



Resistance' in Sindhi and Punjabi Folk Narratives in the Light of Thematic Continuities and Shared Contexts

Pooja Sharma

Assistant Professor, Department of English, Shaheed Bhagat Singh Evening College, University of Delhi, Delhi, India

Article Info

Volume 5, Issue 5

Page Number : 13-21

Publication Issue :

September-October-2022

Article History

Accepted : 01 Sep 2022

Published : 10 Sep 2022

Abstract :- Folk narratives offer a peek into counter-systems and anti-structures that exist in a society. In this regard, folk narratives become carriers of folk sentiment, particularly with reference to expressions of resistance. This paper looks at select Sindhi and Punjabi folk narratives to understand different strains of resistance. Folk narratives around Dulla Bhatti, Hakeekat Rai, Maruee and Shah Inayat of Jhok are used to locate the theme of resistance. The paper also attempts to identify elements of continuity across these folk narratives while looking at them as interactive traditions with autotelic qualities and shared contexts.

Keywords :- Dulla Bhatti, Hakeekat Rai, Maruee, Shah Inayat, Folk Narratives, Punjab, Sindh, Resistance, Protest

Introduction

To narrate is to retell or relate an incident or a tale. It is through narration that humans transform personal experience into words. 'Folk narratives' in this sense emerges as an umbrella term that refers to narration of a folk sensibility irrespective of form. The term is often used to include not just lore but also life practices of the folk. Since folk narratives exist in oral form they tend to have multiple, sometimes even contradictory versions. Each narrator provides a re-telling and participates in a re-creation. According to Elliott Oring each retelling makes it a product of both past and present and reflective of both individual and society. (Oring 123). According to her, the three major prose narrative categories are myths, legends and tales.¹

Such an understanding of folk narratives is suitable in the Indian context where overlapping, form-defying narratives exist in the folk domain. It also amplifies the metaphor of a river often used to describe the dynamic and ever changing nature of folk life as opposed to approaches that consider it as a stagnant body of work created in the past. Looking at folk narratives in these terms can help us understand how it becomes the vehicle for an entire rainbow of human experiences including struggle, resistance, and protest.

¹ According to Oring these categories do not refer to forms but to attitudes of community towards them.

Alan Lomax's public folklore thought and practice was informed by a cultural critique. He saw folklore as resistance effected both by explicit expressions of protest and through the existence of folklore itself. (Baron 275). James Scott too gave the concepts of passive resistance and hidden transcripts² to understand the motif of resistance in folk narratives. (Scott). Eminent folklorist, Sankar Sen Gupta observed, "... sometimes in hardships and struggle also some forms of beautiful and everlasting art emanate." (Gupta). AK Ramanujan too used the term counter-system to imply an alternative way of looking at things. In a 1989 interview, Ramanujan talked about his interest in folklore as part of his larger fascination with "counter-systems, anti-structures, a protest against official systems". (Ramanujan). Jawaharlal Handoo addresses this in his essay, "It was natural that folklore should become the main vehicle of ordinary discourse in this country. Take, for example, the real or symbolic form of oppression, protest or social change, which became the central concern of folklore in India and elsewhere." (Handoo 89). He goes on to remark that the element of 'magic' in folk narratives was rooted in the need to overcome persecution.

The subject finds relevance in the interactive Indian traditions that may seem enclosed in self-sufficient language identities but become autotelic³ over a period and travel across linguistic and social boundaries. By looking at themes of protest in Sindhi and Punjabi folk narratives, this paper aims to provide a unique perspective to understand the growth and journey of these narratives. Keeping this theoretical framework in view, this paper will look at select folk narratives from Sindh and Punjab to locate themes of resistance and identify elements of continuity while looking at these folk narratives as interactive traditions with autotelic qualities.

Sindh and Punjab- Together Sindh and Punjab formed the Western frontier of undivided India. For years, this frontier was open to attacks, invasions and tumult. Partition saw the division of Punjab into Udda (East or the Indian side) and Lehnda (West or the Pakistani side). Sindh, however, was given away whole. Since Pakistan was culled out to be an Islamic State, a massive chunk of Sindhi Hindus chose to move to India. Sindh, therefore, continues to be a part of India, not in land but in people.

The close geographical proximity of Sindh and Punjab meant such shared historical and cultural contexts for the two. In undivided India, Sindh and Punjab formed a contiguous landmass. The two cultural identities look different at the endpoints today but stem from a continuum of the land that existed for centuries. Due to its geographical location, Sindh became a melting pot influenced by Hinduism, Sufi Islam and Sikhism. Early in the eighth century, entering mostly by sea, the Arabs conquered Sindh and moved from there into Multan but could not establish a lasting empire. It did, however prepare the ground for Sufis to enter the scene. Three centuries later, Mahmood Ghaznni was at

² Scott argues that all subordinate groups employ strategies of resistance that go unnoticed by superordinate groups, which he terms "infrapolitics." Scott describes the open, public interactions between dominators and oppressed as a "public transcript" and the critique of power that goes on offstage as a "hidden transcript."

³ AK Ramanujan explains the autotelic nature of folklore items. He says that like other items in a cultural exchange, folk material too travels every time it is told. In this manner, it crosses linguistic boundaries everytime a bilingual person tells it or hears it.

the gates of North-western Punjab. With the beginning of the Sultanate rule, Sufis too found footing particularly in Punjab and Sindh and exerted a strong influence on the life and culture of the region.

The folk narratives of both Sindh and Punjab show a deep imprint of Sufi traditions besides other common strains. Both the linguistic identities have their cache of folk narratives around star-crossed lovers. In fact, in some cases such as the famous tale of Sohni-Mahiwal, the same story is told differently in the folk traditions of the two. In the Punjabi version, Bukhara merchant Izzat Baig falls in love with a potter's daughter Sohini. By a series of fateful events, he becomes a cow herder or Mahiwal. Sohini is married off to another potter but Mahiwal swims across the Chenab to meet her. He is injured during one journey and, thereon, Sohini swims across to meet him. However, Sohini's sister-in-law comes to know of her nightly escapades and switches her baked clay pitcher with an unbaked one. Sohini drowns as her pitcher dissolves in water and Mahiwal too unites with her in death.

In the Sindhi version of the story, Mahiwal is Sahar, a pious young man. The Sindhi version comes with more elements of magic and mysticism where by drinking milk blessed by some holy men, a newly married Sohini falls madly in love with Sahar. The lovers ultimately drown in the river and here it is the mother-in-law who switches the pitcher. Importantly, while the fateful river in the Punjabi tale is Chenab, in the Sindhi narrative it is Indus. Author, novelist and translator Musharraf Ali Farooqi writes: "In the Sindhi version of the legend, the complexion of the tragedy changes, with a beloved accurately presaging that an imperfect love would imperil the lover's life, which had until then protected her despite the defiance of the codes of conjugality, community and religion." (Farooqi).

We find several trails of such an exchange of subjects between Punjabi and Sindhi narratives. It also finds its way into formalised religious practices making syncretism a way of life. Motilal Jotwani remarks that Sindhi Hindus are endearingly called "half Sikhs"⁴. (Jotwani). In an example of this exchange between Sindh and Punjab, Jotwani talks about two Sindhis who contributed towards Guru Arjan's Adi Grantha. One of them was Sadhano, a butcher by profession in Sindh who migrated to the neighbouring province of Punjab and the other was Mian Mir, the maternal grandson of Qazi Qadan of Sindh. In her essay, 'Seeking Identity through Written Sources' Trisha Lalchandani writes that Sindhi folk material forms a shared cultural heritage with the neighbouring Baluchis and Punjabis. (Lalchandani 22). The long shared cultural heritage also meant shared folk sensitivities that have found their way into folk narratives despite hard drawn contemporary boundaries. Similarly, movement of people also meant a dynamic movement in language and folk narratives.

This paper takes up select folk narratives that exist around the theme of resistance - Dulla Bhatti and Hakeekat Rai in Punjabi and Shah Inayat of Jhok and Marui in Sindhi. Though the approximated periods of origin of these narratives vary, the tales carry forward the theme of resistance and help us understand the growth of adjacent cultures that exchanged folk material and yet developed their own unique identity.

Dulla Bhatti and Hakeekat Rai- Abdullah Bhatti or Dulla Bhatti has lived in folk ballads and narratives for centuries. Much later, his life and exploits were penned by several writers. Now known to be a 16th

⁴ Jotwani, Motilal. *The Sindhis Through The Centuries*. Aditya Books, 2006

century local hero, Dulla Bhatti became a legend as he defied and resisted the exploitative policies of the Mughals. His bravery is remembered at Punjabi folk festival of Lohri (January 13). The story goes that Dulla rescued two Brahmin girls, Sundri and Mundri, from the Mughal soldiers. The fact that he protected the honour and lives of the Brahmin girls despite being a Muslim landlord himself, is celebrated alike by Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus. The popular Lohri song goes:

“Sunder Mundriye ho!

Tera Kaun Vichara ho!

Dulla Bhatti wala ho!”

(Oh Sundri and Mundri! Who will think about you! He is Dulla Bhatti!).”

While this song has regained popularity in recent times, several smaller and lesser-known local derivatives also exist.

“Vall vall maaraa(n) mughlaa(n) diaa(n) dhaaniaa(n)/

daiwaa(n) Puur day puur utthal/

main baddal bana diyaa(n) dhooR day/

Tay kotee(n) Umar, Tharthal /

kon kameena Badshah aaway Dullay Jawan tay chal.” (Awan).

(I lower the fortresses of the Mughals, I repulse the wave after wave of the Mughal troops/ I can raise clouds of dust and terrorise Umarkot (the birthplace of Akbar)/ What mean King will ever dare to attack Dulla).

As per the narrative, Dulla Bhatti was killed on the orders of the emperor but his exploits have earned him the reputation as a sort of Robin Hood of Punjab. According to scholar Mazhar Abbas this is because he is believed to have looted the Mughal treasures and distributed it among the needy, hence becoming the symbol of resistance and Punjabi identity. (Abbas).

The legend of Hakeekat Rai forms some of the best swangs⁵ in Punjab. The narratives describe Hakeekat Rai as a local hero who was martyred on Basant Panchami in 1742 AD at the age of 12. His samadhi (tomb) was built in Lahore and until Partition it was a site of an annual fair on Basant Panchami. (Sohinder Singh Bedi 130).

The tale finds place in Ganesh Das Badhera’s Char Bagh-i-Punjab (1849) – as translated and edited by JS Grewal and Indu Banga – which is considered a crucial source of information about pre-1849 Punjab. (Grewal and Banga). The brief story of Hakeekat Rai relates to a 14-year-old youth who studied at a mosque school in Sialkot. In this version, Haqiqat enters into a discussion about composition of verses with son of a mullah or mullzada. Unable to dispute Haqiqat, the mullzada accuses him of disrespecting the Prophet. The young boy is given the choice to either convert to Islam or face death penalty for blasphemy. The case gets transferred to Lahore where governor Zakariya Khan believes in the innocence of Haqiqat but has to leave the matter to the clerics. Despite the efforts of his parents to convince him to

⁵ A swang is a semi-religious metric play in which episodes from the lives of celebrated heroes are presented. It is partly acted and partly recited or performed by ballad singers at festivals like Holi, Basant, etc.

accept Islam, Haqiqat refuses to convert. The next day he is nearly stoned to death but a soldier takes pity on him and beheads him. This tale harks back to the early eighteenth century and brings to mind parallels with the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahdur who was also asked by Mughal emperor Aurangzeb to either convert or accept death. However, Haqiqat Rai's tale has a more local favour with the hero being seen as someone who stood up to absolute power exercised by Muslim rulers. In an essay, Anshu Malhotra observes that the saga reinforces what the Sufi saints of Punjab had been speaking against - the absolute and whimsical power of legalistic religious authorities. "A story apparently embedded in implacable Hindu-Muslim antagonism, on closer scrutiny reveals a deeper timbre of hostility towards dogmatic and capricious power." (Malhotra).

Shah Inayat of Jhok and Maruee - Sindhi folk narratives show deep impact of Sufis and mystics. A number of these mystics rebelled against religious fanaticism and autocratic practices. Shah Inayat of Jhok was a reformer and spiritual leader born in around 1655. After receiving spiritual training in Bijapur and Delhi he returned to Sindh where he preached equality and tolerance. Folk narratives around his life explain how teachers were impressed by his spiritual accomplishments. As the narrative goes, his teacher offered him a choice of four objects on completion of his training – rosary, prayer mat, vessel to store water and sword. Shah Inayat chose sword and prophetically said that he will pay the price for the sword with his head. (Bhavnani and Simoes 98). In Miranpur, Shah Inayat set up farming commune and gave the slogan "Jo Khede, So Khaye (he who till will eat)" giving ownership rights to farmers. As the popularity of this experiment increased, landlords in the feudalistic society of the time joined forces against the Shah Inayat. With approval of Mughal emperor, the subedar of Thatta Nawab Azam Khan laid siege to Jhok. Shah Inayat was arrested after a protracted siege and is believed to have been beheaded in 1718 and his followers killed. Folk narratives recount the battle between Shah Inayat and the royal forces, often focusing on how the Nawab Azam used deceit to arrest the Sufi. One of the versions narrates the exchange between Nawab Aazam and Shah Inayat after the latter's arrest where he answers all of subedar's questions in lyrical poetry. (Naeem). The urs of Shah Inayat is marked at Jhok with Sufi music to the tune of instruments like ektara and khartal. Some remember his experiment today as an early attempt at socialism.

While Shah Inayat of Jhok led an armed resistance, other popular Sufi saints and deities of Sindh are known for their mystic powers with which they performed miracles that humbled the unjust. For example, Syed Usman Marwandi, popularly known as Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, who settled in Sehwan after travelling extensively in present day Punjab, Sindh, Ajmer. Many refer to him as the heretic saint since he did not care much about religious rituals and performed a transic dance. Several narratives are told around how he stood up to the ruler of Sehwan. According to Farooq Soomro the story goes that the ruler of Sehwan grew insecure with the growing popularity of Lal Shahbaz and ordered the soldiers to slaughter the saint's disciple Bodla Bahaar. The soldiers killed the disciple and scattered his body. When Lal Shahbaz heard of the incident, he called the name of Bodla Bahaar who came back whole to his master's call. When the ruler still did not heed to Lal Shahbaz's preaching, Bodla Bahaar on the orders of Lal Shahbaz turned the whole fortress upside down. People claim that the ruins still show an upside down settlement. (Soomro). According to another version of the tale (also discussed by Soomro) the king refused

to allow the saint into the city and sent him a pot of milk saying, “See this pot filled to the brim with milk, this is how we are. We have no room for you in our city.” The saint placed a flower on the pot of milk, and sent back a message to the king, “I want to live among you like this flower floats on milk.”

The devotion for Shahbaz Qalandar is now immortalized in the folk song “O laal meri pat rakhio bala jhoole laalan, Sindri da, sehvan da sakhi shabaaz kalandar, Damadam mast qalandar.” The song is sung as a dhamaal or a loud melody that is not just heard but felt under the feet. The song also mingles the legend of Shahbaz Qalandar with Uderolal or Jhulelal who is a deity particularly central to Sindhi Hindus. On these co-opted symbols, Michel Boivin writes: “The term Jhulelal is actually the name of a Hindu deity Jhulelal, who is worshipped by the Sindhi Hindus. However, the Sufi Muslims started using the term Jhulelal only after the song Dama Dam Mast Qalandar became famous, in which Lal Shahbaz Qalandar has been referred to as Jhulel al Qalandar”⁶ (Boivin).

The narratives around trials and tribulations of six women, also referred to as queens, form the most distinctive part of Sindhi lore. The tales have been immortalised by Shah Abdul Latif in his work Shah Jo Risalo. The tale of Maruee or Marvi stands out in this lot for the remarkable tenacity and resistance offered by the female lead character who is abducted and carried away from home. Several versions describe Maruee as the daughter of a shepherd in village Maleer who is betrothed to Khetsen. Fogh, a rejected suitor goes to the Soomro king Umar and tempts him to abduct the famous beauty. Umar abducts Maruee and offers her fine clothes and riches, which she rejects, insisting only to return to her village.

“Umar Sumra sun sahiba, hiku, muhinjo arju sun,
Je mari vanga tuhinje mulk mein, moonkhe khathi khafad de
Hute vangi lod late, jite jhoopa muhinje jhangiyadan ja.” (Lalvani 263).

In these lines Maruee is requesting Umar that if she dies in his land he should bury her only in her own land. The tale of Maruee echoes a nationalist sentiment and yearning for homeland besides a bold resistance in the face of brute force. In one version of the tale, the king is overcome by guilt as he sees beautiful Maruee languishing. In the other version, he realises he had shared a wet nurse with Maruee and sets her free. In some versions Maruee is put to test yet again as her kinsmen do not accept her after which she passes the test of purity to unite with them. (Varyani).

Resistance as a common thread: Continuity & Divergence- The theme of resistance abounds in both Punjabi and Sindhi folk narratives. The local heroes achieve legendary heights as they fight the authorities for misuse of their powers. Such resistance is directed against authoritative powers that are either unjust, or make unfair demands, or perpetrate subjugation of the masses. The flag of resistance in both the folk traditions is carried by commoners who turn into heroes in the wake of their courage, honour, righteousness, or spiritual prowess. In Punjabi folk narratives of Dulla Bhatti and Hakeekat Rai, the heroes

⁶ Boivin, Michel. “Visual Representations of Jhulelal in India and Pakistan.” *Pakistan: Alternative Imaginings of the Nation State*, edited by Jürgen Schaflechner, Christina Oesterheld, and Ayesha Asif, Oxford University Press, 2020.

take up the cause of common people who are suffering due to high handedness of the authorities. While Dulla wages a full on armed revolt, Hakeekat Rai chooses to resist through peaceful surrender. In different versions of Dulla's exploits, it is claimed that he was the third generation in his family to resist the exploitative policies of Mughal rulers. His father and grandfather too are believed to have been executed and after a fierce war he too was captured and later killed. Some scholars like Prof Ishwar Dayal Gaur read Dulla's resistance as a class war. Gaur has used folk narratives such as Dulla Bhatti to recreate the history and culture of Punjab. He describes Dulla Bhatti as, "... a Muslim Rajput who, as a counter-state icon, is embedded in the literary and cultural psyche of the people of the Panjab's cultural matrix." (Gaur).

On the Sindhi side, resistance acquires a spiritual dimension. Shah Inayat of Jhok engages in a poetic and spiritual debate with the aggressor right before his beheading. His followers are Sufis who practice equality and peace and take up arms when their home is besieged. Maruee's heartrending wails acquire metaphysical dimensions as she comes across as longing not just for her beloved but also for her homeland, people and the elusive divine. In Sindhi folk narratives, often, the elements of magic and superpower are also brought in to ensure the victory of the righteous over oppressors. Narratives around popularity of Shah Inayat talk about how his teacher warns him to keep his face hidden as anyone who saw him would drop everything and follow him. While the student followed the order, a wind blew off the cloth from his face and whoever saw him couldn't resist following him. Similarly, qissas⁷ built around the cult of Shahbaz Qalandar show how he is able to bring down a tyrannical ruler through the force of pure piety. Overlapping tales also bring in the divine elements of Jhulelal, the isht devta, who took a human form to rescue people from the clutches of tyranny.

It is interesting to note the heroes presented in these tales, who champion the cause of people and who display continuity in their representation of the oppressed or voiceless. Dulla Bhatti is a local Muslim landlord, Hakeekat Rai is just a young Hindu boy, Shah Inayat and Shahbaz Qalandar are Sufi saint and Maruee is an ordinary young women. All of them stand up against autocrats in one way or another. Their manner of registering protest is different but they all voice the dominant issues of their times. Taken together they also provide us an understanding of the shared socio-political developments of their times. Dulla Bhatti is believed to have existed in mid-sixteenth century, Hakeekat Rai came much later in the eighteenth century, Shah Inayat is placed in seventeenth century and Maruee being an oral lore passed down through generations is considered timeless. Some of the common causes that spark their entry are exploitation, fanaticism and subjugation of women.

Several parallel narratives about their life and exploits have also come to exist. So, Dulla Bhatti saves Sundari and Mundari in one narrative and takes a stand against unfair taxes in another. Hakeekat Rai faces up to bullies in one version and refuses to convert in another. Similarly, Shah Inayat uses battle strategies to keep the royal forces at bay for months according to one version, and in another version, he signs an agreement to surrender on the condition that his followers will be spared. Maruee rejects the gifts

⁷ The word Qissa has Arabic roots meaning 'epic legend' or a 'folk tale'. The Punjabi language is famous for its rich literature of qisse, most of the which are about love, passion, betrayal, sacrifice, social values and a common man's revolt against a larger system.

offered by her abductor and chooses to languish than be separated from her home and loved ones. Shahbaz Qalandar and Jhulelal perform multiple miracles relieving people from oppressors or troubles.

It is also interesting to note the sense of continuity of ideas and symbols in these tales. The narrative of Shahbaz Qalandar includes 'Lal' from the Jhulelal narrative making both a part of the same stream of thought. Similarly, the tale of Hakeekat Rai echoes the elements of defiance in Dulla Bhatti. In several version of Dulla's narrative, the hero is shown as unbending and unrelenting before the Mughal king even in the face of death. Hakeekat Rai too chooses a similar path. A continuity can be spotted across the linguistic boundaries of these tales too. Much like Dulla, Shah Inayat of Jhok too refuses to bow down to injustice and takes up arms against the royal army. The courage of Dulla Bhatti finds a surprising parallel in Maruee's tale. While Sundari and Mundari are rescued by Dulla, Maruee ensures her own rescue. She refuses to give in to her abductor who has to finally set her free. Narratives around the deities too display similar elements of continuity. Jhulelal is visualised as a long bearded deity seated on a fish in a striking similarity to Guru Nanak who also came to be portrayed as having white beard and is represented at times as riding or conversing with a fish. Some Janmsakhis or hagiographies built on oral traditions, describe Guru Nanak as riding and conversing with a monster fish. The fish in the case of Jhulelal's biographic tales is palla or Hilsa fish.

Conclusion- As the above discussion shows, the theme of resistance is common in both Sindhi and Punjabi folk narratives. This resistance is directed towards individuals, rulers, or systems. A study of folk narratives in this light also reveals elements of continuity as well as divergence. Themes, motifs and plots reoccur in these folk narratives with some variations making them both new and old at the same time. A broader inquiry into folk narratives of the region and a closer study of folk heroes can help us understand common concerns of the time and the manner in which people rose from time to time to push back against tyrannical powers.

Works Cited

1. Abbas, Mazhar. "Punjab's Own Robin Hood," *The News*, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/665068-punjab-own-robin-hood>. Accessed 15 Feb. 2021.
2. Ahmed, Khaled. "The symbiosis of religions under the singing saint in Sindh lasted three centuries." *The Indian Express*, <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/jhulelal-shahbaz-qalandar-hindu-muslim-pakistan-6601719/>. Accessed 15 Feb. 2020.
3. Awan, Mahmood. "Punjabi Resistance." *The News*, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/760627-punjabi-resistance>. Accessed 15 Feb. 2021.
4. Baron, Robert. "'All Power to the Periphery': The Public Folklore Thought of Alan Lomax." *Journal of Folklore Research*, vol. 49, no. 3, Indiana University Press, 2012, pp. 275-317, <https://doi.org/10.2979/jfolkrese.49.3.275>.
5. Bedi, Sohinder Singh. *Folklore of Punjab*. National Book Trust, 2012.
6. Bhavnani, Nandita, and Gita Simoes. *Sindhnamah*, The Hecar Foundation, Mumbai, 2018, p. 98.

7. Boivin, Michel. "Visual Representations of Jhulelal in India and Pakistan." *Pakistan: Alternative Imaginings of the Nation State*, edited by Jürgen Schaflechner, Christina Oesterheld, and Ayesha Asif, Oxford University Press, 2020.
8. Farooqi, Musharraf Ali. "The Sindhi 'Sohni Mahiwal'." *Live Mint*, <https://www.livemint.com/Leisure/OWFW34Ym1CnUezhkSzBWxL/The-Sindhi-Sohni-Mahiwal.html?facet=amp>. Accessed 15 Feb. 2021.
9. Gaur, Ishwar Dayal. "Forgotten Makers of Panjab: Discovering Indigenous Paradigm of History." *Journal Of Regional History*, Vol. XXII, New Series, 2016-17. Department Of History, Guru Nanak Dev University Amritsar, <http://researchjournals.gndu.ac.in/History/pdf/CurrentIssue.pdf>. Accessed 15 Feb. 2021
10. Gupta, Sankar Sen. *Folklore and Folklife in India: An Objective Study in Indian Perspective*. Indian Publications, 1975
11. Grewal, J. S., and Indu Banga, editors. *Early Nineteenth-Century Panjab*. Routledge, 2017.
12. Handoo, Jawaharlal. "Oral Literature In Indian Tradition: Folk Categories And Modern Indian Society." *Indian Literature*, vol. 37, no. 5 (163), 1994, Sahitya Akademi, pp. 89–109, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44295583>. Accessed 9 Feb. 2021.
13. Jotwani, Motilal. *The Sindhis Through The Centuries*. Aditya Books, 2006.
14. Jalwani, Jetho. *Sindhi Kuchi Lok Parampara*. KK Publications, 2012, pp. 261.
15. Lalchandani, Trisha. "Seeking identity through written sources." *Sindhi Tapestry* edited by Saaz Aggarwal. B&W, 2021, pp. 22.
16. Malhotra, Anshu. "Paths And Piety In The Nineteenth ." *Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture, and Practice*, edited by Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, India, 2012.
17. Naeem, Raza. "The Martyrdom of Sufi Shah Inayat." *The Wire*, <https://thewire.in/culture/the-martyrdom-of-sufi-shah-inayat>. Accessed 17 May 2022.
18. Oring, Elliott. "Folk Narratives." *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres: An Introduction*, Utah State University Press, Logan, UT, 1986, pp. 121–146.
19. Ramanujan, A.K. "Interview Two." Interview by A.L. Becker and Keith Taylor. *Uncollected Poems and Prose: A.K. Ramanujan*. Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. .
20. Scott, J. C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale Univ. Press, 1990.
21. Soomro, Farooq. "Sehwan: The Undisputed Throne of Shahbaz Qalandar." *Dawn*, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1136858>. Accessed 15 Feb. 2021.
22. Thakur, U.T. *Sindhi Culture*. University of Bombay, 1959, pp. 124-140.
23. Varyani, Pritam. "Umar Marvi." *Sindhi Lok Kathayen*. Translated by Mohan Gehani. Institute of Sindhology, Adilpur, 2008, 8 Oct. 2021, www.sindhisingat.com/images/umarmarvi.pdf