Chapter 1- The Status of Folklore Discourse

Rijrmukshanyanayan rajtam Haryanay
Raham yutamasnam shushamani¹

The Rigveda shloka expounds and valorizes a ‘land’ which people visit all the time due to its smooth terrain and accessibility, where domestic animals can be a mode of transportation for goods and people, a ‘place’ which is peace loving and “nirupadrav”², that kind of place can be called “Haryana”.

In a similar vibrant vein, the state and its various districts find mention in various historical-epical texts, in Mahabharata, for instance, the present day Mathura-Ambala region which was then densely forested and served as the play ground for Lord Shri Krishna.

This geographical region also had been referred to as ‘Brahmavrat’ or as ‘Aryavrat’³. Haryana has been extolled as ‘Heaven’ on this earth in one of the inscription written in Mohammad Bin Tughlaq’s era (325-351 AD):

Deshoasti Hariyanakhyya Prithvyam Swarga Sanibha.⁴

Later, during Balban’s reign, the name ‘Haryana’ can be read in the one of the inscriptions:

Haryanakh Bhureva Shakendrya Shaysya Teyadhunam⁵

During the British rule, eponymous references can be found in the Gazetteer and the Settlement report as well⁶.

¹ Pt. Shri Ram Sharma. Rigveda (Bareilly: Sanskrit Sansthan.) 8.25.22.
² void of any kind of nuisance
³ Dr. Budhha Prakash. Haryana Ki Jhalak (U.P: Gorakhpur Press).
⁴ Dr. Puran Mal Gaur. A Cultural Study of Folktales of Haryana (District Kurukshetra University,1987).
⁵ Dr. Puran Mal Gaur A Cultural Study of Folktales of Haryana. (District Kurukshetra University,1987).
⁶ Hissar District Gazetteer. (7 March, 1883-84) 26-27.
The cultural vibes of my state Haryana have been reverberating since time immemorial. It was politically born in 1966 but the specific flavours of its individuality have been felt million of years before. We are a state, rich in folktales. My analysis in the following chapters is based on fifty one folktales “from Haryana” and not “of Haryana” as I truly believe what A. K. Ramanujan stated, “one can only study folktales ‘from India’ and not ‘of India’ for no selection can truly represent the multiple and changing lives of Indian tales”.

I have kept close to the narrative line, omitted no detail or motif and tried to keep the design of the plot intact. Majority of the tales have been personally collected and have never been published before.

My field work and its processing has been a literary sojourn of pleasure and pain both. The tremendous volume of folk literature that this land has acquired through the years could have been a literary feast for the readers but till date a concrete body of literature is not available or has not been sufficiently documented. In such circumstances, the study of ‘untapped’ folk knowledge for the study of “folk” becomes an all the more relevant task.

Kantak Des kathor Nar,Bhais Moot Sa Neer
Karma Ka marya Phiray,Bhaggar Bech Phakir

The phakir in the above aphorism finds himself utterly misplaced in the rugged terrains and supposedly rough people of Haryana. The entire discourse of oral transmission of Haryanvi folktales has trodden the same rough road in the rugged terrains of Haryana. The semantics of Haryanvi folk narratives and the cultural categories they represent, have remained neglected areas till date. The oral traditions have been generally neglected, and even when these are studied as a part of ethnographic-anthropological studies these are carried on in India mostly by foreign scholars.

The primary task of this proposed research is to undertake an honest and disinterested effort to make intelligible the various issues of antiquity and contemporeity concerning Haryanvi folktales. The role oral traditions have played in the present context of Haryanvi society, in my opinion, will also tell us about the status of folk paradigms in Indian society both synchronically and diachronically. The folk or oral and the non-folk or written forms

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have not contributed in a mutually exclusive manner: they have, in fact, been actively contributing in shaping the processes. However, the folk or oral forms have, by and large retained their own characteristics. The relation of written to oral variants is a "complex, many phased interlacing."\(^8\)

Tracing the History

Folklore emerged as a new field of learning in the 19th C, when antiquaries in England and philologists in Germany began to look closely at the ways of the lower classes. In 1812, the German brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm commenced publishing influential volumes of oral folk narratives of interpretations of Germanic mythology. On 22 Aug, 1846, an English antiquary William John Thomas suggested that a new word “Folklore” be adopted in place of the “popular antiquities”.

The beginnings of Indian folklore are intricately woven with the beginnings of the international discipline. Once J. Grimm had postulated a connection between Indian and European mythology, and M. Muller \(^9\) had detailed it, the study of Indian folklore became essential to the development of folklore theory in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In fact, India was thought by some like Benfey, Cosquin, Clouston to be the origin of nearly all European folk narrative. Some like Wilson believed that the mythical image of India is a major source for European, particularly German Romanticism. “The Indian tales and myths also provided the supporting evidence for two, more enduring theories: that narratives (not just people) migrate, and that literary versions are important links in the chain of transmission. The interplay between oral and written versions seemed symbiotic.”\(^10\)

In this initial period, Indian folklore research was dominated by philologists and linguist working in Sanskrit, Persian, or Arabic with little, if any, direct knowledge of India. In the second period, the emphasis shifted away from classical texts to the field collection of materials in the modern languages of India. By the early twentieth century, extensive collections and descriptions of nearly every genre were published by British government officials and their wives, and by missionaries living in India. Among them, two men were

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primarily responsible for leading the study of Indian folklore into international academic circles. One was William Crooke\textsuperscript{11} whose two volume study of folklore in North India is well known. The other was R.C. Temple\textsuperscript{12} who published three volumes of legends from Punjab. Crooke later became president of the Folklore Society in London, and both he and Temple contributed influential articles to its journal, Folk-Lore.

The study of Indian Folklore was initiated in the wake of a "need" by Europeans to understand Indian folk mythologies better and it has ever remained so. It proved to be a literary exercise severely affected by their Cartesian vision. Inhabiting a postcolonial space, the researcher could appreciate scholars like Sadhana Naithani\textsuperscript{13} who were and still are instrumental in rectifying the approach towards these colonial collectors. Although Crooke’s collections remain “unmatched in scope and depth”\textsuperscript{14} and Temple’s work had set “high standards”\textsuperscript{15} and exhibits “great scholarship”\textsuperscript{16}, yet one can read against the grain if one comprehends that “need” of these colonial folklorists.

The scholar Sadhana Naithani laments, "Through the decades of post-colonial history, scholars like Richard M. Dorson, Heda Jason, and A. K. Ramanujan have lauded colonial folklorists without questioning their claims or investigating their processes of compiling materials. Colonial British collectors of Indian folklore did mention "Indian assistants” (munshi), but they never specified the roles and capabilities of these native collaborators. Later-day scholarship has neither searched out these aides nor tried to understand their distinct intellectual motivations. Writings of British collectors have led scholars to accept that the munshi was nothing more than a clerk trained by the collector for clerical assistance. The studies on colonial collectors have remained essentially "colonial" in perspective.”\textsuperscript{17}


\textsuperscript{12} Richard Carnac Temple, Legends of the Punjab, 3 vols. (Bombay: Education Society’s Press).


\textsuperscript{14} A. K. Ramanujan and Stuart H. Blackburn, Another Harmony New Essays on the Folklore of India (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986).

\textsuperscript{15} ibid.

\textsuperscript{16} ibid.

The third period of Indian folklore research was in the same vein as the preceding two: philology and field collection. In the early decades of 20th century, American Sanskritists led by Maurice Bloomfield published a series of studies on themes culled from the classical tale collections (Jatakas, Panchatantra, Hitopadesia, Kathasaritsagara, etc.) One major piece of research was W.N. Brown’s study of the relationship between Sanskrit story materials and “modern” Indian folktales. Brown found that fully half of the three thousand tales had parallels in Sanskrit literature, and then concluded that the former were derived from the latter. Such parallels, of course, do establish borrowing among the folk and the classical traditions.

Folktales current in the twentieth century and now in the 21st, are thus necessarily derived from written literature and are termed “modern”. The written form is only part of the history of the texts, one phase in the cycles of transmission. Some of these possible cycles are indicated by A.K.Ramanujan. The process may be infinitely repeated. Transmission includes of course, recomposition and many kinds of change. A tale, for instance, might originate orally, then be written down by a collector; the written version might then disseminate the tale to an oral teller, who, in turn, might give rise to new written or oral versions.

The first systematic collections of Indian oral traditions were made through the linguist M.B. Emeneau’s research on the tribals of South India. He became one of the first scholars to treat it as valuable in itself and not as a derivation (or deviation) of classical models. More than this, his attention to social context, compositional techniques, and stylistics in oral literature place his work, in a dialogue with contemporary research. Emeneau’s collections, however, were surpassed in volume (at least) by an even more active student of tribal lore, Verrier Elwin. Finally, in reviewing this third period, one cannot fail to mention the contribution of Sarat Chandra Mitra.

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The process of field collection of oral traditions flourished in 1950s that marks the fourth period of Indian folklore study. Although various categories of folklore were collected and recorded in this period, yet there was still vast existing “untapped” folk knowledge. The portion of all the research work on India, that was devoted to folklore, during this period, was small and was usually subordinated to the larger purposes of ethnography or literary studies.

In the fourth period, following World War II, folklore studies developed considerably, particularly in India. The nationalist movement spurred new respect for and interest in folk traditions. The methods of colonial paradigms, seeded in Cartesian vision, had fated the study of folklore to be highly diachronic and devolutionary. The social change brought about by the Bhakti movement, made folklore a major instrument of ordinary discourse. But the key concerns of folktales have been mostly power and oppression; that is why peasants were predominately attached to tales and became its prime carriers. When India achieved its independence, the benign concepts of “Padyatra” and “Ramrajya” were the readymade paradigms on which the concepts of nationalism and cultural values could be comfortably constructed, as opposed to western dichotomous approach. The search for ancient origins and the desire to present a “pure” heritage, which accompanies such nationalistic movements everywhere, cast folklore research in a decidedly antiquarian and chauvinistic mold. Still, the sheer amount of work that was accomplished placed the study of Indian folklore on a more solid descriptive foundation. Following independence, and especially after the 1960s, Indian scholars turned to intensive field research. Folklore journals appeared in local languages and in English, research institutes and societies sprang up, and degree courses in folklore were established in several universities. Backed by this institutional support, Indian scholars have now amassed a collection of folklore that is one of the largest of its kind in the world.

The fifth and current period of research in Indian folklore began in the second half of the 20th c around 1980s. It is characterized by extensive field research which has produced a growing body of publications. The result of this work is that new materials are being studied from new perspectives. Some folklores, previously unknown or available only in textual form have now been collected in their performative context. New concepts are being applied to interpret Indian folklores. As a result, the conceptual basis of the field is shifting: ethnographic and linguistic skills have now been enriched by the comparative reach and specialized focus of folklore studies. This combination of new materials and new approaches promises to find new meanings for Indian folklore.
Defining the Term

Folklore has achieved the status of an independent discipline. Folklorist's concern themselves with traditions within their own cultures, while myth as a form has disappeared. Myth has become an uneasy adjunct to anthropology, classics, literature and theology. In the 19th c there appeared an unitary attitude towards myth. Interpreters of folklore, whatever their differences, have continuously agreed that the materials of folklore date back to an ancient past. The term was synonymous in 19th c with bygones, popular antiquities and survivals. Coupled with this notion of folklore were perjorative terms, such as superstitious, illiterate, backward, primitive etc., which were applied to people who preserved this culture. For instance, in one of the places they have been referred to as 'savage' who are accomplished in the task of preserving and transmitting knowledge:

Let me try to tell you what folklore is ... It is now well established that the most civilized races have all fought their way slowly upwards from a condition of savagery. Now, savages can neither read nor write yet they manage to collect and store up a considerable amount of knowledge of a certain kind.... The knowledge, organization, and rules thus gathered and formulated are preserved in the memory and communicated by word of mouth and by actions of various kinds. To this mode of preservation and communication, as well as to the things thus preserved and communicated the name of tradition is given; and Folklore is the science of tradition. 22

But another set of terms, simple, unspoiled, pastoral and close to nature, viewed them in a nobler light but whether admired or despised, the folklores represented a world different from the centers of power, wealth, progress, industry and intellectual and political activity in the metropolises.

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 who share at least one common factor. It doesn't matter what the linking factor is - it could be a common occupation, language and religion - but what is important is that group formed for whatever reason will have some traditions which it calls its own. In

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22 Edwin Sidney Horsland. 'Explanation of Folkterms'. *Journal on Folklore.*
theory a group must consist of at least two persons but generally most groups consist of many individuals...  

The 'group of people' becomes a medium of oral transmission of their cultural contexts - occupation, language or religion forming a pool of folk elements, including folktales. "A folktale then becomes a poetic text that carries cultural contexts within it; it is a travelling metaphor that finds a new meaning in context with each new telling."  

Linda D'egh states, "Narration is ageless". The dissemination of narrative literature has been an essential component of civilization processes. It made narrative the natural companion of man. There is an innate impulse to tell a story, and there is a need to listen to it. Stories are able to adapt themselves to any local and social climate. They are old and venerable, but they are also new and up to date.

While recognizing that folk narratives contain persistent and yet continually reinterpreted ideas, the student of folklore observes folktales mainly as an artistic creation shaped and carried by different groups of people. She views the diverse forms of the narratives, including their content elements and structural framework, as complex wholes of an oral art. Scholars stress the following questions: What is the message of folk tales? What are the forces that create, launch, disseminate, maintain, vary, corrupt, and reinforce them? What do they mean to their performers and their audiences?

The scholars of today employ the principles of cultural anthropology based on scrupulous ethnographic fieldwork. Local collections are no longer limited to the recording of texts but include the totality of the cultural context, performance of the narrators, and the response of the audiences.

Folk need not apply exclusively to country folk, but rather signifies the anonymous mass of tradition oriented people. The country folk moved to the cities, and in the past decades the metropolises of the world have been swelling from an inflow of rural population. Urbane generations do not necessarily fail to qualify as folk groups: for their lives too may

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be shaped by traditional codes of behavior, dress, customs, expressions and world view. Traditions are continually being updated. Survivalist Hartland expressed this idea pithily in 1885, "I contend that tradition is always being created a new, and that traditions of modern origin wherever found are as much within our province as ancient ones." It becomes imperative to study each aspect, for instance historical, individual, cultural, traditional, aesthetic, economic and environmental for comprehending the folk art process.

The act of storytelling is monitored either by some external stimuli, like providing entertainment, warning or interaction, or by an internal stimulus of sharing something with others, as is elaborately expounded by Anna Leena Siikala:

A narrative is embarked on either in reply to some external stimulus, such as request from the audience or so that the narrator may express something he considers important, amusing or otherwise worth telling. The performance of a narrative is a logical, goal-oriented act carried out in a state of interaction. The narrator may aim to entertain, to teach, to warn or to criticize his listener. He may also tell his story as a proof of something, as an example or merely to satisfy the listener's wishes. At the same time, he may try to attract attention, to find amusing expressions or to enter into intensive interaction with the listener. Whatever the narrator's goals or intentions, they always effect both the choice of narrator and the mode of performance 25

Folktales are told primarily for entertainment, although they may have secondary purposes too. They are believed to be fictitious, and are cited as lies by storytellers and commentators, who mean that the tales are a creation of the human fantasy.

The tale, whether composed of one or many episodes, is always a well-proportioned whole. It is fashioned from stable formulas commonly known to the tellers who adjust them to a basic outline which is kept together by a frame. This outline—the skeleton of the tale, as well as the formulas are shared by the bearers of a tale tradition. Putting the outline into words and embellishing it by the combination of the available formulas, is the creative act of individual narrators. The stable formulas, known as the "building blocks" of the tale, are quite diverse in their quality and narrative value. Yet they all affect the composition and

structure of the tale. A fairly complete survey of this trend is given in Linda D’egh’s ‘Folktales and Society’ 26.

The types and motifs are the formulas chiefly recognized as elements of the content. The Finnish scholar Antti Aarne succeeded in establishing a system for the classification of the international folktale in 1910. The revised edition of this work by Stith Thompson 27 made clear. In its introduction to the ‘Motif-Index of Folk Literature’, motifs are the smallest firm units within narrative folklore, the “details out of which full-fledged narratives are composed”. They may be centered on a certain type of character in a tale, sometimes on an action and sometimes on attendant circumstances of the action.

The “framework” of the tale comprises the introduction and the conclusion as well as the formulaic interjections used by the narrator. These elements are directly related to the performative situation. They prepare the atmosphere for the acceptance and enjoyment of the tale and its action, and by providing a happy ending guide the audience back to everyday reality.

“Patterned figures of speech” are commonly employed in the schematic description of heroes and anti-heroes, scenes of beauty and horror, and climaxes and turning points of the narrative. The opposites of good (beautiful) and evil (ugly) are depicted in extreme colors: sparkling, metallic radiance represents fairyland, kingdoms, and riches, whereas dark and bleak hues signify dangerous avenues of the unknown, the site of evil, and everyday village life.

“Verbal sequences” include recurrent monologues of the principal actors in key situations. Heroes turn foes into friends by using the right formulas, and attain their goals by addressing helpers in the right manner, numskulls in humorous tales often display their stupidity through dialogue.

“Repetition” of certain passages, sequences, or the whole narrative adventure is essential to the tale structure itself, and also provides a thread for the narrator in his

composition techniques as he puts the flesh on the skeleton of the tale. There is a ruling order of tri-episodic action-repetition throughout the story. How this works is best exemplified by complex tale forms although it is present in simple forms as well. Each test in a complex tale is described as a forthcoming event when first told, in the form of advice from the hero’s helper. The test is recounted again as it happens, by the narrator, and yet again for the third time when the hero repeats it at the tale’s end, exposing the villain. All three versions in this case are identical. As the tale’s adventure moves towards its climax, the action falls into a progressive trichotomy, in which the repeated parts remain essentially unaltered but the hardships of the tests are increased. Heroes repeat actions and test three times, failing twice and finally succeeding.

All these features make the tale a well-balanced, perfectly tailored, and logical construction. The occurrence of these features is an essential feature of Haryanvi folk narratives. Actors and actions are represented symbolically. They have their proper place, and the end of the tale follows smoothly, almost automatically, in its assigned sequence. No matter how self-contained they may be, the tale incidents are symbiotic, for they make sense only as they are juxtaposed; hence a tale always has to be recited from the beginning to the end. The clarity of the style and the structure reflects objectivity of the genre. A given tale recounts about extreme cruelty, suffering, torturous death, wonders never heard of, and impossible acts. Yet none of these elements call for compassion because order is restored and justice is done.

J.B. Frazer remarked in 1935, “A superstructure of theory is always transitory being constantly superseded by fresh theories which make nearer and nearer approaches to the truth without ever reaching it. On the shore of the great ocean of reality men are perpetually building theoretical castles of sand which are perpetually being washed away by the rising tide of knowledge…”

Folklore has always faced these challenges and strengthened its ontological basis. In the words of Bess Lomax Hawes,” Folklore is an unfinished profession, a profession within which there are still many areas of argument and conflict, a profession within which individuals still have serious choices to make. And just as the individual folklorist is required

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by virtue of its membership within the profession to balance out the conflicting essentials of his work, so too is the discipline of folklore itself."  

Approaches

It seems folklore is in a state of transformation from a rather conservationist exercise in collecting traditions to a radical enterprise which explores the dynamics of folk reproduction in the study of a variety of expressive forms. A theory of semantics aims to give the meaning of every meaningful expression, on the basis of an analysis.

Hence, one of the difficulties I faced was how to deal with the content of my fieldwork collections. What all could be the approaches or theories instrumental enough to follow for analyzing the collected data? I would like to place my discourse in the context of the current theories of folklore stated by Richard Dorson  

My analysis has been the result of one or a combination of two or more approaches. The various approaches for the study of my collections of Haryanvi Folk narratives are as stated further.

A folktale cannot originate in a vacuum. It takes its origin in some historical period. So when it originates in some period of a history it starts spreading geographically in various regions. This approach is called Historical Geographical approach this is the reason behind several oral variants of a tale. For instance, the folknarrative of Raja Nal and Damya, took its root in a historical period but since then has been diffusing to states like Haryana, Punjab, Himachal, Uttar Pradesh and other surrounding areas.

Some specific folktales of legendary heroes, historical incidents and historical figures like Raja Surajmal, Raja Uttanpad, Raja Vikramaditya etc serve as important reservoir of information related to folk culture of that period or for tracing the genealogies of the kings. These folktales have to be reconstructed. Such a method is called as Historical-Reconstructional approach. But the veracity of such reconstructions is always doubtful.


31 Recorded in cassettes.

32 Recorded in cassettes.
Sometimes the folktale can be instrumental in motivating people to raise a voice against the oppressed. This approach is ideological where “Folklore is an echo of the past, but at the same time it is also the vigorous voice of the present.”

In some stories, the researcher could find a latent desire of the protagonist to commit incest. These folk narratives can be analysed from a psychoanalytical angle. For instance, in the story “Bhagat Puranmal” \(^{33}\), his stepmother is sexually attracted to him. She asks him for sexual favours. He refuses. Incensed, she complains to her husband that his son has tried to harm her modesty. The father of Bhagat Puranmal gets infuriated at his son’s immodest and unexpected behavior. At once, he issues orders for slaying his son. He gets him butchered after he is falsely made to believe of Puranmal’s wrong intentions towards his stepmother.

In the myth of Oedipus, one finds a superlative illustration of the mythical narrative that expresses the dark suppressed desires and drives of children grown to adults. A boy-child loves his mother incestuously and dreams of slaying his father.

Sigmund Freud depended heavily on myths and fairy tales, jests and superstitions to support his explorations of the subconscious. In his, ‘Interpretation of Dreams’ \(^{34}\), he presented his thesis that dreams express the latent repressed wishes and fears of infantile sexuality in symbolic disguises. The dreams could be equated with myths and other kinds of folklore. The same psychological mechanisms operated in dreams and myths and were subjected to the same interpretation. If the dream uncovered the infantile desires of one human being, myths revealed psychic repressions of the childhood. Such mechanisms as condensation, elaboration and substitution transformed the childish, half-forgotten sexual urges into objects and images taken from daily life. Properly understood and logically arranged, the symbolic figures told a story of sexual hunger, guilt and shame.

The Freudian pairs of opposites – male or female, phallus and vagina – recur in Jung in metaphysical rather than nakedly sexual terms: conscious-unconscious, life-death, God-Satan. He theorises two psychological types – extrovert and introvert and four subtypes - thinking, feeling, intuition and sensation. By the “collective unconscious” Jung had in mind a deeper layer behind the “personal unconscious” recognized by Freud. All men shared the collective unconscious whose contents Jung called ‘archetypes’. But the archetypes

\(^{33}\) Recorded in cassettes

themselves represented form rather than content. Archetyral dream images emerged from a master mould of the collective unconscious and sometimes became associated with the contents of the personal unconscious, like dual nature of mythical figures in Mother Goddesses like The Sitala Mata.\textsuperscript{35} Jung used further terms to describe the composition of the individual persona to denote his public or professional role and anima to denote his feminine principles, and animus to denote male principle in women. The anima mediated in archetypes between the conscious and the unconscious.

The folktales can also have a structural basis for their classification. There are various theories which can be instrumental in analyzing folktales from structural perspective. Foremost, Anti Aarne classified the folktales on the basis of dramatis personae. Later, this approach was countered by Propp, who is referred to as “father figure” by Dorson, of this approach. He classified folktales according to thirty-one functions, which were a constant factor in the folktales. The action episodes followed a fixed sequential pattern. There is another method stated by Claude Levi Strauss. He focuses on the narrative structure of the myth to construct the morphology of the folktale. Dorson states that, “These are the two basic structural analysis for which Dundes proposed the terms – paradigmatic and syntagmatic, since Levi Strauss aims at a paradigm or conceptual framework behind the myth while Propp considers the syntax, so to speak, of the tale.”\textsuperscript{36}

The structural classification of the Haryanvi folknarrative has not been specifically attempted by the researcher. The Haryanvi fantasy tale structure like ‘Sīlāhr Pari’ or ‘The Lazy Fairy’\textsuperscript{37} or “The Magic Boots”\textsuperscript{38} follow Propp’s, Strauss’s, Dundes’s structural classifications.

There is yet another approach where the performance of the storyteller is the guiding factor in the construction of themes and structure of the oral folk narrative. Dorson quotes the chief proponents, Milman Pary and Albet Lord, of this Oral formulaic approach, ” In studying oral epic with a mind to distinguish it from written epic, the factors which we have found of most help thus far have been the formula, which involve a study of the line,

\textsuperscript{35} Recorded in cassettes.


\textsuperscript{37} Recorded in cassettes.

\textsuperscript{38} ibid.
enjambement, which involves a study of the way in which one line is linked with another, and
the theme, which involves a study of the structure of the poem as a whole.\textsuperscript{39}

The process of ongoing evolution in nature has also conditioned the survival of
cultures at various points of time. The resultant cultures have undergone enormous amount of
interaction with each other and sustained themselves. The present day surviving cultures are
believed to be reservoirs of primitive beliefs and ancient sacrificial fertility rituals. If one
studies a folktale reconstructing its cultural pool from time immemorial, it is termed a
‘Cross-Cultural’ approach. All myths and all folklore contain cultural pluralism where every
culture contains its own ‘inner harmonies’ and its own ‘expressive styles’. In Haryana, each
district has its uniqueness in folk culture yet all are harmonized together to represent Haryana
as one pluralistic society.

In ‘Folk-Cultural’ approach, Dorson explains, ”one looks out for emotional and
cultural role in folk-aesthetic, relation of folk arts to popular arts, defining regional areas of
folk culture, the interaction between the movement of ideas and of objects, the satisfactions
of material culture in a world of mass technology.” A student of folklore will show an
increasing urge to follow it.

Herman Bausinger, moved from the romantic search for antiquarian survivals and
inclined himself towards the modern life. Bausinger asserts pointedly that, “We no longer
believe that industrialization necessarily implies the end of a specific folk culture, but rather
we attempt to trace the modifications and mutation undergone by folk culture in the
industrialized and urbanized world.”\textsuperscript{40} He is expressing the idea leading us to a new approach
called as “Mass Cultural” approach.

They research about the social effects of tourism, voluntary associations, small-scale
arts and crafts producers, the urban folksong revival, popular theater, mass literature and
holiday customs. Dorson states, “They seek to trace continuities from a living past to a vital


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present, and scorns relics, survivals and archaisms. The folk art of yesteryears serve as a tourist attraction in the present times.

Folklore scholars in 1960s have reinterpreted the opposition between the mass and the folk cultures. They have begun to see interpenetration instead of confrontation. Ethnic and rural folk pour into the cities; adjust in varying ways to the urban tempo and struggle to maintain their folk identities. The city is indeed increasingly a conglomeration of folk societies, as the middle classes flee town for the suburbs, and the ghetto takes over. So too do the omnivorous mass media of t.v., films etc. The telephone now becomes an instrument to hold together a dispersing ethnic group, and a channel for not only communication but also performance.

In “Hemispheric” approach, the folklore is analyzed with respect to its ethnic-racial and historical ingredients, to examine closely the “processes of syncretion, adaptation, acculturation, retention, accommodation, revitalization, recursion, and disappearance” that determines its ultimate product.

A ‘Contextual’ approach requires a strong preoccupation with the ‘environment’ in which the folkloric text is embedded and an ‘emphasis on theory’. Dorson analyses, “From linguists they have drawn the concept of verbal behavior, from anthropology of functionalism, from sociology of role-playing, from psychology of ego mechanisms and they seek to apply these perspectives to the folklore traditions.”

This is the approach that is being followed in the field of folklore research today. I have tried to toe the contextual line of thought for the interpretation and analysis of my fieldwork data. Other collateral approaches that have been mentioned, have also been taken into account, according to the need of the analysis.

42 ibid
43 Ibid.
The classification of Haryanvi folk narrative so far has been arbitrary. The types that are mentioned by Haryanvi folklorists do not cover the entire corpus of themes. I have found Linda D’egh classification of folk tales aptly suiting to the Haryanvi folktales.

In Complex Tales, the first to be considered is the Magic Tale (Types 300-749). The Haryanvi magic tale such as Magic Boots, the Lazy Pari etc follows the Aarne-Thompson typology of ordering the types according to their supernatural focus:

Supernational Adversaries – Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relative – Supernatural Tasks – Supernatural Helpers – Magic Objects – Supernatural Power and knowledge.

It centers on man’s fascination with supernatural adventures. These tales are about an ordinary human being’s encounter with the suprahuman world and his becoming endowed with qualities that enable him to perform supernatural acts.

Each such tale is an adventure story with a single protagonist. The protagonist career starts in the dull and miserable world of reality. Then, all of a sudden, he is involved with the supernatural world and challenges the mortal, who undertakes his long voyage to happiness.

The Haryanvi religious tales like the “Story of Lord Shiva” in the Aarne-Thompson catalogue are divided into four topical groups:


In the Novella, the protagonist and the antagonist are humans and the fantastic element is limited except for the divinity and the devil. The themes of the novella in Haryanvi folknarrative are more adventurous, pathetic, and sentimental. There is more emphasis on human qualities like cleverness, wit, wisdom, trickery, endurance, and patience than on heroism. The Aarne-Thompson index divides its topics as follows:

44 Recorded in cassettes.

The Animal Tale (Types 1-299) is a short narrative that contains the adventures of the animal that is its principal character. While almost all of the actors are animals, they act as human beings and their world is analogous to the human world.

The Haryanvi animal tales like The He-Wolf and the She-Wolf, The Bular and the Bulari, The He-Frog and the She-Frog, in The Aarne-Thompson index can be classified according to the species of animals:


The Haryanvi language has an innate humour in its speech. Many a time, it has a double meaning structure that limits its audience. The joke is an extremely succinct, polished form of folkloric expression.

The Anecdote is characterized by representative personal episodes. The literary anecdote is printed and the folk anecdote is oral, but both revolve around historical personalities and local happenings. Due to its gossip-like formlessness, the quality of the anecdote as a folk narrative is seldom recognized. It includes all kinds of comical episodes about memorable witty sayings, travel, work, adventures accidents, and so on. The researcher could gather many interesting anecdotes during her process of fieldwork collections.

Numskull stories mocks the stupid acts of a whole community. This technique brings the numskull stories close to the anecdote. In Haryanvi folktales, the chamars have been made the butt of laughter because of their habits of forgetfulness and other idiosyncrasies of their community.

In the preface to the second edition of his Deutsche Mythologie, Jacob Grimm declared, “The Fairy-Tale is with good reason distinguished from the legend, through by turns they play into one another. Looser, less fettered than legend, the fairy-tale lacks that local habitation, which hampers the legend, but makes it the more home like. The fairy-tale fly, the legend walks, knocks at your door; the one can draw freely out of the fullness of
poetry, the other has almost the authority of history. As the fairy-tale stands related to the legend, so does legend to history, and so does history to real life".\textsuperscript{45}

The legend is extremely variable, reacting sensitively to local and immediate needs that modify and reformulate both the narratives and the messages they communicate. The legend, is more local than the tale, more likely to develop local patterns in spite of its tendency to migrate and spread cross-culturally. The reason for telling a legend is basically not to entertain but to educate people, to inform them about an important fact or to warn them against danger. Linda D’egh clarifies, “While the folk tale hero is blindly guided by advice and tasks, the man in the legend acts according to his own initiative and satisfies his hunger for acquiring knowledge about the unknown.”\textsuperscript{46}

Folklorists in the wake of the Grimm brothers distinguished three kinds of legends: local, etiological, and historical. In view of the role legends play in society, this distinction does not always make sense. All three elements can be present in the same story, which may be attached to a certain locality, may mention an historical character, and may conclude by explaining a natural phenomenon.

Legends do not seem to wither under the impact of urban life. On the contrary, they appear to be the hardest of folk narrative forms, not only in adjusting easily to modern conditions but by generating new types based on the most up-to-date issues of contemporary life. The legends of today do not belong solely to the backward, uneducated layers of the population.

We are no longer so concerned with functional changes produced by traditional folk communities or with ethnic changes due to the diffusion of narratives – it is rather with the ‘degenerative’ and ‘regenerative’ process that occurs as genres lose their old meaning and are reformulated to fit new social settings. In the industrial communitites in Haryana many of the traditional forms have survived because they are given a new meaning. The legends and the jokes that enjoy the greatest popularity in these industrial societies react sensitively to


individual attitudes toward belief and humor; and variants of the same story may now be a legend, now a joke. As folklorists leave behind the old confines of traditional society and pursue folk narrative as it steps out of the straitjacket of genre categories, they realize how narration can be an immediate reflection of culture. Modern life changes the picture all around; folklorists scrutinize new sources and new processes such as the 'reduction, replacement, and the reinforcement' \(^47\) of old forms.

The folktales categorised as the true stories have a similar pattern. They have a loose and flexible framework of the everyday stories, yet they follow the trend of the more established genres. They use devices such as “threefold repetition, dramatized dialogues, and endings signaled with a bang”. \(^48\) These true stories grow out of reminiscences of the past, and events, hearsay, rumour, gossip, and personal experiences of the present. They may be told in the first or the third person.

Many traditional narrators in Haryana have immense ability to incorporate intricate novellas into their life histories. Besides the old-time village chroniclers and diary writers, folklorists prefer the personal experience stories when lives have changed from a rural to an urban set up, as they move from traditional isolation into a pluralistic environment of the city. These are categorized as autobiographical stories.

The Haryanvi women favour the themes of love, marriage ritual, intimate sexual relationships, child-rearing, family life, and grievances, whereas men prefer telling about their heroic deeds, how they challenge and eventually beat up their bosses and how they excel in military service. The obscene, humorous, and horror stories are less subject to improvisation. They continue a more established tradition, but are greatly influenced by mass media.

There are narratives shared by uprooted and relocated people of Haryana in their new community of compatriots of other states. These contain both labour reminiscences and their life stories. These have been termed as emigrant and immigrant epics.


\(^48\) ibid
Since folk literature depends on its own cultural climate, modern folk stories are influenced by the most important features of modern life mobility and mass communication. Easy travel opportunities and immediate informations on world affairs have made folk communities more cosmopolitan than ethnic. Ubiquitous reading matter in the form of novels, magazines, and newspapers, and audio-visual media of radio, TV, and movies have to be considered as important sources of folk narration. The retelling and the passing on of the plots of novels, movies, and television shows deserve the attention of the scholar folk narrative.

Local, folk traditions need not be derived from a great tradition, nor be independent of each other, as is often assumed. Instead, they may be linked through their own network. The volatile energy in Haryanvi folk narratives or other folk traditions poses a psychic counterpoint. In folk traditions, a woman may express her rage, but she is also controlled, through ritual, often through the process of deification. This is why the heroines of folk epics become deified virgins, the folk Sita is likened to village goddesses, sisters must play the game in a ritual setting, and strong women in the bow songs become goddesses. In the face of such apparent inconsistencies, we need new ways of conceptualizing the folk/classical continuity. One possibly suggested by recent research is to view folk and classical traditions as coexistent and available (in varying degrees) to everyone.

This balance between restraint and expression is only one type of equilibrium found in Haryanvi folklore. Another type is the ethical balance. The most salient theme is that of the inferior who triumphs over a larger foe. At the present time in Haryana, classical, folk, and popular forms may coexist in a single genre.

Westernization today affects all three forms, but most obviously the popular: its technical processes are "borrowed" from the West. Tape recorders, videos and printed tales, with their different conceptions of factuality and accuracy, are new forces in folklore. Even the scholarly study of folklore, including the identification of folklore as such, is the result of Westernization.
Folklore and History

As someone remarked, "History celebrates the battlefields whereon we meet our death, but scorns to speak of the ploughed fields whereby we thrive; it knows the names of the king's bastards, but cannot tell us the origin of wheat."49

My arguments are not based on the belief that folklore contains accurate and reliable representations of past behaviours, beliefs or events. The reliability of folklore for historical information has been the subject of often contentitious arguments. The approach seeks to move beyond this problem. Folklore is not the only field where a concern with historical accuracy is problematic. Archeology too gives us the past as perceived and interpreted in present. Neither field can be relied upon to tell us about the actual past. However, folklore does give us a broader understanding of the past as perceived, remembered, and made significant by both past and present groups of people.

The goal of archaeology is not to reconstruct the one true past, but to develop rich and sensitive interpretations, in order to make the past intelligible in the present. Many such interpretations and understandings of the past are possible.

Folklore studies, on the other hand, moved from treating folklore as a historical artifact, to classifying and describing folk genres and behaviours, and then to analytical approaches which drew from anthropological, psychological and literary significance of the creation and transmission of folk material.

In considering the relationships between folklore and history both folklorists and historians have long debated questions about the historical accuracy of traditional accounts. Do traditional stories encompass ‘true’ histories of past events, or do they represent survivals of ancient rituals? Are they, instead, unreliable as sources of history because they have been subject to influence of succeeding events and changes? or are they simply recent inventions? However, it is argued that discussion of whether folklore arises from actual historical events involves a persistent delusion that history and folklore are necessarily joined, that historical events cannot be fully understood without understanding the ‘attitudes and actions of real

49 Anonymous
men and women' that are found in folklore, and that folklore can’t be fully understood without understanding the historical circumstances of its creation and transmission.

Contemporary folklorists recognize that folklore is the active and creative aspect of tradition, and that change is important in the creations of folklore. It could be added that folklore itself can become a powerful historical force.

Folklore cannot be accepted on face value as portraying factual truths about the past. But neither can it be rejected as false. Like other items of culture, folklore speaks with many voices and accrues over its history.

I have factored my topic into five chapters which have been briefly summarized as follows. Chapter 1, The Status of Folklore Discourse, deals with the status of folklore discourse till present date. It has a general orientation and not state specific. The various approaches for dealing with the collected data are discussed. The various tale genres - types and motifs, framework, figures of speech, formulaic verbal sequences, repetition have been discussed. A general categorization of Haryanvi folktales have been represented as – complex tales (magic tale, religious tale, romantic tale/novella), simple tales (animal tale, jokes and anecdotes, numskull stories) legend tales (etiological legends, historical legends, supernatural or mythical legends, religions legends), true experience stories (labor reminiscences, autobiographical stories, emigrant and immigrant epics). Folktales serve as a source for the study of prehistory. The issues of reliability, collective identity, multiple past are dealt with. The importance and methodology of field work has been elaborately taken up.

In chapter 2, the Conditioning of Gender , comes the issue of gender and gendering in Haryanvi folk narratives .The issue becomes all the more important in a state with the least sex ratio among all states. The problem is compounded when the facts reveal even a darker picture in various fields. This signals a headlong fall for this marginalized section. The fair sex has been meted with a rather unfair treatment. In the process of Haryanvi folk narrative production, every story component and every analytic process is fundamentally conditioned by gender. The reception of tales is equally sensitive to gender issues.

Further discussed will be the most important social problem faced by its residents-the caste bias. Though forming only a miniscule 3% of all the existing communities, the jat factor has lately acquired dimensions of not less than a phenomenon. Openly promoted by ruling political parties it has proved to be a bane for the image of the state. In the folktales, the
caste-affinity factor, has been represented on a large scale. Holi, the festival of colour, includes fire rituals and religious obligations such as symbolic burning of Holika, sister of Hirayanakashyapu. The structure and performance of this festival suggests that it makes a strong attempt at reversing, highly symbolically, the rigid barriers of social structure, kinship roles, and hierarchies; albeit temporarily. This inversion of the social roles is quite perfectly accomplished with the help of the very symbolic objects, acts or attitudes, having social sanction which maintains these barriers, roles and hierarchies. For example, more often than not, it is the colour (as a marker of race, community, gender, status etc.) which provides symbolic social sanction, to the maintenance of different social hierarchies. It is with the help of colour only, that these hierarchies and roles are reversed symbolically; and an imaginative world is created in which everyone looks one and the same.

The aesthetics of translating the various forms of Haryanvi dialect, i.e Khari boli, bangru will be dealt with in fourth chapter. This task of translating from one language into another will serve as a means to let the world know of these people in their real selves. Also visible will be the process of inter-cultural transmission i.e. translating one culture into a language intelligible to the others.

The fifth chapter deals with the study of folktales in postcolonial perspective. The issues like folklore, national and politics of survival; questions of ethnicity and identity; narration and narrator; question of authorship; authority and authenticity of tradition; myth, history and folklore; the various interfaces of folklore with city, industry, mass media pose important questions in terms of theoretical and methodological considerations. It reveals the direction in which the folklore is advancing in the beginning of twenty first century. The chapter would try to answer the questions like how do the political oral narratives serve as the authentic discourse of victimization and migration? How do the politics of the outlaw who survive in good reputation as heroes in oral tradition, presents the discourse of protest and voices of the deprived? How do the victims try to reconquer personal and social space- “power” in Foucault’s sense-with the aid of narrative strategies? What is the new emerging pattern and relevance of folk heroes in the contemporary world of today? These novel and contemporary thematic and cultural patterns will be dealt with in close comparision with their antique counterparts as members of this legacy of oral tradition. The question of how far this intra cultural mechanism of Haryanvi oral tradition move beyond the borders thereby resulting in inter cultural infiltration with the border states will also be researched upon.
The fieldwork provided me with firsthand knowledge of my state’s culture, and at the same time reviewed my earlier understanding of its culture. If cultural anthropology has to approximate its objectives as a science of man, or if it has to attain the stage of making significant generalizations concerning the conditions of the cultural process and the values of civilization, the comparative studies of cultures and their values must be made with a view to demonstrating universal principles of cultural dynamics and concrete rational norms capable of universal realization. Cultural anthropologists and ethnologists tend to describe complete cultural performances, particularly the major rites and ceremonies of the life cycle; and folklorists and linguists generally concentrate on textual and thematic analysis of the oral tradition. Therefore, in order to have a greater understanding of the folk culture, an assimilation of all these approaches is very essential. The study of folk culture and oral tradition is complementary to all other; one cannot be fully understood in the absence of the other. In order to understand the role of oral tradition in man’s life, we must have more knowledge of the culture and cultural behaviour of the people. Oral tradition includes portrayals of the details of ceremonies, institutions and technology as well as expressions of beliefs and attitudes. In addition to depicting the life of a people, it also reveals much about their aspirations, values and goals. It is with this viewpoint that the study of folk culture and oral tradition has been combined in this research effort.

The researcher found her primary data from fieldwork and archives. Data available from sources such as story books, the web, antiquarian, local historians has not been considered.

The researcher has recorded in cassettes the folktales from majority of the regions in Haryana like Sundara, Jhagroli in Mohindergarh district, Gannaur in Sonipat district, Rohtak, Hassi in Hissar, district Kurukshetra, etc. They have been transcribed in the Haryanvi language in its various dialects. The researcher has considered most of the folk narratives from her fieldwork collections for analytic study and interpretation. A few apart from printed sources are from Dr Puranmal Gaur’s, a renowned educationist, folklorist and social


worker, unpublished theses have also been referred to, as it is the only authentic source I could locate on the cultural study of Haryanvi folk narratives.

The use of printed sources should not raise doubts as to the validity of the research because the methodology of fieldwork began only in the nineteenth century. To provide historical antecedents for contemporary specimens of oral and material culture, one can combine earlier authentic printed records. If you ask a question such as 'what happens to the oral tradition when it gets written down and put in a book? Does it not come to an end?' The answer is no. The narrator, the singer and the craftsman keep on with their traditional ways whether or not their words and works have been brought to the attention of the sophisticated audience. Few of the thousands of streams of oral & craft tradition are ever sliced off into print in any case. Thus, printed and oral texts do not necessarily compete with each other, but may act in conjunctions, in a mutually stimulating camaraderie, as stated in the beginning.

Much research has been done in the field of Indian folklore studies by foreigners and Indians as well. My research will be looking at the Haryanvi folktales by contextualizing them in contemporary discourses, this being undertaken for the first time ever.

Fieldwork: Role of Collector

As a beginner, my mind was haunted with fears of self doubt in dealing with a recent discipline like folk narratives especially in context of Haryana. Being from native stock and active visitor of the proposed area of operations though knew a good deal already—local people, local colour but not all. Still in most of the areas I had been a complete outsider. Nevertheless demanding preparations had been the order of each day of my field work.

The research begins at the desk itself in the library and in the archives I made myself familiar with the research in the concerned area collected in the past with useful background information gleaned from histories and guide books. It had become imperative for me to familiarize myself with existing patterns and theories of classification.

Being an aspiring collector it was expected of me to have good basic knowledge about how to set about my task before I entered my field—a truly functional situation. The true functional situations of storytelling episodes have become remote, have been taken over by some tradition bearers who through the excellence of memory and interest are able to record them but now lack an audience.
I, donning the hat of story teller collector, took due consideration of the following points

- How to set about extracting the information
- Systematic pattern of questionnaires which were memorized to maintain continuity with the informant
- Some knowledge of the stories text of songs, proverbs, riddles to be used as a "bait" (Sean O' Sullivan)
- The sophisticated recording machinery- tape recorder (Sony) for utmost accuracy
- Some paper work like the note making, transcription, documentation of recordings etc
- Biographing my relatives was a good way to prospect for good stories from them (Richard Dorson)
- Majority of my field work could be termed as team effort where in my father, my brother helped me not only in my collections but also to deal with tricky situations because of their familiarity with local flavor (Richard Dorson)

I have undertaken a close reading of all the primary text i.e. the original Haryanvi folktales to chart out the Haryanvi world of ideas they represent. I have conducted interviews of both the storytellers and audiences. I also participated in the daily life rituals, ceremonies, and the festivals of the concerned places for a comprehensive understanding of the customs, traditions, practices and intra-family and inter-caste relations prevalent among them. The data on oral tradition, values, attitudes, beliefs, knowledge and superstitions, religion and magic etc. was collected through informal and often group interviews.

The various skills required on the field as documented by Richard Dorson, which I tried to take care of could be stated as:

- Extensive fieldwork increased my familiarity with the Haryanvi culture
- Use of archives, but the state does not offer vast resources in this respect
- Use of folk museum like at Kurukshetra, whose artifacts of material culture correspond to the texts & tunes in the archives
- Bibliographic Details
- Use of indices such as Stith Thompson, the Aarne-Thompson type-index etc
- Technique of annotating, whereby folklorist documents the traditional pedigree of the text
- Terminology using familiar words laden with ambiguity, fairy tale, legend & myth, esoteric terms to express elusive & subtle concepts underlying the genres of folklore

- Use of printed sources

- International communication must establish connections with the world wide fraternity of folklorists

- History of folkloristics

- Sufficient familiarity with literature to investigate uses of folklore, with anthropology to explore the road of folklore to culture, and with history to comprehend the historical validity of oral tradition

The field situations were thickly strewn with imponderables: the state of tradition, community, the member and quality of the potential informants, their age and state of their health: whether they are early or late bedders, their readiness to cooperate, the nature of their work, the season of the year, the weather, whether there are visitor or children in a house, whether it is possible to record informants undisturbed or in a genuine manageable, informant-audience situation. The question of how to behave and what to wear was also important as not to outrage the susceptibility of the popular, as Dorson suggests, “it is self-defeating to allow oneself open to ridicule or ostracism”. I acted in the manner best suited to the people’s idiosyncrasies.

Positioning of the microphone is another important thing. Dorson suggests a distance of 2 feet is ideal provided informant is not disturbed by such close proximity.

Recording was done with the minimum amount of interference possible with normal household arrangements. It is a great advantage, if one can arrange, without undue artificiality, to isolate the informant in a room that is undisturbed by normal household activities.

Even one serious visit to a tradition-rich area ought to be enough to convince any reasonable observer that the ‘folk’ are people anywhere and that the best tradition bearers are truly remarkable and talented individuals. These men and women who have given so freely of their time, their enthusiasm, and their unique and remarkable, artistry and scholarship seem to me entitled to the same sort of consideration, courtesy and respect as the literacy artist and scholar anywhere.
In a largely undocumented peasant culture these people were not only my artists and historians they were also the live books and manuscripts that enshrine the materials and much of the scholarship.

The initial response of the villagers had not been that encouraging because they doubted the value of the task that I had undertaken. But the rapport and friendship established was then maintained. My return visits were almost always welcome. These tradition carriers, once stimulated had recollected something to offer me by the next visit and so on. The process then had started.

I documented my data properly to be useful in folklore studies, that is, accurate data available concerning data and place of collection, the name and background of the informant.

The medium of geographical method in folk life may be representation of items by cartographical means and therefore a way of looking at these items in their regional surroundings and location. I have included some basic maps about political frontiers, geographical, religious, historical development, occupations of the population towns, industries et al.

It is our duty rather to record details of their life, their skills, their homes, their fields, their customs, their speech, and their leisure activities. The student of folklife searches for the key to the world of ordinary people; she attempts to throw light on their astonishingly ill-documented day-to-day life.

"Folklife is a new approach to the investigation and understanding of human social organization. It aims to coordinate the information resulting from other disciplines but there is also the added task of investigating and recording aspects of human society that hitherto have been beyond the scope of those individual studies." 52

Folklife is therefore, an holistic approach to the study of an organic community and it will live down "the doubtful overtones of the world folk because it offers a very valuable method of studying a society at this point in history." 53 The very word "bygones" denotes a wrong attitude to the subject, for in studies concerned with the study of man as a cultural

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being, with "his mental, spiritual and material struggle towards civilization", such a struggle will not tolerate any arbitrary amputation in time or approach. "One wonders why a nineteenth century carpenter's brace should be described by some museums as "bygone" while a Bronze Age pot is met for surely both are elements in man's struggle for ever greater efficiency. One wonders too how a nineteenth century cooper's inside shave can be termed a "bygone" while if the same tool were to be excavated from a Roman site it is no longer "a bygone" but an archeological specimen, and it is certainly not "a bygone" when it is seen in constant use in a cooper's shop in the nearest brewery." 54 The case for folklife studies may therefore be restated to say that it is not merely concerned with the collector of material objects. Such a collection is useless unless a student is prepared to go further and discover the social organization, the economic conditions, and the lore and culture associated with these objects.

The material objects in a folk collection should contribute to a understanding of the community that is being studied; collection is not an end in itself, but merely the means of reaching the people to whom these material objects had the meaning of everyday things.

All cultural landscapes are the product of time. The prehistoric ages are far longer than the historic. For large parts recorded history is no more than a few centuries, old at most. Even so, it rarely chronicles the folkways of mankind. 55