Naming of Kashmiri Pandits

Gotras, Surnames and Nicknames

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1 Introduction

Study of Indic names is full of fascination for a zealous investigator. The convention of bestowing names in India has its roots in remote past. Its study is inextricably confused by considerations of race and caste.

The institution of surnames, though a later addition to Indian names, is a panaroma of fascination as well as complications.

Nicknames in India in general, and in Kashmir in particular, have been developed and nourished to their possible ends. Present Kashmiri surnames are almost cent per cent specimen of Nicknames. Though, often they are repulsive and abnoxious, yet their utility as individualising elements and marks of identification cannot be ignored.

Source:
Sociology of Names and Nicknames of India
With Special Reference to Kashmir
by Ram Krishen Kaul
Utpal Publications
Motiyar, Rainawari, Srinagar-3, Kashmir

2   *Gotras of Kashmiri Pandits*

The Kashmiri Brahmins are divided into 199 exogamous sections (gotras) the members of which profess to be descended from the Rishi or inspired saint whose name the gotra bears. Among these sub-divisions social preeedence is governed by the spiritual greatness or the inferiority of the respective Rishis, Koul being considered the highest of all the sub-divisions. But, generally, social position is determined by the nature of occupation followed rather than by the gotra and those who have been employed in superior State service since two or three generations hold their heads high above, those who are engaged in trade or cultivation. Originally there existed only six gotras, viz., Dhattatreya, Bharadwaja, Paladeva, Aupamanyava, Maudgalya and Dhaumyayana. By intermarriage and intermixture with other Brahmins the number of gotras multiplied to 199. According to some authorities there were only three principal divisions viz., Bhat, Pandit and Razdan, from which are derived the distinctive appellations of Koul, Sopori Pandit and Raina. From these three families, as each took to a particular occupation or by adoption or intermarriage with other gotras, other gotras came into existence.

Besides gotra, each family has a kram or nick-name added to the original name by reason of the head of the farmily's or any of his ancestor's special calling or because of such peculiar circumstance which has occurred to him. For instance, a man, named Wasdev, had mulberry tree growing in his courtyard and, therefore, he was called Wasdev Tul (mulberry). He, in order to get rid of this nick-name, cut down the tree. But a mund (trunk) remained and people began to call him Wasdev Mund. He then removed the trunk of the tree but by its removal a khud (depression) was caused and henceforth people called him Wasdev Khud. He then filled up the depression and the ground became teng (a little elevated) and he began to be called Wasdev Teng. Thus exasperated, he left to do any further attempt to remove the cause of his nick-name and it continued to be Teng which is now attached to the names of his descendents.

The Kashmiri Brahmins perform their religious ceremonies and rites according to the Vedas of Laugakshi Rishi and the Nilamatpurana. They freely partake of fish and flesh. They intermarry, only avoiding gotras on both paternal and maternal sides. A list of gotras, together with the two chief divisions of Bhamamasis and malmasis and the nick-names of the families belonging to each gotra is at the end of this chapter.

Pocock says that there are traces of the settlements of Kashmiris in Greece and from this he infers that the Kashmiri Pandits were originally Greek or Persian settlers in the valley who were Brahmanised. It is by no means improbable that some Kashmiris went to Persia and Greece in the time of Darius Hystapse's invasion of the Punjab and Alexander's conquest of India (331 B.C.) and settled there. Hence there might be traces of Kashmiri settlement in those countries. It is possible that some people from Greece came and settled in Kashmir in ancient times. The tribe Mlecchas which existed here in the time of Ashoka is assumed to have been Greeks (see Rajatarangini I, footnote 10). These were driven out of the country by his son Jalauka. But Mlecchas were quite a distinct race from the Kashmiri Brahmins.

There is a tradition in Maharashtra that white men like Kashmiri Brahmins got drifted in a storm on the Malabar Coast and, being supposed to be dead, were, however, found alive when attempted to be cremated. Probably it was a large number of fugitives from Kashmir in the time when Hindus here were being forced to embrace Islam. They might have been quite exhausted and emaciated as if looking dead after their long and tedious journey. The terms of this tradition are, I believe, a grossly exaggerated form of expression.

During the Muhammadan rule some Brahmins were once given option to either submit to the sword or take food prepared by a Musalman. They naturally quivered at the prospect of death and unwillingly accepted the latter alternative, but, in their anguish to reduce pollution to its minimum. made the Musalman cook boil rice in a new lej or earthen pot and when ready they took it out from the lej with their own hands and reluctantly ate it. They afterwards expaciated for the forcible pollution by performing Prayashchitta but still the Biradari, who were as punctilious as ever, ostracised them, condemmning them for not having preferred death to losing their caste by pollution as thousands others had boldly done under such circumstances. Their descendents are called Lejibat because of their ancestors having eaten food cooked by a Muhammadan in a lej. A stigma also attaches to the members of the caste known as Wurud

or Purib who are the illegitimate offspring or are of a mixed union in which one of the parents is brahrmin and the other a khatri. No Brahmin will take food touched by a Lejibat, Wurud or Purib. In the time of Zain-ul-abdin the Brahmins, who studied Persian and took to government service, were called Karkuns. With the advent of Sikh rule in 1819 A.D. some Karkuns began the study of Sanskrit literature again, and they were called Pandits. Karkuns do not, intermarry with Bachabats. Those who are versed in astrology and draw up calendars, cast horoscopes and profess to prophecy future events, are called Jotshis. The priests, who preside over Shiva worship, are called Gurins. The Panyechh are those who receive alms and other offerings connected with funeral obsequies. Their office is legarded as derogatory by the Bachabats as well as the Karkuns who, for this reason, look down on them and refuse to take food from their hands.

2.1   Bhanmasis

Gotras	Nick Names
Bhava Kapishthala	Khoru, Zadu, Sibbu, Vantu, Chandra, Kalla, Khaibri, Lattu.
Bhava Kapishthal Aupamanyava	Wanikhan.
Bhuta Vatsya Aupamanyava	Peshin.
Bhuta Vatsya Lauaakshi	
Dar Bharadwaja	Bangi, Dar, Jawansher, Misri, Parikala, Qandahari Thalatsur, Tritsha, Tshut, Turki, Uthu, Vichari, Waguzari.
Dar Varshaganya	Bakhshi, Kachru, Safaya, Shali
Dar Wasak Shandilya	Safaya.
Deva Bharadwaja	Jatu, Khurdi, Sabani, Yachh, Zaru, Kallu.
Deva Vardhatta Shalan Kaushika	Tsrungu.
Deva Varshaganya Shandilya	Safaya.
Datthtreya (Koul)	Aima, Babu, Bamtsunt, Bamzai, Buju, Chowdhri, Dandar, Dangar, Drabi, Dout, Hak, Jalali, Jinsi, Jota, Kak, Keni, Kissu, Kothdar, Ladakhi, Mekhzin, Mandal, Moza, Muhtasib, Nagari, Padar, Pahalwan, Ratiz, Sahib, Shargha, Shoga, Singhari, Salman, Sultan, Tota, Ugra, Zamindar.
Kantha Dhaumyana Laugakshi Gautama	Bandar, Breth, Hastiwal, Muhtasib, Kav, Razdan, Shah, Shair, Wangani, Wat, Zari.
Paldeva Vasagargya	Pat, Kukru, Khoshu. Kav, Pir, Malla.

Pat Svamina Kaushika	Amhardar, Bira, Braru, Chacha, Chaghat, Durani, Fotedar, Ganju, Jala, Kachru, Kalu, Khurdi, Kyani, Mam, Mattu, Misri, Pandit, Panzu, Salman, Shanglu Sulu, Teng, Tritshal, Unt, Vashnavi, Wufa, Wanchu, Waza, Zithu.
Pat Svamina Deva Ratra Parwara	Pandit, Watal.
Raj Kaushika	Khod.
Svamina Bharadvaja	Bazari, Garyali, Jan, Khar, Miskin, Miyan, Munshi, Tikku.
Svamina Gautama	Gagar, Tava, Padora, Parimu, Keni, Kak, Razdan, Fehrist, Tarivala.
Svamina Gautama Laugakshi	Fata.
Svamina Koshk Bharadwaja	Bhatt, Kukru.
Svamina Maudgalya	Lala, Kandar, Buni
Svamina Laugakshi	Tur
Svamina Vasishtha Vatsya Laugakshi	
Svamina Was Atreya	Thusu.
Shalan Kautsa Sharman Gusha Watsya Aupamanyava	Tilwan Koul, Mukka.
Wasadeva Palagargya	Bindri

2.2 Malmasis

Gotras	Nick Names
Atri Bhargaya	Hapa
Artha Varshaganya Shandalya	Choudhri
Bharadwaj	
Bhava Atreya	
Bhava Devalya	
Bhava Kapishthala Kaushika	Patar

Bhava Kapishthala Manana	
Bhava Aupamanyava	Variku
Bhuta Laugakshi Dhaumyayana Gautama	
Bhuta Laugakshi Gautama	
Bhuta Raja Laugakshi Dhaumyayana Gautama	
Bhuta Aupamanyava Laugakshi	
Bhuta Aupamanyava Shalan Kayana	Giru
Bhuta Aupamanyava Vatsya Laugakshi	Pishen
Bhuta Was Aupamanyava Laugakshi	Peshen, Thakur, Zalpari
Dar Bharadwaja Paladev Vasagargya	
Dar Dev Shalan Kapi	Mota
Dar Dev Shalana Kaushika	Muttu
Dar Dev Shalana Kuayana	
Dar Kapisthala	Lidi, Bhatt.
Dar Kapisthala Upamanuva	Mich
Dar Shandalya	Jogi
Dar Sharman Kautsa	
Dipat Saman Aupamanyava	Sapru
Dat Dat Shalan Kautsa	Bhatt, Kasab, Khaumush, Malik
Dhaumyayana	Razdan
Datta Kaushika	
Dat Sharman Kantha Kashyapa	Raina
Dat Varshaganya	Sazawul
Dat Was	Khari
Deva Bharadwaja	Bhatt, Gadar, Kallu
Deva Bharadwaja Kaushika	Deva

Deva Gargya	Bhan
Deva Gautama	Bhatt, Purbi
Deva Gautama Laugakshi	Hakim
Deva Kaushika	Bhatt
Deva Kantha Kashyapa	Kar
Deva Kucha Atreya	Badgami
Deva Kashyap Maudgalya Kashyap	Bradi
Deva Laugakshi	Mantapuri, Pandit
Deva Parashara	Thogan, Tulsi, Yachh, Kak
Deva Patsvamina Aupamanyava Kaushika	
Deva Patsvamina Koshk	Kalpush
Deva Rishi Kaushika	
Deva Svamina Gautama Kaushika Maudgalya	
Deva Sharmanya Kautsa	
Deva Shandalya	Bataphalu, Karawani
Dev Svamina Maudgalya	Bradi
Dev Chahanda Shandalya	
Dev Aupamanyava	Kalu, Khashu, Meva, Pandit
Dev Vasishta Bharadwaja	
Dev Wasishta	Shopuri, Hukku
Dev Vishamitra Varshaganya	Kem, Vangar
Dev Wasishta	Ukhlu
Ishwar Shandalya Kusha	Nakhasi, Raval
Kautsa Atreya	Bhatt
Kaushika Bhardwaja	Bhatt, Nagari
Kanth Kasahap	Bhatt, Dassu, Razdan, Tangan

Karchanda Shandale	Chandru, Kar
Kara Shandalya	Mantu
Kash Aupamanyava	Bhatt
Mitra Atreya	
Mitra Kaushika	
Mitra Kashyapa	Handu
Mitra Shandalya	Bhatt
Mitra Svamina Kaushika Atreya	Said
Nanda Kaushika Bharadwaja	Pandit
Nanda Kotsa	
Nanda Koshk	Bhatt
(Deva) Parashara	Yechh
Paladeva Vasgargya	Bangru, Bakaya, Kadalabuju, Khashu, Kichlu, Kokru, Mala, Mam, Mirakhur, Misri, Munga, Pir, Put, Sopuri-Pandit
Raj Dat Atreya Shalan Kautsa	Bhatt
Raj Bhut Logaskhi Deval	Bhan
Ratra Bhargava	Zitshoo, Chacha
Raj Dhattatreya	Partazi
Ratna Kucha	
Raj Kaushika	Hakachar
Rishi Kaushika	Kashgari
Raj Kautsa	
Rishi Kavigargya	Zaru
Ratna Maudgalya	
Rama Ratra Vishwamitra Agastya	
Rama Ratra Vishwamitra Vasishta	
Raj Shandalya	Duru

Raj Soma Shandale	
Ratra Varshaganya	Kotar
Raj Vasisht	Shunglu
Ratra Vishwamitra Agastya Aupamanyava	
Ratra Vishwamitra Vasishta	Trakari
Ratra Vishwamitra Agastya	Mattu
Sharman Atreya	Gaddu
Sharman Bharadwaja	Bhatt
Shandalya Bharadwaja	Bhatt
Sharman Kautsa	Bhatt, Mogal, Sav, Thela
Sharman Kanth Kashyapa	
Shalan Kayana Atreya	
Sharman Kaushika	
Sharman Shandalya	
Shila Shandalya	
Soma Gargya	
Shandalya	
Soma Shandalya	
Soma Vatsa Gargya	
Svamina Atreya	Chaka, Handu, Gadwali, Kala, Shal, Sikh
Svamina Bhargava	Bali, Battiv
Svamina Bharadwaja	Khar, Kutsru
Svamina Bharadwaja Vatsa Atreya	
Svamina Bharadwaja Kaushika Vatsa	
Svamina Bharadwaja Vas Atre	Kalu
Svamina Bharadwaja Kaushika	
Svamina Bharadwaja Shandalya	

Svamina Bharadwaja Kaushika	
Svamina Bharadwaja Dhuni, Kashypa, Gautama, Laugakshi Divali	
Svamina Deva Gargya	
Svamina Gargya	Machama
Svamina Gautama	Bazaz, Badam, Charangu, Chillum, Gurut, Kak, Khosa, Kakapuri, Labru Langer, Manwotu, Naqib, Padora, Piala, Qazi, Razdan, Thalatsur, Thapal, Zari
Svamina Gautama Atreya Shalan Kucha	Raina
Svamina Gan Kaushika	Padi
Svamina Gotam Bharadwaja	Kemdal, Karihalu
Svamina Gotam Laugakshi	Choku, Chhotu, Turi
Svamina Gotam Shandalya	Labru, Razdan
Svamina Gotam Kaushika	
Svamina Gotam Shalan Kucha Atreya	Razdan
Svamina Gotam Gosh Vas Aupamanyava	Chakan
Svamina Gotam Atreya	Tsul
Svamina Gotam Shalan Kucha	
Svamina Hasya Dvaseya	Khanakatu
Svamina Kaushika	Thakur, Watal
Svamina Kantha Kashyapa	Labru
Svamina Laugakshi	
Svamina Maudgalya	Bhuni, Chana, Dewani, Galikrapa, Kanth, Khazanchi, Mazari, Muj, Madan, Mushran, Put, Shora Taku, Zahi, Razdan, Zitu, Zotan
Svamina Maudgalya Parashara	
Svamina Parashara	
Svamina Rishi Kanya Gargya	Koul (Kulin)
Svamina Rishi Kanya Vatsya	

Svamina Shandalya	Bhatt, Bakhshi, Nari
Svamina Aupamanyava	Gigu
Svamina Kautsa Atreya	
Svamina Vasishta	
Svamina Vasishta Bharadwaja	Bhatt, Handu, Hukhu
Svamina Vaaa Gulak	
Svamina Vara Mitra Vatsya Guna Kaushika	
Svamina Vasa Gargya	Langer, Sum
Svamina Vatsya	
Svamina Vas Atreya	Ghasi, Thusu, Waza
Svamina Vatsya Aupamanyava	Bhatt, Wallu
Svamina Warshaganya	Chothai; Duda, Hangal, Kathju, Lange, Kasid
Svamina Was	
Chhanda Shandalya	
Varshayani	Barbuz, Karnel
Vatsya Atreya	
Vatsya Gusha Aupamanyava	Pandit
Vishnu Bharadwaja	
Vishnu Gargya	
Vishnu Shaunaka	
Vasishta Svamina Maudgalya	Bhandari
Vasa Aupamanyava Laugakshi	
Wasishta	Bhatt, Rangateng
Wasishta Dhatta Shalana Kucha	
Wardhatta Shalana Kucha	Muki
Wata Shalana Kucha	

Excerpts from:
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Calcutta

3 Naming in the Kashmiri Pandit Community

Sociolinguistics and Anthroponymy

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In earlier research on onomastics the concentration has been on two types of studies: One type focuses on the data on naming processes with reference to a well-defined social, regional, or religious group. The other type is essentially comparative, and has implications for defining and illustrating concepts such as "linguistic area" or "sociolinguistic area". There is a profusion of studies of the first type, but rather few on the second type. An example of a comparative study with typological and sociolinguistic interest is Emeneau 1978.

 In this preliminary investigation in anthroponomy of a small community of India, generally known as Kashmiri pandits and locally known as bati(Skt. bhartn), I have attempted to combine these two approaches. The par!,dit community forms an extremely small minority in India, not exceeding over one hundred thousand people. Of this total, a sign)ficant number live in Kashmir valley, mainly in Srinagar, and the rest have settled in the major cities of Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Lucknow and Jaipur in northern India.

 During the last seven hundred years, this minority community has passed through a series of social, political, and cultural vicissitudes (1). Traces of these changes are naturally present in their language and in their naming system. The language of Kashmiri pandits is called kosur (or Kashmiri). This language has traditionally been treated as a member of the linguistic sub-group termed "the Dardic family", which is within the Indo-Aryan branch of languages. The Dardic family has been identified on the basis of several phonological, syntactic, and lexical characteristics of three language groups: the Kafin-group, the Khowar-group, and the Dard-group(2).

 However, the classification of Kashmiri continues to be controversial: There still is a need to draw evidence from those areas of language and culture which might throw more light on the controversy concerning the affiliation of Kashmiri language, and the types of convergence it has gone through. A study of names should provide evidence to show that Kashmiri forms a part of South Asian sociocultural and linguistic area. In a stimulating paper "Toward an onomastics of South Asia" Emeneau (1978) has rightly suggested that, in the case of South Asia, onomastics provides interesting ethnographic, cultural, and historical evidence. In his paper Emeneau examines ". . . features of the naming system and their spread in the South Asian linguistic area" (128). There is evidence that the patterning of the naming system, the choices available within the system, and the functional use of such choices provide insightful data for characterizing South Asia as a "sociolinguistic area". I shall not go into any detail in explaining here the concept "sociolinguistic area" since this forms the topic of a study by D'sonza (1985).(3).

 What I propose to do is to discuss selected processes of naming among the pandits of Kashmir within a sociolinguistic context. These observations may hopefully, provide more data from an interesting linguistic and cultural area of India for our understanding of India as a "sociolinguistic area".

 The first issue one faces in a study of onomastics is to determine the proper approach. The body of literature on onomastics is aweinspiring, with a long tradition of research from various disciplines: among others, anthropology, (e.g., EvansPritchard 1948), etymology (e. g., Bradsley 1915; see also for a bibliography Smith 1950, 277-282), linguistics, (e.g., Algeo 1973; Uhlenback 1969) and philosophy (e.g., Donnellan 1970). There are also several studies which provide useful theoretical discussions from various viewpoints (e.g., Gardiner 1940, Pulgram 1954, and S0renson 1963). In addition, there are numerous atheoretical studies. However, the sifting through of this abundant body of material is not always rewarding. Zgusta (1974: 819) rightly warns us that "the study of names is plagued with imaginative and fantastic, but unfounded and unscholarly, publications; therefore, caution should be exercised in the choice of sources."

In earlier literature very little attention has been paid to the linguistic aspects of onomastics and its contribution to linguistic and sociolinguistic theory and description, since linguists have considered onomastics "etymologically explanatory rather than systematically descriptive" (Allen 1968; quoted in Uhlenbeck 1969: 321). There are verythat the synchronic study of proper names may be an interesting and rewarding subject for the linguist as well as for the ethnographer and that at least in some linguistic communities personal names may form a well-defined subsystem within the whole of the linguistic structure" (321-322).

In his detailed study Utley (1963: 145-176) draws attention to the linguistic component of onomastics and the neglect of this field by linguists. He observes that ". . . the responsibility for correction lies not only on the historian, logician, and etymologist, but also on the modern linguist, structural or transformational, who has been slow to plow on onomastic pastures" (145).

The Indian languages are no exception to this general neglect by linguists.4 The result is that the linguistic aspects of onomastics in these languages have not attracted serious attention of linguists, and no attempt has been made to provide typological statements which contribute to our understanding of India as a linguistic area or a sociolinguistic area (Emeneau 1978 is an exception). There are, however, several language-specific studies which provide useful data and descriptions (e.g., Dutta 1981; Jhungare 1975; Sjoberg 1968; and Temple 1883). There are not many observations in earlier literature on Kashmiri or Kashmiri paodits, except in Koul (1924: 18-23). This study, therefore, is one of the first attempts toward understanding anthroponymy of Kashmiri paudits in relation to sociolinguistics.

3.1   Naming and Gotra

It is claimed that traditionally Kashmiri pacdit last names indicated gotra (exogamous groups); these gotra-marking names were initially restricted to three names which Koul (1924: 20) terms the "three principal divisions", i. e., bhat, pandit and razdan. According to him, from these three "are derived the distinctive appellations of koul, sopor), paudit, and raina. >From these three families, [bhat, papdit and razdan] as each took to a particular occupation, or by adoption or intermarriage with other gotras, other gotras came into existence" (20). These gotras bear the names of rrszs ("sages"), and to some extent, as Koul says, they form a hierarchy. In this hierarchy the kul(Kaul or Koul) are considered very high (Koul 1924: 20). It is claimed that by intermarriage and intermixture "with other Brahmins the number of gotras multiplied to 199" (Koul 1924: 20). As time passed, the number of last names substantially increased. I will discuss the reasons for this later in this paper.

3.2   Naming - Ceremony and Nameability

Criteria The ritualistic aspects of naming among the pa4dits are not significantly different from the brahman groups of other parts of India. In a traditional paudit family the naming-ceremony (Hind), namkaran) takes place on the eleventh day after a child's birth. It is called kahnethir (kah "eleven" and nethir"wedding"). At this ceremony a child is expected to receive his or her given name.

The names of the new-born may be chosen by various methods. In certain families the family priest pan.dith (Skt. pand t) or gor(Skt. guru) might suggest the first letter of the name. The suggestion of the koligor (Skt. kulguru "family priest") is based on clues from the horoscope of the new-born child. Suggestions may be made by relatives from the mother's side or the father's side. Naming after parents, or grandparents, as is common in the Western world, is not practiced among the Kashmiri Pandits. The earlier practices of namkaran ('naming-ceremony') are, however, slowly changing as we will see in the following section.

The two productive processes for naming are Sanskritic and Persian. Muslim first names do not show the process of Sanskritization. However, a number of Sanskrit last names (Kashmir) zath) have been preserved by some Muslims after their conversion to Islam, for example, bath (Skt. bhatta), pandith (Skt. pand t).5 On the other hand, Hindu given names and last names show the influence of both

Sanskritization and of Persianization. The result is, as Emeneau (1978:117) also attests in another context, "Hindu names of hybrid form" such as jawahar ("jewel"). In Kashmir, this hybridization of names still continues.

3.3   Dynamics of Kashmiri Pandit Names

The dynamics of the pandit names show mainly three types of changes. Generation-distance is the main factor in the changing pattern of the given names. As in other language areas, the changing social, political, and linguistic influences on the land and the people of Kashmir have left their impact on naming patterns. Consider, for example, given masculine names such as aftab 'tine sun', and toti 'parrot' (as in totikakh), or feminine names such as goni 'virtue', (as in gonivati ('the possessor of virtues'). These given names are now only of antiquarian interest and form part of the diachronic onomastics of the pandit community. These names suggest a distance of more than one generation. Names such as makhni (Hindi-Urdu, makEhan 'butter') and mah (Hindi-Urdu, mot) 'jewel') are much less frequent in the present generation.

3.4   Components of a Pandit Name

The naming system of the pandits follows the pauern of other IndoAryan languages. A paudit name has three components: The first name or given name, the middle name, and the last name (zath) or 'family' name. The first and last items are obligatory and the middle item is optional.6 (For example, madisodan (Skt. madhusudan ("the killer of the demon Madhu"), roginath (Skt. raghunath "master of Raghu dynasty"); omkar(Skt. omkar).

The given name has the structure of a noun phrase in which the family name occupies the position of head, unlike names in the Dravidian languages in general. In Telugu, as Sjoberg (1968: 314) shows the Family names appear to stand in an adjectival relationship to given names. That is, as an adjective in the Telugu language precedes the noun it qualifies, so too the family name precedes the given name, which is clearly a noun.

The types of compounds and modifiers which form a given name again fall into a typical Indo-Aryan pauern as does the constituent structure of names.

The lexical sets which occupy the modifier and head positions may be characterized in terms of semantic sets. These sets provide attitudinal, locational, and other clues. I shall discuss some of these sets below.

3.5   Given Name and the Kram

The given names are chosen out of a variety of lexical sets, the most common being theophoric names, or names which refer to various gods of the Hindu scriptures and mythology. As mentioned earlier, a new-born child is not necessarily given a name at its birth. A name may be given to the child at his kahnethir"naming ceremony" or at a convenient later time. In the meantime, a child may be called niki (fem. nich) 'baby' until it is given a name. In certain cases nik' (nic) may continue to be used as an alternate name, both for reference and address.

The term kram (a class name) is traditionally used to make a distinction between the nick-names and traditional last names or zath (e. g., Iast names such as Koul, Bhatt). The kram slowly gets institutionalized as the last name. The last name, therefore, need not be an indicator of gotra, but might develop out of the sobriquets (nick-names) acquired by the family for various reasons. Sobriquets are acquired in numerous ways: occupation, color, physical characteristics and so on.

3.6   Toward Structuring Kram

The kram or 'nicknames' acquired by each family may be listed in terms of lexical sets of sobriquets. Sobriquets were originally aptly called in English ekenames (an 'alsiname'; see Smith 19SO: 7492). These sets share semantic characteristics and provide semantic classes for the zath of Kashmi ris. The following kram-denoting lexical sets are illustrative.

1. Attitude-marking: The use of attitude-marking terms is a good example of making a generalization from an individual to the whole family. Such terms must have originally started as nicknames, and, then, slowly acquired the status of kram. There are, therefore, cases among Kashmiri Pandits where two brothers might use two distinct last names, one using the kram and the other the original last name. For example, one brother may use kol (Koul), and the other brother and his children use tut (Anglicized as Tutu). Kol is gotra-marking ancestral last name, and tut is the acquired kram-marker.

The attitude-marking terms have an underlying meaning which conveys an attitude and focuses on characteristics of certain types. Such terms can be subdivided into a number of classes on the basis of the shared characteristics of the members of a class of last names. Consider, for example, the following sub-classes.

- Animals: bror' 'cats'; gagar, 'mice'; hapath, 'bears'; host', 'elephants'; hagal, 'stage'; khar, 'donkeys'; ponz', 'monkeys'.
- Birds: bulbul, 'nightengale'; kav,'crows'; kokar,'roosters'; kotar, 'pigeons'
- Edibles: vagri, 'watery rice'
- Fruits: badam, 'almonds'
- Spices: ganhar,'poppy seeds'
- Utensils: dul', 'a huge brass or earthen pot'; notivj[, 'owners of pitchers'; tjk', 'earthen eating plates'; vokhal, 'mortar'
- Vegetables: hakh, 'collard leaves'; vagan 'egg-plants'; mu', 'radish'

2. Behavior: The members of this class refer to a specific act of behavior, for example, thalatsur, 'one who steals brass eating plates' (Hindu-Urdu thal'); thapal, 'one who grabs things' (also used for a 'pickpocket').

3. Deformity: There is a number of words which show bodily deformity, for example, karihol, 'one who has a stiff neck'; khos-, 'left handed'; kob', 'hunchbacked'; mot', 'fat'; mak', 'snub-nosed'.

4. Location: The locational words are used either to specify one's place of residence or the place where one comes from, e. g., navs-ohoer', 'one who belongs to Navsahar' sogom', 'one who belongs to Sogam' sopor', 'one who belongs to Sopore'; k'alam ione who belongs to Kilam'.

5. Occupation: The use of occupation or profession-marking terms does not necessarily mean that the family is engaged in that particular occupation. One might mention here that last names such as vatal 'sweepers' or vaza 'cooks' semantically belong to this class, but do not always refer to the actual profession of the family. In this case the term vatal must have begun as an attitude marking kram. Professionally there is no Kashmiri pandit engaged in the occupation of a vatul 'sweeper'. These are, thus, terms which were originally used as a inick name' based on an act of a single member of a family and then slowly these got generalized as the last names of the family, for example, jotish (Hindi jyotisi 'astrologers'), sabin"soap makers'.

6. Physical characteristics: These mark the physical characteristics of a person with reference to his or her color, bodily features, etc., for example, katsur 'brown'; tut 'slim'.

7. Ownership: There is a small set of lexical items which take the suffix vol (plural vol'; Hindu-Urdu vala) to convey the idea of ownership, for example, hos'vol''the owners of elephants', tarivol' 'dealers in wire'.

Note that the suffix vol' has other meanings in Kashmiri, for example, it is used in the sense of 'a dealer' too. Thus tarivol' may also mean a 'dealer in w*e' or 'seller of wire' as in Hindi cayvala, 'a dealer in tea' or 'a seller of tea'.

The kram (or a nickname), until it gets established for a family, can be exasperating. Koul (1924: 20) has mentioned one such case

. . . a man, named Wa'sdev, had a mulberry tree growing in his courtyard and, therefore, he was called Wa'sdev Tul (mulberry). He, in order to get rid of his nick-name, cut down the tree. But a mund (trunk) remained and people began to call him Wa'sdev Mund. He then removed the trunk of the tree but by its removal a khud (depression) was caused and henceforth people called him Wa'sdev Khud. He then filled up the depression and the ground became teng a little elevated) and he began to be called Wa'sdev Teng. Thus exasperated, he left to do any further attempt to remove the cause of his nick-name and it continued to be Teng which is now attached to the names of his descendants.

3.7   *Variant Forms of a Name: Hierarchy of Hypocoristic*

Forms An analysis of the constituent structure of Kashmiri given names and last names (zath) gives only a partial picture of the naming system in Kashmiri. A detailed description must include the hypocoristic forms used for each name by this community.

The hypocoristic forms are determined on a deferential scale based on considerations of age, superiority, sex and the attitude one has toward the addressee. The term hypoconsticiorm refers to a variant form of a name which is used in intimate relations and familiar or friendly situations. A discussion of this aspect throws some light on the sociolinguistic aspects of Kashmiri pandit onomastics. This characteristic is shared with other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages (see, e.g., Emeneau 1978:118-124), and provides further evidence for India as a sociolinguistic area.

Hypocoristic forms provide linguistic clues to the participant relationship and participant expectations, and mark the discourse as formal, informal, or intimate. These forms may thus be used to indicate the formal use of the name especially in the written style; to mark informal relationships; to express a difference in age and deference toward age; and to mark the sex and the marital status of a person.

The variant forms are produced through various processes. One common device is by using the process of Kashmirization of Indic and Perso-Arabic proper names. The process is as follows: In a majority of cases the first names is reduced to the CVCV structure irrespective of the syllable structure of the first name in the written or formal style. Consider the following examples :

Informal Style		Formal Style	
day (m)	CVCV	daya	CVCV
duli (f)	CVCV	dulari	CVCVCV
sili (m)	CVCV	sila	CVCV
vomi (m)	CVCV	omkar	VCCVC

An identical process of reduction applies to Muslim first names such as gulam> gula (m); habib > hate' (m); phat'> fatima (f). In a majority Naming in the Kashmiri Pandit Community of cases, then, in a reduced name the final vowel is /i/. In the informal style a person may be addressed as dami or sz7', but the written form is damodar and sila, respectively.

3.8   Name Repertoire and Name Switching

There may be repertoire of names for a person used within a family; the selection of a particular name is determined by the relationship, status and age. The total range of the names used for a person is generally known only to those who are close to the family. First there is a formal given name. The formal name invariably preserves the Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic, or hybridized forms (e. g., pzt&:mbarnath, aftab, iAbalnarayan). Second, in the informal situation a hypocoristic form is used by the peer group and elders. Third, in the intimate family circles a person might be given an entirely different name. Let me illustrate this point. A person may be formally called mohanlal (m), and informally, he may be called mohn`; his children may call him tathimahraj 'dear king'. He may also have a kinship denoting name such as boytoth ('d ear brother'). However, it is not necessary that this name be used only by those with whom he has such a relationship. The intimate family may thus use tathimahraj and boy.toth for intimacy and affection. A feminine name szla informally becomes sz1' (f) and in the family circles she might be called benitath ('dear sister'), or benigash ('sister with light').

It is also possible that after marriage a female might receive an additional name from her in-laws, such as p'anbabr (Hindu-Urdu pyarzbhabhz 'd ear sister-in-law'), or mohanptarz, 'one who is d ear to Mohan' (if, for example, the name of her husband is Mohan). A son-in-law may also go through the same process of multi-identification markers.

3.9   Sources of First Names

The earliest source of Kashmiri first names is Sanskritic. Later after the Muslim conquest of Kashmir (around 1301-20), the Perso-Arabic influence provided the second major source. Before the Islamic influence, Kashmir had been the center of Sanskrit learning and had developed a long tradition of Sanskrit scholarship in the fields of philosophy, poetics and linguistics. During the Muslim period there was a major effort toward proselytization of Hindus to Islam. A small number of the pacdits escaped by leaving the boundaries of the State, and others assimilated themselves in various ways with the new rulers. The Islamic influence is found naturally in the first names, though a number of last names may also be traced to this influence. It is evident that both the Sanskritic and Persian names have gone through various processes of nativization which are not discussed in this paper.

The lexical sets for first names from the Sanskritic source are theophoric, primarily based on names, attributes and epithets of gods and goddesses (e. g. ramchand, radhenath, dayakisin, arjunnath, laksminarayan).

It is only later, due to the Persian irdluence, that first names such as aftab "the sun" were introduced. Consider, for example, aftab 'tine sun'; dilavaribrave'; iAbal 'good fortune'; mahtab 'the moon'. Smith's observation (1950:157) on the Hindu naming system applies to the Kashmiri Pandit community, too:

In India the high caste Hindu believes that the more often the name of a deity passes his lips the more merit he stores up for the future life. Consequently he deliberately names his children after the gods. The Hindu Pantheon is crowded so the choice is not unduly restricted . . . The names of the dreaded spirits are not used for fear of inviting harm. If some of them bear human names, it is because they were probably originally human beings.

The main categories of Sanskritic given names are listed below:

(i) Epic-Sources: The Indian epics the Ramayana and the Mahabharata provide the main sources for names. The masculine names arjun, kisen, ram and the feminine names such as jankz, tara, rada can be traced to these sources.

(ii) Place-names: The first name may be an epithet for a character from the epic-sources, for example, ayodya or bade. These are followed by nath, e.g. ayodyanath, 'the master of Ayodhya' (where Rama, the hero of the epic Ramayana was loom), or brajnath 'tine master of braj bhumi' (where Krishna of the epic Mahabharata lived). These temms, then, stand as an attribute of the epic-heroes.

(iii) Abstract: The use of abstract terms as proper names is again shared with several other Indian languages. atma, 'soul'; anand, 'bliss'; parmanand,'etemal bliss'.

(iv) Attributes: Feminine names such as the following refer to various attributes and qualities, rits (mal), 'good', pious'; soba (vatz), 'grace'; dan (yatz), 'wealth'; usha, 'dawn'; lalita, 'attractive'. Masculine attributes are prem, 'love'; pran, 'soul'.

(v) Rivers: The given names of rivers are mainly feminine yam~na (Hind) yamuna 'river Yamuna'); sarisvati (Hind) 'sarasvati' 'a mythical river').

A number of compounds with the first member referring to a goddess and the second to a god are used as masculine given names radhakishen (Radha and Krishna) (cf. sitaram (Site and Ram) used e. g., also in the Punjab).

The following sers illustrate the range of the first name (FN) and its preferred second lexical item. Note that there are some given names which are shared by both men and women, e.g., mohan, janki and lakshmi. In the case of men, mohan will collocate with lal, and janki and lakshmi with nath. In the case of women mohan collocates with ran' end p'ar' and janki and laksmi with dev`. An elderly woman may be called jankid'ad (dyed 'granny').

Masculine First Names:

FN + cand: e. g., tard, ram
FN + kifen: e. g., teal, braj, daya, gopi
FN + lal: e. g., mohan, makhan, mot,-, jia, syam
FN + kamar: e. g., braj, raj
FN + narayan: e. g., chand, raj, rup, siv
FN+nath:e.g., amar, bhaskar, kashi, pran, janh, dina, niranjan
FN+ram: e.g., siv
FN + joo: e. g., anand

Feminine First Names:

FN + vati: e. g., tara, soba, dan
FN + mal: e. g., ritsi
FN+kuman:e.g., raj, sita
FN+p'an:e.g., mohan
FN + rani: e. g., cand

The given names carry the number and gender markers and are inflected for the case. A number of these names are now disappearing in contemporary practices of naming. One does not normally encounter, for example, ram or teal as first names and jo and vah as suffixes in current Kashmiri pandit names. One also notices a tendency to drop the middle name.

3.10 Modification of First Names

First names in Kashmiri may be modified with venous lexical itans or auffixes. I will present a partial list of such modifiers with their distribution. The selection of a particular modifier with a given name is determined by various attitudinal considerations, as is the case with the selection of hypocoristic forms of a first name. The main considerations are the addressor/addresse relationship; the attitude of the addressor toward the addressee at the time the speech act takes place; the clues marking affection, anger, or indifference; the age and status of the addressor and addressee and their respective positions in the family and society.

(a) kakh is used only with hypocoristic forms such as dayi (Skt. daya 'compassion'), hard (Skt. han), sarvi (Skt. sarva 'whole, entire'), sombi (Skt. sambhu 'auspicious' or Lord Siva), hradi (Skt. hriday 'heart'), treyi (Skt. triloh 'of three worlds' name of Siva), zani (Skt. janardan 'protector').

(b) toth (fem. tith) means 'dear' and is used with a set of reduced names (e. g. sombitoth; brijitoth). It is not used with a formal names such as daya, hriday or triloki.

(c) Ji (Hindi-UrduJ7) has roughly the same distribution in Kashmiri as in, for example, Hindi and Punjabi. It occurs with most hypocoristic forms and full forms.

(d) sijb is a marker of affection and co-occurs with various lexical sets. Its preferred occurrence is with hypocoristic forms (e.g., brijisjb). Note also lali 'grandfather or father' or lalisab.

3.11 Collocability Constraints

The term 'collocation' is used here to refer to the tendency of cooccurrence of lexical items with other lexical items (for a discussion see Halliday 1966 and Kachru 1983). The elements which modify a Kashmiri given name in the hypocoristic or nonhypocoristic forms have constraints of collocability. Therefore the distribution of the items with reference to their potential for cooccurrence is important. Consider, for example, the modifying items, kakh, toth. The honorific suffix ,n may be used with the first teal, hari, upni but not normally with dayay`, hridayJu The co-occurrence of. i, with feminine given names is more frequent. The item toth ('dear') collocates with a set of first names, which, among others, may include dayi, hyadi, treyi. But the following do not normally collocate with toth.

*haritoth, *upnitoth, *bab.toth

ji and toth have collocational constraints with certain types of given names. However, there are other items which do not have cooccur rence restrictions but the collocation may have underlying attitudinal implications; such items may be used in special contexts with a specific meaning in mind. The collocation of the item kakh with the following may be considered normal: briji kakh, dayikakh, hradikakh, sarvikakh, sombikakh, zanikakh. On the other hand, if kakh is used, for example, with balikakh, harikokh, upnikakh an attitudinal implication is involved, one of irony. This implication is not present if the person is elderly and the suffix is used as a mark of respect.

The table presented below shows the preferential range of cooccurrence with various modifiers.

Lexical Sets of First Names Showing Preference of Co-occurrence					
Sets of Given Names	**Modifiers**				
	kakh	**toth**	**sjb**	**lal**	**Ji**
I. dayi, hradi briJi, posi	Y	Y	?	?	X
II. hari, upni, hnli	X	?	X	X	Y
III. upni bali	X	Y	X	X	X
IV. kanthi,preyi	Y	?	X	Y	X

The co-occurrence of the members of the above sets is not mutually exclusive. That is, for example, sarvi, s-ombi and zani cooccur with kakh and do not normally co-occur with J`. On the other hand, sombi and zani may in certain situations be acceptable with sob, but sarvi will not normally occur with sob. Thus all the members of a set do not share all the constraints of occurrence with other items.

There is another point which should be mentioned here. The Kashmirized reduced forms of Hindi forms teal and upan are bali and upni respectively. As is indicated in the lexical set III in the above Table, these do not co-occur with Ji.

3.12 Conclusion

It seems to me that there are several reasons for the study of Kashmiri pandit anthroponymy within the context of sociolinguistics. Let me present some of these reasons here. First, it is the user's attitude which determines the formal choices within the possible lexical sets. Second, the hierarchy of hypocoristic forms is directly related to the interactional network and the participant relationship. Third, the selection of a first name, out of the possible sources, is also indicative of the attitudes of the parents and the family. Fourth, at the lexical level there are several collocability constraints which provide interesting lexical relationships: these are useful in understanding the dynamics of Kashmiri pandit anthroponymy.

A sociolinguistic perspective for anthroponymy might provide a deeper understanding of the functional aspects of the Kashrniri language, and its shared sociocultural traditions with the neighboring linguistic communities. Onomastics may, then, give us supporting data for characterizing and defining India as a "sociolinguistic area".

3.13 Notes

1. A useful discussion of religious pluralism in Kashmir is presented in Ma 1972.

2. For a brief discussion of and references on Kashmiri language and literature, see, Kachru 1973: 2-4, and 1981: 4-6.

3. This preliminary paper and her dissertation (forthcoming) provide the first detailed treatment of this topic with appropriate references from Indian languages.

4. For sociocultural and other viewpoints on the naming patterns in India see Indic Names 1961; Karve 1947; Masani 1966; Sharma 1969; and Van Velze 1938. These include references to whatever linguistic research has been done on this topic.

5. A number of sobriquets are also shared, e. g., mandal 'buttocks'; vola1 'attorney'; vazi 'cook'.

6. If there is a middle name, it is not the name of one's grandfather (from mother's or father's side) as may be the case in the U. S. A. Cf., e. g., "middle names are often family names of mother's father or of the grandfather's from either side" (Vanburen 1974: 85n).

7. In addition to the points discussed in D'souza 1985.

8. Among other forms, note also treyi, premi, which are the reduced forms of treloki, and prem, respectively.

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4   Personal Names

4.1   Genesis

All the creatures in this world have a language or a medium for communicating their thoughts and feelings to each other. The cries and sounds of birds and animals are understood by their fellow-beings. A horse's neigh, cow's low, cat's mew, lion's roar or a jackal's houl are intelligible to other members of their species. Man is the crown of creation. God has made man after his own image. In the earliest period of his development man used a symbolic language and with the help of signs and gestures communicated his thoughts. and feelings to other beings of his own species. Accordingly with the gradual development of medium of expression man began to identify things around him and expressed his thoughts and feelings by means of his tongue ' भावयतेकथयतिअन्याइतिभाषा ' 'Max Muller, a renowned orientalist said, "Language is noting but a contrivance devised by human skill for the most expeditious communication of thoughts and who would wish to see it treated, not as a production of nature but simply a work of human art."

4.2   Origin

The gradual identification of objects, animate or inanimate, by man gave birth to what we call the NAMES of these objects. Thus the continuous and repeated use of a word or wordgroup for individualising a certain object became its name in the society. A name may, therefore, roughly be defined a word or a small group of words indicating a particular entity in the entirety without necessarily or essentially indicating any special quality of entity. Name of an object makes us familiar with that object. Names are, therefore, the words used to identify and distinguish individuals. Accordingly, the name is a medium of direct contact between an individual and the society as it distinguishes a person or an object from others of the same class. Name is a powerful instrument of convenience invented by man. It does not work only in a civilised society but even the tamed animals immediately respond to it mechanically. Ask the efficacy and usefulness of a name to a stranger who was struggling to get his leg out of the powerful jaws of a furious dog, who on hearing 'Moti' from his master, immediately left the stranger and began to lick the feet of the master. Shabdha Kalpadramu defines a name thus, म्नायते अभ्यस्ते यत् यत् .

4.2.1   Categories

Names do not always present a pleasent experience. An instant irritation is caused when we call a person by a name which he does not like for one or the other reasons. It works like a needle prick and the person, not only a man but even an animal, is in a state of madness and behaves as if under a lunatic fit. On the other hand if we call an ordinary man by a pleasing name elevating his social or official status, we get immediate response of all help and friendship. Consciously or unconsciously, therefore, we have created different categories of names, pleasant and unpleasant; respectful and disrespectful, holy and unholy, awkward and non-awkward, normal and abnormal. This large number of names has compelled man to use his wisdom and judgement to select suitable one for his own self and other beings. This process of selecting a name was primarily a linguistic exercise but, as in other spheres of human activity, with the gradual predominance of religion the name giving, christening, namakaran, or with what term we may call it, ceremony assumed great religious importance (See Sec. A 92 and A 93).

4.3   Dissimilarity

Personal names reflect the socio-religious as well as linguistic traditions of a particular region. Names in Europe, Africa and other non-Indian areas are remarkably different from the names commonly found in the Indian sub-continent. These are not identical even in different regions of a particular country. A

striking difference is noticed between a North Indian and a South Indian, a Muslim and a Hindu, and a Christian and a Parsee name in India. Names do not differ in appearance and meaning only but in their syntax and usage also.

4.4   Given Names

From the beginning of civilization a child has been receiving a name after it is born and welcomed in the society. Names have a special significance, perhaps describing the child's appearance or expressing high hopes of the parents for the future of their child. In the beginning every individual had only one name which is sometimes called as 'Personal name', 'Given name' or 'Christian name.' This one name served the purpose of the individualisation and identification very well as the number of people in a particular region or cultural group was very limited and lived in a splendid isolation."

"Given names are usually drawn from some older language. For example, from Hebrew comes Benjamin; from Greek, Andrew; from Latin, Amy; from German, Albert, from the Celtic, Donald; from the Anglo-Saxon, Alfred. Originally these names had a meaning. A girl born during a famine was sometimes called Una (Celtic for famine). A golden haired blonde might be called Flavia (Latin for yellow) or Blanche. (French for white). Mercy and patience (used by puritans), David (beloved), Susan (lily), Deborah (bee), Margret (pearl) are other examples."

4.4.1   Naga Names

Sources of names in India have been diverse and varied. But Sanskrit language and literature have served as an unending treasury of names for almost all Indians including ancient Kashmiris. Name giving among Hindus is a very ancient practice but its critical appreciation is obscured by a chain of complexities like caste, creed, sex, race and language. During earlier settlement of Aryans in India, and later in the valley of Kashmir, the local (non-Aryan) names were fanatically sanskritized by Hindu name makers to conform to their imaginary etymology. A study of names of ancient Kashmir reveals that they were derived mainly from the Sanskrit language, the language of learned and elite. Some of the selected few from a huge stock of such names are Vasugupta, Kallata, Somananda, Utpala, Rama Kantha, Laksmanagupta, Bhaskar, Abhinavagupta, Bhatta Narayana, Ksemraja, Srikantha, Yogaraja, Narayan Kantha, Bhatta Vamadeva, Subhatta and Jayaratha etc. (see appendix). It will not be out of place to mention here some of the non-Aryan names of some Nagas preserved in Nilamata Purana. They are:

अजकर्णोश्वकर्णश्च विद्युन्माली दरीमुखः ।
ओराणो रोचनो ह्यासी नर्तनी गायनस्तथा ॥
कम्भाटश्च सुभाटश्च बहुपुत्रो निशाचरः ।
मयूरः कोकिलस्त्राता मलयो यवनप्रियः ॥
कोटपालो महीपालः गोपालः पटलशुचिः ॥
राजाधिराजो विनतः स्वर्गो विमलश्रो मणि ॥
चक्रहस्तो गदाहस्तः शूलीपाशी सगस्तथा ।
नागश्चित्रकरो वत्सो वत्सोवकपतिस्तथा ।
शीतार्तो यवमालीच रावणे रक्षसाकृतिः ।
यज्ञदाता तथा होता भोक्ता भोगपतिस्तवा ॥

Ajakarna, Asvakarna, Vidyunmali, Darimukha, Orana, Rocana, Hasi, Naratana, Gayana, Kambhata, Subhata, Bahuputra, Nisacara, Magura, Kokila, Trata, Malaya, Yavanapriya, Kotapala, Mahipala, Gopala,

Patalasuci, Rajadhiraja, Vinata, Svarga, Vimalaka, Alani, Chakrahasta, Suli, Pasi, Saga, Naga Citrakara, Vatsa, Bakapati, Sitarta, Yavamali, Ravana, Raksasakrti, Yajva, Datta, Hota, Bhokta and Bhogapati.

While going through the above mentioned Naga names we should not forget the fact that these names are spoken by a Brahmin well-versed in Sanskrit language and have come to us through a famous Sanskrit work. We should not, therefore, be astonished to find a very little, nay a very negligible dissimilarity between these Naga names and other Aryan names. As a matter of fact they have been allowed to survive to this day only in a sanskritized form. Thus leaving very little scope to know the real morphology and meaning of aborigine names of Kashmir. Had a little tolerance been shown to present these names in their true aborigine from it would have thrown open new vistas of research on very dark zones of Indology. We should not blame the author of Nilamata Purana only in this context. Almost all the Sanskrit works including the Mahabharata have presented all the aborigine characters, whether it be Naga, Pisaca, Madra, Nisada, Raksasa, Daitya or latest Yavanas in a sanskritized form. As a matter of fact, names undergo interesting changes when they are translated from one language to another. "Henry (Teutonic, head of the house) became Harry, Hal, Henri (French) Heinrich (German), Enrico (Italian) Hendrick (Danish), Jacob (Hebrew), a supplanter becomes James, Jacques (French), Giacom (Italian), Diego and Jaime (Spanish), John (Hebrew, gift of God) becomes Johannes (Latin), Hans (German), Jean.(French) Giovanni (Italian)."

4.4.2 Local Influence

Similarly the Sanskrit names like Govinda, Vishnu, Shiva, Suriya, Darshana, Ishwara, Kashi, Nila Kantha, Tilaka, Chidambhara, Sarvananda, Parmananda, Sudhania, Hari, Kailasha, Vasudeva, Deva, Gangadhara, Ganesha, Bhavani Das and Bhagvandas were changed beyond recognition when. used in spoken Kashmiri. Their present form is Goondu, Veshnu, Shevu, Siriyu, Dashu, Ishu, Kaashee, Kaantha, Teluk, Chedu, Sarvu Paru, Sodhu, Haru, Kalas, Vasu, Divu, Bhog, Bhonu etc.. Same, change has taken place in female Sanskrit names. Thus, Jaimala has become Zaimal, Ganga has taken the form of Ganguj, Lakshmi became Lakhim, Bhavani was changed into Bhoni, Yashmala became Veshir and Pushpa became Poosh in the day-to-day spoken language. Muslim names, which are mainly derived from Arabic, Persian and other Islamic literature have also not been able. to keep their original form unaltered. Accordingly Sultan became Sulu, Mohammed became Momu, Ahmad took the form of Amu, Rasool became Rosul, Khadeeja became Khatij, Al Khaliq became Khalu, Ibrahim became Ibu and Al Majeed became Maju.

4.4.3 Fancy of Authors

Moreover the whims and fancies of different authors have played a great role in giving a definite character and shape to a particular name. After all what are the reasons behind the fact that almost all the sons of Dhritrashtra are having very repulsive and abnoxious names? Is it that there was no Sanskrit scholar of good taste present at the Royal Court of Kaurvas? Ancient names used to be very beautiful and full of meaning. The name Dhritrashtra itself. is a very wonderful name meaning a person capable of shouldering the responsibility of a nation. Moreover the Pandavas, the cousins of Dhritrashtras sons, possess very beautiful and pleasing names. So the phenomenon of Kaurava names is not only puzzling but intriguing too. Vyasa seems to have expressed his anger and displeasure with Kauravas by deliberately mutilating and disfiguring their names." This bigotory and jealousy is not peculiar to the author of the great epic Mahabharata only, even in other kinds of literature and folk tales we find villains being called with such names which even an ordinary person would not give to his children. Munshi Prem Chand a celebrated Hindi writer, seems to have been very critical of the role of Pandits and Purohits in Hindu society. Perusal of his important works would unveil a character Mote Ram Shastary who happens to be highly ignorant of Shastaras with a large belly, clumsy appearance and greedy look in his eyes. Therefore, any person in possession of above characteristics is even now called Mote Ram. Similarly Sarat Chandra's Devdas has become an immortal figure and any lovesick man indifferent to his person is called by the name of Deva Dasa. More recently a thug and a cheat who befooled both police and public

many times has made people to call any person (possessing above mentioned traits) as Natwarlal. We in Kashmir even now call a person as Mahadev Bisht if he displays any trait of the courageous and benevolent thief. Such names have, however, never served as a source of christening but are on the other hand very powerful agencies of nick names (Details in Chapter D).

4.5 Sources

As stated above the sources of Hindu names have been many and varied. Dronacharya the famous Pandava Guru was named Drona because he was found as an abandoned child in a Drona (i.e. bucket). Bhisma acquired his name after he took a severe vow of life long celibacy. A sage named his disfigured son as Ashtavakra because all his eight limbs were in a disfigured shape. Well-known heroine of Ramayana and beloved wife of Sri Rama was called Sita because she was found under the earth. Her other name was j'anaki because she was the daughter of the Great janka. A sage, being an ardent lover of dogs and their tails, named his three sons as Shunashep, Shunapucha and Shunolangul. These names were symbolic of a dog's. tail. May be the nature of the sons resembled that of a dog or its curved tail.

4.5.1 Totemism

Ancient Hindus held firm belief in totemism. Accordingly Aryan families and clans were named after some animal, plant or an inanimate object. "From Aja, 'goat' comes the name of Aja, a tribe mentioned in the Rigveda; Asva, 'horse' is the root of such names as Asvapati and Asvathama (Asvani Kumar) and also of Svetasvatara, 'White seed', the title of an Upanishada, 'Bharadvaja', 'Skylark' is the totemic name of a celebrated Rishi family; from 'Chhagla' 'goat', is derived Chhagaleya, the name of Vedic teacher and also of an Upanishad now extinct in its sanskrit form; from 'Gotma', 'bull' come the names of several wellknown sages; and from 'Hays', 'horse' are derived the names Haihaya, a tribe, and Hayagriva, a godling;. 'Ibha', 'elephant' is the totem of Ibhya, a village people mentioned in the Chhandogyaupanishada; from 'Kausika', 'owl' comes Kausitaki, the name of an Upanishad and from 'Kachhapa', 'tortoise' comes the name of Kasyapa, a Maharishi; 'Kshudraka', a variety of gadfly gives its name to a Gana, or clan, of ancient India; Wikura', 'dog' were a tribe associated with the Vrishnis along the Yamuna; Malava, a white flowering plant, is said to give the name to the Malava tribe; from Manduka, 'frog', comes the title of the Mandukyaupanishada; from 'Matanga', 'elephant' the name of a pre-Mauryan dynasty of Maghda; 'Matsya', 'fish' is the name of an important tribe in Hindu Mythology; and Mayura, 'peacock' the origin of the name of Mauryan-dynasty; from 'Mudgala', a kind of a fish,. is derived the name of a rishi; 'Maushika', 'rat', may be t the origin of an ancient Indian tribe known to the Greeks as the Musicani; 'Naga', 'snake' is the name of an ancient people, and is still used as a 'surname' by Hindus of Eastern India, 'Nakula', 'Ichneumari', was the name of Pandava Prince; from Pipal, a kind of fig tree comes the name of Pippalada, the founder of a vedic school; 'Riksha', 'bear' is the name of a Rishi family to which Samvarana belonged; from 'Sakla', a species of snake comes the name of Sakalya, a teacher who founded a Rig-vedic Sakha; from ' Sardula ', a 'tiger' comps Sardunya, the rishi after whom a now lost Sama-Veda sakha was named; 'Sigru', a plant, possibly the horse raddish, gave the name to a people mentioned in the Rigveda, 'Simha', 'lion' gives its name to Sinha, and Singh; the name Hathisingh (elephant-lion) is used by certain classes of Punjabi Hindus, from 'Sukti', 'oyster', comes the name Suktimati, capital of Chedi, 'Sunaka', a 'dog' gives the name to Sunaka, a famous vedic grammarian; a sage mentioned in the Chhandogyaupanishada who imparted secret knowledge to a student, was called Sunaka Kapeya, a dog-monkey, 'Titira', 'partridge' gives its name to the Talttiriya Upanishada; and 'Vatsa', 'calf' to the Vatsa tribe of the Ganga-jamuna confluence, with capital at Kausambi."

4.5.2 Personal Beliefs

Sometimes wrong ideas and blind faith of a certain parent gives birth to a very awkward and unusual name. Such names become life-long burden for their owners and they feel crushed under a terrific

psychological burden. Names are after all a reflection of one's personality. A recent survey conducted by University of Columbia has shown that a person's satisfaction with his name coincides with his approval of the kind of person he judges himself to be. Seen Thornton, a Dublin Psychologist, says that a person who does not like his first name tends to find faults in himself. An unusual name is a social handicap and the owners of such names face more troubles in adjusting to the pressures of every day life than their more conveniently named colleagues. Our strong emotional reaction when our name is honoured, mis-spelled or slighted, shows how closely--often right out of proportion-we identify name with self. Forget a person's name when he expects you to recall it, and you arouse resentment. All of us, at one time or another, have committed this embarrassing social blunder; and psychologists believe that we are more likely to forget the names of people we unconsciously dislike, so perhaps resentment is justified."

4.6 Western Approach

Shakespeare, Kalidasa of English literature, does not attach much significance to a name. He considers a name only as a removable appendage. Name is not the self. The owner of a certain name, however, awkward or beautiful it may be, cannot change or modify his essential characteristics. Name is a superfluous stamp marked on the self of a man and is not at all an identity of the character of its owner. Change of name does not guarantee any qualitative change in a man. After all, what is in a name ? The following conversation between Juliet and Romeo express the Shakespearian views more clearly : " Juliet-O, Romeo, Romeo! wherefore art thou Romeo? Deny thy father and refuse thy name, or if thou will not, be but sworn my love, And I will no longer be a capulet. Romeo(Aside) shall I hear more or shall I speak at this?. . . Juliet 'This but thy name that is my enemy; thou art thyself, though not a Montague. What's Montague? It is not hand, nor foot, nor arm, nor face, nor any other part belonging to man. O, be some other name; what's in a name ? that which we call a rose. By any other name would smell as sweet, so Romeo would, were he not Romeo call'd, Retain that dear perfection which he owes. Without that title Romeo, doff thy name. And thy name which is not part of thee. Take all myself. Romeo-I take at thy word: call me but love, and I'll be new baptized, Henceforth I will never be Romeo"-

4.6.1 Indian Approach

But contrary to above, the Indian literators have attached a great significance to a name. Phrases and idioms like 'to earn a name', 'to bring a name', 'to shine one's name', etc., are found in abundance in all Indian languages. Pages of Indian history bear testimony to the fact that many a bloody battle was fought only either to make a name or to save a name. To save the honour and dignity of his clan name (Raghukul) Lord Rama gladly accepted the iq. years painful exile. To make one's name to perpetuate after one's death thousands of Hindus have undergone severe penances and sacrifices to have a son to keep alive their name. This phenomenon (Putraichha) perhaps, has contributed more to the subjugation of women in Hindu society, than any other. Hindus generally believe that only a 'Putra', 'son' can perpetuate the name of the family; and only he delivers the father from hell as it means in Sanskrit i.e., Put (Hell) plus tra (Deliverer). Even at the funeral the Pinda ceremony is performed by the son in a family. A daughter is considered as 'Paraya-dhana'. One of the major causes for the inferior status granted to women in our society is the exaggerated emphasis on the role of the 'Putra', 'son' to the exclusion of the daughter in functions and ceremonies. It is also because of this custom that daughters are treated as second class members of the family and are subjected psychologically to a shabby treatment by being given the feeling of not being essential and easily dispensable.'

A name, once given to a person, in due course of time becomes an essential and irremovable facet of his person. "American comedian Will Rogers knew well how important names are to their owners. Challenged by a friend at a White House reception to make the Sedate President Calvin Coolidge .mile. Rogers shook hands with the President, leaned over and murmured casually, 'Pardon me I didn't catch the name '. He was rewarded by a surprise guffaw from Coolidge."

4.6.2   Numerology

Numerologists believe that names can bring good fortune as well as bad to their owners. Eskimos, when old, adopt new names to 'take a new lease on life.' In some Eastern societies seriously ill patients are given new names by their relatives as a ruse to cheat the Angel of death.

We can quote a number of instances where agitations have been launched to re-name the cities, states, villages, hospitals and other institutions. In most of such cases people have either demanded to revive the old names or to perpetuate the memory of a saint, leader, social worker etc., attach his name to a public institution. This clearly demonstrates the emotional attachment of an individual or society to a certain name.

4.6.3   Trade

The importance and influence of names have been felt more in the world of trade and industry than in any other sector of human activity. Brand names are being imitated every now and then and hundreds of cases of litigations are finding their way to the courts of law in every part of world. After British withdrawal from India a number of Brand names were sold at a very high cost to the Indian successors of British companies. These names had won the public esteem and approval during their long period of existence in this country.

4.7   Wrong Pronunciation

Very amusing. situations arise when deliberately or otherwise a name is mis-spelt or wrongly pronounced. This author had to face a few embarrassing moments in one of the towns of Punjab when he addressed a certain gentleman (having his surname written as 'Makkar' on the name plate) as 'Mr Makkar' which in the vernacular means a 'cunning man'. In reality the surname of this particular gentleman is pronounced as 'Makkad' (मकड़). The embarrassment caused to a lady addressed as Mrs Fool instead of Mrs Phoola was really a painful experience both for the addressee and the addresser, the former being ignorant of Kashmiri practices and the latter having failed to bear the burden of sarcastic smile of the bearer of the letter. An irritated young man, recently wrote a strong worded letter to the editor of a news paper complaining that his name has been intentionally mis-spelt. His name appeared as Mr. Miecziplaws Dzesdosz while his actual name was Mieczrlaws Dziadosz. He bitterly complained that his friends were asking him if he had changed his name. Such amusing but awkward situations are. created more often when a local name is transliterated in a foreign language or vice versa. In my article on 'Kashmiri names', I had mentioned the name of much reverred hermitess 'Lallashawari', which, to my amazement was later translated into Hindi as हरमेतलालशेर (i.e. Harmet the red lion). I have no hesitation in confessing that, in spite of being a student of world history, the Chinese and the West Asian names have often confused me. Similarly, South Indian names (full form) are a strange phenomenon for any North Indian. Europeans have more than once expressed their displeasure at the appearance and pronunciation of Indian names. An irritated middle-aged English lady once came with an unusual complaint to Mr Nehru for in one of the communications she was addressed as Mr. instead of Mrs. To quote Mr. Mathai 'while we were in London in 1948, a member of the small staff from the Indian High Commission attached to the Prime Minister reported to me that a middle aged English woman had arrived at the hotel (Claridges) requesting a meeting with some one connected with Prime Minister Nehru. She was shown in. She introduced herself as Margaret Cholomondeley. She had come with a letter written to her by a man called Ramamrittan (Rao Saheb), an Assistant Secretary in. the Ministry of External Affairs. The letter was in reply to a communication she had addressed to the Prime Minister on Kashmir. She had a serious complaint about that letter because she was addressed a: "Mr Margaret Cholmondeley." She had a further complaint that the name "Ramaritham" was too much of a mouthful. I was somewhat annoyed and numbled to myself "as if her's is not." I told her that Ramanritlhan was an oldman who had never travelled abroad, so he could not distinguish female names from male ones. I asked her if she could say whether "

Lakshmi. Kanthamma Reddy" was a male or a female name. She said 'No'. I told her that almost all Indian names had meanings and they sounded musical to Indians.. I asked her if I call you "Miss Chumley won't you be agreeably surprised." She said, "you are the first. Indian who, has pronounced my name correctly." I told her that, "we in India are used to phonetic languages. We pronounce according to the spelling.. English is an illogical language though a sublime one and some of your names are baffling to foreigners. I happen to know personally a Lord Cholomondeley in London who has a valet called Bottemley who created complications by changing the pronunciation to Bumley. But for this knowledge, I would not have been able to pronounce your name correctly." Then I told her how an Indian name helped in the escape of three Indians from Germany after Hitler had seized power. Mr A. C. N. Nambiar was informed by his German friends that Hitler's S.S. were after him and two other Indians and they should hasten to escape to Switzerland. Nambiar took the advice, collected the two Indians and left Berlin. As they came within a few yards of the Swiss border, an S. S. Captain arrived from nowhere and stopped them. He lined them up asking questions in English. First came a Bengali, who was voluble and argumentative individual.

S. S. Captain: Name?

Bengali: Basu

S. S. Captain: Christian name ?

Basu: There is no such thing in india

S. S. Captain: (shouting) Christian name?

Basu: Tarapada

S. S. Captain: Catholic or Protestant?

Basu: There is no such thing in India

S. S. Captain: (Furious) Catholic or Protestant?

Basu: Protestant

Next came A. C. N. Nambiar who knew German well.

S. S. Captain: Name?

Nambiar: Nambiar

S. S. Captain: Christian Name?

Nambiar: Araththil Candeth Narayan

S. S. Captain: Catholic or Protestant?

Nambiar: Catholic

Bengali (intervening): He is no Catholic

S. S. Captain (Angry): Do you know punishment for lying?

Nambiar: I shall explain. If you look at the map of Europe you will see all the northern countries are predominantly protestant and the southern countries are predominantly catholic. This is the result of Reformation. Mr Basu comes from northern India, that is how he is protestant. I come from the south of India, that is why I am a catholic

S. S. Captain: (impressed) You must be a Brahmin.

Nambiar: Yes, (Actually he is a non-Brahmin).

Last came the Telugu Brahmin who was smart.

S. S. Captain: Name?

Telugu Brahmin: Prathivadibhayankaram Thiruvenkatesh Warayya Pantulu Garu.

The S. S. Captain was flabbergasted. He looked around and made sure that no S. S. man was spying on him. Then he said, "Go, I will never be able to write this". All the three walked over to the safety of Switzerland.

I also told her how an Indian name created temporary estrangement between a husband and a wife. The story relates to Alladi Krishna Swami Aiyar, the renowned lawyer of Madras. On the day he was knighted by the British in India, the lawyer told his wife in Tamil, "Nee Lady Alladi"! This lent itself to two meanings. The lawyer meant "You are Lady Alladi." The wife understood the other meaning "You are no lady." The immediate result can be imagined.

I also told her that the British had to unlearn many things and learn new things. I reminded her that it was only recently that an Englishman returned from a visit to Egypt and made the revelation that the Mediterranian Sea was south of the African Continent because he saw that the Nile was flowing into the Mediterranian at the Alexandria. He could not conceive of any river flowing other than the South because he was used to the Thames flowing South"!

4.7.1   Foreign Names

Very often a particular foreign name having a ridiculous meaning in a local language gives rise to instant laughter and guffow much to the embarrassment of the owner of the name. Recalling an incident Khushwant Singh states that he had "an embarrassing encounter with a distinguished Swede, A Mr. Lund (very common name in Scandinavia) who was due to visit India. After a few drinks I got courage to tell him that he should not be upset if Northern Indians smiled or sniggered at being introduced to him and explained what his name meant in Hindustani. He was most amused and told me that he had not long before escorted an Indian lady called Miss Dass and had to introduce her to various audiences. 'Why should that have embarrassed you?' I asked him. "Because in Swedish the word 'dass' means 'shit' replied Mr. Lund."

4.8   Bawdy Names

The selection of a name is a critical matter. Final choice should rest with the person who has to own it. Parents may give a temporary name which its incumbent should be entitled to throw away as it sheds milk teeth and choose another which he fancies. Only he or she who has to live with a particular name should have the right to choose it. There is a bawdy story about a man who lost all his children soon after they were born. On the advice of a learned Pandit he decided to give his future children ugly and obscene names, believing the God doesn't mouth obscenities and will not send for them. Accordingly, he named his next son as 'penis' and his daughter as 'vagina'. He also named his goat kid as 'buttocks'. The advice worked and the three lived in good health. Obscene climax of the story reached at the nuptials of the girl and her mother's pleading with her son-in-law to be considerate towards her 'vagina' daughter. The stunned son-in-law ran out of the house and his fatherin-law pursued him pleading that he was as dear to him as his own 'penis' (son) and if he came back he would slaughter (Hindi word Maro) the 'buttock' (Goat kid) to feast him."

Bawdy and awkward names were usually given to ensure the safety of child from ghosts and ghouls. But sometimes they reflect desparate mood of parents. A couple to whom seventh daughter was born named her as ' Kshemeshwari ' (i.e. they begged for mercy of God to stop the chain of daughters to come to them.) Funniest climax, of naming of a child according to the parent's high hopes .for the child's future, reaches when the child comes out to be quite contrary to the hopes embodied in the name. Imagine the plight of blind man bearing the name 'Nainsukh' or 'Lakhnaina'. A tall, thin and fragile man named 'Pahalwan Singh' was a source of amusement and frolic for anybody to whom he got introduced. Similarly a very timid and a coward man had been christened as 'Sher Singh' and even a cat's mew would make him to shiver terribly. A boy was called 'Rogadhaman Lal' but hardly a day passed when the unfortunate boy was not under the attack of one or the other disease. 'Appearances are deceptive' hold its good in the world of names also. A 'muscleman' with long moustaches was employed by a money lender to safeguard him against miscreants at the time of need. He was very well fed on meat, milk, curd and butter. But when the time of action reached the man was found hiding under a 'Charpoye'. He was asked as to why he hid himself and of what use his long moustaches were. i Prompt came the reply; "Sir, don't blame my moustaches, even cats possess long moustaches, are they to be called lions? "

4.9   Importance

Names have, however, not always been drawn out of unusual sources or the whims and fancies. of parents only. Christening has received the greatest attention of ancient 'Law givers'. It has been discussed in full and all proper guidelines have been framed by 'Sutras' and 'Smrities'. Brahaspati, the famous Indian sage, says that names are the primary means of social intercourse, they bring about merits and are the route of fortune. From name man attains fame.Therefore naming ceremony is praiseworthy:

नामाखिलस्यव्यवहारहेतुः शुभावहं कर्मसुभाग्यहेतुः ।
नाम्नैवकीर्ति लभते मनुष्यस्ततः प्रशस्तं खलुनामकर्म ॥

4.10   Samaskaras

Ancient Indians evolved a number of 'Samaskaras to be performed during the full life cycle of an individual. A Samaskara-less person was not deemed fit to live a civilized life. These sacraments are not unique to the Hindu society only. Almost all the civilized social groups framed their own sacraments. But Hindi Samaskaras are very wholesome and comprehensive All the finer details of life have been discussed thread and bare. They are considered as instruments of purification of body and soul. Different meaning have been given by different people to the word 'Samaskara'. Its common meaning is connected with a religious rite performed for improvement of mental and physical well-being of a man who strives for a suitable place in the society. But, Hindu Samaskaras combine in themselves many social and religious performances which do not aim at formal worldly well-being only, but are necessary for the alround development of personality and unification of the 'self'. A man of 'Samaskaras' is considered a mine of good qualities and manners.

आत्मशरीरान्यतरनिष्ठो विहित कियाजन्योऽतिशयविशेषः संस्कारः

4.10.1   Vedic age

'Samaskaras' had evolved in or before the vedicage, as is evident from the 'Ved Mantaras'. But use of the word 'Samaskar' itself is very rare in vedic literature. 'Brahman' literature also does not make any mention of this word, although 'Upanayana', Antishti' etc.,, prevalent samaskaras do find place in them.

नोह्याद्रेच यज्ञाज्ञता प्रदानाय वैदिक मार्गेण प्रोक्षाणादिः

Commentators have used this word not only for the religious rites performed for personal purification but for the purification of 'Samagri' used for 'Yajna' also.

4.10.2   Number

There is no unanimity amon . 'Smriti', 'Sutra' and other 'Dharma Shastara' writers regarding the; number of 'Samaskaras'. But modern scholars are agreed on their number being sixteen. However, 'Namakarna' has been included by all in their list of 'Samaskaras. Vedvyasa enumerates sixteen Samaskaras from 'Garbadhana' to 'Anteysthi'.

गर्भाधान प्रसवनं सीमन्तो जातकर्मंच
नामकिया निष्क्रमोन्नप्राशनं वपनकिया
कर्णवेधो व्रतादेशो वेदारम्भकियाविधिः
केशान्त स्नानमुद्वाहोविवाहाग्नि परिग्रहः
त्रेतागिन संग्रहश्चेति संस्काराः षोडशस्मृताः

(Vedvyasa 1, 14-15)

Swami Dayananda Saraswati and Pandit Bhimasena Sharma have also fixed the number of Samaskaras at Sixteen 'Samaskaras', particularly the 'Namakarna' ceremony was performed by all castes and 'Varanas' of ancient Hindu society. But certain law-givers prohibited Shudras from having any Samaskaras.

न केनचिच्छदसा शूद्रमिय सक्कार्योविज्ञायते
इमशान मेतत्प्रयक्षेये शूद्रा: पापचारिण:

Sudras have been connected with the other three castes through matrimonial aliances from the very beginning. 'Anuloma' marriage i.e., of males of higher castes with female of lower castes were not uncommon in society down to the 8th century. Even orthodox 'Smriti' writers regard them as legal. But 'Pratiloma' in which the female of a higher caste is married to the male of a lower caste was vehemently opposed by all. Even this stiff opposition did not stop such intermarriages completely. According to 'Dharma Shastara' and 'Smriti' writers 'Chandala' was the outcome of 'Pratiloma' form. of marriage i.e., marriage between a Shudra male and a Brahmina girl.

ब्राह्मन्यां शूद्रजीनत: चण्डालो धर्मवर्जित:
(Vedvyasa 1)

शूद्राज्जातश्तु चण्डालो सर्वधर्म बहिष्कृत:
(Yaj. 1, 93)

ब्राह्मण्यां शूद्र संसर्गाज्जातइच।ण्डाल उच्यते
(Ausansa 8)

4.11 Namakarna

Benjamin Walker has described in detail the procedures followed in the actual ceremony of 'Namakarna'. A sacrificial fire is lighted and darbha grass is laid to the west of it in a north-south direction, but with the blades of grass pointing north. The father of the child sits on the grass facing southwards, and. mother holding the child sits facing him. Both parents dress in new unwashed clothes and the child is covered with a clean piece of cloth. Prayers are said, and at the given time the mother hands the child to father, head first so that it is passed over from south to north. A gold object, usually, a ring, is placed in a brass vessel containing ghee, oblations of ghee are poured into the fire and then the golden object is taken out, washed and tied around the child's neck by the father. The father then anoints his hand with ghee, warms it over the fire, touches the child's forehead, smells the child's hand as a cow would smell its calf and pronounces a benediction. He then gives the child's name previously selected by the priest or astrologer.

4.11.1 Time

There is, however, no agreement among the 'Smriti' and 'Dharmashastara' writers as to how many days after the birth of the child name giving ceremony is to be performed. 'Grahsutras' prescribe that 'Namakarna' should be performed after ten days of the birth of the child. Brahaspati is of the view that Kshatriya could perform 'Namakarna' after 16 or 19 days of the birth. He laid down that 'Namakarna' of the child maybe performed on tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth or thirty-second day after birth.

द्वादशाहे दशाहेवा जन्मतोऽपित्रयोद्शे ।
षोड्शैकोनविंशे वाद्वात्रिंशे वर्णतः क्रमात् ॥

According to other Dharma Sastra writers it should be held after 10,100 days or one full year

जननाद्शरात्रे व्युटे शतरात्रेसंवत्सरेवानामधेयकरणम

Yajnavalakya and Laghu Aswatayana prescribe 11 days after the birth. Vedvyasa,also supports the period of eleven days as interval between 'Jatakarma' and 'Namakarma.

अहन्येकादशे कुर्यान्नामकर्म विधानतः

Kashmiri Pandits used to perform the christening ceremony of the new born chid after sixth day of its birth. 'Shran-Sundar' and 'Namakarma' were performed on the same day. However, Lawrence states that "on the ninth day after the birth (Sundar) the mother and the child are bathed in some auspicious hour and the child receives its name". Whatever might have been the day for performing the 'Namakarma', it has now become an anachronism. No longer is seen such a ceremony being performed in any Pandit family. Children are given names without any inhibitions and often likes and fancies of parents determine it.

The Sikhs observe :this ceremony in a different way. The parents take the baby to the nearest Gurdwara where the priest, after regular prayers, recites at randon a hymn from the Holy Book. The first letter of that hymn has to be the first initial of the baby's name, and name is coined which, if approved, is announced. To a boy's name the word 'Singh' and to a girls 'Kaur' is added.

The Sikh idea of religion consists of 'Nam' and 'Seva'. To practise 'Nam' means to practise the presence of God. . .worship of the name is made more impressive by being organised in the form of congregational recitations or singing. ' Guru Nanak preaches 'Nam' (the name of God) as a potent means of religious realization.

4.12 Vedas and Sutras

There are specific directions available in the 'Vedas' and other ancient Hindu texts for giving names to newly born. Patronymics were commonly used, generally by a modification of the father's name e.g., Upagu's son was called Aupaguva. Metronymics were current in matriarchal systems, but in other areas, according to Panini, one's designation by one's mother's Gotra or clan implied that the father's name was unknown.

Graha Sutras have discussed the composition of the name in full. Parashara prescribes that the name should be of two or four syllables, beginning with a consonant, with a semi vowel in it, with a long vowel or with ' Visarga' at the end -a name formed from a root with Krt affix and not a nominal derivative formed with a 'taddhita' affix. Baj-vappa lays down no restriction on number of syllables. "The father should give a name to the child containing one syllable, two syllables, three syllables or an indefinite number of syllables"."

पिता नामकरोति एकाक्षरं द्वयक्षरं ड्यक्षरम् अपरिमिताक्षरंवा

But Vasistha restricts the number to two or four syllables and asks to avoid names ending in i and r.

द्वयक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा विवर्जयेदन्त्यलकाररेफाम्

Amaloyana Grahy Sutra says that "one who is desirous of fame, his name should consist of two syllables, one who desires worldly lustre his name should contain four syllables.

द्वयक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्ववर्चसकाम:

4.12.1 Female Names

The rules laid down for naming girls were different. The name of a girl should contain uneven number of syllables. It should end in 'a' and should have a 'Taddita'. Bajv-appa laid down that the name of girl should contain three syllables and end 'i'.

> ङयक्षरसीकारान्तं स्त्रियाः
> अयुजाक्षरमाकारांति त्रयै तद्धितम्

Manu is of the view that "it should be easy to pronounce, not hard to hear, of clear meaning, charming, auspicious, ending in a long vowel and containing some blessing."

> स्त्रीणां च सुखम् क्रूरं विस्पष्ठार्थं मनोहरम्
> माङ्गल्यं दीर्घवर्णान्तम,शीर्वादाभिधानवत्

Manu, further, laid down that a Brahman should be named by a benedictory word, a Kshatria by a might depicting word, a Vaisha by a wealth and prosperity depicting word.

> माङ्गल्यं ब्राह्मणस्य स्यात् क्षत्रियस्य बलान्वितम् ।
> वैश्यस्य धनसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य तु जुगुप्सितम्

4.12.2 Four-fold Names

Four-fold naming was also current among the ancient Indians. This type of naming was done according to asterism under which the child was born, the deity of the month, the family deity and the popular calling. This development was due to rise of religious sects and astrology. 'Nakshatra name', very well-known to the Grahy Sutras, was derived from the lunar asterism under which the child was born.

4.12.3 Nakshatra Name

There is a written directive that the father or the eldest member of the family should name the baby after a 'Nakshatra' नक्षत्रानाम सम्बद्धं पितावाकुर्यादन्योकुलवृद्धइति Names of 'Nakshatras' and their corresponding 'Gods' is as follows: 'Asvini'--'Asvin'; 'Bharni --' Yama'; 'Kritika'--'Agni';'Rohini'--'Prajapati';'Mrigshira'--'Soma'; 'Ardra'--'Rudra'; Punarvasa'--'Aditi'; 'Pushya' --'Brahaspati'; 'Ashlesha--'Sarap '; ' Magha '--'Pitra'; 'Purvaphalguni'--'Bhagha';'Utraphalguni'--'Aryamana'; 'Hasta'--'Savitra'; 'Chitra--'Tvashtra'; ' Svati'--'Vayu' ' Vishakha'--Indragani'; ' Anuradh '--'Mitra'; 'jeyshtha' --' Indra ';' Moola'--'Niriti';'Purvashada '--'Aap';' Uttrashada'-' Vishvadeva ' ;' Shravana '--'Vishnu' ' Dhanishtha '--' Vasu '; ' Shatbhiha '-'Varun'; ' Purva badarpad'-- Ajaikpad; Utrabadarpad'--'Ahiburdhanya'; and Revati'-'Pushan'. If the child was born under the constellation 'Asvini ., he was named 'Asvini Kumar', if under 'Rohini', 'Rohini Kumar' etc. Another procedure of christening on the basis of 'Nakshatra' was also prevalent. It was believed that every 'Nakshatra' was the deity of one or more alphabets of Sanskrit. Accordingly a child born under 'Asvini' nakshatra had. to be given a name to start with its subordinate alphabet (i.e., चू - चे - चो - ळ).

4.12.4 Deity's name

The second practice of naming was based on the deity of the month in which the child was born. According to 'Bhargay' the name beginning from 'Marghashersha' were, 'Krishna', 'Ananta', 'Achyuta', 'Chakri', ' Vaikhuntha', 'Janardana', ' Upendra', ' Yajapursha', ' Vasudeva', 'Hari', ' Yogesh' and 'Pundrikasha'.

कृष्णोनन्तोच्युतश्चक्री वैकुण्ठोऽथजनार्देनः ।

उपेन्द्रो यज्ञपुरुषो वासुदेवस्तथा हरिः ।

योगीशः पुण्डरीकाक्षो मासनामान्यनुक्रमात् ॥

The name based on month deity used to be the second name of the child.

'Kuladeva' or the family deity was also a source of name for: A child.' Every family used to worship one. or the other deity and naming a child after him would mean extension of protection of the deity to the child. These deities could be vedic gods 'Indra', 'Soma', 'Varuna', 'Mitra', 'Prajapati' etc., or the Puranic Gods. like 'Krishna', 'Rama', 'Ganesha' and 'Shankara' while. naming the child the word 'Dana' or 'Bakta' was added to the name of the deity.

e.g., (i) Ganesha Dass (ii) Rama Bakta.

(1) कुल्देवता सम्बद्ध पिता नाम कुर्यादिति

(2) कुल्देवताकुलपूज्यादेवता तया सम्बद्धं तत्प्रतिपादकमिल्यर्थः
असिइश्चव्याख्याने अनादिरवच्छिन्नशिष्टांचारोमूलम् ।

4.12.5 Popular Name

The popular name was meant for general use in, the society. The rules.given above governed the composition of such a name. The cultural and the educational background of the family would play a dominant role for framing, of such a name. But as a general rule such names should necessarily be benedictory and full of meaning.

4.12.6 Guiding Principles

The guiding principles of 'Namakarna' were thus

- Name should, be easy to pronounce and pleasing to auditory system;
- Name should be indicative of the sex of its owner;
- Name should be representative of fame, luxury and power and in the last
- Name should indicate the caste of the owner.

4.12.7 Paninien Rule

The Paninien convention for the formation of names went as 'follows: If Ganga was the father, then Gargi was the son, Gargya the grand-son (also called Vriddha 'Senior') and Gargyayana the great grand-son ,(also called Yuvan 'Younger'). This is a common practice in English speaking countries still. They name a child after the name of its father or grand father with an epithet 'senior', 'junior', 'primus' or 'secondus'.

4.13 Divine Names

The Vedic Aryans avoided personal names drawn from the vocabulary of divine or religious nomenlclature. But a study of Kashmiri names of past reveals the gross violation of this rule. Almost all the Pandit names of Kashmir are a true copy of the names of gods and goddesses. Custom of giving names of deities seems to have been prevalent among non-Aryans. It is clear from Kashmiri as well as South-Indian names. This practice was later on adopted by Buddhists and most probably Kashmiri Pandits have adopted it from them. The names of stars, constellations, planets, sun, moon, asterism were

also avoided in vedic times by the Aryans as well as the use of names taken from nature e.g., of mountains, hills, rivers, forests.

Manu has laid down a clear directive that a girl should not be given an awkward name indicating "a constellation, a tree, a river, a mountain, a bird, a servant and a terror." Nature names being very commonly adopted by aborigines, many law givers, including Manu, forbade the marriage of a girl, named after any of above things, with a man of higher -castes'. These rules were, however, seldom observed by succeeding generations. We find many women bearing names, in contrast with the above rule in our ancient texts. Women with names of rivers include 'Narmada', wife of the Paurava king Puruktsa; 'Kaveri', wife of Jahnu etc.

4.13.1   Sameness of Names

Pargiter has discussed at length the 'sameness of names' of ancient Hindus. He has sorted out a large number of names having been given after gods, places,. animals, stars, plants, rivers and also names of countries given after the names of kings.

4.13.2   Names of Gods

"Kings, Princes and Brahmanas had the same name as gods and the mythological beings and heavenly bodies". There was Varuna among the Vasisthas and among the Bhargavas. Agni was the name of an Aurva rishi and of a Maharishi called Bharatas. Aruna was the dawn, and two Brahmanas were so named. Rishis and others were named after their deities, and heavenly bodies were called after rishis such as the seven stars of the Great Bear and the Star Canopus.

4.13.3   Names of Places

Further kings and brahmanas sometimes had the same name as places and peoples. Thus there were a people called Asmka, yet it was the name of a king of Ayodhya and of a Brahman". Anga was the name of a country and people (East Bihar) and its king, and also of the reputed author (Aurava) of Rigveda " Aja, king of Ayodhya had the same name as a people. 'Pukkara' was the name of a son of Rama's brother Bharata, Nala's brother, a town, the moder Pokhar. Kuru, the Paurava King, had the same name as the people .

4.13.4   Names of Animals

Kings and Brahmanas also bore the names of animals, as Rksa, Rsaba, Kurunga, and Vatra, of birds, Sakuni, Hamsa, Suka and Uluka; of trees and plants, as Asvatha, Plaksa, Nala and Munja; of inanimate objects, as Sankha, Drti, Asman and Drona; and even of ceremonies, Asvamedha, also of parts of body, as Bahu, Karna, Caksu, and of abstract ideas, as Sakti and Manyu.

Women had the names of animals and birds as two God (Sukra's wife and Yati's wife) and also Brahmadatta's queen and Hamsi, of plants of flowers, as Malt, Padmini and Kamala; of inanimate objects, as Aksamala, Arani and Sita; and also of abstract ideas as, Maryada and Samati".

4.13.5   Names of Rivers

Women had the similar names as rivers, and this fact is in violation of the injunction that a Brahman should not marry a maiden having such a name. Thus the queen of king Purukutsa, of Ayodhya was named Narmada; Yauvanasvas grand-daughter Kaveri was wife of Jahnu, king of Kanyakubja, Sarasvati was queen of the Paurava king Matinara and Kalindi (Yamuna) was the name of the wife of Asita (Bahu) king of Ayodhya. There were three queens named Drsadvati, (i) wife of a King of Ayodhya Visvamitra's

queen, wife of Divodasa king of Kasi . Urvasi was the wife of Pururavas and Urvasi was also the original name of the Ganges.

4.13.6   Names of Constellations

Again, women had the same names as stars or constellations; thus there were two Rohinis (one wife of Vasudeva) and the other wife of Krisna. Several Revatis (Balrams wife and others), a Citra Name of Subadra), and Radha; hence Arundhati (the star Alcov in the Great Bear) wife of Vasistha, may not perhaps be mythical.

4.13.7   Names of Survile Status

The use of a name indicative of any subordination or survile status was not allowed by Vedic Aryans. But this rule was later on very often violated by adding the word 'dasa' to the name of family deity or any other god e.g. 'Durga Das', 'Ganesh Das', 'Bhagvan Das' etc. No Rigvedic Aryan would think of calling himself a 'dasa' even of a deity because of the contempt in which the ,term was held. Hence it is believed that the sage 'Mahidasa' and the king 'Divodasa' were non-Aryans since these names occur so early in the vedic period. In course of time, however, the Aryans adopted the native names and "the early Hindu philosophy, particularly that of Upanishadas, the rishi families, and the renowned Indian clans of yore, were all intimately connected with indigeneous people.

4.13.8   Secret Names

Besides a popular or an official name, every child in a Hindu household received a secret name. This practice is still in vogue in India. But such a practice was never prevalent among Kashmiri Pandits. They, of course, gave a name of affection to every child, besides his official name. But such a name was never kept as a guarded secret. Everybody in the household would call the child by his 'affectionate name'. Many taboos were connected with giving of a secret name. Ancient Aryans believed that a name is one's personal possession. It was to be guarded against any attack by magical means. Furthermore, there was thought to be a limit in the 'personal treasury' to the 'Units' of one's name, and constant use of it depleted this stock and weakened the owner. One's name is, therefore, not to be banded about, and strict conventions governing modes of address are almost universally observed in India. Visitors will ask to see 'the master of the house'; a pupil will refer to 'Swamiji' or 'Mahatmaji', or 'Guruji'. A Hindu husband does not utter his wife's name, nor a wife her husband's, but they will either just say what they want without address, or will call out, 'O mother of Krishna' or 'Hey Rama's father.' Formerly during the baptismal rites a secret personal name used to be whispered into the child's ear, which would be conveyed only to father and grand-father of the child by the officiating priest, and would thus never be known to more than three or four persons. It was the child's talismanic, and inviolable name. According to Bodhayana 'Nakshatra' name should be kept secret and should be known to the parents only till the 'Upanayana Ceremony' of the child.

नक्षत्रनामधेयेन द्वितीय नामधेयं गुह्यम्

This name was thus closely connected with the person of the child and was not made public to keep away the evil eyes and harmful designs of enemies.

"Among many primitives a child was given a secret name in addition to the one he was publicly known by, in order to foil evil spirits. In some tribes it was forbidden to utter the king's name, in others, even words that sounded like his name were taboo. When former king Bossa Ahadi ascended the throne of Dahomey, in French West Africa, he made sure that no one pronounced his name by accident, even. He had everyone killed who was named Bossa.

4.14   Kashmiri Names
4.14.1   Male Names

Ancient Kashmiris had mainly one-worded names drawn from sanskrit language and literature. Even aboriginal names were preserved in a (See Sec. A 41) sanskritized form. An epithet like Gupt was sometimes added to the given name but it had in no case an independent existence. It was yoked with the given name in such a way that the two combined words would appear as one, e.g., 'Abhinavagupta.' One-worded personal names continued to be in vogue during the mediaeval period also. We have many famous names like, Kalhana, Bilhana, Srivara etc., available for ready reference. But the fashion of one-worded names seems to have lost its value when we come to pre-Independence era. Very rarely a single-worded given name is seen during this period. Every individual possessed a name having two parts. The first part being the name of a deity, God, a Puranic figure or even a saint followed by the second part which usually was represented by a word like Ram, Kakh, Chand etc., e.g., 'Sona Ram', 'Lassa Ram', 'Govind Ram', 'Nath Ram', ' Vassa Ram; 'Daya Ram', 'Shiv Ram', Juvan Ram', 'Kantha Ram', 'Sirij Ram', 'Soda Ram', 'Dasha Ram', 'Isha Ram', 'Kisha Ram' etc. Except with one or two names the word 'dasa' was added. It is quite contrary to the general practice, of expressing humility and complete subjection to the deity, followed in other parts of northern India. 'Kakh' was also very commonly used as the second part of a given name. It besides being the part of a given name is a 'Kram name' and also a term of respect and reverence Any elderly person was addressed as 'Kakh' e.g., 'Goonda Kakh', 'Lassa Kakh' etc. 'Kakh' was also used singally to address a dear and elderly member of the family. An elderly female in the family was called, similarly, as' Kakni.

During early forties till late fifties the word 'Nath' had a complete sway over the Kashmiri Pandit names. It was used as the second part of almost every Hindu name of Kashmir during this period. 'Nath' which means the master has been used very indiscriminately with all names coming from the names of gods, goddesses, Puranic figures, names of saints, inanimate objects and even sacred places. Thus 'Durga Nath', 'Master of the Goddess Durga'; 'Omkar Nath', 'Master of Om' (the mystic symbol of Hindus), 'Brij Nath', 'Master of the Brij Land', 'Dwarka Nath' 'Master of Dwarka', 'Prem Nath', 'Master of the love', 'Janaki Nath', 'Master of Janaki (Sita)'; 'Kailash Nath', 'Master of Kailash mountain (abode of Lord Shiva)', 'Prakash Nath', 'Master of the light'; 'Gopi Nath', 'Master of the Gopic (beloveds of Lord Krishna)', 'Hrady Nath' 'Master of the heart'; 'Pushkar Nath', 'Master of Pushka- (a sacred place of Brahma)', 'Maheshwar Nath'''Master of Lord Shiva', 'Triloki Nath', 'Master of the threeworlds''Raghu Nath', 'Master of the Raghukul'. This practice of adding the word 'Nath' is quite amazing and often amusing also. Imagine a 'Durga Nath' worshipping and flowing tears of devotion at the feet of goddess Durga with least idea that his very name is insulting and unrespectful for the goddess. 'Lal' was another important appendage, followed by 'Krishan', giving thus birth to names like Brij Lal, Girdhari Lal, Shyam Lal, Bansi Lal, Makhan Lal, Ramkrishen, Dayakrishen, Roopkrishen, Radhakrishen, etc.

During early sixtees, however, 'Nath', 'Lal' and 'Krishen' went to background and the word 'Kumar' got prominence as the second part of personal name. Names during this period were slightly modified. They were given a poetic touch and poetic words and expressions were borrowed from Hindi and Sanskrit literature to serve as the names of newly born babies. Rarely a name without 'Kumar' as its second part would fulfil the requirements of fashion of the day. Thus the names like 'Ashok Kumar', 'Kiran Kumar', 'Pawan Kumar', 'Raj Kumar', 'Anil Kumar', ' Vasant Kumar', 'Sharad Kumar', 'Sunil Kumar', 'Ajay Kumar', ' Vinod Kumar', 'Narender Kumar', 'Saneh Kumar' 'Sanjay Kumar' etc., became current among Kashmiri Hindus. But cycle of the names seems to have completed a full circle and again one-worded personal names have gained the popularity. Present Hindu names are derived mainly from ancient texts and mythical figures, besides literary expressions of the past. Accordingly Rahul, Siddartha, Dushyant, Amit, Ashwani, Navin, Sanjay, Ashu, Sanjeev, Pravin, Gaurav, Parikshit, Utpal, Kalhan and Bilhan have gained the currency and are very much prevalent these days.

4.14.2 Female Names

As regards the female names of Kashmir, they were one-worded during the remote past. However, during pre-Independence days 'Mal' (corrupt form of 'Mala') was usually, added to the given names of women. The first part of these names would generally be corrupted. form of a benedictory and beautiful Sanskrit word. Female names like 'Vyash Mal'-(Yasha Mala), 'Zai-Mal' (Jai Mala) Yambar Mal (Flower garland), Daya Mal, Zacha Mal (Shining garland), Ganga Mal (Garland of the Ganges), Arni Mal (Flower garland), Boni Mal (Chinar garland), Posh Mal (Pushpa Mala), Konga Mal (Saffron garland), Himal (Flower garland) were very common. Like Kakh (in male names) the word 'Ded' was generally used as an expression of reverence. Any elderly lady would be called as 'Ded'. Therefore, the names like 'Rop Ded', 'Zoon Ded', ' Yambar Ded', and 'Ranim Ded' were popular during those days. But with the coming of Independence and popularisation of female education, the word 'Devi' got appended with the female Hindu names of Kashmir. The given names still continued to be drawn from the names of deities, Puranic heroines and Sanskrit literary characters. Thus the names like 'Tulsi Devi', 'Roopa Devi', 'Lakshmi Devi' etc., gained the currency. The custom of changing the given name of a girl after her marriage continued to prevail. Therefore, the married women used to have slightly a different name from the virgins. The word 'Vati' seems to have been very popular as the second part of a married woman. During this period we see a large number of names like 'Somavati', 'Prabhavati', 'Padmavati', 'Durgavati', 'Dhanavati', 'Leelavati', 'Chandavati' 'Kamlavati' etc., being consistently used for married women. By and by the practice of using 'Devi' with a given name lost its ground and the word 'Kumari' caught the Pandit fancy. . Therefore, names like 'Nancy Kumari, 'Phoola Kumari', 'Santhosh Kumari', 'Beta Kumari,"Krishna Kumari' etc., became current. The given names 'Phoola' and 'Tosha' were so common that often the problem of homonyms would create difficulties. But the use of one worded female names is gaining ground very fast, and as in case of male names, benedictory and beautiful expressions are used as given names. Names of the heroines of yore, deities and classical characters are used in abundance as sources of given names for girls. We see names like ' Vasna', 'Priti',. 'Shakuntala', 'Geetika', 'Rekha', 'Anjali' etc., are most prevalent in present day Pandit community. As a matter of fact such bewildering names are now given to boys and girls which are hardly indicative of the sex of their owners. Names like 'Santosh' 'Preetu', 'Ashu' and many others are given to children of all the sexes.

4.15 Pure Kashmiri Names

A Kashmiri Pandit lady, in a sentimental appeal has called upon all Kashmiris to give pure Kashmiri names to their children. She writes, "my name is Poshkuj. It could be Pushpalata or even Kusam Lata, but I am Poshkuj because Kashmiri names fascinate me ...Pure Kashmiri names possess a greater appeal. To change Himal, Gonwati, Zoon, Sangarmal, Wanmal into Gunwati, Vanmala, Chandarkala or Sumanlata,, seems to me, ludicrous. A limitless treasure of names is hidden in our history and literature. Why are not they owned? However, I feel delighted to see many people having christened their children and houses like Pamposh, Abhinav and Shahzar, Zoondab, etc. Please continue with this trend. . .and select an attractive, beautiful and melodious Kashmiri name for your child."

Excerpts from:
Sociology of Names and Nicknames of India
With Special Reference to Kashmir
by Ram Krishen Kaul
Utpal Publications
Motiyar, Rainawari, Srinagar-3, Kashmir

5   Kashmiri Surnames

5.1   Origin

Although Kashmiris are said to be the true specimen of Aryan race, yet the last authoritative word about their origin has not been said so far. Scholars are divided on the question of the ancestry of Kashmiris. However, many Western and Indian scholars have argued that Kashmiri Pandits, without any doubt, belong to Aryan race. Pandit Anand Koul says, "it is certain that it (Kashmir) was a colony of Aryan immigrants from Central Asia. Their features and fair complexion be speak them of the inner Aryan race". Thompson is of the view that the Aryans were a long headed race of tall stature with narrow noses and fair complexion. Their purest representatives are found today mainly in Kashmir. Monier Williams declared the Kashmiri Pandits as the finest type of Aryan race. George Campbell says that the Kashmiris are quite High-Aryan in the type of their features - very fair and handsome, with high chiselled features, and no trace of inter-mixture of the blood of any lower race.

Our concern is not to dispute with the views of learned scholars quoted above but only to be acquainted with all shades of opinion and views. Mr. Bamzi is right when he says, "So far no ethnological survey of the Kashmiri people has been conducted, and we have only to depend upon superficial and general affinities which clearly point to their being physically allied to the people living in the region of Chitral, Gilgit, Afghanistan and Punjab. These Nodics who infiltrated into Kashmir are identical with the ancestors of the Dard speaking tribes, the Pisachas of the Sanskrit literature.

Legend clescribes the sage Kashyapa as the leader of colonisers of the valley. He is said to have under gone severe penances, killed the water demon of Satisara, drained out the stagnant water, and finally established a colony of his followers. Kashyapa, aithough an eminent Vedic Rishi, is said to have belonged to a non-Aryan stock. Even legend describes him "the father of all creatures including Nagas and Pisachas." The legend of Nilamata Purana describes in detail the stiff opposition and long controversy of Nagas and Pisachas to the Aryan immigrants. It would not be out of place to have a brief introduction with the Pisachas of yore who, if recent researches are any indication, might have been one among many of our ancestors.

5.2   Pisachas

Legend classifies them with fiends and evil spirits. The Vedas have placed them lower than the Rakshasas (Ogres), and amongst the most vile and noxious of beings. They are said to have been residing at cemeteries, devouring corpses and causing malignant diseases. Accounts differ as to their origin. The Brahmana and the Mahabharata say that they were created by Brahma, together with the Asuras and Rakshasas, from the stray drops of water which fell apart from the drops out of which gods, men, gandharvas etc., had been produced. According to Manu they sprang from the Prajapatis. In the Puranas they are represented as the offspring of Kashyapa by his wife Krodhavasa or Pisacha, or Kapisa.

The Nilamata describes them as friends of Daityas, dwelling in an Oasis, in the middle of the sea of sand. In Kashmir they lived under the leadership of Nikumba. As a result of Kashyapa's curse on the Nagas, the Pisachas occupied the valley of Kashmir for six months each year. This account refers to the human character of the Pisachas.

As already pointed out that they were the ancestors of the Dards, there is nothing to disbelieve that they, finding the climate of the valley warmer than the in hospitable regions of the North and East, came down to occupy the valley of Kashmir for the winter months. Mr. Bamzi quotes a statement of Drew to substantiate the theory of seasonal migration. "Further East (of Padar) across the glaciers lies the inaccessible country of Zanskar where the people and cattle live indoor for six months out of the year, where trees are scarce and food is scarcer. Farthest east is Rupshu, the lowest point of which is 13,500 feet. In Rupshu live the nomad champas, who are able to work in an air of extraordinary rarity and complain bitterly of the heat of Leh." And this is, perhaps, the only reason that they would leave the valley with the first sign of coming of Spring.

Although once held to be non-Aryan aboriginals, and usually assigned a home in the Vindhya regions, they are now believed to have been of Mongolian affinity. The Mahabharata refers to the north-west as their home; they are thought to have belonged to the region immediately, South of the Hindu Kush and may have been Scythians. They are described as reddish in appearance and as formidable opponents in war. The Rig-Veda records a prayer to Indra against them in the battle.

Their language Paisachi acquired fame through Gunadhya's tale, Brihat Katha, and their Pisacha form of marriage was recognised in the later Aryan social system. Their skill in Surgery was such that this science was referred to in the Gopatha Brahmana as the Pisacha Veda.

5.3   Panchagaudas

Geographically the Brahmanas are divided into two groups (i) Panchagaudas residing the north of Vindhyas and (ii) Pancha Dravidas residing south of the Vindhyas. The Panchagaudas consist of Kanyakubja, Sarasvata, Gauda, Mithala and Utkala branches, whereas Pancha Dravidas consist of the Mahavashtriyan, Telgu, Dravida Karnataka and Malabar branches.

5.4   Sarasvats

Kashmiri Pandits, with a few exceptions, belong to the category of Sarasvat Brahmans. There is also a Vaisya caste, but it is very small in number and is found only in some towns. However, classifying them as a Vaisya caste is disputed by many. They claim themselves to be the descendants of purest of Brahmanas. There is, according to Prof. Madan, some divergence of views regarding the Sarasvats of other parts of India and Kashmir being one single caste. Some of his infolmants claim that Kashmiri Brahmanas are distinct from others linking their caste to the goddess Sarasvati, while according to Mr Madan, Sarasvats as a whole derive their name from the river Sarasvati. He further refers to Jatimala where Sarasvats and Kashmiri Brahmans are mentioned separately, and at the same time refers to the Sarasvat Brahmans of Western coast claiming their descent from Kashmiri Brahmans. So far as the separate mention of Kashmiri and Sarasvat Brahmans is concerned it does not prove that the Kashmiri Brahmans belong to some non-Sarasvat caste. It is a matter of cross classification only. A Maharashtrian, a Gujrati or a Punjabi can belong to both the categories of Sarasvat and Maharashtrian, Gujrati or Punjabi Brahmans. Further modern scholars believe that Sarasvati river and the goddess Sarasvati are, in fact, only one entity, the latter having originated from the myth surrounded over the former. It may, therefore, be necessary to peep through the mist of myth and legend to find out their real identity and mutual relationship.

5.5   Sarasvati River

In the Mahabharata the Rishi Sarasvata is represented as being, the son of the personified river Sarasvati. In a time of great drought he was fed with fish by his mother and so was enabled to keep up his knowledge of the Vedas, while other Brahmans were reduced to such straits for the means of subsistance that study was neglected and the Vedas were lost. When the drought was over, the Brahmans flocked to him for instruction from him. "This legend" says, Wilson "appears o indicate to revival, or, more probably, the introduction of the Hindu ritual by the race of Brahmans, or the people called Sarasvats", who dwelt near the Sarasvati river.

5.6   Sarasvati Goddess

Sarasvati has been described primarily a river, in the Vedas, but is celebrated in hymns both as a river and a deity. As a river goddess, she is lauded for fertilising and purifying powers of her waters, and as the bestower of fertility, fatness and wealth. Her position as Vach, the goddess of speech, finds no mention in the Rig-Veda, but is recognised by the Brahmanas and the Mahabharata. Dr Muir endeavours to account

for her acquisition of this character. He says, "when once the river had acquired a divine character, it was quite natural that she should be regarded as the patroness of the ceremonies which were celebrated on the margin of her holy waters and that her direction and blessing should be invoked as essential to their proper performance and success. The connection into which she was thus brought with sacred rites may have led to the further step of imagining her to have an influence on the composition of the hymns which formed so important a part of the proceedings, and of identifying her with Vach, the goddess of speech".

5.7   Religious Practices

It is thus clear, that the Sarasvats of Kashmir are in no way different from the Sarasvats of plains, so far as their origin is concerned. But there is a wide difference in their religious beliefs and social customs. The earliest inhabitants of Kashmir, probably, cherished some aboriginal beliefs the details of which are not traceable now, the Naga worship being one of them. After the fall of Buddhism, in Kashmir, the Shaivism with all the vigour was re-introduced. Though exact date and circumstances leading to the introduction of Shaivism in the valley are shrouded in a mystery, yet the archaeologists have discovered traces of Shiva worship to the remote past. "It is not known, whether the Shiva of Kashmir was an immigrant from the neighbouring Indus valley or was of local origin. The conception of Rudra-Shiva of the Vedic Aryans perhaps might have had some influence on the development and early growth of Shaivism in the valley. . . whatever might have been the origin of Shaivism in Kashmir there is no doubt that Shiva as a popular deity was widely worshipped in the valley from a remote past." Early Shaivism was of the Pasupati cult. Mahabharata states that the doctrine of Pasupata was preached first by Shiva Srikantha. He was regarded in the valley as the promulgator of Shivagama or Agamanta Shaivism which included within itself system of Pasupata. Pasupati is one of many names of Rudra, who is believed to be the 'lord of creatures'. Kashmiris have been, thus, worshipping the Lord Shiva in the form of Maha Rudra, the Lord of all Rudras.

5.8   Rudra

Rudra has been defined as a 'howler or roarer; the terrible', 'the rudy one'. In the Vedas Rudra has many attributes and many names. He is the howling terrible god, the god of storms, the father of the Rudras or Maruts and is sometimes identified with the god of fire. On the one hand, he is a destructive deity who brings diseases upon men and cattle, and upon the other he is a beneficent deity supposed to have a healing influence. These are the germs which afterwards developed into the god Siva. It is worthy of note that Rudra is first called Maha-deva in the white Yajurveda. As applied to the god Shiva, the name of Rudra generally designates him in his destructive character.

In the Brihadaranyakaupanishada the Rudras are the vital breaths (Praa), the heart (Manas) being the eleventh. Their number is often discrepently given as three, seven, or eleven, sometimes even more. ln some legends, the Rudras are the seven manifestations of the god Rudra. According to the vishnupurana, Rudra sprang from a drop of blood which fell into the fire when Brahma once scratched himself as he wiped the perspiration from his brow with a piece of sacrificial wood. Brahma commanded Rudra to divide himself into male and female, then to multiply into eleven beings, and of these some were black and ferocious and some white and gentle. They were (i) Mrigvyadha, (ii) Sarpa, (iii) Nirriti, (iv) A Jaikapada, (v) Ahirbudhnya, (vi) Pinakin, (vii) Dahana, (vii) Kapalin, (Skull holding, a name also given to Shiva), (ix) Sthanu, (x) Bhaga and (xi) Tryambaka. In other legends again the eleven Rudras are the sons of the rishi Kashyapa by Surabhi.

Yet another legend relates that a Brahmin desired a son, and a youth appeared to him. When the Brahmin asked his name the youth wept and the Brahman named him Rudra, 'weeper'. The lad wept seven times more and was given seven more names: Bhava, Sarqa, Isana, Pashupati, Bhima, Ugra, Mahadeva.

Rudra's essential importance lies in the fact that in later mythology he evolved into Shiva and grew to great prominence in the Hindu Pantheon. Generally the name Rudra when applied to Shiva denotes Shiva's destructive character.

5.9   Sakti Worship

Besides worshipping Lord Shiva in his Rudra form, Kashmiri Pandits are devout worshippers of the Sakti, the consort of Shiva. Each family alleges its devotion and allegiance to one of the three manifestations of the goddess Durga e.g., Sharika, Ragiya and Jawala. Various religious rites performed by the Pandits of Kashmir are said to be according to Charanaia Kathka School. The Sutras of Laguksha follow this school and guide all the rites from birth to death. Moreover, certain aboriginal beliefs and practices like, Yaksha Puja, Daittya Puja etc., are also observed strictly. Census report of 1911 refers Kashmiri Pandits as Shakites or Tantrikas and later Western scholars have also referred to a host of Tantarik practices being followed by them. Tantara is said to be a later religious development. Prominence is given to the female energy of the deity, his active nature being personified in the person of his Sakti. Tantaras are generally devoted to one of the manifold forms of Devi, the Sakti of Shiva, "Devi, as the Sakti of Shiva, is the especial energy concerned with sexual intercourse and magical powers". The Tantaric worship of Kashmiris seems to have been more influenced by the Vamachar than by the Dakshanachar (a more decent form). Speaking satirically about the performance of the Brahmanas, Kshemendara writes, "Being addicted to Vamachar, bent upon taking wine; having set at naught the piety of his clan, with a plate of fish meat in his hand; he comes reading for scriptures".

However, the Tantaric practices in Kashmir, in spite of being Vamachari, did not degenerate to such a low level as they did elsewhere in India. Dayanand Saraswati, speaking on Garwal Tantaras, writes that incest even with mothers, daughters, sisters and low-born maids of outcastes was practised. Worship of gods was done in a perfectly nude state. Madhya (liquor), Meena (fish), Mans (flesh), Mudra (naked worshipping) and Maithuna (sexual intercourse) were considered as the best means of salvation.

5.10   Social Organisation

Socially Kashmiri Pandits are divided into 199 exagamous sections (gotras). The founders of these gotras are said to be some Rishis or an inspired saint. The social prestige of a group used to be determined by the spiritual superiority of the founder of the group (i.e., gotra). But in reality the social position is determined by the occupation followed by a certain family. An occupation promising better material prospects, leaving aside certain 'dagi' occupations to which an unreasonable hatred has been developed through generations, command more social respect and prestige. A fast reformation is taking place in the Pandit outlook of occupations. Government Service, till recently, was considered to be the best of all. But with the rapid growth of industries and private sector, and also the indirect restrictions imposed on Government Service for Pandits, they are increasingly flocking towards private sector. Moreover, the private sector employment promises better avenues of promotion and reward of the talent. Various Government enactments and labour laws have made these private sector jobs more secure than even the Government jobs. Trade and commerce are also now preferred to the Government jobs and age-old apathy is giving way to more and more enthusiasm to enter those fields. Development of tourism and allied industries has brought this welcome change in their age-old rusted thinking. However, old habits died hard and it will take another one or two generations to emancipate them fully from the old prejudices and complexes.

5.11   Gotras

Brahmanas all over India considered themselves superior to all other castes and creeds. They prided on their divine origin. It is said that once a Brahmana was performing a sacrifice, there came forth from it the Seven Rishis - Bhrign, Angiras, Marichi, Atri, Paulaha, Pulastya and Vasistha. The Brahmanical sects

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were likewise supposed to derive their origin from seven Rishis, though not exactly the seven just named of whom the fifth, Paulaha, brought forth demons (Raksasas), and the sixth, Pulastya, devils (Pisachas), while the seventh Vasistha, died and appeared again as a descendant of Marichi. Then, as Bhrign and Angiras, owning to their mythical character, could not properly be represented as founders of families, their place is taken in the Brahmanical theory by other three ancestors, Bhrign being superseded by Jamadagni, and the Angiras by Gautaina and Bhardvaja. In the Satpatha Brahmana, accordingly the seven Rhisis enumerated as ancestors are Gautama, Bhardvaja, Visvamitra, Jamadagni, Vasistha, Kashyapa and Atri. To these traditions add an eighth, Agastya, and thus the Brahmanical clans (Gotras) are in reality traced to eight ancestors. These rank as Gotrakarins - the founders of numerous Brahmanical families, and their descendants are the various gotras.

5.12 Number of Gotras

There has been a considerable difference of opinion regarding the exact number of gotras at a given time. Mahabharata restricts their number to four only. But Bodhyana raises the number to eight. He, at the same time, describes their number in crores with forty-nine Pravaras. He recognises the descendants of Visvamitra, Jamadagni, Bhardvaja, Gautama, Atri, Vasistha, Kashyapa, and Agastya as the real gotras. A pravara contains three or five most ancient (Mantardrashta) rishis like eight gotra founders. Modern scholars are also not having any unanimity of views regarding the number of gotras. Mr. Rao holds that the original eight families of Gotrakarins were supplemented by ten more and that the latter consisted of Brahmanas who had for a time followed the vocations of Kshatriyas and had become Brahmins again, regarding

विश्वामित्रो जगदग्नि भरद्वाजा गौतमः।
अत्रिर्वसिष्ठः कश्यप इत्येते सप्त ऋषयः
सप्तानां ऋषीणामगस्त्याष्टमानांयदपत्यं तद् गोत्रमित्युच्यते॥

themselves as descended either from Bhrign or from Angiras. Mr. Venkatarama states the number of Rhisis as seven. Four of them are human beings. But eighteen groups arose out of these four ...Ten out of eighteen families were of the Ksatriya origin. Bhrgu took into his fold four Ksatriyas who were also makers of hymns. "Kashmiri Brahmins are said to have originaly belonged to only six gotras, viz., Dattatreya, Bhardwaja, Paledeva, Mudgalya and Dhaumyayana. By intermarriage with other Brahmins the number of gotras multiplied to 199." Census Report of 1911 states the number of gotras of Kashmiri Pandits to be 133 and describes them the direct descendant of Kashyapa Rishi. There is a note in the margin saying that the original gotras did not exceed six and the remaining 127 gotras came into existence due to intermixture with other Brahmans. Mr. Ganjoo does not agree with the remarks of Census report of 1911. He states, "this is a very sweeping remark which is not corroborated by any historical fact. Each and every Kashmiri Brahman traces his descent from a particular Rishi or inspired saint whose name they bear as their own Gotra. Kashyapa was one of the Rishis who made the valley habitable and Kashmiri Brahmans do not believe to have descended from him."

5.13 Rishi

It would not be out of place to have a brief introduction with the real character of some of the Gotrakarin Rishis and the role they played in the social life of yore. The origin of the term 'Rishi' is not certain. Some derive it from the term Ras, 'Yell', while others consider it to have originated from a word meaning 'flow'. In Sanskrit literature, the term is applied to a Sage, Patriarch, Cellestial Poet, Wizard and Mage, and in general a rishi was an elder possessed of extraordinary power and wisdom.

Puranas describe him as a lover of solitude living in a forest or a mountain either alone or with a small group consisting of his family and disciples. His home was known as an 'Ahrama'.

5.14 Kinds

Several kinds of rishis are distinguished, such as Prajapati, Saptrishi, Siddamanu, Natha, Pitri, and so on. These designations are sometimes used inter- changeably, and a Maharishi, may be a Prajapati or Saptrishi or a Brahma Rishi. Our study being limited to Brahmans, a brief introduction of Brahmarishi may be given.

5.15 Brahmarishi

The Brahma created sages, also called the Divja-Rishis, (twice born Sages). They are the reputed founders of the Brahman gotras. Brahmarishis figure prominently in the community system of brahmin families. There is a great deal of inconsistency about them. They are variously and confusingly listed in Brahmanas, Epics and Puranas, but seven or eight traditional Brahmarishis are generally named from among the following: Agastya (non-Aryan in name and appearance): Angiras (either Persian or Dravidian); Attri (tribal priest of out c:aste races); Bhardvaja: Bhirgu (founder of Bhargavas); Jamadagni: Kanva, Kashyapa (non-Aryan progenitor of pre-Aryan tribes): Vasistha; Marichi, Pulastya; Pulaha; Kratu; Gautama.

5.16 Character

Many rishis are born in extra-ordinary circumstances. In origin the rishis came from diverse stock. Some were Brahmans; many were of pre-Aryan, native origin. A few rishis used their power for good, and their presence removed diseases or drought. But as rule they were a thoroughly irascible lot and unrelenting in their vengeance. The rishis' wrath is a favourite theme in Sanskrit literature.

5.17 Bhardvaja

A Rishi to whom many Vedic hymns are attributed. He was the son of Brahaspati and father of Drona, the preceptor of the Pandavas. The Taittiriya Brahmana says that "he lived through three lives" (Probably meaning a life of great length), and that he became immortal and ascended to the heavenly world, to union with the Sun". In the Mahabharata he is represented as living at Hardwar; in the Ramayana he received Rama and Sita in his hermitage at Prayaga, which was then and afterwards much celebrated. According to some of the Puranas and the Hari-vansa, he became by gift or adoption the son of King Bharata, and an absurd story is told about his birth to account for his name: His mother, the wife of Utathya, was pregnant by her husband and by Brihaspati. Dirgha-tamas, the son of her husband, kicked his half brother out of the womb before his time, when Brihaspati said to his mother, 'Bhara-dwa-Jam' 'cherish this child of two fathers'.

5.18 Mudgala

A Vedic Rishi from whom the Mudgalya Brahmans sprang. There were several other Brahmans named Mudgala. A Sage of this name is recorded in the Mahabharata to have "lived a life of poverty, piety and self-restraint, offering hospitality to thousands of Brahmans, according to his humble means, with the grain which he gleaned like a pigeon, and which never under went diminution, or rather increased again, when it was required." The choleric sage Durvasa went to test the patience of Mudgala, and six times devoured all the food which his host possessed without ruffling his temper. Durvasa in his admiration declared that Mudgala would go bodily to heaven, and the messenger of the gods arrived with his heavenly car. The sage, before accepting the invitation, desired to be informed of the joys and ills of heaven. After hearing a full explanation, he found that the enjoyments of heaven must come to a close, so he declared that he "had no desire for heaven, and would seek only that eternal abode where there is no

sorrow, nor distress, nor change." He dismissed the messenger of the gods, and began to practise ascetic virtues, becoming indifferent to praise and blame, regarding clod, gold, stones, and gold as alike. Pure knowledge led to fixed contemplation; and that again imparted strength and complete comprehension, whereby he obtained supreme eternal perfection in the nature of quietude (Nirvana.)

5.19 Dattatriya

He is a trinity in unity of Brahma, Visnu and Siva, representing the principles of creation, sustenance, and dissolution of the Universe. He is a son of Atri and Ansuya. He had three sons, Soma, Datta and Durvasas, to whom also a portion of the divine essence was transmitted. He was the patron of Kartavirya, and gave him a thousand arms.

Pandit Dinanath Madan has published a fanciful story about the origin of Dattatriya in Bahari Kashmir. Its Urdu version has been included by Mr. Fauq in his 'Twarikhi Akwami Kashmir' as follows:
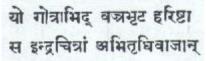
"Varsha Attri was a famous Sanskrit scholar living in a village of Baramullah, much before the war of Mahabharata. His famous book 'Attri Dharma Sastra' is still available in the country. He had three sons, Dattatriya, Durvasa and Soma. Dattatriya is a combination of two words, Datt plus Attriya. Attri along with his wife, once went on a pilgrimage to the Central India, and reached to a place known as Chitrakot. Those were the days of Lord Rama's exile. It is at this place that he had the privilege of being Sri Rama's guest.

Dattatriya received his initial education in Kashmir, but with the coming of youth, he like his father left his home touring and travelling Northern India. There are a number of places in Central and Western India where he is supposed to have stayed for sometime. He met Parasar Rishi and Vamadeva at Badrak Ashram in the Himalayas. Maharaja Prahlad and Yadvan had the privilege of receiving his Upadesha.

Dattatriya had a huge and powerful body and lived for a long time. He had many sons. His descendants are Kouls of Kashmir settled in and outside the valley Dattatriya Brahmans are found in Maharashtra and Deccan also. They are also his descendants. They are generally called Marhatta Brahmins but the word Dattatriya is written as a prefix to their names."

5.20 Gotras in Vedas

Reference to the word Gotra in the Vedic literature is very infrequent. Rigveda refers to it only at a few places and among them it has been referred to as a mountain and a cloud, at four places. Gotra has mostly heen used in prayers to Indra. There is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding the real connotation of the word 'gotra' as used in the Vedas. Some consider it as a 'cowshed' while others connect it with a group. "The use of word Gotra in the

यो गोत्राभिद् वज्रभृट हरिष्टा
स इन्द्रचित्रां अभितृधिवाजान्

Vedas has not been made in its current connotation. It often stood for a cowshed or group". The earliest reference to its usage in the modern sense is found in Chhandogyaupanisada, where an Acharya (teacher) asks the name of gotra of Safyakama". Institution of gotras had been fully established by the time of Buddha, because Buddhist and Jaina literature makes frequent references to it.

5.21 Sociological Meaning

Ancient battles were not fought to establish a power balance between different nations, but were on the other hand fought for seizure of good pastures and grazing grounds. Lifting away of cattle was also a common phenomenon. Naturally the 'cowsheds' were guarded with great care and these 'cowsheds' took the form of forts. Inmates of a certain cowshed were later on called the members of that particular 'gotra'

(cowshed). One who possessed more number of cattles assumed the leadership of the gotra. Visvamitra, Vasistha etc., were in fact the big cowherds, who later on became the founders of different gotras. Some outsiders were also allowed to graze their cattle in these pastures and with the passing of time they were also known by the name of the gotra under which they had taken shelter. This did not mean that they were one of the descendants of Yisvamitra or Vasistha, but having lived very close to them they developed a sense of kinship towards that gotra.

"In ancient times Indian family, even when - in consequence of its numerical increase - its property had been greatly subdivided, would still continue to use and occupy jointly the land reserved for grazing cattle, and we may, therefore, conclude it is said, that the Brahmanical Gotra was in its origin - simply a community of this kind i.e. a family whose members enjoyed joint rights in a particular pasturage". Ganjoo disagreeing with this hypothesis says that it does not account for most characteristic features of the gotra, which in fact, can be explained only by comparison with the Gots of the aboriginal tribes in India.

5.22 Intermarriages

Marriage between the members of same gotra has been disallowed by most of the Hindu Law-givers. Aryans made it obligatory to marry within one's own caste but not the gotra. Marriages within the same gotra were not prohibited in India alone but were looked down upon in other parts of the world too. Wherever the gotra system was not in vogue, the tottem of the tribe was brought into use to separate one group from the other. Origin of this practice of prohibiting marriage within the same gotra is shrouded in mystery. Diverse views have been forwarded by many scholars as the probable reasons. Some scholars believe that the number of girls was less than the number of boys in ancient times. This led to forbidding of intermarriage within same gotra. Others hold that this practice came into vogue to stop the free sex within a tribe, but many believe the absence of mutual sexual attraction among the members of the same clan to be a probable reason. Etkinson believes that the chief of a tribe in ancient world, used to reserve every young girl of the tribe for his own use, compelling, thus, the young men of the tribe to find their brides outside the tribe. This became a practice in the long run. The more palusible reasons have been forwarded by Dr. Pande who says that the youngmen of a tribe would go to distant lands in search of pastures and other means of livelihood, which brought them into direct contact with girls of other tribes. Thus giving birth to a system of inter-gotra marriage, which won the public approval in the long run." Manu recommends to a twice-born boy only such a girl who is not related by blood on her mother's side, and does not belong to the same gotra on his father's. Apastamba forbades a father to give his daughter to a man of the same gotra as himself, while Gautama and Vasistha permit marriage only between those who have not the same Pravara. The principle of 'same gotra' is very seldom observed in the marriages of Kashmiri Pandits nowadays. However, the principle of Sapindi is still respected by all. Practically the prohibition of marriage between the members of same gotra is an anachronism. Numerically the Pandit community being very small, the forbidding of 'Sagotra' marriages will create many social problems than solve any of them.

5.23 Brahmanism in Ancient Kashmir

Pandits of Kashmir, popularly known as 'Bhatta' all belong to Brahrmana 'Varana'. Bhatta is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Bhariri which means 'scholar', 'doctor' or the same as Pandit. Caste system of ancient Kashmir included in itself besides four Varnas many castes and sects such as Chandala, Bomba, Damara, Nishada, Kirata, Kayastha and Tantrin, etc. That the casteism in Kashmir was much more flexible than in other parts of India is proved beyond doubt by Kalhana's Raj Tarangini. Brahmans were the uppermost caste of the valley. The origin of Brahmanism in Kashmir is not very clear, but there is ample evidence to show that a large majority of them consisted of the immigrants from the plains of India. "Abhinavagupta and Bilhana's ancestors were Madhyadesi Brahmanas whereas the ancestors of Abhinanda . . . hailed from Gawda... The earliest inscriptional reference of the Brahmanas occur in the edict of Asoka, where they

have been mentioned as one of the most important classes among the population of the Maurya empire. Since the valley of Kashrnir was included within Ashokas empire, it is not quite unlikely that the Brahmana's from other parts of India had come to live in Kashmir by the time of Ashoka The Raj Tarangini refers to Brahmanas who had come to Kashmir from Aryadesa. The descendants of these immigrants seem to have composed the bulk of Brahmana population of Kashmir.

5.24 Buhur

Present Hindu population of Kashmir camprises of, besides Pandits, one or two minority groups viz., Buhur and Purbi. The origin of Buhrs and Purbis is not certain. Many contradictory theories have been advanced. Lavrence describes Buhrs to be of Khatri origin, while many Pandits maintain that they are the descendants of those Pandits who lost their caste during the Muslim rule. Many others believe them to be the traders of Punjab who came to settle down in Kashmir along with other Kashmiris during the benevolent rule of Zainulabdin. Census report of 1891 states that their customs and habits prove them the sons of soil of Kashmir. Buhr's consider themselves to be the true specimen of Kashmiri Pandits belonging to Malmasi division. They declare their gotras as following: Bharadwaj, Vasistha, Kapil, Shandli etc. Mr. Fauq while quoting Alberoni and Secretary Buhra Sudhar Sabha, says that a group of Kashmiri Pandits, used to go to the plains of India for trade, during the Hindu rule. Naturally they would interdine with the non-Kashmiri Hindus. This religious unorthodoxy was resented to by the Pandits and a complaint was lodged with the King. The King is said to have declared these traders a separate community by the name of 'Bakshar', which in the long-run took the form of Buhur. Mr. T. N. Madan holds the view that their "Khatri origin is more probable as the Bohra are found only in Urban areas and their traditional occupation is trade and shopkeeping. In fact the word Buhur is often used in Kashmir in the sense of a grocer". Pandit Anand Koul calls them by the name of Lejbhetta. He says, "during the Mohammadan rule some Brahmins were given option to either submit to the sword or take food prepared by a Musalman. They naturally quivered at the prospect of death and unwillingly accepted the later alternative, but in their anguish to reduce the pollution to its minimum, made the Musalman cook boil rice in a new lej or earthen pot and when ready they took the lej with their own hands and reluctantly ate it. They afterwards expaciated for the forcible pollution by performing Prayaschitta but still the Biradari, who were punctilious as ever, ostracised them". Their descendants are called Lej Bhettas because their ancestors having taken food cooked by a Mohammadan in a lej. Bohars on the other hand claim that their parents had to feign themselves as Muslims under compelling circumstances and these fake Muslims gave refuge to the traditional eleven families of Pandits, who later on belonged to Malmasi division. These fake Muslims came back to their original religion as soon as congenial political atmosphere was restored, but look at the irony of the fate, the saviours of a community were declared outcastes by the short-seighted and fanatic members of the same community.

However, the Buhurs are being gradually assimilated into Pandit culture. Inter-dining has become a common feature but the inter-marriages are still an exception rather than the rule.

5.25 Purbi

Another minority group among Hindus of Kashmir is known as Purbi. They have been described as a Sambo Caste, having come into existence either by Anuloma or Pratiloma form of marriage. Pandit Anand Koul calls them an illegitimate offspring of a Brahmana and a Khatri couple. It is too harsh to call them illegitimate. The Pratiloma and Anuloma form of marriages are well recognised by ancient law-givers. Their offspring can by no means be illegitimate. Prof. Madan, however is of the view, which seems to be more correct, that they are descendants of those immigrant Brahmanas who came to Kashmir from Chamba valley in the East Punjab several hundred years ago. They used to prefix the word 'Pandit' to their names, as would be done by Bhattas themselves.

5.26 Gor and Kar Kun

With the ascendance of Zain-UI-ab-din to the throne of Kashmir, the tide of communalism and fanaticism subsided, opening a new era of peace and progress. Hindus were freed from the shackles of Jazia and other disabilities were removed. Pandits, thus, started to reorganise and rehabilitate themselves. "By now the Persian had become the official language. The desire to share office with others could not be fulfilled without a study of Persian. The Brahmans took to the study of Persian and in a brief span of a few years they acquired a mastery over this language. But the Sanskrit learning and their religious ceremonies were not forgotten because this was the only distinctive feature to keep them alive as a separate group...The caste was divided further into two sub-castes, the Karkuns and the Basha Bhattas (Gor), the former included amongst its fold those who studied Persian and entered Government service and the latter those who studied Basha i.e., Sanskrit and took charge of the religious affairs of the community. But how was the division of labour to be made? It was decided that a daughter's son of a person should be made a Basha Bhatta to administer to the religious needs of his maternal grandfather's family. The arrangement was simple enough as it began involving no loss of status to the Basha Bhatta, but in course of time this arrangement became responsible for the creation of two distinct classes with a distinctive culture and mode of life and habits with the result though there is no legal or religious bar, yet the two classes seldom inter-marry these days . . .The rise and fall of the Karkun made a corresponding increase or decrease in Basha Bhatta's economic position.." Socially, because of their economic dependence upon them (Karkuns), they (Gor) in course of time came to be looked down upon by the Karkuns."

Karkun Pandits being economically well off have become arrogant and status conscious. Though outward reverence is shown to a Gor, yet he is considered inauspicious and greedy. After Independence, an increasing number of Gors have been opting for Government and other secular jobs. English education instead of Sanskrit education has caught their fancy. This has decreased the number of professional Gors alarmingly. That time may not be far away when a Karkun Pandit will have either to learn the religious scriptures himself, or will have to fare goodbye to all the Karma Kanda for ever.

5.27 Pandits

Some Karkuns, during Sikh rule, are said to have rededicated themselves to the study of Sanskrit and religion, without taking up the priestly duties. They were called Pandits. Those who were well-versed in astrology and drew up calendars and almanacs were known as Jyotshi. Presiding priest of Shiva Worship were called Gurrins and receivers of alms and offerings at the funeral of a Karkun were called as Panyechh. They were untouchables both for a Karkun and a Gor and were found to be in the city of Srinagar alone.

5.28 Banamasi and Malamasi

The oppressive Muslim rule failed to teach any worthwhile lesson to Kashmiri Pandits. As soon as the normalcy was restored and the self-exiled Pandits began to re-habilitate themselves in the valley they (Pandits) divided themselves again into two groups viz., Malamasi and Banamasi. Socially this division uas inconsequential, still it was adopted to indicate the immigrants and those who did not leave the valley. The Malamasi Pandits follow the lunar calendar and the Banamasis observe the solar months. This has given birth to the absurd practice of observing two Shiv Ratris, two Janmashtamis etc., a phenomenon unknown to rest of India.

5.29 Surnames

The use of surnames in ancient Kashmir is negligible, Present Kashmiri surnames have more or less evolved during the Muslim and Sikh rule. It is stated that almost all the Kashmiri Pandits were Koul's and they were later on subdivided according to different nicknames and with the passage of time, these

nicknames became permanent surnames. There seems to be some truth in this statement primarily because all the Kashmiri Pandits are Shaivites and Mahakoul is one of the names of Lord Shiva, and secondly because the number of nicknames even now attached with the surname Koul is largest of all. Moreover, in recent years the use of nicknames is being progressively discarded and the surname Koul is being adopted more than any ther surname by almost all such people.

Excerpts from:
Sociology of Names and Nicknames of India
With Special Reference to Kashmir
by Ram Krishen Kaul
Utpal Publications
Motiyar, Rainawari, Srinagar-3, Kashmir

6   Nicknames

6.1   Lovers

A nickname, says Hazlitt, is the hardest stone that the devil can throw at a man, yet the Kashmiris have shown the unparalleled endurance to bear this hardest stone Pleased with their 'devotion' he (Mr. Devil) seems to have gifted this stone to them (Kashmiri) for ever. Love of nicknames is mixed in the blood of Kashmiris, nay, they have nurtured this art with their blood, for generations together. They give it without asking for and make full use of ordinary events, actions, habits and even physical feature of persons to coin new and newer nicknames. Raja Tarangini is full of references of nicknames. Shalok I6I of Sixth Taranga uses the word Kankanavarsa, which is a nickname given to a person. Yudhishthira, a king of Kashmir, was on account of his small eyes nicknamed as the 'blind Yudhishthir'. At one place, an aspirant to the throne was nicknamed as lame. The verse reads, "what is his fitness for the throne, who keeps awake during the nights being addicted to sexual pleasures and sleeping by day, is marred by his inability to get up and has therefore obtained the nickname of 'the Lame' " A certain king was nicknamed for having fallen in love with a lady. "As his mind became absorbed in Didda, the daughter's daughter of Sahi, the king came to be known by the humiliating epithet of Diddaksama."A merchant is said to have carried in the lap a black cat (pet). He bore the designation of a cat merchant which relegated his proper name to oblivion. Kalhan further reports that the furious tribe of Damras once nicknamed their master as snow king. For they believed that he can occupy the throne only after snow melts.

6.2   Humour

Kashmiris never lose their sense of humour. Even adversity has not killed their instinct of humour. It has on the other hand, sharpened it to boost their morale and love of boisterous life. Hamidullah, a resident of remote meadow village of Nobog Nai, has not only exposed the ruthless Sikh bureaucracy of Kashmir in his Bebujnamah, but has proved himself a caricaturist par excellence as well as a non-conformist as for as Sikh administrative system was concerned. This work contains allegorical names and characters. "It is steeped in symbolism depicting the glaring traits of bureaucracy under Sikh rulers from the Patwari upto the Nazim or Governor. According to the author, the whole lot of them was responsible for all sorts of the sufferings of the peasantry, especially their aim being simply to grease their own palms and to sustain Sikh power by force. The significance of the names he has coined for prominent members of the bureaucracy in the Revenue Department, such as, 'Kazibrathar' for Qanungo; 'Adawat Koul' for Patwari; 'Fasad Bhat' for Harkara, 'Rishwat Baba', for Qazi, can better be guessed than described. Similarly to describe the state of general administration, he introduces characters like 'Gurez Singh' for Mir Shamshere; 'Adbar Singh', for Mir. Bakshi; 'Shahmat Singh' for Chief Police Officer, 'Mafajat Qulli' for Chief Cavalry Officer, 'Rahzan Bandey', for Chamberlian, 'KhalaJat Razdan', for Munsif; 'Tawan Koul', for Amil,' 'Nuqsan Thaplu', for mutasaddi, 'Dewali Dass', for chief storekeeper of grains; and 'Chughl Beg', for news reporter. They are glaring illustrations. The selection of these names as their meanings show, represents the basic characteristics of the holders of the public office. While talking about allegories, we must not forget to mention that Master Caricaturist of ancient Kashmir, Kshemendra, who has in a lyrical language exposed a Kayastha, a prostitute, a Brahmana and many others. His 'Narmala and ' desopdesa ' are available in a printed form.

6.3   Aversion

It may not be right to say that Kashmiris have never shown an aversion to the nicknames. Pandit Anand Koul has quoted a classical example of resistance shown against a nickname by a poor Pandit whose name was 'Vasadev'. He had a mulberry tree in his courtyard, and was, therefore, called Vasadev Tul. Tul being the Kashmiri name of mulberry. In order to get rid of this nickname he cut down the mulberry tree. But a Mond (trunk) remained and he was called, ' Vasadev Mond'. Irritated Pandit immediately removed the trunk; and a Kkud (depression) was caused and henceforth he was known as 'Vasadev Khud'.

Continuing his battle against nickname givers he got the depression filled up and the ground became a Teng (a little elevated). Thus he was re-nicknamed as 'Vasadev Teng'. He had, however, to give in before the limitless arrows in the quiver of nickname givers and accepted gracefully his latest nickname, which has become a family name of his progeny.

6.4   Permanent

Kashmiri's never forget a nickname once coined for a particular person, even if he makes all the amends in his behaviour, which had served as the source of his nickname. A certain gentleman by name of Karim was once found uralking bare-footed in the street. He was instantly called 'Karim Nanvor' (i.e., Karima the bare-footed). He is reported to have later on put on very attractive and fashionable shoes. But people will only whisper "Look! Look! how beautiful shoes have 'Karim Nanvoroo' put on!". Another incident commonly related is that of an unfortunate family which gave a dinner party on some occasion of happiness. But the cook employed for preparing the dishes is reported to have spoiled all the dishes and a strange smell (Fakh) was found coming out of all the preparations. Thus the family was nicknamed as Fakh (dirty smell). The head of the house, in order to get rid of the contemptuous appelation, gave a luncheon to the members of his Biradari. Every dish was prepared cautiously and under strict supervision of an expert cook. The party was a grand success. But the plight of the head of the family can better be imagined than described, when he overheard two men conversating 'Yar, these Fakhs have this time given really a grand party!'

The arrows of nicknames do not make a difference between a richman and poorman, a gentleman and a rogue. It hits its target with no consideration of caste, creed, or sex. A pious saint was nicknamed as Zanana Zoi, for the devout women surrounded him all the time. A Pandit by name of Maheshwar Nath was called Maheshwar Mahlami, because he used to distribute free of cost an ointment to the needy. The ointment in Kashrniri means Malham. Another devout Pandit used to bathe and worship his Saligram everyday and would throw the flowers and water of pooja in the Jehlum river, early in the morning. He was nicknamed as Madhav Nirmali.

6.5   Strange Sources

Strange are the sources of nicknames and stranger are the consequences of certain nicknames. A London-based Pakistani teacher, Mohamed Haseen, was nicknamed 'Mr. Vortical' at a junior school in which he was teaching because of the way some children in his school pronounced 'Vertical'. His complaint of a racial discrimination was rejected by an Industrial Tribunal, when he was banned from being employed in State Schools because of his accent. He alleged that he was called 'Paki-bastard' by a student and no action was taken against him. An Indian girl in England with a nice name like Suneeta has been nicknamed as Snoteater (one who eats her own phlegm). Khushwant Singh recalling his childhood experiences with the nicknames writes that "for some reason I was nicknamed Shali which I did not mind too much. But when it came to be rhymed; Shali Shooli Bagh Ki Mooli (radish in the garden) I minded it very much. For some reason- Shali died out. I was re-nicknamed Khusrau which I did not mind too much. But when Khusrau had its tail docked and I was labelled Khusra (eunuch) I minded it very much".

6.6   Ancient

Nicknames in one form or the other existed in ancient India. "A boy was called Balaki because he was brought up in the company of girls. Gargiya, his son would be referred to by his own name along with the epithet associated with his father, thus, Gargiya, Balaki i.e. Gargiya the son of Balaki. Sometimes the personal name was fallowed by the name of country or locality from which a man or his ancestor came, eg., Bhima Vidharbha or Bhima belonging to Vidarbha. Names could also be taken from one's locality of birth, e.g., Vyasa, compiler of the Mahabharata, was born on an island (dvipa) and was surnamed Dvaipayana. Also common was the use of the 'Viruda' or (praise) name, often given to kings and heroes.

It was not unknown in Vedic days, as can be seen by the eulogistic titles bestowed on certain kings, e.g., Puranjaya, 'City conqueror'. Vikram, and Parakrama, signifying one boldly striding or advancing were among the royal titles used in medieval times.

6.7   Universal Practice

Nicknames are a universal phenomenon. Some names derived from nicknames are: white, brown, longfellow, drinkale, drinkwater, makepeace, gathergood, scattergood, gotobed (used in England). Names like Angell, Pope, King, Knight were attached to those who had acted such parts in medieval pagents.' Imagine the agony of an obese child being called Bessie or Billy Bunter, Fatso or Motu! or of a thin child being called skinny! A long nosed one being a Concorde! A thick lipped being a Lipso.
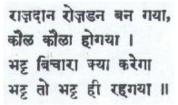
6.8   Kram Names

Nicknames these days survive in the form of Kram names. Another name given to Kram is Zat and it is in no case akin to the jati as used in the Hindi-speaking areas of India. Kram, says Madan, is derived from a Sanskrit word and is used as a synonym for Zat. "It means a ranked category and suggests that internal ranking was, as it still is, characteristic of Brahmans of Kashmir. Whether the basis of ranking earlier was politico-economic as it is now, or involved other considerations also, is a subject on which I lack any data at present.

6.9   Origin

It is really an interesting job to trace the origin of Kashmiri Krams (nicknames). The sources of these surnames are often funny incidents or deliberate attempts to malign a person. Kashmiri Krams are not the gotra names but pure specimen of nicknames. Late M. D. Fauq has, in his Aqwami Mardam Kashmir, made a scholarly analysis of these nicknames. We have tried to reclassify these nicknames under the following heads: (i) Profession/occupation, (ii) Locality (iii) Abnormal/extra-ordinary physique or temperament, (iv) Peculiar circumstances / incident, and (v) Religious/ official/academic epithet.

6.10 Anglicisation

Classification and finding out of the origin of Kashmiri Krams has been rendered difficult by a craze for anglicising these surnames. Many abnoxious and absurd-looking Krams have been Westernised or Indianised beyond recognition. Thus Khar has become Kher, Wali became Vali, Thalal became Atal, Sar became Sir, Gor became Gaur and so on. There may be some justification in reshaping or modifying an awkward-looking surname. But to change the quite pretty and beautiful surnames like

राज़दान रोज़डन बन गया,
कौल कौळा होगया ।
भट्ट बिचारा क्या करेगा
भट्ट तो भट्ट ही रहगया ॥

Kaul and Razdan is really a deplorable attempt. For example, Kaul is often anglicised as Kaula and Razdan as Rosedon. Such deliberate modifications sometimes give rise to very absurd situations. Kaul is derived from Maha Kaul, which is a name of Lord Shiva. Kaul,therefore means a devotee of Shiva, but Kaula on the other hand stands for a big fool. See the difference yourself. This madening craze for anglicising ones names made Kashyapa Bandhu, a noted social reformer and political leader, to remark sarcastically.

6.11 Continuous Process

The evolution of nicknames and permutation and combination of different surnames is a continuous process. Laurence records that new and newer Krams are sprjnging up "in Zainagiri I found the large number of famlies rejoicing in the Kram (Chang). Their ancestor was a man who played on the Jews' harp (chang). Azad the Pathan tyrant, sliced off the ears of an old and faithful servant because he was slow, and banished him to Lolab. His descendants are numerous, and their Kram is Kanchattu, the 'crop-eared'. In Lolab a young Kram is arising known as Dogra. For two generations they have been in the service of Dogra rulers of the country".

Moreover, to obliterate all traces of lowly origin men have assumed surnames or nicknames borrowed from familiar animals, insects, trades, occupations and places, e.g. Gegroo (rat); Dand (bullock); Bror (cat) Pisu (flea) etc.

Lawrence further records that one of the leading merchants of Srinagar is known by the name of Jackal. Another man of considerable influence, has adopted the unpleasent word 'Latrine' as his family appellation ...It would serve no useful purpose to give a list of nicknames. Many are extremely coarse, and neither the giver nor the recipient of some of them is to be congratulated either for generosity or wit, and it is strange that men should have quietly allowed such names t.o be handed down in their families from' generation to generation.

6.12 Jewish Influence

Bernier and Younghusband imagine without much authority, that Kashmiris are the lost tribes of Israel. Advocates of this theory agree with the Quadiani sect of Muslims that the 'Lord Christ' is buried in Srinagar. Younghusband records that the 'people are in appearance of such a decided Jewish caste that it arouses curiosity that such a theory should exist; and certainly, these are real Biblical types to be seen everywhere in Kashmir, and especially in upland villages Here the Israelitish shepherds tending their flocks and flocks may any day be seen."

Some local authors have also agreed with the theory and declare Hebrew language as the source of Kashmiri language. They also argue that the surnames of Kashmiris, as for instance Magre, Dand, Pare, etc., are borrowed from the Jewish surnames. More Kashmiri surnames like Raina Kichloo, Haptu, Varikoo Nehru, etc., are said to be akin to the surnames of Jewish people. Moreover, the word 'Bal' and 'Hom' at the end of certain places names is considered similar to the Jewish place names. Examples of such place names are Gandarbal, Manasbal, Gagribal, Dudarhom, Burzahom, Dropahom, Balahom, etc.

6.13 Joo

Bernier established the Jewish identity in Kashmiris by the frequent use of affix 'Joo' with their names. This title is frequently given by way of respect or an endearment. To quote Lawrence, 'when a man has won the title "JU", he ceases to use his real Kram name. Thus Habib Ju, the well-known silver smith, is probably Habib Gadh. Sul Ju the cloth merchant, is really Sultan Guzarban. In the villages, too, the affix Ju displaces the Kram name. Thus Kadir Ganai of Bhawan is called Kadir Ju, and Ahad Dar of Nanil is always addressed as Ahad Ju.'

The controversy over the origin of the affix 'Joo' has not been settled so far. Commenting upon the use of 'Aryaraja' by Kalhana in Shaloka 110 and Taranga II of Rajatarangini, R. S. Pandit says that Aryaraja means chief of the Aryas. 'The term Arya is used to differentiate from the Anarya, the non-Aryans, or barbarians. Arya also means gentlemen. In early times, the pater-families was addressed as Arya and the wife in the Indian household addressed her husband as Arya-Putra (son of the Arya). It is interesting to find the survival of this term Arya through the Prakrata Ajja in the modern "ji" used as a suffix for respect and as a term of address'. The affix 'joo' seems, therefore, to be a Kashmiri version of the Hindi honorific 'ji' (which literally means life or soul).

6.14 Profession/Occupation

1. **Aram** - Some of their ancestor had been employed to collect the taxes from the vegetable growers and in the due course of time the word Aram became their nickname. Rajatarangini has used the word Aramak for them.

2. **Kral** - There are many localities in Kashmir known by the word Kral viz., Kralpur, Kralgund in Kupwara district. In the city of Srinagar we have two Mohallas known as Kral Khud and Kralyar. The Pandits employed for collecting taxes from 'Krals' (potters) were nick named as Kral.

3. **Gooru** - A milk man and a cowherd is called Goor in Kashmiri. Pandits did neither of these jobs However, certain Pandits were employed as Patwaris to keep the accounts of their cattle heads and collect the Government taxes from them. In the course of time their original family names became obscure and were known as Gooru.

4. **Bakaya** - An officer of the rank of a Tehsildar was appointed in the time of Sikhs and Pathans to realise the outstanding taxes from the people. His descendants were nicknamed as Bakaya.

5. **Manwati** - Manwati used to be a standard weight in Kashmir. It was equal to two and a half seers. Government used to levy a tax of one Manwati of rice on the tenants and an official employed to collect this tax was known to people by the name of Manwat. His descendants also lost their original family name and the nickname Manwati became an irremovable attachment to their names.

6. **Guzarwan** - A Guzarwan was an Official-incharge of an excise check-post on the outskirts of a town. Every article coming to the town from outside was to be checked and tax at a previously fixed rate to be realised. A Guzarwan was also to check the smuggling and unauthorised entry of articles to the town. An official employed, thus to perform this duty became famous by the name of Guzarwan. His children, whatever their profession might have been, were also known by this name.

7. **Bakshi** - It is a common Punjabi surname. A Pandit employed as an Assistant to a Punjabi officer, having Bakshi his surname, was also known as Bakshi. Mr. Fauq says a Pandit employed as a clerk of the Army was known as Bakshi or Mir Bakshi.

8. **Jawansher** - Jawansher was a famous Afghan Governor of Kashmir. He had a Pandit as his Peshkar (Assistant) who became famous by the name of his master. Jawansher is the nickname of many families bearing different surnames.

9. **Munshi** - It is a common surname among many linguistic groups of India. K. M. Munshi was a Gujrati and a famous Indologist. Munshis exist in almost all the Hindi-speaking areas of India. Munshi means a clerk. Mr. Fauq says that a certain Pandit of Tikoo family was employed as a Munshi during the rule of Sikhs or Pathans. He was the most intelligent and efficient Munshi Kashmir had ever seen. Therefore, he became famous by his professional name and his children were also known by this name.

10. **Misri** - A Pandit employed in service of a trader who had come from the Egypt (Misr) was known by the nickname Misri. One more probability is that some Pandit had gone to Egypt and when he came back he was known by the name of the country he had visited. Some describe it to be the nickname of those Pandits whose ancestor was employed by a trader dealing in Michari Kandi.

11. **Turki** - A Pandit was employed as a clerk by a Turk trader and was nicknamed as Turki. Fauq mentions Pandit Tab Ram Turki to have been a famous poet who wrote 'Jangnama of Sikhs.' A 'Turki' friend has been re-nicknamed as 'Istambol'. Perhaps, because, Istambole is the capital of Turkey.

12. **Gandnoo** - 'Gandan dasta' is kind of toy and a decoration piece and 'Posha Gandun' is the flower vase. A pandit manufacturing or selling these articles was nicknamed as Gandnoo.

13. **Kuli** - 'Tarkuli Khan' and 'Noor Kulikhan' were two Afghan chiefs during the rule of 'Durani' kings. Pandits employed by them as Government servants were known as Kuli.

14. **Wazir** - The Pandits employed in the service of Wazirs of Kashmir during Pathan and Mughal rule became gradually famous by the name of Wazir.

15. **Ambardar** - Ambar means a huge store. Land revenue was being realised in kind, instead of in cash, in the past. Naturally certain people were employed to look after these stores of levy rice. They were called Ambardar and their later generations also were identified by this name.

16. **Chakbast** - 'Chak' in Kashmiri is the name given to a large piece of land. Chakdari was a common £eature of Kashmir's agrarian system. It was abolished after the end of Dogra regime in 1948. Before the passing of Agrarian laws large pieces of land would be given to influential zamindars as the 'Chaks' on a nominal rent. Therefore, the officers entrusted with the job of keeping a regular- account of these land holdings were known as 'Chakbast.' They were also known as Kanoongo.

17. **Bhan** - It is an ancient Kashmiri nickname given, perhaps, to those who sold the utensils. Bhan is the name of the Sun also but this name does not justify itself to be a source of a nickname or a family name. There is a locality, known as, 'Bana Mohalla', in Srinagar.

18. **Langar** or **Langroo** - Some of their ancestor must have been the manager of a Government kitchen. His descendants were, therefore, nicknamed Langar or Langroo.

19. **Fotedar** - It is an Arabic and Persian word and was used as a nickname for those Pandits who were entrusted with the duty of looking after the royal treasury, during the rule of Mughal kings.

20. **Wattal** - It is a very derogatory term and is used for a low caste tribe. It is also used for a person who indulges into very mean and lowly acts. It is presumed that some Pandit must have been appointed as an officer of Wattals, who himself was later on known by this very name. Fauq says that during Hindu rule many people swept the premises of temples, without any compensation, out of devotion to the presiding deity of the temple. They and their descendants were later nicknamed as Wattal. One more theory being forwarded is that the Pandits whose family name is Wattal are the descendants of some famous saint by the name of Wattal Nath.

21. **Hakim** - It is the family name of such families whose ancestors have been hereditary Hakims.

22. **Waza** - It literally means a cook. Mr. Fauq is of the view that it was a nickname given to the professional cooks. It may be true of the Muslim Wazas, of whom there is a separate Mohalla by the name of Wazapora in Srinagar. Among Hindus of Kashmir the profession of a Waza is by no means an honourable one. It is adopted only under compelling circumstances, and Waza or a Kandroo (baker) is never addressed by the name of his occupation. But the families known by the name of Waza never feel ashamed of this suffix to their name. It is argued that some of their ancestor was highly fond of good dishes and had gained sufficient knowledge of preparing palatable dishes for himself. He is said to have won the nickname of Waza which continued its company with his descendants, whether or not they had any knowledge of cookery.

23. **Katwa** - Mr. Fauq describes it to be a branch of professional cooks, who earned this nick name for being in habit of using small Patilis (utensils) for cooking.

24. **Sultan** - Their actual family name is 'Koul'. Some of their ancestor was employed as a clerk with the Sultans of Kashmir and became famous by the name of his employers.

25. **Nala** - Mr. Fauq says that there is no family of this name in Srinagar. An ancestor of this family must have been a guard of some Nala (Rivulet). Their gotra is Dattatriya.

26. **Nehru** - It is a nickname which originated from a canal. Probably any ancestor of this family was Mir Munshi of canals (i.e., a supervisor or an overseer of canals). They originally belong to Koul family and are commonly nicknamed as Naroo. A Naroo in Kashmiri means a pipe. It is possible that any of their ancestor was as thin as a pipe and was, therefore, called Naroo, which in due course of time became Nehru. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in his autobiography sees the genesis of the word Nehru under a different situation. He says, 'we were Kashmiris. Over two hundred years ago, early in the eighteenth century, our ancestor came down from that mountain valley to seek fame and fortune in the rich plains below. Raj Koul was the name of that ancestor of ours and he had gained eminence as a Sanskrit and Persian scholar in Kashmir. He attracted the notice of Emperor Farrukhsair during the latter's visit to Kashmir, and, probably at the Emperor's insistance, the family migrated to Delhi about the year 1716. A

Jagir with a house situated on the banks of a canal had been granted to Raj Koul and from the fact of this residence 'Nehru' (from Nahar, a canal) came to be attached to his name; this changed to Kaul Nehru; and in later years, Kaul dropped out, and we became simply Nehrus.' The above statement of Pandit Nehru has been disputed by many on the grounds of historical facts as well as usage of language. Firstly, Farukhsair is never reported to have visited Kashmir. Aurangzeb was the last Mughal King to visit Kashmir. Secondly, Delhi was the home of Urdu language and literature. Naturally the adjectival form of Nahar (canal) would be Nahree and not Nehru. We see many people by the name of Lucknowee, Jullandaree, Ahmadabadi etc., but none with the name of Lucknowoo, Jullandaroo or Ahmadabadoo etc. Kashmir, however, has a tradition of using 'oo' instead of 'ee' viz., Kathjoo, Waloo, Chagtoo, Saproo, Wangoo, Ganjoo, etc. Therefore, it is almost certain that the ancestor of Nehrus who had gone from Kashmir had taken the nickname 'Nehru', from the valley itself, with him. Taking up of residence at a canal bank is only a coincidence.

27. **Bazaz** - Some ancestor of the family must have been a cloth merchant.

28. **Taimani** - It is presumed some Pandit must have been under the service of Taimini Pathans of Kabul and earned this nickname. Fauq believes it to be a word of Hindu or Buddhist origin and considers this family to be the followers of some Rishi or Muni. At the same time, it is suspected that some ancestor of this family might have been of black colour, and was called Tamini as the Tamun in Kashmiri means the carbon formed on the bottom of the utensils.

29. **Mattu** - It is derived from the Sanskrit word Math. Some of the ancestor of this family must have either been a founder or a manager of some Math.

30. **Darbari** - It means a courtier. Some ancestor of the family was a courtier of some Pathan or Sikh Governor's court.

31. **Bhandari** - Some ancestor might have been the in-charge of some Governmental store (Bhandar).

32. **Akhoon** - During the Muslim rule a teacher was called Akhoon. Some elder member of this family was teaching Persian and Arabic to the pupils and was known by the name of his profession rather than by his family name.

33. **Mirza** - Some ancestor was in the service of a Mirza family.

34. **Hashia** - They were professionals engaged in putting margin on papers.

35. **Nasti** - It is nickname of a family whose ancestors sold the snuff. (Naswar).

36. **Vani** - A petty shopkeeper.

37. **Hak** - Growers of Hakh.

38. **Kotha** - It means a granary in Kashmiri. An official-in-charge of the Government granaries was given this nickname.

39. **Kandhari** - Some ancestor of this family was an employee of the traders from Kandhar.

40. **Diwan** - An officer in the Sikh Court.

41. **Chagtu** - An employee of Chagutais.

42. **Hastwaloo** - An employee of the Royal Court in-charge of elephants.

43. **Durrani** - Ahmad Shah on becoming an independent ruler of Afghanistan styled himself as Durri-Durran (pearl of the age). His successors were known as Durrani. In Kashmir this nickname was given to those Pandits who were the employees of Durrani Pathans.

44. **Bamzai** - Employees of Bamzai Pathans.

45. **Jallali** - Clerks employed by Jallali Shias were known as Jallali.

46. **Chak** - Employees of Chak Kings.

47. **Zradchob** - Traders of turmeric (Haldi) or their employees.

48. **Khaibari** - Khaibaris were influential chiefs of Kashmir. Their Pandit employees received this nickname.

49. **Zalpuri** - Employees of traders from Zablistan. It is often mispronounced out of Kashmir as Zalpari.

50. **Khazanchi** - Some ancestor must have been a Cashier.

51. **Khar** - It means an ass in Kashmiri. A Pandit employed to realise taxes from donkey drivers (Markaban).

52. **Araz Begi** - A person employed to read out petitions in the Sikh and Pathan Courts.

53. **Hazari** - A servant of Hazari Pathan's got this nickname.

54. **Lal** - Some ancestor of this family was serving with a Punjabi Lala.

55. **Karwani** - Some elder member must have been selling Kara (i.e., Peanuts).

56. **Nagari** - A Pandit employed as an officer of the royal heralds during Mugal rule got this appellation.

57. **Aoonth** - This nickname was used for a family whose some elder member was employed in Government service, and entrusted with the duty of collecting taxes from camel drivers.

58. **Kalapoosh** - It was a kind of lady's cap used by Pandit as well as Muslim woman to cover their skull over which traditional Tarang or Kasab (traditional headwear of women) would be used. A Pandit selling these Kalpushas or having at anytime used a Kalpush for himself, was nicknamed Kalpush.

59. **Dral** - A name given to those families whose ancestor was working as a broker. It's Hindi equivalent is Dalal and is used as a surname by many families in Hindi-speaking areas of the country.

60. **Nazir** - Fauq states it having been a nickname of a person and his descendants, who was manager of a Government Kitchen. Nazir is also used for a clerk in the court. Pandit Jia Lal Nazir was an efficient teacher and historian.

61. **Zaraboo** - Those Pandits are called Zaraboo whose some ancestor was in-charge of a Government mint.

62. **Ogra** - It means watery rice, just like a Kheer. Fauq states that a Pandit was entrusted with the duty of distributing cooked rice to the hungry during a famine. Once he found the quantity of rice was less and the number of hungry people more. He ordered to get prepared a Wugra, and distributed among the needy. Thus Wugra became a part of his name. It is now written as Ogra.

63. **Badam** - An almond merchant must have been nicknamed as such.

64. **Tufchi** - An ancestor of this family was employed either as an officer of gunners or was himself a gunman during Muslim rule. Tufchi is a corrupted form of Top (a cannon).

65. **Cheru** - A few families of this name reside in Anantnag city. A common ancestor of these families is reported to have been trading into Charkha rods made of apricot wood. An apricot is a succulent orange pink fruit known as Cher in Kashmiri.

66. **Khachoo** - A Khoch in Kashmiri means a special kind of boat used for transporting the goods from one place to another. An ancestor of this family was employed to collect taxes from these special boatmen and was thus nicknamed as Khachoo.

67. **Mirakhur** - Some ancestor of this family was officer of the department entrusted with the duty of maintaining the Royal horses.

68. **Shora** - An ancestor of this family was either a Government officer in-charge of gunpowder makers, or was himself a trader of the explosive material. Shora in Kashmiri means gunpowder.

6.15 Religious/Official/Academic Epithet

1. **Sahib** - It is an honorific. Some elderly Pandit who had attained highest stage of spiritual perfection or was well-versed in the religious Scripture was out of reverence called as Sahib. There is a spring of sweet water known as Sahibi Spring near Chashma Shahi Sahib Koul was a great saint from this family.

2. **Pir** - Pir Pandit Padshah, during the reign of Shah Jahan, has been a famous saint of Kashmir. His miracles and spiritual attainments brought many people from different walks of life, under his banner. His desciples were known as Pir.

3. **Sadhu** - Some of the elder member of this family were as faultless and self-realising person as a real Sadhu. So they were known by the name of Sadhu. Another explanation is that some ancestor of this family had proved himself as an honest person under very conspiring and hostile circumstances. He won the public applause and was known as Saidh (the antonym of a thief).

4. **Sedhu** - Some ancestor of this family is reported to have been a Sidha Pursha (attained soul). Another version, of the events leading to this nomenclature, given is that head of this family was a simpleton and was, therefore, nicknamed as Sedhu. A few families of this name live in village Mattan of district Anantnag.

5. **Sher** - Fauq reports an elder of this family musthave killed a lion and was named Sher for his extra-ordinary valour. This guess does not seem to be correct, as is natural, such a brave person would have been called Sah (Kashmiri word for lion) and not a sher. Most probably this name must have originated from the continued association of the head of this family with some Sher Khan or Sher Singh, etc.

6. **Shair** - There must have been a distinguished poet among Kashmiri Pandits, who was better known by the word Shair than his real family name. Naturally the epithet became a part of the names of his progeny.

7. **Zutshi** - It is a corrupt form of the word Jyotshi. Zutshis are reported to have been distinguished astrologers and Sanskrit scholars.

8. **Razdan** - The census report of 1819 states that Razdan is a corrupted form of ancient Sanskrit epithet Rajanak. Stein is of the view that 'the title Rajanak, meaning literaly "a king", used to be given for services rendered to the King. The title has survived in the form of Razdan as a family name of very free occurrence among the Brahmans of Kashmir. It was borne by Rajanaka Ratanakara, the author of the Haravijaya (9th Century), and by many Kashmirian authors of note enumerated in the Vamsaprasasti which Anama Rajanaka (17th Century) has appended to his commentary on the Nisadhacarita. As the designation of certain high officials (Muhammadans), the term Rajanaka is often used by Srivara and in the fourth chron (also in the shortened form Rajana).' R. S. Pandit states that the title Rajanaka was continued under Muhammadan rule and was conferred on Muslim officers.

9. **Tikoo** - It is said to have originated from the 'Trika'. The members of this family were special devotees of the goddess 'Tripura'. Fauq has given one more explanation stating that an ancestor of this family adopted a non-Brahman boy who was deemed to have become a Brahman by a Tika (a sacred mark on the forehead of a Brahman). He and his descendants were later nicknamed as Tiku.

10. **Dhar** - It is stated to be a pure gotra name. Dhar Bharadvaja is the name of their gotra. However, many scholars are of the view that Dhars are the descendants of Damras, the war lords and a troublesome non-Brahmanic tribe of ancient Kashmir.

6.16 Locality

1. **Khan-Mushu** - A village towards north-east of Srinagar is known as Khanmoh. Emigrants from this place, became known as Khanmush, in Srinagar.

2. **Vichari** - There is a sacred spring, at the outskirts of Srinagar, near Soura. It is said Lord Shiva had meditated for sometime here. This place is known as Vicharnag. The Pandits coming from this place to Srinagar were nicknamed Vichari.

3. **Ishbari** - Nickname of those Pandits who came to settle down from Ishabari, a village near Nishat garden.

4. **Kathjoo** - Pandit family residing at Kathleshwar in Tanki Pora (a mohalla of Srinagar) was nicknamed Kathjoo.

5. **Sopori** - Pandits of Srinagar, whose ancestors migrated from Sopore, or the descendants of Soya Pandit (founder of Sopore) were known as Sopori. Kashmiri Pandits of this nickname in plains have hanged the word Sopori into Shivpori.

6. **Thussoo** - Emigrants from a village Thus, in Kulgam Tehsil, to the Srinagar city became known by the name of their native village.

7. **Zadoo** - It is said that a certain family residing near a marshy land was called Zadoo (as Zadoo in Kashmiri means a wet and marshy land). They are mispronounced outside Kashmir a as Jadoo (a groom).

8. **Zaboo** - This name is also derived from a marshy and wet land.

9. **Kakroo** - The name to a family who came from a small village Kokargund, near Achhabal. There are a few families of Kakroos in Achhabal also.

10. **Kar** - This name is used for the Pandits who came from a village known as Karhama in Handwara Tehsil. Swami Krishan Joo Kar was an illustrious saint, produced by this family.

11. **Pampori** - Pandits of Pampore, irrespective of their family names, are known by the name of their locality.

12. **Saproo** - Dr. Iqbal, who was the worthy descendant of a Pandit family whose surname was Saproo, wrote to Mr. Fauq about the word Saproo as follows. He wrote that Mr. Dewan Tek Chand M.A., who was a Commissioner in Punjab, had a taste for linguistic research. He told Mr. Iqbal that the word Saproo had its genesis from the Ancient Iranian Kings 'Shapur'. Saproos are those Iranians who had settled down in Kashmir much before the advent of Islam and because of their sharp intellect were absorbed soon with Brahmans of Kashmir. Dr. Iqbal has further written that his father used to say that 'Saproos' are the descendants of those Kashmiri Brahman families who were first to learn Persian and other Islamic studies, during the Muslim rule. Saproo means a person who is first to learn a new thing. This name was given to them out of contempt by other Brahmans. The latter analysis is nearer in the approach of a common Kashmiri and the former assertion needs full investigation.

13. **Kanzroo** - They are the descendants of the Pandits of Kanzar, a village near Tangmarg.

14. **Momboi** - There is no family with this nickname at present. However Mr. Fauq was informed by one Mr. Tarachand Trisal that some contributors to a certain magazine used to write 'Mombai' with their name. It is presumed that some Kashmiri family had temporarily settled at Bombay for sometime and, its members used the epithet Mombay with their names, when they came back. According to another story, a Muslim named Mohammad (Momma) was so gentle that he would not react even to a harsh and abusive language. He became known as Moma Bayoo. It is thought that some Pandit must have been as gentle as Mombayoo and he was along with his descendants nicknamed as such. Yet one more thesis forwarded is that it was a nickname given to those Pandits who came down to Srinagar from Bumai village of Kulgam Tehsil.

15. **Purbi** - Genesis of this term has been discussed in the chapter of "Kashmiri Surnames" in full. Mr. Fauq has quoted an interesting statement of Rai Bahadur Pandit Amar Nath Purbi (ex-Inspector General Customs, Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir), saying that his grandmother after adopting his father, (Pt. Dila Ram) who was serving on a good post with the Nawabs of Lucknow, migrated to Delhi. Delhi people began to call them Purbi as they had come from the eastern part of the country. Mr. Fauq further writes that there were a few families of Bhai Purbi in Srinagar, who according to census report of 1891 were the offspring of a widowed Panditani by a Purbi (coming from the eastern part of the country), whom she secretly re-married. Any person coming from U.P. is still called by the name of 'Bhaia', just as every Kashmiri in plains of Punjab is called as a 'Hato'.

16. **Madan** - Residents of a Mohalla of Srinagar. viz., Madanyar. Madan is a word used for a romantic man. Some of the ancestor might have been of this nature and earned the appellation Madan. Another story forwarded in this connection is that an ancestor of this family was an employee of 'Madan Talkies' owned by a Parsee of Bombay. He and his descendants were, therefore, nicknamed as Madan.

17. **Haksar** - Emigrants from a village named Hakchar in district Baramullah.

18. **Trisal** - A boy of Dhar family was adopted by Pt. Neko Pandit of Trisal. When he came back to settle down in Srinagar he and his descendants were called Trisal (name of a village in Pulwama district).

19. **Chhachabali** - Pandits who took up their residence, during Afghan rule, in the then suburban area of Srinagar viz., Chhatabal, were known as Chhachabali.

20. **Chakru** - Name given to the families having come from Chokur village.

21. **Krid** - Krid in Kashmiri means a thorny creeper. A few families in Shangas Nawgam bear this name. Their ancestors took up residence near a Krid and became known by its name.

22. **Nad** - A family residing near a ravine in the same village is known by the name of Nad. It means a ravine in Kashmiri.

23. **Baghati** - A family having a number of orchards or having taken up their residence in or near an orchard were nicknamed Baghati. Bhag is also a nickname of the same category.

23. (a) **Hangloo** - Pandits of Hangalgund near Kokar Nag.

24. **Mujoo** - It means a raddish in Kashmiri. Ancestors of this family are said to have come from Mujja Gund, a village in district Baramullah.

25. **Haloo** - Emigrants from the village Hal in Pulwama district. Haloo in Kashmiri means a Tidi (grasshopper) also.

26. **Parmoo** - The ancestors of this family must have come from the other side of Pirpanchal range, to settle down in Kashmir valley. Parmoo is a corrupt form of Aparium (i.e., one who lives or has come from the other side). It is, even now, used for any non-Kashmiri person, particularly for a Punjabi. As a matter of fact, Punjabi and Parium have become synonymous terms.

27. **Nagri** - It is different from Nagari. It is an epithet used for the Pandits who had some connection with Nagri Malapora a village in Handwara.

28. **Ganz** - lt is a nickname given to a family which was residing at a place where some bad smell used to come from a stagnant pool of water.

29. **Danji** - One or two families in the village Mattan are having this family name. Danji in Kashmiri means a small ravine and in fact, these families are still residing in a small ravine on the bank of Chaka stream.

30. **Kilam** - Emigrants from the village Kilam of Kulgam Tehsil.

31. **Booni** - A family residing near a big Chinar tree were known by its name.

32. **Sum** - It means a small bridge connecting the two banks of a small rivulet, a pond or a lake. A family residing near such a mini bridge got the appellation 'sum'.

33. **Rafiz** - Shia Muslims, in Kashmir, are called by the name of Rafiz. Some Pandit family for its nearest association with Rafizs or having lived in a locality of Rafizs, got this nickname.

34. **Bali** - A family having lived near a mountain or having some connection with the Bal's (i.e., mountains) was called Bali. It is in no way connected with the Sikh surname Bali.

35. **Kadal Buju** - A nickname of those Buju families which lived near a bridge. Buju nomenclature has been discussed elsewhere.

36. **Raina** - It is stated that the Pandits who originally belonged to Rainawari and later settled down in the main city were known as Raina. Mr. Fauq states that Rainawari was the capital of the famous King Rana Datta 436 A.D.-497 A.D. There was also a large garden of this king situated at the site of present Rainawari and Vari in Kashmiri means a garden. Thus Rainawari meant a garden belonging to the king Ranadatta. Another view expressed is that it, like Razdan, is a corrupted form of the title Rajanaka.

6.17 Peculiar Circumstance/incident

1. **Waloo** or **Wali** - A fire chimney in Kashmiri is called Wol. One who got constructed a fire chimney in his house at first was immediately nicknamed as Wol, which in due course of time became, Waloo and Wali.

2. **Sas** - It means a thick Dal in Kashmiri. It is often cooked along with wopal hakh (a vegetable) and is, thus, known as Saswopalhakh. It is said that some one was irritated to have been served with this (for him unpalatable) dish at a dinner or lunch party. He was asked by some one what dishes were served at the party and instantly came the reply 'Sas' (using half the name to make his anguish more expressive). He and his descendants were later on called 'Sas' by every one.

3. **Kotru** - Some of the elder member of this family had kept a number of pigeons as his pets. He was forever nicknamed as Kotur (Pigeon).

4. **Wantu/Wanchu** - Wantu in Kashmiri is used for a hard walnut. It is impossible to get a full Kernel (GIRI) out of a hard walnut, even if it is broken into pieces. Some of the ancestor of this family must have been a top class miser and was compared to a 'Wont doon' (hard walnut). Thus was this nickname started to continue for generations.

5. **Mantoo** - It means one and a half seer in Kashmiri. It is said that some ancestor of this family underwent a bet to eat a manut (one and a half seer) of rice at a time, which he won. This victory brought its reward in the form of a nickname.

6. **Wakhul** - It is a flat bottomed stone mortar used for shrinking and washing the woollen clothes. In the past the professional washermen were not as abundant as they are now. Therefore, every mohalla had kept at least one Wokhul for the washing purposes. The family in whose premises this Wokhul was kept was in the long-run known by its name. Another explanation forwarded is that the head of this family was in the Government service with a duty to realise taxes from Wakhul makers.

6. (a) **Kenoo** - It is used for a wet and watery thing. It is reported that a certain Pandit of Rainawari who had taken a distasteful dish at some party, was asked by a saint (Mian Shah) about the taste of the dish he had taken. He is reported to have replied that it was as tasteless as a Kinoo. Immediately the Pandit lost his real identity and became known as Kinoo.

7. **Kallawat** - It is said a Pandit by the name of Kailash was working as personal assistant of Colonel Watt, who constructed the Pahalgam Road during the rule of Maharaja Partap Singh. Kalla is the short form of Kailash, and colleagues of the Pandit connected with it the surname of the Colonel and, thus, originated a new name e.g., Kalawat. The descendants of the unfortunate assistant also lost their real family name and were known by the name of Kallawat since then.

8. **Wangnoo** - It stands for a brinjal in Kashmiri. An ancestor of this family is reported to have been highly fond of brinjals and was, therefore, nicknamed after his favourite vegetable. Another explanation given is that Wangnoo is, perhaps, the only vegetable which is cooked with almost all the vegetables. Therefore, a man who could mix with anybody and won over even his foes was nicknamed as Wangnoo; Kashmiri Pandits as a whole were also called as Wangnoo for having successfully mixed up with all the races and religions, without losing their identity. This is perhaps a misnomer for a race who could save its identity only after having submerged its ninety per cent population with other races and religions. A friend sarcastically, but very correctly, remarked that gone are the days when they (Pandits) were called Wangans. Now they are only Wangan Hachi (dried brinjals).

9. **Labroo** - The head of a certain family was for tunate enough to win prefix in any venture he under took. He was nicknamed Labh (profit), which in due course of time became Labroo.

10. **Taku** - An ancestor of this family was fond of taking his meals in a fresh taku (an earthen plate) everytime. He and his descendents were, therefore, known as Taku.

11. **Safaya** - A certain Pandit is reported to have been a lover of cleanliness and was known as Safai, which later on became Safaya.

12. **Chengaloo** - An ancestor of this family is reported to have been of a light heart and would not conceal his happiness and excitement even over small gains. Chengun in Kashmiri means to be jubilient. There are a few families of this nick name in the village Mattan of Anantnag district.

13. **Jogi** - An elder member of their family had become a Jogi.

14. **Buju** - There was an old woman in a Mohalla. She had two or three sons who were called Bujihandi (i.e., Sons of the old woman). This became their permanent nickname and their descendants came to be known as Buju.

15. **Sukhia** - The head of this family is reported to have played the role of a Sakhi (girl friend) in the Krishan Leela drama and was nicknamed as Sakhi, which later on became Sukhia. Another version of facts is given that a parent had named his son Sukh which became later his nickname.

16. **Peshin** - It means the time of afternoon in Kashmiri. A Pandit who was a Government servant had to attend to his job at the afternoon. He was nicknamed Peshin.

17. **Gamkhwar** - A Pandit was a born sympathiser. He would share the sorrow of one and all. Somebody out of envey nicknamed him Gamkhar. Mr. Fauq reports that one Sadanand Koul was given the title of Gamkhar by the Mughal King Shah Jahan. His progeny was also known by this title.

18. **Bula** - One of the ancestors of this family is reported to have been a foolishman. That is why he was called Bula (fool).

19. **Choor** - An ancestor of this family had been caught red-handed while committing a theft, or was a shareholder of the professional thieves. He was labelled as Chsor (thief) for all the time to come.

20. **Zaroo** - A Pandit was a habitual gambler or had allowed gambling den to operate in his house, he was therefore, rightly nicknamed as Zaroo (a gambler). Another explanation given is that a certain Pandit was in habit of taking rash decisions without giving a proper thought to the facts. He was nick named as a Zaroo.

21. **Chrangoo** - It means a handful in Kashmiri. A certain Pandit was known for being a parsimony. He would not give to any begger more than a handful of grain. This led people to call him and his descendants as Chrangoo.

22. **Musa** - After a long and tedious journey or after doing some hard work a man, naturally, relaxes for sometime to refresh himself. This process of refreshing is called 'Muskadun' in Kashmiri. There are two or three families of this name in village Mattan of Anantnag district. They are professional Pandas having their Jajmans (clients) spread all over the Jammu region and the Punjab State. Every year these Pandas go to their clients during winter seasan to collect their annual Dan and Dakshina. It is said that some ancestor of these families would continue to relax and refresh himself for months together, after coming back from a long, tedious and risky journey, over the peaks of Pir Panchal. He was in the long-run nicknamed as Musa and his progeny is known now by this name.

23. **Brayth** - It is a Kashmiri form of the Sanskrit word 'Brasht', which means a deliberate deviation from the religious path. Some of the ancestor of this family must have been found guilty of some non-religious act and was declared Brashta, which became Brayth in the long-run.

24. **Band** - With the curious exception of Akingam (a village in District Anantnag) the Bands are all Muslims. 'The story of Akingam Baghats,' says Mr. Lawrence, is peculiar. Brahmans considered acting to be degrading, and even now the Brahmans of Kashmir the Akingam play as with contempt. But the Brahman plays say that they took to the stage by the express order of goddess Devi. The legend relates that many years ago Devi appeared to the Akingam Pandits, and, placing a fiddle in his hands, said, 'play upon this fiddle'. He protested his inability, but on the goddess persisting, he took up the blow and played unearthly music. He was bidden by Devi to sit under the deodars of the Akingam and play in her honour. For some years he and his sons obeyed the goddess behest but unable to withstand the prejudices of his caste, he finally declined to play any more. On this he was striken with blindness and wondered away to the Lidder Valley. In a dream Devi appeared to the Magistrate of the Lidder, and told him to take old Pandit to Akingam. On reaching Akingam the Pandit recovered his sight and since that day he and his

descendants fiddled away without further protest. These Pandits never send their children to school, as they believe that Devi would resent it and would kill their children. This state of things has now completely changed. Bands of Akingam (Mohripora) have left this vocation since long but the name has persisted.

25. **Gadva** - A Pandit was seen always with a Ghadva (a metal tumbler) in his hand going to purchase milk or curd, or even throwing the 'Nirmal' in the river was nicknamed Gadva. Another explanation offered is that a certain Pandit had collected, as a hobby, a large number of different varieties of 'Gadvas' and got this appellation.

26. **Yachh** - It is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Yaksha. However, in Kashmir a certain rarely visible animal possessing supernatural powers is now called Yachh. Pandits offer Khichri and other sweetmeats to this animal extra-ordinary on Yaksha Amavasi in December-January, every year. It so happened that a certain Pandit either used to make sounds like a Yachh (i.e., Bas, Bas) or was some how specially linked with the characteristic Yaksha Pooja. He along with his descendants was nicknamed Yachh. The latter assumption seems more true in the light of the fact that this nickname is used mostly by Gor families.

27. **Bohgun** - It means a cooking vessel made of brass. Some Pandit is stated to have had a hobby of collecting different varieties of Bahgun, or was fond of the food prepared in a certain type of Bohgun, and was nicknamed as such, because in appearance he was as fat and round as a 'Bohgun'. Another explanation given is that it is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Bahuguna (possessor of many qualities).

28. **Nakab** - It means a veil. Kashmiri Pandit ladies did not wear a veil in the past. But a family having introduced this practice at first, during Muslim rule, got this nickname.

29. **Thalchoor** - It means a plate thief. A Pandit was either caught red handed while stealing thals (plates) or was accused of such a theft. He and his descendants got the appellation of Thalchoor.

30. **Kakh** - An elder brother, uncle or a cousin was out of reverence called as Kakh. Some Pandit for his good and generous nature seems to have won the public respect and was called Kakh by the people, other than his family members. He lost his real appellation and was along with his progeny known as Kak. However, there are repeated references of the family name Kak in Rajtarangini. Shaloka 1311 of Taranga VII reads, 'As his passage was blocked by warriors of the Kaka and other educated families, he retreated from. . .' R. S. Pandit in a footnote to above Shaloka says that the Kaka family is repeatedly referred to by Kalhana. Shaloka 180 and 599 of Taranga VIII says, 'holders of high military rank and others, brave men such as Tilka of the family of Kaka. . .'. 'From the very midst of ..., Sufi captured alive in battle the brave knight Sobhka sprung from the family of Kaka...' Kaks in the ancient Kashmir, therefore, belonged to a military class.

31. **Chilam** - Some ancestor of this family was a chilam smoker and got this name.

32. **Thapal** - A few families of this name live in Anantnag city. Some of the common ancestor of these families must have been a habitual snatcher and got this nickname.

33. **Kuchur** - It means penis in Kashmiri. An ancestor of the family is reported to have been moving without trousers or a Kacha and thus unmindful of his exposed penis. He was along with his progeny nicknamed as Kuchur.

34. **Jad** - It means the eldest ancestor in Kashmiri. An elder member of this family is reported to have been behaving like an old and experienced man even during his childhood. He was therefore, nicknamed as Jad.

35. **Jalla** - A family of Rainawari Pandits was residing on the bank of Dal Lake (now turned into a quagmire). This part of the lake abounded in delicious fish. The fishermen catching the fish, would generally spread their nets on the compound wall of this family, to dry them up. A fish net in Kashmiri is called a Zal. This family was, therefore, nicknamed as Zalu, which in the long run became Jala.

36. **Puran** - A few families of this nickname live in village Zainapora. One of their common ancestor is reported to have been in habit of quoting from the Puranas on every occasion. He was, therefore, known as Puran.

37. **Zaharbad** - An ancestor of this family is reported to have been suffering from a serious type of Carbuncle on an exposed part of his body. He was, therefore, nicknamed as Zaharbad. Another reason related is that some ancestor of this family was a terrible mischief monger and was intolerably unpleasant man. The people expressed their displeasure for his mischievous character by an equally unpleasant nickname (i.e., Zaharbad).

6.18 Abnormal/Extra-ordinary Physique or Temperament

1. **Mushran** - An awkward and ugly man with a huge and powerful body is called Mushran. Some ancestor of this family must have been nicknamed as mushran because of his unusual physique and, later his descendants continued to be called by this name.

2. **Kuraz** - It is a name given to a very dangerous water animal. Some elder member of this family must have been of a fierce nature and was nicknamed Kuraz.

3. **Shagali** - Shagalis had come along with Pathans, under the leadership of Gulshagali. He was a long and healthy young man. A pandit was having an extraordinary physique like Gulshagali and was accordingly nicknamed.

4. **Sharga** - It is corrupt form of Shogo (a parrot). Some member of the family was having small eyes and a long nose like a parrot.

5. **Handoo** - This nickname was given to a Pandit who was fat and fresh like a sheep or to those Pandits who somehow were connected with flocks of sheep.

6. **Atal** - It is a corrupt form of Thalal (i.e., a Samashar). A Pandit with a broad forehead as if a forceful smasher, received this nickname.

7. **Gurtu** - It is a nickname given, perhaps, to those Razdans whose some ancestor was of Gurtu (yellow) colour. Gurtu is now used for those Pandits who do not cook meat and fish on the Shivratri festival.

8. **Shangloo** - Some elder member of this family is reported to have had six fingers in his hand and became known as six-fingered (She Angul).

9. **Mota** - A fat man's nickname.

10. **Langoo** - Some elder of the family was a lame man.

11. **Kaboo** - Any ancestor of this family is reported to have been a hunch backed (Kaboo) man.

12. **Marchawangan** - A thin and a red faced man may have been nicknamed as a red pepper. It is also possible that some ancestor of the family was in possession of a hot and pungent temperament, ormay be some one of the family elders was a pepper trader.

13. **Raghu** - A thin and a frail man must have won the appellation.

14. **Kachroo** - Some ancestor must have been as red haired as an Englishman.

15. **Kichloo** - It means a long-beared in Kashmiri Some elder of the family must have developed a long beard and received this nickname.

16. **Chakoo** - Chouk means 'bottom' as well as 'sour' in Kashmiri. It is reported that some elder of the family was a sour-tempered man. Mr. Fauq connects it with an amusing and interesting story. A man named his twelfth son as Chauk (i.e., bottom) of the chain of sons and he (the son) became famous by the name of Chauk. It is amusingly and often awkwardly mispronounced as Chakoo (a Knife) outside Kashmir.

17. **Khashoo** - A left hander.

18. **Ganjoo** - A bald man's nickname or an appellation for a man who was put in-charge of Ganj (treasury).

19. **Gagroo** - It was the nickname of a person who was very small and swift.

20. **Kharoo** - A bald man.

21. **Zoroo** - A deaf man.

22. **Kariholu** - A nickname given to an elder of the family, whose neck was a little curved.

23. **Kaw** - An ancestor af this family was as black as a crow.

24. **Daraz** - A long-heighted ancestor of the family was given this name.

25. **Mam** - It means maternal uncle in Kashmiri. A man was in habit of poking his nose in everybody's affairs. He and his children were, therefore, nicknamed as Mam.

26. **Chacha** - The word Chacha is used by Kashmiri Muslims for a paternal uncle. A Pandit who unnecessarily involved himself in other peoples' affairs must have received this nickname.

27. **Tut** - A man with a long chin was nicknamed Tut.

28. **Bambroo** - An ancestor of this family was as dark complexioned as a black bee. It is also said that some elder member of this family was in habit of making sounds like a beetle when alone. That is why he and his descendants came to be known as Bambroo.

29. **Kalla** - It means head in Kashmiri. An ancestor of this family had a conspicuous head and was named as Kalla.

30. **Sikh** - It is said that an ancestor of this family had grown a long beard to conceal the white patches on his face. He and his family members were nicknamed as Sikh.

31. **Hakhoo** - It was used as a nickname for a thin and frail person. His descendants were also labelled as Hakhoo, even if some one among them may be as fat as an elephant.

32. **Trakroo** - This nickname was given to a man who was of very hot temperament and, of course, a hard task master. The nickname became part and parcel of his descendants also. Trakur in Kashmiri is used for anything hard.

33. **Miskeen** - A man was very kind to poor and needy. He was nicknamed as Miskeen (poor). Another explanation is that a well-to-do man used to feign as a poor man. He was along with his progeny called as Miskeen.

34. **Chhot** - It means a short statured person. Some elder of the family was unusually of a short stature and won this nickname for himself and his descendants.

35. **Braroo** - An ancestor of this family must have been a blue eyed man and was nicknamed as Braroo (the cat).

36. **Kaloo** - It means a person unable to speak. The name is Kaloo (just like a dumb-man).

37. **Nikka** - It is an 'affectionate name' given to small boys in Kashmiri families. Such a name generally gets discarded as soon as the boy grows up to be a youth. However, some Pandit seems to have been called Nikka, even after he attained his adulthood, and thus got the nickname. Another reason could be that an ancestor of this family was a short and small statured that even in his youth and old age, he looked like a boy and was called a Nikka.

38. **Kissu** - It means a small finger. Some ancestor of the family is reported to have been in possession of an extra-ordinary Kis, or was in habit of displaying his small finger in a peculiar way and got the appellation.

39. **Mandal** - In Kashmiri mandal means buttocks. An ancestor of the family is reported to have been a large rumped person and, thus, got this nickname.

40. **Dev** - Some Pandit seems to have been nicknamed as such, either for his extra-ordinary valour or having the habit of taking too much food or sleep - the peculiarities of a Dev. A Dev is an imaginary being like a Jinnie of Arabian nights.

41. **Dasi** - A few families of this name live in Anantnag town. An ancestor of this family is reported to have been a spend thrift and would become bankrupt in every trade and occupation he owned. He was thus nicknamed as Dasi, meaning a person who would finish and destroy everything.

42. **Vokhu** - An ancestor of this family is reported to have been of abnormal physiqueas well as temperament.

43. **Pedar** - An ancestor of this family is reported to have a deformed foot which looked like a cloven hoof and was thus nicknamed as Padar.

Excerpts from:
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by Ram Krishen Kaul
Utpal Publications
Motiyar, Rainawari, Srinagar-3, Kashmir

7   Appendix

7.1   Few Exclusive GOR Surnames

1. Bayoo
2. Chandar
3. Changoo
4. Chintaman
5. Choka
6. Datta
7. Dora
8. Gadva
9. Ganz
10. Geer
11. Handu
12. Jatoo
13. Kali
14. Kalla
15. Kampasee
16. Kanna
17. Khankhoo
18. Kharu
19. Khobaru
20. Khoda
21. Kumedan
22. Langoo
23. Lotu
24. Mandal
25. Nasee
26. Panzoo
27. Picha
28. Pind
29. Revo
30. Rogu
31. Sedha
32. Shal
33. Sharma
34. Thojnu
35. Vachali
36. Yechh
37. Zoru
38. Zadoo

7.2   Few Exclusive BOHRA Surnames

1. Bindroo
2. Bandhari
3. Chapori
4. Chota
5. Hori
6. Japoo
7. Kapoor
8. Kath
9. Khah
10. Ledoo
11. Mantoo
12. Matho
13. Nadroo
14. Nathu
15. Puri
16. Suri
17. Tandon
18. Zatoo

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