Chapter VI
(Habits of food, dress, ornaments and language)
"No life can exist without food. Thus nature has made provisions for all living beings and things. The animals by some instinct live on vegetables and other living beings mostly on the principle of local supply and superior force. This supply of food is not changed by cooking. With the dawn of civilization the selection of food and their cooking and mixture with spices appear to have been discovered by repeated experiments. The improvements in the taste and the quality of food to increase vitality and strength degree of culture in matter of food. The habits manifest themselves in food, clothing, ornaments and other aspects of human behaviour. Thus, under the Dogras the food habits of the people of the Valley did not undergo much change. The staple food of the common masses consisted of rice and

1. Acharaya, Prassana Kumar, op. cit., p. 52.
2. Neve, Ernest, Things Seen in Kashmir, p. 154; Lal, Munshi Ganesh, Silsahat-i-Kashmir, p. 32; Bruce, C. G. Kashmir, p. 37; Beyond the Pir panjal, p. 79; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (tr.) Rogers and Beveridge, p. 146; Singh, A.P., Pictorial Kashmir, p. 11. Parimu, R.K. A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 448; Khasta, Hargopal Koul, op. cit., p. 73; A Note on the J&K State, 1928, p. 34. From ancient times rice has been the staple food of the Kashmiris. Rice produced those days was of many varieties. Hasan gives in his Tarikh 96 varieties but does not mention them properly. Rice may be roughly divided into two varieties the white and the red. As food the white rice was the more popular among the people. According to Jahangir they (Kashmiris) did not eat warm rice but cooked it thoroughly till it absorbed all water and then ate it cold. In fact there is hardly any ritual in Kashmir, from birth to death, in which rice cooked or uncooked does not figure. Raina, A.N. op. cit., p. 59; Hasan, Tari Kh-i-Hasan, Vol. 1, pp. 185-186.
vegetables. They also took such other varieties of food
stuffs as shol (setaria italica), ping or china (panicum
milliacum) barley, wheat, maize and similar other food grains.

The leaves of the dandelion, plantain, marrow, catkins
of the walnut and several other plants were also eaten by the
poor. The stem or root of the lotus called 'nudroo' was also
eaten. It is a pale straw colour, cylindrical in shape and about

3. Gervis, Pearce, op. cit., p. 88; Laurence, Provincial
Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 59; Lambert Cowly, A Trip to
Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 22; Maneck, Pithawala, op. cit.,
p. 92; Hasan, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 177--179; Vegetables
of all sorts were extensively used. The common vegetables
were karam saag, turnips, radish, cabbage, knol-khol,
spinach, lettuce, pumpkin, egg-plant, carrot, sponge,
bitterground, lotus-root, cucumber, lady's finger, caulif-
ower, trigonella, tomatoes, patatoes, patatos and several others.
Thus the people of the Valley ate several vegetables which
grew on wild hilly areas and in meadows. They used them
profusely as food, particularly during the days of scarcity.
These wild vegetables included such varieties as among
others pambehak (Rheum), tsok ladder (polygonum) polysta-
chytum, aibj (Runex), Chari hak (campanula sp.) wan pran
(wild onions), wapal hak, (Disspsaens mermins), mushroom,
hedur (Agricus sp.) kanaguchi (Morchella sp) and Fungi.
Besides these various herbs like wild asparagus and rhubarb
were also consumed by the poor people.

Bamzai, P. N. K., Socio--Economic History of Kashmir,
p. 337; Lawrence, Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir, Bates,
op. cit., p. 35; Kirpa Ram Dewan, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 328.

cit., p. 35; Lawrence, Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir,
p. 59; In uplands of the Valley maize bread with ghee,
butter and milk was the common food among the gujjars.

Whenever famine raged in the Valley, people would
take (Ganhar), Singhara, sochal, millet, shole, maize and
wheat. Rice and wheat would not be available in the earlier
stages. People would consume jungle grass and vegetables.
During such a period tax would be remitted from shawl
weavers. Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir, Vol. II, ACC No: 2044,
f. 125b.

5. Hasan, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 183--185, Lawrence, Valley,
291--295.
ten inches long and an inch and a half in diameter. When boiled and flavoured it was considered to be highly nutritious. Even the beans of the lotus were also eaten unripe.

Fruit also formed an important article of food in the Valley. Fruits were consumed by the poor and the rich alike. The fruits which were common in the Valley were: apple, pear, apricot, grapes, quince, cherry, mulberry, black-berry, hazel, plump, peach, raspberry, gooseberry, currant, strawberry, pomegranate, almond, walnut, melon and water melon etc.

Dried fruits and dried vegetables were extensively used in the Valley during the winter. Fruits as well as vegetables of all sorts especially turnips, egg-plants, tomatoes, pumpkin and apricots were dried up in the summer sun and reserved for the lean months of winter. Besides dried vegetables, various kinds of

pulses were taken by the Kashmiris during the winter. But pulses were not considered of much importance by them. The common varieties were Lobia, (Doliches Sinensis), Moth (Dhascolus Aconitifolius), Moong, (Phaseolus Mungo), Razmah, (Phaseolus vulgaris), Bagla, (Vicia Faba). Peas and beans were also taken by them. Thus pulses also figured in the daily fare of the Kashmiris and provided a luxurious diversion to the people in their daily monotonous routine of food stuffs. Ghee (clarified butter) was not consumed by the Kashmiris because they considered that it irritated their throats in the cold weather. Lawrence says that it was on some special occasions that ghee or fat was used for mutton and vegetable preparation.

Salt was considered an essential article of diet as the people consumed in great sizeable quantity. Infact it profusely taken by the Kashmiris.


10. Lawrence, Valley, p. 253; Knight, E.F. op. cit., p. 73., See also Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 53., Ghee was used in small quantity for cooking, but generally sesame or linseed oil was preferred to it. During our period of study the people used vegetable oils for lighting as well as for cooking purposes. Thus the Kashmiris did not use ghee in their diet for fear of contracting cold.


12. Ibid., p. 254., Salt was of two kinds. The better quality of salt came from the Punjab and was people's favourite, while inferior quality of salt was brought from Ladakh, Ibid.

13. Ibid.,
Various kinds of spices especially black-pepper, ginger, garlic, turmeric, red-chillies, mint, corriander, Zira (carrarway seeds) and saffron continued to form principal ingredients in the Kashmiri cooking. But the common masses, however, took simple salt vegetables with a little oil added to it.

Fish also formed an important item of the food of Kashmiris who used it as a sort of luxurious delicacy. Those who dwelt near the lakes as also the floating population of boatmen depended mostly on the prey of their nets. The fish were taken fried with

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Saffron has been always a very valuable plant and is still largely used by the Kashmiris on special occasions. It is used for many purposes in cooking and medicinal uses. The Hindus use it as a pigment for marks (Tilak) on their foreheads. It is also an important ingredient in preparation of dishes. It is soaked in water for about a couple of hours then slowly rubbed with a wooden pestle to extract the dye. It is an excellent natural dye to dye dishes for flavour and taste. Punjab Government Records, (Diary), 1847—49, Vol. VI, p. 189.
oil and salt. These were also dried up and kept for use in winter. Still fish is served in abundance on festive occasions like Shivratri and Gadabatta (fish and rice) ceremonies among the Pandits of the Valley. Infact, both the Pandits and the Muslims eat fish with great gusto.

The mutton of sheep and goats was taken both by the Pandits and the Muslims of the Valley. The Pandits would not touch poultry or eggs, garlic and onions, but fowls and the eggs of the lake birds were eaten by them. The Kashmiri Brahmins (Pandits) were and still continue to be meat eaters. They usually declared that the custom of eating meat was based on desaguna, a virtue of the country. Beef was unknown in the Valley as it was strictly against the Law to Kill Cow or Ox, because these animals were considered sacred by the Hindus. Thus the cow-slaughter


17. Census, 1901, Part I, p. 84. Mirza-Saif-ud-Din, Diary, Vol. VI, f. 22a. The only people who totally abstained from fish and meat were the Rishis.


was regarded a crime during our period of study and involved capital punishment. Writing in the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh Knight observes: "Until recently, the killing of the sacred animals, the cow, was punishable with death. Imprisonment for life is now the penalty and many an unfortunate Mohammedan, I believe, is living immured in Hariparbat because that in time of famine he has ventured to kill his own ox to save himself from starvation."  

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Import of beef as well as its preparations into the state territories of His Highness, Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, was strictly prohibited and offenders were to be liable to punishment under the provisions of the law in force in the State. On the basis of the same resolution a notice was published in the State Diary as given under:

"It is hereby notified for general information that the importation of beef in any form or any preparation thereof into the territories of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir state is strictly prohibited under State Council Resolution dated, 9th, June, 1902, offenders shall be punished under the law in force in the State." Jammu and Kashmir, File No: 282/ p-39 of 1908, (General Records), Political Department, pp. 1--5.

23. Knight, E.F., op. cit., pp. 15--16; *Cashmere Misgovernment*, p. 32. See also *The Hindustan Times*, June 2, 1946.
The singhara or water nut (trapa bispinosa) was widely used and was considered valuable food stuff. It was largely eaten by those residing near the lakes. The nut was eaten raw, boiled, roasted, fried or in various other ways. It was also dried and then ground into flour of which bread was made. It was produced in abundance in all the lakes and the Dogra rulers derived a considerable amount of revenue from it.

The Kashmiri Pandits usually observed fast for two days in every month, and on these days they ate nothing but took little flour made out of water-nut, which was called garuwugra or phallar. Bates refers to phallar as the term applied to this simple dish prepared on these occasions.

   Norris Dermot, op. cit., p. 60; Doughty, Marion, op.cit., p. 137., Koul, P.N. op. cit., p. 51; Gervis, pearce, op.cit., p. 30; Wilson, Andrew, op. cit., p. 312. The Romantic East, pp. 90—91.

The water nuts are hard shaped black nuts with curved hard spiked shells. These form the chief article of food for the poor and common people. Their shells are also utilized as fuel by the poor.


The Kashmiris, the rich and the poor very much relished the tea, of which two kinds found their way into the markets of the Valley. These were known as Surati and Sabz. The Surati was like English tea and reached the Valley from Ladakh and the Punjab. The same tea was the famous brick tea, which found its

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During the ancient times only rich people consumed tea due to high costs but during the Afghan period it became cheap and people started drinking it in large numbers. It is not easy to determine the origin of tea in the Valley. Tea was introduced into the Valley by the traders who came to Kashmir from Central Asian countries as also by the Kashmiri traders who went over and partook of it in those countries. Mirza Haidar Dughlat of Kashgar is also credited with having introduced this beverage into Kashmir, although its use was not common till 1976. However, it became more popular among all classes of people in villages and cities during the period under review. And with the dawn of present century the use of Lipton's tea and Coffee became common among the upper class people. Miskin, Mohi-ud-Din, op. cit., ACC. No: 2045, f. 87b.

way into the Valley through Ladakh. There were various ways of preparing tea in Kashmir Valley. Two types of preparations of tea—salt tea (shiri-chai) and sweet tea (Qahwa) were in vogue among the Kashmiris. The Kashmiri Pandits abstained from the use of tomatoes, the red-fleshed kabuli vegetable marrow, carrots, red beans, leeks and onions, but gradually they overcame their

30. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 476; Lawrence, Valley, p. 254. See also Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir (ACC. NO: 2045), f. 476. "There is no local production but a large import of surati tea from Karachi and Bombay, and of Kangra tea (locally known as pahari tea) from the Kangra Valley and the neighbourhood. Tea was imported from China in the form of bricks. Thus tea was imported from other parts of the country. Todhunter, C. G., Trade Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1900-1901, p. 6.


32. Torrens, op. cit., p. 309; Lawrence, Valley, p. 254., Census of India, 1961, Vol. VI, Part VI, NO: 8, pp.14-15. The people of the Valley are very fond of taking tea salty tea, the constituents of which are dry tea leaves, milk, soda bicarb and salt. The process of preparing tea is to pour a measured quantity of water in a samawar (tea kettle) or in a vessel. Dry tea leaves are then poured into water after adding a small quantity of soda bicarb to it. It is then allowed to boil for quite some time. After which more water is poured into the vessel. It is boiled until the leaves are thoroughly moistened. Again more water is added to it. It is then boiled again and mixed with milk and salt. After boiling it for a while the preparation of salt tea is completed and it acquires a rosary pink colour.

Sweet tea without milk called Qahwa is prepared from dry tea leaves sugar, spices and water. It becomes much tasty when cardamom, cinnamon seeds, saffron and almonds are added to it. These preparations are made in samavars (peculiar tea kettles) with furnance inside. It is a common article of use in every household of the Valley. It is a tea-urn used for preparing tea.

Use of Qahwa started coming into fashion in Kashmir in the 13th century. Prior to this period, this type of tea was being taken only by the upper class nobles and aristocrats. However, it is now being used by the rich as well as the poor. Miskin, Mohi-ud-Din, op. cit., ACC NO: 2045, f. 47b.
prejudice against the use of these vegetables. Lawrence says, by 1899 they were seen taking frequently ganhar, vegetable marrows and red-pepper on fast days.

During the hot season various kinds of cold drinks (sharbats) were frequently taken by the Kashmiris. These drinks were prepared by diluting water with milk, sugar and rose water. Among the cold drinks kanda sharbat (sweet drink) is very common and popular. In hot season and during the days of Ramzan (month of fasting for Muslims) people add quilbeol and babribeol (seeds of two flower plants) to the drink to give it the coolest effect attributable to these seeds. Milk and its products like curd, cheese and milk-bread (meshkrari) constituted the most important items of food of the Kashmiris.

33. Lawrence, Valley, p. 300.
34. Ibid.
37. It is made with condensed milk which is shaped into loaves, sliced, fried and served with salt and pepper. These milk bread loaves were considered favourite and popular item of food among the Gujjars.

In the case of wedding feasts the services of professional cooks (waza) were much sought for preparation of delicious dishes by the Kashmiri Muslims and the Pandits alike. The common dishes were methi-maz, charwan, kabab, rista, rogan-josh, gurma.


39. Rista is a very favourite dish of the Kashmiris. It needs much of elaborate preparation. Fibrous muscular strands of mutton are beaten with wooden hammers on flat polished stone. A small proportion of animal fat is added to it and salt spices are further inserted into it. The process of beating the meat strands is continued till the semi-solid mass spreads out, in waves, from under the stroke of the hammer. Every fibre of accidental, nerve, or membrane or cartilage is dismissed off in a ruthless manner. The dough of meat is turned into small balls which get boiled in water. Then the cooks meticulously add pinches of spices with little extracts of saffron and mowal or (cocks comb); a plant by the genus celosia, is a rich natural source of an excellent maroon dye. Its flowers are boiled and squeezed to extract the dye used in cookery). In addition to these ingredients fried onions beaten and rubbed into a paste and very hot oil plus a little of ghee are introduced into it. The preparation is boiled till the soup gets fairly thickened.

40. Roghan Josh is another favourite dish in the Kashmiri wazawan. It is made of stewed steaks of cartilaginous mutton. These steaks are gently fried in ghee in a cauldron. A paste of saffron and fried onions is inserted into it along with salt and spices. During the process of boiling measured doses of water are poured into the preparation and it is then allowed to boil off on gentle heat. After it reaches the final stage of its preparation powdered chillies is added to it. Like Rogan-josh, Handi-Rogan-josh is the same from the point of view of preparation. However, it is distinguished from the above only through curds added to it during frying after it is whisked, emulsified with oil on slow, gentle heat.

41. Qurma: 'Imili' water is added to fine cutlets of stewed boneless mutton. These are slightly fried. These are richly spiced and vigorously boiled. Then these are given a lovely dye in mowal and saffron.

Dhar Somnath, op. cit., p. 13; Kashmir Today, October-November, 1977, Vol.II, No: 2, pp. 26-28. The points in the article have been verified by me after enquiries made from Mohd Shaban a professional cook (waza).
These dishes are famous, throughout the world and the Kashmiris have a reputation for their culinary art. These dishes were frequently prepared on marriages. The use of honey was common among the Kashmiris. They ate it raw, or mixed with various articles of food. The rich people substituted it for sugar in preserving fruits.

42. **Abighosht**: This dish is best prepared from the shoulders and tails of sheep or goat. The pieces of meat are stewed hard that the little flesh between the process of preparation falls off with a little shaking due to its softness. The soup is milky, and creamy as concentrated milk is added to it in liberal quantity. It retains its own natural colour. So that chillies, saffron and mowal extracts are not found in it. Cardamom and cinnamon add to the fascination of this dish which is easily digestible.

43. **Pulao**: Basmati rice cooked in a systematically proportionate amount of meat or chicken soup. Spices, ghee as also fine pieces of mutton are interced into it. Almonds, dried grapes, coconut filings are added to the preparation in an appropriate measure. This dish finally becomes mildly saltish and has the mild shade of saffron colour. It is called Pulao and is very much liked by people for its taste.

44. **Gushtaba**: Its preparation is formed on the same lines as that of rista. Its balls are made far larger than those of the latter and swell to an awesome size through rigorous boiling. Curds is thoroughly whisked and amulsified without oil for a long time on slow heat, and the gushtaba is boiled in it. Chillies, saffron and similar other things are not introduced into this preparation. Instead of these aniseed, salt, ginger, cardamom and mint are introduced into it. Vigorous boiling is continued till the soup becomes thick syrup which is known as vakhen, while the ball is given the name of Gushtaba. Ibid.

During the period under reference smoking was popular among people. Also *naswar* (snuff) was in vogue among men and women in the rural as well as the urban areas. The use of the latter became very popular among the Kashmiris and was borrowed from Peshawar. Sometimes villagers took to opium and chewing of tobacco was also very common among the people.

Before Maharaja Ranbir Singh’s time there were no liquor shops in the city. But with his accession to the throne, the number of wine shops was seen to increase. According to

46. Hasan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 456; Lawrence, Valley, p. 346.; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XV, p. 163. Kashmiri farmers and landlords would use snuff during the Sikh rule. However, people used Peshawari snuff during Maharaja Gulab Singh’s reign. Miskin states, some peasants were also addicted to the use of opium. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-Kashmir*, ACC No: 2045, f. 47b.

His Highness Maharaja Bahadur’s government took serious note of juvenile smoking. As such it issued regulations prohibiting smoking by children. These regulations were issued in Urdu, Hindi and English in posters, hand-bills and also in government gazetteer. The file which deals with these regulations is known as “Introduction xxx of the juvenile smoking Regulations in the State”. *Jammu and Kashmir*, File No: 127/J-3 of 1929, (General Records), pp. 1-7.


On Maharaja Sahib Bahadur’s birthday the sale of country liquor in the whole state was prohibited because his birthday was considered an official festival in the State. *J&K*, File No: 912/C-2-13, Year 1922, (General Records pp. 1--3.)
Biscoe the drinking of wine was becoming more and more common among the people. Thus slowly and imperceptibly changes were taking place in their food habits.

49. Doughty Marion, op. cit., p. 166; Lawrence, Valley, p. 281; See also Hasan op. cit., Vol. I, p. 456.
One's physiognomy is often indicated by the type of dress that one wears. It can not be easily stated when the human beings started using garments for their bodies. The dress came to acquire a symbolical significance, over the ages while its genesis is concealed in the dawn of civilization. Dress acquires different valuations with different people who use it either for protection of body or beautifying their external get-up and what not.¹

There was very little difference in the dress worn by the Kashmiris during the period under review. Of course, there was slight variation in its fashions in the case of the two principal communities (the Muslims and the Pandits). The dress of the Kashmiris underwent a change after 1931 owing to the pioneering efforts of certain modern minded social reformers. However, the dress of common people did not undergo any very marked change even during the changes in political sphere.

The change in climatic conditions produces a corresponding change in the dress of the Kashmiris. Viewed in this context Kashmiri dress can very easily be divided into two categories—a winter wear and a summer wear.

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According to Wakefield and Biscoe, every country has its own peculiar national dress; and the Valley is not behind others in this respect. The Kashmiris too have a national dress peculiar to themselves. This national dress of Kashmiri is called pheran. It is a unique type of cloak not to be found in other parts of the country. There was only a marginal difference between the garb of a man and a woman. Both male and female of all classes and communities used pheran with slight variations here and there. Pheran is a long loose garment with wide sleeves which covers the body and the arms and falls below the knees. It is generally closed at the neck by strings or by a button.

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3. Pheran:

The origin of the term pheran is uncertain. It is claimed by some that the word came from the Persian Pairahan (garment or a long shirt). It is also said that it was introduced in Kashmir during Mughal rule by Emperor Akbar to control the turbulent and warlike Kashmiris after they had repeatedly risen in revolt during the early part of the alien rule. Infact, it had taken the place of the national costume. However, this long, loose gown type of wear was considered an indespensable article of dress among all classes of the Kashmiris, irrespective of age or status and it continues to be worn by the masses even today. Its use is much common during the winter season when it provides people with effective means of combating the unbearable chill.


Thus, the dress of the Kashmiris consists of pheran and trousers.

In winter these garments were made of wool and in summer of cotton. The sleeves of the pheran were loose and wide in the case of the Muslims, while in the case of the Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus), these were long and narrow with ends turned up. The pheran consists of two garments—one on the other of equal size. The inner garment called pochh in the local language is made of cotton or khaddar (coarse) cloth. It is worn beneath the pheran.

The Pandits (Kashmiri Hindus) of the Valley wore tight drawers or trousers. For head-dress turbans or pagris worn by them were of narrow white Muslin or of a long piece of cloth of narrow width. Underneath these pagris were worn smooth skullcaps.


8. Lawrence, Valley, p. 251; Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 139.

9. Pochh is a replica of pheran which is worn under it.
The Muslims, on the contrary, wore loose trousers (pyjama) and turbans or dastar of muslin or broad pieces of white cloth (seven to ten yards in length). Under the turbans were worn skull-caps with raised pattern. Pandit Man Mohan Nath, one time Governor of the Kashmir province, tried to reform the customs and sartorial ways of the Kashmiri Pandits. He also advised them to tie their turbans like those of the Muslims unlike previous custom of wearing turbans in round shapes.

The Muslim males (especially the villagers) put on skull-caps. However, turbans were generally used by the rural Pandits. They also used woollen leggings while travelling on long journeys during winter. This habit was also shared by their Pandit (Hindu) counterparts. It was a peculiar sort of woollen bandage about six inches wide and 4 yards in length wound around from the ankle up to just below the knee, (or wound around the calf of the leg).


and then fastened by a long string attached to the upper end, which was lightly wound many times round the leg. It is called *patawa*. It helped in keeping the legs warm and muscles in properly tight position. It provided great support on long journeys especially on a mountain ascent and it was a much—cherished article of their dress.

The Pandit and Muslim males were not usually in the habit of growing their hair. However, the elderly people among the Muslims as a rule and also among the Hindus, to a great extent, reared beards as a symbol of respectability and elderliness. The Muslim males were also in the habit of shaving their heads and wearing well-trimmed beards. Muslims wore beards more often and their beards were of a distinctive cut.


"This practice died fast when the necessity of undertaking long journeys on foot ceased to exist due to the availability of vehicular transport. Also the new generation of educated people regarded this as a clumsy apparel." Khan, Ishaq, op. cit., p. 88.


Women's Dress:

The pherans worn by Kashmiri Panditanas were slightly different from those worn by the Muslim ladies. The pherans of the former were shorter in the size than those worn by their male counterparts. An inch wide ribbon of red colour called dur was stitched all around the collar and the bottom of the pheran. The Pandit ladies also stitched a piece of printed cloth (chintz) or brocade zarbaft round the cuffs of their pheran. It was called nariwar and was used to indicate that the wearer's husband was alive. The old ladies used simply the printed pieces while the younger ones used brocade or zarbaft for their nariwar.

Besides this distinguishing feature the other one that differentiates them from their Muslim counterparts is the use of long sleeved cuffs which have more folds than those of the Muslim ladies. Thus the pherans of the Muslim women were generally embroidered with fine cotton and sometimes with silk thread. The embroidery covered the front of the collar and the chest. Contrariwise the Pandit ladies used plain pherans with embroidery.

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15. Bruce, C.G., op. cit., p. 34; Lawrence, Valley, p. 252.


Pandit ladies wore dresses of dark maroon, blue and crimson colour. They wore no drawers, whereas the Muslim females used drawers (shalwar). 18

Unmarried girls wore small skull-caps. After marriage, however, a Muslim lady would have a thick turban like red-cap (gasaba) studded with innumerable pins. A piece of cloth was thrown over the gasaba which worked as a veil and always covered the entire back. 19 The Muslim women of well-to-do families wore slightly different type of gasaba a taller gasaba called khoandaqasab. The Muslim women changed their headgear after marriage. The Pandit women's head-dress or head-gear was called taranga (white round turban), which was tied to a hanging bonnet and tapered down to the heels from behind. Brightly pressed linen


Taranga: It is a white round turban and is slightly different from gasaba which is red in colour and tied like a turban. For Pandit women, it is an important article of dress on the wedding day. "They have to wear the taranga ceremonially. It is covered with the palav of the bride's wedding sari. Taranga thus stays as part of the bridal trousseau" Dhar, S. N., op. cit., p. 14.
folds of this tapering garment were fastened to red coloured and brocaded skull-caps and would fall back at the sides of their shoulders.

The Panditanis called their skull-caps kalaposh (a woollen or pashmina cap, the top of which is brocaded). Besides, these Pandit women wore a long piece of cotton or sometimes woollen cloth belt or girdle called lunqi around the waists over the pheran. A Panditani never moved about without this girdle. Also Bohra Pandit ladies did not use waist band lunqi like their counterparts of the upper class or caste Pandits.

21. The Pandit women also used zooj, a white piece of muslin embroidered with golden thread wound many times round the kalaposh. Then a long piece of heavily starched and polished cloth was tied over it. In addition to it Shish-lath, a transparent glassy roll would be used by the ladies to add to the grace of their headgear. Infact, it was a fashionable way of making themselves charming in their looks. It was a special feature of the head-gear of the Pandit ladies. The most distinguishing feature of the Pandit ladies head dress which added to the grace was the manner in which they put on the puts on the head. The top of the puts was in fact the cover of the head-gear of a married Pandit lady. The puts was serpentine in shape and appeared like two snakes hanging in the folds on the two sides of their taranga. It was peculiarly twisted near the lower ends, culminating near the ankles into two tail-like pieces. It was called pooch (puts). Jala, Z.L., op. cit., p. 473. See also Census of India, 1961, Vol. VI, Part VI, NO: 7, J&K, (Masheswarpur), A Village Survey & Monograph, p. 9.

22. Beyond the Pir panjal, p. 240; Wakefield, op. cit., p.106; Census, 1911, Part I, p. 106. Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, p. 472; Bazaz, P.N. Daughters of Vitasta, p. 199, Parmu, R.K., op.cit., p. 446; Vigne, G.T., op. cit., Vol. II, p.143 Lawrence, Valley, p.252. A white rolled cloth tied loosely round the waist was known as (lungi) girdle. All primitive peoples, even those who used no clothing, wore girdles. The modern version of the girdle is the best used to keep the skirt or pheran or trousers up or there was the string used for the purpose of holding up the lower garments. While the girdle was used for its own sake. Jamila Brij Bushan, The costumes and Textiles of India, p. 2.

Purdah system was strictly observed among the upper classes. Among the rural and working classes it was not strictly enforced. During our period of study it began to decline and lost much of its intensity. The veil worn by the Kashmiri Muslim women was called burga. It consisted of long white cotton cape or gown which reached from the top of the head to the bottom of the back. Different types and sometimes fashionable burgas (veil) were worn by women belonging to different classes. Sometimes even Hindu women particularly in villages moved about in veil which among them was a relic of pathen

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In ancient times there was no purdah or seclusion of women. With the establishment of Muslim rule in the Valley, purdah system became more common. Under the Mughals and Afghan rulers it became more rigid. Among poor and lower classes it was less common. Women belonging to the lower strata especially in the rural areas observed no purdah because they had to help their menfolk in every walk of life. The women in the agrarian sphere worked side by side with their men-folk. All this notwithstanding even at present purdah system is prevalent among the orthodox Muslim families.

25. Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 150; Census of India, 1921, J&K, Part I, p. 90; Petrockina, A., OP.C.; p. 84; Gervis Pearce, op. cit.; p. 58; See also Things Seen in Kashmir, p. 150; Moulvi Majid, Sair-i-Kashmir, (Urdu), pp. 23, 70, Census 1931, Part I, pp. 102, 141; Sohi Mohy-ud-Din, op. cit., (Urdu), pp. 42.
regime. The Pandit ladies wore a spotled veil, called Tikhiputs on ritualistic occasions. Only the higher classes of Pandit women hid themselves under these veils, otherwise its use was not common among them; On the other hand it was strictly enforced among some Muslim families. In rural areas burga still continues to be in vogue among the Muslim ladies. This is used even now though rarely, particularly when the ladies go out to attend some marriage or a similar social get together.

The mode of hair-dressing was peculiar among the females of Kashmir. In their case, hair was drawn to the back of the head and finely braided; the braids were then gathered together and mixed with coarse woollen thread, made into a single plait or plaits, which were terminated by the thick tassel (gandapan) which reached down to the ankles. This peculiar arrangement of the hair was called wankapan. These plaits were kept separately during the pre-marital stage while these were gathered together.


in a single plait and fastened with a heavy cord or tassel in the post-marital period\textsuperscript{29}. Besides this there were other fashionable ways of dressing the hair.

The Kashmiri women used collyrium (\textit{surma}) in order to beautify their eyes\textsuperscript{30}. "Special dresses were prepared on the occasion of marriage"\textsuperscript{31}.

The Kashmiri Muslims generally wore amulets\textsuperscript{31a} (\textit{tewiza}). These amulets contained the piece of paper with the name of God or that of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him), or the names of Muslim saints or verses from the holy Quran. Usually, these paper amulets were sewn into a piece of cloth and tied round the arm or throat or attached to the wearer's dress. The Hindus (Pandits), both males and females, put a sectorial mark

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{29} Lawrence, Valley, p. 251; Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, pp. 472-473; Wakefield, op. cit., pp. 106-107; Petro코no, p. 84; Lambert, Cowly, A Trip to Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 25; Collett, John, A Guide for Visitors to Kashmir, p. 67; Knight, E.F. \textit{OP. CIT.}, p. 37; Bates, op. cit., pp. 35-36; See also James Milne, The Road to Kashmir, p. 124; Buhler, George, op. cit., p. 23; Dugsal, op. cit., p. 177; Bamzai, P.N.K., A History of Kashmir: Political, Social and Cultural from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, p. 511. "Formerly the girls used to apply raw butter to their hair, but they developed a hatred for this practice when they began to use cosmetics". History of Srinagar, p. 89;
\item \textsuperscript{30} Vigne, G.P., \textit{OP. CIT.}, Vol. II, pp. 142--143.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Sharma, D.C. \textit{OP. CIT.}, p. 51.
\item \textsuperscript{31a} Amulet was and is still worn by men and women. "The wearing of the amulet was very common because the average Kashmiri considered it necessary to keep away evil eye and for the safety of his health and prosperity". Sharma, D.C., \textit{OP. CIT.}, p. 85.
\end{itemize}
(tilak) of the saffron on their foreheads. Saffron was the colouring ingredient in the mixture with which the mark was painted. "To be without the tilak mark was considered by them inauspicious."

Footwear:

The Kashmiris used different types of footwear and these were different from those used by the people in other parts of the State. The male and female of both communities generally used pulshor or straw sandal. They wore yet another type of wooden footwear (wooden clogs) which was locally known as kharavas or khraws. It had a smooth and levelled surface on...


"The most popular footwear was the pulshor. It was generally prepared from the grass, the only raw material available in plenty. Infact, it was a hand-made sandal of grass. It was a comfortable and light footwear and was used mostly during rainy and snowy season, in order to avoid slips. Pulshor is still in use in the remote parts of rural Kashmir, though it is fast falling into disuse"
the top and was 3 to 4 inches high. It had a strip which was fixed on both sides. During the season of rain and snow the people generally used these wooden clogs to avoid mud and water. The affluent people also used leather shoes called paizar in local language. Hasan in his work mentions two types of footwear—namely (a) konsh and (b) kafsh. The former were embroidered while the latter were simple in their making. However, we find only meagre references to these types of footwear in the works of English authors.

According to Biscoe— the Pandits avoided leather shoes owing to their religious abhorrence for leather. They preferred wooden clogs (khraws) to leather shoes, whereas the Muslims used leather shoes as well as wooden clogs and grass-made.

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Paizar is a locally made footwear and is made of raw leather and oil is used to keep it soft. Census of India, 1961, Vol. VI, Part VI, No. 10; p. 14.

sandals. They also wore embroidered shoes of horse or mule skin on the day of marriage in addition to wearing other articles of finery used on the occasion.

With the passage of time, particularly after the 'reform movement' of the thirties a good deal of social reform had taken place amongst the Kashmiri Pandits. It was during this stage that changes came about in the dress of the Kashmiris. It was then that the Pandit women started discarding the wearing the wearing of the pheran. Gradually saree replaced pheran. Saree came into vogue amongst the females of the upper class Pandits. It was due to the efforts of Kashyap-Bandhu (Tara Chand Koul) a great social reformer, that the use of pheran disappeared among some upper class and educated Kashmiris. At the same time the Muslim women were no way behind their Pandit counterparts in regard to sartorial reform.

Thus, the influence of 'reform movement' and increasing contact with outsiders, particularly with Punjabi Hindu and Muslim women from different walks of life, gradually brought an appreciable change in the dress of the Kashmiri women. Slowly


and imperceptibly they were changing their dress styles. Thus, the change in their costume started taking place so that *qasaba* and *taranga* disappeared and instead *dupatta, shalwar-kameez, churi dar pyjama* and *sarees* made their appearance and became popular wear.* 41

A significant change which was visible in the costume of men was the use of the hat and fur caps which started gradually replacing the turban (dastar). 42 The fur-caps were used only by the rich people who could afford to purchase them. The educated classes started, taking more and more to the English style in their dress. 43

The Kashmiris while adopting the modern and fashionable changes in their dress styles still preserved whatever little of the traditional dress had been left behind. Nonetheless, with the development of a common social outlook, subsequently the dress of the Kashmiris underwent much transformation.

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42. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 252; *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, p. 240; Census, 1931, Part I, p. 102; *Kashmir, its cultural heritage*.
This transformation was common to men as well as to women. This change was consonant with the spirit of composite culture that had been the trend of the Kashmiris in all periods of Kashmir history. We find both the Hindus and the Muslims almost identical in their external get up. As such what was true at the time of Gandhij's coming to Kashmir is true even in this age; there can be no perceptible difference between the Pandits and the Muslims in this respect. Both the communities are going ahead on the path of modernisation while they remain welded together by a synthetical culture embedded in the spirit of their traditions.

44. Kaumudi, op. cit., p. 197.
III — ORNAMENTS:

"A woman without ornaments is like a field without water" (i.e. desolate). Just as a field without water appears desolate, similar is the case with a woman without ornaments. Their deficiency makes her devoid of much fascination. Traditions and customs which had existed unchanged for centuries got crushed under the heels of the awakened and emboldened machine-minded individuals of the modern age. Jewellery was no exception to this new rule. Patterns and designs existing unchanged since the beginning of civilization in the country underwent a revolutionary change in their form due to the changing conception of people about fashions.

Infact, silver and gold ornaments in their crude form formed an indispensable ingredient of life among human beings since time immemorial. Man first discovered these precious, bright and rare metals in the times of hoary past. For ages silver and gold have been used for making of ornaments.

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3. Census of India, 1961, Rural Craft Survey (Hamachal Pradesh), (Gold and Silver Ornaments), Editor Singh Ram Chandra Pal, pp. 3-4. The basic or main raw materials used for making ornaments were and continue to be gold, silver, enamels, stones, pearls and diamonds, only rich people, however, could afford ornaments of gold and precious metals. In most cases these ornaments were made of silver and sometimes these were gilded. Even brass, copper, tin and a fine kind of clay were also used for making of different types of ornaments. The ornaments of poor people were made of tin or silver and sometimes stuffed with lac and semi-precious stones to give them thickness.
There were always and still continue to be some festive occasions and ceremonies such as marriages and the like when women put on their ornaments. Females young as well as the old have ever been fond of wearing different ornaments. Ages ago, artists had learnt the art of making articles for adornment. These delicate articles, in due course, came to be called or known as ornaments and jewellery. There is a reference to gold and silver ornaments in the Vedas, the Ramayana, the epics and dramas of ancient times.  

From time immemorial Kashmiri women used different types of ornaments—precious or semi-precious. During ancient times they used necklaces, wristlets, fillets, armlets, finger-rings, ear-rings and anklets. Thus we find references in Nilmata Purana about the use of these and various other types of ornaments among Kashmiri women. Kalhana mentions several new types of ornaments introduced by King Harsha. His ladies wore golden ketaka-leafed tiaras pendants over their foreheads, and golden strings for the end of locks of hair.

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4. Ibid.,

"The eternal fondness of women to adorn themselves with ornaments found expression in ancient Kashmir also." Bamzai, P.N.K., A History of Kashmir, Political, Social and Cultural, p. 221.

6. Stein, Sir Aurel, Rajat, Vol. II, pp. 928—931., There are several references from ancient authorities in addition to Kalhana and others which reveal that the Kashmiri women were fond of ornamental display even in ancient times. They had great love for external exhibition of their beauty and used ornaments of so many varieties even in
In medieval period, necklaces, ear-rings, nose-rings, bangles, bracelets and finger-rings were commonly used by the Muslim as well as the Hindu ladies. The rich and well-to-do people used gold and precious metal ornaments while the poor people (lower classes) used silver ornaments. These metals were in demand for embellishment among them. Their ornaments were not as much precious as things of show which poor people had to make to pose themselves to be of some position in life.

Exquisite designs of ornaments were worn by the Kashmiri women. The Valley having been isolated from the rest of the continent due to geographical factors, the Kashmiri enjoyed a very limited contact with the outside world. Naturally he had been influenced by his close association with his surroundings which found outlet in frequent designs of different aspects of the landscape, birds, fruits, leaves and flowers. Such artmotifs were, therefore, often engraved on the ornaments in a manner in which the emphasis was laid not only on consummate craftsmanship, but also on index of profound feeling for nature on the part of the maker.

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Infact the jewellery of Kashmir Valley was unique in its design. The Kashmiris excelled in the making of these ornaments especially ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, amulets, rings, rosaries, head-bands and the rest. The jewellery of the Valley seems to have had nature as its model in various ornaments. The broad close-fitting bracelets, embossed with various designs of chinor leaves or some species of cherry blossoms. The people also used triangular pendants with replica of the shape of saffron flower. These hung from the neck with a piece of black thread which seemed standing in relief against the velnety skin on which it undulated. Thus almonds and cherry blossoms are still found embossed on their silver head-bands and bracelets. At the same time there can be found little fish, birds and blossoms inscribed on the bracelets in a chiselled fashion.

The designs of the jewellery were further enriched during the rule of the Sultans and continued even during the Mughal times. Fashions in ornaments underwent a change especially in the Mughal period. It is said that the Empress Nur Jahan introduced more delicate varieties of jewellery in the Valley. As a cue to the

beautiful, the Kashmiris copied the ornaments of the Mughal nobility. Infact, the Kashmiri practice of copying the Mughals was really taken even by the Mughals from others such as the people of Iran, Central Asia and the surrounding countries.

In this manner, the Muslims introduced various types of ornaments during this period. It is said that the nose-rings came into vogue during this period. Their innovation, seems to have continued to be in fashion among rich sections of society until recent times. However, Sufi refutes this contention. He writes, "It is difficult to trace minutely any particular influence on the jewellery of Kashmir". The reason is that the Kashmiris are original in their approach and have derived their models from nature as already mentioned.

Bamzai writes that during Maharaja Gulab Singh's reign (1846–1856), gold ornaments were not common among the lower strata of society. Only the affluent people used gold ornaments. Besides, these ornaments differed due to the material status of the classes.

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The Kashmiri women during our period of study, like those in ancient and medieval times, were very fond of ornaments. They wore necklaces, heavy-rings, bracelets, ear-rings and various other ornaments in ancient days, as they do at present. New fashions in these ornaments were gaining momentum among the ladies of affluent classes. But the poor women were equally fond of ornaments. They used silver, brass and other base metal ornaments for their wear. Thus the ornaments were worn by the rich as well as the poor women. Infact ornaments were popular with all of them.

Generally the Kashmiri women seemed to be wearing silver ornaments galore on different parts of their body. They were seen wearing bracelets on the arms, rings on the fingers and dozens of ear-rings hanging through the lobes which were many times supported by the wires passing over the frontlet of the head. The Muslim peasant women usually wore dozens of silver ear-rings hanging and dragging open the pierced holes in the lobes. They also wore red coral beads of various designs in the form of a chain or necklace. They wore a collar of brass or silver, enamelled in red or blue, or a coral and silver bead necklace. Large and

13. Ibid., pp. 343--344, See also Bazaz, P. N. Daughters of Vitasta, pp. 7--8.
Heavy metal ear-rings were common. Glass bangles with agate and other articles completed the list of the jewellery worn by them.

It is also interesting to observe here that the ornaments used by the female inhabitants of the Valley were quite distinct in their design from those of other areas. These ornaments were as popular with Kashmiri women as with their counterparts in the rest of the country. But their ornaments were somewhat varied in design and usage.

There were several differences between the ornaments worn by a Kashmiri Hindu woman (Panditani) and a Muslim woman. Except for the rings and some ear-rings, other ornaments worn by Pandit woman were different from those of Muslim women in design and weight.


The most striking contrast visible among the females of two communities was that a Hindu lady would seldom use silver ornaments while on the other hand Muslim women generally wore silver ornaments especially during our period of study.

The most important ornaments worn by them (Kashmiri women) were:

**Ornaments for the Ears:**

Ornaments for the decoration of the ears were of so many varieties with beautiful decoration work of various designs. Among these mention may be made of *kanwai* (ear-rings), *Jhumka* (bell-shaped ear-rings), *Bale* or *Doore* (ear-rings), *Tops* (small drops), *Alkahor* and *Doorahora* (another type of ear-rings) and what not. Many ear-rings were all round the edges of the ear. These ornaments were made of silver and gold according to the status and capacity of the wearer. Both Pandit and Muslim women wore ear-rings made in different designs.

**Kanwai:**

The practice of wearing these heavy and large or enormous size ear-rings was common or popular among the Kashmiri women. Generally six or eight ear-rings were suspended from each ear. But now among the younger generation these heavy ear-rings are being replaced with light type of ear-ornaments locally known as *Doore*.

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Jhumka:

Kashmiri women also wore sometimes a **Jhumka** on both sides of the ears.

**Kan-Balle:**

It was a heavy fringed ear-ring with decoration work.\(^{18}\)

**Tops:** or small drops were brought in many designs and a piece was joined with a large hooked pin which was passed through earlobes.\(^{19}\)

**Ulkahora or Alkahors:**

This type of ornament hanging over the ear on either side of the head was connected by means of a chain. This ornament was generally oval in shape meant for the decoration of the ear. It was fixed by means of a hook to the hole at the tip of the ear and remained suspended there. In order to hold the Ulkahora together, the ends of the **Ulkahoras** were fastened with a cord.

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which was fixed to headgear—generally a cap—right on the top by means of a safety pin. Kashmiri Pandit virgins used Ulkahora or Alkohor in place of Deji-hor.

Durahor or Doorahora:

As in the case of aural ornaments or like other ornaments, Durahor or Doorahora was usually studded with red and green stones and pearls and layers of gold and silver. Besides these various other types of ear-rings were common among the women.

While most of these ornaments are illustrated through photographs attached elsewhere.

Deji-hore or Dejharo:

"Among the ornaments pride of place was given to deji-hor." The most important indispensable ornament for a married Kashmiri Pandit woman was and still continues to be what is known as the Dejharoo. It was and is still worn by a Kashmiri Pandit lady on the eve of her marriage. It was their typical marital ornament. Infact, this ornament gained sanctity and was considered an essential

symbol of married life. Thus it was and is still worn only by married women and stood for their mangal-sutra. The size and weight of Dejharoo depended mostly on the position and economic resources of the wearer's family.

Ornaments for the Neck:

Unmarried Muslim girls wore amulets round their necks which were known as Dolan-mall, whereas a Pandit girl wore a simple chain with a few pearls or agates here and there round the neck. After marriage both the Muslims as well as Pandit ladies wore a Chandra-har or Chandan-har (a large necklace of...}

This ornament was generally made of gold with the addition of silver and copper added to it in little percentage. It consisted of a pair of gold and solid pendants. This ornament is attached not to the ear but to a string or chain made of gold or silk thread passes through holes pierced through the middle of lobes and made for this ornament. Then it was fastened to the head-gear with a safety pin. A pair of Atachora of silken or gold thread was fastened with Dejihora. Infact, different designs of hollow triangular ornament of gold was known as Dejihora. The thread or string which passed through the tiny ornamental pipes was known as talaraz in local language. The combination of these three ornaments like (talaraz, atachora and Dejihora) formed an indispensable aural adornment worn by the Pandit ladies and symbolized their Suhag happy married life. These were used by Kashmiri Panditaniis only in the ears and continue to be worn by them during their husband's life time. Except for this particular ornament, other ornaments remained almost the same in the case of two communities— the Muslims and the Pandits.

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several strings round the neck. Besides Chandrahār or Chandanhar Guluband (plain gold or silver or jewelled collar) and Halgaband (necklace) of various designs and sizes were common among them. These necklaces were studded with precious stones and were of various shapes and forms which were quite distinct from one another. In this case engraving and cut-work were the important techniques used for these necklaces.

Among other ornaments worn round the neck was Mam. It was betel leaf shaped pendent usually made of gold or silver.

Neck ornaments consisted of gold and silver chains, or strings of large gold beads, pearls, or coral. In fact, beads of all kinds and of greater or less value were much in demand. Some rich women wore necklaces set with precious and other semi-precious stones. But rich women generally wore round their necks gold chains or strings of pearls with large medallions set with diamonds.

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Like other ornaments for the neck **Tulsi** \(^{27}\) and **Chapkali** \(^{28}\) were also very popular among the Kashmiri Pandit ladies. \(^{29}\)

Mattermaal (chiselled gold necklaces) may also be mentioned as another ornament used for the adornment of the neck. In addition to all these there were also silver charm containers, rectangular, square or triangular in shape worn by the Kashmiri women for the beautification of their neck. \(^{30}\)

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27. "It was an interesting ornament comprising small inch long pieces with holes at two ends scores of such pieces were threaded together at both the ends. There were four or five such rows put together and right at the centre, these were fixed together by a central medalion type piece. The edges of various cords were fastened close together. The ornament was worn close to neck with the medallion sitting right over the centre of the throat. The ends of the cords were fastened at the centre of the neck." Jala Z.L., op. cit., p. 484 f.n. 22. See also Bamzai, P. N. K., *Socio—Economic History of Kashmir*, pp. 343—344.

28. **Chapkali** was a necklace of several strings with small pendant representing the buds of the Chapkali flower twisted strung in gold or silver. It was called **Chapkali**. It was worn round the neck. Bamzai, P. N. K., *Socio—Economic History of Kashmir*, p. 343.

29. *Census of India, 1961, (Rural Craft Survey), Gold and Silver Ornaments*, p. 90; *Master pieces of Indian Jewellery*, p. 46.

Ornaments for the Wrists

The bangles (bungri) and bracelets (kaer) of various designs were worn by Kashmiri women. These were either plain round bracelets or bangles made of solid silver or stuffed with shellac. Sometimes these were ornamented and stuffed with serrated edges. Bangles and bracelets of various shapes were popular especially Gunsu and Katskara which were both in use.

Besides silver and gold bangles and bracelets, glass bangles too were worn round the wrists by women of all classes. There was a separate mohalla or locality in Srinagar inhabited by the glass bangle-makers, called as Kachagari mohalla. It was renowned for glass bangles. But solid fitting bracelets of silver embossed with chinar, leaves, cherry and almond blossoms were favourite with the Kashmiri ladies. These bracelets were of brittle metal of variegated colours.

Bracelets were sometimes made hollow and these were of different in patterns. They were worn either above the elbow or round the wrists, and were made of gold or silver as the means of the wearer would allow. Poor women wore copper bracelets. Thus the Kashmiri women carried sizeable gold and silver bracelets on their arms. Dupois, J.A., op. cit., pp. 332-35.


Ornaments for the Fingers:

Like other ornaments finger-rings (waej) formed another item of adornment worn by the Pandit as well as the Muslim women alike. These were generally made of gold, silver or any other metal. In the same manner like necklaces these rings were sometimes studded with precious or semi-precious stones like jade turquoises gold stone or blood stone. Pink or green agate or pearls were also embedded in these rings. Finger-rings were common among the women. 34

Ornaments for the Head and Forehead:

For a Pandit unmarried girl these comprised three or four chandras or replicas of full moon, sewn on the skull-caps. 35 Ornaments worn on the forehead was called Tikka (small pendant) worn on the forehead. It was of three or four varieties. According to Pearce Gervis, Kashmiri women wore the unique silver pieces which covered the head and were made of a number of cut-out silver medallions fixed together like chain armour. With fringes of tiny darts falling on the forehead. 36


The most delicate of these were shaped like fishes, birds, and flowers. Sometimes women (especially those belonging to the affluent classes) wore jewelled ornaments on their foreheads and over the parting of the hair. Even the caps of child girls were ornamented with flat-triangular ornaments hanging at either side of their head with short chains of beads or pearls attached to them. Besides Tikka, the Kashmiri women have been shown in several magazines and journals as wearing Joomar (a triangular ornament) put on one side of the forehead by them.

Maes Clips:

The hair clips were used by Kashmiri women like those used by women in other parts of the country. These were prepared in numerous geometrical shapes and styles. These were made of silver or gold and were generally about 3" long and 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" wide. These clips were tied to the hair by means of a hook.


The women used several types of ornamental needles to keep their head gear (Qasaba or Taranga) in proper trim. 40

**Ornaments for the Feet:**

"silver ornaments may be worn on the arms, but are sometimes used to decorate the feet and anklets." The use of thick anklets (Pauzeb) of silver or gilded tin was common among the women in those days. However, these anklets were heavier than the present day ones, which are thin and chain-like. These heavy anklets were usually solid and circular shaped and were described as gudakur or gods-kora. 42

Both the anklets and nose-rings had come into use through the impact of the Dogras on Kashmiri culture. 43

**Ornaments for the Nose:**

Even the nose was considered a suitable object for decoration. "It was under the influence of Dogras that Kashmiri women too started using nose-rings." 44 It is still in use among

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43. Jala, Z.L., op. cit., p. 484.

44. Ibid., p. 485.
them. This ornament was usually made of gold. This carried a simple design on a small ring. Another ornament for nose was nose-drop or tili. This was and still continues to be a gold or silver knob (koke) with a hollow pin to which another pin was fitted from inside the nose. Keil stands for a small stud that let into the flesh of the nostril on one side. In fact nose-rings were mostly common among the Muslim women.

Superstitious people wore amulets round their necks or tied them on their arms. These were stuffed in small silver, gold or sometimes in copper cases. Infact amulet was and continues to be an important item of ornament worn by men and women of the Valley. Amulets of various types, especially Hangi Taweez, Taweez Runidar, Bokiwatchi Chali Taweez, Chakor Taweez were common among them.

"These are worn to attain various ends and as a protection against illness etc."


The Kashmiri males, both the Pandits as well as the Muslims made use of finger rings to a great extent. The status of the wearer had a great part to play in the choice of the metal used in these rings, so that they could be made of gold, silver or some base metal according to the position and resources of the wearer.

The use of Tarki (close fitting ear-rings) among the Pandit boys was in vogue in the period under reference. Even nose-rings were very often used to ward off the evil effects of stars. There is every likelihood to suppose that the Kashmiri Pandits borrowed the practice of wearing these ornaments from the Dogras.

However, with the spread of western education among them, the Tarki and nose-rings for boys altogether fell into disuse.

The women of all sections also adorned their ears and neck with various kinds of beautiful flowers in addition to the ornaments were used for the enhancement of their charm and beauty.


49. Ibid., Rose, A., *op. cit.*, p. 25. In order to avert the evil influences or effects of the various planets (Rahu-Katu) and as a protection, the Pandit (Kashmir Hindu) child's nose or ear was bored particularly among orthodox families.


Dewan Kirpa Ram in his book *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, gives a long list of various ornaments, but he gives scanty information on these. He has chosen to skip-over the details of these ornaments. Photographs of several types of ornaments have been added to the thesis.

Jewellery
IV — LANGUAGE

Language is a unique device of expression and communication. It is a peculiar characteristic of human race and distinct from the animals. The capacity of acquiring and evolving language is associated with human race and it constitutes a very important element in the cultural life of the people.

It is a pre-requisite for communion between minds and minds. Human society can hardly exist without mutual communion through language. Infact almost the whole volume of human knowledge is stored in and transmitted through it. Language is not a necessary condition for culture— rather it is itself a part of culture. It characteristically varies from group to group and undergoes significant alterations in the process of transmission.

It is remarkable to note that language is the main bond of forging unity. It strengthens the ties of friendship and fraternity among the people. The spoken word has force and opens a vista of associations. According to some intellectuals


it is not a mere dress or vehicle of thought. But in wider sense it is really the flesh-body of thought so that we find language and thought inseparable from each other. Language implies symbolic expression and forms the most essential and mysterious form of communication coming from the human mind.

Human beings learn behaviour patterns through mutual association in social groups. Nodoubt men pick up important lessons from environment, but their mutual interactions are largely brought about through communication, (consisting of sending of messages and the imparting of information) of one individual with another. Language or speech forms the main medium of communication.

Languages develop under different processes originating from history, civilization, culture, religion, philosophy, local environment, foreign influences and what not. Just as there exists diversity among physical regions similarly there exist differences in the language and dialects of the people and this

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is true of Kashmir as well. The population of Kashmir consists of different people with several modes of life. They speak a number of dialects in different parts of the Valley.

Infact, Kashmiri is the most important language of the people within the Valley. The whole population of the Valley, possess the common heritage of Kashmiri language with some variations here and there. It is recognized as one of the regional languages of the country (India). The Kashmiris or native speakers call their language as Kashur. It is a peculiar and distinct language from that spoken in other parts of the state. Somewhat complicated in its form and pronunciation, it is not understood by the strangers. It is called Kashmiri or Kaashmiri by people residing outside the Valley.

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In Kashmir Valley almost everyone is familiar with this language (Kashmiri). It is the mother-tongue of the Kashmiris. They find in it a pliable and easy means of communication with one another. Thus it is the common language of its entire population.
It is spoken in Kashmir, Kishtwar, Bhadrawah, Ramban, Riyasi and so many other places. But pure Kashmiri is spoken in the city of Srinagar (Valley of Kashmir) only-- its different dialects being spoken in the rest of the Kashmir Valley. These dialects are influenced by the dialects of the hilly and adjacent areas. These are different from pure Kashmiri in pronunciation and idiom. Among the dialects spoken in these areas of the Valley are those which are known as Pogli, Kishtwari, Rambani, Siraji and Riyasi. It is not easy to trace the origin of Kashmiri language as it is concealed in the layers of cultural epochs which have grown about it through the ages.


10. The mixture of Kashmiri and the western hill dialects is known as Pogli, Sharma, D. C., op. cit., p. 39.

11. The script of Kashtwari dialect is a kin to Kashmiri.

12. The fusion of Kashmiri and Dogri may be looked upon as Rambani, Sharma, D. C., op. cit., p. 39.

13. "Siraji presents a typical case of a dialect which is difficult to classify. Grierson thinks that it can with almost equal correctness be declared as a dialect of Kashmiri because it possesses certain Dardic characteristics which are absent in Pahari". Ibid.,

Here an attempt has been made to present some important details regarding the various aspects concerned with Kashmiri language. Sir George Grierson, an eminent European scholar and linguist has traced the genesis of Kashmiri to the Dardic group of languages. According to him it was developed in Dardistan viz., the mountainous region between the north west of the Punjab and the Pamir. The region is known as Dardistan. Besides, Arabic Persian and Sanskrit words. The Kashmiri language embodies Dardic or Paishachi words and terms. Thus according to him Kashmiri language has Dardic characteristics and other features which it shares with the Indo-Aryan group of languages.

There are two views regarding the origin of Kashmiri. According to the first view it is a branch of the Indo-Aryan language group (like Hindi and Punjabi). The second view is that Kashmiri belongs to a separate group within the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European languages which is called the Dardic (or the Pisacha) group of languages, the two other branches of the group being Indo-Aryan and Iranian. It is the Indo-European in its Aryan branch to which Kashmiri belongs. Thus Kashmiri

Sir George Abraham Grierson is the great authority on the languages of India. He has given to the world his magnum opus in some 20 volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India (1903-1928), It is his monumental work.


Some scholars are of opinion that Dardic does not form a separate group. According to them Dardic speeches should be classified under Indo-Aryan group.
belongs to the Indo-European group of Aryan branch of languages and closely related to the other Aryan languages of North India and the Deccan. It appears similarly akin to the Iranian group of languages like Pashto, Persian, Balochi and the "Ghalcha" dialects spoken in the north and north-west of Kashmir. Besides these, its connection can be traced from other Indo-European languages of the west such as Armenian, Greek, Russian and similar other languages.  

Irrespective of the difference of opinions regarding the origin of this language, it is beyond any shadow of doubt that Kashmiri was and still continues to be the main language of the inhabitants of this Valley. Of course its origin is not clearly to be traced and remains wrapped in the mist of antiquity. According to Grierson, Kashmiri language is intimately connected with Dardic. In his opinion Kashmiri is intimately similar to Dardic which, in its turn, possesses the traits found in Iranian

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Many eminent scholars believe that Dardic does not form a separate and self contained group. They think that the Dardic speeches should be classified under Indo-Aryan, Iqbal and Nirash, op. cit., pp. 131-135.
and Indo--Aryan group of languages. The position can be best indicated by means of genealogical table like the following:

1. **Grierson's view:**

   - **Indo-European**
     - Aryan or Indo Iranian

       - **Indo-Aryan**
         - Vedic, Sanskrit;
         - the Prakrits and the New Indo-Aryan languages
       - Dardic speeches (Including Kashmiri)

       - Iranian, Avestan
         - old Persian, Pahlavi;
         - Sogdian, old Khotanese, Modern Persian
         - Pashto, Balochi,
         - Kurdi, Chalcha,
         - Oseetsh etc.

2. **The View of Other Scholars:**

   - **Indo-Iranian or Aryan**

       - **Indo-Aryan Vedic**
         - Sanskrit

       - **Indic (or plains group):** Hindi-
         - Panjabi etc.
         - Dardic (or Mountain group): Kashmiri,
         - Sinha, Chitrali etc.

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The writer of this article (S. K. Chatterji) suggests that Grierson may be right in concluding that Dardic is a distinct group in Indo-Iranian; other scholars, however, look upon Dardic as Indo-Aryan. In their opinion Dardic and Indo-Aryan are descended from the Aryan dialects which came to India, through their proper connection with each other and with the ancient Aryan is a controversial question. In fact, the historical study of Kashmiri reveals a very close connexion with Indo-Aryan Sanskrit, (which makes it like a mixed speech either as a Sanskritic or Indo-Aryan dialect) modified by the Dardic speeches like Shina and Kafir, or conversely a Dardic speech profoundly modified by Sanskrit and Prakrit.20 Inspite of this fact there is a large element in Kashmiri which shows its relationship with the Dardic speeches rather than the Indo-Aryan, particularly as regards vocabulary (roots and affixes) and grammatical forms. Some experts, however, are of opinion that it is associated with (Vedic Sanskrit), like the Aryan speeches of the plains of India. The north-western group of speeches of Indo-Aryan like Lahandi and Sindhi, for example, show a very pronounced Dardic influence on Kashmiri so that its basis appears to be north-western dialect of Indo-Aryan group.21

21. Ibid., p. 76.
We find references from the Kashmiris themselves according to which Kashmir was formerly inhabited by Pisachas, who were overcome by Aryan immigrants from India. This evidence can be traced from the similarity of features presented by their language. Among the Pisacha languages—Shina Khowar group—form, so to say, a bridge between the Sanskrit languages of India and the Iranian languages further of the west.

There are many features common to the Iranian and the Sanskrit. But in spite of these similarities there are certain features peculiar to themselves while in other respects, they possess similarities with the Iranian family. Infact Pisacha languages always show changes peculiar to Iranian, especially East Iranian languages. These changes are very seldom perceptible in Indian languages. Some of these changes are to be traced in Kashmiri language. These also may be referred to here. In East Iranian the change of ch to ts is commonly to be found. Similar is the case with regard to modern Pisacha and Kashmiri. This change occurs in the Indian Marathi only before certain vowels while here it occurs before all vowels. Another characteristic change (that of J to Z) is frequent in Iranian and this is also very commonly to be found in Kashmiri. Hardening of Sonant Consonants is to be found both in Pisacha languages as also in Kashmiri.22 Like Indian languages, Kashmiri also

possesses a suffix with the force of an indefinite article synonymous with the Persian Ye - ें (for singular). (A) is suffixed in Kashmiri exactly as in ancient Persian e is given as a suffix. It appears that the basis of Kashmiri language is Pisachachi, and Pisachachi group of languages known as the Dardic.

It is significant here to point out that since earliest times (unlike its western counterparts like Shina and the Kafir dialects), Kashmiri has always remained under the tutelage of Sanaskrit. Most of the literature of Kashmiri was written in Sanaskrit which was the literary medium of communication of the country.

Obviously Kashmiri has been very profoundly influenced by Sanskrit and Prakrits-- from ancient times. Kashmiri language is a desirative of Prakrit which is in itself a modified form of Sanskrit. So it can be said that the indigenous literature of Kashmiri has flourished under the influence of Sanskrit.

23. Ibid., p. 263;
In prosody, literature of Kashmir bears close resemblance to Sanskrit. And when we come to the question of vocabulary the claim of Kashmiri as a Sanskritic language gains very solid support. In short, if languages were to be classified on the basis of vocabulary, the claim of Kashmiri as Sanskritic will be incontrovertible.

B. N. Kalla comments in his article that Grierson has neglected two important aspects of Sanskrit which form the foundation stone of Kashmiri language. These aspects are Tatsam and Tadbhava words. Prakrit and Apbhramsha (corrupt form) have also not been mentioned by him. However, the structure of Kashmiri language cannot be said to have any strong bases without these aspects.

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Sanskrit has played a key role in the formation of Kashmiri language. It served as an inspiration to Kashmiri language in its earliest stage of development. In its Prakrit stage Kashmiri is so akin to Sanskrit that it is very difficult to differentiate between the two. "Most of the village names, rivers-names, and town-names of Kashmir are Sanskrit in origin" Datta Amaresh (Chief Editor), Encyclopedia of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 40, Vol. II, pp. 1700—1701.


Kashmiri is closely associated with Sanskrit like flesh and blood in the human body. Originating from Sanskrit, Indian languages changed into various forms of Prakrit and Apabhramsha. In some respects, some words also entered into Kashmiri language through Prakrit and Apabhramsha. These became essential part of Kashmiri. Despite Tatsam and Tadbhava words all other words have come into Kashmiri language through Prakrit and Apabhramsha. Thus it came under the influence of Sanskrit directly and later through Prakrits.

Kashmiri can be divided into five forms:

1. Kashmiri of Vedic period — 2350 B.C — 500 B.C.
2. Kashmiri of classical Sanskrit period — 500 B.C. (onwards)
3. Kashmiri of Prakrit period — 500 B.C — 500 A.D.
4. Kashmiri of Apabhramsha period — After 500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
5. Kashmiri of Persian and Arabic period — 1300 A.D. (onwards)

Borrowed words were called (Tatsam) or the same as "that" i.e. Sanskrit or in otherwords we may say Tatsam is (Tad + Sam) meaning similar to that or derived from the Prakrit (Sanskrit).

While the primary Prakrit words are known as Tadbhavas Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. I, Part I, p. 127.


Ibid.
It has already been mentioned in the foregoing account that Kashmiri language belongs to Dardic group according to the view of Grierson, who has tried to show original similarity in the two languages in a comparative table of Shina and Kashmiri. By this we can clearly judge that Kashmiri and Shina have similarity in meanings as well as cognate forms and it will be clear from the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shina</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>after</td>
<td>phatu</td>
<td>pata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aunt(father's sister)</td>
<td>papi</td>
<td>Poph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>nilo</td>
<td>nilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull</td>
<td>dono</td>
<td>dand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>gav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>des</td>
<td>doh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry</td>
<td>shuko</td>
<td>hokhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>khe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>dur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold</td>
<td>son</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hot</td>
<td>tato</td>
<td>totu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kill</td>
<td>mar</td>
<td>mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay down</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>paw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>mas</td>
<td>maz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>nav</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. The Indian Antiquary, 1915, November--December, pp. 207--209.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shina</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>rati</td>
<td>rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>rup</td>
<td>rop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>jip</td>
<td>zev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>write</td>
<td>lik</td>
<td>lekh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>awa</td>
<td>awa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows how the law applies to these two languages. Some Shina words are closely allied to the Kashmiri.

But when we deeply examine the Kashmiri language or its numerous forms and bear in mind its pronunciation, we notice that Kashmiri language is not different from Vedic or classical Sanskrit. In the opinion of philosogists there are five points for adjudging the similarity between any two languages. These are phonetics, wordology, morphology, syntax and semantics. We find these points in common between Sanskrit and Kashmiri, as can be illustrated by so many example. For instance in Kashmiri we say ---*(Don't get late)* Tser ma kar which becomes in Sanskrit Tsir ma kury. There can be so many other examples of the same type and all of them will confirm our contention that numerous or so many common points exist between Sanskrit and Kashmiri.\(^3\)


During ancient times Sanskrit was the main medium of education and many Pandits (Hindus) were great Sanskrit scholars. We also find many useful Sanskrit manuscripts still in Kashmir which are not to be found elsewhere.
Further, we notice many Vedic words in Kashmiri language possessing similar sound, form and meaning. Even at present these words continue to be used in these very shades of connotation. It will be clear from the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vedic Sanskrit</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vaya</td>
<td>vaya</td>
<td>grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yadya-uvai</td>
<td>yudvay</td>
<td>If</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskarena</td>
<td>Sanskaram</td>
<td>Sense of journey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awa</td>
<td>awa</td>
<td>Acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haye</td>
<td>hayi</td>
<td>In an exclamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal</td>
<td>balyan</td>
<td>Recover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phal</td>
<td>phal</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kath</td>
<td>kath</td>
<td>Story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taal</td>
<td>Taal</td>
<td>Bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maaz</td>
<td>Maaz</td>
<td>Meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wale-Wale</td>
<td>Wal-i-Wali</td>
<td>Quick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above-mentioned examples are sufficient to show that Kashmiri shares many words in common with Vedic Sanskrit.

35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
About the early Kashmiri literature very little is known. It appears that not much of it has been preserved. The earliest work in the Kashmiri is the *Mahanyaparakasha* of Rajanaka Sitaikanta. It is a Sanskrit treatise on the Trika philosophy, and is called the Prakrit of that time. It was written somewhere during the thirteenth-fourteenth century in the Sharda script. *Bana Surakatha* written by Avatara Bhatta, the court poet of Zainu'l-Abidin is another work on the same subject. It contains words and expression which resemble modern Kashmiri. The language of *Mahanay-Prakasha* is quite clear.

Picture of Kashmiri language becomes clearer with the advent of the fourteenth century, *Vakyas* (a four line stanza) of Lalla Ded or Lalleshwari, saintly poetess and reformer, gave to us her sayings in Kashmiri, which formed the beginning of modern Kashmiri. Her another great contemporary was Shaikh Nur-ud-Din Reshi whose sayings are known as *Shrueks*. Thus their sayings, (*Vakyas* and *Shrueks*) have come down to our times both in manuscript and oral forms. Lalla Ded is regarded as the


propounder of written Kashmiri. The Vakyas were the first literary form of expression used by the Kashmiris. Lalla's compositions represent the oldest specimens of Kashmiri language coming down to even modern times through oral tradition.

In the middle of the fifteenth century Zainu'l-Abidin (Badshah) patronized art and literature. Kashmiri also received an impetus like other languages under his patronage. Kashmiri, meanwhile came into its own by adopting a new form.

With the establishment of Islam in Kashmir, Persian and Arabic words and expressions were largely absorbed in Kashmiri, although Sanskrit continued for two centuries more as the court language. Under the impact of Islam Persian influenced the vocabulary of Kashmiri. Kashmiri follows the Persian syntax in the order of subject and predicate unlike that followed in other Indian languages. For instance in Kashmiri we say:

\[\text{Suh chhuch qatulu mahanyuvu}\]

(he is a clever person)

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42. The Indian Antiquary November—December, 1915, pp. 266-67.
On the other hand, in Hindi we express this idea in the following manner:

\[ \text{Woh hoshvar admi hai} \]

In respect of formation of the tenses Kashmiri differs largely from Indian languages. The old present tense that survives alike in Indian, Persian and Pisacha has the force of the present subjective in India, while in Kashmiri, it is used in the connotation of the future. In its conjugation it shows some relationship with Indian languages. The following example will illustrate this point here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. &quot;mara&quot;</td>
<td>I shall strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. marakh</td>
<td>mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mare</td>
<td>mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. marav</td>
<td>mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. mariv</td>
<td>maro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mariv</td>
<td>mare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So far as the structure of Kashmiri language is concerned, it has three past tenses one corresponding to each of the three past participles. On the otherhand, the Indian languages have only one past tense.

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43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
In the opinion of Marcopolo and Abul Fazl, Kashmiris have a distinctive language of their own. The philological study of Kashmiri could be of some help in finding out certain features peculiar to this language. Some intellectuals state that the Kashmiri vocabulary is a polyglot, and out of every hundred words twenty-five percent are from Sanskrit which form the substratum of this language, while forty percent are from Persian, fifteen from Hindustani and ten percent from Arabic, the remaining ten percent belong to Tibetan, Turki, Dogri and Punjabi. This language can now boast of having a complete grammar, a good dictionaries and modern type of up-to-date encyclopaedia.

Keeping the above facts in view, we arrive at the conclusion that Kashmiri is a mixed language. Its basis according to Grierson and others, seems to be Dardic group of Pisacha family akin to Shina. However, there are others who believe that it has been profoundly influenced by Indian culture and literature, so that, according to them major part of its vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. Much has been said in the above


47. The Indian Antiquary, 1915 November-December, Vol. XLIV, p. 270.
account about the affiliation of Kashmiri with other languages. However, it is not easy to do justice to this subject. On the whole, it is illustrative enough to show the influences of various languages on Kashmiri.

**Dialects:**

The Kashmiri speech community has been classified into three parts—viz., (1) mara; (2) kamra; and yamara;.

1. mara; (the southern and south eastern region);
2. kamra; (the northern and north-western region);
3. yamara; (Srinagar and its immediate surrounding areas).

The Kashmiri spoken in the mara; is believed to be more Sanskritized. On the other hand type of Kashmiri spoken in kamra; shows more of Dardic influence.

There is a marked difference in the Kashmiri language of the Muslims and that of the Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus). The former abounds in foreign words borrowed mostly from Persian while the latter is free from Persian influence and has borrowed largely from Sanskrit. There are also slight differences in pronunciation. Again, there also exists distinction between the language of prose and poetry. But the language spoken in Srinagar (the central part of Kashmir Valley) is considered to be standard Kashmiri. While Hindi speech is full of words...

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borrowed from Sanskrit that of Muslims abounds in Persian and Arabic words. Thus, the Hindu Kashmiri is very much indebted to Sanskrit sources. While the Muslim Kashmiri has drawn upon Persian sources to a very large extent. However, we need not draw a water-tight distinction between the two above mentioned phases of the language.

But in certain respects the Muslims very often use the Sanskritic Kashmiri while the Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) use persianized Kashmiri for instance tsendir 'moon' finds large frequency of usage among Muslims.

Some examples of Sanskritized Kashmiri:

athichalun (to wash hands), baqvan (God), bohgun (cooking vessel), khos (cup), havah (wind), etc. The persianized form: athipethrun, khoda, petisili, varv, parli etc. Besides these, there are some unique features which are discernible in speeches of both the communities. Thus the mahara and haz are terms of respect used by the Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus), and by the Kashmiri Muslims, respectively. The two terms are quite distinctive in the case of the two communities. Among Muslims, the following basical

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items may be looked upon as peculiar to their speech only: "

alash (God), asb (water), khiplri (coconut), Jumash (Friday),
maiz (mutton), mond (widow), vezarri (trousers), vadi (promise),
jahnam (hell)". Similarly, in the case of the Hindus, the
following peculiarities of lexical items deserve considerations:
"beovasn (God), poin (water), soriq (heaven), sokurvasr (Friday),
zal (urine), zatukh (horoscope), asa (hope), anay (injustice)".

The differences between rural and urban Kashmiri in
respect of phonemic variations are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural Kashmiri</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Urban Kashmiri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khor (Foot)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Khor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasd (Fish)</td>
<td></td>
<td>gasd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lukh (People)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lukh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vichi (see)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vichi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bithi (infront)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buthi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bizi (fry)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidi (urban Kashmiri) (Fly)</td>
<td>Vudi (Rural Kashmiri)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nesran (Going)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nesran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devan (Running)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Devan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natsan (Dancing)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Natsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginda (Playing)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ginda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiribatukh</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pechun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51a. Ibid.
52. Ibid., p. 74.
53. Ibid., pp. 29-30, 58, 73.
Besides these groups, there are certain other particular professional groups among the Muslims such as Puj (Butcher) Band (Ministrel), and Mochi (shoe-mender). All these groups possess characteristic lexical features which, in some situations, are related to their professional needs.\(^{54}\)

**Script:**

According to G. M. D. Sufi, the Kashmiris use three different scripts for the writing of this language—viz., Sarda, Nagri, and Persian—Arabic. Both the Hindus and the Muslims now write mainly in the Persian—Arabic script.\(^{55}\)

**Sarda Script:**

Sarda was the most ancient indigenous script used in Kashmir. It is akin to Nagri, and is built on the same system corresponding with it in letters, but not the forms of the letters. Sarda is more closely associated with the Takri alphabet of the Punjab hills. It possess a complete array of symbols used for different vowels. It also bears affinity to Bodh script of Ladakh.

It was a script standing somewhere between Brahmi and Devanagri. In short, Sarda script may be said to be connected with the Nagri—possessing an Indian alphabet resembling Gurmuki of the Punjab which developed in the North-West of India.

In ancient days all the Kashmiri manuscripts (MSS) both in Sanskrit and Vernaculars used to be written in this script (Sarda)\(^56\). However, later on these types and forms went into disuse owing to the absence of demand and also for certain historical reasons.

**Devanagri Script**

The use of devanagri script was confined mainly to the Hindus; it remained in use only among a small circle of Kashmiri Brahmins (Pandits) and did not become very popular among the people in general. The Brahmins also used it side by side with Sarda. The symbols of Devanagri are different from those of Sarda and are still in use even today. It may be mentioned here that Grierson made use of Devanagri in a modified form coupled with phonetic romanization for the purpose of writing and printing Kashmiri.

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56. This script is still in use among the Brahmins (Pandits), who use it for writing horoscopes and for other religious purposes. In actual practice the Muslims use the Persian—Arabic script while the Hindus until sometime ago used the ancient Sarda script.
The Persio-Arabic Script:

This script is used both by the Muslims and the Kashmiri Pandits, and is the officially recognized script of Jammu and Kashmir government. It has also been recognized as such by the Academy of Art, Culture and Languages of Jammu and Kashmir State. It is now the generally accepted alphabet for Kashmiri.57

The Roman Script:

The Roman script has been used only by a very small number of Kashmiris.58

While dealing with the period under review it may be mentioned that the Dogra rulers also patronized art and literature as far as was possible in the context of the early phase of this century. For instance we find a reference to the Maharaja of Kashmir donating Rs. 2,000/- for the publication of Kashmiri Dictionary. The Maharaja donated this amount to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for this purpose.59


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Total:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>293590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>318732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musaffarabad District</td>
<td>17220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantnag District</td>
<td>93634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baramulla District</td>
<td>54032</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mother Tongue (Kashmiri)**
This table throws light on the Kashmiri speaking people in Kashmir Province in 1931.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffarabad</td>
<td>9703</td>
<td>11640</td>
<td>21343</td>
<td>9703</td>
<td>11641</td>
<td>21344</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kashmir North &amp; Muzafferabad</td>
<td>22308</td>
<td>270273</td>
<td>50281</td>
<td>22308</td>
<td>270275</td>
<td>50283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir South (including)</td>
<td>330924</td>
<td>392576</td>
<td>723500</td>
<td>330923</td>
<td>392572</td>
<td>723570</td>
</tr>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unit in Numbers

Source: Census of India, 1931, p. 223.