Life during the Partition: A Literary Geographic Narrative of Rahi Masoom Raza's *Adha Gaon* and Bhshma Sahni's *Tamas*

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PROLOGUE

People have always moved from one place to others. Normally such movements are voluntary but not always. There are several instances, in our memorable past, of mass migrations to evade perceived prosecutions in the name of racial/ ethnic cleansing, etc. a few of these experiences, especially of the modern times, are well-documented and attracted people with the human(e) sensitiveness belonging to the academia and non-academia too. The partition of India in 1947 is one such major event in the modern history of South Asia. Though this exercise was political giving birth to three nations out of one in due course, its implications are far more wider probably encompassing whole gamut of the South Asian life. It solved seeds of mutual hatred, mistrust, and so on into the hearts and minds of an average Indian Pakistani, and later on Bangladeshi. That way it has been the dividing line in the geography, polity, history, economy, and real lives too. The transition along this line can by no measure termed smooth upheavals were enormous: more than what is required to make us mad. The present attempt is to re-read and (re)explore its effects on the geographic and socio-cultural spaces by mapping the daily life experiences as narrated in Rahi Masoom Raza's Adha Gaon ('half village') and Bhishm Sahni's Tamas ('darkness'). Raza tries to capture the dynamics of rural life consisting Hindu and Muslims in his canvass; whilst Sahni covers the landscapes of urban scene. This essay consists following major sections - perspectives on Partition, life in Adha Gaon ('half village'), life in (urban) Tamas ('darkness'), and the concluding remarks.

Perspective on Partition

The partition's problem assumes significance for turning the course of South Asian geography, history, and polity in an unprecedented manner. Visiting and re-visiting this problem new process continues till today; of course the perspectives are different. Some of us try to locate the factors responsible and try to evaluate the pros and cons and fix the onus on one force on the other(s), others may look at political and economic (re)organisation at regional level, and yet another group tries to pen down experiences and emotions interwoven with the "real happenings' which marked the Partition time.

Through Partition got effected through constitutional provisions and it was made a reality in mid-August 1947, the partition-engineering had begun long back when languages were used for estimating the number of persons belonging to different religious groups. Two natural consequences of this effort could be seen – first, the crystallisation of religious identities in the sphere of public life, and second probably, was language got linked with religion and thus forming the basis of politics in the years to follow. It was also the beginning of a new political culture that sustains on linguistic parochialism, religious fundamentalism, and the very fact of religio-linguistic division (?). the processes which led to the Partition point were failure to secular joint 9after the series of 1920s riots0, the Lahore Resolution of Muslim League articulating for a separate Muslim nation based on the (in)famous two-nations theory, the failure of Cripps Mission (1942), lack of enough contention by the Congress to the British recognition of Muslim League representation of the Muslims, and the considerable electoral success of the

Muslim League in 1946 (cf the writings on the modern Indian history, e.g. Sarkar, 1983, and Singh, ed. 2000).

The job of drawing 'the dividing line' was assigned to the British cartographer Cyril Radcliffe. The critics understood him as 'a man without the understanding of the composite culture of India' (Ravikant and Saint, 2001: xii). Accomplishment of this task broke a singular geographical entity into three pieces and led to several (re)organisations internally as well as externally. This division of geographic space, though based on the socio-cultural divide already existing, further deepened the divide – people were scary of living in "other's" territory. And, hence, their hearths and homes for last several generations were abandoned overnight; of course, with a hitch and a (distant desirous0 hope to return to feel 'that' warmth. Waves of forcefully displaced undertook a journey to unknown destinations to live like destitute, if they could survive mass murders, pains of forceful conversions, and the traumas of rapes!

Literatures covered the public and private spaces and have narrated public frenzy and personal fears with superb skills. Consequently a whole genre of 'partition Literature' came into being. Some of the literatures had directly received the Partition wounds, some others got affected somewhat indirectly, and yet another created/crafted Partition fiction. While historians mainly 're-produce and mainstream versions' of the Partition; literary images capture less dominant spaces occurring simultaneously and playing stronger roles in retention/ demolition/ re-creation of landscapes at local levels. Many analytical studies of the Partition literature appeared in the last century (cf. ibid.) throwing light on people, society, and polity. The two novels selected here depict experiences in two regional settings in North India. *Adha Gaon* capturing Indian side's state of affairs and *Tamas* narrates communal frenzy on the other side.

Life in the Adha Gaon

Rahi Masoom Raza (birth 1-9-1927, and death 15-3-1992), RMR, has written extensively on Hindu-Muslim relations in Hindi-Urdu with equal authority. His famous novel *Adha Gaon* ('half village'), first published in 1966, has run into several editions and reprinted many a times. It is a window into innocent rustic Indian countryside's lifeworld undergoing continuity and change. It tells the story of a co-inhabited (by Muslim-Hindu) village Gangauli and tries to map the Muslim mindset, attitudes and behaviour during the Partition (and beyond) – their apprehensions about our position in divided India in the process of cultural renewal and social reconstruction. Selection of this novel has been made as it unravels Muslims' equal love for their soil and country India, and also the story of village India in transition. Gangauli's geographical and social organisation highlights the over-riding caste concerns in the Indian society.

The organisation of geographical and social space in Gangauli highlights the over-riding caste concerns in the Indian society. The dominant caste (groups) occupy the central position and the weaker sections stay in the village periphery. The village landscape also consists of an old indigo factory, called *godam*, a pond nearby, and a *mazar* (cf. Fig. 2). The social life is centred around the landlords whose might and influence seem to be losing grounds gradually.

Social relation(s) in rural life

It is universally found that the social organisation in rural areas is based on the agrarian relations. This scenario is rather strongly exemplified in the Indian case wherein the status of an individual is defined in terms of access to land (and its ownership) and the social hierarchical order to which s/he belongs. That individual status determine(d) social relations s/he gets into. Actually there is greater correspondence between caste based hierarchical social order and the

distribution of operational land-rights. Consequently, almost as a rule, landed classes have always been high castes, including the upper sections of the Muslim society (cf. Ahmad, 1999: 45-57).

AG appears to be an affirmation of the existing social order that determined the terms, conditions and the nature of social interaction in day to day life of Gangauli, at large. One can consider:

"Naeema grand-ma was after all Julahin ('lady of weavers' caste') and could not live with Saiyeed -womenfolk. People of older generation were very mindful of who can sit where and where not". (AG p. 8)

The dos and donots are so commonly practised and strictly followed that even a young child is quite mindful of it:

"She fed me that *pan*. That was amazingly good -- that melted instantly into my mouth. But Tomy after all was a whore, therefore the idea that perhaps I made a mistake by eating up a *pan* of her started bothering me. Hence I ran away from that place" (AG p. 13).

AG contains several instances of clearly perceptible social paradox. At many places the author indirectly ridicules the behaviour of the characters concerned, e.g. the case of Jhangatiabo Sulaiman-cha. Jhanpatia-bo is from the castes of Chamars. Her husband died of pox and thereafter Sulaiman-cha brought her home as kept. She also mothered his three children. Sulaiman-cha was a religious man, because of that he could not use any wet thing touched by her as she was from a low-caste (!). Jhangatia-bo is always treated as untouchable (cf. AG pp. 33-34; 49; 108). Naeema-bi herself was a weaver caste woman, but in front of Jhangatia-bo she used to become a pure Saiyeedani; and, would take revenge of the treatment, she had from other Saiyeedanis, from her (AG, p. 111). Jhangatia-bo accepts such treatment without any resentment -- it is the true narration of the real interactions in the (Indian) Muslim society; although, Islam does not allow such discrimination. Much of the hue and cry on the purity of lineage is made particularly at the time of arranging marriages; albeit no family could claim the lineage purity in the strict sense. Entire novel is full of this problem.

Beside the caste based discriminatory behaviours, we come across relationship amongst and between the privileged and not so-privileged sections of the society. Scholars may find geographical exclusiveness in the distribution of land-owning castes (cf. Ahmad, 1999: 54), but equally important and true is the sense of competitiveness and arch rivalry within them. Such rivalries result in to blood clashes and legal conflicts, which become bases of unwarranted negative village politics (see AG, pp. 61-80). In some cases, enmity develops for the sake of (false) pride. The personality class between Zamindar Asharfullah Khan 'Asharaf' and Thakur Sahib of Nasirabad, was merely on the issue that who will deflower Gulabijan (cf. AG pp. 82-83), is one among several such instances.

Social continuity and change

Every society is vibrant, dynamic and progressive in its own way. So is the social world of Gangauli, which has maintained its continuity but could not help changes creeping in. The novelist rightly puts it, " and it is the story of time itself...." (AG p. 3). Some of the changes are blatant and pushed into from outside and some others are coming from within. Old generation of privileged section is resistant to the changes and not so-privileged section is open to them as new social order carries promises for a better future. Changes emerge clearly even in the celebrations and festivities; though difficult to verify the nature of such changes, direct role of people's attitude and involvement is eminent enough. Continuous observation of Muhrram; participation in the mandatory activities; and joking-laughing-love-sexual relationships, etc. that are forbidden during Muhrram, go on as ever. These are the shades of, social continuity. And, the change is manifested by appearance of the new performers. The children growing up take the new social roles in respective families and the society. Death of older people and occupancy of their 'spaces' by the children reminds the change –"this change had occurred by itself" (AG pp. 122-123). Jhangatia-bo sensing 'the shadow of loneliness on Mohrram' (AG p. 49), Masoom's observations, and Tannu who was returning home as Major Hasan noticed the gaiety of celebrations over and 'fashion knocking at the *matam* of Garigauli' (AG p.205) are a few examples.

With the political take-over in 1947, many previously existed socio-economic structures had to go. Zamindari being one of them; many Muslim landowners lost their land ownership rights and had to adopt new professions as Fussu Mian who had to start a shoe-shop (AG p.335). But all did not feel comfortable with such changes. Most reluctant and non-accepting among them is Hakim Ali Kabir (AG p.269, and 274). With the freedom struggle empowerment of weaker section and slashing down of elite's privileges went on simultaneously. The society in its composition remained the same; however, power-configuration clearly altered in favour of erstwhile not so-privileged classes. It is well illustrated by the character of Parusram (AG pp. 345-351).

As the consequence of communal partition of India, exodus of Muslims and Hindus from either side was a major event. Every Muslim family in Gangauli had to lose some one or the other on this account. On the other hand, quite a few went off to urban areas. Naturally, Gangauli faced loneliness. The warmth of relations got gradually replaced by fond memories of relatives who were not physically present there. Time thus was spent mostly on calling the cherished past. Saddan well finds 'village has changed from outside and from outside. In one hand, (change is) due to new brightness and hurly-burly and on the other hand for the deserted look. New constructions are coming up in one side and on the other side older ones are falling down' (AG p. 332).

Hindu-Muslim relation and the question of partition

AG truly attests and asserts the perfect communal harmony that exists in the Indian countryside, unless and until tampered with externally. This relation as narrated in the novel may be considered at two levels: one, the relationship between high caste Hindus (with land property) and second, the relationship between Muslim landlords and their low caste subjects. It needs clear mention here that being close associates in celebrations (even from outside) some elements of each other's faith and belief system have entered into either sides of the communal divide. Among the Shiah Muslims there is a general belief that a Kashmiri Brahmin had lost his life in Karbala, for that reason alone Immam visits Indian soil during Muhrram (see fn 3 in AG p.52). The examples of the Brahmin widow (AG pp.66-67) and Funnan Mian (AG p.75) are relevant here.

In the process of social discourse, Thakur Harnarayan Prasad Singh, the sub-inspector (in charge of Kasimabad thana) and Thakur Kunvarpal Singh were treated at par with by the Muslim zamindars and were given due honour. But, the same behaviour was not seen while their interaction with Jhinguriya or Gaya or Chikuriya or Sukhramava and the alike. These all belong to lower castes and are poor. Naturally they depended on the Muslim landlords for survival and were subjected to every possible exploitation against which they could not raise voice. Naturally, there was hardly any reason or situation to lead to communal disharmony or conflict. Our long association with a place develops into emotional bond we start loving that place and identifying ourselves with that place; no matter whether our ancestors lived there or not! Tuan (1974) terms it as '*topophilia*'. The AG mirrors the sentiments of topophilic Muslim inhabitants of Gangauli. Tannu's silent reflection "there is necessarily a relation of land with man otherwise mere the sight of ruined buildings, mud-houses and fragrance of black soil would not, have given happiness...." (AG pp. 225-226). And, for this topophilia for their mother Gangauli they flatly refuted the idea of Pakistan with ease and simple logic; but, their minds were not devoid of apprehensions -- a very natural thing that happens with all of us.

Hakim Ali Kabir appears as a strongvocal opponent of Pakistan. He did not argue only but also remained in Gangauli to breathe his last. He argues like a true patriot, "Fathersgrandfathers lived here. Our chowk imambara is here. ... Our honour-prestige is here! Who'll be concerned with Gangauli if not we" (see AG, p. 45). In fact the concept and theory of a separate country for Muslims as Pakistan was not commoners' concern. And, it appears that the whole movement was the creation of city based middle-class intelligentsia guided by the sole aim of safeguarding their interests. This belief is rightly endorsed by Funnan Mian, 'Pakistan-Akistan is the game to fill up (own) bellies' (AG, p.263). Sitara, one young countryside damsel exclaims, '-- and this damn Jinnah is what kind of a Shiah who is opposed to Hindustan' (AG, P.53). Funnan Mian, a rustic to the core of his heart, puts forth his arguments, 'O brother, fathers'-grandfathers' tomb is here, chowk imambara is here, our fields-farms are here. Am I a stupid to get influenced by your long live Pakistan....' (AG p. 155).

Mighdad, an young lad who lives independent of his parents, retorts, when asked whether he has any plan to go to Pakistan, 'I am not to go anywhere! Let those go who feel ashamed of their plough-oxen. I am only a farmer, Tannu brother. I am there, where my soil and farm are!' (AG p. .219). Unfortunately, all in the village do not share above views; they are the youths who see safe future for Muslims in the would be Pakistan. However, majority of Gangauli's Muslims are against Pakistan. We may end this section by quoting the following dialogue between black *shervani* clad pro-Pakistan volunteers, who were touring the Muslims' majority areas to convince them to vote for Pakistan in the ensuing plebiscite, and Tannu:

Tannu said, ".... You people have made Urdu a Muslim. ...You are instilling scare for life in us. We will have to harvest this crop fear. That makes me scary. I am not a voter. I am a Muslim. But I have love for this village, because I am this village. I love the indigo godown, this pond and these (un-metalled) paths, as these are my own forms. ...Allah is everywhere. Then how different is Gangauli and Mecca, and indigo godown and Kaba, and ..."

"People like you would sell the Hindustani Muslims down to the Hindus!", the black *shervani* got angry, 'Don't you feel ashamed! You are comparing holy Mecca with this rustic village?"

"Yes please, I am doing so!", said Tannu, "and I do not feel ashamed of it. And why should be ashamed I? Gangauli is my (sic) village. Mecca is not my town. It is my home and Kaaba is of Allah Mian.... Any thing built on the foundation of hatred and fear can never be auspicious. Even after the formation of Pakistan, Gangauli shall remain here in Hindustan and after all, Gangauli is Gangauli" (AG, pp.254-257).

Life in Tamas

A brief introduction. Bhishma Sahni (born 8 August 1915, died 11 July 2003) had been one of the prominent Partition writers. Beside his famous novel *Tamas* ('darkness'), published first in

1973, Sahni has authored many short stories related to the Partition. This novel begged Sahitya Academy award. The novel highlights the darkness ('*tamas*') of communal intolerance and riots, the handiwork of vested political interests, implemented by the innocents' involvement. How people are forced into bloody clashes and are subjected to series of sufferings is narrated vividly in it. Though the main body of the novel contains urban interactions, it also illustrates how the developments taking place in urban centres spread out into the surrounding countryside like jungle-fire and changing the sleepy villages more than happy in their routine monotony. *Tamas* is selected in the present picture as it strongly brings out the picture of 'other side' scene while India moved towards freedom and division minute by minute. It is a narrative of engineering social conflicts, peoples instant reactions and strategies to force the same, the then administration's attitude and response to such crises, exodus of people and their endless search of themselves.

Communal Relations

Despite having lived together (?) for centuries Hindus and Muslims do not trust each other. It is easy to find how insecured they feel in other's presence:

"Musalmaans have intruded into all localities/ neighbourhoods. This town has developed so haphazardly that Hindus and also Musalmaans live in every neighbourhood. Why to form neighbourhood committees – Musalmaans are informed of every bit of news. After 1926 riots, such two-third neighbourhoods got formed wherein Hindus have built houses, like Naya Muhalla, Rajpura, etc. which are exclusively of Hindus-Sikhs, else in all others Musalmaans are present" (*Tamas*, p. 64).

Whether we like it or no, accept it or not, interaction between these two communities rather all communities living in one geographical space becomes a necessity. Consequently, socio-cultural linkages develop and naturally they start living together. If we go by religious identities, in the perennially inhabited North Indian settlements almost every religious group is found inter-connected. The same is exemplified in the case of tailor Khuda Baksha and his clientele (cf. Tamas, pp. 91-95). Actually, community-wise professional specialisation is one of the hallmarks of traditional Indian society. In *Tamas*' society too the same is found 'most of the cloth-shops are of the Hindus, shoe-shops belong to Musalmaans, motor-lorry works are with Musalmaans, grains' business is in Hindus' hand. Petty jobs are done by Hindus and Musalmaans both' (pp. 91-92). But, still they have the fighting tendency. Mr Richard, the (district) deputy-commissioner observes, "They fight amongst themselves in the name of religion and in the name of country with us" (cf. pp. 44-47).

But, even the national cause could not hold them together. The colonial administration apathy played its own role in widening the communal gulf. Mistrust got deeper and hearing gossips like '... whatever has been found in front of the mosque, there is a great mischief of Hindus behind that' and 'Pir Sahib does not touch *kafirs*; (he) hates *kafirs*. Earlier every one could go to Pir Sahib. If some *kafir* visited him for treatment he used to ... but now he does not allow any *kafir* to come nearby' (*Tamas*, p. 107). Such talks at common places definitely deteriorate social relations, particularly when tensions are ubiquitous and environment is highly charged. Then it is quite natural to find contestation among involved parties and confront:

"Vande Mataram! Say, hail to Bharat Mata – Hail to Gandhi-Ji vs. Pakistan – Long live! Pakistan – Long Live! *Qaiyade Azam* – Long Live". (pp. 31-32). In such circumstances, people like Mural Ali (a mischievous character in the novel), who are again pawns of bigger forces, using the poor and needy like Natthu Chamar implement engineered communal conflicts to yield political mileage. It becomes very difficult for the neutrals to control such situations and the 'darkness' (*Tamas*) of communal hatred takes it toll. Simultaneously, it is equally difficult to believe and trust friends of long time; at least the character of Shahnavaj makes one to draw such a conclusion.

Riotscape

Sahni's present novel, in true sense, is a narrative of *riotscape*. It sketches a complete anatomy of riots: from inception to maturity and also the after-math. Riots are engineered and implemented in urban environments characterised by segregation, divides, and isolations – a perfectly fertile ground for reaping the drops of conflicts, hatred, mistrusts, etc. thereafter it spreads out in space and also time engulfing villages. During Partition, urban and rural areas had different experience of rioting.

Urban Scene: Poor Natthu did not know what he is doing by killing a pig, after accepting Mural Ali's offer to do so. He was really innocent, about the purpose of the task he accepted and later on accomplished, as reflected himself but is not able to share the fact that he killed a pig and that was done without knowing the objective of such an act – all that is upsetting him and making him restless (cf. *Tamas*, pp. 155-159). Finally, he broke down emotionally, "I killed that pig" (p. 150) and confessed; even then could not feel free. How could he? After all he carried the moral burden of setting the town in fire!

Tension slowly mounted on into the town and town' men seem to be too sensitive and alertly observing the change in life-rhythm. Change again is not something with which they are non-acquainted (pp. 92-93); such 'waves were common during Congress movements, Guru Parva processions, Musalmaans' *tajiya* processions – these tension waves were quick in scaling up, but then quicker in calming down. The same did not happen this time, riots began with torching the grain-market (cf. pp. 111-113). Urban landscape got gradually converted into *riotscape*, dominating personal and public spaces. Every one appeared scared. Hindus assembled for weekly *satsang* ('spiritual discourse') and after routine rituals several rounds of meetings and consultations were held to discuss defence strategies (cf. pp. 115-127). It appears that Hindus are in minority in this town. A delegation went to meet the deputy-commissioner to urge him for administrative intervention to restore normalcy. But, the administration apparently had no interest in doing and therefore the delegation is told to form 'neighbourhood committees' and work towards communal harmony. Efforts were made, of course with several internal bickering, without making much effect.

People could sense the ineffectivity of administrative response and social committees' attempts. That is why personal initiatives were taken, e.g. by Lalji Laxminarayan (pp. 115-125). Life broke down "Town was lying half-dead (almost dead) in broad day-light as if ... grain market was still burning as fire brigadewalas had finally stopped fighting the fire Seventeen shops were gutted down. Shops were closed ... and several rumours making rounds in public gossips. In Naya Muhalla chowk, a hoarse was found dead. On the road to the adjoining village, an old man's dead-body was found. A shoe-shop and tailor's shop were looted in College road. Another dead body found in a cremation ground at one tip of the town ... lines got drawn between *muhallas*, it is difficult to go in each other's *muhullas* ... environment was life-less, everything struck up" (cf. 125-126). At one point volunteers working to save the peace realised futility of their labour, "if labourers can fight with each other then it means this poison have affected deeper" (p. 144). Future was uncertain except strong likelihood of anything bad rather

worse. The lone crusader Gernail Singh, whose elan '*Pakistan meri lash per*' ('Pakistan would be on my dead body'), is killed and metaphorically the road (or obstacle) to formation is cleared.

Rural Scene. The 'jungle-fire' of riots spread fast into neighbouring villages (pp. 162-222). Through the experiences of a Sikh family, Sahni ably demonstrates hardships faced by minorities in rural parts. How the life was shattered in every possible manner – properties were buried and burnt and captured. All that was dear to hearts had to be left behind. Hard decisions were made without heart's acceptance and in search of safe (?) refuge people embarked upon a journey of uncertainties. In their absence free looting, of whatever was earned and saved in the course of several past years labour, was no wonder. Once uprooted, they luckily ones could best land up in the refugee-camps.

Places of worships were used as 'warships' (pp. 211-222). The acquaintances suddenly turned to unknowns (pp. 201-202). Villages were burnt down and forced conversions became fun-plays. Consider the example of Iqabal Singh who was humiliated worse than an animal despite the fact that he agreed to conversion (of course under pressure and hesitatingly). Oh, words can not express horrible twitch of heart when the self dies piece by piece, poor Iqabal Singh (cf. 204-210). No different was the condition of Prakasho, in possession of Allahrakkha, who had to yield to his sexual advances (pp. 244-246).

Daily Life

Tamas portrays three patterns of life; the Europeans', rhythm of urban hustle-bustle, and private domains where physical relations are prominent. To narrate the demand(s) of life and worries Lisa, the deputy-commissioner's wife, and her various problems are the medium. How different it was for a handful Europeans, particularly women to even pass time and to get away from the routine boredom beer and wine are sought. Interaction among them reflects highly bureaucratic hierarchic internal divides not allowing free exchanges. Quite naturally, personal isolation is intensified instead broken down even during socialisation.

Rhythm of urban life is painted through the hustle-bustle of bazaar – the market place, the activities of Congress, and the playing children. The narrative of bazaar activities ably demonstrates community-wise business specialisation in which the contributions are from every community. Meaning thereby that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to deny the communal cohesiveness at least from the economic functional perspective. It is very clear that Congress by that time was highly fragmented from within and several mutual bickering were deep rooted. Similarly, the party had lost its credentials particularly among Muslims' majority to which it was a Hindu party. Thence it could not gain mass support and relevance of its programmes seems doubtful.

Another considerable space is devoted to Natthu's personal life, the physical communication between him and his wife. After having done the job 9of pig killing) he felt the need of warmth of female body—thinking sometime of his young wife and sometime to go visit some whore. Finally, he comes to his wife and tries to get some relief in her company. He tries to get involved in sex-play, but not able to do so. His being mindless during sex makes her suspicious (cf. pp. 155-162).

After *Tamas*: Concluding Remarks

Life was not the same after the 'era of darkness' (*tamas*) of riots (and partition). Villages became half-villages (*adha-gaon*) and naturally a new socio-cultural organisation of life took over the previous ones. People were refugee on own land and were desperate to go home –

homes which no longer belonged to them for the reason being some Ramzan or Shahnawaz had taken over them. They were anxious, to the extent of madness, to know the whereabouts of family members separated in the process.

In *Adha Gaon* gangauli, creation of Pakistan consequented into separation of family members and relations. Sons left their parents and wives got separated from husbands. And, then innocent children could not see respective father again! Every family lost some near and dear – grief and sorrow swarmed hearths and *havelis* alike.

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