Chapter VII

(Interaction of the Hindus (Pandits) and Muslims in respect of customs and habits)
INTERACTION OF THE HINDUS (PANDITS) AND MUSLIMS
IN RESPECT OF CUSTOMS AND HABITS:

From time immemorial many conquerors and missionaries have come and settled down in the Valley. Different regimes with divergent geneses and their respective backgrounds (the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Huns, the Muslims, the Mughals, the Pathans, the Sikhs and the Dogras) came and made their impact on the people of this Valley. The Valley of Kashmir has, in fact, always been a land of composite culture and this trait continued during the period under review as well. Ever since the dawn of history people with different religious faiths, attitudes of thought and ways of living have inhabited this area and lived in ties of friendship and good neighbourliness. It is of interest to note that Hinduism and Buddhism flourished here side by side, and later on Islam established its influence in the Valley. With the passage of time the impact of Islam brought about many changes in the socio-religious and cultural scene in the Valley. But Islam itself got to some extent influenced


"Influences of various civilizations and cultures have happily mingled in Kashmir. Like an ocean, Kashmir received the tribute of a thousand rivers, and, like an ocean again, though perturbed for a while on the surface, it absorbed and assimilated these varied currents into its own culture, weaving out new patterns of synthesis and harmony." Kaumudi, op. cit., p. 4.
by Hinduism. The result was a unique cultural synthesis. "Infact the process of mutual assimilation and interaction of thought and culture had started as early as the establishment of 'Muslim rule' in Kashmir."

The records show that the Kashmiri Hindus (Pandits) and Muslims lived peacefully and amicably in the Valley during the period of our study. We find from the references of the historians that the relations between the two communities continued to be friendly and cordial having had so much in common in language, culture, customs, dress and thought. Munshi Ganeshi Lal who visited the Valley during 1846 found very little distinction between the two religious groups. A similar view was expressed by Dr. Ernest Neve when he wrote "In Kashmir there is very little fanaticism. In some respects the toleration is

2. Kaumudi, op. cit., p. 4. Koshur Samachar, 1978, April—May Vol. XVI, NO: 45, pp. 2–3; Kapur, M. L. A History of Medieval Kashmir (1320—1586), pp. 203—204; Kalla K. L, (ed) pp. 6–7. Islam came to Kashmir in the fourteenth century and influenced the Hindu society in various ways. But on the other hand it could not escape the influence of Hinduism in the adoption and retention of several customs and practices which can be discerned as prevailing among the Kashmiri Muslims. The Kashmiri Muslims who are primarily converts from the indigenous population have retained their old rituals and beliefs.


5. Lal, Munshi Ganesh, op. cit., p. 32.
surprising. The friendly relations existing between Mohammadans and Hindus are remarkable, and partly to be explained by the fact that many Hindu customs have survived, even among Mohammadans.\textsuperscript{6} In fact, the close affinity of two communities in respect of customs and habits was responsible for total absence of fanaticism.

These two religious communities in their interactions have supplied two streams of civilization and culture having their influence on each other.\textsuperscript{7} G. M. D. Sufi remarks "That the two cultures interacted and modified one another without saying. For example, where Islam flourished, the caste system weakened, and under Hindu influence Islam lost something of its asperity".\textsuperscript{8}

The Islamic influence brought about a rapid change in the caste system. The Hindu society which had already become lax in this respect under the Buddhist influence became still less rigid in observance of caste restrictions. Here the influence of Islam was directly discernible. As a result of the Islamic influence the rigour of the caste system was further reduced.

\textsuperscript{6} Beyond the Firpoanal, p. 164. See also Where Three Empires Meet, p. 76.

\textsuperscript{7} Kamudi, op. cit., p. 4. Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, pp. 1--5. Sir J. Marshall has observed "Seldom in the History of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar, as the Hindus and Muslims meeting and mingling together." Quoted in the Literary Heritage of Kashmir (ed.) pp. 6--7.


\textsuperscript{9} Kapur, M.L. op. cit., pp. 203--204, 207--208; Tarachand, op. cit., p. 108, Census Report, 1991, Part I, p. 140. Sharma, B.L. op. cit., pp. 54--55. Thus the absence of rigid type of caste system was one of the main reasons contributing to the religious tolerance among the Hindus and Muslims of the Valley.
Infact the tradition of synthesis has been discernible in all ages and phases of Kashmir History. We find the same trend prevailing during the medieval period as well. In this respect, the following lines from proceedings of 47th Session of Indian History Congress (1985) deserve reference— "The cultural predominance of Islam made silent but such serious erosions into the Hindu culture, that the Hindus voluntarily sloughed off their religious practices". This shows how any of these two religious could completely overshadow the other when both of them had passed their zenith and had evaporated their originality. The loss of originality, instead paved the way for the synthesis of the Hindu and the Muslim cultures. The Muslim influence has been mainly on the theological side while the Hindu influence has been mainly on the social side— each being most effective where its expression is most vigorous. The unity among people irrespective of any distinctions as also formation of moral character based on absolute trust in God has been the most important trait of Muslim faith. It has influenced the Hindus so that it has stimulated a series of reform movements which gained an impetus through comprehension of each other's philosophy and religious outlook.


11. Ibid., p. 1.

12. Spear Percival, India, Pakistan, and the West, pp. 88—89.
The Islamic influence was also visible on the Advaita Saivism and preached by Lalleshwari or Lalla Ded. This is how Islam influenced the Hindu religious outlook.

In the same manner Muslims were also influenced by Hinduism. It seemed inevitable for the two systems to influence each other. Of course, their wide differences tended to reduce their influence and made it less perceptible than what might have been expected. The two processes of repulsion and attraction existed side by side though the former had been more obviously at work than the latter. So far as the Muslims were concerned, Hindu pantheistic philosophy with its neglect of forms and distrust of the material, its tendency to identify God and Nature, its disregard of moral distinctions had a great impact on the outlook of the Muslims. In the sphere of religious practice a notable borrowing had been the habit of reverencing saints in particular and the dead in general. It had been a natural corollary of this new change. Lights were burnt, flowers were offered by the Muslims also at Hindu and Muslim shrines, and this tended to be done not only for recognized saints, but for kings or any one else whose tombs happened to come handy to the devotee.


15. Ibid.
On the contrary they were also influenced by their old faith—Buddhism. The two religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, had much in common. Both used the rosary which was a mark of Buddhist and Hindu monks. Buddhists always worshipped sacred relics. And the worship of relics was a practice adopted from the Buddhists. The Muslims also offered devotional prayers at the shrines or places where their relics were preserved. Here they followed Buddhist or Hindu practice. Further, the use of amulets among the Kashmiri Muslims has been traced from the Buddhists.

This is also confirmed by certain other facts. The system of Khanadamadi (son-in-law by adoption as heir) seems to be largely the result of Hindu custom of adoption. In this manner we may say that the Muslims retained many Hindu customs. Besides this, the Muslims of the Valley followed certain practices not observed by the Muslims in other parts of the country. For example, worshippers were and even today are summoned to mosques for prayer by the sounding of songs over and above the call of the Muazzin.

16. Ganher, J.N. and P.N., Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh, pp. 157–164; Sharma, B.L., op. cit., p. 57.; K.T. 1978, Vol. III No: 3, p. 9. The most important shrine of this kind is the Durgah Sharif at Hazratbal, where the sacred relic (Hair of a saint) of the holy Prophet has been enshrined. This relic is known as Misl-Mubarak in Kashmir. Relic worship was practised in medieval society and is still practised in many parts of the Valley.

17. Ibid.


Anniversaries of several Muslim saints were observed according to the Hindu solar calendar and not on the basis of the Hijra lunar calendar. An interesting feature of the Batamol and Rishimol Sahib's anniversaries at Batamaloo and Anantnag respectively was that the Muslims and Hindus abstained from taking meat during the course of these anniversaries. Even at present, Muslims and Hindus (Pandits) associating at Batamaloo and Anantnag may not touch meat or any other non-vegetarian food for at least a day in the case of the festival of Batamol Sahib and often for a week in case of the Rishimol Sahib at Anantnag. The practice is peculiar to Kashmir. Lawrence mentions two reasons for the religious tolerance in the Valley. First the strict prohibition of cow-killing removed the principal cause of ill-feeling and secondly the strong rule under which the people lived for generations would not brook any quarrelling between the Hindus and the Muslims. During this period, the Muslims paid obeisance to the saints and invoked their aid exactly as the Hindus did in their expression of devotion to their gurus at their places of worship. The Muslims bedaubed themselves with dust of the sacred

20. Ibid., Ganhar, J.N. op. cit., pp. 157–164. During the anniversaries of some holy men known as Rishis, Muslims as well as Hindus of these localities would not eat eggs, meat or fish. Thus we find the Rishi order had been profoundly influenced by Buddhism. The Rishis, in fact, abstained from taking flesh and did not marry like the Buddhist Bhikshus.

precincts and recited the **Darood** (or His praise after *Namaz*).

But perhaps the most predominant practice borrowed from Hinduism was the observance of caste rules. It is true that the Muslims in general would repudiate any such intention, and certainly the ideas behind caste were as these still are absent in Islam. But the idea of caste in its aspect of marriage restrictions undoubtedly was to be found in the *Muslim community in Kashmir Valley*.

As is apparent from the above, the two cultures acted and interacted upon each other so that the result was a synthesis showing trends common to both cultures. This process of synthesis which was discernible in the medieval period, could also be seen during the period under review and in fact it continues to prevail even in the modern age. Inevitably common social and cultural ties were forged in due course between the two religious communities.

**Similarities between Hindu and Muslim customs and Habits:**

Certain holy places and shrines are held in reservecence by the Hindus (Pandits) and the Muslims alike. These sacred shrines are mostly situated together in the same premises.

Obviously many shrines in the Valley are still visited by members of both communities.

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23. Spear Percival, op. cit., p. 89.
of both the communities. To this day, they are sacred to the Hindus and the Muslims of the Valley. A few more examples of similarity in their religious spheres may be seen in the homage paid at the mosque of Shah Hamdan or the Khanqah-i-Mualla, Temple of Kali or Kalishwari goddess, Ziyarat-i-Makdoom Sahib, Hari Parbat temple of goddess Sharika, Dastagir Sahib, Khir Bhawani (Ragni Devi) at Tulamulla, Nund Rishi at Charar-i-Sharif.


25. Mir Syed Ali Hanadani or Amir-i-Kabir was the famous Muslim saint from Persia. He had devoted his whole life to the propagation of Islam in the Valley. The mosque at Khanqah-i-Mualla is said to have been built by Sultan Qutub-ud-Din in 1373 A.D. in memory of Mir Syed Ali Hanadani. It is situated on the right bank of river Jhelum near the third bridge (Fateh Kadal) in Srinagar. It is sacred and a place of common worship for Hindus and Muslims alike. The two religious communities visit this shrine to this day according to their religious customs. The Muslims offer their prayers in the mosque, while the Hindus worship the Keli Devi (Goddess). Her image is painted on the stone on the outer wall.

26. The relics of Dastagir Sahib are preserved by the Kashmiris which are at the Ziarat of Khanyar and Sarai-pain in the city. "The Kashmiri Pandits have great veneration for the Muslim saints, particularly Dastagir Sahib (Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jeelani of Baghdad). The name of this great saint is often invoked by the Pandits of the older generation. Among them he is popular as Kahno" Ishaq Khan, op. cit., p. 121 F.N., 274.

27. Sheikh Nur-ud-Din Wali is popularly known as 'Nund Rishi' among the members of the two religious communities of Kashmir. His shrine at Charar-i-Sharif is held sacred by the Hindus and the Muslims of Kashmir alike. Even today many devotees visit the shrine.
and at the Amarnath cave. Similarly the Muslims show equal reverence for Hindu places of worship like Rishi Pir. The anniversary of this saint is attended by the Muslims as well. "The Muslims on their part exhibit the deepest feelings of respect for the shrines of the Hindu saints like Reshi Pir at Alikadal, Jewan Sahib at Rainawari, Khirbhawani adjoining Ganderbal or Jeyshethyar near Cheshmashahi etc." The Valley of Kashmir is, infact, a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity.

If we study the history of the Hindus and the Muslims of the Valley, we find similarity between the religious practices of the two communities. Then there are many points of resemblance in their customs pertaining to birth, marriage and death. Lawrence records certain similarities between the Hindu and the Muslim social customs. Menzrat or use of the Mehandi-dye; Phirsal, the visit paid by the bridegroom to the bride's house immediately after marriage, Gulimyuth the offering of money, dress and jewels to the groom and the bride by their relatives and friends on the

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28. It is interesting to note that the offerings at Amarnath cave are shared by Muslims and Hindus to this day. Thousands of pilgrims of either community go on annual pilgrimage to the holy cave. "Offerings at the famous shrine of Amarnath are shared by Muslim Malik's of Pahalgam with the Pandits attached to the shrine. Infact, the holy cave itself is reported to have been discovered by a Muslim shepherd who had been in a dream." The Census of India, 1971, General Report, Series 8, J&K, p. 6.


occasion of the wedding and the titles of Maharaza and Mahareni
given to the bridegroom and the bride respectively are only a
few examples. We may also add other points of similarity— the
customs of Sunder, Zarakasal or Mundan (the ceremony of shaving
the head of the child) and then the celebrations of the birthday
and the day of death. Here they possess common customs and rituals.

Even at present, when many changes have taken place in
the society, these social customs survive to a considerable degree
among the Hindus and the Muslims of the Valley. There was yet
another custom common between the two communities regarding offering
made to the dead on certain prescribed occasions. In this respect,
the Hindus performed the Shradh ceremony, while "the Muslims
organized Khatam-i-Sharif". Besides these, we also get references
to the superstitions nature of the Hindus and the Muslims of the
Valley. Biscoe writes, when cholera or smallpox epidemic occurred
in the city, it was attributed to a god or a goddess. On these

31. Lawrence, Valley, pp. 257-71; Census of India, 1971,
See also Kaumudi, op. cit., pp. 196-197.
32. Lawrence, Valley, p. 263.
33. Khan, Ishaq, op. cit., p. 106.
34. Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 63. As regards common
faith in superstitions the Kashmiris whether they adhere
to Islam or Hinduism show themselves superstitions. The
references from encyclopaedia Britannica and other sources
record that the people of Kashmir Valley were strongly
influenced by their ancient superstitions. Neglecting these
superstitions was considered a sin by them. Generally a
Kashmiri Hindu was more superstitious than a Muslim. These
superstitions have given rise to numerous bad customs and
have attained the force of law. Sharma, D.C., op. cit., p.
85; Kaul, P. N. op. cit., p. 17.
calamitous occasions some ceremonies were performed by the people to ward off its malevolent influence—particularly by the Hindus when small-pox attacked their family.\(^{35}\) However, an appreciable change in the attitude of the people has started creeping into the society in course of time. Among the educated sections of society these superstitious customs have disappeared to a large extent.\(^{36}\)

It was also common among both the Kashmiri Hindus (Pandits) and the Muslims of the Valley to remove their shoes before entering a temple or a mosque as a sign of humility and self-abasement before a holy place. There were also many festivals which were celebrated by all Kashmiris in common.\(^{37}\) In the Valley both the Hindus and the Muslims would pray or plant prayer flags before some saint's grave to bring good fortune. Both the communities would drink of a common spring which is said to cure some ailment.\(^{38}\) Muslims of the Valley still retain sub-castes of their ancestral

\(^{35}\) Ibid., The Hindus had the custom of distributing Khir (rice cooked in milk and sugar) to the children while the Muslims distributed Saltish Khir which was known as Doed-Wagra.

\(^{36}\) Ibid., p. 160.

\(^{37}\) Gervis Pearce, op. cit., p. 260; Kaumudi, op. cit., p. 195. See also The Martand, June, 27, 1934, Feb., 12, 1936. Festival have played an important role in the life of the Kashmiris from time immemorial. There are numerous festivals which have been shared and participated in both by the Hindus and Muslims of the Valley, especially Idd and Shivratri. Muslims and Hindus (Pandits) participated in each other's festivities and congratulated each other with love and respect. K.T. Sept., 1961, Vol. 5, NO: 8, p. 21.

\(^{38}\) Gervis Pearce, op. cit., p. 260.
Brahmins viz., Bhat, Pandit, Nehru, Dar, Reshi, Raina, Aitu, and Kaul. Formerly the marriages of the Hindus were contracted through professional go-betweens who were usually Muslims by faith; the Muslims also cremate the dead bodies of pandits—a custom still prevailing in Kashmir. These professional cremators are given the name of Kaul.

**Similarity in Dress:**

As regards their dress—both the Hindus and Muslims of the Valley wore more or less the same dress having traits of both the cultures. The wearing of pheran was as popular with Pandits as it was with the Muslims. In fact, they regarded it an indispensable article of costume. Formerly it was customary for the Hindu and Muslim brides to wear the skull-caps at the time of marriage. The Taraunia or the head dress a Hindu woman wore on this occasion was almost the same as the Kasaba worn by the Muslim women, the variation being slight. In the sphere of the male attire the Hindus and Muslims of the Valley used turban as a common feature of dress. Thus the use of Duster or Paqri (turban) has been current among both the communities of the Valley from early times.

40. Ibid., The Culture of Kashmir (ed.), p. 117.
Even during Medieval period Abul Fazl and Jahangir failed to distinguish a Hindu from a Muslim. Fulhors (straw shoes) and Kharavoos (wooden footwear) were generally used by the Muslims and the Hindus of the Valley. Kharaws were used during mud and rainy season while the Fulhors were worn in all weathers. Thus, there was not much difference between the dress used by the Muslims and that of the Pandits.

**Similarities -- Food Habits:**

We find that the two communities had so much in common in customs and dress, the same holds true about their food. We find no major difference in their food habits. Hak (a green leafy vegetable) and Bhatta (boiled rice) was then as now a favourite food among both the communities.

The practice of distributing Tahar (rice cooked in turmeric, salt and oil) was and is still common among both the Muslims and the Hindus of the Valley. The Kashmiri Hindus observed this practice on their birth-days and on several other occasions.

42. Farimul, R.K., op. cit., p. 448.

43. K. T. 1954, Vol. IV, No: 6, pp. 138--139. The expression Hak-Bhatta has the same connotation in Kashmir as Dal-Roti in Hindustani. "For the Kashmiris this food has such sentimental associations that it would be unfair to expect him to change it". Ibid.,
occasions. The Muslims distribute Taher among the relatives, children and poor people in fulfilment of a vow. There is another practice of religious offering called (Cakes made of flour) kneaded in milk and sugar. It is a practice common both to the Hindus and the Muslims. Roath is prepared for purpose of religious offering at different shrines and temples by the Hindus as well as the Muslims.

In addition to it, both the communities were very fond of tea—both Shirichei (salt tea) and Kahwa (sweat tea without milk). These were taken with bread by all irrespective of caste, creed, sex or status. It is also interesting to note that the Pandits have been and still continue to be regular meat-eaters like their Muslim brethren. In this case, it is remarkable to observe that there was not much difference in food habits between the Muslims and the Hindus. Both enjoyed mutton, fish and fowl.

We need not lay stress on the point beyond saying that the Kashmiri Pandits had no hesitation in drinking water brought by a Muslim. Infact, they were not very particular about matters of pollution by touch of the Muslim brethren. They were generally free from the idea of untouchability.

44. Khan, Ishaq, op. cit., p. 102 (F.N. 142); Jala, Z. L., op. cit., p. 459.
47. Beyond the Pirpanjal, p. 82., Lawrence, Valley, p. 300., See also Ganeshi Lal, op. cit., p. 32.
Common Languages

For centuries Kashmiri has been the common language of the Muslims and the Pandits of the Valley. The two religious communities have contributed greatly towards the development of this language. Kashmiri language, which was the product of Kashmiri society had played a decisive role in stimulating the instinct of national fusion and unity. "This bond of language still exercises a strong pull on the sentiments of all Kashmiris." Thus, the common language has been the distinguishing trait of their common cultural heritage.

From this brief survey it is clear that the distinctions in customs, dress, food and language are virtually remote among the two communities.

But in spite of their common cultural heritage, there were certain points of difference in their customs, food habits, language and dress. In certain respects, many beliefs and customs of the Hindus and the Muslims were poles apart. The Pandits worshipped the cow because cow was a sacred animal to them, while the Muslims were not bound by any such consideration. Similarly for the Muslims...


49. Ibid.
the pig was unclean while the Pandits had no such inhibition. The Muslims buried their dead while the Hindus cremated them. The custom of circumcision was common among the Muslims. On the contrary, the sacred thread ceremony was essential and common among the Pandits. The Pandits worshipped in temples or in their homes before gods using a statue or a picture for concentration. The Hindu women commonly went to the temple like their men-folk; while the Muslim women were usually conspicuous by their absence in mosques. The Muslims very often worshipped enmasse in the mosque, even though they were not forbidden to worship at home. Both believed in God; the Muslims prayed directly to Him; but the Hindus had faith in small gods as well. The Pandits believed in reincarnation while the Muslims believed in resurrection.

"The Hindu decorated his temples with pictures, statues and carvings of gods and other figures. The Muslims only permitted to adorn their mosques with scrolls and texts from the Quran; there is nowhere a picture of Prophet Muhammad. Among the Hindus there was no practice of divorce and no Hindu lady could remarry but Muslim widows and divorced women were allowed to marry.

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51. Ibid., pp. 259--60.
52. Ibid.
again. Polygyny was common among the rich Muslims. This practice did not find favour with the Hindus. There was the usual practice among the Kashmiri Hindus to write the name of God just inside the front gate of the house during marriages, while the Kashmiri Muslims did not have any such thing written on their doors. There was yet another peculiar practice or belief among the Kashmiri Pandits. They abstained from starting a journey in different directions on days which they regarded as auspicious. Besides they did not move into a new house on a day which was not recorded as auspicious in their calendar. These practices were not common among the Muslims of the Valley. It should be remembered that the Kashmiri Pandits had much faith in good and bad omens. Then the distinguishing feature between the two communities was a holy mark (tilak) which the Pandits alone put on their foreheads.

**Difference in Dress:**

There were certain points of difference between the dress habits of the Kashmiri Pandits and the Muslims of the Valley during the period under review. It is but natural for co-religionists to possess some easily identifiable signs. Inspite of apparent identity

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in the Muslim and Pandit dresses and get up, there were clear marks of difference in their dress. In the case of the Muslim male and female, there was difference in their use of 
Pheran, headgear, trousers and even footwear from the similar articles of wear used by the Hindus. Difference was to be found among them in their Pherans. 56 The Pheran of the Muslim woman was extended only up to the knees. It was generally embroidered in front and along the edges. On the other hand a Hindu woman's Pheran was long, loose, sleeved and plain. The pandit male used long and tight sleeved Pherans and they tied their Pherans on the left while the Muslims did so on the right side. 57 The Kashmiri Hindus (Pandits) used tight trousers (churidar pyjama) and turbans of narrow white cloth pieces. But the Muslims wore loose trousers and turbans of broad white cloth pieces. It is also interesting to observe that there was also difference in the style of put on their turbans. The Hindus (Pandits) fastened them on the right temple, and the Muslims on the left. 58 The Kashmiri Panditanis tied a band round their waists, while the Muslim women wore no girdle.

This article of dress was less prevalent among a small section of Muslim women. Then there was difference in their head dress too.


**Difference in Food Habits**

There were certain remarkable points of difference in their food habits. In the case of preparation of dishes on occasions of wedding the Muslims would prepare *wazawan* which was an absolutely new thing for the Hindus. Except for *roogan-josh*, other meat dishes like *kalia*, *machh*, *tsuk tsarwan* were peculiar to the Kashmiri Hindus and these recipes were not very common among the Muslims. The method of preparing *karamsaq* was also different between the Kashmiri Pandits and the Muslims. The Hindus would not use *mawal* and powdered chillies but used only turmeric, oil, and salt in its preparation. *Sochal* (a variety of green leafy vegetable) was taken mostly by the Hindus, while the Muslims very seldom took this vegetable. In the case of the Kashmiri Pandits, fish and pickles were prepared in the most tasty manner through the rich use of oil and spices. The Muslims did not use much of oil and spices in the preparations of these dishes, which were obviously less tasty. Formerly the Kashmiri Pandits carried to the extreme their abhorrence for certain fruits and vegetables. But there was no restriction among the Muslims about certain fruits and vegetables. They largely consumed these vegetables and fruits.

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59. Based on interview with Shri Moti Lal Saqi (Cultural Academy).

60. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 300. Ahmad Nazir, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-320. Impact of modern tendencies made the Kashmiri pandits less rigid in the use of certain articles of food which they looked upon as forbidden in the past.
Generally speaking Kashmiri Pandits were very fond of Kahwa—tea, (sweet tea), while the Muslims frequently used saltish-tea (Shiri-chai).

**Difference in Language:**

Kashmiri spoken by Muslims differed slightly from that spoken by the Kashmiri Pandits. Not only was the vocabulary of the former more overlaid with the words borrowed from Persian but there was a slight difference in their pronunciation too. The variations in language were observable at different levels between Kashmiri Pandits and Muslims. Most of the words used by Kashmiri Muslims were greatly influenced by Persian words while the language of the Pandits were derived from Sanskrit words. In fact, a distinction has been maintained between the speech of the Kashmiri Hindus and the Muslims of the Valley. For instance, the Hindus use such words as Pap, Narukh, Dharma etc., while Muslims, on the other hand use Gunah, Jahnam, Din for these terms respectively. These are minor differences. Thus even though both the communities speak the same language, there are striking differences in their lexical usage. It is clear from the above discussion that there were some differences in the spoken language of the Hindus and Muslims of the Valley.

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64. Ahmad Imtiyaz, op. cit., p. 24.
In the words of Kaumudi, "This process of interaction did not stop there: it went far deeper and changed the very outlook of sections of the people. It united both the Hindus and the Muslims on a higher metaphysical plane". In this way we find the Kashmiris to have been the legatees of a composite culture which is neither exclusively Hindu nor exclusively Muslim but the compound of two cultures and the result of an evolutionary process originating from the mutual interaction and combination of the two streams of influences and traditions.

66. Ibid., p. 143.