
Naga Worship in Ancient Kashmir

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ABSTRACT

Regarding the exact date when the snake-cult was prevalent in the land, no direct testimony is available. But there are geological and mythological reasons to believe that in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, it might have been the principal religion of Kashmir. Nagas were eminently popular deities and was heresy of ancient Kashmir people. From early times, considerable importance must have been attached to their worship, as is proved by the long account given of them in the oldest book of valley, NilmataPurana along with the numerous temples erected near the famous springs, and the popularity and undoubtedly ancient origin of the worship directed to the latter. The belief in Nagas was fully flourishing also in the Rajatarangini of Kalhana, which in many places has not ceased to pay a kind of folklore respect and fetish worship to these deities. The popular concept of the Nagas, of ancient period represent them under the form of snakes, living in the water of the springs or lake protected by them. Nagas are depicted in different inscriptions in different forms like creator, destroyer and propitiators. The methodology of this research paper will include the collection of primary data and second step will be the analytical description through comparative study. Through comparative study efforts will be made to shed light on this aspect of the traditional history of Ancient Kashmir.

KEYWORDS—chesmah, Nila, Pishacha, Animism

INTRODUCTION

To understand the cultural basis of a particular community, the study of its religious beliefs is very important. Religion forms an all-pervasive component of the culture of a community. Kashmir has been a very religious land since times immemorial. The birth and growth of civilization paved the way for different religions to spring up here. In pre-historic times, there were no religions as such but people worshipped various forces of nature like the Sun, the Moon, Thunder, etc. As the society grew, complex religious practices came into existence. With the emergence of the priestly class there were a multitude of changes in the religion in Kashmir. The snake-cult or *Naga* worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period and undoubtedly had been one of the earliest religions of the land. The history of the emergence of this cult in India has been traced back to the Harappan age in two seals where it appears in an attitude of devotion to a figure in yogic posture, possibly a god- an early anticipation of the close association of serpents with Saiva (and Sakti) cult of the later cult.

The *vrtras* of the Rigveda were most probably *Naga*-worshippers and hostile to the Vedic Aryans. *Naga* worship thus existed in the Rigvedic period though it was not accepted by the Aryans. But gradually it was accepted by

Aryans. It was due to this tendency that the *YajurvedaSamhita* paid obeisance to the serpents of the earth along with those of the sky and the upper region. In the *Atharveveda* and the later Samhitas serpents (*sarpah*) appear as semi-divine being. In the *Grhyasutras*, *Nagas*, called for the first time by this name and supposed to belong to earth, sky, and heaven as also to the quarters, receive adoration and worship. The *Niddesa* also refers to *Naga* worshippers, and the *Chhargaoon* life-size *Nagas* have been described as “worshipful *Naga* (*BhagavaNaga*)”. The *Taittiriya* Brahmana refers to the divine serpents to whom is offered the sweet sacrificial food. The *Satapatha* Brahmana refers to *Sarpa-vidya* and the *Chandogyopanishad* mentions *Sarpadeva-jnana-vidya*. The *Grhyasutras* give a graphic account of the *Sarpabali* rite which is initiated on the full-moon of *Sravana* and is concluded on the full-moon of *Margasirsa*. Thus, it is clear that by the time of *Grhyasutras*, the *Naga* cult had made its way in the Aryan religion. The Epics and the Puranas testify to this gradually increasing popularity of the *Naga* cult and its assimilation by Hinduism. The Mahabharata states the merits of visiting various *Naga* tirthas like *Nagodbheda*, *Sarpadevi*, *Kurukshetra*, *Prayaga* etc. The tirthas of the *Nagas*, *Kapila* and *Mani*, are also glorified. The attempts of Saivism and Vaisnavism to associate their deities with the *Nagashave* been also seen in the Epics and the Puranas.

Kashmir was one of the principal centers of serpent-worship in India. Though earliest detailed evidence is lacking, there is no doubt that snake-worship prevailed in the valley from a very initial period. Men and women started to worship gods as soon as they became recognizably human. They created religions at the same time as they created works of Art. In the same manner in case of Ancient Kashmir

very early humans started worshipping Nature. In literary evidences, the earliest religion of Kashmir (*Naga* Worship) had a close relationship with the legendary origin of Kashmir. The earliest inhabitants of Kashmir had probably cherished some aboriginal belief, but so far, no traces of their form of worship etc. have been found. The snake-cult or *Naga* Worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period and undoubtedly had been one of the earliest religions of the land. We find that before the Indo-Aryan immigration, the prominent cult was animism manifested by *Naga* or Snake worship which has not ceased even till now and which is manifested in the respect and sanctity that is attached to *Nagas* or springs in the valley. The long account of *Nagas* given in the *NilmataPurana*, the numerous temples built near the more famous springs, and the popularity and undoubtedly ancient origin of the pilgrimages directed to the latter show the deepseated belief in *Naga* Worship among the people of the valley.

The term ‘*Naga*’ stands for spring, *chesmah*, and *nagin* for small spring. The names of *Nagasare* designated in Kashmir to the tutelary deities who are supposed to reside in the springs and lakes of the valley. The Sanskrit word *Naga* is for snake, especially the cobra, which is related to the fertility and is considered as a source of life. Springs are the main source of water in Kashmir. The five primordial elements (earth, fire, water, air and sky) are, in fact, complimentary to the people’s rituals, cognitive system, religious beliefs and sacrificial practices from a spring near *Verinag* which, as source of the river Jhelum, is responsible for the water supply to mostparts of the valley. The *Naga* was regarded sometimes as the spirit of departed ancestors, and sometimes as a guardian of treasures in later times. In ancient period, there

are literal and archaeological evidences related to the history of *Naga* cult in Kashmir. Even today Kashmir *Naga* deities constituted a major generic form among the folk deities of the region. The major *Naga* deities include Basak *Naga* (*Vasuki Naga*), *Bhair devta*, *Kai devta*, *Baba Surgal*, *Mansar devta*, *Bhudsar devta*, *Tansar devta* and *Shankhpal* who are worshipped all over the region. On the other hand *Sukuhhal devta*, *Daule devta*, *Narde devta*, *Kurchit devta*, *Masal devta*, *Pagan devta* etc. are the minor *Naga* deities whose influence does not extend beyond their respective village. Apart from the aboriginal *Naga* deities, some anthropomorphic form of serpent deities like *Raja Mandlikh*, are also worshipped. This form appears to have come from outside the region and got assimilated into the local deity cult. *ShanhkPaldevta* is revered in *Laddar* hill region of Ramban district. His importance can be gauged from the fact that we find his reference in *Nilmant Purana* and *Rajatarangini* of *Kalhana*. His main shrine is in *Laddar* area and he is the family deity of *Bhutyal* Rajputs.

LITRARY REFERENCES

First literal evidence related to *Naga* cult in Kashmir is found in the *Mahayamsha*. It is said that Asoka's adviser *MoggaliputtaTissa* sent *Majjhantika* to preach Buddhism in Kashmir. When the *shramana* reached the valley, he found that *Aravala*, the king of the *Nagas*, was ruling over it. *Aravala* was destroying the corns of the country by hail storm. *Majjhantika*, however, due to his divine powers remained unaffected from rains and storms. This made the *Naga* king furious who sent lightning and struck rocks against the Buddhist monk in herder to kill him. But all these went in vain. Then convinced of the great powers of *Majjhantika*, the *Naga* king *Aravala* together with their

followers submitted before the monk and accepted Buddhism. This was followed by the conversion into Buddhism a large number of *Naga* worshippers of Kashmir and Gandhara. Apart from this, there are plenty of other references as well.

1. NILAMATA PURANA

NilmataPurana is considered as the oldest literary source of ancient Kashmir. It gives detailed information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legend. The very first legend related to *Naga* cult comes in length like, “the Saint of whom Bernier described as *Kashyapa*, at whose request the gods come to Kashmir to fight the water-demon who infests the big lake and causes great trouble to the people of the surrounding countries. It is *Baladeva* who at the behest of his brother Vishnu cleaves the Himalaya with his weapon, the plough-ahare, and thus drains the valley. Then the wicked demon is slain by Vishnu. The place where according to popular belief the mountain was pierced by *Baladeva* is *Baramula*.

NilmataPurana next relates the manner in which Kashmir became inhabited- “At first human being could live there only for six months. The remaining half of the year it was occupied by *Pisachas* under their rule, named *Nikumbha*. At the beginning of spring when the snow would melted away the *Pishacha* king with his whole army left the country and went to fight the goblins that live in the ocean of sand. Thus, it continued during four *yugas*. Then one year an old *Brahaman*, *Chandradeva* by name, stayed behind and found a refuge in the subterranean palace of *Nila*, the king of *Nagas*. Not only did he find shelter here against the cold but the serpent king consented to his wish that in future the people should be allowed to dwell in the country the whole year round. Moreover, *Nila* imparted to his guest the rites which should be

observed by the inhabitants of Kashmir. From that time, onwards the people were no longer troubled by the Pishacha, Further the *Nilamata* says “Ira is dear to the *Nagas* and to me she is especially so, whosoever pays worship to me in an Ira garden with Ira flowers, with him I am pleased excessively.”

The rites ordained by *Nilā* occupied about two-thirds of the extended text of the *NilamataPurana*. It describes two festivals which are closely connected with the legend of the *Pishacha*. The full moon day of *chatra*, the first month of spring, is the day on which *Nikumbha* and his host of goblins were about to leave the country. On that day, it is ordained that people should make a clay image of *Nikumbha* and pay reverence to it. The night should be passed with music and the next day the people should ascend the hills to say farewell to *Nikumbha*. The return of the pishachi army is commemorated on the full moon day of *Ashvans* or *Ashvayuj*, the first month of autumn. On that day the image of *Nikumbha* is worshiped. People must place an oil-lamp outside their houses during the night, a custom which is still observed in Kashmir.

Another feast which has a seasonal character is the festival of the first snowfall. On this occasion, the Himalaya must be worshipped, and the two cold seasons *hemanta* and *Shishira*. It can be no matter of surprise that *Nilā*, too, partakes of the worship, considering that the snow- fall is attributed to the agency of the *Nagas*. He is, indeed, to be presented with the offerings of flowers and fruits and with incense of bdellion (guggule). Earlies Brahamins are to be fed with jiggery and ghee. The festival of first fall of snow is associatedwith another solemnity peculiar to Kashmir, which, as Dr Bhuler observed, would rather of the practice of orthodox Brahmins in the plains of India. It is

the drinking of new wine. On this occasion the goddess *Shyama* receives special worship in the form of offering of flowers, incense, ointments, food, fruits and roots. Another festivity in which *Nilā* and the *Naga* participate is celebrated in the month of *Chaitra*, when *Nikumbha* go out of the country. It is called *Iramanjaripuja* and has festival of spring festival. *Ira* was an *Apsara*

Nilā and the *Nagas* were also propitiated on the *Iramanjaripuja* festivity (New snow fall day; in Kashmiri *Navsheen*) which took place in the month of *Caitra*. Another ceremony called *Varuṇapancami* was held on the fifth day of *Bhadra* and was connected with the worship of serpent king *Nilā* under the name *Dhanada*.

The religious significance of the water is established by the *NilamataPurana* when it records the entire land of the Kashmir as the material manifestation of *Uma* and describes her as the divine form of the *Vitasta* (the *Jhelum*). The *Nilamata Purana*, which is the oldest record of the legend and to which most of the rites prescribed by *NilamataPurana* are concerned with the nature of worship of popular deities. But there are some festivals which are particularly connected with the worship of *Naga* or serpent. The *Nilamata Purana* also records the names of the principal *Nagas* worshipped in Kashmir, the total number of which was 527. The four *dikpalas* of Kashmir, mentioned by the author of the *Nilamata Purana* were four *Nagas* - *Bindusara* in the east, *Srimadaka* in the south, *Elapatra* in the west and *Uttaramanasa* in the north. From a remote period, great importance must have been attached to the worship of the *Nagas* as is shown by the long account of them given in the *Nilamata Purana*. A large number of temples, built near some of the famous springs and undoubtedly early origin of the Pilgrimages directed to them, clearly pointed out

the popularity of the *Naga*-cult in ancient Kashmir. According to the *NilamataPurana*, the *Nagas* were supposed, according to the *Nilamata Purana*, to reside in the lakes and springs of the valley. Even now names of places like Verinag, Anantanag, Śeṣanag, etc. show traces of ancient *Naga* beliefs.

The famous Chinese pilgrim who visited Kashmir in the 7th Century A.D., Hieun Tsang relates that according to the native records Kashmir was originally a dragon lake. Ferguson mentions that a century before Christ, king *Damodara* as per *Rajatarangini* was converted into a snake because he offended some Brahmin, and also mentions many *Naga* kings.

2. RAJATARANGINI

The fact that the *Nagas* were eminently popular deities in the happy valley is also testified to by Kalahana's Chronicle. According to the *Rajatarangini*, Kashmir was a land protected by *Nila*, the lord of all *Nagas*. *Kalhana* recounts *Gauri* (Parvati) taking the shape of the river *Vitasta* (Jhelum) that takes its origin from *Verinag*. The place is said to have been the abode of lord of the *Nagas*, namely *Nila* to whom the pond made his parasol and the river as the stick of the umbrella. He further says that the land is protected by the *NagasShankha* and *Padma*, resplendent with various jewels. It is worth noting that traditionally *Nagas* or snakes are associated with *mani* or jewels, but both *Shankha* and *Padma*, here taken as names of the *Nagas*, are two great *nidhis* amongst the nine fortunes (*navanidhis*) known in Indian mythology. Even when Buddhism had undermined the *Naga* beliefs, one of its early kings *Gonanda III* is said to have reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worship in honour of the *Nagas*, as they had been before.

There is also a story of *SusravasNaga*, and his alliance with Brahmana which is depicted with much details. According to the story, a Brahmana named *Vishakha* during the course of his travel reached a fountain spring called *SushravasNaga*. While resting there he saw two beautiful damsels in distress, whom he offered food. The maidens turned out to be *Nagakanyas* daughters of *SushravasNaga*. On insistence they narrated the tale of their despair because of a *tantrika* that prevented them from eating rich food from the harvesting crops. The Brahmana *Vishakha*, then devised way for the so-called ascetic to unknowingly lift his own spell by breaking its conditions. Now, *Sushravas* happy with the Brahma and married off one of his daughters to him and made him rich and happy. In this story, *Kalhana* clearly indicates his reverence for the *Nagas*, which may be the reflection of the religious beliefs of the time, popular among people. Further, the chronicler refers to the destruction of the king *Nara* and his capital *Narapura* for having evil eye on the *Nagakanya*. Incidentally *Kalhana* also mentions the famous lake *SheshaNaga*, located on the way to Amarnath cave and its importance. King *Durlabhavardhana* and his scions are ascribed to a family which, according to *Kalhana*, was *Naga* in its origin. *NagaMahapadma*, the tutelary deity of the Vular Lake, is said to have showed king *Jayapida*, a mountain which yielded copper. Another *Naga* called *PiLaraka* deluded the Darad chieftain *Acalamangala*, who attacked the happy valley during the reign of Ananta. Among the festivals connected with the *Naga*-cult, *Kalhana* speaks of the annual festival in honour of the great serpent king *Takshaka* 'frequented by dances and strolling players and thronged by the crowds of spectators' which was celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of *Jyestha*. *Kshemendra* also refers to a *Takshakavatra* festival in his *Samayamatrka*.

Kalhana in his *Rajataragini*, probably a work of the 7th or 8th century CE, records at great length how Kashmir was created out of water and left to the care of the *Nagas* of whom *Nila*, the son of *Kashyapa*, was the chief. According to this work the lake was called *Satisaras*, the 'lake of *Sati*', and occupied the place of Kashmir from the beginning of the Kalpa. In the period of the seventh Manu the demon *Jalodbhava* (water-born), who resided in the lake, caused great distress to all neighboring regions by his devastations. The sage *Kashyapa*, the father of all *Nagas*, while on his pilgrimage in the north of India, heard of the cause of this distress from his son *Nila*, the King of the Kashmir *Nagas*. The sage determined to punish the evil-doer, proceeded to *Brahma* to implore him and other gods to help for this purpose. His prayer was granted. All the gods by *Brahma's* command started for the *Satisaras* and took up their position on the lofty peaks above *Kaunsarnag*. The demon, who was invincible in his own element, refused to come forth from the lake. God *Vishnu*, thereupon, called upon his brother *Balabhadra* to drain the lake which he did by piercing the mountains with his ploughshare. When the lake had dried up, *Jalodbhava* was attacked by *Vishnu* who took the incarnation of *Vraha* (aboa). After a fierce combat the former was slain with *Vishnu's* cakra. *Kashyapa* then settled the land of Kashmir which had thus been produced. The gods took up their abode in it as well as the *Nagas*, while various goddesses adorned the land in the shape of rivers. At first men dwelt in it for only six months in the year owing to a curse of *Kashyapa*, who, angered by the *Nagas*, had condemned them to dwell for the other six months with the *Pishacas*. The men thus left the Valley for the six months of winter and returned in *Caitra* (March-April) when *Pishacas* withdrew. Ultimately when four Yugas had passed, the Brahman *Candradeva*

through *NilaNaga's* favor acquired a number of rites which freed the country from the *Pishacas* and the excessive cold. Henceforth, Kashmir became habitable throughout the year. Thus, it can be seen through these references of *Rajatarangini* that *Nagacult* was one of the prominent cult of Kashmir that too from early period. All the above mentioned stories depict that *Naga cult* was strongly related to animism.

3. FOREIGNERS' REFERENCES

Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kashmir in the 7th century CE, relates that according to the native records, Kashmir was originally a dragon lake. A very detailed and vivid account of how the *Arhat Madhyantika* (*Majjhantika*) rescued the valley of Kashmir from the *Nagas*, established there the religion of the Buddha and settled five hundred arhats in the country has been preserved in the Chinese *Vinaya* of the *Mula-Sarvasti-vadin* sect.

4. OTHER REFERENCES

The Tibetan scholar *Bu-ston*, who composed his famous history of Buddhism in the 14th century CE, points out that when *Madhyanti* went to Kashmir to preach Buddhism, he found the *Nagas* presiding in the valley. They at first gave a tough opposition to *Madhyantika*, but at the end, the Buddhist monk succeeded in subduing the troublesome *Nagas*. That *Naga-worship* prevailed in early Kashmir receives confirmation not only from the accounts of Sri Lanka, China and Tibet but also from native literature.

The *puranas* also point to the association of the cult of the *Nagas* with that of *Shiva*. In the *Mahabharata* and *Harivamsa* texts, *Shesha* was

considered the son of Shiva. A lesser relation was developed with regard to Vishnu as in his Sheshashaji form which links the primal waters with the sleeping Vishnu. Also, Balrama, *Krishna's* elder brother is the personification of the snake Ananta. That the *Naga* cult was prevalent in the whole Hindu period as well as afterwards is attested by the account of Abul Fazl. He mentions that during the period of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) there were 45 places dedicated to Shiva, 64 to Vishnu, 3 to Brahma and 22 to Durga, but there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshiped.

5. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCES

A large number of temples, buildings near some of the famous springs and undoubtedly early origin of the pilgrimage centers clearly point out the popularity of the *Naga*-cult in ancient Kashmir and that the *Naga*-cult prevailed in the valley throughout the Hindu rule and even afterwards, seems to be corroborated by the account of Abul Fazal. He tells us that during the reign of Akbar (CE 1556- 1605) there were in Kashmir forty five places dedicated to the worship of Śiva, sixty four to *Vishnu*, three to *Brahma* and twenty two to *Durga*, but there were seven hundred places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped.

6. TAMPLES OF NARANĀG

NaraNaga is the modern name of ancient *Sodaratirtha*. The sacred spring of *NaraNaga* is the reputed source of the river *Vitasta*. In Hindu times it was known as the *Nila-Naga*, and was sacred to the snake-deity of that name. The *Nilamatapurana* tells us that when *Parvati* had obtained the consent of her consort *Shiva* to incarnate in Kashmir as the river *Vitasta* in

order to purify the country which had become defiled by the touch of *pishacas*, who appear to have been some outlandish barbarians, he struck the earth at the site of the spring and thus cleared the way for the issue of the water of the *Parvati-vitasta*. Hence the *Tirtha* also bears the alternative name of *Shulaghata*. Locally it is also known as lower and upper group of temples.

The principal temple in the eastern group or in the upper group is dedicated to *Shiva* and has been identified with the temple of *Bhuteshvara*. The main and the largest temple in the western group or in the lower group is also dedicated to Śiva and Stein has identified this temple with *Jyeheshvara* temple of *Lalitaditya*. Around these two main temples several smaller temples were also built. The principal temple is a square of 25', and, except in a few particulars, does not differ from other temples of Kashmir. This temple has only two entrances opposite each other in the north-east and south-west sides. The roof of the temple was evidently pyramidal. A large quantity of lime has been used in the masonry of the temple. The ceiling is built of circular courses of kanjur stone, and is crowned at the apex by a full-blown lotus. The dome springs from four large corner stones. On two sides of the string-course upon which the dome rests are eight rectangular slots (four on each side), which seem to have been intended to hold the rafters of a canopy over the image. The interior measures 17' square. In the center of the floor is a square space which is unpaved. It marks the site of the pedestal of the image. The mortises of the tenons of the doors can still be seen in both entrances. The two sides which are closed are decorated externally with square-topped recesses, each of which contains the pedestal of an image. The core of the roof consists of rubble-stone masonry in lime. The small temple to the left possesses niches on

three sides intended for images. Of the two temples which are behind the main temple, one has its entrance facing north-east, and the other faces southeast. Immediately to the left of the latter is the ruined plinth of another temple, smaller than any of those described above.

Between the two groups of temples are a number of structures which in themselves deserve to be classed into a third group. All of them have fallen down, but one, the base only of which is in existence, is unique in Kashmir. It appears to have been a spacious pillared hall *orbarahdari* about 100' long by 67' broad. The bases of the columns are in situ. They are eight in number on the longer side and four on the shorter. The staircase is built between the central pair of columns facing the first group of temples. The slots in the landing on the top of the stairs seem to have been intended for holding the posts of screens.

There is a massive retaining wall of stone in this group of temples. The granite blocks are of so extraordinary in size and are so beautifully dressed and finely joined as to give the impression that their carvers regarded them more in the light of wooden beams than as close-grained intractable boulders to be chipped into shape with vigilant care and inexhaustible patience. It is probable that this wall served the double purpose of protecting the temple enclosure from being overwhelmed by the debris of the hill above, and also as the back wall of the range of cells on this side. The temples were endowed with extensive estates, and the priests in charge seem to have been a particularly influential body. In the later medieval period, after the death of *Avantivarman*, these temples shared the misfortunes which came upon Kashmir with ever increasing violence. The temple treasury was plundered by *Bhadreshvara*, the prime

minister of *Sangramaraja* (CE1003-1028)109; a conflagration in the reign of *Uccala* (CE 1101-1111) inflicted much damage upon the buildings; during the reign of *Jayasimha* (CE 1128-1155), *Hayavadana*, a rebel baron, had the temples sacked by marauding hillmen. *Sumanas*, a brother of *Rilhana*, the minister of *Jayasimha*, who built several *damaras* and *agraharas* etc. built a congregation hall here.

Conclusion

There is certainly a continuity of the said cult in the modern Kashmir as one finds many things in modern Kashmir which depict the impression of the earliest religion till now. First of all, the valley is named Kashmir after *Kashyopo* who has been mentioned above. The term *Naga* stands for spring, *cheshmah* and *negin* for small spring. Springs are the main source of water in Kashmir. Interestingly the auspicious and famous river of Kashmir, the *Vitasta* (Jhelum) originates from a spring veering and is important for the water supply to the most parts of the valley. The religious significance of the river is established by the *NilmataPurana* when it records the entire land of Kashmir as the material manifestation of Uma and describes her as the divine form of the *Vitasta*. According to *NilmataPurana*, *Nagas* were supposed to reside in the lakes and springs of the Valley. Hindus still propitiate these *Nagas*. At Martand (modern. Mattan in Anantnag District) even *srada* is performed, water is offered by Hindus to the Sun God and to their ancestors. Likewise, before having Darshan of the Shiva linga (snow linga) at Amarnatha, a holy dip is essential in the *Sheshnag*. A person suffering from a skin disease is said to be cured after having a bath in *GandhakNaga* at *Nagbal* (Anantnag). Thus, it can be concluded that *Nagacult* plays a very

pivotal role in the religious history of Kashmir. Numerous popular traditions about the Naga cult originate from Kashmir valley itself.

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