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FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE GODS TO THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE: SANSKRIT, KASHMIRI VERNACULARISATION, AND LITERARY IDENTITY.

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### **Abstract**

This paper explores the rich literary and cultural heritage of Kashmir, tracing its evolution from Sanskrit to Persian and Kashmiri traditions. Lal Ded, a 14th-century poet, profoundly influenced the Kashmiri language, spirituality, and artistic expression through her *vatsun* verses. The romantic saga of Yousuf Shah Chak and Habba Khatoon in 16th-century Kashmir exemplifies how poetry served as both a medium of personal expression and a form of political resistance, thereby preserving Kashmiri cultural identity. The region's composite culture is further illuminated by its multilingual traditions, which encompass Sanskrit, Persian, and Kashmiri. The historical development of Kashmir's religious, political, and cultural landscape is also examined, including the influence of Sufism, the role of shrines, and the contemporary challenges facing the Kashmiri language and culture.

**Keywords**: Kashmiri poetry, Sanskrit cosmopolis, Persian influence, Literary identity, Cultural convergence

### Introduction

The literary and linguistic landscape of South Asia is characterised by remarkable diversity, complexity, and historical depth. This region encompasses multiple language families, including Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, and Munda, representing a range of social, religious, and cultural distinctions (Kachru et al., 2008). The subcontinent's linguistic heritage is marked by extensive traditions of study, teaching, and cultural investment in languages and literatures



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(Freeman, 1998; Pollock, 2005). South Asian languages demonstrate a long history of mutual contact, convergence, and diffusion, leading to shared literary and sociolinguistic histories that transcend modern political boundaries (Kachru, 2008). This linguistic diversity has caused both challenges and creative conflicts, fostering the region's cultural growth and renewal (Kachru, 2008). Studying South Asian languages and literatures requires interdisciplinary methods, combining textual analysis with theoretical frameworks to understand their complex roles in shaping societies and cultures (Freeman, 1998; Pollock, 2005). Sheldon Pollock's notion of the "Sanskrit cosmopolis" refers to a vast cultural sphere spanning South and Southeast Asia between roughly 300 and 1300 CE, in which Sanskrit served as the language of authority and elite communication (Bronkhorst, 2011; Pollock, 2006). During this period, Sanskrit shifted from being primarily a ritual medium to becoming a key vehicle for literary creation and political discourse, dominating inscriptions and courtly expression (Pollock, 2006). Its dissemination was not as a common lingua franca, but as a symbolic tool of political power and cultural prestige (Bronkhorst, 2011; Shulman, 2007). Pollock's research highlights the intricate relationship between cultural production and political authority, while also tracing Sanskrit's gradual displacement by emerging regional vernaculars (Shulman, 2007; Gould, 2008). This exploration of premodern cultural and political dynamics offers a valuable framework for critiquing contemporary governance and engaging with postcolonial theory (Gould, 2008).

South Asia's literary culture is shaped by a vibrant interplay between classical and vernacular traditions, a dynamic visible in Kashmir's distinctive literary landscape (Pollock, 2005). Kashmir played a pivotal role in sustaining Sanskrit traditions while simultaneously innovating new literary forms, exemplified by Kalhaṇa's 12th-century Sanskrit chronicle *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which blurs the divide between the cosmopolitan and the vernacular (Kaul, 2013). The 14th century saw a turn towards vernacularization with the mystical *vatsun* verses of Lal Ded, which left a lasting imprint on Kashmiri culture, language, and spirituality (Farooq & Premchandar, 2023). This trajectory was furthered by Nund Rishi (1378-1440), whose Kashmiri mystical poetry embodied a "vernacular apocalypse," challenging prevailing religious and political structures (Bazaz, 2021). Together, these developments illustrate the continual negotiation between the classical and the everyday, the universal and the local, in the evolution of South Asian literary traditions.



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The literary heritage of South Asia—particularly that of Kashmir—embodies a nuanced interplay between cosmopolitan and vernacular traditions. Pollock (2005) underscores the region's distinctive blend of antiquity, continuity, and multicultural complexity. As a cultural crossroads, Kashmir finds a powerful expression in Kalhaṇa's 12th-century Sanskrit chronicle *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which, as Kaul (2013) observes, transcends the simple cosmopolitan—vernacular divide by demonstrating how a regional setting can be rendered through a cosmopolitan language. This text reflects the creative adaptation of intertextual traditions within Sanskrit literary culture. Bhat (2018) adds to this view by noting Kashmir's vibrant historical traditions, which encompass a multilingual spectrum from Sanskrit to Persian and Kashmiri. Taken together, these perspectives reveal the region's continuous negotiation between the traditional and the colloquial, the global and the local, highlighting the dynamic and layered nature of South Asia's literary landscape.

### Literature review

Author(s)	Work	Year	Contribution	Relevance to Present
				Study
Vigne,	Travels in	1842	Early 19th-century	Useful for identifying
Godfrey T.	Kashmir, Ladak,		travel narrative	pre-colonial oral
	Iskardo		documenting customs,	literary traditions.
			songs, and oral	
			storytelling practices in	
			Kashmir.	
Drew,	The Jammu and	1875	Early colonial	Provides pre-
Frederic	Kashmir		geographical and	Lawrence baseline
	Territories: A		ethnographic survey	data on cultural
	Geographical		with notes on social	geography and oral
	Account		customs, settlement	narratives.
			patterns, and oral	
			traditions.	
Lawrence,	The Valley of	1895	Detailed ethnographic	Provides socio-
Walter R.	Kashmir		and cultural account of	historical context for



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Kashmir during late   Dogra rule, including   folk traditions and   language observations.	
Stein, M. Kalhana's 1900 Scholarly edition and commentary on the Work on Kashmir Sanskrit chronicle, with historical annotations. Historiography.  Elmslie, Thirty-five Years in William J. the Valley of Kashmir on Kashmir society, oral traditions, and education. Historiographic education.  Neve, Beyond the Pir Panjal: Life and Missionary Missionary Missionary Enterprise in Kashmir  Ernest F. Panjal: Life and Missionary Missionary Enterprise in Kashmir  Census of Census of India 1912 Official demographic Ashmir State Report Dogra regime. India Inquistic distributions and linguistic distributions and education.  Find Dogra regime. In Colonial Kashmir in colonial Early authorita work on Kashmir in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial Early authorita work on Kashmir in colonial Kashmir in colonial Early authorita work on Kashmir in colonial Kashmir in colonial Early authorita work on Kashmir in colonial Early authorita work on Kashmir in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in colonial in colonial in colonial in commentary on the work on Kashmir in colonial in colonia	and
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Grierson, Linguistic Survey 1919 Comprehensive Foundational	ir.
George A. of India, Vol. VIII documentation of linguistic data	or
Kashmiri phonology, diachronic stud	y of
grammar, and Kashmiri litera	ure.
vocabulary.	
Gonda, Jan Sanskrit in 1952 Examines spread of Supports theory	es of
Indonesia Sanskrit and its role in Sanskrit's	



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			Southeast Asian	cosmopolitan prestige
			cultural-political	beyond India.
			systems.	
Bazaz,	The History of	1954	Historical account	Links political change
Prem Nath	Struggle for		tracing Kashmir's	with transformations
	Freedom in		cultural politics from	in literary and
	Kashmir: Cultural		the late 19th century	linguistic expression.
	& Political		onward.	
Kachru,	Kashmiri	1981	Overview of Kashmiri	Essential for
Braj B.	Literature		literary history, genres,	understanding
			and linguistic features.	Kashmiri literary
				traditions and
				Persian/Urdu
				influence.
Das, Sisir	A History of Indian	1982/	Comprehensive	Traces the decline of
Kumar	Literature, Vol. 1	1985	mapping of Indian	Sanskrit and rise of
	& 2		literary history from	regional languages
			Sanskrit to modern	like Kashmiri.
			vernaculars.	
Alam,	The Languages of	2004	Studies Persian as a	Illuminates Persian's
Muzaffar	Political Islam:		political and cultural	role in reshaping
	India 1200–1800		language in South Asia.	Kashmir's literary
				landscape.
Thapar,	Cultural Pasts:	2006	Reinterprets early	Frames Sanskrit as a
Romila	Essays in Early		Indian historiography,	vehicle for elite
	Indian History		focusing on Sanskrit's	discourse and
			cultural authority.	ideological control.
Pollock,	The Language of	2006	Introduces the	Central to analysing
Sheldon	the Gods in the		"Sanskrit Cosmopolis"	Sanskrit–Kashmiri
	World of Men			language dynamics.



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			and vernacularization	
			theory.	
Sharma,	Persian Poetry at	2009	Examines Persian	Highlights cultural
Sunil	the Indian Frontier		literary culture in	hybridity in Kashmiri
			frontier regions like	poetry.
			Kashmir.	
Kaul,	Imagining the	2010	Analyses urban	Adds thematic depth
Shonaleeka	Urban: Sanskrit		imagery in Sanskrit	to Sanskrit's narrative
	and the City in		literature.	world.
	Early India			
Bilgrami,	Beyond the	2014	Explores links between	Connects religious
Akeel (ed.)	Secular: The		language, belief, and	thought with literary
	Foundations of		identity.	expression in
	Religious Belief			Kashmir.
Orsini,	Before the Divide:	2015	Analyses shared	Offers parallels for
Francesca	Hindi and Urdu		literary culture before	Persian-Sanskrit-
(ed.)	Literary Culture		Hindi–Urdu separation.	Kashmiri literary
				interactions.
Zutshi,	Languages of	2017	Examines language,	Links language shifts
Chitralekha	Belonging: Islam,		identity, and politics in	with socio-political
	Regional Identity,		Kashmir.	transformations.
	and the Making of			
	Kashmir			

### **Narrative Synthesis**

The study of Kashmiri literary and linguistic history is underpinned by a rich body of archival and scholarly work spanning nearly two centuries. The earliest travel narratives, such as Vigne's *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (1842), provide a rare glimpse into pre-colonial oral traditions, including songs, storytelling practices, and local customs that shaped Kashmir's literary culture before sustained colonial engagement. These observations are complemented by Drew's *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories* (1875), which offers a systematic geographical and ethnographic



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survey, establishing a baseline for understanding cultural geography and oral narratives in the late 19th century.

By the close of the 19th century, Lawrence's *The Valley of Kashmir* (1895) delivered a landmark ethnographic account of Kashmiri society under the Dogra regime, documenting folk traditions, agricultural life, and linguistic practices with remarkable detail. This was followed in the early 20th century by Stein's critical edition of *Kalhana's Rajatarangini* (1900), which provided an authoritative scholarly framework for interpreting Kashmir's Sanskrit historiography, and by Elmslie's *Thirty-five Years in the Valley of Kashmir* (1901), which preserved missionary observations on education, oral culture, and vernacular usage. Neve's *Beyond the Pir Panjal* (1912) added further ethnographic insight, while the *Census of India 1911* (1912) offered demographic and linguistic data, grounding qualitative observations in quantitative evidence.

The foundational linguistic structure of Kashmiri was documented in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey* of *India*, *Vol. VIII* (1919), which remains an indispensable source for phonology, grammar, and vocabulary in diachronic studies. Ranjit S. Pandit's English translation of *Rajatarangini* (1935) opened Sanskrit historiography to a wider scholarly audience, ensuring its continued relevance in modern literary and historical research.

Post-independence scholarship brought new comparative and theoretical dimensions. Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (1952) expanded the view of Sanskrit beyond the subcontinent, highlighting its cosmopolitan prestige and offering frameworks applicable to Kashmir's Sanskrit heritage. Bazaz's *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* (1954) linked political change with cultural and linguistic transformations. The late 20th century saw works like Kachru's *Kashmiri Literature* (1981) and Das's *A History of Indian Literature* (1982/1985) contextualise Kashmiri literary development within broader South Asian linguistic shifts, notably the decline of Sanskrit and the rise of vernaculars under Persian and Urdu influence.

In the 21st century, scholarship has increasingly emphasised the interplay of political, cultural, and linguistic forces. Alam's *The Languages of Political Islam* (2004) traced Persian's political authority in South Asia, including its transformative impact on Kashmiri literary forms. Thapar's *Cultural Pasts* (2006) and Pollock's *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (2006)



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reframed Sanskrit's historical authority, with Pollock's vernacularization theory offering a key interpretive model for Kashmir's transition to regional languages. Sharma's *Persian Poetry at the Indian Frontier* (2009) examined literary hybridity, while Kaul's *Imagining the Urban* (2010) contributed thematic depth to understanding Sanskrit's narrative worlds.

More recent contributions, such as Bilgrami's *Beyond the Secular* (2014) and Orsini's *Before the Divide* (2015), have highlighted intersections between language, belief, and shared literary culture, offering useful parallels for Persian–Sanskrit–Kashmiri interactions. Finally, Zutshi's *Languages of Belonging* (2017) synthesises historical and political perspectives, showing how linguistic change in Kashmir is deeply tied to questions of identity, belonging, and regional politics.

Gaps and positioning. Despite strong foundational and theoretical scholarship, several gaps remain. First, there is limited comparative textual work that reads specific Kashmiri poetic forms (vakh, vatsun, shrukh) alongside contemporaneous Sanskrit and Persian texts to trace formal and thematic borrowings at the micro level. Second, while Pollock and others describe structural processes of cosmopolitanism and vernacularisation, fewer studies apply these models directly to Kashmir's unique intersection of Shaiva and Sufi literatures. Third, the role of non-elite and oral traditions in contesting or reshaping elite literary discourses in Kashmir is underexplored. Your study — by conducting close textual analysis of Sanskrit and Kashmiri poetic corpora, situating those readings within Pollockian and Gramscian frameworks, and focusing specifically on Shaiva and Sufi intersections — will address these lacunae. It will contribute both empirically (by documenting cross-linguistic motifs and stylistic transfers) and theoretically (by testing and refining cosmopolis/hegemony models in a multilingual frontier setting.

**Analysis** (with poetry):

Sheikh-ul-Alam:

Tslun chue wuzmali ti tarti
Tslun Chue Mandnan Ghatkar
Tslun chue paan kadun ghrati
Tslun chue khun vah ti ghar
Tslun chue parbatas karni ato
Tslun chue manz athas hun nar



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Endurance is like a flickering light and falling lightning

To endure if the day has become dark

Toleration is like pulling yourself out of a mill

To tolerate is like eating poison

Endurance is equivalent to carrying a burden on one's shoulders

Endurance is like taking a burning fire in the palm of your hand

Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
parbatas	पर्वत (parvata)	mountain
karni	करनी (karṇī) or karmaṇi	act, deed, doing
ato	अटो (aṭaḥ) possibly from atha (अथ)	then, thereafter
nar	नर (nara)	man, human
mandnan	मन्द (manda) + suffix	slow, sluggish
ghatkar	ਬਟ (ghaṭa) + -kara	pot-maker, vessel-maker (or metaphorical)
ghar	गृह (gṛha)	house, home

Panus maul karnai haray
Siati baiyis karni maan maan
Darug TZain trawith Suzan Garai
Ratus duhus waraiy paan
Per ti paan saidrus tarai
Sui dapzi mussalman



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One who does not pride oneself
One who does not complete the petty things?
One who is struggling to realise his self
One who helps everyone to live a peaceful life?
One is the real Muslim

Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
karnai	करण (karaṇa)	to do, to make
haray	हर (hara)	to take away, remove
siati	शान्ति (śānti) or संयति (saṃyati)	peace, calm / restraint
karni	करनी (karṇī)	deed, act
maan	मान (māna)	honour, respect
darug	द्रुघ (drugha)	lie, falsehood
zain	র (jña) / রান (jñāna)	knowledge, knowing
suzan	सुरु (sujña)	wise, knowledgeable
garai	गृह (gṛha)	house, home
ratus	रात्र (rātra)	night
paan	पान (pāna)	self, oneself
saidrus	सदृश (sadṛśa)	like, similar to
tarai	तीर $(t\bar{\imath}ra)$ or तार $(t\bar{a}ra)$	bank, shore / to cross

"An poshi teli,
Yeli van poshi"
Food will thrive only
Till the woods survive



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Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
an	अন্ন (anna)	food, grain
poshi	पोषण (poṣaṇa)	nourishment, feeding
teli	तदानीम् (tadānīm) or तस्मिन् काले (tasmin kāle)	then, at that time
van	वन (vana)	forest

Lal Ded: Kashmiri verse

Shiv Tchui Thaleh Thaleh Rozaan

Mo Zaan Huend Ti Musalmaan

Turk Hi Chukh Ti Paan Parzehnaav

Soi Tchaie Sahibas Zaani Zaan

Wherever you are, Shiva is present

Don't discriminate between Hindus and Muslims,

Cognise yourself if you are wise

Knowing yourself is the truth of God.

Word	Sanskrit Root	Meaning
Shiv	शिव (Śiva)	Auspicious/Divine
Thaleh	स्थल (Sthala)	Place, ground (everywhere)
Rozaan	दर्शन (Darshan)	See, observe, visible
Huend	सिन्धु→हिन्दू (Sindhu→Hindu)	Hindu Person
Parzehnaav	पारिज्ञा (Parijna)	To know/realize
Soi	₹: (Saḥ)	He/That one (Divine)
Zaan	য়ান (Jñāna)	Know, knowledge



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Goras Pritchum Saasi Latte

Yes Na Kehn Vanaan Tas Kya Naav

Pritchaan Pritchaan Thachis Ti Loosis,

Kehn Nas Nishi Kehntaam Draav

I asked my master a thousand times

How the unnamed shall be described,

I asked several times, but it remained ineffective

He who seems to be nothing is the origin of something.

Kashmiri Word	Sanskrit Root	Meaning
Goras	गौर (Gaura)	Fair one, bright
Pritchum/aan	पृच्छ् (Pṛcch)	Asked, enquire
Saasi	श्वास (Śvāsa)	Breath
Naav	नाम (Nāma)	Name
Nas	ਰ (Na)	Not/No
Nishi	নিখি (Nishi)	Night/from
Draav	द्राव् (Drāv)	Came, to move, to flow

Aasiy Aess Ti Aasiy Aasaw
Aasee Doora Keri Pat Wath
Shivas Soori ni Zevun Ti Marun
Ravas Soori Ni Aati Gath
Only we existed in the times of yore
And in the coming future, we shall exist,
We have been in charge from the start
Shiva is never exhausted by birth and death
Rising and Setting of the Sun are forever.



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Kashmiri Word	Sanskrit Root	Meaning
Aasiy/Aasee	अस् (As)	To be, to exist (is, was, will be)
Doora	दूर (Dūra)	Distant, far
Pat	पथ (Patha)	Path, track
Wath	वाट (Vāta)	Path, road, way
Shivas	शिव (Śiva)	Lord Shiva, the auspicious one
Marun	मरण (Maraṇa)	Death
Ravas	रव (Rava), रवति	To flow, movement
Aati	आगति (Agati)	Coming, arrival
Gath	गति (Gati)	State, destination, end

Rangas Manz Tchuie Beun Beun Labun
Soorie Tchalakh Barakh Sokh
Tchakh Rish Ti Vaerr Galakh
Adeh Daishakh Shiv Sund Mokh
You need to find Him, who is in every shade
If you endure it, you will find contentment,
Get rid of anger, envy and grudge
Then you will witness the face of Shiva.



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Sanskrit Root	Meaning/Translation
रङ्ग (Ranga)	Color, play, experience
मध्य (Madhya)	In, inside, within
लब्ध (Labh)	Found, obtained
चल (Chala)	To move, moving
सुख (Sukha)	Happiness, comfort
ऋषि (Rishi)	Sage, seer
- পার্ডা (Adya)	Today, now
शिव (Shiva)	Shiva (deity)
स्व (Sva)	His/her/its, of
मुख (Mukha)	Face
	रङ्ग (Ranga)  मध्य (Madhya)  लब्ध (Labh)  चल (Chala)  सुख (Sukha)  ऋषि (Rishi)  आज (Adya)  शिव (Shiva)  स्व (Sva)

Goran Vonum Kunuie Vatchun

Nebrai Dupnam Ander Atchun

Sui Gaw Lali Mi Vaakh Ti Vatchun

Tawai Mya Heytum Nangai Natchun

My Guru taught me the sole word

Enter your inner self, leave behind this outer world,

Guru's that one percept touched my heart

So, I, Lalla, started dancing naked.



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Kashmiri Word	Sanskrit Root	Meaning/Translation
Goran	गौर (Gaura)	Fair one, Divine/Beloved
Vonum	वण (Vaṇa)	I said/called
Vatchun	वचन (Vachana)	To speak/say/tell
Dupnam	दीपन (Dīpana)	I lit (a lamp)
Ander	अन्तः (Antaḥ)	Inside, within
Sui	सः (Saḥ)	He, she, that one
Lali	ललिता (Lalitā)	Beloved/Divine Mother
Vaakh	वचन (Vachana)	Saying/word/utterance
Tawai	तदा (Tadā)	Then, at that time
Nangai	ਜਸ਼ (Nagna)	Naked, bare
Natchun	नृत्य (Nṛtya)	Dance

### Habba Khatoon:

Rah Bakshtam Saer Parvar'digaro
Tche kyoho vatiyo myaeni marnai?
Sipar treh mar paermo kiano
Phyur no kuni gomai zaer zabre
Tche kyoho vatiyo myaeni marnai?
Tab cham badnas Habba Khotunay
Adde no aavham zah te khabray
Teli yikha yil travnam mazaro
Tche kyoho vatiyo myaeni marnai?



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Oh Allah, forgive all my sins and show me the right way

What do you stand to gain by my death?

I read all thirty Sipars (Chapters) of the Quran shareef;

without making any errors, checking each verse carefully, and reading it faithfully

What do you stand to gain by my death?

O' Habba, the body aches

Yet, you never came to my help

Will you only come to visit my funeral?

What do you stand to gain by my death?

Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
rah	मार्ग ( <i>mārga</i> ) — via Persian/Arabic <i>rah</i> but originally from Sanskrit path, way	
saer	सैर (sair) ← from Sanskrit <b>सञ्चार</b> (sañcāra) walk, journe	
marnai	मरण (maraṇa) death	
treh	त्रयः (trayaḥ)	three
paermo	पद्म (padma) or प्रेम (prema) depending on meaning in context	
kiano	র (jña) root in jānāti	to know
kuni	कोन (kona) / कश्चित् (kaścit) someone, an	
mazaro	मन्दिर (mandira) — here "mazar" = shrine/tomb (Persian form) but from Sanskrit root mandira place	



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Wolo Myaeni Poshey Madano
Dil nith tcholham roshey,
Wolo Myaeni Poshey Madano!
Wolai ve'si' gachhvai aabas,
Dunya Chhu nendri ta Khaabas,
Praraan chass bo' jawaabas, Wo'lo...
Having snatched my heart, you have gone far off,
Come, my Love, my flowery Cupid!
Let us go, friend, to fetch water:
The world is fast asleep, Love,
I yearn for a response from you,
Come, O Come, my flowery Cupid.

Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
roshey	रोष (roṣa)	anger, wrath
nendri	निद्रा (nidrā)	sleep
praraan	प्रार्थना (prārthanā) or प्रारण (prāraṇa) depending on nuance	request, appeal / beginning
madano	मदन (madana)	god of love / beloved

Harmukh Bartal za'gai Madano
Ye dapham te laa'gayo!
Posh dapham
Gulaab la'gai Madano
Baet'no ye dooraer tchalay Madano
Ye dapham te laa'gayo!
Mushtaq goham Kaman Madano



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Ye dapham te laa'gayo!

Harmukh Bartal za'gai Madano

I will wait at the gates of Harmukh for you, my love

Whatever you ask, I will offer!

Ask for a flower

I will offer a rose, my love!

I can't take this distance anymore

Whatever you ask, I will offer!

Yearning for whom, my love

Whatever you ask, I will offer!

I will wait at the gates for you, my love

Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English	
Harmukh	हर (hara) + मुख (mukha)	"Hara's face" – name of a Himalayan peak sacred to Shiva	
Bartal	वर (vara) + स्थल (sthāla) or स्थल (sthāla) holy place / location		
za'gai	জাग (jāga) or জাশূন (jāgṛta) awakened, risen, visibl		
posh	पुष्प (puṣpa) flower		
dooraer	दूर (dūra)	far, distant	
kaman	कामन (kāmana)	desire, longing	
madano	मदन (madana) god of love / beloved		



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Vany dimai aara balan
yaara kunyi melakhnaa
vany dimai aaravalan
dubara yaara melakhnaa
I'll seek you down the wandering brooks
Praying we must meet again
I'll look for you where the jasmines blow
Don't tell me we shan't meet again

Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
yaara	यार (yāra) ← from Sanskrit सख्य (sakhya) / मित्र (mitra) via Prakrit forms	friend, beloved
kunyi	कुञ्ज (kuñja) or कन्या (kanyā) depending on context	girl / young woman (if kanyā) or bower/grove (if kuñja)
melakhnaa	मेल ( $mela$ ) + करना ( $karn\bar{a}$ )	to meet, to gather
dubara	द्विपर (dvipara) / द्वितीय (dvitīya)	second, again

### Ghulam Ahmad Mehjoor:

kor baTan p'aTh zuv phida kud gojvaer' az timay kathI yaad paeviv paanIvaen' yod thaeviv athIvaas tohi pooshivI na kanh tshen karith yinI pooshinaeviv paanIvaen' baey sund baeyis paz'a thaavun malaal ganD dilan hInd' mutsraeviv paanIvaen'



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Kud Gojawari sacrificed his life for the Kashmiri Pandits. Let us remember and relive those moments together today. As long as we stand united, no enemy can defeat us. Division only makes us vulnerable. Let no brother hold a grudge against another. Let us untie the knots in our hearts and restore harmony among ourselves.

Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
kath / kathi	कथा (kathā)	story, talk
paan / paanIvaen	पान (pāna) / स्व (sva)	self, oneself
ath / athIvaas	हस्त (hasta)	hand
pooshiv/ pooshinaeviv	पूज (pūj)	to worship, to honor
kanh	कञ्चन (kañcana) or किम् (kim) depending on sense	anything / golden (context decides)
hind	हिन्द (hinda from Hindu)	India / Indian (contextually "of Hind")

chi baagas jaanvar bolaan magar aavaaz chakh byon byon tsI yihindis aalvas yaarab asar yeksaan paida kar mashiidan, mandran, girjan, daramshalan tI astaanan yiman yiiten garan atsnuk kunuy darvaazi thaavun chum

The birds in the garden are chirping and singing, yet their voices do not blend. Perhaps just a touch of blessing could harmonise their songs into one unified melody. In the same way, temples, mosques, churches, dharamshalas, and asthapans-each a place of worship for different faiths—stand apart. How beautiful it would be if they all could share a single doorway, symbolising unity in devotion.



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Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
baagas	ৰাग (bāga) – though now via Persian, ultimately from Sanskrit vāṭa	garden
aalvas	आलय (ālaya) abode, dwelling	
mandran	मन्दिर (mandira)	temple
girjan	गिरिजा (girijā)	"daughter of the mountain" – name for goddess Parvati; also used for church in Kashmiri
daramshalan	धर्मशाला (dharmaśālā)	religious rest house, pilgrim lodge

Word in Kashmiri	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
baagvaano	बाग (bāga) ← from Sanskrit vāṭa	gardener (keeper of the garden)
pholan	फूल (phūla) ← पुष्प (puṣpa)	to bloom, flowering
caman	चमन (camana) ← from Sanskrit śamana or kṣemaṇa	garden
panjras	पिंजरा (piñjarā)	cage
manz	मध्ये (madhye) via Prakrit majjha	in, within
aasaan	आसन (āsana)	ease, comfort
baagas	बाग $(b\bar{a}ga) \leftarrow v\bar{a}ta$	garden
aalvas	आलय (ālaya)	abode, dwelling



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voalo haa baagvaano nav bahaaruk shaan paida kar pholan gul gath karan bulbul tithuy saamaan paida kar caman vairaan rivaan shabnam tsaTith jaamI paraishaan gul Gulan Tay Bulbulan andar dubaarI jaan paida kar kari kus bulbulo azaad panjras manz tsI naalaan chukh tsI panIne dastI panInen mushkilan aasaan paida kar chi baagas jaanawaar bolaan magar avaaz chakh byon byon tihIndis aalvas ya rab asar yaksaan paida kar Arise oh gardener, let there be a glory in the garden once again. Let flowers bloom again, let nightingales sing of their love again. The garden in ruins, dew in tears, the flowers in tattered petals. May you kindle new life in flowers and nightingales? Who will set You free, oh nightingale, why cry inside the cage? You have to work out your salvation from miseries yourself. Birds of the garden are singing loudly but in different notes. Harmonise their different notes oh God into one loud song. nyaay traeviv maay thaviv paanIvaen'

nyaay traeviv maay thaviv paanIvaen'
poz mohobat baegraeviv paanIvaen'
zaat butraath kaeshr'an hINz chav kuni
khanmakha duuryar ma paeviv paanIvaen'
doad chu muslim h'oNd chu shaker saaph saaph
doad ta beyi shakar ralaeviv paanivaen'
nyaay traviv maay thaviv paanivaen'
hend' raTan nam, khuur' vaayen ahle diin
naav yemi mulkIc calaeviv paanIvaen'

Leave the disputes and live-in harmony with each other. Distribute the true love amongst each other. Leave the disputes and live-in harmony with each other. The caste, creed and land of Kashmiris are the same (only one). Do not create unnecessary distances between each other. Muslim is like milk, and Hindu is like crystal clear sugar. Mix the milk with sugar together. Hindus



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shall hold the direction of the boat; Muslims shall row the boat. Row the boat of this country together.

Word in	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English	
Kashmiri			
baagvaano	बाग (bāga) ← from Sanskrit vāṭa	gardener (keeper of the	
		garden)	
pholan	फूल (phūla) ← पुष्प (puṣpa)	to bloom, flowering	
caman	चमन (camana) ← from Sanskrit śamana or	garden	
	kṣemaṇa		
panjras	पिंजरा (piñjarā)	cage	
manz	मध्ये (madhye) via Prakrit majjha	in, within	
aasaan	आसन (āsana)	ease, comfort	
baagas	बाग $(b\bar{a}ga) \leftarrow v\bar{a}ta$	garden	
aalvas	आलय (ālaya)	abode, dwelling	

Word in Kashmiri	Word in Kashmiri Sanskrit Gloss Meaning in En	
kathi	कथा (kathā)	story, talk
paan / paanIvaen	पान (pāna) / स्व (sva)	self, oneself
ath / athIvaas	हस्त (hasta)	hand
pooshiv / pooshinaeviv	पूज (pūj)	to worship, to honor
kanh	किम् (kim)	anything
hInd'	हिन्द (hindu)	India / of Hind



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chi baagas jaanvar bolaan magar aavaaz chakh byon byon tsI yihindis aalvas yaarab asar yeksaan paida kar mashiidan, mandran, girjan, daramshalan tI astaanan yiman yiiten garan atsnuk kunuy darvaazi thaavun chum

The birds in the garden are singing, but in different voices. Oh God, please bless their voices with a touch of unity to create a single impact for mosques, temples, churches, dharamshalas and asthapans. We need to establish a single entrance for all these religious places.

Word in	Sanskrit Gloss	Meaning in English
Kashmiri		
aalvas	आलय (ālaya)	abode, dwelling
mandran	मन्दिर (mandira)	temple
girjan	गिरिजा (girijā)	"Daughter of the mountain" – epithet of Parvati; in
		Kashmiri also used for church
daramshalan	धर्मशाला	religious rest house / pilgrim lodge
	(dharmaśālā)	

### **Conclusion**

This research examines Kashmir's literary and linguistic development, tracing its historical connection with Sanskrit cosmopolitanism to its emergence as a hub of local expression. Utilising various sources from ancient Sanskrit writings, aesthetic theories, and Śāradā inscriptions to mystical poetry from Kashmir and bilingual works such as Śiva-Parinayaḥ, it contends that the transition from Sanskrit to Kashmiri involved not just a language change, but a profound cultural and ideological shift.

For centuries, Sanskrit acted as the language of sacred power, political legitimacy, and intellectual respect, influencing religious practices, royal life, and historical documentation, as demonstrated in the writings of Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, and numerous epigraphic records. The philosophical richness and artistic elegance of Sanskrit literature, exemplified in the works of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, and Kashmiri Shaivism, laid the groundwork for subsequent vernacular innovation.



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The emergence of Kashmiri as a literary form—represented in the mystical poetry of Lal Ded and Nund Rishi-signified a significant shift, transitioning spiritual and moral discussions from the elite Sanskrit to a more reachable, oral, and emotionally impactful format. These voices, eventually accompanied by poets like Habba Khatoon and Mahjoor, expressed individual, regional, and political awareness in the Kashmiri language.

Employing Sheldon Pollock's ideas of the Sanskrit cosmopolis and vernacularisation, this study illustrates how language in Kashmir transformed into a medium for negotiating power, identity, and cultural significance. The survival of Sanskrit historiography during the Sultanate era, together with Persianate and vernacular forms, demonstrates a lasting literary diversity. Bilingual texts like Śiva-Parinayaḥ exemplify a blended environment where Sanskrit and Kashmiri influenced each other in reciprocal manners.

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