versions of Arabian Nights tales. However, "when a European encountered these stories, decided to translate them, and produced a set text that remained in the currency for over a century (1704-1838) that, they became institutionalized in the way they were known to the West" (23).

On similar patterns, the orientalization of Achhran continues as her necklace speaks, "Thou should not marry the Princess Achhran, the destroyer of man" (Temple 2: line 75). Rani's Couch complains to Raja that she is heavy, like an ass "weighing four mans" (line 81), and it also stipulates his wisdom with his decision not to marry Achhran. Here, another image of the Oriental woman is evoked to highlight the animality of the woman who is a sort of she-animal. Even when Raja has

married Achhran, people bid them adieu on the occasion of departing them, saying, "With joined hands we pray, save us from the Saints" (line 86). To understand Temple's notion of strategy, the study of his analyzable formation allows the readers to spotlight his attempt to institutionalize the Punjabi female Orient by depicting her animality and demonic nature.

In the footnotes, Richard Temple refers the readers to an already given footnote on page no. 378 explaining line no. 24 to understand and relate the word "Saints". Keeping that explanation in mind, it becomes evident that he tries to highlight the animosity between Hindus and Muslims through the line where the former wants to be saved from the ill-doings of the Muslim saints. The image of the Brahman – the Hindu religious priest – is also exalted as a person who enjoys great respect, perks, and societal privileges. He is powerful as he can see the future and influence the kings regarding worldly and private affairs. Just see how a Brahman persuades Salwan about his son to "put him into a pit" upon his birth. Also, the dominance of Brahmans is highlighted here. "Brahmans were given cows and villages as alms" (line 111). This particular fact also bespeaks the higher positioning of the Hindu Brahmans vis-a-vis Muslim saints. It also unfolds the manipulation of religious institutions to seek financial benefits. The strategic location of Richard Temple also allows him to take sides with the Hindus to promote and endorse their religious superiority against the Muslims. The active participation by the Muslims in the War of Mutiny in 1857 can be the root cause behind this politically triggered stance.

The episode describing the lineage of Lona is extraneous and suggests specific female roles, making her seductive, sex-object, maid, dependent, cursed, etc. The incapacity of Lona to fly after touching an eggplant is associated with the superstitious nature of Indian society. In the footnotes, Richard Temple writes, "It is often thought to be unlucky to eat the *baingan* or egg-plant (aubergine)" (388). The subservient role of the Indian woman is accentuated as Lona readily accepts herself to be at fault for touching the eggplant in front of Raja Indar and seeks pardon. The female nature is again ridiculed through the words of Indar, who regrets having "… a jealous wife at home that is very wicked" (line 144). Not only does this depiction of Lona align her with his *Orientalist correct,* but also as an Oriental female, which can be added to the extant

cultural imaginary of the European readers to certify the Eurocentric strategic formation using his particular notion of strategy.

It also reflects her dependence on men in the patriarchal Indian society. When Pipa hands over her to the "Chammar" family, she is told to live alone in a melancholic state without having the company of her mother or sister. Temple emphasizes the nature of the Indian menial "Chammar" for being dishonest as he deceived the "Sandal tree", telling it that the river "Ganges" flowed through his house and he would take it there (line 174). Again, the rift dividing the Indian society into several caste systems is also captured in the legend as Lona answers Salwan's request to give him some water, saying that she is a tanner's daughter and belongs to a "lowly caste" and she can cause him bad luck and disgrace (lines 187-188).

Having married Luna, when Raja Salwan is on his way to return to his homeland, a partridge speaks on his right side and a black crow on his left (line 231). The speaking of these two birds is also explained as "Bad omens" in the footnotes by Sir Richard Temple (395). It emphasizes the image of the superstitious Orient, who believes in the occurrence of bad omens. The image of the Oriental Indian woman is also accentuated through the character of Luna, for after reaching Raja Salwan's palace, she says to her maid to the city in haste to bring her a "fit man", for the Raja Salwan is of "no use" to her because of his old age (lines 237-238). These lines refer to the sexual incontinence of Indian women who remain unsatisfied with their husbands and indulge in acts of adultery to satisfy their sexual needs. Also, the sexual incontinence of Oriental Indian women is highlighted through the character of Hira, the maid of Luna. When she goes to the city to find a suitable match for Luna, she swoons, looking at the beauty of Puran Bhagat. The demonification of the Oriental woman continues in the legend as Luna plots to trap Puran Bhagat to fulfill her sexual desires. She complained to Raja about the insolence of Puran as he had shown obeisance to all except her. She also blackmails Raja to ask Puran to visit her palace, and she might stab herself if her request is not acceded to (line 255).

These lines also emphasize the tantrums of a sexually charged woman ready to do everything and pay any price to accomplish her sexual wants. This episode of demonization does not stop here, and the fuel is added to the fire through the words of Achhran as she forewarns her son Puran Bhagat about the brutality of Luna, who

would slay him on seeing his youthful beauty. She adds that Luna embellished herself with many garments and ornaments and had been a "maid of Indra's Court and a great horror" (line 270). She considers herself a voluptuous woman who cannot decipher between a son and husband when she becomes sexually inclined to someone. The episode concerning the voluptuousness of Luna also allows Temple to replicate the images of the sexually incontinent Oriental women frequently found in the previously existing Orientalists' narratives. It is advantageous to refer to the Orientalist narratives about the Eastern *Harams* abundantly found in Orientalists' literature. Besides ensuring the consolidation of the orientality of his exaggerated Punjab culture, he also attempts to add a new wave of strategic formation that can be used as a referential point for studying the Punjabi Orient.

Lunan is again portrayed as a sexual pervert who does not even spare her stepson to soothe her sexual desires and kill him. Her proclivity to beautify herself with several garments is also an exotic feature. In the end, again, Achhran forewarns Puran to save his body as its loss is irrevocable. The last line emphasizes the superiority of the male body over the female and subsequently validates the exotic oriental culture wherein male members have the liberty to do everything; however, they must take care of their bodies as its loss may cause the loss of honour and powerful position to them.

The sexually incontinent demon inside Lunan is brought into the limelight as she speaks to Puran to seduce him with her "joined hands" (line 278) and pleads not to call her mother. She invites him to her bed and presents herself to Puran as "the bow" that is "ready to use" (line 292). Here, Lunan is offering Puran an opportunity to be in bed with him as she finds him to be a perfect match for her. Her uncontrollable sexuality brings her to the point where she joins her hands and asks for the favour of copulation from her stepson. Luna seduces Puran using repeated alluring words. When she cannot tempt Puran, she changes her tone and begs for the alms of sharing the bed with him. She persuades him that they are not biological mother and son, for she has never breastfed him and has not biologically begotten him; therefore, she thinks it justifiable to have a nuptial relationship with him. Her aroused sexuality makes her a true representative of an Orientalized woman desperate to satisfy her bodily needs at any cost.

The customs concerning the methods of lovemaking and sexuality are characterized to be primary qualifications for Oriental Otherness, even though the

censorship of such narratives not only distorted the originality of the version but also excited the Europeans to know more about the Orient. The censored/distorted versions of the narratives included several prejudiced distortions, such as the Hottentot women, along with many others articulated by anthropologists, scientists, travellers, missionaries, administrators, etc. The Romantic image of the "noble savage" paved the way for and augmented the (re)creation of the "artificial savagery" of the Orient in travel, folk, and other anthropological discourses. Tracking down the European exploitation of the image of the "noble savage". The gaze of a traveller, ethnographer, anthropologist, etc., sets the tone for the initiation and the culmination of the discourse about the native lands and natives. It also helps universalize the expression of the Otherness in its absolute form by specifying the identity and culture. It also enables the outsider to localize the exotic; it means that they may have a designated name and identity. However, in terms of European expectations, they conform to the European concept of the Other with regard to the topos of erotic and exotic, i.e., nakedness, animism, fetishism, cannibalism, promiscuity, etc.

Lunan feels highly excited about meeting Puran. Her sexual passion is set ablaze like "the (public) oven" (line 307) that she thinks can only be put out by Puran. She is prepared to go to any extent to win the body of Puran. Lunan offers to kill her husband – Salwan – if Puran fears him. She also tempts him to offer him power and instigates him not to think low. All these offers surface her image of an Oriental woman who does not hesitate to sacrifice anything to satisfy her sexual desires eventually. The image of an Oriental female existing in the European cultural imaginary is again highlighted here. Luna is determined not to let Puran go without bringing him to her bed and asking him to mount her bed. She thinks of herself as not accountable before any court for the immoral act of copulating with her stepson, not even before the Court of God. She asks him to agree to her demands, or he should prepare himself to be ruined.

She has been objectified as an object of horror and a powerful lady. She is conspiring enough to turn the fortune of anyone in the kingdom of Raja Salwan. She has the power to do anything in the kingdom, and she can even take Prince Puran hostage and throw him into a well like a helpless mendicant. Her intent to kill Puran makes her a super fatal Oriental woman. She wants him to obey her, or she may turn into a savage woman who can kill him, cut his hands and hang him to make him a sign of terror. Her

monstrosity is accentuated as she admits she has already ruined many young men. Puran's words also consolidate the evil nature of Oriental women saying, "The teacher of the lustful is woman" (line 352).

As she senses Puran will not respond to her proposal, her demon is all awake, and she orders her maid to make the arrangements for capturing and killing him. She commands Hira to "lock all doors" (line 355) and shut "all the gates" (line 356) to stop Puran from escaping her palace. He has not agreed to fulfill her desire, and she "will not let him live" (358). While complaining against Luna to Achhran, Puran is sure; he says his father will be deceived by his "Mother Nuna" (line 372). Achhran also ridicules her character as she questions Puran why he went into that "harlot's place"? And Achhran calls him lucky to be alive even after that (line 375). She portends that Nunan will cause an injury to him under any circumstances (line 376).

The image of a Raja Salwan is also presented in a way that suits the Orientalist framework. He is a king who is superstitious and believes in bad omens. At a place, he says to Luna that he came across "evil omens" as he saw the "violet wind" blowing (line 378). At a point, Puran is also confident that Luna will deceive Salwan. It also establishes the gullibility of an Oriental king. The deceptive and intriguing nature of Luna is again spotlighted when she instigates Salwan against Puran. She slanders Puran for tearing the coat from her "breast into four pieces" (line 389) and for robbing the "golden farm" of her youth and beauty.

Luna emerges to reflect the character of an intriguing Oriental woman. Luna knows the trickery to turn the tables around and achieve her objectives. She does not stop here and speaks to Puran, "Slay Puran, or I will stab myself with a dagger and die" (line 392). Luna is adept at plotting against anyone and getting the desirable results subsequently. To stimulate his anger, she tells Salwan that she has been married to him, but his son Puran has "enjoyed" her "bed" (line 403). Having angered Raja Salwan against Puran, she uses her trump card, saying, "Slay thou Puran or I will go home" (line 404). Raja's gullibility is also evident when, upon Luna's insistence and threats to leave him, he orders the scavengers to "Strike off Puran's head and throw it into well" (line 407).

The dialogue of the Minister against the women and in the defense of Puran Bhagat also proves to be in accordance with the exotic European cultural imaginary about the Oriental woman. He regards the women to be the “poisonous pests” (line 411) who should be kept “in seclusion” (line 412), and despite being given a good environment, “they regard not the honour of their families” (line 413). The dominance of patriarchy is also highlighted frequently in the legend to show the supremacy of the male in Indian society. When Puran meets his angered father, Salwan, he says, “Sons are not always (always) begotten, so why throw thy ruby in the dust” (line 436). The comparison of sons with precious ruby stones refers to the scarcity and value of the kind. It also establishes that sons are taken care of like any other precious kind in Indian society.

Puran’s dialogue with his father also validates the narrative of patriarchy, for it emphasizes the necessity of keeping women within their limits as he ridicules the evil nature of the female and alludes to the futility of putting in the effort to make them understand. He advises his father not to keep the wife too close to his heart as a wife is always capable of destroying the life of someone. She is blind and deaf to the faculties of reason, and her proper place is not the palace but a heap of garbage. The women are detrimental to the men, and they have shown down the authority of the renowned Rajas like “Bhoj” by turning them into female-like characters by putting “in a ring in the nose” (line 447). In Indian society, it is taboo for a male to wear women's jewellery; however, women have succeeded in putting a ring on the nose of Raja Bhoj and making the man dance in front of them. The discussion above refers to sexism and patriarchy, which are part and parcel of Oriental societies in the Western strategic formation. Temple’s narrative, too, strategizes to highlight a point of reference that validates the sexist dispositions of Punjabi Oriental society through the character of Luna. Side by side, it also maximizes the animality of Oriental Punjabi woman who is powerful enough to feminize their male counterparts.

Luna’s trickery is quite evident as she asks Salwan to make haste in slaying Puran on the one hand. On the other, she changes her stance like a chameleon and shifts her attention toward Puran to convince him to hear her words about being her husband. It certifies that the sole purpose of Luna is to be in bed with Puran Bhagat. It attempts to declare Luna a perfect match for the Europeans who always think of Oriental women

ready to pay any price for achieving sexual pleasure. The words of honour and fidelity lose their meanings and genuine sense in a matter involving sexuality.

The savagery of Lunan again comes into play when she hears Puran refusing her offer. She orders the Scavenger Khiddu, “Cut off Puran’s hands”, and she wants to place Puran’s hands beneath her pillow. Lunan also passes an order to Khiddu to take Puran’s eyes out. She wants to have his “blood” for putting it on her “jewels and clothes” (lines 498-500). The image of Lunan as a blood-thirsty oriental female is also evoked through these lines. Her savagery is at its peak when she wants to amputate Puran and keep his hands under her pillows. It is the level of her vengeance towards Puran. She is punishing him for not responding to her sexual offer. Her brutality urges her to take out his eyes, do her makeover with Puran’s blood, and paint her jewellery with the bloodstains of Puran Bhagat.

An instance of metamorphosis is there right after it when a saint consoles Puran, telling him that he and Puran were brothers in the “last birth” (line 510), and in this birth, he has become a “faqir”, and Puran has “born in a Raja’s house” (line 511). Temple’s *deus ex machina* pops up when the doe complains to God about losing her fawn. The colonial contempt for the Jatts of Punjab is also evident in the narrative when Lunan says to the Scavenger, “I am no Jatt’s wife of the Panjab that thou canst deceive me” (line 535). This contempt is because of the physical and political resistance faced by the colonial administrators from the side of some daring Jatts of Punjab. The sarcasm showed for the indigenous Jatt tribe, too, reminds us of the strategic location of a colonial administrator who utilizes his authorial position to avail himself of all the opportunities he finds to malign the tribe that has posed or may threaten the extension of the colonial rule.

Lunan’s lust is again ridiculed by the Scavenger when he speaks to her: "The lust within thee will only be appeased, when thou hast raised thy hut in the market” (line 538). Temple takes pleasure in emphasizing Oriental prurience when he unveils the meaning of the proverbial expression in the footnotes. Upon being questioned by Lunan about the death of Puran, he once again sneers at her for her lust and asks her to become a prostitute. The character of Puran displays a few elements of masochism as well when he willingly allows the Scavenger to “Cut off” his hand and feet, take out his eyes and throw his “body to the well” (line 563). It is another attempt to analogize Punjabi

folklore with the strategic formation of the Orientalists, who had already portrayed the miraculous saints in their Orientalist narratives. Temple here not only complies with the extant Orientalist strategic formation but also devises his novel inventory of the Punjabi Orient without contradicting the previous.

He prophesies that he will meet his mother like a pure saint after twelve years. Temple's version certifies the ideology of the Puranic texts as well. Having a son is thought to be almost a compulsion for salvation; therefore, care has been taken to include it in the collected folk narrative as the Scavenger asks Achhran to take off her "nose-ring" and break her "bracelets against the palace (walls)!" (line 571) for her "son is dead, slain by the shameful Nuna" (line 573). The patriarchal discourse is also propagated through the dialogue of Scavenger when he says, "There is no pair without a brother, there is no name to live without a son" (line 578). Achhran's urge to die with Puran also unearths the dependence of females upon males in India. Salwan's Oriental patriarchy can be noted from his order that he gave to the minions and slaves to "give Achhran three or four blows" (line 591) and to throw her "out of the palace and out of the city" (line 592). Achhran seeks to curse the saintship of Gorakh for the fate of Puran. After his twelve years in the well, in Temple's version, his *deus ex machine* intervenes in the story to play its part in the form of Indra's fairies. Puran requests them to convey his message to Guru Gorakh, who meditated on "the invisible in his heart" and decided to help Puran (line 663). The power of the saint Gorakh is accentuated when he threatens Puran in the well to hit the well with his "(magic) sandals and sink the well into the Hell!" (line 666). He also feels proud to be a disciple of the saint Machhandar Nath and the "mighty saint" (line 668).

The ordeal of Puran Bhagat, too, is an addition to the European cultural imaginary where he is supposed to be "drawn out by a single thread of yarn" (line 676) that should be brought from "an unmarried virgin" (line 678). The Jogis fly to the land of Karu to get the thread where virgins were spinning the wheels. The locale is replete with exotic images, such as an old beldame of a hundred years describing the history of the spinning wheel and asking to get the thread down from heaven. The saint Guru Gorakh's power is exaggerated when he is shown "sitting cross-legged went to the Court (of God)" (line 697). He engaged in dialogue with Indar and asked to have Puran's eyes to make Puran whole. Subsequently, Gorakh "sprinkled pure *amrita* over him and made him

whole" (line 701). From here onwards, a major portion has been designated, in Temple's words, to the "*doings* of Gorakh Nath" (434 emphasis added). An oriental enchantress appears in its full-fledged guise through the character of Sukhi, who charms some seeds of mustard and throws them over the Jogis. Jogis became senseless, and she changed them "into bullocks" and fastened them with "stout ropes" (line 721). Sukhi enchanted and punished them, for they took the milk forcefully. It also indicates the colonial mis/representation of how Jogis exploited the masses in the name of their religiosity.

To mis/represent the miracle-ridden society of India, Temple's version shows Guru Gorakh tossing the ashes out of his wallet into the air to bring his disciple-bullocks back and restore them to their human shape. To seek revenge, he "dried up all wells" in the territory of Sukhi (line 734). When women came to him to request water, he changed all of them to asses. The picture of the Oriental miracle-ridden mindset is portrayed when a beldam of a hundred years asks them to fall at "the feet of Gorakh Nath", and they do so to bring their women back (line 754). Sukhi was also restored to human form at the special request of her husband, Nodha. Again, Puran's voice comes from a hole, and Guru's disciples clear the earth to find Puran Bhagat, who wants to fall at Guru's feet. This episode is to elevate the rank of Guru because the episode of Puran drawing from the well has already been narrated. Earlier, it was said that Puran would get out of the well after twelve years, but now it is told that Puran has spent "six and thirty years" of suffering in the well (line 782). The portrayal of putting the rings into the ears of a newly made Jogi and his conditional ordeal of getting alms from the Rani Sundran is genuinely exotic.

When Puran reaches Sundran's palace, her maid swoons, watching the beauty of Puran. The sexual incontinence of the Indian woman conditions her description of Puran's appearance. She is fascinated by his red eyes, tender age of "twelve years", and beautiful form. She also confesses that she went out of control and lost her senses on seeing him. She is obsessed with the Jogi and is prepared to leave her "service and join the Jogi" (line 806). Rani Sundran comes down with her Eastern cornucopia. She brings a platter of pearls to give him alms. She asks Puran, "Come and live with me" (line 809). She counts her cornucopia in front of him, describing her "many lakhs" and the possession of "countless following" (line 810). She is infuriated at the saint who "rubbed ashes on" him and wants to "slay that faqir" (line 813). Ultimately, she urges him, "Be

thou my husband and I thy wife" (line 814). Puran, the saint, is not interested in the pearls as his Guru Gorakh Nath commanded and wants them replaced by flour or corn on his second visit to Sundran's palace. Seeing him on his door for the second time, Luna "caught Puran by the arms and went up into her palace" (line 823). Puran's oriental asceticism and masochism are evident from his desire to bore his ears and "rub the ashes" on his body (line 834). The Jogis are told to have eaten a " thousand mans of corn" still there remained "countless store" (line 837). It is once again the Eastern abundance emphasized in the narrative.

Sundran is desperate to listen to the making of Puran a Jogi. She became hysteric and approached Guru Gorakh, crying. She is angry with Guru for making him a Jogi as she has spent her goods and money on Puran. Sundran asks Guru to give Puran in alms. She takes him to her palace and offers him "the bed of flowers" with many otherworldly things (line 854). She asks Puran, "Be thou husband and I wife and think not of the saintship" (line 855). When Puran does not heed her request and flees from the palace, she threatens Guru to stab herself with a dagger. It accentuates the image of an Oriental woman wishing to commit suicide if her love is not granted and remains unrequited. Finally, she commits suicide because "Nowhere could she see Puran" (line 872). The miracle of Puran Bhagat is again described on the arrival of Puran Bhagat to his homeland: The water filled the dry lakes, and the dried garden turned green (line 881). Also, the fruits were borne by the trees. The power of miracles in Indian society is seen when Raja Salwan "made his obeisance to Jogi and fell at his feet" (line 896). Another miracle is shown by Nahar Singh when he throws his kerchief at Achhran, and she gets her vision back. Puran unfolds another miracle by giving grapes and rice to Lunan and asking her to swallow them, and she will have a son born to her. The newly born son is also predicted to be a saint by birth. Another reference to a demolishing oriental woman, Silwanti, is given who will ruin the virtue of the Raja Rasalu. Temple's version ends with the departure of Puran from the city to Tilla to sit and live "at Gorakh's feet" (line 968). In the end, as mentioned earlier, the legend is allegedly declared to be from the pen of "Qadaryar" (line 969).

Temple's version of Puran Bhagat exemplifies determined writing targeting the projection of Orientalists' images by exercising his authorial position. His strategic location empowers him to spotlight and manipulate the sexual prurience of Lunan and

Sundran, among other women. Temple's depiction of Raja Salwan also elaborates on the character of a Raja who is incompetent to rule his kingdom and can be overwhelmed by the tantrums of distracting Oriental women like Lunan. Being a colonial administrator, Temple prefers to document and emphasize the portrayals of the local rulers who are almost incompetent to rule their kingdoms. As is the case with Raja Salwan, who is gullible enough to slay his son and kick out his queen. All the details about the religion and saints aim at either augmenting the colonial foundations by accentuating the unreal inter-religious animosities or by emphasizing the unworldly miraculous powers of the holy personages. As discussed above, the unacceptable presence of Muslim saints in the narrative and the unnatural miraculous powers of Guru Gorakh and Puran are prime instances here.

4.2.1 Qadir Yar's Puran Bhagat

Qadir Yar's originally published version of Puran Bhagat is of great significance in the folk and the literary canon of Punjab. He starts the rendition immediately by giving the details of the birth of Puran and the Pundit's advice to keep him in seclusion for twelve years. Qadir Yar's depiction of Puran showcases the attention given to Puran's education and other princely and stately training. He tells how "… learned tutors troop in / to improve Puran" and how "… At six / he is well-versed in the scriptures, / and the arts, and mathematics" (lines 17-19). Puran is a "precious child" who tends to surprise Raja's bowmen with his skills (line 21). This type of glorification and worldly wisdom of Puran is not seen anywhere in the Temple's version. I contend that the absence of this side of Puran's personality in Temple's version refers to the worlding done by Temple and, hence, a misrepresentation and a form of epistemic violence to undermine the character of a Punjabi folk legend. Qadir Yar emphasizes his exceptional skills in "archery and Veds" (line 25). It should also be considered that Qadir Yar was a Muslim poet. Still, he never gives any syncretic details in the legend because he is native to the culture and understands the communal differences between Hindu and Muslim communities. However, Temple's mis/representation focuses on obfuscating the separate Hindu and Mulsim identities by homogenizing them into an Other and imparting them a national hue in their collectivity. It is also notable that Qadir Yar's depiction of young Puran Bhagat challenges the Orientalists' Western strategic formation. This young Puran Bhagat is a sage, a scholar of religion, arts, and other

sciences. He is also entirely inappropriate for an orientalist like Richard Temple because he fails to amplify the discourse of difference – a motive behind the Temple's colonial collections.

Qadir Yar informs the readers about the marriage of Raja with a "tanner's daughter", and he regards it to be the result of Raja's love in his heart due to her stunning looks (line 35). Qadir Yar's Raja is acting against the caste system of society by marrying a menial. This representation also does not befit the cultural imaginary of the Europeans as it unveils the humanism of Raja. Puran's reaction to his father's concern about finding a pretty girl for him who could be a suitable match highlights another image of the Oriental prince that does not become the European cultural imaginary of the Orient. He denies his father's offers, saying he lacks the worldly desire to marry; therefore, he will not marry. He also calls himself a "free soul" who is concerned with the "salvation" and "the love of God" (lines 66-71). It represents Puran's religious and spiritual side. The depiction of Lunan in Qadir Yar's narrative is not that of a cursed fairy but of a menial girl whose physical desire compels her to behave extrovertly and tempt the young Puran. It needs attention that the girl from the Tanners' clan cannot resist the temptation. Although it highlights the caste system, it does not give a supernatural touch to Lunan. Here, Luna's sexuality may spotlight the caste system but does not raise Luna to the status of a girl with an extraordinary lineage.

In Qadir Yar's version, Puran offers his father an ordeal to prove his innocence. He is prepared to dip his hand in a boiling "cauldron of oil"; he continues that if he flinches or a slight burn appears on his skin, no mercy should be shown to him (lines 70-72). It is just the eloquence of Puran Bhagat as he tries to convince his father about his innocence, but he does not undergo any ordeal to prove his saintship. On the other hand, Temple's Puran was thrown into the cauldron of boiling oil and kept on meditating on Gorakh Nath and remained inside for a watch and quarter and also brought out forcefully to exaggerate his saintship and his miraculous personality to give an oriental hue (Temple 2: 415). Qadir Yar's Puran also considers himself to be accountable to God Almighty. When Luna offers to revisit his decision, he says, "… to burn / in hell for this? For a fleeting / moment of pleasure to earn / a lifetime remorse?" (lines 366-369). Again, Puran comes up as a righteous Punjabi prince who does not want to destroy his eternal life for momentary worldly pleasure. His character becomes the epitome of an

Eastern mystic saint who cannot be accommodated in the European cultural imaginary. Again, it is because Qadir Yar's Puran is an adorable Punjabi saint. In contrast, Temple's Puran Bhagat is the invention of an Orientalist mind. He consumes all energies to surface and strengthen the discourse of difference between the Orient and the Occident.

The native voice of Qadir Yar alludes to mythological and historical references of both Hindu and Muslim origin; nonetheless, his allusions are aimed at portraying the deceptive nature of women and not the syncretism or the animosity of the saints of both sides. He condemns them, stating, "… They play / with our fates as we were toys" (lines 393-394). He moves forward to allude to "King Bhauj", who became mad "when they sang and capered" (lines 395-396). He also refers to Joseph, who was thrown into the well and Ravan, who "… succumbed / to their wiles" (399-400). When Puran remained in the well for twelve years, Qadir Yar writes, "a means of mercy is found / for him who was left for dead" (lines 411-412), and Guru Gorakhnath reaches Sialkot. In contrast, Temple's version introduces deus ex machina of Indra's fairies, who convey Puran's message to Guru Gorakh Nath to help him get out of the well and restore normalcy. It shows the logical development of the plot without the involvement of any supernatural machinery. Also, when Puran is taken out of the well with Guru's help, he does not know him, and after telling his story of misfortune to him, he requests him to unfold his story. Guru's disciples introduce him to the saint at this stage as Guru Gorkakh Nath, to whom "… Thousands come to meet him wherever he goes, a saint beloved" (lines 476-478).

Neither is Puran tested by Guru with a thread of yarn to get out of the well, nor does Guru perform any supernaturally exotic activity of taking the ash out of the wallet and rubbing it on his body. Still, he only makes him drink water by making a cup of his hands. Ultimately, his ordeal ends, and he is restored to a normal bodily state. Puran is pleased to be strong in his faith; therefore, he is able to escape from the web of Luna. Puran's love and respect for his parents can be seen when he says, "My parents are not to be blamed" (line 523). He says this when he has suffered in a well almost for twelve years. It shows the strength of the institution of family in Punjabi society.

Qadir Yar's version also establishes the *Jogi* as a selfless person whose ambitions are not worldly and whose "discipline is hard" (line 546). Besides, he has to remain clean sexually and considers every woman his sister. The *jogis* are also imbued

with a desire for the eternal truth that wealth or worldly luxuries cannot sway them. They are content if they can find "a little cooked food" (line 693). Qadir Yar's depiction of Guru is that of a man who has all the basic instincts of human beings; however, he has controlled and snubbed his worldly desires. When Sundran visits Guru's place, all *jogis* "feel the blood dance" (line 716) in their veins, and "Even / the Guru's dispassionate stance / is shaken" (lines 717-719). Qadir Yar's saints exhibit a method. Unlike Temple's saints, they are human beings made of flesh and blood and often governed by reason.

Also, the delineation of saints in Qadir Yar's Puran Bhagat brings them under the rule of law and morality, and they do not enjoy the liberty of doing willful wrongs as it happens in Temple's version. An instance of it is notable when Guru reprimands Puran for leaving Sundran and her subsequent death, saying, "… What have you done today? Your arms with blood are dyed" (lines 803-804). While describing the Hindu *qissa*, Qadir Yar aptly alludes to the Hindu mythology as Puran consoles her mother, telling her "even Arjun could not bring Abhimnu back from dead" without giving any glimpse of syncretism (923-924). It also checks the exaggerated powers of the oriental saints propagated by Temple in his version of the legend.

In Qadir Yar's version, Puran Bhagat does not exhibit any direct miracle with the involvement of deus ex machina, as he only portends to Luna that she will have a son without giving her anything to eat or drink as a token of magic or charm. Qadir Yar again alludes to Hindu mythology when he asks his mother to be patient and "Think of the mother / of Gopichand who gave her child / away to a fakir" (lines 1043-1045). Even when Guru brings Puran out of the well, he does not show off any miracle and "… orders an acolyte / to bring him out" (lines 450-451).

The critique of Temple's Version of Puran Bhagat vis-à-vis Qadir Yar unfolds multiple inclusions and exclusions done by Temple to make it more oriental than it is and attain the stature of an orientalist who has gathered some legends and folktales similar to the *Arabian Nights* to entice and excite the European cultural imaginary. The whole episode of Salwan's marriage with Achhran is an attempt to accentuate the exotic and oriental elements of Punjabi Folklore. The inclusion of the ordeals, like testing the chastity by putting a part of the body into a cauldron of burning oil and coming out of the well with a thin thread, again speak of the same treatment given to the tale with an orientalist approach. Also, the role of footnotes and explanations, along with multiple

other factors discussed above, speaks of the epistemic violence that Temple has practised to adulterate the tradition of Punjabi *Qissa* and Punjabi Folklore simultaneously. The analysis of the Temple's strategic location helps readers comprehend his orientalist endeavour to valorize Puran Bhagat, Guru Gorakh Nath, and his disciples as licensed saints who can do anything. He follows the established Orientalists' strategic formation and also develops a newer frame of reference concerning the Punjabi Orient for posterity to consume.

4.3 Sakhi Sarwar and Dani Jatti as Recorded by a Munshi in Firozpur for Mrs. F.A. Steel in 1879.

In the brief introduction of the legend, Temple insists on validating the veracity of the saintly miracle performed by saying that the present author has talked to the "*lambardar* or headman" of the "Landeke" village in the district Firozpur who had a claim of being the son of that boy who was raised from the death by Sakhi Sarwar on the request of Dani (Temple 1: 66). However, Temple has mentioned no specific details that may certify the person under discussion. To emphasize Sakhi Sarwar as a syncretic saint, he writes that on his shrine in Dera Ghazi Khan, "A crowded fair is held there every Baisakh (April-May) attended by all sorts and classes of Panjabis, Hindus, Musalmans and others" (66). He prepares the readers to start the reading with a prior belief in the truthfulness of the legend. Temple's strategic location requires serious attention here. He is determined to prove the integrity of the narrative. His notes validate that the writer has personally talked to the son of the person under discussion. Temple's insistence on the statement is an effort to valorize it. This fact also elevates the oriental hue of the narrative. It also aligns it with the European strategic formation about the Orient, for a native informant authenticates it. Here, the exteriority of the text also becomes an object of interest as the narrator is described as representative of the Punjabi Orient. Still, he endorses the Orientalist representation and acts as an ally, aiding the execution of the writer's Orientalist overall plan.

The text begins with the praise of God Almighty, the "True Master of all power" (line 1). The theme of the transmigration of souls is also reflected by mentioning "lakh and some eight-four lives" (line 7). Temple's text establishes Sakhi Sarwar as a fully grown saint with extraordinary powers as he "gave sons in charity, / making whole

the blind and leprous" (lines 10-11). The targeted religious syncretism is highlighted through the character of Dani Jatti, who is the wife of a Sikh - a follower of Guru Nanak. Her husband is infuriated when Dani performs the ritual of thank-offering to Sakhi Sarwar by sending for a bard. Her husband scolds her and forbids her to retake the name of Sakhi Sarwar. On Dani's request for help, it is written in the text that "Bhairun, the Dread, (to her) Sarwar, the saint sent immediately" (line 30). In the footnotes about Bhairun, Temple explains that Bhairun is "Bhairva, a form of Siva. Treated as Sarwar's messenger" (Temple 1: 75). The syncretic controversy of the Indian religion is highlighted through the exteriority of the text in this version of the legend because it is an entirely unprincipled jumbling together of religions. Such a syncretism emphasizes the historically and geographically distant Punjabi Orient and its subsequent othering.

This treatment of the subject is an attempt to amalgamate the Muslim saints with Hindu mythology. In Islamic hagiologies, there is not an instance of any such syncretic representation of the comradeship between the Muslim saints and Hindu deities. This representation is a targeted attempt to obfuscate the separate identities of Muslim and Hindu religions and to homogenize them as common Indian Orient, whose religion epitomizes syncretism. The direct involvement of an Indian deity at the behest of a Muslim saint is shown in the legend when it is written that the "Bhairun, the Dread, came forthwith; / came and awakened all the sleepers" (lines 31-32). When Dani Jatti goes to the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar to pay homage and intends to retract from her original amount of offerings with an "evil intent", there, "Sakhi Sarwar considered her to be dishonourable" (Temple 1: 76). This is the power of a saint that Temple wants to overemphasize through the portrayal of the legend as the saint can think and act even after his death and can influence the lives of his followers.

Peter van der Veer is aware of the significance of the figures of Sufi saints and their shrines in India; therefore, he considers them the "centre of Hindu-Muslim syncretism". Such shrines are abundant in India and may have Hindu and Muslim devotees, too. However, "The syncretism of saint worship has been a subject of debate among Muslims for centuries" (van der Veer 193). Now, the gravity of the matter shifts its axis from the promotion of "harmony and tolerance" to more serious Islamic concerns about "whether it is a correct and orthodox practice". He continues that saint worship is equivalent to "imputation of divine powers" and that the tomb is also a threat to Islamic

monotheism. Saint worship is *shirk* – polytheism and *bid'a* – innovation, and they are against *sunna* – the example of the Holy Prophet. He also argues that the Indian context condemns "saint worship" as it is "an imitation of Hindu polytheism" (193).

The names of the Naqshbandi Sufi Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Wali-Allah of Delhi are mentioned as endorsers of the above-given Muslim viewpoint promoted under the Arab reformist movement. In the debate on Sufi saint worship in India, the issues of "syncretism", "Hindu participation", and "Hindu influence" have been of prime importance. He paraphrases Fusfeld, who thinks that the defenders of the Sufi saint worship think it not be in line with Hindu polytheism and declare it to be "in continuity with the Islamic past" (qtd. in van der Veer 193). van der Veer concludes from the discussion that the "only thing which is clear from Muslim debate is that syncretism is rejected as a deviation from the Truth" (193). Since saint worship still exists in India, van der Veer researched to see the response of Hindu participants to the shrines of the "'Rifa'i'" brotherhood in Surat. It is to be considered that the practices of this brotherhood are already considered "heterodox" and against the grain of Muslim shari'a. (194).

After documenting several rituals of Saint's Day, Peter van der Veer moves towards the motives behind the participation of Hindu visitors. He writes that they come as visitors "to take *darshan*", and instead of the "Muslim term *dargah* for the tomb", they use the "Hindu term *samadhi* (referring to a Hindu saint in meditation). Hindus, therefore, do participate, but clearly on their own terms" (194). Also, the Hindus "do not participate in the *hal* (trance) and "they develop no direct relation with the living descent of the buried saint". Where Hindus keep away from praying when they combine to say the prayer in the leadership of the saint, there, van der Veer thinks that "the clearest boundary between Hindus and Muslims is drawn" (194). He also interviews Hindus who "attribute great power" to the saint but "primarily in relation to illnesses and misfortunes caused by spirits" because those Hindus find a connection between the Muslim saints and the "impurity of spirits" (194).

Nevertheless, Temple syncretizes the legend through the character of Bhairun – a Hindu saint - who is sent to Dani by Sakhi Sarwar – a Muslim saint - to test her intention about the offerings. Bhairun goes to Dani in disguise as a Brahmin. Dani's response is a sort of contempt to the Hindu and Muslim religious hierarchy as she

ridicules Brahmin when she says that she has been robbed by the begging on her way. Some claimed to be Sayyids, and others came up as Brahmins. She wondered about the numbers of "Sayyids" and "Brahmins" who had come to that "hungry land" (76). Brahmins are the caretakers of Hindu temples, whereas Sayyids are the religious guides among Muslims. This type of criticism aims at ostracizing both main Indian religions to make room for the promotion of the Mission and also finding the justification for the colonial encroachments. Since the purity of the religion is a nativist stance, it has the potential to challenge the invasion of any other foreign religion and form of governance. Here, Richard Carnac Temple focuses on syncretism to confuse the identity of both main religions of India, i.e., Hinduism and Islam. Also, according to the notion of purity, this representation is the corruption of truth. Thereupon, Sakhi Sarwar goes to Dani disguised as a Sayyid and gets a similar response from her. Temple writes, "Being displeased at these things Sakhi Sarwar slew her son" (77).

Sakhi Sarwar is also portrayed as a mighty and a bestowing trader for first-time visitors as the legend shows him as a trader of "pearls", "diamonds", "rubies", and "jewels" (lines 92-94). This portrayal of Sakhi Sarwar is quite paradoxical as, on one side, he is portrayed as an ascetic saint; on the other, he is depicted as a wealthy trader of jewels of high value. The syncretic Indian society is once again exaggerated when Dani pleads to Sakhi Sarwar that she is "married into a Sikh house" and her husband's family is also a Sikh family (lines 100-101). She considers Sakhi Sawar his ray of hope. If he disappoints her, who else will support her in the future (lines 102-104)? Dani Jatti is shown to be a die-hard follower of Sakhi Sarwar who travelled to the Shrine of his saint without getting support from her Sikh family to do the ritual of thank-offering all alone. This representation is highly questionable for it seems to be entirely against the grain as the travelling of a lonely woman of any religion or caste is not normative in Punjabi society, and also to submit to another religion while living in a family that practices another religion, too, is not normative in Punjab.

Dani also reminds Sakhi Sarwar about the past miracles he has shown. She refers to many, like making the "dry forest green" (line 110) and the bearing of the fruit by a *wan* tree out of season, restoring the "kids of the flock" (line 118) to whole after being eaten by the *faqirs*. To fulfill her wish, Dani wants Sakhi Sarwar to compare himself with other saints who were lower than him. She refers to "Nama the Dyer" and

“Dhanna the Jatt”, who were able to perform many wonders despite their lower stature than Sakhi Sarwar. This debate surfaces the naive belief of the Indian Orient in the miraculous power of the saints. It also portrays how a saint is revered based on the performance of miracles vis-à-vis others. This depiction of the Indian Punjabi society is unknown to the indigenous minds as they cannot find the praxis of any such syncretic religion in reality; however, colonial scriptorium has benefitted from such archiving to document the Orient and appropriate them according to the Western taste and texture.

When Sakhi Sarwar prays to God and asks for the restoration of life, Temple’s version quotes the translation of a Quranic verse where he writes, “My good report is with thee, and my evil report is with thee” (80). It is a case of pure appropriation, for the verse under discussion does not mean the same. The exact verse in Arabic is وتعزّ من تشاء و تذلّ من تشاء; its precise translation is “You confer honour on whom You will, and you dishonour whom You will” (“Irfan-ul-Quran”). He continues to write within the quotation marks, “If the child does not live then will dishonour be to me, and if he live then will honour be to me” (sic. 80). Temple focuses on portraying Sakhi Sarwar as a licensed miraculous saint in his introduction to the legend and his lengthy prefaces; however, he ignores Sakhi Sarwar’s dialogues where he insists on the authority of God Almighty to perform all deeds, and he only prays to him as happens at the end of the legend. He prays to God Almighty and asks for the restoration of the life of the son of Dhani Jatti, and God Almighty grants his prayer. Such a depiction makes him a practising Muslim who believes in the powers of God Almighty, and due to his piety, God listens to his prayers and grants them. Temple’s strategic location and strategic formation enable him to categorize Sakhi Sarwar as a certified syncretic Punjabi Oriental saint through the exteriority of the selected text. However, this representation undermines the purity of both dominant religions of Indian Punjab. In their pure form, these religions may pose specific challenges to undergirding the British empire.

4.3.1 Three Fragments about Sarwar as Recorded by a Munshi at Firozpur from the Lips of the Local Barains or Bards, for Mrs. F.A. Steel, in 1879.

The first fragment about Sakhi Sarwar starts with his birth in which he is shown to be a born saint as Temple documents that on the birth of Sakhi Sarwar, “The

hearts of the saints rejoiced / and they beat drums" (lines 3-4). Through his learning of the "knowledge in the Four Books" (line 6), a type of syncretism is also highlighted. Temple describes the four books as "Quran, Tauret, Zabur, Anjil: i.e., Quran, Pentateuch, Psalms of David, Gospels" (Temple 2: 94). His excellence in the saintship is highlighted by declaring him the "chief of the assemblies of saints" (line 12). Sakhi Sarwar's miracle is documented as he "seized his staff and slew" (line 28) a tiger when he was acting as a watchman. Then, an account of Sakhi Sarwar's going to Ghanun Pathan's place with a "horse and clothes" that "came from heaven" (line 48) to settle a dispute. The king became highly apologetic as he said, "Forgive my fault, O Sayyid, / Someone has misled me" (lines 54-55). Not only did he feel sorry for his deeds, but he also betrothed her daughter to Sakhi Sarwar.

The episode of Sakhi Sarwar's marriage has been dealt with a highly supernatural air as "*Huris*" came from heaven to tie "the marriage-knot" (line 68) and also "*Huris* and fairies came from heaven / Bringing the pots and pitchers filled (with water)" (lines 73-74). On the occasion of Sakhi Sarwar's marriage, heavenly fairies are shown to be acting as workers, and the utensils are also heavenly in which certain items were served. This sort of depiction is an example of pure hagiography that intends to focus only on Sakhi Sarwar's miraculous accounts. Hence, it does not support the claim of R.C. Temple that he makes in the introduction of the fragments when he writes, "These fragments, given originally as the whole tale of Sakhi Sarwar (!), are *very useful* and *valuable* in *filling up gaps* and explaining obscure points" (91 emphases added). These fragments are "very useful" and "valuable" for Temple as he intends to portray an oriental society that is miracle-ridden and where the saint is thought to have the power to do anything, like giving the sons to the public and bringing the dead back to life and thus ensuring the role of the supernatural powers in human affairs. Temple's particular use of exteriority of the selected text explains his strategic location to bring the narrative in line with the Western strategic formation.

The second fragment consists of only thirteen lines covering the miracle of speaking Sakhi Sarwar's mare named Kakki. There is nothing else worth discussing except the elaboration of a miracle that recounts how Kakki's owners refused to hand over her to Sakhi Sarwar and how the "Kakki miraculously spoke out" (line 81) in the following words that the "saint's doli-bearers" wanted to have some *pilu* fruits in January

and February. Their wish was fulfilled as the forest turned "green" and the fruit was born by the "*wan* tree" (lines 82-85). Speaking of Kakki in Temple's words is the *deus ex machina* and a miracle for the natives. Also, the bearing of the *wan* tree's fruit and the forests becoming green in January and February are pure miracles because both of these months fall in autumn in the subcontinent. Trees bearing fruits out of the seasons and greenery of the forests in these months are emphasized to establish and consolidate the miracle-ridden mindset of Indian Punjab by Sir Richard Carnac Temple.

The third fragment again consists of only fifteen verses that have the sole purpose of certifying the saintship of Sakhi Sarwar, in which it is narrated that "The saint gave Dani a son" (line 90). She became his "disciple" and "follower" and sang to praise him (lines 94-95). Another miraculous power of Sakhi is accentuated when Dani replies to Karma and Dharma about the noise inside her house by saying, "Sarwar the Saint, / I had no power in the matter" (lines 99-100). These fragments do not add substantial material for explaining the life, teachings, and preaching of Sakhi Sarwar; nonetheless, they support Temple's theory about the religion of the Indian people, for, in them, the belief and power of miracles are exaggerated and revered. This aspect allows the colonial administrator to pen down and archive the orientalized Punjabi saints and their lives subsequently and justify the colonization of the primitive Orient and their respective oriental territories.

4.3.2 Sakhi Sarwar and Jati as Recorded by a Munshi in the Lahor District for Mrs. F.A. Steel

The introduction of the legend reflects the purpose of R.C. Temple, for which he has documented it right from the beginning. He writes, "story relates a miracle performed by Sakhi Sarwar for a Brahmin follower in the Gujranwala District" (Temple 2: 104). Temple aims at labelling the Punjabi society as a syncretic oriental society that is miracle-ridden, where it becomes hard to discern the religion of the people in particular due to their syncretic rituals and beliefs. To keep the readers interested, he foregrounds, "in the tale, Brahman, Pheru, the son of Jati, is made governor of that place in the time of Akbar" (104). Temple himself confesses his appropriation of the tale as he articulates in the introduction, "[The prose portions of the legend being in ordinary Urdu have not been given in original]" (104). This approach also unfolds how Temple has

used his power to include or exclude the material according to his vested interest, and his endeavour cannot be regarded as objective and disinterested. Temple's strategic location allows him to exercise his authorial powers and position to include/exclude different episodes in the selected folk narrative. The matter of fact is that the prose portion in Urdu did not tend to comply with the Orientalist assertions and expectations of Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Therefore, he excluded them. They might not align with the Western strategic formation, so they did not find a place in Temple's rendition either.

Temple's version of Sakhi Sarwar and Jati unfolds a concept of God that is genuinely syncretic as it recounts, "What wonders hast thou performed? / O Lord, appearing in many forms!" (lines 5-6). This folk narrative puts its focus on the wonder-working of God along with a polytheistic portrayal. It progresses with polytheistic representation as it notes, "The dwellers in ease in heaven, / Rama Chandra and Krishna the youth, / And the nine Buddhas flourished, / And he made the ten incarnations. / The saintship is unfathomable" (lines 13-16). Here, the references of Rama Chandra and Krishan belong to the mythology of the Hindu religion, whereas Buddha relates to the cult of Buddhism. Hence, it is questionable how a folk narrative that intends to narrate the miracle of a Muslim saint suggests a polytheistic representation of God Almighty, focusing on the aspect of the miracle. It seems to be invigorating the Temple's theory about the religion of the subcontinent, denying all the material facts. People may respect others' religions in the subcontinent; however, they do not tend to accept the defining involvement of other deities in their religions under any circumstances, as researched and endorsed by Peter van der Veer. Therefore, such a representation only serves to undergird the colonial agenda of the homogenized representation of the Indian Orient instead of preserving the folk narratives.

Jati is shown to be a follower and worshiper of Sakhi Sarwar and his wife Bai in the tale as the tale narrates he "sang of the Saint and Bai" (line 21) and also performed the duty of lighting their "lamps" and "worshipping" them ever (lines 23-24). It is another instance of syncretism that Temple wants to highlight through this narrative, where a Brahmin Jati worships and respects the Muslim saint and his wife as their follower. Sakhi Sarwar is once again portrayed to be a wonder-working saint who has the power to give sons to his followers, granting their prayers for a son – Pheru - is born to Jati because of Sakhi Sarwar's miracle as it has been written in the tale, "(Sarwar) gave

him his desire in charity" (line 28). A further explicit instance of syncretism is when Jati, at his death, advises his son Pheru that he was "born to her" because of Sakhi Sarwar's favour. Therefore, she continues that it was his obligation to "worship at his shrine" (Temple 2: 106), and it is also told in the tale that Pheru, while obeying his father's behest, "attended regularly at Sakhi Sarwar's shrine and worshipped him" (106).

Pheru kept worshipping Sakhi Sarwar even when he became penniless. One day, he promised himself to build "a splendid shrine" for Sakhi Sarwar if he got the government of Emanabad (106). On seeing this, Sakhi Sarwar ordered Bhairon "to appear to the Emperor Akbar in a dream and frighten him" (106). Once again, Bhairon, a Hindu deity, comes into the service of a Muslim saint. This depiction attempts to accentuate the syncretic Punjabi people of India. In Temple's words, the *deus ex machina* is also introduced when Sakhi Sarwar responds to the words of Pheru, who talks and promises to himself. Also, Bhairon influences Akbar, the King, to get Pheru appointed as the governor of Emanabad under the command of Sakhi Sarwar. It also indicates that not only the ordinary people are syncretic in their religious dispositions, but also the kings are the same. In the tale, it is narrated that a mighty King like Akbar is ready to appoint a layman as the governor of a place at the behest of a Hindu deity who appears to him in a dream. It also pinpoints the oriental incapacity of the Kings to rule, for they can easily be influenced even by a bad dream, and they are prepared to make decisions based on their dreams. The oriental King Akbar is also portrayed as a forgetful man who makes "a knot in his coat" to remind himself of the promise (107). The strategic location of Sir Richard Carnac Temple in the text is palpable when he attempts to establish an influential and sage king like Akbar as superstitious and scared. He streamlines King Akbar according to the Western strategic formation and strives to declare him incapable of ruling a sovereign state.

The syncretism is again accentuated in the tale when Pheru became the governor of Emanabad and continued to follow Sakhi Sarwar. Still, his Brahman clan started to outcast him as he was refused entry into a marriage of his cast because he was the disciple of Sakhi Sarwar (108). The rivalry between the Muslim and Hindu religions demanded that Pheru choose one. When it came to the detachment from his fellowship, he deserted Sakhi Sarwar to join his clan (108). The divide between the two religions is vast, and their respective followers have different ways of living. It is quite right that the

space for practising both religions is absent, for one has to choose and follow one religion to keep his identity and affiliation intact. Because of the actual religious and social pressure, Pheru is seen to choose his Brahman caste fellows and let go of the allegiance of Sakhi Sarwar. On this act of insolence, Sakhi Sarwar is angered at Pheru and for his punishment, "he sent the holy Bhairon" (line 50).

The supernatural power of the Hindu deity Bahiron comes into play as he attacks Pheru to teach him a lesson at the behest of a Muslim saint, Sakhi Sarwar. Bhairon "struck" him with a stick, called him "a liar", "changed" his body's colour and "hanged" him by the roof (lines 51-54). In the footnotes, Temple also analyses the punishment of Pheru in the religious context and regards it as an "allusion to a favourite Sikh punishment" (Temple 2: 109). The wonder-working power of Bhairon is emphasized when he can turn Pheru into a leper by changing the colour of his body. Because of this punishment, Pheru lost his power and seat, and his family gave him a place apart as he was stricken with leprosy. The anger of Sakhi Sarwar and Bhairon's rage made him drink water from "earthen cups" (line 68), and he "craved for crumbs" (line 70) and he was left with only a female servant who wanted to help him out of kindness even though his family left him alone in the hard times. Her act won her a couple of favours as it was mandatory for her to "bathe" after visiting the leper and before fast-breaking as per "the customs of Hindus" (Temple 2: 110).

The image of Sakhi Sarwar as a punisher is also focused on when Temple writes that Sakhi Sarwar changed Pheru into a leper so that his relatives abandon him and he might vow his allegiance to the saint again (110). This portrayal of Sakhi Sarwar is enough to establish him as a vindictive personality, forcing his religious allegiance upon his followers. He is ready to punish them physically and mentally when they become infidels for any reason. It is a colonial attempt to mar the character of Muslim saints to make space for the preaching and promotion of *Mission Civilizatrice* and subsequent missionary activities. He is also shown preventing the servant girl from doing the virtue of giving food to a leper as he orders his Hindu subordinate deity Bhairon to stop her. Bhairon is also portrayed as playing the role of a trickster when he ignites fear in the bosom of the servant girl, and due to the maltreatment, Pheru asks her not to bring food to him in the future in this way. After being alone and without food, he remembers Sakhi Sarwar. Here, his words are pretty syncretic when he alludes to specific figures of the

Hindu religion to remind their mistakes to Sakhi Sarwar as he says that even “Sita erred” and also “Ram and Lachhman” faltered. He vows to light his “lamps” and “call his name” as well (lines 71-74).

In the footnotes, Temple comments on Sita’s episode, stating her to be disobedient to her husband, Ram. He notes, “Allusion to the well known story in the *Ramayana* of Sita’s disobedience of Rama’s instructions not to go out of the charmed circle (kar), while their error was in leaving her alone” (Temple 2: 111). It is quite unnatural to see Hindu Pheru recalling the errors of his Hindu mythological figures to please his Muslim Saint. Such syncretism remains unprecedented in the Punjabi subcontinental society. Also, he is not asking his Hindu gods for relief from his misery and calls Sakhi Sarwar for help as he says, “Come, O Saintly Sarwar, / Relieve me of my agony and pain” (lines 75-76). In Temple’s words, *deus ex machina* again intervenes when Sakhi Sarwar, along with his Hindu deity Bhairon, directly goes to Pheru to help him get rid of his leprosy when he decides to take pity on him. Sakhi Sarwar shows his miracle when he mixes some “holy soil” (line 77) and mixes it up in a “cup of water” (line 78) to cure Pheru.

After explaining the allusion to Hindu mythology, he explains the miraculous holy soil as he regards it to be a reference to “sacred soil from Makka, but here from Nigaha, the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar” (Temple 2: 111). Pheru feels an instant relief from his pain, and he thanks Sarwar for relieving his burning body from pain (lines 79-80). Having been cured, Pheru recognizes them as the holy figures of Sakhi Sarwar and Pheru, who have disguised them as physicians, but they are shown to have tricked him and escaped from there. After being recovered from leprosy, Pheru reaches home. He is depicted as visiting the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar for thank-offering, as the story quotes that he visited the shrine first and offered his “lowly salutations” to the saint. He opened the door and prostrated at the shrine (lines 85-88). Pheru’s belief is further tested by Bhairon when he instigates him to return to his home for the swollen river that he has to cross to reach Nigaha. Thereupon, the syncretic approach of Pheru is again highlighted when he insists on not going back (Temple 2: 113). Pheru’s syncretism is questionable as it is almost impossible to find a syncretic devotee ready to risk his life to fulfill his vow to offer thanks to the saint of a hostile religion (113).

Bhairon is pleased with the devotion of Pheru towards Sakhi Sarwar. After having shown his miracle, he asks him to sit on a "grass mat and shut" his eyes" to cross the river Ravi (113). He followed the instruction, and when he reached the other side of the river, "neither the mat nor its owner could he see anywhere" (113). Bhairon again exhibits his miracle when he appears to Pheru as a Shepherd and offers to help him cross the river Satluj by riding "over a reed mat" (113). The tale also depicts Bhairon and Sakhi Sarwar as tricksters adept at disguising themselves, as previously, Bhairon disguised himself as a groom and a shepherd. Now, Sakhi Sarwar disguises himself as a Hindu Arora to test his allegiance and tricks him into delaying his visit to Nigaha by offering him 11 pieces of gold. Ultimately, he was entrapped and decided to visit the Sham Arora first. Also, the wife of Sakhi Sarwar is portrayed as a character who is well-versed in disguise, for it is written that "The lady Bai changed her form" (line 93). No doubt, Sakhi Sarwar is a revered saint in Punjabi society, but his syncretic representation by Richard Temple makes the position of the narratives questionable. Not only Temple's depiction of Sakhi Sarwar is strategically orientalized, but also almost hard to believe for the native Punjabis. However, Temple has appropriated it to comply with European strategic formation.

The religious corruption of Brahmans is highlighted through this episode as a Brahmin is ready to delay his obligation for the sake of eleven pieces of gold. His avarice is further highlighted when the text unfolds his deceptive nature after having received the "present" from Arora; Brahmin returns to the shrine and buries the remaining food as he expects that Bai will bestow him with "bread", and Sakhi Sarwar will give him a "present" as well (Temple 2: 114).

Sakhi Sarwar's wonder-working is also seen when he appears to the attendant – Chhatta - of his shrine in a dream to inquire Pheru about his purpose of visit. Sakhi Sarwar also asks Chhatta to reveal the true identity of Sham Arora and her wife to Pheru. In case he refuses to accept it, he asks Chhatta to verify it by asking Pheru to place his little finger on the chest and in this way, the food that he has taken will come out of his mouth, and also his golden utensils and pieces of gold would turn into brass. It is again another wonder of Sakhi Sarwar that Temple wanted to overemphasize. Through the character of Pheru, the dishonesty and the corruption of Hindu Brahmans are also accentuated when he lies to Chhatta and says, "I have got nothing as yet" (114). The

miraculous powers of Sakhi Sarwar turned the brass vessels and metal pieces into gold, and the Brahman took his way home. The concluding part of the tale reiterates the narrative of the syncretic Orient as a Muslim saint – Sakhi Sarwar - and his subordinate Hindu deity – Bhairon – sent a Hindu Brahman – Pheru – home after "curing him" (line 98) and "Pheru the Brahman went home, with great rejoicings" (line 100).

4.3.3 The Marriage of Sakhi Sarwar as Recorded by a Munshi of the Lahore District for Mrs. F.A Steel

In the introduction to the legend, Temple emphasizes its value in its "thoroughly Indian character and descent" (Temple 2: 116). He is also excited to note the "purely Hindu cast given to all the ceremonies connected with the marriage" (116). This Hindu colour and character of the ceremonies involving Muslim Saint marriage allow Temple to underline the syncretic features of the Indian Punjabi society. Temple also wonders about the exotic Eastern governor who "marries his daughter to an ordinary Faqir" (116). Although he cannot find any material evidence of this marriage, he keeps the exotic element alive when he mentions, "such marriages were by no means unknown in former days" (116). Temple acknowledges his appropriation of the text and writes, "The prose parts, being in ordinary Urdu, have not been given in original" (116). He has included and excluded the text of the legend to augment his particular viewpoint concerning the oriental other here as well by spotlighting the exotic nature and Orientalness of the text. Temple does not miss any opportunity to emphasize the orientality of the narrative and stamps the description to be truly Indian. He locates himself in the narrative through his commentary strategically. Temple further attempts to elevate the syncretic significance of the legend when he talks about the Hindu settings of the marriage ceremony of a Muslim saint. Again, he admits that he has eliminated the part of the story which was there in "ordinary Urdu". Temple's strategic formation also targets collecting the weird bardic folk narratives. It seems that the Urdu language sounded inappropriate for his colonial appropriations. Hence, it did not find a place in his exotically oriental folk versions of the legends.

The opening part of the legend exhibits certain traits of syncretism. The legend opens with the praise of God Almighty and the mention of the Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him). After that, the text of the legend praises the "Leader of the Sect" (line 5);

Temple explains this “Leader of Sect” to be Sakhi Sarwar in the footnotes on the same page. Then there is the mention of “Dhaval,” who “supports” the earth (Temple 2: 117). Temple excites the reader as he relates it to a Hindu concept; however, he is unsure about its veracity. He writes it to be “a cow: but was there ever any such Hindu notion?”. (117). Here, Temple is insistent on overemphasizing the syncretic nature of the narrative, even though he has not made any effort to practically locate the origin of the allusion. Temple’s strategic location requires attention again when, in the footnotes, he explains Sakhi Sarwar to be the “Leader of the Sect”. Such an explanation helps him elevate Sakhi Sarwar to an extent where he can be regarded as a sect leader. Hence, the syncretism of a saint who is the leader of a sect would have more impact and gravity than others.

He relates the creation of the “Fourteen Regions” as a “Musalman notion” without giving any elaboration on this (117). Temple asserts in the footnotes that calling Sakhi Sarwar the “Lord of the Nine Quarters” (line 19) is a “Hindu belief” (Temple 2: 118). Again, This is a syncretic reference in which a Muslim saint is called the “Lord of Nine Quarter”. Temple uses his authorial position to exaggerate the syncretic appeal of Sakhi Sarwar. He fails to substantiate his claim with any support. However, it helps him to bring the legend under the Western strategic formation where the figure of Sakhi Sarwar can be used as a syncretic saint equally famous among Muslims and Hindus. The allusion to “Dhavala” supporting the earth is another reference from Hindu mythology. When Sakhi Sarwar is called the “Lord of the East and West”, it is an aversion to the Islamic belief because in Islam, only God Almighty is the Lord of the South and North and East and West.

A whole paragraph in prose is attributed to the lineage of Sakhi Sarwar in the narrative to impart historical significance to the legend; however, Temple is unable to substantiate the historical references with any evidence. After describing Sakhi Sarwar’s grand lineage, he is considered unfortunate because “the saint had no maternal uncle”. While explaining it, Temple refers to this as a “Hindu custom” in which an uncle is needed “to perform the marriage” (118). This depiction again makes the narrative syncretic, where the coexistence and praxis of Hindu and Muslim religions are highlighted and accentuated quite forcibly. The flourishing of his cultivated field

accounts for his miracle, for he was given infertile land and he did not pay "attention to agriculture", and his crop was "ten-fold better than his brethren's" (119).

Sakhi Sarwar's brothers conspired against him, took a share of his harvest, and divided the land afresh to get the fertile part from him. Also, they called the beggars from the surroundings and asked them to beg from Sakhi Sarwar, who should give him bad names upon being turned down. They also thought that after the distribution of the harvest, he would fail to pay revenue and run away out of fear of the "tax collector" (119). Temple's representation of a tax collector is also colonial. Here, the tax collector is portrayed as a powerful and influential person who may cause a person to leave his native place if he does not abide by the tax laws. Another miracle of Sakhi Sarwar surfaced when he was "joined by a huge multitude which filled Multan, till there was hardly standing space" (119). To undo his fear of the punishment from the Governor of Multan, people in multitude were sent, and they left no space even for a single person to stand. This portrayal of miraculous happening features the supernatural, syncretic, and miracle-ridden Oriental society. Sakhi Sarwar is also depicted as omniscient as the tale unfolds: "Now Sakhi Sarwar knew by his miraculous knowledge what had happened" when the Governor sent an empty pitcher and tray to test his saintship (119). Because of his miraculous power, the pitcher and tray were filled with the food items, and he took some of them and left the remaining for the Governor to know the saint's miracle.

This particular folk narrative also aims at depicting the anarchy of the oriental society as the Governor of the jail, in consultation with the power holder – Ghanu Pathan – had to release all the prisoners from the prison when Sakhi Sarwar went to the jail to get his five brothers released and insisted on the release of all prisoners as he considered all of them to be his brothers. The locale is portrayed as exotic and supernatural in the tale when, on his way back to Garh Kot, Sakhi Sarwar "met 360 *faqirs* who begged for food, as they had been starving for twelve years" (121). Also, the oriental society is depicted as full of beggars to create an exotic feeling as Sakhi Sawar spends an amount of "*lakh* and a quarter" rupees to dress and shave the beggars of Multan (121). Another miraculous episode is seen when Sakhi Sarwar's brother again conspires against him, and the Governor of Multan asks to return his gifts of horse and clothes that Sakhi Sarwar had distributed among the *faqirs* on his way back to Grah Kot. Thereupon, Sakhi Sarwar asks the messengers to go to the place where the horse was slaughtered and eaten

by the *faqirs*. After his prayers, “the horse stood up whole” (123). The ethical and moral depravity of the oriental Punjabi society is also highlighted when the minister of the Governor suggests to him to “offer the saint a daughter in marriage” to calm him down (123). It makes the Oriental woman a commodity who is used for the settlement of personal and stately disputes. Subsequently, the Governor agrees, seeks the miraculous saint's forgiveness, and offers “his daughter as an atonement” (123).

Now, the Governor is shown to be sending the marriage proposal to Sakhi Sarwar’s home in a purely Hindu manner as he “sent a Brahaman, a Dom, and a Barber in the regular (Hindu!)” (123). Then, well-renowned Muslim saints – Sheikh Farid and Pir Bannoi - are depicted to attend the wedding ceremony of Sakhi Sarwar or be involved in it. The atmosphere of the wedding is also mystic as saints are calling saints, and Sakhi Sarwar sits down wearing “heavenly raiment” (line 80) and “the earth and heavens were lighted up” (line 83). The marriage does not remain entirely Muslim regarding its attendees as Hindu deities “Bhairon and Devi” are also present there “with drums beaten before them”. Temple explains their presence and the drum beating as “the well-known Hindu sacred song (rag) of the marriage of Siva and Parbati, in which Bhairon and Sanichar are made to play a prominent part in the manner” (Temple 2: 126). Temple has made this narrative a representative of Hindu-Muslim syncretism that may underscore the exotic and oriental image of the Indian Punjabi society. The exotic abundance of faqirs (mendicants) is again underlined when “A *lakh* and quarter of visible and *lakh* and a quarter of invisible *faqirs* attended Sakhi Sarwar’s wedding procession” (126). The Governor feared to have the wedding procession consisting of beggars and menials; however, what he saw was against his anticipation when he saw “a most significant procession approaching” (126).

4.4 Conclusion

The syncretic delineation of Puran Bhagat and Sakhi Sarwar reflects Temple’s obsession with corroborating his theory about the absence of a particular religion in the Indian Punjabi society. His superficial knowledge about Indian Punjabi society and his struggle to label it oriental bespeaks his Orientalist mindset. It also surfaces how his colonial and authorial positions of power helped him appropriate the folk narratives about the Oriental Saints. His over-exaggerated treatment of the miracles, ordeals, rituals, and supernatural elements helped him establish his subjective approach

governing his works that focused on introducing an imaginatively oriental Punjabi society to European readers. Such strategic location and strategic formation of the selected legends to mis/use the exteriority of the text are tantamount to the praxis of epistemic violence on the Punjabi culture in general and Punjabi folk narratives in particular. The representation of licensed syncretism in Punjabi folk narratives is synonymous with illicit contamination, the loss of identity, and a sign of religious decadence. Hence, it is equivalent to the corruption of truth.

The next Chapter discusses the transition of oriental lovers into certified saints. It also extends the discussion of the exotically constructed and appropriated Punjabi folktales and legends controlled by the colonial/orientalist paradigm. Charles Swynnerton and Richard Carnac Temple document such exotic lovers of Punjab who are raised to the level of saints; however, it is questionable how they can portray and justify such saintly lovers foreign to the native Punjabi eye. The next chapter attempts to answer the questions concerning this construction of the Orient in the selected folk narratives.

CHAPTER 5

ORIENTAL PROTAGONISTS: FROM LOVERS TO SAINTS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I study the construction and mis/representation of the Punjabi romantic tales and legends collected and translated by Charles Swynnerton and Richard Temple. Specifically, I have selected and studied several versions of Hir and Ranjha, Mirza and Sahiban, and Sassi and Punnun to explore the colonial undercurrents modifying the Punjabi romantic folktales and legends. I also analyse how the selected writers have modified the indigenous romantic characters of Punjab into wonder-working saints for the portrayal of a tailor-made locale of Punjab and its Punjabis so that they become acceptable for the armchair literati of Europe and also for the general European populace.

I argue that Reverend Charles Swynnerton prepared the grounds for the appropriation of the Panjabi romantic tales and legends by inducting his multi-thronged discourse. Not only is he highlighting the Oriental images of the savage Arabs, but also the effeminate character of the natives who were not able to defend themselves because of their luxurious lifestyle. He is also tilling the soil to sow his seeds of Mission as he claims that the indigenous religion promoted such gentility and non-resistance that disqualified the natives from resisting the foreign invasion. Moreover, he asserts that the "caste and the institution" of bards survived this "universal havoc", but they were also "driven into the folds of Islam" (Swynnerton xxix).

The research contends that Charles Swynnerton keeps on substantiating the Orientalness of the Punjabi natives and the primitivity of the locale of Punjab; he sees them as "Changeless" and also asserts that "East is the still East" where the "conditions of life continue unaltered" and also the "religion itself in some respect" (xx). It also questions his controversialist approach to the tale of Hir and Ranjha that he appropriates to call it a "composite story in true"; that is, the recent era "has been largely overlaid with deposits of Muhammadan feelings and sentiments" (xx).

The study also questions the depiction of "Ranjha as a wonder-working Saint" for the sake of glorifying "his memory in order to add revenue to the tomb" built at Jhang in the name of Hir and Ranjha (x). Furthermore, it challenges Temple's assertion about the development of Ranjha "into a Saint of the Sakhi Sarwar", and it traces it to be the appropriation of the story of Hir and Ranjha to authenticate his theory of the popularity and relevance of the wonder-working saints in present India and Punjab (x-xi). The researcher takes it to be an act of appropriation of the Punjabi folktales that orientalize the Punjabi lovers and raise them to a heavenly status.

The researcher also contends that the popular romantic characters of Punjabi folklore like Hir and Ranjha, Sassi and Punnu, and Mirza and Sahiban stand to be the signs and symbols of pure love and devotion. Their mis/representation as qualified saints and the performance of certain miracles by them problematize their identity as true lovers. Hence, it alienates them in their own culture, and the native eye fails to recognize them in the colonial apparel. This colonial worlding obfuscates their cultural currency and significance; therefore, in Spivakian words, it tends to be a form of epistemic violence perpetrated on the Oriental Folklore of Punjab. Also, according to the Saidian paradigm, it emerges as a form of Orientalism that targets the classification and branding of the East and Orient in the Indian Punjab.

5.2 Temple's Various Versions of Hir and Ranjha

5.2.1 The Marriage of Hir and Ranjha as Related by Some Jatts from the Patiala State.

Introducing the story of Hir and Ranjha, Richard Temple writes, "The story of Hir and Ranjha is of world-wide celebrity in Panjab, and will be given in full later on in these volumes" (Temple 2: 177). Sir Richard Carnac Temple asserts to ensure the "authenticity" of the narrative as he claims to include it in full later on. His effort and strategic notion to locate himself in the narrative is evident when he asserts not to miss any of its integral parts. However, one can find only the appropriated fragments of this story in his book, devoid of literary and cultural significance and abundant in the orientalized and exoticized imaginary. He associates this love story with the pride of the Siyal tribe and their contempt towards other Jatt tribes, ultimately underlining the exoticized societal segregation, as he writes, "The Syals are of Rajput origin, and claim

higher rank than the surrounding tribes, to whom they will not give their daughters in marriage, although they may marry Jatt women" (177). Talking about the religion of Heer and Ranjha, he documents, "though Hir and Ranjha were both Muhammadans, their love was illicit and ended disastrously" (177). His soft corner for the Siyal Rajputs also surfaces when he tries to elevate their status as a tribe. He is also mindful of overemphasizing the illicitness of the relationship between Hir and Ranjha without failing to highlight their Muhammadan allegiance. Here, he successfully brings them in line with the Western strategic formation.

He also discusses the story of Mirza and Sahiban as a matter of pride and honour. He asserts, "It is even now an insult to a Syal to mention either Hir or Sahiban, and no Syal will remain present, while either of these stories is being recited" (177). Nevertheless, he does not forget to mention their popularity among the masses as he says, "They are, however, celebrated in Panjab as the type of constant lovers, much in the same way as Abelard and Heloise in Modern Europe, or as Laili and Majnun in Arabic, and Farhad and Shirin in Persian story" (177). Here, it is clear that Richard Temple was searching for exotic oriental love stories that he could compare with the Arabian and Persian stories already existing in the European cultural imaginary concerning the construction and propagation of Indian Punjabi Oriental lovers. Not only does he try to showcase the orientality of the Punjabi lovers by analogizing them with Laila and Majnun and Farhand and Shirin, but he also puts his Orientalist efforts to introduce a new Punjabi Orient lover following the extant Orintalists' strategic formation.

He also does not miss the chance to exoticize the "Maqbara-i-Hir" or "Hir's monument". He captures its image as "a brick building, resembling in style the ordinary Musalman tomb of the 16th century, with the exception that instead of being covered by a dome it is open to the sky" (177). He notes the reason for keeping the west window closed is that the wind may not enter the tomb from this side and blow on Hir because this is the direction of the village Rangpur, where Hir had been murdered. He adds the supernatural and exotic elements to it when he describes the whereabouts of the tomb that is close to the "old bed of Chenab", and the tomb was built on the behest of Hir, who appeared "in a vision to a merchant" and told him that the "rain of heaven" will always fall on the tomb (178). He adds that when Hir's body had been buried in it, and it was

about to be closed, all of a sudden, “Ranjha appeared” and entered the “tomb alive” to be buried with her (178). Notably, he acknowledges that this exotically orientalized version cannot be certified with any written account and associates it with the native informant. He does not find it lined with the poem and associates it with “Bhutta Vais”, who was the caretaker of the tomb. He also notes the occurrence of a *mela* – a festival or fair – here in the Punjabi month of Magh that overlaps the English month of February (178).

He also questions the era and time of the Hir and Ranjha as he argues that Hir and Ranjha are thought to have lived seven or eight centuries ago, but he regards the tomb's architecture as matching with that of “Akbar’s time” (178). The scenery of the tomb of Hir and the reunion of Ranjha and Hir in the grave, along with Hir’s appearance in a merchant’s dream to inform him about her place of burial, have nothing to do with the story narrated in *The Legends of the Panjab*; however, by mentioning these oriental and exotic images, he creates a frame of reference for his European readers who can have the pleasure of imaginative exoticism sitting in their armchairs for they can easily relate it to some supernaturally charged episodes of Arabian Nights highlighting the Muslim Orient.

As quoted above, he finds it parallel with the Arabic love tale of Laili and Majnun and the Persian love story of Farhad and Shirin. He was also aware of the fact that poets like Damodar and Waris Shah had already penned this love legend beautifully and are masterpieces in terms of their literary worth and cultural portrayal simultaneously. Nonetheless, he does not document their version of this folk narrative, for they have presented the desirable and adorable picture of Panjab and oriental lovers. Their versions are free of any cracks and crevices that can be utilized to orientalize and exoticize the Orient. Since Temple is aware of different versions of the Hir and Ranjha, his own Orientalist preferences favour ‘folk’ versions over ‘literary’ ones as being more authentic to the ‘real people’ of Punjab, with the effect of downgrading the ‘official’ culture of classes that might also form a base for anti-colonial resistance.

Besides Richard Carnac Temple's commentary, the appropriated text of this love story also spotlights a series of orientalized and exoticised images. In the beginning, Temple informs the readers that the “song relates only half the story of Hir and Ranjha, carrying us to the point where Ranjha gets possession of Hir, and omitting the latter half relating to the murder of Hir” (Temple 2: 507). He is aware of the significance of the

excluded episode in the plot of this folk narrative as he evinces, “though this is the most important part of it, and is the portion which has given it such a fame” (507). The act of appropriation and the exclusion can easily be traced out as it is difficult to understand how a reader can enjoy the story without going through the most important part of it. On the other hand, the version of this folk narrative, as documented and appropriated by Richard Temple, caters to the taste of the Europeans and adds some new images to their cultural imaginary besides refreshing many existing ones.

He carries on to say, “The object throughout is to give a faction value to Ranjha by making him out to be a wonder-working *faqir* of the type of greater saints, and rendering the record of his doings as fabulous as possible” (507). He argues, “The existence of a shrine of Hir and Ranjha at Jhang probably accounts for this” (507). His commentary attempts to impart a supernatural hue to the character of Ranjha and insists on establishing him as an oriental *faqir* who can be included in the league of other popular saints; nevertheless, the traditional folktale of the *Heer and Ranjha* does not aim at the exaggeration of the character of Ranjha to certify him as a Sufi saint or a charismatic *faqir*. It aims at the portrayal of the worldly love that prepares the lovers for eternal purification of the soul and self-realization. Throughout Punjab, Ranjha is always remembered as a true symbol of love, not a charismatic *faqir*. He is famous for playing the sweet flute and showering his selfless love on Heer. Temple’s commentary is an effort to appropriate the text for Westerners with his Orientalist approach.

Moreover, Temple’s desire to maintain his position as the writer and guide is unveiled as he considers his notes and commentaries essential for comprehending the Panjabi text of *The Legends of the Panjab* translated into English (507). His desire to present his newly invented Orient is palpable here. He wants the readers to see the character of Ranjha through his colonial/Orientalist gaze and reduce him to a mere supernatural *faqir* rather than a fully vibrant character who undergoes certain wears and tears of life and ultimately becomes a developed character who takes the *jog*, not for performing the miracles but for living an ascetic life that may reveal real truth to him. To keep his readers engaged and to maintain their oriental interest intact, he uses his authorial position. He priorly informs the readers about the obscurity of the “allusion”. Also, he establishes the need for his footnotes and glossary when he claims that the story is “a difficult one to render without a guide” (507).

Similarly, in his versions of the tale, the character of Heer is not brought into the limelight. Her character is widely discussed and critiqued by Punjabi scholars and critics, for they consider her a representative of multiple aspects of Punjabi culture and spirituality. Since the character found in the folklore does not imbricate the Orientalist presumption of the Oriental woman; therefore, the parts of the tale highlighting her character have not been documented. Due to this reason, the cultural nuances and subtleties represented through her character have also remained undocumented. It is a form of epistemic violence wherein the parts giving the true portrayal of the character have been omitted, and only the parts in which she can be charged with the allegation of the "illicit relations" have been documented in the textual form. It is arguable that even in the crudest form of folklore, Temple has not succeeded in getting the desired images of Heer in bulk that can establish her as the oriental woman befitting the European cultural imaginary.

Invoking the muse, at the start of the story, given are the names of God Almighty and the Holy Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him). They are followed by the Khawaja Khizar, another Muslim Saint and all of a sudden, the name of Guru Gorakh (Nath) comes up, who is a Hindu saint. "Seventhly, I take the name of Guru Gorakh (Nath) whom I worship with a platter of milk and rice" (line 6). Such a syncretic account, where Muslims tend to worship Guru Gorakh Nath, is untraceable and unprecedented in Punjabi literature. It again seems to be an act of appropriation of the text to confuse the lines between the Hindu and Muslim saints and deities to deprive both religions of their particular identities. To justify this inclusion, he writes in the footnotes, "The extraordinary mixture of Hindu and Muslim belief in the above verse is characteristic of the poem, and is kept up throughout it" (Temple 2: 508). Nonetheless, it is unjustifiable in this context. One can always find instances of intertextual references alluding to Hindu mythology, but they refer to a peculiar event or character to accentuate the contextual emphasis not to worship the saints from the other religions. Muslims do not even worship their saints and prophets; they only worship God Almighty. From this viewpoint, it should also not be inferred that they use interreligious allusions for derogatory purposes.

Referring to the birth of Hir and Ranjha, soon the text establishes the narrative to be a hagiographic account of Hir and Ranjha rather than a Romantic tale of Punjab

because the birth of Ranjha has been represented as such an auspicious occasion on which "The prophets took counsel together and the Panj Pir were rejoiced. / There are five great Saints; the sixth is Miyan Ranjha" (line 9-10). The intention of the writer's narrative is quite evident to give Ranjha the status of a saint after Five Saints; however, in the popular versions of Heer and Ranjha, he is just a Punjabi Jatt who leaves the life of ease and comfort to marry Heer under a fit of anger. In this version, Temple has been successful in orientalizing and emphasizing his character as an oriental lover who already cherishes the status of a saint, even on the occasion of his birth. Such an exotic saint by birth is an outsider to Europe who fulfills the criterion of being able to excite pleasure in the Westerners' minds.

The preoccupation of Ranjha to become a *faqir* is again overemphasized when he speaks to a blacksmith, "Come my heart, I will go and become a *faqir*, I am not happy here" (line 20). Before it, the blacksmith wants to give primitive Punjabi agricultural tools to Ranjha as he says, "I will ply the hoe, clear the weeds and make the land arable" (line 19). Temple's Ranjha is innately inclined to become a *faqir* and wants to leave Takht Hazara; when he is in conversation with a Qazi, he reiterates his preoccupation with becoming a *faqir*. He says, "Inns and mosques, O Qazi, are built for religious use; and thou wouldst turn away a saint, thou infidel and without faith!" (line 30). He carries on, "Thou keepest fasts and sayest prayers and knowest the words of Quran; and thou wouldst turn away a saint, thou infidel and without faith!" (line 31). He is also preoccupied with the thought that he can do wonders with his prayer and curse as he prays, "May the city prosper where stayed the *faqir* for the night" (line 35). It shows that Ranjha considered himself to be a certified *faqir* even before taking the *jog*. Such an appropriation makes the text dubious and signals the manipulation of the text.

The character of Lunan, with all orientalist paraphernalia, is introduced to the tale of Hir and Ranjha out of nowhere. One cannot find such an instance anywhere in the tradition of Panjabi literature. Her sole purpose is to capture the image of an oriental woman with her sexuality and worldly cornucopia catering to the taste of the Europeans. To justify her presence in the tale, Richard Temple writes, "This next conversation on the road to Jhang is between Ranjha and Lunan, the heroine of the tale of Puran Bhagat; for which see *ante*, Vol: II., P. 387ff. She is only introduced here as a well-known personage" (Temple 2: 511). Here, Sir Richard Carnac Temple's strategic location exacts

critical analysis. He claims Lunan is only introduced here as a “well-known personage”. Nevertheless, her entry into the tale needs closer attention. First, this entry remains unprecedented in any other popular version of Hir and Ranjha. Second and more important is for the European audience for whom such character tends to be “well-known” as they have come across many similar characters in the orientalists' writings, and it is in accordance with the Western strategic formation. Hence, it is equivalent to an act of epistemic violence by streamlining the Punjabi tale of lovers as a miracle tale. Also, it is almost unimaginable for any native Punjabi to find Lunan in the tale of Hir and Ranjha under any circumstances. Her incontinent sexual inclinations and tempting nature are highlighted when she addresses Ranjha suddenly: “O thou wanderer to the right, go to the left, put not thy feet towards the right” (line 38). Her insistence on not treading to the right is symbolic, for the left path belongs to the vice, and the right belongs to the virtue. Also, she talks about her self-dependence and offers him to join her in bed.

When she fails to tempt Ranjha herself, she tries something by offering her daughters to him through these words, “I have two virgin daughters in the house and I will marry them both to thee” (line 46). Upon failing again, she introduces herself as Luna, who is “haughty” (line 52) and with the stomping of feet, the “earth trembles” (line 53), and she wishes to “spend the night” (line 54) with him in the name of the prosperity of the city. Now, it can be seen why the character of Lunan has been introduced. It is to accentuate the sexual desire of the oriental woman who is ready to pay any price for spending a night with a man of her choice. Her character is in line with the former narratives existing in the European minds about the oriental women who might leave their homes at night to enjoy sexual encounters with other men. It is also the othering of the oriental woman done by Richard Carnac Temple. His depiction of Lunan has propagated her image as a Femme Fatale in *The Legends of the Panjab*. Her desperation to be in bed with Ranjha is evident from her dialogue in which she says, “For thy sake have I come here, that never (before) left my place” (line 55). Lunan’s character has undergone demonizing. Her sexual incontinence and her witchcraft are the traits that make her acceptable in the Orientalists’ framework to endorse the Western strategic formation.

Telling her demands to Lunan, Ranjha exaggeratingly says that it is hard to provide the food to him as he is addicted to consuming "a *man* and quarter" (line 52) of the juice of the poppies every day and about *bhang*, he cannot even mention the quantity for he can consume an immeasurable quantity of it. Also, the quantity of opium he takes is "a *ser* and a quarter" (line 53). In the footnotes, to amplify the drug addiction of Ranjha, Temple explains the amount and units of the intoxicating drugs. He emphasizes that a man and a quarter is "over a hundredweight: of course a fabulous amount" (513). He explains that the quantity of the opium that Ranjha mentions he consumes daily is 24 lbs, enough to last a confirmed opium-eater six months" (513).

Here, Ranjha comes out to be a true representation of an Orient who lives in excess of everything. It depicts a cornucopia in which even drugs such as poppy juice, *bhang*, and opium are consumed by Ranjha in higher measuring units such as *mans* and *sers*. He seems to be an amalgamation of savagery and nobility when, after mentioning all these drugs, he says that he only drinks the milk of the brown buffaloes and eats the cake made of butter and sugar. Lunan's desperation is at its height. She is ready to pay any price to be in bed with Ranjha. She accepts to give all the drugs and other edibles to him and orders her servants to bring anything Ranjha asks for from her palace, and she shows her willingness to pay any amount for this service to them.

Lunan is a true feast to the taste of European readers; she is beautiful, lecherous, living in excesses, beauty, and the beast. Such a woman is apt to be in the folk narratives written/appropriated to highlight the image of the oriental woman and to be presented as an Other to the West. When Ranjha backs out and refuses to go to her place, she becomes violent and says, "I will beat thee, I will bind thee, I will hang thee up at once. / They asked one *lakh* (of rupees) and I gave them two *lakhs*; the labour of none of them was unpaid for" (lines 70-71). She also decides not to let him go, for he has backed out from his words. She is ready to confront Ranjha, make him her captive, and go to any extent without caring about the consequences. Also, when Ranjha hears her threats, his preoccupation with the stature of the *faqir* is resumed, and he warns Lunan, "Thy sticks will break and thy ropes will snap; thou canst not hang the *faqir*" (line 74). Temple's Ranjha keeps on vacillating among the roles of a *faqir* and a culprit. It, too, makes him an appropriate character of the Oriental Other for English society.

Soon, the role of Lunan as a wary trickster is unfolded when she realizes that it is impossible to tempt Ranjha. She decides to pack up and go from there and also tells Ranjha that everything she said or did to him was just "in laughter" (line 75). Then Ranjha ridicules her to be a "mad-woman wandering in the burning grounds and quarrelling foolishly" (line 76). He also shows his miracle by pointing her to turn her head and see that her palace was set to fire. At this point, Lunan disappears from the scene, and suddenly, Ranjha starts talking to a householder on the way to Jhang. Here, he is fully confident about his *faqiri* and speaks to the householder to get milk in the quantity of "five *sers*" (line 81) and stresses that the saints have sent him there. On being refused, he becomes offended and threatens him with a curse that his herd will meet death and his old mother will die if he does not fulfill his demand. He continues to curse that he will become a widower upon the death of his wife as well.

Temple's Ranjha is now elevated to the higher level of saintship and enjoys the company of Five Saints. He is shown to take counsel with the Five Saints and reach God's court, playing at his flute in the wild. Temple himself has written in the comments that Hir and Ranjha both were Muslims; however, from here, he documents, "Indra heard the flute and sent a brown buffalo from heaven" (line 89). Here, Indra- the Hindu god- is shown to be a helper who sends a buffalo from heaven to the Five Saints and Ranjha. It is a straightaway attempt to use Hindu mythology to give a supernatural touch to the account of Hir and Ranjha and make it presentable and acceptable among the Europeans who tend to like the exotic and supernatural Orient. It is also an example of how Ranjha - a syncretic saint - seeks help and favour from Hindu and Muslim saints. Ranjha filled the cups with milk and gave them to the Saints who drank it and gave their blessings by saying: "Go, Ranjha Hir hath been given thee from Makka and Madina" (line 93). Here, Ranjha is guaranteed to have the hand of Hir, whereas, in the popular versions of Hir and Ranjha, it is the pure struggle of a die-hard lover who gives his maximum to win Hir on his own. This episode also aims at showcasing Indian syncretism in which a Hindu deity sends a cow to quench Muslim saints' thirst, which they readily accept.

Talking birds also exoticise the oriental locale. A crow and a peacock scream to Ludan- the boatman, "For God's sake, Ludan, give him a boat; he is some holy man or saint" (line 105). The bird's witness to his saintship is a supernatural and exotic image, for the European cultural imaginary is replete with the images of the East as the habitat

of the beasts and out-of-the-world flora and fauna. Temple's Ranjha, a selected saint, is also found to falter and perform certain actions against the decorum of saintship. For example, he backs out from his words, portrays himself as an incorrigible drug addict, and has proclivities for worldly pleasures. When Ranjha sees the tempting and comfortable bed of Hir, he requests Ludan, "Let me rest a moment here, O Ludan, that I may be at ease" (line 129). Not only is his Ranjha a trespasser but also treacherous enough to sleep on the bed of Hir. he bribed Ludan, too.

While foregrounding Hir's character, she is also portrayed to be a blend of beauty and savagery, i.e., the orientalist traits of a stereotyped oriental woman. It is quite satisfying for an orientalist mind to introduce a Hir as the "Daughter (she) of Chuchak, sister of Pathan, a very maiden of love. / If a bird fly over her bed (Hir) the Jatt woman will take away my life" (lines 133-134). When Hir had a dream in which a snake came and frightened her, she asked Tulsi, "Open the books, O Tulsi, and see what is written in thy books" (line 140). In the footnotes, Temple establishes him as "The family Brahaman of these Muhammadans! It is not uncommon however for Punjabi Muhammadan tribes to consult Brahaman in this manner." (Temple 2: 520). Ranjha, too, blames Brahamans for his ordeal when he says, "It was no fault of my parents, but the barber and of souls" (line 118). Temple's stance that Muslim tribes' tendency to consult a Brahaman is a common thing is another strategy to declare the Punjabi Indian society syncretic because consulting the seers to inquire about the future is a sin according to Islamic teachings.

When Hir asks Ranjha to reveal his true identity, he gives an account of different transmigrating and syncretic lives spent as a lover with Hir. He recalls himself being "Indar" and Hir as a "maiden" in his court. He also claims to be "Namanand" when Hir was "Gorkhan". He also remembers that when Hir was "Brikhban's daughter", he was "Radha Kishn" (lines 161-163). Temple intervenes to validate the syncretic and Oriental character of the tale through his footnotes. He focuses on Ranjha – a Muhammadan – who refers to himself as Ramanand – "the founder of the Bhagats or Hindu freethinkers" (523). Temple also mentions in the footnotes that Radha was the "mistress" of the Hindu deity "Krishna" (523). He also uses his positional superiority to valorize that Ranjha alludes to "their respective former births" that too "under the doctrine of the transmigration of souls" (523). His strategic location in the text and his notion of strategy to ensure his allegiance to Western strategic formation make the

narrative a suitable fit for the European cultural imaginary. His efforts to overstress the syncretic elements also add value to the oriental punch of the selected description.

It also needs attention that the theory of the transmigration of souls is expounded and popularized by the Hindus, not Muslims. Since Temple has already acknowledged Hir and Ranjha Muslims, the propagation of the transmigration theory from the mouth of Ranjha seems to be a forceful attempt to bring exotic and oriental colour to the song. Their encounter is followed by a supernatural scene in which the moon and sun stop rising, and grass and water also dry up. There is a syncretic touch in the scene as the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is depicted to form the procession of the marriage, and Brahama is shown to set the posts of the canopies of the marriage posts. Also, Panj Pir and Khawaja Khizar are portrayed as performers and attendees of several marriage ceremonies.

This exoticised depiction of Hir and Ranjha's marriage scene is also absent in other known Punjabi folk narratives and can only be attributed to Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Again, Ranjha is shown to be favoured by God Almighty, the marriage procession headed by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and the marriage posts set by Brahma – the god of creation, knowledge, and Vedas according to Hindu mythology. This kind of imagery is exotic even for the native Punjabi audience. Therefore, it appears to be proper stuff for the European minds awaiting such exotic and oriental imagery back at home authenticated by the orientalist scholars under the guise of missionaries and the civil servants serving the colonial administration.

Temples' account of Hir and Ranha almost ends after it when Hir introduces Ranjha as a goatherd, and his father approves his job upon Hir's insistence. In the other popular versions of Hir and Ranjha, the conflict in the plot begins from here onwards and turns this romantic tale into a tragedy; however, Temple has focused just on the additions that cannot be accepted even by the most docile native mind to be an integral part of the romantic folktale of Hir and Ranjha. He has tried to document an account or adulterate various accounts from other tales and legends to appropriate one that may win him distinction in Europe as a full-blooded orientalist to stand among the ranks of Richard Burton and others.

5.2.2 Ismai'l Khan's Grandmother as Related by a Bard from Jalandhar

Although this legend has the title of ISMAI'L KHAN'S GRANDMOTHER, it is another episode aiming at elevating the characters of Hir and Ranjha to raise them to the rank of saints. In the introductory part of this legend, Temple seems to be trying to declare it a popular tradition through the words of the bard, who declares it a tradition with whom the people of "Maghiana" and "Jhang" are familiar (Temple 2: 494). He also finds proximity of this legend with another story of Hir and Ranjha that is also present in this volume of *The Legends of the Panjab* with another title that I have discussed in this research later. He uses it to highlight the character of a "Siyal Rais" named Muhammad Ismai'l Khan, whose grandmother went against the traditional beahaviour of her tribe concerning the tomb of Hir (494).

Richard Temple goes a step beyond to authenticate the veracity of the legend, and he declares the man "Hakim Jan Muhammad" to be still alive. He is the person under discussion to whom the bards attribute the story (494). It is also notable here that Richard Temple candidly praises the Siyals of Jhang and mentions, "The family of the Siyal Chiefs of Jhang is an old and illustrious one, but it first comes into prominence with the 18th chief Walidad Khan, who consolidated its fortunes". He continues to explore the following family tree till he reaches the advent of the 19th century and writes about the chief at that time and ends with the praise of Muhammad Ismai'l Khan, who was loyal to the "British Crown" (494). Sir Richard Temple's location of colonial assertion in the narrative is observable when he associates the decline of the fortunes of the Siyal family with the rising "Sikh power" and its subsequent rescue and partial recovery with the help of the British government.

The legend is told to be a word of mouth of a "… well known / Physician (called) Jan Muhammad" (line 1) who resides in the city of Jhang. To give him the status of an uncontroversial person, it is written, "Whom all respect for his profession. / He cherishes religious mendicants and is a straightforward man. / He tells a tale that he heard from his grandfather" (lines 2-4). He tells about a traveller who visited Jhang one day and "seemed an honest man" (line 5). The text of the legend informs, "At that time Samail Khan's grandmother was alive". About "Samail Khan", in the footnotes, Temple

writes, “That is, the present Chief Muhammad Ismai’l Khan.” Here, on this page, Temple admits his appropriation of the text that he has made when he refers to “eight lines devoted to personal abuse” of Ismai’l Khan have been “omitted” by him (Temple 2: 496). Excluding specific material from the narrative is a strategy to ensure the conduciveness of the selected folklore to the Orientalists’ strategic formation.

Here, it is worth flagging that these folk narratives have been trimmed and appropriated as per the liking and disliking of Richard Carnac Temple. As he has mentioned, Ismai ’l Khan Siyal’s loyalty to the British Crown; therefore, he has omitted everything that may harm the reputation of his ally Comprador. To give weight to the traveller’s conversation, it is told that he is a pilgrim who returned from Makka four years ago to convey a “message from Hir and Ranjha” (line 10). First, on his way to Makka, he was lucky enough to survive a ship-wreck and reach the shore after a two days journey on a plank. While roaming on the shore, he “saw a hut” (line 17) in which he “saw a good-man” (line 18) and then came “an old woman” who was a “respectfully the good wife” (line 18) and welcomed the traveller. He narrates that she offered him milk and served him very well. Then, an old man who was tending his buffaloes came there, and she introduced him as her “husband Ranjha” and herself as the “poor Hir” (line 24).

He enjoyed himself there for a few days as “there was no lack of milk and curds” (line 26). But as the “opportunity for the pilgrimage was passing away”, he “became” sorrowful (line 27). Upon being asked about his worry, he replied to Ranjha that he was unhappy as he had “missed the pilgrimage” (line 30). On hearing this, Ranjha replied to him to accompany him on the pilgrimage and forbade him to feel bad. He carries on to say, “On the fifth day, we went thence and reached mount ‘Arafat’. / Doing the pilgrimage together we two returned to our own country” (lines 33-34). Here, the status of Ranjha is once again lifted to that of a saint who is supernaturally empowered to reach the holy mountain of “‘Arafat’” without any extra effort and perform the pilgrimage even after the scheduled time has elapsed. It is another attempt to make Ranjha an established saint.

The study contends that the legend seems to be a continuation of the greater game of making Ranjha a certified saint instead of a lover. It was appropriated and attuned to become good oriental stuff for the European cultural imaginary that could

accommodate such an oriental lover saint who has the power to do miracles like a saint. Then, on feeling homesick when the traveller became sad, they bade him adieu with the best possible offerings they could. Hir wanted him to visit Jhang and convey her message to the House of Khans that she had not done any ill to her clan and that if they stop abusing her, they may prosper by leaps and bounds. She also promises blessings for those who light lamps on her grave every "Thursday" (line 43).

These lines by Heer bespeak Hir's request to her clan to stop uttering bad words about Hir and Ranjha. The text also underlies the vested interest of the Siyals, who, according to Richard Temple, look down upon the figures of Hir and Sahiban as they think them to be the root cause of shame and dishonour. If they can establish Hir and Ranjha as the approved saints, the defamation of their clan can be mitigated or obliterated altogether, and they may gain their lost sense of honour and pride. Since Temple has also mentioned that Siyals are the Rajputs of higher rank and status and have a unique sense of pride, they do not marry their daughters to the Jatts; nevertheless, they marry the women of other tribes. As it has been said in the opening lines of the legend that Ismai'l Khan was loyal to the crown. Therefore his deteriorating fortune was also buttressed by the British Empire, and it seems that this version of the legend of the Hir and Ranjha is an attempt to revive the lost glory of the Siyal tribe by the "personal" efforts of a colonial folklorist cum administrator.

The last lines of the legend document the witness to the fact that the family who lighted lamps on the shrine of Hir soon got a great fortune and became wealthy within a short time. In the footnotes, Temple once again writes, "The reference is to the great poverty of Ismai'l Khan's family in the latter days of the Sikh rule and its acquisition of wealth soon after the advent of the British" (Temple 2: 498). It is quite comprehensible that Temple is trying to connect the allegiance of Khan Ismai'l with the British Empire as a result of Hir's prayers; having said it, it should be considered to be a miracle of Hir and Ranjha, and it also conveys an underlying meaning that this allegiance is a holy one as a pair have approved it of the certified Muslim saints. I contend it to be a manipulation of the Punjabi folktales and legends because such a version appropriates the Punjabi romantic folklore to undergird colonial rule by hegemonizing the masses. Also, it tends to serve a message to the hostile clans that the British Empire had the propensity to oblige their native allies, and they could go to any extent to do so.

Such an appropriation is aimed at having dual benefits. First, to consolidate the oriental image of the Punjabi Indian society to be a "miracle-ridden society" where saints are highly esteemed and also to add an oriental lover saint to the existing images of the Orient. It also serves to tempt the chiefs of the other clans who come to know about the "favors of the British Empire" on the tribal chiefs who took an oath to remain allegiant of the British Empire through thick and thin. I also consider this appropriation to be an act of epistemic violence for such a representation of Hir and Ranjha robs of these icons of the romance of their identity of true lovers and forcefully places them on the pedestal of sainthood to streamline with the exotic and oriental representation of the Orient. Besides reflecting the strategic location of Sir Richard Carnac Temple, the selected text also hints at its alignment with the Orientalsits' strategic formation. Moreover, it also provides a point of reference to know and study Punjabi saintly lovers by diminishing their cultural appeal of adorable lovers.

5.2.3 The Bracelet-Maker of Jhang as Related by a Bard from Jalandhar

At the beginning of the story, Temple writes that the story's object is "to glorify the shrine of Hir and Ranjha near Jhang" (Temple 2: 499). He also mentions the writer's claims to be the version of the "true tale" of Hir and Ranjha, though he doubts it and thinks that the inclusion of another "Siyal tale of Mirza and Sahiban" is an adulteration (499). This *qissa* is captioned to be the writing of Hafiz Ahmad of Jhang. In the beginning, after praising the God Almighty, Holy Prophet (PBUH), and Four Friends, he starts ridiculing the master writers who had already penned down the legend of Hir and Ranjha. He claims that Makbil made Ranjha a man of high learning who was just a "boorish Jatt" (line 8). About Waris Shah, he writes that he muddled Hir into a royal figure. He continues that Roshan Shah's version depicts a domestic fight between a daughter and a mother, and it cannot be declared a "proper tale" (line 14).

It serves as an invective against Waris Shah and seems purposeful because, in the presence of such a classic narrative, any other version of Hir and Ranjha cannot stand its grounds except ridiculing the master poet. *Hir Waris Shah* is the pinnacle of that folklore, and the depiction of Hir in it is an apt one. This true representation of Hir almost immortalized the character of Hir and opened multiple vistas to study the

performative and agentive aspects of Punjabi females. Even Temple acknowledges Waris Shah in the footnotes, as he writes that a reliable "Man Jatt" told him about the popularity and purity of Waris Shah's Hir, and he also said that one cannot be called a Punjabi if he has not read Waris Shah (Temple 2: 502).

Without any foregrounding, this version of Hir and Ranjha starts with the lovers' meeting on the Chinab River. After becoming a servant of Hir's family, "Ranjha now became lusty and Hir a ripe maiden. / They enjoyed each other in the wild and there was none to stay them" (lines 27-28). At this point, Hir and Ranjha are portrayed as voluptuous and hedonists indulging in bodily pleasures. Because of Hir's uncle's instigation, her parents married her to Shida Khera. On this, Ranjha became distressed and a "follower of Bala Nath" (line 36) by putting rings into his ears. He manipulated to elope with Hir with the help of Shahti, and while wandering in the jungles, he fought with a lion and slew him. From there, they reached the lands of Kabula, where Shida Khera chased them and demanded the ruler to hand Hir over to him. Consequently, the city of Kabula was burnt, and it was considered to be the miracle of Ranjha *faqir*. People also ridiculed the ruler of Kabula for doing injustice to the *faqir*.

Aggrieved, Shida and other members of the tribe decide to entrap Hir and Ranjha to take revenge on them because they think, "These two have put a great stain on our family" (line 60). They assured Ranjha that the past happenings were a matter of fate and asked him to bring the marriage procession so they may send Hir with him with full honour. On Ranjha's departure, Siyals "… ground the wretched Hir to flour: / And Hir the Jatti from poison gave her life to God" (lines 64-65). Here, the Oriental theme of honour killing is highlighted along with the theme of suicide. Then, the Orientalist depiction of Ranjha as the saint lover again comes into play, and he lifts his hands to pray to God to restore Hir to life or take his life as well. Then the narrative unfolds that Hir's grave opened, and he entered it just like Yunis did to enter the belly of a whale.

Ranjha's prayers do not go unanswered, and his saintly powers are again highlighted here, which fulfill the Temple's agenda to prove him a saint rather than a lover in his writings. The opening of the grave and Ranjha's entry into it alive also is the exotic representation of the Orient, where he has a suicidal tendency and has metamorphosed into another world. His entry into the grave is analogized with the Quranic depiction of the prophetic episode of Yunis (A.S), who entered the belly of a

whale. Temple also relates it with Jonah's Biblical story, stating, “This is the story of Jonah in the whale’s belly, common to Christians, Jews, and Musalmans” (Temple 2: 505). Also, in one of his prefaces, he tries to analogize it with the story of Jonah when he articulates that there are many variants of this story in Indian folklore. In the footnotes, he relates Ranjha’s entering into the grave of Hir to be “a conscious variant” of the story (Temple 2: xvi). Finally, to certify their saintly stature, the text states about their shrine in Maghiana, where an annual fair is held and whose door towards Khera’s village remains closed “by the order of the Court (of God)” (line 74).

Shutting the door towards Kheras by order of God also raises their status as saints and makes Kheras stand as sinners, for they called for the displeasure of God by mistreating them and their love. Their assigned identity of sainthood is reiterated as “Holding these two as saints the people make vows to them. / The people of many forests go there on Thursdays” (lines 75-76). Their shrine is shown to be a place where people pray to have their supplications granted. The writer's tone here is over-assertive to emphasize his narrative's veracity. He documents it as “A tale I have heard with my own ears, my friends, / Which I tell to you, as it is not to be gainsaid” (lines 77-78). He recounts the story of a bracelet maker who “… dwelt in sorrow in Maghiana” and “he had no offspring” (line 80). He visited the shrine “every Thursday” and prayed to God aloud. “O God, grant me a son, by the blessing of these holy ones!” (lines 81-82).

Almost after four or five Thursdays, when he was praying, an “invisible angel” (line 84) prophesized him to have two sons and also guided him to name the elder “Ranjha” and the younger “Ali Muhammad” (line 85). It is also narrated that the elder brother died; however, the younger was “still alive” (line 89). In praising him, it is stated, “Pure and holy they find him” (line 90) and “He is an old man of ninety years with a bright face shining, / By the grace of God, as gold doth shine” (lines 91-92). Temple intervenes and writes in the footnotes, “Ali Muhammad is still living in Maghiana and has erected a mosque there. He has a great reputation for learning and holiness. His brother Ranjha is said to have lost his intellect from over-study of the *Hafiz-i-Jamal*” (Temple 2: 506). Temple Orientalizes the narrative by strategically locating him through his footnote here. He does not explain *Hafiz-i-Jamal*. What type of book it is, and by whom it is written? The only thing that attracts him is the oriental name of the book that suits his strategic formation and caters to the taste of European readers.

Temple's intervention here is to validate his Orientalist version of Hir and Ranjha as he sets out in his preface to wonder how the characters of Hir and Ranjha transformed into saints from lovers. The depiction of Ranjha as a saint of the level of Sakhi Sarwar is his strategy, and he does it to spotlight a transcendental lover who is a lustful lover and a miraculous saint concomitantly. As highlighted above, in the same legend, he is described as a "lusty lover" who enjoys in the forests with the "ripe maiden", and at the end, he is told to be a powerful saint to bring the curse of God to the Kheras due to the maltreatment given to Hir and Ranjha and also a saint who is a powerful enough to make the angels inform the bracelet maker about having two sons. Such representations seem to be solely collected and appropriated for the European audience. The dearth of narratives in Punjabi literature certifying the sainthood of Hir and Ranjha, too, augments the researcher's point of contention.

Right from the prefaces of *The Legends of the Panjab*, Temple is obsessed and confused with the story of the "abduction of a Rajput girl by a man of another race and a subsequent vengeance of her tribe" (Temple 2: x-xi). He also happens to see a "tomb of some local sanctity at Jhang built to this pair of lovers", and he states it as an attempt to "connect Ranjha as a wonder-working Saint with Guru Gorakhnath and to glorify his memory in order to add to the revenues of the tomb"; subsequently, he thinks that Ranjha's "development into a Saint of the Sakhi Sarwar type is evidently a mere matter of time and opportunity" (x-xi). However, I contend that this portrayal of Ranjha and his tomb is epistemic violence that misrepresents the saintly image of Ranjha. The tale of Hir and Ranjha is celebrated in Punjab as a romantic tale, and so are the characters of Hir and Ranjha. They are never considered saints of any type, and no one finds them to be a saint of the Sakhi Sarwar type, even nowadays in Punjab.

5.2.4 Swynnerton's Hir and Ranjha

"Charles Swynnerton was the first European missionary to publish a number of collections limited to folk narratives from India" (Islam 58). Although he and Richard Carnac Temple collected similar types of folktales and legends, they manoeuvred and manipulated the representation of the Orient in their respective versions as per their vested and colonial interests. Before casting the critical insights into Sywnnerton's specific representation of Hir and Ranjha, a brief overview of his understanding of Punjab and Punjabi people will help comprehend how his missionary background

operates through the orientalist paradigm. This operation tends to mis/represent the Punjabi folk narratives to produce the colonial discourse that justifies the presence of the Civilizing Mission of the Empire and provides the basis for its unconditional furtherance.

About civilization, Zeldin (1980) says that "race, language, and civilization" develop the consciousness of a "nation" as a particular group of people. The term "civilization" signifies politeness, urbanity, a rejection of savagery and rurality, aspiration towards justice, order, and education" (25). The term remained subjected to multiple interpretations. The conservatives opined that civilization implies the termination of excess, decay, and decadence. An excess of civilization may result in the collapse of society as excessive obesity does to the body. Regardless of the various interpretations, the term shared a common belief that civilization aims at the making of a "better man" and the society "a better place to live in" (8). Nonetheless, the Romantics complicated the topos of the civilizations with their conception of "noble savage" that suggested and advocated the sense of pre-civilization and regression to a paradisical past with an escapist approach. It proved to be conducive to the colonial agenda of the expansion and subjugation of the Orient ultimately.

James Boon clarifies the pre-Enlightenment concept of Otherness as the religious circles and their "commentators could easily feel as remote from doctrinal opponents or illiterate compatriots as from exotics. Distance from Europe was not yet a relevant factor in ideas of monstrosity" (Boon 35). Pre-renaissance cultural diversity was comparatively less territorialized. With the advent of the travel excursion, Europeans had a better opportunity to visit and imagine the unexplored continents to exoticize. For Westerners, Percy Adams argues that the eighteenth century emerged as the century of the Grand Tour, wherein "people and ideas moved about" (Adams 8). He further notes that roughly after 1660, travellers moved out of the European territories with different vested interests. He classifies them into two groups. In the first category, he keeps more adventurous travellers such as scientists, fighters, circumnavigators, and missionaries, and his second category includes less adventurous peoples like the visitors of the cultural spots and the cities that were considered to be the "symbols of progress and culture" (6-8).

Jesuit missionaries and colonial administrators played a vital role in building knowledge and discourses about the indigenous colonized natives by "educating" them

and getting knowledge and records of their languages that helped them strengthen their rule over and discourse about them. Europeans started getting information about exotic lands and people through various travel narratives and also through the imaginary and fantasy worlds of several writers. These discourses were built on the knowledge that was mostly unauthentic and consisted of the lies told by certain "travel liars" who gathered and appropriated material from other travellers, and the chain went on; therefore, Adams calls it to be the "age of plagiarism". To read and think about the exotic Orient became a literary tradition among the Europeans, and historians like John Adams suggested that youngsters read the travel accounts because he thought that by doing so "one is struck by the differences between the customs of his own country and those other nations." He continues, "Then penetrated by the differences, one seeks the reason for it, and there for him is the beginning of the political, moral, and commercial combination" (qtd. in Adams 133).

Reverend Charles Swynnerton starts his book with the dedication to the "HER MOST GRACIOUS, MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA, EMPRESS OF INDIA WHOM THE PEOPLE OF INDIA CALL BY THE ENDEARING NAME OF "MOTHER"". Right from the beginning of this book, the book seems to be validating the colonial discourse. Swynnerton's strategic location can be questioned as he calls Queen Victoria the Empress of India. He also uses the orientalist strategy to speak on behalf of the Indian people and asserts that she is called "MOTHER" by the people of India. Here, his strategic location in the text is questionable. The fact informs about Swynnerton's objective of coming into the limelight as a writer endorsed by the British crown. And he achieved his goal as he ended his original dedication by saying, "(By HER MAJESTY'S KIND PERMISSION) RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED'". It validates the point that being a colonial functionary, he was bound to get permission from the queen even for dedicating the book to her. It also reveals the actual dependence of the British functionaries on the authorities back home to proceed with even trivial matters.

His introduction to the book is a driving force to mentally prepare his European readership for the Oriental nature of the work catering to their taste. He claims the tales to be the "most important of the village tales" that he collected in the regions of the Upper Indus and the Attock. He also claims that the translated stories were of the people, villagers, and the professional bard, and the translation of the stories is free of

"any conscious embellishment" (Swynnerton xvii). The difference in the position of the storyteller and the recorder also becomes clear from the fact that the former "group of Muhammadan story-tellers, squatting on the floor" while the latter lighted their "pipes and sat listening and scribbling" (xvii). It unfolds how powerful colonizers represent marginalized colonized people by appropriating their folklore. Swynnerton's missionary objective behind this book is "to point out certain elements which they possess in common with the stories and fables so familiar to us in classic theology and biblical legend" (xviii). He also invites his fellow countrymen to sit in their armchairs and "discern the origins of things vague, mysterious and legendary" (xvii).

He exoticizes the process of collection by mentioning the hard-to-pronounce names of the villages of Punjab, i.e., Rangota, Dhor, Damtaur, etc., and also when he tells his purpose of visit to Damtaur to collect the "Graco-Bactrian coins". He continues to exoticize the Punjabi locale while depicting the "narrow tortuous" village streets, the "rhythmical beatings of a tom-tom", the "strain of suringa", and the "vociferous singing" of the bards that he listened to a "nuptial of some dusky maid" who was "handed over to the custody of a lord and master of age as tender almost as her own." This marriage of a tender-aged bride and bridegroom with the exotic surroundings brings exotic imagery into the reader's focus. The exoticism is further enhanced with the mention of the *hujra* and *pipal* tree and that of "excellent *mirasi*" – Sher was asked to narrate the tale of "Hir and Ranjha" by the audience (xix). He carries on to paint some images of an oriental woman here as he writes about "timid-faced girls, darkly-veiled, gazed from house-tops, or peeped from neighbouring doors" and also about "some staid matrons, returning home with pitchers of river-water" on the heads. Here, he claims it to be such a "picture of life in Panjab" and "a picture of life as it ever has been". He tries to establish the primitivity of the Indian Panajab through his narrative (xx).

Here, he tries to identify the cracks and crevices in the primitive religious practices of the Punjab. He relates the "obscure Sher" of Punjab with the "renowned Homer" of Greece. Hence, he finds an interconnection between the primitive Punjab and the Pagan Greece. He also pinpoints a common motif of "exile" that is "driven by force of circumstances" in the European "divine folk-tales of the Old Testament" and the "classical legends" and "medieval romance." He gives examples of the "story of Joseph", the tale of "Orpheus", and the "Arthurian legend". He claims to bring forth the "naïve

and archaic type" of "despised oriental woman" through the story of Hir and Ranjha (xxii-xxiii). Charles Swynnerton, as a strategy, recalls the European frame of reference to compare and contrast the Punjabi folk narratives. It is to endorse the Westen strategic formation and also to contribute to it through the provision of newly added images of the Punjabi Orient. It helps enhance the European cultural imaginary concerning the Orient.

Swynnerton also notes that in the "degraded life of India", women have been deprived of their right to choose and love. He thinks that the character of Hir is extremely popular among the women of Punjab due to this fact. He also writes the women of India are "Bartered and sold as they particularly are, cribbed up within the narrow limits of their desolate *zananas* if rich, and if poor worked from morning till night like the beasts of the field". When Swynnerton refers to *zananas*, he attempts to streamline his narrative with the Orientalist referential frames. Additionally, while discussing the degraded Indian life, he continues to other the colonized India and its people. He confuses the origin of the tale to be "far anterior to the era of Muhammad". He writes that in the "Upper Punjab the Muhammadans" have appropriated the tale according to their aspirations. Whereas, Richard Temple has clearly stated in his *The Legends of the Punjab* that Hir and Ranjha were Muslims, and he also writes their love to be "illicit". Swynneton continues to say that one of his native informants, "a most intelligent man" and "an old blind khan of Hazro", traced back the origin of the tales to Alexander. Swynnerton also proposes this could be a variant of the Greek Legend of "Hero and Leander". His claim is based on the "jingle in names" he noticed. He wants to augment his point by saying, "it is a most uncommon thing for the name of heroine to take precedence of that of here, as it does in *Hir and Ranjha*. I know of no other case in India like it" (xxv). It is a factual misrepresentation of the facts, for in most of the romantic tales written in Punjabi, the name of the heroine takes precedence over the hero. For example, Sassi Punnu, Sohni Mahinwal, Shirin Farhad, etc.

Swynnerton considers it a good time and opportunity to search for the variant of the tale of Hir and Ranjha among the Hindus of Punjab, who had been adversely affected by the "destructive conquests of the earlier Muhammadans". He wished its connection to be interlinked with the Greeks so that he could see "a most interesting achievement"; in India, Greeks have left "one at least of their fascinating legends" (xxv). His selection and the translation of only fourteen stanzas out of forty-five is also a sort of

appropriation of the folktale that helps him willingly include or exclude the matters. The process is an undeniable instance of colonial appropriation of the Punjabi folk narratives. It also implies that whatever suited his orientalist and colonial paradigm, he included it, whereas contradicting material had been excluded. He also makes the grounds to show the "glory of the Greeks" and their implicit contribution to the development of the written and unwritten Punjabi literature that could not even be obliterated by "the pitiless devastating conquests of Mahmud" (xxviii). He continues with the vilification of the Muslims in India; he says, the "Muhammadan eruption changed the whole face of the country and annihilated all the existing conditions of society". And in its "savage fury of flood it carried almost everything away" (xxviii). Swnnerton's strategic location requires critical attention. He strives to demonize the Muhammadans. His focus is on the religious allegiance of the native Punjabis. His missionary status is the root cause behind this religious bias and resultant religious othering.

He also utilizes this opportunity to accentuate the savagery of the Muslim invaders; he claims that "with systematic and cruel determination", during the Muslim rules, "figures of Buddha", "temples and viharas", and "glorious stupas" were demolished and "priests, princes, and people were ruthlessly massacred". His account of the Arabs is truly Orientalist and illustrates his strategic formation, too; he writes that "tall, lithe, fierce-eyed Arabs" caused the death and scourge of the entire human race, and they were not satiated with the "rivers of blood" (xxviii). The text of Swynnerton's folktale of Hir and Ranjha begins with the depiction of a "stripling" who does "nothing at all on the farm" and rambles uselessly here and there, " playing old tunes" (Swynnerton 3). His Ranjha is a picture-perfect image to exaggerate the myth of the lazy native prone to feminization, too. The remoteness and the brutal nature of the Eastern locale are also highlighted through the depiction of the land given to Ranjha in inheritance by his brother, which proves to be "savage for him" (4). Even his sisters taunt him as a person who loves to "tend the lazy herd" and sleep "beneath the shady trees" and takes pleasure in his "flute's soft minstrelsy" (9). Ranjha's effeminacy is reemphasized when he is shown to have a fever after lying on the mosque's floor in the open air. Upon reaching a village's smithy and working there, soon the blood came out of "the veins of his arms" after striking the red-hot iron only "three or four times" (10). At a place, the blacksmith taunts him for his "delicate limbs" or belonging to "some fairy race" (15). The use of phrases such as "delicate limbs" and "fairy race" also unfold the

strategic location of Charles Swynnerton, targeting the native Punjabi lover to feminize and appropriate him as per the European cultural imaginary.

In search of shelter and fire, he comes across Miraban, who serves as Swyneerton's oriental woman. First, Ranjha was told that he had no place in a house "full of woman"; nevertheless, after "observing how handsomely he carried himself", he was allowed to enter it (15). Under the trance of Ranjha's flute, they started to "dance like mad things", maintaining the rhythm and the beat as if they had been "possessed" (15). But her savage side is also unveiled as she strikes Ranjha on the back with her *kundi* – an iron rod - for mesmerizing her by playing at his flute and causing her cakes to be burnt in the oven. Suddenly, Ranjha is ready to show his saintliness by changing the burnt cakes in the oven into the unburnt ones. Here, he shows his miracle and wins the women's confidence in the house. Having guessed Ranjha's "mystic power", she treated him with kindness and implored him to "stay with her for a time" (16). At the same time, she thought of her husband, a meek and mild creature, but Ranjha appealed to her for being "young and stout". To satisfy her husband, Miraban tricked him and said the Ranjha was his "family *pir*" (16). Miraban became obsessed with Ranjha and chased him in his attempt to run from her house to make him a captive with the aid of her husband. When her husband went out the following day, she was bold enough to unfold the truth of her desire for Ranjha and gave him *churi* to eat. Here, the hackneyed oriental image of a sexually incontinent woman is highlighted who betrays her husband to fulfill her sexual desires with another man unknown to her.

Soon, Ranjha, who exhibited a miracle of bringing the burnt cakes into their proper form, seems to be a powerless person who cannot get rid of the stoves on his own and plays the role of an adept trickster by entrapping a blind beggar and making him a captive of Miraban instead of him to flee from the house of Miraban. The atrocious nature of Miraban is again accentuated when she seizes her *kundi* to apply on the shoulders of an old blind beggar, and he howls terribly. Her husband also doubts her character and calls her a "shameless hussy" and questions her if she wants to "carry on her tricks with Ranjha" (23). The trickster oriental woman is brought to the readers through these lines. Also, Miraban is demonized through these lines. Even Ranjha too mocks her, calling her to be "slender". It adds salt to the injury of the husband of Miraban. He calls her a "faithless female dog" who has "harboured him for tricks" of her

own (23-24). The domestic violence is also there when Miraban's husband beats "her front and rear" using her *kundi.* Ranjha is also portrayed as a sadist who takes pleasure in watching Miraban brutally beaten by her husband (24).

To show the miracle of the *Five Pirs*, they suddenly appear to Ranjha and ask for milk. They ask him if he has ever given something in the name of God. He remembered that once, he gave an "about to die" ill calf named Brownie to a beggar. (27). They asked him to call her by her name, and the buffalo ran to him quickly. *Five Pirs* ask him to start milking a buffalo with no milk and provide Ranjha with a "wooden begging-bowl" to milk in (28). Ranjha keeps on milking and getting tired, but neither the buffalo stops giving milk nor the bowl gets filled. Watching the misery of Ranjha, Five Pirs ask him to stop and drink milk and give the remainder to Ranjha. After showing their miracle to Ranjha, they ask him to shut his eyes and due to their saintly powers, he reaches a more beautiful garden than the previous one. They tell him that Hir belongs to him and he should go to win her hand. They also say to "cede her in the divine name" to Ranjha. (28). Swynnerton explains the Pir as "a saint, a spiritual director" (27). He adds, "when a man is in sickness or peril, he supplicates God and his Pir" (27). He seems to be raising the stature of a *pir* to that of God, whom his followers supplicate; it appears to be totally in line with the Temple's agenda as he declares the Indian Punjab to be a miracle-ridden society.

When Hir meets Ranjha, she agrees to ask her father to hire Ranjha as a herdsman; her father gracefully accedes to her request, and Ranjha starts his duty. Swynnerton writes that one night, she had a vision in which *Five Pirs* appeared and informed her that they had married her "with solemn rites to Ranjha" (36). He continues that on this, Hir quivered and woke up. But what Swynnerton says next is full of surprise. He writes that the Hir had the habit of "honouring the prophet Christ every Sunday", and when she had a vision on that day, she took to be "Christ himself" who appeared to her in that vision (36). Since Reverend Charles Swynnerton is a missionary and has missionary duties, he locates himself in the text by making Christ the prophet of Hir, and she honours him every Sunday. It is the supreme form of the creation of an invention in which religious syncretism is propagated to achieve missionary objectives. Such an appropriation aims at introducing the Christian theological invention to the folklore of Punjab that could benefit the mission as well as the colonial administration.

This tradition of mixed religion could help the British rulers obfuscate the religious identity and win the sympathies of the naïve natives through the invention of a mixed religious practice in the long run.

After the dream, she beguiles her father and manages to meet and live with Ranjha in the *Bela*. The image of an oriental woman who can do anything to fulfill her bodily objectives is also underscored here. She betrays her father and family to live with her lover. When people eavesdrop on the relationship between Hir and Ranjha, Hir's father calls his lame-legged brother –Kaido - to sift the matter. Kaido successfully collects the proof of the intimacy of Hir and Ranjha; nonetheless, Hir, who was "a fine active girl", overtook him and gave "four or five good cracks over his head with her stick" to knock him down (43). Again, in the love of Ranjha, Hir is depicted to go to any extent as an oriental woman. Even she can hit and knock down her paternal uncle as well. Also, when her uncle asks if she would lift her hand against her uncle, she replies, "Yes, a thousand times yes" (43). In this way, her demonization continues.

Swynnerton writes Kaido's advice to his brother Mahr Chuchak that underlines the theme of the provocation of female infanticide when Kaido says, "No woman child henceforth permit to live" (44). Kaido advises his brother to kill the girls as soon as they are born, lest they may bring a bad name to the clan. I contend here that it is not the culture or the tradition of Punjab to kill their female child out of jeopardy of dishonour. Having declared them the killers of the newborn daughters, British missionaries could have a fair opportunity to propagate their religious teachings, and also, the colonial administrators could add another valid reason to subjugate and rule the native Punjabis.

Next, when Mehar Chuchak sends his sons to kill Ranjha and bring his daughter back home, the character of Ranjha reemerges as the saint. The brothers of Hir inquire about the "smell of musk" coming from him as it is the same smell that came from the bosom of Hir (47). On Ranjha's reply, when they smell the dung of the buffaloes, it smells like musk. It became possible with the saintliness of Ranjha. However, they were determined to kill Ranjha as per their father's orders, so they raised their swords again to smite him. But once again, as a miracle of Ranjha, "their arms stiffened and remained uplifted", and they were unable to get them down too (47). Realizing that Ranjha was something different, they believed "him to be a prophet of

God, they all four fell down at his feet" (47). The misrepresentation of Punjabi society as a miracle-ridden society is again done here. They seek his pardon and vow "never to move foot or hand against" him ever. Ranjha – the saint – prayed, and the "arms came back to them as before" (47).

The savagery of the oriental Hir is also underlined on the occasion when she sets her uncle Kaido's hut on fire with everything inside. Her revengefulness is also palpable through her conversation with Kaido, where she says, "You have burnt fire on my head, and I have burnt on yours" (48). To save their honor, Hir's parents decide to use the authority of the Kazi – a religious priest – to "persuade and correct her" and to "admonish her with wise counsel" (48). The oriental social institution of marriage is also discussed, allowing parents to betroth their daughters at a tender age through the speech of Kazi. Also, the theme of the good child is highlighted to ensure that "every child should obey its father" (51). The response of the Hir to Kazi raises the status of a *Pir* higher than the parents, for she unfolds that her "Pir is a spirit", and he had married her to Ranjha (51). She adds, "his shall I be as long as live" (51). The depiction of Pir as a spirit is a sort of allusion to the Christian trinity, and this fact also makes this folktale conditioned by the ecclesiastical inclinations of Reverend Charles Swynnerton, whose focus was definitely on the conversion of the natives to Christianity rather than the collection and preservation of the Punjabi folktales.

The priest's authority to decide Heaven or Hell for the Orient is also shown in the text when the Kazi tells Hir that she was "on the straight road to Hell" (51). Kazi is also highlighted as a "consumer of bribes" who has been bribed with "five rupees and a betel leaf" (51). Here, again, Swynnerton has tried to make the religion of Islam controversial through the portrayal of the character of Kazi as he is ready to say anything using the scriptures on being bribed. Hir also interrogates Kazi about the connection between love and the doctrines of the Mahommaden Law. Kazi's speech threatens Hir, and he forewarns her to enter the "lowest pit of Hell" if she does not agree to accept Khera as her husband (52). He also threatens her about her honour killing in the offing as her father was "fully determined" to hand her "body and soul" over to "the lowest scavenger in the village" (52). Another surfacing fact here is that the selection of such a narrative has allowed Swynnerton to highlight the themes of forceful and early marriages

of the children and the treatment of love as a socio-cultural and religious taboo in Punjabi society.

Hir's reply to Kazi puts her in the category of the oriental woman who is ready to jeopardize anything to be with her lover. She tells Kazi that she "madly" adores Ranjha (52). She is prepared to confront anyone for Ranjha; if ever he happens to be on a battlefield, she will be "his sheltering shield" and take the blows instead of him (52). She also thinks it a sin of such great intensity to love Khera instead of Ranjha that she can never hope to bow her head in Mecca. Here, Kazi again intrudes and charges her of "blasphemy" (53). When Kazi fails to persuade Hir, he calls for her mother, but Hir warns her to "thrust a dagger" in her heart, commit suicide, and die right away (53). This suicidal tendency is also an oriental image that Swynnerton highlights. The power of the Islamic clerks who can charge anyone with "blasphemy" if their request is not acceded to is also underlined. Ultimately, such cracks are helpful for a full-blooded missionary to preach his religion.

Hir's dialogue with her father also raises the pair of lovers to the status of saints. She narrates the incident of her marriage with Ranjha, arranged and executed by the great Muslim saints and religious hierarchy. She describes that she was betrothed to Ranjha by "Khwaja Pir", and the ceremony was performed by the "angels" (54). Her ornaments came down from "Heaven". Jibrail – the angel – uttered the "solemn words", and Israfil – the angel – was a "witness to the rite" (54). "Five Pirs" were also the participants, and she adds in the end that "God himself" was good to her (54). Finally, "Ali" gave Hir to Ranjha, and their wedding ceremony ended (54). This type of description purports to certify Hir and Ranjha to the highest ranks of the saints. It also authenticates the narrative of the British rulers started by Richard Temple in his preface that India was a "miracle-ridden" society. Also, it provides them with the basis for the presence of the missionaries and the colonial rulers in the region due to their mental and physical incapacity to rule the terrains themselves.

On the suggestion of killing Hir, her mother at least bothers to think it to be a crime; however, she is more concerned about their reputation, for the people may "point the fingers of scorn" towards them and taunt them for killing Hir as she was "worthless and bad" and ultimately, their "good name would be lost forever" (57). Out of the risk of losing their good name, they decided to marry Hir to Khera within eight days forcefully.

Family bard, barber, and Brahmin were sent for. The mention of Brahmin here again is a syncretic strategy that speaks of a mixed religion because Muslims never ask Brahmins to be a part of their wedding ceremonies as a ritual. It is a sort of appropriation to accentuate the image of the Indian Punjab as a syncretic society. On hearing this news, she goes to meet Ranjha once more, and there she sees Ranjha "engaged in prayer" (58). It, too, bespeaks the saintliness of Ranjha, who is always busy saying his prayers. She wants to snatch that passing hour and asks Ranjha to "content" himself in her arms and also portends that they may not "embrace" afterwards (58).

The oriental image of the female beauty and beast is also underlined in the form of Hir, who now becomes ferocious and first slaps a woman who approached her to decorate her with "*Mahdi*", and then she smites a rod on the priest's head (58). There, in her conversation with Kazi, she uses the name July as she says, "The month of July has descended in flood", but it is always questionable how Hir of primitive Punjab can use the word July since the Punjabi people have their list of twelve months based on the seasons. It appears as another Orientalist ploy used by Charles Swynnerton to standardize his strategic formation. In the concluding part of the folktale, Ranjha as the saint was at its pinnacle when Five Pirs woke him in the *Bela*, calling him "Sir" and asking him to "rise up", lest the Khera might take Hir away (64). Ranjha reached there in a moment where Hir was pushed into a *palki* to be carried away by the Kheras. With the miracle of the Five Pirs and Ranjha, palki became immovable. Kazi entreats her for the last time to expel the love of Ranjha out of her heart and the "honour" of her family (64). For Ranjha, the *palki* "descended from Heaven", and two "angels of God" came down to transport the *palki* to Mecca (64).

In the end, it is narrated that they paid "their devotions" in Mecca and lived there for years (67). It is also believed that "they never died" and still live in "one of the islands of Arabia" (67). The interconnectedness of the folktale of Hir and Ranjha with Arabia is also a manipulation to exoticize it and bring it in accordance with the European cultural imaginary about Muslim characters in general. Again, it appears as an Orientalist ploy used by Charles Swynnerton to standardize his strategic formation. The characters of Hir and Ranjha are also shown to be mystically metamorphic since they remain unaffected by pangs of death due to their sainthood. However, such a representation of Hir and Ranjha is highly manipulative, as is the case with Richard Temple's *The Legends*

of the Panjab. Both of them have appropriated them for making their versions and tailored them for European readers with the help of enhanced orientalist images.

5.2.5 Heer and Ranjha to a Native Eye

To explore the native side of the story of Heer and Ranjha, I have used Harjeet Singh Gill's account of Heer and Ranjha – Emeritus Professor of Semiotics at Jawaharlal Nehru University. He recounts and critiques Waris Shah's Heer and Ranjha without changing its original form and paraphrases the tale along with giving the translation of some excerpts from the original poem. He selects Waris Shah's Heer Ranjha because he thinks that perhaps it is "the only text in literature" that has been applauded and enjoyed by both unlearned "peasants" and scholarly "literary critics" (Gill 3). He continues to emphasize, "it is the pristine purity in thought, word and deed on the one hand, and mind and body on the other, that mediates the conflicting ideological parameters" (Gill 4).

Waris Shah's Heer and Ranjha are the true representatives of Punjab who are not portrayed as born saints. Instead, they are the living human beings living in the Punjabi culture. Their religion is not syncretic, and their glorification lies in selfless love whose implications involve "mundane affairs of this world" and eventually "move to a cosmological context where the highest principles of faith and friendship are underscored" (Gill 4). It is also an answer to a question that this study may pose: why did Temple or Swynerrton not select Waris Shah's Heer and Ranjha since they have been sung and popularized by a vast number of bards in Punjab? The images portrayed by Waris Shah are the pure depiction of Punjab and Punjabi that contradict the orientalist discourse; therefore, such a narrative seems to have been willingly excluded from the colonial anthologies of oriental folktales and legends.

Waris Shah's legend of Heer and Ranjha starts with the invocation to God Almighty and the praise of the Prophet (PBUH) without any amalgamation of a syncretic religion. The story is of both folk and literary significance. It represents Heer and Ranjha as true Punjabi lovers who are human beings and do not claim any saintliness; however, their belief in love is strong, and they meet their ends in the name of love. The characters here are the living Punjabi characters who have represented their Punjabi culture and society in their true essence.

Heer and Ranjha are not equipped with any miraculous powers; therefore, they have to deal with the situation in their layman's capacity. Such a depiction does not become the colonial framework of mis/representation as the religion described in the Heer Waris Shah is almost the fair representation of tenants of Islam. It does not provide the collectors and translators with an opportunity to twist and tweak the "facts" and culture. Additionally, the existence of the folk narrative in the written form impedes the colonial tendency to select and popularize the text. Also, it can potentially challenge the colonial episteme developed and disseminated for the creation of the Punjabi *other* vis-à-vis colonial *self*.

There are no instances of *deus ex machina* in Waris Shah's Heer and Ranjha that Temple and Swynnerton have "searched" for their folk narratives to locate the socio-cultural and politico-religious aporias to appropriate and develop them into a colonial discourse required for the justification of the British Empire and Mission in India. Since the Heer and Ranjha, as portrayed by Temple and Swynnerton, are elevated and exaggerated to the status of Sufis and Saints that raise them above the level of ordinary human beings, this approach helps the colonizers to gain the space of mis/representing them as the oriental saint lovers who have developed a unique cult of love equally popularized and followed by the followers of all the religions in sub-continent. Nevertheless, it is a colonial "fact", as Temple writes about Heer and Ranjha being Muslim. Therefore, any syncretic presumption is a misrepresentation of the fact; also, they are considered to be the symbols of love in Punjabi culture and not that of accepted saints; again, this is a misrepresentation. As it appears to become customary in the colonial legends to bring the Five Saints, Prophet, and even God in action through *deus ex machina*, it is absent in the Waris Shah's text, who is adept at Muslim Shariah and also is the voice of the native Punjabi culture that does not approve the adulteration of Islamic traditions and values through the syncretic representation.

Neither does one see Heer and Ranjha indulging in trickery nor are they seen doing any wonders that could categorize them as the Orientals. Even if the religious saints are referred to, they are mentioned in the backdrop and never participate in the action or development of the plot. Besides, Heer and Ranjha may be seen indulging in heated dialogues and debates because they challenge societal norms and customs to register their protest against repressive institutions. Waris Shah's story of Heer and

Ranjha is an anthropological advance along with the cosmological underpinnings. In terms of cultural nuances, Waris Shah showcases the family feuds arising from the issues of ancestral property, familial love and jealousy, the prevalent economic system, and its hegemonic exploitation by certain institutions of medieval Punjab. He is equally adept at delineating a parallel cosmological system that keeps reminding and referring back to eternal divine truth as well.

Unlike the colonial collectors, the portrayal of religion by Waris Shah is entirely truthful and pure even though his Heer and Ranjha, at times, pose an open challenge to the religious authorities. For example, Ranjha ridicules "Mullah" for not allowing him to spend a night in the mosque as he is angry with him for his "musical indulgence" and also for his "unconventional" ways of dressing (6). He confronts him upfront and scolds him for turning the "sacred place", i.e., the mosque, into a "den of lust and leisure" (6). It is hard to find such an expressive voice against the religious authorities; however, Ranjha is articulate enough to do so. But, notably, he behaves in this way as he has a greater cosmological awareness of religion and not out of any syncretic proclivity or under the influence of the deity of another religion.

Heer also exchanges harsh words with Qazi when he tries to convince her to marry Saida. Qazi reminds her of specific rules and laws of "Islamic tradition", but she seems to be at a much higher metaphysical level than Qazi and uses the pretext of being already married to Ranjha spiritually and also uses the ploy of the sanctification of her marriage by God Almighty (10). Qazi is also justified in declaring his dialogues unholy and unwarranted according to Islamic tradition. She emphasizes the significance of fulfilling the promise and that the people failing to do so will "go to hell" (10). Heer enjoys a great deal of agency and can express her viewpoint comprehensively. The colonial stakeholders cleverly did not want to show Waris Shah's Heer to Westerners, for she also posed a threat to the Victorian norm of "Angel in the House". Hence, she is a rebel who can revolutionize society by challenging the patriarchy.

She is neither a coward nor short-tempered. Also, she has a balanced personality and is not an object of sex that an orientalist can showcase as the product of an oriental society with all its sensualities. Her love is not sexual, for she believes in the "divine promise" and "spiritual love" (11). Waris Shah finds the origin of spiritual love in Islam; he considers God Almighty the first *Ashiq* – lover – and the Holy Prophet

Muhammad (PBUH) to be the first *Mashuq* – beloved. Waris Shah's Hir is a courageous soul as she straightforwardly tells her that she cannot be married against her will. On the other hand, she is also wise enough to understand and live in the cultural framework of Punjab when she leaves her father's house and goes to Saida's house without spoiling the name of her family. Here, it should always be remembered that her submission is only physical and not mental. But in the end, it is also worth flagging that against the patriarchal suppression, she can go to any extent as she goes with Ranjha Jogi without caring about her life.

Her pursuit of love is not worldly. Her struggle to meet Ranjha is to have a spiritual union. She does not fulfill the criterion of the oriental woman that Richard Temple and Charles Swynnerton search for. She cannot be objectified and treated as a commodity because she is dynamic enough to fight for her rights. Due to this reason, they seem to be willingly keeping a distance from Waris Shah's version and looking for other folkloric performances in which cracks are easy to find, and the opportunities of the praxis of epistemic violence are enormous. She also symbolizes resistance to patriarchy when she challenges her uncle Kaido candidly. Ranjha also shows his mettle when required, and all faculties are awakened when he loses Heer to Saida Khera. At that point, he decides to do everything to win her back.

He renounces everything to become a disciple of Bal Nath - a Jogi. His sole purpose in becoming a Jogi is to win Heer back and reunite with her. He is not interested in the performance of any wonder or becoming a trickster but is intensely focused on meeting and getting Heer. For this sake, he shows his honesty before Bal Nath and convinces him to make him his disciple by unveiling his purpose behind becoming a Jogi – to get Heer back. He chooses to live a hard life for this sake. His ears are torn, and he puts rings in them. His body is smeared in ashes, and he opts to go from street to street to live a neat and clean life.

These elements also highlight the differences between the colonial versions and other popular versions with the native Punjabi public. It is also worth mentioning that the Heer of Waris Shah is bold, wise, beautiful, spiritual, and revolutionary. In contrast, the Hir of colonial collectors is oriental, saintly and sexual in her dispositions. She depends on the miracles to make herself visible in the folk narratives, whereas Waris Shah's Heer is assertive and takes the initiative when and where required. Similarly,

Ranjha, in the colonial lens, is a lazy person who does not have big aims and objectives in life and is just a wanderer. In contrast, Waris Shah's Ranjha may not compete with Heer in the field of wisdom and otherworldly matters, but he concentrated on his goal. Since such characters do not appeal to the orientalist paradigm, they did not spotlight them and looked for the variants to exploit.

5.3 Mirza and Sahiban as Sung by Some Jatts from the Jalandhar District by Richard Temple

In the introduction, Temple inscribes it to be a "very celebrated tale" of the "elopement of the heroine, Sahiban, with her cousin Mirza" that ended with a drop scene depicting "killed Mirza and strangled Sahiban" (Temple 3: 1). He comes up with a colonial invention and misrepresentation as he says that it was "considered unlucky to possess daughters, and thus they led to extensive female infanticide by strangulation in memory of the manner of Sahiban's death" (1). He also notes the Siyal tribe's resentment for "a reference to Sahiban as they do to Hir" (1). Sir Richard Carnac Temple locates him strategically in the text when he assays to underline the brutality of a Punjabi tribe. He demonizes the tribe for killing the baby girls by charging them with the alleged female infanticide. It also corresponds to the Orientalist strategic formation.

Temple's version of Mirza Sahiban begins with the birth details of both and their subsequent excellence in their days of youth. He mentions their love affair that sprang up at the school. All of a sudden, the narrative suffers from illogical development, and Qazi starts beating Sahiban as "(Said Sahiban), "Strike not, holy Qazi, beat not the wretched" (line 11). Straight away from here, Sahiban is shown searching for oil from the shops of various merchants. There, she confronts Karmu Brahman. The image of a Karmu Brahman who proposes Sahiban when he is "drunk with opium" (line 42) reflects the image of a morally corrupt Hindu clerk, and the appearance of the striking Qazi evokes the idea of a fundamentalist Muslim clerk. Their irrational capacity in terms of fulfilling the religious needs of the Indian Punjab attempts to focus on the market for the infiltration and promotion of the colonizer's religion.

Also, the character of Sahiban is shown to be an oriental female who is restless to meet Mirza at any cost. She is ready to ask the village Brahman to arrange a meeting with Mirza and is also prepared to be Mirza's second wife. The depiction of the

Siyal women also arouses the image of the bewitching oriental female. The women of the Siyal tribe are portrayed as "evil women" who would take out the "liver and eat it" (line 60). Using his orientalist bent of mind, Temple writes in the footnote that it is "a common attribute of witches in India" (Temple 3: 13). Sir Richard Carnac Temple's strategic location here allows the reader to imagine the Siyal women as per the Western frame of reference about the Orient. Temple has demonized the women of the Siyal tribe through his strategic location. Side by side has been described the beauty of Sahiban as another trait of the oriental woman that may please the European imaginary as Mirza says, "Her locks are a yard long, and the maiden is fair" (line 71). Mirza's portrayal of an oriental masochistic man with a suicidal tendency is also highlighted when he says, "If she give me a cup of poison, I, Mirza, will drink it: / If she strike with me a spear, I, Mirza, will never even sigh: / I will die in my own way" (lines72-74).

Banjal's advice to Mirza also reveals the patriarchal apprehensions about the love snare of the oriental women as he says, "Evil is love for women; foolish are their ways. / Smiling they make love and weeping they tell it abroad. / Never put they foot into the house where thy love is" (lines 76-78). Pilu's dialogue with Mirza also reflects the misogyny when he says, "They that love women fall into trouble" (line 111). The verse again supports the Orientalist narrative concerning the Oriental woman who is dangerous. The archaeology of the genealogy of Mirza's mare places him in the company of the Hindu/Muslim saints and warriors. Temple narrates that "Bakki" – Mirza's mare is from a similar family of six descended from the skies, and those all were siblings. One of them was "Shah Ali's" horse named "Duldul". Among the others, he writes, who shared those horses and mares were "Guga the Chauhan", "Raja Rasalu", "Jamal Fattah", "Dula", and "Sarwar (Sultan)" (Temple 3:20). Here, the mixing of different Hindu warriors and Muslim saints showcases the syncretism that is an invention. Also, Temple uses his authorial position to frame the identity of Dula Bhatti as a robber by documenting in his footnotes, "Dula Bhatti was a celebrated robber chief of the Montgomery District in the sixteenth century" (20). Sahiban informs Mirza about the cannibalistic trait of the mares of the Siyals as she avers, "The mares of the Siyals man-eaters" (line 249). The image of such an animal is also an addition to the misrepresentation of the savage oriental continent.

5.3.1 Mirza Sahiboh by Charles Swynnerton

Sywnnerton's version of Mirza Sahiboh tells the story differently; however, it is equally important in recording the orientalization of the lovers. Mirza and Sahiboh's first encounter occurs on the river bank "attended by her sixty maidens" (Swynnerton 365). Here, Sahiboh is a part of the oriental realm, signifying the eastern excess, and Swynnerton's Mirza again is an oriental lover ready to pay any price to win the love of Sahiboh. He shows his utmost love and obsession for her when he communicates to her friends that he will die standing there if Sahiboh does not give him a drink (371). The depiction of the priest's character unfolds the missionary propaganda that shows the sexual, financial, and moral corruption of the oriental religious institution. When Sahiboh's parents remain unsuccessful in recovering her from grief, they finally call the priest. Swynnerton narrates that the priest, "being in love with her himself", took much more "liberty" to examine her than he ever took before (374). Here, he is also seen to exploit the superstitious mind of her oriental mother by saying that Sahiboh is frightened by "an evil spirit" (374).

Such a portrayal attempts to generalize the collective Oriental bent of mind controlled by the hegemonic character of the religious discourse. Also, the depiction of the dominance of such corrupt religious authorities provided the stakeholders of *Mission Civilizatrice* to intervene with their Christian beliefs in the name of the indigenous exploitation of the religious institutions. The financial exploitation of the priest is also emphasized when he says he can drive it out for "under four hundred rupees" (375). The greed of the priest is shown to be enormous, for he beguiles Sahiboh's mother by saying that the time to cure has passed for the day and he can do something tomorrow (375). He uses this trick to charge the double fees from Sahiboh's mother. Swynnerton writes that he addresses himself in these words, "To-day she was ready with her four hundred rupees. To-morrow she may give eight hundred" (375). Swynnerton continues to emphasize his greed and writes that he could not sleep because he was vexed for not taking "the four hundred rupees" (375). Swynnerton accentuates his greed to an extent where he becomes unable to perform his religious duties properly, and he changes the time of the *bhang* (call for prayer) (375).

When the priest sees Sahiboh coming to the mosque to get her lesson, he becomes "frantic with rage" for having lost his "four hundred rupees" (376). To get his

revenge, he asks other children to “cut rose-slips, and beat Sahiboh” under the pretext of the lesson. Here, an instance comes where Swynnerton himself confesses his act of appropriation while pinpointing certain things in terms of their inexplicability in these words in the footnotes, “All these dark figures of speech are in verse. Though commonly current, and well understood by the people, they are not explainable in English” (377). Using this approach in tandem with the colonial agenda, Swynnerton has appropriated the folktales to design a tailor-made version of the Punjabi folktales, especially for the taste of the Westerner readership. It also corresponds to the methodological devices of Edward Said, i.e., strategic location and the strategic formation of the oriental texts.

The image of Sahiboh as a masochistic Eastern oriental woman is highlighted when she offers Mirza to take a knife to cut her arm, but she will not feel pain (380). The sensuality of the oriental women is emphasized through the gaze with which Sahiboh and her attendants praise Mirza for being “fair” in colour and “delicately made” (383). Also, the moral depravity of Eastern women is underlined through the character of Sahiboh’s mother, who allows Mirza to stay “for eight days” if he likes. She also wants him to promise not to return to meet Sahiboh (383). Such behaviour is against the culture of Punjab and is a misrepresentation of the indigenous culture. A supernatural air is given to the character of Mirza, like an established saint when he shows his fellow pupils the marks of the stick on his back against the beating Sahiboh received from the priest's hands.

When Sahiboh fell ill again, the priest was once again sent for. Swynnerton writes that he brought his books with him, and he pretended to open his books for the sake of consultation. “In the book,” said he, “I read sweet food; all will come right at last; five hundred-weight of vermicelli, with ten fowls, and she will recover” (388). Once again, the institution of religion is targeted and ridiculed here for its attempts to loot the masses. Swynnerton continues to write, “Then the priest turned another leaf, and said, “From death, Sahiboh is set free. She has been stung by a bitter sting. Five tons of flour with five buffaloes, in the name of God, give to the priest” (389). All the cures suggested by the priest aim to exploit the illness of Sahiboh by receiving the benefits from her rich parents. Swynnerton here also avails the opportunity of exoticizing the dress of the oriental women as he writes in the footnote, “it should be noted that, among oriental

women, whether trousers or skirts be worn, the garment is tightly bound round *below* the navel" (392).

His depiction of Sahiboh's beauty arouses the images of the animality of the oriental women at large. He compares her hair with "twisted snakes" and inscribes that "her black eyebrows" tend to "terrify like serpents, and her lashes pierce the heart" (391). Her breasts are like "two round surahis, like ruddy rubies shine", and she treads like a "snow-white pard" (392). She is a mixture of beauty and the beast as he also compares her chin with the "apple" and her lips with "the fragrant betel-leaf" and calls her teeth to be "the daintiest buds of jasmine" (391-2). The self-immolating capacity of the oriental woman is also highlighted through the dialogues of Sahiboh, who speaks to Mirza in this way, "For you, I am risking my life, for you, I am beckoned away, only be mine, Mirza Khan, only be mine this day" (394). She jeopardizes her life to be with Mirza; in this regard, even a single day is worth it. The prevalence of the superstitions in the oriental society is underlined when Sahiboh considers her sneezing and the breakage of the girth of Lakhi - Mirza's mare - to be the harbinger of the loss of a king's crown or the killing of a prince (396).

A Brahman reaches Khiva Khan – Sahiboh's father - to intimate him about "something like magic" that he has seen with the help of his book (397). He tells Khiva Khan, "Sahiboh is kidnapt by Mirza, the Kharral of the Ravi, Kidnapt by Mirza Khan, the bastard and the thief" (397). Swynnerton's portrayal of the Brahman supersedes the Muslim priest as the former can tell the correct prevalent situation; in fact, it was the preference the Hindu community won among the colonial administration and the colonial mission. It becomes evident from the comparative portrayal of both clerks in this folktale. Mirza is unhappy with Sahiboh's act of wasting his arrows; he considers her to be the only cause of his defeat at the hands of the Syals. He speaks to underscore the treachery of his beloved Sahiboh by saying that it is a "curse" to love a woman as her wisdom lies in the heels; they may make friends with you but soon to "betray". Mirza continues that he has been dishonoured because of a woman and left to die unaided. He has no "brother or friend beside him" (403). Sahiboh's image as a murderess witch has been focused on which, in fact, is synonymous with the savagery and brutality of the oriental woman, and none is safe from her. Her clan faces humiliation due to her elopement with Mirza, her brothers are killed along with a myriad of other members of

the tribe, and finally, her beloved also becomes a victim of death. Mirza's last words also signify the patriarchal stance concerning the position of a female in this narrative. It is thought that a woman cannot be wise; it is because of Sahiboh's foolishness that wastes Mirza's arrows and leaves him almost with an empty quiver among the army of enemies.

The death of Mirza is executed at a "certain shrine before which Mirza Khan used to halt and pray, "O Panj-Pir, if ever I succeed in bringing away Sahiboh, passing here will I tarry and rest!" (398). This also an instance of the saint-ridden society in which Mirza stays to fulfill his "vow" and "oath" even though "There are twelve thousand of Chandans in pursuit" (398-399). Mirza does not pay heed to the rational words of Sahiboh who wants to realize the gravity of the situation but he falls asleep in the lap of Sahiboh. Sahiboh remains "on the watch in the place of shrine", and on hearing the noise of the enemies, she beseeches him to get up, but he continues to sleep (399). In the tale, Mirza's blind faith in the shrine emerges as a reason for his death because he does not leave the premises to fulfill his oath. This blind belief is a misrepresentation of the oriental character of the Indian Punjab, and through its failure to save Mirza from the blow of death, a fissure in the religious institution is suggested that opens up the space for the inculturation and accommodation of the Civilizing Mission of Empire.

5.3.2 Harjeet Singh Gill's Version of Mirza and Sahiban

Harjeet Singh Gill has penned a version of Mirza Sahiban with a native stance and has delineated it with its indigenous value without ignoring any essentiality and adding any extraneous matter. He truly represents both love characters who are human in their nature and acts. Punjabi culture and Punjabi people know them just as they have been portrayed by Harjeet Singh Gill, for he has not attempted to give a supernatural air to the plot and characters. His indigeneity allows him to provide a fair representation of this popular love tale of Punjab.

The legend starts with the praise of Allah Almighty, who is the "… Creator of the universe / of suns and stars / of moons and mountains / of sky and earth …" (Gill 103). He also considers the "sentiments of love and affection" to be the creation of Allah for uniting the lovers in "eternal bliss" (103). The birth of Sahiban is delineated to be one of Allah's "magnificent gifts" (104). It defies the orientalist notion of female infanticide

on the birth of a baby girl, which orientalists like Temple and Swynnerton have also popularized. Not only has she been received as a gift of Allah at her birth but also “the jewel of her parents / and darling of her friends” (104) afterwards. She is also popular with others in terms of her “intellect” (104); this portrayal results from the native gaze that is not prejudiced and an insider of oriental culture.

Mirza is also depicted to be famous for his “… bravery, / for his courage, for his pose”, and he is also renowned for “good manners”, “skills in sports”, “adventures”, “hunting wild animals”, and “his excellence / in riding the most ferocious horses” (105). A native “eye” can see these characteristics in oriental lovers, whereas the orientalist mindset always looks for the exotic elements that he can exploit. Gill describes Mirza and Sahiban as taking pleasure in reading “great poets” and also learning from “the wisdom of the great sages” of the past (105). They praise and own their tradition and the wisdom of their forefathers. They also study “art and culture” along with religious texts (106).

They are worldly characters who exchange “the kisses and hugs / of eternal friendship” (107). It also debunks the topos of the seclusion of females in Oriental society. Then, Sahiban was engaged to another man, ending the honeymoon period of their sublime friendship and love. Mirza is brave enough to respond to Sahiban's call to “prove his manliness” and to “rescue his love”; he rides the fastest of his horses and goes to get Sahiban released from the clutches of misfortune (111). The internal social classification of the society is also highlighted when Mirza’s mother talks about the “feudal” status of Sahiban’s family and also the rank of her father as the “Chief of the town” (112). The value of love for a Punjabi male is emphasized through the dialogue of Mirza with his mother as he regards Sahiban as “not just any girl” (line 204) but his love. He also tells his mother that if he fails to rescue Sahiban from the fetters of those brutes, he “can never live with honour” (113). He also fears being the “laughing stock” of others (113). It signifies the value of the commitment to an oriental lover in Punjabi society.

In the legend, he emerges as a warrior when he is seen “with a sword in his hand / and the bow and arrows on his shoulders” (114). The orientalist cannot portray this type of Punjabi lover. First, it does not attract European readership, for such an oriental warrior does not become the European cultural imaginary. Also, Europeans are not ready to welcome him because he is not exotic enough to impress the occident.

Harjeet Singh Gill's depiction of the *faqir* is also natural and "sanguine" (114). He is also far away from being a wonder-working saint as he does not perform any miracle to exoticize the scene. He is full of worldly wisdom and asks him to be "careful" and ponder over the "… consequences / of such hasty actions" (114-115). A generation gap is surfaced through the characters of *faqir* and Mirza. The former represents a wise older generation, and Mirza represents the "compulsions of young hearts" (115).

Even though Mirza can anticipate his impending death and destiny, he still stands fearless. Also, he has the vision of the angel of death; however, his bravery, love for Sahiban, and honour do not allow him to return home, and he keeps marching. Mirza is the traveller of the "… path / of danger and destruction" and "of revenge and resurrection" (117). He is also unafraid to "… face / the battlefield of love" (118). Mirza brought Sahiban out from her house into the open and "… vast fields / of the prosperous Punjab" (121). The native eye of Harjeet Singh Gill knows the beauty, vastness, and fertility of Punjab. His portrayal of prosperous Punjab differs from that of the Orientalists. They eye on describing and looting the oriental cornucopia and subjugating the oriental other in the name of *Mission civilizatrice*.

Sahiban struggled to choose between the love of her brothers and that of Mirza. She requested Mirza to keep running, but Mirza was determined to "… annihilate the army of her brothers" (123). Her confusion about going either with the "filial tradition" or the honour of romance finally came to an end, and "she hung the arrows of Mirza / on the *Jand* tree" (124-125). But she knows that both her love towards family and desire for sublime love "were pure" and "sanctified by the Almighty Allah Himself" (124). When Mirza is killed after fighting bravely with Sahiban's brother, Sahiban seems to think about her decision to choose between Mirza and her brothers. Due to this decision of Sahiban, she has made herself controversial in the annals of history. But she wanted to fulfill both responsibilities. Since she had already played her role of sister, she looks forward to doing her part as the beloved of Mirza. Therefore, "she fell in the arms of her love / in his grave / to be with him / with his body and soul / in eternity" (127).

Harjeet Singh Gill's tale of Mirza and Sahiban sufficiently portrays the feelings and burdens of Oriental Punjabi lovers. They act and react to given situations naturally, and there is not any forceful movement of the plot or any twist in it. Harjeet Singh Gill is equipped with indigenous Punjabi acumen; therefore, he does not need to

employ the appropriative measures like Temple, who has tried to (over)emphasize the drug addict oriental men and religious syncretism in the Punjabi society. Also, he does not need to follow the footsteps of Swynnerton, who focuses on unveiling the Muslim priest's financial and moral corruption to orientalize the folk narrative. Due to these reasons, he is content to stick to the basic plot and colour of the tale and give the true representation of these celebrated lovers without worrying if they are acceptable to the foreign eye.

5.4 A Version of Sassi and Punnun as Told by a Bard from the Hushiarpur District by Richard Temple

Temple, in the introduction to this tale, considers its value "as showing a folktale, after becoming a literary story, in the process returning to the people" (Temple 3: 24). Proceeding further, he writes, "In this case, it is the literary Panjabi version of the tale by the poet Hasham Shah that has become the property of the bards and is reproduced in a terribly curtailed, confused and mangled shape" (24). Temple is also familiar with Hasham Shah's original work as he states, "Hasham Shah's poem is a complete one and consists of 126 stanzas or quatrains" (24). R.C. Temple also gives a synopsis of Hashim Shah's version. He also tries to locate the correct sequence of the stanza's "perverted by the bard" (25). Temple is happy to exempt the bard from the accuracy and arrangement of the tale by saying, "as the tale is thoroughly well known to the audience in all its details he is quite indifferent as to how many of the original verses are given or in what order" (24). He also offers to give the "full stanzas of the poet meant to be quoted by" the bard with an "intention" to help those who "find much difficulty in comprehending this *difficult* and *mutilated text*" (24 emphases added). The original stanzas that Temple has quoted are twenty-five; the majority of the stanzas emphasize the saintliness of Sassi – the representative of oriental women in the colonial narratives.

The version collected by Richard Temple is an appropriation of the original writing of Hasham Shah, conditioned by the strategy of inclusion and exclusion. A critical reading of Temple's version informs that only the parts that accentuate the orientalness of the text are selected for publication, and their sequential harmony is also distorted. Right from the beginning, the superstitious element of the oriental society is highlighted when Sassi's father, King Adam, believes in the astrologer's prediction and

decides to kill his daughter in anticipation of impending dishonour. He prophesies, “By her evil destiny she will die in the deserts, overcome by pains of separation (from her lover)” (33). She is also predicted to be a “stain” on the family “throughout the world” (33). Here, the image of an Eastern oriental woman born to defame her family and meet her doom in the deserts, overcome by her immeasurable love for a stranger, is underlined. The nature of love that Temple articulates in the footnotes is that “her love will be illicit” (33).

The decision to “set her afloat in an ark” (34) is also brutally exotic to the European reader, for it is savage to their “civilized” and “enlightened” minds despite their keen interest in the customs of the Indian Other. It also authenticates their narrative of the barbarity of the Indians as, to them, it is an act of female infanticide that they claim is prevalent in the sub-continent. The Indian custom of giving the dowry is emphasized by depicting a part of the box prepared for Sassi. The theme of Indian cornucopia is also there when the workman is shown to be preparing a box. It is manufactured from sandalwood and decorated with “creepers of gold, and studded it with rubies and jewels” (34). The uncivilized oriental behaviour is also palpable: "They put chains all around the box, and the shameless ones put her into it” (34). It also symbolizes the bondage that an Eastern female suffers from in Indian society; this stance supports the Orientalist and colonial discourses at large. The mention of the syncretic references is also a treat for an Occident, and it appears in the fifth stanza of the Temple’s collected version. Temple does not forget to give his footnotes on the mention of “Noah’s deluge”, “Basak Nag”, and “Dhaul” in the same stanza. To explore syncretism, he writes, “The story of Noah and the Deluge is common to Christians and Muhammadans” (Temple 3: 34). It corresponds to the methodological devices of Edward Said, i.e., strategic location and the strategic formation of the oriental texts. He also explains the characters of “Basak Nag” and “Dhaul” to be a part of Hindu mythology.

The oriental sensation of the story makes the chills run up and down the European spine as Sassi is ready to embark on a journey to face “dread horrors, and demons and devils” (35). Also, “The water became blood-red” and “thousands upon thousands of horrors have surrendered Sassi” (35). The East is alive with all its brutalities when Sassi is on her journey. Among the dangers are “The man-eating monsters of the deep, like unto ogre, alligators, turtles, mermaids, serpents and all

horrors, crocodiles, dragons, porpoises" (35). The demonization of the Eastern locale is at its pinnacle here. The Oriental despot is also there in the form of the King, who is ready to assert his authority over everything under his rule. After listening to Sassi's fame and beauty, his father, the king, wishes her to be the queen; however, Sassi reveals her identity as his daughter, and he steps back. The Indian caste system is also mentioned as Atta washerman tells Sassi to be a "low-caste washerman's daughter" (36). Sassi contempts the washerman when she says, "The washerman is of Jhinwar caste" (36). To emphasize the Indian Caste System, Temple notes in the footnotes that "Jhinwar" means "A low one" (36).

Temple's version is a broken narrative without a proper beginning, middle, and ending. All of a sudden, Sassi is panting to meet Punnun and feeling the pangs of love. She is portrayed to be masochistic when "she tore her hair" (36). Her suicidal tendency is also apparent when she thinks, "it is best that I die" (36). Temple attempts to highlight the partial transmigration of Sassi's soul as the text informs, "Sassi's soul left her and went to Punnun" (36). The cruelty of Eastern terrain is also described through the depiction of the "cruel deserts" in which "Sassi has died" (36). Sassi's soul's journey to Punnun to tell him about her death also imparts a supernatural air to the tale. Suddenly, the shepherd appears in the desert, and at the sight of "Sassi's beauty he became a *faqir*" (37). This characteristic of Sassi reflects her supernatural powers, the glimpse of which compels the shepherd to "leave his goods, his daughters, his sons and his home" (37). His apparel resembles the mendicants, and his bare-headed presence at the tomb of Sassi is also a token of Sassi's saintship.

Punnun's arrival in the desert also attempts to certify Sassi's sainthood as he asks the shepherd about a fresh grave, "What saint is contained in this?" (37). The Faqir replies to him about the coming of a woman who was "fair as a fairy" and who kept "calling on Punnun" (36). Hearing this, Punnun also dies, and the grave of Sassi opens, and he meets his love. The opening of the grave and the union of lovers in death, too, adds an oriental flavour to the story of Sassi and Punnun that has enough exotic atmosphere to spellbind the European readership. In the preface of the third volume of *The Legends of the Panjab*, Temple once again takes a deep interest in the "working miracles" (xxi).

He insists on documenting the character of Sassi as a saintly figure. He analogizes her with one of his collected versions of *Hir and Ranjha*. He classifies both in the working miracle-type tales in which certain miracles are "effected at tombs and shrines", for he believes in the ubiquity of these in India and terms them belonging to the category of "lover miraculously disappearing alive into the tomb of the dead and buried" (xxi). Temple's preface asserts to endorse the sainthood of Sassi to distort the literary and cultural significance of the legend of Sassi for which she is celebrated in the subcontinent in general and in Punjab particularly. He continues, "It occurs in the great love tale of Hir and Ranjha, borrowed, I fancy, from an identical incident in the older and equally famous tale of Sassi and Punnun, where Ranjha transformed into a wonder-working saint" (xxi). Through this explanation of the legend of Sassi and Punnun, Sir Richard Carnac Temple locates himself strategically in the text. He aims to glorify and compartmentalize this legend as a saintly narrative. It attempts to perpetrate epistemic violence on the Punjabi narrative by giving it a saintly air rather than a tale of worldly love and its culmination in the form of an eternal one. It helps the author correspond to the Orientalist strategic formation.

5.4.1 Hasham Shah's Version of Sassi and Punnun

The Sassi by Hasham is one of the most popular and well-acclaimed versions of the legend of Sassi in which the protagonist is a female – Sassi. This trait distinguishes it from most of the other romantic and folktales of Punjab. She is the lover, and the Punnun is her beloved. She is actively yearning for and hankering after Punnun in the deserts. Even though Temple prefers the "terribly curtailed, confused" state as it has become the "property of the bards" who enjoy the liberty of reproducing it in their desired manner, the significance of Hasham Shah's Sassi cannot be mitigated under any circumstances in any era (Temple 3: 24). Because his version can never be classified in the category of pure folk poetry as it is the creation of a single individual who has imparted it a separate individual hue.

Hasham Shah has written Sassi with an insider's gaze, avoiding any exotic and artificial details. Due to this reason, it has become widely popular among the indigenous masses as they tend to be their implied readers of Hasham Shah. In contrast, Temple has exotically orientalized and appropriated for the Western readership. Hasham Shah's version of Sassi features living characters of flesh and blood. They suffer from love and

anxiety; they long and wait. They live in the real world and are not the wonder-working saints, as emphasized in Temple's bardic version.

Hasham's Sassi opens in the true Punjabi tradition of *qissa*. He eulogizes God Almighty in a pure Muslim fashion. It is followed by the mention of the power of love that has the ability to make "each soul" its prisoner (Hasham 51). Hasham also admits the parallel existence of "many tales of Sassi and Punnun's perfect love" that he has heard (51). He paints the palace of Adam Jam to resemble the "Paradise" and also King Adam Jam to be a figure like great Solomon who ruled all "birds and beasts" and "jinn and men" (53). These tropes make his depiction truly Muslim, which can be correlated by all Muslims. He is a human who yearns for a child since he is issueless to keep his name alive.

His Sassi is perfect in beauty as her beauty "dulled the rays which by the sun are shed" (55). Similarly, Hasham depicts Sassi as a "faultless lover" on reaching the prime of her youth (59). When out of the fear of dishonour, thought is given to get rid of Sassi, the Vizier comes out to be a sane voice and alarms about the "ruin" that all kin may suffer from" if "guiltless maiden" is killed (61). The treatment that has been given to Sassi before making her adrift in the sea also bespeaks the love and care that an Eastern woman gets regularly. The preparation of her chest is just like the preparation done for the wedding ceremony of a girl without considering her to be a burden. Her chest has food, dowry, and money for her "schooling" (65). It showcases the oriental respect and care for a female's health, marriage, and education symbolically. Hasham Shah's version of Sassi is replete with Islamic allusions. He alludes to the "Night of Power" (55), which has Islamic significance and is considered to be a sacred night full of blessings. His allusion to "Joseph" (67) also has an Islamic background. There comes the allusion to "Prophet Jacob" as well in the speech of Sassi (75). Time and again, he refers to the power and authority of God Almighty, who has the unconditional power to do everything. Atta's counselling with Sassi about her marriage also symbolizes the due respect and value given to women in society. It reveals that she is not considered an object that can be treated as a trade commodity with a defined value as conceived and portrayed by the Orientalists.

Hasham's treatment of the subject is quite artistic, and he gives a proper beginning, middle, and ending to his *qissa* like a true master. When he is about to

introduce Punnun, he foregrounds properly and then unveils his character to his readers. This trait is missing in Temple's version as it is an appropriated one designed for the implied European readers. Sassi is the protagonist of the tale, and she has the agency to choose and love, as happens in Hasham's version, where she sees the portrait of Punnun and falls in love with him.

Sassi is not a saint in Hasham's version. She is a normal human being who requests the painter to tell her about the whereabouts of Punnun and waits for almost twelve months to finally meet him. In the love of Punnun, she becomes bedridden, and Punnun like "Jesus give her life again" (83). On hearing the news of Punnun's arrival, Sassi becomes reinvigorated. She is happy about being in the company of Punnun and again aggrieved about being separated. All these things are the proofs of her womanly – not saintly – character as Temple portrays. Describing her reaction to the separation from Punnun, Hasham writes, "Her own heart's blood suffused her eyes" and "did she roam the streets" in sorrow (107).

No *deus ex machina* is involved in reuniting Sassi and Punnun here, and she waits for him desperately, for she is a lover and not a wonder-working saint who can do miracles to meet her beloved. Sassi is the symbol of true love in oriental settings. She is ready to risk her life to meet Punnun, and also, her love is not sexual, as she wants to "kiss his feet" only when she meets him. The passion of love blew a brave spirit into Sassi, and once she disdained "to place her foot upon the ground", but now she is not afraid of "demons, lions, or pards" (113). But it is important to remember that her love is not aimed at some sexual gratification because it is clean and spiritual.

Her journey in the desert is of a love-stricken lover who searches for her beloved blindly. Her efforts to meet the beloved are purely humanly as in the desert of "Maru Thal" Sassi "stumbles now, then trips and falls, then drawing breath she rises" (117). Since Sassi is not empowered enough to take revenge on the Balochs who carried Punnun away from her, she curses them and prays to God Almighty, "Till Doomsday may they weep and let them die abroad in pain" (121). She also curses that "camel" which took Punnun away. Finally, she swoons and passes away all alone in the vast desert. Punnun sees her spirit in the dream and reaches her grave to breathe his last, and in this way, they are reunited by their death, though they could not do so during their lives.

The *qissa* of Sassi by Hasham Shah is one of the excellent narrations of the story, for it is the true representative of spiritual oriental love and also a masterpiece of the genre of Punjabi *Qissa*. Temple's version is just a collection of some purposefully selected pieces of Hasham's *qissa* in a distorted form. The notes by Richard Temple add salt to injury while introducing, describing, and explaining the story of Sassi. These elements help the indigenous eye determine the colonial prejudice and bias involved in the collection and publication of Punjabi Folklore.

5.5 Conclusion

Swynnerton and Temple, in the final estimation, delineate an imaginary of Indian Punjabi lovers equipped with supernatural powers. Their mis/representation of the oriental lovers is conditioned by their orientalist strategic location and strategic formation to alter them for the European taste. Such troping of the oriental saintly lovers or loving saints is a considerable addition to the European cultural imaginary about Punjabi oriental lovers. Nevertheless, it distorts their true identity and attempts to vulgarize the well-established tradition of the Punjabi *Qissa* and some of its foremost exponents. This act of colonial epistemic violence has done the worlding of the oriental lovers. Also, it stimulates the natives to cathect the colonized Punjabi folk narratives according to the Western representation.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

To conclude the research, it is helpful to recapitulate the argument of my project and overview the significance of reading my primary texts in the selected way. I have conducted an exploratory and interpretive analysis of the primary texts by employing a qualitative research approach. My Research Methodology in Chapter Three guides that I have used textual analysis to do this research. While responding to my study's controlling questions, I also endeavour to review how the analyses of the texts under discussion justify the thesis statement. The thesis statement of my research states that the collection, translation, and publication of the Punjabi oriental folktales and legends by British colonial administrators and missionaries have interjected new oriental/exotic images into the already extant European cultural imaginary concerning the Punjabi Orient. It has also ramified into the praxis of epistemic violence through the creation and mis/representation of the oriental other under the pretext of the preservation of Punjabi folklore.

The researcher has chosen the texts anthologized by Richard Carnac Temple – a British colonial administrator, and Charles Swynnerton – a British missionary. The researcher has contended that their collections of Punjabi folktales and legends have been conditioned by colonial discursiveness. They have tailored the texts to make them acceptable to European cultural imaginary about the Orient through the appropriation of the texts. The researcher has upheld that, consequently, the images that surfaced through the mis/representation of these texts have marred the images of Punjabi society and culture. The over-exaggeration of the facts and images has attempted to homogenize the Punjabi society in terms of its syncretic religion and an enforced nationalism challenging the practising communalism of the Punjabis. The texts have snubbed the heterogeneity of the Hindus and Muslims to subsume them under the umbrella of the single category of Indian other and Orient. The researcher has engaged himself with the study of how the selected folktales and legends of these anthologies have spotlighted the colonial assumptions about Punjabi socio-cultural and religiopolitical norms and customs of Punjab.

The study has sought guidance from Peter van den Veer's critical insights into the concept of syncretism to analyse the colonial assumption of the Indian Punjabi Saints and Lovers overemphasized in the chosen primary texts. Said's reflections on Orientalism, particularly his views on strategic location and strategic formation, have also helped it analyze the texts to investigate the construction of the Orient and the other. It has also analysed how archiving these folkloric narratives is worth discussing under Spivak's theorization of epistemic violence, for it allows the colonial worlding of the Punjabi culture by forcing the natives to cathect the colonized folk narratives. It has also studied how the axis of hierarchal power conditions the nature of politico-cultural experience. Their strategic location helps them achieve the cultural subordinance of the marginal classes. Subsequently, they take the privilege of re(inscribing) the culture surreptitiously. The phenomenon empowers them to execute the cultural othering of the subject. Subsequently, the collection, translation, and publication of different folk narratives also become a medium of constructing and perpetuating the Other.

The analyses of my primary texts have allowed me to answer my set research questions that, consequently, turn them into a set of affirmative statements. First, *the selected folktales and legends interject new exotic/oriental images into the extant European cultural imaginary about the Orient*. Temple's *Puran Bhagat,* four different accounts concerning the miracles of *Sakhi Sarwar,* three different versions of *Hir and Ranjha, Mirza and Sahiban,* and *Sassi and Punnun* and *Swynnerton's* versions of *Hir and Ranjha and Mirza and Sahiboh* accentuate the exotic/oriental images of the Punjabi romantic lovers and the Saints. The legends of Temple and the tales of Swynnerton highlight the images of romantic lovers as saints and holy personages. Former's Hir and Ranjha, originally known to be the selfless lovers of Punjab, turn up to be the wonder-working saints even though their love is considered to be illicit by him. His Ranjha stands in the line of certified saints like Panj Pir, and even his Hir does not lag behind in performing miracles and tricks. The local versions of Heer and Ranjha present them as adorable romantic characters, as in Harjeet Singh Gill's account. His forceful induction of characters like Lunan in the folk narrative of Hir and Ranjha also portrays multiple oriental and exotic images of the Eastern woman side by side with the character of Hir to overemphasize the oriental prurience of a sexually incontinent woman who offers each and everything to Ranjha for being in bed with him.

Temple's episodic treatment of Achhran's marriage with Raja Salwan and Sukhi's sorcerous contestation with Guru Gorakh Nath and his disciples in the legend of *Puran Bhagat* is an imposed inclusion to the popular folktale of Punjab. It highlights the wickedness of the bewitching oriental woman to amuse the Westerners; however, they are not a part of the original account of popular legends like Qadir Yar. Also, the characters of Guru Gorakh Nath and his disciple Jogis are used to highlight certain miracles and tricks that do not make any part of this Punjabi folk narrative anywhere else. Through the wonder-working saintly description of *Sakhi Sarwar*, Temple has added many exotic images to the European cultural imaginary to spotlight the oriental saint who is emphasized to be an exponent of syncretism in the Indian Punjab. He has also depicted an abrogated form of the Muslim and Hindu religions to establish the absence of pure religion in the subcontinent with the help of the syncretic portrayal of Sakhi Sarwar's life accounts. The pairing of Sakhi Sarwar and Bhairon to assist each other exemplifies such a syncretic image.

Also, the character of *Sassi* has been appropriated with the help of specific inclusions and exclusions in the text to misrepresent the images of oriental metamorphism, excluding the linguistic and cultural significance of the narrative. She has been merely reduced to a type of saint who can undergo metamorphism, like visiting Punnun in the form of a soul and also burying him alive when he visits her grave in the desert. Nevertheless, she emerges as a selfless lover in Hashim Shah's account of Sassi and Punnun. Similarly, the folk versions of *Mirza and Sahiban* have been used to demonize the characters of the oriental woman through the depiction of the females of the Siyal clan along with the exaggeration of the roles of the oriental lovers as it happens in the folk tales and legends of Hir and Ranjha.

Secondly, *the text of each selected folk collection inflicts epistemic violence upon the culture of Punjab.* The research has contended that this misrepresentation has precluded the native voice from emerging in the selected folktales and legends and shown the outsider's view with a colonial gaze. Temple and Swynnerton have tried to establish *Hir and Ranjha* as the established saints who can do wonders and miracles like any other well-acknowledged Muslim saint. However, using Harjeet Singh Gill's account, the research has given a native viewpoint in response to it and found it to be a case of epistemic violence. Temple's three versions have only focused on substantiating

the saintliness of both of them and entirely overlooked the beauty and the cultural significance of their love affair that has excited genius like Waris Shah to inscribe their tale in verse to immortalize it. Through Lunan's character, Punjabi females are demonized in Hir Ranjha.

The study has analysed that Temple's versions are the product of colonial authorial intervention predicated on the subjective praxis of inclusion and exclusion to frame the tales according to European cultural imaginary. The contribution of Swynnerton to the tale is also not different; The study has analysed that he has tried to establish its roots in the Greek love legends to achieve its acceptability among the Europeans and also distorted the tale to add supernaturalism in his version to arouse the oriental imagery. The research has contested that the misrepresentation of Ranjha as a trickster and a saint concomitantly and the image of the Hir as a saint is also epistemic violence perpetrated on the folk narratives as they do not warrant any native voice, and it is a full-fledged use of power to subjugate the other's folklore. Richard Temple and Charles Swynnerton have used their positional nexus to perpetuate their colonial self by worlding their colonial others, disallowing their voicing and archiving them into fixed subjects. Furthermore, Swynnerton's depiction of the Muslim clerk and Hindu Brahman also surfaces as a form of epistemic violence, for he concentrates on their exaggerated moral and economic corruption instead of accurately recounting the love folktale of *Hir and Ranjha*. He has even shown Hir honouring Christ every Sunday.

Similarly, the researcher has analyzed that the mutilated and curtailed text of Temple's version of *Sassi and Punnun* consists of only those stanzas that can exoticize and orientalize the Eastern locales and characters that, too, in a distorted narrative. Temple's selection of the bard's perverted version is conducive to endorsing his colonial worldview to do the worlding of the other. Only sensational episodes like Sassi's birth and subsequent being adrift in the ark to substantiate his arguments on female infanticide in India have been mutilated and added to the book. The parts on whom the socio-cultural significance and excellence of Hasham's Sassi rests have been excluded. Also, the researcher holds that the portrayal of the saintliness of the Sassi has remained the main objective behind the compilation of this folk narrative, and he documents it to be a form of epistemic violence because of the erasure and the absence of the native voice and because of its coloniality in terms of its collection and reading.

The research has unearthed that Temple and Swynnerton's versions of Mirza Sahiban have also been colonially conditioned to overemphasize the exotic characteristics and orientalness of Eastern society. Temple accentuates the theme of female infanticide and the intervention of the British Empire to abolish it. It also analyses how he parallels the Siyal woman with the witches and how he does not spare the opportunity to stamp the legendary character of Dulla Bhatti as a robber using this text. It claims such mir/representation to be the propagation of an ideology against the grain for the sub-continental context. It also considers such archiving to be a project of the praxis of epistemic violence. This archiving unfolds the abuse of positional superiority to assign the colonized identities to the oriental others for the promotion and the perpetuation of the colonial *self* by subverting the indigeneity of the episteme. The study has also analysed that Swynnerton's version emphasizes the oriental cornucopia, and he adds some interpolations to point out the religious lack in the Punjabi society, for it suits his missionary objectives. This inclusion, too, distorts the continuity of the folk narrative and falls in the category of intellectual embezzlement.

In the selected folktales and legends, the researcher finds that religious syncretism is present in one way or another, facilitating the British stakeholders to mis/represent the Hindu and Muslim religions as homogenous. Based on such mis/representations, Temple takes the liberty to state that an average Indian does not have any religion; however, the researcher has withstood that such narratives do not portray the true picture and, therefore, they are misrepresentations as well as a type of epistemic violence for they do undermine the agency of the average Indian who have their true affiliations with their religions. When Temple's versions depict such a syncretic society, they are the impositions that have been included out of context and do not make an integral part of the plot as it has happened in the case of King Salwan's marriage with Rani Achhran in the legend of the *Puran Bhagat*. All the proceedings in such episodes where Hindu and Muslim saints and deities are shown interacting with each other are an attempt to adulterate the separate ideologies of these religions and rob them of their heterogeneity. Again, the researcher finds it is another form of epistemic violence used to control society by rounding them off to a single entity of the oriental other devoid of the possibility and capacity of any further subdivision. This narrative supports the colonial discourse, and the British functionaries have devised and popularised it. The documentation of the legends concerning the life of *Sakhi Sarwar* has

also emerged as an act of epistemic violence as the fundamental differences between Islam and Hinduism have been marred, and their separate religious entities have been merged to impose a single oriental identity conditioned by coloniality. Also, the institution of sainthood has been calumniated through the portrayal of specific images and acts that directly contradict the basic teachings of Islam.

Thirdly, *anthologizing the texts under discussion valorizes the colonial discourse of difference*. The researcher has contested that the collection, translation, and dissemination of folk narratives is not an unbiased act. It is an extension of the colonial agenda of construction and perpetuation of colonizer/colonized, centre/periphery, self/other, etc. It undergirds the colonial agenda of the supremacy of the White and strengthens the political othering covertly. By highlighting the orientalness of the Punjabi Orient and its culture, they popularized the dichotomies between the East and the West. Demonized females like Lunan, Sundran, and Sukhi in the legend of *Puran Bhagat* provide the Oriental images that correspond to the Orientalists' strategic formation. They tend to serve as a frame of Oriental reference that can differentiate them from civilized Western females. Similarly, the brutality of the women of the Siyal tribe and Miraban also valorizes the discourse of difference between the Western female and the Eastern Punjabi Orient.

Rulers like Raja Salwan in *Puran Bhagat* and Adam Jam in *Sassi and Punnun* provide the basis for better and comparatively more competent ruling authorities. They also create a binary between the Western competent authorities and Eastern administrative lack. The researcher has also contended that using the dominant political position, the British administrators and missionaries painted them to be producers and preservers of the oriental folk knowledge; however, they had a hidden agenda of appropriating and subjugating the sub-continent. They were selective in the collection of folktales, legends, and other folk narratives. To justify their rule, an emphasis on oriental characters like Raja Salwan and Adam Jam has helped them. They appropriated, translated, and disseminated it to justify the Civilizing Mission of the Empire of the Britishers.

The prefaces to Sir Richard Carnac Temple's *The Legends of the Panjab* and Reverend Charles Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Punjab* also validate the discourse of difference. They have othered the Punjab as a "miracle-ridden" and

"degraded" society from the outset in their books. This mis/representation allows the West to take pride in and cherish their pure religion, i.e., Christianity. Also, the celebrated religious figures such as Panj Pir are documented as gamblers and the renowned Muslim and Hindu figures like Sakhi Sarwar and Bhairun are portrayed as tricksters and exploiters. Their mis/representation has othered them against the colonial missionaries endorsing the colonial notion of difference. The corruption of Hindu and Muslim priests in different versions of *Hir and Ranjha* and *Mirza and Sahiban* do the same.

Moreover, the mis/representation of Punjab as an overall superstitious society has also validated the discourse of the difference between the Occident and the Punjabi Orient. In the selected texts, Punjab is also sketched as a society where female infanticide is frequent, and honour killing is customary. The selected tales/legends of *Hir and Ranjha, Mirza and Sahiban, Sassi and Punnun,* and *Puran Bhagat* have helped the colonial functionaries corroborate the difference between the logical and humane colonizer and the superstitious and inhumane colonized Punjabi Orient. They have underscored certain aspects of the translated and appropriated knowledge of oriental folk narratives to project the uncivilized, savage, irrational, tyrant, feminine, etc. Reciprocally, it established the Europeans to be civilized, rational, democrat, masculine, etc. The researcher has concluded that the British anthologizers have used Punjabi folklore to highlight the orientalist images and to bring their fanciful imaginations to the global canvas. Their political power and ideological dominance have allowed them to construct and perpetuate the exotic cultural imaginary about the Punjabi Orient through the praxis of epistemic violence on its folklore and by using their strategic location and strategic formation.

6.1 Further Research Possibilities

This research project can stimulate other researchers to dig deeper into certain relevant research areas. The thesis is one of the pioneer studies in the field of colonial folkloristics in Pakistan. It can entice the researchers as it has already tilled the soil for them by focusing on the Punjabi folktales and legends, and they can explore the unaddressed colonial anthologies collected and translated from different other indigenous languages like Balochi, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Bengali, etc. Future researchers can spotlight and tap collections like *The Popular Poetry of Baloches* by Longworth Dames, *Indian*

Nights' Entertainment OR Folktales from the Upper Indus. With Numerous Illustrations by Native Hands by Rev. Charles Swynnerton, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir* by Rev. J. Hinto Knowles, *Folktales of Sindh and Guzarat* by C.A. Kincaid, and *Bengali Household Tales* by Rev. William McCulloch. Future researchers can highlight and help others understand the colonial construction of the respective indigenous other through the appropriation of the folk narratives.

The researcher takes on that Peter van der Veer's critical insights into syncretism, Said's reflections on Orientalism, and Gayatri Spivak's theorization about epistemic violence serve to be the appropriate theoretical lenses to unfold the construction and representation of the exotic and oriental indigenous other vis-à-vis the colonial self. They will also help comprehend the politics of difference by questioning how the natives are marginalized through the global publication of the texts by appropriating the texts with certain authorial interventions along with the imposition of multiple colonial prefaces, inclusions, exclusions, commentaries, and footnotes.

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