LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES (LLIDS)

ISSN 2457-0044

www.ellids.com

Sikk[1] for Sindh: A Study of Utopianism in Sindhi Hindu Narratives of Partition

Abhilasha Sawlani | Ashoka University
http://ellids.com/archives/2022/01/5.1-Sawlani.pdf

Abstract | Most narratives about the Partition of the Indian subcontinent frame the lost home/city/cultural milieu as an idealized model of syncretism. The frontier region of Sindh was a particularly fertile locus for the confluence of diverse cultures and religions. The resultant syncretism made it a particularly apt site for the projection of nostalgic and utopian fantasies. Bringing together historical accounts, literary analysis of short stories, along with interviews conducted within my own family, this autoethnographic study seeks to explore the utopian impulse within Sindhi narratives of the Partition of India. It looks into how the past is fabricated as an idealized space, obfuscating its dystopian aspects—the inequitable socio-economic structure and communal tensions that pre-existed Partition. Despite this selective, nostalgic reconstruction, it argues that the oppositional utopian impulse of these 'fictions of memory' lies in their visions of a world where proximity and coexistence were possible. Instead of offering realizable blueprints of a utopian past, these narratives signal the possibility of a society based on alternative, more amicable ways of negotiating religious difference. The underlying utopian impulse manifests in the desire that motivates nostalgic longing, emerging out of a chaotic and dystopian present which selectively reconstructs the past to mobilize its redemptive possibilities for syncretic, potentially utopian, future, social configurations.

Keywords | Partition of India, Sindhi Narratives, Sindhi Hindus, Pre-partition Nostalgia, Utopia, Syncretism, Sindh, Autoethnography, Personal Interviews

[1]The Sindhi word "*sikk"* connotes both love and longing (usually for a place or person) (Kothari, "Pikchar with Rita" n.p.).

"Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, wherefrom came this Sindhi caste!"[2]—while growing up, I often heard this phrase repeated to me in school. Anxious to belong, to be legible to my peers in accordance with neatly defined categories, I sought to distance myself from the Sindhi identity. "We are like the Punjabis," I insisted, claiming a recognizable identity for my stateless community. And yet, my attempts towards comfortable categorization were constantly thwarted by my lived experience of a confusing Sindhiness—we worshipped Hindu deities alongside Jhulelal, Guru Nanak, and Sufi saints, and we constantly invoked 'Allah' in our speech.[3] It was much later that I became aware of the reasons for this uncategorizable identity, of my family's roots in Sindh. My grandparents' experience of Partition lay wrapped up in silence, an unwillingness to revisit the past juxtaposed with efforts towards assimilation in the mainstream Hindu fold—an attempt, much like mine, to conform to the neat categories of identity.

What was confusing to me then seems utopian now. The Hinduism practised by the Sindhis incorporates elements from diverse religions—this porosity renders the community uncategorizable but I have come to regard that as a virtue rather than a bane. The blurring of borders around one's identity appears to be a much desirable phenomenon in an increasingly bordered world governed by the politics of hate. The utopian element became further pronounced in my family's stories about Sindh that often resembled the idyllic pre-Partition scenes painted in literary narratives.[4]

This paper is an attempt towards understanding the utopianism inherent in nostalgic stories about pre-Partition Sindh—both familial and literary. It draws upon

[2]"*Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Isaai, ye Sindhi jaat kahan se aayi*!" (Original in Hindi, all translations from Hindi and Sindhi by the author).

[3]Jhulelal is widely recognized as the Sindhi Hindu community God. The deity is a part of the Indus river cult and is also known as Uderolal (Ansari 48). Guru Nanak is the first guru in the Sikh religious lineage (Ramey 1). Sufism is, broadly speaking, a form of Islam which insists upon a spiritual path to devotion without any intermediation by the religious orthodoxy of mullahs (Muslim clergy) (Kothari, *The Burden* 27).

[4]Menka Shivdasani discusses depictions of Hindu-Muslim camaraderie in post-Partition Sindhi literature (n.p). In a similar vein, Motilal Jotwani writes of the "Sindhi angst" expressed in literature of the 1980s where writers bemoaned the partitioning of a people along religious lines. This angst is particularly heightened in the context of the region's Sufistic leanings where the principle of Unity of Being found echoes in the Vedantic notion of *advaita* and the Sufi philosophy of *tasawwuf* (164). The theme of lost friends and harmonious inter-community relations is also sketched in relation to autobiographies of writers like Hari Dilgir and Gobind Malhi (Jotwani 130). In her introduction to one of the few translations of Sindhi short stories in English, Rita Kothari writes, "The first generation writers […] re-enact Sindh as a pure and pristine nation, an ideal haven that they [the Hindu Sindhis of India] may not be able to visit, but which remains enshrined in memory as a pre-lapsarian heaven" (*Memories* v). More than the violence of dislocation, Sindhi writers highlight the violence attendant upon resettlement and forced assimilation in India, particularly given the absence of the cultural comforts of a state. For a discussion about the tendency to idealize the past in Partition fiction at large, see Bhalla 10–29.

theories of cultural memory, and critical reflections on nostalgia and utopian thought to interrogate why survivors of Partition, Sindhis in particular, idealize the past in their narratives and the significance of such idealizing practices. It begins by laying out the socio-cultural framework of the province before tracing the utopian contours of Sindhi Partition narratives. Following this, it problematizes these utopian images by discussing historical sources that foreground fractures in the purportedly syncretic culture. Finally, it locates the utopian potential of these stories in the desire that leads to their construction, a desire for a better world premised on principles of coexistence transcending religious differences.[5] Far from providing documentary evidence of a lost utopia, it argues that these stories offer visions of a world where proximity, if not complete harmony, could be realized.

The frontier province of Sindh, by virtue of being an entryway into the Indian subcontinent for several conquering armies, allowed for a confluence of diverse cultures.[6] By the time it was annexed by the British army led by Sir Charles Napier in 1843, the region had witnessed the influence of Buddhist, Iranian, Persian, Hindu, and Mughal dynasties. Consequently, it had come to be inhabited by a mixed population—a veritable country of immigrants which included Hindu Rajputs, Lohanas—who had emigrated from Punjab—and others who could trace their origins back to Kathiawar, Gujarat, and Rajasthan (Cheesman 34; Kothari, *The Burden* 23).[7] Most significant, however, was the lasting impression left by centuries of Muslim rule in the region, starting with the Arab Caliphate (represented by the famed conqueror, Muhammad Bin Qasim) to the Talpur Mirs who reigned until the British took control in 1843.

Boasting of several important ports on the Indus, the province was an integral link in a network of trade and communication, linking Central Asia, Northern India, Persian Gulf, and the Arabian world. Trading relations further brought cultures in proximity, thereby aiding the formation of porous identities. Persian and Arab traders settled in

[5]In thus speaking of a utopian desire, this paper follows the line of thinking inaugurated by Ernst Bloch in *The Principle of Hope* where he argued for the existence of a utopian impulse in everyday forms of social expression. Ruth Levitas builds upon that approach to define utopias as not just descriptive blueprints of ideal societies but also as a "desire for a better way of living and of being" (4).

[6]The province of Sindh is located in the southeastern part of Pakistan, geographically and culturally contiguous with the Indian states of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Situated neither fully in the Indian subcontinent nor in Central Asia, this liminal region has been ruled by diverse empires. The region is well-known for being the site of the Indus Valley Civilization and the entry-point for Islam with the arrival of Muhammad Bin Qasim's forces in 711 BC. Prior to that, it witnessed Iranian influence under the rule of the Persian (Achaemenian) Empire (519–486 BC). This was followed by Greek invasion and Alexander the Great's conquest in 326 BC. Between 325 BC and 3rd century AD, the region came under the rule of Chandragupta Maurya, Emperor Ashoka, the Parthians, the Huns, the Scythians, and Kushans. This period was followed by Persian rule under the Sassanians who were ousted by the Rai Dynasty led by Buddhist rulers. The region came under the rule of Hindu Brahmans under Chach Brahman before the advent of Muslim rule under the Arabian Caliphate. From 988 AD to 1783, Sindh came under the rule of the Ghaznavids, Sumrahs, Sammahs, Arghuns, Turkhans, Mughals, and Kalhoras of Iranian lineage. The Sindhi Talpur Mirs who followed were ousted by the British in 1843 (Kothari, *Memories* 20–23; Panjwani xiii–xvi; Ramey 18–22; Thapan 13–14).

[7]In a similar vein, Sarah Ansari discusses the gradual transition of Sindhi society from nomadic pastoral to a settled agrarian economy. With the development of irrigation facilities on the Indus, the region invited new arrivals, consequently becoming "a kind of 'melting pot'" for Baluchi tribesmen as well as nomads from the Thar desert region (11–12).

different parts of Sindh in pursuit of their business interests, their contact with the local population often facilitating religious conversions (Thapan 16).

Two significant qualifications need to be made to the notion of conversion. Firstly, contrary to the dominant Hindutva narrative, the encounter between the two faiths in Sindh did not necessarily take the form of forced conversions or lead to centuries of persecution of Hindus under Muslim rule. Sufi missionaries of various persuasions, particularly the Ismailis, who arrived in Sindh between the tenth and fifteenth century, practiced a veiled form of missionary activity. Often disguising themselves as Hindu jogis or mystics, they established links with the existing religious beliefs of the local population. The resultant syncretic faith lay at the intersection of distinct religious and cultural idioms, with overlapping religious practices and holy figures who attracted veneration from both the communities[8] (Ansari 13–24; Bhatia 167–180; Khan 76–77; Thapan 16).

Secondly, the idea of conversion implies a wholesale movement from one religious identity to another, seldom taking account of the fact that "identities do not convert like currencies, translated fully" (Kothari, "Translation" 15). In addition, the idea of conversion also presupposes the existence of discrete and bordered religions as if they occupy separate grids on a bordered map. The lived practise of religion, particularly in zones of contact like Sindh, is defined by proximity and dialogue with other peoples, cultures, and faiths, giving rise to a hybrid, unbordered mode of life. The faith experiences of the two communities were not radically segregated and the boundaries between the two not as clearly defined as they are now. It would be erroneous, in this context, to employ contemporary, bordered definitions of religions to understand cultures formed under conditions of contact and consequently heterogenous (Ramey 1–10). The inhabitants of Sindh resided in "a third space, a zone of liminality where identities are simultaneously Hindu and Muslim, or perhaps neither in exclusive terms" (Kothari, "Being" 129).[9]

In other words, the differences between the two communities were not suppressed or erased (through forced conversions) but negotiated in a way that coexistence through the centuries became possible. It is this mode of relating with difference that Dipesh Chakrabarty terms "proximity" as opposed to "identity":

[8]For instance, the importance of the river Indus in the social and economic life of the province gave birth to the river cult of Zinda Pir (the Eternal Saint), worshipped as Jhulelal among the Sindhi Hindus and simultaneously associated with the Quranic patron-saint of mariners, Khwaja Khizr (see Bhatia 167–180). The figure of Jhulelal also carries iconographic associations with Guru Nanak, testifying to the influence of Sikhism among the Sindhis (see Ramey 105–124).

[9]There has been some scholarly debate about the appropriate terminology for the nature of religious confluence which existed in Sindh. Scholars like Anita Raina Thapan, Claude Markovits, and Sarah Ansari have preferred the term "syncretic" to indicate the blending of elements from Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism. On the other hand, it has been argued that such an idea of blending or amalgamation presupposes the existence of pure, originary forms of religions which then combine to form syncretic admixtures (T. Stewart 262). Such approaches are premised on the understanding that hybridity is the norm rather than the exception. I have chosen to retain the idea of syncretism, in its enlarged sense as the process of encounter between "zones of difference" (C. Stewart 53), which may be hybrid and heterogenous to begin with. People, religions, or languages do not encounter each other as pure entities, but only as entities that appear different at a given moment in time (52).

> By *identity*, I mean a mode of relating to difference in which difference is either congealed or concealed. That is to say, either it is frozen, fixed, or it is erased by some claim of being identical or the same. By *proximity*, I mean the opposite mode, one of relating to difference in which (historical and contingent) difference is neither reified nor erased but negotiated. (140; emphasis in original)

The negotiation of difference in Sindh allowed the emergence of a society that was heterogeneous, a culture and religion not exclusively claimed by any group. It is this mode of coexistence that Asim Roy has termed "living together, even though separately" (20).

This contradicts the assertion put forward by several Sindhis today that the centuries of Muslim rule in Sindh necessarily entailed relentless persecution of Hindus through forced conversions and restrictions on practising their religion openly.[10] Religion, after all, did not carry the same political valence then as it does today and other markers of identity—ethnic, linguistic, regional were of greater importance (Boivin et al. 3). In addition, the narrative of persecution fails to explain how Hindu Amils had come to occupy important positions in the region's administration under various regimes or how the Bhaibands dominated the economic sphere (Kothari, *The Burden* 24–26; Markovits 43).[11] Indeed, the socio-economic framework of Sindh rested on a peculiar balance of power—while religious authority was commanded by the Muslim *waderos* and *pirs*, economic power remained vested in Hindu control.[12] Free from orthodox fears of pollution, the Hindus of Sindh could travel by sea and mix with other races to further their business interests. Free also of the Islamic prohibition on *riba* (charging interest), the traders of Sindh emerged as a powerful class of moneylenders and financiers (Kothari, *The Burden* 29–32). The higher literacy rates among Hindus also allowed the Amils to gain ascendancy in the Mughal court or the British administration. The Sindhi Hindus maintained a symbiotic relationship with the political leadership of the *pirs* and the *waderos*, thereby resulting in "a relationship in which conflict and hostility mingled easily with amity and a syncretic attitude to religion" (Markovits 45).

In contrast to these syncretic, unbordered identities, the two-nation theory that motivated the partition of the Indian subcontinent posited the notion of two distinct cultures with diametrically different interests. The borders of the new nation-states were consequently drawn along exclusively religious lines; the utopian promise of freedom that underlay the anti-colonial movement thus eventually culminated in the creation of what Anupama Mohan calls 'homotopias': "those visions of unified collectivity where

[10]Jyoti Panjwani, for instance, in her translator's introduction to Popati Hiranandani's autobiography, refers to the period following Muhammad bin Qasim's conquest as one defined by unqualified hostility and persecution (iii). Interestingly, the origins of this narrative have been traced back to the British rhetoric for conquering Sindh—colonial travellers underscored the ostensibly deplorable conditions of Hindus under Muslim rule to hide their imperialist ambitions under a paternalistic cloak (Markovits 43).

[11]Bhaibands are an occupational group under the Lohana caste, primarily comprised of traders including *sahukars* (merchants) and *hatawara* (shopkeepers). Amils are also a part of the Lohana caste—the term initially referred to revenue officers but has broadly come to be associated with those involved in government service. Sindhworkies are another category of well-to-do Bhaiband traders; they emerged during the period of British rule and were involved in international trade in local art and craft objects (Thapan 14).

[12]The term *wadero* (literally meaning elder) refers to established landowners and village chief while *pirs* are Muslim holy men (Kothari, *The Burden* 30).

an aggressively homogenizing impulse operates and where unity is a form of collective gathering of one or two coordinates (race/language/religion) and the deliberate repudiation and exclusion of others" (9). In the context of Sindh, the movement from identities that were porous and non-sectarian towards more rigidly defined religious ones—the homotopian impulse, in other wordsmay be traced back to the activities of reform movements like the Arya Samaj that sought to 'purify' (through *shuddhi* ceremonies) what was perceived as a 'corrupt' brand of Hinduism in Sindh.[13]

In the post-colonial context, the two-nation theory eventually proved to be a self-fulfilling prophecy as communal difference became gradually ossified within the collective memory. Sindhi Hindus who were displaced to India in the wake of Partition refashioned their formerly syncretic selves to be accepted within the exclusionary confines of the homotopian nation-state; thus, cultural influences—sartorial, religious, and linguistic—from Islam and Sikhism, accreted over centuries of harmonious proximity, were deliberately erased or suppressed (Bhavnani 265; Kothari, *The Burden* 178–184).[14]

In contrast to this pragmatic assimilation and acceptance of the new, rather dystopian status-quo, literary narratives about the Partition were marked by an overwhelming sentiment of '*viraha*'[15] or nostalgic yearning for a utopian, pre-lapsarian Sindh. During conversations with my family, my great-grandmother's stories kept coming up—throughout her life in India, she kept longing to return to Sindh. Eventually, when she managed to return, she spent three months in her old city, visiting erstwhile

[13]Reform movements among the Indian literati emerged in the nineteenth century, fuelled by western liberal education and nascent nationalist sentiments (Kothari, *The Burden* 51). The Arya Samaj was one such reformist organization established in 1875 by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. It aimed at reinstating the authority of the Vedas and removing all post-Vedic accretions in Hinduism. Under its founder, the Arya Samaj attacked idolatry, stood for widow remarriage, female education, and inter-caste marriages. Gradually, however, reformism turned into revivalism and cultural chauvinism; the focus shifted towards *shuddhi* (or purification) ceremonies, meant to bring converted Hindus and Dalits back into the Hindu fold. By the 1990s, the Arya Samaj became involved in cow-protection movement, motivated less by spiritualism and more by anti-Muslim passion (Bandyopadhyay 154–155). Visions of an unsullied, authentic Hindu culture, free of Islamic influence, that dominate contemporary Hindutva imagination are governed by a similar homotopian impulse.

In Sindh, the Amils in particular, given their proximity and identification with the Muslim rulers, were prone to religious conversion. In addition to this, the syncretic and porous Hinduism of the region also invited the revivalist attentions of the Arya Samaj. The Samajis also propagated the use of Devanagri instead of the Perso-Arabic script and supported the study of Hindi and Sanskrit instead of Persian (Kothari, *The Burden* 56). The activities of the Arya Samaj are known to have caused the Larkana riots of March 1928 when some members of the movement attempted to forcefully reconvert a woman who had been married for several years and had many children (62). One of the consequences of the revivalist impulses of the nineteenth century was the consolidation of religious identities—Markovits notes that the Lohanas of Shikarpur and Hyderabad who had identified as Sikh in the 1881 census confirmed their Hindu identity in the 1891 census (48).

[14]Steven Ramey notes the continued centrality of certain Sikh (and Sufi practices) among the Sindhi Hindus in India. They continue to visit *gurdwaras* (Sikh temples) and accord importance to the Sikh holy book, Guru Granth Sahib, particularly on special occasions (159). However, following the anti-Sikh riots of 1984, the association with Sikh devotional practices has either been played down, or framed within the ambit of Hinduism (55). Other traces of syncretism also remain—the popular Sindhi song "Dumadum mast Qalandar" carries references to Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, a Sufi saint also known among the Hindus as Raja Bhartrhari (Boivin 37).

[15]*Viraha* refers to the sentiment of love-in-separation as discussed by Sangari (2011).

friends and neighbours, being warmly received by them and often endowed with material gifts: "Some gifted her gold, some chickens, some dates and others clothing"[16] (Interview with Shanti Devi Sawlani). She would call her daughters and tell them about her experience: "It's good here, everyone meets me, recognizes me, everyone gives me love."[17] Longing and affection cohere in that Sindhi word "*sikk*," testifying to the continuity of cross-religious affective bonds.

My grand-aunt followed in her mother's footsteps and visited Sindh with my grand-uncle some years ago, visiting their childhood homes now occupied by strangers who welcomed them with great warmth. Her memories of return were filtered through a nostalgic lens evident in her description of the large size of the lost home suggesting that the past was a site of plenitude and prosperity. Reflecting upon the gracious hospitality extended to her, she said, "You get great respect and honour there, in Pakistan."[18] Surprisingly, she extended her affectionate approval to include the nation-state ("Pakistan") rather than the region alone, suggesting the implicitly felt need to oppose the essentializing and divisive rhetoric that categorically denounces the "enemy" nation. Her positive appraisal of Pakistani hospitality was particularly significant given the presence of my father and uncles during the conversation. Being staunch supporters of the BJP and its anti-Muslim rhetoric, they expected her to confirm the stereotypes about the degenerate and inhospitable Pakistanis that Indian media relentlessly propagates, and they complacently believe. Clearly, her utopian account, far from being nostalgic sentimentalism, was responding to current political discourses.

Back in Sindh, the current residents acknowledged their affective claims upon the home, insisting that they hadn't made any changes to the property that belonged to its former owners: "This is their property, we have not made any changes."[19] (Interview with Shanti Devi Sawlani) To a sceptical ear, the sentiment might appear to be an exaggeration, a performance; however, one could read in this encounter the emergence of a utopian ethics of hospitality that allows a stranger to make equal claims upon a home, blurring the native/alien distinction emerging out of a homotopian ensemble. In the words of Priya Kumar, "if hospitality has to do with the ethical claims that the stranger has on us, then, there must be room for the stranger to lay claim to the very home from which s/he has been excluded or rendered indeterminate" (103). Kumar seems to be arguing for an ethics based on proximity where the difference between the native and the stranger, the guest and the host is not erased, yet co-existence in the same home remains possible. This ethical relation of proximity necessitates the opening of the home to the other, without erasing the other's difference. It demands that we relinquish claims of exclusive ownership—a demand that runs counter to the logic of the two-nation theory.

Laying claim to her memories of the lost home, my grand-aunt insisted that nothing had changed in the landscape. My grand-uncle, now paralysed, gestured his disagreement through a dismissive groan and hand wave. Things must have changed surely, no matter how much the returnee wishes for sameness, for an unbroken continuity.

[16]"*Kathon son milyus, kadon murgiyun milyas, kadon khakhan milyas, kadon waga milyas*" (All original quotes from personal interviews are in Sindhi, unless otherwise specified, and have been translated by the author).
[17]"*Sutho aahe, sab milin ta, sunyadin ta, sikk din ta*."
[18]"*Hutte ijjat maan dadho aa, Pakistan me*."
[19]"*He huninji jaye aa, asaan kuch kon karayo aa*."

This interplay between sameness and difference is staged in Gordhan Bharti's "Familiar Strangers" (91–106), a fictional narrative of return.[20] The story recounts a Hindu *deewan*'s[21] temporary visit to his lost village generating a constant tension between the remembered past and the encountered present. The space of the village is viewed as a palimpsest by the returnee who perceives each locale in juxtaposition with the remembered image. "The world is beyond recognition," the *deewan* muses, simultaneously feeling a sense of belonging and alienation, homeliness and estrangement, familiarity and unfamiliarity. This sense of unsettlement is consequent upon the destabilization of social relations that had earlier allowed somewhat stable relations of proximity between the two communities.

Pakistan, envisioned as the sacred utopian abode for the Muslims of the subcontinent, is described in dystopian terms as the *deewan* witnesses the misery of emaciated villagers struggling in a destabilized economy. The displacement of the Hindus, the predominant merchant class in Sindh, rendered people like the tonga-drivers and the labourers unemployed. The descriptions of empty huts, dried down rivers, decrepit mosques, and blood-smeared carcasses of fish being pecked at by crows in the village fish market further testify to the failure of the utopian promise. In contrast, the *deewan*'s nostalgic memories—of village children playing in the river, feasting on stolen mangoes and *pharwas* from the garden, participating in village *prabhat pheris*[22]—are described in sepia-tinted, idyllic terms.

Most significantly, however, the *deewan* perceives the immensity of change in inter-religious relationships—the figure of the genial porter is replaced with the hostile *muhajir*[23] officer who harasses him; when visiting his home that he had left under the Shah sahib'-s charge, hopeful of return, he perceives the invitation lacking in force, the hospitality diminished. His childhood memory of staging a mock inter-religious wedding contrasts starkly with the sharpened communal prejudice of the present. The memory of lost plenitude and harmony hold out the possibility of something better, of a world where "that innocent wedding did not bring any harm to the Hindu religion nor did it endanger the Islamic faith" (100). The difference between the two communities, in other words, had not yet 'congealed,' and proximity—the negotiation of difference to ensure coexistence—was still a possibility.

The experience of being warmly welcomed at the village marketplace while listening to the fakir sing Shah Abdul Latif's couplets rekindles the *deewan*'s sense of hope—"some remnants do exist, everything has not been destroyed" (102). As he announces his decision to return, the Shah's response offers another glimpse of a utopian

[20]All references to short stories are taken from Kothari, Rita, editor. *Unbordered Memories*. Penguin, 2009.
[21]The word *deewan* is used to refer to an administrative official usually responsible for revenue matters (Kapoor, n.p.).
[22]*Pharwas* are purple berry-shaped fruits. *Prabhat pheris* are early morning processions in which a group of people move around while singing religious songs and playing instruments (Kapoor, n.p.).
[23]The Urdu word Muhajir refers to those who perform *hijrat* (migration) due to religious persecution. Originally used to describe the Muslims who, along with Prophet Mohammad, migrated from Mecca to Medina, it came to signify the Muslims who sought refuge in the newly-established state of Pakistan. The religious connotation of the word initially worked to imbue a sense of religious duty amongst the host population to welcome the refugees. However, "muhajir" increasingly turned into a derogatory referent for refugees tainted with an Indian past before being reclaimed as a politicized ethnic identity (Kumar and Kothari 781–82).

ethics of hospitality: "This is your village. Your home, your belongings, everything is intact" (105). At the threshold of the village, as the puppy he had left behind refuses to accompany him across the border, the *deewan* experiences renewed despair about the impossibility of return: "He felt that the street underneath his feet was unfamiliar, the field unknown, the village facing him was also not his own" (106). The story seems to suggest that the lost home is the *u-topos* or the no-place of the refugee's imagination, irrevocably lost and sustainable only in the fabrications of memory.

The *deewan's* nostalgia for a utopian Sindh is constantly undercut by the experience of hostility and unfamiliarity. Nostalgia, after all, is the yearning for "a home that no longer exists or has never existed" (Boym "Introduction"). Return (*nostos*) to the lost homeland, the locus of nostalgic longing (*algia*), is impossible; indeed, the remembered utopian past is itself a fabrication, shaped by the needs of the present, a product of the refugee's desire for rootedness and stability in alien, inhospitable conditions of displacement. Nostalgia is, much like utopian thought, "a romance with one's own fantasy" (Boym "Introduction").

Indeed, these idyllic descriptions of the lost homeland appear fantastical, for they often elide socio-cultural tensions that interrupted the syncretic fabric of pre-Partition society. While the revivalist activities of Arya Samaj and the divisive politics of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)[24] in the province were consolidating hardened religious identities, the communal tensions were further fuelled by British policies that ended up reinforcing the economic disparities in the region. The new education policy, focussed on urban centers like Karachi, inevitably favoured upper caste Hindus who constituted the bulk of the urban population. As indigenous schools like the madrasas that catered to the rural Muslims suffered from lack of funds, the literacy rates among the community went down. Their poor representation in government positions further fuelled resentment along communal lines (Kothari, *The Burden* 37–42).[25]

In the increasingly communalized pre-Partition world, tensions were further exacerbated by the decades of pent-up resentment against the exploitative Hindu *vaanyas*.[26] These usurious moneylenders, predominantly Hindu, kept the largely illiterate

[24]The RSS is an extremist, right-wing, Hindu nationalist organization formed in 1925. Known for its anti-Muslim ideology, the RSS imparted paramilitary training to Hindu youth to arm them against perceived fears of "Muslim aggression." Banned three times since its inception, the RSS is known for its exclusionary and divisive ideology and has been involved in several incidents of communal rioting in India (Bandhyopadhyay 452).

[25]The communalization of the province was further aided by the increased role of the RSS in the province which trained young Sindhi recruits in self-defense and played upon Hindu fears of minoritization in a Muslim majority province (Kothari, *The Burden* 66–90). Such fears were also responsible for the Hindus leaders' withdrawal of support for the demand for Sindh's separation from the Bombay Presidency. While they had earlier supported the movement for a separate Sindhi province, the Larkana riots (see footnote 12) and the backlash against Hindus convinced the leaders that they would be oppressed in a Muslim majority province. Three years after the secession of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency, riots broke out in Sukkur over a group of buildings that the Muslims claimed had been a mosque. The Hindus feared that, if the Muslims were granted possession of the buildings, it would restrict their access to a sacred site not far away (Albinia "River Saints"; Bhavnani "Prologue"). Known as the Masjid Manzilgah episode, this incident marked another milestone in the souring of Hindu-Muslim relations in Sindh.

[26]The term *vaanya* referred to moneylenders in Sindh. Usually Hindu, they were known to charge exorbitant rates of interest. This adversely affected the *haaris* who were land-tillers, usually Muslims or Dalits (Cheesman 447; Kothari, *The Burden* 42–46).

waderos caught in a vicious cycle of debt by charging immensely high rates of interest. As the British introduced a mandatory tax on land, the *waderos* increasingly resorted to the moneylenders. Merely concerned with maintaining their prestige and social status, they left the management of their estates and the financial matters of cultivation and revenue assessment to the *vaanyas* to whom they were indebted. The *vaanyas,* on the other hand, counted upon the prestige of the *waderos* to command the obedience of the *haaris,*[27] mostly Muslim or Dalit (Cheesman 447; Kothari, *The Burden* 42–46). While the *waderos* and the *vaanyas* benefitted from their symbiotic relationship, it was the *haaris* who suffered exploitation. In the Muslim League's narrative of the exploitation of rural peasantry, the Hindu *vaanya* was villainized and the *wadero* absolved (Kothari, *The Burden* 45). Be that as it may, it is clear that while Hindu-Muslim relations in pre-Partition Sindh were marked by relations of proximity (with the political clout of one balancing the economic prowess of the other allowing for coexistence), the poor and socially destitute remained outside the ambit of this proximity.

In the context of this exploitative *wadero-vaanya-haari* relationship, the utopian space depicted in nostalgic Sindhi Partition narratives appears to be a fictional construction. This fictionality becomes further apparent in the anti-Muslim sentiment pervading the Sindhi Hindu consciousness today. Interrupting my grandmother's idyllic portrayal of inter-religious bonds in Sindh, my father and uncles rehearsed some well-worn stereotypes about the purportedly unhygienic nature of Muslims, their rumoured tradition of spitting into food. "The damned Muslims never change,"[28] they commented, their Islamophobia puncturing my grandmother's utopian memory of inter-religious harmony in Sindh.[29] That utopian image is further undercut in historical narratives recording the prevalence of the practice of untouchability in Hindu-Muslim relations in pre-Partition Sindh. In *The Burden of Refuge,* Rita Kothari writes of the Hindu practice of not accepting cooked food from Muslims. At railway stations and other public places too, she notes, vendors could be heard hawking Hindu and Muslim water (28).[30]

[27]The Hindi word *haari* signifies a land-tiller (Kapoor n.p).

[28]"*Mussalman toh sale Mussalman hi rahenge*" (Original in Hindi).

[29]The conflict in their social visions might be attributed to generational difference. Indeed, scholars have noted the absence of anti-Muslim sentiment in the migrant generation as opposed to their more fundamentalist descendants. However, any generalizations would be untenable given the complex differences in experiences of pre-Partition cohabitation and subsequent dislocation. For instance, Sindhi Hindus affiliated to the RSS in Sindh have veered towards Hindu fundamentalism in the post-Partition context and transmitted their Islamophobic ideology to the succeeding generations (Kothari, *The Burden* 189; Bhavnani 264). At the same time, others have managed to retain and transmit their Sufi worldview. In addition, some writers of the second-generation, particularly those with leftist leanings, have begun questioning the Islamophobia of the migrant generation by excavating stories of syncretism, thereby undercutting the dominant narrative of a timeless Hindu-Muslim animosity (see Panjabi 22). For an incisive discussion on the complexity of generational responses to Partition and communal conflict, see Greenberg 261–62.

[30]Despite scholarly suggestions that Sindhi society was free of the caste system and the practise of untouchability (Anand 9–10; Markovits 48; Thapan 13), recent work indicates the exaggerated nature of these claims. For an incisive ethnographic study of Dalit communities in Sindh, see Rita Kothari's *Memories and Movements.* Yoginder Sikand's travelogue about his journey to Pakistan also includes encounters with communities such as the Gurgulas in Sindh who have been treated as untouchables by caste Hindus and Muslims alike ("Southwards, to Sindh").

The friction between communities can also be noticed on an economic level. When describing their erstwhile prosperity in Sindh, the youngest of my grand-uncles told me how his father (my great-grandfather) was a farmer as well as a *halwai*[31] in Sindh—"We were quite well off in Sindh […] we were farmers […] we didn't live in the city […] but we were prosperous […] farming used to happen in its place, we were also confectioners"[32] (Interview with Omprakash Sawlani). Having read about the socio-economic framework of the region, I was surprised to hear that the two professions—the Bhaiband trader and the *haari*—could coexist. Perceiving my incredulity, he qualified his statement, saying that they were landholders. In light of the foregoing discussion about the *wadero-vaanya* nexus, his utopian description of pre-Partition life must be regarded with scepticism. In addition, the passive construction of the phrase "*farming used to happen*" serves to erase the presence of the *haari*, the land-tiller, a position occupied predominantly by the Muslim population. A similar impulse towards erasure fuelled the disenchantment among the *haaris* in the period immediately preceding Partition.[33] In his autobiography, Gobind Malhi records his conversation with a *haari*, "Landlord, change the sharecropping system. Not 50–50 anymore; we will take two-thirds, one-third for you. Now your security lies in our hands" (qtd. in Bhavnani "Alienated at Home").

The nostalgic and utopian perspective of Partition narratives seems to be complicit in a similar erasure of the economically underprivileged; the depiction of the *zamindaar-haari*[34] relationship often focusses on the benevolence of the Hindu landowner and the subservience of the Muslim tiller, failing to capture the disenchantment invariably engendered in a relationship of feudal exploitation. Narayan Bharti's "The Document" (112–16) presents a Sindhi Hindu, Manghanmal, in a refugee camp in India, rifling through property documents to claim compensation for his lands and constructed property left behind in Sindh. "One, two, three houses – the documents unfolded," testifying to his economic status as a wealthy landowner in pre-Partition Sindh (112). In stark contrast appears the situation of Rasool Baksh, a Muslim *haari* working in Manghanmal's fields, driven to a situation of economic deprivation—he is indebted to Manghanmal, his wife's jewellery is mortgaged with another *vaanya*, and in this penury, he approaches the zamindar for money to procure some seeds. The exchange that follows merits quoting at some length:

[31]Loosely translated, the word *halwai* refers to a confectioner, more particularly, the owner of a sweets-shop (Kapoor n.p.).

[32]"*Sindh me bohot badhiya the* […] *kisan the* […] *sheher me nahi rehte the* […] *par sampann the* […] *kheti hoti rehti thi apni jagah, saath me halwai the*" (Original in Hindi).

[33]The Zamindari system, introduced under the Mughals in the Indian subcontinent, was a system of agrarian relations with complex internal differentiation. The zamindars or landlords were a part of the nobility or ruling class under the Mughals. They were responsible for revenue collection for lands that were given to them as *jagirs* (feudal land grants). Under the British, they were made proprietors and a fixed land revenue was imposed on the lands they controlled. Different systems were introduced, determining the nature of land ownership and the method for revenue assessment and collection. These included the Permanent Settlement introduced in Bengal and the Ryotwari Settlement followed in Madras and Bombay. During the first century of British rule, there were uprisings led by peasants and cultivators who suffered under the burden of excessive land revenue. For a detailed discussion of the Zamindari system under different regimes, see Bandyopadhyay 7–10; 159–62.

[34]The Hindi word *zamindaar* refers to a landlord (Kapoor n.p).

> Sternly, Manghanmal reminded him, 'Miyan, you already owe me almost two hundred rupees, which you have yet not returned. You want more? I don't run a charity house here. It is futile asking me, I suggest you go to somebody else.'
>
> […]
>
> Rasool Baksh, who was sitting on the threshold, took off his head-cloth, placed it at Manghanmal's feet and said, 'Bhautaar, please oblige me this time. I will do whatever you ask me to do.' (114)

The asymmetrical power relations are evident in Manghanmal's crude response and Rasool Baksh's status as an outsider allowed only at the threshold and his gesture of humility and subservience. Repeating the rhetoric of religious harmony, Manghanmal says, "Yaar, you have tilled for us and made our ancestral land fertile. You have a right to come to us, where else would you go? After all, we also share bonds of love and affection" (115). The assertion of love, however, appears merely rhetorical especially when one considers Manghanmal's nearly insidious act of having Rasool Baksh write over his house to him in exchange for a paltry sum of money.

In a moment of benevolence, reminded of Rasool Baksh's unflinching loyalty even amidst the crisis of Partition, Manghanmal decides against submitting his claim for the house lest Rasool Baksh be rendered homeless. Despite the story's overt message of religious harmony, one perceives the fissures in the purported syncretic framework. While the site of the home in "Familiar Strangers" presented the possibility of a relationship of proximity between the host and the guest, of coexistence between the native and the stranger, here the threshold of ownership and belonging is more clearly defined. The Hindu *vaanya* retains proprietary claims over the home while the life of the Muslim *haari* remains contingent on his idiosyncratic benevolence and largesse.

The idea of a utopian, egalitarian society gets further undercut when one considers the class divisions operating even within the Sindhi Hindu community. The experience of migration and resettlement was highly mediated by one's class status, depending upon the available financial as well as cultural capital. Among the Sindhworki and Bhaiband groups, existence of prior trade contacts in India and abroad comparatively eased the process of rehabilitation. The Amils who occupied administrative positions in Sindh, managed to utilize their literacy and political connections to their advantage upon relocation. The years of rehabilitation saw the emergence of new hierarchies—those languishing in refugee camps being looked down upon by those who had managed to move beyond it (Kothari, *The Burden* 189).[35] Even the experience of assimilation upon migration was not uniform; Amils and upper-class Bhaibands who moved to urban locales did not experience the same stigmatization as the ones who resided in camps (184–186).

In Bharti's narrative, Manghanmal's social status is evident in his ability to navigate state bureaucracy and file property claims. The availability of property

[35]A telling illustration of these new hierarchies can be found in Meira Chand's *House of the Sun* (1989). In the novel, the inhabitants of Sadhbela Housing society are all Sindhi refugees; however, the ones who prosper reside in spacious, front-facing apartments while the impoverished occupy cramped, dimly lit and decrepit spaces at the back of the building.

documents hints towards a migration journey characterized by a relative ease. For those who could not plan their departure, unlike the wealthy and the prescient, such documents were hard to come by and it would have been more difficult to negotiate a state circular so impersonally worded as the one Manghanmal receives: "You are expected to remain present on such and such date at 11 a.m. in Camp 2 office. Please be there on time and bring with you all documents and evidential proofs with copies. In case of your absence, a unilateral decision shall be taken" (112).

Furthermore, those with well-established connections in metropolitan cities in India managed to rebuild their class status; those lower in the social hierarchy languished in refugee camps, dependent upon the government's largesse. Unaware of this varying potential for resettlement, the youngest of my grand-uncles, born in India, recounts complaining to his father about his poor choice of location for resettlement: "Why didn't you settle down in a metropolitan city? If you had to find work, you should have done so in Bombay itself"[36] (Interview with Omprakash Sawlani). My grandfather, who was nine years old at the time of Partition, paints a more realistic picture. He recounts boarding a steamer from Karachi port after having spent three days on the footpath (Interview with Hargundas Sawlani). His initial few years in India were spent moving from one refugee camp to another—from Bombay to Dund to Katni—until their search for livelihood brought them to what later became the Sindhi quarter in Raebareli. Having switched several businesses over the years, the family's efforts have been geared towards escaping the cramped environs of the erstwhile camp, a marker of their refugee status. The presence and persistence of these class differences, often evident in the friction between different groups—*Amil* (administrator) or *Bhaiband* (trader), *Shehri* (urban) or *Gothana* (village)—further complicates the utopian image of harmony constructed in nostalgic Partition narratives.

In light of these competing interpretations of the idealizing impulse in Partition narratives, it might be more fruitful to consider such narratives as "fictions of memory" (Neumann 334). They are fictional to the extent that they selectively represent the past, eliding its unsavoury aspects. According to Neumann,

> [T]he term 'fictions of memory' refers to the stories that individuals or cultures tell about their past to answer the question "who am I?" or collectively, "who are we?" These stories can also be called 'fictions of memory' because, more often than not, they turn out to be an imaginative (re)construction of the past in response to current needs. (334)

In other words, far from revealing any ontological truths about the past, fictions of memory reveal how people construct and represent their identity; this construction is premised on desires rooted in the present, often emerging out of dissatisfaction with current realities. The utopian impulse lies not simply in any perfect world located in the past, but in the desire for a better, alternative world. Having experienced the life of a refugee and the economic privations that entailed, my grand-aunt romanticized the plenitude of life before Partition. Surrounded by her Islamophobic sons and nephews, she presented an idealized vision of Pakistani hospitality. The *deewan* in "Familiar

[36]"*Kisi metropolitan city me hi kyun nahi settle ho gaye? Jab kaam hi dhundna tha to Bombay me dhundte*" (Original in Hindi).

Strangers" evaluates the dystopian present—the crumbling economy, the hostility of the *muhajir*—in light of the remembered plenitude and syncretism.

The constant interplay between memory and reality foregrounds the incongruence between the past and the present, further fuelling the dissatisfaction with a dystopian present. The act of imagining a utopian past might be premised on an erasure of its dystopian elements; however its political valence lies in the desire that motivates the utopian imagination, the desire for an unbordered self in an increasingly bordered world. To yearn for an idealized land, people, and cultural ethos located within the "enemy" nation is to critique the institution of borders. Nostalgia and utopian desire thus become intertwined in an "oppositional cultural practice" (Moylan 11), offering resistance to the hegemonic narrative that frames Hindus and Muslims, Indians and Pakistanis as eternally locked in a relationship of animosity. According to Tom Moylan, the task of such oppositional utopian texts is to negate the present, to hold forth the possibility of a society based on alternative, non-hierarchical values of equality (26). Instead of realizable blueprints of a perfect world, what these Partition narratives offer are amicable, alternative ways of living with religious difference.

In *The Principle of Hope*, Ernst Bloch associates this oppositional practice with the principle of *anagnorisis* or recognition—"the power of the past resides in its complicated relationship of similarity/dissimilarity to the present. The tension thus created helps mould the new. The experience is therefore creatively shocking" (Bloch qtd. in Geoghegan 58). In "Familiar Strangers," for instance, the transformative, utopian potential of *anagnorisis* is evident in the *deewan*'s realization of the absurdity of borders, his critique of the exclusionary logic of nation-states dividing a shared culture. "This is really strange, we have the same music as them, the same poetry which Bachayo fakir sings here, Kalu *bhagat* sings over there. Shah, Sachal, Sami belong to them, and also to us.[37] How did they escape Partition?" (104).

More significantly, the memory of former co-existence, metaphorically represented in the easy proximity between the village temple and mosque now separated by a barrier, arrests his movement towards communal hatred. "On seeing a mosque razed to ground during the riots in Ajmer, he had not felt an iota of remorse. But now, something snapped inside him when he saw his village mosque damaged" (96). The memory of the erstwhile harmonious proximity between the village temple and the mosque reflects another aspect of the past that becomes utopian particularly in light of the hardened communal sentiments that dominated the postcolonial moment. The past holds forth the possibility of co-existence that is perceived as impossible with the increasing ghettoization of the Muslim community and the periodically erupting incidents of communal violence.[38] While they might not provide perfect, realizable

[37]Shah Abdul Latif is the iconic seventeenth century Sindhi Sufi poet-saint, known for his poetic compendium, *Risalo.* Sachal Sarmat was also a Sufi poet from eighteenth century Sindh. Sami was a Sindhi poet from the eighteenth century, known for fusing Vedic and Sufi wisdom in his poetry. The three figures are often cited as an illustration of Sindh's syncretic ethos (see Motilal Jotwani's *Sufis of Sindh).*
Fakirs are itinerant religious ascetics who survive on alms. *Bhagats* are folk singers from Sindh (Kothari, *Unbordered* n.p.).

[38]See *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalization*, edited by Laurent Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot, Hurst & Company, 2012. The essays in this edited volume focus on spatial segregation in ostensibly cosmopolitan, urban locales of India. Nazima Parveen's *Contested Homelands: Politics of Space*

blueprints for a utopian future, the utopian impulse of these narratives lies in their nostalgic visions of a world where proximity, if not complete harmony, was possible.[39]

The baton of storytelling has been passed on. Increasingly, second and third generation writers revisit their ancestral homes across the border, either physically or through their inherited memories.[40] They tend to be more critical, their vision not as veiled in sentimentalism. They notice the differences, the hostility, the caste hierarchies—the dystopian side of the utopias that their parents and grandparents had constructed. Their reaffirmation of Sindhi syncretism is more conscious of its limitations. Their utopian dreams are more egalitarian, though still fictional. Yet they continue to value the utopian impulse of visions of coexistence evoked by memories and narratives about the past.

"From here on, you keep writing the story,"[41] the youngest of my grand-uncles said to me. So when I hear Islamophobic or casteist sentiments uttered by my parents or cousins, I will repeat to them the stories of my great-grandmother and my grand-aunt's return to Sindh—a story of *sikk*, of friendships and affection sustained across borders, of lives lived in amicable proximity. It will still be a "fiction of memory," but nonetheless capable of speaking back to official history and a regime dedicated to creating a bordered and segregated world. After all, nostalgic utopianism has its merits; it allows us to reaffirm the possibility of residing in proximity, of living together with difference.

and Identity, Bloomsbury, 2021 offers a more historically grounded account of the communalization of spaces in Delhi. Priya Kumar's essay "Beyond Tolerance and Hospitality" also offers an incisive analysis of the discursive production of Muslims as outsiders and aliens within the space of the nation.

[39]Indeed, apart from a few scattered incidents, Sindh remained largely free of communal violence; what motivated the displacement of the Hindu community was the psychological fear of being persecuted as minorities in an Islamic nation. Scholars like Subhadra Anand, Vazira Zamindar, and Rita Kothari attribute this psychological violence and the growing atmosphere of panic to the arrival of scores of Muslim refugees (or *muhajirs*) from riot-torn areas in India. These refugees carried harrowing tales of violence, which when circulated through newspapers or word of mouth, sparked fear of retributive violence (Zamindar 54). Additionally, the seeds of distrust were sown in regional politics dominated by the Muslim League which introduced policies skewed to favour the Muslim population (Anand 22–60; Kothari, *The Burden* 101–103). Most of these accounts locate the source of the fear in "outsiders" who arrived in the province rather than the Sindhi Muslims, who continued to observe amicable relations with the Hindu population. Any internal conflict, as Kothari notes, was owing to resentments fuelled by long-standing socio-economic disparities between the two communities.

[40]See Kavita Panjabi's *Old Maps and New*; Saaz Aggarwal's *Sindh: Stories from a Vanished Homeland*; Yoginder Sikand's *Beyond the Border*.

[41]"*Ab iske baad ki story tum likhti jao*" (Original in Hindi).

Works Cited

Aggarwal, Saaz. *Sindh: Stories from a Vanished Homeland*. Black and White Fountain, 2012.

Albinia, Alice. *Empires of the Indus: The Story of a River*. W.W. Norton & Co., 2008.

Anand, Subhadra. *National Integration of Sindhis*. Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1996.

Baccolini, Raffaela. "Finding Utopia in Dystopia: Feminism, Memory, Nostalgia, and Hope." *Utopia Method Vision: The Use Value of Social Dreaming*, edited by Tom Moylan and Raffaela Baccolini, Peter Lang, 2007, pp. 159–190.

Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar. *From Plassey to Partition and After: A History of Modern India*. Orient Blackswan, 2015.

Bhalla, Alok. *Partition Dialogues: Memories of a Lost Home*. Oxford UP, 2006.

Bhatia, M.L. "Khwaja Khizr and River Cult in Medieval Sindh." *Sufism and Bhakti Movement: Eternal Relevance*, edited by Hamid Hussain, Manak Publications (P) Ltd, pp. 167–180.

Bhavnani, Nandita. *The Making of Exile: Sindhi Hindus and the Partition of India*. Kindle e-book, Tranquebar Press, 2014.

Bloch, Ernst. *The Principle of Hope: Volume 1*. The MIT Press, 1991.

Boivin, Michel, et al., editors. *Discovering Sindh's Past: Selections from the Journal of the Sindh Historical Society 1934–1948*. Oxford UP, 2018.

Boivin, Michel. "Shivaite Cults and Sufi Centres: A Reappraisal of the Medieval Legacy in Sindh." *Sindh Through History and Representations: French Contributions to Sindhi Studies*, edited by Michel Boivin, Oxford UP, 2008, pp. 22–41.

Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. Kindle e-book, Basic Books, 2002.

Chakraborty, Dipesh. *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. U of Chicago P, 2002.

Geoghegan, Vincent. "Remembering the Future." *Utopian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1990, pp. 52–68. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/20719000.

Greenberg, Jonathan D. "Against Silence and Forgetting." *Partitioned Lives: Narratives of Home, Displacement, and Resettlement*, edited by Anjali Gera Roy and Nandi Bhatia, DK, 2008, pp. 255–273.

Hiranandani, Popati. *The Pages of my Life*. Translated by Jyoti Panjwani, OUP, 2010.

Huyssen, Andreas. "Memories of Utopia." *Twilight Memories*. Routledge, 1995, pp. 85–104.

Jotwani, Motilal. "Sindhi Scene: The Sindhi Angst." *Indian Literature*, vol. 33, no. 6 (140), Sahitya Akademi, 1990, pp. 164–72, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23338970.

---. "Sindhi Scene: Mixing Memory with Desire." *Indian Literature*, vol. 31, no. 6 (128), Sahitya Akademi, 1988, pp. 125–32, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23336029.

---. *Sufis of Sindh*. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India, 1986.

Kapoor, Badri Nath, editor. Kindle e-book, *Prabhat Advanced Hindi-English Dictionary*, Prabhat Prakashan, 2007.

Khan, Dominique-Sila. "Jhulelal and the Identity of the Indian Sindhis." *Sindh Through History and Representations: French Contributions to Sindhi Studies*, edited by Michel Boivin, Oxford UP, 2008, pp. 72–81.

Kothari, Rita. "Being-in-Translation: Sufism in Sindh." *Decentering Translation Studies: India and Beyond*, edited by Judy Wakabayashi and Rita Kothari, vol. 86, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009, pp. 119–32.

---. *Memories and Movements: Borders and Communities in Banni, Kutch, Gujarat.* Orient Blackswan, 2018.

---. "Pikchar with Rita: Mili and the Tender Ode to Longing and Missing." *Silverscreen India*, 16 Nov. 2020, www.silverscreenindia.com/movies/features/pikchar-with-rita-mili-and-the-tender-ode-to-longing-and-missing/.

---. "Sindhis: Hardening of Identities after Partition." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 39, no. 35, 2004, pp. 3885–3888.

---. *The Burden of Refuge: The Sindhi Hindus of Gujarat*. Orient Longman, 2007.

---. "Translation, Language, Anthropology: Notes from the Field." Interventions, vol. 18, no. 1, 2015, pp. 43–59.

---. *Unbordered Memories: Sindhi Stories of Partition*, edited by Rita Kothari, Penguin, 2009.

Kumar, Priya. "Beyond Tolerance and Hospitality: Muslims as Strangers and Minor Subjects in Hindu Nationalist and Indian Nationalist Discourse." *Living Together: Jacques Derrida's Communities of Violence and Peace*, edited by Elisabeth Weber, Fordham UP, 2013, pp. 80–103.

Levitas, Ruth. *Utopia as Method: The Imaginary Reconstitution of Society*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Markovits, Claude. *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. Cambridge UP, 2000.

---. "Urban Society in Colonial Sindh (1843–1947)." *Sindh Through History and Representations: French Contributions to Sindhi Studies*, edited by Michel Boivin, Oxford UP, 2008, pp. 42–51.

Mohan, Anupama. *Utopia and the Village in South Asian Literatures*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Moylan, Tom. "Introduction: The Critical Utopia." *Demand the Impossible: Science Fiction and the Utopian Imagination*, edited by Raffaela Baccolini, Peter Lang, 2014, pp. 1–12.

---. "The Utopian Imagination." *Demand the Impossible: Science Fiction and the Utopian Imagination*, edited by Raffaela Baccolini, Peter Lang, 2014, pp. 15–28.

Neumann, Birgit. "The Literary Representation of Memory." *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erl and Ansgar Nünning, W de G, 2008, pp. 333–344.

Panjabi, Kavita. *Old Maps and New: Legacies of the Partition, A Pakistan Diary*, Seagull Books, 2005.

Ramey, Steven Wesley. *Hindu, Sufi, or Sikh: Contested Practices and Identifications of Sindhi Hindus in India and Beyond*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Roy, Asim. "Introduction." *Living Together Separately: Cultural India in History and Politics*, edited by Mushirul Hasan and Asim Roy, Oxford UP, 2005, pp. 1–28.

Sangari, Kumkum. "Viraha: A Trajectory in the Nehruvian Era." *Poetics and Politics of Sufism & Bhakti in South Asia: Love, Loss and Liberation*, edited by Kavita Panjabi, Orient Blackswan, 2011, pp. 256–289.

Sawlani, Hargundas. Personal Interview. 7 August 2019.

Sawlani, Omprakash. Personal Interview. 15 November 2020.

Sawlani, Shanti Devi and Satyanand Sawlani. Personal Interview. 15 November 2020.

Shivdasani, Menka. "Post-Partition Sindhi Literature in India: A Historical Overview." *Sahapedia*, 4 Aug. 2017, www.sahapedia.org/post-partition-sindhi-literature-india-historical-overview.

Sikand, Yoginder. *Beyond the Border: An Indian in Pakistan*. Kindle e-book, Penguin, 2011.

Stewart, Charles. "Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture." *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2011, pp. 48–55, https://doi.org/10.5699/portstudies.27.1.0048.

Stewart, Tony K. "In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving Muslim-Hindu Encounter Through Translation Theory." *History of Religions*, vol. 40, no. 3, 2001, pp. 260 87, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3176699.

Thapan, Anita Raina. *Sindhi Diaspora in Manila, Hong Kong, and Jakarta*. Ateneo de Manila UP, 2002.

Zamindar, Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali. *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories*. Columbia UP, 2007.