

**INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN KASHMIR  
(Sixteenth to Twentieth Century)**

**THESIS**

**Submitted to the University of Kashmir  
for the Award of the Degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D)**

**IN  
HISTORY**

**BY  
AUSHAQ HUSSAIN DAR**

**Under the Supervision of  
PROF. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF WANI**



---

**POST GRADUATE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR  
HAZRATBAL SRINAGAR - 190006  
Year - 2015**



**P.G DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**  
**University of Kashmir, Srinagar 190006**  
**NAAC Accredited Grade 'A'**

No.....

Dated:.....

**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the Ph.D thesis entitled **“INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN KASHMIR (Sixteenth to Twentieth Century)”** is the original and bonafide research work carried out by **Mr. Aushaq Hussain Dar**, Research Scholar of the Post Graduate Department of History, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, under my supervision. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any degree before.

It is further certified that the scholar has put in the required attendance in the Department and fulfills all the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy.

I, therefore, recommend this thesis for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) degree in History.

**Prof. Parvez Ahmad**

**Prof. Muhammad Ashraf Wani**

**Head**

Department of History,  
University of Kashmir

**Supervisor**

Department of History,  
University of Kashmir

## **Declaration**

I declare that the thesis entitled **“INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN KASHMIR (Sixteenth to Twentieth Century)”** submitted by me in the discipline of History for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D), is an original work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree to this or any other University.

**Aushaq Hussain Dar**

# Contents

---

<b>Chapter No</b>	<b>Page No.</b>
	Acknowledgements
	Abbreviations
	List of tables
	List of photographs
	<b>Introduction</b>
<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>A Brief Survey of Modern Literature</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>A Brief History of Religious Communities of Kashmir</b>
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>State and Religion</b>
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>Living Together Separately</b>
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>Middle Class Power Struggle and Assertion of Identities</b>
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>Against All Odds: The Triumph of Communal Harmony in Kashmir</b>
	<b>Conclusion</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b>

---

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

I would like to express my gratitude for the assistance I have received from my teachers, friends and well wishers in researching and writing this thesis.

First and foremost I wish to thank my teacher and guide, **Professor Muhammad Ashraf Wani**, Dean, Academic Affairs, University of Kashmir. In fact, he was the main inspiration behind this work. The affection and encouragement that he showered on me kept my spirits always high. His scholarly approach of delving deep in the problem and then presenting the findings in an ordered way was a great polishing factor for me. At the same time I cannot venture to forget the cooperation and cordiality which I sought from the family members of Prof. M.A. Wani.

I am extremely thankful to **Prof. Pravez Ahmad**, Head, Department of History, University of Kashmir for his encouragement and support. I am also thankful to my teachers, **Prof. B.A. Khan, Prof. M. Yousuf Ganai, Prof. Farooq Fayaz and Dr. Javid ul Aziz** who encouraged me throughout the course of this study. My thanks are also due to **Prof. T.N. Madan** for his scholarly advice.

I wish to record my gratitude for the help I received from the staff of the National Archives of India, New Delhi and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. My heartfelt thanks to **Mr. Joginadar and Mr. Ved Prakash** staff members of Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, Jammu for their assistance and cooperation. I also owe much to the library staff of Allama Iqbal Library, University of Kashmir. I am also thankful to **Sameena Jee** librarian Departmental Library.

My thanks are due to my friends, **Tawseef Muneer, Muzamil Rashid, Dr. Danish Mehran, Shejar Shafiq, Dr. Younis Rashid, Sheraz Ahmad, Mukhtar Ahmad, Showkat Ahmad Pala, Feroz Ahmad, Mushtaq Ahmad, Aadil Umar, M. Iqbal and Alson Rasool.**

I am bound to acknowledge the unflinching support and love of my parents who have been the main source of inspiration behind this work without which the study would have hardly been possible. I also express my sincere thanks to my brothers, **Javid Ahmad and Younis** for their support. My thanks are also due to my sister in law, **Shazada** and my sister, **Rafia** for their love and encouragement. The little ones **Sanifa** and **Huzair** have always been a source of joy for me. May they grow up as good human beings.

Last but not least I am extremely thankful to my informants who provided me first hand information during my field work.

**Aushaq Hussain Dar**

## ABBREVIATIONS

---

A.R	Annual Administration report of Jammu and Kashmir State (General).
Adm. Rep.	Administrative Reports of Jammu and Kashmir State, available in Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, Repository, Jammu.
Ass. Rep.	Land Assessment Report, available in Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, Repository, Jammu.
Aug.	August
BJP	Bharatiya Janta Party
Census	Census of India, Kashmir Part.
Dec.	December
Deptt.	Department
Etc.	Etcetra, and others
Extl.	External
FAT	Falah-i-Aam Trust
F.A.	First Arts
Feb.	February
For.	Foreign.
For. And Pol. Deptt.	(i) Government of India Records, Foreign and Political Department Proceedings from 1914-31, available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.  (ii) Government of Jammu and Kashmir (Chief Secretariat), Foreign and Political Department Records from 1922-47, available in Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, Repository, at Jammu and Srinagar.
For. Deptt.	Government of India records, Foreign Department Proceedings from 1846-1913, available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.
Front.	Frontier
Gazetteer	A Gazetteer of Kashmir and the Adjoining Districts of Kashtawar,

Jammu, Poonch and the Valley of Kishen Ganga.

Gen.	General
Gen. Deptt.	Government of Jammu and Kashmir (Chief Secretariat), General Department Persian Records from 1846-92, available in Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, Repository, at Jammu and Srinagar.
Govt.	Government
Hand Book	A Hand Book of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1924.
i.e.	That is
I.G.I	Imperial Gazetteer of India (Year as mentioned).
Ibid.	Ibidem, in the same place.
ICHR	Indian Council of Historical Research, Delhi.
IOL	Indian Office Library, London.
Intel.	Internal
J&K	The Jammu and Kashmir
JJK	Jamat-i-Islamia, Jammu and Kashmir
Jan.	January
JKA	Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, Repository, at Jammu and Srinagar.
KP	Kashmiri Pandit
Memo.	Memorandum
MUF	Muslim United Front
NAI	National Archives of India, New Delhi
No.	Number
Nos.	Numbers
Nov.	November
Oct.	October
Op.cit	Opera, cite in the work cited.
p.	Page Number



Pol.	Political
pp.	Page Numbers
pvt.	Private
Rep.	Reprint
RPD	Research &Publication Department.
S	Samvat Year
S. No.	Serial number
Sept.	September
SDP	State Domestic Product
Tr.	Translation
US	United States
Viz.	Videlicat, namely
Vol.	Volume

## LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	Particulars	Page No.
Table-1.1	Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants in terms of Grain.	
Table-1.2	Community-Wise Plots of Land in Dharmarth.	
Table-1.3	Community-Wise Dharmarth an Khazan-i-Am' ira (Government Treasury).	
Table-1.4	Community-Wise Dharmarth Az –Mahal Dagh Shawl (Dharmarth from Daag Shawl Deptt.).	
Table-1.5	Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Custom Houses.	
Table-1.6	Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Mahal-i-Jawahir Bazar.	
Table-1.7	Community-Wise Dharmarth from Mahal-i- Sayar.	
Table-1.8	Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Kriya Pak Khana.	
Table-1.9	Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants From Daru'l Zarb Sefeds.	
Table-2.1	Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants From Darul's Zarb Pol Siyehs.	
Table-2.2	Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Mehal Mir Behri.	
Table- 2.3	Community-Wise Darmarth Grants from Mahal Powara We Heems Farosh.	
Table- 2.4	Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Kotwalis.	
Table- 2.5	Community-Wise Dharmarth from Teilyan.	

- 
- Table-2.6 Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Dharm Adalats.**
- Table- 2.7 Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Qazzia.**
- Table-2.8 Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Anchar.**
- Table-2.9 Community-Wise Arezl Waliha Dehat We Maken Hai Darobest.**
- Table- 3.1 Community-Wise Arazi Walihs “Arazi Az Dehat”.**
- Table-4.1 Community-Wise Representation in different branches of State Administration.**
- Table-4.2 Representation of Muslim Community in Education Department.**
- Table-4.3 Community-Wise representation of menials in Govt. services.**
- Table-4.4 Community-Wise Composition of State Departments as it stood at the end of 1939 and end of 1940 A.D. (Kashmiri year end of 1995 and end of 1996).**
- Table- 4.5 Community-Wise number of new appointments made during the year ending A.D 1940 (Kashmiri year 1996).**
- Table- 4.6 Names of employees retrenched in the wake of financial complications in 1937 A.D.**
-

## **LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS**

---

**Photograph of Traditional Kashmiri Pandit Women**

**Photograph of Traditional Kashmiri Muslim Woman**

**Photograph of Pandit House**

**Photograph of Muslim House**

**Photograph of Temple at Mattan**

**Photograph of Temple at Aukoora Anantnag**

**Photograph of Muslim vendors selling liturgical goods for their Hindu brethren at Kheer Bawani Tulumula**

**Photograph of Muslim vendor (Gh. Mohd Bhat) selling liturgical goods for Hindu brethren at Kheer Bhawani Tulumula**

**Photograph of celebration of the festival of Zeth Ashtami at Kheer Bhawani on 17-06-2013**

**Photograph of Muslim Blacksmith**

**Photograph of Muslim Barber**

---

## Introduction

It is .....preposterous to suggest that... [Hindus and Muslims] cannot live together amicably because the Hindus believe in Ahimsa and the Mahomedans do not. These thoughts are put into our minds by selfish and false religious teachers. The English put the finishing touch. They have a habit of writing history; they pretend to study the manners and customs of all peoples....They write about their own researches in most laudatory terms and hypnotize us into believing them. We in our ignorance then fall at their feet.<sup>1</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi

The debate on religious identities and inter-religious conflicts in South Asia emanates from the orientalist writings which perpetuate exclusive model of competing religio-cultural traditions in the region.<sup>2</sup> Taking the thread forward Sandria Freitag<sup>3</sup> and Peter van der Veer<sup>4</sup> view communalism inherent part of South Asian tradition, albeit transformed by the colonial encounter. It is in this context Peter van der Veer argues against treating religious discourse and practice as a mere smoke screen that hide the real clash of material interests.<sup>5</sup> However, the neo-imperialist school historians popularly called Cambridge school view inter-religious conflict in South Asia as a product of economic hardships than expression of religious zeal. Writing about Allahabad between 1880 to 1920, C.A. Bayly concludes that ‘religious attributions were often banners under which different economic and social groups organized whose motives have little to do with religion.’<sup>6</sup> Francis Robinson advances a similar claim about the Muslims of Uttar Pradesh in his *‘Separatism among Indian Muslims’*. He says that in their pursuit of “provincial, class and sectarian interests Muslim politicians adopted the Muslim identity when it suited them and discarded it when it had served their purpose.”<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Gandhi, M.K., *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*, Ahmadabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1938, p. 52

<sup>2</sup> Henry Elliot, Preface, to *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, ed. J. Dowson, Vol. I, London, 1867.

<sup>3</sup> Freitag, B, Sandria, *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and Emergence of Communalism in North India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. pp. 6, 13, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Veer, Peter Van der, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. pp. 193, 202.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., ix.

<sup>6</sup> Bayly, C. A., *The Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad, 1880-1920*, Oxford, 1975, p. 281.

<sup>7</sup> Robinson, Francis, *Separatism among Indian Muslims, The Politics of the United Province's Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge, 1974, p. 353.

Outside the Cambridge school American scholar, Paul Brass in his *Language Religion and Politics in North India* put forward the similar view. He argues that the communal consciousness of the group is articulated as a demand for political rights.<sup>8</sup> Robinson changed his track since 1974 in his paper “Nation Formation: The Brass Thesis and Muslim Separatism” where he formally questioned the sincerity of the Islamic leaders. He asserts that in most cases the U.P. Muslims meant what they said: that religion far from being manipulated by cynical leaders for selfish purposes was often end in itself. Above all they wanted to do something for Islam. They wanted to assert their vision of Islam.<sup>9</sup>

Bipan Chandra<sup>10</sup> and Gyanendra Pandey<sup>11</sup> consider communalism to be the direct result of British policies and ideologies applied to South Asia. Ayesha Jalal argues in favour of deconstructing communalism in South Asia. She says that articulation of differences during twentieth century by the Muslim community has been misrepresented as religious communalism. Muslim identity as a difference has been riven with too many internal contradictions to be capped by an all encompassing communalism.<sup>12</sup> Besides, the assertion of Muslim community was the articulation of secular grievances. Thus we need to redefine communalism in South Asian context. Whether, communalism is articulation of grievances by a suppressed religious community or something else.

Kashmir, owing to its strategic location connects the multiple regions of the world. It has amply drawn from each of them in terms of people, language, ideas and constructions of identity. Such a continuous interaction from remote past has rendered the culture of Kashmir accommodative and tolerant. Like other cultures, Kashmiri culture has never been homogenous. Broadly speaking there were two cultural categories. One was related to the corridors of power, political elite, religious discourses and the state philosophy. The other category was the culture of masses. To maintain hegemony, state always promoted a

---

<sup>8</sup> Brass R., Paul, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, Cambridge 1974, p.44

<sup>9</sup> Robinson, Francis, “Nation Formation: The Brass Thesis and Muslim Separatism”, in *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 15 (1977), 215-34, and “Islam and Muslim Separatism” in D. Taylor and M. Yapp, eds. *Political Identity in South Asia*, pp.78-112.

<sup>10</sup> Chandra, Bipan, *Communalism in Modern India*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1984. *Passim*

<sup>11</sup> Pandey, Gyanendra, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1990. *passim*

<sup>12</sup> Jalal, Ayesha, “Exploding Communalism: The Politics of Muslim Identity in South Asia” in Bose Sugata and Jalal Ayesha, ed. *Nationalism Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998-99, p. 18.

discourse in discursive spirit, where religion, justice, duty and nation etc. have been harnessed to serve the agenda of segregation. On the other hand the culture promoted by the common masses has always been based on, solidarity, compassion, sense of oneness and accommodation of differences.

The divisive cultural trends in Kashmir have always emanated from urban centers where stake holders in power apparatus used every finger and fork to safeguard their interest. On the other hand culture in rural areas of Kashmir has always been accommodative, common and diverse. From a closer analysis Kashmiri villages by and large during the period of our study were “pretty republics” governed by the unwritten codes of commonality, social sharing and tolerance. The predominately Muslim population in Kashmir willingly tolerated the minorities especially Kashmiri Pandits. As villages have predominately agrarian economy which calls for greater social sharing leading a villager to accommodate the different creeds. The people professing Hindu and Muslim faiths in rural Kashmir together forged the common grounds based on exchange of services, and good neighborliness sharing each other’s joys and sorrows despite the two irreconcilable ideological persuasions.

“The Kashmir valley is one of the most prominent Muslim majority areas in South Asia with not less than 94% of Muslim population according to earliest available census reports. The rest of the population consists of Hindus, and a thin slice of Sikhs. This remarkable change in the religious demography of Kashmir occurred especially during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries following mass conversion to Islam. It should be mentioned except for a few immigrants the predominant majority of Kashmiri Muslims are converts from Hinduism and a thin slice from Buddhism. What is however, remarkable about the spread of Islam in Kashmir is that conversion did not follow any military occupation of the valley by the Muslims..... The Muslim sultanate which finally came into existence in 1339, was not however, the result of any military conquest of Kashmir by Muslims but was founded by Muslim immigrant, Shah Mir, who along with other Muslim settlers from neighboring Muslim territories had settled in the Valley and showed exemplary qualities of leadership to bail the people from centuries of misrule and recurrent foreign invasions prompted by internal chaotic conditions of Kashmir..... To be sure, Shah Mir occupied the throne and founded his dynasty primarily with the help of local nobility and people at large. Thus conversion to Islam, which took place in Kashmir especially during the reign of Shah Mir dynasty (1339-1561) were conversions with a difference in the sense that there was no

room for using force as the basis of political authority of early rulers of the dynasty rested on the support of local 'feudal' lords who constituted their nobility, army and bureaucracy; and who were mainly non-Muslims until gradually brought under the fold of Islam."<sup>13</sup> The syncretic Islamic tradition forged in Central Asia and Persia was preached by Central Asian Sufis in Kashmir. In Kashmiri environment further compromises were made to meet the local demands and congruence.

According to the census 1961, Hindus constitute about 5% of the total population of Valley. The Kashmiri Pandits have traditionally depended upon land, salaried employment, and trade for their livelihood. The Kashmiri Pandits were tiny but not insignificant minority. Their numerical insignificance was overshadowed by their preponderance in the administration of State under Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras. This was due to their long tradition of literacy and so their indispensability to the administration of any regime in power in Kashmir. During the Mughal period (1586-1753) the Pandits made contacts with high ups in Delhi and established colonies there and at Agra, advantaged by the knowledge of Persian that they had learnt, many Pandits acquired favorable positions at the court of emperors and were rewarded with *Jagirs*, while establishing social and political links with Muslims. Very few Muslim made a mark during Mughal rule in Kashmir. They were engaged in trade and commerce, in particular, the Shawl trade, through which they amassed wealth, but they were not associated with administration as the Pandits. Rest the bulk of Muslim population was constituted of common masses who were often victimized by the regressive taxation policy. Afghan representatives (1753-1819) brought terrible oppression and cruelty to the people of Kashmir, including the Muslims. However, despite such cruelty the Pandits held high positions in administration. Afghans appointed many Pandits to administrative jobs in Kabul for example, Nandram Tikku, Sahajram Dhar, became Dewans and were trusted. No less rapacious than Afghans was the Sikh rule in Kashmir. But Pandits continued to hold good administrative jobs and favors of Sikh State because of their religious affinity with the rulers. Sikhs imposed restrictions on the public practices of Muslim religion. Under Dogra rulers (1846-1947) the Pandits enjoyed favors of the State and continued to dominate the

---

<sup>13</sup> Wani, M. Ashraf, *Islam in Kashmir (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century)*, Srinagar: Oriental Publishing House, 2005, p. v-vi.



administrative machinery, most particularly in the revenue department. The transfer of Jagirs from Muslim to non-Muslim subjects remained dominant feature of Dogra rule.

What made the social structure of Kashmir so singular was the pattern of interaction between the Hindus and Muslims deriving from the valley's Hindus consisting solely of the Brahman caste. This forced the relationship of ritual and economic interdependence between Kashmiri Pandits and Muslims. In the absence of the full panoply of *Jatis* that characterized the Hindu society elsewhere, the Pandits, whose caste status excluded them from either manual labour or work deemed polluting, relied heavily on Muslim specialist groups for the provision of essential services and liturgical goods. In this sense, as T.N. Madan points out in his seminal essay, from the perspective of the Pandits these Muslim groups functioned as 'caste analogues' and were indispensable for the maintenance of their ritual purity as Brahmans. Kashmiri Muslims, for their part, viewed Pandits as valuable patrons and the relationship as a 'traditional economic transaction'.

The discourse at the village level was mostly lax and less power oriented that prevented the concretization of identities which would have easily politicized leading to essentially undesirable division. The most important institution that played a central stage for the promotion of communal harmony in Kashmir was shrines. Both Hindus and Muslim used to venerate shrines seek blessings of the deceased saints and view them with a hope of redemption and deliverance from worldly woes and spiritual crisis. The tying of votive rags at shrines was common to both communities reflecting the archetype of collective unconsciousness. Festivities like *Eid*, *Navroz*, *Shivratri (Hehrat)*, *Diwali* became the occasions of secular courtesy and popular plurality of the Kashmir. The tradition of cultural pluralism and social sharing in Kashmir was so strong that Walter Lawrence dubbed Kashmiri Muslims, "Hindus at heart". The net effect of the communal harmony reflected in the emergence of less differentiated society with common ethos conventions, mentality, customs and practices.

General poverty was another important feature which created a feeling of oneness among the poor of all communities. Their interests, habits and tastes were identical. They were always seen busy in earning their bread to keep their body and soul together. Hence, they had not enough time to act or react complicated issues concerning religion.

The separate religio-cultural identity retained by both the communities never jeopardized the harmonious relations between the communities; it was only at the political

level that at times mutual toleration for each other beliefs and value system was vitiated. The political transformation essentially based in economic ends and nationalism directly utilized by cultural revivalism hardly disturbed the social fabric and strong sense of oneness in rural Kashmir.

Despite having their own respective ideological and cultural outlooks, the factor of interdependence and centuries of neighbourliness forged amicable relations between the two communities. Though in post 14<sup>th</sup> century scenario Pandits felt marginalized by dwindling of their number and a section of Pandit elite imposed minority psyche upon their community and engaged in cultivating separative Pandit mentality by invoking and evoking history to present the Muslim period of Kashmir as darkest period, the pragmatic considerations precluded the communal forces to vitiate the social atmosphere save that for economic interests the influential members of the community refused to join the majority voice.

The present study is a response to the challenge posed by communal writings on Kashmir which are portraying 'Hindus' and 'Muslims' homogenous entities antagonistic to each other. More specifically the departure of Kashmiri Pandits from valley in the wake of political turmoil in 1990 has led to contemporaneous distortions in the pre 1990 history of Kashmir. To establish their point, a section of Kashmiri Pandit leadership has sought to reinvent and redefine history and sought to argue that there has been a continuous persecution of Pandits in Kashmir for centuries together. As in the past, such 'community legends', as Henny Sender would like to call it, have been invoked during the post 1990 mass Pandit migration. The basic purpose underlying these concoctions is the rejection of any idea of smooth inter-community relationship in Kashmir. On the contrary, attempts have been made to portray a sharp divide between the Muslims and Hindus and the endangered status of the "Pandits as a minority, always persecuted by the majority and its religion."

The legendary account produced in the aftermath of migrations in 1990 portraying the Kashmiri Muslims as brute fanatics is obviously pregnant with serious consequences for a plural society like India which is already under the throes of communalism engineered by communal forces for vote bank politics. Therefore, there is an urgent need to correct the contemporaneous distortion of history. Thus it justifies beyond doubt the significance of the present study, which attempt to free the history of inter-community relations in Kashmir from communitarian ideologies by reproducing the actual facts of lived life narrated by people of both the communities.

Medieval factor is at the heart of communal debates in South Asia. Therefore, the present study examines the inter-community relations in Kashmir in *longue duree*. The academic research on Sultanate period (A.D1339-1586) is dominated by the studies on religion and culture. However, the post Sultanate period received little attention especially in regard to inter-community relations which facilitated cooking of stories by vested interests. To meet this inadequacy in the history of Kashmir, the present study covers the period from Mughal occupation of Kashmir (1586 A.D.) to the twentieth century. The Mughal rule is significant because the culture of tolerance patronized by Mughals throughout the empire had positive impact on Kashmir. During this period Kashmiri Pandits were recruited in imperial services and established contacts with high ups at Delhi. Interestingly according to dispassionate observers the administration during the Afghans was also dominated by the Kashmiri Pandits. Yet to gain the sympathy of the Sikhs who ruled between 1819 and 1846, the Pandit elite fabricated wild myths of persecution at the hands of Afghans which were printed by the colonial writers to serve their agenda. From 1819, the State patronage overwhelmingly tilted towards the minority community of Kashmir and the dharma became the ideology of governance. Undoubtedly it caused much heart burning among the Muslims. Yet it did not affect the age old mutual relations between the communities except its directing rage both silently and openly against the ruling elite which constituted the Muslims too. That is why Sheikh Abdullah was convinced that it is not a war between communities but a war between exploiters and exploited.

The present thesis is consisting of six chapters. Chapter one surveys the literature on inter-community relations which is propagating deeply polarized discourse on Kashmir's past. More specifically, the literature produced by the Pandit intelligentsia to counter the challenges faced by community at different times since the emergence of mass Muslim Society. The second chapter delineates the Hindu and Muslim communities of Kashmir to explain that neither Hindu nor Muslim communities constituted the homogenous entities rather were internally divided in terms of class, cast and territory. There were marks of identity, other than religion that were more relevant to people in their mundane affairs. In third chapter we have analyzed the nature of State during our period of study to explain that though the State under Muslim rulers – Mughals and Afghans was influenced by Islamic practices and traditions but was it was not theocratic in character. The State policies under

Muslim rulers were primarily guided by political expediency than religious zeal. During Sikh rule the State assumed Hindu character and attained intense proportions under Dogras.

The fourth chapter discusses the solidarity of heterogeneous elements in Kashmiri society. The chapter discusses that there existed a kind of Social contract between Hindus and Muslims which was based on legitimacy of differences. In fifth chapter we have discussed the factors that led to the reorganization of religion based political identities in Kashmir during the twentieth century. The chapter describes rise of communal consciousness in Kashmir during this period was essentially the expression of conflict of middle class interests. The last chapter delineates the ethos of tolerance evolved in Kashmir for centuries. The chapter puts together the experiences of lived life in plural society narrated by the people of both the communities.

The study ends with a brief conclusion that despite their divergent religio-cultural identities the Hindu and Muslim communities of Kashmir maintained harmonious relations. The factor of inter-dependence and centuries of living together forged unity between the two communities. It was only at the political level that inter-community relations were jeopardized where as the culture of masses remained accommodative and tolerant.

## Chapter 1

### A Brief Survey of Modern Literature

The history writing on inter-community relations in Kashmir is divided on community lines, generating a deeply polarized discourse on Kashmir's past. The Hindu community of Kashmir popularly called the Kashmiri Pandits<sup>14</sup> felt marginalized in the post 14<sup>th</sup> century scenario owing to the mass conversion of Kashmiri society to Islam. Thus for the purpose of building the confidence of community in its own religion, the Pandit intelligentsia stuck to their identity and culture, started drawing sharp boundaries between themselves and the Muslim community. Stigmatized by the majority domination, the Brahman chroniclers of fifteenth and sixteenth century resorted to *making* history by inventing the theory of 'forced conversion to Islam'.<sup>15</sup> They represented their community as oppressed who have suffered persecution at the hands of majority community and its rulers but maintained their identity despite of persecutions. The exaggerated account of royal persecution was aimed at *creating* a community and asserting its identity and distinctiveness by imposing upon the collective memory of community a shared past- a bitter past owing to Muslim persecution.<sup>16</sup> The presentation of their history by the Pandits illustrate the manner in which highly literate community reinterpreted its past to make the past to accord more closely with present needs and changing cultural values. With the fall of Muslim rule the propaganda assumed intense propositions obviously to win the sympathy of new establishments.<sup>17</sup> The plethora of literature produced by the Pandit intelligentsia during nineteenth and twentieth century was response to challenge owing to transformation of social environment, which reflect the response of community to the perceived threats than to actual dangers.

The community journals of nineteenth century reflect that Pandits were responding out of fear as out of the sense of reality. The acute insecurity of Pandits was due in part, to their minority status. The community Journals of the nineteenth century described the Pandit resistance to Muslim persecution. In February 1872, an article appeared in the community magazine *Murasal-i-Kashmir* which voiced its concern against uncertainty of the

---

<sup>14</sup> The word Kashmiri Hindu and Pandit are synonymous and are used interchangeably throughout the work.

<sup>15</sup> Jonaraja, *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*. Eng.tr. J.C. Dutt, Calcutta: 1898, pp. 60, 66-67. Srivara, *Raja-tarangini*, Eng. tr. J.C. Dutt, Calcutta: 1898, pp. 195-96.

<sup>16</sup> Writing of the uses of past in creating Sinhahla identity in the context of the modern Sri Lanka, Serena Tennekon notes that 'the ethnic polarization of the present is defined in terms of past rivalries, and in that process, the past is rearranged in terms of the policies of the present. Tennekon Serene, 'Newspaper Nationalism: Sinahala Identity as a Historical Discourse', in Spencer, Jonathan, ed. *Srilanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*, London: Routledge, 1990, pp.205-206. For an excellent observation on Kashmiri Pandits distortion of history to suit their private interests and changing cultural values see, Sender, Henny, *The Kashmiri Pandits: A study of cultural choice in North India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988, Intr. pp. xvi-xvii, 2, 8, 14.

<sup>17</sup> This is abundantly clear not only from the writings of Kashmiri Pandit writers (for example, Anad Koul, The author of *The Kashmiri Pandit* written in 1924) but also from European travelers including Walter Lawrence. Having written on the authority of verbal information provided to him by the Kashmiri Pandits. Lawrence's *The Valley of Kashmir* contains fantastic stories of Muslim persecution. Lawrence, R. Walter, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Chinara Publishing House, 1992, pp. 190-91, 195-198.

community.<sup>18</sup> Another Journal, *Safir-i-Kashmir* in the late nineteenth century voiced the assertion that Pandits left Kashmir to save their religious identity.<sup>19</sup> The articles published in these journals met two needs: The need of the members of the community to know their roots at the time of growing uncertainty and the need to defend their communal identity at the time of increased polarization.

Anand Koul in his work “*The Kashmiri Pandit*” provides a classical example of theory of forced conversion to Islam and the subsequent persecution of Hindu community under Muslim rulers. Again Koul’s work reflects the response of Pandit elite to the challenge posed by Pandit’s fast emulation of western culture in the wake of their adoption of western education to retain their traditional calling- state services.<sup>20</sup> The most serious challenge was posed by assertion of Muslim community against the autocratic and sectarian Dogra state. Considering the challenge Koul harped on the theory of “forced conversion” to create a strong collective mentality especially among younger generation that Islam did not spread in Kashmir because of any weakness in the Brahmanic religious and social order; but it spread because of persecution before which only Brahman caste could survive by putting heroic resistance against the force.<sup>21</sup> Koul says:<sup>22</sup>

“Islam made its way into Kashmir in the beginning of the fourteenth century of the Christian era and it was characterized by fighting, military expeditions and conquests and so forth.”

He further says:<sup>23</sup>

“The same Hindus who did not dare to complain when they saw their wives, their children, and everything they held dear carried off by their fierce conquerors, their country devastated by fire and sword, their temples destroyed, their idols demolished; these same Hindus, I say only displayed some sparks of energy when it became the question of changing the customs for those of their oppressors. Ten centuries of Muhammadan rule, during which time the conquerors tried alternately cajolery and violence in order to establish their own faith and their own customs amongst the conquered, did not suffice to shake the steadfast constancy of Brahmans. Bribes of dignities and honours, and the fear of annoyance and loss of position, had no effect on them. Indeed, the dominant race had to yield and had even forced to adopt some of the religious and civil practices of conquered people.”

The apprehensions of losing their identity by the Pandit elite owing to the challenge by the modernization are reflected by the following passage of Anand Koul:<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Sender, Henny, *The Kashmiri Pandit*, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, *Islam in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Oriental Publishing House, 2005, p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> Koul, Anand, *The Kashmiri Pandit*, Delhi: Utpal Publication, 1924, pp. 10, 49.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

“When those inexperienced young men, the roots of whose knowledge are but loosely held, try to overrule the bid of their venerable fathers, it comes a sore blight to the worthy parents when they find their *barkhurdars* trying the illusive path of the new civilization of manifestly behaving in it as if it was something quite homely and indigenous.”

Koul emphasizes tenacity adaptability and elasticity of Kashmiri Pandits against the Muslim oppression. He writes:<sup>25</sup>

“The Pandits tenacity and adoptability and elasticity as regards his political environment has cruelly been construed to mean cowardice. He has survived the ruthless, barbarious and savage rule which he was subjected to in the past. Given the same destructive and fatal circumstances to live and work under, can there be found a people, other than the Kashmiri, who, could endure this inhuman rule for a period of six centuries and survive it? The sons of Avantiverman and Lalitadatiya, and the progeny of the blessed Rishis struggled hard, and that in a particular way against the brutal activity of the religiously fanatic administrators. It was neck or nothing with them in order to save their own religion. Hundreds were put to sword; thousands were flung into the rivers and lakes or killed in their homes. With indomitable courage, both physical and moral, they faced death at the hands of “Deputies of God” and their so- called *servants* sent to rule over them. Is it not then the tenacity, the adaptability and elasticity of the Kashmiri that has helped him to survive atrocities and has it again been foolishly termed cowardice?”

Anand Koul even attributes the relatively soft approach of Kashmiri Pandits towards cast system to fear of Muslim oppression. The author says that the Islam in Kashmir was characterized by fighting, military expeditions and conquests. He says that during Dulacha’s invasion he converted people forcibly to Islam then records the forcible conversions under Sultan Skinder and Ali Shah.<sup>26</sup>

“Skinder the iconoclast and Ali Shah, who were 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> ruler of this line, excelled Dulch in their zeal to make converts to Muhammadanism and again the cry *na bhatta ham* went forth.”

About the conversions of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani Anand Koul remarks:<sup>27</sup>

“In the time of Sultan Shahab-ud-Din (1359-78 A.D.) Mir Sayyid Ali came here from Hamdan (Persia) and engaged himself in proselytizing. The Brahamans were firm in strictly keeping their cast. Deaths dark vale had absolutely no terror to them their remained eleven families, all others even having been converted or having fled the country”.

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

The reign of Aurangzeb is recorded by Koul as reign of ferocity and applauds the martyrdom of Guru Teg Bhaḥdur for the sake of Pandit community. To quote Koul:<sup>28</sup>

“Under the commands of Aurangzeb, Iftikhar Khan was using torture towards Pandits in Kashmir and was forcibly converting them to Islam. He also used to seize pretty Panditani girls and make them over as gifts to the Musalmans for their *harems*.”

About the oppression under Afghan rulers and the heroic resistance of Kashmiri Pandits, Koul remarks:<sup>29</sup>

“The Pathan rule which commenced from 1753 A. D. was the darkest age. During this period political upheavals made a fitful headway, the din where of drowned the feeble voices of commonalty as a rule Brahamans care little for the troubles and ills of this life. But it would be difficult for them to forget all the miseries that their in human masters heaped upon them. Twenty nine governors were deputed by Durrani Emperors and during the time of most of them, specially of Abdullah Shah Ishaq Aqasi (1753-54 A.D.), Lal Mohammad Khan 1766. Karimdad Khan (1776-83), Azad Khan (1783-85) Madad Khan (1785-86) and Mir Hazar Khan (1793-94), wholesale terrorism prevailed.”

Koul on the other hand terms the period under Sikhs and Dogras as the revival of Hindu rule and applauds the Hindu rule as the period of reinstatement of Kashmiri Pandits.<sup>30</sup>

R.K. Parmu also recoded the similar view:<sup>31</sup>

“Most of them [Hindus] cowardly embraced Islam simply to exist in the land of their birth, while a large number committed suicide ..... we are told only the Brahamans resisted long and inconsequence were tortured with the result that only a couple of thousands of them were left behind to preserve and maintain ancient religion and traditional culture. Other castes who outnumbered the Brahman community exceedingly, failed to make any sacrifice.”

Nirmal Singh in his work *Inter-Communal Relations in Jammu & Kashmir (1846-1931)*, though appreciates the communal harmony in Jammu and Kashmir based on the factor of inter-dependence and cultural similarities<sup>32</sup> but he views the Muslim assertion against the sectarian and autocratic Dogra State as a communal struggle provoked by Punjabi Muslim communal organizations and aided by British.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 58-59.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>31</sup> Parmu, R.K., *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, 1320-1819*, New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1969, pp. 129-30.

<sup>32</sup> Singh, Nirmal, *Inter-Communal Relations in Jammu & Kashmir (1846-1931)*, Jammu: Jay Kay Books, 1991, pp. 50-69.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 229-30.



The writings of Kashmiri Pandits vis-a-vis Islam and Muslims of Kashmir became more vitriolic after their mass departure from the Valley in the wake of political turmoil of 1990. Again this time Pandits felt threatened of violent movement which initially enjoyed mass Muslim support. Thus elite section of Hindu community swung into action and portrayed the movement a result of fundamentalist tendencies of Kashmiri Muslims and used the terms like 'ethnic cleansing' and 'genocide' to explain the phenomenon. This was in tune with their past experience of doing such propaganda to gain the sympathy of State. The Pandit elite identified themselves with the 'Safron wave' of Hindu Nationalism. In political manifestos, speeches, and slogans, Hindu nationalist parties highlighted the plight of the Kashmiri Hindu migrant community, arguing that secular political leaders had implemented policies to appease Kashmiri Muslims for decades in order to demonstrate their commitment to the principles of secular nationalism, but had failed to provide adequate protection to the minority Kashmiri Hindu community simply because they shared the religious affiliation of the Indian majority. This position enabled Hindu nationalist political parties to strengthen their claim as the defenders of national boundaries and national interests in India.

The Kashmiri Pandit organizations positioned themselves within the Hindutva framework through their own forms of community discourse. Kashmiri Hindu community discourse articulates with Hindu nationalist discourse by emphasizing the superiority of Hindu religious and cultural tradition, the decline of Hindu culture, the loss of Hindu homeland, the fear of encroachment by Muslims and other poor and plebeian classes, and the desire for special recognition by the State. Thus community discourse has framed ways in which minority imagined their home land and their relation to it.

Bal Raj Madhok, the author of *Kashmir: The Storm Centre of the World* says that Kashmiri Pandits were forced to leave Kashmir by the secessionist organizations and the elements. The author remarks:<sup>34</sup>

“Forced exodus of about two hundred thousand Hindus from Kashmir is the most distressing fallout of the recent developments in Kashmir Valley. All secessionist organizations and elements in Kashmir have been working together to drive out or eliminate the Hindu minority from there. Kashmiri Hindus who are better known as Kashmiri Pandits have been living as a besieged community since the advent of Muslim rule in Kashmir in the middle of 14<sup>th</sup> century. They got relief when Maharaja Ranjit Singh conquered and annexed Kashmir to his kingdom in 1819 and made it a separate province of his expanding kingdom of Lahore.”

Kanhya Lal Kaul and M.K.Teng in their paper entitled “Human Rights Violations of Kashmiri Hindus” Published in *Perspectives on Kashmir: The Roots of Conflict in South Asia*, express their view that ‘*The killings kidnappings, gang rape, lootings and arson- all these atrocities led to mass exodus of Pandits from the Valley*’.<sup>35</sup> The authors hold that

---

<sup>34</sup> Madhok, Bal Raj, *Kashmir: The Storm Centre of the World*, New York: Houston Texas, 1992, pp. 110-111.

<sup>35</sup> Koul, Kanhya Lal and M. K. Teng, “Human Rights violations of Kashmiri Hindus”, in Thomas G.C. Raju ed., *Perspectives on Kashmir: The Roots of Conflict in South Asia*, Boulder: Westview, 1992, p. 177.

Pakistan in pursuance its policy of wresting Kashmir out of India's hands converted Kashmiri Muslims to fanaticism and fundamentalism and made them to look at non-Muslim as infidels, as "Kaffirs". The authors remark:<sup>36</sup>

"During the past two decades, where as "national integration and secularism" were being emphasized in the rest of India to blend together the different components of the Indian population, the Islamic fundamentalists were slowly and quietly working hard on the masses in Kashmir to poison their minds against the Hindus. Jamat-e-Islami, was working, with the help of money from Pakistan and the Gulf countries, to indoctrinate the young Muslims through religious schools, and force the "Islamization" of Kashmir. The process which started 20 to 25 years ago, is now providing the indoctrinated youth, as recruits for the Pakistani-sponsored *Jehad*. The training and arms provided by Pakistan to these young men takes special significance. They are the ones who were engaged in killing the infidels- the Battas."

Mohan Lal Koul in his work, *Kashmir Past and Present: Unraveling the Mystique* presents the history of Muslim rule in Kashmir as a history of oppression and brutality of Kashmiri Pandits. The author holds Sufis responsible for inflicting woeful miseries on Kashmiri Pandits. On the other hand he presents the Sikh rule in Kashmir as period of accommodation and tolerance.<sup>37</sup> Koul hails Dogras as harbingers of peace and prosperity in Kashmir. He views the Muslim assertion against autocratic and sectarian Dogra state as communal movement aided by British.<sup>38</sup> The post 1947 developments initiated by popular government with socialist orientation is viewed by Koul as measures aimed at devastation of Kashmiri Pandits.<sup>39</sup> The author records the event of 1986, in the history of Kashmir as an event of destruction and loot of Kashmiri Pandits.<sup>40</sup> Though the author recognizes that such a situation was created by pro- Indian politicians but at the same time he remarks that, "united action" of Kashmiri Muslims against the Hindus was motivated by faith in Islam.<sup>41</sup> The author remarks:

"It was a rehearsal of one act of the drama of death and destruction conceived and scripted by the demon of Muslim bigotry presiding over Muslim psyche."<sup>42</sup>

The work also highlights that indiscriminate killings of Kashmiri Pandits by the militant outfits was a result of fundamentalist Islamist tendency among the militant groups. According

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 178.

<sup>37</sup> Kaul, Mohan Lal, *Kashmir Past and Present: Unraveling the Mystique*, New Delhi: Manav Publishers, 1994, p. 49.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 59-60.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>40</sup> For details on 1986 episode see chapter 5.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

to author the militants subscribed to 'ethnic cleansing'<sup>43</sup> which led to the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits. He says:<sup>44</sup>

"The killings at first appeared selective but in time gained the furry frequency of hurricane leading to the mass exodus of helpless Hindus."

R.N. Kaul in the same fashion records:<sup>45</sup>

"For nearly 600 years, the Kashmiri Pandits suffered terrible repression and oppression by, amongst others, the Hun, the Afghan, the Moghul invaders; their heir, successors and governors, making their life veritable. The persecuted fled, time and again, to safety and liberty, and those who remained had to conform misery, exploitation, crippling taxes, ignominy and the devastating threat of conversion and execution."

The reign of Sultan Skinder is recorded by R.N. Kaul as reign of terror and oppression for Kashmiri Pandits:<sup>46</sup>

"Then, came Sultan Sikander, son of Qutubuddin, about eight years of age, under the regency of his mother, who groomed him for 12 years as tough and fanatic ruler. He was known as Skinder, the iconoclast, a "religious zealot, whose persecution of the Hindus was terrible and the treatment of the people made them so miserable that they prayed for delivery from his rule, but it went on for 23 long years i.e., till 1413 A.D. Most of them ran away as far as south India & Maharashtra and settled there. He was helped in his depredations by his minister Sohabhatta (a Hindu convert whose Muslim name was Saifuddin)."

He also records the wrath of Afghan oppression on Pandit community in the following words:<sup>47</sup>

"Restrictions on religious practices were imposed, poll taxes (Jazia) fixed, curbs on movement, dress and way of life of non-Muslims enforced; also there was systematic destruction of religious properties, forced conversions, confiscation on properties of Hindus, prohibition on the study of the Persian language, as a means of employment, and curbs on migration, or exit. Therefore, departures from Kashmir involved punitive risks, yet many persons and families secreted themselves away under hazardous conditions to other paths in India."

The work attributes the departure of Pandit community from Valley during 1990's to the rise of militancy and 'terrorism'. The author says that the flight of Pandits from Kashmir was not a voluntary act, but a result of repeated exhortations, threats and announcements over

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 202.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Kaul, R.N., *The Wail of Kashmir: In Quest of Peace*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1999, p. 11.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

loudspeakers, posters issued by the militants and their supporters from religious places coupled with visits to the Pandit homes non voluntary and street killings through which they were forced to seek a safe sanctuary outside.<sup>48</sup>

M. L. Koul indicts fellow Pandit authors (with whom he is not prepared to agree) for their views:<sup>49</sup>

“Contrary to the claims of Bamzai and Bazaz, the dark reality remains, that the spread of Islam in Kashmir was as blood soaked and apocalyptic as it was in countries where Islam was introduced by force and coercion, and pain of death. ‘Social and religious humanism’ as projected by dervishes is a half truth invented by Bamzai and ‘religious humanism’ is a pale repetition of same half truth by Bazaz.”

The prefatory note of the book “*Kashmiri Pandits: Looking to the Future*” states:<sup>50</sup>

“It is sad part of the contemporary history that Kashmiri Pandits who are the original inhabitants of Kashmir, who have produced great saints and sages, who have given to the world such noble philosopher- statesman like Jawahar Lal Nehru are not safe to live in their home in Kashmir.”

M.K. Kaw added in his key note address:<sup>51</sup>

“The history of constant battle with Islam and sacrifices we have made for the survival of Hinduism will be written in letters of gold when true history of human civilization is penned.”

K.L. Bhan in his work *Paradise Lost: The Seven Exodus of Kashmiri Pandits* projects Kashmiri Pandits as the original inhabitants of Valley belonging to pure Aryan race. He records that the story of persecution of Hindu community at the hands of Muslims began with the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir and continued throughout the subsequent history of ‘Muslim rule’ under Mughals Afghans and in Post 1947 period. As a result Hindus were driven out of their home land seven times till their recent exodus of 1989. He remarks:<sup>52</sup>

“Terrorized by Timur the lame- Syiid Mir Ali Hamadani along with, 700 Sayyids his followers landed in Kashmir and drove a wide and deep wedge between majority Hindus and minority Muslims. He dictated the Sultan Qutub- Din to make the persecutions and torture of KPs a State policy. The code he prescribed for the Sultan

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 190

<sup>49</sup> Kaul, M.L., *Kashmir: Wail of a Valley*, Delhi: Gyan Sagar Publishers, 1999, p. 27.

<sup>50</sup> Kaw, M. K., et.al (ed.) *Kashmiri Pandits: Looking to the Future*, New Delhi: APH Publ. Corp. 2001, p. (v).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>52</sup> Bhan, K.L., *Paradise Lost: The seventh Exodus of Kashmiri Pandits*, Kashmir News Network, 2003, p. 15 (pdf). [available at [www.ikashmir.net/exodus/](http://www.ikashmir.net/exodus/), accessed on 2/9/2014]. The seven exodus mentioned by author are – during the period of Sultan Sikander, under Chak rule, under Mughal rule, Under Afghans, in 1947, 1986 and 1989.

was model of hatred, distrust, intolerance, bigotry and malignity against the KPs. He compelled the Sultan to officialize the massacre of KPs unless they embraced Islam.....Following in his father's footsteps of Mir Mohammad Hamdani urged the Sultan Sikendar (1389-1413) notoriously called iconoclast (but-shiken) to wipe the infidelity (Hindus) root and branch, and let not even a weed of it to survive."

The author records with same venom the subsequent period of Muslim rule under Chaks, Mughals, Afghans and post 1947 period. The author maintains that Hindus suffered brute persecution under Chaks, Mughals and Afghans. The Sikh period is hailed by the author as period of deliverance of Kashmiri Pandits from centuries of oppression.<sup>53</sup> The Dogra rule is recorded by author as glorious period of all round development and reform.<sup>54</sup> The author views the post 1947 period as the period of discrimination against Kashmiri Pandits when merit was subverted for making way for the Kashmiri Muslims in State services. The author says that 'the newly sprung Muslim ministers bureaucrats and executives of the same creed made the KP officers and officials targets of their vendetta for being good and loyal employees of erstwhile rulers.'<sup>55</sup> As a result of this policy of discrimination some of the leading KPs bid adieu to their home land and this period witnessed slow and steady exodus of Kashmiri Pandits.<sup>56</sup> He further says in 1986 riots, the Kashmiri Pandits faced the wrath of majority community that compelled Pandits to dispose their property and leave for good.<sup>57</sup> The author says that 1989 militant insurgency was a holy war (Jehad) against infidels ruling from Delhi but the beginning was made with hitting the Kashmiri Pandits. He remarks:<sup>58</sup>

"Suddenly mosques boomed and zoomed day in and day out with pro-Jehad and anti-India and anti-Kaffir (anti-Hindu slogans), speeches sermons and discourses. No relevant superlative can convey the venomous and provocative propaganda blared at maximum pitch from the mosque. At night they beat empty tin canes and tin roofs to inject terror into the mind of KPs. Several shocks have already been given to them including a sizeable warning in black and white through some dallies that the KPs must quit Valley within 48 hours or over stay on pain of death."

A. K. Kaul in his paper "Kashmiryat: A Counter Point" published in the book *Kashmir And its People: studies in Evolution of Kashmiri Society* regards the assertion against the Dogra state in 1930's as handiwork of British and aided by outside Muslim communalists motivated by the cry of "Islam in Danger."<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>59</sup> Kaul, A.K., Kashmiryat – A Counter Point in Kaw M.K. ed., *Kashmir And its People: studies in Evolution of Kashmiri Society*, New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 2004, p. 165.

The author views the political transformation of 1947 as revival of Muslim rule and remarks that “*It has been an unfortunate part of Kashmir history that whenever Muslims were in power the Hindus, particularly the Kashmiri Pandits, were at receiving end.*” He further says that “*Immediate task taken by the National Conference was to Muslimise the State administration*”.<sup>60</sup> He says that Muslim community progressed in post 1947 period at the cost of Kashmiri Pandits. He attributes the mass departure of Kashmiri Pandits to the terrorist onslaught unleashed by Muslim fundamentalist elements.<sup>61</sup>

D.N. Dhar the author of *Kashmir: A Kaleidoscopic View* in the same fashion records the history of Muslim rule in Kashmir as a period of brutality and oppression of Kashmiri Pandits.<sup>62</sup> However, the author recognized the smooth inter-community relations at people’s level.<sup>63</sup>

Ajay Chrungoo in his paper “The Beginning of Destabilization” published in *Kashmiri Pandits Problems and Prospective*, says that post 1947 developments in Kashmir were aimed “creation of *de-facto* Muslim State in the territory of India.”<sup>64</sup> The author remarks:<sup>65</sup>

“The special status that was conceded to Jammu and Kashmir constitutionally fortified Muslim identity politics, pursuing Muslim communal preferences and precedence became legitimate politics. It found expression in ruthless Muslim exclusivists and hegemony. Establishing Muslim hegemony all around the State started with the communalization of administration and creating a political order when Muslim precedence was ensured.”

Chrungoo views mass departure of Pandits as genocide process. He refers to 1986, communal riots to indicate that attack on Hindu community was prelude to the religious cleansing operations started in 1989.<sup>66</sup> He remarks:<sup>67</sup>

“The pattern of assault on this Hindu minority was “kill one and scare ten.” It was only after the displacement of the members of Hindu minority from the Valley that mayhem of loot, plunder and arson of Hindu properties was let loose by Islamic zealots. For almost four years the house hold goods and the cloths looted from abandoned Hindu houses, and temples and shrines were openly sold in Sunday markets commonly known as “Bangladeshi Markets” at Hazuri Bagh- Iqbal park area

---

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>62</sup> Dhar, D.N., *Kashmir: A Kaleidoscopic View*, New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2005, pp. 74-75.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>64</sup> Charangoo Ajay., “The Beginning of De-stabilization” in Bhati Avanti, ed., *Kashmiri Pandits: Problems and Perspectives*, New Delhi, Rupa & Co. 2005, p. 26.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

of Srinagar. This orgy of loot and arson was followed by a more systematic “residential cleansing.” Concentrated Hindu localities were burnt. Hindu houses located in Muslim areas were broken into and forcefully occupied. Fraudulent deals and illegal occupations of Hindu properties became common news. Temples and Shrines were attacked, burnt, and plundered across the length and breadth of Kashmir Valley. Idols and the murals were either broken or stolen and sold in the antique markets.”

Rahul Pandita in his *Our Moon has Blood Clots* says that not only the militants but also the common people among Muslims participated in heinous murder of Kashmiri Pandits. He remark:<sup>68</sup>

“From 1990 onwards, the killings of Pandits in the Valley increased manifold. The news reports coming from Kashmir were tragic. In the name of Azadi, the Pandits were hounded on the streets and killed brutally. Killing of the Hindu minority had turned into orgy; a kind of blood lust. By April 1990, the mask was completely off. It was not only the armed terrorist who took pride in such killings the common man in these streets participated in some of these heinous murders as well.”

He says referring to the case of telecommunication engineer B.K. Ganjoo who was shot dead in his attic by militants after a neighbor directed them to his hiding place.<sup>69</sup> He further says Pandits were forced to permanent exile.<sup>70</sup>

On this practice of *making* history for constructing community by Kashmiri Pandits Henny Sender remarks:<sup>71</sup>

“The actual history of the Pandit community of Kashmir is neither a tale of paradise lost, nor of relentless repression. Its beginnings are shrouded more in legendary claims than certainty; accounts reveal more of aspiration than reality. The early history of the Kashmiri Brahmins as they themselves have remembered and recorded it illustrates Jan Vansina’s description of testimony as a mirage of reality, distorted by the defence of private interests and influenced by changing cultural values.”

Henny sender explains, elsewhere, the validity of tradition in history:<sup>72</sup>

“The ‘representation’ of reality corresponds to what historians, among them Jan Vansina, have referred to as ‘traditions’, as opposed to history as it actually transpired. Such traditions or testimonies are, according to Vansina ‘mirages of reality’,

---

<sup>68</sup> Pandita, Rahul, *Our Moon Has Blood Clots: The Exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits*, London: Random House Publishers, 2013 p. 115.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., pp. 115-116.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Henny, Sender, *The Kashmiri Pandits*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. xvii.

distortious which shed light on existing social and cultural backgrounds, The manner in which history is recounted is altered to reflect contemporary cultural values.”

Modern Muslim scholars give rebuttal to Hindu view of conversion and subsequent Muslim rule in Kashmir. G.M.D. Sufi in his *Kashir* argues in favour of peaceful conversion of Kashmiri society to Islam. The author says, that mass conversion to Islam in Kashmir was the result of continued missionary movement inaugurated and carried out mainly by *faqirs*, friars or *darvishs* and the ‘ulema’ or theologians, among whom were Islamian preachers from Iran.<sup>73</sup> He further says that the compactness of the area of the Valley and usually imitative habits of its people were additional reasons for this mass conversion.<sup>74</sup> Prof. Mohib ul Hassan in his *Kashmir under the sultans* argues in favour of ‘social liberation theory’ of conversion.<sup>75</sup> He is of the view that Muslims bailed the people from centuries of misrule. The taxation was lightened and new crafts were introduced which provided alternative means of production to exploited population.<sup>76</sup> Prof. A.Q. Rafiqi in his *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to Sixteenth century)* also lent his support to ‘social liberation theory’ and views Sufis as powerful channels of conversion. The author says that Islamization of Kashmir was a gradual process and took several centuries for conversion of majority population.<sup>77</sup> Prof. M. I. Khan in his *Kashmiri’s Transition to Islam: The Role of Rishis* also holds the similar opinion albeit he attributes mass conversion to *Rishis* (the indigenous Sufi order) who acted as a bridge between greater tradition of Islam and little tradition of masses.<sup>78</sup> The theory of ‘forcible imposition of Islam’ is critically analyzed by Prof. M.A. Wani in his ‘*Islam in Kashmir (Fourteenth to Sixteenth century)*,’ Prof. Wani applies multi-casual approach to the study of conversion to Islam in Kashmir. While contesting ‘force theory’ he argues that the use of force during the reign of Sultan Skindar and Ali Shah was handi work of mass based ruling elite who gave vent to their deep seated Brahman antipathy.<sup>79</sup>

No comprehensive work has been conducted by the Muslim scholars to offer a rebuttal to Hindu view of subsequent Muslim rule in Kashmir albeit the scattered references are detectable from few modern works. Prof. M.I. Khan in his *Perspectives on Kashmir: Historical Dimensions* appreciates the Mughal contribution in bailing the people of Kashmir from sectarian conflicts, promotion of industries and commerce<sup>80</sup> but at the same time he recognizes Mughals as foreign invaders and says that as a result of Mughal invasion, Kashmir

---

<sup>73</sup> Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, Vol. II. (rep.), New Delhi: Capital Publishing House, 1996, p. 81.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Hassan, Mohibbul, *Kashmir Under the Sultan*, Srinagar: Ali Mohmmad and Sons, 1974, p. 225.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., pp. 242-252.

<sup>77</sup> Rafiqi, A.Q., *Sufism in Kashmir (Fourteenth to Sixteenth century)*, Varanasi: Bharatiya Publishing House., n.d. pp. 253-55

<sup>78</sup> Khan, M.I. *Kashmiri’s Transition to Islam: The Role of Rishis*, New Delhi Manohar Publishers, 1997, p. 28.

<sup>79</sup> Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, *Islam in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Oriental Publishing House, 2005, p. 124.

<sup>80</sup> Khan, M.I., *Perspectives on Kashmir: Historical Dimensions*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1983, pp. 46-47.



lost her separate entity and became the part of Mughal empire.<sup>81</sup> The author further says that as a result of Mughal invasion the ruling families of Kashmir were replaced by Mughal official class. He views the Afghan occupation of Kashmir as replacement of one imperial power by other.<sup>82</sup> The author views Afghan State as exploitative in character, who victimized both Hindus and Muslims albeit some of the Kashmiri Pandits rose to prominence under Afghans.<sup>83</sup> While highlighting the negative impact of Afghan rule the author did not lose sight of the positive developments during the period like the construction of Sona lank in the Dal lake, Amira Kadal bridge, Amirabad garden, Shergari and fort on the Hariparbat hillock.<sup>84</sup> Abdul Majeed Matoo in his *Kashmir under the Mughals (1586-1772)* views Mughal occupation prompted by both imperialistic designs and considerations of defence of the empire which was increasingly menaced by the growing Uzbek empire.<sup>85</sup> He on one hand highlights the blessing of the Mughal rule in the form of peace and tranquility opening up of the new trade routes, promotion of trade and commerce, irrigational works, architectural developments, sectarian harmony, promotion of education and learning<sup>86</sup> but on the other hand he did not lose sight of the exploitative character of the Mughal State.<sup>87</sup> Prof. M.A. Kaw, in his *The Agrarian System of Kashmir (1586-1819 AD.)* expresses the similar view and sees Mughals as 'foreign masters' than co-religionists who were hardly different from the medieval rulers elsewhere.<sup>88</sup> Afghan oppression and misrule is viewed by him as inclusive experience of Kashmiri population.<sup>89</sup>

The mass departure of Kashmiri Pandits in the wake of political turmoil is viewed by Kashmiri Muslims as a result of self imposed fear psychosis of Kashmiri Pandits which reached to its climax under the organized policy of Jaghmohan.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Matoo, Abdul Majeed, *Kashmir Under the Mughals (1586-1752)*, Srinagar: Golden Horde Enterprises, 1988, p. xiv.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.,xiii.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Kaw, M.A., *The Agrarian System of Kashmir (1586-1819 AD.)*, Srinagar: Aiman Publication, 2001, p. 4.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>90</sup> This view is articulated in number of Journals news papers and is also preserved in memory of Kashmiri Muslims.

## Chapter 2

### A Brief History of Religious Communities of Kashmir

True, the people of Kashmir partake of the salient features of common cultural heritage of the subcontinent of India. Yet, like other regions Kashmir possesses some distinctive cultural traits and historical experiences.<sup>91</sup> Muslims occupy a position of overwhelming importance in the population of Kashmir. They constitute 94% of total population according to earliest available census report.<sup>92</sup> They call themselves Musalmans which is Persian form of the word Muslim.<sup>93</sup> The rest of the population consists of Hindus, and a thin slice of Sikhs. Of the three socio-religious segments of population, the Muslims are scattered all over the region.<sup>94</sup> Of the total population of Hindus more than a half (28695) lived in Srinagar and small towns while the rest were scattered in the rural areas.<sup>95</sup> The Sikhs were found in rural areas of Tral, Hawal, Biroh and Ranbir Sing Pura.<sup>96</sup>

#### The Hindu Community:

One of the typical features of Hindu society of Kashmir is the absence of the non-Brahman castes, though it was not always thus as we find the mention of four –fold castes and outcastes in *Rajatarangni* and other sources. However at the turn of 16<sup>th</sup> century Islam replaced Hinduism as the mass religion of the valley. While all other castes and out castes embraced Islam the Hindu society of Kashmir was left to be represented by only one caste - *Brahmanas*.

With the replacement of Sanskrit by Persian as official language, a sizeable section of Pandits learnt the new language to retain their traditional calling-state service. It seems that convention soon became established where by most of the sons in Pandit family studied Persian and only one or two devoted themselves to the study of Sanskrit and the scriptures. The later looked after the performance of family rituals. Kilam writes ‘... it was decided that a daughter’s son of a person should be made *Basha Batta* to administer the religious need of

---

<sup>91</sup> Madan, T.N., “Religious Ideology and Social Structure: The Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir”, in Ahmad, Imtiaz, ed., *Ritual and Religion among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1981, p. 22.

<sup>92</sup> Census of India, 1911, Vol. XX, p. 88.

<sup>93</sup> Hughes, T.P., *A Dictionary of Islam*, London: Allen and Co., 1935.

<sup>94</sup> Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Chinara Publishing House, 1992, pp. 384-85.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305; Census of India, 1891, Vol. XXVIII, p. 140.

his maternal grandfather's family.'<sup>97</sup> He gives no reason for this curious arrangement, and does not clarify how it gave rise to patrilineal endogamous divisions in Pandit society. Historians are however unanimous that in course of time this division of labor evolved into a twofold division of the society based upon occupation and fortified by endogamy. Those Pandits who devoted themselves to the study of scriptures and the performance of priestly duties came to be known as *bhasha* bhatta, or more simply the *gor* (derived from the Sanskrit *guru* for 'guide' or preceptor). The followers of secular occupation were called the *karkun*.

The *karkuns* were numerically preponderant and economically better. They arrogated to themselves the higher position in the Pandit social hierarchy. The *gor* was regarded as inauspicious, mean and greedy. Madan writes.... "The main reason for this attitude seems to be a fact that they received food and other gifts from their *Yajaman* (clients or patrons) in the name of dead."<sup>98</sup> Hereditary occupational specialization, endogamy and an explicit differentiation in social status have thus produced an internal subdivision of Pandit society into two sub-castes. The relationship of priest with his *yajaman* was hereditary. The *gor* officiated the socio-religious rituals of his client household and received a fee (*dakhshina*) in cash or kind, or both. The amount of fee varied with economic status of each household and the importance of each occasion. Besides, there was a Hindu minority group in Kashmir viz; *Buher*. They had been almost assimilated into Pandit culture, although they did not inter-dine or inter-marry with few exceptions here and there. The historical origin of this group is not yet clear. Lawrence maintains that *Buher*s are probably of Punjabi origin.<sup>99</sup> They were found only in urban areas. They were usually employed as grocers and confectionaries. In fact the word *Buher* is used in Kashmir in the sense of grocer.

There was also the distinct division between the Pandits living in cities and those living in villages. The majority of the community lived in city and looked down upon those living in rural areas. In Srinagar Pandits constitute about 20% of the city population<sup>100</sup>. One

---

<sup>97</sup> Kilam, Jia Lal, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits*, Srinagar: Gandhi Memorial College, 1955, p. 53.

<sup>98</sup> Madan, T.N., *Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 20.

<sup>99</sup> Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 282,

<sup>100</sup> Census of India 1921, Vol. I, p. 181.

of my informant Sham Lal from Mattan Anantnag narrated the story of rural urban division:<sup>101</sup>

“There was a rural urban division; the city people looked disdainly upon us as they consider us uncivilized. Once I visited the home of my Hindu friend, Pairey Lal in Srinagar who had studied with me and had many times visited my home. His wife told me who are you? And where from you are? I replied I am from Mattan. Where is Pandit? She replied, “He is in the office, probably he may stay there for the night,” Meanwhile Pandit arrived and he told me “O! Why are you here? I said I came to see you and would like to stay with you for the night. He unambashedly retorted “No, I have to go back to my office tonight.” Thus avoided me”.

There also existed class division within Hindu community. The *Karkun* Pandits were dependent on land and salaried employment, and trade for their livelihood thus, distinguished themselves as economically affluent class within Hindu community. Many rural Pandits have, however, traditionally worked for wages, in cash and kind, as domestic servants and cooks in the houses of Pandits of Srinagar. Such services have been one of the factors which led to the growth of class division among the Kashmiri Pandits. Nobody who has worked, or works as a menial is not able to claim aristocratic status and equality with the rural land lords.<sup>102</sup>

The Hindu Dharma has given prominent place to customs from its very inception. The Gautama, the Budhayana, the Apastamba and the Vasistha. Dharmasutras, Manu and Yajnavalkya ---Simitis ---all give a due place to customs. The customs are attractively woven round the individual and community life. As such they assume great significance. The Pandits and Muslims of the Valley have their own customs. The customs and ceremonies associated with the birth, marriages and death continued, during the period under study, to be very elaborate and interesting.<sup>103</sup> The impact of modern education and modern trends of thought has produced some minor changes in the observance of these ceremonies and rituals. Also socio-economic forces have been responsible for producing reforms in the performance of various customs and practices. However these changes were minor ripples in the vast

---

<sup>101</sup> Interview with Sham Lal, age 72 years old, resident of Mattan, Anantnag, on 25-05-2011.

<sup>102</sup> Madan, T.N., *Family and Kinship*, p. 128.

<sup>103</sup> Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 257.

ocean of life.<sup>104</sup> Dr. Earnest Neve remarks “the Hindus whole age, from the hour of the birth till the day when he dies and his son sets light to the funeral pyre, is regulated by an elaborate code of religious rites, ceremonies and customs. These involve daily worship with ablution and offerings to idols of flowers and food, frequently fasting and the observance of a very large number of holidays.”<sup>105</sup> The Pandits of Kashmir were superstitious about an old, ugly woman or a one eyed person or a dog or donkey when they left their house in the morning.<sup>106</sup> They would never begin to do anything if someone sneezed. cows, owls and kites were ominous for them, while bulbs, swallows and hoops were considered fortunate. Small pox or cholera was believed to be inflicted by goddess called ‘sheetla’. Lawrence observes:<sup>107</sup>

“It is a sad fact that the occurrence of small pox has become one of the accepted customs of Kashmir, and the Hindus have regular ceremonies which must be observed when the disease attacks their families. When it appears that a child is sick with the small pox, the first to be done is to sew rupees into his head dress. He is then placed in a separate room, and is surrounded by clay toys of horses, elephants, palankins, fans and sugar-cakes, water-chest nuts and shells. Until the pustules developed the child is kept on rice and curd, and no salt may be given to the child or used by the mother or wet- nurse. A little fish or a piece of meat is always hung up in the sick room (chhai rattan), but while the small pox lasts no meat may be eaten and no prayers may be repeated in the house. When the disease abates the rupees are taken out of the head dress, and are spent on rice boiled in milk, which is distributed to relations and friends. The room is cleaned and the toys and a plate full of rice are flung in the river. If the small pox is very severe, Sitla Mata, the smallpox diety, must be propitiated, and offering of sheep, goats, horses or donkeys, and eyes of gold or silver are made to her priest on Hari-Parbat. Forty days after the smallpox first makes its appearance (chat jihun), rice boiled in milk is again distributed to relations and neighbors.”

---

<sup>104</sup> Bamzai, P.N.K., *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir (1846-1925)*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 1st ed.1987, pp. 26-27.

<sup>105</sup> Neve, Earnest F., *Beyond PirPanjal: Life among the Mountains and Valleys of Kashmir*, London, T.F. Unwin 1912, p. 240.

<sup>106</sup> Bisco, C.E. Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, New Delhi: Mittal Publishing House, 1995, p. 159.

<sup>107</sup> Lawrence, Walter R., *They Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 263-64.

During the time of eclipse they performed 'shardas' and gave away rice and money in charity. The women along with child were not allowed to go out to do any work. They generally used to spend that in the time of worship and no food was cooked in their houses.<sup>108</sup>

The main rituals and ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death are very elaborate. Mention is made of few ceremonies here.

### **Zara – Kasai:**

This is the ceremony of cutting first hairs of child at 2 to 3 years of age. A *havan* is performed and boys head is shaved, leaving the *choti* at the highest point of the skull. After the *havan* the relations and friends are treated with feast. My informant Rajnath narrated that<sup>109</sup>: *we perform Zara-Kasai ceremony at the shrine of Reshi saint Zanu- din Ashmuqam. After the performance of ceremony we offer money in charity at the shrine. We also burry the hairs along with walnut seed in our court yard and the growing tree is called Zara Kul*".

### **Yagnupavit:**

The 'Yagnupavit' or sacred ceremony, was one of the most important ceremonies in the life of a Kashmiri Pandit, It was performed before a boy attained the age of twelve years. An auspicious day was fixed by astrologers and some ten or fifteen days earlier, relatives were invited and there was a constant singing, feasting and rejoicing.<sup>110</sup> During this ceremony, the sacred thread was put round the boy's neck by his 'guru' and he was confirmed a *Brahman* in front of sacred fire. He was made to beg alms from his relations.<sup>111</sup> My interviewee Rajnath narrated that<sup>112</sup>: *"During this ceremony the relations of boy give money to 'gor' called Abeed"*. On the following day, a ceremony known as 'Khulhama' was performed to mark the safe and pleasant termination of the important event.

---

<sup>108</sup> Bisco Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P.160. In case of social and religious matters of one's household the traditional Vedic rites have been recommended to be performed.

<sup>109</sup> Interview with Raj Nath, age 45 years, resident of Magray Pora Anantnag, on 16-04-2011.

<sup>110</sup> Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 260.

<sup>111</sup> Koul, Anand, *The Kashmiri Pandit*. Delhi, Utpal Publication, p. 82.

<sup>112</sup> Interview with Raj Nath, op.cit.

### **Viva or Marriage:**

The marriage or 'viva' ceremony began with '*garnavi*' which was followed by '*menzarat*' and '*divgon*'. The chief day was called '*lugun*'. The *Lugun* or nuptial ceremony was performed by family priest of both bride and bridegroom.

During the first year of marriage the bride's father used to send various presents to her on the eve of festival days and birth days.

### **Death**

The ceremonies associated with the death of a Kashmiri Pandit were quite elaborate. The dead body was washed and covered with a woolen sheet or linen and after the performance of *shardha* ceremony.<sup>113</sup> The wrapped dead body was placed on a wooden plank and carried to cremation ground. Before the dead body was put on the pyre a '*Nirvana*' ceremony with the invocation to the '*Baravas*' and chanting of hymns and mystic sounds was performed. The funeral pyre was lighted by the son of the deceased. Two or three days after cremation a few bones and ash was brought till they were removed to some holy place. The son of deceased shaved his head on the tenth day which indicated the sign of mourning.

### **Fairs and Festivals:**

With their long chequered history and rich cultural background, Kashmiris were always fond of celebrating their festivals with elaborate colorful ceremonies, they celebrated a variety of festivals some were religious, some mythological and other seasonal.<sup>114</sup> The Pandit manner of celebrating the festival was peculiar.

### **Shivratri:**

The most important festival was *shivratri*. It commenced from the first day of dark fortnight of '*Phagan*'.<sup>115</sup> The first nine days of *Phagan* were marked by cleaning of houses and washing of clothes.<sup>116</sup> On the tenth day money according to customary scale was sent to

---

<sup>113</sup> Bisco, Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 263.

<sup>114</sup> Puri, Rachna, *The Pandit Community of Kashmir: A Historical Analysis-(1819-1947)*, (Unpublished M.phil dissertation), Department of History University of Kashmir, 1981.

<sup>115</sup> In Kashmiri Shivratri is also known *Hehrat*. Thus the month of Phagan is also known as month of *Hehrat*. See Koul, Anand, *The Kashmiri Pandit*, p. 85.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

the daughters. One of my respondent Shamboo Nath Tikoo told me that<sup>117</sup> “usually we used to send Muslims (neighbor or cultivator) carrying basket filled with meat and bread (*chapatti*) to our married daughters house. He was given some money as *dakhshana* by her in-laws”. The eleventh day ritual started with the cooking particularly fish, radish and after a brief ceremony, food was taken by whole family on twelfth day. *Bharava puja* was offered and meat and fish etc. were given in offerings. On the thirteenth day the head of family kept fast and performed ‘*puja*’ of *Shiva* at night. On the fourteenth day basins and two earthen pots were filled with water and walnut soaked in them which were, after they performed ‘*puja*’ on the fifteenth day, distributed among their relations and friends.<sup>118</sup> This custom still continues. Interestingly enough, the Muslims are now also recipients of walnut on the *Shivratri*. My interviewee Pairey Lal Tikoo from Hugam Anantnag stated in this context<sup>119</sup>

“on the next day of *Shivratri* called *Salaam* (greeting) our Muslim neighbor visit to greet us from dawn to dusk. We sent walnut to our Muslim neighbours, on this day the Muslim potter was bringing a creel of pots for ritual use of his pandit patron and on his arrival in pandit house a cloth was waved round his face as a mark of respect. Likewise other Muslim occupation groups –barber, ironsmith, washer man visited our house and we gave them gifts in kind and cash.”

### **Sonth:**

Sonth or spring festival was celebrated on the first or *chetra* (in the month of March). A basket of un- husked rice with bread, a rupee, a pen case, a cup of curd, a few walnuts, cooked rice and some flowers were kept overnight. On the following day each member of the family used to pick up one or two walnuts in the mornings and dropped in the river after bathing.<sup>120</sup>

### **Naureh**

The new moon of ‘*chetra*’ was celebrated by a festival known as ‘*Naureh*’ and basket were shown to the members of the house as on the *sonth* day. On this days the son in-laws were invited and given a feast on their return to their houses they are given money presents. New clothes were generally worn on that day.

---

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Shamboo Nath Tikoo, age 72 years, resident of Veering, Anantnag, on 22-04-2011.

<sup>118</sup> Koul, Anand, *The Kashmiri Pandit*, p. 39.

<sup>119</sup> Interview with Pairey Lal Tikoo, age 63 years, resident of Hugam Anantnag, on 04-05-2011.

<sup>120</sup> Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 265; Koul Anand, *The Kashmiri Pandit*, p. 80.



**Baisakhi:**

On that day, Kashmiri Pandits assembled at Ishbar near Nishat Bagh, and bathed in the sacred winter of Gupta spring.

**Jeth Ashtami:**

The eight day of 'Jeth' (May-June) was celebrated as the birth day goddess *Ragnia*, A fair was held at the sacred spring situated at the village Tulumula. Thousands of people flocked there and spent their night praying and singing. My respondent Bushan Lal from Gunpayar narrated” *It is our Muslim brethren who sell the articles of liturgical use for use Hindus at Tulumula*”.

**Har Nawami:**

The ninth day of the bright fortnight of *Har* (June-July) was celebrated as birth day of the goddess *Sharika*. A fair was held and a *hvan* was performed at Hariparbat in the shrine of goddess Shanker.

**Janam Ashtami:**

The birth day of Sri Krishna was celebrated on the day of the dark fortnight *Har* (August –September). On this occasion the Pandits observed fast. On this day Kashmiri Pandits also carried procession. My informant Mohammad Abdullah Baht narrated that:<sup>121</sup> “*In our village Hugam Hindu brethren carried procession on the day of Janam Ashtami and the Muslim entertained that event. They come out of their houses and watch processions of Hindu brethren in streets*”.

**Pan:**

Bread was distributed among the relations and friends during the bright night of *Bhadun* in the honour of the goddess Lakshmi. This festival was known as Pan.

**Kambar Pach:**

A period fifteen days in the waxing moon in the month of *Asuj* (August-September) in which rites for the dead were performed by Kashmiri Pandits.

---

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Mohammad Abdullah Bhat, Age 63 years, Hugam Anantnag, on 02-05-2011.

## The Muslim Community:

Long before the “Muslim rule” was established in Kashmir in A.D. 1320, Muslims had entered the valley as traders and soldiers of fortune. Pandit Kalhana’s reference to the Turukshahs (Turks)<sup>122</sup> and Marco-Polo’s evidence regarding the employment of the “Saracens”<sup>123</sup> as butchers by the Hindus, speak of the Muslim settlements in Kashmir.

Apart from the fortune seekers, Sufi saints also entered Kashmir during the period of Hindu rajahs. The most famous among them was Sayyid Sharfu’d-Din Bulbul Shah. He converted Rinchana, the reigning ruler of Kashmir to Islam. Rinchana came to Kashmir along with his followers due to the unfavorable circumstances in Ladakh following his father’s death. The political instability caused by Zulju’s invasion of Kashmir in A.D. 1320, and the ravages caused by the Mongol invaders for about eight months, afforded Rinchana an opportunity to occupy the throne of Kashmir.<sup>124</sup> His conversion to Islam is regarded as a landmark in the history of Kashmir. It may be stated here, that in medieval times it was personal decision of the chiefs that usually determined the collective action of the groups, hence a considerable number of Buddhist followers of Rinchana who accompanied him from Ladakh to Kashmir also embraced Islam.<sup>125</sup> Not only did Islam now receive a political patronage but also became a “reference group culture”- a status improving way of life, as Muslim was elevated from a *mleccha* to monarch.<sup>126</sup> Rinchana was able to rule for a brief period of three years from 1320-1323 A.D.<sup>127</sup> with the support of their new converts.

On the other hand, the Hindus were divided into a number of socially interdependent groups. This helped the Islamic missionaries particularly during 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries to attract a good majority of different ethnic and cultural types to Islam, which advocates a simple religious teaching, social pattern and attitude to human life. These simple principles of Islam appealed to the persons of different ethnic origins and cultural backgrounds.<sup>128</sup> Thus

---

<sup>122</sup> Kalhana, *Rajatarangni*, Eng.tr. M.A. Stein, rpr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1979, p. 188.

<sup>123</sup> Yule, H., *The Book of Marco Polo*, ed. tr. by H. Yule, London, 1903, p. 167.

<sup>124</sup> Hassan, Mohibbul, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, 1959, pp. 34-39.

<sup>125</sup> Rawan Chandra his brother-in-law for instance accepted Islam immediately after the Rinchana’s conversion.

<sup>126</sup> Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, *Islam in Kashmir (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century)*, Srinagar: Oriental Publishing House, 2005, p. 55.

<sup>127</sup> Kashmiri’s still continue to follow certain ancient beliefs to the fact that a good number of them are descendents of Buddhist converts.

<sup>128</sup> Khan, M.I., *Perspectives on Kashmir: Historical Dimensions*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1983, p. 127.

Islam was embraced by agriculturists, artisans, boat men, gardeners and other groups performing menial jobs, but also by such a powerful politically dominant group in ancient society such as *Damaras Lavanyas* and *Tantrins*, whose names still survive in the modern families among Kashmiri Muslims such as *Dars*, *Loans* and *Tantarys*.<sup>129</sup> It is note-worthy that among the Kashmiri Muslims different types of family names are commonly used. One of the most widely prevalent of such names is “Bhat” which without any doubt, is same as “*Bhatta*” and obviously bears and elaborate testimony to the fact of conversion. There are some more examples of this kind of surname such as *Pandit*, *Koul* (Sanskrit *Kaula*, originally the name of a Brahman sect) *Naik* and *Ryosh* (Sanskrit *Rishi*, saintly learned men). The *Shaikhs*<sup>130</sup> who constitute an overwhelming majority of Kashmiri Muslims are generally considered to be from converts.<sup>131</sup>

It is important to note that Kashmir was an independent kingdom between 1320-1586 A.D. During this period there was a steady stream of Muslim migration from Central Asia and Persia. Besides, the Sayyids who flocked to the Valley in large numbers, there were Persian speaking immigrants, whose descendents formed an important element of Islamic society in Kashmir in the Mughal period in Kashmir (1586-1757). The dominant groups such as *Chaks*, *Magras*, *Rainas*, *Dars* and *Bhats* were dispossessed as military and administrative groups. A hierarchy of Mughal officers now began to man high posts in administration. The descendents of the Mughals may now be found among *Mirzas*, *Begs*, *Mirs*, *Buchhas*, etc. similarly, during the Afghan rule in Kashmir (1753-1819), there settled in the Valley certain men of Afghan tribes. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century certain Muslim families from different parts of Northern India poured in Kashmir and settled here permanently.<sup>132</sup>

Indeed, the Kashmiri Muslims have not been a homogeneous group but a conglomerate community, which has grown slowly as a result of immigrations, inter-marriages and conversions. This has of course led to the formation of society defined in terms

---

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Shaikh, an Arabic word, literary means an old man or man of authority, “the term seems to be widely used in South Asia to designate that Muslims descended from Hindu converts. Madan, T.N., *The Muslim Communities of South Asia: Culture, Society and Power*, New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 1995, p.109.

<sup>131</sup> Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 306. There is, however, all likelihood of some of the Shaikhs are urban immigrants.

<sup>132</sup> Khan, M.I., *History of Srinagar*, (1846-1947), Srinagar, Cosmos Publications, 1999. p. 129.

of geographical, racial and even caste origin.<sup>133</sup> But in reality the Muslim society of Kashmir has not totally lost the homogeneity, nor became it differentiated. The total amalgamation of the foreign settlements that has taken place during the last hundred years or so has given an enduring unity both culturally and linguistically to Kashmiri Muslims.

It may be stated here, that the spread of Islam in the valley of Kashmir is considerably different from cultural and historical point of view. There are ample proofs which depict that the Sufis from central Asia and Persia<sup>134</sup> played a remarkable role to the conversion of Islam in valley. In year 1384, a well organized Islamic mission under the leader ship of Mir Syed Ali Hmadani arrived in Kashmir. Accompanied by about seven hundred followers<sup>135</sup> a majority of whom were great religious divines, the *Kubravi* saint launched the vigorous movement of Islamizing Kashmir. The emphasis on the Islamization of royal family and the court as a pre-requisite for Islamizing people was an important *modus operandi* adopted by Syed Ali and his disciples.<sup>136</sup> In this regard the role played by Shaikh Noor-ud-Din in converting the Kashmir into the Islamic fold is appreciable. He is said to have attempted the reconciliation of Hindu-Muslim practices and actually paved the way for the gradual assimilation of commoners to the Islamic identity.<sup>137</sup> He condemned the caste system of the Hindus which tempted the low caste Hindus to accept Islam so as to be free from the clutches of *Brahmans*. It is said that their social position or family status did not improve much after their entry into the Islamic fold. But they could at least get the satisfaction of calling themselves members of Islamic community,<sup>138</sup> and thus could get a sigh of relief from the bondage of *Brahmans*. Shaikh Noor-ud-Din is credited with the fact that the prominent Hindu ascetics along with their followers came under the fold of Islam. It seems probable that caste system among the Hindus must have prompted the low castes and the weaker sections of

---

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., It is important to note that besides theological differences Kashmiri Muslims were divided into various social groups such as Shaiks, Sayyids, Mughals, Pathans, Gujjars, Bakarwals, Dombs and Watal, not to mention the main sectarian division between Shias and Sunnis.

<sup>134</sup> The role attributed to Bulbul Shah (Sayyid Sharaf'd-Din), Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani and a band of his followers is very well known to the students of Kashmir history. For further details see: Rafiqi, A. Q., *Sufism in Kashmir from Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, Varanasi, Bharatiya Publishing House, n.d.

<sup>135</sup> Ali, Syed, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, R.P.D.739, f. 5b.

<sup>136</sup> Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, *Islam in Kashmir*, p. 59.

<sup>137</sup> Khan, M.I., *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Rishis*, Gulshan Books Srinagar, 2005, p. 182.

<sup>138</sup> Islam preaches equality of men and has no caste distinctions. This sentiment is specially reflected in the *Rishinama* in which a conscious attempt was made to present Islam as an egalitarian religion vis-à-vis the religious ethnocentrism of the Brahmanic faith.

Kashmiri society to break off their religious ties with a caste – ridden social structure. The lower caste Hindu was attracted to Islam as a result of dialogue between the Hindu ascetics and Shaikh Noor-u-Din.<sup>139</sup> In this connection the mention may be made that Bhum Sadhu, Tuli Raina, Ladi Raina and Hindu ascetics who entered the fold of Islam along with their followers. Reportedly twelve hundred Hindus under the leadership of Tuli Raina accepted Islam due to the efforts of Shaikh Noor-u-din.<sup>140</sup>

From the above it becomes clear that Shaikh played a commendable role in the propagation of Islam and enjoyed a distinguished position in the traditional Kashmiri society. He made Islam comprehensible to the Kashmiris through precept and example, which cannot be over emphasized. His criticism of caste – system and *Brahmanic* rituals and customs contributed a great deal to the loosening of religious and social ties with their society. He was able to promote a fresh understanding of Islamic teachings in a different milieu. For the understanding of Islamic teachings the use of Kashmiri language as a religious vehicle was fostered and Islam was opened up to the common people who were not educated in classical Arabic and Persian languages and Islam was brought to the common people in a meaningful way.<sup>141</sup>

It may be stated here that after under-going a process of Islamic acculturation, the converts saw their identity in terms of new religious community, of which they had become members consciously or unconsciously. The most significant social change that took place was the gradual development of Islam as the focus of social identity among the common folk. Though it was more by rituals, images and cultural symbols than by a new mind set which the great Muslim preachers wanted to create by winning people to Islam.<sup>142</sup>

Celebrating the fairs and festivals occupied the distinct place in the social life of Kashmiri Muslims. It enabled the commoners at recurring intervals to find relaxation from miseries and exacting toil. The major religious festivals of the Muslims in Kashmir were *Id-*

---

<sup>139</sup> In a dialogue attributed to Noor-ud-Din and Bhum Sadhu, the Muslim saint emerged an embodiment of human virtue, piety and compassion.

<sup>140</sup> Khan, M.I. *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Reshis*, p. 182.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178-179.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

*ul-Fitr, Id-ul- Azha, Id-i-Milad, Shab-i-Barat, Shab-i-Qadar, Mehraj-u-Nabi and Muharam.* Besides, these festivals Kashmiri Muslims celebrated the *Urs* (anniversaries) of saints.<sup>143</sup>

It may be mentioned here that the Muslims of Kashmir who constituted 93% of the population during the 19<sup>th</sup> century remained backward due to the oppression under the Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras. They were subjected to heavy taxation and suffered religious disabilities under Sikh and Dogra rule in Kashmir.<sup>144</sup>

### **The Sikh Community:**

The available sources state as a fact that the Sikh religion as a new faith was introduced in Kashmir long before the establishment of Sikh rule. The date of their arrival can be traced to the reign of Mughal emperor Jahangir.<sup>145</sup> But a good number of them penetrated into Kashmir in the service of Afghan governor Raja Sukh Jawan Mal (1753-1762).<sup>146</sup> They have retained their Punjabi origin and culture up to this date.

According to the census of 1891 Sikhs constituted about 0.5 percent of the population of Kashmir.<sup>147</sup> They were found in rural areas of Tral, Hawal, Kirohan, Biroh and Ranbirsingh-pora.<sup>148</sup>

Sikhs were rural-based. They lived by ‘cultivation or service’.<sup>149</sup> They must have been largely zamindar’s or it is probable they might also have been a part of State militia. They had a strong tendency to look to service as their source of their livelihood and were recruited during the early Dogra rule in the *Nizamat regiment*, employed to backup the tax gathering agency.<sup>150</sup>

The foregoing account suggests that only a drastic reshaping of existent socio-economic structure or an intensive mobilization of the social segments along religious

---

<sup>143</sup> There used to be happiness in air on the occasion of these festivals. For the inter-community interaction on the occasion of festivals see chapter 6.

<sup>144</sup> For disabilities suffered by Muslim population under Sikhs and Dogras see chapter 3 and 5.

<sup>145</sup> Lawrence, R Walter *The Valley of Kashmir*, PP. 300—01, also see Khanday, A.R., *The Sikh Rule in Kashmir (1819-1846)*. Kulgam: Muneza Publications: 2007, p. 89.

<sup>146</sup> Vigne, G.T., *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardu Countries adjoining the mountain courses of Indus and Himalayan , North Punjab*, Vol. II, Karachi: Indus Publication, 1987, P. 29.

<sup>147</sup> Census of India, 1891, Vol. XXVIII, P. 140.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, P. 305.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., p. 301.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid, P. 305.

lines could have made it possible for Hindus and Muslims to behave as two different and organized camps hostile to each other. There were marks of identity, other than religion that were more relevant to people in their mundane affairs. The truth of this contention is best illustrated by how, for example *Karkun* Pandits turned to Persian learning and to studying in Christian missionary school at Srinagar perceived their privileged hereditary position in their society.

## Chapter 3

### State and Religion

The sultans of Kashmir (A. D. 1339-1561) granted religious freedom to their subjects and promoted the talent irrespective of religious discrimination.<sup>151</sup> In fact, Sultan Zanin ul Abidin even allowed the Muslims to revert to their original faith if they so wished.<sup>152</sup> However, the reign of Sultans like Sikander (1389-1413 A.D.) is remembered as reign of persecution and forcible conversion of Hindu community to Islam.<sup>153</sup> But the use of State power for 'forced imposition of Islam' was the handiwork of mass based ruling elite who gave vent to their deep antipathy against the Brahmins.<sup>154</sup> Thus the use of State power for the persecution of Brahmins during the period of Sultan Sikandar and Ali Shah was rooted in social and class antagonism of Hindu society.<sup>155</sup> Except for a communal clash which occurred in the reign of Hassan Shah, the two communities lived for the most part peacefully and amicably throughout the Sultanate Period.<sup>156</sup>

Mughal conquest of Kashmir was a part of expansionist policy of an empire builder in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. The Mughal State was basically a secular State. Its stability was essentially founded on policy of non- interference with the religious beliefs and customs of the people, fostering of friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims, opening the doors of the highest offices of the State to nobles and chiefs belonging to different regions and professing different religions. Akbar adopted a tolerant and liberal religious policy uniformly throughout the length and breadth of his empire. He abolished Jazia tax and other

---

<sup>151</sup> Sultan Shamus 'u Din Shah Mir (1339-1342 A.D.) entered into matrimonial alliances with Hindu nobility. (Jonaraja, *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr. Dutt. J.C., Calcutta, 1898, pp. 26-27. Sultan Shahbu'd Din (1354-74 A.D.) gave a strong rebuff to one of his Hindu ministers who suggested him the demolition of the temple Vijeswara for procurement of gold to meet the financial deficiency. (Jonaraja, *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*, p. 44) Sultan Qutubud Din (1374-89 A.D.) refused Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani's advice to implement Sharia in Kashmir. *Baharistan-I Shahi* MS, anonymous f.116.

Sultan Sikandar was thoroughly liberal during the early phase of his reign. Apart from giving all religious liberties to the non- Muslims all key positions were held by the Hindus. Suhabatta who later on embraced Islam was his Wazir. Sultan gave recognition to merit irrespective of religion. Obviously Hindus possessing merit were appointed to coveted posts. Jonaraja and Srivara had privilege of becoming court chroniclers of many Sultans. The office of Dewanship was also the monopoly of the Hindus.

<sup>152</sup> Nizam al-Din Ahmad, *Tabaq -t- Akbari* (tr. B. De), vol.III, p. 655.

<sup>153</sup> Jonaraja, *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*, pp. 60, 66-67.

<sup>154</sup> Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, *Islam in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Oriental Publishing House, 2005, p. 124.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>156</sup> Hassan, Mohibbul, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, 1959, p. 233.



discriminatory punitive laws and encouraged arts and letters. The Brahman chronicler Suka is appreciative of emperor Akbar whose benevolent and secular measures not only made possible the return of the Brahmans into the Valley but also relieved them of several financial obligations<sup>157</sup>. The benevolent approach of Akbar towards Kashmiri Pandits is reflected by the following statement of Suka:<sup>158</sup>

“Ramdasā, the servant of Akbar, gave one hundred pieces of silver, and also of gold to every house of Brahman. He distributed fifty thousand pieces of silver among the poor Brahmans”

He further states:<sup>159</sup>

“Even the illustrious Jyallaldina gladdened the Brahmans who were recommended to him, by Ramdasā, even as the moon gladdens the Chakars. The emperor bestowed villages on Brahmanas, and they looked graceful, even as the forest, that had burnt by fire, does when the clouds begin to rain.”

The culture of tolerance patronized by Akbar is reflected by the following inscription which Ab'l Fazl wrote for a temple in Kashmir:<sup>160</sup>

*“O God in every temple that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee!*

*Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee*

*Each religion says, “Thou art one, without equal.”*

*If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian church, people ring the bell from love to Thee,*

*Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque.*

*But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.*

---

<sup>157</sup> Akbar, for instance, is reported to have “repealed the practice of levying fines on them and threatened every one with dire consequences” if they harassed the Hindus. He even rewarded those who looked upon the Brahmans with respect. The practice of Chak (erstwhile ruling family of Kashmir” to slaughter 1000 cows daily, was prohibited for the Brahmans considered cows sacred. Due to these reasons, the Brahman community migrated from the Valley. Hence to restore them to their original position, Akbar presented them gifts of gold and silver and bestowed villages on them. Suka, *Rajatangini*, Eng. tr., J.C. Dutt, Srinagar: City Book Centre, 2011, p.88.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>160</sup> Abul Fazl, *A'in-i- Akbari*, Vol. III, Eng. tr. Blochmann, Delhi: Aadesh Book Depot, 1965, pp. livlv.

*They elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.*

*Heresy to the heretic and religion to the orthodox*

*But the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume seller.*

*This temple was erected for the purpose of building together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindustan, and especially those of his worshipers that live in the province of Kashmir.*

*By order of the Lord of the throne and the crown, the lamp of creation, Shah Akbar*

*In whom the seven minerals find uniformity, in whom the four elements find perfect mixture.*

*He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should first destroy his own place of worship; for if we follow the dictates of the heart, we must bear up with all men, but if we look to external, we find everything proper to be destroyed.”*

*O God, Thou art just and Judgest an action by the motive;*

*Thou Knowest whether a motive is sublime, and tellest the king what motives the king should have.*

Abu'l Fazl writes about Akbar's celebration of Diwali in Kashmir in October 1592, He says:<sup>161</sup>

*“The Diwali feast was celebrated, and by orders, the boats, the river banks and the roofs were adorned with lamps. They presented a splendid appearance.”*

Jahangir describes the celebration of Veth Tarwah festival in Kashmir in 1620 A.D. Jahangir writes:<sup>162</sup>

*“It is an ancient custom that every year on this day every one, whether rich or poor who ever has house on the bank of the river, should light lamp as on the Shabi Barat. I asked the Brhamans the reason of this, and they said that on this day the fountain head of the Jhelum was disclosed, and the custom had come down from old days that on this date must take place the feast of Veth Tarwah.....Undoubtedly the lamp-lightning was good. I sat in a boat and went round to see it. On this day the feast of*

---

<sup>161</sup> Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III Eng tr. Henry Beveridge, New Delhi: Saeed International, 1921. P. 958.

<sup>162</sup> *Veth means the Jhelam, and they call thirteen tarwah; as this day is the thirteenth of Shawwal, they light lamps. In this way they call it the Veth Tarawah* Jahangir, Tuzuki Jajangiri Vol II, Eng. tr. Alexander Roggers and Henry Beveridge) Munishiram Manoahlral Publishers Pvt. Ltd. pp. 167-68.

*my solar weighing took place, and according to the usual custom, I weighed myself against gold and other things, which I distributed among the deserving people.”*

One of the main results of Mughal invasion of Kashmir, however seems to have been the gradual rise of Kashmiri Pandits to key posts in the administration. Our findings contest the colonial writings which tend to depict that Mughal rule represented the domination of fanatic Muslims over majority Hindus.<sup>163</sup> The revenue collectors of the Mughals were mainly Kashmiri Pandits. For instance Pandit Tota Ram acted as *Peshkar* in the reign of Akbar. During this period Kashmiri Pandits made contacts with the high ups in Delhi and established colonies there and at Agra. Advantaged by the knowledge of Persian many Pandits acquired favourable positions at the court of the emperors and were rewarded with *Jagirs*. One of the first Pandits to have surfaced at the Mughal court was Sadanand Kaul.<sup>164</sup> Kaul was invited by Akbar to Agra when the emperor met him on one of his three visits to Kashmir. Sadanand Kaul remained in Mughal capital following Akbar's death and escorted Jahangir to his homeland. Later Shah-i- Jahan bestowed the title 'Ghumkhuar' upon the Pandit. The other Pandit families who had association with Mughals were Dhars, Bhans and Madans.

Dara Shukoh provided positions for several Pandits. Dara Shukoh approached Kashmiri Pandit sympathies. The prince dwelt for extended period of time in Kashmir (in 1640, 1645, and 1654) and held extensive fiefs in the province. And it was there he composed his religious treatises. He believed in universal truth of all religions. The prince was disciple of Mulla Shah Kashmiri, who was advocate of cross-communal tolerance. Pandit Chanderban served as personal secretary of Dara Shikoh. He also employed Kashmiri Pandits to assist him in translating Upanishads into Persian.<sup>165</sup>

The occupational surnames of the Kashmiri Pandits further testify their service linkages to Mughals. There are families who were originally Gurtoos and acquired the title Bahadur as a result of service in the imperial forces.<sup>166</sup> Similarly, the Bakhshis were originally Kauls who ceased to use that surname after they were appointed to positions in the

---

<sup>163</sup> A blatant statement of such an idea is represented by H.M. Elliot's passage in his Preface to first volume of *The History of India as Told by its own Historians*, ed. J. Dowson, p. xxxii.

<sup>164</sup> Fauq, Mohammad u Din, *Tariekh-i- Aqwam-i- Kashmir*, Srinagar: 1934, p. 61.

<sup>165</sup> Sender, Henny, *The Kashmiri Pandits: A Study of Cultural Choice in North India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 39.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

treasury.<sup>167</sup> Shah and Sapru were the other occupational Surnames adopted by Kashmiri Pandits during Mughal period.

The later sources carried away by a subjective approach reported that Aurangzeb was not well disposed towards the Pandits.<sup>168</sup> Birbal Kachru on one hand reports that Aurangzeb was not well disposed towards Hindus and on other hand he himself reports that Chaudhuri Mahesh, a Hindu, held the highest-ever administrative position of *Sahibkar* during the same period. Aurangzeb removed Ibrahim Khan from governorship of Kashmir in 1660 A.D., because of his failure to deal with Shia-sunni conflict and because of his pro-Sunni prejudice.<sup>169</sup> Saif Khan, (the governor of Aurangzeb) acting on the complaint of a Hindu lashed at Khawaja Mohammad Sadiq Naqashbandi to the extent that he felt unconscious and died later.<sup>170</sup>

While commenting on Bhadur Shah's reign, the chronicler continues to maintain that Mahatavi Khan, the chief theologian and a leading *Mansabdar* of Kashmir urged the State that the rule of law about *Zimmis*, such as forbidding them to ride horses or to wear armour etc should be strictly enforced and that they should be restrained from publicly practicing their religious rites.<sup>171</sup> This very statement of Birbal Kachru is evenly contradicted by a contemporary writer who states that acting under the influence of Kashmiri Pandits, Mir Ahmad Khan (Naib) summoned Mahtavi Khan and warned him to abandon such practice, which resulted into scuffle between followers of Mahtavi Khan and Mughal army. Mahtavi Khan was killed and his son was later arrested and the ban on Kashmiri Pandits was completely lifted.<sup>172</sup>

There were only a few Muslims who made a mark during the Mughal rule in Kashmir. They were mostly engaged in trade and commerce especially the Shawl trade in which they amassed huge wealth. They were not so much associated with government services as Kashmiri Pandits. Rest the bulk of Muslim population was constituted of common masses

---

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>168</sup> Kachru, Birbal, *Majmu'at Tawarikh*, Per. ms. Srinagar: RPD, 1835, ff. 171-72ab, p. 176.

<sup>169</sup> Didamairi, Mohammad Azam, *Waqi' at-i- Kashmir*, Urdu tr. Hamid Yazdani, Srinagar: Jammu & Kashmir Islamic Research Centre, 1998, p. 347.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., p. 349.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 401-04; Khan, Shahnawaz, *Ma'asir al umara*, Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. I, Delhi, 1979, pp. 160-61; Parmu, R.K., *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, 1320-1819, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1969, p. 341.

<sup>172</sup> Didamairi, Mohammad Azam, *Waqi' at-i- Kashmir*, pp. 489-97.

who were often victimized by the regressive taxation policy.<sup>173</sup> The general treatment of Mughals towards the Muslims masses of Kashmir was not that of edifying and encouraging.<sup>174</sup> During the Mughal rule (1586-1753 A.D.) Kashmir witnessed terrible Shia – Sunni conflicts which continued even under the Afghans. However, Hindu-Muslim relations during the period were governed by mutual tolerance.<sup>175</sup> About the inter-communal tolerance Abul Fazl remarks, ‘they do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith’.<sup>176</sup> The author of *Dabistani Mazahib* also records the composite religious strain in Kashmir. The work included the references to several sects which welcomed both Hindus and Muslims. One, for example was headed by Pir Ibrahim Kuka, who had as his disciples members of the two religious communities, ‘none of whom he induced to change religion’.<sup>177</sup> The author remarks: ‘to the Hindu he did not expound the Koran, nor propose circumcision; and to the Muslims he did not make the obligation of Zunar, and of the mark of caste upon the forehead; neither the praise for Musalman nor the blame for Hindu; came ever upon his tongue; he never pronounced either the name of the prophet or that of Avatar, which are great objects of veneration to the Musalmans and to the Hindus; but he uttered Rama, or Allah, or Khoda.’<sup>178</sup> In addition the author mentioned a Persian translation of the Ramayana done in collaboration by a *mulla* and a Pandit and wrote of a meeting with Kantha Bhatta, a Pandit Judge invested by Jahangir with the dignity of the Judge of the Hindus in order that they may be tranquillized and in every concern have nothing to demand from Musalmans as it has been established in the code of Akbar that the tribe of mankind ought to dwell in the shade of the protection of a Just king and preserve in the performance of their worship and

---

<sup>173</sup> Irfan Habib forcefully highlights the merciless extraction of surplus produce from the peasants by the ‘Mughal ruling class’, Habib, Irfan, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, New York: 1963.

<sup>174</sup> Mughals do not seem to have liked the people of Kashmir. For Abul Fazl “The bane of this country is its people”, most of whom were represented by chronicler as faithless, cunning, opportunistic and obsequious. Jahangir denigrated them as “animal like Kashmiris” To Aurangzeb they were” irreligious and injudicious”. See Abul Fazl, *A'in-i- Akbari*, p. 253, *Jahangir Tuzk-i- Jahangiri*, Vol. I, p. 93; Parmu, R.K., *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 436 (refers Ruq'at-i Alamgiri).

<sup>175</sup> Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 351.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354.

<sup>177</sup> Hussain, Mubed, *Dabistan-i- Mazahib*, Eng.tr. by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Patna: Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, 1993, p. 229.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

exigencies of their devotion.<sup>179</sup> Jahangir also writes about the prevalence of inter- marriages between Hindus and Muslims in Rajouri, Ladakh and Baltistan.<sup>180</sup>

There are rare instances of riot like situation during the Mughal period, like the one instigated by Khawaja Mam in the reign of Shahjahan must be viewed as an isolated event. The riot instigated by some Muslim nobles headed by Khawaja Mam was actually expression of discontent against the Pandit Mahadeo's rise to the post of *Peshkar* under Ali Mardan Khan (1650-57 A.D.). Mahadeo had to deal with famine conditions which could not be bettered to the satisfaction of people. The situation was exploited by the disgruntled Muslim nobles who instigated the mob and fell upon the house of Pandit Mahadeo looted it of its valuables and set fire to State granaries. When emperor Shahjahan received this news he interpreted it 'rising against himself'.<sup>181</sup> Another incident of such nature took place during the governorship of Inayat Khan (1711-12 A. D.), when a mob attacked Sudershan Das who then terrorized by the assault accepted Islam at the hands Of Khawaja Nuruddin Mohmmad Aftab Naqashbandi.<sup>182</sup> But this should not be viewed as a religious assault instead it was a protest against official oppression. Sudershan Das had been the *Peshkar* under Jaffar Khan and many of Jaffar Khan's *Peshkars* were attacked during this period.<sup>183</sup>

Some of the contemporary chroniclers and a modern historian opine that medieval state with particular reference to Afghans had a communal character. This is why Hindus were discriminated and denied administrative positions.<sup>184</sup> They further believe that Hindus were forced to migrate from the Valley. There is no denying the fact that Afghan period witnessed the migration of people from Kashmir but the migration was not the peculiar phenomenon with Hindus alone along with them other sections of the society were invariably driven to the migratory conditions due to the politico-economic crises that over-whelmed the Valley. About the migration of people from Kashmir during Afghan rule Henny Sennder

---

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p. 164-65.

<sup>180</sup> Jahahgir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahahngiri*, Vol. II, p. 181.

<sup>181</sup> Didamairi, Mohmmad Azam, *Waqi' at-i- Kashmir*, p. 306.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., p. 445

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p. 443.

<sup>184</sup> Kachru, Birbal, *Majmu'at Tawarikh*, ff. 171-72ab; Parmu R.K., *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 341-42, 353.

points out that Pandits alone did not migrate. Kashmiri Muslims also departed from the Valley. She writes:<sup>185</sup>

“Scattered all over hill states and the small principalities of Hindu Kush are enclaves of Kashmiris whose colonies were established in Afghan times; human fall out of the violent impact of the Durranis. In Gilgit, for example there are ‘a great number of Kashmiri’s whose fore-fathers settled here in the time of Abdul [Ahmad] Shah Durrani and who form the largest section of population’, and in ‘hoder’ {in the Indus Valley} there is a small settlement of Kashmiri refugees who fled from the severity of Pathan rule.”

The Afghan rulers subjected the Kashmiri’s to exploitation and harassment without any religious bias.<sup>186</sup> They safeguarded their interests without consideration of faith. Their rule in Kashmir was guided by lust for power and wealth. Afghan governors of Kashmir caused harassment to the people of Kashmir through various devices. People were not allowed to wear arms and a strict vigil was kept on them by a good number of spies employed for the purpose. The local chiefs were suppressed and a strong force of Afghans was kept within the city walls always ready to put down any revolt. It is worth remembering that during the governorship of Azad Khan (1783-85) the local population under the leadership of Mulak Khan rose against him, but they could not succeed in overthrowing him.<sup>187</sup>

During the Afghan period, the administrative machinery went into degradable conditions. The land was leased out for the purpose of the revenue collections. The tax was so burdened on peasants that they cut down all the fruit growing trees in the villages selling them as fire wood in order to meet the government demand. Within a month the whole valley was denuded of its fruit wealth. Without considerations of caste or creed Haji Karimdad Khan imposed numerous unjust and killing taxes which resulted in complete impoverishment

---

<sup>185</sup> Sennder, Henny, *The Kashmiri Pandits*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>186</sup> The Afghan governors safeguarded their interests be they economical or political without any consideration of faith or religion. For instance Pandit Birbal Dhar who was instrumental in motivating Maharaja Rajit Singh to conquer Kashmir had entrusted his wife and daughter to the care of Kuddus Gojwari of Srinagar, a Muslim milk man, when he escaped from Kashmir to Lahore Darbar to persuade the Maharaj Ranjit Singh to rid the Kashmiri’s from Afghan yoke. When the Afghan goverener Mohammad Azim Khan (1813-1819 A.D.) came to know that the woman folk of Birbal Dhar’s family were canceled by kuddus Gojwari in his cowshed, he murdered him along with his family and destroyed their belongings. Likewise homes and hearths and of Muslim Maliks of Danow Kandi Marg and Nanda Marg (Wardens of passes leading out of the Valley from Banihal mountain pass) who had provided escort to Pandit Birbal Dhar were destroyed. Khuihami, Haasan, *Tariekh-i-Hassan*, Urdu tr. M. Ibrahim, Srinagar, 1957, Vol. II, pp. 507-08.

<sup>187</sup> Khan M.I., *Perspective on Kashmir: Historical Dimensions*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1983, p. 49.

of the people. For instance, he imposed *Zar-i- Niaz* or presentation Tax, on Mansabdars and Jagirdars; *Zar-i- Ashkhas* or property tax, on middle class gentry; *Zar-i-hubub* or grain tax, on cultivators. *Zar-i-Dudah* religious tax on the Hindus and *Damdhari* Tax on bird catchers.<sup>188</sup> Besides, he also established the department of Dagh-shawl to regulate the Shawl trade. Under this department heavy tax was imposed on the shawl trade which later on became such a heavy burden on the poor shawl weavers that they preferred death to weaver's profession. Although most part of the revenue was drained away to Kabul and a very little was spent on the local developments in Kashmir. The natural consequence of such a policy was that the famines became visitors to Kashmir which in turn also resulted in the decrease of population.

It is interesting to note that the Afghan rule in Kashmir saw the rise of some Kashmiri Pandits to high posts in administration like Nand Ram Tikku was Dewan of Kabul, Kailash Ram, Dilaz Ram, Sahaj Ram Sapru, Dewan Hara Dhar, Balbadhar, Raj Kak Dhar, Munshi Bawani Dhar and Vas kak Dhar etc were prominent Pandits who acted as Tehsildars, Sahibkars (Chief Secretaries), Peshkars and Dewans of Afghan governors.<sup>189</sup> Baron Hugel writes that "Almost every business and occupation in the service of the high order under Pathan governors was transacted by Brahamans".<sup>190</sup> Therefore, it is amply proved that Afghans were not intolerant towards Hindus had as such no religious bias in mind while recruiting persons on the administrative positions.

Birbal Kachru while maintaining that Afghans tyrannized Hindus, projects the Birbal Dhar's invitation to Mahraja Ranjit Singh for conquering Kashmir as an act of bravery and patriotism aimed at redeeming Kashmir from the clutches of Afghans.<sup>191</sup> But the fact remains that Birbal Dhar in the capacity of a *Peshkar*, owed an amount of rupees one lakh to the Afghan *subedar* Azim Khan. On his failure to pay the same, Azim Khan sought an explanation from both Pandit Birbal Dhar and Sukh Ram Safaya. Instead of explaining their failure, both displayed the signs of insubordination and hatched a conspiracy against the Afghans.<sup>192</sup> Thus the above description of Afghan rule in Kashmir reveals that Afghans did not

---

<sup>188</sup> Parmu, R.K., *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 398.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., pp. 353, 454.

<sup>190</sup> Hugel Baron, *Travels in Kashemere and Punjab*, London: Johan Petheran, 1845, p. 220.

<sup>191</sup> Kachru, Birbal, *Majmu'at Tawarikh*, ff. 238-39ab.

<sup>192</sup> Saif ud Din Mirza, *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh*, Urdu tr. Mirza, Kamal u Din, Shaida, Srinagar, 1984, p. 734.



discriminate Hindus because of their religious bias but they were more guided by tribal codes than the tenants of Islam. It is worthwhile to quote Henny sender in this context:

“Some of the worst excesses of the Afghan period have passed into the legendary history of the community, losing their actual historical moorings in the process. Rather than representing these excesses as the specific episode of a limited time of Afghan domination, incidents of persecution have been made the building blocks in the construction of past purportedly blackened by centuries of uninterrupted Muslim oppression”<sup>193</sup>

Sikh rule of Kashmir was hailed by the Hindus of Kashmir as Dhrama Raj. While the Sikhs considered Muslims as their traditional formidable opponents<sup>194</sup> and were afraid of them in Kashmir too, lest they should overthrow their rule. As such during their rule religious discrimination and social injustice increased to the extent that Muslim places of worship were brought under the State list and many of them were even locked up. The famous Jamia Masjid of Srinagar was closed for public prayers by the orders of Diwan Moti Ram.<sup>195</sup> Its Jagirs were also confiscated and endowments stopped.<sup>196</sup> The Sikhs did so because they realized the importance of Jamia mosque where people assembled in thousands for Friday prayers. The step was perhaps motivated to avoid any Muslim conspiracy against Sikh rule.

Jathedar Phula Singh the Sikh military commander even attempted demolish the famous shrine of Sayyid Ali Hamdani popularly known as Khankah-i- Muala.<sup>197</sup> Pandit Birbal Dhar realizing its repercussions dissuaded the commander from such an awkward course of action. He offered the general precious presents and made him give up the idea .No doubt this historical edifice was saved from wanton vandalism but its *jagirs* and yearly cash stipend of fifteen thousand rupees were forefeited.<sup>198</sup> The Pather Masjid of Srinagar built by

---

<sup>193</sup> Sender, Henny, *The Kashmiri Pandits*, p. 44.

<sup>194</sup> Sufi, G.M.D., *Islamic culture in Kashmir*, Delhi: Light and Life, 1979, p. 28. The Sikhs considered Muslims their deadly enemies first as a challenge to their survival and secondly they had mostly to fight against Muslims be they Mughals or Afghans for establishment of their political power.

<sup>195</sup> Khanyari, Ghulam Nabi, *Wajizu't- Tawarikh*, Srinagar: RPD, 1883, f. 591. Kuhuami Hassan, *Tariekh-i-Hassan*, Vol. II. pp.757-58; Khasta Hargopal Koul, *Guldasta-I Kashmir*, Lahore, 1933, p. 170; Moorcroft, and W. C. Trebeck, *Travels in Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshavar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bukhara*, New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1971, Vol. I, p. 340.

<sup>196</sup> Khuihami, Hassan, *Tariekh-i-Hassan*, Vol. I, p. 340.

<sup>197</sup> Fouq, Mohmad- ud-Din, *Tarikh-i- Kashmir*, Vol. III, p. 16

<sup>198</sup> Saraf, Mohmad Yousuf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom (1819-1946)* Lahore, 1977, Vol. I, p. 138.

Empress Nurjehan was converted into 'a granary of paddy'.<sup>199</sup> The governor Colonel Mahan Singh (1834-1841 A.D.) went a step further and carried away the pavement of stones of the courtyard and water reservoir of the edifice and laid the foundation of Basant Bagh.<sup>200</sup>

It was during the governorship of Shaikh Ghulam Mohiu'd Din (1841-46 A.D.) a deputation of Kashmiri Muslims under the leadership of Maulvi Amiru'd-Din and Maulvi Nasir'd- Din of Wazapora Srinagar submitted a Memorandum to Maharaja Sher Singh.<sup>201</sup> He ordered Shaikh Ghulam Mohiud-Din to open the Jamia Masjid and restore it to Muslims.<sup>202</sup> However during his governorship two unknown miscreants from Dardistan broke the lingam of a Hindu deity lodged in the temple of Shankaracharya hillock and assassinated its attendant ascetic.<sup>203</sup> It antagonized the local Hindus and they infuriated the Sikh army against innocent Muslim population of Srinagar. The Sikh soldiery killed many Muslims and also confiscated their property.<sup>204</sup> The governor Shaikh Ghulam Mohiu'd-Din in order to bring under control this ugly situation and to earn the gratitude of his Hindu Subjects installed a new lingam of Shiva in the said temple.<sup>205</sup>

The Sikhs banned sale of beef and declared cow slaughter a capital crime. During the governorship of Diwan Chuni Lal (1825-1827 A.D.) three reputed business men Khawaja Mohiu'd-Din Kausa of Srinagar and his two cousins were imprisoned for cow slaughter for beef.<sup>206</sup> Later they were hanged and their bodies were terribly dragged in the streets of Srinagar as a wanton disregard of human life.<sup>207</sup> The people used it for doing away with their

---

<sup>199</sup> Vigne, G.T., *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardu*, Vol. II, 1842, Karachi: Indus Publications, rep. 1987, p. 90.

<sup>200</sup> Khuihami, Hassan, *Tariekh-i-Hassan*. Vol. I, p. 340.

<sup>201</sup> Khanday, A.R., *The History of Sikh rule in Kashmir*, Kulgam: Muneeza Publicatins, 2007, p. 86.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Kachru, Birbal, *Majmu'at Tawarikh*, p. 314.

<sup>204</sup> Saraf, Mohmmad Yousuf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol. I, p. 128.

<sup>205</sup> Kachru, Birbal, *Majmu'at Tawarikh* f.314.

<sup>206</sup> The Kotwals were not usually men of principles. They retaliated and took revenge for personal enmity. Khawaja Mohiu'd -Din Kausa was known for his social status annoyed the Kotwal by avoiding to him and gave him a rebuff couched in contemptuous terms. The Kotwal became infuriated and wanted to teach him a lesson. He informed *Sahibkar* wrongly that meat sellers committed the crime at the instigation of Khawaja Mohiu'd-Din Kausa. This thing estranged the former because he never expected a man of Kausa's status to instigate a crime which was not permitted by law. Khawaja Mohiu'd-Din Kausa and his two cousins were arrested and assassinated mercilessly. Khalil Mirjanpuri, *Tarikhi-i-Kashmir* RPD Srinagar, ff. 174a- 175b. vide Khanday A.R., *The Sikh Rule in Kashmir*, p. 87.

<sup>207</sup> Kachru, Birbal, *Majmu'at Tawarikh* f. 260a.

enemies. For example on the false evidence of Ismail Hajam, twelve family members of Mama Juv of Hawal Srinagar were burnt alive on the charge of cow slaughter for beef under the orders of the governor Kanwar Sher Singh (1831-34).<sup>208</sup> Likewise Samad Baba of Chattabal Srinagar was burnt in cow dung with his seventeen family members for alleged offence of cow slaughter during the governorship of Shaikh Ghulam Mohiu'd-Din.<sup>209</sup>

The sectarian character of Sikh rule is also evident by the following table indicating the community wise disparity among the revenue grantees.<sup>210</sup>

**Table 1.1: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants in terms of Grain**

Community	Not of Grantees	Grants in Kharwers	Value in Rupees
Hindus	1,906	54,177	54,177
Muslims	1,052	8,750	8,750
Sikhs	375	11,485	11,485
<b>Totals</b>	<b>3,333</b>	<b>74,412</b>	<b>74,412</b>

Source: Dartur al Amal-i- Kashmir f. 186

**Table 1.2: Community-Wise Plots of Land in Dharmarth**

S. No.	Community	Area of Land in Kharwers	Produce in Kharwers	Value in Rupees	Rev. Alienation 75% of total value
1	Hindus	3247	48,705	48,705	36,528
2	Sikhs	468	7,020	7,020	5,265
3	Muslims	377	5,655	5,665	4,241
	<b>Total</b>	<b>4,092</b>	<b>61,380</b>	<b>61,380</b>	<b>46,034</b>

Source: Destur, ff. 1-65, 200-209, 265-300

<sup>208</sup> Khanday, A.R., *The Sikh Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>209</sup> Khuihami, Hassan, *Tariekh-i-Hassan*, Vol. I, p. 340.

<sup>210</sup> Singh, Pritpal, *Revenue Structure and Expenditure Patterns During Sikh Rule in Kashmir (1819-1846)*, unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, Department of History University of Kashmir, 1991, pp. 88-97.

**Table 1.3: Community-Wise Dharmarth az Khazan-i-Am'ira (Government Treasury)**

S. No.	Community	No: Of grantee	Amounted Granted Per yrs.		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Hindus	222	16,437-	0-	0
2	Muslims	18	1,361-	0-	0
3	Sikhs	5	421-	0-	0
	Total	245	18,219-	0-	0

**Table 1.4: Community-Wise Dharmarth Az –Mahal Dagh Shawl (Dharmarth from Daag Shawl Deptt.)**

S. No.	Community	No: of Grantees	Amount granted per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Hindus	600	19,468-	0-	0
2	Muslims	200	1,370-0	0-	0
3	Sikhs	10	1,011-	0-	0
<b>Total</b>	810	21,849-	0-	0	

**Table 1.5: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Custom Houses**

S. No.	Community	No: of Grantees	Amount granted per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Hindus	116	2,413-	0-	0
2	Muslims	50	581-	0-	0
3	Sikhs	5	91-	0-	0
<b>Total</b>		171	3,085-	0-	0

**Table 1.6: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Mahal-i-Jawahir Bazar**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Hindus	15	145-	8-	0
2	Muslims	3	15-	12-	0
	<b>Total</b>	18	161-	4-	0

**Table 1.7: Community-Wise Dharmarth from Mahal-i- Sayar**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Hindus	10	186-	0-	0
2	Muslims	1.	12-	0-	0
	<b>Total</b>	11	198-	0-	0

**Table 1.8: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Kriya Pak Khana**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Muslims	16	163-	0-	0
2	Hindus	8	68-	0-	0
	<b>Totals</b>	24	251-	0-	0

**Table 1.9: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants From Daru'l Zarb Sefeds**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Hindus	26	720-	3-	0
2	Muslims	4	23-	3-	0
	<b>Total</b>	30	743-	6-	0

**Table 2.1: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants From Darul's Zarb Pol Siyehs**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Hindus	13	382-	0-	0
2	Muslims	2	20-	10-	0
	<b>Total</b>	15	402-	10-	0

**Table 2.2: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Mehal Mir Behri**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Hindus	17	303-	0-	0
2	Muslims	2	3-	14-	0
	<b>Totals</b>	19	306-	14-	0

**Table 2.3: Community-Wise Daramarth Grants from Mahal Powara We Heems Farosh**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Hindus	6	211-	0-	0
2	Muslims	4	56-	10-	0
	<b>Totals</b>	10	267-	10-	0

**Table 2.4: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Kotwalis**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Hindus	4	72-	0-	0
2	Muslims	1	50-	0-	0
3	Sikhs	2	59-	0-	0
	<b>Total</b>	7	181-	0-	0

**Table 2.5: Community-Wise Dharmarth from Teilyan**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Hindus	2	123-	0-	0
	<b>Total</b>	2	123-	0-	0

**Table 2.6: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Dharm Adalats**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Hindus	5	119-	8-	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>119-</b>	<b>8-</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 2.7: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Qazzia**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	Hindus	3	101-	4-	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>101-</b>	<b>4-</b>	<b>0</b>

**Table 2.8: Community-Wise Dharmarth Grants from Anchar**

S. No.	Community	No. of Grantees	Total Amount Granted Per year		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Hindus	2	52-	4-	0
2	Muslims	4	67-	10-	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>119-</b>	<b>14-</b>	<b>0</b>

Source: Dastur ff. 189-199.



**Table 2.9: Community-Wise Arezl Waliha Dehat We Maken Hai Darobest<sup>211</sup>**

S. No.	Community	No. of Owners	Land in Kharwers	Yield Kharwers	Value in Rupees	Rev. Alienation 75% of total value
1	Hnidus	210	1,960	25,348	25,348	19,011
2	Muslims	56	484	9,313	9,313	6,984
3	Sikhs	6	196	3,409	3,409	2,556
Total		272	2,630	38,070	38,070	28,551

**Table 3.1: Community-Wise Arazi Walihs “Arazi Az Dehat”<sup>212</sup>**

S. No.	Community	No. of Owners	Land in Kharwers	Yield Kharwers	Value in Rupees	Rev. Alienation 75% of total value
1	Hindus	794	498	19,499	19,499	14,624
2	Muslims	602	267	10,927	10,927	8,195
3	Sikhs	6	196	3,409	3,409	2,556
	Total	1,402	961	33,835	33,835	25,375

**Source:** Dastur: ff.210 -265

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's attitude towards Kashmir was motivated by her economic attractions and his political jealousy. The great demand of Kashmiri Shawls in international market and its prosperity gave rise to the suspension of British intentions. He feared that sooner or later British will deprive him of Kashmir. To quote Vigne “*He knew that greater the prosperity of Kashmir the stronger would be inducement to invasion by East India Company.*”<sup>213</sup> Unfortunately he found the remedy in killing the goose that lay the golden egg. Its ruin has been accelerated not by his rapacity than by his colonial jealousy which suggested him at any cost the merciless removal of its wealth and the reckless havoc which he has made of its resources. To quote popular saying an era of “*Bebuj Raj*” came into

<sup>211</sup> *Arazl Waliha Dehat We Maken Hai Darobest* owned entire villages bestowed to them.

<sup>212</sup> *Arazi Az Dehat* owned a piece of land from a given village.

<sup>213</sup> Vigne, G.T., *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardu*, Vol. II, p. 318.

vogue. The Sikh government siphoned off nearly three fourth of agricultural produce as land revenue from peasantry without spending penny to enlarge the area of production. The peasants had hardly to contend with one fourth of their produce. They lived mostly on vegetables, water chestnuts and wild fruits for greater part of the year. Such a policy left the peasant in the state of destitution. The period witnessed recurrent famines and epidemic diseases. To escape the effects of recurring famines, starvation, deaths and administrative harassment, many agriculturists, shawl weavers artisans and noble men quit the country. G.T. Vigne, writes:<sup>214</sup>

“The head and front of Ranjit’s offending in this particular has been his depopulation of Kashmir, by the treatment which the Musalman inhabitants have experienced at his hands. That splendid province have been destroyed, and devastated not by the canon and the bayonet, but by nefarious exactions and rapacity of his governors. Money, not conscripts has been his object, and so long as his tyrannical connivance procured him the former, he cared not for the consequences, either to the inhabitants or eventually to his own treasury. He was just the man to have opened the goose that lay the golden eggs”

As a result land went out of cultivation and agricultural prosperity of Kashmir became a thing of past. Not only agriculture the other sectors of economy particularly the Shawl industry became the worst hit of oppressive policies of state. It is worthwhile to quote R.K. Parmu “If one happened to be an inefficient or weak shawl weaver he cut off his fingers or damaged his eyes voluntarily in order to escape the atrocious demands of shawl contractor.”<sup>215</sup> Nevertheless, shawl industry of Kashmir had earned fame for its delicate and beautiful shawls as they were in great demand in Asian and European markets.

Some social evils were created for the first time and a few such already existing, were further aggravated. Thus they intensified trafficking in women which had been shameful social evil during the Mughal and Afghan rule. The Sikhs created cruel system of sale of children especially of little girls who promised to turn out pretty. Prostitution was institutionalized and taxes were imposed on marriages and divorces for the first time in the history of Kashmir. The barbarous practice of *Sati* which was curbed by the Muslim rulers

---

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., p. 275.

was revived. Likewise the institution of corvee (forced labour) assumed vast dimensions during Sikh law.<sup>216</sup>

Sikh rulers persecuted the Muslims indiscriminately and considered not better than cattle. William Moorcroft makes a telling comment on Sikh justice.<sup>217</sup>

“The Sikhs seem to look upon the Kashmiris as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the government of sixteen to twenty rupees of which four are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu and two rupees if he was a Mohamadan.”

On the contrary Hindus enjoyed a good number of facilities and privileges.<sup>218</sup> Almost every business and occupation was monopolized by them. To quote R.K. Parmu:<sup>219</sup>

“All the members of subordinate civil services were locals, invariably Kahmiri Pandits with a trickle of literate Muslims ..... ‘The chief revenue and judicial function of the Kashmir province’, wrote Ganesh Lal in 1846, were ‘administration by a set of native who have grown rich at the expense of Mahmadans and the people at large.’ Quoting instances, he says, “At present Tilk (Telak Pandit) is a treasurer and Mohan Koul is in charge of Revenue and Excise Departments. Pandits Rajkak Dhar and Lachman Dhar are rich people and are engaged in contracts and commerce and drive profits”

It is for this reason Schonberg had observed that “*This class is certainly the most happy in the land. They live in sage retirement and from the highest to lowest are bound together in such close connection, that no governor has yet been able to shake their influence.*”<sup>220</sup>

The terrified Muslims of Kashmir attributed these inhuman atrocities as the reward to their sins by the Sikh rulers and cried in searing pain and grief “It was the divine retribution of our

---

<sup>216</sup> Khanday, A.R., *The Sikh Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 255-56.

<sup>217</sup> Moorcroft, W. and C. Trebeck, *Travels in Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshavar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bukhara*, New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1971, Vol. II, pp. 93-94.

<sup>218</sup> Neve, Ernest F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal: Life among the Mountains and Valleys of Kashmir*, London: T.F. Unwin, 1912, p. 72.

<sup>219</sup> Parmu, R.K., *The History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 283.

<sup>220</sup> Schonberg, B.E.V., *Travels in India and Kashmir*, Vol. II, London: 1885, p. 105.

wicked deeds that Sikhs entered Kashmir”.<sup>221</sup> The Muslim poet held himself responsible for all this in the following way:<sup>222</sup>

“Our sins have overwhelmed us

The Sikh race has captured Kashmir”

It is worthwhile to quote Hamidullah Shahabadi in this context:<sup>223</sup>

“The blind (Kurmukh) Singh administers; Ranjit is the King.

No point is complaining, the world is blind.”

‘O God! Cruelties are heaped on us’

All our are souls moan in pain

The hidden treasure of blessings, O Lord!

For what [evil] day you hold”

The formation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir by virtue of the treaty of Amritsar was the construction of colonial State. Dogra State in Kashmir in the words of P.L. Lankhpal was “despotic, tyrannical and sectarian” in character.<sup>224</sup> Dogras considered Kashmir as their purchased property and ruled over the people as the master ruled over his subjects. The new ruling class imposed by the British sought its legitimacy by co-opting with the Hindu elite of Kashmir, the Kashmiri Pandits. Gulab Singh and his successors claimed themselves as the upholder of Hinduism in Kashmir. Gulab Singh was anxious to be seen as Hindu raja and the protector of Hindu dharma. The department of *Dharmarth* Trust was established for the promotion of Hindu religion. The oppressed Muslim population of Kashmir was obliged to contribute to the construction of ‘Hindu state’. They were subjects to the taxes of *Ashgal* (for the maintenance of priests) and *Mandri* (for the maintenance of temples). The old temples were repaired and reconstructed. No comparable steps were taken for the promotion of Islam and repair of old mosques. On the contrary grants to Muslim religious persons and institutions were revoked. For instance the grant of *Khanqah* at Pullahalun was discontinued by Maharaja Gulab Singh. Likewise the grant to the famous Reshi shrine of Aishmuqam was

---

<sup>221</sup> Mulla Hamidullah Shahabadi, *Shekaristan*, RPD, Srinagar, f. 27. vide Khanday A.R., *The History of Sikh Rule in Kashmir*. p. 88.

<sup>222</sup> Cited in Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashir*, Vol. II. (rep.), New Delhi: Capital Publishing House, 1996, p. 724.

<sup>223</sup> Lone, M.Y., *Mulla Hamid Ullah Shahabadi*, Anantnag: 2002, pp. 107-08.

<sup>224</sup> Lakhpanal P.L. *Essential Documents and notes on Kashmir Dispute*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Delhi, 1965, p. 16.

withdrawn.<sup>225</sup> Gulab Singh also attempted to revoke the Jagir of Naqashbandi family in Kashmir but gave it up due to pressure of British.<sup>226</sup> The revoking of Jagirs by Gulab Singh may have been used for asserting the primacy of new Maharaja as the sole source of such grants and their continuation depended only on the pleasure of Gulab Singh. All attending loyalty and gratitude were now owed to him. As Nicholas Dirks suggests in pre-colonial India ‘giving land away was not really giving it away as much it was incorporating new people into moral political economy in which king was at the centre.’<sup>227</sup> While mentioning the transfer of Jagirs from Muslims to non-Muslims during the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh, *Inqilab* an Urdu daily from Lahore in its issue of 20 November 1931 writes:<sup>228</sup>

“Right from the coronation of Maharaja Hari Singh up to the present time about twenty Kashmiris were deprived of their Jagirs which valued from Rs. 5,000 to 10,000 each. These *Jagirs* were offered to other twenty persons among whom 18 were Hindu Rajputs and two belonged to Muslim community.”

Dogra Maharaja’s attempt to revoke the grants of Muslims met with spirited resistance. Though they succeeded to greater extent yet they were alert to the need of not alienating entirely the Kashmiri Muslims particularly the more prominent among them. Thus, cultivated a small minority of Muslim elite.

Dogra rulers without caring the religious susceptibilities of Kashmiri Muslims confiscated many religious places of Muslims namely Khanqah-i-Sokhta, Khanqah-i-Bulbulshah, Khanqah-i-Dara-i-Shikoh, Pather Masjid (Sringagar) Malashah-i-Bagh Mosque (Ganderbal) Khanqah-i-Sofi Shah (Jammu) Bhu Mosque (Jammu) and Srinagar Eidgah.<sup>229</sup> The restoration of Muslim shrines and grave yards figured among the main demands of the memorandum presented by Kashmiri Muslim to Lord Reading in 1924.<sup>230</sup> Dogra rulers in

---

<sup>225</sup> Rai, Mirdu, *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects: Isla Rights and History of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004, p. 52, 102.

<sup>226</sup> British interfered in continuing the privileges of erstwhile landed Muslim elite for stabilizing the newly integrated State with sensitive international frontiers, *Ibid*, p. 54.

<sup>227</sup> Dirks Nicholas, *The Hollow Crown: Ethenohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996, p. 137.

<sup>228</sup> *Inqilab*, Lahore, November, 1931.

<sup>229</sup> Report of the Glancy Commission appointed under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Bhadur, Novemeber 12, 1931, (Jammu, Ranbir Govt., Press,1932), p. 3.

<sup>230</sup> Memorandum presented to the viceroy Lord Reading by the representative of Kashmiri Muslims in 1924, vide, Mirza Shafique Hussain, *History of Kashmir: A Study in Documents (1916-1939)*, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Resrach,1992, p.71.

their project of constructing the 'Hindu State' replaced the Muslim names of some localities by Hindu nomenclature. Maharaja Ranbir Singh changed the name of Islamabad as Anantnag. Similarly Takht-i-Suliman (a mount at Dalgate was renamed as Shankar Acharya.<sup>231</sup>

There was strict ban on cow slaughter during Dogra rule in Kashmir. Mirza Saif-ud-Din the news writer employed by the East India Company noted that dire punishments were meted out to 'cow killers'. These chastements ranged in degree of discomfort, from cutting off of nose to the chopping of ears, and from the capital reprisal, so to speak, of burning of offender's hair to torching of their houses.<sup>232</sup> These punishments were inflicted with 'gross cruelty' on the mere suspicion of intent to injure a cow.<sup>233</sup> Maharaja Ranbir Singh was greater fanatic and cruel fellow. Thus it is said that he slit the tongue of a woman for beating a cow which had torn some cloths which she had hung out to dry. Gulab Singh, for all the inclemency with which he punished open violation of the injunction against cow slaughter, stopped short of a blanket award of the death sentence, limiting the punishment instead to life imprisonment. It was later reduced to seven years rigorous imprisonment.<sup>234</sup> Ranbir Singh devised his own measure to translate the imprisonment in effect into death penalty. For instances, on one occasion, while inspecting a state prison, Ranbir Singh was appalled by the 'goodness of fare' given to a 'stout man' incarcerated for cow slaughter. He ordered that salt be mixed in his food so he died of dehydration.<sup>235</sup> Maharaja Ranbir Singh also urged the Hindus and Sikhs to 'boycott' the shops of Muslim butchers and patronize instead the shops of Sikh butchers.<sup>236</sup> The slaughter of goats and sheep was also banned during the sacred festive days of Hindus.<sup>237</sup>

The Dogras also promulgated a law according to which if any Muslim embraces Hinduism he was within his rights to inherit property and enjoy guardianship over his

---

<sup>231</sup> Pampori, Mohmmad Sultan, *Kashmir in Chains*, Pampori publishing house 192. p. 52.

<sup>232</sup> Saif-ud-Din Dairies, cited in Bawa Satinder Singh, *The Jammu Fox*, New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1988, p.176, Ganai Mohmmad Yusuf, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence (1931-39)*, Srinagar: Mohsin Publications, 2003, p. 16.

<sup>233</sup> Rai, Mirdu, *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects*, p. 101.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., Throp Robert, *Cashmir Misgovernement*, Calcutta, Wyman Brothers 1868, p. 39.

<sup>235</sup> Rai, Mirdu, *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects*, p. 101.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> The slaughter of goat and sheep was banned on the festivities of Ram Navmi, Janam Ashthami, Maharaja's birthday and birthday Heir Apparent, *Glancy Commission Report*, p. 8.

children, whereas in case a Hindu became a Muslim he was deprived of all such rights.<sup>238</sup> It remained one of the main grievances of Muslim community which they submitted to Maharaja Hari Singh through a memorandum in 1931 and reputedly asked for its abrogation in annual sessions of the Muslim Conference.<sup>239</sup>

Ranbir Singh began to embed aspects of The Rama Cult in the valley in order to associate Jammu and Kashmir within a common frame of worship. One way in which the Dogras did this was by erecting temples dedicated to Vaishnavite, especially Rama, worship on Kashmiri soil. Among prominent ones were Gada Dhargi temple dedicated to Hanuman and Ranbir Samviji temple, both in Srinagar.<sup>240</sup> Along with the temples came the celebration of religious festivals honouring Rama such as *Rama Naumi* (Rama's birthday),<sup>241</sup> The composition of Mahatmyas<sup>242</sup> for Khirbhawani provided Ranbir Singh with fresh occasion to superimpose the Rama cult on Kashmiri beliefs and to do so by enlisting the help of Kashmiri pandits funded by Dharmarth Trust. Thus, in the Mahatmya which was completed in the reign of Pratap Singh, Khirbhawani was described as, "the one who grants Ramarajya...and has made Satidesa her abode".<sup>243</sup>

By the time Pratap Singh ascended the throne the religious boundaries of Hindu faith united the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir in a State that not only had a Hindu ruler but that itself also had a distinctively Hindu identity.

Thus in such a construction of Hindu State under Dogra rulers Muslims were not only discriminated on religious front but were also kept outside the pale of power structure. Though as mentioned earlier a small minority of Muslim elite was cultivated by the Dogra State but the majority was subjected to regressive taxation policy and other disabilities.<sup>244</sup> The zeal of Dogra rulers in making their presence as the Hindu rulers at the helm of affairs

---

<sup>238</sup> Ibid, pp. 92-93; Bazaz, Prem Nath, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, pp. 143-144.

<sup>239</sup> Memorandum submitted by Muslim representatives to Maharaja Hari Singh on Oct. 18, 1931.

<sup>240</sup> *Ain-i-Dharmarth*, Jammu: Ranbir Press, 1884 pp. 129-134 and pp. 141-149.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>242</sup> Mahatmyas are Hindu sacred texts that narrate myths and legends of important deities, eulogize the deity's pilgrimage centre and prescribe the rights to be observed by the pilgrims.

<sup>243</sup> Wangu, Madhu Bazaz, "Hermeneutics of a Kashmiri Mahatmya", in Jeffery R. Timm (ed.) *Texts in Context*, Albany: State University of New York press, 1992, pp. 155-157. Cited in Rai, Mirdu *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects*, p. 126.

<sup>244</sup> For details of the economic disabilities of Muslim masses under Dogra rulers and their subsequent resentment against the state see the chapter 5.

in the valley made Rees James to prophesy, in 1856, “The reaction when it does come, and come it must and will, will be powerful; the emancipation of religion long forcefully kept down is ever attended by such a result.”<sup>245</sup>

---

<sup>245</sup> Hugh James, papers, pp. 42, 47-48, 52-53, 82-84. vide Rai Mirdu, *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects*, p. 104.



## Chapter 4

### Living Together Separately

The metaphor *Living together Separately* recently sponsored by Indian nationalist elite to characterize Hindu-Muslim relations aptly applies to inter-community relations in Kashmir too. Though the ideological considerations of two major religious communities of Kashmir were mutually exclusive but the factor of interdependence and centuries of neighborliness forged amicable relations between the two communities. The present chapter examines the major factors responsible for co-existence of plural religious traditions in Kashmir.

Kashmir has remained a home of many religions and cultures-Naga worship, Buddhism, Brahmanism and Islam. These diverse religious cultures do not merely symbolize the various stages of its past history, “but are living and co-existent forces”.

During their chequered history, the people of Kashmir came in contact not only with the Roman, Greek and Persian Civilizations but also embraced several religions one after the other. All this produced in them a blending of cultures at once tolerant to beliefs of others.<sup>246</sup> The Kashmir valley is one of the most prominent Muslim majority areas in south Asia with not less than 94% of Muslim population according to earliest available census reports.<sup>247</sup> “This remarkable change in the religious demography of Kashmir occurred especially during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries following mass conversion to Islam. It should be mentioned except for a few immigrants the predominant majority of Kashmiri Muslims are converts from Hinduism and a thin slice from Buddhism. What is, however, remarkable about the spread of Islam in Kashmir is that the conversion did not follow any military occupation of the valley by the Muslims.... The Muslim sultanate, which finally came into existence in 1339, was not however, the result of any military conquest of Kashmir by Muslims but was founded by Muslim immigrant, Shah Mir, who along with other Muslim settlers from neighboring Muslim territories had settled in Valley and showed exemplary qualities of leadership to bail the people from centuries of misrule and recurrent foreign invasions prompted by internal chaotic conditions of Kashmir.... To be sure, Shah Mir occupied the throne and founded his dynasty primarily with the help of local nobility and

---

<sup>246</sup> Bamzai, P.N.K., *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir (1846-1925)*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 1st ed., 1987. p. 18.

<sup>247</sup> Census of India, 1911, Vol. XX, p. 88.

people at large”.<sup>248</sup> Thus conversions to Islam, which took place in Kashmir especially during the reign of Shah Mir dynasty (1339-1561) were conversions with a difference in the sense that there was no room for using force as the basis of political authority of early rulers of the dynasty rested on the support of local ‘feudal’ lords who constituted their nobility, army and bureaucracy; and who were mainly non-Muslims until gradually brought under the fold of Islam.<sup>249</sup>

The mass Muslim society that emerged in Kashmir at the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century was greatly underlined by accretions drawn from the local environment but maintained distinctive identity that demarcated Muslims from their Hindu brethren, each looking for itself distinct from other.<sup>250</sup> The most important factor that kept the communities exclusive out and away was their diametrically opposite belief system. The ideological considerations and the resultant different images the two communities conjured upon for themselves and for each other played a crucial role in demarcating sharp boundaries between them.<sup>251</sup> Both the communities maintained identity markers in minute details of their life. A.P. Cohan in his essay ‘*Symbolic construction of community*’ says that it is not structure and institutions that define a community, but the feelings and experiences of its members, and the manner in which they express them. Most centrally, they do this by drawing boundaries between themselves and others, stipulating who ‘belongs’ and who falls outside the limits of their community. Often these boundaries will be extremely subtle, and possibly quite invisible to anyone who is not part of, or very close to, the community itself. Cohn notes when necessary, such differences can be elaborated and embellished to maintain the authentic distinctiveness of community.<sup>252</sup> Small attribute can be accorded great importance. Graham Day while citing an example of a border territory Ireland’s South Armagh says that people who are indistinguishable from one another in most respects may work extremely hard to magnify

---

<sup>248</sup> Wani, M. Ashraf, *Islam in Kashmir (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century)*, Srinagar: Oriental Publishing House, 2005, p. v.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. v-vi.

<sup>250</sup> Madan, T.N., “Religious Ideology and Social Structure: The Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir”, in Ahmmad Intiyaz ed., *Ritual and Religion among the Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1981, p. 21.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> Cohan, A.P. *Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Tavistock, 1985, p.37. Cited in Day, Graham, *Community and Everyday Life*, London: Routledge Publications, 2006, p. 159.

whatever differences do exist, to turn them into ‘master symbols’ by which their community is defined.<sup>253</sup> In Kashmiri Society, the Muslims and Pandits do not dress identically; the difference may not appear striking to an outsider but a Kashmiri would never make a mistake in this regard. Besides difference of male and female dress-of headgear, gown trousers, and sometimes even foot wear – many Pandits wear *tyok* on their forehead: a mark of saffron or some other prescribed paste, oblong among men and round among women. Muslims wear beards more often than Pandits and of a distinctive cut. There are differences of speech, mainly lexical. Both the communities also adhered to their respective methods of cookery. The peculiar dishes of Hindus include *Kaliya, Machh, and tsuk tswarn, Bhatta Haak, Dam Aloo etc.* and that of Muslims include *Kabab, Rista, Rogunjosh meth maz, qurma and tabaq yakhni* etc. The pandits do not use onion and garlic. The red tomatoes, red fleshed kabuli, vegetables marrow, red carrots, red beans and red apples were an abomination for Kashmiri Pandits while as the Muslims have no such taboo.<sup>254</sup> The Pandit houses had also distinctive identity markers that signaled it out from a Muslim house. Both the communities also maintained no social intercourse with each other by way of inter-dining or inter-marriages.<sup>255</sup> Notwithstanding the divergent religio-cultural out-looks maintained by both the communities the factor of interdependence and exigencies of living left them with no alternative but to give concessions to pragmatism. .

Economy has always been a major driving force in shaping the behavioral and social patterns of people and their interrelationships. The state being primarily an agricultural country, a majority of its people were dependent on this and its subsidiary occupations. And, agriculture being a pursuit which requires joint efforts, the people irrespective of their religious beliefs were inter-dependent in many matters. Thus a Muslim peasant sought help of Hindu neighbor in rural Kashmir. In this context my informant from Nowgam Anantnag narrated:<sup>256</sup>

*“The poor Hindus in this village shared common economic interests with us. We exchanged man power for cultivating the land. We were working together in the*

---

<sup>253</sup> Day, Graham *Community and Everyday Life*, p. 159.

<sup>254</sup> Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, *Islam in Kashmir*, p. 291.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>256</sup> Interview with Mr. Abdul Gani Bhat, age 72 years, resident of Nowgam Anantnag, on 28-04-2011.

*fields at the time of transplanting the paddy and extracting weeds from the land, also at the time of harvest.”*

My respondent Shamboo Nath Tikoo from Veerinag Anantnag narrated:<sup>257</sup>

*“There was a practice called Alsood where two agriculturists either Hindu and Muslim or Muslim and Muslim enter into a temporary agreement to exchange ox for tilling their land. It was a general rule followed by all concerned. Besides cultivation, the construction of houses, cutting of grass and fencing of fields were some of the other occasions when mutual help was sought.”*

My respondent Mohmmad Sultan Dar narrated in this context:<sup>258</sup>

*“There were the poor Pandit families in our village like Anand Ram, Vasa Ram Isha Ram with whom we were carrying agricultural pursuits together.”*

Consequently these people often forgot their religious diversities and were often ready to give helping hand to each other. Moreover, the barter system, which was applied in all sorts of exchange, required intimate social relations for its smooth working. The economic interdependence also explains good relations between the peasants most of whom were Muslims and the landlord who were Hindus. The Hindu landlords were dependent on the Muslim cultivators and the Muslim cultivators in their turn cultivated the land of Hindu landlords because of their abject poverty. The Hindu land lord was considered as savior by the poor Muslim cultivator. The Pandit landlords were highly revered by the Muslim cultivators. My informant from Nowgam Anantnag narrated in this context as:<sup>259</sup>

*“We cultivated the land of Pandit Prem Nath in this village; he was very sympathetic to us. In the time of need we rushed to them for help. They were our saviors. Prem Nath was highly revered in this village; he decided the social disputes of the village.”*

My informant Ali Mohmmad Thoukar narrated in this context:<sup>260</sup>

*“We cultivated the land of Hindu land lords. Hindus had large tracts of land, Muslims do not own their own land in this village, they had very small holdings almost negligible. If four kanals of land yielded 10 kharwars of paddy six were taken*

---

<sup>257</sup> Interview with Mr. Shamboo Nath Tikoo, age 72 years, resident of Veerinag Anantnag, on 15-04-2011.

<sup>258</sup> Interview with Mohmmad Sultan Dar, age 80 years, resident of Nanil Anantnag, on 26-04-2011.

<sup>259</sup> Interview with Abdul, Gani Bhat, op.cit.

<sup>260</sup> Interview with Ali Mohmmad Thokar, age above 100 years, resident of Laktipora Anantnag, on 17-05-2011.

by Hindu land lord and four by the Muslim tenant. We had no say in sharing the produce. After harvesting the crop we heaped it in the khal of Hindu landlord and was later thrashed and shared in presence of Hindu landlord. Muslims lived in abject poverty and sometimes we sold our land to Hindu landlords for Paddy, my father has sold a Walnut tree to a Hindu for four kharwars of paddy. Hindus were also government employees. We had also to provide different domestic services to our Hindu land lord to oblige them, for examples at the time of marriages Muslim performed all manual work, be it the preparing firewood , carrying water etc. Hindus also send a Muslim cultivator along with their married daughter to her in laws for carrying her belongings. When they had to send some gift like apple walnut to their daughters in their in-laws, it was sent through a Muslim cultivator. Likewise at the time of deaths Muslims had to prepare fire wood and sometimes to carry the dead body to cremation ground. We were attracted to them because of our poverty. We were obedient to our Hindu land lords so that they may not evict us from their land.”

What made the social structure of Kashmir so singular was the pattern of interaction between the Hindus and Muslims deriving from the valley’s Hindus consisting solely of the Brahman caste. This forced the relationship of ritual and economic interdependence between Kashmiri Pandits and Muslims. In the absence of the full panoply of *Jatis* that characterized the Hindu society elsewhere, the Pandits, whose caste status excluded them from either manual labour or work deemed polluting, relied heavily on Muslim specialist groups for the provision of essential services and liturgical goods. In this sense, as T.N. Madan points out in his seminal essay, from the perspective of the Pandits these Muslim groups functioned as ‘caste analogues’ and were indispensable for the maintenance of their ritual purity as *Brahmans*.<sup>261</sup> Kashmiri Muslims, for their part, viewed Pandits as valuable patrons and the relationship as a ‘traditional economic transaction’.

Being *Brahamans* Pandits were traditionally debarred from large number of occupational activities. They had arrogated high status to themselves and developed contempt for manual and menial work. Huxly, who visited Kashmir in 1920, remarks: “The Kashmiri Pandits had more than Spanish objection to manual work.”<sup>262</sup> This is also substantiated by Bisco: “They (the Kashmiri *Brahamans*) held firmly to the belief that a gentleman did not

---

<sup>261</sup> Madan, T.N. “Religious Ideology and Social Structure”, p. 35, 42-47.

<sup>262</sup> Aldous Huxley, *Jesting Pilate*, 1926, p.30, vide Madan, T.N., *Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir*, 2nd ed. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 21.

work.<sup>263</sup> Thus they cannot engage in polluting activities such as barbering, washing clothes, obtaining oil from seeds, removing and skinning dead animals, making shoes, winnowing pans and drums, slaughtering goats and sheep and so on. There are so many other types of activities which are not polluting but which no Pandit would engage in because they involve manual labour. There were different non-agriculturist occupational groups among Muslims who provided their respective services to the villagers and were entitled to the share of produce as remuneration at the time of harvest. These occupational groups provided their services to the villagers irrespective of religious distinctions. They were much attracted towards Hindu landlords who because of their good economic position could fetch them more than their co-religionists. None of my respondents told me that these occupational groups have ever refused to provide their services to the Hindu patrons. In this context my informant Jagarnath narrated:<sup>264</sup>

*“It has never happened in my life that these Muslim occupational groups have refused to provide their service to Hindu brethren in this village that is the reason we have not migrated despite the mass migration of Kashmiri Pandits. We are dependent on Muslim brethren for every affair of our life.”*

The *Navid* (barber) renders routine and occasional services to his Pandit patrons. The routine services consist of shaving the face and the head or cutting the hair. Shaving is regarded as *Varzit* (derived from the Sanskrit *vajrit*, forbidden) on certain days of the week and most occasions when one has to perform a ritual. The act of having one’s beard and head shaved on such days is inauspicious in it and does not seem to have done anything to do with the desire to avoid contact with a Muslim. This is so indicated by the fact that the barber is called to render his services on four important occasions of ritual performance. Sanskritic rites are interrupted to have a boy’s Zarkasai (zara=baby hair, Kasai=shaving, cutting) done; to have a neophyte’s head shaved during *Mekhala* (“waist string”); and to shave the beard and hair of mourner at the end of the period of pollution. These rituals would remain incomplete without barber’s services. The barber’s touch is polluting, however, and the person who has been served by him on the special ritual occasion mentioned above must have a bath. On

---

<sup>263</sup> Biscoe C.E. Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, London: Seeley Services & Co. Limited, 1922, p. 268.

<sup>264</sup> Interview with Jagar Nath, age 55 years, resident of Brinti Dailgam, on 02-06-2011.

other occasions too having a bath is desirable. The barber also shaves and gives a hair-cut to a bridegroom before the latter leaves for bride's home for the marriage ceremony.<sup>265</sup>

For his routine services the barber receives a number of measures of paddy from his patrons at harvest time. On all special occasions the barber receives the cloths, at least some of them, which the individual recipient has on him at that time. The barber also receives other gifts. He is treated as a well wisher by his patrons, with whom he has hereditary relations.<sup>266</sup>

Another example is of the relation between Muslim potter and his Pandit patrons. The potter supplies pots and pans of various kinds which he makes both for everyday use and for special occasions. Storage jars for grains, pickles and water; utensils for cooking, storing and serving food; smoking bowls; toys; and many other types' of pottery are supplied by him. He provides a wide range of utensils in large quantities at weddings. It is on the occasion of *Hehrat* (a feast in honour of Siva), however, that he makes for his Pandit customers the most unusual of all pieces of all pottery. My informant Autar Krishan Raina narrated in this context:<sup>267</sup>

*“The Muslim potter (kral) provided the pots for the everyday use and performance of ceremonial rites. On the day of Hehrat the potter brought a creel filled of variety of pots and we waved a cloth round his face as a mark of respect. On the next day of Hehrat called salaam (greeting) these different occupational specialists visited our house and we paid them in kind and cash.”*

Among the many objects he makes is rather inauspicious looking *sanipotul* (sani= worship, potul=Idol), which is the *lingam*, to be installed as Shiva during the rites. It is obviously fallic in shape. (In fact, it is in the shape of *linga* and *Yoni in coitus*, but not even all Pandits seem to know this). As Muslims they have no use for such idols and Abhor idol worship, but as potters they readily make the objects for the Pandits. They look upon the work they do in economic terms; but not so the Pandits, who view the potter's services in their relation to such basic activities as the preparation for food and the performance of one of the most important domestic rituals of the year.<sup>268</sup>

---

<sup>265</sup> Madan, T.N., “Religious Ideology and Social Structure”, pp. 44-45.

<sup>266</sup> Interview with Arzan Nath Kachroo, age 68 years, resident of Hutmara Anantnag on 12-05-2011.

<sup>267</sup> Interview with Autar Krishan Raina, age 60 years, resident of Aukoora Anantnag, on 26-04-2011.

<sup>268</sup> Madan, T. N., “Religious Ideology and Social Structure”, p. 46.

More examples of such relationships between Muslims and Pandits could be given, including that of familiar washerman and unfamiliar (among Brahman communities) butcher, The latter supplies the meat which the Pandit offers to some of his gods and goddesses; In fact, it is the Muslims butcher who, standing shoulder to shoulder with the *Brahman Gor* slaughters the sacrificial goat after the latter has rendered it sacred. The Muslim *Kawaj* who cremated the dead of Hindus is another example of such relations. At the time of deaths in the Hindu household it were Muslim neighbors who were arranging the fire wood and other necessary items pertaining to funeral rites. My respondent Autar Krishan Koul narrated:<sup>269</sup>

*“We helped one another in the time of need and also participated in each other’s social ceremonies. When any Hindu died in the village Muslims were performing all rituals except lighting fire to the funeral pyre. There was a Muslim carpenter in the village whose name was Gh. Mohammad, he knew every ritual of Hindus pertaining to deaths.”*

My respondent Haji Noor Mohammad narrated in this context:<sup>270</sup>

*“There were professional Muslim cremators (Kawaj) who cremated the Hindu dead bodies. There was professional cremator Ama Kawaj in our Mohallah who cremated Hindu dead bodies. There were Muslim boat men who carried the Hindu dead bodies to the cremation ground.”*

The services provided by Muslim occupation groups to their Pandit clientele are what Madan calls “ritual liturgies” when viewed from receivers end and “economic transaction, sanctioned by village tradition” when judged from perspective of giver<sup>271</sup>. Moreover, the Pandits do not render any services to the Muslims nor provide them with any goods. The only exceptions to their in rural Kashmir are a Pandit *Hakeem* (practitioner of Greco Arab Medicine), and some money lenders, and (if we may include them) shopkeepers. It is clear all these roles were prestigious. The Kashmiri Muslim’s faith on the Hindu *Hakeems* can be gauged by the fact narrated by my informant Mr. Mohammad Abdullah Bhat:<sup>272</sup>

---

<sup>269</sup> Interview with Autar krushan Koul, age 63 years, resident of Dadsara Tral, on 22-7-2011.

<sup>270</sup> Interview with Haji Noor Mohammad, age 72 years, resident of Jogilankar Srinagar, on 07-07-2011.

<sup>271</sup> Madan T.N., “Religious Ideology and Social Structure”, p. 47.

<sup>272</sup> Interview with Mohmmmad Abdullah Bhat, age 63 years, resident of Hugam Anantang, on 03-05-2011.



*“In our village there were Hindu Hakeems who cured the Muslim Patients. These Hindu Hakeems emphasized abstinence from taking beef to their Muslim patients. Gradually the Muslims of this village abstained from beef.”*

General poverty was another important feature which created a feeling of oneness among the poor of all communities. Their interests, habits and tastes were identical. They were always seen busy in earning their bread to keep their body and soul together. Hence they had not enough time to act or react complicated issues concerning religion. It was again this section of people who were the common victims of different natural calamities, famines, droughts and dreaded diseases. These calamities made no distinction between Hindus and Muslims. No doubt the calamities formed a negative factor, yet it proved to be a great binding force between downtrodden sections among all communities.<sup>273</sup>

The most important institution that played a central stage for the promotion of communal harmony in Kashmir was shrines. Both Hindus and Muslim used to venerate shrines seek blessings of the deceased saints and view them with a hope of redemption and deliverance from worldly woes and spiritual crisis. The tying of votive rags at shrines was common to both communities. Festivities like *Eid*, *Navroz*, *Shivratri (Herat)*, *Diwali* became the occasions of secular courtesy and popular plurality of Kashmir. It is quite raveling to quote my respondent Raj Nath in this context:<sup>274</sup>

*“We have a great respect for Muslim Shrines and saints. My mother often visited the shrine of Reshi moul sahib at Anantnag. We also visit the Shrine of Zain-u-Din at Ashmuqam for seeking blessings for mundane needs. We give money in charity at this shrine. We perform the ritual of Zara-kasie at the Shrine of Zain u Din at Ashmuqam. This tradition is popular also among the Muslim brethren of the Village; the only difference is we later plant the walnut seed along with hair in our court yard. We also visit the Muslim Pirs, there are two famous Muslim Pirs Qamar sahib and Muma sahib, at the time of illness we approach these Pirs to ward off the diseases.”*

---

<sup>273</sup> The relationship between Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir was reflective of both “exchange” and “Communal” relationships. In exchange relationship members assume that benefit is given with the expectation of receiving the benefit in return while in Communal relationships the members follow the norm of mutual responsiveness. see Mills Judson and Clark J. Margaret, “Exchange and Communal Relationships” in Cai A. Deborah (ed.) *Inter-cultural Communication*, Vol. I, London: Sage Publications, 2010, pp.17-22.

<sup>274</sup> Interview with Raj Nath, age 45years, resident of Magraypora Anantnag, on 16-04-2011.

Another respondent Jagar Nath from Brinti Dayalgam narrated in this context:<sup>275</sup>

*“We had respect for Muslim Pirs and shrines. Here we have the Shrine of Budresh Sahib we call him ‘Bud Resh’ and Muslim would call him Badr u Din. Both the communities visit the shrine and tie votive rags for seeking blessings for mundane needs. We have a Pir Sultan sahib in Budasgam and Aab sahib. Hindus approach to these Pirs at the time of need”.*

My respondent Arzan Nath Kachroo narrated in this context:<sup>276</sup>

*“We celebrate the festivals of Shivratri, Janam Ashthami and Muslims celebrate Eid. We greeted one another on festivities. We have great respect for Muslim saints we visit the shrines of Bamu-din at Bumzoo and Zanu din at Ashmuqam. We tie the votive rags at the shrines for seeking blessing for mundane needs. Though we adhere to diametrically opposite faiths but there was no antagonism among the communities in our village.”*

There used to be happiness in air on the eve of festivals celebrated by both the communities. There used to be the frequent participation of both the communities in each other’s religious ceremonies. One of such example is on the eve of the festival of *Zeth Ashthami* at the Shrine of Kherbawani where local Muslim vendors sell liturgical goods to their Hindu brethren. My respondent Ghulam Mohammad Bhat from Tulmulla narrated that *“I am selling liturgical goods for Hindu brethren on this festival of Zeth Ashthami for last forty years. Our business is attached to this shrine and we are happy with their visit to their shrine.”*<sup>277</sup>

The process discussed above was facilitated by the fact that majority of Muslims were converted Hindus. The peaceful conversion to new religion could not affect the erstwhile social relations. Thus, both the Hindus and Muslims viewed their co-professionals more closely than their co-believers of higher or lower social position. It can also be said that in certain similarities in social customs of two religious groups must have contributed to the growth of religious tolerance. *Menzraat*, or use of *mehandi* dye, *gandun* or *lagenchire* or fixing the marriage day; *phirsal*, the visit paid by bridegroom to the bride’s house after marriage day; *gulmut*, the giving of money etc. are some examples to show how the interplay

---

<sup>275</sup> Interview with Jagar Nath, op.cit.

<sup>276</sup> Interview with Arzan Nath Kachroo, op.cit.

<sup>277</sup> Interview with Gh. Mohd Bhat, age 70 years, resident of Tulmulla on 17-06-2013.

of various cultural forces have shaped the Kashmiri Society.<sup>278</sup> The tradition of cultural pluralism and social sharing in Kashmir was so strong that Walter Lawrence dubbed Kashmiri Muslims, “Hindus at heart”.<sup>279</sup> The net effect of the communal harmony reflected in the emergence of less differentiated society with common ethos, conventions, mentality, customs and practices.

However the fact remains that the separate religio-cultural distinctiveness retained by each community accounted for the existence of two identities- Kashmiri Hindu Identity and Kashmiri Muslim identity<sup>280</sup> - with far reaching consequences on the life and conditions of both the communities besides shaping the subsequent history of Kashmir. While both the communities have been particular to maintain mutually incompatible cultural markers, neither showed equal zeal (exceptions apart) in imbibing altruistic values of its religion, which could help in cementing the bonds instead of intensifying the cleavage. The hollow rituals customs and identity markers ended up in dividing the society into two vested interest social divisions only to suffer in rotation. The avowed proclivity shown by the Muslim and Hindu rulers towards the members of their respective communities sharpened the communal consciousness, each aspiring for the political establishment of its credo.<sup>281</sup>

From above description it is evident that the tolerance in Kashmiri Society was based on the solidarity of heterogenous elements. Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir had built an agreement (a kind of social contract) based on the legitimacy of religious and cultural differences.<sup>282</sup> The nineteenth century Settlement Commissioner Walter Lawrence attributes the delightful tolerance to shared rituals and religious beliefs. Thus Lawrence wrote, of less than perfect Muslims who, despite of five hundred years of conversion, were still ‘Hindus at heart’ and so presumably less prone to the supposed fanaticism of their Islamic brethren elsewhere.<sup>283</sup> The Pandits for their part were depicted as less scrupulous in the maintenance of their rituals of purity and pollution than their much ‘rigid’ counterparts in Hindustan and

---

<sup>278</sup> Khan, M. I., *History of Srinagar*, (1846-1947), Srinagar: Cosmos Publications 1999, p. 123.

<sup>279</sup> Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Chinar Publishing House, 1992, pp. 285-286.

<sup>280</sup> Madan, T.N., *Family and Kinship*, pp.5-6, Wani, M. Ashraf. *Islam in Kashmir*. p. 296.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>282</sup> It is true a Hindu cannot perform Puja on Shivratri without the ritual vessels provided by Muslim potter but he did not himself participate in those festivals. Likewise there used to be happiness in air on the eve of Id and Hindus used to greet their Muslim brethren but it was not their own festival.

<sup>283</sup> Lawrence Walter, R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 285-86.

so more willing to interact with Muslims in a series of common rites and cultural practices. Lawrence pointed to many sacred shrines at which Hindus and Muslims worshiped together, even if in their own idiom. While there is nothing factually incorrect about any of the Lawrence's observations, a historically contextualized examination of Kashmiri society demonstrates that what was at one movement shared had within the element of fracture at another. For instance Lawrence delighted in describing worshipping *nagas* (serpent deities) common to both Hindus and Muslims at many springs in Kashmir.<sup>284</sup> This tradition of collective worship broke down rather dramatically in 1931, in the aftermath of riots in which Kashmiri Pandits and Muslims confronted in a competition for political and economic resources of Dogra state.<sup>285</sup> A memorial of grievances presented by Kashmiri Pandits after the riots claimed that since Muslims have converted out of their original religion, the various springs now belongs exclusively to Hindus. Muslims devotees were consequently described as encroachers and were sought to be debarred from these sites.<sup>286</sup>

---

<sup>284</sup> Ibid., p. 386.

<sup>285</sup> For detailed description of 1931, event see chapter 5.

<sup>286</sup> *Memorandum of the Kashmiri Pandits on the Terms of the Grievances Enquiry Commission* (Srinagar, Sanathan Dharam Young Men's Association, 1931) p. 5.



**Photograph of Traditional Kashmiri Pandit Women**



**Photograph of Traditional Kashmiri Muslim Woman**



**Photograph of Pandit House**



**Photograph of Muslim House**





**Photograph of Temple at Mattan**



**Photograph of Temple at Aukoora Anantnag**



**Photograph of Muslim vendors selling liturgical goods for their Hindu brethren at Kheer Bawani Tulumula**



**Photograph of Muslim vendor (Gh. Mohd Bhat) selling liturgical goods for Hindu brethren at Kheer Bhawani Tulmula**



**Photograph of celebration of the festival of Zeth Ashtami at Kheer Bhawni on 17-06-2013**



**Photograph of Muslim Blacksmith**



**Photograph of Muslim Barber**

## Chapter 5

### Middle Class Power Struggle and Assertion of Identities

In the preceding chapter we have discussed the separate identities maintained by the two religious communities in pre-modern period, however, such separate identities could not jeopardize the inter-community relations in Kashmir. It was only at the political level that inter-community relations were vitiated. The growth of communal consciousness during colonial period was essentially expression of middle class conflict of interests. In this chapter we shall discuss the transformation of political economy during Dogra rule under colonial influence that led to the consolidation of competing religion based political identities in Kashmir.

#### Status of Kashmiri Pandits:

During Dogra rule, the class and religious identities of Hindus and Muslims coincided because of the Hindu character of State. Since the establishment of Sikh rule, the sectarian character of State put the Hindus as the class of exploiters and Muslims as the class of exploited. According to the census of 1961 Hindus constitute about 5% of the total population of Valley.<sup>287</sup> The Kashmiri Pandits have traditionally depended upon land, salaried employment, and trade for their livelihood. The Kashmiri Pandits were tiny but not insignificant minority. Their numerical insignificance was overshadowed by their preponderance in the administration of state under Mughals, Afghans and Sikhs and Dogras. This was due to their long tradition of literacy and so their indispensability to the administration of any regime in power in Kashmir. Pandits acted as a cohesive class. About the cohesiveness of Kashmiri Pandits, Anand Koul writes that<sup>288</sup> “*Batah batah Kawah batah*” (Pandits are cohesive like crows). Lawrence wrote about Pandits that “*they were very true to one another, and owing to their unity and to the fact that they have monopolized all state offices, their power has been enormous.*”<sup>289</sup> As mentioned earlier, during Mughal period and under the Afghans in particular the Pandits held high positions in the administration.<sup>290</sup> The

---

<sup>287</sup> Census of India, Paper No. 1 of 1963; 1961 Census-Religion, pp. 14f.

<sup>288</sup> Koul Anand, *The Kashmiri Pandit*, Delhi: Utpal Publication, 1924, p. 40

<sup>289</sup> Lawrence Walter, R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Chinar Publishing House, 1992, p. 282.

<sup>290</sup> Parmu, R.K., *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir (1320-1819)*, New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House, 1969, pp. 454, 352. For further details on status of Kashmiri Pandits under Muslim rulers see chapter 3.

establishment of Sikh rule deeply reinforced their position in aristocracy. Dogra's for the purpose of creating a supporting structure for their rule pampered the Kashmiri Pandits at the cost of Muslims. Transfer of Jagirs from Muslims to non-Muslims was the dominant feature of Dogra rule in Kashmir. Thus, the agrarian landscape was dominated by Kashmiri Pandits most of whom were absentee landlords. The policy of communalization of State services further fattened the Hindu community at the cost of Muslims. The revenue department was mainly manned by Kashmir Pandits; one finds in 1890 all the positions of revenue department from patwari to wazir-i-wazarat were monopolized by Kashmiri Pandits. In this context it is revealing to quote Lawrence:<sup>291</sup>

In Kashmir the revenue administration proceeds from the *patwari*, the village accountant, and he is a Pandit . . . Over the *patwari* was a small band of Pandits, who were employed in the tahsil in various revenue capacities . . . Over the *patwari* and tahsil Pandits was a tahsildar and one or two naib-tahsildars, mostly Pandits. There were fifteen tahsils, and these tahsils were divided into three districts or wazarats, which were presided over by the officers known as Wazir wazarats, all of whom were Pandits.

Following table regarding the representation of Kashmiri Pandits in government services during Dogra rule further substantiates their privileged position at the cost of Muslim community.

---

<sup>291</sup> Lawrence, Walter R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 400-401.



**Table 4.1: Community-Wise Representation in different branches of State Administration<sup>292</sup>**

<b>Department</b>	<b>Hindus</b>	<b>Muslims</b>
<b>Executives</b>		
Public Works	183	54
Electric Department	47	03
Telegraph and telephone	73	07
<b>Customs</b>		
Revenue Wazirs and Tehsildars	67	22
Revenue Girdawaris and Patwaris Mir pur	131	31
Revenue, Girdawar and Patwari Reasi	85	09
<b>Clerks</b>		
Finance	368	29
Public Works	194	03
Judicial	162	21
<b>Menials, Peons etc.</b>		
Public works	120	23
Customs	314	109
Forests	784	278
Stationary and Printing	16	05

**Source:** Glancy Commission Report.

### **Economic Conditions of Muslims:**

It may be mentioned here that the Muslims of Kashmir who constituted 93% of the population during the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>293</sup> remained backward due to the oppression under the

<sup>292</sup> Report on Glancy Commission appointed under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Bhadur, November 12, 1931, (Jammu, Ranbir Govt., Press, 1932), p. 18.

<sup>293</sup> *Census of India, 1891*, Kashmir (Lahore 1893), p. 6, 14-15.

Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras. The rapacious Sikh rulers (1819-1846) succeeded the Afghans (1753-1819) in Kashmir. The Sikhs are said to have closed the Jamia Masjid of Srinagar to public prayers and in addition several mosques including the Pather Masjid were declared to be the property of State.<sup>294</sup> The heavy taxation policy was introduced and almost all sections of Muslim population including butchers, bakers, boatman, scavengers and even prostitutes were heavily taxed. Cow slaughter was declared as an offence punishable by death.<sup>295</sup> The Sikh governors posted in Kashmir unleashed a reign of terror. The practice of forced labour (*Begar*) was continued, even an ordinary soldier could command the Muslims to do any work for him. Thus, the Kashmiri Muslims were forced to do unpaid labour for their Sikh masters. The system of *Ijaradars* to extort money from the peasants was a common practice. All these exactions resulted in the impoverishment of the Muslims, and the revenue remitted to Lahore increased from sixty-two lakhs of rupees at the beginning of the Sikh rule and ten lakhs at the end. Begging became common, natural calamities further added to the miseries of the already famished people. Many villages became depopulated as result of migration. Another important consequence of the Sikh rule was that the *Ulema*, *Fuzala* and other respectable families of the Muslims were deprived of land-grants (Jagir) and of the hereditary allowance they had held from the time of Mughal rulers.<sup>296</sup> The defeat of Sikhs in the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1846 at the hands of the British marked the end of the Sikh rule in Kashmir. As already stated, by the treaty of Amritsar, concluded on March 16th, 1846, Kashmir was handed over by the British imperialists to Raja Gulab Singh, the Dogra ruler of Jammu, in lieu 75 lakh rupees. It was a deep seated change that Muslim society of the valley underwent after this treaty. The contours of change, however, were clear. A pattern of new rulers declared themselves to be the absolute owners or lords of the land. Although the recognition of Dogra ruler's ownership in land formed the basis of new government policy throughout the period extending from 1846 to 1887 or so, the Dogra administration worked directly to create a class of landed gentry, comprising mainly of Kashmiri Pandits and the Dogra Rajputs. Most of the Pandit officials of the new regime were from urban background and there was a tendency among them to become owners of the land. It was immediately, after the death of Maharaja Gulab Singh that the land got transferred from cultivators to the official class of the

---

<sup>294</sup> Khuhami, Hassan, *Tariekh-i-Hassan*, Urdu tr. M. Ibrahim, Srinagar, 1957, Vol. II. pp. 757-58.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, p.758.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.758-59.

Dogra rule.<sup>297</sup> This official class of the Dogra administration squeezed and plundered the Muslim peasants. While writing about the officials, Tyndale Bisco, says that “the officials had bullied and squeezed the Mohammadan peasants for years past, and their large houses in the city with all their wealth, were standing witness to their looting powers, for the salary they received from the state was quite insignificant”.<sup>298</sup>

Muslim cultivators were reduced to the status of virtual serfs. Not only their proprietary rights were confiscated but were also subjected to oppression by the State and its supporting structure *Jagirdars*, *Chakdars* and *Maufidars*. The State share for the *Kharief* crop was half share of produce and four traks per *Kharwar*. The Rabi crop was taxed at half a share of produce, three *traks* per *Kharwar*.<sup>299</sup> In practice the cultivator however had to pay more than half the share of the total produce in the form of multifarious taxes to the State. These include *nazrana* levied four times a year, and *tambol*, taken on occasion of marriages in rulers family.<sup>300</sup> In addition to it the officials of Dogra state extracted their personal share from the peasants called *rasum*.<sup>301</sup> John B. Ireland who visited Kashmir in 1850's exclaimed in wonder that “on the birth of every lamb, the owner must pay tax of one anna . . . the birth of calf is four annas. For a marriage one rupee. A fishing boat four annas a day. Walnut trees ten annas a year for the oil, and if the crop fails, must be made up with ghee.”<sup>302</sup>

The methods of land revenue collection and mode of payment was also oppressive. It may be remembered that the State realized its share both in cash as well as in kind.<sup>303</sup> While 2/3 of the assessed land revenue was paid in cash and 1/3 of it was

---

<sup>297</sup> Bazaz, Prem Nath, *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan publishers, 2002, p.108.

<sup>298</sup> Bisco, C.E. Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, New Delhi: Mittal Publishing House, rpr. 1995, p.268.

<sup>299</sup> The government scale of weight used in collecting their proportion of grain was 6 seers=1 trak, 16 traks = 1kharwar, while in selling the grain to the people the scale was changed as following: 6 seers=1 trak+15 traks =1 kharwar. The extra trak gained by the government was used for the expense of transporting the grain from village to the city. See Robert Thorp, “Kashmir Misgovernment” in S.N. Gadru, ed. *Kashmir Papers: British Intervention in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Free thought Literature & Co.1973, p. 53.

<sup>300</sup> Wingate, A. *Preliminary Report of Settlement in Kashmir and Jammu*, Lahore: W, Ball & Co. 1888, p. 18-20.

<sup>301</sup> Thorp, Robert, *Kashmir Misgovernment*, Calcutta: Wyman Brothers, 1868, p. 28-29.

<sup>302</sup> Ireland, John, B., *From Wall Street to Kashmere, Five Years in Asia Africa and Europe*, (New York: Rollo, 1859, p. 397. Vide Zutshi, Chitralkha, “*Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*”, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004. P. 65.

<sup>303</sup> Lawrence, Walter, R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 426-37.

paid in kind. Under such a mechanism of land revenue system the poor peasants were compelled to borrow money from the *Waddars* (money lenders) on high interest for the payment of land revenue in cash. Prem Nath Bazaz describes the pathetic condition of peasantry in the following words:<sup>304</sup>

The poverty of masses is appalling. Dressed in rags which can hardly hide his body and barefooted, a Muslim peasant presents the appearance rather of a starving beggar than of one who fills the coffers of the State. He works laboriously in field during the six months of the summer to pay the State its revenue and taxes, the officials their *rasum* and money lender his interest. Most of them are landless labourers working as serfs of absentee land lords. They hardly earn as their share of produce, enough for more than three months. For rest they must earn by other means. During the six months they are unemployed and must go outside the boundaries of the State to work as labourers in big towns and cities of British India. Their lot as such, is no good, and many of them die every year, unknown, unwept and unsung outside their homes. The disgraceful environment and unkind surroundings in which so many of them die have been a slur alike on the people and the Government of the country to which they belong”

No less was oppression of money lenders (*Waddars*) who lend money to the peasants on high interest rates. On the indebtedness of peasants, Bazaz further remarks:<sup>305</sup>

Rural indebtedness is staggering. The Government never took the trouble of making any inquiry in this behalf. Incomplete and haphazard non official enquiries show that more than seventy percent people living in the villages are under debt. In numerous cases the produce of land is pawned long before it is visible in the fields. Once a debt has been contracted it is never “fully” paid back. Too ignorant to understand accounts, the Muslim peasants are fleeced by Hindu *Sahukars* and Muslim *Waddars* and *Khojas* in ways shocking to fair minds. The debtor goes on paying something every year in cash and kind, and yet a debt of a trifling 30 or 40 rupees is not paid “in full” during a life. Consequently, the father leaves the debt to his son, and in this way the family

---

<sup>304</sup> Bazaz, Prem Nath, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 252.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.

remains perpetually under debt. The entire class of peasants is virtual search of the money lenders.

Next to the peasant class, the shawl weavers mainly Muslims were the worst victims of the autocratic rule and obnoxious taxation of Dogras. Heavy taxes were charged on them. The weaver has to pay Rs. 5 as tax out of his monthly wage of Rs.7 or 8.<sup>306</sup> The department of Daag-Shawl was a source of oppression in hands of officials, mainly the Kashmiri Pandits. The Pandit official machinery was so cruel and rapacious that it exposed the weavers to penury and untold misery. The Pandit officials of the Daag shawl department lived the luxurious life where as the Muslim shawl weavers lived the life of chronic poverty. The following casual reference of Walter Lawrence marks clear the contrast between the Pandit official and Muslim weaver:<sup>307</sup>

The houses in (Srinagar) vary in size from the large and spacious burnt-brick palaces of the Pandit aristocrat and his 500 retainers, warmed in the winter by *hammams*, to the doll house of three stories, and three rooms of wood and sun dried bricks, where the poor shawl-weaver lives his squalid cramped life and shivers in the frosty weather.

The workers of Silk factory of Srinagar, which was the government undertaking were also harassed and oppressed by the Pandit officials of the factory who demanded bribes from the Muslim workers.<sup>308</sup> Silk factory labourers in 1924 uprising insisted that certain demands of theirs; including dismissal of Pandit Tara Chand (Deputy Director of Sericulture department) should be accepted unconditionally.<sup>309</sup> Apart from this, the other huge segment of population comprised of unskilled and skilled labourers coming mainly from urban centers were also discontented from Dogra rule. Their condition was woeful and there was resultant unrest among them.

### **Educational Backwardness of Muslim Community:**

Educationally, Muslims were backward. In rural Kashmir where they constituted

---

<sup>306</sup> Shah Mukhtar, Ashai, Tract on the Art of Shawl Weaving (Lahore: Kohinoor Press, 1887), unpublished trans. from the Persian by K.N. Pandita, Srinagar: Central Asian Studies Department, University of Kashmir, p. 15.

<sup>307</sup> Lawrence, Walter, R. *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 35.

<sup>308</sup> Saraf, Mohmmad Yusuf, *Kashmiris fight for freedom*, Lahore: Feroz Sons, 1979, Vol. I, pp. 333-34.

<sup>309</sup> *Unrest among Muhammadan Workers in the Silk Factory in Srinagar*, NAI, Foreign and Political Department, Political, 19(2)-p of 1924, nos. 1-4.

more than 80 percent of total population, their illiteracy was almost hundred percent.<sup>310</sup> The causes of their educational backwardness were manifold: Economic poverty, their own ignorance, conservative attitude of their religious leaders, discriminatory policies of Dogra administration.

The adverse economic condition of the Muslim masses as discussed above was the main reason for the Muslim backwardness in education. The poor parents who were struggling for two times of meals could hardly think of sending their children to schools. They could not pay the school fee for educating their children. Thus education for the Muslim masses was a luxury which they could not afford. For poor parents a grown up child would add to manpower in agricultural operations or add to the meager earnings of family by practicing any craft.<sup>311</sup> Besides, non availability of schools was another impediment. After passing primary standards the students had to come to the nearby towns or the city of Srinagar for further studies. Which, they could not afford owing to poverty and lack of arrangements for their residence in city and towns.<sup>312</sup>

Muslims did not respond to western education introduced in the State towards the eighties of nineteenth century.<sup>313</sup> They were during those days under the influence of their religious leaders. These religious leaders exhorted their co-religionists that so long as they truly followed *Quran* and *Hadis (Sayings of Prophet Mohammad pbuh)* the Muslim community will make great progress. Adoption of western system of education and life style would turn them in apostates and such learning will destroy their minds. This theory kept Muslim masses from sending their children to modern schools for two decades. During this period the Hindus made tremendous progress by providing their children this kind of schooling. The rise of Hindus in the field of education and employment proved an eye opener and foresight among a section of the Muslim community. Having realized the advantage of western education these men began to approach “to grant them some facilities enabling them to make rapid advance

---

<sup>310</sup> Khan, G.H. *Freedom Movement of Kashmir (1931-40)*, Delhi: Life and Light Publishers,1980, p.21

<sup>311</sup> Interview with Haji Noor Mohammad, age 78 years, resident of Jogilankar Mohallah Srinagar, on 07-07-2011.

<sup>312</sup> Interview with Haji Abdul Rehman Bhat, age, 81 years, resident of Hutmura Anantnag, on 12-05-2011.

<sup>313</sup> The credit for introducing modern education in Kashmir goes to Rev. J.S. Doxy. Who established first mission school in 1881.

in the sphere of education.”<sup>314</sup>

Anti-Muslim attitude of Dogra administration was another cause of the educational backwardness of Kashmiri Muslims.<sup>315</sup> In 1909, Pratap Singh (1885-1925) had directed his education Minister to draw up a scheme for making primary education free and compulsory throughout the State.<sup>316</sup> The concept of free and compulsory education was rejected by Minister on the ground that the measure would be looked upon as “Zooloom” (an act of tyranny) and would, therefore, be dreaded by the uneducated parents rather than be welcomed as boon. The Minister pleaded that if the wage earning children of the Muslim parents are interfered with, the parents would not take it kindly: that in the absence of public spirited men the benefits of the measure would not be understood by the people.<sup>317</sup> The apathy of the Maharaja’s administration towards the Muslim education had convinced his Muslim subjects that nothing could save them except their own efforts. Since the beginning of the present century the Muslim had been pressing for their right to education. In 1905, they had established a school of their own under the aiges of *Anjuman-i- Nusrat ul- Islam* which after few years was raised to a high school. But one single school could not solve their problem of education. As their all pleas and petitions went unheeded they began to contact the influential Muslims outside the State and acquaint them with their despicable conditions. On the request of All India Mohammadan Conference, in 1916, Mr. Sharp was appointed to investigate and advise the Durbar on the educational arrangements in the State.<sup>318</sup> Mr. Sharp admitted that the Muslims of Kashmir had been suffering from educational disabilities, and that the need of the hour was to improve their conditions. He made the recommendations to the Kashmir Darbar for improvement of education of Muslims which include increase in number of primary schools, increase in number of Muslim teachers, scholarships for Muslim students and Muslim teachers.<sup>319</sup>

The recommendations of Mr. Sharp were “sanctioned by His Highness but were

---

<sup>314</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *The History of the Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir: Cultural and Political from Earliest Times to the Present Day*, New Delhi: Metropolitan Book Company, 1973, p. 136.

<sup>315</sup> Khan, G.H., *Freedom Movement of Kashmir*, p. 23.

<sup>316</sup> *File No. 101 p.102 of 1907*, (Government Records) old English Records, JKA.

<sup>317</sup> Khan, G.H., *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 23.

<sup>318</sup> *File No.123/F-184 of 1915*, Political Department (old English Records), JKA.

<sup>319</sup> *Henry, Sharp's Report*, (Calcutta, 1916), pp. 40-41

lightly treated by his Ministers and instructions issued by him were seldom followed by those in charge of education department who were invariably (non-Muslim) non-Kashmiri”.<sup>320</sup> In spite of the official opposition, the Muslims of Kashmir continued, however, their efforts to urge upon the Maharaja as well as the authorities of administration to move in the direction of redressing their educational grievances. In their cause and struggle they were supported by their co-religionists outside the State.<sup>321</sup> But all these efforts proved fruitless later Glancy Commission appointed on November 12, 1931, admitted the educational backwardness of Muslims and recommended the implementation of the recommendations of Sharp Commission.<sup>322</sup> This step motherly treatment meted out to the Muslims stirred in them a deep sense of grievance. For years on end they had complained unavailingly. In course of time, they began to feel outraged against tyrannies of the officials this was bound to give them ideas of agitation and revolt against the rule of injustice.

The following table also indicates the under representation of Muslim Community in the Education Department.<sup>323</sup>

**Table 4.2: Representation of Muslim Community in Education Department (1931-1932).**

<b>Education</b>	<b>Muslims</b>	<b>Total</b>
Teachers	718	2201
Headmasters of Government, Middle Schools	03	49
Head Masters of Government High Schools	01	15
Professors in colleges	04	33
Demonstrators	01	08
Inspecting Staff	03	14
Gazetted officers	04	27

**Source:** Glancy Commission Report

<sup>320</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *The History of the Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p. 137.

<sup>321</sup> The Anjuman-i-Islami Punjab, and All India Kashmiri Muslim Conference, Lahore, urged upon the Maharaja to remove the causes of educational backwardness of Kashmiri Muslims which have been brought to the notice of Darbar on various occasions by means of representations and resolutions. See *File No. 28/HE-15 of 1923*, political Department (Old English Records (Jammu and Kashmir State Archives).

<sup>322</sup> Glancy Commission Report, p. 17.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.



As it is evident, from the above mentioned tables 4.1 and 4.2 that Hindus monopolized the government services. For Muslims the question of share in Govt. services had become next to impossible. There is no doubt that Muslims had taken to English system of education very late, yet their educational progress was not as bad as commonly propagated. Many Muslims had already passed the Entrance Examination there were many who had passed the First Arts as early as 1909 and the B.A. as early as 1915. By 1925, there was a sizeable number of graduates and F'As and matriculates available in Kashmir about 1000 young Muslims were educated in Urdu and Persian.<sup>324</sup> Yet the share of Muslim representation was significantly meager in the services of the State. Between 1910 and 1930 the Muslim representation in the State services didn't exceed 15% both in gazetted and non-gazetted ranks.<sup>325</sup> The reason for their low representation in these services was not so much due to their educational backwardness as to lack of patronage<sup>326</sup> and encouragement. The Kashmiri Pandits had all along creating this impression that their community was entitled to services because of their educational merit, efficiency and administrative skill. "The pretence that Muslims were not sufficiently educated was a potent means to monopolize the whole administration and keep down the Muslim to an eternal state of subjugation and bondage."<sup>327</sup> Hundreds of educated Muslims well versed in Urdu and Persian, could have been easily employed in those departments where knowledge of English was not required. Since it was not so, these departments were filled up by non-Muslims. The principal of efficiency and merit was merely a smokescreen. To cite an example, in Sericulture Department, one of the two non Muslim Deputy Directors had read up to the entrance, and out of 6 senior Assistants 3 non-Muslims had no academic qualification where as one Muslim graduate had been bracketed with them.<sup>328</sup> In 1931-32, Mr. Glancy presented a list of Muslim unemployed educated youth of Kashmir province. According to this list there were 12 unemployed Muslim graduates and 133

---

<sup>324</sup> Written Statement of Pirzada Ghulam Rasul Head Master, Islamia High School, Srinagar (witness No. 87), *written statement* part I English Srinagar Riots Enquiry Committee, July 1931(Jammu, Ranbir Government Press; 1931) pp.206-207. vide Khan G.H. *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 27.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid.

<sup>326</sup> *Written Statement* of Pirzada Ghulam Rasul. op.cit., p. 213.

<sup>327</sup> Khan, G.H., *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 27.

<sup>328</sup> *Written Statement* of Pirzada Ghulam Rasul, op.cit., p. 211.

unemployed Muslim Matriculates.<sup>329</sup> Similarly an appalling discrimination against Muslims was evident in Medical Department. The posts of menials such as *Khidmatgars* and cooks did not require any qualification except an elementary knowledge of three R's. In fact non-Muslims predominated as cooks, compounders and *Khidmatgars*, The relative strength of Hindus and Muslims in posts is clear from the following table:<sup>330</sup>

**Table 4.3: Community-Wise representation of menials in Govt. services**

	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
1. <i>Khidmatgars</i>	12	38	50
2. Cooks	09	29	38
3. Compounders	04	55	59
<b>Total</b>	25	122	147

**Source:** Written statement of Pirzada Ghulam Rasul vide G.H. Khan *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*

The same story repeated itself in other departments as is evident from table no. 4.1. The military services were exclusively reserved for Dogras, particularly, Rajputs.<sup>331</sup> Muslims were denied their due share in the services of the State, the better qualified among Muslims were placed in inferior positions to equally qualified non-Muslims. An educated young Muslim had, therefore, to face three potential rivals that is the outsider, the Dogra Rajputs and the Kashmiri Pandits - all receiving patronage and encouragement.

### **Muslim Middle Class and Assertion of Identities:**

The Muslim community of Kashmir remained politically inactive till 1920 A.D., This was due to ban on formation of associations and publication of newspapers. As late as 1921 the Dogra government hesitatingly permitted the formation of an association whose object was the teaching of the Koran, but ordered the police to ensure that the Anjuman did not take part in political matters.<sup>332</sup>

<sup>329</sup> *Glancy Commission Report*, p. 18.

<sup>330</sup> *Written Statement* of Pirzada Ghulam Rasul, op.cit., p. 211.

<sup>331</sup> Kahan, G.H., *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 29.

<sup>332</sup> Census, 1921, Vol. 1, p. iii; see also *The Civil and Military Gazette (Lahore)*, 1 Nov. 1923, p. 13; Kashmir Government Records (General), *File No. 66/102/C of 1921*. The government also accorded permission to Sanathan Dharam Sabha to open its branch in Srinagar in 1923 on the distinct understanding that the Sabha

“However, it should not be supposed that there was total absence of social consciousness among the Muslims of Kashmir. If, on the one hand, they had developed a fatalistic outlook owing to oppression, exploitation and misery, on the other, they had developed a spirit of revolt against intolerable conditions.”<sup>333</sup> Earlier there had been shawl baaf strike in 1847, for the reduction of various kinds of taxes.<sup>334</sup> They also demanded that wages to be fixed<sup>335</sup> and demanded the establishment of rule of law in respect of the shawl industry<sup>336</sup>. Though the agitation died down owing to the intervention of Maharaja Gulab Singh, there remained an undercurrent of hostility among the weavers against feudal exactions. Another expression of Shawl baaf discontent was witnessed in 1855 A.D.<sup>337</sup> The Shawl baaf uprising was pre-political owing to lack of organization and leadership and was ruthlessly suppressed. Nevertheless, it served as inspirational force for the other Muslim sections to fight for their rights. For example, the first signs of agrarian discontent became manifest in 1877 A.D. when the peasants appealed to Maharaja Ranbir Singh during his stay at Achabal against official high-handedness and corruption. The intensity of the peasant's discontent is reflected in the manner in which revenue officials were forced to return the bribes they had taken from the peasants. But it was at the behest of Wazir Punnoo that Maharaja did not take any stern action against the officials instead the Wazir got the houses of peasants searched and their meager rations were seized.<sup>338</sup>

It is because of these developments that Muslims of Kashmir became introspective. In 1886 some seventeen or eighteen Muslims who had landed interests sent two signed petitions to the viceroy and the British resident in Srinagar, requesting

---

was purely religious institution, *ibid*, *File No. 46/G-39 of 1923*. Vide Khan M.I “Kashmiri Muslims Social and Identity Consciousness” in Hassan, Mushir ul ed. *Islam Communities and the Nation*, New Delhi Manohar Publishers, 1998, p.207.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>334</sup> Panikar, K.M., *The Founding of the Kashmir State: A Biography of Maharaja Ghulab Singh*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1930, p. 139.

<sup>335</sup> Again in 1853, the workers of shawl industry expressed their resentment against the *Karkhanadars* over wages. There broke out some riots in the city. See Mirza Saif-ud-Din, *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Maharaja Gulab Singh*, MS, 1853, Vol. VI, ff. 9a-10b.

<sup>336</sup> Panikkar, K.M., *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, p. 139.

<sup>337</sup> Thorp, Robert., *Cashmere Misgovernment*, pp. 18-19; Khalil Mir-Janpuri, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. II, MS No. 800, RPD, Srinagar, p. 910.

<sup>338</sup> Shah, Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*. Vol. II, pp. 860-61.

a compassionate, just and courteous Englishman as settlement officer there. The petitioners hoped that they would be able to explain to him their circumstances without fear.<sup>339</sup> As a result Wingate was appointed the Settlement Commissioner in 1887. He was succeeded by Lawrence in 1889.

The Muslim consciousness was heightened by several factors after the opening of Jhelum Valley cart road to wheeled traffic. Although this development brought advantages to Kashmir, it caused economic dislocation to many Muslim trading families as a large influx of Punjabis moved into Kashmir in search of business or employment. New markets like the Maharaja Bazar and Maharaj Gunj, meant entirely for enterprising Punjabi traders, sprang up. The old trading community of Kashmir, mainly situated in the Jamia Masjid area and Nowhatta in the city, could not compete with the Punjabis owing to lack of enterprise and capital. The result was that the export trade passed entirely into the hands of Punjabis who established a trading monopoly. Little wonder that there were few indigenous traders left in Srinagar at the close of the nineteenth century.<sup>340</sup>

It is well to remember that the Muslims of Srinagar had a strong link to commerce, but this was overshadowed by their unfortunate political circumstances.<sup>341</sup> The State monopoly had greatly hampered the development of trade.<sup>342</sup> For instance, the rice trade was practically in the hands of the Dogra government.<sup>343</sup> Silk, saffron, violets, various kinds of forest products, hemp, tobacco, water nuts and paper were at different times monopolized by the state which also enjoyed a monopoly of the shawl industry.<sup>344</sup> Apart from this, the government subjected various other traders to impositions.<sup>345</sup> It was the policy of Gulab Singh and his successors to make every product of the Valley a State monopoly.<sup>346</sup> Even prostitutes were taxed<sup>347</sup> and, in the

---

<sup>339</sup> NAI/Foreign, S.E., Oct. 1986, no. 235-300, p. 20; Bose, J. C., *Cashmere and its Prince*, Calcutta, 1889, p. 3.

<sup>340</sup> Khan, M.I., *History of Srinagar*, Srinagar: Cosmos Publications, 1999, pp. 39-49, 77-80.

<sup>341</sup> Bates, Charles Ellison, *Gazetter of Kashmir*, repr., New Delhi: Light and Life, 1980, p. 71.

<sup>342</sup> Lawrence, Walter, R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 387-90.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417.

<sup>345</sup> The right to legalize marriage was farmed out and the office of grave digger was also taxed. *Ibid.*

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*

words of Lawrence, everything save air and water was brought under taxation.<sup>348</sup> “Thus, the Dogra rulers killed initiative and the enterprise of many trading families. And this explains why, after the abolition of many vexatious taxes on the trade in 1885 and a marked improvement in the means of communication and transport, the Punjabi traders succeeded in weakening the financial predominance of the old Muslim trading classes of Kashmir.”<sup>349</sup>

However, the opening of the Jhelum-Valley road connected the people of Kashmir with their brethren in rest of the country. Consequent upon, the Muslim education movement was started in the 1890s by Mir Waiz Maulvi Ghulam Rasool Shah to safeguard against Muslims being driven towards Christianity. He believed that education on Western lines, supported by *Koranic* teachings, would produce young Muslims of capacity and character. Therefore, the *Anjuman-i Nusrat-ul Islam* was established. Interestingly, enough, the local Muslims under the leadership of fanatic *mullahs* raised a violent agitation and attempts were made on the life of the Maulvi.<sup>350</sup>

Despite the efforts of the sensible souls within Muslim community, for the promotion of modern education, the Muslims could not keep pace with the educational developments. The Pandits, the first to take to modern education, were better equipped to adapt themselves to changing circumstances and could capture both low as well as high government posts.<sup>351</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising that Muslim petitioners in 1907 A.D, and 1909 A.D. demanded the concessions and privileges in education. The Muslim petitioners in 1907 A.D. requested Government of India to take effective measures for the propagation of education among Kashmiri Muslims. In 1909, thirty self-claimed representatives of the Muslims expressed the hope that the British would relieve the Muslims of Kashmir of the tyranny of their rulers.<sup>352</sup> The Punjabi Muslim lent their

---

<sup>347</sup> Younghusband, Francis, *Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, first published 1908, repr. 1996, p. 161.

<sup>348</sup> Lawrence, Walter, R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 417.

<sup>349</sup> Khan M.I “Kashmiri Muslims: Social and Identity Consciousness” pp. 209-10.

<sup>350</sup> Fouq, Muhammad Din, *Masbabir-i-Kashmir*, Lahore: 1930, p. 123.

<sup>351</sup> In October 1931 Maharaja Hari Singh expressed these words to a deputation of the Kashmiri Pandits: 'I am certain you will be the first to recognize that with the steady growth of education in other communities the position of advantage which your community enjoyed in the past in regard to the State service cannot continue', *The Tribune*, 27 Oct. 1931.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

press to support of the political awakening of Kashmiri Muslims.<sup>353</sup>

The introspection of the Muslims is not only explicit in their petitions and letters addressed to the viceroys, Residents and the Maharaja, but also in the desire to keep pace with changing social conditions. In 1904, Muhammad-din Fouq, moved by the ignorance, superstition and poverty of the Kashmiri Muslims, requested the Maharaja to grant him permission to start a social magazine in Srinagar. But he was not allowed.<sup>354</sup> The noted writer did not, however, budge from the path he had chosen. In 1906, he started the Kashmir Magazine in Lahore which, no doubt, was influential both among the Muslims of India and Muslims of Kashmiri origin who had long settled in Punjab. The culmination of this process was that it invoked the interest of All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference in the welfare of Kashmiri Muslims in the 1920s. The Muslim consciousness was further heightened between 1900 and 1930 by propaganda carried in the newspapers of Punjab that constantly reminded their leaders about the economic and religious disabilities suffered by Kashmiri Muslims.<sup>355</sup>

With the developed communications after 1890, the commercial contact of some merchant families- Shawls,<sup>356</sup> Ashais, Jehaz and Bachh with northern India improved further, and drew some prominent Muslims into the mainstream of modern social and cultural activity in northern India. The Urdu-speaking Muslims of Kashmir were courted by north Indian Muslim organizations, such as the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, the Majlis-i Ahrar<sup>357</sup> and the Anjuman-i Himayat-i Islam, which attempted to weld Indian Muslims together to respond to the increasing social and political activity among non-Muslims and growing Muslim self consciousness. A deputation of All-India

---

<sup>353</sup> *The Observer*, Lahore, 16 Sept. 1911.

<sup>354</sup> Kashmir Government Records, General, 117, p. 51 of 1904. .

<sup>355</sup> Khan, M.I., *History of Srinagar*, p. 172; Bazaz P.N., *Inside Kashmir*, pp. 116-17.

<sup>356</sup> Shawl is also a family name among Kashmiri Muslims.

<sup>357</sup> The Ahrar movement began with the establishment of the All-India Majlis-Ahrari-Islam at Amritsar in 1931 with Habib-ur-Rehman as its President and Daud Ghaznavi and Mazhar Ali as its Secretaries. It aimed at working for the economic, educational and social uplift of Muslims. Besides, its object was to awaken political consciousness and to infuse the spirit of Islam among Muslims and also to work for the freedom of the country by peaceful methods (a note on Muslim political organizations, NAI/Home Pol., *File No. 150 of 1934*, p. 27.

Though the movement was started by pro-Congress Muslims with the main purpose of maintaining the position of the Muslims in the Congress itself and to secure seats in the working committee, the Ahrars did not stick to any consistent policy. See also B. Mathur, *Muslims and Changing India* (Delhi, 1972), pp. 102-10.

Muhammadan Educational Conference approached Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1913 A.D. Among the reforms suggested for the removal of Muslim backwardness was religious education; assistance to raise the schools run by *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul Islam* to collegiate grade; special stipends and scholarships for Muslims; the appointment of Muslim professors, teachers and inspectors; and the appointment of a special inspector for Muslim education.<sup>358</sup>

“The Muslims of Kashmir responded readily to the stimulus of some north Indian Muslim religious movements. The establishment of the *Anjuman-i Ahl-i Hadith* in Srinagar in the 1920’s marked a further step in the growth of Muslim consciousness. Rich merchants of the valley like Haji Muhammad Shahdad and Ahmad Ullah Shahdad were among the founders of the *Anjuman* achieved prominence under the inspiring leadership of Maulvi Ghulam Nabi Mubaraki who was in close contact with the Ahl-i Hadith leaders of Punjab”.<sup>359</sup>

The aim of the north Indian inspired organization was to purge contemporary Islam of excessive rituals and practices, such as the extravagant funeral ceremonies. Yet the leaders of the *Anjuman* often held the custodians of the shrines responsible for much of the ills of Muslim society.<sup>360</sup> The *mullahs* misused the holy shrines for the organized exploitation of masses. Instead of exercising a moral influence on the people, the mullahs had contributed a great deal to superstition, ignorance and poverty of their credulous believers. Interesting to note is the fact that *noufal* processions in Srinagar were often organized by the *Mullahs* at the command of the Dogra rulers.<sup>361</sup>

The leaders of the *Anjuman* were thus justified in describing the condition of the Kashmiri Muslims as worse than that of political slaves.<sup>362</sup> “True, the influence of the *Anjuman* was limited to a few families in Kashmir; yet by attacking the social evils, which like a cancer were eating into the vitals of Muslims society, the *Anjuman* did fill

---

<sup>358</sup> Kashmir Government Records (O.E.R.), *File No. 217, 1913*, p. 96.

<sup>359</sup> Based on the interview with late Maulvi Ghulam Nabi Mubaraki by M.I. Khan. Vide Khan M.I. “Kashmiri Muslims: Social and Identity Consciousness” pp. 212-13.

<sup>360</sup> *The Muslim*, 2 Oct. 1941.

<sup>361</sup> Khanyari, Ghulam Nabi *Wajeez-ut-Tawarikh* (MS), .f. 69b. For more details on *noufal*, see Khan, M.I., *History of Srinagar*, p. 106.

<sup>362</sup> *The Muslim*, Oct. 1941.

an important gap by providing intellectual leadership”.<sup>363</sup>

The 1920s was a formative decade in the awakening of Kashmiri social consciousness. The All-India Muslim Kashmiri Conference, started in Punjab by the Kashmiri Muslim settlers, had done a great deal for the Muslims of Kashmir. In 1920 a deputation sought an interview with the Maharaja regarding the inaction of his government in implementing Sir Henry Sharp's recommendations for the improvement of education among Muslims.<sup>364</sup>

This rebuff made it impossible for the Muslims of Kashmir to keep silent and they showed their resentment against the government in various forms. The first signs of unrest appeared in Srinagar, the political, intellectual and commercial capital. Situated in the centre of the Valley and commanding trade routes to Central Asia and Punjab, the city contained the wealthiest and most articulate section of Muslims, the Naqshbandis, the Shawls and the Shahdads. While the Naqshbandis had large landed estates in the Valley and had also been the leading merchants, the Shawls and the Shahdads had a monopoly of the carpet and shawl trade in Kashmir. Srinagar also provided religious leadership to the entire Valley. In fact, before 1931 the Muslims of Kashmir were completely under the spell of the two religious heads of Srinagar, the *Mir Waiz* of Jamia Masjid and the *Mir-waiz* of Shah-i-Hamdan Mosque, the two quite often at loggerheads. The religious, merchant and landed elite were the first to articulate the grievances and aspirations of the Muslim middle class.<sup>365</sup> Thus, when Viceroy Reading visited Srinagar in 1924,<sup>366</sup> some of the prominent members of the Muslim community (including Khwaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Khwaja Nur Shah Naqshbandi, Khwaja Hasan Shah Naqshbandi Jagirdar, Mir Waiz Kashmir Maulvi Ahmed Ullah of Jamia Mosque, Khwaja Maqbool Pandit, Khwaja Sayyid Hasan Shah Jalali) submitted a memorandum to him. They not only demanded a larger representation of Muslims in government services and an improvement in the condition of Muslim education in the state, but also the grant of proprietary rights in land to the peasants, and abolition of the hated *corvee*. This shows that middle class leaders wanted to utilize the support of the masses for the

---

<sup>363</sup> Khan, M.I., “Kashmiri Muslims: Social and Identity Consciousness” pp. 213.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid., Kashmir Government Records, *File No. 2/Misc. 14, 1920*.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid., pp. 213-14.

<sup>366</sup> *The Ranbir*, 23 Aug. 1927; *The Pioneer*, 4 Sept. 1931; Bazaz, P.N., *Inside Kashmir*, p. 84.



furtherance of their demands.<sup>367</sup>

As stated earlier, the 1920s mark an important stage in the growth of public opinion in Kashmir. At this stage in the awakening of social consciousness all classes of the Muslim population in Kashmir were seething with discontent. The shawl trade which had been subjected to rigorous impositions had declined.<sup>368</sup> This had caused unemployment among the weavers.<sup>369</sup> Even though the carpet industry had absorbed some shawl weavers,<sup>370</sup> there were many who were wandering in search of employment. Equally deplorable was the condition of the *papier-mache* artists, most of whom were thrown out of work on account of the non-availability of raw material. As a result of the recession caused by World War I, many artisans were unemployed and most of them are said to have sold their ordinary cloths so as to provide themselves with food.<sup>371</sup> Workers in the silk factory of Srinagar, who were demanding reasonable wages and medical facilities, were equally distressed and frustrated. In 1924, the strike of workers in the state-owned silk factory signaled a new development, the emergence of the working class.<sup>372</sup>

In the late 1920's the Muslim leadership of Kashmir was reinforced by the emergence of some young Muslim men, fresh from Universities like Aligarh, where they had come in contact with Muslim leaders and propagators of pan-Islamism. In April 1930 the Reading Room Party<sup>373</sup> was founded in Srinagar and under its auspices several meetings were held. Azad Subhani the cleric of Calcutta's Jamia Mosque was in Srinagar on the eve of the formation of the Reading Room Party. He held secret meetings with the religious heads of Srinagar urging them to support the young men.<sup>374</sup> Thus, the

---

<sup>367</sup> Khan, M.I., "Kashmiri Muslims: Social and Identity Consciousness". p. 214.

<sup>368</sup> NAI/Foreign Sec. E., March 1883, no. 86, p. 15; see also Diwan Kishan Lal's report, Foreign Sec., 31 March 1846, nos. 66-70 (MS).

<sup>369</sup> During the reigns of Maharaja Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh there were 30,000 to 40,000 shawl weavers in Srinagar alone (NAI/Foreign Sec. E., March 1883, no. 86). *Census of India* (J&K) 1891 records that there were 5148 shawl weavers. The level to which shawl trade of Srinagar had declined may be judged from the fact that only 148 persons were found working at it when an industrial enumeration was held in 1921. See Census 1911, vol. 1, p. 232.

<sup>370</sup> Lawrence, Walter, R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 375.

<sup>371</sup> Kashmir Government Records, General, *File No. 278, p. 16, 1915.*

<sup>372</sup> Khan, M.I., "Kashmiri Muslims: Social and Identity Consciousness", pp. 214-15.

<sup>373</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *Inside Kashmir*, pp. 97-8.

<sup>374</sup> Taasir, Rashid, *Tahreek-i-Huriyyat-i-Kashmir*, Vol. I, Srinagar: 1968, pp. 78-79.

members of the Reading Room Party were definitely drawn into the maelstrom of the politics of the Muslims of undivided India. This is also supported by the activities of the leaders of the All-India Kashmir Committee in Punjab and the Majlis-i Ahrar-i Islam Hind.<sup>375</sup>

Kashmir witnessed the persecution of Muslim agitators from 1930 to 1932, politics of Kashmiri Muslim remained under the direction and virtual control of the Punjabi Muslims. The Ahrars launched a people's movement in Kashmir and carried on intense propaganda in the form of a press campaign, meetings, processions of Kashmiri labourers, and the celebration of Kashmir day, against the State.<sup>376</sup> In their bid to establish their foot hold in Kashmir, the the Ahmadiyas In June 1931 sent Syed Wali Shah Zain-ul-Abidin and Chaudhari Bashir Ahmad to Srinagar to guide them.<sup>377</sup> Even Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, the emerging champion of Muslim sentiment and a very active member of the Reading Room Party, did not lose sight of the contribution of the 'Muslims of Punjab and Hind' and the Muslim Press to the ferment of the early thirties when he presided over the first session of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in October 1932. In his presidential address the Sheikh thanked them for all that they had done for Kashmiri Muslims.<sup>378</sup>

"Yet, the ideology of some Muslim leaders of the Punjab did not fit into the social milieu of Kashmir."<sup>379</sup> Their constant harping on the 'Hindu Raj' of Kashmir did rouse the Muslim sentiments.<sup>380</sup> But soon the 'Kashmiri leaders' sense of history convinced them of the hollowness of the idea of a religious conflict against the Dogras. This also

---

<sup>375</sup> The Kashmir Committee was formed after the meeting of some well-known Muslims like Mian Afzal Husain, Zulfiqar Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. S.M. Iqbal, the Nawab of Dacca, Shaikh Sadiq Husain Ansari, Saifuddin Kitchlew and the Nawab of Kanchore in Simla on 24 July 1931. Mirza Mian Bashiruddin Mohmud Ahmad, Khalifa of the Quadain Party, was made its President. Though initially started with the objective of rendering financial assistance to Kashmiri leaders for organizing the movement against the Maharaja, the Kashmir Committee openly supported the Muslim movement by sending jathas to Kashmir in 1931. Bazaz, P.N., *Inside Kashmir*, p. 142.

<sup>376</sup> NAI/Home Poll. *File No. 150 of 1934*; see also *Civil and Military Gazette*, 4 Feb. 1932.

<sup>377</sup> Taasir, Rashid, *Tahreek-i-Huriyyat-i-Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 95.

<sup>378</sup> Proceedings of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, 1932.

<sup>379</sup> Khan, M.I., "Kashmiri Muslims: Social And Identity Consciousness" p. 216.

<sup>380</sup> The observations of Maulana Abdus Salam Hamdani on the eve of the celebration of 'Kashmir Day' in Amritsar on 14 Aug. 1931 are worth quoting here: '... the Muslim subjects of Kashmir were greatly oppressed. There was nothing communal in this agitation and it was a pity that some people were trying to give it a communal colour', *The Tribune*, 8 Aug. 1931.

explains why, from the very start of the foundation of the Muslim Conference in 1932, its aims and objectives remained secular in principle.<sup>381</sup> It is worthwhile to quote the following excerpt of Sheikh Abdullah's Presidential address on the inaugural session of Muslim Conference in 1932:<sup>382</sup>

“As we declared many times that Kashmir movement is not communal but committed to redress the grievances of all sections of society. I assure my countrymen be they Hindus or Sikhs that we are committed to redress their grievances in the same manner as that of Muslims. Our country cannot progress unless we learn to live with peace and amity with each other and that is only possible when we learn to respect each other's genuine rights. Thus Kashmir movement is no way a communal movement”.

“It is necessary to examine here why after 1932 or so the Muslim leaders of Kashmir did not allow their minds to be influenced by the Muslim politics of Punjab. In the first place, the association of Kashmir leaders with the All-India Kashmir Committee which had some Ahmadiyas as its members, generated doubts among their co-religionists regarding their religious beliefs.”<sup>383</sup> This situation was exploited by the Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah who made much of this association. His diatribes against the Sheikh<sup>384</sup> were, however, understandable. In fact, the Sheikh's growing popularity<sup>385</sup> marked the gradual eclipse of the influence of the religious leadership among the people. But so vehement was the propaganda carried on against what they called the Sheikh's ‘unholy alliance’ with the Ahmadiyas, that the Kashmir leader had to write to (Allama Anwar Shah Shaikhul-Hadith) in 1932 affirming his faith in the finality of Prophethood (Khatam-i-nabuwat).<sup>386</sup>

---

<sup>381</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *Inside Kashmir*, p. 187.

<sup>382</sup> Tasir, Rashid, *Tahreek-i-Huriyyat-i-Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 263.

<sup>383</sup> Khan, M.I., “Kashmiri Muslims: Social and Identity Consciousness” p. 217.

<sup>384</sup> On 30 January 1933, Mir Waiz Mohammad Yusuf Shah in a sermon at Khanqahi-Naqshbandia alleged that the Sheikh was paving the way for spread of Ahmadiya movement in Kashmir. *Ibid.*,

<sup>385</sup> That the Mir Waiz felt the growing popularity of Abdullah as a challenge to his leadership is clearly noted in a letter dated 31 Oct. 1933 addressed by a Qadiani, Mirza Bashir-u-Din-Mohmud Ahmad to the people of Kashmir. Cited in Taasir Rashid, *Tahreek-i-Huriyyat-i-Kashmir*, Vol. I, pp. 270- 74.

<sup>386</sup> One should not however, lose sight of the fact that Abdullah received firm-support from the Ahmadiyas. That Abdullah was closely associated with the Ahmadiyas is evident from a reference by the British Resident in his report of 30 Oct. 1931 in which he referred to the arrest of S.M. Abdullah 'Qadiani'. NAI, *File No. 35*, Foreign and Pol. Report on Kashmir for the period ending 31 Oct. 1931. But it should not be supposed that the Kashmir leader had turned an Ahmadi, for 'the record of a conference of the All Jammu

### **Response of Pandits towards Muslim Assertion:**

Despite the secular and progressive character of the Muslim Conference, a common platform of Hindus and Muslims could not be forged. It was because of deep wave of suspicion and bitterness that run at the bottom of social relations among elite of these two communities. The Muslim assertion against the autocratic and sectarian state was viewed by Pandit elite against their privileged positions. They widened the gulf by adopting reactionary attitude towards the movement initiated by Muslims. Thus, the politics of Hindus of Kashmir began as reaction to the freedom movement. From the very beginning the attitude of Kashmiri Pandits towards the freedom movement had been one of hostility and antagonism. They characterized the movement as communal. According to them, the political consciousness among the Muslims stemmed from the “pro-Muslim” policies of the ruler and his government.<sup>387</sup> They argued that “pro-Muslim” policies of Maharaja Hari Singh had emboldened the Muslim subjects to rise in revolt against the ruler, in order to get more and more concessions from him. They also opined that C.E. Wakefield, Political and Foreign Minister of Maharajah Hari Singh, was instrumental in carrying out pro- Muslim policies against the Pandits.<sup>388</sup>

With these bizarre notions, the non-Muslims had failed to view the Muslim mass movement in its proper perspective. Instead of appreciating the grievances of Muslims before and after 1931 agitation they dubbed them as communal and looters, in doing this they “played the historic role of anti-revolution to a finish”<sup>389</sup> but with little success. They also failed to realize that their interests were safe only with the masses. Ignoring that the mass movement had struck in the soil of the state, they completely alienated from it and made efforts to protect their community’s interests by identifying themselves with the government and its machinery. In order to achieve objectives, they set themselves at cross purposes with the Muslims, trying parenthetically to lessen the

---

and Kashmir Muslim Conference held at Sialkot on 10 February 1940 shows that Abdullah staunchly denied being an Admadi!” Spencer, Lavan, *The Ahmadiya Movement: A History & Perspective* Delhi: 1974, p. 159.

<sup>387</sup> Khan, G.H., *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, pp. 182-83.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>389</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *Inside Kashmir*, p.291, substantiating the views of P.N. Bazaz, Gawasha Lal Koul writes that “the Hindus and Sikhs sided with the government. If they suffered at Vicharnag and Maharajgunj during 1931, It was because of their hostile attitude towards freedom struggle. For details see Koul Gawasha, Lal, *Kashmir Through the Ages*, P. 122.

political significance of Muslim movement. Kashmiri Pandits resisted against the gradual of rise of Muslims in different branches of administration. Following table shows that the strength of Muslims in all the civil departments of the State during 1939-40 was 24.93%, 30.37%, 46.67% in the Gazeted, non Gazetted and inferior ranks respectively, as against 15.48%, 23.97% and 42.33% respectively in April 1932.<sup>390</sup> The table shows that despite the gradual rise of Muslims, the administration was still monopolized by the Kashmiri Pandits.

---

<sup>390</sup> Community wise composition of Government Department, *File No. PR-A-36, 1941, JKA.*

**Table 4.4: Community-Wise Composition of State Departments as it stood at the end of 1939 and end of 1940 A.D. (Kashmiri year end 1995/and end of 1996.)<sup>391</sup>**

Department	Chief Secretariat										
	End of 1939						End of 1940.				
		M.	H.	S.	O.	Total	M.	H.	S.	O.	Total
General Deptt. Including S.S. Board	G	1	1	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2
	NG	4	11	-	-	15	3	12	-	-	15
	M.	4	6	-	-	10	4	6	-	-	10
Political including Publicity	G	1	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	2
	NG	5	14	-	-	19	5	14	-	-	19
	M	5	5	-	-	10	5	5	-	-	10
Visitors Bureau	G	1	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	2
	NG	2	6	-	-	8	2	6	-	-	8
	M	5	3	-	-	8	5	3	-	-	8
Finance Department Including AG's Office	G	2	6	-	-	8	2	7	-	-	9
	NG	56	205	2	-	263	58	209	3	-	270
	M	16	24	4	-	44	16	23	5	-	44
Saddar Treasury Srinagar	G	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
	NG	2	7	-	-	8	1	7	-	-	8
	M	2	3	-	-	5	2	3	-	-	5
Saddar Treasury Jammu	G	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
	NG	2	7	-	-	9	2	7	-	-	9
	N	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	5
General Treasury	G	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
	NG	1	49	-	-	50	1	49	-	-	50
	M	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2
<b>Total</b>	G	6	11	-	-	17	5	13	-	-	18
	NG	71	299	2	-	372	72	304	3	-	379
	M	32	48	4	-	84	32	47	5	-	84

<sup>391</sup> Ibid.

	Home Secretariat											
	End of 1939							End of 1940				
		M.	H.	S.	O.	Total		M.	H.	S.	O.	Total
Home sect.	G	1	1	-	-	2		1	1	-	-	2
	NG	8	18	2	-	28		9	17	2	-	28
	M	3	7	-	-	10		5	6	1	-	12
Police	G	4	11	1	2	18		5	11	1	2	19
	NG	199	380	28	1	608		204	383	29	1	617
	M	1258	1144	248	30	2680		1253	1119	225	35	2632
Div.Engineer's Office	G	2	-	-	-	2		2	-	-	-	2
	NG	4	8	-	-	12		4	9	-	-	13
	M	3	1	-	-	5		3	2	-	1	6
Colleges	G	10	38	-	-	48		12	39	-	-	51
	NG	8	13	1	-	32		11	13	1	-	25
	M	15	17	1	4	37		16	19	1	4	40
Boys Schools & Inspection	G	10	19	1	-	30		8	20	1	-	29
	NG	933	1351	95	32	2411		949	1333	93	32	2407
	M	95	115	5	2	217		99	116	5	3	223
Girls School Inspection	G	-	1	-	3	4		1	1	-	3	5
	NG	199	207	21	6	436		216	219	27	6	468
	M	119	121	20	3	263		136	121	19	3	279
Technical Education	G	-	3	-	-	3		-	3	-	-	3
	NG	18	39	-	-	57		18	41	-	-	59
	M	13	9	3	2	27		13	10	3	2	28
Public Libraries	NG	-	3	-	-	3		-	3	-	-	3
	M	-	6	-	-	6		-	6	-	-	6
Scout Organization	NG	1	4	-	-	5		1	4	-	-	5
	M	1	2	-	-	3		1	2	-	-	3
Research & Archy.	G	-	1	-	-	1		-	1	-	-	1
	NG	2	5	-	-	7		3	7	-	-	10
	M	3	3	1	-	7		3	4	1	-	8
C ivil and Medical	G	8	18	3	4	33		9	20	3	4	36
	NG	86	292	16	17	411		81	289	19	16	405
	M	127	147	18	6	298		137	159	21	8	325
Jails and Hail	NG	32	65	5	-	102		34	63	6	-	103

Press	M	132	103	36	12	282	120	108	39	11	288
P.W.D	G	3	15	1	1	20	4	16	1	1	22
	NG	58	287	10	1	356	64	287	11	1	363
	M	43	107	17	3	170	44	109	17	3	173
Electrical Mech.	G	-	4	-	1	5	1	4	-	-	5
	NG	20	2	2	2	116	33	125	8	2	168
	M	5	31	6	2	44	90	67	20	3	180
Telegraph & Tep.	G	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
	NG	52	97	4	9	162	57	100	4	9	170
	M	53	51	16	2	122	55	54	16	2	127
<b>Total</b>	G	38	112	6	11	167	43	117	6	10	176
	NG	1620	2861	187	68	4736	1684	2893	200	67	4844
	M	1869	1864	371	67	4171	1985	1902	368	75	4330



		Development secretariat										
		End of 1939						End of 1940				
Dev. Sect.		M	H	S	0	Total	M	H	S	0	Total	
	G	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	2	
	NG	1	8	-	-	9	3	14	1	1	19	
	M	2	2	-	-	4	4	4	1	1	10	
Jmu. Sericulture	G	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	
	NG	3	21	-	-	24	4	22	-	-	26	
	M	27	51	1	-	79	26	50	1	-	77	
Kmr. Sericulture	G	1	3	-	15	1	3	-	1	-	5	
	NG	21	39	-	-	60	20	33	-	-	53	
	M	147	80	14	-	541	413	73	13	-	229	
Kmr. Mulberry cultivation	NG	3	7	-	-	10	3	8	-	-	11	
	M	27	12	2	-	41	27	13	2	-	42	
Agriculture and Horticulture	G	1	3	1	-	5	1	3	1	-	5	
	NG	19	27	2	-	48	24	30	2	-	56	
	M	251	25	3	-	279	236	27	5	-	268	
Civil Vet. Deptt.	G	1	2	-	-	3	1	2	-	-	3	
	NG	32	26	5	-	63	36	28	5	-	69	
	M	59	11	1	4	5	65	13	1	5	84	
Com. And Industries Deptt.	G	-	4	-	-	4	-	4	-	-	4	
	NG	4	16	-	-	20	4	12	1	-	17	
	M	2	8	1	-	11	2	8	-	-	10	
Co-operative Deptt.	G	4	4	-	-	8	4	3	1	-	8	
	NG	43	43	4	-	90	43	43	3	-	89	
	M	38n	18	11	-	67	38	19	11		68	
Rural Dev. And Panchayat	G	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	
	NG	31	28	3	-	62	53	51	6	1	111	
	M	2	3	-	-	5	63	60	7	1	131	
Sgr. Municipality	G	1	3	-	-	4	1	3	-	-	4	
	NG	21	56	2	-	79	25	56	2	-	83	
	M	81	63	B3	1	148	79	55	4	1	139	
Jammu Municipality	G	-	2	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	2	
	NG	5	15	3	-	23	5	14	2	-	21	

	M	8	13	-	17	38	7	14	-	17	38
R.G. Press	G	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
	NG	20	88	1	-	109	25	84	3	-	112
	M	8	44	-	-	52	5	44	-	-	49
General Deptt. and Store	G	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
	NG	2	8	-	-	10	2	8	-	-	10
	M	11	21	1	-	33	8	23	-	-	31
Food Control Deptt.	G	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
	NG	16	22	1	-	39	16	22	1	-	39
	M	15	6	1	-	22	15	6	1	-	22
<b>Total</b>	G	9	28	1	1	39	10	27	2	1	40
	NG	221	404	621	-	646	263	425	26	2	716
	M	678	357	37	23	1095	718	409	46	25	1198

						<b>Law Secretariat</b>				
	<b>End of 1939</b>					<b>End 1940</b>				
	<b>M</b>	<b>H</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>H</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>Total</b>
G	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
NG	3	6	-	-	9	2	5	-	-	7
M	3	3	-	-	6	3	3	-	-	6
NG	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
M	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
G	10	32	1	-	43	12	33	1	-	46
NG	67	207	7	2	283	71	211	8	2	292
M	89	179	22	1	291	91	175	23	2	291
G	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	1
NG	10	9	1	-	20	11	8	1	-	20
M	5	5	-	-	10	5	5	-	-	10
						<b>M</b>	<b>H</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>Total</b>
G	12	33	1	-	46	13	33	1	-	47
NG	80	222	8	2	312	84	225	9	2	320
M	97	187	22	1	307	100	184	23	2	309

Includes L.Secy & Praja Sabha Secy and newly Created Post of the Asstt to Advocate General 4 new posts were created and 5 vacancies were filled during the period under report, which were not shown in the previous statement

		Revenue Secretariat									
		End of 1939					End of 1940				
Department		M	H	S	O	Total	M	H	S	O	Total
Revenue Secretariat	Gazetted	-	2	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	2
	Non – Gazetted	9	16	1	-	29	10	15	1	-	26
	Menials	3	9	-	-	12	4	9	-	-	13
Revenue commissioner's office	Gazetted	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
	Non – Gazetted	4	16	1	-	21	4	18	-	-	22
	Menials	2	6	-	-	8	2	6	-	-	8
Director land Records office	Gazetted	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
	Non – Gazetted	-	7	2	-	9	1	7	1	-	9
	Menials	1	2	2	-	5	1	3	1	-	5
Wazir Wazarats	Gazetted	3	6	-	-	9	4	5	-	-	9
	Gazetted	3	5	-	-	8	2	6	-	-	8
Revenue Asstts. Tehsildars	Gazetted	7	25	3	-	35	9	20	4	-	33
Naib Tehsildars	Non – Gazetted	12	22	3	-	37	13	20-	4	-	37
Governor Kashmir's office.	Gazetted	-	4	-	-	4	-	2	1	-	3
	Non – Gazetted	14	55	1	-	70	15	53	2	-	70
	Menials	11	9	1	-	21	10	8	3	-	21
Wazarat Anantnag	Non Gazetted	43	264	4	-	311	44	265	5	-	314
	Menials	44	31	16	-	91	45	31	16	-	92
Wazarat Baramulla	Non – Gazetted	51	229	13	-	293	53	227	14	-	294
	Menials	41	26	19	-	86	40	26	20	-	86
Wazarat Muzaffarabad.	Non Gazetted	53	53	12	-	118	50	52	16	-	118
	Menials	38	13	10	-	61	38	13	10	-	61
Wazarat Ladakh	Non Gazetted	97	19	2	17	13.5	102	16	-	17	135
	Menials	89	5	2	49	145	89	5	2	49	145
Revenue Assistants Office Kashmir	Non – Gazetted	13	12	1	-	26	12	12	-	-	24
	Menials	39	3	2	-	44	39	6	1	-	46
Governor Jammu's office	Gazetted	2	1	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	2
	Non Gazetted	10	46	3	-	59	9	42	3	-	54
	Menials	5	20	-	2	27	2	18	-	-	20
Wazarat	Non Gazetted	43	165	6	-	214	39	171	4	-	214

Jammu	Menials	25	54	3	1	83	23	54	3	3	83
Wazarat Mirpur	Non – Gazetted	50	126	18	-	114	54	122	16	1	193
	Menials	35	32	3	-	70	36	32	3	-	71
Wazarat Udhampur	Non Gazetted	35	163	2	1	201	38	161	3	1	203
	Menials.	28	97	-	-	125	33	100	-	-	133
Wazarat Kathua	Non Gazetted	17	117	1	1	136	15	119	1	1	136
	Menials	13	39	-	2	54	13	39	-	2	54
Wazarat Reasi	Non Gazetted	29	93	1	-	123	31	91	-	-	125
	Menials	18	42	-	-	60	17	43	-	-	60
Revenue Assistant's Office Jammu	Non Gazetted	2	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	-	8
	Menials	2	8	-	-	10	3	7	-	-	10
Forest Department	Gazetted	7	24	2	6	34	6	25	2	1	74
	Non Gazetted	397	940	118	2	1457	407	943	120	2	1472
	Menials	60	97	14	-	171	68	96	19	-	183
Game and Fish Preservation	Gazetted	1	2	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	3
	Non Gazetted	11	19	3	-	33	12	20	3	1	36
	Menails	91	62	18	8	179	89	62	20	10	181
Customs and Excise Deptt	Gazetted	4	15	-	-	19	4	15	-	-	19
	Non Gazetted	57	237	11	-	305	62	238	11	-	311
	Menials	128	259	22	7	416	138	253	23	7	421
Income Tax and Stamps	Gazetted	2	4	-	1	7	2	4	-	1	7
	Non Gazetted	10	13	1	-	24	10	13	1	-	24
	Menials	7	7	-	-	14	7	5	2	-	14
Kashmir State Property	Gazetted	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
	Non Gazetted	2	8	-	-	10	2	6	-	-	8
	Menials	3	9	-	1	13	2	9	1	-	12
<b>Total</b>	Gazetted	31	88	6	2	127	30	84	7	2	123
	Non Gazetted	966	2621	202	21	3810	986	2616	208	23	3833
	Menials	683	830	112	70	1695	698	822	123	73	1716

		Army Portfolio (Non – Combatants)									
		End of Chet 1939					End of Chet 1940				
		M	H	S	0	Total	M	H	S	0	Total
Army Ministar's office	NG	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	3
	M	1	2	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	3
C.M.SNG Office	NG	1	4	-	-	5	1	4	-	-	5
	M	1n	3	-	-	4	1	3	-	-	4
A.Q.M's Office	NG	3	14	-	-	17	3	14	-	-	17
	M	1	6	1	-	8	1	6	1	-	8
G.C.O's Office	NG	1	5	-	-	6	-	6	-	-	6
	M	1	3	-	-	4	1	3	-	-	4
D.M. Farm Office	NG	1	7	-	-	8	1	7	-	-	8
	M	-	3	1	-	4	-	3	1	-	4
H. Qrs K. Brigade	NG	2	4	-	-	6	3	4	-	-	7
	M	1	2	-	-	3	1	2	-	-	3
Do H. Brigade	NG	1	6	-	-	7	-	6	-	-	6
	M	-	5n	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	5
Mily Store Jammu	NG	3	13	-	-	16	3	12	-	-	15
	M	3	18	-	-	21	3	18	-	-	21
Do SNR	NG	2	5	-	-	7	1	6	-	-	7
	M	8	1	-	-	9	8	2	-	-	10
State Band	NG	1	2	-	-	3	1	2	-	-	3
	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S.M.O	G	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
	NG	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
	M	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
Mily Hospital Jammu	G	-	1	2	-	3	-	1	2	-	3
	NG	1	17	2	-	20	1	18	1	-	20
	M	54	15	-	-	69	54	14	1	-	69
Mily Hospital SGR.	G	2	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2
	NG	1	16	-	-	17	1	15	1	-	17
	M	52	7	2	2	63	51	7	2	2	62
Very	G	-	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2

Cadre	NG	4	5	1	-	10	5	7	1	-	13
	M	7	2	1	-	10	8	2	1	-	13
Asst D.M SGR.	G										
	NG	3	11	-	-	14	2	13	-	-	15
	M	27	20	3	-	50	32	24	-	-	56
Asst. D M F Jammu	NG	5	11	-	-	16	5	11	-	-	16
	M	32	47	2	11	92	39	47	3	11	100
Mily Sub Division	G	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
	NG	1	9	-	-	10	1	9	-	-	10
	M	1	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	2
<b>Totals</b>	G	2	5	2	-	9	2	5	2	-	9
	NG	30	133	3	-	166	28	138	3	-	169
	M	189	136	10	13	348	201	140	9	13	363

Source: File No. PR-A-36, 1941, JKA.

**Table 4.5: Community-Wise number of new appointments made during the year ending A.D 1940 (Kashmiri year 1996).**

		<b>M</b>	<b>H</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>Total</b>
Chief Sectt.	G	-	1	-	-	1
	NG	0	8	-	-	12
	M	3	3	1	-	7
Development Sectt.	G	-	1	1	-	2
	NG	41	59	8	2	110
	M	47n	31	3	2	83
Law Sectt.	G	3	1	-	-	4
	NG	6	8	2	-	16
	M	3	3	-	1	7
Home Sectt.	G	8	9	-	-	17
	NG	123	131	17	8	279
	M	156	93	35	9	293
Revenue	G	1	3	-	-	4
	NG	32	33	17	1	83
	M	40	34	20	1	95
Army Sectt. Non combatants	G	-	-	-	-	-
	NG	1	4	1	-	6
	M	9	1	-	-	10
<b>Total</b>	G	12	15	1	-	28
	NG	207	243	45	11	506
	M	258	165n	59	13	495

Source: File No. PR-A-36, 1941, JKA.

## INDEX

M=Muslims

H=Hindus

S=Sikhs

O=Others

G=Gazetted

NG=Non Gazetted

M=Menial

The Hindu news papers *Ranbir*, *Milap* and *Martand* carried out the intense propaganda against the secular and progressive movement of Kashmiri Muslims and dubbed it a communal instigated by Punjabi Muslims. *Milap* overemphasized the riots of



1931, portraying it a Muslim assault on Hindus.<sup>392</sup> Another Paper *Martand* run by Sanathan Dharma Young Men's Association preached hatred during whole period of its existence.<sup>393</sup> The paper voiced the grievances of Pandit community against the gradual rise of Muslims in government services after reforms introduced by State as a result of colonial intervention and outside pressure. For instance, the paper voiced its concern regarding promotions of few Muslims in the department of food control and published the news entitled *Mahkami Food Control main Hindun ke saath na insafi* (Discrimination against Hindus in food control department) on 16, May 1937,<sup>394</sup> notwithstanding the monopoly of Kashmiri Pandits in the said department; which is evident from the names of employees in the following table who were retrenched in the wake of financial complications in 1937:<sup>395</sup>

**Table 4.6: Names of employees retrenched in the wake of financial complications in 1937 A.D.**

<b>General section</b>		
<b>S. No.</b>	<b>Staff to be Retrenched</b>	<b>Pay</b>
1	Pt. Sham Sunder Handu	RS 100/-
<b>Record Section</b>		
2	Pt. Jai Lal Kaul	Rs 37/-
3	Pt. Nil kanth	Rs 33/-
4	Pt. Nadaudhan Dhar	Rs 32/-
5	Pt. Dina Nath Kaul	Rs 32/-
6	Pt. Dina Nath Dhar	Rs 25/-
<b>Ticket section</b>		
7	Pt. Jai Lal Raina	Rs 60/-

<sup>392</sup> *Milap*, 19-8-1931.

<sup>393</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *Inside Kashmir*, p. 290.

<sup>394</sup> *Martand*, Srinagar, 16 May, 1937.

<sup>395</sup> Retrenchment in the Food Control Department, *File No. PR/A-39*, JKA,

8	Pt.Kashi Nath Tiku	35/-
9	Pt. Ved Lal Sapru	35/-
10	Pt. Janki Nath Zitahu	30 /-
11	M.Ghulam Mohammad Qari	Rs 27/-
12	Pt. Nand Lal Kaul	Rs 27/-
13	Pt.Tota Kaul	Rs 21/-
14	Pt. Prem Nath kaul	Rs 21/-
<b>General Section</b>		
15	Pt.Sona Lal kaul	Rs 60/-
16	Pt.Sham Lal kaul	Rs 32/-
17	Pt.Kashi Nath Kaul	32/-
<b>Accounts section</b>		
18	Pt. Raghu Nath Dhar	Rs 60/-
19	Pt. Tika Lal pir	Rs 60/-
20	Pt.Nand Lal Bhat	Rs 60/-
21	Pt. Radha Kishen Raina	Rs 60/-
22	Pt. Zinda Lal Tiku	Rs 60
23	Pt.Kashi Nath Bhan	Rs 37/-
24	Pt. Mahadev Ram Chrangu	Rs 37/-
25	Pt. Aftab Ram Khachru	Rs 37 /-
26	Pt. Sri Kanth Safapuri	Rs 36 /-
27	Pt. Srikanth Kaul	Rs 36 /-
28	Pt. Maheshwar Nath Zalura	Rs 35 /-
29	Pt. Mana Bhat	Rs 30 /-
30	Pt. Veda lal Kenu	Rs 30 /-
31	Pt.Mahadev Ram	Rs 25 /-
32	Pt.Maheshwar Nath Bira	Rs 25 /-

33	Pt. Maheshwer Nath Firist	Rs 24 /-
34	Pt. Sham Sundar Dhar	Rs 24 /-
<b>Wazarat offices</b>		
35	Pt. Aftab Bhat	Rs 37 /-
36	Pt. Ram chand Raina	Rs 35
<b>Tehsil offices</b>		
37	Pt. Shiv Ram	Rs 30 /-
38	Pt. Dina Nath Kaul	Rs 30 /-
39	Pt. Maheshwar Kaul	Rs 30 /-
40	Pt. Vas Dev Kaul	Rs 29 /-
41	Pt. Ganesh Das Tiku	Rs 27 /-
42	Pt. Dina Nath Mandhu	Rs 26 /-
<b>Transport section</b>		
43	Pt. Lambudar Kaul	Rs 30 /-
<b>Chief supervisor's section</b>		
44	Pt. Serwa Nand Tiku	Rs 100 /-
45	Pt. Dina Nath Zitshu	Rs 60 /-
46	Pt. Balji Gadu	Rs 60 /-
47	Pt. Kashi Nath Kaul	Rs 60 /-
48	Pt. Jai Lal Bazas	Rs 45 /-
<b>Senior Ghat Munshis</b>		
49	Pt. Ganesh Das Kaul	Rs 37 /-
50	Pt. Sat Lal kaul	Rs 37 /-
<b>Ghat Munshis</b>		
51	Pt. Maheswar Kaul Jalali	Rs 35 /-
52	Pt. Nand Lal latu	Rs 35 /-
53	Pt. Ram Chand Sapru	Rs 35 /-

54	Pt .Sham sunder Bhan	Rs 35 /-
55	Pt. Bala Ram Kachru	Rs 35 /-
56	Pt.Dharism chand Tufohi	Rs 32 /-
57	Pt. Nand Lal khar	Rs 30 /-
58	Pt. Bishember Nath Dhar	Rs 30 /-
59	Pt. Sat Lal Kak	Rs 30 /-
60	M. Abdul Qadir	Rs 30 /-
61	Pt. Jin Lal Jala	Rs 30 /-
62	Pt. Nath Ji Zitahi	Rs 30 /-
63	Pt. Sarwa Nand Sadu	Rs 30 /-
64	Pt. Nand Lal kaul	Rs 30 /-
65	Pt.Sarwanand Rawlu	Rs 30 /-
66	Pt. Sarwanand Bazaz	Rs 30 /-
67	Pt. Gopi Nath Latlu	Rs 30 /-
68	Pt. Ved Lal Dhar	Rs 30 /-
69	Pt. Raghu Nath Kaul	Rs 30 /-
70	Pt. Ram Chand Kaul	Rs 30 /-
71	Pt. Isher Lal sanju	Rs 30 /-
72	Pt. Prem Nath Mattu	Rs 30 /-
73	Pt. Bi shember Nath	Rs 30 /-
74	M. Ghulam Mustafa	Rs 30 /-
75	Pt. Raghu Nath Pandit	Rs 30 /-
76	Pt.Bi shember Nath	Rs 30 /-
77	Pt. Prithvi Nath Bhat	Rs 30 /-
78	M. Abdul Wahab	Rs 30 /-
79	Pt.Prithvi Nath Kaul	Rs 30 /-
80	Pt.Shambu Nath Sultan	Rs 30 /-

<b>Clerks</b>		
81	Pt. Sona Lal Arik	Rs 21 /-
82	M. Ghulam Mohammad Bhat	Rs 31 /-
<b>Carpenter</b>		
83	Gaffara	Rs 35 /-

<b>Menials</b>		
<b>Main office</b>		
1	Mohamad Khan	Rs 14 /-
2	Mahadev Ram	Rs 14 /-
3	Lal khan	Rs 14 /-
4	Abdulla Mir	Rs 14 /-
5	Salam Bath	Rs 14 /-
6	Abdulla Khan	Rs 14 /-
7	Hamza Lone	Rs 14 /-
8	Sher Mohammad	Rs 14 /-
9	Mohammad Wani	Rs 14 /-
<b>Transport section</b>		
10	Kapur Singh	Rs 14 /-
11	Mahammad Shaban	Rs 14 /-
12	Abdulla khan	Rs 14 /-
13	Samdu	Rs 14 /-
14	Mala Rahman	Rs 14 /-
15	Mala Nabir	Rs 14 /-
<b>Chief supervisor's section</b>		
16	Rahim Bhat	Rs 14 /-

17	Ali Shah	Rs 14 /-
<b>Gulab Bagh Chowkidars</b>		
18	Mohammad khan	Rs 14 /-
19	Mala Rahim	Rs 14 /-
20	Razak Budu	Rs 14 /-
21	Ram chand Kachru	Rs 14 /-
22	Razak Bhat	Rs 14 /-
23	Abdul Aziz	Rs 14 /-
<b>Governor Kashmir office (Shali Peons)</b>		
24	Sarwa Nand Tiku	Rs 14 /-

**Source:** File No. PRA-39, JKA

The claims and counter claims over the religious places by the Hindus and Muslims embittered the relations between them. These disputes dated back to the year 1893, when a dispute between the two communities arose over a bathing place near a mosque in Aali Kadal in Srinagar. The Hindus had filed a case in the court of law. However, their claim was dismissed on the ground that there was “no proof in favour of Hindus”.<sup>396</sup> After that the Hindus forcibly occupied the place on the authority of the Maharaja’s orders, which had been issued secretly. Thus the Muslims were deprived of the bathing place.<sup>397</sup>

Another dispute over a piece of land at Nagbal in Islamabad gave rise to bitter relations between Hindus and Muslims in 1924. The Pandits wanted to construct a temple on a piece of land just opposite to the mosque at Nagbal. The Muslims raised an objection on the ground that the land belonged to the mosque. The dispute assumed an ugly shape when the Pandits prevented the Muslims from performing ablution rites on the day of Jumat-ul-Vida (last Friday in the month of Holy *Ramadhan*) which led to a quarrel. However, in June 1924 the Muslims constructed a *thara* (a sort of slab raised from the ground) in spite of the objections raised by the Pandits and without the permission of the authorities. The Pandits thereupon, informed the Maharaja of the unlawful construction of the *thara*, which they

<sup>396</sup> File No. 67-1893, JKA.

<sup>397</sup> Ganai, M.Y., *Kashmir’s Fight For Independence (1931-39)*, Srinagar Mohsin Publication, 2003, p. 121.

considered was encroachment on their rights. The Maharaja took a strict action by dispatching some army personal for the demolition of the *thara*. The Muslim community immediately after the demolition of *thara* resorted to boycott against the Hindus. This was reciprocated by Kashmiri Pandits in Srinagar. Kashmiri Pandits in Srinagar boycotted Muslim shops. In their public meetings they also used derogatory remarks against the Muslim kings who had ruled Kashmir in the past. These developments widened the gulf between the two communities.

The ugliest dispute cropped up at Khanqahi Mualla, Srinagar. On 24 August 1924, a few Kashmiri Pandits found the stones of Maha Kali, few yards away from Khanqahi Mualla, removed and missing they informed the police and in due course of time assembled at Ganpatyar, where from they marched in a procession to Khanqa shrine. The moment they entered the shrine they pelted the stones on the sanctuary and demolished the *thara* which Muslim used for offering prayers.

The communal strife during the modern period of Kashmir expressed itself less frequently in the form of riots when compared with British India. The event of 1931 was not a sudden development but a vehement expression of the grievances of Kashmiri Muslims. Different sections of Muslim population were seething with discontent but could not express their grievances openly owing to ban on press and formation of political association. The incidents like ban on *khutba* and *Tuhin-i-Quran* provided only spark to the already accumulated mass of explosives, which culminated into the Central Jail incident of 13 July, 1931.<sup>398</sup> Communalism reared its head at this critical movement. It so happened when a procession of Muslims was carrying some injured persons to the private clinic of doctor Abdul Wahid , a non-Kashmir Hindu trader, Lala Bhagat Kishen Chand, passed some derisive remarks on the Muslims and the dead and injured. A fracas ensued between the Muslims and the Punjabi Hindus with the result a tonga driver, Ghulam Nabi was ruthlessly beaten by the Hindus.<sup>399</sup> Unfortunately some Muslim miscreants took an undue advantage of the situation. They looted the shops of Lala Bhagat Kishen Chand and some neighbouring

---

<sup>398</sup> The event of 1931 is well known in the modern history of Kashmir. Adbul Qadeer, who was a non Kashmiri in the service of English officer made a hateful speech against Maharaja and was arrested on the charge of sedition on June 25, 1931. On 13 July when his trial was to begin in the Central Jail, the mob shouted slogans *Alla-o- Akhbar Abdul Qadeer Zindabad*, The police charged them with batons and meanwhile a battle ensued between police and mob and as a result 22 people were killed.

<sup>399</sup> Khan, G.H., *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 133.

Hindu shopkeepers. Muslims raised vengeance against the government and in their mind Hindus represented the government. Hindus also took revenge by looting Muslim houses and shops.<sup>400</sup> When Muslim leaders heard of this, they regretted the event and put an immediate stop on rowdyism. In the meanwhile, the native Pandits made a common cause with the non-Kashmiri Hindus against the Muslims. The relation between native Hindus and native Muslims became strained. Several areas in the city were racked by communal strife. Within two or three hours of jail incident the entire city presented the scene of a deserted battle field. Everybody looked panic stricken. The leaders of the Muslim community were arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Hari parbat. Government unleashed the suppression. An unhealthy development was the part played by the Kashmiri Pandits. Who identified themselves with the government and armed forces. Kashmiri Muslims were subjected to humiliation by the Dogra army who were guided by the Kashmiri Pandits.<sup>401</sup> The non- Muslims comprised the majority of CID staff who presented the government the distorted version of the speeches of Kashmiri Muslims.<sup>402</sup> Such a policy of repression made Muslims to believe that government and non-Muslims are one. The role played by non-Muslims in general and Kashmiri Pandits in particular in the suppression of Muslim discontent of 1931, created an impression in the hearts and mind of common Kashmir Muslims that Hindu were no less enemies to them and their cause than the government itself. With these considerations in view Muslim leaders followed the policy of caution. They advised the people to adopt the attitude of peace. The Muslim leaders warned Hindus that they should abandon their hostile attitude towards Muslim cause.<sup>403</sup> It was also made clear by the Muslim leadership that the agitation would continue unabated until the grievances of the Muslim subjects were redressed and their demands granted. Sheikh Abdullah remarks in *Atish chinar*:<sup>404</sup>

“When I received the news at my residence Nawabazar that the Muslim procession is carrying the dead bodies towards the city. I became anxious about the loss of precious lives. I was worried that the event should not take shape of communal strife. I directed

---

<sup>400</sup> Noor Din Khan (witness no.108 p.) Riots Enquiry Commission, 1931, vide Mirza Shafiq Hussain, *History of Kashmir: A study of Documents (1916-39)* p. 85.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid.

<sup>402</sup> Aljamait (Delhi), Augst 13, 1931, p. 5. Quoted from the speech of Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad on the eve of 1931, event in Kashmir, vide Khan, G.H., *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 137.

<sup>403</sup> It is important to mention here that the Muslim cause was rooted in politico-economic grievances of Kashmiri Muslims which is evident by the recommendations of Glancy Commission.

<sup>404</sup> Abdullah, Shiekh, Mohammad, *Atish-i- Chinar*, (Urdu), Delhi, 1986, p. 65.



Molvi Abdul Rahim who was with me to handle the situation and not to allow the procession to proceed ahead of Jamia Masjid. After some time Molvi Abdul Rahim returned with the news that there is a surcharged atmosphere and the processionists have resorted to loot at Zaina Kadal and Bohri Kadal.”

It is pertinent to mention here that Communal clashes of 1931, did not attain a mass base and remained confined to Maharaj Bazar and Vicharnag, area and its neighbouring quarters. Though the event led to the intensification of competing identities of Hindus and Muslims which played a significant role in the future of politics of Kashmir but it could not embitter the relations between two communities at common level owing to its limited social base.

One of the significant development of 1931, event was that the role of Punjabi Muslims became more frequent in Muslim politics of Kashmir. The Punjabi Muslims who exploited the growing discontent of Kashmiri Muslims were representing two rival sets of interests- Ahmadiyas and Ahrars. All India Kashmiri Committee formed within week of 13, July event was dominated by Ahmadiyas. On 24, July 1931, the All India Kashmir Committee called for the inquiry by the government of into the incident of 13 July 1931, in Srinagar, determined the observance of 14 August as ‘Kashmir Day’. And went so far as to review by the British Parliament of the 1846 Amritsar treaty.<sup>405</sup> On the other side Ahrars too demanded independent investigation into the conditions of Muslims in Kashmir.<sup>406</sup> By the end of the August Ahrars decided to infiltrate Jammu territory with *Jathas* (bands) of supporters.<sup>407</sup> The Jammu Muslim cultivators welcomed the Ahrar *Jathas*. In Jammu province, the mobilization activities of Aharar *Jathas* provoked months of violent ‘communal’ rioting that racked the tehsils of Mirpur, Rajouri, Seri and Kotli, between 1931 and 1934. Largely a rural revolt, Muslim cultivators directed their wrath against Hindu revenue officials, land owners and moneylenders and engaged in no-revenue campaigns.<sup>408</sup> In reaction, the State government took ‘unfortunate decision’ in January 1932, of extracting revenue forcibly in Mirpur tehsil by sending out its collectors under armed escort.<sup>409</sup> “From there the rural revolt spread with

---

<sup>405</sup> *Tribune*, 29 July, 1931, p. 8.

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>407</sup> *Tribune*, 29 August, 1931, p. 9 and 4 September, 1931, p. 8.

<sup>408</sup> Rai, Mirdu, *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects: Islam Rights and History of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004, p. 264.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*

remarkable speed and attacks were made on State's revenue collectors, Hindu shop owners, money lender-owned shops and Sikh population of the State. The situation grew too difficult for the Maharaja's government to handle on its own and so the State was compelled to call in British troops".<sup>410</sup>

Ahrar agitation in the state had converged with series of grievances felt by the largely Muslim cultivators of Jammu province. The revolt had been preceded by a period of propaganda carried on in mosques and State administration. These being represented as identical.<sup>411</sup> The greatest ire of the Jammu Muslim cultivators was directed against their urban and rural Hindu creditors, who were accused of disposing them of their lands at a time of agricultural depression of lands at a time of agricultural depression when they were unable to repay their debts.<sup>412</sup> Instances of the transfer of land were particularly evident in the very same areas racked by rioting such as Mirpur and Kotli. Most of the land was acquitted by Hindu *Sahaukars* (money lenders or traders), some by land landowners and the rest by officials, some of whom were not even resident in the State.<sup>413</sup> "Hindu moneylenders, the cultivators felt, were favoured by the local courts in money suits and in the execution of money decrees in spite of the Agriculturists Relief Regulation. In the areas where some Muslims were known to be money lenders, their houses too were looted so proving that the strained financial relations between agriculturists and moneylenders was one of the main causes of disturbances".<sup>414</sup>

The position of Muslim cultivators of Jammu was further exacerbated because they were thrown out of employment in the services outside the State. This was due to the suspension of projects in British India, such as the canal works in neighbouring Punjab, and general financial depression, these sources of income had shrunk considerably and increased the burden of the revenue demand of the State. Mirpur tehsils village had also supplied a large quota of troops to the British Indian Army during World War I, and many of them found themselves unemployed in 1920s. "At the same time, a keen land hunger had

---

<sup>410</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *Daughters of Vitasta*, New Delhi: Pamposh, 1959, p. 159.

<sup>411</sup> Rai, Mirdu., *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects*, p. 264.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid.

<sup>413</sup> Note by the Settlement Commissioner, Jammu and Kashmir State, dated 1 April 1915, OER, 1912, *File No. 273/H-79, JKA*.

<sup>414</sup> Rai, Mirdu., *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects*, p. 265.

developed in the preceding decade in Mirpur specifically, and Jammu province more generally, owing to the competition among Hindu ‘capitalists’ and from among retired soldiers for the acquisition of cultivable tracts. As a consequence the price of land was inflated out of proportion to any increase in agricultural prices that had in fact registered a fall since the onset of depression”.<sup>415</sup> The state had carelessly read the increase in land prices as an indicator of growing prosperity and in 1930 raised the already un-bearable land tax by 14.4 percent in several of the southern tehsils of Jammu.<sup>416</sup>

The riots in Jammu had the effect of stoking the fire of Hindu-Muslim antagonism throughout the state. In Kashmir, however, after the incidents of 1931, there were no riots on the scale of those witnessed in Jammu. And no communality of interests emerged between the Muslims of Valley with those of Jammu.<sup>417</sup> They differed in ‘race, language and culture. Though during the decade of 1930s and 1940s, the Muslim political leaders from the two regions sometimes forged alliance with each other but such an alliance could not succeed owing the distinctive regional orientation of the idea of ‘nation’ articulated by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah during 1940s round the concept of *Kashmiriyat*.<sup>418</sup>

Another occasion of communal disturbances occurred in September 1932. When on 22<sup>nd</sup> September on the eve of the final day of cleanliness week a procession of scouts including both Hindus and Muslims was taken through the city. Some Pandits boycotted procession as they had grievances against alleged unfair distribution of scholarships. As the procession was passing, some Pandit student boycotters jeered at the Pandit student of the procession. At the same time they tried to take a Pandit boys out of procession by force. This developed into a fight between Hindus and Muslims. The situation was further exacerbated by inflammatory speech of Pandit Jia Lal Kilam. The fighting soon spread to the neighbouring streets on purely communal lines. Government promulgated curfew order for

---

<sup>415</sup> Ibid.

<sup>416</sup> Note by Pandit Anant Ram, Director Land Records, dated 4 January 1932, Political Department, 1931, *File No. 385/R-G, 41, JKA*.

<sup>417</sup> Census of India (Jammu and Kashmir), 1931, parts I, pp. 103-04-107.

<sup>418</sup> The idea of *Kashmiriyat* was first introduced by the government of Jammu and Kashmir in the immediate post independence period, asserts that Kashmir was (and is) the repository of a composite, syncretistic culture – known as *Kashmiriyat* embodied by a blending of different religious and cultural traditions, including Buddhism, Savism, Sufism and Islam.

stopping disturbances. The casualties of this day were about 50 and were equally divided between the two communities.<sup>419</sup>

The apparent origin of the trouble was that the Pandit leaders lead by Pandit Jia Lal Kilam and Amar Nath Kak, were annoyed by the fresh distribution of scholarships between Hindus and Muslims.<sup>420</sup> The attitude of Muslim leaders towards non-Muslims during these disturbances is reflected by the following remarks of Shiekh Abdullah:<sup>421</sup>

After the minor riots on cleanliness day, a daughter of Kashmiri Pandit Gobind Ram in Bohri Kadal died a natural death and due to the prevalence of fear and insecurity they could not perform funeral rites. When I came to know about it I went to their house and accompanied them to the funeral ground at Chattabal where we performed her funeral rites.

After 1931 uprising the Kashmiri Pandits organized themselves under Yuvak Sabah and played a reactionary role against the freedom movement of Kashmir. About the hostile attitude of Kashmir Pandits, P.N. Bazaz remarks:<sup>422</sup>

They do not realize that their ultimate interest lie with the masses, though the progress of the Muslim masses may be inimical to their present middle class position. As their interests have tended to make them side with the Government generally, the Muslims have deemed the Kashmiri Pandits synonymous with the authorities. A fight with the government has taken the form of fight with the Pandits.

The strategy increasingly adopted by Kashmiri Pandits was to appeal more boldly to the Hindus of British India. Pandit Kashap Bandhu a leading member of the Kashmiri Pandit organization of the Santhan Dharm Youngmen's Association had written in January 1932 to the Hindu Sabaha in the British Indian city of Patna (Bihar). He suggested that it was evident from the manner in which the 'Glancy Commission was injuring the Hindu religion' that it was determined to root out Hinduism from the country' in order to 'please the Muslims'. Bandhu appealed to the Hindu Sabha to 'raise

---

<sup>419</sup> Report of the Resident of Kashmir on communal disturbances in Srinagar, Government of India (Foreign and Political Branch) *File No. 35-p (secret) 1932. NAI.*

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>421</sup> Abdullah, Sheikh, Mohmmad, *Aatish Chinar*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>422</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *Inside Kashmir*, p. 292.

(its) voice to ‘stir the Hindu world...so that they may protest against the Glancy Commission’s actions.’<sup>423</sup> In 1936 Pandits such as Jia Lal Kilam were even advocating forging a broader Hindu alliance with their erstwhile rivals, the Panjabi residents in the State.<sup>424</sup> Hindu Maha Sabha played a significant role in provoking the Hindu mind of India against the Muslim subjects of Kashmir whom Maha Sabha dubbed as sheer communalists bent upon destroying the Hindu State of the Maharaja of Kashmir. It was this fear which led the leaders of Sabha to serve the Hindu cause by undoing the freedom movement in Kashmir.<sup>425</sup> Even the Maharaja himself obtained the support of Hindu Maha Sabah against the freedom movement launched by his Muslim subjects. Hindu Maha Sabha also organized Public meetings and passed resolutions wherein it denounced the Kashmiri Muslims as conspirators against Hindu Raj and enemies of the Hindu subjects of State. For instance the Maha Sabha passed following resolution at Akola on 15 August 1931:<sup>426</sup>

“The Hindu Maha Sabha looks upon with fear at the fiery propaganda carried on against the Maharaja of Kashmir and at the occurrences of riots, murders, loot and incendiarism, The Sabha deems that there is a secret conspiracy of influential men working behind the agitation. The Maha Sabha warns the Government of India that in case the outer interference in the internal affairs of the State is not stopped, a misunderstanding will be created. The Maha Sabaha recommends to the Working Committee that a committee of inquiry to investigate into the matters regarding Kashmir, be appointed and report submitted.”

Again in 1937, the reduction in the sentence of cow slaughter by the court led to a “*Holy Cow Agitation*” in Jammu. The Kashmiri Pandits supported it vigorously, and Pandit leader Shiv Narain Fotedar made a derogatory remark about Prophet (pbh).<sup>427</sup> This led to communal trouble. Police firing claimed the life of one Muslim demonstrator, while several others also received gun shots. Fortunately, the small size of the Pandit community and poor

---

<sup>423</sup> English translation of a letter from Kashayap Bandhu to Jagat Narain Lal of Hindu Sabaha (Patna) dated 25 January 1932, IOL quoted by Rai, Mirdu, *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects*. p. 276.

<sup>424</sup> CID, Diary for May 1936, Political department 1932, *File no.216/P. S. 250 JKA*.

<sup>425</sup> Ganai, M. Y., *Kashmir’s Struggle for Independence*, pp. 116-17.

<sup>426</sup> *Aljamiat*, Delhi, August 20, 1931.

<sup>427</sup> Sararf, M.Y., *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, pp. 516-517.

means of communication did not let the trouble escalate into a human tragedy.<sup>428</sup>

A section of progressive minded Kashmiri Pandits represented by P.N. Bazaz supported the legitimate grievances of Muslims of State. It was because of their support and cooperation that decision towards formation of common platform was taken. On the last day of October 1932, Bazaz started first news paper *Vistata* in Kashmir which could not last long owing to its suppression by reactionary elements. In 1935, Sheikh Abdullah and P.N. Bazaz started a journal called *Hamdard* in Urdu to popularize the ideology progressive nationalism. *Hamdard* attempted to blaze the trail in political affairs of Kashmir without any distinction of colour caste and creed. It was standard bearer of democracy and unity of all Kashmiri's without any distinction of colour caste, and creed. The pressure of Hindu public opinion in Kashmir also helped to loosen the grip of the Muslim leaders of Punjab on Kashmir politics. The gradual association of the Muslim leadership of Kashmir with Gandhi and Nehru also began to influence the course of Muslim politics in the Valley. In November 1934, Abdullah while on a visit to various parts of India came into contact with Nehru and other nationalist leaders. Addressing a press conference in Lahore, the Kashmiri leader accused the Muslim leaders of Punjab of interference in Kashmiri affairs and also inciting communal tensions in Kashmir. Abdullah also expressed his desire to lay the foundation of an organization that would support the programme of the Indian National Congress.<sup>429</sup>

Abdullah's address at the press conference caused much reaction in Punjab. The nationalists applauded him, but the Hindu and Muslim communalists launched a virulent attack on him. While the Punjabi Muslims carried on vehement propaganda against Abdullah, the Punjabi Hindus described his statement as mere 'eyewash'. The Kashmir leader, however, proved true to his convictions. Soon after his return from Lahore, he began to mobilize public opinion in favour of a united party of Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir. It was not an easy task to prepare the ground for the foundation of a nationalist party, considering that a sizeable number of Muslim leaders (particularly Chaudhari Ghulam Abbas) wanted to retain the Muslim character of the Muslim Conference. However, it was Sheikh Abdullah's convictions that ultimately triumphed. He succeeded

---

<sup>428</sup> Khan, Muzaffar, *Kashmiri Muslims: An Historical Outline*, Vol. II, Srinagar: Humanizer Publications, 2012. p. 319.

<sup>429</sup> Taasir, Rashid, *Tahreek-i-Huriyyat-i-Kashmir*, Vol. II, pp. 327-28.

in winning over to his side even a diehard like Chaudhari Ghulam Abbas of Jammu. It was Chaudhari Abbas who, in a presidential address at the annual session of the Muslim Conference in October 1935, made a fervent appeal to the non-Muslims of the State to join Muslims in their struggle against the maharaja for 'social justice'. In May 1937, in his address at the annual session of the Muslim Conference at Poonch, Abdullah reiterated his party's stand for protecting the rights of the minorities and even pointed out that the Muslim Conference had gone a step further in this direction than the Indian National Congress.<sup>430</sup>

It was under these circumstances that the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference took place in 1939. The conversion of the Muslim Conference into the National Conference was an event of far-reaching importance in Kashmir's modern history. The change, besides giving a fresh impetus to the movement against the Maharaja, gave a definite political unity and political identity to Kashmiris. The reason why the All-India Muslim League could not make much headway in Kashmir was the opposition of the National Conference which had no faith in the ideology of the League. The National Conference articulated the need for political and economic programmes, strengthened by a strong regional identification and leadership which for all practical purposes wished the group to continue as a functional part of Kashmiri society. Furthermore, the orientation of the National Conference was purely Kashmiri; its outlook was not based on the lack of social integration with non-Muslims, but on close cooperation with them. It reflected a broader trend in Kashmiri society like the Kashmiri writers of the 1930s and 1940s who were both self-conscious and socially conscious in their endeavour to preserve what was of abiding value in their own culture and to assimilate from the outside what was vital for the building of a new society.<sup>431</sup> But National Conference could not secure of support of non-Muslims. Instead not only the progressive minded Kashmiri Pandits like Bazaz parted away from the organization but a section of Muslims led by Chaudary Ghulam Abas revived Muslim Conference under the mentorship of All India Muslim League. Thus, soon after the convergence of Muslim Conference into National Conference the dissent voices began to manifest itself in the formation of political organization which blurred the popularity of National

---

<sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>431</sup> Khan, M.I., "Kashmiri Muslims: Social and Identity Consciousness" p. 219.

Conference.<sup>432</sup>

Significantly, the emerging nationalism of the Muslims of Kashmir was not centered on the symbols of Islam or past Muslim supremacy. The leaders of the Indian National Congress were, therefore, drawn to Kashmir. Certain distinctiveness about the cultural foundations of the politics of the Muslims of Kashmir was particularly recognized by a keen observer and statesman like Pandit Nehru. Personally, Nehru was not only fond of Kashmir but profoundly proud of his familial ties with the picturesque Valley. He often talked about the distinctive character of Kashmir and its people. Not only did Nehru regard Kashmir as a definite historical cultural and linguistic unit, but he even described it as rich and lovely country to live in'. While 'India', according to Nehru, could not compare with China in craftsmanship, in Kashmir, he felt, 'there was something which could equate China'. He was full of praise for the Kashmiris' skill in handicrafts and their prominent role in many walks of life in 'India'. He was proud of the fact that Kashmiri Pandits were 'recognized in India as Kashmiris'. But he was sorry to note that many of the 'Muslim Kashmiris' were 'not known as Kashmiris'.<sup>433</sup>

"One might be tempted to say that Nehru touched the right chord by popularizing the concept of Kashmiri identity or *Kashmiriyat* to counter the influence of the two-nation theory on Kashmiri Muslims. But, then, he also struck the right balance by discovering the roots of the dilemma of Kashmiri identity. He was conscious of the sad reality that 'impelled by a desire for self-protection' the Kashmiri Pandits had organized themselves as a 'communal group' after the rise of the 'popular mass movement' in 1932. He therefore warned his 'own people' not to 'fall into the trap which minorities so easily fall' and urged them to join the National Conference which under Sheikh Abdullah's leadership had steered the mass movement out of the narrow waters of communalism into the broad sea of nationalism".<sup>434</sup>

---

<sup>432</sup> Soon after the conversion of Muslim Conference into National Conference the dissent began to manifest in the formation of political organizations like Muslim Conference, Kisan Mazdoor Conference but none of these organization could fill the political vacuum created by the weakening of National conference.

<sup>433</sup> Khan, M.I., "Kashmiri Muslims: Social and Identity Consciousness", p. 220.

<sup>434</sup> Ibid.



## Post 1947, Developments:

At the end of Dogra rule in 1947 A.D. economy of State was caught in vicious circles of poverty characterized by one of the lowest per capita income and consumption levels among the States of the sub-continent. Therefore low productivity and low levels of income and this whole vicious circle perpetuated poverty in the State. However without wasting any time the first government (1948) under Sheikh Abdullah based its development ideology along the same socialist lines as the rest of the country and took steps towards the reconstruction of the economy to liberate it from the dominance of the exploitative colonial structures. It is worth mentioning here that the programme of the reconstruction of the State economy had been articulated by the political leadership since 1940's and was presented to the people in the form of the manifesto called *Naya Kashmir*.<sup>435</sup>

In Jammu and Kashmir all the *Jagirs, Muafis and Mukaraies* were abolished in April 1948. The rights of 396 *Jagirs/Muafis* involving an annual land revenue assignment of Rs 5, 66, 313 were abolished. Besides fixed cash grants known as *Mukararies* (2437 in all) to the tune of Rs. 177,921 per annum were abolished.<sup>436</sup> These changes were hailed as revolutionary through whom land was taken away from the feudal and aristocratic proprietors without payment of any compensation. This apart, some far reaching amendments were also made in tenancy laws. Safeguards were provided to the tenants-at-will. These were followed by the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act 1950. The Big Landed Estates Abolition Act of 1950 was radical measure which also fixed a uniform ceiling of 22.75 acres on land holding. The rights of land owners in excess of this ceiling were extinguished and their land was transferred to the tillers. As a result of this enactment 9,000 and odd proprietors were expropriated from 4.5 lakh acres of land and out of this 2.3 lakh acres were transferred in ownership right to the tillers free of all encumbrances and the remaining land vested in the state.<sup>437</sup>

The success of the Act of 1950 can be very well appreciated from the fact that out of 9.5 lakh acres of land distributed throughout the country till 1970 about half (i.e., 4.5 lakh

---

<sup>435</sup> In September 1944 the National Conference published *New Kashmir*, its blue print for the future of the state, heavily infused with socialist jargon and reputedly drafted by a communist, P.L. Bedi, the document promised equality of sex, age, class or creed, the abolition of landlordism, nationalization of big business, and an eight hour working day, for more details see, *The New Kashmir Manifesto*.

<sup>436</sup> Beg, Mirza, Afzal, "Land Reforms in J&K" in *Mainstream*, Vol. XVI – 6, 1976, P. 27.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28

acres) was distributed in J&K alone.<sup>438</sup> Barring certain limitations, such as exemption of orchards from the ceiling limits and making no distinction between the 22.75 acres of dry or irrigated fertile land the act was progressive measure. In 1972 the Jammu and Kashmir Agrarian Reforms Act was enacted which ended the rights in land of those who personally never cultivated. It also reduced the ceiling limit to 12.5 standard acres on land. But no major progress could be achieved on implementation front. This Act was however, repealed by the Agrarian Reforms Act in 1976 which among others also made no exemption in favor of orchards. The implementation of this Act has, however been very slow and tardy. As an example, rights of ex-owners were extinguished for over 3, 49, 794 acres of land affecting 501557 ex-owners and 533,222 persons have been declared prospective owners. But absolute ownership rights have been conferred on 162041 persons for land measuring 117797 acres. Thus, only 30.39 percent of the persons conferred with prospective ownership rights have been made absolute owners so far.<sup>439</sup>

The State government had also passed the Jammu and Kashmir Distressed Debtors Relief Act 1949 and Jammu and Kashmir Debtors Relief Act 1976 under the Debtor's Relief Act 1949, the debts to the tune of Rs 290 lakhs were settled at Rs 98 lakhs only, and 60 percent of the claims were disposed by conciliation. Similarly immovable property worth Rs. 37 lakhs which had been mortgaged by 34,000 persons were also restituted.<sup>440</sup>

The sweeping land reforms registered a land mark in the history of Kashmir. The hitherto feudal system was eliminated in all its forms and manifestations. Land was transferred to the actual tiller with a 'bundle of rights' of permanent nature without any compensation being paid to the owner of the land. Besides securing the position of peasant the land reforms also restored the confidence in the peasant and had begun to extinguish Kashmir's kaleidoscopic hierarchies.<sup>441</sup> The radical nature of land reforms had substantially emancipated the peasantry of the state from bondages of institutional depressants and, therefore, had injected an element of dynamic growth in agricultural setting of the state. The peasant now was very eager to make investments in land as he was more secure and was the

---

<sup>438</sup> Verma, P.S., *Jammu and Kashmir at Political Cross Roads*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1994, p. 94.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>440</sup> Beg, Mirza, Afzal., "Land Reforms in J & K", p. 28.

<sup>441</sup> Devdas, David., *In Search of Future: The Story of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Penguin Books India, Pvt. Ltd, 2007, p. 92.

direct beneficiary of any such investments. Moreover, since the peasant was now master of his own land and could take decision having market utility, therefore, it is not astonishing to see that peasant resorted to the high yielding market crops, hence changing market pattern of the state. It is pertinent to mention that, economically, land reforms produced mixed results. No doubt it succeeded in empowering a large section of peasantry by transferring land to them but the arbitrary nature of distribution led unequal distribution of land. Since land was transferred to the tillers the landless laborers did not get any land and in most cases peasants got very less land than others. This further created class structure in the society. It is however pertinent to mention that exemption of orchards from the ceiling limits and incentive for horticultural development also played a key role played in giving agriculture a commercial orientation. Orchardization in Kashmir with high remunerative value was, therefore, to a considerable extent the direct and long drawn effect of land reforms. The substantial decrease in land revenue in the beginning and its subsequent abolition under the land reforms programme did ameliorate the condition of peasant and enable him to save and invest money on other basic necessities of life. The economic emancipation paved way for the social advancement motivating the peasant to educate his children and avail facilities of better health and cultural advancement. “They fostered the phenomena of occupational mobility, inter-caste-marriages and gradual shift from joint to nuclear family pattern”.<sup>442</sup> However it is interesting to mention that in case of *Shia* sect, land reforms had a negative impact so far as the social status of those who received land was concerned. *Shias* follow their religious leader than (political leadership). Even today in the *Shia* community those who got land due to land reforms are referred as *gassib* (grabbers).<sup>443</sup>

The transformation of rural economy, however, had far-reaching political consequences, thousands of newly empowered peasant families would henceforth regard Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah seen as principal agent of transformation as a *Messiah*.<sup>444</sup> These emancipated serfs thus, provided an everlasting supportive base to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and were at his back till his very end. However at the same time the land reforms antagonized the Kashmiri Pandits who were hit hard by the land reforms being the main beneficiaries of the feudal and sectarian rule of Maharajas. As the Kashmiri Pandits enjoyed

---

<sup>442</sup> Kaw, M.A., “Land Rights in Rural Kashmir”, in Aparna Rao, (ed.) *The Valley of Kashmir: the Making and Unmaking of a Composite Culture*” New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2008, p. 232.

<sup>443</sup> Interview with Mohammad Sultan Dar, age 80 years, resident of Anantnag on 27-04-2011.

<sup>444</sup> Bose, Sumantra., *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*, New Delhi: Vistaar Publication, 2003, p. 28.

considerable influence in the corridors of New Delhi, they, it is believed, launched a sustained movement against sheikh government. Also in parts of Jammu region anti-reform movement was launched by Prajaparishad.<sup>445</sup> The “majority of the landlords and moneylenders were Hindus, and naturally the axe fell on them”.<sup>446</sup> And they dubbed the measure as anti-Hindu and Pro-Muslim.<sup>447</sup> In this context one of my Hindu respondents Rattan Chakoo from Ganpatyar narrated<sup>448</sup>:

*“My fore- fathers were chakdars of chukpora village. We had large tracts of land as chak in that village and it is after the name of village that we got nick name chakoo. Under land reforms the whole land got transferred to the Muslim tenants of the village, we got antagonized by these measures, these measures adversely affected our economic condition I have still ill-feeling of this measure in my heart.”*

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is industrially one of backward States of Indian Union. Barring a few large and medium factories, the industrial activity in the State remained confined to the small scale sector, handicrafts, village and cottage industries and handlooms. The number of educated unemployed persons in 1971, 1973, and 1976 was 10,000, 13,864 and 26,811 respectively. According to census figures of 1981 to 1986 educated unemployment increased from 225.7 to 369.9 percent ten thousand of literate population.<sup>449</sup> The community wise disparity in the extent of educated un-employment has significantly contributed to the rise of ethno-regional tensions in the State.

The growing representation of Muslims in the public services also caused resentment among the Pandit community. It is revealing to quote Prem Nath Bazaz.<sup>450</sup>

*“In the matter of public services, the Muslims got preferences over Hindus not only at the time of new recruitment but also in promotion to higher grades where better qualified Hindu candidates and senior employees were overlooked to make room for less qualified and insufficiently experienced Muslims. In this process Pandits whose ancestral occupation in the Past millennium has been government service were hit*

---

<sup>445</sup> Verma, P.S., *Jammu and Kashmir at Political Cross Roads*, p. 95.

<sup>446</sup> Gupta, Jyoti Bhusan Das, *Jammu and Kashmir*, The Hague: Blackwell Publishing, 1968, p. 190.

<sup>447</sup> Verma, P.S., *Jammu and Kashmir at Political Cross Roads*, p. 95.

<sup>448</sup> Interview with Rattan Chakoo, age 45 years, resident of Gunpatyar Srinagar, on 29- 07-2011.

<sup>449</sup> Verma, P.S., *Jammu and Kashmir at Political Cross Roads*, p. 99.

<sup>450</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *Kashmiri Pandit Agitation and its Aftermath*, New Delhi: Pamposh Publications, 1967, p. 9.

*harder; the problem of educated unemployment already causing concern to the Pandits became more acute. It caused heart-burning to know that a less qualified Muslim was appointed to a job while his better qualified compatriot was left on the street merely because he was a Pandit. Senior Pandit teachers and officials stagnated at one post while junior Muslims with equal or inferior qualification went up and up in the gradation list. In the matter of admission to science, medical and technological institutions the conditions were even worse. The most distressing feature of the changes was that no definite rules or specific regulations were framed to carry them out. The method of recruitment, promotion or admission altered from year to year depending on the whims of the rulers. In Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's regime the will of the Prime Minister became the law. Whatever the political expediency in the following this policy it caused ill-will and resentment. But in the first years of the great change the Pandit community bore the sufferings patiently though not without murmur".*

Thus the democratic and progressive measures adopted by the popular government caused resentment and ill-feeling among the Pandit community. The Pandit resentment continued under the successive regimes, what Pandits disliked was the rapid rise of Muslims in all walks of life. This added to the resentment and ill-will against the Muslims and Kashmir government.<sup>451</sup> In this context one of Interviewee Bushan Lal from Gunpatyar narrated as:<sup>452</sup>

*"After the establishment of popular government educated Pandits were ignored against the illiterate Muslims. There were so many illiterate Muslims appointed by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad in government departments which created resentment among the educated Pandit community".*

However, out of 2252 gazetted posts, Pandits hold no fewer than 638 that is over 28%. And out of 44529 non-gazetted appointments, Pandits hold 7136 or more than 16%. On the whole Pandits roughly constitute 1.5% of the total population of J&K State. Their representation in the services was therefore by no means unfair to warrant a grievance.<sup>453</sup>

In 1963, when *Moy-e-Muqaddas* (Prophet Muhammad's {pubh} hair) disappeared from the Hazratbal mosque, lots of rumors were manufactured to deepen the conflict between

---

<sup>451</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>452</sup> Interview with Bushan Lal, age 60 years, from Gunpatyar Srinagar, on 29-07-2011.

<sup>453</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *Kashmiri Pandit Agitation and its Aftermath*, p. 10.

the two communities which did create some fissures, but as soon as *Moy-e-Muqaddas* was found everything returned to calm. During these crises, Kashmiri Pandits liberally contributed to the street kitchens organized to feed the rural Muslims who marched to Srinagar in huge numbers along snowbound roads to express their anger and anguish over the displacement of holy relic. People have termed it as ‘lip-service’ and ‘a defense against the possible growth of anti-Pandit sentiment’. Nevertheless, it did generate some good will.<sup>454</sup> In rural Kashmir both Hindus and Muslims joined the protest together demanding the return of *Moy-e-Muqaddas*.<sup>455</sup> In 1967, when a Kashmiri Pandit girl, Parmeshwari married a Kashmiri Muslim, it generated a lot of resentment and protest among Pandits. The Parmeshwari case had a very bad impact on Pandits, as they started gravitating towards communalism consciously. This was due to the fact that the urban elites of the Pandits began to invoke communal tendencies among rural Pandits by evolving small associations among them in almost every area. From mid-1970s, Hindu communalism became pronounced in urban areas and some rural towns like Anantnag, Shopian, Pulwama, Pattan etc. and the Pandits started identifying themselves with the Hindu reactionary ideology of mainland India.<sup>456</sup> Fortunately only a very small section of the majority community in Srinagar reacted to these inflammatory utterances and the bulk of Muslims remained calm and unaffected. In this context my respondent Mr. Nazir Ahmad from Habakadal Srinagar narrated:<sup>457</sup>

*“During the Parmeshwari episode only a very small sections of both the communities were involved in agitation, but the majority among both the communities remained calm. Government imposed curfew for two three days after that we returned to the normal business. I attended my shop and my Hindu customers greeted and interacted me as usual”.*

It is the established fact that but for the timely action taken by the administration and the attitude of tolerance and communal harmony displayed by the majority community, there would have been a widespread communal holocaust in Kashmir.

---

<sup>454</sup> Khan, Muzaffar, *Kashmiri Muslims*, vol. II, p. 323.

<sup>455</sup> Interview with Som Nath, age 70 years, resident of Seer Hamdan, on 26-04- 2011.

<sup>456</sup> During Parmeshwari episode, a hastily set up Hindu Action Committee gave a call for agitation for the recovery of Pandit girl. Kashmiri Pandits began collecting in large numbers at Shital Nath accusing the government of diabolical conspiracies to crush the minorities. In this highly surcharged situation, the visit and irresponsible utterances of Hindu Mahasaba and Jan Sang leaders only added fuel to the fire. See Makahan Lal and Mohan Lal, *The Parmeshwari affair: What do Kashmiri Pandits Want*, p. 2.

<sup>457</sup> Interview with Nazir Ahmad, age 55 years, from Habakadal Srinagar, on 16-08-2011.

However, since the Pandit leaders were somewhat unsure of their ground on the Parmeshwari issue, the case having been taken by them to the court, various other matters also began to be agitated by the Pandit ‘dictators’ on the platform and press including their grievances about inadequate representation in services, technical training etc. On their visit to Delhi the delegation of Hindu Action Committee contacted the communal elements and engaged themselves in a bitter campaign against the State Government. All types of blood-curdling stories were invented by them to mislead the public opinion. They not only threatened to revive the agitation but talked openly of advising their community to embark on a mass migration from Kashmir.<sup>458</sup>

In 1979, after the execution of Zulfqar Ali Butoo in Pakistan, the Jamaat-i-Islamia members were attacked, their property was damaged and their houses were put to ablaze. Pandit community perceived threat of this event. My respondent Ali Mohammad Sheikh from Dadsara Tral who himself was the member of Jamat-i-Islamia and victim of frenzy narrated that after that incident a Pandit Ved Lal of neighboring village told me that “*It is their wrath on the co-religionist if they tomorrow turn against us*” Similarly my another respondent K.L. Koul from Muran Pulwama said<sup>459</sup> “*Though no harm was done to the Pandits during that time but we perceived a threat that they did it with their own community members and with those who are considered true Muslim, If tomorrow they turn against us what will be our fate*”.

A defining moment in the Hindu-Muslim relations was perhaps in February 1986 When the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi ordered the opening of Babri Masjid doors in Ayodhya. This prompted a group of Muslim thugs patronized by the pro-India politicians and they attacked the Hindu temples in village Vanpoh, Lokbhawan, Bijbehara and at few other places in Anantnag district. Although, no one was killed but many Hindu families were harassed. One of my interviewee Mohammad Sultan from Aukoora Anantnag in this context stated:<sup>460</sup>

---

<sup>458</sup> In a statement Mr. P.N. Ghasi President of Kashmir Hindu Action Committee said that unless steps were taken to protect the Hindus they will have no other alternative but to adopt a policy of mass migration. He said none of the assurances given by the Home Minister Y.B. Chavan, on September 3 has been implemented after that date. Also no action has been taken so far to inquire into the police excesses. He accused the Kashmir government of instigating the Home guards and Police to continuously harass minority community; (*Times of India, September 17, 1967*).

<sup>459</sup> Interview with K.L. Koul, age 63 years, resident of Muran Pulwama, on 02-07-2011.

<sup>460</sup> Interview with Mohammad Sultan, age 56 years, from Aukoora, Anantnag, on 26-04-2011.

*“At that time it was the policy of the central government who patronized the vulgars and attacked the temples in different places of District Anantnag. At that time we guarded the temples in our village. In the neighboring village of Aukoora the idol was put into water by unknown persons during the night and FIRs were lodged against the Muslims of village who hid themselves from the police and did not sleep in their houses during night. However the Muslims of the village did not attack their Hindu brethren. It was conceived that this disturbance has been created by vested interests.”*

The occasion was used by opposition political party workers to weaken the ruling party headed by Ghulam Mohammad Shah by indulging in the riots. Although, the situation returned to normalcy within a few days, it shook the entire Pandit community giving way to an unexplainable unease. Many resourceful Pandits from Srinagar and other urban areas started buying land and homes in Jammu and Delhi thinking that Kashmir was heading for some unknown trouble. The Hindu reactionary political parties from Indian mainland were quick to cash the situation by rushing the pack of a couple of truck loads of aid including some food items, blankets etc for the affected families but their local representatives misappropriated it. However, it did register the linkages of local community with main land Hindu reactionary forces.

The elections held to Praja Sabah in 1934, witnessed sharp communal cleavage between the Muslims and non-Muslims on one hand and within Muslims on the other. Within the Muslims the behavior of the two Muslim parties i.e. Muslim Conference and Azad Muslim Conference was so intensely communalized that fight for vote became virtually a war between Islam and *Kafirs*. The Hindu voters were also mobilized on emotive considerations by various communal groups such as Sanathan Dharma Yuvak Sabha of Kashmiri Pandits and Hindu Sikh Navjawan Sabaha of Jammu province. The system of separate electorate was used to indulge in communal politics. Religion played a decisive role in determining voter's choice and preference.<sup>461</sup> The party system in the State has been largely influenced by local conditions and primordial factors of religion, ethnicity, region, family and personality of leaders.<sup>462</sup> Most parties have been either based on religio-regional considerations or represented “coalition of elites” i.e. vested interests, They channeled the people's problems

---

<sup>461</sup> Khan, G.H., *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, pp. 256-257.

<sup>462</sup> Ibid.



and frustration along ethno-communal and regional lines. After 1947, Kashmiri Pandits have consistently supported the Congress party. However they would not forget Jana Sangh candidates for State Assembly. These political parties sharpened the communal identities to their political advantage. In 1983, State Assembly elections in the Valley Congress (I) tried to communalize the situation by dividing the people on communal and ethical lines. Thus, in Habbakadal constituency a predominantly non-Muslim constituency, a non Muslim candidate was contesting on Congress (I) ticket. Similarly, the Pattan constituency, a predominantly Shia area, saw the Shia religious leader as the Congress I candidate. The local Congress (I) campaign had all the religious overtones. They saw to it that Muslim leaders were brought from different parts of the country to address election meetings. The election meetings were started with the recitation of Holy Quran.

Considering nature of the freedom struggle of Kashmir against Dogra raj the possibility of J&K acceding to either India or Pakistan on the eve of partition inevitably carried serious implications. The possibility of either was bleak, not only due to the distinctive character of Kashmiri Muslim nationalism, but also owing to the Maharaja's desire to preserve the unique character of his State with a large Muslim population.<sup>463</sup> The situation was disturbed by the tribal revolt of 1947, which proved to be a turning-point in sealing the fate of J&K as an independent state. Fearing the forcible annexation of the State to Pakistan, the Maharaja fled to Delhi. Under these rather exceptional circumstances,<sup>464</sup> he appealed to the Indian Government for help and offered to accede to the Indian Union. Delhi was, however, cautious in its response, for two basic reasons: first, J&K was a Muslim majority area and, second, the mass participation of Muslims in the struggle against the Maharaja had convinced Indian statesmen of the cultural and regional roots of their nationalism. Thus Delhi did not risk the possibility of annexing J&K on the principle of complete integration. This explains the somewhat hesitant acceptance of the offer of accession and the stipulation that the accession would be ratified ultimately by popular consultation. However, the Indian forces that landed in Kashmir were able to drive the Pathans out of the Valley, though the ceasefire called by the United Nations divided the area into two administered territories, 'Azad Kashmir' and Indian-administered Kashmir. On 5 March 1948, the Maharaja conceded full

---

<sup>463</sup> Abdullah, Sheikh, Mohammad, *Flames of the Chinar: An Autobiography*, New Delhi: Viking, 1993, p. 397.

<sup>464</sup> Lamb, Alstair, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, 1846-1991* Karachi: Oxford University Press, pp. 148-56.

governmental powers to the National Conference. Sheikh Abdullah became the Prime Minister and the Constituent Assembly of Indian-administered Kashmir, elected in October 1951, ratified the accession, while ratifying the autonomy of the State. The accession of the State was given legal and constitutional validity by the incorporation of Article 370 in the Indian Constitution which defined its special relationship with India.<sup>465</sup>

The Kashmiri Muslim leadership worked out a harmonious relationship between Islam and nationalism. Kashmiri Muslims, under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, generated both a positive conception of what they wanted and the political means to attaining it, attested to by their mass participation in the elections to the State Assembly and the Indian Parliament in the aftermath of the Indira Gandhi-Abdullah Accord of 1975. Significantly, even after the Accord, Kashmiri Muslims remained deeply concerned to preserve Article 370. “The Jamaat-i-Islami’s participation in the elections in the wake of the Accord, for instance, was apparently prompted by a resolve not only to liberate the state from the 'Indian yoke' but also by the contradictory aim of capturing political power to enforce the Shari’a from above. Paradoxically, the Jamaat’s earlier attempt to fulfill such an objective, even though partial and superficial, had come to naught in 1971”.<sup>466</sup> It is important to note that JJK had consistently that the Kashmir dispute be solved by negotiations not through armed conflict.

“The story of Kashmiri Muslims is a conundrum not only for the experts, but paradoxically even for Kashmiri Muslims themselves. Their story has been a long one, with many vicissitudes. Neither India nor Pakistan have garnered much glory in their policy of maintaining the balance of terror at the cost of suffering of the teeming millions of poverty-stricken inhabitants. The point is that this story is not over, particularly as the psychological genocide with which Kashmiri Muslims have felt threatened since 1953, has now, unfortunately, a reality in the over-reaction of State power to the challenges of militancy. And what has turned the second great tragedy in the subcontinent after Partition into a comedy of contemporary politics is the ingenuity of Delhi and Islamabad in allowing the centuries old Kashmiri urge for preserving a cultural and religious identity to flounder in a whirlwind of political romances inspired paradoxically by

---

<sup>465</sup> Khan, M.I., “Kashmiri Muslims: Social and Identity Consciousness” p. 221.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

battered ideologies like Indian secularism and Muslim separatism”.<sup>467</sup>

For a number of historical and social reasons, the politics with which the Kashmir Muslims and Pandits identified since 1930s till date has remained exclusive. The political movement of Kashmir, led first by the Muslim Conference and later by National Conference, gave rise to a politics to which not many Pandits could identify. In fact, they were quite uncomfortable and saw it aimed against their privileged position whether it was demand for education and employment opportunities under the banner of Muslim conference or demand for land reforms under National Conference. Anathema towards this politics was quite inevitable among the educated Pandits, who were, till now monopolizing jobs and holding land.<sup>468</sup> Needless to mention after the division of Indian subcontinent on the lines of religious geography Kashmiri Pandits resolutely turned pro-Indian. After the dismissal of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in 1953 and the subsequent launch of plebiscite movement which continued for 23 long years under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The movement ended up in creating deep rooted anti India and Pro-Pakistani mentality among Kashmir Muslims. “To be sure by 1975, Kashmiri society was divided into two mutually incompatible religio-political identities: one gravitated towards India and other towards Pakistan”.<sup>469</sup> Such political gulf which often came out in open but never assumed belligerent form. P.N. Bazaz warned the Pandits of consequences for playing reactionary role against the popular sentiment. He says:<sup>470</sup>

“The future of the State Hindus can be safe and hopeful only if they abandon their present attitude of reliance on the military might of India and begin to have faith in the good-will and large-heartedness of the Muslim majority. Until and unless Hindus can imbibe an undying faith in democracy they can have no future in Kashmir”

The major crisis that shook the very basis of the Kashmir’s social and political set-up was the mass militant resistance of early 1990s. It led to a severe crisis for both the

---

<sup>467</sup> Ibid., pp. 227-228.

<sup>468</sup> After 1939, some prominent educated Pandits like Kashyp Bandhu, Bazaz, Prem Nath, J. L. Kilam lent their admirable support to the leadership of National Conference. However, it is important to note that there was no mass participation of Pandits in the National movement. This was almost because of reactionary role of Yuvak Sabha, who considered the end of Dogra rule means establishment of Muslim rule. Khan G.H., *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, pp. 57-59.

<sup>469</sup> Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, “Religion, Economy and political Crises in Kashmir” in Chowdary, Rekha (ed.), *Identity politics in Jammu and Kashmir*, Vitasta Publishing, Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi: 2010, p. 179.

<sup>470</sup> Bazaz, P.N., *The History of the Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p. 570.

communities, Kashmiris as whole suffered during the period of militancy. However, the fact remains that militancy remained confined to the Muslim community alone and Hindus did not identify themselves with the movement. In such a surcharged atmosphere when Kashmiri Muslims went on streets to give vent to their political sentiment Hindus perceived a threat of this movement. Some killings of Kashmiri Pandits<sup>471</sup> during this period further intensified this fear. My informant Bansilal from Habakadal narrated in this context:<sup>472</sup>

“At the time of militancy there was such a wave that shattered all irrespective of religion. Both Hindus and Muslims suffered, I know during those days few Muslims also migrated from Kashmir. It were the political leaders with vested interest who created this chaos. Hindus migrated because of fear psychosis. Since we were in minority and when two three incidents of killings of Hindus took place, for example, a Hindu was killed in Kani Kadal, another young boy working in bank was killed when he was on the way to his duty. Another person was killed in Kani Kadal on the road and nobody came to his rescue. Because of these incidents Hindus migrated to save their lives. After mass migration we faced the social problems of finding the matches for our children. Our Hindu society got disintegrated. Pandit community got scattered all over the world which ended our social contacts, thus our social exclusivity also ended because now our children marry outside their community. Now no body lives nearer as we did in Kashmir.”

My another informant Sham Lal from Mattan Anantnag who is a retired teacher narrated:<sup>473</sup>

*“We perceived a threat of the slogans like” Nara-i-Takbeer Allahu Akbar”. One day during the peak period of militancy. I returned along with another Hindu friend from the school. We saw a procession of Muslims, my friend fled the place but I stayed there when the procession reached to me I also shouted the slogans in their tune out of fear they cheered and went on”.*

According to one estimate, of the total population of 140,000 of Pandits approximately one Lakh moved to Jammu, Delhi and other parts of India after 1990.<sup>474</sup> There is a widespread

---

<sup>471</sup> These target killings were directed against the agents of State machinery which include both Hindus and Muslims. According to Government estimate the number of Kashmiri Pandits killed from is 219. Sanjay Tikoo who heads the KPSS places number to 650. The community suffered three notable massacres. The first, in Sangrampora in 1997, resulted in the deaths of seven Pandits, then in 1998, 18 were killed in Wandhama, and in 2001, five people were killed in Anantnag.

<sup>472</sup> Interview with Bansi Lal, age 63 years, resident of Habakadal Srinagar, on 24-09-2011.

<sup>473</sup> Interview with Sham Lal, age 72 years, resident of Mattan Anantnag, on 24-05-2011.

feeling among the Kashmiri Muslims that this mass departure was result of State conspiracy and Jagmohan attempted to give Kashmir problem a communal colour by facilitating their departure in government transport. In the beginning of February 1990, mass departure was first instigated by that elite section of Hindu community who had already second houses in Delhi and Jammu.<sup>475</sup> Seema Gupta a noted Journalist also expressed the same Ideas. She wrote:<sup>476</sup>

‘.....the departure of the Pandits is being interpreted as part of deliberate game plan of the Indian Govt. to separate the two communities and then massacre the Muslims.

Unfortunately, events of the last six months particularly former governor Jagmohan’s rule has fuelled the later argument. Most Kashmiri Muslims (and these were not the communal elements) say that Jagmohan organized the exodus to give Kashmiri struggle for independence a communal colour. Even some civil servants acknowledge that the former governor encouraged the Pandits to leave by providing them transport security to go to the airport.’

Professor S.L. Pandita in his letter to editor Srinagar times also expressed the similar ideas. He wrote:<sup>477</sup>

“It is alleged that Kashmiri’s fled because they were forced. Who forced them? I think it were their own leaders and affluent section of their own community, thereby creating fear in their brethren who were thus forced to follow..... I wonder what do these affluent sections want. Some want admission in Government schools, some engineering and Medical colleges etc. It is, therefore time we must change our policy and join Kashmiris. Down with the so-called leaders and these wealthy lords. Let them go their own way for they are capitalizing on the miserable condition of ours.”

Kashmiri Pandits Shamboo Nath and Bushan Lal from Haba Kadal in their letter to editor Alsafa on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1990 castigated governor Jagmohan for vitiating Hindu-Muslim harmony in Kashmir. They wrote:<sup>478</sup>

---

<sup>474</sup> Rai, Mirdu, *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects* p. 286. The figure of 250,000 has also been given out of a total of 300,000 Kashmiri Pandits in the Valley. (‘Report of a Mission, International Commission of Jurist, 1994).

<sup>475</sup> Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, *Kashmir Ke Hindu-Muslim Bhai Chare Ka Dushman Kon*, Alsafa 10-09-1990.

<sup>476</sup> Cited in Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, *Kashmir Ke Hindu-Muslim Bhai Chare Ka Dushman Kon*, Alsafa 10-09-1990.

<sup>477</sup> Ibid.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid.

..... In the month of April the minority communities of Kashmir particularly the Kashmiri Pandits were harassed by extremist Pandit groups as a result without thinking we left our home for Jammu. We were asked by these extremist Hindu groups to leave by 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1990 for Jammu or Delhi. Among these extremists were the respectable and responsible persons of Pandit community. Therefore on their directions we left for Jammu and Delhi. After reaching Jammu Governor Jagmohan sent his people who accommodated us in the different camps of Jammu. After few days a drunkard party of Jammu Dogras entered our camps and abducted our fourteen girls. After enquiry it became evident that drunkard party was sent by Jagmohan. After losing the chastity of our daughters we returned back with great difficulty.

Raj Nath in a letter on 20-12-1990, to his colleague Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Wani, Manager JKPCC expressed the similar ideas that they were forced by security forces at Karangar to leave. He wrote:<sup>479</sup>

“Dear Mushtaq hope by God’s grace everybody is fine there. I tried to write you earlier but due to ill health had to postpone it. Anyhow how is everybody there. I came here in end July that too when security people at Karanagar forced us to leave.”

A seminar of leading Kashmiri Pandits was held in Srinagar on 26<sup>th</sup> August 1990, in which the harmony and unity with majority community was appreciated. The seminar criticized the policy of State and BJP of evicting Pandits from Kashmir under a conspiracy. The seminar further castigates BJP’s attempt of making propagandas through Kashmiri Pandits and harming the Hindu –Muslim unity in Kashmir.<sup>480</sup>

However, Jagmohan refuted these charges against him that he managed the departure of Kashmir Pandits under a well organized plan in the following words:<sup>481</sup>

“What can you say of a committee which comes out of a proportion that it is not the fearsome environment, it is not the brutalized landscape, it is not the ruthless Kalashnikov of the marauders, it is not the bomb explosion and fires, it is not the threatening telephone calls, it is not the hysterical exhortations for “*Jahad*” from hundreds of loud speakers fitted on the mosques..... but the inducements of trucks

---

<sup>479</sup> I got the letter from the personal collection of Zarif Ahmad Zarif.

<sup>480</sup> Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, “Kashmir ke Hindu-Muslim Beichare Ka Dushman Kon”, *Alsafa* 10-09-1990.

<sup>481</sup> Jagmohan, *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1991, p. 492.

that have impelled the Kashmiri's to abandon their homes and hearths in the cool and crisp Valley and to move to the hot and inhospitable camps of Jammu.”

Whether Jagmohan engineered the flight of Pandits or not but he did see the Kashmir problem as a Muslim versus Hindu one, where Muslims were the perpetrators and Hindus the victims. In an interview to *Current* in May 1990, Jagmohan stated:<sup>482</sup>

*“Every Muslim in Kashmir is a militant today. All of them are for secession from India. I am scuttling Srinagar Doordarshan's programmes because everyone there is a militant ... The bullet is the only solution for Kashmir. Unless the militants are fully wiped out, normalcy can't return to the valley”.*

A section of Kashmiri Pandits with vested interests in Jammu and Delhi resorted to baseless propaganda against Muslim community. Their allegations include- forcibly placing Pandits in the Vanguard of Muslim processions as shield against the action of security forces, molestation of Hindu girls, forcing Pandit teachers and lecturers to resign and quit, desecration and destruction of the Hindu temples. In the April, 1990, edition of *Suriya*, a Kashmiri Pandit whose name was not mentioned lodged allegation against Muslims in the following words:<sup>483</sup>

“The militants have threatened them to join in or face consequences. Pro-Indian elements especially Pandits are kept by force in the vanguard of their processions by the militants as shield against the action of security forces. Those who refused to come are dragged out of their houses...Hindu teachers and college lecturers are forced to resign and leave. They are also warned against doing tuition work. Hindu traders and villagers are being served notices to quit the Valley within three months. Trustees of schools run by Hindus are warned against singing of national anthem and are called upon to give Islamic education instead. The employees of the power supply units are asked to stop power at the time of screening of Mahabaratha serial on T.V. The desecration and destruction of temples is part of the activities of Islamic secessionists to harass the Hindus. At least six such religious places can be easily identified. They are temples at shopian, Nehama (Handwara), Tanki pora (Lala bhagati), Chingund (Anantnag) Fateh Kadal (Sgr) and Sopore.”

---

<sup>482</sup> Cited in Jamwal, Annuradha, Bhassain, “A Moon of Many Shades”, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVIII, April 27, 2013, p.27.

<sup>483</sup> Cited in Wani, Muhammad Ashraf, “Kashmir Ke Hindu-Muslim Bhai Chare Ka Dushman Kon”, *Alsafa* 10-09-1990

Such allegation by a section of Kashmiri Pandits against their Muslim brethren gave rise to suspicion and mistrust between the two communities. After the mass departure of Kashmiri Pandits from Valley, government unleashed the reign of terror. In pursuance of the policy of suppression Muslim settlements were burnt, frequent arrests, crackdowns were carried out. Common Kashmiris were subjected to deaths and tortures.<sup>484</sup> The Muslim women were molested by Indian army. Because of brute suppression Kashmiri Muslims were imbued with bitterness and anger.<sup>485</sup> They felt that this suppression is result of Propaganda carried out by Kashmiri Pandits outside the State. Nevertheless, such a wave of suspicion and mistrust was not allowed to vitiate the harmonious relations at common level. Kashmiri Muslims continued to visit their Hindu neighbours in Jammu. They guarded the property and orchards of their Hindu neighbours. My informant Ghulam Qadir Jan from Dadsara Tral narrated that<sup>486</sup> *'the property and orchards of my Hindu neighbour Chaman Lal is under my custody. He sent me the power of attorney and asked to take care of his property'*. George Fernandes stated in October 1990 *'The property, houses, orchards, owned by the Pandits have not been damaged in last one year.'*<sup>487</sup>

The victims of militancy were not only the Pandits but Muslims also experienced their own sorrows. According to research conducted by Strategic Foresight Group, 29 Muslims were killed in Militancy related violence across Jammu and Kashmir in 1988, there were no Hindu Killings. In 1989, 06 Hindus were killed and the number of Muslim killings was 73. In 1990, 177 Hindus were killed, the number of Muslim killings was 679.<sup>488</sup> In each successive year the figure of Muslim killed is significantly higher than that of Kashmiri Pandits. The scourge of militancy was all encompassing it does not discriminate between the people of Kashmir on the basis of their caste, creed and religion. The life of Muslims during this period

---

<sup>484</sup> Police sources put the number of those killed at around 30000. The freedom fighters put the number around 75000. However, no independent survey has been carried out to establish the total number of killings.

<sup>485</sup> Two jurists V.M. Tarkande and Rachinder Sachar as well as educationist Amrik Singh and Bulraj Puri toured Kashmir in April 1990. They condemned both Jagmohan and militants for deteriorating the situation in Kashmir. They held that repressive policy of government further alienated the Muslims of Kashmir from India.

<sup>486</sup> Interview with Ghulam Qadir Jan, age 60 years, resident of Dadsara Tral, on 22-06-2011.

<sup>487</sup> Fernandes George, "India's Policies in Kashmir: An Assessment and Discourse" in Raju G.C. Thomas (ed.) *Perspectives on Kashmir: The Roots of conflict in South Asia*, San Francisco: Westview Press, 1992, p. 291.

<sup>488</sup> Cited in Jamwal, Annuradha, Bhassain, "A Moon of Many Shades", p.27.



was too precarious. There was confusion, chaos and uncertainty all around. The chaotic condition during the period is epitomized by Zarif Ahmad Zarif in the following Ghazal:<sup>489</sup>

My gaze has been silenced  
What frenzy is this?  
My gaze has been silenced  
What frenzy is this?  
I lost the city of love I'd found,  
What frenzy is this?  
I worshipped shadows all my life.  
Did I alone miss  
the arrival of dawn  
What frenzy is this?  
I smeared the glass with blood  
to make mirrors  
My image-a stranger  
What frenzy is this?  
I couldn't read  
the writing on floral walls  
My lines of fate turned mute  
What frenzy is this?  
Socrates did me no favour in leaving.  
I shouldn't be saying this but -  
He didn't drink my share of poison  
What frenzy is this?  
I've lost the city of love I'd found,  
What frenzy is this?  
My gaze has been silenced  
What frenzy is this?

Nevertheless Kashmiri Muslims tried to stop their Hindu neighbors from leaving their home land. My respondent Autar Krishan Koul non-migrant Pandit from Dad Sara Tral, narrated in this context:<sup>490</sup>

---

<sup>489</sup> Zarif, Ahmad Zarif Ghazal vide documentary "Jashn-e-Azadi" by Sanjay Kak.

<sup>490</sup> Interview with Autar, Krishan Koul, age 63 years, resident of Dadsara Tral, on 22-07-2011.

“During the peak period of militancy when there was mass departure of Pandits from Valley. I was also fearful of situation. My family was afraid of that turmoil situation. The fear was further exacerbated when we found our relatives departing from valley. We also thought of leaving for Jammu. But one evening a group of our Muslim neighbours came to our house and assured us of our security. It was their cooperation in tumultuous times that made us to abandon the plan of migration.”

Whajahat Habibullah who was a senior administrator during 1990's in Kashmir says that:<sup>491</sup>

‘A group of Muslims approached me and asked to stop this mass departure of Pandits from the Valley. I asked the Governor Jagmohan for making a radio announcement advertising the request of Hundreds of Muslims to their Hindu brethren. But Jagmohan did not approve it.’

My another non-migrant respondent Jagar Nath from Brinti Dialgam narrated in this context:<sup>492</sup>

“Our peaceful stay in the village despite the mass migration of our community from Valley is possible only with the help and cooperation of our Muslim brethren. As now we are dependent on them for every affair of our life, be it procurement of labour force or other services by Muslim specialist groups.”

Triloki Nath, a retired school teacher from Noorpora Tral narrated:<sup>493</sup>

“Hindus of this village migrated because of fear psychosis and migrated silently without intimating one another. I stayed here with the cooperation and support of Muslim brethren. Even militants came to us and said we will not harm you. It was not the agenda of militants to harm non-Muslims. We were outside the valley and my house and property was in the custody of Muslim neighbour. I have taught many Muslim students during my service career who are presently working on different posts. They always give me a high respect which you did not find outside Kashmir.”

Kashmiri Pandits left the valley in the environment of chaos and insecurity. Pandits did not identify themselves with the majority voice. Thus, their self imposed fear psychosis was further intensified by the provocative slogans by the opportunists within Muslim

---

<sup>491</sup> Cited by Mirdu, Rai in an interview with Azad Essa, correspondent Aljazeera on 01 August 2011.

<sup>492</sup> Interview with Jagar, Nath, age 55 years, resident of Brinti, Diyalgam, on 02-06- 2011.

<sup>493</sup> Interview with Pandit Triloki Nath, age 72 years, resident of Dadsara Tral, on 22 June 2011.

community<sup>494</sup> like “*jis ko yahan rehana hai Allahu Akabar Kehna Hai*” (Who he has to live in Kashmir has to embrace Islam) “*Batta u warai battnewsaan yeth banou Pakistan*” (except *bhattas* along with *battnis* Kashmir will become Pakistan) remembered by my Pandit informant,<sup>495</sup> which according to him led to mass departure of Pandits from valley.

---

<sup>494</sup> Interview with Raj, Nath, age 45years, from Magraypora Anantnag, on 16-04-2011.

<sup>495</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 6

### Against All Odds: The Triumph of Communal Harmony in Kashmir

The inter-community relations in Kashmir reflect to, borrow the language of Patric Colm Hogan, the subversion of catagorial identity to practical identity.<sup>496</sup> Hogan argues that religious riots occur when catagorial identity becomes a central motivating force for a whole range of people- due to trans-geographical agitations of sectarian politicians and general foregrounding of catagorial identity in modern nation. He views the practical identity of ordinary people as a counter force to divisive catagorial identities.<sup>497</sup> Ashish Nandy and his co-authors in their work *Creating Nationality: The Ram Janamabhumi and Fear of the Self*, express the similar view that the nationalist modernism has intensified communal conflict in India and has been curbed by the local traditions of Hindus and Muslims living in mutual dependence.<sup>498</sup> J.H. Duckitt citing socio-psychological research also points out that working together in egalitarian conditions significantly reduces in-group/out-group division and conflict.<sup>499</sup> Eugenia Vanina in her paper “Communal Relations in Pre-modern India” makes similar observations. Vanina views the norms of living together in villages as a strong counter force against the religious differences of Hindus and Muslims.<sup>500</sup> Peter Gottschalk in his *Beyond Hindu and Muslim* also points out that despite the recognition of cultural differences between Hindus and Muslims there was mutual participation in commerce, governance, land control and certain religious practices that complemented identities they did not and could not share.<sup>501</sup>

---

<sup>496</sup> Hogan defines catagorial identity as one’s self concept which is imagined, attributive and vacuous which has the potential of causing conflict and practical identity as entire complex of habits, expectations abilities routines that integrate ones daily activities with those of community. It is experiential, local and proximate. Hogan Patrick Colm, “Mid Night’s Children: Kashmir and the Politics of Identity”, in *Twentieth Century Literature* 47.4, 2001, pp.517-19.

<sup>497</sup> Ibid., p. 522.

<sup>498</sup> Nandy, Ashish, et.al, *Creating a Nationality: The Ram Janamabhumi and Fear of the Self*, U.P: Oxford, 1998, p. 175.

<sup>499</sup> The in-group/out-group division is defined by J.H. Duckitt as when the peole evaluate members of their in-group more favourably, judge their work more highly and treat them more generously than out-group. And when one accepts categorial identity of himself thus develops hatred for out- group. Duckitt, J.H., *The Social Psychology of Prejudice*, New York, Prager, 1992, pp. 144-46, 252, 58.

<sup>500</sup> Vanina Eugenia, “Communal Relations in Pre-Modern India: Some Observations” in Settar S. and Kaimal, P.K.V., ed. *We Lived Togeher*, Delhi: ICHR, 1999, P. 177.

<sup>501</sup> Gottschalk, Peter, *Beyond Hindu and Muslim: Multiple Identity in Narratives from Village India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 175.

The mass Muslim population of Kashmir despite having suffered under the sectarian and feudal State (Sikhs and Dogras) and its supporting structure (Kashmiri Pandits and minuscule section of Muslims) for more than a century refused to impair their age old cordial relations with the Pandits both because of the age old bonds of living together and the necessity of dependence on each other, This is besides the fact that owing to the socialist orientation of the struggle for freedom the Muslim assertion against feudal and autocratic power structure maintained its secular and democratic ideals. This is the reason that when the whole Indian subcontinent was burning in the communal frenzy in 1947, Mahatma Gandhi recognized a 'ray of hope' in Kashmir. The present chapter attempts to prove empirically the above stated idea of the subversion of catagorial identity to practical one by using memory of lived life and folk poetry as a source. It includes the first person narratives of lived experience by Pandit and Muslim respondents who were interviewed during the course of my study (2010-14).

My respondent Riyaz Ahmad Hajam from Gunpatyar Srinagar narrated about their harmonious relations with Hindu neighbours as:<sup>502</sup>

*"My name is Riyaz Ahmad Hakeem. I reside in Gunpatyaar. We had good friendly relations with Pandit neighbours. I was brought up in Hindu environment. There was a Hindu lady in our neighborhood whom we call Behna (sister). She had given me the nickname Gasha. They used to celebrate my birthday and would give me gifts. When they brought the (sadu) sage from Mumbai and did the pooja, they kept me on one side of sadu and their child booby on another. They would give me the first Prasad after pooja. My father was barber who provided services to the Hindus. I was eating food with them; the 'batta haak' was famous dish of pandits. Once a Hindu neighbor Dr. Makhan Lal Gassi went abroad and brought a watch for me. He remembered me there. He appointed one of maternal uncle in the government department.*

*Hindus distribute walnut among us on the day of Shivratri (Heherat). On the day of Eid the Hindu elders were giving me money as Eid gift. We helped one another in the time of need. The Muslims in Gunpatyaar were milk men, vegetable sellers, Manual labours. Hindus were mostly government employees and few of them were grocers. The marriage of my sister was arranged by Hindu neighbour who selected the match for my sister. My mother gave raw meat and rice to the Hindu neighbours at the time*

---

<sup>502</sup> Interview with Riyaz Ahmad Hakeem, age 35 years, resident of Gunpatyar Srinagar, on 30-07-2011.

*of marriage of my sister. Aasha jee was living in our neighborhood she had offered money in charity so that my mother should have a son. Another lady whom we call 'kakin' she also offered money in charity at a shrine of sayyid sahib for blessings of my mother. We lived happily in plural environment. It was after the militancy that we got demarcated. Earlier there was no feeling of 'they' and 'us'. They were rich and attracted Muslim service providers more than their co-religionists. At the time of marriages in Pandit houses rice and cash was given to the barber. At the time of festivals of Janam Ashtami they carried processions and water was offered by the Muslims on the way. Now the new generation did not know about this lived life. They were afraid after the militancy when Pandits were killed though Muslims were also killed but Pandits perceived threat and migrated during night."*

My respondent Mohammad Akabar Parray narrated:<sup>503</sup>

*"We were living together happily and cordially in the village. The living together in the neighborhood has erased our religious differences. In 1976 my father was ill and was admitted to hospital in Anantnag, Our land lord Radakrishnan came and bore the expanses at hospital. Our harmonious tradition is preserved in our folk, when a Muslim woman prayed early in morning she would say 'O God bless every Hindu and Muslim' On eve of catastrophes they would pray O God protect every Hindu and Muslim"*

Jagar Nath narrated in this context:<sup>504</sup>

*"Both Hindus and Muslims consider themselves first humans then the adherents of divergent faiths. Here such was the friendly relation between Hindus and Muslims that once a Muslim namely Mohmmad Akbar was ill and was admitted to hospital and his Hindu friend Jaikrishan donated blood to him."*

Though there were religious differences observed by both the communities but religious antagonism was absent at common level. And these religious differences did not jeopardize the inter-community relations. There was not such a religious practice which would have created ill-feeling among the communities. Though Muslims performed cow slaughter and which is held sacred by the Hindus. But it was done secretly to respect the

---

<sup>503</sup> Interview with Mohammad Akbar Parry, age 55years, resident of Magraypora Anantnag, on 12-05-2011.

<sup>504</sup> Interview with Jagar Nath, age,55 years resident of Brinti Diyalgam, on 02-06-2011.

religious sentiment of Hindu brethren. My respondent Mohmmad Sultan Mir from Aukoora Anantnag narrated in this context.<sup>505</sup>

*“Muslims slaughtered cow on the day of Id and at the time of marriages, it was done secretly so as not to hurt the religious sentiment of Hindu brethren.”*

Autaar Krishan Koul narrated in this context:<sup>506</sup>

*“My elders have told me that in pre-1947 period the kine killing was prohibited and one day the Muslim brethren of this village slaughtered the cow and then somebody reported in police and at that time it were the Hindus of the village who carried that beef on their shoulders for hiding to save their Muslim brethren.”*

Hindus and Muslims also participate in marriage ceremonies. At the time of marriages in the Hindu houses it were the Muslim neighbours who were making the arrangements, be it cutting of fire wood carrying water or any other manual work. My respondent Shamboo Nath Tikoo narrated in this context.<sup>507</sup>

*“We happily participate in each other’s marriage ceremonies, at the time of marriages in Hindu houses the Muslims usually the cultivators or labours prepare the fire wood and also carry water. The Muslim women sing for our brides and bridegrooms. We have also a tradition of giving cash or kind to the bride or bridegroom called gullmuth. Hindu and Muslim neighbours also used to give gullmuth to each other. Separate feast was arranged for Muslim brethren prepared by Muslim cook in Hindu marriages and vice-versa. In case of poor host, the raw meat or chickens were distributed among the neighbours”*

Mohmmad Sultan Mir from Aukoora Anantnag narrated in this context:<sup>508</sup>

*“We participated in each other’s marriages, we provided helping hand to each other. There was a practice where a Muslim was accompanying a Hindu daughter to her in-laws carrying her belongings. Once I accompanied the Hindu marriage party, separate feast was arranged for me in the house of their Muslim neighbour. When my daughter was married we gave six sheep to the Hindu neighbours to prepare separately for themselves.”*

---

<sup>505</sup> Interview with Mohammad Sultan Mir, age 55 years, resident of Aukoora Anantnag on 26-04-2011.

<sup>506</sup> Interview with Autaar Krishan, Koul, age 63 years, resident of Dadsara Tral on 22-07-2011.

<sup>507</sup> Interview with Shamboo Nath Tikoo, age 72 years, resident of Verinag Anantnag on 15-04-2011.

<sup>508</sup> Interview with Mohammad Sultan Mir, op.cit.

My respondent Ghulam Nabi Aatish narrated in this context:<sup>509</sup>

*“We participated in each other’s marriage ceremonies. Usually at the time of marriages in Hindu households Muslims prepared the firewood, carried water and did other manual work. Muslims prepared separate feast for Hindus and vice-versa. However, poor among both the communities gave raw meat and chicken to their neighbours of other community. Women folk of both the communities sung folksongs in each other’s marriages. We celebrated Mehndi-raat where the women of both communities sung in separate groups. Often the Muslim women of this village sung behind Hindu bridegroom when he left for bride’s house.”*

Som Nath narrated in this context:<sup>510</sup>

*“We had good neighbourly and friendly relations with Muslim brethren. In 1991 my son got married and our Muslim neighbours participated in the marriage ceremony. When the bridegroom was about to leave for bride’s house, the Muslim brethren prepared kand sharbat (milk with sugar) for the bridegroom, they sang behind bridegroom. Our peaceful stay in the village is possible with the cooperation and support of Muslim brethren.”*

K.L. Koul from Muran Pulwama narrated in this context:<sup>511</sup>

*“We participated in each- other’s marriage ceremonies. I attended the marriage ceremony of my friend Gh. Mohmmad where they had prepared beef but despite that I took the trami (plate) in my hands and served the guests there.”*

There was such an environment of cordiality and social sharing that Muslim neighbours acted as ‘go betweens’ for Hindus and vice-versa. Gh. Qadir Jan from Dadsara Tral narrated in this context:<sup>512</sup>

*“I had good friendly relations with my Hindu neighbours Chaman Lal and Omkar Nath. During the period of militancy the Kashmiris suffered as whole irrespective of their religion. Kashmiri Pandits having political aspirations diametrically opposite to majority community, migrated with the inception of militancy. Later, after their migration they faced social problems like finding matches for their children, these things also forced migrations. I was working as section officer in Pulwama sub-judge*

---

<sup>509</sup> Interview with Ghulam Nabi Aatish, age 63 years, resident Nanil Anantnag, on 27-04-2011.

<sup>510</sup> Interview with Som Nath, age 72 years, resident of Seer Hamdan on 10-04-2011.

<sup>511</sup> Interview with K.L. Koul, age 63 years, resident of Murran Pulwama on 02-07-2011.

<sup>512</sup> Interview with Ghulam Qadir Jan, age 60 years, resident of Dadsara Tral, on 22-06-2011.



*court and I had a sub-ordinate Shadi Lal from Shopian who told me that I am worried for finding a perfect match for my son. I told him I will manage this, I have a Hindu friend of my village who now reside in Jammu I will talk to him about this. Later I went to Jammu and convinced my Hindu friend Chaman Lal about the marriage of his daughter. And that marriage was solemnized because of my intervention”.*

Both Hindus and Muslims provided helping hand to one another in the time of need. The miseries and natural catastrophes were common to people of both the communities. In such situations there used to be a collective response of villagers and in most cases Muslims risked their lives in defence of their Hindu neighbours My Pandit respondent Shamboo Nath Tikoo in this context narrated:<sup>513</sup>

*“In 2007 my house attracted fire, it were the Muslim neighbours who came to my rescue and stopped the fire. We have always lived with cordiality in this village by providing helping hand to each other.”*

My respondent Triloki Nath narrated the story in this context:<sup>514</sup>

*“Once the house of Hindu attracted fire in this village; a Muslim young man bravely stopped that fire and in that operation his own hands and feet were injured.”*

My respondent Mr. K.L. Koul narrated in this context:<sup>515</sup>

*“I remember an important event of my life in 1984, we had a member of our family Mr. Radha Krishan who used to live in a separate house, one night while in deep slumber his fire pot fell on his bedding and the house attracted fire; it were my Muslim neighbours who rushed to our house and stopped the fire. It is their humanity and graciousness that the life of Radha Krishan was saved.”*

The social structure and cultural patterns in Kashmir were largely shaped by the teachings of the two great saints, Lalla Ded and Nur u Din Wali. These saints did not preach narrow religiosity rather preached love, peace and humanism. Lal Ded the fourteenth century Saivite saint has been held in high esteem by both Hindus and Muslims alike. She was an integral part of Kashmiri folk imagination. She emphasized on social equality and religious

---

<sup>513</sup> Interview with Shamboo Nath Tikoo, op.cit.

<sup>514</sup> Interview with Pandit Trilokinath, age 72years, resident of Noorpora Tral, on 22-06-2011.

<sup>515</sup> Interview with K.L. Koul, op.cit.

tolerance. The following verse is illustrative of her thought in which cosmic and social form one and seamless whole:

<i>Shiv chhuy thali thali rozan</i>	<i>mozan Hyond thah Mussalman</i>
<i>Trukay chhukh ta pan praznav</i>	<i>Soy chhai Sahibas zani zan</i> <sup>516</sup>
Shiva resides everywhere	Do not distinguish Hindu from the Muslim
If you are wise know thy true self	which indeed is to know the lord!

Lalla's advocacy for tolerance and forgetting the worldly differences is reflected by her following verse:<sup>517</sup>

<i>Rangas manz chuy byon byon labun</i>	<i>Soruy tsalakh barakh svakh</i>
<i>Tsakh roosh ta vair ay galakh</i>	<i>Ada deshakh Shiva sund mvakh</i>
The world is full of differences	If you are tolerant you will be happy
You will end anger hate and animosity	Then only you will see Siva's face

Shaikh Nur al Din Noorani, the founder of Reshi movement, who played a crucial role in the spread of Islam in Kashmir, was a champion of social harmony. He preached the value system of humanism and co-existence of divergent cultures. Shaikh played a crucial role in linking, to borrow the language of Robert Redfield the 'Greater Tradition of Islam' and 'Little Tradition of masses'<sup>518</sup> His teaching reflected in his poetry representing the 'Little Tradition' of masses is an expression of social harmony. Which is epitomized in the following verse.<sup>519</sup>

We came to this world like partners

Let us share our sorrows and joys together.

---

<sup>516</sup> Madan, T.N. "Kashmir, Kashmiris, Kashmiriyat" in Rao Aparna, ed. *The Valley of Kashmir: The Making and Unmaking of a Composite Culture*, Manohar Publishing House, 2008, p. 11.

<sup>517</sup> Kak, Jaishree, "Lalla's Relation to Shaivite and Sufi Traditions" in Rao, Aparna, *The Valley of Kashmir: The Making and Unmaking of a Composite Culture*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 2008, p. 183.

<sup>518</sup> Redfield Robert., *The Little Community Peasant society and Culture*, Chicago: University of Chicgo press, 1969, p. 72

<sup>519</sup> Kamil M. Amin Kamil ,*Nu-rnama*, Srinagar 1966, Poem 217, p. 156.

Shaikh Nur al Din always emphasized the unity of Hindus and Muslims. In one of his verses he says:<sup>520</sup>

Among the brothers of the same parents

Why do you create a barrier?

Muslims and Hindus are one

When will God be kind to his servants?

There was mutual respect and toleration for each other's religious beliefs and practices. Religious places of both the communities were respected. Hindus revered the Muslim saints and visited the Muslim shrines seeking blessings for mundane needs. Som Nath narrated in this context:<sup>521</sup>

*“We have great respect for Muslim shrines. In our village we have an Asthan of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani and Hindu call it Kali Mata. We offer rice and money in charity to the shrine. In my childhood Hindus and Muslims together celebrated the Urs for the whole night. We also visit the shrines of Bam u Din and Zani u Din. Whenever we face problems we offer money in charity at these shrines. We also have great respect for Muslim Pirs when we feel ill or our animals suffer from disease we approached the Pir and bring Tabruk from him to ward off the evil. There was the respect for each other's religious beliefs and sentiments. Muslims would slaughter animals secretly so as not to hurt the religious feeling of Hindu brethren. You did not find the Kashmiri Muslim anywhere in the world, whenever we go to visit our relations it is my friend Mohammad Rajab who takes care of my house.*

*We have a temple in our village we worship there in the morning and evening. On the day of festivals our Muslim brethren send us milk. There is only one Hindu family residing in the neighboring village of Foda, some days back their house was gutted in fire. Muslim brethren collected money and constructed a new house for him. We constructed a wall round the temple in the village with the help of Muslim brethren, Mohammad Rajab and his nephew donated money for its construction.”*

---

<sup>520</sup> Khan M.I. *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role Rishies, (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century)*, Manohar Publication 1994, P. 103

<sup>521</sup> Interview with Som Nath, op.cit.

Hindus and Muslims also participated in each other's festivals and greeted one another on these occasions. My respondent from Jogilanker Srinagar narrated:<sup>522</sup>

*“Once a few years back I was travelling from Jammu to Pune in train I met a Kashmiri Pandit of this Mohalla in the train I reminded him about the urs of Mesha Sahib which we together celebrated, on that day we especially cooked the fish. These memories brought tears in our eyes.*

*Here was a pandit namely Radee Sham who carried the procession on the day of Janam Ashthami, Muslims were more participating in that procession than Hindus. On that day Muslims were distributing milk, and walnut, it was generally said “today is Raday sham”. However we did not know what ‘Raday sham’ means. There was happy environment of cordiality between the communities.”*

My respondent Habibullah from Mattan Anantnag narrated in this context:<sup>523</sup>

*“We greeted one another on the festive occasions like Ids Shivratri, There was respect for each other's religious sentiments. We did not slaughter animals openly so as not to hurt the religious sentiment of Hindu brethren. On the day of Eid Mialad-Nabi (SAW) Hindus joined our processions. We celebrate the urs of saints. There is the shrine of Zain-u-Din at Ashmuqam where we together celebrate the urs by practicing illumination ceremony. Here was a Hindu namely Amber Boi, in every morning he visited the shrine of Turuk Muruk sahib at Bumzoo. Here we lived together happily with our Hindu brethren and there has never been any conflict between the communities on religious grounds.”*

My respondent Mohmmad Sultan Mir from Aukoora Anantnag Narrated in this context:<sup>524</sup>

*“We greeted one another on festivities, Hindus celebrate Janam Ashthami, Shvratri; we entertained their procession on Janam Ashthami. We celebrated the Id we greeted one another on these occasions. There was nothing in our religious practices which would have annoyed the other.”*

Autar Krishan Koul from Dadsara Tral narrated in this context:<sup>525</sup>

---

<sup>522</sup> Interview with Abdul Salam, age 48 years, Jogilankar, on 27-07-2011.

<sup>523</sup> Interview with Habibullah Raina, age 65 years, resident Mattan Anantnag, on 24-05-2011.

<sup>524</sup> Interview with Mohammad Sultan Mir, op.cit.

<sup>525</sup> Interview with Autar Krishan Koul, op.cit.

*“Here is the shrine of Jamal u Din who was the local saint. We celebrated the urs in the month of March and perform the illumination ceremony. Our relatives also visited our houses on this day. There was a separate place reserved for the Pandits of this village where we performed illumination ceremony and light the oil lamps separately. My father had advised me to visit the shrine it is a very pious place. We also tied votive rags in the shrine. We were giving raw rice and turmeric to the Pir for the preparation and distribution of cooked rice (tahri). I have seen who so ever visits the shrine his worries got redeemed here. We have also a spring at the neighboring village of Nowdal where there is also the statue of Shivling which was worshiped by the Hindus. Where a fair was held and where Hindus of whole Tral area participated in the fair. Since at that time there was no open market system so one could get the articles of daily requirement from these fairs. Majority of vendors were Muslims there.”*

As discussed in the preceding chapter, educationally Hindus were far advanced than their Muslim brethren. There were the Hindu teachers who had taught the Muslim students and were highly respected by them. Those Hindu teachers always commanded respect in the society. The illiterate Muslims had also respect for their educated Hindu neighbours to whom they consulted for reading letters, writing applications and seeking suggestions. Triloki Nath narrated, *‘once at the time of split in the family our Muslim neighbour my uncle divided the property among them.’*<sup>526</sup> Because of abject poverty, the concern of Muslim parents was to train their children in agricultural operations so as to add to the manpower needed for the purpose or in crafts to add to the meager earnings of the family. Gh. Nabi Aatish from Nanil Anantnag narrated:<sup>527</sup>

*“The well-off Hindu families were far advanced in education and were employed in state services. Salaried employment was their traditional source of income. In our village there was Master Shivji Raina and his son R.K. Raina who were the teachers. Almost all educated people of that period in this village are taught by them, I am myself their taught. Their’s is a contribution to the educational development of this village. Master Shivji Riana was highly respected in the village so much so that he was chairman of local Muslim Awqaf Committee who kept the maintenance of the shrine of Reshi Naik Bab sahib in the village.”*

---

<sup>526</sup> Interview with Triloki Nath op.cit.

<sup>527</sup> Interview with Ghulam Nabi Aatish, op.cit.

Raj Nath narrated:<sup>528</sup>

*“Hindus were far advanced in education than Muslim brethren in our village. In my childhood there were four five persons among the Muslim Pirs who were literate. But the Hindus were all educated in our village. The Muslim of this village and neighboring villages are taught by Hindu teachers, for instance in the neighboring village Nanil there are two Muslim doctors and they have been taught by Hindu teachers.”*

Haji Noor Mohammad of Srinagar narrated:<sup>529</sup>

*“There was mass illiteracy among the Muslims. I have studied up to 6<sup>th</sup> standard. I have been taught by Hindu teachers, they were very affectionate. There was mass poverty, to satisfy the belly was the main concern, the grown up children were supposed to learn the craft and add to the earning of family. My uncle told my parents if we give him education he will become lazy and cannot do farming.”*

Addul Rehman Bhat from Hutmara narrated in this context:<sup>530</sup>

*“I have studied upto 4<sup>th</sup> standard and later I was asked by my family to leave the studies now your another brother will go to school because man power was the main concern of peasant family.”*

The co-existence of religio-cultural pluralism was further promoted by the poets representing progressive ideologies. Whose poetry highlighted the grievances of poor irrespective of religion and dissented against the exploitation perpetuated by feudal state. The twentieth century poets preached love and humanism. Their poetry appealed humanity irrespective of religion. The poetry of Mahjoor, the national poet of Kashmir contains the message of love and harmony. His poetry shows how the bridges of conciliation were built:

531

Who is the friend and who the foe of your (native land)

Let you among yourselves thoughtfully make out

---

<sup>528</sup> Raj Nath, age 45 years, resident of Magray Pora Anantnag, on 16-04-2011.

<sup>529</sup> Haji Noor Mohammad, age 72 years, resident of Jogilankar, Srinagar, 07-07-2011.

<sup>530</sup> Interview with Abdul Rehman, age 68 years, resident Hutmara Anantnag, on 12-05-2011.

<sup>531</sup> Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor cited in Bazaz, *The History of the Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir: Cultural and Political from Earliest Times to the Present Day*, New Delhi: Metropolitan Book Company, 1973, p. 296

The kind and stock of all Kashmir's is one  
Let you mix milk and sugar once again  
Hindus will keep the helm and Muslims ply the oars;  
Let you together row (ashore) the boat of this country,

Mahjoor was joined by Abdul Ahad Azad who was socialist by conviction and revolutionary by heart. His poetry reflects his immense faith in humanism that cut across all distinctions of caste, community and creed. It is worthwhile to quote Azad a revolutionary poet of twentieth century:<sup>532</sup>

*Kuni alam kuni Adam namas seet maz mazes nam.*

*Yeh kaim travi dilas ander duei hund nar insanau.*

Our universe is same, our origin is same,  
and our relationship is like that of the flesh and nail.

Oh! Man who was he who sparked hatred in your heart?

The radical ideas of Azad which appeal humanity beyond religious boundaries are also reflected by his following verses<sup>533</sup>

*Deendar che chhui deen panun chum meh panun deen*

*Iman khuda chon ta insan muda mion!*

*Mandran masjidan dharmsalan chon khuda khush.*

*Lolas ta kuniras dardidilas raiz khuda mion.*

O' faithful you have your own religion and I have mine. Your faith is your God and my ideal is Man. Your God is pleased by building temples, mosques and dharamsalas. My God is pleased in unity, affection and sympathy.

The poet often reminded his countrymen to be above from the fanaticism and prejudice. His views denouncing fatalism and fanaticism are no doubt depicted in his different poems but the most appealing one in this context is a *Ghazel* (poem) whose few verses read as:<sup>534</sup>

---

<sup>532</sup> Azad, Abdul Ahad, *Kulyat-i-Azad*, (ed.) Padam Nath Ganjoo, Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, edition 2nd J.K. Offset Printers, Delhi, 1986, p. 230.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid. p. 267.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid., pp. 224-225.

*Butkhaneh chei banawuth, Kabuk bina che trauth*

*Gitai keh khata kur, ventam Quran walai*

*Takdir panun che panai, tadbier panun che panai*

*Che rung teh che zamanai, vehameh teh guman walai*

It is you who constructed the temple and it is you who laid foundation of Kaba. What wrong has committed the Gita tell me oh believer of the Quran? You are yourself your fate and the solution of your problems. It is you who is shaping the times but you are swayed by the fear and illusion.

The voice of Dina Nath Nadim also reflects the similar urge. Whose few verses are read as:<sup>535</sup>

You Should become the leader of the nation,

You should be Hindu and Muslim,

You should revolutionize the people

Fulfill dreams of natives

Till the end of the nineteenth century Sufism remained the dominant expression of Islam among the Muslims of Kashmir. Most Kashmiri Muslims owed allegiance to one Sufi order or other. Many had taken the oath of allegiance (*bayat*) at the hands of Sufi preceptor (*Pir*). By the end of nineteenth century new stirrings of change began to emerge and the Kashmiri Muslims mired in poverty came increasingly into contact with new developments from outside Kashmir. Thus the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the rise of religious revivalism in Kashmir. Among the revivalist movements Jamat-i-Islamia attained popularity in rural Kashmir and was successful in attracting the educated youth.

The Jamaat-i-Islamia was founded in 1944 A.D. originally it was part of and functioned as a branch of the erstwhile Jamat-i-Islamia Hind of undivided India. For Jama'at, Islam was an all-embracing world view that governed every aspect of the believers personal as well as social life. The establishment of Islamic state, ruled in accordance with *shariah*, was seen as central to Islamic mission. Hence Jamaat believed that Islam could not be divorced from politics and that all Muslims must struggle for the establishment of Islamic

---

<sup>535</sup> Dina Nath Nadim, cited in Koul Ashok, *Kashmir Contested Identity: Closed Systems, Open Choices*, Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2011, p. 101.



state. Unlike the Ahl-i-Hadith, the Jamaat was not opposite to Sufism as such, but only to what it found as un-Islamic in popular Sufism.

Jamat-i-Islamia was dissatisfied with the existing social political and economic systems of Kashmiri society. In view of the Jamaat modern Kashmiri society like the rest of their societies needs a thorough check up and an complete over hauling. It has been corrupted by materialistic mechanistic, secularist and socialistic Ideologies. Therefore Jamaat-i-Islamia Jammu and Kashmir addressed itself to the task of reorienting the ideological and consequent social political economic and educational priorities of Kashmiri Muslim society. Jamaat-i-Islamia too thinks the traditional shrine worship and *pir-parasti* among Kashmiri Muslims was unacceptable in the light of uncompromising monotheism projected in the Quran. However the programme of Jamati-i-Islamia was not against any community. There was nothing communal in the programme of Jammat-i-Islamia. But Kashmiri Pandits perceived a threat of Puritan character of the movement. There existed cordial relations between the members of Jamat-i-Islamia and Kashmiri Pandits in rural Kashmir which is evident by the fact that there were Pandit students and teachers in the school run by Jamat-i-Islami under FAT.<sup>536</sup> My respondent Haji Ali Mohmmad from Dadsara Tral who was himself the founding member of Jamat-i-Islamia in Tehsil Tral narrated:<sup>537</sup>

*“My name is Ali Mohmmad Sheikh, I reside in Dadsara village of Tehsil Tral. I am the founding member of Jamat-i-Islamia in Tehsil Tral. Jamat-i-Islamaia is a religious movement. Jamti-I-Islamia is carrying forward the mission of Prophet Mohammad (SAW). It was a movement based on humanity and peace. When prophet Mohmmad (SAW) preached the message of Islam, the condition of world in general and Arabs in particular was bad, but Prophet Mohmmad (SAW) gave the message of peace and humanity. Jamat-i-Islamia is carrying forward this message of peace and humanity. The constitution of Jamat-i-Islamai is Al –Quran and there is a verse of Quran:*

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ  
شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا - إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ -  
إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ-

<sup>536</sup> For instance Arzan Nath Kachru was working in the FAT in the Nanail Village, there were Hindu students in Modern Public School Khiram which was run under FAT,

<sup>537</sup> Interview with Ali Mohammad Sheikh, age 61 years, resident of Dadsara Tral, on 22-07-2011.

*“Human beings, We created you all from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another. Verily the noblest of you in the Sight of Allah is the most God-fearing of you. Surely Allah is All-Knowing All-Aware.”*

*“Jamati-Islamia had very good relations with all irrespective of religious discrimination. There was an incident of fire in Newa village where we helped the affected people and there were non-Muslims among them. Recently in nearby village of Kunluda where gas cylinder burst up in a Sikh house hold and the head of family died on spot. We collected the money for bereaved family. Likewise there was fire incident in Ariham village and Hindus were victims of this calamity and we helped them. Jamati-Islamia was the movement of humanity and peace. I will quote another verse of Quran:*

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اتَّقُوا رَبَّكُمُ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ  
وَاحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَيْنَهُمَا رِجَالًا كَثِيرًا  
وَوَنثَاءً. وَأَتُوا اللَّهَ الَّذِي تَسَاءَلُونَ بِهِ وَالْأَرْحَامَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ  
كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيبًا.

*“‘O’ men fear your Lord who created you from a single cell; and from it created its mate, and from the two of them dispersed men and women (male & female) in multitudes. So fear God in whose name you ask one another (the bond of) relationships. God surely keeps watch over you”*

*So we are all creation of one God and we are brothers. Prophet of Islam has said in Islamic state “if any Muslim will kill a zimmi (non Muslim), I will plead in favour of Zimmi against him before God”. And the Muslim against whom Prophet will plead the case how unfortunate he is.*

*There is method of Dawa (Invitation) in spreading Islam. There is in Quran ‘la iqra fi diin’ “There is no compulsion in religion” we have to give message of Islam to everyone but we cannot compel any one. Once during the period of Hazrat Umar, a Muslim broke the alcohol bottle of non-Muslim and later the non-Muslim sued him in the court of Hazrat Umer and Hazrat Umar gave the decision asking the Muslim to compensate the loss, though alcohol is severely prohibited in Islam. We disseminated this message among the people through congregations. We always inculcated among the fellow Muslims not to harm non-Muslims.*

*This village came under the influence of Jamat-i-Islamia in 1967, and we established a unit of Jamat-i-Islamia in this village. My friend late Mohammad*

*Ramzan Aajiz introduced me to Jamat- i- Islamai movement. He told me we will establish a unit of Jammat in this village. He gave me a list of few books and I bought these books. Later we seven people established a unit of Jammat. But we were inactive till 1969. Later in 1969 there was a three day congregation of Jammat at Tehsil level in which Moulana Said u Din sahib then chairman of Jammat i Islami, Hakeem Ghulam Nabi and Qari Safudin participated that introduced the Jamat-i-Islamia in Tral area. Then we established units of Jamaat in different villages of Tral. Later membership of Jammat increased with the passage of time. We established a primary school in 1970 where Quran and ethics was taught along with secular subjects. Later in 1979 when Zulufkar Ali Butoo was executed in Pakistan and Jammatis were attacked in this village and school became the victim of that frenzy. Later we constructed a new building for the school. In our school Hindu children also received education and we had few Hindu teachers in that school. No Muslim in this village has ever harassed the Hindu brethren. Their property is still safe in this village. Hindus were well educated and they were teachers and there was a teacher Brij Lal who had knowledge of Quran. They had a good impression of Jammat.”*

My respondent Raj Nath narrated in this context:<sup>538</sup>

*“There was the influence of Jamat-i-Islamia movement in the village, but they had no anti –Hindu attitude. In fact they became our shields during the period of turmoil. There was Abdul Khaliq Dar a member of Jamat-i-Islamia who saved and encouraged us and appealed our Muslim neighbours not to harm their Hindu brethren.”*

Mohmmad Abdullah Bhat narrated in this context:<sup>539</sup>

*“The village came under the influence of Jamat-i-Islamia movement. Jamat-i-Islamia worked for creating politico-religious consciousness among the people of this village. The programme of Jamat-i-Islamia was Allah, Mohammad, (SAW) Aur Quran. However they were not against the Hindu community. In 1992 a District Commander of Hizb ul Mujahideen came to house of Brija Pandith and asked him do not be afraid of us, I assure you we will not harm you. If you stay here that is our strength and if you migrate that is our weakness. Then he asked him to carry gun and walk with us upto the road, I told the commander why you asked him to carry gun?, he*

---

<sup>538</sup> Interview with Raj Nath, op.cit.

<sup>539</sup> Interview with Mohammad Abdullah Bhat, age 63 years, resident of Hugam Anantnag, on 3- 04-2011.

*replied it will give impression to the vulgars that Brija has intimacy with commander so that they may not harm him. However, Hindus had a hostile attitude against the jamat-i-Islamia movement. Hindus developed fear psychosis owing to unsettled political conditions in the valley since 1947. The existence of Pakistan in our neighborhood was also cause of worry to them.”*

My respondent Autaar Krishan Koul from Dadsara Tral narrated in this context:<sup>540</sup>

*“The early members of Jamat-i-Islamia were educated people and mostly teachers. They worked to reform Muslim society. Here was a school run by Jamat-i-Islamia where two three Hindu children also received education. There were good teachers who taught well that is why Hindus sent their children to this school. In this village Jamaati-i-Islamai had good relations with the Hindu brethren of this village. I have heard so many speeches of the Jamaat. There was nothing anti-Hindu in their teachings. One day a friend of mine told me they want “Niazam-i-Mustafa” what would you do?, I told him if they want to establish “Nizam-i-Mustafa” I am with it. Because I know there is safety of minorities and justice in ‘Nizami Mustafa’. I have heard that once the prophet Mohmmad (SAW) gave the just verdict which was infavour of non Muslim and against Muslim, but it was based on Justice.”*

My informant Triloki Nath who is retired teacher from Dadsara Tral narrated in this context:<sup>541</sup>

*“There is also the influence of Jamat-i-Islamia movement in this village. We have good relations with the members of Jammat-i-Islamia. I have worked with so many Jamaties. I am myself impressed by Jammat-i-Islamia. There was nothing anti-Hindu in the agenda of Jamati-i-Islamia neither they had done or preached hatred against Hindus. Now there are black sheeps who used Jamaat for their ulterior motives. I was encouraged by my Jamati friends. But the Hindus perceived threat of Jamat-i-Islamia. In 1979 when Zulfkar Ali Butoo was executed in Pakistan, Jamati’s of our village were attacked and we perceived a threat of that event. Hindus of this village migrated because of fear psychosis and migrated silently without intimating one another. I stayed here with the cooperation and support of Muslim brethren. Even militants came to us and said we will not harm you. It was not the agenda of militants to harm non-Muslims. Few months back we were outside the valley and my house and property was in the custody of Muslim neighbour. I have taught many Muslim*

---

<sup>540</sup> Interview with Autar Krishan Koul, op.cit.

<sup>541</sup> Interview with Triloki Nath, op.cit.

*students during my service career who are presently working on different posts. They always give me a high respect which you did not find outside Kashmir. Now we have some social problems for example finding matches for our children.”*

The inter-community relations in Kashmir tasted troubled waters with the outbreak of militancy. The members of both the communities who had shared strong bonds in the past suddenly became suspicious of each other. Siddartha Gigoo in his *“The Garden of Solitude”* describes the friendly relation between Lasa and Ali and their walk from zero bridge to their home at Khanqa-i-Sokhta when Kashmir was heading towards militancy. Gigoo notes that it is within the hearts that the members of these two divergent communities *feel* fearful about, like in the restaurant when Ali’s joy – after hearing the names of militants on the radio-set who had requested for a number to be played for them- makes Lasa to turn suspicious about Ali’s inclination towards militancy.<sup>542</sup> He also speaks of the fear perceived by the school teacher Nilkanth and quotes him saying, *“We should pack up our belongings and leave. Otherwise, we will be butchered one by one and thrown into Vitasta.”*<sup>543</sup> Nevertheless, communal amity reigned supreme in the tumultuous times, which is evident from the conversation between Lasa and his student Manzoor in Gigoo’s novel. When Manzoor told Lasa *“Do not leave Lasa, I will talk to the area commander, You are my teacher, you will stay safe in your house.”*<sup>544</sup> Kashmiri Muslims despite the insecurity of their own lives tried to stop their Hindu neighbours and maintained friendly relations. Triloki Nath, narrated, *“One of my colleague teacher told me that I was walking through Roopnagar in Jammu and a Pandit girl rushed to me and asked me in Kashmiri language, are you Kashmiri?, I replied yes, she said I am being followed by these two vulgars, Later I accompanied her to her destination. So she trusted the Kashmiri Muslim rather than non – Kashmiri Hindus. This is because she had experienced a safer living among the Muslims of Kashmir that made her to trust him than her co-religionists.”*<sup>545</sup>

One cannot deny the fact that the poor Hindus experienced miseries after their departure from Kashmir. They felt it difficult to come to terms with the ugly reality. In an

---

<sup>542</sup> Gigoo, Siddartha, *The Garden of Solitude*, New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2011, p. 20.

<sup>543</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>544</sup> Ibid., p.56. For communal amity during the outbreak of militancy see also Bose Tapan, Dinesh Mohan, Gautam Navlakha, Sumanta Banerjee, “India’s Kashmir War”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31 March 1990.

<sup>545</sup> Triloki, Nath, op.cit.

alien environment at Jammu, they suffered from diseases like skin rash, stomach infections and snake bites etc.<sup>546</sup> The old generation of Kashmiri Pandits, who had spent their life in Kashmir and had never been exposed to outside environment before, carried with them the pain of leaving their home land. They always cherished the memories of living harmoniously with Muslim neighbours in the plural environment.<sup>547</sup> This feeling is well epitomized in the following poem of Piarey Lal Hatash:<sup>548</sup>

So brothers our address is lost  
Where do we look for our own that place is lost  
What we gazed upon with love all our years  
That shelter is locked, our home is lost  
Who for that darkness do we blame?  
Stifled alas, that reason is lost  
Fluttering around the lamp burnt ourselves  
Darkness fell, the moth is lost  
When will return that heart-warmth  
The intimacy of winter nights is lost.  
All we had garnered was one faith  
Lidless our pots, that treasure is lost.

---

<sup>546</sup> Interview with Moti Lal Mawa, age 75 years, resident of Bohri kadal Srinagar, on 17-06-2013, Gigoo Siddartha, *The Garden of Solitude*, p. 111.

<sup>547</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>548</sup> Piarey, Lal Hatash, cited in Kak Sanjay, *Jashn-i-Azadi* Documentary on Kashmir.

## Conclusion

The communalized stories of human past have been craftily appropriated and effectively employed in South Asia by the political elite for furthering their interests. The communal forces construct antagonistic religious identities through their tailored discourses. It is in this context that Benedict Anderson argues all communities and nations are *imagined* or *made*. However, Anthony Smith argues that without pre-modern ethnic ties (memories, myths, traditions, rituals, symbols, artifacts etc.) the modern reconstruction of communities is inconceivable. Eric Hobsbawm in his *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, establishes that the nations are “dual phenomena” constructed essentially from above, but cannot be understood unless analyzed from below, that is in terms of assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of the ordinary people.

The social solidarity of Kashmiri society was the product of heterogeneity. The Hindu and Muslim communities of Kashmir despite their religio-cultural identities maintained harmonious relations based on what Emile Durkhiem calls ‘organic solidarity’. It explains social solidarity through the division of labour as an automatic outcome of every individual’s pursuit of economic interests in relationship of exchange. Thus the factor of inter-dependence and centuries of living together forged a tradition of harmonious relations in Kashmir characterized by concessions to pragmatism and respect for differences.

The causes of the disruption of this harmony were rooted within the traditional division of labour what Durkhiem calls *anomie*- a situation of normlessness where values held by the members of society are not matched by opportunities available to them. In such a situation the solidarity is maintained by coercion and is thus unsustainable. Because if the tastes and aptitudes of people are ignored they would be “constantly frustrated” in their occupations and would seek means to end their sufferings. The medieval rulers in Kashmir hardly provided any scope for the expression of organized dissent. Since 1819 A.D. with the establishment of Sikh rule, State assumed a sectarian character which reached to its climax under Dogras. Kashmiri Pandits along with a small minority of Muslim elite constituted the main prop of exploitive State under Sikhs and Dogras. The mass Muslim community constituted the class of exploited who had developed a sense of alienation against oppression but due to the autocratic character of State were forced to conform to the norms of status quo.

The pre-modern solidarity of Kashmiri society faced a challenge of modernity towards the late nineteenth century. The forces of modernization introduced by the colonial

State invoked the class conflict. Thus the growth of communal consciousness during twentieth century Kashmir was the expression of middle class conflict of interests – an attempt of oppressed to end their sufferings. The conflict and antagonism was perpetuated by the elite of both the communities who felt their aptitudes and tastes frustrated. The Pandit elite for the purpose of maintaining the status quo used all its energies to suppress the wave of change and attempted to wean away their community from the majority politics.

The organized struggle against autocratic and sectarian Dogra State in the form of Muslim Conference was a secular and progressive struggle against feudal monarchy. The culmination of this process was the conversion of Muslim Conference in to National Conference. The demand for the amelioration of grievances of Muslim community strongly pressed by the Muslim Conference and its opposition by Yuvak Sabah does not suggest inevitability of conflict between two religious communities. Neither of the two constitute homogenous entities and were divided in terms of class, caste and territory. The Muslim leadership no doubt sought support of Punjabi Muslim organizations and made use of religious idioms for mass mobilization but was internally riven by contradictions (e.g. Ahrar-Ahmadiya controversy and the conflict between Mirwaiz Yousuf Shah and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah are cases to mention). Nevertheless, the Muslim assertion during 1930's had the potential of straining the inter-community relations which finds its expression in the riots of 1931 and influenced the subsequent history of Kashmir.

The politics pursued by the two communities since 1930's remained exclusive. The Kashmiri Pandits due to elite mechanization did not identify themselves with the majority voice and imposed upon themselves the fear psychosis of majority domination. The politico-economic developments since 1947 further exacerbated the situation. The partition of subcontinent on religious lines, radical land reforms, Plebiscite movement, emergence of Muslim revivalist movements, holy relic theft, Parmeshwari incident and 1986 riots provided weapon to Pandit elite and Hindu nationalists of India to intensify the fear psychosis of majority domination. Though these developments did create a wedge between the elite of two communities but the sentiment was never allowed to vitiate the harmonious relations.

The most significant event that shook the intercommunity relations in Kashmir was the eruption of militancy. It was in 1990 when the majority of Kashmiri Muslims took streets to give vent to their political aspirations, that Pandit community showed unwillingness to compromise with the idea, especially in the emotionally surcharged atmosphere fueled by



rumors, rabble rousing, concocted history and unimaginative state sponsorship of fear psychosis.

Notwithstanding the separate cultural identities maintained by the two major communities of Kashmir, the compulsion of life, especially the factor of interdependence and neighbourliness forced these communities to forget their religious differences and live amicably. Though the elite section for the purpose of safeguarding their interests at times attempted to put religious veneer on their class conflicts, such elite mechanization due to its vacuous character was defeated under the pressures of pragmatism. Thus, the metaphor *living together Separately*, recently sponsored by Indian nationalist elite to characterize the Hindu-Muslim relations in India, aptly applies to inter-community relations in Kashmir too.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 1) PRIMARY SOURCES

#### A). Official Documents

- *Annual Administration Adm. Report of J & K State for S. year 1992-93*
- *Annual Administration Adm. Report of J & K State for S. year 1994-95.*
- *Annual Administration Report for S. year 1969,*
- *Annual Administration Report of J & K State for S. year 1970,*
- *Annual Administration Report of J & K State for, 1940-41.*
- *Annual Administration report of J & K state, 1943.*
- *Annual Administration Report of J & K State, 1943-44.*
- *Annual Administration Report of J & K state,1951*
- *Annual Administration Report of J& K, 1950.*
- *Annual Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1914-15, Jammu, 1916.*
- *Annual Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1915-16, 1917.*
- *Annual Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1933.*
- *Annual Administration Report of the Jammu & Kashmir State, 1892-1893.*
- *Annual Administration Report of the Jammu & Kashmir State, 1893.*
- *Annual Administration Report of the Jammu & Kashmir State, 1901-1904.*
- *Census of 1931, Vol. XXIV (J &K), Part. I.*
- *Census of India 1891 ( A General Report)*
- *Census of India 1981(J & K), District Census Handbook, District Pulwama.*
- *Census of India, 1891, Vol. XXVIII, The Kashmir State (Lahore: Mufid-i-Am Press, 1893).*
- *Census of India, 1941, Vol. XXII.*
- *Census of India, 1961, Mattan, Jammu & Kashmir, (A Village Survey).*
- *Census Report of 1911, Vol. XX.*
- *Census Report of 1921, Part I, Vol. XXII.*
- *Community wise Composition of Government Department File No. PR-A-36, 1941.*
- *Glancy, B.J., Report of the Commission appointed under the order of His Highness, the Maharaja Bahadur, dated 12<sup>th</sup> November, 1931 to enquire into Grievances and Complaints, Jammu: Ranbir Government Press, 1932.*
- *Jammu and Kashmir State Information Bureau, Abolition of Big Landlordism: Text of Announcement, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1950 at Lal Chowk, Srinagar, 1950.*
- *Jammu and Kashmir State Land Reforms Officer, in Ninety Days: A brief account of Agrarian Reforms launched by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's Government in Kashmir Jammu, 1948.*

- *Jammu and Kashmir State Land Reforms Officer, Land Reforms: A Review of the Working of the Land Reforms with Special Reference to Big Landed Estates Abolition Act for the period ending July, 1952, in Jammu and Kashmir State, Jammu, 1952.*
- *Land Reforms (A review of the land reforms with special reference to Big Landed Estates Abolition Act for the period ending July, 1952, in the Jammu and Kashmir State), J&K State: Land Reforms Officer, 1953.*
- *Lawrence, W.R., Assessment Report of Awantipura Tehsil, Jammu, 1920.*
- *Memorandum of Grievences presented by the prominent Muslims of Srinagar to Viceroy of India, Lord Reading, on his visit to the Valley in 1924.*
- *Memorandum submitted by Muslim representatives to Maharaja Hari Singh on Oct. 18, 1931.*
- *Memorial of Grievences presented by Kashmiri Muslim representatives to his Highness, the Maharaja Bahadur on 15 August 1931.*
- *Memorial presented to Maharaja Bahadur by the Sanatan Dharam Young Man's Association on behalf of Kashmiri Pandits, October 24, 1931.*
- *Preliminary Report of Land Settlement, Jammu, 1908.*
- *Reorganization Report for 1942.*
- *Report of British Empire exhibition, J&K, London, 1924.*
- *Report of the Resident of Kashmir on Communal disturbances in Srinagar, Government of India (Foreign and Political Branch) File No. 35-P (secret) 1932 NAI.*
- *Riots Enquiry Commission Report, Srinagar, Pratap Govt. Press, 1931.*
- *Sharp Commission Report on Jammu and Kashmir State 1916.*
- *Wingate, A., Preliminary Report of Settlement Operations in Kashmir and Jammu, Lahore: W. Ball & Company, 1888.*
- *Wingate, A., Proposed Settlement Rules for Kashmir, Lahore: W. Ball & Company, 1889.*

## **B) Books/ Pamphlets**

Abdullah, Sheikh *Flames of the Chinar: An Autobiography*, New Delhi: Viking, 1993.

-----  
*Atish-i- Chinar*, (Urdu), Delhi, 1986.

-----  
 "Presidential Address by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah at First Session of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, 15-17 October, 1932, Srinagar," In Mirza

- Shafiq Hussain, (ed.), *The Political struggle of Kashmiri Muslims, 1931-1939; Selected Documents*, Srinagar; Gulshan Publishers, 1991.
- Adams, A.L., *Wanderings of a Naturalist in India*, Edinburg, 1867.
- Aitchison, C.U., *“A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and Neighboring Countries (revised and continued up to 1929)”*, Vol. XII, Jammu & Kashmir, Sikkim, Assam & Burma, Calcutta: Government of India Central Publications Branch, 1929, Reprint, Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1983.
- Ansley, Mrs. J.C.M., *“Our Visit to Hindustan Kashmir and Ladakh”*, London, 1879.
- Azam, Muhammad *“Waqi’at- Kashmir”*, Urdu Trans. From Persian, Delhi, Hamid Yazdani, 1998.
- Bazaz, P.N., *“The Shape of Things in Kashmir”*, Delhi: Pamposh Publications, 1965.
- *“Inside Kashmir”*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 2002.
- Beg, Mirza Afzal *“On the Way to Golden Harvest: Agricultural Reforms in Jammu and Kashmir”*, Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 1951.
- Bernier, Francois, *“Travels in the Mughal Empire, A.D. 1656-1668”*, London: W. Pickering, 1826; repr. New Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1992.
- Biscoe, C.E. Tyndale, *“Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade”*, New Delhi: Mittal Publishing House, first published 1921, repr. 1995.

- "Fifty Years against the Stream", Mysore, 1930.
- Bose, J.C., "Cashmere and Its Princes", Calcutta, 1889.
- Crane, Robert I., (ed.), "Area Handbook on Jammu and Kashmir State"  
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
- Fauq, M.D. Rahnuma-i-Kashmir, (Urdu), Lahore, 1912.
- Fazal, Abul "Akbar Nama", Ed., Lucknow: Nawal Kishore, 1867;  
Eng. tr., H. Beveridge, Delhi, Vol. III, 1973.
- Fredrick, Drew, "The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories", Delhi:  
Oriental Publishers, repr.1971.
- Girdleston, Charles, "Memorandum on Cashmere and Some Adjacent  
Countries", Calcutta: Foreign Department Press, 1874.
- Hakkani, Azizullah "Tamhide Hadisaye Kashmir: Introduction to the  
Episode in Kashmir, 1892-93", unpublished  
Manuscript in Persian, Acc. # 623, Srinagar State  
Archives, Kashmir.
- Hugel, Baron Charles, "Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab", London: John  
Petheran, 1845.
- Hussain Mubed, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Eng tr. By David Shea &  
Anthony Troyer, Patna: Khuda Bakash Oriental  
Library, 1993.
- Inc, John, "The Kashmir Handbook", Calcutta: Wyman  
Brothers, 1867.
- Ireland, J.B., "From Wall Street to Kashmir", London, 1859.
- Jacquemont, Victor, "Letters from India Describing "A Journey in the  
British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore, and

- Cashmir*” London: (Original in French), 1835.
- Jahangir, “*Tuzki-i-Jahangiri*”, ed. Nawal Kishore, Lucknow; Eng. tr., Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, Delhi, 1968.
- Jalali, Jia Lal Kaul, “*Agriculture in Kashmir*”, in *Kashmir Today*, Vol.4, May-June, 1960 No.7.
- Jaghmohan “*My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir*”, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1991,
- Jona Raja, “*Dvitiya Rajatarangini*”, Sanskrit, Eng. tr. by G. C. Dutt, 3 Vols, Calcutta, 1889.
- Kachru, Birbal “*Majmu’at Tawarikh*”, Srinagar: Per. Ms. Research & Publication Department, (c. 1835).
- Kalhana, Pandit, “*Rajatarangini Sanskrit*”, Eng tr. by M. A. Stein, 2 Vols, London, 1900.
- Khan, Khafi “*Muntakhab-ul-Labab*”, Calcutta, 1868.
- Khan, Sadiq, “*Tarikh-i-Shah Jahani*”, Or. 174, British Museum, Rotograph No. 39, Aligarh: Centre of Advanced Studies, f. 98a.
- Khanyari, Ghulam Nabi, “*Wajeez-ut-Tawarikh*”, Srinagar: Per. Ms., Research & Publication Department, 1883.
- Khasta, Hargopal Koul, “*Guldasta-i- Kashmir*” (Urdu), Lahore, 1887.
- Koul, Gawasha Lal, “*A Short History of Kashmir*”, Lahore, 1933.
- “*Kashmir Through the Ages*”, Srinagar, 1932.
- “*Kashmir Then and Now*”, Srinagar: Srinagar Chronicle, 1967, 8<sup>th</sup> Edition.

- Lal, Lala Ganeshi                      “*Siyahat-i-Kashmir*”, tr. Vidya Sagar Suri Punjab Itihas Prakashan, Chandigarh, 1976.
- Lawrence, Walter R.,                   “*Provincial Gazetteers of Jammu and Kashmir*”, New Delhi: Rima Publishing House, repr. 1985.
- “*The Valley of Kashmir*”, Srinagar: Chinar Publishing House, repr. 1992.
- Lee Warner, Sir William,              “*The Native States of India*”, London, 1910.
- Mir Ahmad                               “*Dastur’l Amal-i-Kashmir*”, Alias ‘*Tarikh-i-Kalan*’ (C, 1835), Patiala: Per. Ms., Ranjit Singh Museum.
- Mirjanpuri, Khalil                      “*Ta’rikh-i-Kashmir*”, (C. 1846-57) Srinagar: Per Ms., Research & Publication Department.
- Kazim, Mohammad                      “*Alamgir Nama*”, Ed. Khadim Husain and Abdul-Hai, Calcutta.
- Mirza, Saifuddin,                      “*Khulasatul-Tawarikh*”, [*Summary of the History*], repr., Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1984.
- Moorcraft, W. and George            “*Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab; In Ladakh and Kashmir, In Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz, and Bokhara*”, New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1971.
- Mufti Mohammad Shah                “*Taarikh-i-Kashmir ki Rozana Dairy- 1846-1947*” Daily Dairy of the History of Kashmir, Noor Mohammad Ghulam Muhhamad, Srinagar, 1997.
- Neve, Arthur,                            “*Thirty Years in Kashmir*”, London: Edward Arnold, 1913. Jammu Kashmir Archives.
- “*Picturesque Kashmir*”, London, 1900.

- Neve, Ernest, F., *“Beyond the Pir Panjal: Life among the Mountains and Valleys of Kashmir”*, London: T.F. Unwin, 1912.
- Prajayabhatta & Suka *Rajawali Pataka*, Vol. 3, Eng tr. By J.C. Dutt, City Book Centre Srinagar, 2011.
- Ram, Dewan Kripa, *“Gulab-nama”*, Persian Text ‘Lahore’ 1865, Eng tr. by S.S. Charak, Jammu, 1977.
- *“Gulzar-i-Kashmir”*, Persian Text, Lahore, 1877.
- Sardar Budh Singh, *“Kashmir Mien Qahat vide Ranbir”*, weekly, Jammu, Vol. VIII, June, 1932.
- Schonberg, B.E.V., *“Travels in India and Kashmir”*, 2 Vols., London, 1885.
- Shah, Peer Hassan *“Tarikh-i-Kashmir”*, Persian MS. 3 Vols., 1885, Urdu tr., Moulvi Ibrahim, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Srinagar, Vol. II, 1957.
- Srivara *“Jaina Rajatarangini”*, Eng. Tr. Jogesh Chander Dutt (J.C. Dutt), Kings of Kashmira, New Delhi, repr, 1990.
- Taasir, Rashid, *Tahreek-i-Huriyyat-i-Kashmir*, 2 Vol. Srinagar: 1968
- Thorp, Robert, *“Cashmere Misgovernment”*, Calcutta: Wyman Brothers, 1868.
- Taylor, Bayard *“Travels in Cashmere etc”*. New York, 1893.
- Vigne G. T *“Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardu Countries adjoining the mountain course of Indus and Himalayan, North of Punjab”*, Vols. 2, Karachi: Indus Publications 1987.
- Wakefield, W., *“The Happy Valley”*, London, 1879.



Younghusband, Francis, “*Kashmir*”, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, first published 1908, repr. 1996.

### **C) Poetic Works:**

Azad, Abdul Ahad, ‘*Kulyat-i-Azad*’ (Kashmiri), Srinagar, 1986.

Hajini, Abdul Wahab, ‘*Dewan-i-Wahab*’ (Kashmiri), Srinagar, 1977.

Iqbal, Dr. Sheikh Mohammad, ‘*Kulyat-i-Iqbal*’ (Urdu), Aligarh, 1995.

Mahjur, Ghulam Ahmad, ‘*Kulyat-i-Mahju’r*’ (Kashmiri), Srinagar.

### **D) Gazetteers:**

- Bates, C.E., “*A Gazetteer of Kashmir and the Adjoining Districts of Kishtwar, Bhadarwah, Jammu, Nowshera, Punch And The Valley Of Kishan Ganga*” Calcutta, office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1873, Repr. New Delhi: Light and Life, 1980.
- Lawrence W. R., “*Imperial Gazetteer of India (Provincial Series) Jammu & Kashmir*”, Calcutta: 1909.
- Quarter Master General, “*Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*” Delhi: 1890, repr. 1974.
- Secretary of the State, “*Imperial Gazetteer of India*”, Vol. XV, (From India in Council Karachi to Kottayam), Oxford: 1908.

### **E) Newspapers and Periodicals:**

- *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, Calcutta.
- *Akhbar-i-Kashmir*, Lahore.
- *Albarq*, Srinagar.
- *Alsafa* Srinagar.
- *Daily Sandesh*, Jammu.
- *Economic Times*, Bombay.
- *Hamdard*, Srinagar.
- *Hindu*, Madras.

- *Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta.
- *Hindustan Times*, Delhi.
- *Indian Express*, Delhi.
- *Islah*, Srinagar
- *Kashmiri*, Lahore
- *Khalid*, Srinagar.
- *Khidmat*, Srinagar
- *Kurukshetra*, New Delhi
- *Martand*, Srinagar
- *Milap*, New Delhi.
- *National Herald*, Lucknow.
- *Patriot*, New Delhi.
- *Pratab*, Lahore
- *Statesman*, Calcutta.
- *Times of India*, Bombay.
- *Tribune* (Chandigarh).
- *Vitasta*, Srinagar.
- *Yogana*, New Delhi

**F) Interviewees:**

- Shamboo Nath Tikoo, age 72 years, resident of Verinag Anantnag, on 15-04-2011.
- Raj Nath, age 45 years, resident of Magray Pora Anantnag, on 16-04-2011.
- Mohammad Akbar Parray, age 55 years, resident of Magraypora Anantnag, on 18-04-2011.
- Som Nath, age 72 years, resident of Seer Hamadan, on 19-04-2011.
- Autaar Krishan Raina, age 60 years, resident of Aukoora Anantnag, on 26-04-2011
- Mohammad Sultan Mir, age 55 years resident of Aukoora Anantnag, on 26-04-2011
- Ghulam Nabi Aatish, age 63 years, resident of Nanil Anantnag, on 27-04-2011.
- Mohammad Sultan Dar, age 80 years, resident of Anantnag, on 27-04-2011.
- Abdul Gani Bhat, age 71 years, resident of Nowgam Anantnag, on 27-04-2011.

- Mohammad Abdullah, age 63 years, resident of Hugam Anantnag, on 03-05-2011.
- Pairey Lal Tikoo, age 63 years, resident of Hugam Anantnag, on 04-05- 2011.
- Arzan Nath Kachroo, age 68 years, resident of Hutmura Anantnag, on 12-05-2011.
- Abdul Rehman Bhat, age 68 years, resident of Hutmara Anantnag, on 12-05-2011.
- Ali Mohammad Thokar, age above 100 years, resident of Laktipora, on 17-05-2011.
- Habibullah Raina, age 65 years, resident of Mattan Anantnag, on 25-05-2011.
- Sham Lal, age 77 years, resident of Mattan Anantnag, on 25-05-2011.
- Jagar Nath, age 55 years, resident of Brinti Diyalgam, on 02-06- 2011.
- K.L. Koul, age 63 years, resident of Murran Pulwama, on 02-07-2011.
- Autaar Krishan Koul, age 63 years, resident of Dadsara Tral, on 22-07-2011.
- Ali Mohmmad Sheikh, age 61 years, resident of Dadsara Tral, on 22-07-2011.
- Ghulam Qadir Jan, age 63 years, resident of Dadsara Tral, on 22-07-2011.
- Triloki Nath, age 74years, resident of Noorpora Tral, on 22-07-07-2011.
- Haji Noor Mohammad, age 72 years, resident of Jogilankar Srinagar, on 07-07-2011.
- Abdul Salam, age 53 years, resident of Jogilankar Srinagar, on 07-07-2011.
- Bansi Lal, age 62 years, resident of Habakadal Srinagar, on 28-07-2011.
- Bushan Lal, age 60 years, resident of Gunpatyar Srinagar, on 29-07-2011.
- Rattan Chakoo, age 45 years, resident of Gunpatyar Srinagar, on 29 -07-2011.
- Riyaz Ahmad Hakeem, age 35 years, resident of Gunpatyaar, on 30-07-2011.
- Nazir Ahmad, age 55 years, resident of Habakadal, on 16-08-2011
- Mohan Lal Mawa, age 75 years, resident of Bohrikadal Srinagar , on 17-06-2013
- Ghulam Mohammad Bhat, age 70 years, resident of Tulumula on 17-06-2013.

## (2) SECONDARY SOURCES

### A). Books

Ahmad, Imtiyaz                      *“Ritual and Religion Among Muslims in India”*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1981.

Ahmad Parviz,                      *“Economy & Society of Kashmir”*, Srinagar: Oriental publishing House 2007.

- Akther Parveena, *“The History of Kashmir in Political, Economic and Socio-Cultural Perspective (1846-1885)”*, Srinagar: Kashmir Info publications, 2007.
- Alam Muzafar *“The Languages of Political Islam in India: C 1200-1800”*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2008.
- Anderson Benedict *“Imagine Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism”*, London: Verso, 1991.
- Azmi Ab. Majed, *“Shahi-Hamdan Aur Kashmir”*, Srinagar: Sheikh Mohammad Usman and Sons Tajran Qutub, 1998
- Bamzai .P.N.K, *“Socio-Economic History of Kashmir 1846-1925, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 1<sup>st</sup> Ed.1987.*
- Bayly C. A., *“The Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad, 1880-1920”*, Oxford, 1975.
- Bazaz, PremNath, *“Daughters of the Vitasta”*, New Delhi: Pamposh, 1959.
- ..... *“Kashmir In-Crucible”*, New Delhi: Pamposh, 1967
- ..... *“The History of the Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir”*, Karachi: National Book Foundation, 1976.
- Bhan, K.L, *“Paradise Lost: The Seventh Exodus of Kashmiri Pandiths”*, Kashmir News Network, 2003
- Bhati, Avanti, ed. *“Kashmiri Pandiths: Problems & Perspectives”*, New Delhi: Rupa & Co., 2005
- Bose, Sumantra, *“Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace”*, New Delhi: Vistaar Publication, 2003.
- Brass R. Paul, *“Language, Religion and Politics in North India”*, Cambridge, 1974.

- ..... *“The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India”*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Chandra, Bipan, *“Communalism in Modern India”*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd., 1984.
- ..... *“Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India”*, New Delhi: Oriental Longmans Ltd.1989.
- Chowdhary, Rekha *“Identity Politics in Jammu and Kashmir”*, New Delhi: Vitasta Publishing House (ed.), 2010.
- Durkheim Emile, *“The Division of Labour in Society”*, New York: The Free Press, 1997.
- Devdas, David *“In search of Future: The Story of Kashmir”*, New Delhi: Penguin Books India, Pvt. Ltd, 2007.
- Day, Graham *“Community and Everyday Life”*, London: Routledge, 2006.
- Dhar, D.N., *“Kashmir: A Kaleidoscopic View”* New Delhi, Kanishka Publishers, 2005.
- F.R. Faridi & M.M. Siddiqi, *“The Social Structure of Indian Muslims”*, New Delhi: Qazi publishers, 1992.
- Fayaz Farooq, *“Kashmir Folklore in Historical Perspective”*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2008.
- Fazili Manzoor, *“Cultural Glimpses of Kashmir”*, Srinagar: Gulshan publishers, 2002.
- Gandhi M.K., *“Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule”*, Ahmadabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1938.

- Ganguly, Sumit, *“The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace”*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.1997.
- Ganai, Mohammad Yousuf *“Kashmiri’s struggle for Independence (1931-1939)”*, Srinagar: Mohsin Publications, 2004.
- Ganjoo, Nila Kanth, *“A Digest of Customary Law of Kashmir”*, Srinagar: Fine Arts Press, 1959.
- Gauhar, G.N., *“Elections in Jammu and Kashmir”*, New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2002.
- ..... *“Hazratbal: The Central Stage of Kashmir Politics”*, New Delhi: Virgo publications, 1998.
- Gigoo, Siddhartha, *“The Garden of Solitude”* New Delhi, Rupa & Company, 2011.
- Gottschalk, Peter *“Beyond Hindu and Muslim: Multiple Identity in Narratives from Village India”*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Habib, Irfan, *“Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707”*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963.
- Hangloo .R.L, *“Agrarian System of Kashmir”*, New Delhi: Common wealth Publishers 1995.
- Hassan, Mushirul, *“Islam, Communities and Nation: Muslim Identities in South Asia and Beyond”*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1998.
- *“Islam in the Sub-continent, Muslims in a Plural Society”*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2002.
- Hassan, Mushirul and *“Living Together Separately: Cultural India in History and Politics”*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press,

- Roy Asim (Eds.) 2005.
- Haykal .M.H, “*The Life of Muhammad*”, tr. From 8<sup>th</sup> edition by Ismail Ragi Al-Faruqi, North American trust, 1976.
- Hassan, Mohib-ul “*Kashmir Under the Sultans*”, Srinagar: Gulshan publishers, 2002.
- Hobsbawm, Eric “*Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*” (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1993).
- Jalal Ayesha, “*Self and Sovereignty: Identity Formation in South Asian Islam Since 1850*”, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Exploding Communalism: The Politics of Muslim Identity in South Asia” in Bose Sugata and Jalal Ayesha, ed. “*Nationalism Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India*”, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998-99.
- Kaw, M.K, et.al “*Kashmiri Pandiths: Looking to the Future*” New Delhi, APH Publishers Corporation, 2001
- ..... “*Kashmir & its People: Studies in the Evolution of Kashmiri Society*, New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 2004
- Khan,. M. Ishaq, “*History of Srinagar*”, Srinagar: Cosmos publications, Karan Nagar Srinagar, 1999.
- ..... “*Kashmir’s Transition to Islam*”, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2005.
- Khan, A.R., “*Geography of Kashmir*”, Srinagar: City Book Centre,

2011.

- Khan, Fida Mohammad Hassnain, *“Kashmir the History of Himalayan Valley”*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 2002.
- Khan, G.H. *“Freedom Movement in Kashmir, (1931-1940)”*, New Delhi: Light & Life Publishers, 1980,
- Khan, Muzaffar *Kashmiri Muslims: An Historical Outline, 2 Vols.*, Srinagar: Humanizer Publications, 2012.
- Khanday, Ab. Rashid, *“The Sikh Rule in Kashmir (1819-1846 A.D)”*, Kulgam (Kashmir): Muneeza Publications, 2007.
- Kilam, Jiya Lal, *“A History of Kashmiri Pandits”*, Srinagar: Gandhi Memorial College Publications, 1955.
- Korbel, Josef, *“Danger in Kashmir”*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954.
- Koul, Anand, *“The Kashmiri Pandit”*, Delhi: Utpal Publications, 1991.
- Koul, Mohanlal, *“Kashmir Past & Present: Unravelling the Mystique”*, New Delhi, Manu Publishers, 1994.
- Koul, M.L, *“Kashmir Wail of a Valley”* Delhi: Gyan Publishers, 1999.
- Koul, R.N, *“The Wail of Kashmir in Quest of Peace”* New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1999.
- Lamb, Alstair, *“Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy, (1846-1991)”* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- M. Mukarram Ahmed, *“Encyclopaedia of Islam”*, New Delhi: Anmol publications, Vol.6, 2005.



- Madan T.N., *“Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pundits of Rural Kashmir”*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- *“Modern Myths Locked Minds: Secularism and Fundamentalism in India”*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Religious Ideology and Social Structure: The Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir in Imtiyaz Ahmad (ed.) *“Ritual and Religion among Muslims in India”*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1981.
- Madhok, Balraj, *“Kashmir: The Storm Centre of the World”*, New York: Houston Texas, 1992,
- Malik Jamal and Reifeld Halmut (Ed.) *“Religious Pluralism in South Asia and Europe”*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Marsden, Magnus, *“Living Islam: Muslim Religious Experience in Pakistan’s North-West Frontier”*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Masoodi .M.Amin, *“Agriculture in Jammu & Kashmir”*, Srinagar: Mohisraw Book Series, Rawalpora, 2003.
- Matoo Abdul Majeed *“Kashmir Under the Mughals (1586-1752)”*, Srinagar: Golden horde enterprises, 1988.
- Nizami, K.A., *“Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century”*, Delhi: Idrah-I Adbiyat-I Delli, repr. 1978.
- Pandey Gyanendra, *“The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India”*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Pandit Som Nath, *“Kashiren Batan Hend Rasam ti Rewaj”* (Traditions &

- Customs of Kashmiri Pandits), P.G. Kashir Department, Kashmir University Srinagar, Publisher Gh. Hassan, 1983.
- Pandit, M.L. & T.N  
Pandit, ed.                   *“Kashmiri Pandits”*, New Delhi: A.P.H publishing corporation, 2005.
- Pandita, Rahul,                   *“Our Moon has Blood Clots: The Exodus of Kashmiri Pandits”* London: Random House Publishers, 2013.
- Parmu, R.K.,                   *“A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, (1320-1819)”*, New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House 1969.
- Qadri Shafi Ahmad,                   *“Kashmiri Sufism”*, Srinagar: Gulshan publishers, 2002.
- Rabani, G.M.,                   *“Ancient Kashmir”*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 1981.
- Rafiabadi Hamid  
Naseem,                   *“Spirituality And Society in Kashmir: A study of Sufis of Kashmir”*, Srinagar: City Book Centre, 2011.
- Rafiqi, A. Q.,                   *“Sufism in Kashmir (from Fourteenth to the sixteenth century)”*, Varanasi: Bharatiya Publishing House, n.d.
- Rai, Mridu,                   *“Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir”*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.
- Rao Aparna,                   *“The Valley of Kashmir: The Making and Unmaking of a Composite Culture”*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2008.
- Robinson F.C.R.,                   *“Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Province’s Muslims 1860-1923”*, Cambridge, 1974.
- “Nation Formation: The Brass Thesis and Muslim Separatism”, in *Journal of Common Wealth and*

*Comparative Politics*, 1977.

- “Islam and Muslim Separatism” in D Taylor and M Yapp, eds. *Political Identity in South Asia*.
- Saraf, M.Y., “*Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*”, 2Vols. Pakistan: Feroz Sons Lahore, 1979.
- Sender, Henny, “*The Kashmiri Pandits: A Study of Cultural Choice in North India*”, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Settar, S and PKV Kaimal (Ed.) “*We Lived Together*”, Delhi: Pragati Publications, 1999.
- Sharma, (Usha Ed.) “*Cultural, Religious And Economic Life of Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh*”, New Delhi: Radha Publications, 2001.
- .....  
“*Marriage in Indian Society (From Tradition to Modernity)*”, New Delhi: Mittal Publications, Vols. I & II, 2005.
- Singh .N.K., “*Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*”, Vol. I, Srinagar: Gulshan publishers, 2002.
- Singh, Nirmal, “*Inter-Communal Relations in Jammu & Kashmir (1846-1931)*”, Jammu: JK Book House, 1991.
- Spencer, Jonathan, ed. “*Sri Lanka: History and the Roots of Conflict*”, London: Routledge, 1990.
- Sumith, Anthony, D., “The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?” in Marjorie Ringrose and Adam lernar, eds., *Reimagining the Nation* (Bucking ham/Philadelphia: Open University press 1993).

- Suresh K. Sharma & S.R. Bakshi(Eds.) *“Kashmir Society and Culture”*, New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1995.
- ..... *“Economic life of Kashmir”*, New Delhi: Anmol publications Pvt. Ltd., 1995.
- Tahiri Peer zada Abdul Khaliq, *“Tarikh-i- Buzargani Kashmir”* Srinagar: Sheikh Mohammad Usman and Sons Tajran Qutub, 1998.
- ..... *“Tazkairi Auliya Kashmir”* Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 2003.
- Tara Chand, *“Influence of Islam on Indian Culture”*, Allahabad, The Indian Press Pvt. Ltd, 1963.
- Thomas, G.C Raju, ed. *“Perspectives on Kashmir: The Roots of Conflicting South Asia”* Boulder: West View, 1992.
- Veer, Peter Van der, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Wani. M. Ashraf, *“Islam in Kashmir”*, Srinagar: Oriental Publishing House, 2005.
- Zutshi, Chitralkha, *“Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir”*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.
- Zutshi, U.K., *“Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir”*, Delhi: Manohar Publishing House, 1986.

#### **D) Journals**

- *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*
- *Bioscience*

- *Economic and Political Weekly*
- *Economic Development and Cultural Change*
- *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*
- *Journal of Development Studies*
- *Journal of Peasant Studies*
- *Population and Development Review*
- *Social Scientist*
- *Technology and Culture*
- *The Economic History Review*
- *The Economic Weekly*
- *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*
- *The World Bank Research Observer*