

Some Aspects of Kashmir Culture as reflected in Vernacular Poetry (1846-1947)

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Abstract

The meaningful re enactment of past has entailed an all out search for sources. The use of non conventional sources, especially imaginative literature as a potential repository of historical information has helped in doing people's history .Vernacular poetry may be key to understand pulse of time and help to decipher the patterns culture. The present paper is a humble attempt to use vernacular poetry to supplement the available information on the contours of Kashmiri culture. The study attempts foregrounding the dominant trends in culture of Kashmir during the period under study

Key words: Poetry, Culture, Elite, Residency, Dress, Diet, Education, Modernization

Introduction:

The treaty of Amritsar dated 16th march 1846 was concluded declaring Gulab Singh the Maharaja of the newly created state of Jammu and Kashmir. By the treaty of Amritsar the British government transferred and made over forever the independent possession of Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the east ward of the river Indus and western to the river Tawi. Therefore, The Dogra rule came to be fully established in Kashmir with the blessing of British government.

The change of regime hardly changed the nature of social structure and culture in Kashmir for Kashmir up to 1885 C.E was a medieval country¹. The Kashmir society during the Dogra rule was fairly stratified and this stratification was made more prominent by the cultural practices and codes of respective communities' classes' sects and occupational groups. The economic standard proximity to echelons of power urbanity were sought to be manifested in superior cultural codes². While the less privileged masses were supposed to have a crude idea of culture that came to manifest itself in popular culture bereft of any power.

The fabrication distinctive cultural groups in Kashmir led to the development of different cultural logics that have been tools of maintaining particular identity labels based on religious persuasions, ethnicity material status, and urbanity, while the subaltern cultural groups bereft of power or better economic standard mostly rural were put into category of popular culture groups. However, it will be erroneous to think that subaltern and rural populations were monolithic instead there were several sub-cultural groups within these categories mostly based on occupation or economic standard. The concretizations of cultural identities in Kashmir have been facilitated by observation of rites³ celebration of rituals ⁴and historical memory.⁵

The society and culture of Kashmir have been conditioned exclusively by geo climatic factors. However, the foreign influences have always produced their results in form of long lasting cultural and social changes since Kashmiri culture have been stimuli response culture it has always shown flexibility of accommodating changes. The year 1885 is a land mark year in the history of Kashmir. In this year British Residency came to be established in Kashmir⁶. The most changes came to be felt in Srinagar city from outside influences⁷. The habits and customs of generations began to change slowly. The traditional social structure and underwent gradual change with the spread of modern education⁸, and opening of hospitals by Christian Mission Society despite of all the odds. The opening of the Srinagar Baramulla road led to the breakdown of the closed circuit economic system and created new avenues for alternate occupations. The establishment of municipal services and improvement of sanitation brought cleanliness to Kashmiris who were mostly unhygienic⁹. They now began to pay attention to hygiene and developed health care. Thus around 1890s Kashmir saw gradual transformation from a medieval type state to modern . The administration of Kashmir was dominated by Punjabis who were imported in large numbers from neighboring Punjab.¹⁰ and later by Kashmiri Pandits owing to their early response to modern education. The revenue department was monopoly of Pandits. There was such an army of officials whose duty was to collect to grain that when cut had been supplied both lawfully and unlawfully there was a very little left for zamindar (here zamindar in Kashmir means peasant not a landlord which the term denoted in plains) and his family who had farmed the land¹¹. The modernization was further facilitated by the opening of the colleges in 1905 C.E. Sri Pratap was opened in Srinagar and other at Jammu. Many young men passed through the portals of these institutions after completing their course. They imbibed the spirit of new age.¹²

The Muslims who were the late beneficiaries of the modernization now began to feel their backwardness.¹³ The Muslim youth took education from the universities of India especially at Aligarh Muslim University and Punjab University. These youth witnessed the freedom movement of India under the banner of Congress and Muslim League and were instrumental in effecting political changes back home. These changes determined the very contours of Kashmir culture that saw re-structuring and re-fabrication in change and continuity. By and large, religious and sectarian affiliations, food habits, dress codes, and housing patterns were the important markers of Kashmiri culture. The analysis of these parameters gives a fair idea of change and continuity in Kashmiri culture and some are discussed in the foregoing pages.

Food

People of Kashmir have always been fond of rice that has been staple food. The people mainly took rice cooked as porridge commonly called *Batta*. However, there was always scarcity of grain owing to frequent floods famines natural calamities.¹⁴ It is not surprising that the vitality of the people had been extremely undermined as Kashmir witnessed successive epidemics of cholera in 1888-1892, 1900-1902, 1906, 1907 and 1910 C.E and an outbreak of plague in 1903-1904 C.E which decimated the population.¹⁵ Due to the state oppression before 1887, the peasant rarely tasted their beloved food rice¹⁶. it was reflected in old saying *Batta Batta paida patta* which meant we are asking for food and the tax collector is after us¹⁷. The rice was husked manually by women and husking rice was common in all the Kashmiri house hold¹⁸. Besides rice people used to take cooked vegetables with little condiments like salt which was a luxury¹⁹ and pepper and oil²⁰. In lean times especially in winter dried vegetables and fruits used to be cooked²¹ in rural areas wild vegetables and edible roots used to be crisis foods.²²

People took kale- (*Hakh*) which was considered national vegetable²³ and rice and kale was principle diet of Kashmiri.²⁴ In winter both Hinds and Muslims, consumed a large number of turnips (Gogji). in large quantities ²⁵ besides lotus stem *Nadru* was also eaten.²⁶ the flesh of sheep and goats was taken by the Muslims and Hindus alike²⁷ Hindus abstained from poultry eggs and garlic but ate wild fowls made *Halal* by Muslims.²⁸ The Hindus being followers mostly of Shiva were justified in the use of meat.²⁹ In times of plenty fowls ducks and geese would be abundant and ordinary cultivator could eat fowl perhaps six time a month mutton perhaps five times in a month,³⁰ beef which was part of Kashmiri diet³¹ but became extinct during Sikh rule³² and during Dogra rule it was nonexistent³³. Since killing cow was punished with death and later on life imprisonment and there were many unfortunate Muslim languishing in prison for killing their own cow or ox to save themselves and their families from starvation during famine or scarcity³⁴ even Europeans had to shun their “national diet” in Kashmir.³⁵ Another staple food was *Singara* nuts were abundant in the Wular lake but these too were taxed.³⁶ The more affluent villagers were found of tea³⁷ however for common man tea was a luxury. The importance of tea can be gauged from following lines.

Baaz yeta lilah taza mashooq

Yeth naaz jaaye

Chus shehluvan cheta paiyan

*Maz mudar chaiye*³⁸

Translation

Oh my beloved come and sit at this decorated place.

I will serve u sweet tea in beautiful cups.

Making tea also required salt and sugar that was accessible to only too well off class for ordinary cultivator to spent on salt and sugar was a vice,³⁹ as these verses reflect.

Maza chui nabad sai

Chui kunun baazras sai

Kaansi chu te kaansi nasai

*Chum firaq wanyo kasay.*⁴⁰

Translation

Sweet is the loaf sugar

It is available in market

Some can afford it some cannot.

I suffer for my beloved's separation

Besides *Kehwa* was a regular feature of beverage in Kashmir. Both tea (*Shiri*) and *Kehwa* used to be made in Russian *Samovar* a popular institution in Kashmir.⁴¹

The ordinary meal of Kashmiri indicated a little taste or culture⁴² but when the professional cook (*waza*) was called in some taste was deployed in the preparation and arrangements of vineyards and the earthenware platters were filled with brightly colored foods made a pretty show.⁴³

Liquor hardly was used as common drink but alcoholism was on increase by 1903.⁴⁴ Bread, roasted meat and wine was supposed to be the royal pleasure as Amir Shah reflects.

Karakh majlisa zi saaz-o-sharab

*Khewan be daroon rudi nan-o- kabab*⁴⁵

Translation

They took pleasure in music and wine

And were voraciously eating baked bread and kabab

Dress

Dress is one of the most common reflectors of the cultural choice of society. In Kashmir several cultural cross current have shaped the dress code. During the period under review Kashmiri dress code assumes a good depth of cultural practice. Although the Kashmiri wore a similar kind of dress that appeared to be uniform superficially, but varied from community to community and class to class when observed keenly. A villager was known at once by his dress⁴⁶ in rural areas the clothes were simple and extremely mean⁴⁷ as the Kashmiri villager would spend little on show⁴⁸ for it was dangerous for the cultivator to parade what he may possess.⁴⁹ There was a strange absence of color in the dress of the people and the only thing which broke the dull monotony of dirty grey was colored skull cap of children.⁵⁰ The dress of people of Kashmir consisted of a long gown called *Pheran* that was worn both Hindus and Muslims men and women.⁵¹ The *Pheran* consisted of an inner called *Poch* and outer⁵² and it was supposed to be mark of respectability to wear loose sleeves with cuffs turned backward.⁵³ Inside the *Pheran* people used to wear drawers.⁵⁴ *Pheran* was tucked with cotton belt.⁵⁵

The *Pheran* of Pandit women was usually made of dark maroon cloth known as *kirmisi*⁵⁶ and often other bright colors.⁵⁷ *Kirimsi* cloth was an age old fashion as is reflected in the following verse.

Yawan miyane kirmisi pate

Kamiu waane rangnai aakh

Mei- ma zon ather ma cahte

*Ake late yeham na*⁵⁸

Translation

Oh my youth you crimson cloth

At which shop you were dyed

Alas! the moths have eaten you up

Will my beloved ever come again?

Both Pandits and Muslims used to wear turbans⁵⁹ that were donned especially on state occasion.⁶⁰ The *Pagri* was fashion of the age even an ugly face looked quite presentable when head was adorned with a *Pagri*.⁶¹ There was a considerable difference between the *Pagri* of Hindus and Muslims⁶² even Shias and Sunnis.⁶³ The *Pagri* also differentiated between the people

belonging to different trades.⁶⁴

People mostly used to wear homespun coarse cloth. However, affluent class women would often wear costly clothe like brocade (Kemkhab), silk and muslin that were proverbial signs of affluence as is reflected in the following verse

Wali kanan naali kemkhab

Zailmus tus taqni zari

Wothrun chui sanjab

*Betaab korthas sundry*⁶⁵

Translation

You have donned beautiful kemkhab

Your black hair shines with brocade skull cap

Your mattress is made of fine velvet

You have made me impatient oh! darling

The usual head dress of a little girls was skull cap⁶⁶ which was often worn by maidens as well and was called *Taqni*. This celebrated part of apparel is reflected in the following verse

Chai zari taqni siah mastuas ta darshab pari

*Kala abours paith shuban zan mahitaban aai sanam.*⁶⁷

Translation

The brocaded skull cap on your black hair beautiful oh fairy!

Like bright moon on the black clouds

After marriage however, a Muslim girl would have as her headgear turban like head cap *Qasaba*.⁶⁸ Pandit women's headgear was known as *Taranga*.⁶⁹

The footwear of common people used to be made of either straw sandal called *Tchapli* or *Pulhor* or wooden Patten called *Khrav* for wet weather⁷⁰ *Khrav* was reckoned as expensive footwear fit for finer women as following verse reflect:

Chandnav ranga kharav kami ani dali

Sorga manz yaar kami maali

Kadman chanin fida gatali

Bali kami sambali yai ⁷¹

Translation

Who brought thee the gift of painted paten (kharav) of sandal wood and
 the flowers from the gardener of paradise ?

Watching you walking even Wiseman lose their head

Who shall adorn thee oh beloved!

With the dawn of modernization and emergence of socio religious reform movements, the traditional dress code under went considerable change. The emerging educated class especially Pandits changed their way of dressing. The educated Pandit would now be dressed like the *babu* of India wearing tight fitting trousers ⁷² instead of *Pheran* they began to wear long coat a waste coat on cotton shirt which was worn outside not inside the trouser.⁷³ By the continuous efforts social reformers like Pandit Kashap Bandu, the *Pheran* was replaced by *Saree* (in local parlance *dothi*) by the Pandit women. The leather shoes were earlier worn by well to do class⁷⁴ only and villagers often used to carry them on their heads until they reached bazaars for walking in them could wear them out ⁷⁵, but with the onset of modernity leather shoes became more a common. The change is reflected in Wahab Hajini 's verses :

woan chu dar kishmir patlonun bei kothan revaj

Kori topian lori zeenan badami bootan revaj ⁷⁶

Translation

In Kashmir pants and coats are craze now !

Feminine hats tight jeans and almond colored boots are now a passion

With the import of huge number of Punjabi officialdom a new note was brought in Kashmiri dress code especially in women who were now dressed in *Kameez Shawlwar* and *Duppata* to cover the head. The new attire came to be known as *Punjabi Rakh* or the dress of Punjabis, the synonym for modernity. In affluent families ladies also took to wearing shawls.

Housing patterns

There was a wide range of housing types that varied from class to class. The variation in the housing patterns reflected the socio-economic hierarchy of the society. In villages there was no crowding of houses and each man's cottage stood with in its ring fence of earth stones or witting ,⁷⁷ the houses of peasants looked picturesque. They used to be built of unbaked bricks held together by a wooden frame work and had thatched gabbled roofs ⁷⁸and the thatch was usually of straw. Rice straw was considered best material and in vicinity of lakes reeds were used. Near the forest roofs wear made of shingles and houses were real log huts.⁷⁹ There were generally two stories the ground floor being occupied by the cattle and in winter upper floor by the family. The rooms used to be dark and damp.⁸⁰ The *Safed* Posh class of villagers consisting of more affluent men had better kind of houses ⁸¹ that had birch bark slab with mud⁸² .The size of the house depended upon the family strength, land holding and political and administrative influence. The village gentry comprising of *Mukdams* and *safed posh* used to be big and huge. Every village house and a granary called *Kuth* in which grain was stored. The granary was always made of thick wooden planks and the above story was always used to store fodder.

In the city houses pattern also varied along similar lines. There were small “doll houses” of the shawl weavers that were made of wooden frames in which sun baked bricks were stuffed with the excessive use of mud. Most of the houses had thatched roofs.⁸³ On the other hand there were big houses of bureaucrats, aristocrats and affluent men. These houses used to be gigantic and were made of heavy beams of wood stuffed with kiln burnt small bricks popularly called Lahori bricks ,reminiscent of Mughal times or Maharajie bricks. These special houses had beautiful door of wood carving and sometimes khatamband ceilings. These larger and better houses had pretty windows of lattice work in local parlance called *zeal panjra* open in summer and closed in winter by paper that was torn down when the spring approached. The glass windows were only found in governor's house. ⁸⁴The bigger houses had hanging cantilevered balconies called *dub* that was the wood work of finer feature of affluent Kashmiri house. Nearly all the houses of all well to do people in Srinagar had birch bark roofs.⁸⁵ The architectural niceties like *Zeal Panjare*, *Aana Khana* and *Zoon dub* were proverbial.

However, most of the houses were in a bad shape and in badly required repair.⁸⁶ Often the houses were leaning against each other like two drunken friends supporting each other.⁸⁷

With the establishment of British Residency, Kashmir saw a new architectural phase that was informed by Anglo-oriental features and style. Hence forth the huts like Anglo-oriental huts

of English quarter were sort to be emulated and glorified that became fashion of the age. As Wahab Parray says

Razadanian rangmandorian chuna kanh aetibar

*Metchi dosan chuna safaidi yek tabak hotan rivaj*⁸⁸

Translation

The grand palaces and mansions are perishable

But people prefer gypsum walls and single story huts are a craze now

The flats of Punjabi bureaucrats and affluent people mostly situated in Kothi Bagh were held to be novelty and symbols of power, affluence and intellect as Pir Ali Shah in his verse says

Chi kasheer sakh sahab lokun pasand

Makanaat laagik taway andwand

Chun bage bishit koroukh kothi bagh

*Pata that andar chai aali dimag*⁸⁹

Translation

Kashmir is the favorite place of Sahibs

Hence they constructed houses all around

Like the paradise they have adorned Kothi bagh

Which is inhabited by the best minds.

The impact of colonial modernity can easily be deciphered in the housing pattern of post 1885 C.E Kashmir. The houses especially of well to do Pandit class incorporated European features like sloping roofs of tin and chimneys for emanating smoke from kitchen and heating arrangements during winter earlier no houses in Srinagar had chimney.⁹⁰ The new housing pattern begin to replace the old architectural style as the city saw rapid expansion immediate villages surrounding the city were and incorporated into it. The changing housing pattern surely reflects the changing idea of culture in Kashmir that became a modern city from a medieval one within just 65 years.

Inter community relations as reflected in literature:

Kashmir society was divided along the religious lines with an overwhelming majority of Muslims and a small, but significant Hindu minority. Both communities had different socio

cultural codes but there was never preclusion of compositeness in broader cultural patterns. Both the communities had made an eclectic compromise on the level of existence. Though the Shia Muslims would always maintain distinctiveness and were more puritanical to mingling with non-Muslims⁹¹. The Sunni Muslims who had been majority hardly had any reservations in freely mingling with Hindus. The eclectic compromise between the followers of these two different creeds was affected by the active incorporation of vedantism by Muslim Sufis and the stalwarts of *Trika Shaivism*, the doctrine of non dualism practiced by Kashmiri Pandits that was very near to the monotheistic philosophy of Islam. This corroboration rested on the bed rock foundation laid by Lal Ded the Shavite yogini in 14th century and her junior contemporary Sheikh Noor Din and the followers of his Rishi movement. It is worth to quote prominent historian Mohammad Ishaq Khan rightly observes “*Lalas voice against the social and spiritual pretensions of the Bramanas set in motion forces rejecting later cherished idea that social status was deemed by cast. An important development in this direction was favoring of the idea of the dignity and fundamental quality of man so trenchantly espoused by her younger contemporary Noor Din Rishi*”⁹². On philosophical plain the basic doctrine of wahadat-ul-Wajood was compounded by the monotheistic doctrine of Shivasm, Iranian mysticism and Buddhist nihilism which was reflected in most of the poetry of 19th century⁹³. There is no Sufi poet who may have remained unaffected by the Hindu philosophy, Mythology and religious beliefs prevalent among Kashmiri Pandits⁹⁴ which they have clearly expressed in their poems⁹⁵ as Shah Gafoor says.

Yout nith zanam kanh chun larun

Darnai darun soham so

Brahma Vainshnu Mahesh Garun

Naith hu chai tuhandu zoo

Pan hai kathnai jaan hakh marun

*Darnai darun soham soo*⁹⁶

Translation

With the birth here man takes nothing for hereafter

Then know He and I are one.

Oh my soul look for Brahma, Vaishnu and Mahesh

Who are the source of eternity, if they hide themselves your life will
 come to an end.

Then oh myself I remember He and I are one.

The friendly relations between the Muslims and Hindus were remarkable⁹⁷ during the period under review. The tolerance and cordiality and absence of religious fanaticism in Kashmir social structure led Walter Lawrence to conclude that Kashmiri Muslims were Hindus at heart.⁹⁸ Unlike elsewhere in India Brahman's Kashmir being mostly devotees of Shiva eat meat that was to be made Halal by a Muslim⁹⁹. Even it is curious that the final rites of Hindu in Kashmir was done by Muslims of particular class called Kavijs.¹⁰⁰ The interdependence of Hindus and Muslims and considerable accommodation of difference had been the hall mark of Kashmir composite culture.

Up to the mid of 19th century Kashmiri poetry has had gone through the mill of spiritualism and mysticism that had generated a philosophical discourse for the poets to follow¹⁰¹. This discourse was chiefly followed by the Sufi and Bhakhati poets, who consciously forged unity on the broader cultural canvass. Despite preferring un-worldliness the Sufis always had concern for the society¹⁰² that manifested in search for inclusive principal of existence. The poet like Niam Sahab, Shamas Faqeer, Wahab Khar, Ahamed Batwari, Rahman Dar consciously speak of non duality and unity in diversity. These poets readily chose to reveal secrets of mysticism by adopting Hindus signs symbols motifs even language as the following verse reflect.

Zanvinnin zan kar prans giyans

Zaan milnav bagwans seith

Pooza Karin gai manaz karam vans

Dhram shastarnis buth khans manz

Kor lali ikwath akassh te prans

*Zaan milnav bagwans seith*¹⁰³

Translation

Oh seeker of truth know the prana and gnana

Unify your soul with the God (baghwana)

The real puja is in the service of humanity

Enter the temple of dharamshartas

Like mother lala who unified her soul with supreme reality

Unify your soul with the God (baghwana).

The discourse was never unidirectional rather the Hindu poets astonishingly sang the songs in praise of prophet of Islam as the following lines explain

Haith cholum dilber mei dil lalvun mei thovnum naari ishaq

Pane lagith aav Mohammad (saw) drav dar bazaar ishaq

Kya chu awaval kya chu akhir zaan to asrar-e- ishaq

Par hoval awal huval akhair

Zaan to asrar-e ishaq¹⁰⁴

Translation

Oh my beloved you have captivated me and left to bear the fire of love

He came himself in person of Mohammad (saw) and became known to the world

What is immediate and what is ultimate

He is immediate and he is ultimate than known the secrete of absolute love

Or

Az mei dadian kar dawa ya Muhammad Mustafa(saw)

Chus ba aamut baw wamaid mat kartam na wamaid

Boaztam loluk sada ya Muhammad Mustafa saw¹⁰⁵

Translation

Relieve me of my worries and pains oh Muhammad Mustafa (saw)

I have come to your door brimming with the hope

Have mercy and honour my hope oh Muhamad Mustafa (saw)

The avocation of sprit of unity non duality brotherhood and toleration continued unabated even during 1930s that were politically turbulent in which the freedom movement was initially revolving around the Muslim identity politics. The movement on political plane was directed against the autocratic government in which the overwhelming representation of Kashmiri Hindus

and scandalous absence of Muslims in state services was primarily highlighted¹⁰⁶ Thereby creating social tensions.

The pioneering protagonist poet of freedom movement Aziz Bahrari advocated the concept of unity oneness and non dualism that transcends narrow interpretation of religion as he says.

Nai chu sheikh nai tor zunar
Kufar islam tate chuna darker
Manz kabas sajida gachi duniya
*Roz dama boz wanwunyai*¹⁰⁷

Translation

Both Sheikh and Pandit or misleading.
 To the ultimate reality kufr and Islam is relative
 Than bow down to the real kaba
 Or stay with me and here the songs of oneness.

To Aziz Ram and Rahim or relative name of absolute reality that people worship so must they unite without any ill will under his fatherhood as he says:

Roi hovun te nun draw Islam
Moi huvun te kufur gov kharm
Ram te Rahim chu kunai shaia
*Wanta dilber yori yenai*¹⁰⁸

Translation

When he got exposed the result was Islam
 When he became concealed the result was kufr
 Ram and Rahim are one
 How would I make you understand oh beloved!

With the freedom movement in full swing the political elite severely felt need of taking non Muslims on board as well the result was conversion of Muslim Conference into National Conference in 1939CE. The great desire of those who wanted to reorient state politics on secular

lines had been fulfilled¹⁰⁹. Secularization of politics and subsequent participation of non Muslims in National Conference was a paradigm shift in the freedom movement that had began within the frame work of exceedingly prominent Muslim identity. In fact the politics of Jammu and Kashmir began as a recitation to mass movement which Muslims launched against economic injustice and political severity of the autocratic rule.¹¹⁰ The creation of logic for such change in the character of movement required and mass acceptably in which the poets took up the mental of popularizing secular ethics and exhorted people to stop harboring ill will, enmity and malicious thinking against each other that had to be replaced by love affectation and unity.¹¹¹ For creation of logic for secularism poets began to sing songs of Hind Muslim brotherhood equality and fraternity. The political sponsorship of discourse of secularization thus came to full fruition in the nationalist poetry which was used to popularize political doctrine of the time. The chief protagonist of this idea was Mehjoor. In the war of freedom that Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah launched Mehjoor shared his conviction¹¹² thus he wrote:

Bata rattan nam khor wayan ahli din

*Naav mukich chaliciv panvaen*¹¹³

Translation

The Hindus will give direction and Muslims will paddle

Together they will sail the boat of the country.

Mehjoor was supported in his venture by his younger contemporary Abdul Ahad Azad the humanist revolutionary poet who the sings.

Kunui aalam kunui aadam namas seith maaz mazas num

*Ye kami trovuni dilas andar duie hind naar insano*¹¹⁴

Translation

One is the world so is the man, like organs of the same body

Oh man who has led you astray in discriminating humans.

Conclusion: The Concrete and abstract ideas of Kashmiri culture are fairly visible in dress, diet and housing patterns. Besides the conventional sources, the glimpses of Kashmiri culture can be gleaned in the vernacular poetry. From a close study of vernacular poetry the class character of the society where access to wealth and power made elite to reflect affluence through dress, diet,

jewellery and housing. The poor could afford only what was basic or could only wish to think of such luxuries. The analysis of vernacular poetry leads to the unfolding of change and continuity in the ways of the life of Kashmiris who responded to modernity in a gradual manner. The foundations of shared cultural values between different communities was laid by Sufis and Bhaktas and vernacular poetry became means of its preservation, promotion and transmission. For the meaningful reenactment of the culture of Kashmir vernacular poetry is a very promising, yet, less used source.

References and Notes

- ¹ Mohammad Ishaq khan, *History of Srinagar*, Cosmos Publishers, Srinagar 1999, p.35
- ² People of city were pampered subjects or *Saharbash* who lived near the palace and could make themselves easily heard, Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Chinari Publishing House, Srinagar, 2000, p. 272.
- ³ Both Muslims and Hindus followed elaborate social rites that almost had status of religion' Farhat Jabeen, *Customs And Traditions During Dogra Rule in Kashmir (1846-1947)* unpublished P.h.d. thesis Department of History Kashmir university p.3
- ⁴ Rituals like *Yajna*, *Khatime Sharif* and *Mourning of Muharram* have been inseparable part of Kashmiri culture that still survive less altered.
- ⁵ Pandits had for successively lived around the memories which have been transferred from generations to generation around which they maintain their exclusive identity. For excellent study of historical memory of Kashmiri Pandits see Hanney Sanders, *Kashmiri Pandits. A cultural choice in north India*. Oxford University press New Delhi 1996.
- ⁶ The establishment of British Residency was basically motivated by *Russo phobia* of British Government of India. In 1890 Baramulla Srinagar cart road was completed. The opening of Jhelum Valley Cart road helped to diminish the isolation of Kashmir especially Srinagar city.
- ⁷ *History of Srinagar* p. 35.
- ⁸ Modern education took off with the noble mission of Christian missionaries that was followed by establishment of schools by Hindu and Muslim social reform organizations like *Arya Samaj* and *Anjuman-e Nusratul Islam*.
- ⁹ From Mughal times up to 1890s Kashmiri were proverbially un-hygienic. See *Tuzk-e-Jahangir*, p.93, Biscoe, *Kashmir In Sunlight And Shade* Mittal Publishing House, New Delhi, 1995, P.79, Lawrence, P.35
- ¹⁰ Bazaz, *History of Freedom Struggle in Kashmir*, Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 1995, P129.
- ¹¹ Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* P. 234.
- ¹² Ibid, p130-31.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ The floods and famines had been a regular feature even during medieval times see Mushtaq Ahmad. Kaw, *Femines in Kashmir 1586-1819 policy of Mughals* Indian social and Economic review, vol.33, 1996.
- ¹⁵ Prem Nath Bazaz, *Freedom Struggle* p 126
- ¹⁶ Walter Roper Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir* p4
- ¹⁷ Lawrence, p
- ¹⁸ Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* p 64.
- ¹⁹ E F Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, Gmans, Green and co. London, 1905, p. 77
- ²⁰ Lawrence, 255
- ²¹ Lawrence, 245
- ²² Wild vegetables like *Haend*, *Kretch*, *Vopulhak Pamb Haakh* were up to recent time crisis foods.
- ²³ Lawrence, p.347
- ²⁴ The area of *Kawdara* was known for best kale and people who could effort rice and kale *Hakh Batta*, were considered eating square meals
- ²⁵ Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p 99.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Lawrence, p 254.
- ²⁹ Lawrence, p 28 .
- ³⁰ Lawrence, p 254.

- ³¹ One thousand cows were slaughtered everyday in Srinagar *Suka Pandit Vide Jona Raja, et.al. JainaRajatarangni*, Translated by J. C Dutt, , Gian publications New Delhi,1985(Reprint) p 421.
- ³² Mohammad Din Fouq, *Mukamal Tawarikh Kashmir*, Verinag Publishing House, Muzaffarabad,1930 p119
- ³³ Ibid, p 15-16.
- ³⁴ Knight, p 15-16.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Sikhs and Dogras imposed a tax called *Muhul-e- Singar* on this pretty food.
- ³⁷ Lawrence, p. 254.
- ³⁸ Shamas Faqeer, *Kuliyat-e Shamas Faqeer(ed) Afaq Aziz Srinagar,2006,p. 313*.
- ³⁹ Knight, p 77.
- ⁴⁰ Rahim Sahab Sopori, vide *Kashmir Sufi Shairi (ed) Moti Lal Saqi, J& K Academy of Art Culture and Languages, Srinagar2005Vol I p. 168*.
- ⁴¹ Lawrence, p. 254.
- ⁴² Lawrence, p. 253.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* p.127.
- ⁴⁵ *Kuliyat-e Amir Shah Kreeri*, Manzoor Hashmi (Ed) J& K Academy of Art Culture and Languages, Srinagar,1985 p316.
- ⁴⁶ Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* p. 34.
- ⁴⁷ Lawrence, p. 250.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Knight, p. 76.
- ⁵⁰ Lawrence, p. 25.
- ⁵¹ *The Pheran of Muslim used to be shorter than that of the Brahman*, Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar* p 96.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Lawrence, p. 252.
- ⁵⁴ Lawrence, p. 252.
- ⁵⁵ Lawrence, p. 251.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 251.
- ⁵⁷ Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* p. 141.
- ⁵⁸ *Kuliyat-e Habba Khatoon*, Amin Kamil(ed) J& K Academy of Art Culture and Languages, Srinagar, p. 131
- ⁵⁹ Lawrence, p. 255.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p.137.
- ⁶² Ibid.
- ⁶³ Lawrence, p. 285.
- ⁶⁴ For detailed description see Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* p 137.
- ⁶⁵ *Kuliyat-e Rasool Mir* (ed) Mohammad Yousuf Teng, J& K Academy of Art Culture and Languages, Srinagar p.143.
- ⁶⁶ Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar* p 97.
- ⁶⁷ *Kuliyat-e Rasool Mir* p 186.
- ⁶⁸ Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar* p 97.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ⁷⁰ Lawrence, p 251.
- ⁷¹ Ahmed Batwari, *Vide Kashir Sufi Shairi* p 188.
- ⁷² Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* p 142.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Lawrence, p251.
- ⁷⁵ Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* p 134.
- ⁷⁶ *Diwan-e Wahab Hajini*, Mohiu din Hajni(ed) J& K Academy of Art Culture and Languages, Srinagar,1978, p 140.
- ⁷⁷ Lawrence, p 249.
- ⁷⁸ Knight, p 76.
- ⁷⁹ Such wooden huts are still in existence in *Lolab Kupwara* and *Tulail* the frontier part of Bandipora district.
- ⁸⁰ Knight, p 76.
- ⁸¹ Lawrence, p 253.
- ⁸² Ibid.
- ⁸³ Biscoe, *Autobiography*, S.A Qadri (ed) Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar,1995 p. 49.

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- ⁸⁴ Biscoe, *Autobiography* p. 49.
⁸⁵ Lawrence, p. 249.
⁸⁶ Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* p. 83.
⁸⁷ Biscoe, *Autobiography* p. 49.
⁸⁸ *Diwan-e Wahab Hajni* p 140.
⁸⁹ Naji Munawwar and Shafi Shouq, *Kashir Adbuk Tawarikh*, P G Department of Kashmiri, University of Kashmir ,p 163.
⁹⁰ Biscoe, *Autobiography* p 49.
⁹¹ Lawrence, p.285
⁹² Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam* p. 73.
⁹³ See Farooq Fayaz, *Zaban Adab Te Tawarikh*, Nun Posh Publications, Srinagar,2000 p.164.
⁹⁴ T.N Dhar, *AWindow on Kashmir*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi,2003 p.129.
⁹⁵ Ibid.
⁹⁶ Moti Lal Saaqi, *Kashir Sufi Shairi*, Vol I p.99
⁹⁷ Arthur Neve, *Crusade in Kashmir* p 139
⁹⁸ Lawrence, p. 286
⁹⁹ Lawrence, p. 254.
¹⁰⁰ Lawrence, p. 263. Kavijs inhabited the area of today's court road Amira Kadal. The Mohalla is still known as *Kavij bhagh*.
¹⁰¹ Farooq Fayaz, *Zuban AdabTe Tawreekh* p.164
¹⁰² Moti Lal Saqi, *Kashir Sufi Shari* Vol. 1 p. 27
¹⁰³ *Kuliyat-e Shamas Faqeer*, p. 219
¹⁰⁴ Sat Ram Bhat, *vide Azad Vol II* p 496.
¹⁰⁵ Anand Ram, *vide Azad Vol II* p. 509
¹⁰⁶ See Chitrelekha zutshi, *Languages of Belonging* p also Mohammad Yousuf Ganai, *Kashmiris Struggle for Independence*
¹⁰⁷ *Kuliyat-e Aziz Bharari* p196.
¹⁰⁸ Ibid p.270
¹⁰⁹ Prem Nath Bazaz, *History of Freedom Struggle in Kashmir* p. 165.
¹¹⁰ Mohammad Yousuf Ganai, *Kashmiri's Struggle for Independence* p122.
¹¹¹ *Literary Heritage of Kashmir* p 220.
¹¹² Mohammad Yousuf Teng, *Mehjoor Shinasi* p 78
¹¹³ Peerzada Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor,,*Kuliyat-e Mehjoor* (Ed)Sultan ul Haq Shaheedi, J& K Academy of Art Culture and Languages,Srinagar,2009,p24
¹¹⁴ Abdul Ahad Azad *Kuliyat-e Azad* (Ed)Nath Ganjoo, *J&K Academy of Art Culture and Languages*, Srinagar,1980,p 230