

Environment and the Agrarian Structure in Early Medieval Kashmir: A Historical Study of the *Nilamata Purana* and the *Rajatarangini*

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Abstract: This paper explores the relationship between environment and agrarian structure in early medieval Kashmir through the *Nilamata Purana* and the *Rajatarangini*. It argues that the valley's transformation from a lake into fertile land created distinct ecological zones that shaped settlement and cultivation patterns. The differentiation between alluvial plains and Karewa plateaus influenced cropping systems and irrigation practices. Agriculture formed the core of the economy, supported by horticulture, saffron cultivation, forest resources, and cattle wealth. The study demonstrates that these texts preserve valuable ecological and agrarian insights, revealing the close interdependence between environment and society in early medieval Kashmir.

Key Words: Land System, Cropping Pattern, Rural Economy *Nilamata Purana*, *Rajatarangini*.

1. INTRODUCTION:

The geographical and environmental setting of Kashmir has historically played a decisive role in shaping its agricultural organisation, economic structure, and social formation. The valley's distinctive physiography—marked by its enclosed mountain boundaries, temperate climate, riverine networks, and fertile alluvial deposits—created a unique ecological unit that supported a highly developed agrarian system. Its natural endowments not only sustained agriculture and horticulture but also enabled the growth of trade and artisanal industries. Early literary traditions such as the *Nilamata Purana* and the *Rajatarangini* preserve important accounts of Kashmir's geomorphological formation. These texts describe the transformation of the region from a vast lake into a habitable valley—an account that modern geological studies have also substantiated. The fertile plains nourished by the Vitasta (Jhelum) River and the elevated Karewa plateaus together formed distinct agro-ecological zones that structured land use and agricultural production. Agriculture remained the backbone of Kashmir's economy. The cultivation of staple cereals, pulses, oilseeds, and high-value crops such as saffron and cotton ensured subsistence as well as surplus. Alongside agriculture, horticulture—particularly grapes, apples, and pomegranates—contributed significantly to economic and cultural life. Flood control systems, embankments, and irrigation canals were developed to counter seasonal floods and climatic uncertainty. Moreover, Kashmir's position along important trans-Himalayan trade routes connected it to Central Asia and beyond, facilitating the export of wool, saffron, medicinal herbs, and fine handicrafts.

This study explores how environmental conditions shaped agrarian structures in early medieval Kashmir, demonstrating that ecological adaptation, administrative organisation, and economic resilience were closely interlinked. To understand how environment shaped agrarian life, it is first necessary to examine the geological formation of the valley and the evolution of its land system.

2. LAND SYSTEM AND THE FORMATION OF THE VALLEY:

As per the *Nilamata Purana*, the Kashmir Valley was initially a splendid lake, brimming with sacred and pure waters.¹ According to legend, the Kashmir Valley was created through the efforts of Goddess Uma, the divine wife of Lord Shiva.² It is said that her own body transformed into a boat, upon which the land gradually took shape.³ On that sacred land, a lake took form and became known as Satidesa,⁴ serving as a divine retreat for gods and goddesses.⁵ According to the legend, during the seventh Manvantara,⁶ the lake's waters were drained when Lord Ananta, at the request of Lord Vishnu, created an outlet using his plough.⁷ It is said that Lord Vishnu, along with other deities, descended to this place to defeat the demon Jalodbhava, who had made the holy lake his invincible refuge.⁸ The *Nilamata*

Purana further reveals that after Jalodbhava's demise, Sage Kashyapa settled humans and Pisacas in the land, allowing them to live alongside the Nagas, who had been dwelling in the lake since its formation⁹

The *Rajatarangini* also refers this legend,¹⁰ mentioning that the land we now call Kashmir had existed since the beginning of the Kalpa¹¹ but was immersed under water for the first six Manvantara periods, earning the name Satisaras.¹² However, a significant change occurred with the arrival of the seventh Manvantara, which corresponds to Kalhana's time. The rest of the tale aligns with the *Nilamata Purana*, describing how, at Rishi Kashyapa's request, Lord Vishnu decided to slay the demon Jalodbhava, who had made the lake his unassailable refuge. After the demon was defeated, Rishi Kashyapa resettled the region, which had previously been covered by water¹³ and this land eventually became known as Kashmir. According to geologists, Kashmir was originally a large lake, and the present valley took shape after the water drained due to geological changes.¹⁴ The ancient Kashmiri texts appear to reflect this transformation, preserving it as part of the region's collective memory. However, instead of a scientific account, the event was conveyed through mythological legends.

This assumption is further reinforced by other references in the *Nilamata Purana*. It mentions that in earlier times, people could inhabit the valley only during the six-month summer period. However, over time, they began residing there throughout the year, which was attributed to a climatic shift brought about by the blessings of Lord Vishnu. This suggests that even after the valley emerged following drainage; the climate remained harshly cold, making it suitable for habitation only during the summer months. However, later geological changes led to milder winters, allowing people to live there all year round. According to the legend, Rishi Kashyapa invited several divine goddesses to enter the valley in the form of water streams. The most significant among them is the Vitasta (Jhelum), which is thought to be the earthly manifestation of Goddess Uma, who was linked to the ancient lake. Similarly, the river Visoka is regarded as a representation of Goddess Lakshmi.¹⁵ After the valley became suitable for habitation, its varied physical landscape gave rise to distinct ecological zones that shaped agricultural practices and productivity.

3. PHYSIOGRAPHY AND AGRO-ECOLOGICAL ZONES:

The presence of Karewa formations strongly supports the lake-origin theory.¹⁶ These elevated plateaus of lacustrine sediment stand in contrast to the fertile alluvial plains created by the Vitasta and its tributaries. Thus, land in Kashmir can broadly be divided into:

- Alluvial plains – fertile, low-lying tracts along the Vitasta.
- Karewa plateaus (Udars) – elevated formations composed of ancient lake deposits.

The Vitasta River remains navigable throughout its course within the valley. In ancient times, floods were a frequent occurrence in Kashmir, as mentioned multiple times by Kalhana.¹⁶ As a result, building embankments along the river became essential.¹⁷ One such plan to control floods and utilize water for agriculture was introduced by Suyyaduring Avantivarman's reign.¹⁸ The land along the river is the lowest-lying, making it the most fertile and suitable for cultivation in the valley. The hilly regions of the valley feature elevated plateaus known as *Udars or Karewas*. These *Udars* are mostly concentrated in the southwest part of the valley, stretching primarily from Shopian to Baramulla.¹⁹ The *Udars*, with their relatively poor soil quality, are less productive than the fertile plains of the valley, primarily because irrigation facilities are not available in these areas. In ancient times, when the valley's population was likely much higher than today, all available land, including the *Karewas*, was intensively cultivated.²⁰ To support this, a well-organized irrigation system was established, making these elevated areas suitable for agriculture and, therefore, highly valuable. This suggests that during the early and early medieval periods, the land now referred to as upper terrain was better maintained and more actively used for farming.

Bates provides a vivid description of the *Udars* in his writings. He explains that the upper plateau, rising about two to three hundred feet, often appears as isolated land masses stretching several miles in length and width, although they are commonly connected to the base of the hills. In the past, much of this elevated land was irrigated, but today, it mostly remains dry and uncultivated. The lower areas, on the other hand, frequently experience flooding, and even now, the region between the city and the great lake remains a vast marshland, barely distinguishable from the lake itself. The slopes between the flat plains and the forested hills are a mix of cultivated fields, grazing lands, and dense forests of cedar, pine, and fir, with the forests being the dominant feature.²¹ These physiographic divisions were not merely geographical distinctions; they structured patterns of cultivation, irrigation, and cropping systems.

4. AGRICULTURAL LAND AND CROPPING SYSTEM:

The Literary sources indicate that cultivation for agricultural purposes was feasible only during the summer months.²² Due to the prevailing climatic conditions, the valley's crop production was limited to a single season each year. Consequently, historical records mention various classifications of agricultural land based on the types of produce grown in the region.²³ Firstly, there are references to land that could be irrigated and land where irrigation was not feasible.²⁴ The *Nilamata Purana* describes the land of Kashmir as highly fertile, capable of yielding all types of grains

without relying on rainfall, and free from the threat of famines.²⁵ However, this seems to be an exaggeration, as historical records do mention instances of famine.²⁶ Nonetheless, the fertility of the land remains unquestionable.

As mentioned earlier, literary sources indicate that the entire valley had the potential to produce all kinds of food grains and vegetables, with the exception of crops like saffron. However, if we accept this statement in a broad sense, classifying land based on its agricultural yield would not be feasible. A more analytical examination reveals that specific regions of the valley were known for particular types of produce. For instance, saffron was primarily cultivated in Padampura. It is noteworthy that in Kashmir, both *Rabi* (winter) and *Kharif* (summer) crops were cultivated within a single growing period, spanning from March to November. As a result, the agricultural system in the valley was technically classified as *ekfasli* (single-crop farming).²⁷

Due to heavy snowfall in winter, agriculture in Kashmir was practiced only between March and October. The region, known for its fertile soil and abundant water resources, has traditionally been recognized for its rich agricultural output, producing enough to sustain its inhabitants. Notably, scholars who have examined Kashmir's land system believe that agricultural conditions were more favorable in the early and early medieval periods than in later times.²⁸ The primary reason was the more efficient irrigation system in ancient times,²⁹ which helped mitigate the effects of famines.³⁰ Additionally, due to these favorable conditions, both the population and the number of villages were higher in early and early medieval Kashmir compared to later periods.³¹

It is challenging to determine the agricultural land settlement based on the known administrative divisions of the valley. However, considering that agriculture was the primary source of state revenue in ancient times, there must have existed a connection between administrative divisions and land quality from an agricultural perspective. Regarding *Madavarajya* (modern-day Maraz) in early and early medieval Kashmir, its exact meaning and origin remain unclear, though geographically, it refers to the region above Srinagar. On the other hand, some insights can be drawn about *Kramarajya* (now Kamraz), which denotes the area below Srinagar. The term itself signifies progress and development.³² The term *Kramarajya* seems to indicate regions where agricultural success was driven by substantial human effort. The name itself implies gradual progress and continuous development, likely due to ongoing advancements in farming practices. Interestingly, the Baramulla region is comparatively less fertile than the areas south of Srinagar. Consequently, both in ancient times and today, agriculture in this region demands more care and effort. Literary sources also indicate that land was often named based on its primary agricultural yield. For example, Pampore, formerly known as *Padampura* (*Padma* also signifying saffron), was particularly famous for saffron cultivation. Beyond land classification and cropping patterns, the agrarian economy of Kashmir was further strengthened by diversified production, including horticulture, forest resources, and pastoral wealth.

5. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, HORTICULTURE AND SUPPLEMENTARY RURAL ECONOMY:

Rice: Among the various agricultural products, paddy was widely cultivated from ancient times, as it served as the staple food of the Kashmiri people. The *Nilamata Purana* frequently mentions different varieties of rice, such as *Sali*, *Kalam*, and *Anus*,³³ highlighting its significance. Rice was not only the most cherished food of the people but was also offered during religious rituals to gods and goddesses.³⁴ The importance of rice is evident from the fact that whenever paddy crops were destroyed by natural calamities, people would lose all hope for their survival. Such references are found frequently in historical accounts.³⁵ These accounts make it evident that farmers seldom received their paddy harvest without suffering losses due to natural factors. There was a persistent fear among peasants of their rice crops being damaged by hailstorms.³⁶

The significance of paddy farming is evident from the elaborate rituals performed before sowing, which were considered almost as sacred as traditional sacrifices. According to the *Nilamata Purana*, the land was prepared only after consulting an astrologer to determine an auspicious date and time for the process. The cultivation of Rice began in March or early April and was harvested around September or October.³⁷ The significance of paddy farming is evident from the elaborate rituals performed before sowing, which were considered almost as sacred as traditional sacrifices.³⁸ According to the *Nilamata Purana*, the land was prepared only after consulting an astrologer to determine an auspicious date and time for the process.³⁹ Before ploughing the rice fields, offerings were made to nearly all known gods and goddesses. This indicates that, as mentioned earlier, the unpredictability of a successful harvest made the people of Kashmir deeply superstitious, leading them to take every possible measure to ensure a good yield. It is also recorded that before sowing, the paddy seeds were soaked in water, and gold was briefly placed in it as part of a purification ritual.⁴⁰ The process of husking rice seems to have remained unchanged over time. Before the outer husk was removed, the rice needed to be properly dried. This practice is mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*, where a woman is described as keeping an eye on the rice spread out in the courtyard to dry under the sun.⁴¹ The *Kuttanimata* also refers to the process of dehusking *Sali* rice using a pestle.⁴²

Among the various crops grown in the valley, barley (Yava) was also cultivated. The *Nilamata Purana* frequently mentions barley in the context of religious rituals and offerings to deities.⁴³ However, unlike paddy, it did not require special care. While paddy was mostly cultivated on higher mountain slopes,⁴⁴ ancient texts also describe different preparations made from it, some of which are still popular today.⁴⁵

Stein writes that barley was consumed in Kashmir mainly by the poorest or in areas where proper meals could not be prepared.⁴⁶ However, the *Nilamata Purana* regards barley as a sacred grain. This suggests that, much like today, barley was primarily used in religious ceremonies rather than for daily meals. It was considered a light food and was often advised for those who were unwell.

Pulses: The *Nilamata Purana* refers to several types of pulses,⁴⁷ mainly in the context of religious rituals. Among these, mung was regarded as the best⁴⁸ and was often sown in rice fields during May.⁴⁹ The mention of other varieties included Kulatha, Cana, Mothi, Mah(Masa), and Masur.⁵⁰ The cultivation of these pulses is also evident from later records that detail the agricultural practices of the valley.⁵¹

Oilseeds: The only two varieties of oilseeds are mentioned, and it seems they were not widely cultivated. Scholars like Ksemendra indicate that oil was considered a costly commodity in the valley. Available records suggest that sesamum (tila) was grown, with numerous references to its use found in both the *Nilamata Purana* and the *Rajatarangini*.⁵² The *Nilamata Purana* primarily recommends *sesamum (tila)* for *Sraddha* rituals, sacrifices, and deity worship. It is also mentioned as a suitable offering for *Brahmins*, in addition to being consumed by the people.⁵³ This crop was commonly grown and usually sown in April. According to later records, it did not require manuring, but its yield depended on the fertility of the soil and a balanced amount of rainfall. Even today, it is valued in Kashmir for its medicinal properties as an ointment.⁵⁴ Another oilseed mentioned in the *Nilamata Purana* is the white variety of mustard.⁵⁵

Horticulture: Agriculture has continuously been intricately tied with horticulture. Firstly, alongside major crops, people also cultivated vegetables and other plants. Secondly, fruits and flowers were essential, much like cereal crops, as they were widely consumed by the people. The valley was no exception to this practice. Vegetables have held great significance in Kashmir for centuries, and even today, most villagers cultivate small garden plots for their personal needs. Additionally, they were also offered to the gods as part of religious traditions.⁵⁶ The available texts do not provide specific names of the vegetables cultivated in the valley during ancient times. However, the *Nilamata Purana* uses the general term *Sak* to refer to vegetables.⁵⁷ Since leafy vegetables were consumed in large quantities, it is reasonable to assume that the valley had a diverse and abundant production of such greens. Even today, the region is known for its rich variety of high-quality vegetables. Some of the notable ones include cauliflower, carrots, the leaf stalks of *pamposh* (*nymphaea lotus*), and *singhara* (horned waternut), all of which are commonly used as food items.⁵⁸

Fruits:

Since ancient times, Kashmir has been renowned for its diverse varieties of fruits,⁵⁹ with grapes receiving special attention in cultivation. The southern region was particularly known for producing the finest quality.⁶⁰ Kalhana even remarked that grapes, which were rare even in heaven, were abundant in Kashmir.⁶¹ The *Nilamata Purana* also mentions this.⁶² In earlier times, grapes were widely grown in Martand, but their cultivation later became limited to areas around the shores of Dal Lake.⁶³ Apart from grapes, pomegranates were also widely grown in the valley.⁶⁴ Fruits that are well-known today, such as apples, pears, walnuts, and strawberries, may have a long history in the region. However, ancient texts rarely mention specific fruit names, instead using the general term *phala* (fruit). Additionally, some products had multiple uses—for instance, saffron was not only consumed but also used in cosmetics and medicine.⁶⁵

Saffron:

Saffron is the most valued produce of the valley and is referred to as *Kumkuma* in ancient texts,⁶⁶ which also highlight its various uses. It was widely used in *puja* rituals, a practice frequently mentioned in the *Nilamata Purana*.⁶⁷ Additionally, saffron played a role in medicine⁶⁸ and was even used to enhance the flavor of wine. Due to its pleasant fragrance, it served as both a scent and an ingredient in unguents. The *Kumkumatilak* was well-known across the country, and beyond these uses, saffron was also valued as a cosmetic. However, saffron cultivation has always been limited to a specific region. Historical records indicate that it was primarily grown in Padmapura, now known as Pampore,⁶⁹ and despite advancements in agricultural technology, its production remains confined to this area. This is likely due to the unique soil requirements necessary for its growth. Current studies suggest that the soil in this region consists of light ferruginous clay found along the banks of the Jhelum River. As per the *Gazetteer*, saffron is cultivated on a high plateau known as Sonarkund, meaning the golden basket. Its cultivation spreads along the right bank of the Jhelum River, covering the area between the villages of Latapur and Samepur.⁷⁰

Forest Products:

Kutha(Costus): Apart from saffron cultivation, the valley was also known for producing several valuable herbs. Among them, *Kutha* (Costus) is frequently mentioned in historical texts, indicating its significance.⁷¹ It was distinctly recognised for its aromatic properties and was likely used for medicinal purposes, as it continues to be today.⁷² Additionally, it played a role in religious rituals⁷³ and was also used for purifying wine. Certain pulses, such as *masa*, *matur*, and *priyangu*, were utilized in the preparation of unguents and cosmetics.⁷⁴ The *Nilamata Purana* also references a variety of medicinal plants,⁷⁵ including herbs like *parpata*, *bhallataka*, and *vaca*.⁷⁶ Additionally, the *Gazetteer of Kashmir* mentions that several medicinal plants grow naturally in different parts of the valley. These include *wormwood* (terwan), *chiretta*, *aloes*, *colocynth*, *nettle*, and *Indian hemp*.⁷⁷ The *Nilamata Purana* and *Rajatarangini* mention both red and white varieties of sandalwood,⁷⁸ which were commonly used as ointments.⁷⁹ Moreover, Kashmir was known for producing yellow sandalwood, which kings applied as an unguent during the rainy season.⁸⁰

Cash Crops:

Along with saffron and *kutha*, cotton also falls into this category. One of the earliest references to cotton appears in the *Kuttanimata*, which describes village women gathering cotton from the fields.⁸¹ However, most references to cotton cultivation are from a relatively later period.⁸² It is grown, though not extensively, mainly in May and primarily on *Udars* since it requires minimal irrigation. The harvest takes place in September and October. Earlier records suggest that in the past, cotton was produced in significant quantities and was generally of good quality.

Dairy Products:

Agriculture in the region was heavily dependent on cattle, as bullocks were essential for plowing the fields in earlier times. The same applied to manure, which played a crucial role in farming. The *Krsi-Parasara* provides a detailed discussion on manuring and related agricultural practices.⁸³ Although its guidelines may not be directly applicable to Kashmir, given that farming methods were largely uniform across the country, its conclusions can be extended to the valley as well. This suggests that cattle wealth was of great significance in Kashmir. Historical accounts also mention that meetings of *purohita* corporations were held in areas designated for cattle, indicating their importance. It can be inferred that livestock provided an additional source of income for farmers, making it a valuable by-product of agriculture. There are no direct references to the sale of milk and its products in historical records. However, mentions exist of their extensive use, both for personal consumption and in religious ceremonies and rituals. Moreover, a later reference indicates that priests used to sell *nirmalya*, which strongly suggests that they were also engaged in selling milk products. Taken together, these diverse elements demonstrate that the agrarian system of early medieval Kashmir was not narrowly cereal-based but broadly diversified. Agriculture, horticulture, forest produce, cash crops, and cattle wealth operated in close interdependence, reflecting a sophisticated adaptation to environmental conditions.

6. CONCLUSION:

The agrarian structure of early medieval Kashmir emerged as a product of continuous interaction between environment and society. The geological transformation of the valley from a lake basin into cultivable land laid the ecological foundation upon which settlement and agriculture expanded. Distinct agro-ecological zones—such as the fertile alluvial plains and the Karewa plateaus—shaped patterns of cultivation, irrigation, and regional specialization. Agriculture in Kashmir was neither primitive nor Single-crop based. It combined cereal production with pulses, oilseeds, saffron cultivation, horticulture, forest resources, and cattle-based economy. Ritual practices surrounding agriculture further indicate the psychological and cultural significance of farming within society. Efficient irrigation systems, flood-control measures, and administrative linkages between land and revenue suggest that the agrarian system was carefully organised. Even mythological narratives preserved in the *Nilamata Purana* and historical descriptions in the *Rajatarangini* reflect a sophisticated understanding of ecological processes. Therefore, early medieval Kashmir presents an important example of environmental adaptation and agrarian resilience. The valley's ecological setting did not merely influence agriculture—it structured social hierarchy, settlement patterns, ritual culture, and economic exchange. Environment and agrarian organisation functioned not as separate domains but as mutually reinforcing foundations of Kashmiri society.

¹ Nila, *Nilamata Purana*, Eng. Tr. by Dr. Ved Kumari, J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, 1973, VV. 12-13

² *Ibid*, VV. 12-13

³ *Ibid*, VV. 40-41

⁴ *Ibid.*, VV. 45-46

⁵ *Ibid.*, VV. 45-46

- ⁶ The period or age of a Manu. It comprises about 71 mahayugas which are held equal to 12,000 years of the gods or 4,320,000 human years or 1-1/4th of a day of Brahma. Each of these periods is presided over by its own special Manu, William, M.M., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1984, p. 786.
- ⁷ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 172-174. From this it appears that sage Nila takes Ananta as a separate god from Visnu. Whereas as per mythology, Ananta is also an emanation of Visnu. This suggests that he took this idea from the mythology where Ananta is taken as an incarnation of sesa.
- ⁸ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 171-180.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, VV. 208-218; Tsang, Hiuen Si-yu-ki, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Two volumes, Eng. Tr. by S. Beal, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1984, Vol. I, p. 149.
- ¹⁰ Kalhana, *Rajatarangini: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* (English translation with an Introduction. Commentary and Appendices by M.A. Stein, Vols. I & III, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1961), I. 25-27
- ¹¹ Williams, M.M., *op.cit.*, p. 262. A measurement of time suggesting one thousand yugas i.e. a period of four thousand, three hundred and twenty millions of years of mortals, measuring the duration of the world.
- ¹² Kalhana, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 25.
- ¹³ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 26-28.
- ¹⁴ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. pp. 217-221.
- ¹⁵ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 237-242. Other important rivers are the Trikoti, Harsapatha and Candravati who are regarded as the manifestations of goddesses Aditi, Saci and Dirl resp.
- ¹⁶ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, VII, 1219, 1624 VIII. 2449, 2786.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 159, III. 483.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 84-92.
- ¹⁹ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 425; Drew, F., *op.cit.*, pp. 167-168.
- ²⁰ Ray, S.C., *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, Revised II Edition, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1970, p. 3.
- ²¹ Bates, C.E., *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, Light and Life Publishers, Delhi, 1980, pp. 6-7.
- ²² Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 217-218, 235.
- ²³ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p. 429. For example Saffron was mainly grown in Padmapur
- ²⁴ Jamwal, Suman, *Economy of Early Kashmir*, Jay Kay Book House, Jammu, 1994, p. 4
- ²⁵ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 18-19.
- ²⁶ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, II. 20, IV. 230
- ²⁷ Lawrance, Walter R, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Oxford University Press, London, 1895, p. 329
- ²⁸ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 428.
- ²⁹ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, IV. 191, V. 97-98.
- ³⁰ Nila, *op.cit.*, V. 18.
- ³¹ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 438
- ³² Williams, M.M., *op.cit.*, p. 319.
- ³³ Damodaragupta, *Kuttanimatam* (Text and Hindi translation by A. Vidyalkar, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1961, VV. 229, 871
- ³⁴ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 14, 428, 506, 811 ; Kalhana, *op.cit.*, 1.246.
- ³⁵ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, II. 18-19.
- ³⁶ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, II. 21-24
- ³⁷ Bates, C.E., p. 50
- ³⁸ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 560-568.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, V. 56.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, V. 566.
- ⁴¹ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, 1. 246
- ⁴² Damodaragupta, *op.cit.*, V. 871.
- ⁴³ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 450, 652, 705, 771, 833.
- ⁴⁴ Lawrence, W., *op.cit.*, p. 341.
- ⁴⁵ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, 1 V. 205.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, note on VIII. 1864.
- ⁴⁷ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 507, 555, 1416-17.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 555.
- ⁴⁹ Lawrence, W., *op.cit.*, p. 339.
- ⁵⁰ Nila, *op.cit.*, V. 435; Damodaragupta, *op.cit.*, V. 229; Lawrence, W., *op.cit.*, p. 339; Ray, S.C., *op.cit.*, p. 120.
- ⁵¹ Lawrence, W., *op.cit.*, p. 339.
- ⁵² Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 550, 507; Kalhana, *op.cit.*, III. 426.
- ⁵³ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 500, 507, 526, 532, 652, 716, 718, 753.
- ⁵⁴ Lawrence, W., *op.cit.*, p. 340.
- ⁵⁵ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 488, 811.
- ⁵⁶ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 428, 450.

- ⁵⁷ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 428, 450.
- ⁵⁸ Bates, C.E., *op.cit.*, p. 50
- ⁵⁹ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, I. 201-202
- ⁶⁰ Gupta, L.R, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh* (Compiled under the direction of Quarter Master General in India in intelligence branch, Vivek Publication, Delhi, 1974, p. 8.
- ⁶¹ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, 1. 42.
- ⁶² Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 428, 830, 832.
- ⁶³ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, Vol. 11, p. 429;
- ⁶⁴ Nila, *op.cit.*, V. 429.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, VV. 428, 450.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, VV. 430, 507, 571, 790, Damodaragupta, *op.cit.*, VV. 66, 607, 698; Kalhana, *op.cit.*, 1. 42
- ⁶⁷ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 430, 507, 571, 790.
- ⁶⁸ Bates, C.E., *op.cit.*, p. 44.
- ⁶⁹ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 428-429.
- ⁷⁰ Bates, C.E., *op.cit.*, p. 44.
- ⁷¹ Nila, *op.cit.*, V. 811; Kalhana, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 365.
- ⁷² Bates, C.E., *op.cit.*, p. 43.
- ⁷³ Nila, *op.cit.*, V. 811.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, VV. 435-436.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, VV. 23, 548, 552, 811.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, VV. 548, 811.
- ⁷⁷ Bates, C.E., *op.cit.*, p. 53.
- ⁷⁸ Nila, *op.cit.*, VV. 430, 453, 818; Kalhana, *op.cit.*, III. V. 382.
- ⁷⁹ Kalhana, *op.cit.*, I. 36.
- ⁸⁰ Jamwal, Suman, *Economy of Early Kashmir*, p.10
- ⁸¹ Damodaragupta, *op.cit.*, V. 870.
- ⁸² Bates, C.E., *op.cit.*, p. 52
- ⁸³ *Krsi-Parasara*, Ed. & Tr. by G.P. Majumdar and S.C. Banerji, Bibliotheca Indica, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1960, p. 74.