SOCIAL SET—UP—CLASS STRATIFICATION;

The geo-political and economic conditions of Kashmir resulted in the lower standard of living of the people. The climate of the Valley adversely affected its inhabitants and the Kashmiri was quite content if there were no famines, floods, fires and epidemics. The political institutions exacted as much wealth from the people as they could. Inspite of a fairly good number of industries and trade and a large agricultural out-put, the majority of the Kashmiris were living in abject poverty. The state followed the policy of high taxation rates, high land revenue demand, trade tariffs and the state monopoly of almost all the products of the Valley. Moreover, the wealth of the Valley was continuously drained out to the Jammu province. The people were left with hardly anything to make their both ends meet. The whole society groaned under this rule that plunged the people into misery. Everything was on decline and liable to change at the risk of chance.


The Kashmiri society was male-dominated and the position of the women was miserable. They hardly enjoyed any right or status on their own. Most of them took part in agriculture and shawl-industry. Polygamy was common among the Muslims and traffic in women made their position worse. The priest dominated the majority of the Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims.

During the period under study many people changed their hereditary professions owing to their harassment by various institutions. The system of begar compelled the villagers to change their profession and they settled in Srinagar either as shawl-weavers or household servants, because the city population was exempted from begar. Then most of shawl-weavers, owing to exploitation by the karkhaneedars and the state exactions changed their occupation and went to the villages to escape the oppression. Most of them cut their fingers and thumb.

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There were three main tiers in the society of Kashmir.

The upper tier, irrespective of religion, comprised the Governors, Chief Officers, Jagirders, Karkhandars, traders and bankers. They had the privilege to exact from the wretched masses as much wealth as they could, while all the facilities of a costly dress, diet and housing were available to them. They indulged in the Dal trips with the dancing girls and had many kinds of drinks, wines, tea was also used by them as a luxury.

The host of revenue officials, priests and the shopkeepers formed the middle tier. The revenue officials were responsible for the realization of land revenue and other taxes. To that end, they adopted oppressive measures and exploited the peasants and artisans.

The cultivators, shawl-weavers, boatmen, and other workers comprised the lower group. They were the actual producers of wealth but that was exacted by the state and its officials. The interests of the villagers were kept subservient to those of the city population. The system of distribution of produce killed the --

8. For full details see Chapter II, of the thesis, pp. 80-97.
9. Hasan, Tarikh, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 762. Diwan Kripa Ram, was one of the Governors of Kashmir who used to have the pleasure trips to Dal on boats, packed with women. He was remembered as the Kripa Shrun being his nickname. (Shrun indicates the sound produced by the piles).
initiative in peasants and reduced their standard of living deplorably. The revenue system was such that the cultivators were left with literally nothing to tide over the period of misfortune, i.e., the cruel winter, when the snow lay deep and temperature came down to zero. They were subjected to severe taxation and the curse of begar also fell on them which resulted in their socio-economic degradation. Likewise the socio-economic condition of the workers was deplorable owing to the state attitude and the system of taxation in the country.

Character of the People:

The inhabitants of the Valley were physically a fine race in the whole of Indian sub-continent. They were of robust and muscular make, like those who served as the models of the "Farnesan Hercules".

14. They had to feed, out of their share the tailors, the washerman, the cobblers, the barbers, pirs, fagirs, and a large number of other people.
15. Lawrence, The India We Served, pp. 126—127.
16. Full details would be found in Chapter IV, pp. 225—235, of the thesis.
17. For details, See Chapter V, pp. 267—270, of the thesis. Still, they were in some respects "better off" than their fellows in British India. Atleast they had some grazing facility for their sheep and cattle, some fuel and warm clothes for winter and sufficient manure for cultivation.
The inhabitants of the city were rather slight. The villagers were the heavy load-carriers, with their muscles hard and compact, and could "twist saplings into tough writhes for lashing together loose bundles". Little children too carried loads and drove enormous buffaloes and the girls were great water-carriers who were accustomed to hard work. Women in the villages were always engaged in pounding the un-husked rice in the large wooden mortor with pestles five feet long. The Kashmiris were fair in colour of standard height, and had well shaped head, prominent nose, large dark eyes, often their checks were rosy.

The Kashmiris were known as good artisans and were ingenious as mechanics. They were regarded as superior in intelligence to their neighbours like the Punjabis, the Tibetans and the

20. Ibid.,
23. Ibid.,
Pathans. 28 The character of the Kashmiris has been mis-interpreted. They were called coward, dishonest and treacherous. 29 By nature and tradition they had been a fine and brave race. 30 But it was the unbreakable chain of invaders and conquerors who had murdered, oppressed and enslaved their ancestors, and so ground the life and heart out of them that their better selves had been crushed. 31 The political and economic conditions affected the character of the

28. Vigne, Travels, Vol. II, p. 42., Bernier, Travels, op. cit., p. 402, the author writes that "The kachemirys are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and the sciences they are not inferior to the Persians. They are also very active and industrious." See also, Oscar Eckenstein, The Karakorems and Kashmir, p. 37.

29. Drew, The Jammu and Kashmir Territories, p. 175., Torrens, Travels, op. cit., pp. 298--299., The author has quoted a native proverb, far from complimentary to the inhabitants of the happy Valley:

"Agar Kaht-ul-rigal uftad, az eshan one kum geeree, Eki Afghan, doum kumboh, seum badzat-i-Kashmiri!"

which may be rendered:

"Should fate decree a dearth of men, then, friend of mine, beware ye, of Afghan, Kumbo, scoundrel too, But worst of all, do thou eschew that ill-bred Knave Kashmiri!"

30. Drew, The Jammu & Kashmir Territories, p. 174., Torrens, Travels, op. cit., p. 310; "Our boatmen were possessed of vague notion of happy time, long long ago, when the men were all brave, hardy and war-like, the women all virtuous!"

31. Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 79., Del. Mar Walter, The Romantic Romantic East, op. cit., pp. 179-180. Torrens, Travels, op. cit., pp. 279-300. The author writes, "There is no doubt that they were originally of Brahmin origin; and prosperous must have been the people--wise, beneficent and energetic the rulers-- in those old days, if tradition and legend are to be believed, and the mighty monuments of a past grandeur, long anterior to the days when Mogul wealth and taste embellished the Valley, are to be looked on as faithful witnesses; but to this golden age succeeded centuries of oppression!" See also, Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 36.
people. The Kashmiris were starved of their necessaries of life so they learnt to lie in order to save themselves and their families from any official engine of destruction. They learnt never to trust any foreigner or stranger for they thought that he might have come to rob them and learnt to hoard and hide the produce of their own fields to fight the famine which had to come sooner or later. The Kashmiri like any orientalist had two sides of his character as distinct as light and darkness.

Language:

Kashmiri (Kashur as it is called) is a most peculiar language, largely based on Sanskrit. But there is a disputed point whether Kashmiri was ever a written language. Dr. Elmislie


33. P. Servis, This is Kashmir, pp. 304--305.

34. Ibid.,

35. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 4--5., writing about the nature of Kashmiris, the author says that "many of the hard things said about the Kashmiris are due to the fact that the official interpreters of their character have been foreigners, often grasping and corrupt, always unsympathetic. Mughal Subahs, Pathan Sirdars, Sikh and Dogra Governors dismissed all difficulties of administration, and all humane suggestions emanating from their masters, with the remark that the Kashmiris were dishonest, treacherous and zulm-parast. It is the old tale of giving a dog a bad name...."

36. Vigne, Travels, Vol. I, p. 368. He states that he was told on good authority that out of 100 Kashmiri words 25 will be found to be Sanskrit, or a prascrit, 40 Persian 15 Hindustani and 10 will be Arabic and some few Tibetan, Turki, See also Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 454; Drew, Jammu and Kashmir Territories, p. 470.
states that in ancient times it was written in the sharda character, there is a remarkable similarity between the Sanskrit and the ancient Kashmiri letters. But this idea is not agreed to by Babu Neelambar Mukerji, who states that Kashmiri was never written in sharda character which is incapable of representing the peculiar vocal sounds of the language and the works written in sharda characters are pure Sanskrit works, unintelligible to the Kashmiris. The Muslim rulers introduced the Persian language and with the passage of time, Kashmiri came to be written in Persian script. Therefore, the Persian remained the court language and the modern Kashmiri is generally rendered by Persian letters. There was some minor difference in the spoken languages of the Hindus and the Muslims, even the shawl-weavers possessed a language of their own, which differed from the modern Kashmiri, in which corrupt Persian words are present to a fairly large extent. The

38. Ibid., as recorded by the author Babu Neelambar Mukerji, M. A. B. L. has devoted much attention to the subject and is well qualified to give an opinion.
39. Ibid.,
40. Ibid.,
41. Ibid.,
inhabitants of Tilail and Gurais and the upper part of the Valley of the Kishen Ganga were acquainted with the Dard dialect, spoken commonly in those districts. Some tribes of the Valley like Wattals and the Gujjars used their own dialects.

**Houses:**

It is the geo-climatic position of a country on which rests the art of house building, and also the availability of building material and traditions. Most of the ancient public buildings were built of stone, but with the establishment of the Muslim rule, the wooden buildings became the order of the day. The common houses were mostly built of wood which was abundant and cheap in the Valley.

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43. Ibid., Bates, p. 200. Gurais, east and of the southern portion of the Valley was under Malik Waffedar, the descendant of the ancient Nawabs of the Valley and was then the Thanadar of Gurais under the Maharaja's Government.

44. Tilail, lay to the north-east of Kashmir. It was under the Maharaja, who put the village Muqadams in charge of the administration, under the Thanadar who resided in Badgam, from whom the appeal lay to the Governor of Kashmir, Ibid., p. 387.


Houses by the River, Srinagar.

Be moved from,

Harison, A lovely Summer in Kashmir.

Face, P. 225
In the city the houses were chiefly built of unburnt brick-work, in the frames of wood, the houses were usually of two or three storeys, and had windows and ventilators; the lattice and trellis (pinjra) work was carried on the windows and ventilators of the houses of rich and of public buildings. The windows were stopped up with boards, paper, rags, against the cold. The houses, both in city and villages, were provided with sloping roofs, resting on walls with gable ends. The wooden rafters of the roof were covered with a layer of birch-bark over which clay was laid. The houses of the poor had a roof with thatched straw and also rough shingle. The roofs were mostly covered


51. Moorcroft, Travels, p. 119.


54. Ibid., p. 270.

55. Ibid.,

with the flower plants such as "Imperial lilies". A trap door was usually there on the roof for reaching the snow over it in winter.

The farm-houses in the Valley resembled the European houses of the 13th and 14th centuries, and looked from a distance picturesque surrounded generally by the walnut, mulberry, and Chinar trees. The cottages were not crowded as seen in the villages of Punjab and Duggar or in Srinagar, but were detached by the earthen walls, mounds, or by small gardens. In the upper storey of the houses, an airy and comfortable verandah was provided where the people used to live for the summer months of the year. The inner rooms were usually unventilated while the rooms in the basement were kept entirely for the cattle in winter. The warmth of the animals kept the house warm and spared it from the cold of the winter. The upper floors were used by the inmates of the family.

57. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 249.
60. Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 76.
63. Neve, E. F. Beyond the Pir Panjal, p. 58.
64. Drew, Jammu and Kashmir Territories, pp. 176--177.
This contributed to the unhealthy conditions of the villagers, who, among other things, used to block up every hole to keep out the fresh air, thus causing moisture to drip from the ceiling. Within, the houses were dirty and no attempt was made to clean the houses or make them comfortable and to remove the filth piled up during the winter. There was no chimney system in the houses. Before the coming of the Afghans, doors were usually quite large. But during the Afghan rule their size was reduced to make it difficult for the Afghan horsemen to enter. As such the small doors have remained the fashion.

Both in the villages and the city the people used the mats (wacu) and slept on them and the straw, bedsteads being unknown. A cotton-spinning wheel (yander), a wooden pestle (Muhul) and mortar (qanz) for husking the rice and a few earthen pots for cooking.

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68. Marison, A Lonely Summer in Kashmir, p. 28, "The doors of the houses are so low that a man must stoop to pass through!"

69. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 250.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., Younghusband, Kashmir, p. 220.
and earthen urns for storing grain were the only utensils found in every household of a Kashmiri. Some of the people used earthen or copper pots according to their economic conditions. The Samavar (kettle) and couldron (decchi) were also used for preparing tea and rice. The Hindus used the utensils of brass, they ate off brass dishes and drank out of brass cups.

Dress:

It has been asserted that the national dress of the Kashmiris was like that of Kishtwaris, which consisted of a small shirt and tight trousers. During the long walks the woollen bandages were put around the calves of the legs. But there

72. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 250.

73. Torrens, Travels, op. cit., p. 309; Torrens writes that the Kashmiris acknowledged that its shape had been imitated from a Russian model brought by some travelling merchants years ago from the north. This lodge for keeping tea hot had evidently impressed them with a great respect for the Muscovite, and they may be said to imbibe with each cup of comfort a spice of Russian influence. Muscovite intrigue may lurk in the aroma of each domestic tea pot, and methought the very hiss of the steaming "Samavar" breathed a covert warning, prophetic of the future. See also Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 39. Vigne, Travels, Vol. II, p. 87. Ganeshi Lal, Siyahat-i-Kashmir p. 32.

74. Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 103.


76. Torrens, Travels, op. cit., p. 310, the author was told by some boatmen that in old days the Kashmiris used to wear the short clothes.
occurred a change in the dress of Kashmiris during Harsha's (1089-1101 A.D.) reign. Some changes were brought in the dress of Kashmiris under the Muslims. However, Kashmiris both men and women wore a simple dress consisting of a long gown, pheran, and trousers. The pheran was mostly made of woollen cloth so as to keep the body warm. The women wore it with wide sleeves and skirts were longer, descending to the ankles. Under the pheran there was the under-garment called pots made of cotton cloth. Both men and women used kamar-band, a piece of cloth tied around the waist. During the winter season, when men had to undertake the long journeys they wrapped their legs with two pieces of coarse cloth called Pataw. The head-dress of average men was turban or paqri.

78. Khasta, Hargopal Koul, Guldasta-i-Kashmir, pp. 73—474.
79. Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 35. "Pheran" is manifestly a contraction of Persian word "Pairahan", garment and tradition says, was introduced by emperor Akbar, who made the Kashmiris doff their more martial habiliments in order to subdue their then war-like spirit.
80. Ibid.,
82. Seif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. V, dated 27 December, 1833, f. 180., The soldiers of Maharaja Gulab Singh also used the Pataw. See Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 251—252.
(dastar), all of white colour, which Hindus smoothed over the right temple and the Muslims on the left. The Kashmiri cultivator's ordinary head-dress, when he was at work was a cotton skullcap and on some occasions he wore a pagri too. The little girls wore skullcap and married muslim women changed it for the turbans (gasaba) which was "studded with innumerable pins and over it a sphere of country cloth (pooch) to act, in the case of necessity, as a veil which also usually covered the whole back". The Hindu women's head-gear was called taranga, a white round turban. Those Kashmiri Pandits who migrated to India during the Afghan rule returned to Kashmir during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. These people immensely influenced the dress and social customs of those Pandits who came into contact with them.

The ordinary veil worn by the Kashmiri women was called burqa, which consisted of a long piece of cotton cloth thrown over the head and allowed to long down the back. It was common among the upper classes and absent among the Hanjis and watals.

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84. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 257.
86. Ibid.,
88. Ibid., Diven Badri Nath was one among them who become the Governor of Kashmir in 1887. A.D. Details discussed in chapter II, pp. 93-96 of the thesis.
89. Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p.35; Bates, says that it was called "puts."
90. Ibid., Bisoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 150.
91. Petrockkira, A., Cashmere--Three Weeks in a House Boat, p.84.
The *lunci* was a long piece of cloth worn around the waist over the *pharan* by the Pandit women, who never went abroad without this girdle. The women were generally ornamented with elegant ear-rings, nose rings, anklets, and bracelets. The women arranged their hair in a "peculiar" way and the practice was known as *wankapan*. The ordinary foot wear in Kashmir was the leather or straw sandal called *tsapli* or *pulahar* and the wooden patten for wet weather called *khraw*. The leather shoes were rare and were worn by the well-to-do on special occasions but the Hindu women avoided these.

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93. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 36, Bates writes about the arrangement of hair, that "It is drawn to the back of the head and finely braided; the braids are then gathered together, and being mixed with coarse woollen thread, they are worked into a very long plait, which is terminated by a thick tassel (gandapan) which reaches down to the loins." Saif-ud-Din, *Roznamcha*, Vol. VI, dated 17 Jan., 1053, f. 16. The Hindus of Kashmir started to shave and cut hair of their heads according to dogra style.


95. Ibid., p. 252.
However, their dress was mean in appearance, with a strange absence of colour. The dress of the people and their complexion blended while cultivating the land, with the tone of earth, newly cultivated. They were dressed in rags which could hardly hide their body and they were usually bare-footed. The peasant "presented the appearance rather of a starving beggar than of one who filled the coffers of the state". The total wardrobe of a peasant was worth about five rupees and a suit lasted for two years. The people always made an ostentation of extreme poverty, because any outward show was interpreted by the officials as a sign of hidden wealth, the latter as such doubly taxed them. They made rare use of ornaments, even the officials a voided wearing them. Thus it was the official tyranny which

96. Ibid.,
98. Ibid.,
100. Bazaz, P. N. Inside Kashmir, p. 252.
101. Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 75.
102. Ibid.,
103. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 252.
104. Brinkman, Narrative of a shooting Excursion, pp. 113--114.
105. Brinkman, The Wrongs of Kashmir, op. cit., p. 31; The author writes that "on one occasion, noticing a bracelet on the wrist of a village head-man, English traveller asked whether it was of silver. All the by-standers burst into laughter while the wearer anxiously assured him that it was only lead, adding "Silver", why? how should men wear silver in the country of Maharaja?"
KASHMIRI VILLAGERS

Borrowed from:
Hudson, A Lonely Summer in Kashmir.
Face, p. 14
made them to look dirty, in torn clothes, so as to escape the savage eyes of these tyrants.

**Diet:**

The staple food of Kashmiris consisted of rice and boiled vegetables. They also ate wheat, barley, maize and other grains. The leaves of the dandelion, dock, plantain, and mallow were eaten and the catkins of the walnut, seasoned with a little salt, mustard and walnut oil were also taken as food. The roof of the lotus called nadru, when boiled and flavoured was also eaten. The Muslims used pumpkin (especially mashed) with fondness, while the Hindus did not eat it. Both the Hindus and the

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106. Brinkman, *The Wrongs of Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 22., D. Norris, *Kashmir—the Switzerland of India*, p. 9, The author writes about the fashions in the dress of Kashmiris that "Good clothes, or even a neat appearance, would then have continued to indicate that the wearer was in easy circumstances and would have attracted tax-gatherers as surely as honey-scented flowers attract the bee."


108. Ibid.


110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., "It is of a palestraw colour, cylindrical, and about ten inches long and an inch and a half in diameter, and is considered highly nutritious."
Muslims consumed a good quantum of turnip (qooji) during the winter. The dried fruit and dried vegetables formed an important article of food in Kashmir during the winter. The Kashmiri found clarified butter (ghi) irritating his throat so he avoided its use. Two kinds of salt were used by the people—the better quality was imported from the Punjab while the inferior one came from Ladakh.

Kashmiris did not like pulses. The common ones were lobia (Doliches Sinensis), Mothi (Dhas-colus Aeonitifolius), Mong (phaseolus Mungo), Razmash (phascolus vulgaria) and Bagla (vicia-Fabe). The most common spices used in Kashmir were termeric, red, chilies, podina (corriander), zira (canaway seeds) and saffron. The Kashmiris did not relish sweets which were consumed

112. Ibid., p. 49; The turnips produced at Haripur were said to be the best in the Valley.
113. Ibid., p. 45., See Lawrence, The Valley, p. 254.
114. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 253.
115. Ibid., p. 254.
117. Ibid., p. 178; Lawrence, The Valley, p. 67.
more by the outsiders (Punjabis) than Kashmiris. Sugar was imported from the Punjab and was consumed in many forms—the brown-sugar known as batas or white loaf sugar known as nabat. The khand siyah (raw sugar) was used by the villagers.

The soft drinks of Kashmiris consisted of milk, tea and sharbats. Cows milk was popular. The goat's milk was consumed by children. Many varieties of tea came from three sources—Bombay tea from China, hill tea from Kangra in the Punjab and green tea from China, via Lhassa and Ladakh. The Kashmiris were very fond of tea and prepared it either salty with milk known as shir-chai or sweet without milk known as kahva. A variety of distilled water (Araks) rose-water, Bed-Mushk, and other drinks got from the seeds of quinces were also taken.

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120. Ganeshi Lal, Siyahat-i-Kashmir, p. 35.
122. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 364.
124. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 254.
Wine was prepared from grapes and Rudang (Muzeth). During the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh the State distillery in Srinagar was opened and the number of wine shops increased. Nodoubt, the drinking was on increase among the people, but the public opinion was completely against the use of wines and the drunkard was looked down upon so one could rarely see a drunken men in the street.

Smoking was common in Kashmir and Naswar (snuff) was used by both men and women.

Poultry was abundant and the people took of widely except the Hindus who did not even touch the poultry or eggs but ate wild fowls and the eggs of the lake birds. Flesh was eaten both by Hindus and Muslims especially of goat and sheep. The Hindus insisted on having any bird they ate made Halal in Muslim fashion.

132. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 346.
133. Ibid., pp. 253--254.
135. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 254 (F.N.)
Cow slaughter was regarded as an act of sacrilege by the Hindus
and Dogra rulers prohibited the slaughter of cow, with the charge
of crime involving capital punishment. The people also ate fish
and it was mostly consumed by those people who lived near the lakes.
The water-nut (sindhara) formed the chief item of food for Hanjis.

136. Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. VI, dated 17 September,
1853, f. 105. The Roznamcha contains a proclamation Ishtihar-
i-Cow Kashi, prohibiting the slaughter of cow. Vol. VII,
dated March, 1854, f. 85. It is full of the punishments
given to the people who were suspected of the crime. Biscoe,
Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 113. The author remarks
that on the bridge Feth Kadal was a pole and hook, "on which
used to swing the bodies of those who had been convicted
of killing cows, as a warning to the citizens." Again the
author writes (p. 123) that anyone who killed a cow was
"boiled in oil and then hung from a hook which was fixed
on to a pole in a public place." Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha,
Vol. VI, July 1, 1853, f. 52. A woman, who was bitten by a
cow, wounded the cow with a short knife. It was ordered that
the woman's head of the woman be shaved and her tongue
be pulled out, whereafter she be paraded through five
parganahs. See also Vol. III, dated 25 August, 1850, f. 99.
Lawrence, India We Served, p. 135; Ince, Kashmir Handbook,
p. 22; Dugsal, Letters From India and Kashmir, p. 172;
Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, pp. 15-16; Sinclair, G.,
Khyber Carvan, p. 43; Robert Thorp, Cashmere Misgovernment,
op. cit., p. 77.

437. Torrens, Travels, op. cit., p. 306; Forster, Journey, op.cit.,
Vol. II, p. 327; Vigne, Travels, Vol. II, p. 117; Bates,

138. Anesley, Our Visits to Hindustan, op. cit., pp. 82-83;
Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 35, Schönberg, Travels,
op. cit., Vol. II, p. 103; Knight, Where Three Empires,
Meet, p. 86; Wakefield, The Happy Valley, op. cit., pp. 154-
(boat-people). But it was a government monopoly. The Government derived a considerable amount of revenue from the specie.\(^{139}\)

Although the Kashmiri cultivator was fond of eating and required, plenty of food while working in their fields\(^{140}\), he could not afford what might be called two square meals a day for himself and the members of his family. Rice was the government monopoly and it was mostly sent to the city to feed the city people, but there too the working classes could not get it with ease. The villagers could hardly obtain their beloved food rice\(^{141}\). No doubt, they had "ample food"\(^{142}\) which they could obtain without much labour or effort but every article of their food was heavily taxed by the Government. In Kashmir, fruits were left to rot on the ground, but for these people it was the diet for some time of the year\(^{143}\). These poor people lived mostly on the turnips and herbs\(^{144}\). Their motto was "sufficient for the day"\(^{145}\), but they even did not get for that day,


\(^{140}\) Lawrence, The Valley, p. 253.

\(^{141}\) Lawrence, The Valley, p. 254.

\(^{142}\) Ibid., p. 255.

\(^{143}\) Birdwood, Two Nations and Kashmir, p. 29.


\(^{145}\) Wakefield, The Happy Valley, p. 136.
they died in hundreds even in normal times from hunger and were left to starve. It was during the period under study that they were debarred from the resources of nature—the fish of their water. The Maharaja of Kashmir never thought it his responsibility to feed his subjects, "Whom he holds in bondage," but rather taxed them and enriched himself with their labour.

People and Their Life:

The Villagers:

It remained the policy of the government for a long time to subordinate the interests of the cultivators to the welfare and ease of the city people. The Kashmiri peasant could turn his hand to anything and supplemented his income by subsidiary industries.

146. Seif-ud-Din, Roznamche, Vol. IV, dated 14 August, 1851, f. 79.


149. Ibid.,

150. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 272; See also, pp. 214—215 of the thesis.
such as weaving, gardening, cattle breeding and bee-keeping. Some of the villagers went to the plains in search of work during the winter. There they worked as labourers and saved their wages, returning in the early summer to their homes to cultivate their fields. They were taxed by the Government for the profits with which they returned. They could build their own houses, could make their own sandals and make their own ropes.

**Poultry:**

In every village there used to be excellent fowls, ducks and capons. So poultry was found in abundance which formed a source of considerable income to the villagers and government. In 1861 A.D. it was ordered that each village should be paid two annas to buy a hen and then the village in return should supply additional four birds from each hen during one year.

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152. Ibid.
156. Ibid., p. 365.
157. Ibid., pp. 365-366.
Avantivarman founded the city of Avantipura. Shankaravarman founded Sankarapura. Kanishka built Kanishkapura and while Juskapura was erected by Juska, Hushkapura was founded by Huska.

16. Kak, R.C., Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, p. 146. The ancient remains of Parihaspura may be found near the present Shahidpur village, about 9 miles in a direct line to the north-west of Srinagar. Lalitaditya and his ministers seem to have vied with each other in embellishing the new city with magnificent edifices which were intended to be worthy alike of the Kings glory and the ministers affluence.

17. Kalhana, Rajatarangini, BK, IV, VS, 506., Vol. I, p. 167. The town was founded near the village Andarket, situated on the Sambal Lake, 74° 42' long. 34° 13' lat.

18. Ibid., BK, V, VS, 44-45, Vol. I., p. 191. Avantipur lies on the right bank of the Jhelum, midway between Islamabad and Srinagar. It is situated at the bed of the river 33° 55' lat. and 75° 3' long., at a distance of 18 miles from Srinagar. See Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, pp. 179-180.

19. Samkarpura lies on the Baramulla road, 17 miles from Srinagar, the temples built there are in a ruined condition, but the town never rese to any importance. It was called Pstn and is still called by that name. Kalhana, Rajatarangini, BK, V, VS 213, Vol. I, p. 213.

20. Ibid., BK, I, VS, 168, Vol. I, p. 30. It has been identified with the village Kanisper, 74° 14' lat. situated between the Vitasta and the high road leading from Baramulla to Srinagar.

21. Ibid., Juskapur has been identified by Cunningham with the village Zukur, to the north of Srinagar, about four miles from Hariparbat hill.

22. Cunningham, Ancient Geography, pp. 99 Sq., has identified Huskapura with Uskar, a village about two miles to the south east of Baramulla, on the left bank of Vitasta 74° 26' long. 34° 12' lat. Kalhana, Rajatarangini, BK, I, VS 168, Vol. I, p. 20.
Cattle-Rearing:

The cattle-breeding was carried on in most villages. All cattle were sent for grazing to the up hills in the summer due to the intense heat in the plains and returned from there in winter. The shepherds received two percent of the flocks, if the flock was intact and were paid in kind, (rice). The farmers used to stock sufficient food of various tree leaves for cattle during winter and grass was also preserved for winter in such a way as to save it from rotten-ness.

Every person with a milch cow had to supply one seer of ghee annually as tax and if it was not paid in kind, it was collected in cash at the rate of 10 to 20 rupees. even the keeper of ten horses had to supply one as government tax.

The sheep, which was of importance to villagers, was meant for wool production upto the age of four years. In 1852 A.D. the tax on sheep or goat per head was fixed at the rate of

166. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 358.
169. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 360.
eight annas (chilki). In 1858 A.D., it was raised from Rs. 9--6 annas to Rs. 10/- on one hundred sheep, in addition to the purchase of one sheep out of hundred from a stockist for 4 annas. In addition, any peasant with a buffalo had to pay a tax of two to four rupees per head which brought the state in 1854 A.D. an income of rupees twelve thousand.

The agricultural class was also well acquainted with the medicinal properties of various plants, with which they used to cure their diseases.

The Villages Community:

Every village had its mosque, where the villagers used to offer prayers (Nimaz) especially during the month of Ramzan. In most of the villages there was a Muslim shrine (Astan). It played an important role in the village community and the religious life.

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171. Ibid., Vol. XI, Dated July 10, 1858, f. 98. Mohi-ud-Din, Roznamcha, XIII dated Jan. 2, 1861, f. 2. The author has mentioned that these peasants had to feed and keep certain state owned stock of sheep for winter and to return the lot plus one yard of puttoo per sheep on each batch of one hundred kept by them in addition to sheep tax.
174. Neve, E. F., Things Seen in Kashmir, pp. 63-64; Neve, E.F., Beyond the Pir Panjal, p. 58
of the peasants who out of regard brought the gifts to the shrine. The peasants had a great regard for safed posh, custodians of the shrine. They posed to be poor but never worked and lived on the labour of others. They got a considerable income out of the "making or selling of charms" to the villagers who wore them, and considered them as well as the shrines as means of protection from "disease and disaster and to it they look for aid in times of stress or in any special enterprise. The safad posh lived in better houses, had excellent gardens and good orchards and had a considerable influence in the villages. Though the villagers had a great regard for them but they in turn, had no sympathy for an ordinary peasant, but would "side with the native officials" on any issue.

Bhaqqats was a class of villagers who dramatised the working of the village community. They unveiled the corrupt practices of the village officials by performing their role on the stage.

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176. Ibid.,
179. Ibid., p. 66.
181. Ibid., p. 256.
They also depicted the role of different villagers. It was said about Gulab Singh that he "acquired a very intimate knowledge of village administration from the Bhagats' performances...".

Another class of village community was the Shafts. They were "either minstrels who sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, or the village poets, who suddenly spring up in the midst of business and recite in a loud, shrill tone the praises of the most influential person present." They were miserably poor and sometimes not quite sane.

The village community also comprised the weavers, carpenters, axemen, sawyers, basket-makers, black-smiths and potters. There existed the barter system of exchange in the village. The peasant

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182. Ibid., Lawrence has picked up many hints from them regarding the role of patwari (village accountant) and writes that "the plot is very much the same. The Raja rides by, burning to redress injustice, and his wazir seizes on the patwari and the Lambardar and calls for the village accounts. The unfortunate villager who has brought his grievances to the Raja's notice is at first very loud and noisy in his complaint, but as he sees the wazir and the patwari laying their heads together he becomes silent and sits as one fascinated. The denouement is that the wazir finds that the patwari is innocent, and the complainant receives a severe flogging."

183. Ibid.,

184. Ibid.,

185. Ibid.,
used to acquire his necessaries by paying for them in grain or money. Bania was an essential element in the village economy who worked under the system of wad.

In the domestic life Kashmiri peasant was the equal of any Indian peasant. He did not indulge in amusements, while he was at his best in his home, kind to his wife and children who helped him in all his jobs.

The City—People:

The city was inhabited by the Muslims and the Hindus. The Muslims of the city were similar in character and disposition to the people of the villages. The city-man was more lazy, helpless and effeminate. In his opinion it was the duty of the state to feed him and being too delicate to work, it was the duty of the villagers to be taken as labourers for carriage work or begar. Srinagar there were four baths and the great institution was known as hammam.

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186. Ibid., p. 5. With regard to the money lenders (Bania) the proverb goes "Zemindar bechwun wadhwal padshah" meaning zemindar (cultivator) becomes pauper while the money-lender gets richer.

187. Ibid.,

188. Lawrence, The Inside India We served, p. 144.

189. Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 77.


191. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 281.

192. Ibid., "For half an anna a man can have a regular bath, while one quarter of an anna entitles him to the privilege of standing under the tap of water."
The men went to the bath in the day, and the women at night and they took their food with them. The Muslims considered it necessary to go to *hamam* once a week.\(^{193}\)

The city Hindu was in some respects different to the Hindu of the villages. In the villages they worked as the agriculturists\(^{194}\) and were simple, hard-working and healthy whereas in the city, the Hindus earned their living by pen\(^{195}\) and state-employment and also followed trade\(^{196}\). They were intelligent, charming and had excellent manners, but as officials they proved to be rapacious, short-sighted, and cruel\(^{197}\). At home, they were generous and the head of the family had to support all the members, they were very true to one-another.\(^{198}\)

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193. Ibid.,


197. Ibid.,

The Brahmans of Kashmir always bore the title "Pandit." They were, as recorded by W. Lawrence, 52,576 in number, 28,695 lived in Srinagar and the towns and the rest 23,881 lived in different villages, who were engaged in agriculture. There were three classes of Pandits in Kashmir Jotish (Ostrologer class), Guru or Bachabat (priestly class) and the Karkun (working class). The two classes of Jotish and Karkuns did not intermarry with the priestly class. Because the former two classes hated the practice of accepting the apparel of deceased Hindus, by the members of the priestly class.


200. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 296; The author has given the total number of Brahmans in Kashmir as 60,316 at page 302, while he gives their number as 52,576 at page 296. Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. VII, dated 31 Jan., 1854 ff. 36,38; it is recorded that in 1854 the Pandits of Srinagar numbered 25,000.

201. Ibid., pp. 302-303. They were learned in the shastra and drew up the calendars in which prophecies were made about the events of the coming year. Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 32. Elmslie puts the number of their houses at 100 to 150.

202. They performed the rites and ceremonies of the Hindu religion. They were regarded as divine and were cut off from mankind. Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 32. The author has recorded the remarks of Dr. Elmslie who puts the number of their houses at 500.

203. They made their living out of state employment and many of them sought other occupations such as cooks, bakers, confectioners, and tailors and other professions except those of cobblers, potters, corn-friers, porters, boatmen, carpenters, masons or vegetable and fruit sellers. Vigne, Travels, Vol., II, p. 136. Ganeshi Lal, Sivahat-i-Kashmir, p. 32.
of the priestly class. Contrariwise the jotish and karkun Pandits internaray. The city Pandits were sedulous for the education of their children.

The Pandits were divided into some tribes or families (gotras), but these were all arranged under the two great divisions of the Hindus, the Malamasis and Baruhmasis. The Pandits were remembered by the name "Bat:"

Khattris:

The Khattris of Srinagar were known as Bohmas and were engaged in trade and shop-keeping. They had adopted the customs and rites of the Brahmanas but enjoyed no caste fellowship with them.

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204. Lawrence, The Valley, pp. 302–303.

205. Vigne, Travels, Vol. II, pp. 52–53. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 304. Lawrence records that there were "eighteen known gotras among the Levite Brahmanas and 103 among the other Brahmans in Kashmir." While as the Census of India (1891) Kashmir, p. 135 gives the number of gotras as 133.

206. Vigne, Travels, Vol. II, pp. 193, 152–53. "The Malamasis, or the old stock, are the strictest Hindus, and are followers of Siva and Vishnu, confining themselves to the practices of their religion." See also Census of India (1891), Kashmir, p. 136. They stuck to lunar calendar.

207. The Barehmasis comprised generally the tradesmen and Munshis etc., Most of them had come from outside and stuck to solar calendar. Census of India, (1891), Kashmir, p. 136.

208. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 305. Census of India, (1891), Kashmir, p. 139.
Sikh Brahmans:

The Sikh Brahmans were originally from the Punjab and their chief settlements were in the *parcanas* of Tral, Kruhin and Hamal. In 1835 their number was recorded to be about 2000. They were fair cultivators of dry crops and served as the soldiers of Nizamat regiment which was maintained for the collection of revenue. They were quite different from the Brahmans of Kashmir.

Rajputs:

Some of the Mian Rajputs were granted jagirs and revenue-free lands during the period under study, who settled in the Valley and took an active part in the services of the state. They chiefly settled in the Deosar Tehsil, around the foot of the mountains in the south of the Valley.

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212. Ibid., See also Chapter IV, p. 98 of the thesis.

213. Lawrence, *The Valley*, p. 305.
Muslims:

The Muslim population of the Valley numbered 883,099 and out of them 93,575 resided in Srinagar and the rest formed the rural population. The caste system was not strictly followed among the Muslims who ate in company and no doubt there was the custom of marrying in the same caste but sometimes marriages outside the caste were also made. The Muslims of the Valley could be divided among the Sheikhs and the Saiyids, Mughals and Pathans who were in minority. There were about twenty tribes or clans among the Muslims in Kashmir. The tribal names were called the kram, which was often changed by the people according to the profession they practised. They could also inter-marry after entering into the kram. The kram was also adopted after some incidents that earned them nicknames.

214. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 306.
216. They were the descendants of Hindus and lived mostly in the villages.
217. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 306.
220. Ibid., The author has recorded that "Azad, the Pathan tyrant, sliced off the ears of an old and faithful servant because he was slow, and banished him to Lolak. His descendants are numerous and their kram Kana-chattu, the "crop-eared".
Sheikhs:

The Sheikhs comprised the people who were Muslims or had embraced Islam and lived mostly in villages. They were Firzadas, Babas, Rishis, the Mullahs, Mals, Chaks, Chakkar, Wani, Paro, Parar, War and Kambe. The Firzadas inter-marry with the Saiyads. The Rishis did not marry, did not eat meat, were wanderers in the jungles, living upon wild herbs, particularly one called Wopulhak. The Mullahs or priests were divided into two classes— those in the first were the learned in law and were designated at Moulvi, Qazi, Akhund, or Mufti, and the Mulas less learned led the prayers in the mosques, taught children the Quran and lived upon the offerings of the people. The second class called Mals had fallen in the social position. They washed and prepared the dead bodies for burial and dug graves. They were not allowed to inter-marry with the Mullahs or other people. The Chaks were the warriors of Kashmir and played prominent role in the History of Kashmir in the 16th century A.D.

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221. Ibid.,
223. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 308.
224. Ibid.,
Saiyads:

They practised religion as a profession (Pir Muridi), as also agriculture and other pursuits. They were considered to be foreigners and were looked up to in the villages. The villagers could inter-marry in the families of the Saiyads practising agriculture, but could not even think of marrying into a Saiyad family of Pir profession. Mir was the kram name of the Saiyads which was prefixed to his name when he was in Pir profession and when he took up a mundane profession, the Mir was affixed to his name.

Mughals:

Some of the Mughals came in the early days of Muslim rule in Kashmir while others came in the Mughal times. Their krams were Mir (corruption of Mirza), Beg, Bandi, Bach, and Ashaye. They did not inter-marry with the ordinary Kashmiri Muslims.

Pathans:

The Pathans were chiefly to be found in the uttar Machipura and Kuki Kheyl. The Afridis were to be found in Dranghaim. They mostly spoke pashtu but due to inter-marriages with the Kashmiris, they younger generation resembled Kashmiris and spoke their language.

226. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 308. The Saiyads could hesitate to marrying in other classes. Neve, E.F., Beyond the Pir Panjal, p. 83., Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 22.
227. Ibid.,
228. Ibid., p. 309.
229. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 309.
The majority of them came to Kashmir during the Afghan rule and many of them were introduced by Maharaja Gulab Singh who granted them jagirs for the service on the frontier. They furnished certain men for the Gilgit road. They were known by the kram name.

**Bombas:**

The Bombas were found chiefly in the Machipura tehsil which they held revenue-free. They were poor but originally a warlike tribe and degenerated into a "feeble, ridiculous, and most pitiable condition." They inter-married and gave their daughters in marriage to Saiyads. The head of the Bomba family was addressed as Raja and the area in which they lived was known as Majwera.

**Faqirs:**

In most of the villages there were the Faqirs or professional beggars. They worked as agriculturists during the summer and begged in winter. The beggars married among themselves (Bechanwol). They considered their profession most honourable.

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230. Ibid., "The Afridis, or Khyberis as they are called, furnish thirty-five men for service on the Gilgit road, and the Machipuri as twenty-five. In payment for this they hold certain villages free of revenue."

231. Ibid.,

232. Ibid.,

233. Lawrence, _The Valley_, pp. 309-310.

They had a great influence in the villages and acted as police men in the village, to look after the crops. They injured the villagers and were dreaded and disliked. They had never stolen state treasure but brought large amounts of silver from the tehsil treasuries to Srinagar.

**Galawans:**

The galawans were the horse-keepers and originally earned their livelihood by grazing ponies, but with the passage of time they turned into an established criminal tribe. They were sternly dealt with by the Sikh Governor Colonel Mian Singh and also by Maharaja Gulab Singh, Maharaja Ranbir Singh sent them to Junji as the colonists. They had become so notorious that the term galwan was used for a man of violent and predatory habits.

**Chaupans:**

The Chaupans (Pohl) were the shepherds who married among themselves. They sold a considerable number of sheep and themselves a few of these entrusted to their care. These shepherds were robust

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236. Lawrence, *The Valley*, p. 311.
237. Ibid., pp. 311—312.
238. Ibid., pp. 361—362 and 312.
and strong and were chary and active. In the winter and early spring they lived in the villages where they sometimes possessed a little arable land. They bear the kram name of Waggi. The villagers had to live in their mercy.

**Hanjis**

The boat-men (Hanz or Hanjis) formed a quite different section of people who resided in the boats— the floating houses. They claimed that Noah was their ancestor. According to the census of 1891 they were 33,780 in number. Physically they were muscular and active with well-developed bodies. The family pattern of the Hanjis was also different. The father acted as an autocrat, to whom all earnings were given by his sons or daughters who supplied them with food. There was a hierarchy of caste-system, among the boat-men, according to their occupations. The semi-amphibious community of the boat-men was known as Demha-Hanz who were to be the vegetable growers and were mostly the owners of Radhs or floating gardens. The Param Hanz (acari hanz) was the class of boatmen confined to

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239. Ibid., p. 361. The proverb "Koh Kotwal Yer Subadar", is applied to the Chourens which means that "the mountains is the magistrate, and the pine the policemen, and both are alike deaf to the complaints of the villagers." Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Roznamche, Vol. XIII, dated Jan. 18, 1861. ff. 11, 13. The shepherds were asked to keep arms for the protection of their sheep and also for the protection of frontiers.

240. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 313.


242. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 313.

243. Ibid.,

244. Ibid.,
KASHMIRI BOAT-FOLK

Reviewed from—
Marison, A Lonely Summer in Kashmir,
Free, 1.25
the banks of Wular occupied in gathering Sinchera nuts. These two classes were considered high castes among the Hanjis. The next among them were the War-Hanz who lived in large barges. The Dunca Hanz, living in Dungras, prostituted their females and the worst among them were the Mar Hanz living in Nalla Mar. The Gad-Hanz earned their living out of fishing. The Hekh-Hanz constituted the section who made their livelihood by dredging drift wood in the river. The Dunca-Hanz and Gad-Hanz were known for their invective powers and for their vocabulary of abuse. They do many a job from a big business in grain to cooking a visitor's dinner. Their income was uncertain and irregular. What little they earned was in summer months as the general business in Kashmir remained suspended during the six months of winter. The monthly wages of a boatman were six shillings a month, out of which the Maharaja claimed twenty pence.

245. Ibid., pp. 313-314.

246. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 314. The author has rightly traced the picture of their quarrels when "a quarrel arises between members of two boats, one woman stands up on the prow of the boat and commences a torrent of invective, to which, the one in the other boat promptly replies. The men remain sealed listening with interest to the dialogue. If night sets in before the women are exhausted, they invert their rice baskets (Faj) which signifies that the quarrel is not ended, but laid aside till morning, when the wordy warfare is recommended with fresh vigour."

so the net wages of a boatman fully employed were four shillings and four pence a month. The hire for a large boat was half a rupee, a shilling a day, for two shilling a day for a shikara. On the whole the boatmen lived a miserable and hard life. They had to incur expenditure on food, clothing, fuel and other miscellaneous items. Like other Kashmiris their staple food was rice, eaten with Hak, their favourite vegetable. Their dress included a pharan, salwar (trousers) and a head-gear. Both men and women wore long white calico dress buttoned close round the throat. The men arranged their turbans quite differently from the Pandits or Muslims from other walks of life. Women wore a scarf of white calico. Their hair was done in tight plaits. The women and children were beautiful but were mostly found to be dirty and naked. They were labelled as rogues and cheat. There was a lot of official tyranny exercised on them. The kram names Denger, Dar and Mal.

248. Ibid., Del Mar, Walter, The Romantic East, op. cit., p. 187. The author records "the charge for the boats was one rupee eight annas per day, the use of the cooking utensils eight annas, and the hire of eight coolies at four annas each came to two rupees, making a total charge of four rupees per day... a dunca can be hired for twenty to thirty rupees a month!

249. The women did not wear burqa. Petrocokna, A., Cashmere, Three Weeks in a House-boat, p. 84., Aynesley, Our Visits to Hindustan, p. 75.

250. Aynesley, Our Visits to Hindustan, p. 179. The author reports in 1870 A.R. that inquiring of a boatman why he did not make his wife a really pretty woman, and his children, engaging little things, wash everyday and wear clean clothes, his explanation was that if he kept his wife cleaner than those of other boatmen, the Baboo would report to the Vakeel that he was earning more money and he would be more heavily taxed. See also Bayley, Viola, Kashmir Adventure, pp. 12--13.

251. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 314.
Watals:

The watals were outcastes from the community and were divided into two classes. The upper class watals followed the Muslim rules in their habit of food and were admitted into mosques and the lower class that ate carrion and were excluded from the mosques. They were a wandering tribe. The first class watals manufactured boots and sandals and those of the second class made winnowing trays of leather and straw and were mostly the scavengers. They lived in the wattled huts at some distance from the peasants cottages. Their women were beautiful and in the city they followed the profession of dancing and singing. The out-castes had no religion so were to be trusted. They married only within their own class because they were considered to be very low in the social hierarchy.

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253. Ibid., Lawrence, The Valley, p. 314.

254. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 315.


256. Neve., E. F. Beyond the Fir Penjal, p. 83.
The other tribe which lived on the fringe of the mountains were the Gujars who were not the Kashmiris and spoke Parim or Hindki. They were Muslims, ignorant, inoffensive and simple people.  

The social stratification was mainly based on the economic conditions. Wealth alone commanded position and poverty degraded the family. In the city the kram names were purely the nicknames, the only respectable krams were Bande, Bach, Kanth and Gan. Some of the low grade krams assumed their surnames from the animals, insects, trades, occupations, and places. Some of the persons were given the title Ju to be affixed to their names and they lost their kram names. In the villages too the social gradation was based on the wealth and occupations. The 'zamindars' (peasants) were superior to taifaders (those who were market gardeners, herdsmen, boatmen, shepherds, leather workers and others).

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257. Ibid., p. 316.

258. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 310.

259. Ibid., The kram names after the animals were Gacru (rat), Band (bullock), Bror (cat); and after the insects were Fisu (flies).

260. Ibid., The person who was named Habib Gadeh, after affixing Ju came to be known as Habib Ju.; Sultan Guzarban was named Sulju.
Customs and Ceremonies:

The customs and ceremonies connected with the birth, marriage and death among the Muslims and Hindus in Kashmir were many and interesting. Both the Hindus and the Muslims believed that the natural calamities were the result of the animosities and God or goddesses, and these could be warded off by invoking the deities and by performing certain religious ceremonies. Similar ceremonies were performed by them at the outbreak of cholera or smallpox. They were so superstitious that the teeth...
of elephant were taken as teeth of jin and were considered most sacred by the Pandits.

They believed in witchcraft. According to George Buhler the followers of Lord Siva were famous for their proficiency in black art. These people attributed their family evils, troubles and losses to witchcraft and evil spirits. The Hindus also believed in evil eye and bad omen.

Many ceremonies were performed by the Hindus and Muslims on the birth of a child. The mother had to use the straw bed at the time of confinement, known as hurru and the mother was known as losa.

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267. Buhler, George, Tour in search of Sanskrit, MS, 1875. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 299 n. Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. X, dat. Jan. 19, 1857, ff. 15, 17. The two kothadars of Srinagar, Wasu Dev and Devkinand, had employed some Brahmans to gain Maharaja's favour by means of magic witchcraft when exposed, both of them were put into prison, Vigne, Travels, Vol. I, pp. 328-321. The author remarks that the movement of log in the spring caused by whirlpool was considered as something animated under the influence of a Deval or the spirits of the place.

268. Bisce, Kashmir In Sunlight and Shade, p. 159. The author remarks that if anyone left his home in the morning and if an ugly woman, or a one-eyed person or a dog or donkey came from the opposite direction, the person would have either "to retrace his steps or passed the time in great anxiety, fearing some misfortune."

269. For full details see Lawrence, The Valley, pp. 258--259.
The head of the baby-child was shaved at a fixed time and a great ceremony was performed in the house. The sacred thread was invested to the male child after attaining the age of seven years and before he reached his thirteen years and the ceremony was called Yagneopavit.

When a child was born in a Muslim household, the priest whispered the Azan into the right ear of the child and repeated the same into his left ear. The heads of both male and female babies were clean shaven. A ceremony was performed when the child was circumcised (khutna) and the child was placed on a basket under which the cock was cooped, perquisite of the barber.

Among both the Hindus and Muslims the marriages were arranged by the middle man (Manzimyor) and the selection was made by the parents. The ceremony on marriage of a Hindu was called Lagan and that of the Muslims was known as nikah. Among the

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271. Ibid.,
272. Lawrence, The Valley, pp. 270--271.
Muslims the system of *Khana-damadi* was prevalent which was a torture on the boys. Among the Pandits the system of dowry was common and after the marriage ceremony the girl could visit her father's house on the condition that the latter when he invited her had to pay *feth*, "a severe tax on the Pandits blessed with daughters".

276. Lawrence, *The Valley*, pp. 267—268., "The system of *khana-damadi* is said to have become common in Sikh times, and if forced labour was wanted for transport the unfortunate *khanadamadi* was always sent. If he came back alive he won his bride. If he died it did not matter as the son of the house, at any rate, escaped. At present the custom of *khanadamadi* is very popular. It has two advantages. In the first place, the father of the girl receives a drudge, who works like a slave for seven years, and in the second place, the expenses on betrothal and marriage are very small. Some men are very unscrupulous in the matter of *khanadamadi*, and turn boys out of their house on some small pretext and give their daughters to a stranger, but as a rule, the boy who has worked out his term of probation gets his bride."


278. It was paid on all the great holidays, anniversaries, domestic events, and birthdays. Lawrence, *The Valley*, p. 262.
Muslims as well as Hindus made offerings to the dead on some prescribed occasions. The Hindu performed the Shradaha ceremonies while the Muslims organized Khatam-i-Sharief.

It was believed that male issue alone could perpetuate the family so a Hindu could adopt a son from his own gotra or from other gotra, with only one restriction that the adopted son had not been invested with the sacred thread. The polygamy was practically unknown among the Hindus. The Shariat was followed by the Muslims in case of marriage, dower (Mahr) and divorce.

**Leisure and Recreation:**

During the summer, in the villages, the people assembled on a chabutra (raised platform) under a plane tree in the evening where they discussed various problems and smoked the pipe. In villages games were not so popular as in the city.

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279. Ibid., p. 263.
280. Ibid., p. 271.
281. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 266.
282. Ibid., pp. 266-267.
283. Ibid., pp. 269 and 296.
Snow Game:

In winter at the first snow, the people tried to deceive their friends with something concealed in a piece of cloth with the remarks, "Na shin Mubarak" which means "the new snow is innocent". The deceived person was forced either to dance or to entertain the deceiver with a feast. This game was quite equal to the making of April-fool.

Mimic Warfare:

Before the time of Maharaja Gulab Singh, different wards of Srinagar "used to turn out with slings and stones, and played a very earnest and serious game". But Maharaja Gulab Singh did not approve of this fighting spirit, and put a stop to this mimic warfare.

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285. Even today the people in Kashmir deceive their friends at the first snowfall in winter by presenting a thing especially a 'kangri' to which is attached the snow, with the remarks 'Shin-i-Sharif' which means "to have won the bet", and the deceived person is asked to give feast of "Harse" (a Kashmiri dish prepared from meat).


288. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 255., Imperial Gazetteer, p. 41.
It was common all over Indie and was played in Srinagar too. In this game the loser had to give a ride to the winner on his back. In the Punjab it was called Dunde Litti.

Hop-scotch was a common game and one of the seven compartments was known as "hell".

Little girls had their rag dolls, arranged their marriages and carried them in toy palankins. Kashmir was also celebrated for wrestling.

On the river banks one could see three or four women or girls sitting in a ring presenting their backs to each other. Each one seemed to be "scratching the head of the one in front, but, as a matter of fact, they have reverted to type, to their ancestors of the forests, and are relieving one another of irritating lodgers—in fact, according to scout row, each doing a good turn".

289. Ibid.,
290. Chhabra, G.S., Socio-Economic History of Punjab, p. 69.
291. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 255.
292. Ibid.,
293. Ibid.,
295. Ibid.,
On festive occasions, the young women danced in groups in the form of a semi-circle. They sung pretty songs and their dance was graceful.

Music and Dance:

Dancing was confined to the nautch girls to which we find many references. The nautch girls sang Sufiana Kalam and Kashmiri ghazals with the Hafiz Nachma for expressing visually the meaning of the song. These nautch girls were maintained at the state expenses by the Afghans and the Sikh Governors also were enchanted by these dancing girls. Maharaja Gulab Singh and

296. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 266.


299. Hasan, Tarikh, Vol. II, p. 673 The Afghan Governor Amir Khan Jawan Sher maintained a large number of nautch girls and spent most of his time in the Dal gardens enjoying their music and dance.

300. Hugel, Travels, In Kashmir and Punjaub, p. 146. The author writes about the nautch girls that "these poor creatures are doomed to a hard fate; they are not allowed either to sing or dance without permission, and if they get this, an Officer of the Government always accompanies them, who grasps whatever they receive."
Maharaja Ranbir Singh also maintained the nautch girls for themselves and for the European guests\(^\text{301}\).

**Fairs and Festivals:**

Fairs and festivals had great importance in the lives of the people. The fairs held at the shrines annually were a "red letter day in the dull lives of the Muslims"\(^\text{302}\). There were usually no social gatherings except that the people gathered at the fairs and festivals. In the shrines different castes and the people of different religions as the Hindus\(^\text{303}\) and the Sikhs\(^\text{304}\) went in deep reverence. It was at these fairs that the people bought different articles such as pretty kanganis, wooden pattens, glass bangles, necklaces, and painted clay toys\(^\text{305}\). The people from all parts of the Valley attended the fairs particularly those celebrated at Hazratbal\(^\text{306}\). These shrines were responsible for "an intense

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302. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 289.

303. As was the case with regard to the shrine of Hazratbal. Saif-ud-Din, Roznamche, Vol. III, dated June, 1850, f. 51.


305. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 289.

The people were exploited by the agency (pirs) connected with the shrines—who gave them amulets (Tawiz) for the redemption of their ills.

The Kashmiris celebrated fairs and festivals with great enthusiasm. The Kashmiris of the city hailed the spring with joy and flocked to the almond-gardens (Badam-Wari) and witnessed the sweet lilacs. In these gardens all classes of people belonging to different religions, gathered, drinking tea, and singing the songs of spring.

A great fair, held about the 1st of August, was known as Watal Mela (fair of Watals) when the watals went to Lala Bab's shrine near Nasim Bagh on the Dal lake. The watals on this day

307. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 293., "The saints can cure all kinds of illness, and a man has only to anoint himself with a kind of fuller's earth, found at Nur Din's shrine at Rishipura in the Kotahar Valley to become well. A charm from a holy man will arrest the spread of rai, which is so disastrous to the rice crop, and it is a saint who shuts in the cold wind on the Banihal and prevents it from destroying the rice plants in the Valley below" — See also Ibid., p. 233.

308. Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 36., These amulets "consist of the names of God, the name of Muhammad, the names of Mussalman saints, or verses from Quran. The paper on which these are written is usually sewn into a piece of cloth, generally of red, colour and then tied round the arm or attached to the wearer's dress."

309. Wakefield, Kashmir and the Kashmiris, pp. 157--158.


settled many matters of their tribe and marriage alliances were made. Everyone came to the lake, the poorer classes on foot and a "succession of feasting, singing, and naching is kept up for forty-eight hours and the entertainments are enlivened by the performances of itinerant bards".

The religious festivals of the Muslims in Kashmir were Muharram, Id-ul-Fitr, Id-ul-Zuha, Milad-un-Nabi, Shab-i-Barat, Shah-i-Qadr and Shab-i-Miraj. A procession was taken out by the Shias on the eve of Muharram, who recited the verses on the heroic deeds of Imam-i-Hussain. Id-ul-Fitr was celebrated by the people after the month of fasting (Ramzan). The Muslims also celebrated the festivals such as Urs-i-Shah-i-Hamadan, Urs-i-Hazratbal, Urs-i-Nur-Din at Chrar-i-Sharif, Urs-i-Dastgir Sahib (Khanyar), Urs-i-Makhdum Sahib (Hari Parbat). At Hazratbal, five

314. Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 375., In Kashmiri language this dance was called Watal Dambael.
316. Khanyari, Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh, f. 303-304
318. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 292.
or six fairs were held in the course of the year—when the holy hair was exhibited. The people went there in the boats (shikaras and dungas) with tea and other dishes. Some played on guitars and drums while singing. The villagers also took keen interest by participating in these festivals.

The most important among the festivals of Kashmir Pandits were the Shivratri (Herat) when they had to present gifts to their married daughters and made offerings to an incarnation of Shiva. Nawreh (Navratra), Har Navmi, Ram Navmi (Maha Navmi), Janam Ashtmi.


323. Ibid., See also Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. VII, dated 1854, f. 92., Vol. IV, dated 9 April, 1851, f. 36.

324. Ibid., Vol. V, dated October, 1852, f. 69.
They also celebrated Rakhsha Bandhan and Baisakhi, and Dussehra wa£? also celebrated by the Hindus. The festival of Holi was celebrated by the Punjabi Hindus and Maharaja Gulab Singh also participated in the celebration. He engaged many Hanjis and rich Pandits and also dancers and musicians were asked to attend the festival. Diwali was also celebrated by the Punjabi Hindus. Likewise the festival of Dussehra was celebrated in the Valley.

Maharaja Gulab Singh introduced the harvest-home festival (Ankot) and spent a huge amount on the festival for preparing feasts for the city population on the second day of Diwali. The autumn cereals were prepared and no meat was eaten on the day, at Basant Bagh.

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327. Census of India, 1911, Part II, p. 98.
330. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 272., "The feasts for the better class Pandits and Musalmans are very prettily arranged. The guests sit down to their white rice and other dainties salt and sweet. For the common herd there are platters of red rice with a portion of vegetables; but their feast is a scramble, and the hungry seavengers rush in and sweep up broken platters, dust and rice."
Position of Women

The women of Kashmir performed different works after preparing their meals. They husked and ground the grains. The village women had to look after the affairs of their houses and family when their husbands were away to perform the Begar (forced labour). The Kashmiri women, particularly the city women, spun the pash into the reels.

The system of child-marriage was common both among the Hindus and the Muslims. Many girls became widows when their child husbands died and they could not remarry. The men did not maltreat them.

331. Wakefield, Kashmir and the Kashmiris, pp. 92-93, 115.
Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 35.
Norris, Kashmir The Switzerland of India, p. 11.


Wakefield, Kashmir and the Kashmiris, pp. 144--145. See also Chapt. V pp. 374 of the thesis.

334. The Muslims married their daughters at the age of seven years, mostly due to the requirement of khana-damad. See Lawrence, The Valley, p. 267.

335. Ibid., "The miseries caused by this unnatural system of child widowhood, can be better imagined than described, and one of the saddest incidents of the cholera of 1892 is the number of girls who were left widows." Neve, E.F., Beyond the Pir Panjal, p. 240.
their wives. The purdah (burqa) was common among the city people and the women of agricultural, and working classes never took it.

During the period under review prostitution was not only protected but also encouraged by the government. The government derived a considerable income from the institution and regularized the sale and purchase of girls each of whom cost about hundred rupees chilkee during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The two main centres of prostitution in Srinagar were at Maisuma and Tashwan (near Fateh Kadal). The woman performing prostitution could not marry to live the life of a respectable person. The sale of women

337. Ibid., p. 143.
340. Ibid., Brinkman, Wrongs in Kashmir, op. cit., p. 32., Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. XIII, dated 8 Feb., 1861, f. 23. Some twelve cases of aged prostitute women were exempted from taxes.
was a serious social evil in the Valley. The system of sati was prohibited in Kashmir since the Muslim rule but under the Sikhs some cases of sati were reported. In 1847 A.D. Maharaja Gulab Singh passed a proclamation prohibiting the sati.

**Education:**

Kashmir had her indigenous system of education. The students were taught at the Maktabs and Pathshalas attached to the Mosques and Temples respectively. The education imparted to them was through the media of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. There were also the Shathles, the private schools. The teachers got presents from the parents of the students on the eve of introduction of new books or at the time of the investiture of their sacred thread or when they got married. The profession of teachers was hereditary. The students were taught reading, writing and a few other subjects.

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343. Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. VI, dated 24 Jan., 1853, f.10. It is recorded that Mian Ranbir Singh forbade the widow of Bhai Hukum Singh, darogha of cash receipts to perform the sati which she was ready to do at the funeral ceremony of her husband.

344. Girdlestone, Memorandum, op. cit., p. 10.

345. Girdlestone, Memorandum, op.cit.,p.10., Khasta,Hargopal Koul, Guldest-i-Kashmir, p. 228. The famous Sanskrit scholars were Pandit Dameder Nagim and Sahib Ram Pandit whileas in Persian Mirza Ahad Mughil was a scholar worthy of praise.

little arithmetic. The Persian works, *Gulistan*, *Bestan*, *Karima*, *Hami Haq* and *Sikandar-Name* were taught to the students.

The educational institutions of Hindus and Muslims were financed by the Dharmarth department. In 1873 A.D., the educational institutions supported by the government in the city were Pathshala at Nawakadal, Maharaj Ganj, and Basant Bagh. The government spent Rs. 35,372 on education—out of it Rs. 11,875 accounted for the salaries of teachers and Rs. 1,567 were spent on the maintenance of institutions, Rs. 2,268 on free rations, Rs. 18,661 on scholar, Rs. 40 as rewards, Rs. 1,137 on the purchase of books for the use of scholars. Maharaja Ranbir spent Rs. 17,737 on the translation works. On seeing the backwardness of the Kashmiris, the English government sent the missionaries to Kashmir and in 1854 A.D. Colonel Martin and Rev. Robert Clerk came to Kashmir. They were well received by Maharaja Gulab Singh. But it was seen in future that the

347. Ibid., p. 10.
348. Ibid.,
350. Ibid., p. 63.
351. Ibid., p. 64.
352. Neve, E.F. *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, p. 68. It is cited there that Maharaja Gulab Singh told the missionaries that "My subjects in Kashmir are very bad. I am sure that no one can do them any harm. I am rather conscious to see whether Padri Sahibs can do them any good."
government remained quite indifferent to the activities of the missionaries, whether education or medical. I like to make their subjects politically conscious by spreading education.

In the year 1880 A.D. Rev. J. H. Knowles founded the C. M. S. School and had to undertake ten years spade-work in laying the foundation of the school. He was also helped with the short-servicers of Rev. C. L. E. Burges, who taught Brahman boys carpentry. But the experiment was a failure due to the social calibre of the Brahmans.

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353. Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 242., "It is also interesting to note that whereas in the early days of 1860 the then Maharaja would not grant the doctor an inch of ground at first on which to put up even a hut, in which to care for his sick subjects...."

354. Arthur Brinkman, The Wrongs of Kashmir, op. cit., p. 23., The author records that "The rajah will not allow education there but to blind us sends a few thousand rupees occasionally to our Punjab schools. The Cashmerees are not allowed to improve in any way by the rajah. "Keep them grinding for our benefit, is the sole thought of their rulers. If Thomas Hood had ever been to Serinaghur the 'Song of the Shawl', would have made him more pathetic than he has in his 'Song of the shirt'."


356. Ibid.,

357. Ibid., pp. 260-261., The author records that one of the Brahmans "arrived at man's estate, wished to take unto himself a wife, but no Brahman could be induced to give his daughter to a man who was engaged in such an ungentlemanly job as that of a carpenter. He put up with his lonely condition for some time, but finally the desire for a spouse proved greater than love for his age and saw, so he gave up his unholy profession and took up the work of a chaprasi, which was considered to be an honourable profession."
The people of Kashmir, on the whole, were not interested in modern education. The villagers set up the 'mosque schools' where the rural Muslims could read and write Persian with ease. They did not want state assistance but believed in the old-fashioned idea that homely morals were better than the scholarship and advanced thought which was born of the state schools. The Muslims of Srinagar were less influenced by modern education than the Hindus, because most of them were the artisans, and the state was also quite indifferent to their education. Female education was far behind. The women were very conservative due to ignorance and superstition and were under the influence of the ignorant priests. These were termed by men "but animals".

Medical Life:

The people of Kashmir believed in their own physicians (Hakims) who were experienced and had great ability. The medicine was based on Greek system and cured their patients with the herbs...

358. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 229.
359. Ibid.,
360. Neve, E.F. Beyond the Pir Panjal, p. 256.
364. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 232. They were 300 in number. The state also aided the hospitals called Dar-ul-Shafa. In 1861 A.D. Maharaja Ranbir Singh ordered that fifty sons of the physicians (Hakims) of Srinagar should be selected for receiving medical training in Jammu.
and valued plants which were collected by the shepherds for them. They did not dabble in surgery which was done by the barbers. Leeches were applied in some cases. There were some "wise women" in the villages who had a considerable knowledge of the properties of herbs and every peasant seemed to possess the knowledge of medicinal powers of plants.

However, the British officers, on seeing the pitiable conditions of the people, subscribed Rs. 14,000, sent it to the C. M. S., and asked to send a Medical missionary to Kashmir. They believed that the Maharaja and his officials would welcome a doctor to their country. In 1854 A.D. Maharaja Gulab Singh ordered that no European could stay in Kashmir during the winter and a complete watch was maintained on the activities of those Europeans who came to Kashmir. No European was allowed to possess land or build

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365. Ibid., There were 1,900 barbers in the Valley.
368. Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, pp. 239—240.
369. Ibid., p. 240.
houses in Kashmir. The first three Europeans who came to Kashmir were Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Sir Herbert Edwards, Colonel Martin and Colonel Urmston.

On 18th April, 1864 A.D. Robert Clerk opened a school in Srinagar and on 2nd May, 1864 A.D. Mrs. Clark opened a dispensary in the city, inspite of the opposition of the government authorities. But they had to leave Srinagar alongwith the family due to the problem of residence during the winter.

In the spring of 1864 A.D. Dr. Elmslie arrived at Srinagar. His life was hard and difficult because he had no hospital, and he had to perform operations under the trees. "orders were issued that the people were not to visit the doctor, and sepoys were stationed around to keep them away, as the sick persisted in coming for relief. Several patients suffered imprisonment for disobeying the orders of the authorities". But inspite of the opposition of the government the people flocked to Dr. Elmslie and during the summer of 1867 A.D.

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372. Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 239.
374. Ibid.
When the epidemic of cholera was raging, he offered the government his help which was not accepted. Dr. Elmslie died in 1872 A.D. after working for eight years. Rev. T. R. Wade worked with him and did excellent work in the early days of Medical Mission. Then Dr. Theodore Maxwell was sent to Kashmir. The Maharaja granted a site for the Mission Hospital, on a hill called Rustum Garhi, below Takht-i-Suliman. In 1870 A.D., the government opened the first state dispensary in Srinagar.

In the terrible famine of 1877–79 A.D. Rev. Mr. Wade and Dr. Downes, brought food from India and started the relief work. They opened "an orphanage for the orphan children and an asylum...

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380. Neve, E.F., Beyond the Pir Panjal, p. 71., Imperial Gazetteer, p. 12., Dr. Neve Arthur, Thirty Years in Kashmir, pp. 301–302, the author has described this hospital as the second pilgrimage centre, the first being Hazratbal.
383. Ibid., pp. 31–32.
for destitute women, and in various ways did their best to alleviate the sufferings of the striken. They were followed by a long chain of medical missionary doctors. During the period under study the villagers came to have a great faith in European medicines but in the city and larger towns Kashmiris usually resorted to their own Hakims for treatment of ordinary diseases and consulted the Europeans for surgical complaints or when "in extremis".

Religion:

The population of Kashmir was estimated at about 814,241 during the last years of our period of study. The Hindus were 52,576, the Sikhs were 4,092 and the rest, more than 93 percent of the total population of the Valley were the Muslims. The Muslim population consisted of two main sects—Sunnis and Shias, the latter being 5 percent of the total Muslim population.

Mir Shamas-ud-Din Iraqi was deputed as an ambassador to the court of Sultan Hassan Shah of Kashmir (1450 A.D.) and he introduced the Shia sect in the valley after a great opposition.

385. Ibid.
386. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 231.
387. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 284.
388. Ibid.
389. Ibid.
Main pursuits of Shias were trade, shawl-industry, and paper-machie. There was a colony of Iranian Shia traders in Srinagar dealing in shawls. They were looked upon by the Sunnis as out-castes and alluded to them as *Ahl-i-Tashia* or *Rafizi*. They were concentrated in Zadibal and Hasanabad in Srinagar and Saidpura and Ahmadpura in the Kamraj district. During the period under study there took place serious riots and conflicts between the Shias and Sunnis of the Valley.

**Sunnis:**

The great majority of the Sunni Muslims of Kashmir belonged to the Hanafi sect, but Kubravis—followers of Mir Saiyad Ali Hamadani were of the Shafiai persuasion. They were free from all kinds of fanaticism except in the case of Shias. They observed strictly the fast of Ramzan. Lawrence, W. R., has observed that the Kashmiri Muslims were Hindus at heart and lax in observing Islamic practices.

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391. Ibid., p. 284.
They paid more respect to saints, shrines, relics and the religion of Islam was too abstract to satisfy their superstitious cravings. Some of them went to Mecca on pilgrimage.

It was during the period under study that an attempt was made to introduce the Wahhabi doctrines into Kashmir and about 200 families in the Shupiyan tehsil accepted the Wahhabi faith. But Maharaja Ranbir Singh stamped out the propagandists.

Hindus:

The Hindu population consisted of the Pandits and the business community of Bohras. The Hindus regarded Kashmir as the holy land. In the Valley of Kashmir forty-five places were dedicated to Mahadev and sixty-four to Vishnu, three to Brahma and twenty-two to Durga. In seven hundred places there were carved figures of snakes.

395. Ibid., pp. 286, 294. Some varieties of trees were considered sacred and the Muslims took vows under them not to commit sin in future. People adored the kikar tree from Mecca, planted at Hazratbal, while visiting the shrine on auspicious days. Vigne, Travels, Vol. II, p. 92.

396. Ibid., p. 285. The author states that this pilgrimage was easy and did not cost more than Rs. 340. "In 1892 twenty-one Kashmiris went to Mecca, and this was an unusually large number."

397. Ibid. 


which they worshipped. The Hindus worshipped five principal deities—Shiva, Surya, Ganapatı, Bhawani and Vishnu. The votaries of Shiva were more numerous than those of the rest put together. They marked their forehead with kessar (saffron) horizontally and the followers of Vishnu marked their forehead vertically.

Khir Bhawani:

The Khir Bhawani spring with its temple is the sacred abode of Hindu goddess Rajanya. It is situated at Tula-Mulla.

The Hindus believed that the water of the spring changed colour—which usually had a violet tinge and turned into black hue, giving the indication of an imminent calamity like famine or cholera.

The Hindus abstained from meat on the days when they visited the Khir Bhawani. The goddess Sita Mata the deity governing small-pox was propitiated at the out break of severe small-pox and offerings of sheep, goats, horses or donkeys and eyes of gold or silver were made to goddess. These offerings were actually received by priests.

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400. Ibid.,
404. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 296.
405. Ibid.,
at the Hari Parbat shrine. The offerings of lives and hearts of sheep were made by the Pandits to Sharika Devi, the goddess with eighteen arms with a temple dedicated to her at Hari Parbat and at Jawala Mukhi in Khri. The goddess Uma, whose temple was in a tank near Kachewean was adored by her votaries.

The Hindus also visited some other places of pilgrimage in the Valley. The most important and famous was the Amarnath cave—which was visited by the pilgrims from all parts of Kashmir and India. The government provided all sorts of facilities to the pilgrims. They were led by a Lal Gir Sadhu from Amritsar and the march was stolen by Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

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407. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 264.
408. Ibid., p. 297.
409. Vigne, Travels, Vol. I, p. 352. It was the most beautiful spot where Hindus used to come to pay respects to the goddess.
410. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 298.
411. Ganeshi Lal, Siyahat-i-Kashmir, p. 29. The government spent Rs. 15,000 annually.
412. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 298. The author writes "that tale has been told to me by the Maliks of the late Maharaja Ranbir Singh distinguishing himself as a villager and stealing a march on the Amritsar Sadhu. When the pilgrims arrived they found the Maharaja seated in the cave, and though the Maliks enjoyed the incident, the Hindus regarded it as a dangerous breach of precedent."
Gangabal:

It was one of the most beautiful spots with a lake and it was in the Sindh Valley. The lake was considered as sacred as the Ganges. Its water was considered holy and bottles of it were carried by the pilgrims. The Hindus resorted to it after the death of a parent to immerse the ashes of the deceased. The pilgrimage to Haramukh satisfied the piety of the Hindus. It was extremely difficult and dangerous.

The reservoir fed by the holy fountain in the village Mattan (tehsil Anantnag) was considered to be sacred by the Hindus as Gaya or Kurukshetra. They performed here various ceremonies (sacred hair-cut of their children) and other religious rites. The votaries signed the register after paying some cash to the priest. They also worshipped the natural phenomena.

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415. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 298.
417. Ibid.,
418. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 299., They came to worship the fires, snakes and the sun.
There existed cordial relations between the two communities and both the communities respected their religious places. They often worshipped the same object interpreting that according to their own religion. There was very little fanaticism and religious toleration was completely observed. The Hindus of Kashmir were not particular about the pollution by touch. They drank water brought by a Muslim and would eat food cooked by a Muslim boatman. The foster-mother of Hindu children was usually a Muslim woman and the foster-brother often obtained much affection and influence in a Hindu household. However, Maharaja Gulab Singh did not like

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419. Ibid., p. 286. The author remarks that certain places were held in reverence by Hindus and Muslims alike. "As an instance, at Fatehpu near in the Vernag Ilaka, and at Wanipura in the Magam Ilaka, I have seen the imprint of a foot in a stone worshipped by the Musalmans as Kadam-i-Rasul, (the Prophet's foot print) and by the Hindus as Vishnu Pad (Vishanu's foot).

420. Ibid., Also see Neve, E. F. Beyond the Pir Panjal, p. 164., Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 76.

421. Ganeshi Lal, Siyahat-i-Kashmir, p. 32., Talking about the Hindus of Kashmir, the author makes the mention that "very little distinction seems to exist between them and the Mohammedans are permitted to touch their drink and diet without objection.

422. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 300., Neve, E. F. Beyond the Pir Panjal, p. 82.

423. Lawrence, The Valley, p. 300.
the system and severely interdicted the eating of cheese and drinking of water brought by a Muslim. He also forbade the Hindus to eat the halal meat and opened new shops for the Hindu butchers for selling the meat. But the Hindus did not comply with his edicts.

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424. Ibid., See also Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. VI, dated 12 March, 1853, ff. 20—22.


426. Ibid., This ordinance was issued by Mian Ranbir Singh when he was incharge of Kashmir administration in 1853 A.D. on behalf of his father.