

The cult of Rudra-Siva.
An historical Survey.

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The cult of Rudra-Siva: An historical survey.

Abstract.

The introduction summarises the opinions of various scholars upon Śaivism and attempts made to explain its character and development.

In Chapter I the survey is begun from the earliest Vedic period with an examination of the character of the Vedic Rudra and his worship in the Saṁhitas and the Brāhmaṇas.

In Chapter II an attempt is made to explain the origin of some important features of later Śaivism in the light of the discoveries in the Indus Valley and adjacent regions.

In Chapter III the survey is resumed with the examination of the later Vedic literature, and is brought to the end of the Vedic period.

In Chapter IV the beginning of post-Vedic Śaivism is noticed from the evidence of the epics supplemented by that of other contemporary records.

In Chapter V the records of the early Christian era are examined and then the Purāṇas are taken up, in which the full development of the Śaiva cult is seen. The rise of the worship of Gaṇeśa is noticed, and also the rise of Śāktism as seen in the Tantras.

In Chapter VI the further history of Śaivism in the post-Pauranic period is given. The relation of Śaivism with other creeds, especially in the south, is noticed. The development of sub-sects within Śaivism is described, and a brief reference is made to the further development of the cults of Gaṇeśa and Śakti.

In Chapter VII a brief account is given of the development of Śaiva philosophy.

In Chapter VIII a brief survey is made of Śaivism outside India, with special reference to Indo-China and the Eastern Archipelago.

The cult of Rudra-Siva.

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Introduction.

As one of the chief sects of Hinduism which comes the notice of every student of that religion, it is rather surprising to note that no complete history of Saivism has yet been written. The reason for this has been, perhaps, twofold. First, the complex character of Saivism, including as it does, under its comprehensive name, a wide range of religious belief and practice, from the sublime Siddhanta to the grossest rites of the Kapalikas, has at once fascinated and baffled its students who have found it very difficult to explain all its aspects and their connection with one another. Secondly, owing to the lack of sufficient records, especially in the early period, it has not been possible for scholars to give an account of the origin and history of Saivism which would give a satisfactory explanation of its different features.

Notwithstanding these initial disadvantages, attempts have been made to give an historical account of the rise and development of the Saiva faith, chiefly in works dealing with Hinduism as a whole, while independent studies have been made of particular aspects of Saivism. These, if they have not successfully achieved their end, have shown that no account of Saivism can be deemed satisfactory unless it explains all its features as they exist today, and puts them in their proper

historical setting, by which their exact position in the past and their mutual relationship can be properly understood. The chief defect of these attempts, which, in view of the lack of records was really inevitable, is that most of them try to trace the origin of all the diverse features of Saivism from one source, the Vedic religion. Thus, Barth, in his Religions of India, tried to explain the different aspects of Siva's character by supposing him to have been a popularly worshipped deity during the Vedic times, "in vital relationship with all aspects of the rough and troubled life which has from time immemorial distinguished India." Lyall, in his Natural Religion in India, tried to explain the two chief aspects of the worship of Siva as a benevolent and auspicious deity on the one hand and as a destroyer on the other, by regarding that god to be symbolised, in the beginning, the two-fold aspect of nature as creative and destructive. "In Siva," he writes, "we have the condensation of the two primordial agencies, the driving force and the forces that kill, and thus, philosophically speaking, we see in this great divinity a comprehensive transfiguration of that idea which, as I repeat, I hold to be the root of Natural Religion". More recently, Mr. C.V.N. Ayyar, in his Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India, which, by the way, is one of the very few independent works on the history of Saivism has similarly, but in detail, tried to trace the development of all the features of later Saivism from the worship of the Rudra, and made an interesting, though unconvincing, attempt

explain the rise of the worship of the 'linga' as a symbol of the Deity whose infiniteness cannot be limited by attributing any form or features to him. Other scholars have also made other similar attempts. Yet, the essentially non-Vedic character of several features of later Saivism has been realised by some scholars, though for want of material they could not trace their exact origin. Max Muller, in his Anthropological Religion, says, "There is such a decidedly non-Vedic spirit in the conception of Durga and her consort Siva that I feel inclined to trace it to some independent source.....I hold, therefore, that neither Durga nor Siva can be looked upon as natural developments, not even as mere conceptions of Vedic deities". Later on, R.G. Bhandarakar, in his work giving an account of the rise of Saivism, ¹⁾ also admitted that there was non-Vedic element in the later Siva's conception, and thought that some deity or deities of the indigenous forest tribes might have amalgamated with him. Hints about such a syncretism having taken place have also been made by A.B. Keith in his Religion and Mythology of the Veda, and by Kumarasvami with regard to ²⁾ Siva's character as a dancer.

And, in fact, there is no doubt that Saivism, as it exists today, comprehends within itself elements derived from

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- 1. R.G. Bhandaraka. Vaisnavism, Saivism, and minor religious systems in India.
 - 2. Kumarasvami. Dance of Siva

the most diverse sources. The manifold aspects in which Siva is worshipped himself, his association with a goddess and his worship shows an even greater diversity and whose whole conception is non-Vedic and non-Aryan, and above all, the introduction into the cult of Siva of the worship of the 'linga' of whose original phallic character there is no doubt at all, and no traces of which are to be found in the worship of the Vedic Rudra who is usually taken to be the prototype of later Siva, prove definitely that modern Saivism is not merely a development of the worship of the Vedic Rudra, but represents a synthesis of various cults which were originally distinct and prevailed among different peoples. Our lack of exact knowledge about these peoples and their culture had been, hitherto, the one obstacle giving a satisfactory account of the origin and development of the various features of Saivism. But, in recent times this obstacle has been removed by archaeological and other discoveries, and we possess a much better knowledge not only of the pre-Aryan peoples who existed in India and their civilisation but also of the relation between Indian and other civilisations of the ancient world, influences from which latter, perhaps, played a considerable part in the evolution of the civilisation of post-Vedic India. It is, therefore, now possible to re-examine the whole position of Saivism and to see whether with the help of the new sources of information at our command we can give a more satisfactory account of the rise and development of Saivism with all its diverse features. This has

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attempted in this thesis. Beginning with an examination of Vedic Rudra, I have tried to show how some of the most important features of post-Vedic Saivism probably came into existence as a result of the fusion of the Vedic Aryans with the non-Aryan peoples, and the assimilation of the religions of the latter with the worship of Rudra. The development of the new religion which appeared after this fusion, is then traced with the help of available records to its fullest development as Puranic Saivism. Its subsequent elaboration and new developments are then examined and its history traced upto about the close of the 13th century when Saivism had attained the form in which it is seen today. Lastly, as a supplement to this survey, a brief account is also given of Saivism as it flourished outside India, specially in Indo-China and the Eastern Archipelago.

Chapter I.

It seems advisable to begin this survey with the Vedic literature. Being the oldest available literary records of India, the Vedas rightly form the starting point of all investigations in the religious as well as the secular history of that country, thus justifying the dictum, long established in Indian tradition, that every thing goes back to the Veda. Also, the deity who, with most propriety, be regarded as the direct prototype of the later Siva is the god Rudra of the Vedic literature. It is, therefore, only proper that we should pick up our first thread of inquiry here, and study the character of the Vedic Rudra and his worship.

Rudra appears as a deity of minor rank in the Rg Veda. Only three complete hymns are addressed to him. ¹⁾ Besides, in a hymn, the first six verses are addressed to Rudra and the last three to Soma. ²⁾ In another hymn, Rudra and Soma are jointly ³⁾ invoked. Rudra is also frequently mentioned in other hymns. His character, as seen in these hymns, is rather complex and has led to a good deal of speculation as to what he really represented. The etymology of his name, his association with the Mar

1. I, 114. II, 33. VII, 46. 2. I, 43.

3. VI, 74.

his tawny colour, and his generally fierce character have led many scholars to regard him as representing the phenomenon of storm. Thus, Weber, laying emphasis on his name, thought that represented the howling of the storm. ¹⁾ Dr. Macdonell, recognising his affinity with Agni, opined that he represented not the storm pure and simple but rather its baneful side in the destructive agency of lightning²⁾. R.G. Bhandarkar also takes him to be merely the personification of the destructive phenomena of nature ³⁾ ~~his~~ Muirhas expressed a similar opinion. ⁴⁾ On the other hand, his affinity with Agni has led other scholars to take him to represent one or the other aspect of fire. Thus, Wilson, in the introduction to his translation of the Rg Veda, regards Rudra a form of either Agni or Indra. ⁵⁾ Prof. Keith takes him to be storm god considered mainly in its destructive rather than its healing aspect. ⁶⁾ The death dealing shafts of Rudra have, again, led some to regard him as a god of the dead. His association with the Kesins in one hymn has been brought forward in support of this view. Thus, Schroeder regarded him as the chief of the souls of the dead conceived as coursing along in the winds. ⁷⁾

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1. Indische Studien. II,19-22.
 2. Vedic Mythology. p.78.
 3. Vaisnavism Saivism etc.
 4. Original Sanskrit Texts. IV,p.401.
 5. Rg Veda.
 6. Religion and Mythology of the Veda.p.147.
 7. WZKM.9,248.

Arbmann also, in view of this and of certain ceremonies connected with the worship of Rudra in later Vedic religion, calls him ¹⁾ priestly refinement of an ancient cannibalistic death demon.

All these attempts at interpreting the character of Rudra suffer from this one fault that they do not explain satisfactorily the whole character of Rudra. The riddle of Rudra's character has not yet been ~~was~~ solved, and it must be solved if the later character of Siva is to be properly understood. The difficulty really lies in the apparent inconsistencies in Rudra's character and the consequent tendency to emphasise one or the other of his characteristics and to neglect the others. Thus if he is fierce he is also ²⁾ gentle. He is malevolent sometimes and destroys man and beast, ³⁾ but he is also benevolent at other times and is a great life giving force, prayed for progeny and abundance. ⁴⁾ He is usually tawny in colour but is also described sometimes as white or golden. ⁵⁾ Besides, he is also regarded ⁶⁾ as the best of physicians possessing cool and healing remedies. ⁷⁾ He is also the father of Maruts. In some passages he is apparently ⁸⁾ identified with Agni, and in one he is described as ⁹⁾ associated with Keshin. No interpretation of Rudra can be satisfactory.

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1. Arbmann. Rudra.

2. I, 43, 1. II, 33, 9. X, 126, 5.

4. I, 43, 6. II, 33, 1, 7.

6. II, 33, 2, 4. etc.

8. II, 1, 6. III, 2, 5.

3. I, 114, 10. II, 33, 11. IV,

5. I, 43, 5. II, 33, 5.

7. II, 33, 1. etc.

9. X, 136, 7.

unless it explains all these characteristics of his. It should also be remembered that the Vedic mythology possesses a storm god, Parjanya, and a death god, Yama, so that there is good reason to suppose that the original conception of Rudra was different from either of these.

Now, from a careful study of these aspects of Rudra's character, and also from some of the peculiar epithets applied to him in the Rg Vedic hymns it appears that what Rudra really represented was the phenomenon of lightning issuing from a dark cloud and accompanied by peals of thunder and showers of rain. The evidence for this may be summarised as follows.

Rudra is included among the gods of the middle region, that is, the sky. Hence, it is very likely that he represented some phenomenon in the sky.

Rudra's colour is sometimes described as tawny, sometimes white, and sometimes as golden. This applies best to the lightning flashing among the clouds, which is of all these colours, while the roaring of Rudra, whence he derives his name, is the thunder which follows a flash of lightning.

His particular weapon is the bow with which he shoots ¹⁾ arrows which kill man and beast alike. This aptly represents the darting flashes of lightning which kill whomsoever they strike. And, as in the lower reaches of the Himalayas, in and near which the Rg Vedic Aryans most probably lived, the lightning is alike fearful and destructive, this explains the fierce and malevolent side of Rudra.

1.II,33,10. VII,46,1. etc.

Rudra's character and accounts of such epithets of his as 'g
-a', 'nrghna', and 'ksayadvira'¹⁾.

One of Rudra's epithets is 'kapardin'²⁾, having matted
hair. This appropriately represents the lightning among the
clouds which, when piled up in masses and dusky in colour, easily
suggest matted hair. The same epithet is also applied to the
Trtsus, in whose case it may be taken literally, and to Pusar
whose case it may represent the halo of the sun. Another ep
-et of Rudra is 'divovaraha', meaning the boar of the sky.³⁾ The
bright lightning issuing from a dark cloud easily suggests the
dusky boar with his white tusk. Finally, Rudra is called 'k
-malikin'; one who burns or blazes.⁴⁾ This attribute also ap
best to lightning.

On his benevolent side Rudra is called a great physe
-an who possesses cooling and healing remedies. In the great
growth of medicinal herbs during the rainy season, when 'Rudra
active', in the refreshing effect of rain and lightning on the
atmosphere, and in the general regeneration of plant and animal
life we are perhaps to see the correct explanation of this
aspect of Rudra's character. In this aspect also, Rudra is

1. antep p.3. note 3.
3. I, 114, 5.

2. I, 114, 1, 5.
4. II, 33, 8.

connected with fertility and vegetation, and is prayed for p
1)
-ny. The rains which follow flashes of lightning during the
monsoons in north India greatly promote the growth of crops,
herbs, and other vegetation, and the rainy season is also the
for the propagation of most animal species. Hence, the connec
of Rudra with fertility is quite natural. His epithet 'vrsak
is significant in this connection. The word is usually trans
-ted as 'bull' which, no doubt, is its present meaning in Sans
But, judging from the context where it occurs in the Rg Veda,
word seems to have been used more literally at that time. De
-ved from the root 'vr̥ṣ', it had a double meaning of one who
causes rain(and hence translated by Sayana as 'varṣayitr'),
of one who had great generative power, and hence manly or str
The word is appropriate for Rudra in both these senses, the f
referring to the rains caused by him, and the second to his p
-motion of fertility. In the latter sense it was applied to
bull who is remarkable for its strength and virility, and in
course of time became the common name for that animal.

Rudra is jointly invoked with Soma in one hymn. This
itself would not be very significant, for the joint invocatio
two deities is not unusual in the Rg Veda, and Soma is also
jointly invoked with Indra, Agni, and Pusan. 3) But, in another

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1. ante p.3. note 4.

2. II,33,6,8.

3. Vedic Mythology. p.104.

hymn some verses are addressed to Rudra while others are add-
¹⁾ed to Soma. The latter is also associated with lightning
some passages, and in later Vedic literature we find a 'soma
-raudra' offering for progeny. All this suggests a closer c-
-nection between Rudra and Soma, and if we accept the above i-
-pretation of Rudra this connection is not difficult to unde-
-ant. Just as Rudra is the giver of health and strength so
the soma juice is medicinal and invigorating, and the two ar-
²⁾prayed to give strength and 'bhesaja' to the worshippers. Ru-
also greatly promotes the growth of the soma plant. Further
the colour of Rudra, the colour of soma juice is also tawny
golden. The sound of the juice pouring into vats is likened
the patter of rain, and the terrestrial rain readily sending
fancy to the thundering clouds above, the simile is transform-
into a hyperbole and Soma is said to thunder and roar even as
³⁾Rudra does. His roaring in turn, perhaps, gets him the epithet
⁴⁾'vrsabha'.

The interpretation of Rudra given above receives con-
-irmation from his close affinity with Agni which we can disco-
⁵⁾ver in the hymns. The latter is several times called &'rudra'.

1. I, 43.

3. IX, 86, 9.; 91, 3; 95, 4. etc.

5. ante p. 3. note 8.

2. VI, 78, 1, 3.

4. IX, 7, 3.

by itself will not signify much as it might be taken to be merely and epithet meaning fierce or roaring, and is applied also to Indra and other deities. But the epithet 'medhapati' given to Rudra once,¹⁾ seems to identify Rudra and Agni. This identity is easily explained if we take Rudra to represent lightning which is essentially the same as fire. This identity is clearly recognised in later Vedic literature, and Sayana, accordingly, constantly identifying the two. In view of this identity of Rudra and Agni we can perhaps find a better explanation of such epithets as 'dvibarha' applied to Rudra. This word has been usually translated as 'of double strength' or 'doubly strong'. But a more natural and appropriate meaning seems to be that given by Sayana viz. 'dvayoh sthanayoh prthivyam antarikse parivrddha',²⁾ which aptly applied to lightning. Or is it that 'barha' here, as in 'barhi' (peacock), refers to the plume, and 'dvibarha' means double plumed referring to forked lightning? It is interesting to note, however, that in the oldest parts of the Rg Veda, Rudra and Agni are not identified and are even clearly distinguished.³⁾ This probably shows that the identity of Rudra as lightning and of Agni as fire was only gradually recognised by the Vedic seers, and that there was a time when

L/ 1. I, 43, 4.

2. Sayana on I, 114, 10.

3. IV, 3, 7.

the two were regarded as different phenomena.

The equation Rudra = Agni, however, once accepted, is easily extended into Rudra - Agni - Surya, and some passages in the Rg Veda itself suggest that such an interpretation of the relation of Rudra to Surya might have been given even then. It will help us in explaining Rudra's fatherhood of the Maruts who are said to have been begotten by him on Prani or the earth. This is as follows.

It seems that originally the Maruts were conceived of as guardian spirits or genii belonging to the Order of Light, attending upon the good beings of all ages. They come down from Indo-European times for they show a close resemblance to the Fravashis of the Avesta, who were similar guardian spirits, and also to the Greek and Roman genii. The latter were usually conceived of as young men with a snake or as a snake alone. The Maruts are also called 'maryah', 'ahibhanu', 'ahisusma', and 'a-manyu', all very significant epithets. The Greek spirits, called 'Trito-patores' (skt. 'trita-pitarah'), also strongly remind us of the Maruts in as much as Trita is also a Vedic deity and is sometimes associated with the Maruts. Gradually the character of the Maruts was developed and modified until they came to be

1. Dr. Barnett. Genius: A study in Indo-European psychology. J R A S .1929.p.731.

2. I,172,1. I,64,8,9. V,33,5. V,61,4.
V,53,3. X,77,2,3.

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regarded as the attendant deities of the great god Indra, even the Fravashis in Iran had become the attendants of Ahurmazda. Now, if Indra represents any natural phenomenon it is that of raging storm after a long spell of dry weather, with thunder lightning, and downpours of rain followed by the appearance of the sun in all its brilliance. And, as such storms are almost always accompanied by strong winds which bear along the storm clouds and otherwise seem to aid its activity, the Maruts became more and more associated with these winds till they were identified with them. This had happened by the time of the Rg Veda hymns in which the Maruts are definitely conceived of as the deities of the winds. At ~~xxx~~ this stage they were, perhaps not unnaturally, regarded as the sons of the Wind god Vayu. Later on, however, when perhaps the true nature of the propagation of the winds was realised, the Maruts were called the sons of Rudra begotten on the earth, thus representing, as suggested by Mr. G. Rao, the generation of the winds by the heating effect of the rays of the sun upon the earth. The other name of the Maruts 'sindhumatārah' probably refers to their connection with the rains.

There is one more feature of Rudra's character that remains to be seen, and it is rather mysterious. In one late hymn, Rudra is said to have drunk a goblet of 'visa' with ~~kes~~. The difficulty with this hymn is that it is not clear whether

not we are to take ~~this~~ it allegorically. Sayana takes it such and explains Kesi as one who has 'kesa' or rays that is sun. In this he is supported by Yaska, whose interpretation most probably follows, who also interprets 'kesa' as rays and regards Kesi as referring to the sun.¹⁾ In another passage of the Rg Veda, a reference is made to three Kesins, and there seem to stand for Agni, Surya, and Vayu respectively.²⁾ They are interpreted by Yaska as such.³⁾ The word 'visa' also does not necessarily mean poison, but is very often is synonym of 'udaka' or water,⁴⁾ and here probably refers to the water of life. In the first verse of the hymn, here, Kesi is said to uphold this water of life even as he upholds the earth and the sky. If, therefore, we accept the interpretation of Kesi as the sun, the association of Rudra, as the energy of lightning, with Kesi as the sun becomes understandable.

But even if the allegory be thus explained the metaphor still remains. Why should the sun be called Kesin which word literally means one having long hair. Besides, in the third and the following verses of the hymn the Kesin is apparently compared to the Munis. These latter, maddened as it were by their 'munihood', merge their essential self into the winds, in which they course along, and it is only their corporeal forms which

1. Nirukta. XII, 12, 25-6. "kesī kesā rasmayah. taistadyan bhā -ti (prakāśanādvā).....kesīdam jyotir ucyatā ityādityam āha

2. I, 164, 44.

3. Nirukta. XII, 12, 27. "trayah kesīnah rtuthā vicaksate....kā

visible to mere mortals. Now, the word 'muni' in the Rg Veda means excited, inspired or maddened. There is no doubt that word, in its origin, is not of the Indo-European stock. It is relegated to the Unadi sutras by Sanskrit grammarians which shows that its origin was not to be explained by the regular laws of Sanskrit grammar, and then, in those sutras it is derived from the root 'man' which leaves the 'u' as unexplained. On the other hand, the word occurs as an ordinary Kanarese word and means who becomes angry, which is very near to the meaning it has in the Rgveda. It seems, therefore, that the word was borrowed from the languages of one of the non-Aryan peoples with whom the Vedic Aryans came into contact. In one passage of the Rgveda, the strength of the rushing Maruts is compared to that of the Munis.¹⁾ In another passage, Indra, when under the influence of Soma, is said to be the companion of the Munis.²⁾ From all these passages it can be inferred that the Munis were probably a class of ascetics who certainly did not belong to the Indo-European Aryan stock, with rather eccentric habits, and supposed to possess superhuman powers as a result of their asceticism, and who boasted of these powers when under the influence of strong liquors in which, perhaps, they frequently indulged. Indra, the lightning-bearer, when similarly intoxicated, and bragging of his prowess

kale abhivipasyanti. samvatsare vapata eka esam, ityagnih. . p
~~xxxam~~ -vim dahati. sarvam eko abhivipasyati, karmabhir aditya
 gatir ekasya dasyate na rupam madhyamasya."

1. VII, 56, 8.

2. VIII, 17, 14.

is rightly called the companion of the Munis. As the Kesins compared with these Munis we might suppose that they were also probably, some class of ascetics who wore their hair long and like the Munis, claimed to possess superhuman powers. This is as far as we can go with the evidence we possess.

The Kesins appear as a tribe in later Vedic literature. The Kathaka Samhita refers to them and mentions a Kesin Dalbhya who might have been their king or priest. The way in which they are connected with the Pancalasa might indicate that they were a subdivision of the latter.¹⁾ The Maitrayaniya Samhita mentions a Kesin Satyakami who appears as the teacher of the Kesin Dalbhya.²⁾ The Kesins are also mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana.³⁾ But whether these historical Kesins had any connection with the Kesins of the Rg Veda it is not possible to say.

Rudra's character as a personification of lightning issuing from a dark cloud is further made clear in the Atharva Veda. He is thrice called 'nilasikhandin',⁴⁾ having dark tufts of hair, which description applies best to lightning in the midst of dark and massive clouds (already compared to hair in the epithet 'kapardin' in the Rg Veda). He also strikes mortals with lightning.⁵⁾ In one passage his chariot is described as black and terrible and drawn by ruddy horses.⁶⁾ This, again, ap

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1. KS. (Schroeder's edition).XXX,2.
 2. MS. I,6,5,
 3. SB. XI,8,4,1f.

represents the dark cloud. His malevolent aspect, however, seems to be rather emphasised. His darts injects poison, in-
 -cts disease, and is ever dreaded. He is constantly prayed
 to avert it, and to strike with it the enemies of the worsh
 -er and those who are niggardly. In one passage he is call
 a dread sovereign and a mighty destroyer. And, as cattle,
 grazing in the open pastures, are more likely to be struck
 by lightning, the god is propitiated by putting them under
 protection, and for the first time Rudra is called 'pasupa'
 He is even prayed for increase of cattle. It was, probably,
 this aspect of his as a destroyer and a killer that Rudra was
 supposed to be accompanied by dogs, and these are mentioned
 one passage. But in the later portions of the Rg Veda dogs
 are associated with Yama, the god of death, and in view of
 thier association with Rudra in this, probably older, passage
 a possibility arises that Yama borrowed this characteristic
 from Rudra when he was made the death god.

The anthropomorphism of Rudra has, however, progressed
 further in the Atharva Veda, and we can even observe indications
 that the original physical phenomenon behind him was being
 sight of. He is now followed by his hosts who are probably

VI, 90, 1. etc.

1. ~~iiy28y6xxxViy9y3lxxxXyi32yi6xxxViy2y8.~~

2. VI, 59, 3. VII, 75, 1. XI, 2, 26. XII, 4, 52. XVIII, 1, 40.

3. XVIII, 1, 40.

4. 5. II, 34, 1. V, 24, 12. XI, 6, 9. etc.

6. XI, 2, 30.

same as the Rudras, and who are, in fact, none other than the
 old Maruts.¹⁾ His shafts are no longer supposed to kill outright
 but inflict disease for the cure of which charms and herbs are
 prescribed.²⁾ He is also invoked against goblins and other
 spirits.³⁾ The last two facts show what is not so clear in the
 Rg Veda, that Rudra was more a deity of popular belief than
 the higher Vedic pantheon. This fact had important results
 -er on. And, it was, perhaps, as a popular deity, that his
 evident power and the terror he inspired when wrathful led to
 his exaltation, and we find him, in the Atharva Veda, being
 -ed Mahadeva, the great god.⁴⁾ In his character as a healer
 the advance in his anthropomorphism is noticeable. Not only
 he cooling and healing remedies, but he is invoked for curing
 diseases.⁵⁾ In some other hymns he is called 'sahasraksa'.
 epithet is usually applied to Varuna in the Rg Veda and to the
 spies of Varuna in the Atharva Veda.⁶⁾ Varuna is the guardian
 the moral 'rta' and he watches all the activities of all the
 beings through the help of his spies. ~~It~~ The application of
 epithet to Rudra, therefore, might indicate that he also had
 come to be looked upon as watching over beings by this time.

1. XI, 2, 31.

3. VI, 32, 2.

5. VI, 44, 3; 57, 1. XIX, 10, 6.

7. IV, 16, 4.

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4. IX, 7, 7. etc.

6. R.V.V, 50, 10. etc.

In the Atharva Veda we also see the beginning of the process, repeated over and over again in later times, which resulted finally in the evolution of the Pauranic Siva, I mean the process of the assimilation of other deities into a particular god. Two deities, Bhava and Sarva, appear in the Atharva Veda. They are more or less shadowy but nonetheless independent.¹⁾ But in other hymns they are distinctly identified with Rudra and become merely two different names of that deity. This process of assimilation of one deity by another is by no means uncommon, and is seen in practically all the mythologies all over the world. And, Rudra, rising in importance as we have seen, might easily have absorbed some of the minor deities.

This brings us to the last feature of Rudra's character in the Atharva Veda. In the fifteenth book he appears to be associated with the Vratyas. This book of the Atharva Veda is one of the unsolved riddles of the Vedic literature. On the face of it it looks like the apotheosis of the Vratya. But what this Vratya was is a mystery. In the Brahmanas and in the Sutra ceremonies, certain rites, called the 'vratyastomas' are described in which the Vratyas appear to have been either the people who, being outside the Aryan pale, were accepted into the fold by these ceremonies, or those whose essential sacraments had not been performed at the right time. In both cases they were

1. XI, 2. XII,4,17.

2. e.g. VI,4.

people who had not come up to the standards of the Vedic Aryans and were, consequently, rather looked down upon. But if the Vratya of this book is the same as the Vratyas of these ceremonies, his glorification here is puzzling. There must have been some thing in his character which aroused the admiration of the non-priestly section of the Vedic Aryans, and Dr. H. thinks that it was the practice of yoga and contemplation which probably struck the Aryans, and ultimately had a profound influence on Vedic thought and religion. Mr. N.N. Ghose, on the other hand, in his very interesting book recently published, strikes a new line of investigation and arrives at the conclusion that the Vratyas were a great political power in east India during the old Vedic period. The Vedic Aryans, struggling for supremacy in a new land and hence greatly in need of man power, were only too glad to incorporate the Vratyas in their ranks. The latter, influenced, perhaps, by the superior moral and spiritual qualities of the Aryans, were willing to be Aryanised and in turn greatly influenced the Aryan socio-political structure. It must be admitted that the constant association of the Vratya with the east, and especially the mention of the 'pumsali' and the 'magadha', both eastern and non-Aryan among his followers, coupled with the ever increasing evidence showing the existence of highly developed pre-Aryan civilisation in India, do give some probability to Mr. Ghose's theory. whoever the Vratyas might have been, the problem that more immediately concerns us here is how far Rudra is connected with

1. Hauer. Der Vratya .Stuttgart.1927.
2. N.N. Ghose. Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture(origins). 1927.

Vratya in the book. In the very beginning, the Vratya is said to have become 'mahadeva', and 'isana', both epithets of Rudra. Later on, under his various names, Rudra is described as attacking upon the Vratya.²⁾ Finally, the latter is said to have assumed the form of Rudra when he went towards the animals, "having made the herbs the eaters of food."³⁾ These are the only three passages in which Rudra is connected with the Vratya. Let us see what conclusions we can draw from them. The last passage is of no great importance beyond showing the already familiar association of Rudra with the animals and vegetation. The Vratya is also said to have assumed the forms of other gods as he went in different directions or towards different objects. In the second passage, Rudra, under his different names, appears practically as the guardian deity of the quarters, and has no special connection with the Vratya. The passage is, therefore, important not for showing any relation between Rudra and the Vratya, but as an indication of a further advance in the conception of that god who was now evidently regarded as guarding the quarters also among his other functions. We are, therefore, left with the first passage in which the Vratya is said to have become 'mahadeva' and 'isana'. Now, it should be remembered that though 'mahadeva' is the epithet of Rudra in the Atharva Veda, and 'isana' becomes

1. XV, 1, 4, 5.

2. XV, 5, 1-7.

3. XV,

epithet in the Yajur Veda, both these words are mere epithet and have not yet become distinctive appellations of Rudra. 'mahadeva' means a great god and is applied to other deities. 'Isana' means the overlord and is used in this sense in the passage. Therefore, at best, it is an open question whether in these epithets here, there is any allusion to Rudra or not. In the rest of the book, and also in the later 'vratyastomas' there is no special connection between the Vratyas and Rudra. Nor is any such connection found in the Mahabharata in which the term 'vratya' is used reproachfully for the detestable Valhikas,¹⁾ and Dr. Hauer is not right in seeing in the drunken orgies of these people the doings of Sivaite Bacchanals. He seems to have been misled by the word 'gauri' used for the Valhika maidens, which word means nothing more than a young fair complexioned woman, and has no reference to Parvati, the spouse of Siva. It is therefore, quite possible that the words 'mahadeva' and 'isana' in this passage do not refer to Rudra at all, and are merely used in their literal sense for the exaltation of the Vratya. But even if they do refer to Rudra, we are not justified in going beyond the inference that Rudra by this time come to be regarded as a great god, and the 'lord of the gods', and that when the Vratya was exalted he was compared to him. In any case, the passage does not provide

1. Mahabharata. (Krsnacarya's edition. Bombay. 1907.)
Karna. 37, 32, 43-4; 38, 20.

sufficient evidence to enable us to agree with MM, Haraprasa
Satri when he sees in the Vratya Rudra himself, and regards
as a 'god of the nomads', and 'a nomad of nomads, the spirit of
the nomadic horde'¹⁾. Some of the characteristics of the late
Siva, such as the skingarments, and his homelessness, which
Sastri thinks, point to the nomadic character of Sivacan, as we
shall see below, be quite satisfactorily explained otherwise.

One more important point remains to be considered
the character of Rudra as seen in the Atharva Veda. In one
passage, five living things are dedicated to Rudra as forming
offerings to him in sacrifices.²⁾ One of these is a man. From
this it might be inferred that human sacrifices were sometimes
offered to Rudra. There is nothing improbable in this, for the
practice of human sacrifice was quite prevalent among the an-
-ent Aryans, and for the matter of that, among most ancient
civilised peoples. We find numerous instances of it among
records of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and the Iranians. Among
the Vedic people, we have the unmistakable evidence of the
-rusamedha' described in the White Yajur Veda, and in the
of Sunahsepha in the Aitareya Brahmana for the prevalence of
this practice. Thus, it is quite probable, that Rudra was s-
-times worshipped with human sacrifices especially as he was
connected with fertility in the rites of which such sacrifici-
were most commonly performed. The practice was, in course

1. JASB. 1921. p.17 et seq.

2. XI, 2, 9.

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time, condemned by the Vedic Aryans and was eventually stopped. But vestiges of it continued to linger on for a long time. When we find in the Mahabharata Jarasandha propitiating Siva with human offerings we ought to see in it not a revolting and a savage non-Aryan custom rightly condemned by Krsna, and in Jarasandha a very monster of iniquity, but a ~~very~~ survival of an old practice once very common and respected.

Between the composition of the hymns of the Rg and Atharva Vedas on the one hand, and those of the Yajur Veda on the other, a considerable time seems to have elapsed during which the Vedic Aryans moved from the mountains and the adjacent plains of the 'land of the seven rivers' to the region round Kuruksetra. In this interval we see a great advance in the character of Rudra. His terrible aspect, already emphasised in the Atharva Veda, had become yet more prominent. His darts ¹⁾ feared more than ever, and he is prayed to avert them. Kriv ²⁾ a destroyer or injurer, is now one of his names, and in one passage he is associated with 'dauravratya', explained by Mah ³⁾-dhara as 'capricious behaviour'. This dread of him led to propitiation by more euphemisms, and we find his bow and quiver ⁴⁾ being called 'siva'. He is also prayed to take the worshipper along Mitra's path and not along his own which was considered

1. TS. I,1,1. etc.

2. VS. X,20.

3. XS. XXXIX,9.

Mahidara on this passage: "dustam skhalanocchanadi vratam yasya sah".

4. TS. IV,5,1.

1). dangerous. His character as a healeris, however, still rem-bered, and he is prayed for his good 'bhesaja' to men and be-It was perhaps with reference to this aspect of his that the Asvins, the divine physicians, were associated with him, and 3) described in the Yajur Veda as following the path of Rudra. 4) character as 'pasupati' is more firmly established, and his connection with fertility is seen f om the 'somarandra caru' 5) which is offered by one desirous of progeny.

But, there are two passages, found both in the Black and the White Yajur Veda, in which Rudra is seen~~x~~ to assume e-ntirely new characteristics which we cannot trace back eithe- the Rg or to the Atharva Veda. These passages are the Trayam 6) Homa and the Satarudriya. In the former, Rudra not only ap- -rs as 'pasupati' and as a physician, but is also associated a female deity, Ambika, who is called her sister. The rat is to be his special animal . He himself is called 'krttivasah' is prayed to deliver the worshipper from death but not from immortality. Finally, after hi s share has been offered to h he is requested to depart beyond the Mujavata mountain, and t

1.TS. I,2,4.

3.VS.XIX,82. XXIII,58.

5.TS.II,2,10.

2. TS.I,8,6.

4. TS,I,8,6. VS,IX,39.
Also VS.XXXIX,8.and the
'satarudriya'.

6.TS.I,8,6. VS.III,57-63.

in a manner which suggests that his presence was not quite desirable, and that the worshipper wished to keep himself at a distance from him. Several questions arise from this passage. Who, to begin with, was this Ambika, and how did she come to be associated with Rudra? Further, how does Rudra come to be called 'krttivasah' and how comes he to be associated with the rat? why is he requested to depart beyond the Mujavata? Before we attempt to answer these questions let us see which way the evidence points. Forgetting for the moment that the passage referred to Rudra, let us first see what idea of the deity described we can form from it. The request to depart beyond the Mujavata seems to connect the god with the North Indian mountains. His association with the rat, a troglodyte animal, might suggest that the god was conceived of as living among the caves of the mountains. His epithet 'krttivasah' further indicates that he was regarded as attired in skin garments. Finally, his association with Ambika shows that he was associated with a female deity who was worshipped along with him. There is no deity in the Rg or the Atharva Veda to which all or any of these characteristics are applicable. Besides, the Trayambaka Homa is a special sacrifice outside the regular ritual of the Yajur Veda. It seems, therefore that during the period which elapsed between the composition of the Rg and Atharva Vedic hymns and those of the Yajur Veda Rudra had assimilated to himself a non-Aryan deity, worshipped by the indigenous tribes of the lower Himalayan regions, and conceived of as skin clad, and dwelling in caves. The exact identity of this deity is very difficult to determine,

in view of the later association of Siva with the Kiratas, as seen in the Mahabharata, we might suppose that he was a god of these Kiratas and kindred tribes.

This process of assimilation of one deity by another, as remarked above, is not at all unusual in mythology. In fact it appears to have almost inevitably followed the political subjection of one people by another in the ancient world, especially when the two fused with one another. A very good example of this is the Babylonian god Marduk, who, as Babylon rose in importance and extended its political and cultural dominion, assimilated to himself the gods of the peoples which were brought under the Babylonian sway. Now, Rudra, as we have seen, was an important god of the Aryans when they began their political and cultural domination of India. He was also a popular god in the sense that he was worshipped by the generality of the people and was, so to speak, outside the circle of the gods round whom the Vedic priests had built up and elaborate rituals which was so prominent a characteristic of the higher Vedic religion. Consequently, his sanctity was not jealously guarded by the Vedic priests, and when the Vedic Aryans began to bring other non-Aryan peoples within their pale, the common people, naturally coming into closest contact with the latter, it was the popular Rudra who assimilated their gods. Most probably one of the earliest peoples with whom the Aryans thus came into contact were the inhabitants of the sub-Himalayan regions, and

they were adjacent to the habitat of the Vedic Aryans in the upper Punjab and the adjoining mountains of Kashmir. And, it is probably among these people that the deity was worshipped who was identified with the Vedic Rudra and gave him those characteristics which we find in the Tryambaka Homa passage.

The evidence of the Tryambaka Homa is supplemented by that of the Satarudriya. This is a hymn of sixty six verses in praise of Rudra from which we can get a very good idea of how Rudra was conceived of in Yajur Vedic times.¹⁾ His old character is still remembered though, as in other parts of the Yajur Veda the dread of his terrible darts seems to be uppermost in the mind of the hymnist who seeks to propitiate him, as of old, with euphemisms, and we find Rudra called for the first time, 'sivatarā', 'sankara' and so on (v.41). He is also a physician. His old epithet 'kapardin' occurs once, while another, 'nilagandha' seems to be a development of the old epithet 'nilasikhandagandha'. His character as the lord of beasts is also clearly recognised. But the passage is more important for the many new epithets of Rudra found in it. Thus, he is called 'girisanta' (v.2.), 'girisanta-tra' (v.3), 'girisa' (v.4.), 'giricara' (v.22), 'girisaya' (v.29) all of which associate him with the mountains. He is also called 'the Lord of the ~~xxx~~ ksetras' (v.18), and the 'merchant' (v.20) which epithets again show his popular character. In verses 20-22, however, we come upon a string of rather startling epithets. With the greatest equanimity the hymnist, who has been

1. TS. IV, 5, 1f. VS. XVI, 1-66.

extolling Rudra in high terms, goes on to describe him ~~xxx~~ as the 'lord of thieves', the 'cheat', the 'lord of cheats', the 'lord of the burglars', the 'lord of the swindlers', the 'lord of cut throats', and the 'lord of the Kuluncalas'. Further, verses 23-27 which apparently describe the hosts of Rudra, in which we can read a list of the followers of worshippers of Rudra, we find mentioned not only the 'sathas' and the 'sathatis', the 'ganas' and the 'ganapatis', but also the 'vratas' the 'vratapatis', the carpenters', the chariot makers, potters, labourers, the 'nisadas', the 'punjisthas', keepers of dogs, hunters. The very matter of fact way in which these epithets put down shows that by the time of this hymn all these different classes of people were regarded as the worshippers of Rudra. And, as this was not the case, at least so far as the available evidence tells us, in the time of the Rg or the Atharva Vedic hymns, the occurrence of these epithets here supports the evidence of the Tryambaka Homa, and we are justified in concluding that Rudra had, by this time, assimilated to himself a god worshipped by indigenous tribes to whom some of the classes of people enumerated above certainly belonged, and who, judging from another epithet of Rudra, 'the lord of foresters' which also occurs in the hymn, and from the later association of S with the foresters, probably inhabited the forests of the southern Himalayan regions. The epithet 'krttivasah', which occurs also in this hymn (v.51) also suggests that this god was conceived as skin clad even as his worshippers were normally clad in a similar attire.

In the Yajur Veda, therefore, we can see the first indication of the commingling of the Vedic Aryans with the peoples of the country, and the assimilation of the latter by the former. Rudra, who absorbed the gods of these peoples, naturally rose in importance as the number of his worshippers increased. But it is possible that in thus absorbing other deities Rudra not only took on their peculiar characteristics, but also permitted some of the forms of worship prevalent among the indigenous peoples, which were not regarded favourably by the more strict the Vedic Aryans, particularly by the Vedic priests. Due to lack of sufficient evidence we cannot be precise on this point but some of the objectionable traits in Rudra's worship which we discover in later literature, are probably to be traced to this source. Also, the incorporation of foreign elements into his character and worship must have resulted in a further dissociation of Rudra from the regular Vedic pantheon of gods. These two facts seem to have been responsible for the growth of a prejudice against Rudra and his worship among the more orthodox sections of the Vedic Aryan community, the first indication of which is given by the Tyyambaka Homa. Later literature gives many more indications of this prejudice.

We have to notice one more fact before we leave the Yajur Veda and pass on to the consideration of the Brahmanas. This is the new name of Rudra which we come across for the

time in the Yajur Veda, viz. 'Tryambaka'. In view of the special importance of the name in the conception of the later Siva as three eyed god, it deserves special attention here. The name is not explained either in the Yajur Veda or in the Brahmanas. It is evident, however, that it is a 'bahuvrini' compound and in later times was regularly interpreted as one having three eyes. But that this was not its original meaning is almost certain, otherwise there must have been some indication of this characteristic of Rudra even as there are so many in later literature. But there is nothing whatever in the Samhitas or the Brahmanas which show that Rudra was ever regarded as having three eyes. On the other hand, the word ~~tryambaka~~ 'amba' means mother in the Vedic literature as it does later on also. Tryambaka should, therefore, if we consider its etymology, mean one who has three mothers. Now, there is one Vedic god to whom this description can apply and he is Agni whose three births on the earth, in the sky, and in heaven are frequently referred to in Vedic literature. As Rudra is identified with Agni, we can easily see how the epithet was most probably transferred to him. But this original meaning of ~~tryambaka~~ 'tryambaka' was forgotten in course of time and it was from a misunderstanding of a word that later Siva derived his most conspicuous and distinctive feature, and the whole legend of Siva's third eye was built up.

When we come to the Brahmanas we observe a further rise in the status of Rudra. The dread inspired by him has

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increased still more. Even the gods are afraid of him. Th¹⁾
he is called 'pasupati', and the cattle are said to be unde²⁾
control and care,³⁾ yet he is regarded as definitely prone
kill animals,⁴⁾ and in one passage the worshipper hopes that
cattle would not come into contact with Rudra.⁵⁾ So firmly,
-deed, does the terrible aspect of Rudra seem to have been
-ed in the minds of the Brahmanic seers that he is even reg
as having been created out of the terrible elements of all
gods combined together, and is identified with Manyu or wra
He is explicitly called 'ghora' and 'krura', and is constant
prayed to avert his dart from the worshipper.⁷⁾

As supporting the evidence of the Tryambaka Homa v
have to notice the facts that the north or the north-east is
said to be his special quarter,⁸⁾ and that in one passage he
described as a strange person, dressed in black and coming fr
the north.⁹⁾ Other indications of the growing distance betwe
Rudra and the other gods, as a result of the incorporation of
alien elements in the character and cult of the former, are
wanting in the Brahmanas. From the Gavedhuka ritual we lear
that Rudra was supposed to have been left behind when the ot
gods ascended to heaven, and thus got the appellation of 'va
-ya', or one who stays behind at home.¹⁰⁾ Also, he is said not

1. SB. IX, 1, 1, 1-5.
3. SB. VI, 3, 2, 7. etc.
5. KB. III, 4.
7. TB. III, 2, 5.
9. AB. V, 22, 9.
10. SB. I, 7, 3, 1-8.

2. SB. V, 3A, 3, 7. etc.
4. Tandyā. VII, 9, 16-8.
6. AB. III, 8, 9. Talav. III, 1, 1, 5.
8. AB. V, 2, 9. KB. II, 2. TB, 1, 1, 1, 5.
10. SB. V, 4, 2, 10.

1)
have left Prajapati when the other gods had left him. And finally, when the gods apportioned the different animals among themselves they did not consider the claim of Rudra, but afterwards, lest his anger should destroy living creation, the ²⁾ was dedicated to him. This incidentally gives the Brahman explanation of the dedication of the mouse or the rat to Rudra in the Tryambaka Homa.

All these are tell tale facts, and show clearly how Rudra had, by the time of the Brahmanas, come to be regarded different from the rest of the gods. This dissociation of Rudra from the regular pantheon was of very great importance in the history of the development of his cult. Most of the old Vedic gods degenerated into more or less colourless deities almost at the beck and call of the priest armed with the all powerful sacrificial formula, when the highly complex and elaborate Brahmanic ritual was developed during the time of the Brahmanas. There was only one exception to it apart from Indra and that was Visnu. But with his history we are not concerned at present. Rudra, on the other hand, unfettered as he was from the shackles of priestly ritualism, seems to have steadily risen in importance as the number of his worshippers increased. It is true that his worship did gather round itself some features which were rather objectionable, but they probably remained confined to the people among whom they originally prevailed. On the other hand, it appears that the worship of Rudra was

beginning to attract a number of the advanced thinkers among Vedic Aryans who saw the futility of the artificial sacrificial ritual as a means of spiritual advancement. This point deserves consideration in some detail as in this perhaps is to be found the real secret of the great exaltation of Rudra in the post-Vedic times, and his rise to the status of the Supreme God. We have already noticed that the Kesins and the Munis were perhaps some non-Aryan sects of ascetics who had retired from the world and practised asceticism. Not only do they seem to have been regarded as rather mysterious beings by the Vedic Aryans, but their practice of contemplation, and austerities and communion with nature, probably impressed the Aryans and aroused their admiration. This admiration increased as time passed especially among those who did not accept the efficacy of the sacrificial ritual and were trying to discover new means for the realization of the divine, and to give better answers to the fundamental questions of life and universe which had begun to arise in their minds. Contemplation and concentration of mind through austerities appeared to them to be certainly a better means for achieving these ends than the mechanical performance of different rites. The practices of the Munis and the Kesins were, therefore, perhaps gradually taken up and developed by these thinkers and thus began a movement which profoundly affected Indian religious thought and practice, and the first available literary records which are the Upanisads. Now, Rudra, as we have seen, had never

been a 'sacrificial' god, and by the time of the Brahmanas, a very real and important deity. When, therefore, these thinkers started the new movement in religious thought they naturally took up, the worship of this god in preference to that of the gods of the Brahmanic ritualism which they had rejected. Thus, Rudra came to be worshipped not only by the masses, but also by the most advanced sections of the Aryan people. This naturally greatly raised his status. And, as it is among the most advanced sections of a community that the moral ideas first develop and the concept of a Moral Law is evolved, Rudra, powerful and feared as he already was, became the embodiment of this Moral Law, when the other gods had faded away before the almighty sacrifice. This placed Rudra definitely above the other deities, and he became 'mahadeva' in fact as well as in name. This position Rudra seems to have attained by the time of the Brahmanas. In spite of the neglect he suffers at their hands Rudra is nevertheless, feared by all the gods, and is called overlord.¹⁾ Isana and Mahadeva have become his common names. But the most significant passage in this connection is that found in the Aitareya Brahmana, which relates the legend of incest of Prajapati.²⁾ The gods, indignant at Prajapati's crime, seek to punish him and eventually appoint Rudra for the task. The moral elevation of Rudra above the other gods is clear in this legend. The gods are at par with Prajapati, all being

1. KB.XXIII,3.

2. AB. III,13,9.

subject to the iron law of sacrifice. Hence, they are unable to punish Prajapati. But Rudra is not so limited, and it is therefore, who chastises him. The point is made quite clear another version of the legend found in the Jaiminiya Brahman where the gods are said to have created Rudra for the express purpose of watching over the actions of beings and punishing transgressor.¹⁾ It was, thus, the moral superiority of Rudra which was the chief reason for his exaltation, and which eventually raised him to the position of the Supreme Godhead. There are indications, indeed, that he was so regarded by some at least even during Brahmanic times. For, when, after punishing Prajapati, he was asked by the gods for a reward, he is said to have claimed every thing in the universe as his own. In the Nabhanedistha story also, he makes a similar claim and this claim is supported by the father of Nabhanedistha.²⁾

It was this rise of the worship of Rudra as a rival to the Brahmanic ritualism perhaps that led the Brahmanic priests to make efforts to incorporate Rudra into the regular pantheon and thus to reconcile, as far as possible, his worship with the orthodox Brahmanic worship. This they seem to have done in several ways. First, they emphasised the old identity of Rudra with Agni. This is seen even in the Yajur Veda, where the legend

L/ 1. Jaim. or Talav. III, 261-63.
2. AB.V, 22, 9.

Agni absconding with the wealth of the gods identifies the two and in the 'somaraudra' offering the two are regarded as one the same and their names are interchanged as a matter of course. In the Brahmanas, Rudra is regularly identified with Agni Sv-³⁾ -krt'. Secondly, they invented legends about the birth of Rudra in which they sought to connect him with the other gods and to disguise his non-Brahmanic character. Thus, in the Kausitaki Brahmana he is said to have been born from the seed of Agni, Vayu, Aditya, and Candramas, who had been created by Prajapati. In the Satapatha Brahmana he is said to have been born as a ⁵⁾ -sult of the union of Samvatsara and Usas, while in a passage in the Jaininiya Brahmana, the gods are said to have created him from their terrible elements which were laid aside by them when they were going to a sacrifice. ⁶⁾ His different epithets were regarded as his various names which had been given to him by Prajapati at the time of his birth. One of them, 'Asani', found in the Kausitaki Brahmana is significant as hinting back to the original character of Rudra as lightning. In these legends also, Rudra is described as 'sahasraksa' and 'sahasrapata' after the manner of the Purusa in the Rg Veda, which is further indication of his exaltation.

1. TS.I,5,1.
 3. KB. III,6. etc.
 5. SB.VI,1,3.

2. TS.II,2.10.
 4. KB.VI,1.
 6. Jaim. III,261,63.

This completes our survey of the old Vedic literature and before we go on to the later Vedic literature we have to pick up another thread of enquiry. It is, therefore, advisable to summarise the results of our investigations so far.

Rudra, we have found, was, like most other old Vedic deities, originally the personification of a natural phenomenon and represented lightning issuing from a dark cloud. As such his identity with fire or Agni was gradually recognised. Owing to the fear of his darts killing cattle and human beings, he was propitiated for their safety, and thus, in course of time, was himself looked upon as the protector or lord of animals, while the beneficent rains which he apparently caused connected him with fertility and vegetation, and also earned him the epithet of a physician. As a deity of fertility and vegetation, he was worshipped more among the masses who tilled the soil and kept cattle, than among the higher classes whose favourite deities were the mighty Indra and the priestly Agni. He was, thus, essentially a popular god, and accordingly, occupies a much more prominent position in the Atharva than in the Rg Veda. From a passage in the former, it can also be inferred that he was sometimes worshipped with human sacrifices. But this practice did not last long among the Vedic Aryans.

When the Vedic Aryans began to extend their dominion in India, Rudra gradually assimilated to himself other fertility gods, probably of an analogous character, who were worshipped

among the various non-Aryan peoples whom the Aryans brought -in their pale. One of these gods brought with him a female deity who appears in the Yajur Veda as the sister of Rudra. name is given as Ambika, meaning mother. This assimilation other deities greatly increased the number of Rudra's worship. Consequently, he rose in importance, though, at the same time, seems to have taken on some of the attributes and functions of these gods, with the rites and practices accompanying them, did not meet with the approval of the more orthodox sections of the Aryan community. This dissociated him still further from the higher pantheon of gods of the Aryans. But this very dissociation saved Rudra from sharing the fate of the rest of the Vedic gods when the Brahmanic sacrificial system arose, and remained a living and powerful god while the other deities were reduced to mere shadows of their former selves. Gradually, his worship spread among the advanced Aryan thinkers who had rejected the sacrificial system. This was, perhaps, the most important factor in the great rise in the status of Rudra, and in the Brahmanas we find him conceived of as a great god, high above other divinities, and by some, indeed, regarded even as the supreme god.

Thus, by the time of the Brahmanas Rudra had become one of the chief gods, of the Aryan religion. Several important traits of the character and worship of the later Siva can be traced to this Vedic Rudra. The name Siva itself is one of

euphemistic epithets of Rudra found first in the Yajur Veda. origin of the other names of Siva has also been noticed above. The origin of the conception of the three eyes of Siva is, as we have seen, to be found in the misunderstanding of the epithet 'tryambaka', while in such epithets of the Vedic Rudra as 'nilaghriva', which develops into 'nilagriva' in the Yajur Veda we can see the germs of the later legend of the drinking of poison by Siva. From Rudra's epithets 'kapardin' and 'kesin' developed the idea of the 'jata' of the later Siva, while the latter's connection with yoga and his conception as a Mahayogi is perhaps ultimately to be traced to the old association of Vedic Rudra with the Kesins and the Munis. From Rudra's association with the northern mountains developed the later myth of the Kailasa as the abode of Siva. Rudra's bow is called 'pashuka' in the 'Satarudriya', which became the regular name of Siva's bow later on, while the conception of the latter as skin-clad is to be traced to the epithet 'krttivasa' of the Vedic Rudra. Lastly, we have noticed the absorption of diverse elements into the worship of Rudra. This determined the character of later Saivism which has comprehended under its name a diversity of beliefs and practice perhaps unparalleled in any other faith.

But there are other important traits of later Saivism which cannot be traced in the above manner to the worship of Rudra as seen in the old Vedic literature, and for which, therefore, we have to find some other source. The most important of these characteristics is the 'linga' worship, ^{which} became a

prominant feature of the worship of the post-Vedic Siva. Fr
the above survey it is clear that there is nothing whatever
the old Vedic literature which might suggestx that Rudra was
worshipped in this form. Nor is there any evidence for the
worship of phallic emblems in any ceremony. The phallic org
are, indeed,,frequently mentioned and many a metaphor and a
-gory is based on the sexual act, which,perhapsalso played a
part in some fertility rites, as for example in the particul
rite in the Asvamedha ceremony in which the chief wife of t
sacrificer co-habited with the dead horse. But there is n
-ing to show that phallic emblems were ever worshipped or h
-oured, or that any magico-religious significance was attach
them. This invalidates the arguments put forward by Dr. Lak
-na Sarup in a recent article in which he contends that we c
see the existence of phallic worship in the Asvamedha rite a
described in the Yajur Veda and the Satapatha Brahmana. Whe
therefore, in the post-Vedic times we find the worship of Si
intimately associated with phallic worship we must conclude
this was the result of some outside influence the source of
which we have to trace.

The second important characteristic of post- Vedic
Saivism is the worship of Siva's consort. We have noticed a
the female associate of Rudra in the Yajur Veda who was rega
as his sister. But she occupies a very insignificant positi

1. Rg Veda and Mohenjodaro. Indian Cuture. October, 1937.

there, and apart from the one passage in which she is mentioned there is hardly any other reference to her in the Vedic literature. The consort of Siva, on the other hand, appears, in post-Vedic times as a deity of the first rank, who was regarded as the Great Mother, had an independent cult of her own, and quite equal in status to Siva. Neither her character nor her cult can be satisfactorily explained as developments of the worship of Ambika or of any other Vedic female deity. Hence, here again, we have to look for some extra-Vedic source to which her cult can be traced.

Thirdly, the construction of permanent places of worship and the installation of the images of deities in them, which became the regular mode of worship of all the faiths in India in post-Vedic times, is quite foreign to Vedic religious practice. The Vedic Aryans never proceeded beyond the construction of elaborate alters and perhaps some temporary shelters, neither of which was meant to be permanent, and as for images, although the gods were conceived of as anthropomorphic in form there is no evidence to prove that their images were ever made. The origin of temple worship, therefore, is also of, in all probability, of foreign origin in India. Here, I should forestall any objections by remarking that though I hold that the practice of making temples and images of gods arose in India under some foreign influence, I by no means imply by that that the design and construction of the temples also was foreign. Once the idea was there, the essentials of a temple might well

have been gradually evolved from perhaps the very temporary
-ters of the Vedic times. But whence came the idea? It could
hardly have arisen spontaneously in the minds of the Aryans,
the whole Vedic religion was quite independent of any temple
-al, nor did the religious thought developed in the Upanisads
stand in any need of permanent places of worship. Indeed, the
highest form of religious and spiritual advancement have always
been considered in India as those which did not require any
such external aids as temples and images. Hence, when we find
that in post-Vedic religion in India the temple and the image
became very important, we cannot but conclude the change was
a natural development of Vedic religious ideas and practice,
was the result of some powerful influence from outside.

Besides these important features of later Saivism,
there are also many other less prominent ones which cannot,
-larly, be traced to anything in the worship of the Vedic Rudra
and whose origin also had, therefore, to be found in some other
source.

All these facts lead us on to our second line of en-
-quiry which is to discover this outside influence under which
the cult of the Vedic Rudra underwent radical changes and de-
-veloped into the post-Vedic Saivism with all its peculiar char-
-acteristics noticed above.

Appendix.

(A)

Passages relating to Rudra in the Rg Veda.

I, 27, 10.

Agni is called 'rudra'.

Jarābodha tad vividdhi viśe viśe yajñiyāya.

Stomam rudrāya dṛṣīkam.

I, 43.

To Rudra.

1. Kad rudrāya pracetase mīlhuṣṭamāya tavyase.

Vocema śamtamam hr̥de.

2. Yathā no aditiḥ karat paśve nṛbhyo yathā gave

yathā tokāya rudriyam.

3. Yathā no mitrō varuṇo yathā rudras ciketati.

Yathā viśve sajośasaḥ.

4. Gāthapatim medhapatim rudram jalāṣabheṣajam.

Tat śamyoḥ sunnam īmahe.

5. Yaḥ sukra iva sūryo hiranyam iva rocate.

Śreṣṭho devānām vasuḥ.

6. Śaṃ naḥ karaty arvate sugam meṣāya meṣye.

Nṛbhyo nāribhyo gave.

The next three verses are addressed to Soma.

7. Asme soma śriyam adhi nidhehi satasya nṛṇām.

Mahīśravaṣ tuvinṛmṇaḥ.

8. Mā nah soma paribādho mā rātayo juhuranta.
 Ā na indo vāje bhaja.
9. Yā te prajā amṛtasya parasmin
 dhāmann ṛtasya mūrdhā nābhā
 Soma vena ābhūṣantiḥ soma vedah.

I,114.

Entirely to Rudra.

1. Imā rudrasya tavase kapardine,
 kṣayadvirāya prabharāmahe matiḥ;
 Yathā sam asad dvipade catuspade,
 viśvam puṣtam grāme asmiñn anāturam.
2. Mrlāno rudrota no mayaskrdhi,
 kṣayadvirāya namaśā vidhema te;
 Yaccham ca ~~tanaya~~ yaśca manur āyaje pitā,
 tadasyāma tad rudrapratniṣu.
3. Aśyāma ~~tanaya~~ te sumatim deva yajyayā,
 kṣayadvirasya tava rudra mīdhvah;
 Sumnāyanniviśo asmākam ācarā-
 -riṣṭavirā juhavāma te havim.
4. Tvesam vayam rudraṇyajña-sādham,
 vañkum kavim avase nihvayāmahe;
 Are asmad daivyam heḷo asyaṭu,
 sumatim id vayam asyavṛnimahe.
5. Divovarāham aruṣo kapardinam,
 tvesam rūpam namaśā nihvayāmahe;
 Hāse bibhrad bheṣaja vāryāni,
 śarma varma chardir asmābhyam ayaṇsat.
6. Idam pitre maṭutām ucyate vacaḥ,
 svādoḥ svādiyo rudrāya vardhanam;
 Rāsva ca no amṛtamarta-bhojanam,
 Imane tokāya tanayāya mrla.
7. Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam,
 mā na ukṣantam uta mā na ukṣitam;
 Mā no vadhiḥ pitarammota mātaram,
 mā nah priyas tanvo rudra ririṣah.
8. Mā nas toke tanaye mā na āyau,
 Mā no goṣu mā no asveṣu ririṣah;
 Virānmā no rudra māmitoyādhir,
 haviṣmantaḥ sadam itnāhavāmahe.

9. Upa te stoman pasupā ivākaram,
rāsva pitarmarutām sumnam asme;
Bhadrā hi te sumatir mṛlayāt
tam āthā vayam ava itte vṛnimāhe.
10. Āre te goghnam puruṣagham,
ksayadvira sumnam asme te astu;
Mrlā ca no adhi ca brūhi devā-
-dha ca nah śarma yaccha dvibarhāḥ.
11. Avocāma namo asmā avasyavah;
sṛnotu no havam rudro marutvān;
Tanno mitro varuṇo māmahantām,
aditiḥ sindhuḥ pṛthivi uta dyauh.

I,122.

To Visve-devas.

1. Om pra vah pāntām raghumanyavo'ndho,
yajñam rudrāya mīhuse bharadvam.

I, 164, 44.

Mention of the three Keśins.

Trayah keśinah rtuthā vicakṣate,
sainvatsare vāpata eka eṣām;
Viśvam eko abhicaste sacībhir,
dhrājir ekasya dadṛṣe na rūpam.

II,1,6.

Agni called 'rudra'.

Tvam agne rudro asuro maho divas,
tvam śardho marutām pṛkṣa īśiṣe;
Tvam vātair aruṇair yāsi śaṅgayas,
tvam pūṣā vidhataḥ pāsi nu tmanā.

II,33.

Entirely to Rudra.

1. Ā te pitar marutām sumanam etu,
mā nah sūryasya sandrṣo yuyōthah;
Abhi no viro arvati kṣameta,
pra jāyemahi rudra prajābhīh.
2. Tvādattebhi rudra śāntamebhīh,
satam himā aśiya bheṣajebhīh;
- Vyasmad dvesam vitaram vyañho,
vyamivās cātayasva viśūcih.

- 4
3. Śreṣṭho jātasya rudra śriyāsi,
tavastamas tavasām vajrabāho;
Parṣi naḥ pāram aṁhasaḥ svasti,
viśvā abhīti rapaso yuyodhi.
 4. Mā tvā rudra cukrudhāma namobhir,
mā dustuti mā vṛṣabha mā saḥuti;
Unno virān arpaya bheṣajebhir,
bhiṣaktamam tvām bhiṣajam śṛṇomi.
 5. Havīm abhi havate yo havirbhir,
ava stomebhi rudra diṣiya;
Rdūdarah suhavo mā no asyai,
babhruḥ suśipro riradhan manāyai.
 6. Un mā mamanda vṛṣabho marutvan,
tvakṣiyasā vayasā nādhamānam;
Ghrniva chāyam arapā aśiya,
vivāseyaṁ rudrasya sumnam.
 7. Kvasya te rudra mrlayākura hasto,
yo asti bheṣajo jalāṣaḥ;
Apabharta rapaso daivyasyā,
-bhi nu mā vṛṣabha cakṣamithāh.
 8. Pra babhrave vṛṣabhāya śvitice,
maho mahi suṣṭutim irayāmi;
Namasyā kalmalīkinam namobhir,
gr̥nimasi tveṣam rudrasya nāma.
 9. Sthirebhir aṅgaih pururūpa ugro,
babhruḥ sukrebhiḥ pipiṣe hiranyaih;
Īsānād asya bhuvanasya bhūrer,
na vā u yoṣad rudrād asuryam.
 10. Arhan bibharṣi sāyakāni dhanvā-
-rhanniṣkam yajataṁ viśvarūpam;
Arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam,
na vā ojiyo rudra tvadasti.
 11. Stuhi śrūtaṁ gartasadaṁ yuvanāṁ,
mrgam na bhīmam upahatnum ugram;
Hrlā jaritre rudra stavāno
nyam te asmān nivapantu senāh.
 12. Kumaraścit pitaram vandanānam,
prati nānāma rudropayantam;
Bhūre dātāram satpatir gr̥niṣe,
stutas tvām bheṣajā rāsyasme.

13. Yā vo bheṣajāk marutaḥ śucīni,
yā śāntamā vrsano yā mayobhu;
Yāni manur avrñitā pitā naś,
tā śaḥ ca yośca rudrasya vaśmi.
14. Pari no heti rudrasya vṛjyāḥ,
pari tyeṣasya durmatir mahī gāt;
Ava śūhirā maghavadbhyas tanuśva,
mīdhvas tokāya tanayāya mṛṣa.
15. Evā babhro vṛṣabhas ciketana,
yathā deva na hñise na hañsi;
Havanasrunno rudreha boḍhi,
brhad vadema vidathe suvirāḥ.

II,34,2.

To the Maruts.

Dyāvo nāstrbhis citayanta khādino,
vybhriyā na dyutayanta vṛṣṭayah;
Rudro yadvo maruto rukmavakṣāso,
vṛṣājani pṛṣnyāḥ sukra ūdhanai.

II,38,9.

To Savitr.

Na yasyendro varuno na mitro,
vratam aryamā na minantia rudrah;
Nārātayas tam idam svasti,
huve devaṃ savitāram namobhiḥ.

III,2,5.

Agni called 'rudra'.

Agnim sumnāya dadhire purojanā,
vājasravasam iha vṛktabarhiṣaḥ;
Yatasrucaḥ surucaṃ viśvadevyam,
rudram yajñanam sādhad iṣṭim apasām.

IV,3,6.

Parijmane nāsatyāya kṣe bravah
kad agne rudrāya nrghne.

IV,3,7.

Kathāmahe puṣṭibharāya pūṣne,
kadrudrāya sumakhāya hāvirdē;
Kad viṣnavāḥ urugāyāya reto,
kad agne śarave brhatyai.

- V,41,2. To Mitrāvaruṇā.
Te no mitro varuno aryamāyur,
indra ṛbhukṣā maruto juṣanta;
namobhir vā ye dadhate suvr̥kṭim,
stomaṁ rudrāya mīlhusāya sajoṣaḥ.
- V,42,11. Tamu ṣtuhi yaḥ svisuḥ sudhanvā,
yo viśvasya kṣayati bheṣajasya;
Yakṣvāmahe saumaṇasāya rudram;
namobhir devam asuram duvasya.
- V,46,2. Ubhā nāsatyā rudro adha gnāḥ,
pūṣā bhagaḥ sarasvatī juṣanta.
- V,51,13. Viśve devāḥ no adya svastaye,
vaiśvānaro vasur agniḥ svastaye;
Devā avantv ṛbhavaḥ svastaye,
svasti no rudraḥ pātvamhasaḥ.
- V,53, 16. Pra ye me bandhveṣe gām vocanta sūrayaḥ,
g prsn̄im vocanta mātaram;
Adha pītaram iṣminam,
rudram vocanta śikvasaḥ.
- V,59,8. Mimātu dyaur aditir vitaye nah,
sam-dānu-citra uśaso yatantam;
Acūcyavur divyama kośam etaḥ,
r̥se rudrasya maruto gr̥nānā.
- V,70,3. Pātam no rudra pāyubhir uta trāyetham śtrātra
Turyāma dasyun tanūbhiḥ.
- VI,28, 7. Prajāvatiḥ sūyavasam riśantiḥ,
śuddhā āpah suprapāne pivantiḥ;
Mā vaḥ stena īsata mā'ghasamsaḥ,
pari vo r̥kṣax̄kṣati hetī rudrasya vr̥jyaḥ.
- VI, 49,10. Bhuvanasya pītaram gīrbhirābhi rudram,
divā vardhaya rudramaktau br̥hanātam;
R̥svam ajaram suṣumnam,
rdhag huvema kaṣineṣitāsaḥ.

VI,74.

To Soma and Rudra.

1. Somārudrā dhārayethām asuryām,
pra vām iṣṭayaḥ aram aśnuvantu;
Dame dame saptaratnā dadhānā
śām no bhūtam dvipade śām catuṣpade.
2. Somārudrā vivṛhataṁ viśūcim;
amīvā yā naḥ gayam āviveśa;
Āre bādhetām nirṛtim parācai,
asme bhadrā sauśravasāni santu.
3. Somārudrā yuvam etāny asme,
viśva tanūsu bhesajāni dhattam;
Avasyataṁ muñcataṁ yanno asti,
tanūsu baddham kṛtam eno asmat.
4. Tigmāyudhau tigmahetī suśevau,
somārudrāv iha sumṛtataṁ naḥ;
Bra no muñcantaṁ varunasya pāsād,
gopāyataṁ naḥ sumānasyamānāḥ.

VII,10,4.

Agni and Rudra distinguished.

Indram no agne vasubhiḥ sajosāḥ,
rudram rudrebhir āvaha bṛhantam.

VII,35,6.

Śam no rudro rudrebhir jalāṣaḥ,
śam nas tvastā gnābhir iha sṛṇotu.

VII, 36,5.

Vi pṛkṣo bābadhe nr̥bhiḥ,
stāvana idam rudrāya praśtham.

VII, 40,5.

Asya devasya mīlhuṣo vayā,
viśnor esasyā prabhṛthe havirbhiḥ;
Vide hī rudro rudriyam mahitvam
yāsistham vartir asvināvīravat.

VII,41,1.

Prātar bhagam pūṣaṇam brahmaṇaspatim,
prātaḥ somamuta rudram huvema.

VII,46.

Entirely to Rudra.

1. Imā rudrāya sthiradhanvane girah,
kṣipreṣāve devāya svadhānve;
Asālhāya sahamānāya vedhase,
tigmayudhāya bharatā sṛnotu nah.
2. Sa hi kṣayena kṣamyasya janmanah,
sāmrajyena divyasyā cetati;
avannavantiṛ upa no durāscarā-
-namivorudra jāsu no bhava.
3. Yā te didyud avasṛta divaspari,
kṣmayā carati pari sā vṛnaktu nah;
Sahasram te svapivatā bheṣajā,
mā nas tokesu tanayesu rīriṣah.
4. Mā no vadhi rudra mā parā dā,
mā te bhumā praṣṭau hīlitasya;
A no bhaja barhiṣi jivaśamse,
yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā nah.

VIII,13, 20.

To Indra.

Tadidrudrasya cetati yahvam pratneṣu dhāmasu
Mano yatra vitadadhur vicetasah.

VIII,17,14.

Indra as the friend of the Munis.

Vāstospate dhruvā sthūnām satraṁ somyānām,
drapso bhettā purām sasvatīnām,
Indro munīnām sakhā.

X, 64,8.

Kṛṣānu mastṛṇ tiṣyam sadhastha ā,
rudraṁ rudresu rudriyam havāmahe.

X,66,3.

Rudro rudrebhir deva mṛlayāti nah
tvastā no gnābhiḥ suvitāya jinvatu.

X,92,5.

Pra rudrena yayiṇā yanti sindhavas,
tiro mahim arātiḥ dadhanvire;

X,93,4.

Kad rudro nr̥nām stuto marutaḥ pūṣaṇo bhagaḥ.

X,125,6.

The Vak Hymn.

Aham rudrāya dhanur ā tanomi,
brahmadvise sārave hantavā u;

X,126,5.

Ugraṁ marudbhī rudraṁ huvemandram agniṁ svasta
ati dviṣaḥ.

X,136.

Rudra and Keśī.

1. Keśyagniṁ keśī viṣaṁ keśī bibhāti rodasi;
Keśī viṣvaṁ swardrse keśidaṁ jyotir ucyate.
2. Munayo vātarasānāḥpiṣaṅgā vātsalo malāḥ;
Vātasyanudhrājīm yanti yaddevāso aviksata.
3. Unmaditā mauneyena vātāṁ a tasthimā yayam;
Sariredasmākam yūyam martāso abhipāsyatha.
4. Antarikṣeṇa patati viśvarupāvācākaśat;
Munirdevasya devasya saukṛtyāya sakhā hitaḥ.
5. Vātasyaśvo vāyoḥ sakhātho deveṣito munih;
Ubhau samudrav akṣeti yasca pūrva utāparaḥ.
6. Apsarasāṁ gandharvānāṁ mrgānāṁ carane caran;
Keśī ketasya vidvānt-sakhā svadur mānditamah.
7. Vāyur asmā upāmanthat pinasti sma kunannamā;
Keśī viṣasya pātreṇa yad rūdrenāpivat saha.

X,169,1.

Mayobhur vāto abhivātvusrā,
ūrjasyatir osadhīr āriṣantam;
Pīvasvatir jivadhanyāḥ pivantv-
-avasāya patavate rudra mṛṣa.

Passages relating to Rudra in the Atharva Veda.

- I,19,3. Yo nah svo arañah sajātaḥ
utā niṣtyo yo asmān abhidāsati;
Rudra śarāvyaītān mamāmitrān vividyatu.
- II,27,6. Rudra jalāsabheṣaja nīlāsikhanda karmakṛt;
Prāsam prati-pāsā jahi arasam kṛnu osadhe.
- II,34,1. Ya īśe pasupati pasunam catuspadām
Uta yo dvipadām
- III,16,1. Prātar bhagam pūṣaṇam brahmaṇaspatim,
prataḥ somam uta rudram havāmahe.
- III,22,2. Mitraśca varuṇāścendro rudraśca cetatu.
- IV,21,7. Pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu.
- IV,28,1. Bhavāsarvau manve tvām tasya vittam,
Yayorvam idam pradiṣi yad virocate;
Yāveṣyāthe dvipade yau catuspades
tau no muñcantam amhasah.
- IV,28,2. Yayorabhyadhvā uta yaddūre cid
yau viditāv iṣu bhratham āsiṣṭhau.
- IV,30,1. Aham rudrebhir vasubhiścaramā.
- IV,30,5. Aham rudrāya dhanur ātanomi,
brahmadviṣe śarave hantavā u.
- V,24,12. Marutām pitā pasūnam adhipatih sa mām avatu.
- VI,20, 2. Namo rudrāya namo astu takmane,
namo rajne varunāya tviṣimate.

- VI, 32,2. Rudro vo grivā asāirat piśācāh,
pr̥stir vo'pi śr̥nātu yātudhānāh.
- VI, 44,3. Rudrasya mūtram asyāmṛtasya nābhiḥ.
(This to Ośadhi)
- VI,57,1. Idam id va u bheṣajam idam rudrasya bheṣajam;
Yeneṣum ekatejanām śataśalyām apābravat.
- VI, 59,3. Viśvarupām subhagām acchāvādāmi jīvalām;
Sā no rudrasyā āstām hetim dūram nayatu gobhyaḥ
- VI,68,1. Adityā rudrā vasava undantu sacetasah,
Somasya rājño vapata pracetasah.
- VI, 90,1. Yām te rudra iṣumadyad āṅgebhyo hrdayāya ca;
Idam tām adya tvad vayam
viśūcim vivṛṇāmasi.
- VI,90, 3. Namaste rudrāsyate namah pratihitāyai,
namo visr̥jyamanāyai namo nipatitāyai.
- VI,93,1. Yamo mṛtyur aghamāro nirṛtho,
babhruḥ sarvo'stā nilāsikhaṇḍah.
- VI,93,2. Manasā homair harasā ghr̥tena,
sārvayāstrā uta rājñe bhavāma;
namsyebhyo nama ebhyo kr̥nomy;
-anyatrāsmad aghaviṣā nayantu.
- VI,141,1. Adhi bravad rudra bhūmne cikītsatu.
- VII,75,1. Mā vah stena īśata māghasāmsah,
parivo rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu.
- VII,87,1. Yo'gnau rudro yo'psvantar,
ya ośadhīr virudhā āviveśa;
yā imā visvā bhuvanāni cākīrpe,
tasmai rudrāya namōstvaghāye.

- VIII,3,5. Yatedānīm paśyasi jātavedas,
tiṣṭhantam agne uta vā carantam;
Antarikṣe patantam yātudhānam,
tamstā vidhya sarva śiśānah.
- VIII,5,10. Asmai manim varma badhnantu devāḥ;
Indro visnuḥ savitā rudro agnih.
- VIII,8,17. Gharmah samiddho agnināyaṁ homaḥ sahasrahaḥ;
Bhavaśca prṇibāhuśca sarva senām amūm hatam.
- VIII,8,18. Indracaksujālābhyam sarva senām amūm hatam.
- IX,7,7. Mitraśca varunaśca anśau tvaṣṭā,
cāryamā ca doṣāni mahādevo bāhu.
- X,1,23. Bhavāśarvāvāśyetaṁ pāpakṛte kṛtyakṛte
duṣkṛte,
vidyataṁ devahetiṁ.
- XI,2. Hymn to Rudra.
1. Bhavāśarvau mṛdataṁ mābhi yātaṁ,
bhūtapatī paśupatiṁ namo vām;
Pratihitam āyātam mā visraṣṭam,
mā no hīmsiṣṭam dvipado mā catuspadaḥ.
 2. Sune kroṣṭre mā śarirāṇi kartam,
aliklebhyo grdhrebhyo ye ca kṛṣṇā avisy
Maksikāste paśupate vayasi,
te vighase mā vidanta.
 3. Krandāya te prānāya yaśca te bhava ropāya;
Namaste rudra kṛṇmah sahasrākṣāya amartya.
 5. Mukhāya te paśupate yāni cakṣuṁsi te bhava;
Tvace rupāya saṁdrṣe pratičināyā te namaḥ.
 7. Astrā nīlāsikhaṇḍena sahasrākṣeṇa vājina;
Rudrenā-rdhakaghātina tena mā samaramahi.
 8. Sa no bhavaḥ pari vṛṇaktu viśvataḥ,
apa ivāgniḥ parivṛṇektu no bhavaḥ;
Mā no'bhi mansta namo astvasmai.
 9. Caturnamo astakṛtvo bhavāya,
daśakṛtvāḥ paśupate namaste;

Taveme pañca paśavo vibhaktā
gavo aśvāḥ puruṣāḥ ajāvayaḥ.

11. Urukośo vasudhānastavāyam,
yasminnimā viśvā bhuvanānyantaḥ;
Sā no mṛda paśupate namaste,
paraḥ kṛṣṭāro abhibhāḥ svāno paro yanṭvag
-rudo vikesyaḥ.
12. Dhanur bibharsī haritaḥ hiranyayam,
sahasraghnīm śatavadhām śikhāṇḍin;
Rudrasyesu carati devahetis,
tasyai namo yatamasyām disitaḥ.
13. Yo'bhiyāto nilayate tvām rudra nicikīrṣati;
Pascād anuprayunkṣe taṁ viddhasya padaniriva.
14. Bhavarudrām sayujā samvidanāy
ubhāvugaṇu carataḥ viryāya;
Tābhyām namo yatamasyāni disitaḥ.
15. Namaste astrāyate namo astu parāyate;
Namaste rudra tiṣṭhate āsināya te namaḥ.
16. Namahsāyam namaḥ prātar namo rātryā namo divi
Bhavāya ca sarvāya cobhabhyām akaram namaḥ.
17. Sahasrākṣam ati paśyam purastād,
rudraḥ asyantam bahudha vipascitam;
Moparāma jihvayeyamānam.
18. Śyavāśvam kṛṣṇam asitam mṛnantam,
bhīmam ratham keśinaḥ pādayantam;
Pūrve pratimo namo astvasmai.
19. Mā no'bhisrā mātyam devahetim,
mā naḥ krudhāḥ paśupate namaste;
Anyatrāsmad divyam śākhām vidhūnī.
20. Mā no himsīr adhi no brūhi,
pari no vṛpdhi mā krudhāḥ
Mā tvayā samarāmaḥi.
21. Mā no gosu puruṣeṣu mā ḡrdho no ajāviṣu;
Anyatrogra vivartāya piyārunām prajāḥ jahī.
22. Yasya takmā kasikā hetir,
ekam aśvasyeva vṛṣanah kranda eti;
Abhipūrvam nirṇayate namo astvasmai.

24. 24. Tubhyam aranyāḥ paśavo mṛgāvane,
hitā haṁsāḥ suparnāḥ śakunā vayāmsi,
Tava yakṣam paśupate apsvantas
tubhyaṁ ksaranti divyāpo vṛdhe.
25. Śmśumārā ajagarāḥ purikāyāḥ
jaśāḥ matsyā rājasā yebhyo asyasi;
Na te dūram na pariṣthāsti te bhava,
sadyaḥ sarvāṁ pariṣāsyasi bhūmim,
purvasmāḍ haṁsyuttarasmaṁt samudre.
26. Mā no rudra takmanā mā viṣena,
Mā naḥ saṁsrā divyenāgninā;
Anyatrāsmad vidyutaṁ pātayaitāṁ.
27. Bhavo divo bhava īśe pṛthivyā,
bhava ā papra urvantaḥ śikṣam;
Tasai namo yatamasyāṁ diśitāḥ.
28. Bhava rajanyajamānāyamṛda,
pasūnāṁ hi paśupatiḥ babhūtha;
Yah śraddhadhāti santi devā iti
catuṣpade dvipade' sya mṛda.
29. Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam,
mā no vahantam uta mā no vakṣyata;
Mā no hīmsiḥ pitarāṁ mātaraṁ ca,
svām tanvaṁ rudra mā rīriṣo naḥ.
30. Rusṛasyailabakārebhyo' saṁsūktāgilebhyo,
Idaṁ mahāsyebhyaḥ svabhyo akaraṁ namaḥ.
31. Namaste ghoṣinībhyo namaste keśinībhyāḥ,
Namo namaskṛtābhyo namaḥ saṁbhujantībhyāḥ,,
Namaste deva senābhyāḥ svasti no abhayaṁ ca n

XI,6,9.

Bhavaśarvāvidam brūmaḥ rudraṁ paśupatiśca yaḥ
Isur yā eṣāṁ saṁvidma tā naḥ santu sadā sivāḥ

XII,2,6.

Punas tvāṁ ādityā rudrā vasavaḥ,
punar brahmā vasunitir agne;
Punastvā brahmanaspatir adhad,
dirghāyutvāya sataśaradāya.

- XII,2,47. Tenāpahatam śarum āpatantam,
tena rudrasya paripātam āstām.
- XII,4,17. Ya enām avasām āha devānām nihitam nidhim,
Ubhau tasmai bhavēsarvau parikramyesumasyatah.
- XII,4,52. Ye gopatim pāṁṁniyāthāhur mā dadā itit,
Rudrasyāstam te hetipariyantycityā.
- XIII,4,4. So'ryamāḥ sa varuṇaḥ sa rudraḥ sa mahādevaḥ.
26. Sa rudro vasuvānir vasudeye,
namo vāke vaṣaṭkāro'nusamhitāḥ.
27. Tasyeme sarve yātavaḥ upa praśisam āsate.
228. Tasyāmū sarvā nakṣatrā vaśe candramasā saha.
- XV,1,1-8. Vrātya āsid īyamāna eva sa prajāpatim samairay
Sa prajāpatiḥ suvarṇam ātmannapasīyat tat prāja
-at(2). Tadekam abhavat tan mahad abhavat tajj
-ṣṭham abhavat tad brahmā abhavat t at tapo'bh
-at tat satyam abhavat tena prajāyata(3). So'v
-dhata sa mahān abhavat sa mahādevo'bhavat(4).
devānām īśām paryait sa īśāno'bhavat(5). Sa ek
-vrātyo'bhavat sa dhanurādatta tadevendradhanu
Nilamasyodaram lohitaṁ prṣṭham(7). Nilenaivāpr
bhrātrvyam prṇoti lohiteṇa dviśantam vidhyati
brahmavādino vādanti(8).
- XV,5,1-7. Tasmai prāsyā diśo antardeśād bhavam iśvāsam a
-sthātāram akurvān. Bhava enam iśvāsaḥ prācyā
diśo antardeśād anuṣṭhātānu tiṣṭhati. Nainam
śarvo na bhavo neśāno nāsyā pasūna samānan hi
-ti ya evam veda.(1).
Tasmai dakṣiṇāyā diśo antardeśād sarvam etc.(2)
Tasmai prācīcyā diśo antardeśād paśupatiḥ etc.
Tasmāt udīcyā diśo antardeśād ugram etc. (4).
Tasmai dhruvāyā diśo antardeśād rudram etc. (5)
Tasmā ūrdhvāyā diśo antardeśād mahādevam etc.
Tasmai sarvebhyo antardesebhyo īśānam etc.(7).

- XVIII,1,40. Stuhi śrutām gartasadam janānām,
rājānam bhīmam upahatnum ugram;
Mr̥dā jaritre rudra stavāno,
anyam asmatte nivapantu senyam.
- XIX,9,10. Śam no grahascandramasā śamādityasca rāhuṇā;
Śam mṛtyur dhūmaketaḥ śam rudras tigmatejaḥ
- XIX,10,6. Śam no rudro rudrebhir jalāḥaḥ,
śam nas tvaṣṭā gnābhir iha sṛnotu.
- XIX,11,4. Ādityā vasavo rudrā juṣantam,
idam brahmā kriyamānam navīyaḥ.
- XIX,18,3. Somam te rudravantam r̥cchantu,
ye maghāyavodakṣiṇyā diśo'bhidāsān.
- XIX,31,2. Agni as Paśupati.
Yo no agnir gārhaptyaḥ paśūnām adhipā asat.
- XIX,55,5. Agni as 'rudra'.
Annadāya annapataye rudrāya namo'gnaye.

Passages relating to Rudra in the Yajurveda.

Taittiriya Samhitā.

- I,1,1. Mā vaḥ stena īsata māghasāmsō rudrasya hetih vo vṛnaktu dhruvā asmin gopatau syāt bahvir-jamānasya pasūn pāhi.
- I,2,4. Rudrastvāvartayatu mitrasya pathā.
(This is addressed to the worshipper by the priest.).
- I,5,1. The legend of Agni and the wealth of the gods
Devāsuraḥ samyattā asante devā vijayam upayan 'gnau vāmah vasu samnyadhatedam u no bhaviṣya yadi no jeṣyantiti, tad agnir nyakāmayata ten-krāmata taddevā vijityāvaruruṣsamānā anvādāy tadasya sahasāditsanta, so'rodid yad arodit tad rudrasya rudratvam etc.
- I,8,6. The Tryambaka Homa.
Pasūnām sarmāsi sarma yajamānasya sarma me ya iti. eka eva rudro na dvitīyāya tathe. ākhu rudra pasus tam juṣasva.iti. eṣa te rudra bh saha svasrā ambikayā tam juṣasva. bheṣajam g 'svāya puruṣāya bheṣajam atho asmabhyam bheṣa subheṣajam yathā satī sugam meṣāya meṣyai. it avāmba rudraṁ idmahyava-devaṁ tryambakam.iti. tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim puṣṭiyardhanam. urvārukam iva bandhanān mṛtyor muksiṣya māmṛt iti. eṣa te rudra bhāgas tam juṣasva tenāvase paro mūjavato'tihī. avatatadhanvā pinākahast kṛttivāsāh.
- II,2,10. The 'somāraudra' offering.
Asāvādityo na vyarocata tasmai devāḥ prāyaści aicchantasmā etam somāraudraṁ caruṁ niravapanyo brahmavarcaskāmah syāt tasmā eṣam somā-raudraṁ caruṁ nirvapat.....tiṣyapūrnāmase ni-vaped rudro vai tiṣyaḥ.....somāraudraṁ caruṁ -vapat prjākāmah somo vai retodhā agnih prajā prajanayitā.....somāraudraṁ caruṁ nirvaped a -caran....etc.

IV,5;1. The 'satarudriya'.
(see VS. XVI.).

Vājasaneyī Samhitā.

III,57-63. The Tryambaka Homa.
(No material variation from the passage in
TS, I,8,6.)

VIII,58. Identification of Soma with other gods.
Viśvedevās camasesūnītāḥ. asurhomāya dyata
rudro hūyamaṇaḥ. vāto'abhyāvṛtaḥ. etc .

IX,39. Association of Rudra with animals.
Bṛhaspatir vāca indro jyaiṣṭhyāya rudro paśub
matraḥ satye varuno dharmapātinam.

X,20. Rudra yatte krivīḥ param.nāma tasmin hutam....

XI,15. Addressed to the sacrificial horse.
Fratūrvannehyavakrāmanasasti rudrasya gāṇapat
mayobhurehi.

1. Namaste rudra manyave uto ta isave namah;
Bahubhyam uta te namah.
2. Yā te ~~tanur~~ rudra sīvā tanūr aghorā pāpakāṣiṇī
Tayā nastan-vā śantamayā giriśantābhicākaśiḥi.
4. Śivena vacasā tvā giriśācchā vadēmasi ;
Yathā nah sarvam ijagat ayakṣmaṁ sumanā asat.
5. Adhyavocad adhivaktā prathamo daivyo bhiṣak;
Ahiṁśca sarvāṅ jambhayanta ,
sarvāśca yātudhānyo'dharāciḥ parāsuvaḥ.
7. Asau yo'vasarpati nīlagrivo vilohitaḥ;
Utainam̐ gopā adṛśraṁ ...etc.
10. Vijyam̐ dhanu kapardino viśalyo vāṇavāṁ uta;
Aneśannasya ya isava ābhurasya niṣaṅgadhiḥ.
17. Namo hiranyabāhave senānye diśāṁ ca pataye namo
namo vrkṣebhyo harikeśebhyaḥ paśūnāṁ pataye namo
namah śāspiṅjarāya tviṣimate pathīnam̐ pataye namo
namo harikesāyapavitine puṣṭānāṁ pataye namah.
18. Namo babhluśāya vyādhine'nnānam̐ pataye namo namo
bhavasya hetyai jagatām̐ pataye namo namo rudrā
-tāyine kṣetrānāṁ pataye namo namah sūtaḥ
vanānāṁ pataye namah.
19. Namo rohitāya sthapataye vrkṣānāṁ pataye namo
bhuvantaye vāriṣakṛtāyausādhiṅnāṁ pataye namo
vānījāya kaṣṣānāṁ pataye namo nama uccair ghos
-krandayate pattināṁ patayenamah.
20. Namah kṛtsnāyatayādhāvate satvānāṁ pataye namo
sahamanāya niyyadhinā avyādhinināṁ pataye namo
namo niṣaṅgiṇe kakubhāya stenānāṁ pataye namo
nicerave parīcarāyaranānāṁ pataye namah.
21. Namo vañcate parivañcate stāyūnam̐ pataye namo
niṣaṅgiṇa isudhimate taskarānāṁ pataye namo namo
srkayibhyo jighamsadbhyo muṣṇatām̐ pataye namo
'śimadbhyo naktam̐ caradbhyo vikṛtānāṁ pataye
22. Nama usnīśine giricarāya kulūñcānāṁ pataye namo
nama isumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaśca vo namo nama ā
-vānebhyaḥ pratidadhānebhyaśca vo namo nama āy
-adbhyo'syadbhyaśca vo namah.

24. Namaḥ sabhābhyaḥ sabhāpatibhyaśca vo namo n
'śvebhyo' śvapatibhyaśca vo namo nama āvyādhi
-bhyo viyidhyantibhyaśca vo namo nama ugaṇāb
-trṇantibhyaśca vo namaḥ.
25. Kamo gaṇebhyo gaṇapatibhyaśca vo namo namo v
-bhya vrātapatibhyaśca vo namo namo grtsebhyo
grtsapatibhyaśca vo namo namo virūpebhyo viś
-rūpebhyaśca vo namaḥ.
27. Namaś taksebhyo rathakārebhyaśca vo namo nama
kulālebhyāḥ karmakārebhyaśca vo namo namo ni
-bhyaḥ puñjīsthebhyaśca vo namo namaḥ śvanibhy
mrgayubhyaśca vo namaḥ.
28. Namaḥ śvabhyaḥ svapatibhyaśca vo namo namo bh
ca rūdrāya ca namaḥ sarvāya ca paśupatiye ca
nīlagrīvāya ca śitikanthāya ca.
29. Namaḥ kapardine ca vyuptakeśāya ca namaḥ saha
-ksāya ca śatadhanyane ca namo giriśāyāya ca
-viśtāya ca namo mīlhuṣṭamāya ceśumate ca.
41. Namaḥ sambhavāya ca mayobhavāya ca namaḥ saṁk
-ya ca mayaskarāya ca namaḥ śivāya ca sivatar
ca.
51. Parame vrkṣa āyudham nidhāya kṛttimvasāna aca
pinākam bhīhrad āgahi.

XIX, 82.

Aśvins following the path of Rudra.

Tadaśvinā bhīṣajā rudravartanī sarasvatī vaya
peśo'ntaram.

XXIV, 3.

Rudrāya paśupatiye karṇā yāmā avaliptāya raud
namo rupā pārjanyaḥ.

XXXIII, 48.

Ubhā nāsatyā rudro'dhagnāḥ pūṣā bhagaḥ sarasv
juśanta.

XXXIII, 58.

Aśvins following the path of Rudra.

Daśrā yuvākavaḥ suṭā nāsatyā vrktabarhiṣaḥ.
Āyatam rudravartanī.

XXXIV, 34.

Prātar bhagam pūṣanam bhrahmaṇaspatim prātaḥ
somam uta rudraṁ hūvema.

XXXIX, 9.

Rudra associated with 'dauravratya'.

.....Mitram sauvratyena rudraṁ dauravratyena
prakṛidena maruto balena sādhyan pramudā.

Passages relating to Rudra in the Brahmanas.

Aitareya Brahmana.

III,13,9. The legend of Prajapati's incest.

~~xxx~~ Prajāpatir vai svām duhitaram abhyadhāyad divam ityanya āhur usasam ityanb. tamśyo bh rohitām bhūtam abhyaṅt tam devā apasyannakṛta vai prajāpatiḥ karotiti te tam aicchan ya enā -yatyenam anyonyam asminnavindaśanśtēṣām yā ev ghoratanāstanva āsanśtā ekadhā samabharanśtāh sambhṛtā eṣa devo 'bhavat tad asyaṅtad bhūtav -nāma iti.....tam devā abruvann ayam vai pra -patir akṛtam akārīman vidhyeti sa tathetyabr sa vai varam vṛnā iti vṛnīsveti sa etam eva v avṛnīta paśūnām āhipatyām tadasyaitatpaśumantān va eṣo devo 'bhyavadata mama vā id mama vai vāstuham iti tametayārcā niravādayan

V,22,9.

The legend of Nabhanediṣṭha.

Tam svaryanto 'bruvannetat te brāhmana sahasra tadenam samākurvānam puruṣaḥ kṛṣṇaśavāsyuttar upoṭthāyāsravin mama va idam mama vai vāstuhātam pitā abravīt tasyaiva putraka tatta satubhyam dāsyatīti.....

Kausitaki Brahmana.

II,2.

Dvirudicīm āis srucam udyacchati rudram eva t svāyām diśi pritvāvasṛjati tasmādhūyamanasyot -to na tiṣṭhed.

III,4.

Ned rudrena yajamanasya paśūn pravṛhājanīti s

III,6.

Atho rudro vai sviṣṭakṛdantabhāgvā eṣa tasmād antato yajati.

Prajāpatiḥ prajākamas tapo'tapyata. tas
taptāt pañcajāyāta agnir vāyur ādityaścandram
ūcāḥ pañcamī.....Usāḥ prajāpatyāyapsaro rūpaḥ
kṛtvā purastāt pratyudait. tasyām eṣāḥ manah
samapatat. te reto'siñcanta. te prajāpatim
-aram etyabruvan 'reto vai asiñcāmaha idam n
amayā bhūd iti'. sa prajāpati/hiranmayam cam
akarod iṣupātaram urdhvam evam tiryāñca. tas
retah samasiñcat. tata udatiṣṭhat sahsrākṣah
-rapāt sahasreṇa pratihitābhiḥ. sa prajāpati
pitarā abhyayacchat. tam abravīt 'kathā māb
-yacchasi'iti. 'nāma me kurvityabraviṇa vai
-am ayihitenahāmnānamāyāmiti. sa vai tvam
abravīd bhava eveti t yad bhava āpaḥ. tena n

vā enam bhavo hinasti nāsya prajāḥ nāsya pasū
-sya bruvānam eana. atha ya enam dveṣṭi sa e
pāpāyān bhāvati. na sa ya evam veda. tāsya vr
-tam ā im eva vāsaḥ paridadhītetī.
sa vai tvam ityabravīccharva eveti yaccharvo'
...tāsya vratam saryam eva nāēnīyad iti.....
sa vai tvamityabravīt paśupatiḥ eveti yat paś
-r vāyuh....tāsya vratambrāhmaṇam eva na pari
-diti.....

sa vai tvamityabravīd ugra eva deva iti yad u
deva ośadhayo vanaspatayah....tāsya vratam
striyā eva vivaram nekṣetēḥ.....

sa vai tvamityabravīn mahādeva iti. yan mahā
deva ādityah....tāsya vratam udyantam eva nek
-stamīyantaḥ cetā.....

sa vai tvamityabravīd rudra eveti yad rudraśc
-dramāḥ....tāsya vratam vimūrtaḥ eva nāsnīyan m
-nam ceti.....

sa vai tvamityabravīd īśāna eveti yadiśāno'nn
....tāsya vratam annamevecchamānam na pratyāc
-sīteti.....

sa vai tvamityabravīd aśanireveti yadaśanir i
-rah....tāsya vratam satyameva vaded hiraṇya
bibhriyād iti..sa eśo'astānāmāstāvihito mahān
devah

VIII,4.

Anhanbibharśi sāyakāni dhanveti pausnīca rau
cābhirūpe abhiṣṭauti pausnām caiva raudram ca
svāhākārāv etābhyām anuvādati.

XXI,3.

Paśūn pañcamenāhnāpnuvanti rudram devam devat
yaśo'dhibhūtam vīryam ātman dadhate.

XXIII,3.

Paśūn pañcamenāhnāpnuvanti pañktim chandas t
-avam stomam śakvaramsāmārvācīm diśam hemanta
-ūnām maruto devān devajātām rudram adhipatim

Taittiriya Brahmana.

I,6,10.

The Tryambaka Havis.

Pratipūrusam ekakapālam nirvapati. jātā
prajā rudrānniravadayate. ekamatiriktam. ja
-mānā eva prajā rudrānniravadayate. ekakapāla
bhavanti. ekadhaiva rudram niravadayate. nā
-ghārayati. yad abhighārayet. antarvacāriṇam
rudram kuryāt. ekolmukena yanti. taddhi rudr
-sya bhāgadheyam. imām diśam yanti. eṣā va
rudrasya dik. svāyām eva diśi rudram niravade
-te. rudro va apaśukāyā ābutyai nātiṣṭhat. r
te paśur iti nirdiśed yam dviṣyāt. yameva dve
tam asmaḥ paśum nirdiśati. yadi na dviṣyāt ā
-te paśuriti brūyat. na grāmyān paśūn hinasti.
-ranyaṅ. catuṣpathe juhōti. eṣa va agnīnām pa
-so nama agnivatyeva juhōti.....antam enaiva
jñxtix hotavyam. antatak eva rudram niravade
-te. eṣa te rudra bhāgas saha svasrāmbikayety
-ha. śarad va asyāmbikā svasā. tayā vā eṣa hi
-ti,yam hinasti. tayavainām śsaha samayati.
bheṣajam gava ityāha. yāvanta eva grāmyaḥ pa
-yaḥ. tebhyo bheṣajam karōti. avāmba rudram
hityāha. āśiṣamevāitanāsāste. tryambakam yajān
ityāha. artyormukṣiya māmṛtāditi vāvaitadāha.
Utkiranti, bhāgasya lipsante..... eṣa te rudr
bhāga ityāha niravtyai. apratikamā yanti. āpa
pariṣīncanti. rudrasyāntarhityai. pra vā asmaḥ

-kāccyavante, ye tryambakaiscarati. adityam c
punaretya nirvapati. iyam vā aditiḥ. asyām eva
prati tiṣṭhanti.

III,2,5. Rudrasya hetih pari vo vṛṇaktvityāha. rudradev
-nāstrāyate.

III,3,2. Yasyaitānyagnau praharanti. tasmādetānyagnāve
praharet. yatarastasmint-samṛjyāt. paśunām dh
-yai. yo bhūtānam adhipatiḥ, rudras tanticarō
paśūn asmākaṁ mā himsiḥ. etadastu hūtaṁ tava
-hetyagnisammārjanānyagnau praharati.

{ Rudra and Agni are apparently identified here

III,9,17. Raudraṁ caruṁ nirvapet, yadi mahati devatābhī
-eta. etad devatyō vā āsvaḥ. svayaivaṁinaṁ dev
-tyābhiṣajyati.

III,11,2. Tvam agne rudro asuro maho divaḥ. tvam śardho
marutāṁ pṛkṣa īśiṣe.

Talavakāra or Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa.

I,133. Rudra associated with cattle.

Yadīśānam indreti pratihared, īśāno yajamanas
paśunām abhimānakaḥ syād.nēsāno yajaman
-sya paśūn abhimanyate sāntāḥ prajā edhante.

III,261-63. The legend of the birth of Rudra.

Tāsu śrāyantīyam. devā vai sattram upayanto
-van yannah krūram ātmanas tannirmimāmahai, m
sagrūra upāgameti. tad yad eśam krūram ātman
āsīt tau nirmāya śarāvayoh sammārjaṁ nyaddadhu
atha satram upāyans tata eśo'khalo devo 'jāya
tadyaccharāvābhyām ajāyata tasyaitannāmaisa h
vāva so 'gnir jajñe. na hainam eśa binastī ya
enam veda. sa devanabravit. kasmai mām ajijaṁ
-aupadrstyāyetyabruvan. yo'tipādāyāt tam hanā
iti. prajāpatir hosasam svām duhitaram abhya
-yat. sa ha tam abhyāyatyavidhyat. tataḥ sa e
rūpam paryasyordhva udakrāmat. sa eśa iṣu tr

-das tasmāt pṛṣato svādutamah.....

Tāṇḍya or Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa.

VI,9,7,9.

Yam samān mahādevaḥ paśūn hanyāt sanah pavasy
sangava itī catuspade bheṣajam karōti.....
Viṣena vā tām samān ośadhayoktā bhavanti yam
samān mahādevaḥ paśūn ahanti yaccham rājanno
-dhībhya ityāhaṣadhirevāsmāi svadayati.

VII,9,16-18.

Devā vai paśūn vyabhajanta te rudram antarāya
tān vāmadevyasya stotra upekṣate.....
Yannirāha rudrāya paśūnapi dadhāti rudrastām
paśūn ghātuko bhavati.

Satapatha Brahmana.

I,7,3,1-8.

Yajñena vai devāḥ. divam upodakrāmann athāyo
devaḥ paśūnām abhiṣṭe sa ihāhiyata tasmād vās
-vya ityāhur vastau hi tad ahiyata. so
-cakrāma sa āyatayottarata upotpede. sa esah
-stakṛtaḥ kālah. tadvā agnaya iti kriyate. ag
vai sa devas tāsyetāni nāmani sarva iti yathā
prācyā acakṣate bhava iti yathā bahikāh, paśū
patī rudro 'gniriti tānyasyāsāntānyevetarātar
nāmānyagnirityeva sāntatamam tasmād agnaya it
-yate sviṣṭakṛta iti.

V,3,1,10.

The Gavedhuka ritual.
Atha śvo bhūte. aksāvapāsya ca gr̥hebhyo govik
-tasya ca gavedhukāh sambhṛtya sūyamānasya gr̥
raudram gāvedhukam carum nirvapati. te vā ete
dve sati ratnā ekam karoti sampadaḥ kāmāya ta
yad etenam yajate yam va imām sabhāyam ghnant
rudro haitām abhimanyate'gnirvai rudro.....

V,3,3,7.

Atha rudrāya paśupati. raudram gāvedhukā c
nirvapati. tadenam rudra eva paśupatiḥ paśubh
suvatyaḥ yad gāvedhuko bhavati vāstavyo v
eṣa devo vāstavyā gāvedhukā tasmād gāvedhuko
bhavati.

V,4,2,10.

Tadatiriktam dadhātyuttarārdhe juhotesā nyet
devasya dik tasmād uttarārdhe juhote sā juhote
-ra yatte krivi param nāma tasmān hutamasyame
-masi svāheti.

V,4,4,12.

Brahmannityeva caturtham ā mantrayate tvam br
-sītitarah pratyāha rudro'si suśeva iti tadvi
-nyevāsmiṇnetat pūrvaṇi dadhātyathainam etaco
-mayatyeva tasmād eṣa sarvasyesāno mṛdayati y
-am śamayati.

VI,1,3,1-8.

The legend of the birth of Rudra.

Prajāpatir va idam agra āsit. eka eva so
-mayata syām prajāyeyati so'śrāmyat sa tapo't
-yata tasmād.....āpo'śrjanta.....āpo'bruvan
vayam bhavāmeti tapyadhvam ityabravīt.....tāh
phenam asrjanta. pheno'bravīt. kvāham bhavān
sa mṛdam asrjata....mṛd abravīt. kvāham bhava
.....sa sikatā asrjata....sikatābhyah sarkarā
asrjata....sarkarāyā asmānam.....asmāno'yas..
tadyadasrjataḥsarāt. yadaṣṭau kṛtvo'ksarat sa
-staksara gāyatryabhavāt. abhūdva'iyam pratis
-ēti. tadbhumirabhavāt tām aprathayat, sa prā
-abhavāt. tasyām asyām pratiṣṭhāyām bhūtāni b
-tānam ca patiḥ. samvatsarāyadīksanta, bhūtāni
-tir grhapatir āsid usāḥ patnī. tadyāni tāni
-tani ,rtavaste 'tha yaḥ sa bhūtānam patiḥ sa
-vatsarah so'tha ya soṣāḥ patnyasasi sā tāni
bhūtāni bhūtānam ca patiḥ samvatsara usasi r
'siṅcantsa samvatsare kumaro'jāyata so'rōdit.
prajāpatir abravīt. kumāra kim rodiṣi.... so'
-vid anapahatapāpma vāsmyahitanāmā nāma me dh
-ti tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt.....
abravīd rudro'siti. tad yadasya tannāmā ākarod
agnistadrūpam abhavad agnir vai rudro yadarod
tasmāt rudrah..... .Tam abravīd sarvo'siti. T
yadasya tannāmakarod āpas tadrūpam abhavann a
vai sarvo'dbhyo hidam sarvam jāyate.....tam a
-vīt paśupatirasiti. tadyad asya tannāmakarod
-dhayastadrūpam abhavann oḍadhayo vai paśupat
tasmād yadā pasavaśadhīr labhante'tha patiyā
.....tam abravīd ugro'siti.....vāyustadrūpam
-vad vāyur vā ugras tasmād yadā balavad vāt

-gro vātītyāhuḥ....tamabravid āsanir asīti...
vidyut tadrūpam abhavad vidyud va āsanis tasma
yaṁ vidyud hantyaśanir avadhīā ityāhuḥ.....t
abravid bhavo'sīti....parjanyaṣtadrūpam abhava
parjanyo vai bhavaḥ parjanyaḍ hīdem sarvam bh
-ti..... tam abravīn mahadevo'siti.....candra
-maṣtadrūpam abhavaṣ paraajāpatir vai candramā
xjānati-jāpatir vai mahān devaḥ..... tam abra
īśano'sīti....ādityaṣtadrūpam abhavaṣ ādityo
īśana ādityo hyaṣya sarvaṣyete.....so'bravid
-van vā aṣmī māmetāḥ paro nāmā dhā itī.....

VI,3,2,7.

So'svam utkrāyati. pratūrvannehyavakrāmanā
-riti pāpmā vā aṣaṣtis tvaramāna ehyavakrāman
pāpmānam ityetaḍ rudraṣya gānapatyaṁ mayobur
-ti raudrā vai paṣavo yā te devatā tasyai gān
-am mayobhū. eḥityetadenam aṣvenānvicchaṣi.

IX,1,1,1f.

Oblations withe 'satarudriya' mantras in the
agni cayana.

Athātaḥ satarudriyaṁ juhōti. ātraīṣā sarvo'gn
saṁskṛtaḥ sa eṣo'tra rudro devataḥ. tasmāin d
etaṁ amṛtam rūpam uttamam ādadhuḥ. sa eṣo'tra
dipyamāno'tiṣṭhaḍ annam icchamānaṣ tasmāḍ devī
abhibhayaṣ yad vai no'yam na hīmaṣyāḍ itī.....
Prajāpater viṣraṣtāḍ devatā udakrāmānaṣ tam eka
eva devo nājahān manyuṣ eva so'sminnantar viti
'tiṣṭhaṣ, so'rodit tasya yānyaṣrūni prāskanda
tānyāṣmin manyau pratyatiṣṭhan sa eva sāta-sī
rudrah saṁabhavaṣ sahaṣrākṣaḥ sāteṣudhir atha
anya vipṣuṣo'patanaṣ tā aṣaṁkhyatā sahaṣrānimā
-kān anu prāviṣamaṣ tat yad ruditāt saṁabhavaṣ
tasmāḍ rudrah so'yam sātaṣīrṣā rudrah sahaṣrākṣ
sāteṣudhir adhiṣyadhanvā prati hitāyī bhīṣayaṣ
'tiṣṭhaḍ annam icchamānaṣ tasmāḍ deva abhibhaṣ

IX,2,3,32.

Agne sahaṣrākṣa. hiraṣya-sakalair va eṣa saha
-kṣaḥ sātamūrdhann itī yadaḍaḥ sātaṣīrṣā rudro
-jyata sātam te prānāḥ.

XI,5,3,5.

Mahadevayadyatam....etc.

(Rudra called Mahadeva)

XII,7,3,20.

Rudra as the ruler of beasts.

Tad āhuh. etasyai vā etad aghalāyai devatāyai
rūpaṃ yadante ghorā aranyāḥ pasavo yadetesāṃ
pasūnām lomabhiḥ payograhāṇochrīṇīyād rudrasy
pasūnām abhidadhyād apasur yajamānaḥ syād yā
srīṇīyād anavaruddhā asya pasavaḥ syū rudro h
pasūnām īsta.....

Chapter II.

The archaeological discoveries made in and around western India during recent years have at least made one thing certain and that is that the Indo-Aryans, far from developing their civilisation more or less in complete isolation, as was commonly supposed formerly, came into active contact with other civilised peoples in India itself and abroad. The discoveries in the Indus Valley, in particular, are very important as they not only throw valuable light on the pre-Aryan history of India but also supply us with a missing link which connects up the civilisation of India with those of the Near East, and shows how the classical culture of India evolved from the fusion of many various racial and cultural elements and of the varied genius of widely divergent races. Above all, they have given us unexpected clues which help us in explaining many features of Indian religion and culture which had so far puzzled all students of Indian civilisation. For the history of Saivism, ^{their importance} cannot be overestimated. They have given us a solution of those very features of that faith which could not be traced back to the Vedic religion and for which no satisfactory explanation has so far been given.

We shall take up, first, the most prominent of these features viz. the worship of the 'linga'. That the 'linga' which form Siva came to be most commonly worshipped in later times, was originally phallic in character is quite certain.

some scholars have, indeed, denied this and have tried to give other explanations of the 'linga'¹⁾. Their arguments are mainly based on the later non-phallic character of the 'linga' and the complete absence of any suggestion of phallic worship in the Vedic religion. But these arguments are untenable before the incontrovertible evidence available to show the original phallic character of the 'linga'. Not only do we find some old and realistic 'lingas'²⁾ but also, the Mahabharata tells in no uncertain terms that it was the phallus of Siva that was worshipped in the 'linga', and that for this reason Siva was looked upon as unique and different from all other gods whose phalli³⁾ were not so worshipped. The older Puranas, again, recognise the phallic character of the 'linga' and try to explain away the origin of its worship by spinning legends.⁴⁾ Thus, ever much foreign to the religion of the Vedic Aryans the worship of the phallic emblems might have been, there is no doubt that in course of time it was incorporated into the Indian religion and became associated with the cult of Rudra. The problem before us is to examine how and when this happened.

Phallic worship was widely prevalent in the ancient civilised world. It was one of the forms of sex worship the origin of which is to be found in the deep impression

1. e.g. Mr. C. V. Ayyar in his 'Origin and early history of Saivism in South India'.

2. e.g. the Gudimallam 'linga'.

3. see below, ch. IV.

4. see below, ch. V.

upon the primitive mind by the process of procreation on which depends the very existence of all life on this earth, and also in what may be called the 'sympathetic' association of sexual union and fertility of crops and animals.¹⁾ Sex worship, accordingly, became a very prominent feature of the religions of ancient world, most of which were but the developments of primitive fertility rites, and centred round the various deities of fertility. The process of procreation having, thus, come to be regarded with religious reverence, the organs through which it was effected were also naturally looked upon as endowed with mysterious potency and were worshipped. The phallus and the 'yoni' became objects of veneration in one form or the other in practically all countries where the fertility religions prevailed. We find them worshipped in Egypt on the one side, where huge realistic phalli were carried in processions, publicly and with great ceremony, and were ~~linked upon~~²⁾ worked mechanically, and on the other, in Japan, where detached phalli were commonly used and were set up on roadsides for worship.³⁾ But the home of phallic worship, par excellence, was Asia Minor, where the Greek, Babylonian and Assyrian civilisations rose and flourished. From one end of that country to the other we find phallic symbols being worshipped in the one deity or the other. Starting from the north we come across, first, the old Thracian god who was introduced into Asia Minor probably with the Phrygian immigrants and was afterwards introduced into Greece as Dionysus. This

L/ 1. Clifford Howard. Sex Worship. 1897.

2. Herodotus. II, 48.

3. ERE, IX, p. 819.

Was a deity of fertility, "of the living earth working especially in its vitalising warmth and juices."¹⁾ The phallus was employed in his worship as the symbol of his productive powers, and this use was borrowed by the Greeks along with the whole worship of the god from Asia Minor. In Assyria, the 'Asherah', a symbol of the union of Baal and the goddess Astoreth, was worshipped, and was a most realistic representation of the female organ of generation.²⁾ Designs of this symbol have also been found at Babylon and Nineveh, thus showing that its worship prevailed over a wide area. Coming further south we find similar traces of phallic worship in the cult of the Babylonian goddess Ishtar and her consort. In one of the hymns addressed to her mention is made of the offering of two 'yonis' (called 'sallas'), one of lapis lazuli and the other of gold, which were regarded as the great gifts.³⁾ That this cult of Ishtar with its phallic worship prevailed even further to the south and the south east into Persia and Arabia is proved by the testimony of Herodotus who records that the goddess was called Alilat by the Arabians and Mitra by the Persians, the latter name showing that this worship had been fused with the old Persian religion probably by making the goddess the consort of the ancient god Mithras.

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- L3. 1. Farnell. Cults of the Greek states. V, ch. 5, p. 97.
2. Clifford Howard. Sex Worship.
3. Published in PSBA. 31, 63f. also, see ERE. VII, p. 433.

Now, in the records of the so called Indus Valley civilisation which have been discovered at Mohenjodaro and elsewhere, the available evidence bearing upon the religion of people points to a very similar cult of a goddess prevailing there also. ¹⁾ Numerous female figurines in terracotta of un- type, which have been found at all the sites excavated, are probably cult images of the goddess. And just as the goddess Asia Minor was associated with a male deity so here also we find a male god whose representations are seen on some seals. Besides, there have also been found numerous phallic stones prove the prevalence of phallic worship among the Indus Valley people. There is no doubt about the phallic character of the finds as some of them are very realistic in design though others are more or less conventionalised. Several ring stones, which have also been discovered on the same sites, might have served 'yonis' in combined 'linga' and 'yoni' symbols. This phallic worship was, in all probability, connected with the worship of the goddess and her consort as in Asia Minor, though direct evidence upon this point will not be available till the writing of the seals has been deciphered. The close similarity of the cult of the goddess in the Indus Valley with the cult of the Asia Minor goddess is evident. This similarity, in itself, suggests a connection between the civilisations of the two regions. But we have additional evidence upon this point which makes the connection practically certain. Figurines of the goddess, very much like those found in the Indus Valley, have been found in Asia Minor round the Aegean coast, and the occurrence of

phallic symbols in the same region has already been noticed. When to these facts we add others like the discovery of articles of India manufacture such as seal amulets, pottery with knobbed surface, oak beams and other things in Mesopotamian excavations and conversely, of Mesopotamian objects such as a drill cut seal¹⁾ found in the Indus Valley sites, we can hardly resist the conclusion that the Indus Valley civilisation must have been very closely allied to the civilisations of the Near East, if not indeed a part of them.

Direct evidence of this close connection between India and the civilisations of the Near East has, however, been supplied by the discoveries of Sir A. Stein in Waziristan and the region round about. During the course of a number of expeditions he unearthed sites of ancient habitations which, both by their geographical position between India and Mesopotamia, and by their character of their finds, place the connection of the civilisations of the two countries almost beyond doubt. Numerous terra-cotta figurines of the goddess were discovered by him at different sites²⁾ in Waziristan which shows the prevalence of the cult of the goddess in these parts also, and hence their religious affinity with the Indus Valley. Other objects such as figurines of bulls, beads, pottery and so on, also bear great similarity to the Indus Valley finds. One small potsherd, found at Mughul Ghundai, even seems to bear a seal impression of some writing which appears to^{be} like the writing of the Indus Valley seals.³⁾ This proves that these parts

L/ 1. E. Mackay. Indus Civilisation. ch. VIII, p. 191f.

2. Sir A. Stein. Mem. Arch. Surv. of Ind. no. 37. 3. ibid. p. 42, pl.

were within the area of influence of the Indus Valley civilisation. On the other hand, the motifs on painted pottery, broken fragments of which have ^{been} found in great numbers at almost all sites excavated, bear a close resemblance to those on the Mesopotamian finds of the pre-Sumerian period. This links up the culture of these regions with the Near East and thus the chain connecting the latter with India is complete.

In view of this close connection between the Indus Valley and the civilisations of the Near East, the phallic worship in the former region can hardly be regarded as of independent origin. The probability lies heavily on the side of it being an importation from the latter region, along with the worship of the goddess. And here again, the discoveries of Sir A. Stein supply us with the final argument. For, if we accept the fact of the importation of phallic worship into India from the west we would expect to find some traces of it on the way. These traces we find in at least two places in Waziristan. At Mughul Ghundai was found an object which Sir A. Stein could not recognise ¹⁾, but which, it can be easily seen, is really a 'yoni' and has been identified as such by Sir John Marshall. At Mughul Ghundai was found another object which is a very realistic ²⁾ (linga). Other specimens of such emblems may be discovered

1. Stein. Mem. Arch. Surv. of Ind. p. 38, pl. IX, pc 17.

2. ibid. p. 45, pl. X, mmn 123.

1)
in future. There is, thus, reason to believe that phallic
worship was prevalent, or at least was known in these parts.
might be objected here that two isolated pieces of pottery
not sufficient to enable us to base any conclusion upon them.
But we have already cited evidence of the prevalence of the
of the goddess in these parts and as phallic worship was con-
-ed with her cult, there is every probability of its prevale
here also, and the two finds greatly strengthen this probabi
Further, it should be remembered that the two finds by no me
exhaust all the evidence which might prove important in this
connection. The border land between India and Persia, into
Sir A. Stein has made these pioneer expeditions, is still pra
-ally an archaeologically unexplored region, and future disc
-ies might supply us with more evidence. There is less prob
-lity of the discovery of any records of this period further
in Persia itself, for later civilisations have completely ob
-terated the traces of earlier ones, both by building on th
old sites and by using the ancient remains as quarries. But
Herodotus is to be believed, the worship of the goddess at
time prevailed in Persia also. 2)
In any case, the discoveries
Waziristan are unmistakable pointers to the eastward migrati
of Mesopotamian cultural influences which spread as far as I
and which, consequently, must have been felt in Persia also.

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1. The saucer like object, also discovered at Mughul Ghundai resembles the pedestals of the later 'sivalingas' in India.
 2. Her. I, 131.

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We are, thus, reasonably safe in assuming that phallic worship, which prevailed among the Indus Valley people, was but an offshoot of a cult which spread over the whole of the Near East. It is now to be considered how this worship was incorporated into the cult of Rudra. For this, we have, first, to consider the relations between the Indus Valley people and the Vedic Aryans. That the former occupied the lower Sind Valley and probably extended much further to the east and the north east before the RgVedic Aryans settled in the Punjab, is certain. The most probable date for the latter event, which is generally accepted, is about 2500 B.C. The Indus Valley civilisation was considerably older than this, but a Sumerian-Babylonian seal which has been found at Mohenjodaro, and whose date has been determined by Mr. C. L. Fabri as about 2800-2600 B.C., shows that the Indus Valley cities must have been flourishing at the time when the Aryans occupied the upper Punjab. Thus, for some time the earliest Vedic Aryans and the Indus Valley people must have lived side by side, and, considering that the former began to expand rapidly as soon as they had settled in the plains of the Punjab, it is hardly likely that the two peoples should not have come into contact, whether hostile or otherwise. The Rg Veda itself supplies evidence for such a contact. The constant mention of Dasas, Dasyus, and other enemies of the Aryans in the Rg Vedic hymns is a pointer to the fact that the Aryans did not find their home of theirs an empty space, but that, on the other hand,

found it inhabited by pre-existing populations who disputed every step the mastery of the land with the Aryans. The frequent mention of the cities ('puras') and the fortresses or walled towns ('durga') of these enemies, built of stone and iron,¹⁾ further shows that these enemies were not merely barbaric hordes whom the Aryans just swept aside, but that they were quite civilised, possessed cities and forts, and hence must have lived in organised communities. From the allusions to fierce battles which the Aryans had to wage with them, and for success in which they prayed to their gods, we can easily judge that these enemies had developed a technique of war, and possessed fighting qualities, not much inferior to those of the Aryans. Indeed, these same Aryans who contemptuously refer to their enemies as 'dasyas' and 'dasyus', did not hesitate to form military alliances with them when it suited their convenience to do so.²⁾ Therefore, when we have independent evidence for the existence of a civilised people in the very regions where the Aryans were fighting their battles, there is a great probability that they were their enemies, or, at least, one of the enemies of the Aryans, who are mentioned in the hymns of the Rg Veda. The argument is clinched, however, by the mention of a peculiar characteristic of

1. R.V. II, 14, 6. etc.

2. e.g. in the famous 'dasarajana' battle.

these enemies, which, so far as our present knowledge goes, apply only to the Indus Valley people. In two different passages in the Rg Veda, a reference is made to the 'sisna-devas', or those whose god is the phallus.¹⁾ This title fits exactly the Indus Valley people among whom we have just seen undoubted evidence for the prevalence of phallic worship. It is therefore practically certain that the Rg Vedic Aryans knew the Indus Valley people, and most probably came into active contact with them. The final issue of the struggle between the two was the triumph of the Aryans, and in course of time, here, and elsewhere, the conquered, with the conquerers and lost their separate identity. It was, however, a fusion of two equally civilised peoples, and if anything, the vanquished were somewhat advanced in point of civilisation than their conquerers. Hence during the process of fusion the one race was as much influenced by the other as it influenced it. The Indus Valley people lost their distinct identity, but they put their permanent mark on the culture of the Vedic Aryans. The civilisation which arose as a result of this fusion was a synthesis of the two original civilisations and had its roots butted as deeply in the valley of the Indus as in the 'land of the seven rivers'.

One of the first results of the fusion of the Indus Valley people with the Vedic Aryans was the assimilation of the former by those of the latter. We remarked above that a mal

god, who was most probably the consort of the goddess, was worshipped in the Indus valley. As the consort of the goddess, was most~~xxx~~ likely connected with fertility, and his position was, therefore, analogous to that of Osiris in Egypt and of Tammuz, the associate of Ishtar, in Babylonia. In one seal representation,¹⁾ a tiger, an elephant, a rhinoceros, and a buffalo are seen to be standing on either side of him, while two deer stand beneath his throne. He was, thus, probably also associated with animals, and might have been regarded as a 'lord of beasts'. In both these respects he was very similar to the Rudra, and there might have been other points of similarity between the two. When, therefore, the Indus Valley people fused with the Aryans, this deity was probably identified with Rudra, and his worshippers were henceforth regarded as the worshippers of Rudra. The process was not unusual but it had far reaching consequences.

The Indus Valley people were phallic worshippers. In the seal representation of the male deity, referred to above, he seems to be depicted in the 'urdhvamedhra' attitude though phallus is not otherwise emphasised or exaggerated. In the same representation he is also depicted as three faced, and, therefore, a broken statuette of a male dancing figure, which, judging from the thickness of the neck, also had three heads.

1. Marshall. Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation. Vol. I, Pl. XII, 17.

probably a plastic representation of the same deity. This figure has a detachable phallus. Both these facts make it likely that it was the phallus of this deity that was worshipped by the Indus Valley people in connection with fertility rites. When therefore, this deity was identified with the Vedic Rudra the worship of the phallus was introduced into the cult of the latter. That a custom which was, as is evident from the contemptuous way in which the 'asidadevas' are referred to in the two passages mentioned above, despised by the Aryans originally, should be allowed to become a part of the worship of one of their gods appears rather strange at first. But phallic worship, as seen above, is an ancient and a widely prevalent custom, and sheer weight of tradition coupled with the numerical strength of its adherents probably prevented the Aryans from suppressing it outright. Besides, the Aryans themselves had fertility rites of their own and Rudra himself was a deity of fertility. Hence some sections of the Aryan population, specially those among whom the fertility rites were most prevalent and who came into the closest contact with the Indus Valley people, might have seen no reason in not accepting a custom which was honoured by people at least as civilised as themselves, and which, as a form of fertility cult, was after all not absolutely alien to the spirit of the popular Vedic religion. Phallic worship, therefore, spread among the Aryans. But if they thus accepted it, the Aryans managed, before long, to divest it of all its original features. Divorced

from its original setting and falling under the influence of advancing ideas of the Aryan religion, phallic worship was bound to undergo changes, and gradually, though its outward^{ly} retained perhaps as a concession to antiquity, its whole character was altered. The old phallic beliefs and practices died out, the emblems themselves were conventionalised beyond recognition, and at last the 'linga' of Siva became nothing more than a symbol under which the deity was worshipped.

The second great result of the identification of the Indus Valley male god with the Vedic Rudra was the introduction into the Aryan religion of the worship of the goddess. We have noticed above that the worship of the Indus Valley male god was most probably associated with that of the goddess. Rudra also was associated with the female deity Ambika. When, therefore, the latter was identified with the male god, it was but natural that the goddess should be identified with Ambika. That the latter appears as the sister of Rudra in the Vedic literature and not as his consort is not of very great importance as such relationships in mythology change readily. The Indus Valley goddess thus came to be regarded as the consort of Rudra. This identification of the two female deities was further facilitated by the fact that the word 'ambika' means mother, while the Indus Valley female deity was also a mother goddess, and both were connected with fertility. A parallel to such an identification of two deities through similarity in names or titles is seen in the case of the Assyrian Ishtar. A common title of hers was

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'belit' or lady or mistress. She was constantly called the 'belit of battle' and 'belit' of this or that. But Belit was also the name of the consort of the Babylonian god Bel, and though in the Babylonian inscriptions Ishtar is never associated with Bel, the similarity of her title to the name of the consort of that god led to the confusion of the two deities, and by the time of Assurbanipal the two were regarded as identical. The Assyrian Ishtar is explicitly called, in the inscriptions of that king, the consort of the Babylonian god Bel.¹⁾

The position of this goddess as the consort of Rudra was, however, very different from that of the consorts of other Vedic gods. These latter were mostly shadowy beings, and shone solely by the reflected light of their consorts. But Rudra's consort was an independent goddess of the first rank, with a developed cult of her own, and, before her association with Rudra, much more important than her male partner. Thus it was that from the very beginning she was never overshadowed by Rudra, but held equal rank with him and maintained her independent cult in which she was regarded as the supreme deity. This goddess, accordingly, came to be worshipped both as the consort of Rudra and by herself as the great mother goddess. In the former aspect her worship became an integral part of post-Vedic Saivism and in the latter we can see the beginnings of Saktism or Tantrism in India.²⁾

1. Jastrow. Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. p.205-06.

2. In which several of the old fertility rites connected with her worship survived.

Efforts have been made to trace the origin of this late cult from the Vedic religion. But all such efforts are bound to fail, because there is no deity in the Vedic religion who is remotely analogous to the mother goddess of the later Saktas. Most female deities that do occur are of very minor importance. One Prthivi is praised in a few hymns, but she is just a personification of the earth, and there is nothing to show that she ever passed beyond this stage. Another goddess Rodasi was perhaps identical with Prthivi. She was one of the 'gnas', and once called the wife of Rudra.¹⁾ But she practically disappeared in course of time. Such minor deities can hardly be supposed to have developed into the great mother goddess of the later times without leaving any traces of such growth, and the Vedic literature supplies no such traces. There is only one Vedic female deity who is different than the others and is much more important. She is Vak who first appears in one late hymn of the Veda.²⁾ She is conceived more or less as the energy of the gods and is described as controlling their activities. We shall have occasion to discuss below how the idea of a universal Prakriti might have started from some such conception as of this Vak. But she is entirely different from the goddess of Saktism. U

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2. R.V. X, 125.

the latter she is nowhere conceived of as the mother, nor do her worship show any connection with fertility rites which worship of the Sakti of the Saktas certainly did. Also, this is not associated with Rudra in any way and were we to accept her as the prototype of the later Sakti, the connection of the latter with Siva would remain unexplained. Lastly, the fact that the Kapālas are regarded as heretics in the Puranas, also proves that the worship of the goddess was in origin alien. We are, therefore, on reasonably safe ground in assuming that Saktism in India was foreign in origin, and that its beginning may be dated from the time, when the amalgamation of the Indus Valley people with the Vedic Aryans brought the worship of the mother goddess into the Aryan religion.

The cult of the mother goddess as it prevailed in India was also responsible for the introduction of certain practices and customs which we find connected with it in the Near East, and which were, in all probability, also prevalent in the Indus Valley. The most notable of these was the practice of dedicating girls and women to the service of the goddess in her temples, which service took the form of public prostitution. The practice was probably Babylonian in origin as the oldest mention of such women is made in Babylonian records. Ukhatu is the general name for a harlot dedicated to the worship of Ishtar, and in the story of Gilgamesh we find Ehani being tempted by such a woman.

1. see below, ch.V, p.

2. Religions of Babylonia and Assyria. p.475-76.

The practice was, originally, not the outcome of any obscene tendencies, but of perfectly sincere though naive belief in efficacy of the sexual act, ritually performed, as a means for promoting the fertility of crops and animal species, and hence pleasing to the goddess. The women, therefore, who were dedicated for this purpose to her temple, were regarded as doing a great service to the society, and no stigma of any sort seems to have been attached to them. On the other hand, they were looked upon as sacred and were honoured. In fact, the common word for a prostitute among the Babylonians and the Hebrews became 'kadistu' or 'kadesu', meaning sacred. Parents were glad to give their daughters for such service in the temples and considered, by this, themselves honoured. This system of sacred prostitution spread all over Asia Minor and was also incorporated into the ritual of the goddess Aphrodite in Corinth. To show that the custom was nowhere condoned not even by the Greeks, we have the evidence of Pindar who glorifies the "hospitable young women, the ministrants of prostitution in rich Corinth, whose thoughts oft times flit towards Ionia Aphrodite." Strabo gives them the dignified title of 'hetaera', or one dedicated to the service of the goddess. In India, this practice survived the amalgamation of the Indus Valley people with the Aryans, though it was somehow transferred from the service of the goddess to that of the god, and girl

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1. Jastrow. Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria. p.
 2. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States. Vol. II, ch. 21. p. 635.
 3. ibid. " " ".

began to be dedicated to the temples of Siva. The custom was probably tolerated by the Aryans like the phallic worship of some people, but does not seem to have met with their approval and was gradually stamped out in those parts where their influence was strongest. There is no allusion to ^{it} in all the post-Vedic literature of north India upto at least the 5th century A.D. or in other records. But the custom took root in other parts in India where the Aryan influence penetrated but slowly and was not able to absorb all the alien elements. This seems to be the most satisfactory explanation of the rise of the Devadasi system in India. From the evidence at our disposal at present we cannot trace its early history from the time of the Indus Valley civilisation, but as time passed, and the original character of the custom was forgotten and it was sanctified with the halo of antiquity, it seems to have gained more and more recognition, till by the 8th century A.D when it is mentioned ¹⁾ definitely in a south Indian inscription, the custom was firmly established and was officially recognised. Its outward character was the same as in ancient Babylonia. Parents dedicated their daughters to the service of the temple as an act of religious merit and no stigma attached either to the girls or to their parents. The girls became sanctified harlots. But b

1. Rastrakuta inscription of Dharavarsa from Pattadakal .
date about 700 Śaka.

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this time the custom had lost all rhyme or reason. The Babylonian temple prostitutes had a definite place in the cult of the fertility goddess, and the logic of their position was quite understandable. But in India their position was anomalous. The worship of Siva had long passed the stage of a fertility cult and the practice of sacred prostitution at his temples, sanctified solely on account of its antiquity, and thus deluding the credulous into accepting it, degenerated into an iniquitous means in the hands of the temple priests for the gratification of their lusts and avarice. The rite of initiation became a formal marriage to the god, and the girls attended upon him and danced before him, and when not so engaged, practised their incense-calling. In course of time, the practice, perhaps, spread to some Vaishnava temples also.

Another very important rite connected with the worship of the goddess in Asia Minor was also known in India, though it gradually disappeared almost entirely. This was the frenzied dance of her male priests in the temple, which culminated in voluntary emasculation of the dancers. Farnell thus describes the rite and also the idea lying behind it, "The character of the service was strongly emotional, ecstatic, and mystic, aiming in various ways at communion with the deity..... Even the self-mutilation necessary for the attainment of the status of the Eunuch-priest may have arisen from the ecstatic craving to

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assimilate oneself to the goddess and to charge oneself with power, the female dress being thereupon assumed to complete transformation. We do not find any certain evidence for the existence of this practice among the Indus Valley people, but that it must have been known in India is proved from the fact that, until very recently, it was reputed to ^{have} prevailed among a certain sect found in the Bombay province.

The third great result of the amalgamation of the Indus Valley people with the Aryans was the rise of temple worship in India. That this form of worship was foreign to the Vedic religion we have shown above. But it was a very prominent feature of the religions of the Near East. Abundant evidence of the existence of the temples of the goddess and of other deities in Asia Minor is available, while the occurrence of the clay figurines of the goddess and her other pictorial representations prove that her images were also most probably made and worshipped in the temples. Similar figurines of the goddess being also found in the Indus Valley finds, it is very likely that her images were also known, and these images must have been worshipped in temples. That no buildings have yet been discovered which can be definitely identified as temples does not prove that the latter did not exist. The foundations and fragments of the lower parts of the walls is about all that has been left of

most of the buildings, and it is, accordingly, very difficult to identify them. But some of the larger ones might have been temples. With the amalgamation of the Indus Valley people with the Aryans, and the identification of the deities of the two, the temples of the goddess and her consort came to be regarded as those of the consort of Rudra and of Rudra himself. In this manner the practice of making temples for the gods found its way into Indian religion. The evolution of the doctrine of 'bhakti', the beginnings of which can be traced to about this period, was favourable to the system of congregational worship, permanent places built for this purpose, and to the raising of edifices by the devotees in honour of the deity or deities whom they worshipped. Temple worship, therefore, became associated with the bhakti cult and gradually became its integral part, and when, later on, this bhakti cult superseded the old Vedic religion, temple worship became the most prominent feature of Indian religion.

Thus, we find that the Indus Valley finds have helped us in satisfactorily accounting for some of the most important traits of post-Vedic Saivism, and have, incidentally, revealed the intimate connection of India with the civilisations of the Near East, not only as regards material culture, but also in the sphere of religion. The cult of Rudra that developed after the fusion of the Indus Valley and the Aryan civilisations was as synthetic in character as the civilisation which evolved as a result of this fusion. Rudra now became definitely associated

with phallic worship; he got a consort who was worshipped with him and also independently; his images began to be made and worshipped in temples. Above all the number of his worshippers increased enormously, which raised him still higher in status. These new features brought about a great change in his character and worship. We now leave behind the cult of the Vedic Rudra and stand on the threshold of post-Vedic Saivism.

One point still remains to be settled before we close this chapter. This is the probable date of the fusion of the Indus Valley people and the Aryans. Such fusion is, by its nature, a slow and a gradual process, and extends over a more or less prolonged period. Hence, it is impossible to give definite dates for it. But we can fix roughly the period over which the process extends. Normally, it should begin with the first contact of the two peoples. It probably commences with isolated cases among those sections of the two populations which are thrown most together, and, unless external checks are placed on it, gradually spreads. But ^{it} is some time before the effects of this process of assimilation become visible, and for a period the duration of which varies with circumstances, even though the process is steadily progressing, the two peoples retain a sense of their separate identity. In the case of the Indus Valley people also, therefore, the process of their assimilation must have begun as soon as the Aryans came into contact with them. For a considerable time they seem to have remained more or less distinct. We finished the survey of the old Vedic literature

in the last chapter with the Brahmanas, and in them we found evidence which might serve as an indication of the amalgamation of the two peoples. It is true that the Brahmanas are the compositions of the Brahmanic priests, and priesthood is notoriously the most orthodox section of any community, extremely suspicious of any innovation and adhering most strongly to traditional belief and practice. As such, the priesthood would be apt to ignore the changes in the religious and other spheres that were taking place as a result of the fusion of their people with alien peoples. It should, however, be remembered that the assimilation by Rudra of other deities is clearly reflected in the very compositions of the Brahmanic priests, and so, if the Indus Valley male god had also been assimilated to Rudra by that time we must have had some indication of the fact. We find none. Is there any incidental reference from which it might be inferred that the Indus Valley people had fused with the Aryans at that time. We can, therefore, only conclude that this fusion did not become a fact upto the time of the Brahmanas. This fixes the upper limit of the period. The lower limit is fixed by the fact that in the Baudhayana Grhya Sutra, not only are the images of both Siva and Visnu mentioned and rites prescribed for their worship, which shows that image worship had been established by that time, but mention is also made of the 'linga' images of Rudra, which were installed and worshipped like ordinary images. This is indubitable proof of the amalgamation of the

1. see below ch. III, p.

two peoples and of the incorporation of the worship of the
-ic emblems into the cult of Rudra. Between the times of
-position of the oldest Brahmanas and the Grhya Sutras, there
we have to place the period during which the fusion of the V
Aryans with the pre-existing peoples of the Indus Valley took
place, and resulted in the gradual evolution of the new and
complex classical Indian civilisation. It must have been during
this period also that the worship of Rudra took on those new
characteristics which transformed it into the post Vedic Sa
The study of the history of the cult of Rudra during this tra
-tional period, from the information supplied by later Vedic
literature will form the subject matter of the next chapter,
in the light of the conclusions arrived at in this chapter,
we shall be in a much better position to understand properly and
grasp the full significance of the evidence yielded by this
literature.

Chapter III.

At the close of the survey of the old Vedic literature in the first chapter we showed how Rudra was fast rising to position of a high god and how his worship was spreading among those who were breaking away from the Brahmanic sacrificial system and were leading what was practically a revolution in Vedic religious thought. In the post-Brahmanic Vedic literature we meet, in the very beginning, with the records of these very persons, viz. the Aranyakas and the Upanisads. The oldest of these works contain no important reference to Rudra. He is mentioned only once or twice in the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad merely as one of the deities. The deficiency of these works is, however, made by the Svetasvatara Upanisad in which we find how far Rudra had progressed by the time of the Brahmanas. He is now regularly called Isana, ¹⁾ -svara, Siva, and Isana, and is conceived of as the One subject of meditation on the part of the seekers after salvation, the One Creator, the Brahma or the Supreme Self. ²⁾ A harking back to the old terrible aspect of Rudra in one verse reminds us that he is the same god whom we met in the Samhitas and the Brahmanas. The Svetasvatara Upanisad falls, chronologically, in about the middle of the period of the Upanisads, and from the above

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1. Svet. III,11. IV,10,11. V,14.
 2. " III,2,3,4,7. IV,10,12,14.etc.
 3. " III,6.

description of Rudra in it, it is clear that by this time his exaltation was complete, and he was the god, not only of the masses, but also of the most advanced sections of the Aryans. As such, he was associated with philosophic thought and also yogic practices,--the via media of Upanisadic thinkers for spiritual advancement. It was probably because of this that his worship, as a whole, acquired that comparatively austere character which distinguished it from that of Visnu in later times. The same association probably also accounts for the conception of Siva as a yogi, a thinker, and a teacher in post-Vedic times.

The Svetasvatara contains in it the germs of what later developed into the Samkhya doctrine. In the fourth book we find for the first time in Sanskrit literature, a description of Prakriti as the active creative principle. She is called the 'wife' of the Purusa or the Supreme Self, through union with whom he creates the manifold forms of this universe. She is described as without beginning, hence coeval with the Purusa, of red, white and black hues,--the latter referring to her embodiment of the three 'gunas',--and the active creatrix of the universe. Purusa is not the direct creator, but having once activated Prakriti, so to say, he leaves her and becomes a mere spectator. This is mentioned

1. Svet. IV,1.

2. IV,5.

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3. IV,5.

clearer in another verse where the 'sakti' or Prakrti is called
'maya', and it is only as a 'mayin' that the Purusa can be
to be the Creator. ¹⁾ Further, the individual self or 'jiva'
distinguished from the Purusa, as enjoying experience and being
limited by Prakrti, ²⁾ and obtaining its emancipation through
realisation when the bonds of Prakrti or maya are removed.
This doctrine had come to be called Samkhya even at the time of the
composition of this Upanisad, as is shown by one verse in the
last ~~verse~~ book, in which the Purusa is said to be realised
through Samkhya and yoga. ³⁾ Now, this Purusa is throughout
identified with Rudra, or Siva or Isa, as he is called here.
Thus, it appears that Rudra was worshipped, by this time, by
among whom these notions of Samkhya were developing, and was
looked upon by them as the Purusa or the Supreme Self. This
not only explains the association of Siva with Samkhya seen in the
epics and the Puranas, but perhaps also determined the line
along which the doctrines of the later Saiva Siddhanta developed.
The fact that the Upanisad, in which Siva is first regarded as
the philosophical Supreme Self, is also the one in which we
find the first definite beginnings of Samkhya and the mention of
the Samkhya Prakrti, is also of interest. The origin of the
of this Prakrti is traced to the concept of the deity Vak in
old Vedic literature, who is regarded in a vague way as the

1. Svet. IV,10.

2. *ibid.* IV,9.

3. *ibid.* VI,13.

'sakti' of the gods, and the impelling force in the universe. This idea might well have been taken up by some thinkers and developed into the conception of Prakrti as seen in the Svetasvatara Upanisad. At the same time, it should be remembered that the Upanisadic thinkers did not develop their doctrines in an ethno-cultural vacuum, isolated from the rest of the world. The discoveries in the Indus Valley have, at last, removed all such notions, and have shown that the Vedic Aryans must have been living in close contact with other civilised peoples in India itself and in other countries, and the exchange of ideas between them must have been as active as the exchange of material goods. We have, therefore, to bear in mind the possibility of the speculations of the Upanisadic thinkers being not the exclusive monopoly of the Vedic Aryans, and of some particular lines of thought developing under external influences. And, when we find that in the passages in the Svetasvatara Upanisad the idea of the Prakrti or 'sakti' of Siva occurs simultaneously with that of Siva as the philosophic Purusa, and further, when we remember that Siva had, as a result of his assimilation of the Indus Valley male god, acquired a consort, whose relation to him, if expressed in philosophical terms, would practically be identical with that of the Prakrti to the Purusa in the Svetasvatara Upanisad, there arises a possibility that in the evolution of the concept of the philosophic Prakrti of the dualistic Samkhya, the conception of a prime duality of male and a female principle, evolved from the popular concept of

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the goddess and her consort, might have played some part. I can, of course, be argued the other way round also, that that association of Siva with the Samkhya doctrines was the result of Siva having come to have acquired a female associate, and that the cult of the two was given a philosophical basis by identifying them with Purusa and Prakrti of the Samkhya doctrine. At any rate, it seems worth while to re-examine the position of Siva in the light of the discovery of the mother goddess in the Indus Valley and its association with the cult of Rudra.

There is one more passage in the older Upanisads which requires some consideration. In the Kena Upanisad, the gods are said to have gained the knowledge of Brahma from the deity ¹⁾ Haimavati. From the way in which she appears on the scene and reveals to the gods what they could not see before, she appears to represent the conscious intelligence of the gods as such, would be but a development of the conception of the Vak who is also mentioned in the Brhadaranyaka and other Upanisads. ²⁾ But the name Uma and the epithet 'haimavati' at once remind us of the consort of the later Siva, one of whose names was Uma and who was also regarded as the daughter of Himavata. How exactly this consort of Siva became associated with the Vak of the Kena Upanisad is not clear. Probably, as the concept

1. Kena. III,3.

2. Brhad. Up. V,1,3.

of the latter developed into that of the philosophic Prakrti and when the consort of Rudra was identified with this Prakrti Uma became one of her appellations, while the patronymic epithet 'haimavati' led to her being regarded as the daughter of the mountain, Himavat, and as such, she got the name of Parvati under which she came to be most commonly known in later times.

The Svetasvatara Upanisad is the only one of the Upanisads from which we learn anything of the worship of Rudra at that time. Incidental references are made to the god in several other Upanisads^a also, some of which are interesting. In the Maitrayaniya, Rudra is associated with the 'tamas', while Vis^b is associated with 'satva', which perhaps is the result of the memory of the old character of Rudra. On the other hand, Rudra^c is described as a protector in the Prasna, and is identified with Prajapati. In the Maitrayaniya itself, in another passage the 'atman' is identified with Rudra, and, also, one of his appellations is given as 'sambhu', the giver of peace, which becomes very common later on. In yet another passage in the same Upanisad, Bharga, in the well known Savitr mantra, is regarded as referring^d to Rudra. All these corroborate the evidence of the Svetasvatara Upanisad. Other passages relate

1. Maitr. IV, 5.
3. ibid. V, 8.
4. ibid. V, 7.

2. Prasna. II, 9.

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to Rudra are all found in minor Upanisads which are comparably later and hence of no importance at the present stage.

The Svetasvatara Upanisad shows the philosophical aspect of the character and cult of Rudra. It appears that during the period when the philosophical doctrines of the Upanisads were being evolved, a new movement had also started in popular religion. This was the rise of the doctrine of 'bhakti' or faith. In some ways this movement seems to have been connected with philosophical speculations of the Upanisads, inasmuch as the origin of two of its basic features, the belief in a supreme godhead, and his worship chiefly by prayer and devotional songs, can be traced to them. With their rejection of the plurality of gods, and with the development of the idea of a Supreme Self, the Upanisadic seers definitely established the monistic idea in religion. Now, as shown in the first chapter by this time, the other gods having practically faded away from the influence of the Brahmanic sacrificial system, there were practically only two gods, Visnu and Siva, who had become prominent with the decline of the others, and were most widely worshipped. When, therefore, the influence of the monistic teachings of the Upanisads spread, each of these gods came to be looked upon as the supreme godhead by his worshippers. In the case of Siva, we have already noticed this in the Svetasvatara Upanisad, and probably Visnu was also similarly regarded by his worshippers. Again, the Upanisadic seers had rejected the artificial sacrificial system of the Brahmanas and had

more stress on inner worship, on meditation, and on concentration of mind. Besides this, we can also discover in the Upanisads a tendency to hark back to the old Samhitas, particularly to the Rg Veda, and to neglect the Brahmanic literature, pointing to an original purity of doctrine and cult which has been corrupted by the Brahmanic priests. This had the result of diverting attention from the Brahmanic sacrificial system and fixing it once more on the Samhitas. These two movements in Upanisadic times turned the people from the old sacrificial cult towards a new form of worship, the essence of which was meditation on and devotion to the One God who was worshipped with prayers and songs of praise, for which the hymns of the Samhitas perhaps served as models. Thus the Bhakti cult came into being and in course of time, completely superseded the old sacrificial cult. And, the two gods, Visnu and Siva, round whom it centred naturally became the chief gods of the new religion.

The Bhakti cult, however, did not come into its own till the post-Upanisadic times, and, as inevitably happens in such a process of the superseding of one form of faith by another, for some time the old continued to exist side by side with the new. Accordingly, though from a verse in the Svetasvatara it might be inferred that Rudra had come to be regarded as a 'bhakti' god even by that time, at least by some, his old conception, and the rites connected with his old cult survived for some time. This is seen from the Sutras, Srouta, Dharmas

and Grhya, which reveal the popular aspect of the worship of Rudra during this transitional period.

The Srauta Sutras are essentially a summary of the Brahmanic ritual and deal with the chief sacrifices of the ¹⁾ -er. As such they are not likely to reflect the development of religious thought outside the sphere of Brahmanic ritual, and the characteristics of Rudra's worship as seen in them are, therefore, on the whole, the same as in the Brahmanas. He is conceived of as just one of the gods, and his names, Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, and so on are mentioned as of old, as also his ²⁾ epithets, Mahadeva, Pasupati, Bhutapati, and others. He is ³⁾ prayed for protection of men and beasts, and is regarded as ⁴⁾ remover of diseases, and the giver of healing remedies. ⁵⁾ His special offerings are made to him under the name of Tryambak as in the Brahmanas, and in one passage a reference is made ⁷⁾ the mouse dedicated to him. His identity with Agni is also ⁸⁾ remembered, and he is once called Agni Svistikrt. One special sacrifice to Rudra, not described in the Brahmanas, though no doubt it must have existed then, is described in the Sankhya ⁹⁾ Srauta Sutra, and with more detail in the Grhya Sutras, which

1. SSS.IV,19,1.
2. *ibid.* IV,20,1.
3. *ibid.* IV,20,1.
ASS,III,11,1.
4. SSS.III,4,8.

5. LSS,V,3,2.
6. SSS.III,17,10-11.XIV,10,22.
LSS.V,3,1.
7. LSS.V,3,2.
8. SSS,IV,19,1.
9. *ibid.* IV,17-20.

fact shows that it was, probably more a Grhya than a Srauta (hence, perhaps, its non-mention in the Brahmanas). Its object was the attainment of 'svasti' or bliss and prosperity. It consisted of the sacrifice of a cow to Rudra on a prescribed day in the bright fortnight, and in the north east quarter. We shall have occasion to discuss this sacrifice in detail later when examining the Grhya Sutras. What is worth noticing here is that it is in this passage, dealing with this sacrifice, that we notice at least one feature of Rudra's character which is post-Brahmanic and which gives a glimpse of how the conception of Rudra was developing during this period. This is the mention of the consort of Rudra. She is called Bhavani, Sarvasri, Isani, Rudrani, and Agnayi,-- all feminines of the different names of Rudra. Oblations are prescribed for her in the course of the sacrifice, showing thereby that she had come to be officially recognised by that time, and was worshipped along with Rudra. This is the first appearance of the consort of Rudra in ancient records, and in view of what has been said in the previous chapter, it serves as an indication that the worship of the mother goddess had been incorporated into the cult of Rudra at the time of this Sutra.

In the same passage of the Sankhayana Srauta Sutra we also find an allusion to the hordes of Rudra. These hordes have been mentioned in the 'satarudriya' passage in the Yajur Veda, and there, it will be remembered, they, most probably, represented the followers of Rudra. But here, some epithets applied to them show that the author was not referring to

these worshippers of Rudra . Thus they are called 'aghosinyah', 'pratighosinyah', and 'samghosinyah', all of which epithets allude to their howling. Besides, they are also called 'kravyadah' or carrion eaters, which definitely places them in the domain of the spirits of the dark night like goblins and vampires. It must be remembered, that in the Atharva Veda Rudra was invoked against these spirits, and the association thus established between him and them seems to have developed into the belief of these spirits being the followers of Rudra. And even in the Atharva Veda, one reference to the howling hosts of Rudra might allude to these spirits. Their mention here is important as showing that Rudra was still connected with popular superstition in one of his aspects at least. This will become clear in the Grhya Sutras.

The Dharma Sutras which belong practically to the same period as the Sruta Sutras supplement the evidence of the latter. Rudra is called by various names as usual. In the Baudhayana Dharma Sutra, 'tarpanas' are offered to him and to his consort who is explicitly called his wife ('patni'). A development is seen in the character of Rudra's hosts who now appear as belonging to both sexes, and are called 'parsadas' and 'parsadis'. Besides, the same Sutra also mentions for the first time two entirely new deities whose character and history, in view of

1. A V. X¹, 2, 31.
 2. BDS. II, 5, 6.

their close connection with Siva later on, have to be studied carefully. The first of them is Vinayaka who in later times¹⁾ -me famous under the name of Ganesa. In the Taittiriya Aram we come across a Gayatri verse, composed after the manner of famous Gayatri, and addressed to a deity who is described as 'vakratunda' and 'dantih', and who is identified with Tatpuru. But nothing more is said about him wither in that work or in others till we come to this Sutra. Here, his worship is officially recognised in as much as 'tarpanas' are offered to He is called not only 'vakratunda', and 'ekadanta', but also 'hastimukha', 'lambodara', 'sthula', and 'vighna', all of wh epithets make it certain that he is the same deity as the la Ganesa, though the latter name does not occur here. The las epithet, 'vighna', gives the clue to his character, for, as w be seen in the Grhya Sutras, he was conceived of as a god of obstacles and hindrances, and was propitiated for their remo The mention of his 'parsadas' and 'parsadis' might indicate t his worship was connected with that of Rudra. In later lite -re Ganesa is regarded as the son of Siva, and it is interes to note that reference to a son of Rudra is made even in th³⁾ Dharma Sutra. But there is no direct evidence to show the relation between these two deities here.

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The other deity mentioned in this Sutra is Skanda. Like Vinayaka, 'tarpanas' are offered to him, which fact, in

1. BDS, II, 5, 7.

2. Taitt. Ar.

3. BDS. II, 5, 6. cf. also SSS. IV, 20, 1.

4. BDS. II, 5, 8.

case also, is an indication of his official recognition. Like Vinayaka, again, he already bears his different names such as Sanmukha, Jayanta, Vishakha, Subrahmanya, and Mahasena, which show clearly that it is the same deity who later on became the well known Karttikeya. But nothing more is said about him, nor can we learn anything about his relation with Rudra from this passage.

We get much fuller information about the popular aspects of the religion of the people during this period from the Grhya Sutras. They deal chiefly with domestic rites and ceremonies and, hence, reflect much more faithfully the religious beliefs and practices of the common people than the Srauta or the Dharmasutras. About the worship of Rudra they supply us with valuable information, and show clearly that if Rudra was rising to the status of the philosophical Brahma on the one hand, he was, on the other, still intimately connected with popular superstitions. In fact, Rudra never seems to have quite succeeded in obliterating the stamp of his origin from his character, and in one or the other of his various aspects he throughout continued to be worshipped as the deity of popular superstition that he originally was. In the Grhya Sutras, this aspect of his is more prominent than any other. He is commonly called Rudra with usual Vedic epithets,¹⁾ though his new names Siva and Samkaras²⁾ are becoming more common. He is also sometimes called 'pra-

1. AGS.IV,10.

2. ibid.II,1,2.

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-taka; which epithet hints back to his character as a killer. He is apparently regarded as frequenting solitary trees, cross roads, sacred 'tirthas', and cremation grounds, all places where evil might befall men, and is prayed to avert the same. His association with the cremation ground here is significant in view of the later character of Siva, and probably had its origin in the old conception of Rudra as a death deity. His propitiation is also supposed to bring bliss and prosperity, and for this purpose the Sulagava sacrifice is offered to him. It appears to have been essentially a Grhya rite, as it is described in most detail in the Grhya Sutras. It is to be performed on a full moon night in autumn or in spring. The place of sacrifice is in the forest or, at any rate, at a good distance from any town or village, and towards the north-east of the sacrificer's habitat. At such a place, having lit the sacrificial fire, and having spread the sacrificial grass on the alter, a cow is ceremonially slaughtered and is offered to Rudra. Eight small vessels are then filled with the blood of the victim and are sprinkled in the eight directions (the four cardinal and the four intermediate points), accompanied by the eight 'anuvakas' beginning with the first verse of the 'satarudriya'. The animal is then skinned and its parts, like the heart, extracted and offered to Rudra. The cere

1. AGS. II, 1, 2.

MGS. II, 3, 5. In BDS. II, 7, 10 he is called 'visāntaka'.

2. MGS. I, 13, 9-14.

3. Ibid. II, 5.

BGS. I, 2, 7, 1-3.

AGS. IV, 10.

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concluded with a prayer to Rudra for his benevolence. The interest of the sacrifice lied in two of its features. The first is that it is to be performed away from human habitat as if it were considered as something dangerous and secretiv. This shows it to have been a special ceremony aoutside the ordinary Brahmanic ritual, and falling rather in the category of the secret practices of black magic. We have the evidence the Sutras themselves that these practices, though, on the whole, condemned by Brahmanic religion, were, yet, occasionally recommended under special circumstances and for special purposes. We have also already noticed the connection of Rudra with superstition and magic in the Atharva Veda. It is, therefore, quite possible that Rudra, in one of his aspects, was still regarded as the dreaded semi-magical deity that he was in the Atharva Veda, and which character of his had probably been developed by his assimilation of other non-ryan deities of the indigenous tribes of the country. The second feature of the sacrifice is the slaughter of a cow. Now, the sanctity of the cow had been early established in India, and even in the Atharva Veda her killing is considered as sinful. ¹⁾ As time passed, the prohibition of cow-killing was made more and more binding. Exceptions, indeed, were made in the case of some, apparently ancient and sanctified, customs, like the offering of the 'Madhuparka' to honoured guests, when the killing of the cow was not only common ²⁾ but was even prescribed. But so far as the general sacrifices were concerned the offering of cows or oxen seems to have been

discontinued comparatively early. When, therefore, we find
 therefore, we find the cow being still sacrificed to Rudra
 this ceremony, the fact is another indication of the extra-B
 -hmanic character of the worship of Rudra.

But, though the Grhya Sutras thus show the character
 of Rudra chiefly as a deity of popular superstition, their
 authors were not ignorant of the development of the philosophic
 side of his character as seen in the Upanisads. In the descrip-
 -tion of the same Sulagava sacrifice, in the Baudhayana Grhya
 Sutra, we find a passage in which Rudra is conceived of as t
 pantheistic Brahma,¹⁾ and, further on, in another passage, Ru
 is regarded as the Supreme Being, and the Creator.²⁾ Thus, b
 the time of the Grhya Sutras, Rudra seems to have acquired t
 double character, philosophic and popular, which he retained
 ever afterwards.

The Grhya Sutras also mention the consort and the
 or sons of Rudra in much the same way as in the Dharma Sutra.
 The most important piece of evidence, however, which we find
 in the Grhya Sutras is that bearing upon quite a new devel-
 -ment in the cult of Rudra, viz. image worship. It is in the

1. BGS. I,2,7,23.
 3. ibid. I,2,7.

2. ibid. III,2,16,39.

works that we find the first definite mention of the installation and worship of the various gods including Rudra. In last chapter we indicated the manner in which image worship probably introduced into Brahmanic religion. The Baudhayana Grhya Sutra prescribes rites for the installation of the image not only of Rudra, but also of Visnu.¹⁾ This shows that image worship had definitely come into existence by that time and recognised as a part of the cult of these gods. Once at least a temple ('devagara')²⁾ is also mentioned by name, and there is no doubt that the temples had also begun to be built at that time. Further, in this Sutra, we also find, for the first time the mention of the 'linga' of Rudra. In the chapter dealing with the installation of the images of that god, not only are anthropomorphic images mentioned, but also 'linga' images which were featureless.³⁾ This shows that Rudra had, by this time come to be worshipped in the 'linga' form also. Whether or the phallic significance of these emblems was still recognised is not clear from the passage, but judging from the name 'linga' and from the fact that such phallic significance of these 'linga' images was recognised in the Mahabharata, we may assume that it was recognised at this time also. But the mode of worship itself was entirely new and had no connection with old worship of the phallic emblems. The 'linga' was looked upon simply as a symbol of the god and was worshipped

1. BDS, III, 2, 13-16.

2. *ibid.* III, 3, 9, 3.

3. *ibid.* III, 2, 16, 14.

in exactly the same way as his anthropomorphic images, with flowers, incense and other offerings. This shows that the association of Rudra with the 'linga' worship was already of antiquity, and that the latter had been purged of all its original phallic character. And, in view of what has been said in the last chapter, this indicates a complete assimilation of Indus Valley people by the Aryans by this time.

The same thing is proved by the position of Rudra's consort as seen in these Sutras. She appears, now, as a deity with an independent personality of her own. Side by side with the rites for the installation of the images of Rudra, we also find rites prescribed for the worship of this goddess who is, for the first time, called Durga.¹⁾ Though no direct reference is made to her images, yet, from the directions given for her bathing and cleansing, their existence can be inferred. As regards her character, we have her epithets, 'Arya', 'Bhagavati', 'Devi-sankirti', which show that she was conceived of as a deity of high rank, adored even by the gods. She is also called 'Mahayogini', and 'Sankhadharaini', which epithets show that her conception was not very different from that of the later Durga. Further, her epithet, 'Mahaprthivi', clearly indicates her original character as an earth goddess, while, on the other hand, another epithet of hers, 'Manogama(i)', seems to show that she

1. BGS.III,3,3.

also developing a philosophic side to her character, and in aspect was to be realised through meditation. She had probably come to be identified with the Sakti of the Upanisads, and, indeed, her last epithet, 'Mahavaishnavi', appears to show that by that time she was not only regarded as the Sakti of Rudra, but also that of other deities. It is also interesting to observe that in the oblations offered to her, the 'mantras' which accompany the oblations, are all old 'sruti' texts, referring either to Agni or to 'Apas', thus showing that the seers had difficulties in finding texts for her for the simple reason that such texts did not exist. This is another indication of the alien character of the worship of the goddess.

The simultaneous mention of the images of the goddess and of the 'linga' of Rudra is important, for it supports, in a remarkable manner, the suggestion made in the last chapter that image worship and the practice of construction of temples are in India under the influence of the Indus Valley civilisation. For, if we accept the suggestion, then, because the worship of phallic emblems was also introduced into the cult of Rudra under the same influence and at the same time, we should expect to find references to both at about the same time, and this is what we find in the Grhya Sutras. It, therefore, appears to be almost certain that the suggestion made about the origin of image and temple worship is correct.

Beside giving us the above valuable information about the development of the cult of Rudra and his consort, the Grhya Sutras also supply us with important clues for understanding

character of that mysterious deity Vinayaka, a brief reference to whom was made in the Dharma Sutras. It appears that, originally, the name 'vinayaka' was a generic name for a class of demifacial beings of popular superstition. In the Manava Grhya S occurs a passage in which not one but four 'vinayakas' are mentioned.¹⁾ Their names are given as 'Salakatankata', 'Kusmandara-putra', 'Usmita', and 'Devayajana'. They are conceived of rather malicious beings, possessed by whom persons behave in a mad manner, see all kinds of inauspicious things in dreams, always have a feeling of some one following them. Under their evil influence princes do not inherit kingdoms, girls wishing marriage do not obtain husbands, women, even though virtuous, remain childless, scholars do not get distinction, students are hampered by all kinds of obstacles in their studies, traders lose their trade, and farmers lose their crops. In short, the 'vinayakas' were regarded as general nuisances, who had to be propitiated in order to prevent them from putting obstacles in men's affairs. The rites which are prescribed for their propitiation are semi magical and are distinctively Atharvan in character, which shows that the 'vinayakas' belonged essentially to the domain of superstition. The rites concluded with prayer to the sun, the dispeller of darkness, and from this might be inferred that the 'vinayakas' were regarded as a spirit of evil and darkness.

1. MGS, II, 14.

The four 'vinayakas' are not mentioned again. But in the Baudhayana Grhya Sutra we find rites prescribed for the worship of one Vinayaka' who is identical with the deity mentioned in the Baudhayana Dharma Sutra. The exact relation between this Vinayaka and the four 'vinayakas' mentioned above, is not made clear, but, besides the identity of names, the character of this Vinayaka is like that of the 'vinayakas', only a little more developed. From being a causer of obstacles he is now regarded as the lord of obstacles, and is prayed for their removal, and then for success in general. He had been euphemised a great deal, but, a verse at the end of the passage in which he is requested to depart after he has been duly worshipped betrays the original purpose of the rite, as the exorcision of a malignant and a feared spirit. It appears, therefore, that this Vinayaka was probably one of the 'vinayakas' and was originally worshipped as a kind of representative of the class, in the sense that his propitiation would be taken as the propitiation of all the 'vinayakas'. But, in course of time, this representative character of his was lost sight of, and he became a deity by himself. His form is the same as described in the Dharma Sutras, and he is called 'hasimukha', 'Vakratunda', and so on. His male and female attendants, the 'parsadas' and the 'parsadis', are also mentioned. In the last verse but one, one of his epithets is 'ganesvara' which shows the later name, 'Ganesa', in the making.

1. BGS. III,3,9.

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This Vinayaka, or the prototype of the later Ganes seems to have been associated with a female deity whose name given as 'Jyestha' in the Baudhayana Grhya Sutra.¹⁾ In the passage immediately preceding the one relating to Vinayaka, rites are for her worship. Like Vinayaka, she is called 'ha-mukha'. Her attendants are also called 'parsadas' and 'par'. Her character is not described, but, as an associate of Vinayaka, she probably shared his characteristics. She is distinguished from Durga, and it is interesting to note that she is described as of fearsome appearance, and her chariot is said to be drawn by lions and tigers, two features which were later possessed by Durga herself. This transference of the characteristics suggests an identification of the two deities, and, indeed, by the time of the Puranas, Jyestha does appear merely as one of the names of the goddess Durga. The point is important and we shall see its full significance ~~x~~ below.

The occurrence of Vinayaka thus more or less sudden in the later Vedic literature and his intimate connection with Siva later on, both demand an enquiry into his character and exact origin. That he was originally one of the 'Vinayakas' and that these 'vinayakas' were some malignant spirits of popular superstition has been shown above. Did Rudra have any connection with these 'vinayakas' at any time? Now, in the passage relating to Vinayaka in the Baudhayana Grhya Sutra, the deity is

1. BGS.III,9.

called by the epithets of 'bhuatapati', 'bhupati', 'bhutanam', 'bhuvanapati', and so on, all of which epithets are usually applied to Rudra. Besides, in one passage he is also called 'ugra' and 'bhima', names which are peculiarly Rudra's in the Vedic literature. The attendants of both, again, are called the same names whereas no such attendants are mentioned in the case of Visnu. This suggests a closer connection between Rudra and Vinayaka than is at first sight apparent. And, when we remember that in later literature, especially in the Puranas, Siva frequently has the peculiar epithets of Ganesa, and Ganesa often assumes many of the characteristics of the former in a manner which strongly suggests that in some aspects Rudra's conception was not very different from that of Ganesa, there arises a possibility of these two deities being not different all in the beginning. We have pointed out above that Rudra was originally, in one of his aspects^s, like Vinayaka, a dreaded deity who was propitiated with the Tryambaka Homa. The Sulagava sacrifice, described in the Sutras, further makes this clear. It is just possible that in one of his aspects Rudra himself was conceived of as a 'vinayaka'. He might even then have been regarded as 'hastimukha', and it was perhaps in this aspect of his that he was supposed to live in the mountains and the rat was dedicated to him as a symbol of his troglodyte nature. This, it is significant to note, is regularly associated with Ganesa in the post-Vedic times, and not with Siva, and is regarded as his vehicle. Perhaps, in this aspect Rudra was merely called 'vinayaka'. This ^{abā}probability of the original identity of Rudra

with Vinayaka is strengthened by the fact that in the Atharva-siras Upanisad Rudra is identified with Vinayaka¹⁾. In course of time, as the other aspects of Rudra developed on different lines, this aspect of his became isolated as it were and gradually Rudra, as Vinayaka, developed into a distinct deity. This stage was reached by the time of the Sutras. Here, therefore we have a process reverse to that of the assimilation of one deity by another. In this case, it is one deity from whom emerges another by what may be called a process of dissimilation. This again finds parallels in other mythologies. The original identity of Rudra and Vinayaka having been forgotten in course of time, the latter came to be regarded as the son of the former.

In view of the above, the identification of Durga Jyestha in post-Vedic times becomes highly significant. The latter was probably a spirit of popular superstition akin to the 'vinayakas', and as such was associated with Rudra in his character as Vinayaka. When Rudra himself came to possess a consort, this Jyestha was naturally identified with her, and though, for some time, she seems to have ~~been~~ continued to be worshipped by herself, she eventually came to be looked upon as one and the same with Durga, and her name became one of the many appellations of the latter. This identification of Durga and Jyestha, thus, provides an additional proof of the original identity of Rudra and Vinayaka.

1. Too much importance, however, need not be given to this piece of evidence as the Upanisad is evidently late, and the passage Rudra is identified with other gods also.

This brings our survey to the end of the Vedic period and we may conclude it with a summary of the great change in the character and worship of the Vedic Rudra that took place in the later Vedic period, and which we have noticed in last two chapters. With the amalgamation of the Vedic Aryans and the Indus Valley people, Rudra assimilated the male god of the latter. As a result of this, the Indus Valley mother goddess was identified with Rudra's old associate, Ambika, and was regarded as the consort of Rudra. This introduced the worship of the great mother goddess in India and marked the beginning of Saktism. Further, the worship of phallic symbols, which was associated with the cult of the Indus Valley gods, was incorporated into the worship of Rudra, and in course of time, the 'linga' came to be looked upon as the special symbol of Rudra and was worshipped as such, though all its original phallic significance gradually disappeared. This explains the origin of the 'linga' worship in connection with the cult of Siva in India. On the other hand, the Upanisads show the worship of Rudra spreading among the leaders of the new religious and philosophical movement and his conception as the Supreme Self. On the popular side, during the same period, he seems to have remained much the same as he was in the older Vedic period though his new conception as the great god in connection with the fast developing Bhakti cult must have been spreading. At the same time, the development of an old aspect of his resulted in the appearance of a deity who was called Vinayaka in the Sutras, and who became, in the post-Vedic times, the celebrated Ganesa. The original

identity if the two having been forgotten in time, the latter regarded as the son of Rudra. The manner of worship of Rudra also underwent far reaching changes. The development of the doctrine of Bhakti, which seems to have begun about the same time as the formulation of the new philosophical doctrines of the Upanisads, and reference to which is once made in the Svetasvatara Upanisad, changed the whole character of religious belief and practice. The sacrificial system of the Brahmanas gradually decayed and the method of prayer and simple offerings superseded it. Under the influence of the Indus Valley religious practices perhaps, temple worship was introduced in India and, the Bhakti cult, being favourable to it, soon took it up, and it became a permanent feature of Indian religion from that time. Temples were now raised to Rudra and his images were installed in them. These images were both anthropomorphic and 'linga'.

Thus, at the close of the Vedic period we find the character of the cult of Rudra already radically altered. The change is fitly symbolised by the change in the name of the god from Rudra to Siva which latter becomes his common name hence forward. In the next chapter, accordingly, we start on our survey of the post-Vedic Saivism.

Appendix.

(A)

Passages relating to Rudra in the Upaniṣads.

The Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad.

I,4,11.

Rudra as a 'kṣatriya' god.

Brahmā vā idamagra asid ekam eva tad ekañ sam
vyabhavat. ^{Tacc-} hreyo rūpam atyasrjata kṣatram yāny
-ni devatrā kṣatrānīndro varūnah somo rudrah p
-janya yamo mṛtyur isāna iti.

II,2,2.

Rudra connected with the red lines in the eyes
Tad yā imā aksan lohinyo rājayas tāhhirenam ru
'nvāyattah.

V,1,3.

Mention of Daivi Vak.

Tadetadevaisā daivi vāgantvadati stanayitnur d
da da iti.

The Kena Upaniṣad.

III,3.

Uma Haimavati.

Sa tasmēnevākāśe striyam ājagāma bahusobhamān
umām haimavatim tām hovaca kimeṣad yaksam iti

The Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad.

IV,5.

Rudra associated with 'tamasā'.

Yo ha khalu vāvasya tāmaso'nsa' sau sa yo'yam

rudro'tha yo ha khalu vāvasya sātvikō'ṁsō'sau
evam viṣṇuh.....

V,7. Identification of Bharga with Rudra.
Bhargākhyo bhābhir gātir asya hīti bhargo bharg
iti vaiṣa bharga iti rudro brahmavādino.....

V,8. Identification of Rudra with Prajāpati.
Eṣa hi khalvātmesānaḥ sambhurvo rudrah prajāpat
viśvasṛḍḍhiranyagarbhaḥ satyam prāno haṁsah sām
viṣṇur nārāyaṇo'rkaḥ savitā dhātā samrād indra
induriti ya eṣa.....

The Praśna Upaniṣad.

II, 9. Prajāpati as all-god.
Indras tvam prānatejasā rudro'si pariraksitā.

The Svetasvatara Upaniṣad.

Bk. II, 17. Yo devo'gnau yo'apsu yo viśvam bhuvanam aviveśa
Ya ośadhiṣu yo vanaspatiṣu tasmai devāya namo n

Bk. III, 2. Eko hi rudro na dvitīyāya tathur
ya imāmllokan īsata īsanīohih;
Pratyañjanāstisthati samcu kocānta kāle
samsṛjya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāh.

3. Viśvataścaksur uta viśvato mukho
Viśvato bhāur uta viśvataspat.

4. Yo devānām prabhavaścodbhavaśca
viśvādhipo rudro maharṣih;
Hiranyagarbha janayāmāsa pūrvam
sa no buddhyā subhayā samyunaktu.

5. Yā te rudra sīva tanur agorā pāpa kāsini
Tayā nas tanuvā sāntamayā girisāntābhicākasīhi
6. Yamisum girisānta haste bibharsyastave;
Sivām giritra tām kuru mā himsih purusam jagat
7. Tatah param brahmapadam brhantam etc.
11. Sarvānanasīrogrivah sarvabhūtaguhasayah;
Sarvavyapi sa bhagavān tasmāt sarvagatah sīvah
- Bk. IV. 1. Ya eko varno bahudhā śaktiyogād,
varnān anekān nihitārtho dadhāti;
5. Ajām ekāni lohitasuklakṛṣṇām,
bahviḥ prajāh sṛjamānām sarupāh;
Ajo hyeko juṣamāno' nusete,
jahātyenām bhuktabhogām ajo' nyah.
6. Dvā suparnā sayujā sakhāyā,
samānam vṛkṣam pariśasvajāte;
Tayoranyah pippalam svēdvattyanasannanyo' bhic
-kasiti.
9. Asmān māyī sṛjate visvam anyā etat,
tasmāniscānyo māyayā sanniruddhah;
10. Māyām tu prakṛtim vidyāt māyīnam tu mahesvaram;
11. Yo yonim yonim adhitisthatyeko,
yasmānnidam sam ca vicaiti sarvam;
Tamīsānam varadam devam idyam,
nicāyayenām sāntim atyantam eti.
14. Sukmātisukṣmam kalilasya madhye,
visvasyā sṛtāram anekarūpam;
visvasyaikam parivestitāram,
jñātvā sīvam sāntim atyantam eti.
21. Ajatā ityeva kascid bhīruh pratipadyate;
Rudra yatte dakṣiṇām mukhām tena mā pahi nityam
22. Virān mā rudra bhāmīno' vadhīr
haviṣmantah sadamit tvā havāmahe.
- Bk. V. 14. Bhāvagrāhyam anīdākhyam bhāvābhāva-karam sīvam;
Kālasargakaram devam ye vidus te jahus tanum.
- Bk. VI. 13. Tat karanam sāmkyayogādhighamyam
jñātvā devam mucyate sarvapāsaih.

Passages relating to Rudra in the Sūtras.

The Śaṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.

III,4,8. Vyādhiplāya rudrāya.....

III,17,10-11. Tryambakān samsthāpya maitras̄caru. aditaye vā.

IV, 17-20. The Śūlagava sacrifice.

Rudram gava yajate svastyayanāya. śulaga ityācaksate. suddhapaksa uposya punye nakṣatr prāgudīcyām diśi. agniṁ mā mathitvā prāncam p -iya. purastāt palāsāsākhām sapalāsām nikhāya t̄sya uttarataḥ paśuṁ upasthāpya. rudrāya tvā j̄stām upākaromi. rudrāya tvā j̄st-ām prokṣām rudrāya tvā j̄stām niyujanmxi. iti niyunakti p -lāsāsākhāyam. paryagnikṛtam udañcam nayanti. tam samjñāpayanti prak̄sīrasam udakpādam pratya -sīrasām vodakapadam aravamānām.

Yatpaśur māyumakrtoro vā padbhirāhate;

Agnir mā tasmād ēnaso jātavedah pramuñcat svāheti ravamaṇe juhōti. vapām uddhṛtya prak̄s -lya pūrve'gnau śrapayitvābhighāryodvāsya śiva śivan̄ iti triḥ paryuk̄ṣyājyāhutir juhōti. 17.

Yā tiraścī nipadyate aham vidharanī iti;

Tām ghṛtasya dharayā yuje samardham imaha svāha.

Yasyedam sarvaṁ taṁ imam havāmahe;

Sa me kāmān kāmapatih̄ pra yacchatu. svāheti dvitīyāyām. Agne pṛthivyā adhipata it tritīyāyām. prajāpata iti caturthyām. trini -lāsapalāsāni madhyamāni samtr̄dyopastīrya. va avadhāyabhighārya.

Yāvātāmaham īśe yavanto me amātyāḥ;

Tebhyas tvā deva vande tebhyo no deva mri veda te pitaram veda mātaram dyauste pitā pṛth -vī matā. tasmai te deva bhavāya sarvāya paśu -taya ugrāya devāya mahate devāya rudrāyesānā -śānaye svāheti vapām hutvā.... paścime'gnau sthālīpākam śrapayati. uttarato vadānāni. sthālīpākam yūsam mānsamājyam iti sanniniya ś -yor iti triḥ paryuk̄ṣya juhōti. 18.

Bhavāya svāhā sarvāya svāhā rudrāya svāhe -nāya svahāgnaye svahā sviṣṭakṛte svāheti. ta -śiva paryuk̄ṣya. tānyeya sanniniya. agnau paś -me. bhavānyai svāhā sarvānyai svāhā rudrānya svahesānyai svahāgnāyyai svāheti. rudra -senābhyo nudisati. aghoṣinyāḥ pratighoṣinyāḥ -ghoṣinyo vicinvatyāḥ svasanāḥ kravyāda eṣa v

bhāgastān juṣadhvam svāheti. yajamanāscopatis
-te. 19.

Bhūpate bhuvapate bhuvanapate, bhūtapate
bhūtāmān pate mahato bhūtasya pate mṛla no dvi
catuspade ca paśave mṛla naśca dvipadaśca catu
padaśca paśun yo'sman dvesti yaṁ ca vaym dviṣm
durāpūro'si sacchāyo'dhināmena. tasyate dhanu
hrdayam manah isavaścaksurvisargas tam tvā tat
veda namaste astu somas tvāvatu mā mā himsīh.

Yavaranye patayato vrkau jañjabhatāvivā;
Mahādevasya putrābhyām bhavaśarvābhyām na

etc.

IX, 26, 2.

Havis to different gods.

Agnaye grhapataye somāya vanaspatayā savitre
satyapraśavāya rudrāya paśupataye brhaspataye
vācaspataye indrāya jyesthaya mitrāya satyāya
-nāya dharmapataye.

The Āsvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.

III, 11, 1.

Yasmād bhīṣā niśīdasi tato no abhayam kṛdhi;
Paśūnnah sārvaṅ gopāya namo rudrāya mīhūsa iti

IV, 11, 5.

Yadi devānām^{sū} havīmsyanvayātayeyur agnir grhapat
somo vanaspatih.....rudro paśumān paśupatir v

The Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.

V, 3.

The 'tryambaka' offerings.

Traiyaṅbaka nāmāpūpā bhavantyekakapālāḥ.
Teṣām yaṁ adhvaryur akhūtkara upopet tatrāpa up
-sprṣeyuh. sīvā nah śantamā bhava sumṛdikā sar
-vati mā te vyoma sandaśa iti.....
Hute tiṣṭhanto japeyuravām yarudraṁ ayakṣmahyav
-vaṁ tryāmbaka yathā nah śreyaskarad yathā no
vasīyaskarad yathā nah paśumataskarad yathā r
vyavasāyayād bheṣajam aśi bheṣajam gave' svāya p
-rusāya bheṣajam sugam meṣāya meṣyaistu bheṣaja
yathā sad iti.

Tatra brahmā paryañjaped iti dhānanjapyastiṣṭh
-iti śāṅdilyastryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim puṣ
vardhanam urvārukam iva bandhāñ mṛtyor muksiya
-mṛtād iti.....

Yatrainān adhvaryur āsanjet taropatiṣṭheranneṣ
te rudra bhāgas tenavāgena parō mūjavāto'tīhi
kṛttivāsah pinākahasto'vatatadhanvomyātamito
rupeyuh.

The Bodhāyana Dharma Sutra.

II,5,6.

'Tarpanas' to Rudra.

Om bhavaṁ devaṁ tarpayāmi. Om śivaṁ devaṁ tarpayāmi. Om īśānaṁ..... Om paśupatiṁ..... Om rudra-
-m..... Om ugraṁ..... Om bhīmaṁ..... Om mahān
.....Om bhavasya devasya patnīm.....etc.....
Om bhavasya devasya ś sutam.....etc..... Om
rudraparśadaṁ tarpayāmi. Om rudraparśadīṁśca
tarpayāmi.

II,5,7.

'Tarpanas' to Vināyaka.

Om vighnaṁ tarpayāmi. Om vināyakam....Om vīraṁ
Om śbhūlaṁ....Om hastimukham.....Om vakratuṇḍa
Om ekaśantam.....Om lambodaram..... Om vighna
-parśadān tarpayāmi. Om vighnaparśadīṁśca.

II,5,8.

'Tarpanas' to Skanda.

Om skandam tarpayāmi....Om sanmukham....Om jay
-tam..... Om viśākham.... Om mahāśeṣam....Om ś
-brahmaṇyam..... Om skandaparśadān tarpayāmi.
skandaparśadīṁśca tarpayāmi.

II,7,10.

Frāṇānām granthir asi rudro mā viśāntakaḥ.

III,6,6.

Śrāpyamāne rakṣāṁ kuryāt. Namo rudrāya bhūtād
pataye.

The Mānava Grhya Sutra.

I,13,9-14.

When the bride is being taken home.

Amāṅgalyam ced atīkrāmati anumāyantviti japati
namo rudrāya gramasada iti grāme, imā rudrāyet
ca. namo rudrāyaikavṛkṣasada ityekavṛkṣe. ye
vṛkṣesu śāspinjārā iti ca. namo rudrāya śmasān
-sada iti śmasāne. ye bhūtānam adhipataya iti

1
namo rudrāya catuspathasada iti catuspathe. y
pathām pathi rakṣaṅka iti ca. namo rudraya ti
-sada iti tirthhe. ye tirthāni pracaranti.

II,3,5.

Tasyāgnim rudraṁ paśupatiṁ īśānam tryambakam
śaradam pṛṣṭakam gā iti yajati.

II,5.

The Śūlagava sacrifice.

Raudrah śaradi śūlagavaḥ. pragudācyām diśi gr
-syasakāśe niśi gāvām madhye taṣṭo yūpaḥ. pr
svistākṛto' ṣṭau śoṇitaputān pūrayitvā namaste
rudra mānyava itī prabhṛtibhir aṣṭabhir anuvā
diksvantardikṣu copaharet. nāśrtām grāmam ah
-ret. śesam bhūmau nikhaned api carma.

II,10

Phālgunīyām paurṇamāsyām purastād dhānapūpābhy
bhāgam cāryamaṇṇam ca yajet. indrānyā haviṣyān
pistvā pistāni samutpūya yāvanti pśujātāni tā
-to mithunān pratirūpān śrapayitvā kamsye' dhyā
kṛtvā tenaiva rudrāya svāheti juhōti. īśānaye
-eke.

II,14.

The 'vināyakas'.

Athāto vināyakān vikhyasyāmah. śalakaṭaṅkaṭas
kūsmāṇḍarājaputrascosmitāscadevayajanaśceti.
--air adhigatānām imāni rūpāni bhavanti. loṣṭ
mrđnāti. tñāni chinatti. āngesu lekhan likha
apāsvapnam paśyati. jaṭilān paśyati. kaśāyavā
sah paśyati. ustrān sūkarān gardabhān divakir
-in anyānscaprayatānsvapnān paśayati. antari
-am kramati. adhvānam vrajan manyate pṛṣṭhat
me kaścid anuvrajaṭi. etaiḥ khalu vināyakair
āvistā rajaputrā lksanavanto rājyam na k labh
kanyān patikamā lākṣanavatyō bhartṛn na labh
-te. śrīyah prajakamā laksanavatyah prajān r
labhante. strīnam ācaravatīnām apātyāni mriy
-te. śrotriyo' dhyāpaka ācāryatvam na prapnoti
adhyetrnām adhyayane mahāvighnāni bhavanti. v
-nijām vānikyapatho viṇāsyati. kṛsikārānām kṛ
-ralpaphalā bhavati. teṣām prāyaścittam.....

.....
namaste astu bhagavān śatarasme tamonud
jahi me daurbhāgyam saubhagyena mām sam
-yojay

II, 9,1-2. The Mdhuparka and the final 'astaka' offerings.
Uttamāyāḥ pradōṣe catuspathe'ṅgasogām kārayet.
yo ya āgacchet tasami tasmai dadyāt.

The Āsvalāyana Grhya Sūtra.

II,1,1-2. Āsvayujyam āsvyujikarma. nivesānam alāmkṛtya s-
-taḥ sucivāsasaḥ paśupatiye sthālipākam nirūpya
juhuyuh. paśupatiye śivāya saṅkarāya pṛṣṭakāya
svāheti.

IV,10. The Sūlagava sacrifice.

Śaradi vasante vā..... rudrāya mahādevāy
juṣṭo vardhasveti. harāya kṛpāya śarvāya śivāya
bhāvāya mahādevayagrāya paśupatiye rudrāya saṅ-
-karāya śānayaśānaye svāheti.

The Bṛhadhāyana Grhya Sūtra.

I,2,7, 1-30. The Sulagava sacrifice.

Aranye'gnim upasamādhāya samparistīrya pranīta-
-bhyah kṛtvā barhirādāya gām upakaroti.-- isānā
-ya tvā juṣṭam upakaromi iti. tūṣṇim ityēke. a
-ainām adbhīh prokṣati.-- isānaya tvā juṣṭam p
-kṣāmi iti. tūṣṇim ityēke. tām atraiva prācī
śīrasīm udācīna-pādim samjñāpayanti. tasyai sam
-aptāyā adbhīr abhiṣekam. prānānam āpyāyati tūṣ
tūṣṇim vapām utkhidyā hrdayam uddharati. prajñā
-ni cāvādānāni. tānyeteśveva sūlesūpanikṣipya t
-minnevāgnau śrapayanti:.....

Parīdhāna-prabhṛtyāgnimukhāt kṛtvā daivatam ah
āyāhayati.-- a tvā vahantu harāyah sacetasah sv
-tair āsvaiṣṣahaketum adbhīh.vātajirair balavad
-rmanojavair āyāhi śighram mama havyāya śarvomi
atha snāvenopastīrnām abhighāritām vapām juhōti
sahasrāni sahasraśah iti. purō'nuvakyāmūcya,-
isānam tvā bhuvanānām abhīriyam iti yajyayā juh
-ti. atraitānyavadānāni 'krīdāsūne prachidyāuda
-m māmsam yūsamityājyena samudāyutya mekṣenapag
-am purvārdhe juhōti.-- bhavāya devāya svāhā,
śarvāya devāya svāhā rudrāya devāya svāhā, ugrā
devāya svāhā, mahate devāya svāhā, iti. atha ma
-ye juhōti.-- bhavasya devasya patnyai svāhā,
sarvasya devasya patnyai svāhā isānasya....., p
-śūpater....., rudrasya....., ugrasya....., b
-masya....., mahato.... .iti. atha parārdhe
juhōti, bhavasya devasya devasya sutāya svāhā..

pasūpater....., rudrasya,,,,, ugrasya...., bh
 -masya....., mahato....., iti. athāparārdhe ju
 -hoti,-- bhavasya devasya sutāya svāhāiti...et
 athājyāhutir upajuhoti,-- namste rudra manyave
 ityantānd anuvākasya. svistakṛt-prabhṛti siddh
 adhenu-vara-pradanāt. athāgṛnāgnimarkaparnes
 hutaseśam nidadhāti,--yo rudro agnau yo apsu yo
 ośadhiṣu yo rudro visvā bhuvānā vivesa tasmai
 rudraya namo'stu iti.
 Api yadi gām na labheta mesam ajam vālabheta.
 Isānaya sthālīpakam vā śrapayanti tasmād etat
 sarvam karoti yadgavā kāryam.....
 Evam aṣṭamyām pradoṣe kriyeta itāvadeva nānā. n
 -tropakaraṇam paśoh.

III, 2, 16, 1-43. Installation of the image of Rudra.

Caturthyām aṣṭamyām ādrāyām apabharanyām vā
 caturdaśyām vā yāni cānyāni subhanakṣatrāni te
 purvedyūreva yugmān brahmānāneva parivisyā pu
 -yāham svasti rddhim iti vācayitvā samagatāyān
 nisāyam kapilāpañca-gavyena sahiranya-yava-dur
 -ānkurā-svattha-palāśa-parṇeṇa suvarṇopadhānan
 pratikṛtim kṛtvā bhiṣiñcati,--apo histhā mayo-
 bhuvah iti tisṛbhih,-- hiranyavṛnāḥ śucayah pā
 -kāḥ,--iti catsṛbhih,-- pavamānāḥ suvarcanāḥ--
 ityetenānuvakenā vyahṛtibhiśca. puṣpaphalākṣa
 -tāmīśra-yava-durvānkuram pādapīthe nikṣipati,
 namaste rudra manyave iti.... etēna,-- namast
 astu dhanvane ityastābhiḥ snāpayati.....
 Hiranyena tejaśā cakṣur vimocayet,-- tejo'si
 lingē cennivartate cakṣuṣor abhāvāt.....
 atha tryambakam yajamahe mā no mahāntam, mā na
 toke, ādrayā rudrah, heti rudrasya, arātte ag
 -ih, vikiridavilohita, sahasrāni sahasradhā,
 sahasraśaḥ, iti. dvadāsānāmabhiḥ,-- sīvāya
 sāmkarāya sahamānāya sītikanthāya kapardine ta
 -rāya aruṇāya apaguramānāya hiranyabāhave sas
 -piñjarāya babhluśāya hiranyāya svāhā iti.....
 Haviṣā balim upaharati,-- tvām ekam ādyam pur
 -sam purātanam rudraṁ sīvam visvasṛjam yajāmal
 tvam eva yajño vihito vidheyastvamātmanātman
 pratigṛhṇiṣva havyam. iti.

III, 2, 18.

Rites for bathing the image of Rudra.

Athainam prasādayati,--

Aradhito manuṣyaistvam siddhaiḥ devāsura
 -bhī

Arādhāyami śaktyā tvā'nugṛhāṇa mahesvara
 tryambakam yajāmahe titica.....

Atha rudra-gāyātrim jāpet,-- tatpuruṣāya vid-

-mahe ityetaṃ raudrīm sahasrakṛtvā avartayet.

III,3,3.

Mention of Durgā.

Yajñopavitāṃ raktapuṣpapadmāṃ sambhārānukalpya
māsi māsi kṛttikāpurvāhne gomayena gocarmamātri
caturasrāṃ sthāṇḍilam kṛtvā prokṣya śaucena su
-vratastisthan bhagavatīm avāhayet,-- jātaveda
iti, om āryāṃ raudrīm avāhayāmi ityāvāhya, tāṃ
-agni-varṇāṃ iti kūrcaṃ datvā, agne tvāṃ pāray
iti yajñopavitāṃ datvāthainam snāpayati,--āpo
sthā mayobhuvah iti tīrṣbhīḥ hiranyavarṇāḥ iti
cātārṣbhīḥ pavamānāḥ ityetenānuvākena mārjayit
āryayai raudryai mahākālyai mahāyoginyai suvar
-puṣpyai devasankīrtyai mahāyajñai (yakṣyai) ma
-vaiṣṇavyai mahāpṛthivyai manogamyai saṅkhadhā
-nyai namaḥ iti....sāvitryā,-- bhagavatyai dur
dēvyai havir nivedayāmi iti havir nivedya śeṣa
ekādaśanāmadheyair hutvā pañcadurgā japet daśa
-sti japet.....

III,3,9.

Mention of Jyēsthā.

Atha śvobhute jyēsthāṃ anusmarann uttāya devāg
rahasyapradeśe vā yatra rocate mañś tatra stha
-lāṃ kṛtvā.....jyēsthā devīm āhvāyati.....

Yasyas śimhā rathe yukta vyāghraścaṣyaṇu
-mīṇa

Tāṃ imāṃ pūṇḍarikakṣīm jyēsthāmāvāhayāmya
ityāvāhya.... jyēsthāyai namaḥ....hasti-mukhāya
namaḥ. vighnapārsadāyai namaḥ. vighnapārsadyai
namaḥ iti.

III,3,10.

Mention of Vināyaka.

Māsi māsi caturthyāṃ śuklapakṣasya pañcamyāṃ v
'bhyudayādau siddhikāmaḥ ṛddhikāmaḥ paśukāme v
bhagavato vināyakasya balim haretī.....

Vighna vighneśvarāgaccha vighnetyeva nama

Avighnāya bhavaṇ sanyak sadāsmākaṃ bhavap
-bh

....atha tūṣṇīm vā gandhpuṣpadhūpādīpāirabhyar
upatisthate,-- bhūpataye namo bhuvanapataye na
bhūtanāmpataye namaḥ iti.

Upasthāya tisro vināyakāhutir juhōti,--vināyak
bhūpataye namo vināyakāya svāhā.vināyakāya bhū
-napataye namo vināyakāya svāhā. vināyakāya bhū
-tānāṃ pataye namo vināyakāya svāhā iti jaya p
-bhṛtīśiddhāṃ ādhenuvarapradānāt. apūpam kara
bhodakāṃ saktūṃ payasāṃ ityathāsmā upaharati,-

vighnāya svāhā vināyakāya svāhā virāya svāhā
 -ya svāhā ugrāyā svāhā bhimāyā svāhā hasimukh
 svāhā varadāya svāhā vighnaparsadebhyah svāhā
 -ghnaparsadibhyah svāhā iti.

Atha bhūtebhyo balim upaharet,-- ye bhūtā prac
 -nti iti.

Atha pañcasūtram kaṅkanam haste vyāhṛtibhir ba
 -nāti,-- vināyaka mahābaho vighneśa bhavadajña
 -ya, kāmā me sādhitāḥ sarve idam badhnāmi kaṅk
 -ṇam iti.

Atha sāgnikam vināyakam pradikṣinam kṛtvā prā
 -myābhivādya vināyakam visarjayatī,--

Kṛtam yadi mayā prāptam śraddhayā vā gane

Uttiṣṭha saṅgaṇah sādho yāhi bhadram prasi

iti.

Chapter IV.

The earliest available records for the post-Vedic in India are the early Buddhist literature and the works of Panini and Kautilya. So far as the worship of Siva is concerned these records do not tell us much beyond a few allusions which however, substantiate the conclusions arrived at in the previous chapters. Both Visnu and Siva are mentioned in the Digha Nikaya but nothing is said about their worship. The same holds good of the old 'Tipitaka' and of the Jatakas. Panini, in his Astadhyayi does mention Rudra and his ~~later~~ epithets Bhava and Sarva, but not the later names of the god Siva, Sankara, and so on. There are other indications, however, to show that Panini's work represents the period posterior to that of the Sutras. For, not only does he give a rule for the formation of feminines from the names Rudra, Bhava, and Sarva, but refers twice to Bhakta and twice to a 'bhakta', showing thereby that the Bhakti cult had definitely emerged by then. It even seems to have been of some antiquity by that time, for, one rule refers to the devotees of Krishna and Arjuna, which shows that the two epic heroes had been deified by that time and were worshipped. No mention is made of images and temples but they must have existed. In the Kautiliya Arthashastra we once find a definite mention of temples of Siva and other gods in fortresses, and besides the

1. Pan. IV, 1,49; IV,3,53; IV,4,100.

2. Pan. IV,1,49.

3. Pan. III,2,21. IV,3,95.

4. Pan. IV,4,68; IV,4,100.

5. Pan. IV,3,98.

there is ample evidence in the work to show that temple and image worship had become the regular feature of the religion¹⁾ that time.

No further information of any material value is supplied by these records. Hence, we pass on to our next source of information, the epics.

In the epics the cult of Rudra appears as quite advanced and shows practically all the characteristics of Paurāṇic Saivism. Their composition of the epics, however, extends over a considerable period, and so, earlier and later phases of the worship of Rudra are to be observed in them. As between the two epics themselves, the Ramayana seems to represent, on the whole, a slightly earlier phase of Saivism than the Mahabharata. We shall, therefore, examine the former first.

The character of Rudra in the Ramayana shows a great advance upon what we observed in the Sutras. His common appellation is no longer Rudra but Siva. The names Mahadeva, Mahesvara, Samkara, and Tryambaka with its various synonyms, are now applied to him much more frequently than before. This change

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1. Artha. (Sama Sastri's edition). II,3,22. V,2,90.
 2. Ram. (Bombay edition). I,36,7,13; 45,2,4,5; 55,12. VI, 3; VII,4,29; 13,26; 16,10-15,26-7,32-6, 44. etc. Also I,43,6; 75,12. VI,6,3; 117,3.

in his name from the 'Fierce' (Rudra) to the 'Auspicious' (Siva) and the 'giver of bliss' (Sambhu) is not merely a change of names but is the external sign of a very real change in the character of the god, and marks the culmination of the process of his euphemisation which began in the Vedic times. We have already seen in the Upanisads how far his old character had been changed in association with the new movement in religious and philosophic thought. We also noticed in the Svetasvatara Upanisad how the Bhakti was rising probably at that very time and how it was centring round Siva and Visnu. In association with this cult which preached the doctrine of devotion to God and of salvation through his mercy and grace, the old fierce traits of Rudra's character were gradually thrown into the background, while his benevolent aspect became more and more prominent till by the time the Bhakti cult had completely superseded the old sacrificial system, Rudra had come to be looked up on as a gentle and merciful god, and hence, truly 'Siva'. It is in this character that we see him in the Ramayana. He is no longer the god whose wrath and whose terrible darts were dreaded by all, but one who is always engaged in promoting the good of mankind. He is the giver of boons, easily pleased by sincere devotion, and is merciful. At the same time, his position is also greatly exalted. In the Upanisads,

1. I, 36, 10.
3. VII, 16, 34.

2. I, 55, 13.

has been noticed, Rudra was conceived of as the philosophical Supreme Self. With the rise of the Bhakti cult this concept of his became more and more widely recognised. In the Ramayana he appears as one of the Supreme² Trinity which now rises into pre-eminence, while the old Vedic pantheon practically fades into insignificance. The first god of this Trinity, Brahma, remains ~~xx~~ rather in the background, and, so far as the active regulation of the universe is concerned, he appears to be inferior to the other two gods, and is frequently mentioned as supplicating the one or the other on behalf of the gods, when the latter are in distress.¹⁾ Between Siva and Visnu, there seems, as yet, to have been no contention for preeminence. Each was regarded as supreme by his worshippers who, however, did not disregard the claim of the other to the same rank made by his worshippers. The Ramayana, being a Vaisnava work, on the whole, gives more prominence to Visnu, but in the passages relating to Siva, the latter is always looked upon as the Supreme God. He is called the highest and the foremost among the gods, the god~~s~~ of gods.³⁾ His worship is performed by the immortals themselves. In a crisis of the first magnitude, the gods repair to him for succour and once at least, Visnu himself is said to have led their devotion⁴⁾ to him.

1. e.g. Ram. I, 36, 8.
3. VII, 13, 21f.

2. I, 45, 22-26; 66, 11-12; VII, 6, 16, 27.
4. I, 45, 23f.

The philosophical aspect of Siva, as seen in the Upanishads, is not prominent in the Ramayana, but that it was recognised is abundantly clear from the exalted position assigned to him. Once he is explicitly regarded as the Supreme Being, the Creator and Destroyer of the universe, and the sole reality behind it.¹⁾ In another passage, he is described as the Imperishable,²⁾ and the Undecaying. Indeed, his whole character may be taken as the popularised form of his philosophic conception as the Supreme Self.

His connection with yoga, also first seen in the Upanishads, is more evident in the Ramayana. The practice of austerities is the regular mode of worshipping and pleasing him.³⁾ Bhagiratha pleased him in this manner, and so did Visvamitra.⁴⁾ The gods themselves have to perform penance in order to get boons from him.⁵⁾ The practice of yoga and penance ('tapas'), in fact, was developed in India as a science by itself. The firm belief in its great efficacy as a means of self-realisation and of emancipation, and in the great powers which it was supposed to give to the practiser, resulted in a great exaltation in its status. Through it the mortals could contend successfully with immortals. It was by practising yoga also that even the Demon could get boons from the great gods. So high, indeed, became his status that Siva, who was to be realised through yoga, was himself regarded as practising it, and was looked upon as a great

1. VII, 6, 2.
3. I, 42-43.
5. VII, 13, 21.

2. VII, 4, 29.
4. I, 55, 12.

Yogi. This might well^{be} called the apotheosis of yoga. This state had been reached by the time of the Ramayana, and in one passage we find Siva described as practising yoga and penance in the ¹⁾ -alayas.

It is the popular side of the worship of Siva about which we learn most from the Ramayana. Siva is not only conceived of as a kind and a benevolent god, but is also closely associated with his consort who now appears with a developed ²⁾ personality. One of her names is Uma ³⁾ and she is regarded as the daughter of Hmavat, or the Himalayas, this showing her identification ~~with~~ with the Uma Haimavati of the Upanisads. The relation of her to the Himalaya mountain gave rise to her name Parvati which occurs several times in the Ramayana, and which ⁴⁾ became the most common name of the goddess in later times. ⁵⁾ When she is called Rudrani, but such derivative appellations of her with the one exception of Bhavani, became very infrequent in pre-Vedic times, and the goddess was normally called by her own names, which fact shows, again, that unlike other female deities, she was no mere reflection of her male consort, but a real independent goddess. Like Siva, she also seems to have lost her original fierce character, at least in her most prominent aspect as the spouse of Siva, under the softening influence of the Bhakti cult.

1. I, 36, 26.

3. I, 35, 16; 36, 21.
VII, 87, 11.

5. VII, 13, 23.

2. I, 35, 16, 21; 36, 14, 20; 43, 2. VII, 4, 30; 13, 22; 16, 32; 87, 12, 16.

4. VII, 4, 27; 13, 23; 16, 26-30.

and to have become a gentle, benevolent, and kindhearted goddess. This, however, has not meant any fall in her status, and though she is not very prominent in the Ramayana, there are ample indications in it of her exalted position. She is frequently called Devi, a title denoting very high rank, and is described as being honoured by all creation. Even the gods cannot so much as presume to look upon her with impunity, and Kubera happens to look at her face forthwith loses his eye. When angered she curses the gods and her curse the gods have no power to counteract. In view of this, it is rather amusing to refer of Parvati clasping her husband through sudden fear when Ravana shakes the Kailasa mountain. The poetic fancy of the author has, here, outrun his consistency.

This goddess is seen in the Ramayana to be worshipped and honoured along with Siva, and her grace being prayed for by the devotees as much as that of Siva. She always appears by his side, and the devotional worship that grew round the two of them together became the most popular form of Saivism in post-Vedic times.

Another important feature of the popular worship of Siva, as seen in the Ramayana, is the beginning of that cycle of myths and legends centring round that god and his consort, which grew so elaborate in the Pauranic times. It is curious to note that of the legends that had gathered round Rudra in the Vedic times very few seem to have survived. The transformation of

1. I, 36, 6; 10, 26; VII, 13, 22, 24, 30; 3. 2. I, 35, 21.
 5. 87, 13. VII, 13, 22-25.
 4. I, 36, 21-25.

Rudra into Siva was, indeed, more complete than appears at first. Not only were his name and character, and the whole mode of worship changed entirely, but along with this his mythology changed likewise. The legends that we come across now are quite new and it is entirely a new mythology that we have to study. The germs of some of the myths, however, can be traced to the Vedic literature, while other legends are based upon or the other of the old characteristics of Rudra, the memory which still lingered on. This serves as a link between the old Rudra and the new Siva, and serves as a reminder of their essential identity. A very important example of this is the belief in the abode of Siva being on the Kailasa mountain in the Himalayas,¹⁾ which is a development of the old association of the Vedic Rudra with the northern quarter. Unfortunately, we have no extant records which might enable us to trace these myths to their beginning. In the Ramayana, most of them are already developed, and some are almost in the form in which we find them in the Puranas. We have, therefore, to content ourselves with examining the legends and to try to find out from the epic version themselves any clues which might hint at their origin.

The first of these legends is that of the drinking of poison by Siva.²⁾ It forms an incident in the bigger legend of the churning of the ocean by the gods, which is only briefly

1. I, 36, 26; VII, 16, 1f.

2. I, 45.

referred to in the *Ramayana*. The gods and the demons churned oceans for a long time with the Mandara mountain as the churn and the serpent Vasuki as the rope. Poison began to drop from the hoods of the latter, and also from the rocks of the mountain. It threatened to burn up all creation and the gods and the demigods themselves. In panic the gods repaired to Siva, and Visnu, as their spokesman, requested him to accept the poison as his promised share, being the first product of the churning. Siva, thereupon, drank the poison as if it were nectar. The author, here, does not go on to relate how, as the poison passed Siva's throat, and was held there by him at the request of the gods, the throat became blue. But this must have been well known at the time, as this part of the legend is found in the other version in the *Mahabharata*. The origin of the legend is no doubt to be found in the attempt to find an explanation for the epithets 'nilagriva' and 'nilakantha' of Siva. The original significance of these ~~leg~~ epithets had been forgotten, but they themselves having survived, this legend was invented to explain them.

Another legend, for which, however, we can find no such explanation, is that of the descent of the Ganges. ¹⁾ Plea with the devotion and prayers of Bhagiratha who wanted to bring the celestial river from Heaven to earth in order to secure the salvation of his ancestors, Siva consented to break the fall of the waters by first taking them upon his head. In her pride,

1. I, 42-43.

the Ganges thought of sweeping Siva along with her into the nether regions. In order to humiliate her, Siva let her straggle fall into his matted locks from which, despite all efforts, she could find no exit, and thus, with her pride humbled, she was eventually released by Siva at the urgent entreaties of Bhagavan -ratha. The legend, here, is obviously used for the exaltation of Siva, but exactly ^{how} it originated is not certain. Perhaps it was an attempt to ascribe an appropriate source to a river which, on earth, was paid divine honours, and whose exact real source was, very probably, unknown at that time.

Other legends grew up as a result of the association of Siva with the goddess. The most important is that which seeks to explain this very association. The advanced anthropomorphism of the deities, and a natural process of reasoning demand that a god who had acquired a consort should have taken her through the normal procedure of the marriage ceremony. In the case of Siva, this legend of his marriage with his consort, like that of the drinking of the poison, forms a part of a bigger legend, but its essential purpose is quite evident. Its origin can also be understood easily, for, as the goddess had come to be regarded as the daughter of the Himavat, and Siva was also regarded as living on the same mountain, the invention of the other details of the legend was a comparatively simple matter. In the Ramayana, the legend is but briefly referred to once.

1. I, 35, 13f.

and relates how Uma practised penance to obtain Siva as her husband, and how her father, in due time, gave her away in marriage to the god. Later on, the story was developed and other details were added to it till it came to serve as a plot for epic compositions. One of these details which was perhaps a legend by itself, and arose as a result of an attempt to emphasise the character of Siva as a perfect yogi, and also perhaps to explain the conception of Cupid as 'ananga', is the legend of the burning of Kama by Siva. It appears in another part of the Ramayana, and probably represents the original version of the story, as it lacks the dramatic touches that are found in the other versions, and also differs in several respects from them. It relates how Cupid, who had a body originally, once tried to intercept Siva as the latter was going along with his consort after his marriage. Siva, however, but look upon him and all his body was burnt up forthwith. The legend brought Siva yet another epithet, 'kamari'.²⁾

As a continuation of the marriage of Siva and Parvati we also find in the Ramayana the story of the birth of Skanda. We have met this deity in the Sutras, but his relationship with Siva was not mentioned there. In the Ramayana two different versions of the legend are found, which, however, seem to have been confused with one another. In the first, the prolonged dalliance of Siva with his newly married consort is said

1. I, 23 f.

2. VII, 6, 3. etc.

have alarmed the gods who hurried to Siva's abode, headed by Brahma, and requested him to refrain from begetting a child upon Uma, for no one would be able to face their offspring. Siva consented but asked for a receptacle for that portion of his seed which had already been disturbed. The gods induced the earth to volunteer, and, after Siva's seed had enveloped entirely Agni pervaded it. It, thereupon, became a white mountain with a forest of reeds upon it among which was born Skanda. The interruption by the gods, however, enraged Parvati who cursed the gods with permanent childlessness. The second version of the legend is seen in the next section, and is apparently a continuation of the first. For, the gods, being unable to have any children of their own owing to the curse of Parvati induced Ganga to beget a child by Agni, who would be able to destroy their enemies, the demons. Ganga consented but was unable to bear the seed of Agni, and placed it on the Himalaya mountain where the embryo developed, and in due course Skanda was born and was found and adopted by the Krittikas, whence he got his name Karttikeya. It will be seen that in neither version is Skanda made the real son of Siva. In the latter version, indeed, he had no connection with Siva at all, and is regarded as the son of Agni. Even in the first version, Agni is the immediate progenitor of Skanda, though it is Siva's seed from which the god is said to have been born, and it is significant to note that Skanda, when born, is called not the son of

1. I, 36, 5-27.

2. I, 37.

Siva, but of Agni ('agnisambhava'). Thus, it appears that, originally, Skanda was not regarded as the son of Siva at all; but of Angi, and was, probably, a solar deity. This shall become quite clear when we examine the Mahabharata in which we shall not only find what is perhaps the original version of the legend, but also the successive stages in its development, and the reason for the attempts to connect Skanda with Siva.

Besides, giving these legends, the Ramayana also makes allusions to several others, which, therefore, must also have come into existence by that time. Thus, the legend of the sacrifice of Daksa is referred to once,¹⁾ and once, allusion is made to the killing of the demon Andhaka by Siva.²⁾ Further, from such epithets of Siva as 'tripurari' and its various synonyms,³⁾ it can be inferred that the story was also known at that time of the destruction of the three cities of the demon by Siva, and in Gorresio's edition of the Ramayana, two direct references to the legend are actually found.⁴⁾ We shall, ^{now} occasionally consider these legends in detail when examining the Mahabharata.

One important and rather significant feature of Siva's ~~former~~ character remains to be seen. It is his worship not only by the gods and men, but also by demons who were regarded as

1. I, 66, 2.

2. III, 35, 93.

3. I, 75, 12; VII, 4, 28; 6, 3.

4. IV, 5, 30; VI, 51, 17.

the enemies of both. Thus, Ravana is said to have become of Siva's devotees, once his pride had been humbled.¹⁾ Another demon, Vidyutkesa, is said to have been adopted by Parvati,²⁾ to have obtained the boon of immortality from Siva. In another passage, Siva is said to have refused the request of the gods to destroy the demons, as he had previously promised not to kill them.³⁾ In this, rather close, association of Siva with the demons, he stands sharply in contrast with Visnu. The latter is never mentioned as giving any boons to any demon, and no demon is ever described as having worshipped him. He is always the champion of the gods and the professed destroyer of their enemies. He takes up their cause after Siva had refused their request. This contrast marks a fundamental distinction between the two deities whose cult is otherwise seen to be developing along very similar lines, and who, later on, were practically identified with each other. It is an illuminating commentary upon their original characters. Visnu, originally a purely Aryan deity, was worshipped from the very beginning by the higher classes in the Vedic society, and early came to be associated with the Brahmanic sacrifice, and gradually rose in importance as he came to be regarded as symbolising, as it were, the sacrifice.⁴⁾ He does not seem to have been a god worshipped by the masses, and the

1. VII, 16, 34 f.

3. VII, 6, 3 f.

2. VII, 4, 29.

4. cf. the well known dictum, 'vishnuḥ yajñah' or 'vishnuḥ vai yajñah.'

fact, coupled with the close association of Visnu with the sacrificial system of the Brahmanic priests, prevented any alien elements being incorporated into his character or in his worship. With the rise of the sacrificial system he came to be looked upon as the embodiment of the sacrifice and this enabled him to escape the fate of the other gods. As the latter declined in importance, Visnu became the chief god of the Aryans, and hence the destroyer of their enemies who, in mythology, were represented by the demons. But not so Rudra. We have noticed his original character as a popular god, and his close association with popular superstition. We have also seen how, as a result of this popular character of his, he gradually assimilated various alien deities of the non-Aryan peoples who, to facilitate their assimilation with the Aryans, were regarded as worshipping the Aryan god Rudra. The peoples were assimilated in time, but the memory of their originally being the enemies of the Aryans lingered on in mythology. Thus it was that the demons of mythology came to be looked upon as the worshippers of Siva. When, therefore, in the Ramayana, Siva appears as accepting the homage of these demons and granting them boons and favours, we have to see in this a reminiscence of the ancient times when the demons, in their human form as the various non-Aryan peoples, did actually worship Siva, and prayed for his benevolence. Siva was, thus, not only the god of men and the immortals, but also of the demons, and honoured and adored by all. This rather unique position of his was made a means

his further exaltation by his worshippers, when as the One God who is worshipped by all creation, gods and demons alike, a claim that could never be made for Visnu, he was hailed as the Supreme Godhead. There was only one other god who was looked upon as being worshipped both by the gods and the demons. He was Brahma. But the reasons for his being so regarded were different and much simpler. He was conceived of as the creator and, hence, as much the progenitor of the demons as of the gods and men and all the other beings. This fact is allegorised in the later legend of Prajapati and his two wives, Diti and Aditi from whom were born respectively the demons and the gods. The tale from Christian mythology, in which ~~the~~ Satan and his followers are said to have been angels originally, residing in Heaven offers an interesting ^a parallel here. As the common creator of both, Brahma was naturally regarded as being worshipped by the gods and the demons alike. But with the rise of Siva and Visnu Brahma declined in importance and gradually faded away, though he was retained as the nominal head of the Trinity, perhaps a concession to antiquity, and Siva became the only god who could be said to be the Lord of all.

Besides showing these principal features of Siva's character and worship, the Ramayana also gives us miscellaneous information about the same. First, we have two new epithets
 1) Siva, Hara and Vrsadhvaja. 2) The former, derived from the root

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1. I, 43, 6, 10; VII, 4, 32; 16, 27; 87, 11. This epithet is also found in AGS. IV, 10.
 2. VI, 117, 3; VII, 16, 35, 87, 12.

'hr', to carry, appears to have been at first applied to Ag as the carrier of the oblations to the gods. From him it was probably transferred to Rudra when the two were identified and subsequently, it became one of the most common appellations of Siva. The other epithet is rather interesting. In the Samhitas, it has been seen, 'vrsabha' or 'vrsa', literally meaning a bull, is a very common epithet of Rudra. In the Brhadaranyaka and in later Vedic literature it is still an epithet. But gradually, the significance of the epithet seems to have been lost sight of and the word, being interpreted in its common meaning, came to be regarded as referring to the bull which was supposed to be the vehicle of Siva. Thence, in course of time, the device of the bull came to figure on the banners which were probably placed over the temples of Siva. Hence, this epithet, 'Vrsadhvaja' was applied to Siva. Secondly, we find, in the Ramayana, the mention, for the first time, of Nandi the attendant of Siva. He is described as one of terrible aspect, of chequered black colour, a dwarf with a shaven head, short armed but very strong, in short, he is remarkably like the old hordes of Siva as Rudra, who now appear ^{under} the new name 'ganas'. The mention of the epithet 'mundi', or shaven head in connection with Nandi seems to indicate that some worshippers of Siva might have been ascetics who went about with shaven heads, as in later times. In Nandi and the 'ganas' w

1. VII, 16, 8-10.

have, therefore, a reminder of the old character of Rudra as the leader of the fantastic spirits of popular superstition. In spite of the great change in his character, these spirits continued to be associated with him. The same reminiscence of the old character of Rudra is seen in his description as the best of the physicians in one passage in the Ramayana.¹⁾ In another passage,²⁾ however, we find a new feature in Siva's character which we have not met before. In this Siva is described as going to pleasure grove in the forest, accompanied by his consort and his attendants. There, for the amusement of Parvati, Siva assumed the female form, and as a result of this, every other male of every specie, even trees with masculine names, underwent this metamorphosis. Then, Siva, his consort and all the attendants begin to sport more or less in a Bacchalian fashion, and when king Ila happens to come into the forest, he is also transformed into a female forthwith. We shall have occasion to notice the probable origin of this aspect of Siva's character below.

It is interesting to note that no mention of the 'linga' is made in the Ramayana. This, however, does not prove that 'linga' worship did not exist at that time. In fact, the Ramayana does not tell us anything about the worship of Siva as it was actually performed beyond that sincere devotion placed in him and that boons were to be obtained from him by

1. VII, 90, 12.

2. VII, 87, 11-15.

practising austerities. No reference is made either to a temple or to an image of Siva. But we have noticed that the Ramayana represents the Bhakti cult in a comparatively developed stage and that the character of Siva is entirely changed under its influence. And, as observed in a previous chapter, temple worship came into existence some time about the same period in which the Bhakti cult arose and came into prominence with the development of the latter, we can be safe in assuming that it was known by the time of the Ramayana and that images of Siva were also made and worshipped.

We get much fuller information about the character and worship of Rudra-Siva during the epic times from the Mahabharata. This epic has gone through more than one redaction at different periods, and the passages relating to Siva, therefore, probably do not belong to the same age. But, taken on the whole, they give us a fairly good idea of the cult of that god during the epic period, that is from about 500 to 200 B.C.

The worship of Rudra-Siva has now definitely two aspects: a philosophical and a popular, and though the two are not distinguished as such in the Mahabharata, and the philosophical aspect is seen not to have been without influence on the popular aspect, it will be better and simpler to examine them separately first, and then to review the cult as a whole.

In the philosophical aspect, Siva is now definitely regarded as the Supreme Godhead. He is limitless, incomprehensible, the Creator of the universe and embracing the universe within himself, the supreme Transcendental Self beyond whom there is nothing.¹⁾ He is called the sole source and uphold of the Mahabhutas, the Eternal, the Unmanifest, the sole Cause and the Lord.²⁾ Though one he manifests himself in various forms He pervades everything and is the source of everything. He is the beginning of the universe, and in him the universe merge again at the time of the involution. In the latter aspect he is conceived of as the Kalakudra.⁴⁾ Thus, the position assigned him in the Svetasvatara Upanisad is fully recognised here and Siva practically reaches the greatest height of his exaltation. But, he does not, even yet, seem to dispute the position of the Supreme Godhead with Visnu, and in one passage both are expressly said to be equal.⁵⁾ His own worshippers, however, seem to have begun to look upon him as supreme to the exclusion of all other deities.⁶⁾ Visnu himself, in his incarnation as Krishna is several times represented as extolling and even worshipping him.⁷⁾ The followers of Visnu, however, did the same for the god, and, thus, a kind of balance seems to have been struck, e

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1. Mbh. (southern recension). Sauptika, 7, 10.
 2. " " Drona, 74, 56-61; 169, 29f.; Anu, 22, 15
 3. " " Karna, 24, 62-64.
 4. " " Anu., 22, 166; 188-90
 5. " " Anu., 112, 53.
 6. " " Anu, 22.
 7. " " Drona, 74, 16f.; 51f.; 169, 29f.

god being regarded as supreme, when he was being worshipped. This was the old Henotheism of the Samhitas now applying only to two deities who had risen to the top from the old Vedic polytheism. The logical conclusion of this Henotheism, however, was the ultimate identification of the two gods. The worshippers of Siva and Visnu had arrived at the same point, though through different means, of belief in one God, and called him Siva and Visnu respectively. The next step was the realisation of the fact that there was no actual difference between the two deities when thus conceived. This stage had been reached by the time of the Puranas, but in the epics, the two gods are never explicitly identified and were not yet, perhaps, looked upon as one generally, though, in view of the strong Upanisadic tradition which must have existed during the epic age, there is reason to believe that this oneness of the two gods, Visnu and Siva, was recognised at least by some.

Connected with the conception of Siva as the Supreme Self is his association with the Samkhya. This was first seen in the Upanisads. The Mahabharata preserves the memory of this connection, and Siva is often described as one who knows the Samkhya through himself. In another passage, he himself is called the Samkhya, and those who are experts in the Samkhya doctrines, and know the 'gunas' and the 'tattvas', realise him

1. Karna. 24,61.

2. Anu., 23,43.

and obtain their salvation. The probable cause of this association of Siva with Samkhya has been discussed in the previous chapter. But the conception of the philosophical Purusa in the original Samkhya, as seen in the Svetasvatara Upanisad was somewhat different from what it became later on, and was more akin to the Vedantic Brahma. And, it was as that original Purusa that Siva was connected with Samkhya. In later development he retained that character, and in the epics we find that his conception is more like that of the Vedantic Brahma than of the Purusa of the later Samkhya. As such, his old association with Samkhya became weaker and weaker, and gradually disappeared. In the Mahabharata though the memory of the old association is still preserved, there are also indications of the beginnings of this dissociation. Thus, in one passage, Siva appears as a philosophical enquirer and goes to the sage Sanatkumara for knowledge of the Samkhya philosophy and of the Samkhya Purusa. Samkhya is highly exalted in this passage. It is called the true path through which sages like Sanatkumara had obtained salvation. Siva describes himself as following the wrong ('vikrta') and impermanent path of 'Aisvarya' and the eight 'guna'. Aisvarya would, here, seem to mean the path of Isvara or the I meaning, probably, the monistic doctrine of Bhakti which the creeds of Siva and Visnu preached then. It is interesting to

note that Samkhya is called, in this passage, 'prakṛta-jñāna'¹⁾ or the knowledge of Prakṛti, which shows that the conception of Prakṛti had by now become a very prominent feature of the Samkhya doctrine, and was peculiar to it. In the last two verses, Śiva and the other gods are explicitly said to have left the true path of Samkhya and to have taken to a false one. Incidentally, this divergence between Samkhya and the worship of Śiva proves the lateness of the passage.

On the philosophic side of the cult of Śiva also may be counted Śiva's association with yoga. The origin of this association has also been seen above. By the time of the epics yoga and the ascetic practices had become a recognised mode of realising the Deity. In the Mahabharata this is even more clear than in the Rāmāyana. Śiva is to be realised through penances²⁾ and devotion only. He is, indeed, the Supreme Puruṣa of the yogis. He knows the yoga of the self along with all the different attributes⁴⁾, and is himself a Mahayogi⁵⁾. It is interesting to observe that in some places Viṣṇu himself is called Yogesvara⁶⁾ which shows the incorporation of the yogic practices, whose growing importance could not be ignored, into the cult of Viṣṇu.

1. Anu., 98, 20.
3. Drona, 74, 41.
5. Drona, 50, 43f.

2. Vana, 85, 25f.; Drona, 74, 16f.
4. Karna, 24, 60.
6. Anu., 98, 74. etc.

On the popular side, we see the cult of Siva developing various aspects owing to the diverse character and propensities of his numerous worshippers. The most important aspect is, of course, what may be called the popular interpretation of the philosophical conception of Siva. He is conceived of as the one God, the creator, preserver, and the destroyer of the universe, the supreme Lord of the gods, men and demons alike. He is the One who has been worshipped in the past, is worshipped at present, and who will be worshipped ever after. He is the Infinite, the Incomprehensible, not even understood by the gods. His common names are Isana, Mahesvara, Mahadev, Bhagavan, and Siva. He is exalted above all the other gods. All the gods attend upon him, including Brahma and Visnu. The latter are described on both sides of him in one passage. In another passage, the two are even said to be issuing out of his sides, which means that he was regarded as incorporating them in himself. Here, therefore, we have the idea of the Trimurti which became popular later on. The keynote of his worship is 'bhakti', and he is conceived of, as in the Ramayana, as a kind and benevolent god, gracious to the devotee ('bhaktānukampī') and always engaged in the work of promoting the welfare of mankind. This character of his is very clearly illustrated by the legend recounted in the Drona Parva in which the god, in the interests of humanity, pleads with Brahma for the withdrawal

1. Drona, 74, 41-43.

2. Karna, 24, 68.

3. Anu., 23, 17.

4. Karna, 24, 61, 63; Salya, 39, 6;

5. 6. Anu., 22, 144-45.

Sauptika, 6, 32.

7. Drona, 41, 15; 74, 62; Anu., 112, 19. etc.

as it was pleasing, easily comprehensible, and with a strong appeal to the softer and finer human sentiments. The anthropomorphism of the god and his spouse has also progressed considerably. Siva is normally conceived of as of an extremely handsome appearance, and Parvati as the most perfect and beautiful of women. The dress and ornaments of both are described. In the various legends they are even endowed with human sentiments. The bull is the regular vehicle of the god. This anthropomorphism is, however, shed aside when the divinity of the god is being emphasised. The most notable of these non-human characteristics of his are the three eyes which are frequently mentioned. On several occasions he is also described as thousand eyed, multi-limbed and so on, after the manner of Vedic Purusa, and, no doubt, to symbolise his omniscience and omnipotence. He is also said to be attended by his ganas which are commonly called 'bhutas' in the Mahabharata, and are of most fantastic shapes, some deformed in bodies, others with heads of different animals or birds, and others with human and animal bodies. This, as remarked above, is a survival of the old character of the Vedic Rudra. In this connection his epithet, 'nisacarapati', applied once to him in the epic is significant.

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| 1. Anu., 22, 116f. | 2. Anu., 113, 32f. |
| 3. Vana, 226, 26, 27 etc. | 4. Anu., 22, 116. |
| 5. Vana, 86, 3; 188, 13; Drona, 74, 37; Yarna, 27, 24f. | |
| 6. Drona, 49, 49. | |

This benevolent character of Siva, however, does not make his worshippers forgetful of his wrath. His kindly countenance can assume a fearsome aspect if his anger is aroused by the misdeeds of the sinners or those who defy the Divine Will. As such, he appears, for the first time in the Mahabharata, as the destroyer of the enemies of the gods and men, and is called 'Brahmadit-samghatin'¹⁾. His bow, called the Pinak and his thunderbolt, called the Sula, are his favourite weapons and he is described as 'Pravarāyudhayodhin'³⁾. His might is irresistible,⁴⁾ and to those who defy him he is a veritable Death(Kala).⁵⁾ In this aspect, he is conceived of as angry, terrible,⁶⁾ and a great destroyer. His whole appearance is awe-inspiring, and it is in this character that he is probably regarded as clad in black, whereas, ordinarily he was supposed to be clad in white.⁷⁾

Thus, in his popular aspect, Siva came to possess two forms, a gentle and a terrible one. This dual character of him seems to have been recognised even at the time of the Mahabharata, as in one passage he is explicitly said to possess these two forms.⁸⁾

At the same time, he always removes the calamities of those who take refuge in him, and it is because of this that

1. Karna, 24, 71.
3. Karna, 24, 71.
5. Karna, 26, 26.
7.8. Anu., 151, 3.

2. Vana, 33, 87; 35, 1; Udyoga, 177.
4. Karna, 24, 73.
6. Karna, 24, 69-70.
9. Karna, 24, 71.

gods and men always invoke him for succour when dire destruction threatens them. Their voice is always heard and their call never goes unheeded. The most renowned deed of Siva in this aspect is the destruction of the three cities of the dem We shall have occasion to notice this legend below. Reference has already been made to his killing of Andhaka, when examining the Ramayana. As time passed, many other exploits also were attributed to Siva.

As regards the popular mode of worshipping Siva, the Mahabharata tell us something more besides what we learned from the Ramayana. The one way to please the god was sincere devotion. Those who sought to propitiate him and to obtain boons from him practised severe austerities in addition and defied all temptations and distractions in their steadfast meditation upon him. Arjuna and Upamanyu are the two most notable examples of such sincere devotees of Siva. The former obtained the coveted Pasupata weapon through his penance,¹⁾ and the latter even more severe in his austerities, refused to pay homage to any other god but Siva, and in the end obtained not all he had desired, but also the boon of immortality,²⁾ and was set before the world as an example of an ideal devotee. For ordinary worship the singing of hymns and prayers seems to have been the

1. Vana, 33, 87f.

2. Anu., 22, 85-90

common mode, and many such prayers occur in the Mahabharata. About the actual ritual, however, we are not told much. As in the Ramayana, no direct reference to his temples is made. But references are made to his images, from which it might be inferred that his temples also existed then. In one passage which describes the character of Siva, he is said to be pleased with the worship of his images, and these are said to be both anthropomorphic ('vigraha') and phallic ('linga'²⁾). This shows clearly that these two kinds of images were made and worshipped at that time. The phallic character of the ('linga') images seems to have been recognised, as is evident from the manner in which they are mentioned. But their worship had nothing whatever to do with the old genuine phallic worship. This 'linga' image was, of course, peculiar to Siva and for this reason Siva is exalted above the other gods by Upamanyu. Indra, Brahma, and Visnu himself, are said to worship the 'linga' of Siva who was, therefore, superior to them all. This shows the complete assimilation of the worship of the 'linga' into the cult of Siva by this time. It is, indeed, interesting to observe how the worshippers of Siva had adroitly turned an originally despised practice into a means for the exaltation of their god.

1. Anu., 151, 16.

2. Anu., 22, 97. Other references to the 'linga' are found in the northern (Calcutta) edition of the epic at the following places:
VII, 22, ; X, 17, ; XIII, 14, 19, ; 162, .

The above may be regarded as the most popular and officially recognised aspects of popular Saivism during the epic period. But, beside them, there were some other aspect of it also, prevalent among particular groups of people. No external pressure seems to have been put upon the devotees of Siva to conform their worship to a uniform method, and, hence different people worshipped according to their own different conceptions of the deity. This resulted in a multiplicity of the forms of the worship of Siva, a parallel to which can hardly be found. The Mahabharata shows at least two of these aspects which were certainly not widely recognised, but may be called popular in the sense they prevailed among certain sections of the common people. In one of them, Siva appears as a 'kapalin' or a skull bearer. We have seen that the Vedic Rudra was regarded as a death deity in one of his aspects, and was associated with goblins, vampires and other spirits of evil and darkness. We have also seen in the Sutras how this aspect of his was probably responsible for his association with the cremation grounds. The 'kapalin' aspect of Siva, therefore, appears to have been a development of this. In sharp contrast to his handsome appearance as a 'bhaktigod', he is, here, conceived of as of a fearsome countenance. He carries a skull in his hand, and the shunned cremation ground is his favourite residence, where he sports with the 'Raksas', 'Vetalas', 'Pisacas' and other kindred spirits. He is attended by his usual hord

1. Vana, 188, 50.

2. Vana, 86, 3; Drona, 50, 49; Salya, 39, 24; Sauptika, 6, 33; etc.

are, here, all night prowlers and carrion eaters ('pisitasaṅgaḥ').
 In one passage, Siva himself is described as eating meat and
 consuming blood and fat.²⁾ This is a deity belonging essential
 to the domain of superstition and black magic, as in the Sūtra
 and it appears that, inspite of the great advancement in the
 character of Siva, he was still worshipped in this aspect by
 certain section of the people who maintained and improved upon
 this aspect of the god's character. It even appears that by
 the time of the Mahabharata, this aspect of Siva had gained
 some recognition among people other than those who regularly
 worshipped the god in it. We have already seen the significance
 of the Sulagava sacrifice in the Sūtras, as showing how magic
 and semi magical practices were sometimes officially sanctioned
 under exceptional circumstances, and it is possible that the
 worship of Siva as a 'kapalin' was, similarly, occasionally per-
 -ted. Thus, we find that in his desperation, Asvatthaman inv-
 -kes Siva in this aspect.³⁾ It was this semi-recognition of this
 aspect of Siva that, perhaps, accounts for the frequent allusion
 to it in the shape of epithets, which are seen, in the Mahabha-
 -rata, to be indiscriminately mixed up with his other epithets
 and occur even in passages where Siva is conceived of in another
 -er aspect.⁴⁾ Naturally, the reverse is also true, and the
 other epithets of Siva are applied to him where he is conceived
 of as a 'kapalin'.

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1. Vana, 86, 3; Drona, 50, 49; Salya, 39, 24; Sauptika, 6, 33; Vana, 188, 13.
 2. Anu., 151, 7.
 3. Sauptika, 6-7.
 4. Drona, 50, 49. etc.

It was probably as a dreaded death deity that human sacrifices were, at one time, offered to Rudra, as seen in the Atharva Veda. That practice appears to have survived, in spite of its condemnation by the Brahmanas, in connection with his worship in his 'kapalin' aspect among some people. This is seen in the Mahabharata. Thus, Jarasandha is said to have had a regular practice of offering his captives of war as sacrifice to Siva. ¹⁾ Asvattahaman also, when he worshipped a 'kapalin', ²⁾ is said to have offered himself to the god. The practice is severely condemned by Krsna who rebuked Jarasandha for following a practice contrary to established laws. This shows that it was generally discountenanced at that time. It seems to have continued to exist clandestinely among a certain section of the worshippers of Siva in this aspect. According to a smattering of the doctrines of yoga, which, as we have observed, were prevalent and fashionable in the epic period, and attributing themselves after the manner of the god, these people posed as ascetics and yogis, and claimed to have obtained super-human powers by means of their practices. These were the Kapalikas, among whom the practice of human sacrifice prevailed till a comparatively late period. We shall have occasion to say some thing about them in a subsequent chapter. The Mahabharata makes no explicit mention of them, and perhaps they had not emerged as a definite sect by that time.

1. Sabha, 21, 98.f.

2. Sauptika, 7, 53-60.

The other aspect of Siva's character, is that of a Bacchic deity. We have had a glimpse of this aspect in the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata throws further light upon it. When Arjuna propitiated Siva for obtaining the Pasupata weapon, the god first appeared to him in the guise of a 'kirata', a person belonging to a tribe of that name living on the lower reaches of the Himalayas. He is described as attired in the ordinary dress of a 'kirata', that is in skin garments, and is followed by thousands of women and 'bhutas' all in riotous merriment, all of which strongly reminds us of Bacchanalian processions in Asia Minor and elsewhere. In another passage, Siva is said to have been so enamoured of Tishyama, the heavenly nymph, that four faces appeared in his head in order to enable him to view her in whichever direction she went. Further evidence bearing upon this aspect of Siva is supplied by the Puranas, and shall be examined below. We cannot be certain how Siva came to possess this aspect, but his appearance as a 'kirata' seems to be significant, and it is possible that Siva had, at some time, incorporated in himself a Himalayan deity worshipped probably by the 'kiratas' in a somewhat Bacchanalian fashion. The evidence of the Nilamata Purana which we shall examine below, showing the prevalence of such Bacchanalian rites in connection with the worship of Siva in Kashmir, strengthens this possibility. It was probably

1. Anu, 113, 2f.

this aspect also that Siva was conceived of as a dancer, and later on, though his Bacchic character faded away, his character as a dancer remained and was developed till he came to be looked upon as 'Nataraja', and the greatest exponent of the art of dancing.

The last feature of the popular side of Saivism in the epics is the legends that had gathered round Siva. We have examined some of them in the Ramayana. The Mahabharata repeats them and gives others which are only alluded to in the Ramayana. The most important of these, not only for the prominence given to it in the Mahabharata, but also for the light it throws on the relation between Siva and the god Skanda, is the story of the birth of the latter. It also shows, in an excellent manner, how a myth is gradually built up. The oldest version of the legend¹⁾, perhaps, is to be found in the Vana Parva. Due to the lack of an efficient leader for their armies the gods were repeatedly defeated in their struggle with the demons. Indra thereupon, thought that an offspring of Agni, who combined in himself the powers of all the gods,²⁾ would be the fittest leader for the divine armies. Subsequently, the gods repaired to the gods' sacrifice of the seven sages, and Agni, described as coming out of the orb of the sun, naturally accompanied them. There, he became enamoured of the wives of the sages, and,

1. Vana, 183, 5f.

2. cf. the old dictum 'agnih sa-
-ah devatah'.

distracted by his passion, he wandered disconsolate in the forest. Meanwhile, the daughter of Daksa, Svaha, had seen Agni at the sacrifice, and had fallen in love with him. She followed him to the forest and there, practised the ruse of assuming the forms of six of the wives of the sages and then seducing Agni who was easily taken in. Subsequently, she deposited the seed of Agni on the White mountain among some reeds where, in due course, a child was born and was consecrated by Indra. Here we find that Skanda is regarded as the son of Agni and has no connection with Siva at all. Agni also, it should be noted, is considered identical with the sun. Hence, it appears that Skanda was originally some solar deity representing, possibly, the blazing sun before which all darkness recedes away, hence, the proper deity to defeat the demons, the spirits of darkness. It is interesting to remember in this connection that the peculiar animal or rather bird assigned to Skanda is the peacock who, perhaps, because of the bright marks on his tail, or for some other reason, was closely associated with the sun. An illustration of this fact has been supplied by the various motifs on the pottery recently discovered at Chanhu-daro in Sind, in which the peacock frequently appears in association with sun symbols. His peacock, therefore, serves as an additional proof of Skanda's being, originally, a solar deity. But

L.1. E.Mackay. Paper read before the Royal Society of Arts (International section), 1937.

when the new god was presented to the others he was called the name Rudraputra because one of the names of Agni was Ru. Here, then, is the secret of Rudra's fatherhood of Skanda. The real sense of the expression 'Rudraputrā' having been forgotten, Skanda was, in course of time, re-garded as the actual son of Siva. And, it was to explain this fatherhood of Siva of the former god, that the legend of the birth of Skanda was modified and developed. The first stage in this process is seen in ¹⁾ the Mahabharata itself. In another section of the VanaParva, the story is repeated, and in it Rudra and his consort are said to have embodied themselves in Agni and Svaha respectively, and were, thus, the real parents of Skanda. The next stage in the development of the legend is also seen in the Mahabharata, where the legend was made as a kind of a sequel to the legend of the marriage of Siva and Parvati. ²⁾ The gods, learning of the conjugal union of the two deities, were filled with terror, and, repairing to Siva, requested him not to beget an offspring. Uma, as a child born of such puissant parents would be quite irresistible and would soon consume the universe by his energy. Siva consented to their request, but Parvati, incensed at this unwelcome interruption, cursed all the gods present with permanent childlessness. Siva, then drew up his seed, and, the next day, it was cast forth, and has been known as 'urdhva-rtah'. A portion of his

1. Vana, 188, 8f.

2. Salya, 39. Anu., 74, 42f.

seed, however, fell on the earth and became a blazing fire. But further on, it is said to have been taken up by Agni who was not present when the gods were cursed, and Brahma advised the gods, who were seeking for a leader for their armies, to induce Agni to impregnate Ganga with this seed, and the offspring of the two, thus born, would conquer the demons. Agni and Ganga agreed, but the latter being unable to bear the embryo, cast it on the Meru mountain among some reeds where, in due course, a child was born and was found and reared up by the Krittikas. In the northern recension of the Mahabharata, a fantastic and evidently late version of this last part of the legend is found in a subsequent section,¹⁾ wherein the six Krittikas are said to have taken up the foetus, cast away by Ganga in their wombs, each a sixth part. The divided embryo, thus grew, and in due time, the Krittikas gave birth to the different parts of the infant, which, however, forthwith united into one whole, and the god was born. Even, in this version, Agni still remains the immediate progenitor of Skanda, and the latter is frequently called the offspring of Agni. The same was observed, it will be remembered, in the Ramayana version which appears to be a variant of the Mahabharata version. The final stage of the development of this legend was reached

1. Mbh. (P.C. Roy's edition). Anu., 75, 5f.

the Puranas, and will be examined when we come to the latter.

The second important legend which is seen to have grown round Siva is that of the destruction of the three cities of the demons. This legend offers us, again, though not as full as the first, an example of the gradual development of the myth. The beginnings of this legend are perhaps to be found in the passage in the Aitareya Brahmana in which it is related how, the struggle between the gods and the demons, the latter tore the earth, the sky, and the Heaven into three fortresses of silver, and gold respectively, and how these fortresses were reduced by the gods by means of the Upasadas. ¹⁾ The story is allegorical, but what is of interest is that Rudra nowhere appears on the scene. The idea of the three cities of the demons however, became established in mythology, and, as the cult of Siva developed, the myth was taken up in the service of that god, and he was made the hero of the destruction of the fortresses of the demons. Thus, gradually, the legend was built up, and in the epics, appears in a developed form. It is related at several places in the Mahabharata, but unlike the legend of the birth of Skanda, we can discover no earlier and later versions in these different narrations. All of them are merely shorter or longer recensions of the same version, and do not vary in essentials. In its fullest form it is found in the Karna Parva. ²⁾ Through Brahma's boon, the chiefs of the demon

1. AB. I, IV, 6.

2. Karna, 33.

had built three impregnable cities of gold, silver, and iron, and had set them in Heaven, sky, and on the earth respectively. None but he who could pierce all of them with one shaft could destroy them. Through them ran a lake whose waters immediately revived those who had been slain in battle. Thus equipped, the demons worked havoc on earth and in heaven, and routed the gods repeatedly. Indra failed in his attack on the cities, and in distress, he and the other gods repaired to Brahma who advised them to seek the help of Siva. The gods practised penance and propitiated Siva. Brahma, thereupon, requested him to destroy the demons. Siva promised to accomplish the task with the aid of half the might of the gods, and on the condition that he was given the overlordship of all the 'Pasus'; that is, all the beings. Visvakarma fashioned a divine chariot for Siva, of which the earth was the body, the constellations the pole, the Meru the canopy, and so on. Siva mounted the chariot and at this point he is described as the Kala or Doom, whence Kalaratri or the night of the Universal Destruction is metaphorically said to be the string of his bow. Brahma himself became the charioteer, and Visnu became the shaft. Then, Siva marched against the cities, and with his irresistible dart pierced and destroyed them. As a result of this feat of his 'Tripuraghna' and the various synonyms of the word, became epithets. The legend is also narrated in the Drona and the Anusasana Parvas.¹⁾

1. Drona, 202. Anu., 160.

The legend of the churning of the ocean and that of the descent of the Ganges are also related in the Mahabharat and do not differ from the Ramayana versions. ¹⁾ Besides, the story of the burning of Kama is also found in practically the same form which it possessed in the Puranas. ²⁾

The legend most significant for the for the history of Saivism, however, which is found in the Mahabharata, is that of the sacrifice of Daksa. We noticed above, while examining the Brahmanas, that a certain prejudice seems to have arisen against Rudra and his worship among those who adhered to the old Brahmanic religion and did not favour the incorporation of new elements in the cult of that god. In its subsequent development, Saivism seems to have had to contend with this prejudice for a considerable time, and it was, perhaps, notwithstanding a struggle that Siva, owing to his own rising importance, and aided by circumstances, succeeded in overcoming the prejudice of the orthodox at last, and in establishing himself as one of the chief deities of post-Vedic religion. In mythology, this prejudice found expression in the exclusion of Rudra from the comity of the gods. Instances of this have been given in a previous chapter. One of them was that when the gods apportioned the various sacrificial animals among themselves, they le

1. Adi, 13, 22f. Vana, 85, 86; Anu, 113, 15f.

Rudra out. In this legend we can see the germs of the epic
 -end of the sacrifice of Daksa. As time passed, it was deve-
 -ed culminating in what may be called the mythological repre-
 -tation of the final triumph of Saivism over its orthodox op-
 -nents, after which its position was firmly established, and
 Siva was universally recognised. All this must have happene
 long before the time of the epics in which Saivism is seen to
 one of the chief faiths of the time, and the legend fully de-
 -loped. An earlier and a later version are found in the Mah
 -bharata. In the former,¹⁾ Daksa is said to have begun a sac-
 -rifice in which each god had his apportioned share except S
 That this was a deliberate omission is clear from the allusi
 made to the legend in the Ramayana, in which the gods are sa
 not to have given Siva a share in the sacrifice even though
 desired it. In the Mahabharata version, here, the gods are
 not to have recognised Siva fully and, hence, omitted to giv
 him a share. Enraged at this slight, Siva took up his bow a
 came to the place where the sacrifice was being performed. T
 whole universe fell into confusion as Siva thus marched in r
 As he approached the sacrifice, the latter took the form of
 deer and fled, accompanied by Agni. All the assembled gods f
 into a stupor induced by terror. In his wrath, Siva broke t
 arms of Savitr, tore out the eyes of Bhaga, and knocked out
 teeth of Pusan with his bow. The gods then tried to flee, b

1. Sauptika, 18.

Siva held them back. Having, thus, been thoroughly humiliated and brought to realise the might of Siva, the gods duly propitiated him, and gave him his appropriate share in the sacrifice. Thus, Saivism stormed its way to universal recognition. The other version is even more illuminating.¹⁾ In it, Dadhici appears as a protagonist of the new creed of Saivism, and, at the sacrifice of Daksa, angrily demands the reason why Siva had not been invited. To this Daksa replies that he did not recognise any Siva or Rudra other than the eleven Rudras who were present at the sacrifice. This shows clearly that Siva was not regarded as a Brahmanic deity, and the strict adherents of the Brahmanical system refused to recognise him. The story also differs in detail from the first version. Thus, it is Parvati, here, who urges her husband to go against the gods and claim his due share, and punish the gods for their insult. Siva does not do himself, but creates from his mouth a fearsome being, who is called Virabhadra, and commissions him to go and destroy the sacrifice of the gods. Parvati herself assumes the form of Mahakali and accompanies Virabhadra.

This legend of the destruction of the sacrifice of Daksa is not the only indication in the Mahabharata of the presence which originally existed against Saivism. Scattered throughout the epic, there are numerous passages which, when read in the light of the evidence of the legend, become very significant. In the story of Upamanyu, for example Siva first appears before that sage in the guise of Indra and tries to dissuade

1. Mbh. (Calcutta ed.). Anu., 150.

1)
 him from his worship. The version of the legend in this case is very late and is obviously the work of a Saiva devotee who was trying to minimise the importance of the objections raised against the worship of Siva. But it can be easily seen that this mock denunciation of Saivism was originally a very real challenge to its zealous adherents. It is interesting to note that the argument urged against Saivism centres round the objectionable traits which it had gathered round itself. This supports the suggestion made in a previous chapter, that it was these traits which formed the ground for the prejudice against Saivism. The same fact is made further clear by another passage in the Anusasana Parva in which Parvati is said to have been puzzled by the fact that such a god as Siva should frequent the cremation grounds, and asked Siva, with an undertone of reproach, the reason for this. 2) The passage is meant to explain away this feature of Siva's character, and in this attempt, it goes even so far as to make out the cremation ground itself as a sacred place. In another passage in the same Parva where the story of the destruction of the three cities of the demons is given, the gods are said, again, not to have recognised Siva when he appeared, after the destruction of the cities, in the form of an infant in the lap of Parvati. 3) Indra, who, in this version, is explicitly said to have been jealous, even prepared to hurl his thunderbolt at the infant, when his arm was paralysed and he was completely discomfited. There is no apparent reason in the legend, here, for this action of the part of

1. Anu. 22, 92f.
 3. Anu. 150, 33-34.

2. Anu., 114, 10f.

Indra, but in the light of the above, we can easily see, in this incident, an indication of the old antagonism between the old and the new cults. By the time of the epics, the new had succeeded in definitely establishing itself, and in ousting the old cult. All the original prejudice against Siva and his worship had vanished by then, leaving its memory only in mythology.

One last fact remains to be seen in connection with the popular side of the worship of Siva as seen in the epics. This is the development of the cult of his consort upon which also the Mahabharata throws some light. In the Sutras, we had the first glimpse of the worship of the goddess, after the records of the Indus Valley. We saw there something of her character, and of the mode of her worship. The Ramayana makes no reference to the independent ^{cult} of the goddess, but the Mahabharata does so several times. Two complete hymns are addressed to the goddess from which a fairly complete idea of her conception and mode of worship can be formed. ¹⁾ Like Siva and Visnu, she, when being invoked, is regarded as the Supreme Deity, and is called the "supreme goddess of the universe." Popularly, she is regarded as the consort of Siva in his terrible aspect. Her colour is black or black and tawny, though once, it is also said to be white. Her dress consists of beads of snakes. She is multifaced and multiarmed, and is fully equipped with diverse weapons of war. She is invoked before battles for victory, and is called Jaya and Vijaya. Here

1. Mbh. (Calcutta ed.). Virata, 6, lf. Bhisma, 23, lf.

again, we see a close similarity between her and the Babylonian Ishtar (also the Assyrian goddess) who was likewise regarded as a War Goddess in one of her aspects.¹⁾ To bring her conception into line with that of Siva, the goddess is regarded as the protector of her devotees, and the destroyer of their enemies. Her most famous exploit in this connection is the slaying of the demon Mahisa, and she is also said to have slain Kaitabha, the companion of Madhu who was slain by Krsna. Popular fancy, in the epic period seems to have regarded her as having incarnated herself in the supposed daughter of Devaki and Vasudeva, who was brought from Gokula by the latter in exchange for his real son, Krsna.

Thus, it is seen that by the time of the epics, the position of the mother goddess had found a place for itself in the post-Vedic Brahmanic religion. The association of the goddess with Siva appears to have been responsible for the recognition accorded to her worship in the epics, and we find both Yudhishthira and Arjuna worshipping the goddess, the latter at the instigation of Krsna himself. Indeed, we can even see in the epics the first efforts on the part of some of her worshippers to derive authority for her cult from the ancient scriptures themselves. Thus, in one of the hymns above, the goddess is identified with Sarasvati, with Savitri, the mother of the Vedas, with Sruti itself, and with the science of Vedanta, probably implying the

1. Jastrow; Civilisation Babylonia and Assyria. p.234.

-by that it is she who is glorified in all these works. In another passage, as the consort of Siva she is explicitly called his Sakti,¹⁾ which proves that she had, by now, been identified with the Sakti or Maya of Siva seen in the Upanisads. This marks the beginnings of Saktism.

The two hymns mentioned above, also give some other characteristics of the goddess which deserve consideration. Though she is regarded as the consort of Siva, and is also called the mother of Skanda, she is, on the other hand, described as a maiden observing the vow of perpetual celibacy. Her abode is the Vindhya mountain, and she is said to be fond of wine, meat and animal offerings, and particularly of buffalo's blood. Her appearance is hideous, and she devours the demons whom she has killed, with the mouth of a wolf. These characteristics are to be found neither in the Vedic Ambika, nor, so far as we know, in the Indus Valley goddess. But, even to this day, round about the Vindhya mountains, indigenous tribes worship local goddesses whose character is almost exactly the same as that of the goddess²⁾ here. Here, therefore, we see the beginning of the process of assimilation which went on as the cult of the goddess spread till almost all the local goddesses all over the country came to be regarded as the different manifestations of this one goddess.

1. Anu., 22,146.

2. Whitehead. Village gods of south India.
Crooke. Mother Goddesses. Folklore Vol.

The goddess, as described in the above two hymns, is also mentioned in a few other places in the Mahabharata. In the Sauptika Parva, she appears as Kalaratri, a personification¹⁾ of the night of Universal destruction. She is described as black in colour, of bloody mouth and blood-shot eyes, wearing a crimson garland, and smeared with crimson unguents, and attired in a single piece of red cloth, thus appropriately playing her part. She has the appearance of an elderly lady, and has a noose in her hand. In another passage in the Santi Parva Uma herself is said to have assumed the form of Mahakali, and to have accompanied Virabhadra to the sacrifice of Daksa.²⁾ This has already been seen in the Anusasana Parva also. Thus, by this time, the identity of the mother goddess as the consort of Siva had been firmly established, and, like Siva, she continued to be worshipped in original fierce form by some. But, where the worship of Siva in his fierce aspect remained confined to only a very small section of his worshippers, and even this section before long became practically a secret society whose practices were regarded as definitely anti-social, the worship of the mother goddess, as Durga or Kali, developed steadily and soon became a cult by itself which could compare favourably with Saivism and Vaisnavism so far as the number of its adherents went. Her fierce character was maintained throughout and animal and blood offerings have formed an essential part of her worship down to the present day. The reason for this

1. Mbh. (Calcutta ed.). Sauptika, 8.
 2. " " Santi, 284.

seems to be that this side of the character of the goddess was constantly receiving emphasis by her assimilation of the numerous local goddesses whose worshippers retained the old mode of worship even after their goddess had been identified with the mother goddess. This prevented the influence of the Bhakti cult from softening down her character, and to the majority of her devotees she continued to be the same fearsome and blood-thirsty deity that she originally was.

There is one last point to be considered before we close this chapter with a summary of our findings. This point is that neither in the Ramayana nor in the Mahabharata is Ganesa mentioned anywhere. That he had appeared is clear from the evidence of the Sutras, but he does not seem to have become prominent by the time of the epics. But, Siva is once called Ganesvara which, as we know, was an epithet of Vinaya. This is another proof in favour of the original identity of the two gods.

In the epics, therefore, we find the cult of Siva assuming practically all the essential features which it possessed at its fully developed stage in the Pauranic times. In the course of the change and flux of the Upanisadic period, Siva had emerged as one of the chief gods of post-Vedic Brahmanic religion and was, in fact, regarded as the One and Supreme God by his worshippers. His cult had a philosophic and a popular aspect and was, thus, acceptable to all sections of the people. Th

old orthodox prejudice against his worship had disappeared altogether, and its memory lingered only in mythology, though the features in his worship, on which this opposition was chiefly based, seem to have survived among a few of his worshippers. The Bhakti cult had come into its own, and Siva was one of the two gods round whom it centred. The normal mode of his worship was prayer and reciting of hymns in praise of the god, usually in temples where his images were installed. The ('linga' image was now as common as the anthropomorphic, but it had lost all its original phallic significance, even though its character as a phallus was recognised. Siva was also not definitely associated with his consort Uma or Parvati, and the most popular form of Saivism was that in which both were worshipped together. In this aspect, the original character of both had been greatly changed and softened down under the influence of the Bhakti cult, and they were looked upon as kindly, benevolent, and gracious deities, ever engaged in the welfare of mankind, though punishing the transgressor. The practice of yoga and penance, whose status had become very exalted, coupled with sincere and unswerving devotion to the god, was the best way of obtaining his grace, and many devotees are said to have obtained boons by this means. The most notable of these in the epics is Upamanyu, an example of the ideal devotee. The independent cult of the consort of Siva, as the mother goddess was also developing, and had even gained some recognition, though the goddess, in this aspect, had retained her original

fierce character, and had even developed it by the assimilation of various indigenous local goddesses. Some of her worshippers were trying to derive authority for the cult from the ancient Vedic scriptures, and to give a philosophical background to it. In these efforts we see the beginning of Saktiam.

This brings our survey down to the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era. We shall round it off by examining the evidence of their available records belonging to these centuries. This evidence, on the whole, supplements and supports the evidence of the epics. First among these records are the minor Upanisads which, probably, came into existence at about the same time as the later portions of the epics. In them we find plenty of evidence which corroborates the conclusions drawn from the examination of the epics. Thus, the Kaivalya conceives of Siva as the philosophical Purusa, without beginning, middle, or end, the One, the Cit and the Ananda, the Saksi or the Witness (of the acts of Prakrti), realising whom the sages obtain enlightenment.¹⁾ We also see the god styled here, Sadasiva, which epithet was commonly used in later times to denote his philosophical aspect. In his popular aspect, Siva is called in the

1. Kaiv. Up. I, 7-18.

supreme Lord, three eyed, and the blue necked, the consort of Uma, all of which characteristics of his we have noticed in epics. He is praised in the 'satarudriya', and, therefore, reciting the latter one becomes purified as if by fire, and -ains to the state of 'kaivalya'. In the Jabala Upanisad, S is said to have revealed the knowledge of Brahma to the demon Taraka, and the 'satarudriya' is exalted as a means for ob -ning immortality. In the Narayana Upanisad, which forms the last chapter of the Taittiriya Aranyaka, the different deities are identified with the Supreme Self, the Tatpurusa, and here we find the verse, we have noticed in a previous chapter, which refers to Vakratunda and Danti. In other verses in this passage mention is also made of Skanda and Garuda, which proves lateness. In another passage, the goddess is invoked under the name of Durga much in the same manner as in the epics. Last we have the Atharvasiras Upanisad which is entirely devoted to the glorification of Siva. Siva is conceived of as the pantheistic Brahma, and is identified with the various deities including Vinayaka and Uma. His conception in this Upanisad clearly shows he was becoming more akin to the Vedantic Brahma rather than to the Samkhya Purusa.

Next we have the Mahabhasya of Patanjali who lived

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| 1. Kaiv. Up. I,7. | 2. Kaiv. Up. II,4. | 3. Jabala, I,1 |
| 4. Jabala, I,3. | 5. Narayana, I,5-8. | 6. Narayana, I |
| 7. Atharvasiras. 1. | | |

the 2nd century B.C., and was a contemporary of the Sunga Pusyamitra. His work not only mentions Siva by his various names,¹⁾ but also refers to the images of that god and of Skanda²⁾ which were evidently meant for worship. The reference to³⁾ Mauryas making use of this worship as a source of revenue supports the evidence of Kautilya, and proves that image wor-ship had been long established by the time of Patanjali. Besides this, in one passage, a reference is made to Siva-bh⁴⁾vatas, who were most probably a sect of the worshippers of Siva. We shall have occasion to notice them again in a later chapter. No reference is made either to the goddess or to Ganesa by Patanjali.

To this period also belong a number of coins which give us incidental information about Siva and his worship. The oldest of these are silver and copper punch marked coins dating from about the 3rd century B.C. They are marked with various symbols among which the bull is of frequent occurrence.⁵⁾ They may or may not have any reference to the bull of Siva. This bull symbol also appears on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings⁶⁾ of the 2nd century B.C. These kings had become Hinduised, as is apparent from the Sanskr̥t legends on their coins, and it

1. Under sutra IV,1,49; V,3,99; VI,1,63; VI,4,77.

2. " " V,3,99.

3. " " "

4. " " V,2,76.

5. Cat. of Ind. coins in the Br.Mus. Introd.p.18,Pl.I,nos.2

6. Coins of Alexander's successors in the east. Cunningham Pl.VII,nos. 7-12; Pl.IX,no.4; Pl. X,no.8; Pl.XIV,no.4.

possible that some of them might have adopted the Saiva faith. On some silver coins of the 3rd-2nd century B.C. occurs the representation of a deity, who, from the more certain evidence of the later Ujjain coins on which it occurs again, can be identified as Karttikeya.¹⁾ It is probable, therefore, that the god had begun to be worshipped by this time. This supports evidence of the Mahabhasya, in which the images of the god are mentioned. On an unidentified coin of the same date we see, for the first time, an actual representation of the 'siva-linga'.²⁾ It is placed on a pedestal in much the same way as in later times, and, hence, was apparently meant for worship. This supports, in a striking manner, the evidence of the Grhya Sutra and of the Mahabharata. Lastly, on the coins of Gondophares is seen, for the first time, a representation of Siva himself. This became very frequent on later coins. The deity is represented as two armed, standing, and holding a trident in his right hand. This seems to have set the model for all subsequent representations of the deity on coins, on which he is invariably seen in the same standing pose, with two or four arms, and holding various things in his hands.

All these records go to show that during this period Saivism of the epic type was flourishing in north India, and perhaps, sometimes, even enjoyed royal patronage. Nor, indeed, was it confined to the north. At Gudimallam ~~has~~^{has} been found

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1. Cat. of Ind. coins in the Br.Mus. (Ancient India), Class 1, group, 3, variety f and g. Pl. 41. etc.
 2. Cat. of Ind. coins. in the Br.Mus. (Ancient India), Intro

'siva-linga' whose date has been determined as the 2nd century
 1) B.C. This find is important in many ways. Not only does it
 show the prevalence of 'linga' worship in the south by this
 time, but its unmistakably phallic shape proves conclusively
 the original phallic character of the 'linga'. It has also a
 standing figure of Siva carved upon it in relief, and thus gives
 us the first specimen of what later came to be known as the
 'mukha-linga'. Another 'linga' belonging to the first century
 2) B.C. has been found at Bhita. It is not so realistic as the
 first 'linga', but is a 'mukhalinga' with five faces of Siva
 (the fifth of the top) carved on it. A third 'linga' has been
 found in central Travancore at Chemi Halai. Its shape is more
 or less conventional, and it foreshadows the later 'lingas'.

Thus, by the beginning of the Christian era the cult of
 Siva appears to have spread all over India and its character
 was essentially the same as seen in the epics. During the
 succeeding centuries, there was further development of these
 very features of it which we have noticed above, culminating
 in the emergence of what may be called classical Saivism seen
 in the Puranas. The study of this development and of the character
 of the fully developed Pauranic Saivism will, therefore, form
 the subject matter of the next chapter.

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1. G.Rao. Hindu Iconography. ^{Vol. II} p. 63-66
 2. " " " p. " "

Passages relating to Siva in the epics.

(A)

The Rāmāyana. (Bombay edition. Nirnaya Sagara Press.).

- I,35, 16. Tasyām gangēyam abhavaj jyesthā himavatah sutā;
Umā nāma dvitīyābhūt kanyā tsaiva rāghavā.
19. Yā cānyā sailaduhitā kanyāsīt raghunandana;
20. Ugrena tapasā yuktām dadau sailavarah sutām;
Rudrāyāpratirūpaya umām lokanamaskṛtām.
- I,36. The legend of the birth of Kārttikeya.
5. Purā rāma kṛtodvāhaḥ sitikanṭho mahātapaḥ;
6. Dr̥stvā ca bhagāvan devīm maithunāyepacakrame.
7. Tasya saṁkrīḍamānasya mahādevasya dhimatah;
Sitikanṭhasya devasya divyam varṣasatām gātam.
Na cāpi tanayo rāma tasyāsīt prāntapa;
Sarve devāḥ samudyuktā pitamahapurogamāḥ.
8. Yadihatpadyate bhūtām kastad pratisahisyate;
Abhigamya surāḥ sarve pranipatyedam abruvan.
9. Deva deva mahādeva lokasyā sya hite rata;
Surāṇām pranipātena prāsadam kartum arhasi.
10. Na lokā dharayisyanti tva tejah surottama;
Brāhmaṇa tapasā yukto devyā saha tapascara.
11. Trailokya hitakāmārtham tejastejasi dhāraya;
Rakṣa sṛvān iman lokān nālokān kartum arhasi.
12. Devatānam vacaḥ sṛtvā sarvalokamaheśvaraḥ;
Bādham ityabravīt sarvān punascedam uvāca ha.
13. Dhārayisyāmyaham tejas tejasaiiva sahomayā;
Tridasāḥ pṛthivi caiva nirvānam adhigacchatu.
14. Yadiidam ksubhitam sthānān mama tejo hyanuttamam
Dhārayisyāti kas tan me bruvantu surasattamāḥ.
15. Evam uktās tato devāḥ pratyūcur vṛṣabhadvajam;
Yattejah ksubhitam hyadya tad dharā dhārayisyat:

16. Evam uktah surapatih pramumoca mahābalaḥ;
Tejasā pṛthivi vyāptā sagirikānānā.
17. Tato devāḥ punar idam ucūscāpi hutāsanam;
Avisa tvam mahātejo raudraṁ vāyusamanvitaḥ.
18. Tadagninā punarvyaptam sañjātam śvetaparvatam
Divyaṁ sarvaṇam caiva pāvakādityasannibham;
19. Yatra jāto mahātejah kṛttikeya 'gnisambhavaḥ
Athomam ca śivaṁ caiva devāḥ sarsiganāstathā.
20. Pujayāmāsur atyartham supṛitā manasāstadā ;
Atha śailasutā rāma tridaśān idam abravīt.
21. Samnyur asapat sarvaṇ krodhasamraktalocanā;
Yasmānnivaritāḥ caḥam saṅgatā putrakāmyayā.
22. Apatyam svesu dāresu notpādāyitum arhatha;
Adya prabhṛti yuṣmākam aprajāḥ santu patnayaḥ
23. Evam uktvā surān sarvaṇ śasāpa pṛthivim api;
Avane naikarupā tvam bahubhārya bhaviṣyasi.
24. Na ca putrakṛtām pṛitīm matkrodhakalusikṛtā;
Prapsyasi tvam sudurmedhe mama putram aniccha
25. Tān sarvaṇ pīditān drṣtvā surān surapatis tat
Gamanāyopacakrāma diśān varuṇapālitaṁ.
26. Sa gatvā tapa ātiṣṭhat pārśve tasyottare gire
Himavat prabhava śrṅge saha devyā mahesvarah.

I,43.

The legend of the descent of the Ganges.

2. Atha samvatsare pūrṇe sarvalokanamaskṛtaḥ;
Umāpatih paśupati rājānam idam abravīt.
3. Sirasā dhārayisyāmi sailarājasutām aham;
Pritaste naraśreṣṭha karisyāmi tava priyam.
4. Tato haimavati jyesthā sarvalokanamaskṛtā;
Tadā satimahadrūpaṃ kṛtvā vegam ca duḥsaham.
5. Akāsād apātad rāma sive sivasiras-yuta;
Acintayacca sā devi gangā āramadurdharā.
6. Visāmyaham hi pātalam srotasa grhya sām̐karam;
Tsyāvālepanam jñātvā kruddhastu bhagavaṇ haraḥ.
7. Tirobhāvayātum buddhim cakre triṇayanastadā;
Sā tasmin patitā punyā punye rudrasya mūrdhani.
8. Himavat-pratime rāma jatāmandalagahvare;
sā katham cit mahim gantum nāsaknod yatnamāsth.
9. Naiva sā nirgamam lebhe jatāmandalam antataḥ;
Tatraivābhramad devī samvatsaraganān bahūn.
10. Tām apasyat punas tatra tapah paramam āsthitāḥ
sa tena toṣitascāsīt atyantam raghunandana.
11. Visasarjja tato gangām haro bindu-sarah, prati
Tasyām viśṛjyamānāyām sapta-srotāmsi jāñire.
etc.etc.

I,45.

Drinking of poison by Siva.

18. Tato niścitya mathanam yoktram kṛtvā ca vāsuki
Manthānam mandaram kṛtvā mamanthur amitaujasah.
19. Atha varsasahasrena yoktrasarpasirāñsi ca;
vamanto'fivisam tatra dadṛsur daśanaiḥ silāḥ.
20. Utpapātāgnisām̐kāsām halāhalamahāviśam;
Tena dagdham jagat sarvam sadevāsura-mānuṣam.
21. Atha deva mahādevam sām̐karam śaranārthinaḥ;
Jagmuḥ paśupatiṃ rudraṃ trāhi trāhiti tuṣṭuvuḥ.
22. Evamuktas tato devair devadeveśvaraḥ prabhuh;
Prādurāsīt tato'traiva sām̐khaeakradharo hariḥ.

23. Uvācainam smitam krtvā rudram sūladharam hariḥ
Daivatair mathyamāhe tu yat pūrvam samupasthit
24. Tad tvadiyam surasrestha surānām agrato hi ya
Agrāmpūjām iha sthitvā gṛhānedam viṣam prabho
25. Ityuktva ca surasresthas tatraivāntaradhiyata;
Devatānām bhayam dr̥ṣtvā srutvā vākyaṃ ca sārṅg
26. Halāhalam viṣam ghoram samjagrāhamrtopamam;
Devān viṣṛjya deveṣo jagāma bhagavān haraḥ.

I, 55.

Visvāmītra's propitiation of Śiva after his di-
-comfiture by Vasīṣṭha.

12. Sa gatvā himavatpārsve kinnaroragasevite;
Mahādevaprasādārtham tapastepe mahātapaḥ.
13. Kenacit tvathā kālena deveṣo vṛṣabhadhvajaḥ;
Darsayāmāsa varado visvāmītram mahāmuniṃ.

I, 66.

Śiva's bow at Janaka's palace.

8. Devarāta iti khyāto nimer jyeṣṭho mahīpatiḥ;
nyāso'yam tasya bhagavān haste datto mahātmana
8. Daksayajñavadhe pūrvam dhanurāyamyā viryamān;
Vidhvasya tridāśān roṣāt salilam idam abravīt.
10. Yasmād bhāgarthino bhāgān nākalpayata me surān
Varāṅgāni mahāṅgāni dhanuṣa sātayāmi vaḥ.
11. Tato vimanasah sarve devā vai muni-pungava;
Prasādayanta deveṣam teṣām prito bhavad bhavaḥ
12. Prītiyuktas tu sarveṣām dadau teṣām mahātmanām
Tadetad devadevasya dhanuratnam mahātmanah.
13. Nyāsabhūtam tadā nyastam asmākaṃ pūrvaje vibha

I, 75.

Further history of Śiva's bow.

11. Ime dve dhanuṣī sresthe divye lokābhipūjite;
dr̥dhe balavati mukhye sukṛte visvakarmanā.
12. Anusṛṣṭam surairekam tryambakāya yuyutsave;
Tripūrāghnam narasrestha bhagnam yat tvayā.

III, 35, 93.

Allusion to the slaying of Andhaka by Śiva.
Rudrenaiva vinirdagdhaḥ svetāranye pṛāndhakaḥ

- IV,43,55. Bhagavānsca tatra visvātma sambhur ekādasātmak
Brahmā vasati deveśo brahmarṣi-parivāritah.
- VI,117,.. Siva comes to plead on behalf of Sitā.
2. Tato Vaisrayano rājā Yamaśca, pitṛbhiḥ saha;
Sahasraksasca deveśo Varunasca jālesvarah.
3. Śadardhanayanah śrīmān mahādevo vṛṣadhvajah;
Kartā sarvasya lokasya brahmā brahmavidām vara
- VI,119 Siva praises Rāma.
1. Tataḥ subhataram vākyam vyājahāra mahesvarah.
- VII,4 The legend of the son of Vidyutkeśa.
27. Tato vṛṣabham āsthāya pārvatyaḥ sahitah śivah;
Vayumārgena gacchan vai susrāva ruditasvanam.
28. Apasyad umayā sardham rudantam raksasātmajam;
Karunyabhāvāt pārvatyaḥ bhavas tripurasūdanah.
29. Tam raksasātmajam cakre mātoreva vayah svayam;
Amaram caiva tam kṛtvā mahādevo ksaro vyayah .
30. Puram aksagam prādāt pārvatyaḥ priyakāmyayā;
Umayāpi varo datto raksasinam nṛpātmaja.
31. Sadyopalabdhir garbhasya prasūtiḥ sada eva ca.
Sadya eva vayah prāptim mātur eva vayah samam.
- VII,6. Siva's refusal to aid the gods against the dem
1. Tair bādhyamanā devāsca rsayaśca tapodhanah;
Bhayartā saranam jagmur devadevam mahesvaram.
- c 2. Jagatsṛtyantakartāram ajam avyaktarūpinam;
Adharam sarvalokānām ārādhyam paramam gurum.
3. Te sametya tu kāmārim tripurārim trilocanam;
- VII,13 Kubera's worship of Siva.
21. Raudram vratam samāsthāya niyato niyatendriyah
Tatra devo mayā drṣṭah umayā sahitah pṛbhuh.
22. Savyam cakṣur mayā daivat tatra devyām nipātīt

23. Kānveṣeti mahāraja na khalvanyena hetunā;
Rupām canupamam kṛtvā tatra rudrāni tiṣṭhati.
24. Devyā divyaprabhāvena dagdham savyam mameksan
Renudhvastam iva jyōtiḥ piṅgalatvam upāgatam.
25. Tato'ham anyad vistīrnam gatāvātasya girestat.
Tūṣṇim varṣasatānyastāu samādhāram mahāvratam
26. Samāpte niyame tasmins tatra devo mahesvarah;
Tataḥ prītena manasā prāha vākyam idam prabhul
27. Paṅgalyam yad avāptam hi devyā rūpaniriksanāt
Prīto'smi tava dharmajña tapasānena suvrata.
- 30 Devyā dagdham prabhāvena yacca savyam ta
Ekakṣī piṅgalītyeva nāma sthāsyati śasvatam.

VII, 16

Nandī and Ravana, and the latter's humiliation

8. Iti vākyāntare tasya karālah kṛsnapiṅgalah;
Vamano vikāto mūḍi nandī hrāsvalbhujo balī.
9. Tataḥ pārśvam upāgamyā Bhavasyānucaro'bravīt;
Nādiśvaro vacascedam rāksasendram aśamkitah.
10. Nivartasva dasagrīva śaile kṛidati śamkarah;
Suparna-naga-yakṣānām deva-gāndharva-rākṣasām.
11. Sarveśām eva bhūtānām agamyah parvataḥ
Tannivartasva duṛbuddhe mā vināsam avāpsyasi;
Iti nandīvacah srutvā krodhāt kampita-kūḍalah
12. Rosāt tu tāmranayanah puṣpakād avaruhya sah;
Koyam śamkara ityuktva śailamūlam upāgataḥ.
13. So'pasyan nandinam tatra devasyādūrataḥ sthitaḥ
Dīptam śūlam avastābhya dvitīyam iva śamkaram.
15. Tam kruddho bhagavān nandī śamkarasyāparā tanu
Abravīt tatra tadrakṣo dasānanam upasthitam.
22. Parvataḥ tu samsādya vākyam āha dasānanah.
23. Puṣpakasya gatiścchinā yatkrte mama gacchataḥ
Tamimam śailam unmūlam karomi tava gopate.
24. Kena prabhāvena bhavo nityam kṛidati rājavat;
Vijñātavyam nā jānīte bhayasthānam upasthitam.

25. 25. Evam uktvā tato rāma bhujān vikṣipya parvate;
Tolayāmāsa tam śighram sa sailaḥ samakampāta
26. Cālanāt parvatasyaiva gaṇā devasya kampitāḥ;
Cacāla pārvatī capi tadāśliṣṭa maheśvaram.
27. Tato rāma mahādevāo devānām pravaro haraḥ;
Padānguṣṭhena pidayāmāsa lilayā .
29. Raksā^o tena rosācca bhujānam pīdanāt tathā;
Mukto virāvaḥ sahasā trailokyam̐ yena kampitam.
30. Atha te mantinas tasya vikrośantam̐ athābruvan;
Tosayasva mahādevam̐ nilakanṭham umāpatim.
33. Kṛpālu śaṅkarastustah prasādam te vidhāsyati;
Evam uktaś tadamātīyais tustāva vṛṣabhadhvajam.
34. Śamabhir vividhaiḥ stotraih praṇamya ca daśānar
Sāmvatsarasahasram̐ tu rudato raksaso gatam.
35. Tataḥ pṛito mahādevaḥ śailāgre viśṭhitam prabhu
Muktva cāsyā bhujān rāma pṛaha vakyaṁ daśānanam
43. Evam uktaś tatastena ravanaṇa sa śaṅkaraḥ;
dadau khaḍgam mahādīptam candrahāsam iti śrutam

VII, 87.

Śiva assumes the female form.

11. Tasmin pradese deveśa śailarājasutam̐ haraḥ;
Ramayāmāsa durdharsaḥ sarvair anucaraih śaha.
12. Kṛtvā strīrūpam ātmānam umeso gopatidhvajaḥ;
Devyaḥ priyacikīrṣuḥ samstasmin parvatanirjhare
13. Yatra yatra vanoddeśe satvāḥ puruṣavādinah;
Vṛkṣāḥ puruṣa nāmanah te bhavan strījanāstada.
17. Umāpatesca tatkarma jñātvā trāsam upāgamat;
Tato devam̐ mahātmānam śitikanṭham kapardinam.
18. Jagāma śaranam rājā sabhṛtyabalavāhanah.

VII, 90.

Śiva as a physician.

12. Nāham paśyāmi bhaisajyam antarā vṛṣabhadhvajam;
Tasmād yajāmahe sarve pāṛthivārthe durāsadam.

Further passages relating to Siva in the Ramayana.

Bombay edition.

- I, 23, 10 f. The legend of the burning of Kāma.
10. Kandappo mūrtimān āsit kamāḥ ityucyate budhaiḥ
tapasyaṅgam iha sthānum niyamena samāhitam.
11. Krtodvāham tu deveśam gacchantam samarudganam;
Dharṣayāmasa durmedhā huṁkṛtaśca mahātmanā.
12. Avadhyataśca rudrena caksuṣā raghunandana;
Vyaśīryanta sarīrāt svāt sarvagātrāni durmate

Gorresio's edition.

- IV, 5 30 Yatha krudhdhasya rudrasya tripuram vai vijijñu
- IV, 44, 46f. The mountain Trisṛṅga.
Rudrasya kila samsthānam śaro vai sārva-medhika
.....
Tām atikramya śailendram mahādevābhīpālitam.
- V, 89. Visit of Śiva to Kubera's court.
6. Tataḥ sabhāyām devasya rājño vaiśravanasya saḥ
Dhanādhyakṣasya sabhām devaḥ prāpto hi vṛṣabhāc
- VI, 51, 17. Rudra vānāhatam ghoram yathā tripuragopuram.
- VI, 94, 35. Akriḍa iva rudrasya krudhdhasya nighnataḥ pasūn.
- VI, 55, 88. Īsvarenābhīpannasya rūpam paśupateriva.

(B)

The Mahābhārata. (Southern recension.)

- Adi. 13, The churning of the ocean and the drinking of
poison by Śiva.
22. Evamuktastadā Brahmā dadhau lokesvaram haram;
Tryakṣam trisūlinam rudram devadevam umāpatim.
23. Tadatha cintito devas tajjñātvā drutam āyayau.
24. Tasyātha devās tat sarvam ācacaksa prajāpatiḥ;
Tacchrutvā devdeveso lokasyāsya hitepsayā.
25. Apivād tad viṣam rudrah kālānalasamaprabham.
26. Yasmāttu nīlitā kaṅthe nilakanṭhas tataḥ smṛtaḥ
- Adi. 200. How Śiva got his four faces.
84. Drastukāmya rudrasya gatāyām pārsvatastataḥ;
Anyād-añcita-pakṣmāksam pascimam niṣṛtam mukhaḥ
85. Gatāyāscottaram pārsvam uttaram niṣṛtam mukhaḥ
Prsthataḥ parivartinyāḥ dakṣiṇam niṣṛtam mukhaḥ
87. Evam caturmukhaḥ sthānur mahādevo' bhavat purā.
- Sabhā. 21. Jarāsandha and his human sacrifices.
98. Tān rajñāḥ sannigrhya tvam rudrāyopajihīrsase.
100. Manuṣyāṇām samālabho na hi dṛṣṭaḥ kada-cana.
101. Sa katham manuṣair devam yastum icchasi śamkarā
Savarṇo hi savarṇānām katham kuryād vihimsanam
- Vana. 33, Arjuna's penance to obtain the Pasupata weapon
87. Yadā drakṣyasi bhūtesam tryakṣam sūladharam si-
tadā datāsi te tāta divyāyāstrāṇi sarvataḥ.
- Vana. 35, Śiva appears as a Kīrāta before Arjuna.
1. Gatesu teṣu sarveṣu tapasvīṣu mahātmasu.
Pinākṣānir bhagavān sarvapāpaharo haraḥ.

2. Kairātem vesam āsthāya kāncanadrumasannibham;
4. Devyā sahomayā śrīman samanavratavesayā;
Nanāvesādhair hr̥stair bhutair anugatas t̥hat
5. Kirātavesāsamcchannah strībhīscānusahasrasah;
Asōbhata mahāraja sa devo'tiva bhārata.
13. Pramumocāsaniprakhyam saramagnisikhopamam.

Vana. 85, The legend of the descent of the Ganges.

22. Karisyāmi mahāraja vacaste nātra saṁśayah;
Vegam̐ tū mama durdhāryam patantya gaganāccyuta
23. Na saktas trisu lokesu kas'ciddhārayitum nrpa;
Anyatra bibidhasresthān nilakanthān mahes'varā
25. Tapasāradhitaḥ sambhur bhagavān lokabhāvanah.

Vana. 86, (contd.)

2. Dhārayisyē mahābhaho gaganāt pracyutām sīvam;
Divyām devanadīm punyam̐ tvatkr̥te nr̥pasattama.
3. Evam uktvā mahābhaho himavantam upāgamat;
Samvrtah̐ pārsadair ghorair nānāprahara nedyata
5. Etacchrutvā vaco rājā sarvena samudāhrtam.
10. Tam dadhāra haro rājan gangām gaganamekhalām;
Lalāṭadesē patitām mālām muktāmayim̐ iva.

Vana. 183 The legend of the birth of Skanda.

5. Devāsura purāyattā vinighnantah̐ parasparam;
Tatrājayan sadā devān dānavā ghora-rūpiṇah̐.
33. Samavāyam̐ tu tam raudram̐ dr̥ṣṭvā sakro vyacinta
35. Janayed yam sutam somah̐ so'syāḥ devyāḥ patir b
Agnīścaibhir̐ gunaiḥ sarvair̐ agniḥ sarvāsca deva
40. Tatrābhyagacchad devendro yatra saptarsayan 'b
42. Pipāsava yayur devaḥ satakṣatupurogamāḥ.
44. Samāhūto hutavāhah̐ so'dbhutah̐ sūryamaṇḍalāt;
Vini'srtiya yayau vahnih̐ pārsvato vidhivat prabhu

46. Niskramāscāpasyat sa patnistesām mahātmanam;
Patnir dr̥stvá dvījendrāṇām vahniḥ kāmavasāmyay
53. Alābhe brahmanastrīnam vahnir vanam upāgamat
Svāhā tam dākṣadhita prathāmākāmayat tadā.
55. Sā tam jñātvā yathāvattu vahnim vanam upāgataṁ
Tatvataḥ kāmāsamtaptam cintayāmāsa bhāmini.
56. Aham saptarṣipatnīnam kṛtvā rupāni pāvakam,
Kāmāyisyāmi kāmārtam tāsām rupeṇa mohitam.

Vana. 184, (contd.)

1. Sīvā bhāryā tvaṅgirasah śīlarūpagunānvitā,
Tasyāḥ sa prathamam rūpam kṛtvā devī janādhipa.
8. Tato'gnir upayeme tām sīvām prita udāharat;
Prityā dehiti samyuktā sukraṁ jagraha paṇina.
11. Suparnā sā tadā bhūtvā nirgatya mahato vanāt;
Apasyāt parvatam śvetam sārastambaiḥ susamvṛtaḥ
14. Prākṣipat kāncane kunde sukraṁ sā tvaritā satī
15. Sīstānām api sā devī saptarṣīnām mahātmanām,
Patnī-sarupatām kṛtvā ramayāmāsa pāvakam.
16. Divyarūpam arundhatyāḥ kartum na śakitam tayā;
Tasyāstapḥ prabhāveṇa bhārtr-susrūsaṇena ca.
17. Sat kṛtvas tatra niksiptam agne retah kuruttamaḥ
Tasmiṁ kunde pratipadi kāmīnyā svāhayā tadā.
18. Tatra skannam tejasā tatra saṅghṛtam janayat su
Rṣibhiḥ pujitam skandam janayat skandanāt tu ta

Vana. 185, (contd.)

47. Tataḥ kumāram samjātam skandam āhur janā bhūvi.

Vana. 186, (contd.)

30. So'bhiskto maghavatā sarvair devaganaiḥ saha.
Atīva śuśubhe tatra pūjyamāno maharṣibhiḥ.
34. Rudram agnim dvijāḥ prāhu rudrasūnustatastu saḥ
Kīrtiyate sumahātejāḥ kumāro'dbhutatadarsanah.

36. Pujyānam tu rudrena dr̥stvā sarve diyokasah;
Rudrasūnum tatah prāhur guham guṇavatām varam
37. Anupraviśy a jātena vahnim jāto'pyayam sisuh;
Tatra jātas tatah skando rudrasūnastato'bhava
38. Rudrasya vahneh svahāyām sannām strinām ca to
Jatah skandah surasrestho rudrasūnus tatak 'bl
-vat

Vana. 188. Attempt to explain Siva's fatherhood of Skanda

8. Abhigaccha mahādevam pitram̄^a tripurārdanam;
Rudrenāgnim samāviśya svāham āviśya comayā.
9. Hitārtham sarvalokānām jātas tvam aparājitaḥ;
10. Umāyonyām ca rudrena sukram siktam mahāmatmanā
Aste girau nipatitam muñjike mñjika tatah.
11. Mithunam vai mahābhāga tatra tad rudrasambhava
Bhūtam lokam hitoddese sukraśesam avāpatat.
12. Sūryarasmisu cāpyanyad anyaccaivāptad^a bhuvi;
Asaktam anyad vṛkṣesu tadevam pañcādhābhavat.
13. Tatra te vivdhākārā ganā jñeyā manīsibhiḥ;
Ta evam parsadā ghorā ya ete piśitaśanah.
50. Sa gr̥hītvā patakām tu yātyagre rāksaso grahah;
Kridatastu smasāne yo nityam rudrasya vai sakh

Vana.226,26. Sa devam saranam gatvā virūpākṣam umāpatim;
27. Balim svayam pratyagr̥hṇat priyamānas trilocana

Udyoga. 9,49. Atha samvatsare pūrṇe bhūtāḥ pasupateḥ prabho
Samākrosanta maghavan naḥ prābhur brahmahā iti

Udyoga,177, Various names of Siva.

7. Tam devo darsayāmāsa sūlapānir umāpatiḥ.
8. Tatah sa-punarevā tha kanyā rudram uvāca ha.
11. Yathā sa satyo bhavati tathā kuru vṛśadhvaja.

Udyoga. 178, Śiva is prayed for progeny.

4. Apatyārthe mahārāja toṣayāmāsa sām̐karam.

Droṇa, 41. Śiva called 'bhaktānukampin'.

15. Bhaktānukampī bhagavān tasmiṁścakre tato dayān

Droṇa. 49, Legend of the creation of Death.

44. Prajāḥ sṛṣṭvā mahārāja prajāsarge pitamahāḥ;
Asaṁhṛtaṁ mahātejā dṛṣṭvā jagadidaṁ prabhuḥ.

45. Cintayannāśasādaiva sām̐hāraṁ vasudhādhipa;

46. Tasyaroṣān mahārāja mukhebhyo'gnirajāyata.

47. Tato bhuvāṁ divāṁ caiva sarvāṁ jvālābhīrāvṛtaḥ
Carācaram jagat sarvāṁ brāhmaṇāḥ paravīrahaṁ.

49. Tato haro jātī sthānūr nisācarapatīḥ śivāḥ;
Jagāma saraṇāṁ devāṁ brāhmaṇāṁ paravīrahaṁ.

50. Tasmin nipatite sthānau prajānāṁ hitakamyāyā;
Abravit paramāḥ devo jvālānīva mahādyutiḥ.

51. Karisyē te priyāṁ kāmāṁ brūhi sthāno yad icch
etc.etc.

Droṇa. 73,48 Kṛṣṇa offers the Tryambaka 'bali' to Śiva.

Tataḥ spr̥ṣṭodakāṁ p̥arthaṁ v̥inītaparicāraḥ;
Nait̥yakaṁ dars̥ayaṁścakre nais̥am̐ tr̥aiyambakāṁ b

Droṇa. 74, Description of Śiva.

35. Samāpannastu taṁ deśāṁ sailāgre tu samavasthī
Taponityāṁ mahātmānaṁ apaśyād vānaradhvajāḥ.

36. Sahasraṁ iva sūryānāṁ dīpyamānaṁ svatejasā;
Sūlināṁ jātilāṁ śīrṇavalkalājīnavāsasam.

37. Nayanānāṁ sahasraśca viśitrāṅgaṁ mahaujasam;
Pārvatīyā sahitam devāṁ bhūtasanghaśca bhāsava

38. Gīta-vādītra-samvādais tālanartanalāsītaiḥ;
Valgītasphoṭitotkrustaiḥ puṇyagandhaśca sevī

40. Vasudevastu taṁ dṛṣṭvā jagāma śīrasā kṣītim;
Pārthēna saha dharmātmā gṛṇan brahma-sanātana

41. Lokādiviśvakarmānam ajam īśānam avyayam;
Tamasah paramam jyotiḥ kham vāyur jyotiśam gat
42. Yoginām paramam brahma vyaktam vedavidām nidhi
Paravarasya srastāram pratihartāram eva ca.
43. Kālakeyam mahātmanam śakrasūryagunodayam;
Vavandustadā kṛṣṇau vāṅmanobuddhikarmabhih.
44. Yam prāpasyanti vidvānsah sūksmadhyātmā nidar
Tamajam kāranātmānam jagmatuh śaranam bhavam.

Droṇa. 74, Prayer of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna to Śiva.

52. Namo bhavāya śarvāya rudrāya varadāya ca;
Pasūnam pataye nityam ugrāya ca kapardine.
Kumārāguravē nityam nilāgrivāya vedhase;
Vilohitāya dhūmtāya vyālayajñopavitine.
54. Mahādevāya bhīmāya tryambakāya śivāya ca;
Īśānāya mahāghnāya namo'stvandhakaghātine.
56. Acintyāya ambikābhartre sarvadevastutāya ca;
Vṛṣadhvajāya mundaḥya jāṭine brahmacāriṇe.
57. Tapase pāpyamanāya brāhmanyāyāmitāya ca;
visvātmāne visvasrje visvamāvṛtya tiṣṭhate.
60. Namah sahasraśirase sahasrabhujamanyave;
61. Sahasranetrāpādāya namo'sāṅkhyāya-karmanē;
Namo hiranyavarṇāya hiranyākavacāya ca.
62. Namo'stu devadevāya mahābhūtadharāya ca;
Bhaktānukampine nityam sidhyatām no varah pra

Droṇa. 169, Kṛṣṇa again salutes Śiva.

29. Divyamālāparikṣiptam tejasam paramam nidhim;
Rudram nārāyaṇo drṣtvā vavande visvam īśvaram.
30. Varadam saha pārvatīyā priyāya dayitām priyam;
Kṛīdamānam mahātmanam bhūtasāṅghaganair vṛtam.
31. Ajam īśānam avyaktam kāranātmānam avyayam;
Svajānubhyām mahīn gatvā kṛtvā śīrasāñjalim.
32. Padmākṣastam virūpakṣam abhitustāva bhaktimān.

Karna. 24, The legend of the destruction of the three ci

58. Anāṅgamathanam sarve bhavam sarvatmanā gatāh;

60. Sarvātmanam mahātmanam yehāptam visvam ātmanā
Tapoviśesair vividhair yogam yo veda cātmanah
61. Yah sāmkyam ātmanā vetti yasya cātma vase sa
Tam te dadṛśurīśānam tejorāsim umāpatim;
63. Ekasca bhagavanstatra nānārūpānyakalpayat.
Ātmanah prati-rūpāni rūpānyathā mahāmatih.

Prayer of the gods to Śiva.

67. Namo devādidevāya priyedhamne'timanyave;
Prajāpatimakhagnāya prajāpatibhir idite.
68. Namaḥ stutāya stutyāya stūyamanāya sambhave;
Vilohitāya dhumrāya nīlagrīvāya sūline.
70. Īśānāyāprameyāya nihantre carmavāsase;
Tapo nityāya piṅgāya vratine kṛttivāsase.
71. Kumārāpitṛe tryakṣāya pravarāyudhayodhine;
Prapannārtivinādāya brahmadviṣsaṅghātine.
72. Vanaspatīnam patāye vanānām patāye namaḥ;
Gavām ca patāye nityam yajñānam patāye namaḥ
73. Namonnamaste saumyāya tryambakāyogratejase;
Manovākkaṛmabhir deva tvam prapannān bhajasva

Karṇa. 25, The legend continued.

17. Sāhāyām vaḥ kariṣyāmi nihaṇiṣyāmi vo ripūn;
18. Dīyatam ca balārḍham me sarvairapi pṛthak pṛ
19. Paśutvam caiva me lokāḥ sarve kalpantu pīdit
Paśūnam ca patitvam me bhavatvadya divokāḥ

The Pāsūpata Vrata.

24. Yo vaḥ pāsūpatescāryām cariṣyati sa mokṣyate
Paśutvād itisatyam vaḥ pratijāne samāgame.
25. Ye cānye'pi cariṣyanti vratam mokṣyante te'p
Naiṣṭhikam dvādaśābdam vā yo'bdamārḍham ṛtut
-ya
Māsam dvādaśā rātram vā sa pśutvād vimucyate
26. Tasmād param idam guhyam vratam divyam ca

Karna. 26-7. The legend concluded.

Salya.39 The legend of the birth of Skanda.

- 6. Tejo māheśvaram skannam agnau prāṇihitam purā
Tat sarvaṁ bhagavān agnir nāsakaddhartum akṣa;
- 8. Sa gaṅgām upasaṅgamyā niyogād brahmanah prabhu
Garbham āhitavān divyaṁ bhāskaropamatejasah.
- 9. Atha gaṅgāpi taṁ garbham asahanti ca dhārane;
Utasasarja girau tasmin himavatyamarārcite.
- 10. Sa tatra vavṛdhe lokan avatya jvalanātmajah;
dadṛśur jvalanakāram taṁ garbham atha kṛttikā
- 11. Śarastambe mahātmanam analātmajam īśvaram;
Mamāyamiti sarvastāḥ putrārthinyo vicukrusuḥ.
- 12. Tāsāṁ viditvā bhavaṁ taṁ mātṛṇām bhagavān pra
Prasnutānām payah sadbhīr ānāḥair apivat tadā.
- 16. Kūārastu mahāvīryah kārṭṭikeya iti smṛtaḥ;
Gāṅgeyah pūrvam abhavan mahākayo balanvitaḥ.

The Kumāra goes to see Śiva.

- 23. Sa dadarṣa mahātmanam devadevamumāpatim;
Sāilaputyā samāgamyā bhūtasanghāḥ samāvṛtaḥ.
- 24. Nikāyā bhūtasanghānām paramādbhutadarsanāḥ;
Vikṛtā vikṛtakārā vikṛtābharanadhvajāḥ.
- 25. Vyāghrasimharṣavadanā vidālamakarānanāḥ;
Prṣadanśamukhāścānye kharoṣṭravadanāstathā.
- 26. Ulūkavadanāḥ kecid gr̥dhragomāyudarsanāḥ;
Krauñcaparavatanibhair vadanair bhairāvair api
- 27. Śyāvācchalyagodhānām kharaiḍakagavām api;
sadṛśāni vapuṣṣyanye tatra tatra vyadhārayan.
- 28. Kecicchailambuda prakhyāścakṛālātāgādāyudhāḥ;
Kecid aṅjanapuñjābhāḥ kecicchvetācalaprebhāḥ.
- 34. Tāmāvrajanātam ālōkya śivasyaśin mano gatam;
Yugapacchailaputryāśca gangāyah pāvakasya ca.
- 35. Kam nu purvaṁ ayaṁ balogauravād abhyupaiti ca;
Api mām iti sarveśam teṣām āsin manogatam.

36. Teṣāṃ evaṃ abhiprāyaṃ caturṇāṃ upalakṣya sah;
Yugapdyogaṃ āsthāya saśarjā vividhāstanūḥ.
37. Tato'bhavaccaturmūrtiḥ kṣaṇena bhagāvan prabhu
Skandah sākho visākhaśca naigamaścāprsthatah.

Sauptika. 6. Āsvatthāman worships Śiva.

32. So'ham adya mahādevaṃ prapadye śaraṇaṃ prabhu
Daivadandāṃ imāṃ ghorāṃ sa hi me nāsāyisyati.
33. Kapardināṃ prapadye'ham devadevaṃ umāpatim;
Kapālamālināṃ rudraṃ bhaganetraharāṃ haram.

Sauptika .7, same continued.

2. Ugraṃ sthaṇuṃ śivaṃ rudraṃ sarvaṃ īśānaṃ īśva
3. Śitikanṭhaṃ ajaṃ rudraṃ kṛṣṇaṃ kratuharaṃ hara
4. Śmaśānanilayaṃ dr̥ptaṃ mahāgaṇapatiṃ vibhuṃ;
Khaṭvāṅgadhāriṇaṃ muṇḍaṃ jaṭilaṃ brahmacāriṇa
8. Dhanādhyakṣapriyasakhaṃ gaurī-hṛdaya-vallabha
8. Kṛttivāsasaṃ atyugraṃ... ..
10. Paraṃ parebhyo paramaṃ paraṃ yasmāna vidyate
īśvastrottamabhartāraṃ digantaṃ deśaraksanaṃ.

53-60. Asvatthaman offers himself as oblation to

Sauptika. 18, The legend of the destruction of the sacrifici
of Dakṣa.

1. Tato devayuge'tite devā vai samakalpayaṃ;
Yajñāṃ veda-pramāṇena vidhivad yaṣṭuṃ ipaavah
3. Te vai rudraṃ ajānanto yātātathyena bhārata;
Nakalpayanta devasya sthanor bhāgaṃ narādhipa
4. So'kalpyamāne bhāge tu kṛttivāsāḥ makhe 'mara
Tapasā yajñāṃ anvicchan dhanur agre saśarjā h
8. Tatah kruddho mahādevas tadupādaya kārmukam;
Ājagāmātha tatraiva yatra devā samijire.
9. Tam āttakārmukam dr̥ṣṭvā brahmacāriṇaṃ avyayaṃ
Vivyathe pṛthivī devī parvatāśca cakampire.

10. Na vavau pavanaścaiva nāgnir jajvāla caidhiteh
Vyabhramaccāpi samvignam divi nakṣatramandalā
12. Abhibhūtas tato devā visayān na prajājñāre;
Na pratyabhācca yajñah sa devatās tresire tñā
13. Tatah sa yajñam vivyādha raudrena hr̥ḍi patrin
Apakrāntas tato yajño mrgo bhūtvā sapāvakah.
15. Apakrānte tato yajñe sanjñā na pratyabhāt sur
Nastasanjñesu deveṣu na prajñāyata kascana.
16. Tryambakah savitur bahu bhagasye nayane kbath
Pusnaśca dasanān sarvān dhanuṣkoṭyā vyaśataya
17. Prādravanta tato devā yajñāṅgāni ca sarvasah;
Kecit tāraive ghūrñanto gatāsava ivābhavan.
18. Sa tu vidrāvya tat sarvam śitikantho'pahasya
Avastabhya dhanuṣkoṭim rurodha bibudhānstath
19. Tato vāg amarair ukta jyām teṣya dhanuṣo'chin
Atha tat sahasā rajan chinna jyām viṣphurad-dh
20. Tato vidhanuṣam devā devasreṣṭham upāgaman.
Saranam saha yajñena prasādam cākarot prabhuh
23. Sarvāni ca havīmśyasya devā bhāgam akalpayan.

- Śānti. 186. Viṣṇu exalted above all other gods including
6. Rudrādityavasūnām ca tathānyeṣām divaukasah;
Ete vai nirayāstāta sthānasya paramātmanah.

- Śānti. 191. Viṣṇu said to have created Śiva.

Vedavidyāvidhatāram brahmāṇam amitadyutim;
Bhūtamātrgaṇādhyakṣam virūpeṣam ca so'srjat.

- Anusāsana. 22, Kṛṣṇa himself describes the greatness of Śiva

Na śakyam karmanā vettum gatim īdasya tatvata
Hiranyagarbhapramūkhāḥ sendrā devā maharṣayah.

Na vidur yasya nidhanam ādim va sūkema darsin
Sa katham namamātreṇa śakyo jñātum satām gati

Anusasana 22. Exaltation of Siva by Upamanyu.

96. Eṣa eva mahān hetur īśah kārṇakāranam;
Sūśrūṃ vā yadanyasya dēvam abhyarcitam suraiḥ
97. Kasyanyasya suraiḥ sarvair līngam muktvā mahes
Arcyate'rcitapūrvam vā brūhi yadyasti te śrute
98. Yasya brahmā ca viṣṇuśca tvam ca śakra sahamar
Arcayadhvam sadā līngam tasmācchrestha varo hi
99. Divaskarasāsānkavahninetram,
tribhuvana-sāram apāram īśam ādyam;
Ajaram amaramaprāsadya rudram,
jagati pumān iha ko labheta sāntim.

Description of Śiva.

115. Prasāntamanasam devam trihetum aparājitam;
116. Nīlakantham mahātmānam haryakṣam tejasām nidhi
Aśtādaśabhujam devam sarvābhāranabhūṣitam.
117. Sūklāmaradharam devam sūklamālyānūlepanam;
Sūkladhvajam anādrśyam sūklayaḥṅopavitinam .
118. Vṛtam pārśadair divyair ātmatulyaparākramaiḥ.
119. Tribhir netraiḥ kṛtodyotam tribhiḥ sūryair ivod
121. Asōbhata ca devasya mālā gātre śitaprabhā;
Jātarūpamayaiḥ padmair grathitā ratnabhūṣitā.
123. Indrāyudhasahasrābhām dhanustasya mahātmanah;
Pinākam iti vikhyātam sa ca vai pannago mahān.
133. Nānāvārnasya loke'smin brahmaviṣṇusuresvapi;
Tadrstāvān aham tatra āścaryam idam uttaram.
144. Savyadese tu devasya brahmā lokapitāmahah.
divyam vimānam āsthāya haṃsayuktam avasthitah.
145. Vānapārsvagataścāpi tva tathā narāyaṇah sthita
Vainateyam samāsthāya sthito devyāḥ sam ipatah
146. Śaktim kanthe samāsthāya dvitiya iva pāvakah.

Upamanyu's prayer to Śiva.

154. Namo devādidevāya mahādevāya vai namaḥ;
Sakrāya sakrarūpāya sakravesadhārāya ca.
156. Namo'stu kṛṣṇavāsāya kṛṣṇakuñcitamūrdhaje;
Kṛṣṇājinottariyāya kṛṣṇāstamiratāya ca.
158. Tvam brahmā sarva-devānām rudrānām nīlalohita
Atmā ca sarvabhūtānām sāmkyaiḥ puruṣa ucyaṣe.
159. Rṣabhaṣṭvam pavitrānām yoginām kapilah śivah;
164. Sanatkumāro yogīnam sāmkyānām kapilo munih.
166. Adis tvam asi lokānam saṁhartā kāla eva ca.
188. Yo'srjad dakṣiṇād aṅgād brahmānam lokasaṁbhava
Vamapārsvat tathā viṣṇuṁ lokarakṣartham īśvara
189. Yugānte samanuḥprāpte rudram prabhur athāsrjat.
190. Sa rudrah saṁhāran kṛtenam jagat sthāvaraṅga
Kālo bhūtvā param brahmā yāti saṁvartakānalan.
192. Svargaḥ sarvabhūtānaṁ sarvabhūtabhavodbhavaḥ;
Āste sarvagato nityam adṛśyah sarvadevatāih.

Kṛṣṇa extols Śiva.

227. Tvam vai Brahmā ca rudrasca varuṇo'gnir manur
Dhātā tvaṣṭā vidhātā ca tvam prabhuh sarvato m

Anuśāsana .23, Description of Pārvatī.

3. Tato mām jagato matā dhārāni sarvapāvanī;
Uvāca mām pranīhitā sarvāni tapasām nidhiḥ.

Śiva not known by gods and men.

40. Ayam brahmādibhiḥ siddher guhāyām sevitaḥ prabh
Devāsuramanuṣyānām prakāśo na bhaved iti.
41. Tena devāsuranarā bhūteṣāṁ na vidur bhavam;
Mohitāḥ khalvanensiva hr̥cchayena pracoditāḥ.

Śiva to be known through bhakti.

42. Ye caīnam samprapadyante bhaktiyogena bhārata
Teṣāṃ evatmanātmānam darsayātyeva hr̥cchayaḥ.

Śiva's association with Sāṃkhya.

43. Yam sāmkyam guṇātadvajñāḥ sāmkyasāstravidāra
Sūksmajñānaratā sarve jñātva mucyanti bandhana

Anusāsana. 98, Śiva as a philosophical enquirer.

7. Upasasarpa bhagavantam ācāryam bhagavān ācārya
Rudrah.
8. Ityukte cāsino bhagavān anantarūpo rudrastam
ca.
12. Yacca tat puruṣam sūddham ityuktam yogasāmkye
18. Sarvam etad yathā tatvam ākhyāhi munisattama.
19. Caturthas tvam trayāṇām tu ye gatāḥ paramām ga
20. Jñānena tu prākṛtena nirukto mṛtyubandhanāt.
21. Vayam tu vaikṛtam mārgam āsṛitā vai ksaram sad
Param utarjya panthanam amṛtākṣaram eva tu.
22. Nyune pathi nimagnāstu aisvarye'stagune tathā;
Mahimanam pragrhyemam vicarāmo yathā-sukham.

Viṣṇu called Yogeśvara.

74. Yogeśvaram padmanābham viṣṇum jīṣṇum jagatpati
Anādinidhanam devam devadevam sanātanam.

Anusāsana. 112, Description of Śiva in the Himālayas.

17. Tatra devo giritate hemadhātuvibhūsite;
Paryaṅkaiva babhrāja upaviṣṭo mahādyutih.
18. Vyāghracarmaparidhāno gajacarmattarachadaḥ;
Vyālayajñopavitasca lohitantravibhūsitah.

19. Bhayahetur abhaktānām bhaktānām abhayaṅkaraḥ.

Legendary explanation of the creation of Śiva's third eye.

26. Tatastasmin kṣaṇe devī bhūtastrīgana-samvṛtā;
Haratulyāmbarādhara samānavratācārīnī.

28. Sarīdvāribhiḥ sarvābhiḥ praṭhato'nugatā varā;
Sevitum bhagavānt pūrśvan ājagāma sucismitā.

Coming behind Śiva she playfully closes his eyes with her hands. At that very instant the entire universe is plunged into darkness, and all beings are filled with terror. Then

34. Tṛtīyam cāśya sambhūtam lalāṭe netram āyatam;
Dvādasādityasankāśam lokān bhasavabhāsayat.

The greatness of Śiva.

52. Sarveśām hi lokānām kūṭastham viddhi mām priye.

53. Madādhinās trayo lokā yathā viṣṇau tathā mayi.

54. Sraṣṭā viṣṇur aham goptā ityetaḍ viddhi bhāmini
Tasmād yadā mām sprśati śubham va yadi vetarat;
Tathaivedam jagat sarvam tat tad bhavati śobhan

Anuśāsana 113. Śiva and Tilottamā.

6. Purā-surau mahāghorau lokodvegakarau bhṛśam;
Sundopasundanāmānāvāsatur bālagarvitau.

7. Tayoreva vinasāya nirmitā viśvakarmaṇā.

8. Tilottameti.....

9. Sā tapasyantam āganya rūpeṇāpratimā bhuvī;
Mayā bahumatā ceyam devakāryam kariṣyati.

10. Iti matvā tadā cāham kurvanti mām pradakṣiṇām;
Tathaiva tām didrksusca caturvakre'bhavam priye

11. Aindraṁ mukham idaṁ pūrvam tapasçaryāparam sadā
Dakṣiṇam me mukham divyam raudraṁ samharati pra

12. Lokakāryaparam nityam paścimaṁ me mukham priye;
Vedān adhite satatam adbhutam cottaram mukham.

Explanation of the blue neck of Siva.

15. Purā yugantare yatnād amṛtārtham surāsuraiḥ;
Balavadbhir vimatbitasca cirakālam mahodadhiḥ
16. Rajjunā nāgarājena mathyamāno mahodadhau;
Viṣam tatra samudbhūtaṁ sarvalokavināśanam.
17. Grastam hi mayā devi lokānam hitakāraṇat.
18. Tatkr̥tā nilatā cāsīt kaṇthe berhinibhā śubhe;
Tadā prabhṛti caivaham nilakanṭha iti smṛtaḥ.

Anusāsana.114, Explanation of the 'kāpālika' aspect of Siva.

5. Avasārtham purā devi suddhanvesī śucismitē;
Nādhyagacchan ciraṁ kālam deśam śucitamam subh
6. Eṣa me'bhiviveso'bhūt tasmin kale prajāpatiḥ.
7. Akuleḥ sunahāghoraḥ prādurāsīt samantataḥ;
Sambhūtā bhūtasṛṣṭiśca ghora lokabha-yāvāḥ.
8. Nānāvārnā virūpāśca tikṣṇadamṣṭrāḥ prahariṇaḥ;
Piśācarākṣevadanāḥ prāṇiṇam prānahariṇaḥ.
Itaścaranti nighnantaḥ prāṇino bhṛṣam eva ca.
9. Evam loke prāṇiṇe kṣyam yāte pitāmahaḥ;
Cintayanatpratīkāre mām ca śaktam hi nigrāhe
10. Evam jñātvā tato brahmā tasmin karmanyayojayat
11. Taccāpranibhitārtham tu mayāpyanumataṁ priye;
Tasmāt sāmrakṣitā devi bhūtebhyo prāṇino bhaya
12. Aśmacchmasanān medhyam tu nāsti kiñcid anindit
Nihsampātān manuṣyānām tasmācchucitamam smṛtan
13. Bhūtasṛṣṭiṁ ca tām cāham śmasāne saṁnyavesāya
Tatrasthasaryabhūtanām vinihanmi priye bhayam.
14. Na ca bhūtagaṇenāham api nāsitum utsahe;
Tasmān me sannivasāya śmasāne rocate manaḥ.
15. Medhyakāmair dvijair nityam medhyam ityabhidhi
Acaredbhir vrataṁ raudraṁ mokṣakāmāiśca sevyat

Explanation of the terrible aspect of Siva.

20. Piṅgalam vikṛtam bhāti rūpam te tu bhayānakam;
Bhasmadigdham virūpākṣam tikṣṇadamṣṭram jaṭaku

21. Vyāghrodaratvaksamvītaṁ kapilasmaśru santatam
Raudram bhayānakam ghoram sūlapattasasanyutam
22. Kimārtham tvidrśam rūpam tanne śamsitum arhaa
23. Dvividho laukiko bhāvah sītam ūśnam iti priye
24. Taya hi grathitam sarvam saumyagneyamidaṁ j
-ga
25. Saumyatvam satatam viṣṇau mayyāgneyam pratiṣṭ
Anena vapuṣā nityam sarvalokān bibharmyham.
26. Raudrākṛtīm virūpakṣam sūlapattasasanyutam;
Āgneyam iti me rūpam devi loka-hite ratam.
27. Yadyaham viparītaṁ syām etat tyaktvā śubhānam
Tadaiiva sarvalokānām viparītam pravartate.
28. Tasmān mayedaṁ dhriyate rūpam lokahitaiṣiṇā.

Anusāsana. 150. The legend of the destruction of the sac-
-rifice of Dakṣa.

5. Śivah sarvagato rudrah srāṣṭā yastam śrnuṣya
Prajāpatis tam arjat tapaso'nto mahātāpāḥ.
Sankarastvasrjat tāta prajāḥ athāvarajāngamā

Nāsti kiñcit param bhūtam mahādevādviśām pateḥ;
Iha trisyapi lokeṣu bhūtānām prabhavo hi saḥ.

12. Prajāpateṣtu dakṣasya yajato vitate kratau;
Vivādha kupito yajñam nirbhayastu bhavas tad

14. Tena jyātalaḥṣeṇa sarve lokāḥ samakulāḥ;
Babhūvar avasāḥ partha viśeduśca surāsurāḥ.

18. Tataḥ so'bhyadravad devān kruddho bhīmaparākṛ
etc.etc.

The legend of the destruction of the three ci

25. Aśurānām purānyāsan trīṇi vīryavatam divi.

26. Nāśakat tāni bhagavān bhettum sarvayudhair ap
Atha sarve'narā rudraṁ jagmuḥ śaraṇam arditāḥ

29. Sa tathoktastathetyuktvā viṣṇuṁ kṛtvā sarottan
Śalyam agniṁ tathā kṛtvā pūnkham somam apam pi

30. Omkaram ca dhanum kṛtvā jyām ca sāvitṛīm uttama
Vēdan rathavarām kṛtvā viniyuja ca sarvasah;
Triparvaṇā trisalyena tenātāni bibheda sah.
31. Sārenādityavarṇena kālāgnisamatejasā;
Te'surāḥ sapurāstatra dagdhā raudreṇa tejasā.
- Indra's humiliation.
32. Devyāścāṅkagataḥ dṛṣtvā bālam pañcasikhaḥ punaḥ
Unām jijñāsamānaḥ sa ko'yam ityabrevīd varah.
33. Asūyatasca śakrasya vajreṇa prahariṣyataḥ;
Savaḥram samstambhayāmāsa tāṁ bāhuḥ parighopama
- The gods do not know Siva.
34. Na sambubudhire caiva devāstam bhuvanēsvaram;
Saprajāpatayah sarve tasmīn mumuhur īsvare.
35. Tato dhyātvā tu bhagavān brahmā tam amitaújasa
Ayaṁ śreṣṭha iti jñātvā vavande tam umāpatim.
36. Tataḥ prasādayāmāsar umām rudraṁ ca te surāḥ.

Anusāsana. 151. Two forms of Śiva, and his various names.

3. Dve tanū tasya devasya vedajñā brāhmanā viduḥ;
Ghorām anyām śivām anyām te tanū bahudhā punaḥ.
6. Yasya ghoratarā mūrtir jagat saṁharate tathā;
Īśvaratvān mahatvācca mahēsvara iti smṛtaḥ.
7. Yannirdahati yat tikṣṇo; yad rudro yat pratāpav
Māṁsa-śoṇita-majjādo yat tato rudra ucyate.
8. Yacca viśvam jagat pāti mahādevas tataḥ smṛtaḥ.
9. Śa medhayati yannityam sa sarvān sarvakarmabhiḥ
Sivam icchan manuṣyaṇām tasmād eva sivaḥ smṛtaḥ.
10. Dahatyūrdhvaṁ sthito yacca prāṇān prerayate ca
Sthiralingam ca yannityam tasmāt sthānur iti smṛtaḥ.
12. Dhamā-rūpā jata yasmād dhūrjaṭiḥ punar ucyate;
Viśve-davāśca yad rūpam viśvarūpas tataḥ smṛtaḥ.
13. Sahaśrako'cyutakṣaśca sarvato'ksimayo'pi ca;
Cakṣuṣaḥ prabhavam tejah sarvataścakṣureva ca.

14. Sarvathā yat pasūn pāti taisca yad ramate puna
Tesām adhipatir yacca tasmāt padūpatir ucyate.
15. Nityena brahmacaryena lingam asya sadā sthitam
Bhaktānugrahārthāya gūḍhalingastataḥ smṛtaḥ.

Mention of the images of Śiva.

16. Vīgraham pūjayed yo vai lingam vāpi mahātmanah
Pūjyamāne sadā tasmīn modate sa mahēśvaraḥ.

Terrible and benevolent forms of Śiva.

19. Tasyaghorāni rūpāni dīptāni śūbhāni ca;
Loka yāni sma pūjyante viprās tāni vidur budhā
21. Vede caśya vidur viprāḥ satarudriyam uttamam;
Vyāsenoktam ca yaccāśya upasthānam mahātmanah.

Chapter V.

The first few centuries of the Christian era constitute a formative period in the history of Indian religions during which the different creeds, which had come into existence in the post-Upanisadic period, developed and fixed their forms. Unfortunately, no definite religious records, at least none which deal directly with the Saiva faith, dating from this period have survived, and, therefore, we have to rely on the incidental information supplied by other extant secular records both literary and archaeological. These records, though not copious, are numerous enough to enable us to obtain a general idea of the development of the different creeds during this period. Accordingly, we shall examine these records, and see how far they help us in tracing the history of the Saiva faith through these centuries.

Among the literary records, we have, first, the work of Asvaghosa, the Buddhist poet and scholar, who lived in the first century A.D. and was a contemporary of king Kaniska. From a number of allusions to Siva in his *Buddhacarita* we see that the conception of that god was, in all essentials, the same as in the epics. Thus in one verse he is referred to as ¹⁾ 'vrsadhvajah', while in another he is called by his other name, *Bhava*, and Skanda (called 'Sanmukha') is mentioned as his son. In a third passage, Parvati is referred to as Devi, and is

1. *Buddhacarita*. X,3.

2. *ibid.* I,93.

regarded as the mother of Skanda.¹⁾ It is interesting to note that the latter is described, in this passage, as 'agnisunuh'. The Saundarananda does not contain any definite reference to Siva or his worship. In one verse, there occurs the word, 'a-ika', which might refer to Skanda or to Ganesa. But the text of the verse is not certain.²⁾ Other works, ascribed to Asvaghosha, do not give us any important information about Saivism.

Perhaps, to the 1st or the 2nd century also, belong the Mrcchakatikam of Sudraka. Apart from the introduction, which is late, several references to Siva and Saivism are found in this work. The different names of the god, Siva, Isana, -kara, and Sambhu, are mentioned in one passage,³⁾ while in another, a reference is made to the destruction of the sacrifice of Daksa by Siva.⁴⁾ Parvati, in her aspect as the great goddess is also mentioned once, and allusion is made to her exploit the slaying of the demons Sumbha and Nisumbha.⁵⁾ So far we can observe but little change in the character of Siva and his consort from what we saw in the epics. But some passages show advance, and an approach towards Pauranic Saivism. Thus in the sixth act, occurs a verse in which a distinct reference is made to the conception of essential unity of the Trinity of Brahma, Visnu and Siva, a conception of which only vague hints are found

1. Buddhacarita. I, 66.

3. Mrccha. I, 41.

5. ibid. VI, 27.

2. Saundarananda. X, 9.

4. Mrccha. X, 45.

6. ibid. VI, 27.

in the latest parts of the Mahabharata, but which is clearly
 -cognised in the Puranas. Again, in the third act, Skanda
 appears in a new role of the patron deity of thieves.¹⁾ It c
 -not be said for certain how Skanda came to possess this ch
 -racter, but it might be interesting to remember that in th
 Vedic 'satarudriya', Rudra himself was given this role. In
 -other passage, allusion is made to Skanda's slaying of the
 -mon Kraunca. Lastly, in one passage, mention is made of th
 Matrs, or Divine Mothers, who are described as being popular
 worshipped on the cross-roads.²⁾ These deities, later on, be
 associated with the worship of Skanda. We shall have occas
 to say something about them below.

Three other extant works were also probably composed
 during the first two or three centuries of the Christian era.
 These are the Smrti of Manu, the Natyasastra of Bharata, and
 the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana. The first refers several times
 the images of gods and their worship,³⁾ and also to a certain
 class of people who apparently made a living by carrying about
 cult images of these deities.⁴⁾ Several gods, including Vishnu
 are mentioned by name, but not Siva, nor his consort, though
 Rudras are mentioned once.⁵⁾ In one passage, however, we have
 injunction against accepting the 'naivedyas' leaves, flowers
 fruits, or water, which have been offered to Siva. This shows

1. Mrccha. III, prose following v.12.

2. ibid. I, 2 " " v. 15.

3. Manusmrti. IV, 39, 130, 153.

5. ibid. III, 284 etc.

4. Manusmrti. III, 152
180.

Siva was worshipped, at this time, with these offerings, and -haps, is also a reminiscence of the old prejudice against worship of Siva. In the Natya Satra, full honour is paid to Siva. In the very beginning, he is invoked along with Brahma¹⁾ and is called Paramesvara. Elsewhere, he is described as 'trinetra', 'vraanka'; and 'nilakantha', and mention is made²⁾ his 'ganas'. In this work also, Siva's character as a dancer made prominent. He is the great exponent of the art of dance and the 'kaisiki vrtti' is said to attend upon him.³⁾ It was who gave the 'tandava' to the drama.⁴⁾ Probably, by now, he also looked upon as a Teacher, and he is said to have 'siddha'⁵⁾ to the sons of Bharata. Lastly, a reference is made his exploit of the destruction of the three cities, and Bharata, the injunction of Brahma, is said to composed a 'Dima', call⁶⁾ the 'Tripuradaha', which was played before Siva. The third work, the Kamasutra, makes but one reference to Siva in the invocatory verse. In it, Nandi, the attendant of Siva, is said to have expounded the part dealing with Erotics of a compend⁷⁾ work of vast dimensions, which had been made by Brahma.

1. Natyasastra. I.1.

2. ibid. I,45; II,24; IV,5-10.

3. ibid. I,45.

4. ibid. IV,17f.

5. ibid. I.60.

6. ibid. IV,5-10.

7. Kamasutra. Introd.

For the first three centuries of the Christian era have also numerous coins which have been invaluable for unravelling the political history of India, and which, like the coins examined in the last chapter, are valuable for our purpose also, by giving incidental information about Saivism during this period. To the first century belong the coins of the early Kusan kings. On two gold coins of Wema Kadphises, we see a representation of Siva on the reverse.¹⁾ In both, the figure of the god represents him as standing, and holding a trident in his right hand. In the first, Siva's bull is seen standing beside him, while in the second, the god holds, in addition to the trident, a gourd and a tiger skin. In both, the figure is two-armed. Here, therefore we have a pictorial expression of the conception of Siva as seen in the epics. Further, from the legends on the coins of this king we learn that he was a Saiva for he is styled as 'Mahisvara' in them.²⁾ On the copper coin of the same king we have, again, a figure of Siva, identical with that on the gold coins except that the head is radiate.³⁾ Next we have the coins of Kaniska. One gold coin and numerous copper coins of his show, on the reverse, a four-armed figure of Siva with head radiate, and holding the trident, the 'damru', the gourd, and the noose.⁴⁾ The accompanying legend is in Greek and reads '...', which is equivalent to Sanskrit, 'isah'. On

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1. Lahore Mus. Cat. of coins. Whitehead. Pl. XVII, nos. 31, 33.
Calcutta " " Smith. p. 68, nos. 1-12.
 2. ibid.
 3. Lah. Mus. cat. of coins. Pl. XVII, no. 36.
 4. " " " Pl. XVII, no. 65. Pl. XVIII, nos. 106-107.
Cal. Mus. Cat. of coins p. 74, nos. 64-77.

other coins of Kaniska, an antelope is seen standing behind figure of Siva. ¹⁾ This, probably, has reference to the chara of the god as Pasupati, and reminds us of the Indus Valley on which two deer were represented as standing beneath the on which the god was sitting. Other coins of Kaniska show ²⁾ two-armed figure of Siva holding the trident and the gourd. Coming to the coins of Huviska who succeeded Kaniska, and th belongs to the close of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century, we find similar figures of two-armed and four-armed ³⁾ Siva. The Greek legend is also the same. On some coins, antelope appears again, with Siva's hands resting on its horn ⁵⁾ On one coin the god is represented with a crescent. This ⁵⁾ -re is supposed to represent the moon god, but, the Greek le is, most probably, the same as on other coins, and ,hence, i is more likely that the figure represents Siva bearing a cre ⁶⁾ -ent. Another coin of Huviska is a puzzle. It has a figur very similar to that of Siva in the above coins, but holding big bow, and facing to the right. It, probably, represents as a 'Pinakin! But there is also an indistinct legend upon Dr. Smith gave a conjectural reading of it as 'Ganesa', and this were proved for certain, it would be an indubitable pro of the original identity of Siva and Ganesa. However, this -not be decided finally till the legend is correctly deciphered

1. Cal. Mus. Cat. of coins.	Rk.p. 70, nos.9-10.
2. Lah. Mus. Cat. of coins.	Pl. XVIII, nos.110-14.
3. " " "	Pl. XIX, nos. 150-52; 153-5
4. Cal. Mus. Cat. of coins.	p. 78, nos.16-17.
5. " " "	p. 80, no. 16 .31.
6. " " "	p. 80, no. 46.

Yet another coin of Huviska is important, for it shows, for first time, a multi-headed figure of Siva¹⁾. The figure is a -in, facing front, with the profiles of two other faces on either side. It has been taken to represent the 'Trimurti' aspect of Siva. This is possible, but the figure might also -present the four headed Siva(the fourth head at the back invisible) which conception of that god we have already met in the Mahabharata. Among the coins of the later Kushanas which belong to the 2nd and the 3rd centuries, we may notice first, the coins of Vasudeva who succeeded Huviska. These the two armed Siva with the same characteristics as those the previous coins.²⁾ One coin of his shows, again, the multi-headed figure of Siva,³⁾ similar to that on Huviska's coin. Other coins of Vasudeva show a goddess seated on a throne,⁴⁾ holding a fillet and cornulopiae. It is not possible to identify this deity at present. After Vasudeva we have the coin of Kanisko who reigned in the later half of the 2nd century. His coins also show the figure of twoarmed Siva similar to on Vasudeva's coins.⁵⁾ Others show the goddess with the Greek legend 'ΑΡΔΟΧΡ'⁶⁾, which seems to be equivalent to the Sanskrit 'ardhaksah! But the meaning of the word is not clear. To

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| 1. | Cal. Mus. Cat. | p. 78, no15. |
| 2. | " " | p.84f. nos. 1-34. |
| | Lah. Mus. Cat. | Pl. XIX, Nos. 209-26. |
| 3. | " " | Pl. XX, no.11. |
| 4. | " " | Pl. XIX, nos. 227-30. |
| 5. | " " | Pl. XIX, nos. 231-35. |
| 6. | Cal. Mus. Cat. | p. 88, nos. 5-8. |

3rd century belong the coins of the Kusano-Sassanian king, Vasu. His coins also show the figure of the goddess with the more complete legend 'ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ'¹⁾. The coins of Vasudeva, the successor of Vasu, revert to the two armed figure of Siva with the familiar Greek legend 'ΘΗΡΟ'²⁾. Finally, the coins of Hormazd II, and of Varahman, show again, the figure of Siva thebull.³⁾

Thus, these coins show the prevalence of the worship of Siva almost over the whole of north India during the first two centuries of the Christian era, and, from the representation of the Siva found on them we learn that the conception of that deity had not changed materially since the time of the epics.

This brings us to the 4th century, and to the beginning of the Gupta period for which we have abundant literary and epigraphical records. From them we can form a good idea of the state of Saivism at that time. In Harisena's 'prasasti' found on the Allahabad pillar, and belonging to the reign of Samudragupta, allusion is made to the legend of the descent of the Ganges and her flowing through the matted locks of Siva who is called Pasupati.⁴⁾ The Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of the successor of Samudragupta, Candragupta II, records the

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| 1. Lah. Mus. Cat. | Pl. XIX, no. 236. |
| 2. " " | Pl. XIX, nos. 238-39. |
| Cal. Mus. Cat. | p. 88, nos. 9-10. The last has a different legend, ' '. |
| 3. Lah. Mus. Cat. | Pl. XX, nos. 240-41. |
| 4. CII. | Pl. I, p. 1. |

dedication of the cave , presumable for the use of Saiva as
 -tics, by a person who professes himself a devotee of Siva.¹⁾
 That Candragupta is said to have accompanied the donor show
 that he gave his patronage to the Saivas, though he himself
 was probably a Vaisnava, and is called a 'paramabhogavata'¹⁾
 the Gadhwa stone inscription.²⁾ In the Sanci stone inscriptions
 the same king is described as the patron of the writer of t³⁾
 inscription, Amrakadeva, who appears to have been a Buddhist³⁾
 Thus, Candragupta seems to have given his protection and pa
 -ronage to many faiths, though, perhaps, formally belonging to
 one. This became a very common practice among kings in
 later on. Candragupta reigned during the latter half of the
 century, and was succeeded , in the early fifth century by
 son, Kumaragupta. The latter is also styled 'paramabhogava
 in the Bilsad and Gadhwa stone inscriptions and, hence, was⁴⁾
 probably, a Vaisnava. But, like his predecessor, he gave hi
 patronage to all creeds, and in the Mankunwar stone inscrip
 we find him being respectfully referred to by one Budhamitr
 a Buddhist 'bhiksu'. His inscriptions, however, make no r
 -ence either to Siva or to Saivism.

During the reigns of Candragupta II and Kumaragupt

1. CII.	Pl.II,b. p.21.
2. CII.	Pl.EV,b. p.36.
3. CII.	
4. CII.	Pl.IV,c.p.36.
5. CII.	Pl.VI,a.p.45.

lived Kalidasa. In his works we can see clearly how far Saivism had developed during the first four centuries of the Christian era. That he himself was a Saiva is clear from the invocatory verses of his works, which are all addressed to Siva. These verses also reveal the advanced conception of Siva as the supreme godhead. The simplest of these verses is found in the Raghuvarsha. Siva (called Paramesvara) and Parvati are invoked together. They are the progenitors of the universe, and are regarded as inseparable like speech and its meaning. This, as will be seen later, is exactly the conception of Siva and his consort as expounded by the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy. In the invocatory verse of the Vikramorvasi, Siva is conceived of as the Eka-purusa, the Brahma of Vedanta, who pervades the earth and Heaven, whom the seekers after salvation seek to realize through their meditations and yogic practices, but who is eventually found through the yoga of Bhakti. The reference to Vedanta is interesting as it shows again that the monistic Saivism is now nearer to the position of Vedanta than to the position of Samkhya with which it was associated originally. In the invocatory verses of the Malavikagnimitra and the Sakuntala reference is made to the eight forms of Siva in which he was supposed to manifest himself. These are the five primary elements (earth, water, fire, air, and space), the sun and the moon, and the 'hotr'. This 'astamurti' of Siva is frequent

mentioned in later religious and secular literature. The popular side of Saivism is reflected in the Kumarasambhava and in the Meghaduta. The first shows the full development of legends of the marriage of Siva and Parvati, the birth of Siva-da, and the burning of Kama, which have been used by the author for the creation of an epic poem. This work shows in the manner, the popular conception of Siva and his consortas the supreme deities residing on the Kailasa montain in sublime eternal bliss. The other work, besides referring to Siva residing on the Kailasa, ¹⁾ and to his dancing the 'tandava' in ²⁾ terrible or 'bhairava' form, also gives us a glimpse of the actual worship of Siva by mentioning the temple of th t god ³⁾ under the name of Mahakala at Ujjain. That it was a famous Saiva temple, even at that time, is shown by the manner in which it is mentioned as the chief glory of Ujjain. In that temple Siva was worshipped publicly every evening. At this point, reference is made to a practice, then prevalent, which should be noted. At the time of the evening worship at the temple, courtezans came there to dance, for besprinkling whom with its refreshing spray, and being gratified with their grateful ⁴⁾ the cloud is asked to stop over the temple till the evening. Now, this reference to the dance of the courtezans at the temple of Siva does not necessarily refer to the 'devadasi' system, has been sometimes supposed. The dancers were not attached

1. Meghaduta. 2nd part.
3. " 1,34.

2. Megha. I,36.
4. " I,35.

the temple, but were the ordinary courtezans of the city, wh
 as is evident from the Kamasutra and other works, had a defi
 -te and, by no means, a low place in ancient Indian socceity,
 and who were engaged to give song and dance performances at
 places as the temple courts for public entertainment. The p
 -tice was widely prevalent in ancient India, and, so, in al
 probability, the passage here refers to this practice and no
 to the ritual dance of regular temple harlots which was of
 -te different character, and was performed, not in the open
 courtas here, but inside the temple before the image of the

The works of Kalidasa and the inscriptions of the e
 -ly Guptas bring us well w ithin the period of the Puranas.
 for the sake of continuity, and also because the period of t
 Puranas extends well down into the 6th century, we shall con
 -de the examination of the records of the old Gupta period a
 any rate, before we pass on to the consideration of the Pa
 -nic literature. In the ^{Bihar} ~~Rhitaxi~~ stone inscription of Skanda
 -gupta who succeeded Kumaragupta, mention is made of the Mat
 1)
 and, for the first time we see them associated with Skanda.
 These deities we have already seen mentioned in the Mrccaka
 -ka. Most probably, they were local goddesses whose cult wa
 incorporated into the Brahmanic religion. How they came to
 associated with Skanda is not clear, though it is possible
 that they were identified with the Krttikas who were regarde

1. CII. Pl.VI,b. p.47.

as the mothers of Skanda. But it should be remembered that number of the latter was six, whereas the Matrs were supposed to be seven in number, and, in any case, there is no convincing proof of the identification of the two. But, however, the association of Skanda and the Matrs was brought about, it was permanent, and became a prominent feature of the worship of that god in later times. To the early 6th century belongs the Mandasor Pillar inscription of Yasodharman, a contemporary of the later Guptas. In it the invocatory verse is addressed to Siva, and shows the popular conception of that god as an angry and all mighty deity whose roar makes the demons tremble through terror. In the Mandasor stone inscription of the same king, and of the same date, on the other hand, Siva is conceived of in his benevolent aspect and is called Sambhu. He is regarded as the Supreme God at whose command Brahma undertakes the work of creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe, and, thus, gets the status of the Father.

No other information of importance is supplied by other records of the period, and so we can pass on to the consideration of the Puranas.

The Puranas show us the full development of the new movement in religious thought and practice, with meditation and devotion (bhakti) as its main features, which had begun in the Upanisadic times. As existing at present, the Puranas are a complex literature dealing not only with a multitude of subjects

and showing a great variety of matter, thought and style, but also extending over a considerable period of time. The Pauranic literature, in itself, seems to be considerable antiquity. The Purana, along with the Itihasa, is mentioned in the Atharva Veda, and there is reason to believe that the Puranas, as historical works, or rather as chronicles, existed throughout the later Vedic and the epic period, down to the classical times. The extant Puranas are, in every large measure, recasts of earlier works, but their scope was much enlarged, and they now contain not only historical material taken from the older Puranas, but also a considerable amount of new material dealing with contemporary religion and mythology. This, in fact, forms so large a part of them that their original character, as historical works, is almost lost sight of. For the majority of their readers, they serve as religious manuals, and are even regarded as scriptures for the masses who are unable to study the Vedic works. This makes their study indispensable for any student of the Brahmanic religion in India. With the exception of one or two, all the extant major Puranas had come into existence during the period from the 4th to the 6th century, so that the picture they give of religious ideas, beliefs, and practices, belongs to that period, and shows the development that had taken place from the time of the epics.

Post-Vedic Saivism is, now, seen in its fullest development. What was explicit in the epics is made more explicit and what was only hinted at in them, is more fully brought

As in the epics, the cult of Siva has two definite aspects in the Puranas, the philosophical and the popular, and, as before, we shall find it more convenient to deal with them separately.

In the philosophical aspect, the most important feature is the position of Siva. He is now explicitly regarded as the Supreme Being, to the exclusion of all other gods. He is the one Creator, the Prime Cause of the universe, and He alone is proclaimed by all the Vedas¹⁾. He is the philosophical Brahma, the Self, limitless and eternal.²⁾ He is the Unmanifest, and also the Manifest in the form of the individual self.³⁾ He is the one Primeval Purusa, the Atmatattva, the Highest Truth, proclaimed in the Upanisads and in the Vedanta philosophy,⁴⁾ and, also, in all the Smrtis, Puranas, and the Agamas.⁵⁾ Him, the one God, the wise, desirous of salvation, meditate upon, and forsake every thing else.⁶⁾ He is the Omniscient, the Omnipresent, the Lord of all creation, and the real Self in all beings.⁷⁾ He is the one Svyambhu who assumes the three fold role of creating, preserving,⁸⁾ and destroying the universe. He pervades the universe, and manifests Himself through it in various forms, though essentially⁹⁾ one.

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1. Saura. 7,30; 38,1,90; Linga. I,21,16; Agni.88,7; Brahma. 129, 68f.; Matsya. 132,27; 154,260-70; Vayu. 54,100. etc.
 2. Linga. I,21,49; Vayu.55,3; Garuda. 16,6-7. etc.
 3. Vayu. 24,71; 54,74; Agni. 74,82. etc.
 4. Saura. 29,31. Brahma,123,195. etc.
 5. Saura,38,91-92; Brahma.36,39. etc.
 6. Saura,2,83; Brahma. 110,100; etc.
 7. Vayu. 30,283-84;etc.
 8. Vayu.66,108. Linga. I,1,1.
 9. Saura.2,2f.;etc.

The above description of the conception of Siva show that Saivism had, by this time, become a definitely monistic religion in the sense that it preached the worship of only one God, and the other gods, though apparently recognised in mythology, had no place in the actual worship. Now, side by side with Saivism, Vaisnavism was also developing along similar lines, and, in the Puranas, Visnu is conceived of in exactly the same way by his worshippers, as Siva is by his. This is, indeed, the position of the epics, with this difference, however, that the respective devotees of the two gods, with more logic than before, now found it inconsistent with their monistic doctrines to recognise the existence, or at least the supremacy of any other deity but the one they worshipped and considered as supreme. At this stage there were two paths open to them. One was that which would naturally suggest itself first, namely that each group would regard the god it worshipped as the one God, and its religion as the only true religion. The other course, which was both wiser and truer, was to realise that worshippers of both the gods, in reality, worshipped but one and to regard their respective gods as but the two aspects of the same one God. The Puranas show that this latter course was adopted by the more intelligent of both the sects. The essential identity of Siva and Visnu is frequently, emphasised in most of the major Puranas, whether Saiva or Vaisnava. Thus in the Siva Vayu Purana, Siva is once explicitly said to be identical with
 1) Visnu, while in other passages he is either called by one

the other appellations of Visnu (e.g. Narayana) ¹⁾, or given
 latter's epithets like 'laksmipati' and so on. ²⁾ In the Sau
 Purana, which is also Saiva, it is expressly said that there
 no difference between Siva and Visnu. ³⁾ The same is seen in
 Vaisnava Puranas. Thus, in the Matsya, Siva is 'visnurupin'
 while Visnu is often called 'rudramurti'. ⁴⁾ In the Brahma,
 Visnu himself declares his identity with Siva. ⁵⁾ In the Visnu
 Purana, Siva and his consort are considered identical with
 Visnu and his consort. ⁶⁾ In another passage, in the same Pur
 Visnu is called by the name of Pinakdhrk, which is a special
 epithet of Siva, while at another place the two are said to
 one and the same. ⁸⁾ In the V^{ra}ha, the form of Siva is ident
 -fied with that of Visnu, and the latter is said to have a
 -med the form of Siva in the Treta yuga. ¹⁰⁾ In another passa
 the Supreme Purusa is described as being called either by
 name of Visnu or of Siva. ¹¹⁾ and the philosophical 'avyakta'
 the goddess Uma or Sri. ¹²⁾ Conversely, Siva is called the Su
 -reme Purusa, and is identified with Visnu. ¹³⁾ And so on. This
 identification of the two deities, combined with the fact,
 both Saivism and Vaisnavism were already practically two sc

1. Vayu.54,77.

3. Saura. 24,68.

5. Brahma. 206,47.

7. Visnu, I,9,68.

9. Varaha. 9,7.

11. Varaha. 25,4.

13. Vraha.25,19.

2. Vayu.24,111.

4. Matsya. 154,7; 249,38; 250,

6. Visnu, I,8,21.

8. Visnu. V,33,47-48.

10. Varaha. 10,16.

12. Varaha.25,4.

of the new Brahmanic religion, the chief characteristics of which they shared in common, made them two sects of the same religion rather than two independent creeds. It was also the recognition of the identity of the two deities which resulted in the rise of that tendency towards eclecticism among the people at large, which became a prominent feature of the religious life of the country from now onwards. The people, the whole, did not make any great difference between the worship of Siva and that of Visnu, while monarchs normally patronised both the faiths. It was also the recognition of the identity of Siva and Visnu that led to the worship of the one in the image of the other.¹⁾

This monistic trend of thought did not, and, in fact, could not stop at the identification of Siva and Visnu. Brahma, the third god of the Trinity, had also to be brought in if the Trinity was to mean anything. In other words, the Trinity had to be reduced to a Unity. The beginnings of this can be seen as far back as the Mahabharata in which, as we noticed, Brahma and Visnu were, once, described as coming out of the two sides of Siva, showing, thereby, that the latter was regarded as comprising the other two within himself. From this idea developed the conception of the Trimurti which represented the other gods of the Trinity as merely the manifestations of Siva. By the time of the Puranas, this idea of the unity behind the

1. Instances of this are found in some late Puranas, e.g. Garuda. 7,52.

Trinity had become quite established, and was clearly recognised. This is seen, first, by the attribution of the distinctive functions of the three gods to one and the same deity. Thus, in many passages in the Puranas, Siva is exalted as the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe, functions which were originally ascribed to Brahma, Visnu, and Siva respectively. In other passages, the same claim is made for Visnu. Secondly, in some passages, the essential of the three is explicitly emphasised. Thus, in the Vayu, it is said that through ignorance only some people distinguish between Brahma, Visnu, and Siva. In reality, only the one Being who, manifesting himself in three forms, deludes the people, and whose oneness is recognised in the Veda, in the Dharma Sastras, and in other sacred texts. In the Saura, Siva is recognised as the one Deity who manifests himself in the form of Brahma and Visnu. The same idea is expressed in a passage in the ⁶Vrahara Purana, where Brahma is to be seen in the body of Siva and ⁴Visnu in his heart.

Other features of the philosophical side of Saivism, which we saw in the epics, are also to be seen in the Puranas. The deity, as the object of realisation of those who practised austerities and self discipline, he is closely associated with yoga. He is himself regarded as the Mahayogi, and as the foremost exponent of the science of yoga. Besides, by this time, a special system

1. e.g. Brahma.129,8.
3. Saura. 2,4; 23,53.
5. Vayu, 24,156.

2. Vayu.66,109-16. etc.
4. Varaha.71,2-7.
6. Brahma Vaiv. 1,3,20; 6,4.

of yogic practices had also been developed in connection with the worship of Siva and was known as the Mahesvara Yoga, described in the Saura and the Vayu Puranas. In this aspect also, Siva is conceived of as a 'yatin', or one who is self controlled, 'brahmacharin', and a permanent celibate ('urdhvaretah'), thus providing the perfect example to those who practised yoga. His old connection with Samkhya is also remembered in the Puranas. Thus, as in the epics, he is called 'samkhyatman', and is described as the source of Samkhya. He is the Purusa of the Samkhya who attain salvation by realising him. These are, however, more than reminiscences of the old association of Siva with the original doctrines of Samkhya, for, by this time, Siva had no connection with the Samkhya system of philosophy which was developing on quite different lines than from those which Saivism had taken, and was, now, almost atheistic. In this connection it is important to remember that in the verse in which the Saivites are described as meditating upon Siva as the Purusa, the reference is to the 'maulika' or original Samkhyas who held the doctrine of a transcendental Self or Purusa and a plurality of 'prakrtis', and not to the later Samkhyas who believed in a supreme Prakrti and a plurality of 'purusas'!

The Puranas also show the beginnings of another feature in the philosophical aspect of Saivism, which became very important later on. This was the philosophic concept of his consort in association with him. We saw in the Upanisads, the idea of

1. Saura. ch.12. Vayu.ch.10, 70f. 2. Matsya.47,138; Vayu. 166.
 3. Matsya,47,138;132,26. Vayu,24,162.
 4. Matsya.47,146; Vayu.10,64; 24,134; Brahmanda,9,88.

Supreme Purusa and his Prakrti or Maya through whose agency accomplished the work of creation. We also saw, in those who the identification of this Purusa with Siva. When, therefore the worshippers of his consort sought a philosophical basis for her cult, they naturally identified her with this Prakrti or Maya or Sakti of Siva, thus preparing the foundations of the philosophical development of the cult of Siva and Parvati which culminated in the evolution of the Saiva Siddhanta. This position of the consort of Siva as his Sakti is recognised in many of the Puranas. In the Saura, for example, she is called the conscious ('jnanamayi') Sakti of Siva,¹⁾ with, and through whom he created, protects and destroys, and who, in this work, assumes different forms.²⁾ In another passage, she is called the Para or the Pramasakti, pervading all, the Maya of Mahesvara³⁾ is the Mayin. And so on. As his Sakti or Maya, she was really not different from Siva, and this essential oneness of the two is explicitly pointed out.⁴⁾ Only those who are ignorant regard them as different, not those who see the truth. Their relationship is analogous to that of fire and the power of burning.⁵⁾ At one place, Parvati herself declares the absence of any distinction⁶⁾ between Siva and herself, and that their oneness was evident from the study of Vedanta. The reference to Vedanta is interesting as it further emphasises the monistic lines on which

1. Saura.2,16.
3. Saura.2,18; 55,8,14.
5. Saura.2,18-19.

2. Saura.7,20.
4. Saura.2,17.
6. Saura.55,7.

On the popular side, Saivism is seen, in the Puranas to be the same in all essentials as in the epics, with developments in detail only. As in the latter, the worship of Siva in association with his consort is its most prominent feature. The conception of Siva is the same as in the epics except that, in accordance with the more distinctly monistic tone of Saivism his essential supremacy and oneness is more emphasised. He is regarded as the one God, the Lord of all, and is called Mahes¹⁾-ra, Mahadeva, and Devadeva. He is conceived of as kind and benevolent as usual, through whose grace his devotees find their salvation. Very great stress is laid on 'bhakti' on the part of the worshipper, which is the one and only way of pleasing him and obtaining boons from him.²⁾ No amount of external ceremonial study, or dialectics can take its place. So far, indeed, is the importance of 'bhakti' emphasised, that, at one place, only the true devotees are said to be capable of perceiving his subtlest form, and the gods and the ordinary mortals can see only his gross form.³⁾ In this aspect, Siva is also conceived of as a moral God who watches over the activities of all beings and punishes all transgression and sin whether among mortals or gods. This character of his was seen as early as the time of the Atharva Brahmana. It is not quite evident in the epics, but is clearly brought out in the Puranas, and is illustrated by the

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1. Matsya.136,6f. Saura.7,17; 38,1; 39,14f.
 2. Matsya,183,51; Saura,2,14. etc.
 3. Saura.24,43-44.

1)
 legend of Soma and Tara. As in the Brahmanic legend of the offence of Prajapati, it is Siva who, wrathful at the transgression of Soma, gives him the punishment he deserves.

When associated with him, the consort of Siva also shares his characteristics. As in the epics, she is commonly conceived of as a kind and gentle goddess, revered by all and prayed for her grace. 2)
 A new feature in her character, which was, perhaps, the result of the mutual influence of her character as a mother goddess on the one hand, and as the consort of Siva on the other, is what may be called a euphemisation of the former. The beginning of this was seen even in the epic when she was called the Devi, and the great goddess, honoured even by the gods. In the Puranas, this is developed. As Siva was the great Father, so she was regarded as the great Mother and hymns are addressed to her as such. 3)
 In them she is extolled as the controller of the universe, the progenitor of all the 'saktis, the Universal Mother, the great Benefactress of the worlds, and so on. She is regarded as the Primeval Prakrti, and the source of Vedanta. Her close association with Siva, however, never lost sight of, and she is always remembered as his consort.

The identity of Siva and his consort, as a result of the conception of the latter as the Sakti of Siva, found popular expression in a new idea, the 'ardhanarisvara' form of Siva.

1. Matsya.23. Agni. 274. A slightly different version is found in Brahma Vaiv. III,58.

2. Agni. 96,100-06; Saura. 25.13-23 etc.

3. Saura.25.13-23
 Matsya.13,18f

symbolising the essential oneness of Siva and Parvati, the former was conceived of as both male and female, and his form half man and half woman. Thus arose the conception of the 'Ardhanarisvara' Siva. The Puranas frequently refer to this aspect of Siva, especially when describing the worship of the two deities together. In the Matsya, for example, Siva is called this title when he is worshipped along with Parvati. In a subsequent chapter, Parvati is said to have become permanently united with her husband through the boon of Brahma. In the Vayu, Siva is described as having the body of a male and a female. And so on. This aspect of Siva became quite popular and found expression in pictorial and sculptural art.

The mode of worship of Siva and Parvati is described in detail in the Puranas. Its essentials were the same as in the epic period. Prayers are offered to Siva and his consort expressing complete faith in them, and supplicating them for their grace and mercy. Elaborate hymns are also recited in praise. The temple appears to have been the normal place for the public worship of both Siva and Parvati, and in it the image of the deity concerned was installed. The images of Siva, mentioned in the Puranas, were, chiefly, of three kinds. There were the ordinary anthropomorphic 'pratimas' of Siva, usually male.

1. Matsya. 60,22.
3. Vayu. 24,141.

2. Matsya. 157,12.
4. Found in most Puranas.

of stone or metal, which represented Siva, normally, as of human appearance, clad in white, two or four armed, bearing a crescent, and so on. Other images depicted him in his fierce aspect. Detailed instructions for the constructions of these images are given in the ¹⁾Matsya Purana. But much more common these images were the 'linga' images of Siva, which are commonly ²⁾referred to in the Puranas. The 'linga' is, now, seen to have become the sacred symbol of Siva, and was highly venerated. It is said to be worshipped even by the gods, including Brahma and ³⁾Visnu, and the Linga Purana is specially devoted to its glorification. From the description of the 'linga' found in the Puranas, as also from the evidence of the actual specimens of these 'lingas', it appears that the shape of the 'linga' had become highly conventionalised by this time, and did not, even remotely, suggest that the 'linga' originally represented the phallus. Nor is there the slightest suggestion of its original phallic character in its worship, which was exactly similar to that of the anthropomorphic images. From the mention of the different places at which temples, with these 'linga' images, are said to have been situated, it is clear that the worship of the 'linga' had spread all over India by this time. Some of these temples, situated at places where a certain evi

1. Matsya. 261. v.23 f. and also other chapters.
 2. Matsya. 183,9; 185,57; 193,10f. Saura.4,3f. Agni.53,1f.; ch.53,103, and 327. Brahma.ch.41. etc.
 3. Saura. 41,9. Linga. 73,7; 74,2-5.

event was supposed to have taken place, had become very famous and were great places of pilgrimage. A list of such places, descriptions of each, and of the special merit accruing from ¹⁾ -shipping Siva there, is given in the Saura Purana. Elaborate directions for the construction and installation of the 'linga' images are given in the Agni Purana, and mention is made of ²⁾ several kinds of 'lingas'. ³⁾ There were portable 'lingas' of small dimensions, and, probably, meant for household worship and for carrying about. Then, there were the immovable 'lingas' which were, most probably, fixed permanently in temples. Both these varieties were of a shape slightly conical and well rounded. They could be made of baked clay, unbaked clay, wood, stone, crystal, ⁴⁾ iron, copper, brass, silver, gold, or jewels. The Linga Purana ⁵⁾ also mentions these different kinds of 'lingas'. In connection with the construction of the 'linga' images directions are also given for the construction of 'mukhalingas', or a special kind of a 'linga' in which the full or a part of the figure of Siva was ⁶⁾ carved in relief on the vertical shaft of the 'linga'. Such 'lingas' were often to be seen in temples. Less common than either of these two kinds of the images of Siva were his images representing his 'ardhanarisvara' aspect. Directions for the

1. Saura. ch. 4-8.
 3. Agni. 54, 8f.
 5. Linga. I, ch, 74.
 6.

2. Agni. 53, 1f.
 4. Agni. 54, 1f.
 6. Agni. 54, 41-48.

1)

construction of these are given in the Matsya Purana. The male half, which was on the right, had matted hair, the serpent, -suki, near the ear, the skull or the gourd in the hand, and a trident. It had either one or two arms according as the whole image was two or four armed. The figure was clad either in skin garments or a yellow robe. The female half had a crown on the head, and suitable ornaments on the arms and neck, and was clad in the usual female garments. The worship of Siva and -ati jointly was performed before such images. Besides these three kinds of images, the Matsya also, once, mentions the composite images of Siva and Visnu, showing the identity of the two deities. These images became very common later on in countries which came under the influence of the Indian civilisation. But in India itself, they seem to have remained rather rare probably, owing to the sectarian spirit which both Saivism and Vaisnavism developed, and which was unfavourable to the joint worship of the two deities as one. The Puranas do not tell anything about the images of Siva representing the Trimurti. That such images were made is proved from their actual existence in later times, and it is quite probable that they were made in Pauranic times also.

Directions for the construction of the images of the consort of Siva are also given in the Puranas, and these images were worshipped in the same manner as those of Siva.

As a rule, the worship of Siva, and also of his consort,

was performed daily, and directions are given in the Agni and other Puranas for it. ¹⁾ But certain days in the year were considered as special days for the worship of Siva, on which special ceremonies were performed. ²⁾ Thus, in the Matsya, we read that on the Krsnastami, gifts of cows, land, gold, and -thes, were made to the Brahmanas, after which Siva was wor- -ped in the evening. Numerous offerings, and leaves of the sacred trees were required, and the worship closed with fur- presents to the Brahmanas. Great merit is said to accrue fr- worshipping Siva on this day, and the devotee, honoured ever- the gods, is said to attain to supreme bliss in the world of Rudra. In each month, Siva was worshipped under a different name. Another day, on which the special worship of Siva was -formed, was the Anangatrayodasi, the day on which Siva was -osed to have destroyed Kama. The ceremony is described in ³⁾ Saura Purana. As in the case of the Krsnastami worship, Siva was worshipped under a different name in different months in which the particular 'trayodasi' happened to fall. But these names are other than those used in the first ceremony. The -ship was comparatively simple, and consisted in the offering of the usual prayers, and of flowers, fruits and incense. A special feature was the offering of the 'naivedyas' made to Siva on this day. The most important day in the Saiva calendar, however,

1. e.g. Agni. ch.74.
3. Saura. ch.16.

2. Matsya. ch.56.

the Sivacaturdasi. The ceremony performed on this day is described in detail in the Matsya Purana. A complete fast was kept on that day with only one meal on the previous one. Siva along with Uma, was worshipped in the morning with lotuses, incense, garlands of flowers, and unguents. A bull, golden pitchers, a white raiment, five jewels, and different kinds of food and clothes were then given as gifts to the Brahmanas, accompanied by a prayer to Siva for his grace. Lastly, some worshipful Saiva devotees were to be invited and duly honoured. This was the normal mode of worship on this day, but, when it fell in certain months some extra rites were also performed with special offerings. The merit of worshipping Siva on this day, with these rites, is said to be very great indeed. It is described as equal to the accumulated merit of a thousand Savaneda sacrifices and able to release a person from the sin of 'Brahmahatya'. Through it, the Saiva devotee could attain to the status of a 'Ganapati' and live as such in Heaven for countless ages, attaining, finally to the presence of Siva.

All the abovementioned ceremonies are domestic, performed by the individual at his own house. And it is this domestic and individual worship with which the Puranas deal most in detail. About the public worship of Siva in temples they do not tell much. Congregational worship of the kind which was, for instance, developed by the Christian or the Muslim church, does not form an important feature of the post-Vedic Brahmanic religion. It was always more or less a matter of form, and was strictly of

-tional. It never seems to have developed beyond the singing of hymns and a formal worship of the god in the temple. Participation in it, however, was considered meritorious, and visits to the temples were looked upon as religious acts in themselves.

As remarked above, the consort of Siva was normally worshipped along with him. Apart from this, there was also a special ceremonial in which the two deities were jointly worshipped. This was the Umamahesvara Vrata. It is described in the Saura Purana.¹⁾ It could be performed either on a 'Purnama' or 'Amavasya', 'Caturdasi', or 'Astami'. The images of the two deities were worshipped simultaneously with the usual prayers and offerings, and after this, a number of true Saiva devotees were fed. The person who performed this Vrata went to the world of Siva, and lived for ever in bliss. The Matsya Purana gives directions for another rite in which Siva and Parvati²⁾ were worshipped together, the latter being, here, called Bhavani. The ritual was much the same as the Umamahesvara Vrata. A special rite was also performed on the third day of a bright fortnight in spring, on which day Sati was supposed to have been married to Siva. The rite was in her honour, though Siva was worshipped along with her. The worship was performed with offerings of fruit, incense, lamps, and the 'naivedyas'.³⁾ The image of Parvati, which is explicitly mentioned here, was bathed in milk and scented water, and, afterwards, salutations

1. Saura. ch.43. cf. also Linga.I, ch.84.

2. Matsya. ch 64.

3. Matsya 60, 14-44.

were made to the goddess. The worship of Parvati by herself when she was conceived of as the great Mother, we shall consider later on when dealing with her character as the mother goddess.

The two other aspects of Siva's character, which we saw in the epics, are also described in the Puranas, and the information supplied by them not only shows the development of these aspects during the interval, but also helps us in understanding, better, their origin and history. The first of these aspects is that of Siva as a 'kapalin'. This aspect is described in most of the Puranas in much more detail than in the epics. The appearance of Siva in this aspect is fearsome. He is described as awful ('karala'), fierce ('rudra'), cruel ('krura') with lolling tongue and protruding side tusks, and inspiring terror ('bhisana'¹⁾). He is supposed to be entirely naked, when he gets his epithet 'digambara'²⁾, and is smeared all over with ashes on account of which he is called 'bhasmanatha' in the Vayu Purana.³⁾ Having such an appearance, and thus attired, rather unattired, he carries a skull in his hand which serves as his begging bowl,⁴⁾ and has a garland of skulls round his neck. The latter is a new feature which further emphasises his 'kapaliva'⁶⁾. The cremation ground is his favourite resort. From there he gets his skulls and his ashes, and in it he he diverts his

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1. Matsya. 47,127f.; Agni. 324,16. 2. Matsya. 155,23; Brahma. 27,10; Saura. 41,96.
 3. Vayu. 112,53.
 4. Brahma. 37,7; Vayu. 24,129; 54,70; 55,14; Matsya. 47,137. 5. Vayu. 24,140; Varaha. 24, Saura. 53,5; Brahma. 27,10.
 6. Vayu. 24,140; Varaha. 25,24; Agni, 322, -ma. 37,7.
 2; Brahma. 37,13; 38,36.

in the company of a host of 'pisacas', goblins, and other beings who are his attendants, and are, in every way, like him in appearance.¹⁾ At one place, he himself is called a 'nisacara'.²⁾ In this aspect he came to be called Kapalesvara.

That Siva, in this aspect, was not worshipped by the generality of the people, is abundantly clear from his normal conception and mode of worship, which we have described above. As suggested in the previous chapter, it was only a certain section of the population, which had, probably, worshipped Siva in this aspect from the very beginning, and which continued to do so. This section of the worshippers of Siva had now emerged as a definite sect, called the Kapalika sect. Its adherents were a kind of wandering ~~sank~~ ascetics who claimed to have acquired superhuman powers by dabbling in magical and pseudo-yogic practices, and had adopted a way of life calculated to create an impression upon the common people by its sheer contrast from the normal. By the time of the Puranas, these Kapalikas had developed the conception of the old fierce Rudra into the fantastic and gruesome 'kapalin'. They seem to have made themselves resemble their god in outward appearance, and went about practically naked, with a skull as the alms bowl, and their bodies smeared with ashes. They took up their residence at the cremation grounds wherever they went. This form of

1. Matsya. 8,5; Brahma. 38,37; 2. Saura. 41,53. Vayu. 10,46.

worship was not officially recognised, and was condemned, though no active steps seem to have been taken to suppress it. In the Saura Purana, the Kapalikas are classed with the heretics.¹⁾ As seen in the epics, with the passage of time, the 'kapalin' aspect of Siva seems to have gained some recognition even among those who did not worship him in this aspect, in so far as Siva was regarded as being a 'kapalin' also, and his various epithets and appellations, derived from this aspect, were indiscriminately mixed up with his other epithets. In the Puranas, this is seen to a much greater extent than in the epics. The recognition of the 'kapalin' aspect of Siva, however, was in itself, a tacit recognition of the Kapalika sect, and it was perhaps, partly because of this that the sect was not definitely suppressed, and it continued to exist till recent times, though the public opinion against it progressively reduced the number of adherents. At the same time, the Kapalikas themselves, also appear to have made some efforts to give a rational interpretation of their beliefs and practices, and to give an appearance of respectability to their cult. Many instances of this are found in the Puranas. In the Brahmanda, for example, in reply to a query from the sages, Siva himself is described as explaining the significance of the different features of his 'kapalin' aspect.²⁾ He smears his body with ashes because they are a substance which has been thoroughly burned by fire, and, hence purified, fire being the great purifier. Ashes, therefore,

1. Saura.38,54.

2. Brahmanda. I,27,105f.

regarded as the very essence of purity, and as removers of sin from him who uses them. Through an 'ash-bath' (that is, -ring the body with ashes) a person, with his soul purified with his senses under perfect control, attains to the presence of Siva. As to nakedness, Siva explains that all beings are born naked, hence, there is nothing inherently wrong in nudity. On the other hand, it is a great test and also a sign of self control. Those who do not possess self control are really, though draped with clothes, while those who possess it do not stand in any need of external covering. The frequenting of cremation grounds, similarly, is another test of one's control over his natural impulses, and those who possess such control and have lived in the cremation ground in the right way ('da-nenapatha'), have proved their superiority in will power, and have, therefore, been considered worthy of attaining immortality and 'Isitva'. In this way, did the Kapalikas sought to glorify their cult, and to throw a cloak of sanctity over their nefarious practices. The arguments are superficially plausible enough, and it is possible that they succeeded in convincing some people. Nor did the Kapalikas stop at this. They even made out their mode of life as a kind of a 'vrata' which might be undertaken by one in order to expiate some very grave sin. This is seen in the legend of Siva's cutting off Brahma's head in which Siva himself is said to have undertaken this 'vrata' to be relieved of the sin of 'Brahmahatya'. He is described as taking the garb of a Kapalika, that is, naked and smeared with

ashes, and making a long pilgrimage of all the important sacred places, after which, the skull of Brahma, which had stuck to his hand, fell off, and he was released from his sin. But these efforts at gaining a recognition for their cult do not seem to have succeeded to any very great extent. The close association of the cult with black magic, and its essentially antisocial character were too obvious to enable it to be widely accepted, and the Kapalikas remained, for all time, a small sect, generally shunned by people.

The other aspect of Siva was that of a Bacchic deity. As we have seen that in the epics Siva was associated, in this respect with the Kiratas, and that the origin of this aspect of his is, probably, to be found in his assimilation of some Himalayan deity. The Puranas give us further information about this aspect of Siva. In the Brahmanda, ¹⁾ occurs a legend which relates how Siva, once, went to a colony of sages in a forest. His appearance is, here, described as truly Bacchanalian. He had a grotesque figure, was entirely naked, and had dishevelled hair. Arrived in the forest, he began, forthwith, a riotous revel sometimes laughing loudly, sometimes singing dreamily, sometimes dancing like an amorous person, and sometimes weeping bitterly. The women of the hermitage were completely captivated by this

1. Brahmanda. I, ch. 27.

revel, and eagerly joined Siva in riotous merriment and want sport. The outraged sages, after remonstrating with him and punishing him, repair to Brahma who reveals to them the true character of the apparently mad person who had seduced their women. The story tails off into the usual prayer to Siva by sages, and his granting boons to them. But the nature and alien character of the Bacchic aspect of Siva are clearly brought out in the legend. Somewhat later and euphemised versions of the same legend are found in the Saura and the Linga Puranas, but the essential features of this aspect of Siva are seen in them also. In the Agni Purana, again, Siva is said to have been infatuated with the female form of Visnu, and to have forsaken Parvati for the sake of that illusion, till he was undeceived by Visnu himself. The memory of this, perhaps, forms the ground for Parvati's allegation against Siva that he was a licentious person, which is found in the Matsya Purana. The preservation of this trait of Siva's character, which, like his 'kapalin' aspect, has no connection with his normal worship and would have died away had it been only a faint memory of an ancient and obsolete feature in his character, shows that Siva was still worshipped as a Bacchic deity by some people. It is interesting to note that in all the instances mentioned above, Siva is associated with the north. It is a forest of cedars, which are found extensive

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1. Saura. ch.69; Linga. I, ch.29.
 2. Agni. 3, 18f.
 3. Matsya. 155, 31.

the lower Himalayan regions, in which Siva is said to have seduced the women of the sages. When Visnu deceived him, it was also in the Himalayas. This supplements the evidence of the epics, and supports the suggestion made in the previous chapter that the god, from whom Siva derived these characteristics, was worshipped some where in the north. Direct evidence upon this point, however, had been provided by the late Nilamata Purana, a Kashmirian work. In it, we read how in Kashmir, on the Kṛścaturdāsi, on which day Siva was specially worshipped, great revelry prevailed among the worshippers who are described as passing the night in singing and dancing, and in the company of courtezans¹⁾. This is entirely foreign to the worship of Siva on that day in other parts of India, as has been noticed above and is, most probably, a reminiscence of the times when these revelries formed an important part of the worship of the god who was now identified with Siva. Outside Kashmir, there is no evidence of Siva being worshipped in a similar manner, and this shows that this form of worship remained confined to the region in which it had originally prevailed, and even here, it gradually disappeared, as is evident from the later history of the Saiva faith in Kashmir.

There is one more trait in Siva's character in the Puranas that remains to be seen. The fierce character of the

1. Nilamata. v. 559.

Vedic Rudra, though it had fallen into the background with the development of the gentle aspect of Siva, had never quite disappeared. When the idea of the post-Vedic Trinity was developed, Rudra was given the role of the destroyer. Later on, Siva was exalted to the position of the position of the supreme God, the triple function of the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe was ascribed to him. But when conceived of as the destroyer, he continued to be regarded in his old fierce aspect, though it was developed and euphemised a great deal. This is not quite evident in the epics, but becomes clear in the Puranas. They show him, in this aspect a fierce and dreadful deity of destruction, before whom no one can stand. His appellations are Canda, Bhairava, Mahakala,¹⁾ so on. He is described as black in colour, bearing a trident and, sometimes, a 'tanka' in addition, having a rosary of ²⁾ beads, and bearing a the crescent on his forehead. In the Matsya Purana, he is described, in this aspect as ruddy in colour (the colour of the Vedic Rudra), the destroyer ('ksapan'),³⁾ the terrible ('bhima'), and death itself ('mrtyu'). In the Vayu Purana, he is identified with Kala who is conceived of or less in the same manner as the Vedic Rudra (he is called ⁴⁾ the name Rudra, and is worshipped with the three 'kapalas'). His attendants, in this aspects, are the 'raksas', the 'danavas', the 'daityas', the 'gandharvas', and the 'yaksas'.⁵⁾ His association with the 'yaksas', and his being called the lord of

L.1. Matsya. 252,10; Brahma.43,66;
Agni. 76,5. etc.
4. Vayu. 31,32f.

2. Agni. 76,7f.
3. Matsya.47,128f.
5. Vayu.24,107.

'yaksas' are rather significant facts, for, the 'yaksas' as described in the Matsya Puranas beings who supposed to be by nature, carrion eaters, devourers of uneatable things, and prone to kill.¹⁾ Siva's association with them, therefore, is reminiscence of the old association of the Vedic Rudra with such beings. In the Brahmanda Purana, these hosts or attendants of Siva are said to have been created by Siva himself and to have been like him in shape.²⁾ This further makes clear the conception of Siva in this aspect. In this, aspect also Siva is associated with the eleven Rudras who are frequently mentioned in the Puranas, and are always regarded as having been created out of Siva, and not being different from him. The character assigned to them, again, reminds us of the fierce V Rudra. In this aspect also, apart from his work as a destroyer he is conceived of as the slayer of the enemies of gods and and his most famous exploit in this connection is the killing of the demon Andhaka.³⁾ As time passed, Siva was supposed to have many different forms in this fierce aspect, which were frequently delineated in iconography.

As remarked in previous chapters, such traits in the character of Siva as have been described above, which were the result of his assimilation of alien deities, were, in all probability responsible for the rise of the orthodox prejudice

1. Matsya, 180, 9-10.

2. Brahmanda. I, 9, 23f.

3. Matsya.ch.179. Linga, I, ch.93. etc.

against Saivism. The Puranas show many reminiscences of this prejudice, though there is room for suspicion that some of the criticisms and denunciations of Saivism found in them, might reflect, not so much an ancient prejudice, as contemporary sectarian jealousy. We have, first, passages in the Puranas, which Saivism is condemned outright. Thus, in the Matsya Purana Parvati herself reviles Siva as a knave ('dharma') who has acquired the habit of equivocal speech from the serpents which he keeps twined round his arms, who has taken the blackness of heart from the spots in the moon on his forehead, lack of attention from the ashes, and stupidity from his bull, who has lost all sense of propriety and even decency by frequenting the cremation grounds and going about naked, and who, as a 'kapali' is cruel and entirely devoid of softer sentiments. Further she directly accuses him of licentiousness also. In the Brahma²⁾ Purana, in the legend of the seduction of the women of the sages, the latter upbraid him in very severe terms and consider him to be a mad person. Lastly, in the Brahma Purana, Menaka³⁾ mother of Parvati, speaks insultingly of Siva as a beggar who cannot even afford a garment to cover his nakedness, and association with whom was humiliating to anybody, particularly to Parvati who had chosen him as her husband. And, Siva is said to have accepted this indictment as entirely justified. In ev

1. Matsya. 155, 6f.
3. Brahma. 38, 26-27.

2. Brahma. 27, 17f.

case, it will be observed, the objectionable traits in Siva's character are made the ground of his condemnation. In other passages also, we find indications of an original unwillingness to accord any recognition to Siva or his worship, and a tendency to regard him as an alien deity. Thus, in the legend of the origin of the 'linga', which is found in differing versions in many Puranas, Brahma refuses to recognise Siva or to admit his superiority until Visnu reveals to him the true nature and the greatness of the god. The reasons for this reluctance on his part are, again, the same as above. In the Vayu Purana, Brahma sees Siva as having a cavernous mouth with protruding sides and with dishevelled hair and distorted features, and altogether fearsome in appearance, to whom he, naturally enough, refuses to make obeisance, and has to be convinced by Visnu of the supremacy of Siva, before he agrees to pay due honour to him. In some versions, neither Visnu nor Brahma are said to have admitted the greatness of Siva, until they found themselves unable to measure the vastness of the 'linga' in which form he had appeared before them. The anecdote of Indra preparing to hurl his thunderbolt at Siva, when the latter appeared in the form of an infant, noticed in the epics, occurs again in the Puranas though in a different context. Here, it is on the occasion of the 'svayamvara' of Parvati, that Siva appears as an infant

1. Vayu. 24, 35f.

2. Brahma. ch. 36 etc.

five locks, whom Parvati recognises as Siva and immediately chooses for her husband. Indra, it is related, through his ignorance and jealousy waxed angry, and raised his thunderbolt in order to strike down the infant, when his arm is paralysed and he is thoroughly humiliated. This anecdote also shows the same unwillingness to recognise Siva. In the Nilamata Purana again, Indra expresses his surprise when Brahma makes obeisance¹⁾ to Siva, and asks who could be superior to him. The most important indication of the original opposition to Saivism, however, is the legend of the sacrifice of Daksa. This legend has been noticed in the epics, but much more significant versions of it are found in the Puranas. The oldest version, perhaps is to be found in the Varaha Purana, and is very important. Here, it is related how Siva, when asked by Brahma, at the time of creation, to create the different beings, found himself unable to do so, and hid himself in the waters, presumably to practise penance and thus to make himself able for the task of creation. In his absence, Brahma proceeded to carry on the work of creating the beings through the agency of the seven Prajapatis, the first of whom was Daksa. In course of time, the latter started to perform a sacrifice which was attended by the gods. Just at that time, Siva emerged from the waters, seeing all the creation effected without his aid, he was filled with wrath, and proceeded to attack the sacrifice in his rage.

1. Nilamata. v.1082 f.

2. Varaha.ch.21.

Flames are said to have shot forth from his ears and to have become the 'vetalas', 'pisacas' and so forth. Accompanied by these, he went to the place of the sacrifice. At his approach the 'Rtvijas' lost their formulas, and, observing this, they pronounced him to be some demon who had come to frustrate the sacrifice. On Daksa's advice, the assembled gods gave battle to Siva, in which they were worsted, Bhaga being blinded and Pusan having his jaw smashed. Visnu himself rallied the gods back, when Brahma intervened and the combatants, giving Siva a share in the sacrifice and making him equal in rank to Visnu. This appears to be the unretouched version of the legend which had developed from the Brahmanic myth of the omission of the gods to assign a share to Rudra, and shows clearly how Siva, originally, looked upon as an alien intruder into the Brahmanic pantheon. The sequel to the legend is even more significant for, in it, it is related that Sati, who had been previously married to Rudra, and after the latter's disappearance under the waters, had been given by Brahma to Daksa as his daughter, was greatly grieved and angered at the wanton destruction of her father's sacrifice by her husband. As a result of this, she renounced the latter, and ended her life by leaping into fire. This is the exact opposite of what is described in other versions of the legend in the Puranas, where Sati is said to have been

grieved by her father's hostility to Siva, and the insulting words he used. Even allowing for a certain amount of sectarian influence in the legend, it is abundantly clear that Siva was originally held in contempt, and that the reasons for this contempt lay in his own character, and not in any narrow and irrational biased outlook on the part of his contempters. Later the legend was greatly modified in favour of Siva, and Daksa made out as inviting a well deserved punishment on himself by refusing, in his arrogance, to pay due honour to Siva. But the original significance of the legend is clear even in these versions. Daksa's refusal to recognise Siva, or to give him a share in his sacrifice shows, in every version, the unwillingness of the orthodox to give a place in their religion to a deity whose character and cult they did not approve of. From Vayu Purana we learn that Saivism did not receive recognition for a considerable time, for, it is said that it was a custom, long established among the gods, not to give Siva any share in the sacrifice. We shall have occasion to examine the different versions of the legend later on.

All this old prejudice against Saivism had, however disappeared a long time ago, and, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, Siva was universally recognised by the time of the epics. By the time of the Puranas, Saivism, together with Vedism, was the Brahmanic religion. This rise in its status was due to the growth of the doctrine of Bhakti, and the association of Saivism with it. This brought into prominence those

its features which were in harmony with the Bhakti doctrine, while its other aspects fell into the background, and, even though these latter continued to prevail among certain sections of the worshippers of Siva, they were increasingly discountenanced, and, gradually, the cult of Siva was purged of them, and those who still adhered to them were regarded as heretics. It was this gradual process of reform that was responsible for the universal recognition of Saivism eventually. Indications of this were seen in the epics, and the Puranas have many more of them. The conventionalisation of the 'linga' and the altered mode of its worship have been noticed above. The old objectionable traits are explained away in many ways, as, for example, the features of the 'kapalin' aspect of Siva, in the Brahmanda Purana, as noticed above. In the Saura Purana, the Saivas are exhorted to lead lives of exemplary character, strictly in accordance with the ethics of post-Vedic Brahmanism. Those who do not do so were condemned. In this process of reformation it is possible that the influence and example of Vaisnavism might have played some part. From the very beginning, the worshippers of Siva must have realised that if their god and their creed were to gain recognition, they must make the character both conformable to the generally prevailing and recognised standards and ideas. As Visnu was a purely Brahmanic deity, his cult was always an example before the Saivas, which they had

1. Saura.50,71.

2. Saura.38,54.

emulate if they hoped to make their cult as popular and as widely recognised as the other. The Saura Purana, at one place alludes to a time when Saivism attracted very few adherents, while there were countless worshippers of Visnu. ¹⁾ In order to gain more adherents, Saivism had to mould itself along the line which Vaisnavism was taking, and to discard those features which went contrary to them. By the time of the Puranas, the process was complete, and Saivism and Vaisnavism had very little to distinguish between them in their essential doctrines and practices. But though Saivism, thus, rejected its old gross features, the epithets of Siva, derived from them, were never entirely given up and continued to be used indiscriminately along with his other epithets, as seen above.

Side by side with Saivism, the cult of his consort and the mother goddess was also developing during this period. We saw in the epics how, owing to the identification of the pre-Aryan mother goddess as the consort of Rudra, she had come to be regarded as having two aspects, one as the gentle goddess of the Bhakti religion, worshipped along with Siva, and the other as a fierce and formidable deity that she originally was. As in the case of Siva, these two aspects of her ^{were} not kept separate, and allusions to her character in one aspect frequently occurred while she was being worshipped in the other. This fact is seen most clearly in the Puranas, and is an indication of the complete

1. Saura. 38,6,10.

fusion of the two aspects. Thus, while being invoked as Parvati, there are almost always allusions to the character of the goddess as the fierce deity, the killer of demons, and the great mother and vice versa.¹⁾ The Durga Khanda of the Brahma Vaivarta Purana shows this fusion of the two aspects in a very clear manner. On the other hand, there are indications in the Puranas that the fundamental distinction between the two aspects of the goddess was realised at that time, though vaguely, and that the realisation of these two aspects having been forgotten, other, more or less fanciful, explanations were invented. In the Vayu Purana, for example, the goddess is described as having been originally half white and half black, and then having divided herself into two forms, one white and the other black. We, at the present time, can see, in this distinction between the white and the black forms of the goddess, an original ethnic distinction between the fair complexioned associate of the Vedic Rudra and, probably, the dark complexioned mother goddess who was identified with her. It is improbable that this ethnic distinction between the two aspects of the goddess was realised at the time of the Puranas, considering how the original alien character of the mother goddess aspect of the consort of Siva had been completely forgotten then. The two colours, therefore, appear

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1. Matsya.158,11f.; 176,22f.; Varaha.96,99; Saura.49,5f.; Agni.96,100f. Vayu. 9,82-86; Varaha. 28,33f.
 2. Vayu. 9,82f.

have been taken as symbols of the two aspects of the goddess, when she was worshipped as Parvati, she was conceived of as white, while, when worshipped in her fierce aspect, she was conceived as black. It is this which explains the passage in the Markandeya Purana in which, before beginning her battle with the demons, the goddess is said to have separated herself from Ambika, whereupon her colour is said to have become black. ¹⁾ character and the mode of worship of the goddess in her first aspect as the gentle Parvati, we have already noticed above. her other aspect, her worship, originally, was, and, in spite of her identification as the consort of Siva, remained a separate cult, which is seen to have developed a literature of its own during the Pauranic period, complete with scriptural texts, later versions of which are known to us as the Tantras. The cult got the name of Saktism because of the conception of the goddess in it as the Sakti. The Puranas give evidence of the existence of this cult during the Pauranic period, and the Saurashtra Purana mentions, by name, the Kaulas who, later, appear as one of the sects of the Saktas. ²⁾ The identification of the mother-goddess as the consort of Siva, however, established a close relationship between Saivism and Saktism, which was not entirely without some amount of mutual influence. It will not be out of place, therefore, to examine, briefly, the development of the latter, and to see how it reacted on Saivism.

1. Mark. 85,40-41.

2. Saura, 38,54.

We learn a good deal about the character of the goddess from the Puranas themselves. She is always conceived of as fierce and of fearsome appearance. Her common names are Candika, Kali, Durga and so forth. She is pictured as having a fierce mouth, sharp fangs of enormous size, terrible, and riding upon one or more lions. She has eight or twenty arms¹⁾ and holds various weapons in her hands. While being worshipped, she is regarded as the Supreme Deity, honoured by all the gods, including Brahma, Visnu, and Siva.²⁾ Her conception as the Sakti is now so far advanced that she is said to be the Sakti not only of Siva, but also of all other gods.³⁾ This was the result of the development of the philosophical of her cult, in which she was regarded as the Prakrti or Maya the Purusa with whom Visnu, Siva, and other gods were identified. As the mother goddess, however, she is always regarded as the consort of Siva, which is another point in favour of the suggestion put forward in the preceding pages regarding the origin of her worship. This is made quite clear in the very passages in which she is conceived of as the Sakti of all the gods, for, it is only as the Sakti of Siva that details are given of her character, and about the mode of her worship as the mother goddess. The chief activities of the goddess, in this aspect, as seen in the Puranas, are the slaying of demons, among whom the most formidable was Mahisa. The legend of the battle of the goddess with

1. Varaha. 28, 24; 96, 49-50; Saura. 49, 64; Brahma Vaiv. II, 64, 9. etc.
 2. Brahma Vaiv. II, 64, 9. etc.
 3. Varaha. 90, 17f. Brahma Vaiv. 64, 8, 44. etc.

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this demon is related in several Puranas. Besides, she is said to have slain Sumbha and Nisumbha, the twin demons, Kai-bha, and Vetrasura whom she killed in her aspect as Katyaya. In all these exploits, her fierce character is always prominent. Owing to her being regarded as the same deity as Parvati, her worship was also performed by those who worshipped Siva, and was in line with the normal mode of worship that prevailed at that time. The special day of her worship was the Ulkanavami, better known as the Mahanavami, the day on which she was supposed to have killed the demon Mahisa. The worship is described in the Saura Purana. ²⁾ Flowers, incense, 'naivedyas', curds, and fruits were to be offered to her, and she was to be worshipped and prayed to with devotion. Small girls were to be fed, and presents of clothes and ornaments made to them, which a cow of good quality was to be given to a Brahmana. The usual merits accruing from the worship are described. But, at this point comes a significant passage describing how the goddess is pleased with those who worship her in this manner, and who are without Siavas, paying due honour to the Brahmanas and cows, who are averse from meat and wine, are of pure conduct, lovers of truth and virtue, and constantly engaged in promoting the good of their fellow beings. Here, we have the Brahmanic form of the worship of the mother goddess, which prevailed among the

1. Varaha. ch.28.

2. Saura. 50,29-38.

Saivas. Probably, the Vaisnavas also worshipped her in a similar manner, when she was conceived of the Sakti of Visnu, as the Brahma Vaivarta Purana actually refers to her worship as
 1)
 Vaisnavi.

In sharp contrast to the above mode of worship of the goddess is another mode which reveals, more clearly than anything else, the original alien character of this aspect of the goddess. We noticed in the epics that the goddess, in her fierce aspect was described as fond of blood and meat offerings. This is more explicit in the Puranas. When conceived of as Mahesvari she was worshipped with animal sacrifices.
 2) Probably, wine was also used in her worship, as the goddess is described as fond of it, and recoups herself with copious draughts of wine when engaged in battle with Mahisasura.
 3) Her favourite animals are said to be the goat, the sheep, and the buffalo. The people who worshipped her in this latter manner could hardly be the same as those who worshipped her according to the first mode, and it is no doubt that this latter mode represented her worship as it prevailed among her original non-Aryan worshippers. They and their descendants continued to adhere to the old mode of worship even after they had been brought within the Brahmanic fold. Both the character and the mode of worship of the goddess, moreover, seems to have received emphasis from the assimilation

1. Brahma Vaiv. II, 64, 14; 2. Brahma Vaiv. II, 64, 48f.
 3. Mark, ch. 83.

the various indigenous local goddesses into her, who were worshipped with similar blood offerings. Indications of such assimilation were noticed in the epics. The Puranas contain more of them. Thus, in the Brahma Viavarta, Durga is explicitly said to be worshipped in various villages, and is styled 'goddess-devata', which is exactly what these local goddesses were called. Then in the Puranas, also, appear numerous minor goddesses, called the Matrs who are said to have been created by Siva to aid him in his battle with the demons. They are fierce blood drinking beings, very similar to the local goddesses worshipped by the indigenous people. The name Vindhyanilaya goddess, further proves her assimilation of some goddess originally worshipped in the Vindhya regions. In the Vraha Purana the Matrs, or Devis, as they are called, are said to have been produced from the laugh of the great goddess herself. This assimilation of the various local goddesses by the great mother goddess is, finally, proved beyond any doubt by the fact that the present day almost of all of them, in the various parts of the country, are regarded as but the different forms of the consort of Siva, the great Durga or Kali. Thus, the worshippers of the goddess now included not only her original worshippers, but also the worshippers of these local goddesses who had been absorbed into her, and some features in the character and mode of worship of the latter, such as her fondness for blood.

1. Brahma Vaiv. I, 6, 4.
3. Varaha. ch. 96.

2. Matsya. 179, 9f.

and the offering of the buffaloto her, might well have been derived from the cults of these local deities.

The non-Brahmanic character of this aspect of the goddess is conclusively proved by the fact that human sacrifices were offered to her some times. In the enumeration of favourite animals in the Brahma Vaivarta Purana, a human victim (called by the special name of 'mayati'¹⁾ is said to be the most pleasing to the goddess. Detailed instructions are also given for the choice of the victim, which shows that the practice of offering human victims to her was not dead at that time. The victim was to be a young man, having neither father nor mother, free from disease, initiated, and of good conduct. He was to be purchased from his relatives, and had to be willing to be sacrificed. One who offers such a victim to the goddess is said to please her greatly, and is certain of remaining in her grace. Here, therefore, we have a fierce and a dread goddess, delighting in blood and animal sacrifices, and so utterly opposed in spirit and form to the norms of Brahmanic religion that we cannot but draw the conclusion that both the goddess and her cult were essentially non-Brahmanic in origin. From the Puranas we also learn that though, ¹per- tolerated, this cult was strongly disapproved by the adherents of the Brahmanical faiths. We have noticed above that the

1. Brahma Vaiv. II, 64, 92, 100f.

Kaulas are regarded as heretics in the Saura Purana. In the Brahma Vaivarta, when Visnu asks Siva to accept the goddess his consort, the latter refuses to do so, and strongly condemns the goddess as one who prevents the acquisition of true knowledge, who closes the gate of yoga, who is the very personification of the thwarting of the desire for salvation, who causes great ignorance to prevail, and so on.¹⁾ This clearly shows strong disfavour in which the worship of the goddess, in this aspect, was held.

The evidence of the Puranas bearing upon the worship of the goddess in this aspect, however, only supplements the evidence of the Tantras. This worship of the goddess, as remarked above, was developing into a separate cult during the Brahmanic period. This cult was called Saktism and its adherents were called the Saktas. Owing to the alien character of this cult, and, also, because of the practices connected with it does not seem to have been accorded recognition for a considerable time. This non-recognition, the Saktas tried to fight first, by trying to derive authority for their doctrines from the Brahmanic scriptures themselves, and, secondly, by creating new scriptures of their own. These latter came to be known as the Tantras, and assumed the same authority for the Saktas, as the Vedic and the Pauranic texts had for the followers of the

1. Brahma Vaiv. I,6,6f.

Brahmanic religion. The Brahma Vaivarta Purana mentions the
 by name, which shows that they had come into existence by the
 The extant texts are, however, comparatively late, though many
 of them are recasts of the older works, and retain much of what
 is old. The most important of these texts, which are also the
 ones which retain the largest amount of the old material, give
 us a fairly good picture of Saktism as it existed during the
 time of the Puranas and in the period immediately following.
 In these texts, the goddess, of course, appears as the Supreme
 Deity, and the whole worship centres round her. But the influ-
 -ence of Saivism is seen in the fact that she is always regar-
 -ed as the consort of Siva. Also, in her conception, which is
 almost always that of the fierce goddess, she has borrowed
 -ral of the characteristics of the fierce aspect of Siva.
 2) in the Kali Tantra, she is described as having a cavernous
 mouth, fierce, with loosened hair, and adorned with a garland
 of skulls, and holding, also, a newly cut human head in her hand.
 She is dark in colour, is totally naked, and wanders in
 cremation grounds. She is, thus, practically the female aspect
 of the 'kapalin' Siva. Further, she is said to manifest her-
 -self in various forms which have different names. This accounts
 for the multiplicity of her appellations as Tara, Mahavidya,
 Bhavani, and so forth. Each of these forms has its own pecu-
 -lar characteristics, but all are alike terrible and fierce.
 3) the Prapanca Tantra, 4) she is described in a similar manner

1. Brahma Vaiv. I,6,62.
 3. Kali. ch.3.

2. Kali. I,3f.
 4. Prapanca. 9,8.

Her name, there, is Tripura, which shows, again, the influence of the conception of Siva upon hers. In other Tantras, a philosophical interpretation is given to his character, much after the manner of the Puranas, with this difference, however, that as the Sakti, the active creative principle, she is exalted above the Purusa who is conceived of more or less as a passive spectator of the works of his Sakti. In this respect, the Tantra doctrine approaches closer to the position of the Samkhya than that of the Vedanta. The original character of the goddess is revealed by the mode of her worship as given in some of the Tantras. This was the 'cakra-puja' which, in varied forms, seems to have remained the normal mode of worship among the Saktas. Its original form appears to have been highly ecstatic and orgiastic. It is described in the Kularnava Tantra,¹⁾ and it survived, in later times, among the Vamacaris, or the 'left-hand' Saktas. The original character of the goddess as a deity of fertility is clearly brought out in the worship by the importance given to sexual intercourse, and the wild license in which the worshippers indulged, after intoxicating themselves with copious draughts of wine,^{all this} being taken quite seriously as an important part of the ritual, thus, proving that it had a definite place in the worship of the goddess as a means of promoting fertility. The same is also proved by many traits in the character of

1. Kularnava. VIII, 73f.

character of the goddess, as described in the Tantras. Thus she is frequently conceived of as indulging in sexual union with her consort, and is said to be most pleased with it, just like the Babylonian Ishtar.¹⁾ Her association with Kama, in the Tantraraja Tantra,²⁾ also shows the same. This entirely un-Brahmanic character of Saktism was the reason for its condemnation and non-recognition. The Tantras themselves give indications of how the cult of the goddess, as described in the Tantras, was, originally, looked down upon and discountenanced. The ceremonies of the cult were performed in secret, as opposed to the Vedic and the Brahmanic rites which were performed openly. This might have been due to the fact that their performers were liable to be prosecuted. In the Kularnava Tantra, Siva is said not to have revealed the secrets of the Tantra to Brahma and Vishnu, which, perhaps, indicated that Saktism found no favour with the worshippers of these gods.⁴⁾ In another passage, an allusion is also made to the ridicule and persecution to which the Saktas were subjected.⁵⁾ Later on, in order to gain recognition for their cult, and to make it respectable, the doctrines evolved by Samkhya of the 'purusa' and his 'prakrti' was introduced into Saktism, and the goddess was regarded as the Sakti of the Purusa. Attempts were also made to introduce some reforms into the ritual, and to bring it more in line with contemporary Brahmanical creeds. This is seen in the Mahanir-

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1. Kali. I,3, etc. 2. Tantraraja. VII,v.11.
 3. Kularnava. II,6; III,4-5. 4. Kularnava. II,4.
 Tantraraja. I,6; Kulacuda-5. Ibid. II,51, 52.
 -mani. I,18-31. etc.

1)
 Tantra which is evidently late. It insists on the formal pu-
 -fication of the meat and wine used in the ritual, and expl-
 -ly forbids license and excessive drinking. As a result of
 -se reforms, arose the Daksina, or the right-hand path in Sa-
 -tism, whose adherents were as respectable as the adherents
 any other Brahmanical creed. They had, also, a very pure k
 2)
 -tual. The ceremonies, also, were no longer secret, the need
 for secrecy having disappeared, and the Tantra expressly say
 3)
 that all Tantric ritual was to be performed openly.

The Puranas also show the emergence of Ganesa as a di-
 -ct deity, and the development of his worship. We noticed in
 the Sutras that the original character of this deity was that
 a mischievous 'vinayaka', and that he was, perhaps, original-
 merely one of the aspects of Rudra. From the Puranas we get
 further indications of the old character of Ganesa, and of his
 original identity with Rudra. In the Matsya Purana, he is s
 to have been made the lord of the 'vinayakas' by Brahma. 4)
 In the Varaha Purana, he is mentioned as a mischievous being wh
 had been expressly created for the purpose of putting obstac
 in the way of mortals who had grown too virtuous. Siva is s
 to have made him the leader of the 'vinayakas' who are descri-
 5)
 as 'kruradrsah' and 'pncandah'. In the Agni, he is descri-

1. Mahanir. V, 206f.
 3. Ibid. IV, 79.
 5. Varaha, 23, 27-29.

2. Mahanir. VII, 154f.
 4. Matsya. 154, 505.

as having been created by Brahma, Visnu, and Siva, to "baffle¹⁾ the ends of men and to frustrate their efforts in general". The evil consequences of being possessed by a 'vinayaka' are given. All this is very similar to the description of the '-ayakas' found in the Sutras. The same character of Ganesa to be seen in a passage in the Brahma Purana, where he is said to be an evil spirit who puts obstacles in the performance²⁾ of the sacrifice by the gods. Thus, his character as a 'vinayaka' is firmly established. Now, in the Varaha Purana, this 'Vinayaka' is said to have been created by Siva, and is described³⁾ as almost another Rudra ('sākṣād rudra ivāparah'). In other Puranas, Ganesa frequently bears the peculiar epithets of Siva. Thus, in the Agni, he is called 'tripurantaka', is regarded as having serpents coiled round his limbs, and bearing the moon on his forehead.⁴⁾ In the Brahma Vaivarta, he is called by the epithet of 'isa', and is described as the teacher of the siddhas and the yogis.⁵⁾ Both these are the special attributes of Siva. Conversely, Siva often has the peculiar epithets of Ganesa. he is called 'gajendrakarna' in the Vayu Purana, and also 'lambodara' and 'damstrin'.⁶⁾ In the Brahma Purana also, some of these epithets are applied to Siva.⁷⁾ This interchange of epithets⁸⁾ is a distinct pointer to a time when the two deities were not

1. Agni. ch.266. (M.N. Roy's translation).

2. Brahma.40,126; 114,4f.

3. Varaha. 23,14f.

4. Agni.348,26.

5. Brahma Vaiv. III,13,4lf.

6. Vayu. 30,183.

7. Vayu, 24,147.

8. Brahma.40,15. etc.

distinguished from each other. Besides, the Puranas give us a piece of evidence which conclusively proves the original identity of the two deities. We saw in the Yajur Veda that the rat was associated with Rudra, and was regarded as the special animal of the god. In the Taittiriya Brahmana it was formally dedicated to him. Now, in the post-Vedic conception of Siva the rat is nowhere mentioned as his special animal, and in its place the bull is regarded as the vehicle of the god. On the other hand, in the Puranas, the rat is definitely associated with Ganesa, in practically the same way in which it was associated with Rudra in the Vedic literature, and is regarded as his special animal and vehicle. This seems to prove beyond any doubt that the Vedic Rudra himself, regarded, in one of his aspects, as a 'vinayaka' and conceived of as having an elephant's head, and associated with the rat, developed, in course of time, into a separate deity who was originally called Vinayaka, and, later on, came to be known as Ganesa. In this connection, it is interesting to remember that, in the Saura Purana Ganesa is once explicitly called as the same as Siva. Last in the Puranas, Ganesa appears as the son of Siva, which relationship also favours the original identity of the two deities, for the development of such relationships is very common in mythology, and we have already observed how in the Sutras,

1. Brahma.111,15. etc. 2. Saura.43,48.

and Sarva were called the sons of Siva.

These indications of the original identity of Siva and Ganesa, however, do not imply that this identity was remembered in the Pauranic times. On the contrary, all memory of it seems to have been lost long ago. In the Puranas, Ganesa appears as a distinct deity who is regarded as the son of Siva and his consort, Parvati. And, as in the case of Skanda, to explain this relationship, the Pauranic authors have had recourse to the usual method of recounting legends which have grown up round these deities. Many of these are found in the extant Puranas. In the Matsya, Parvati is said to have made a toy, in the shape of an infant with the head of an elephant from the flour with which she had rubbed her body. This toy when immersed in the waters of the Ganges by her, was infused with life, and began to grow, and was hailed as her son by Parvati, and by Ganga also. Subsequently, he was made the lord of the 'Vimayakas' by Brahma. In the Varaha Purana, Ganesa is said to have been created by Siva at the request of the gods who wanted some one to put obstacles in the activities of mortals whose perfect conduct had emptied hell, and had left no work for Yama to do. Siva made him 'in his own image', as Parvati looked upon him affectionately, Siva grew jealous.

1. Matsya. 154, 501f.

2. Varaha ch.23.

and cursed the new deity to have an elephant's head, a pot belly and other deformities. In the Linga Purana, on the other hand Siva is said to have incarnated himself as Ganesa, when the gods requested him to create some being who would be the remover of obstacles. ¹⁾ Different, and, probably, later, are the versions of the legend found in other Puranas. In the Brahma Vaivarta, ²⁾ Visnu appears on the scene, and is said to have promised a son to Siva by Parvati, who would be a remover of obstacles. Subsequently, in the guise of an old Brahmana, he came to the abode of Siva, and interrupted the union of that god and Parvati, and, himself taking the form of an infant, lay on Parvati's bed where he was found by her, and joyfully acclaimed as her son. Later on, the legend goes on to relate, Ganesa's head fell off when Sanaiscara, at the persistent request of Parvati, looked upon him. Visnu, thereupon, procured an elephant's head to replace it. Here, Ganesa is practically an incarnation of Visnu, and the legend had, evidently arisen under Vaisnava sectarian influence.

The character of Ganesa, on the whole, was euphemistic to a great deal in the Puranas, as was the case with Siva and his consort also. The conception of Ganesa was brought into line with the spirit of contemporary Brahmanic religion. Propitiated, originally, to keep him away from interfering in men's

1. Linga.I, ch.104-05. 2. BrahmaVaiv.III, ch.

works, he came to be looked upon as the deity of obstacles, and was prayed to for their removal. From this, his conception of the removal of obstacles was but the next step. Thus, from a malicious and mischievous spirit, he became an auspicious god. In the Puranas, he appears as such a god, and is prayed to for success at the commencement of every action.¹⁾ The special day of his worship was the fourth day in the bright fortnight in the month of Magha. The ceremony is described in the Agni Purana. The offering made to him consisted of 'ulkaantas', and kind sweets and incense. The sweets appear to have been the favorite offerings to him. The usual mode of his worship is also described³⁾ in the Agni Purana. Details are given for the construction of a 'mandala', called the 'Vighnamardana' or the 'Vighnasudana', in the middle of which the image of Ganesa was worshipped. In a subsequent chapter, which is perhaps a later addition, a special 'mantra' for Ganesa is given, which was to be uttered at the time of his worship, and with which oblations were offered to him.

In course of time, the worship of Ganesa developed into a separate cult by itself, and its adherents formed a distinct sect like the Saivas and the Vaisnavas. Like these latter, they looked upon Ganesa as the Supreme and the only deity. To this period belongs the Ganesa Purana. In it, Ganesa is

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1. Agni. 318, 8f.
3. *ibid.* ch. 313.

2. Agni. ch. 179.

described as creating, preserving, and destroying the universe. He is the Mahavisnu, the Sadasisva, the Mahasakti, and the Mahabrahma.²⁾ Only that meditation, which revealed the essential unity of these different conceptions in the one Ganesa, was real yoga.³⁾ Further on, Ganesa is described as incarnating himself over and over again, even as Visnu is supposed to do, Visnu, Siva, and all the other gods are said to have come out of him and to merge into him again at the end.⁴⁾ An instance of sectarian bias of the worshippers of Ganesa is seen in one in which the worshippers of Brahma, Visnu, Siva, and the other gods are said to be liable to fall again even after having liberation, whereas the worshippers of Ganesa have no such fear.⁵⁾

The last feature of Pauranic Saivism that remains to be considered in the Saiva mythology which is now fully developed. The legends that we met with in the epics are given again in more elaborate forms, with the result that in some cases, the original point of the story is lost sight of. Several new legends have also appeared by this time, besides innumerable anecdotes connected with this or that aspect of Siva or his consort. And, when to this, we add the legends and myths that had grown round Ganesa, the total mythology of Saivism becomes quite considerable. A detailed treatment of the whole will

1. Ganesa. 1,2028.

3. *ibid.* 1,20.

5. Ganesa, 6,19.

2. Ganesa. 1,20-28.

4. *ibid.*

a good subject for an independent work, and we shall, here, content ourselves with noticing the more important legends only and seeking in them some information about the history and character of Saivism. Preserving the order of the epics, we examine the legend of the birth of Skanda first. We have noticed how Karttikeya, or Skanda, had come to be looked upon the son of Siva even in the epics. In the Puranas, the original fatherhood of Agni is practically completely forgotten at least, so far as the legend itself was concerned, though ¹⁾ a stray allusion or two is found in some of the Puranas. The legend is, now, a part of the bigger legend which includes the legends of the destruction of the sacrifice of Daksa, of the marriage of Siva and Parvati, and of the burning of Kama. Various divergent versions of it have also grown up, which, however, can be grouped under two main versions. In the first, the legend starts with the desire of the gods to find a leader for their armies. This, it will be remembered, was the beginning of the legend in the original version seen in the Mahabharata. ²⁾ The legend, as given in the Varaha Purana, represents this first version. The gods, being repeatedly defeated by the demons, sought a new commander-in-chief, and, on the advice of Brahma, approached Siva. So far, the account tallies with the original version. But after this, it strikes a new line. Siva is sa

1. e.g. Matsya, 5, 26.

2. Varaha, 25, 32f.

to have consented to the request of the gods, and to have
 -tated his Sakti from whom there appeared forth, at once, t
 new god, dazzling like the bright sun, and having his peculiar
 weapon, the 'sakti', in his hand. The version is evidently
 and Agni nowhere appears on the scene. In the other group
 gods are said to have been ^{al}armed by the prolonged union of
 and Parvati. The nearest parallel to the epic version is found
 in the Saura Purana, with, of course, the characteristic Pa
 1)
 -nic elaboration. Thus, it is related that chaos reigned in
 universe on account of the prolonged dalliance of Siva with
 consort after their marriage. This alarmed the gods, as also
 the fact that Narada told them that the offspring of such pa
 -ts would be altogether too powerful for them. Visnu, also,
 gave the same warning. The gods first sent Agni to disturb
 couple. But, on his flying back in terror at the sight of Pa
 -ti's lion, they ~~themselves~~ repaired to Siva and requested him
 not to beget a child on Parvati. Siva consented, but asked
 a receptacle for his seed. The rest of the story is put in
 mouth of Siva himself, who related to Parvati how Agni threw
 the seed, which he had been made to take up, into the Ganges
 and the latter, in turn, gave it to the Krttikas who deposited
 it in the forest of reeds, where the new god was born. The
 legend closes with Parvati pronouncing the curse of permaner
 2)
 childlessness on the gods. In the Brahma Vaivarta Purana,
 legend is very similar, though it is broken up and related in
 two different places. It shows a slight Vaisnava influence

1. Saura. ch.60-62.

2. Brahma Vadv. III, ch.1-2, ch

that the alarmed gods are said to have gone to Visnu who adv
 them to go to Siva. In the other Puranas, the legend shows
 1)
 grwater variations. Thus, in the Vayu, Indra is said to have
 been alarmed at the prolonged sport of Siva and his consort,
 sent Agni to disturb their union. Agni did so, and Siva's
 fell on the ground, and the enraged Parvati punished Agni by
 forcing him to take it up and bear it. Subsequently, Agni g
 it to the Ganges who dropped it in the forest of reeds, whe
 the new god was born, and was brought up by the Krttikas who
 found him. The legend is related in practically identical w
 2) 3)
 in the Brahmanda Purana. In the Matsya, a greater divergen
 is seen. The alarmed gods sent Agni to the chamber of Siva
 Patvati, and he entered it in the form of a parrot. Siva, h
 -ever, detected him, and in his anger put his seed in him. A
 thereupon, burst and the seed, bright like gold, flowed fort
 and formed a beautiful lake in Kailasa. To it came the Krtt
 to perform their ablutions, and as they took up some drops o
 water on a lotus leaf, presumably to drink, Parvati, who was
 the bank, beckoned to them. They promised to give her a chi
 if she would name it after them. Parvati, then, drank the d
 of water, and, before, long, a child came out of her side, s
 -faced, and holding a trident ('sakti'). Thus, in this vers
 Siva and Parvati are made out to have been the actual parents

1. Vayu. 72,20f.
 3. Matsya. 158,26f.

2. Brahmanda. II, ch.40.

Skanda. Hence, by this time, all memory of the original association of Agni and Skanda must have been forgotten. The first stage in the development of the legend is seen in the Brahma Purana.¹⁾ Here, we find what may be called a fusion of the two main versions of the legend. The account of the alarm of the gods at the continued dalliance of Siva and Parvati is attached to that of their need for a commander-in-chief, though in this process, the whole legend has been considerably modified. It is related here as a sequel to the marriage of Siva and Parvati, which is represented as having been arranged by the gods themselves for the purpose of procuring an offspring of Siva who would be the fit leader for the armies of the gods. After the marriage had taken place, the couple continued to sport a long time without begetting a child, while, during this time the dread of the demon Taraka became greater every day. It was this which alarmed the gods, and they sent Agni to acquaint Siva with their desire. Agni entered the chamber of Siva and Parvati in the form of a parrot, when Siva, detecting him, put his seed into him. Unable to bear it, Agni gave it to the Krittikas on the banks of the Ganges, and there the god was born. This story is to have become the standard version of the story by the Pauranic times, and, as seen above, was used by Kalidasa in the

1. Brahma. ch.128.

composition of his epic poem, the Kumarasambhava.

The next legend is that of the destruction of the three cities of the demons by Siva. As in the epics, this remains the biggest single exploit of Siva, and offers excellent material for an epic composition, in view of which fact, it is rather surprising to note that it was never so utilised, at least so far as we know, by any of the great Samskrt poets who, otherwise, ransacked the epic and the Pauranic literature for materials for their works. The legend is also the most elaborated story in the Puranas, representing a great advance in the epic version. One not familiar with its history would hardly suspect that it had grown to such proportions from an obscure allusion to any in the old Brahmanic literature. As in the case of other legends, this one also has come to have several variants. The version in the Saura Purana comes closest to the epic version. The three cities had been obtained as boons from Brahma by the three sons of the demon chief Taraka. They were impregnable to all but him who could pierce them at once with one arrow. After this, the demons, instead of working havoc, as related in the Mahabharata, are said to have populated the cities with people virtuous in every respect, who studied the Vedas, worshipped Siva, and, otherwise, led exemplary lives. It was through the merit of such conduct of theirs that the demons became invincible,

1. Saura. ch.34 f.

in comparison with them, the gods lost their lustre. In despair of losing their status and being overwhelmed by the demons, the gods first went to Visnu, and then to Siva, with whose consent, probably, Visnu sent Narada and a 'mayin' to the cities of the demons to lead the people astray from the path of virtue, and thus, to destroy their merit. Between them, the two succeeded in their task, and Siva, thereupon, proceeded against them, mounted on a divine chariot which is described in detail after the manner of the Mahabharata. At his approach, the three cities came together, and he pierced and destroyed them with his shaft. A shorter version of this legend is also found in the ¹⁾ Linga Purana. It can be easily seen that the legend, here used to teach a moral which is the merit and power of virtuous conduct, and the dire consequences of falling away from it. It, of course, glorifies Siva, and modifications have been effected in it to suit this purpose. But the rather doubtful means adopted to bring about the destruction of the demons who were once, at least, sincere devotees of Siva, and the destruction of their cities by Siva himself, must have been distasteful to the more ardent Saivas, and so, the legend was further modified, and this defect was removed. This modified ²⁾ version is found in the Matsya Purana. Here, the chief of the demons is Maya or Bana, who, as also his subjects, was

1. Linga. I, ch. 72.

2. Matsya. ch. 129-32, and ch. 188.

great devotee of Siva. But, in course of time, the demons as said to have become arrogant, and Siva, in order to chastise them, sent Narada to their cities to test the strength of their character, in which they were found wanting. Succumbing to the deceptions of Narada, they took to vicious ways and lost their invincibility, and also became a nuisance. It was then that Siva proceeded against them. At this juncture, Bana, realising that Siva himself had appeared to punish the demons, came out of the city, in which he was then residing, and placing a 'tilak' of Siva on his forehead, and singing his prayers, offered to take all the punishment which his subjects deserved upon himself with only this request that his faith in him might not be destroyed. Pleased with this remarkable evidence of sincere devotion to himself, and of the solicitude for his subjects in general, Siva not only gave him several boons, but also spared the three of the cities from destruction. The other two, he hurled down to the earth, where one fell near the mountain Kailasa, and the other on the Amarakantaka.

The third important legend is that of the destruction of the sacrifice of Daksa, and in the various versions of it, found in the Puranas, we find valuable evidence which further makes clear, the essential significance of this legend. The best version, perhaps, in the Varaha Purana, has been noticed above, and we saw how it shows the original prejudice against, and contempt of, Siva and his worship. By the Pauranic times, the legend had, on the whole, been greatly modified in favour of

and in almost all the versions, in the other Puranas, the blame is put on the shoulders of Daksa for the destruction of his sacrifice. Among the various versions, it is impossible to distinguish any chronological sequence, except very roughly by the amount of sectarianism displayed in them. In the Vayu Purana Daksa commenced a sacrifice to which he did not invite Siva. On this, Dadhici was enraged and demanded the reason why Siva had not been invited. To this Daksa replied that he recognised no other Siva except the eleven Rudras whom he had invited, and that he offered all honour to Visnu who was the lord of the sacrifice. Meanwhile, Sati, the daughter of Daksa, who had been married to Siva, also enquired the reason for his not being invited from Siva, and the latter made the significant reply that it was an old practice among the gods not to offer any share of the sacrifice to him, and that he was quite content with this state of affairs. Here, therefore, we have a clear indication of the fact that the worship of Siva was not recognised for a long time. The legend goes on to relate that on the insistence of Sati, Siva, at last, consented to assert himself and, for this purpose, created a fierce being called Virabhadra whom he commissioned to chastise Daksa. From the wrath of Sati was created a fierce goddess, Bhadrakali, who accompanied Virabhadra to him in his task. From the pores of Siva were also created numerous 'Rudras' who made up the train of Virabhadra. Thus attended, the latter went to the place of sacrifice and soon succeeded all those present, destroyed the sacrifice, and captured

the gods. On their pleadings for mercy, he advised them to please Siva, and Daksa eventually prayed to the god, and became henceforth, a Saiva devotee. The same legend is found in identical words in the Brahma and the Saura Puranas. The Linga Purana shows a shorter version of it. In other versions, the destruction of the sacrifice of Daksa is effected by Siva himself, and the reason of this destruction is made out to be the suicide of Sati on account of the insults offered to Siva by her father. This version of the legend is found in another chapter of the Brahma Purana. In it, it is related how Daksa did not invite his eldest daughter, Sati, to the sacrifice, and, on asking the reason, told her that he was an enemy of Siva who had not paid him due honour on a former occasion, and who aspired to become the equal of his other sons-in-law who were all great sages of the orthodox school. This accusation shows that the worship of Siva was regarded as unorthodox and inconsistent with the old Brahmanic religion. Unable to bear this gross insult to her husband, Sati threw herself into fire, with a last prayer that she might again be born as the consort of Siva. On Siva's learning of this tragedy, he was filled with wrath and went to the sacrifice and destroyed it, and pronounced a curse upon Daksa and all those present. Daksa pronounced a counter curse, but, at last Brahma pacified both, and Daksa paid due homage to Siva.

1. Brahma. ch.39-40.; Saura.7,10f.

2. Linga.I, ch.100.

3. Brahma. ch.34.

1)
 the preceptor of the demons, by Siva. Another deviation is
 that the poison is said to have come out of the ocean, not
 first, as in the other versions, but after Soma, Sri, Uccai
 -sa, Kaustubha, and the Parijata have come out of it. It is
 called Kalakuta, and is apparently personified, for, it is
 its advice that the gods ask Siva to take it up. The legend
 of the Burning of Kama, as remarked above, now forms a part
 of a bigger legend. It is also found in practically the same
 2)
 in most of the Puranas. On the advice of Brahma, the gods
 desirous of obtaining an offspring of Siva, who would lead
 their armies in battle, exerted themselves to bring about the
 marriage of Siva and Parvati who was the reincarnated Sati,
 was practising penance for obtaining Siva as her husband again.
 For this purpose, the gods sent Kama to disturb the austeri-
 ties of Siva, and to make him fall in love with Parvati. As
 he prepared his arrow to strike Siva, the latter, his mind agi-
 tated a little, opened his eyes, and seeing Kama, was filled
 with wrath, and at that very instant, fire flashing out of
 his third eye reduced Kama to ashes. Subsequently, however, at
 the request of Parvati, or, according to an alternative account
 taking compassion on the distracted Rati, the consort of
 Kama, he revived the latter, but without a corporeal form.
 Hence, he has been known ever since as 'Ananga'. In the
 legend of the slaying of Andhaka, Siva appears in his fiercest

1. Matsya. ch.249-50.

2. Matsya.154,247f.; Saura.ch.
 Brahma.ch.71. etc.

1) aspect. The main development in the legend has been the association of Siva with the Matrs, who were, probably, local goddesses originally. The motive for Siva's slaying of the Demon was not only the latter's hostility to the gods, but also his attempt to carry off Parvati. When the battle commenced, every drop of blood that fell from the ^obdy of Andhaka became a new Andhaka, and the hordes, thus created, greatly pressed the army of the gods. To counteract this, Siva created the Mahesvari Devi, and also other minor 'devis' who took up the blood of Andhaka before it touched the ground. After that, he was easily killed by Siva.

Of the new legends, the most important is that of the origin of the 'linga' of Siva. The original character of the worship of the 'linga' had been forgotten even by the time of the epics. By the time of the Puranas, the 'linga' had become the recognised symbol of the god, and its worship had long been established. The phallic character of the 'linga', however, still seems to have been recognised in the Pauranic times, as evident from its being called the phallus of Siva in several contexts. Thus, in the Vayu Purana, when Siva appears before Brahma and Visnu, he is described as having an erect phallus.²⁾ In the legend of the seduction of the women of the sages, his phallus is again emphasised, and ~~it~~ it is explicitly said that it was this phallus of Siva which was worshipped.³⁾

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1. Matsya. 179, 2f.; Varaha. ch. 27; Saura. ch. 29.
 2. Vayu. 24, 56.
 3. Brahmanā. 127, 55, 101.

as the 'linga'. The legend of the origin of the 'linga', perhaps on account of this very recognition of its phallic character, tries to explain away the origin of its worship on other grounds, and to obliterate the phallic character of the emblem. Incidentally, it establishes the supremacy of Siva over Brahma and Visnu. The essentials of the story are the same in all Puranas, in which it occurs, though variations in detail are often considerable. ¹⁾ Brahma and Visnu once disputed as to who was supreme between them, when Siva appeared before them in the middle of a column of fire in the shape of the 'linga', and challenged them to find the ends of that column. Visnu went downwards, while Brahma went up, but were unable to see the limits of the 'linga' and returned discomfited. Then, they admitted the superiority of Siva, and paid homage to his 'linga' form. The glorification of the 'linga' reaches its greatest height in the Linga Purana version in which it is described as appearing before Brahma and Visnu in the shape of a mass of thousands of flames, dazzling like the Fire of Universal Destruction, and without beginning, middle or end. After Brahma and Visnu had returned discomfited, the symbol of Om is said to have appeared in the 'linga', and the latter was hailed by all gods as the sacred Om. Thus the worship of the 'sivalinga' is explained and glorified. The explanation given in this legend effectually concealed the phallic character of the 'linga' symbol, and in the post-Puranic period, we see, as a result of

1. Vayu. 24, 33f.; ch. 55; Brahmanda. ch. 26; Saura. 66, 18f.; Brahma. ch. 135. Linga. ch. 17.

this, that this character of the 'linga' was completely lost in sight of. Other new legends that occur in the Puranas have been mentioned incidentally in the preceding pages.

One last point remains to be considered before we close the survey of the Pauranic literature. This is the relation of Saivism with other creeds in the country. The Puranas represent the end of the formative period in the history of Indian religions during which the different schools of thought, cults, and doctrines, which had arisen with the decay of the old Vedic sacrificial religion, took shape and emerged into distinct creeds. And, as they had been developing side by side in the same geographical area, and among the same people, there must have been a considerable amount of mutual reaction, and interchange of ideas and practices among them. A detailed comparative study of all these creeds during this period would, indeed, more than repay the labour involved, and would prepare the very essential background for the proper understanding of the later religious development in the country. We can, here, deal with only a part of this problem, and examine the attitude of Saivism towards the other creeds, and its influence upon them, or their influence upon it, if any. The creed with which it came into closest contact was Vaisnavism, not only because both belonged to the same post-Vedic Brahmanic religion, but also because of the close affinity between the two owing to both having as their central theme the same doctrine of Bhakti. We have had occasion above to see the indications of the attitude of the two creeds towards each other.

We saw how the followers of each creed regarded as supreme the only God the deity whom they worshipped. We also saw how as a result of this monistic tendency, Siva and Visnu had come to be looked upon as but two names of the same god by the more discerning people of both the faiths. The common people all appear to have had at least a vague idea of this truth which had been imparted to them in popularised forms, and was translated into such easily comprehensible forms as the 'Trimurti' the joint images of Siva and Visnu. On the whole, therefore the followers of both the creeds seem to have maintained amicable relations, and the biggest proof of this is given by the Puranas themselves, which, irrespective of whether they had Saiva or Vaisnava leanings, treat of both the creeds. They, indeed, represent in an excellent manner, the point of view of the ordinary person who professed the Brahmanic religion, and who, when giving his formal alliance to the one or the other creed, was ready to recognise and to pay homage to the god of other creeds seeing in the latter the very same god whom he worshipped under a different name. But there was another side to the picture also. It was remarked above that when the problem arose of settling the claims of Siva and Visnu for pre-eminence, a very natural course open to their adherents of each creed was to outright the claims of the other party, and it appears that some of the more fanatically inclined followers of both the creeds did take this course. Their hand can be discovered in occasional passages, in the Puranas, in which we can see the first signs of sectarian antagonism between Saivism and Vaisnavism.

Among these, the mildest are those in which the worshippers
 one god exalt him above the other. In the case of the Saiva
 we have already noticed this in the legend of the origin of
 the 'linga', in which Visnu is described as acknowledging the
 supremacy of Siva and praying to him. Even in the epics, this
 was observable in the passages in which Krsna was described
 exalting and worshipping Siva. Besides this, there are several
 scattered passages in the Puranas which have leanings towards
 Saivism, in which Siva is considered above Visnu, and the
 latter is often described as worshipping or otherwise exalting
 him. In the Saura Purana, for example, Visnu is said to have
 obtained his discus from Siva,¹⁾ and in the Brahma Purana, Siva²⁾
 said to have humiliated Visnu by swallowing his discus. In
 the same Purana, again, Rama, the incarnation of Visnu, is said
 to have worshipped Siva on the banks of the Gautami. In the
 Linga Purana,³⁾ Visnu is several times described as praying to
 Siva or revealing his greatness. On the other hand, the Vai-
 -avas exalted Visnu above Siva. In the Brahma Vaivarta Pur-
 Siva is said to have come out of Visnu, and is regarded as
 his devotee.⁴⁾ In another chapter, Siva appears as expatiating
 on the merits of worshipping Visnu, and as granting boons to
 devout Vaisnavas.⁵⁾ The world of Visnu is also said to be higher
 than the world of Siva.⁶⁾ In this exaltation of Visnu over Siva
 the Saiva legends themselves appear to have been 'Vaisnavised'

1. Saura.41,145f.

2. Brahma. ch.33.

3. Linga. ch.21;45; 63; etc. 4. Brahma Vaiv. I, ch3;6.

5. Brahma Vaiv. I, ch.12.

6. *ibid.* I, ch2.

Thus, in the legend of the descent of the Ganges, in the Brahma
 Vaivarta Purana,¹⁾ Bhagiratha appears as a devotee of Vishnu
 and worships Krishna, while Ganga is said to have come upon the
 earth at the request of the latter. In the legend of the birth
 of Ganesha, again, Siva and Parvati are described as worshipping
 Vishnu in order to obtain from him a boon for a son, and Ganesha
 himself is made out to be none else than an incarnation of Vishnu.
 In other passages, we have evidence of a rise of stronger anta-
 -gonism between the two faiths, and in this, the Saivas seem
 to have taken the lead, and were remarkable for their aggressiv-
 -ness and intolerance. Thus, in the Matsya, ignorant people
 alone are said not to know the Bhrgu Tirtha, sacred to Siva,³⁾
 deluded as they are by the 'maya' of Vishnu. In one version
 of the legend of the destruction of Daksa's sacrifice, Daksa, who
 he refused to recognise Siva, professed himself a worshipper
 of Vishnu and inimical to Siva.⁴⁾ It is, however, in the Saura Purana
 which is as strongly Saiva as the Brahma Vaivarta is Vaishnavite
 that we find evidence of a definite antagonism between the two
 faiths. All non-Saivas are looked upon with contempt in it,
 being under the power of Yama from whose control the Saivas
 are free.⁵⁾ An active intolerance of the non-Saivasis is also evident
 from this Purana, as also from the Linga. In the legend of U-
 -manyu in both the Puranas, a true Saiva is recommended to

1. Brahma Vaiv. II, ch. 10.
 3. Matsya. ch. 193, 56.
 5. Saura. 64, 44.

2. Brahma Vaiv. III, ch. 7-9.
 4. Vayu. 30. 81f.

1)
 anyone who blasphemes against Siva. All the ancestors of a
 fall into the vilest hell, if in his realm Siva is blasphem
 2)
 even by a hypocrite. With such an outlook, it is not surpr
 that Saiva extremists showed a strong hostility to Vaisnavi
 The ignorant fools, deluded by the illusion of Visnu, do no
 realise S~~iv~~iva from whom have been created all the gods, inc
 3)
 -ding Brahma and Visnu. To talk of the equality of Siva an
 Visnu, the Saura Purana goes on to say, is sheer heresy, as
 was only through the grace of Siva that Visnu obtained the
 4)
 lordship of Vaikuntha. In another passage, it is said that
 who speaks of the equality of Visnu and Siva is born as^a wor
 in ordure for countless number of ages, while he who talks
 Siva as being inferior to Visnu is a veritable 'cangala; no
 5)
 of birth, but of action which is far far worse. The most i
 -minating piece of evidence for this intolerance between th
 extremists of the two creeds is given by the tale of king
 6)
 Pratardana. That king was a devout Saiva, and all his sub
 -jects also professed the same faith. On account of the vi
 -tuous conduct of all the people, which affected the condit
 of thier ancestors also, hell soon became empty and Yama
 found no occupation, for all devout Saivas are beyond his

1. Saura. 36,33; Linga. I, ch.107.

3. Saura. 38,16.

5. ibid. 40,17; 40,16.

2. Saura. 38,64.

4. ibid. 38,66.

6. ibid. 38,67f.;cl

Indra, therefore, sent a 'kinnara' to preach heresy among the people. The latter went and began to preach and exhort the people in favour of the worship of Visnu, till even the royal court was contaminated by his doctrines. He harangued the king himself and denounced Saivism in favour of Vaisnavism. The king was wroth by but, greatly forbearing, he called a religious conference to settle the matter. But, Kali, presumably at the instigation of Indra again, entered the minds of the delegates, with the result that the conference broke up in confusion, and many people became atheists. The king, still not detecting the villainy of the 'kinnara', was greatly concerned. Meanwhile, the ancestors of those who had gone astray from the true path of Saiva faith, fell from heaven. At this juncture, Visnu is said to have arisen from his sleep, and to have declared, from his own mouth, the supremacy of Siva. The gods, eventually, acquainted Siva with the whole affair, and he revealed the truth to the king Pratardana, and allowed him to meet out due punishment to the delinquents, whereupon, the king slew the 'kinnara' and those who had followed him. This legend, however far removed it might be from the reflecting the normal relations of the two faiths in actual practice, at least, shows the outlook of the extreme Saiva sectarians, and it was among such sectarianism of both the faiths that rivalry must first have grown, which isolated cases, might have led to conflict. An allusion to a conflict seems to be contained in the legend of Usa and Anuruddha. The legend occurs first in the Mahabharata. In the

1. Mahabharata (southern recension), Sabha, 40, 24-29.

Puranas, it seems to have been utilised by the Vaisnava sect-ans for the exaltation of Visnu over Siva. It is related : practically identical words in the Visnu and the Brahmanda-¹⁾ -ranas. Siva is said to have come to the aid of Bana, the father of Usa, when he was fighting with Krsna, and the con- developed into a struggle between Visnu and Siva, in which latter was worsted, and pacified the former to spare Bana, was a great and a sincere devotee of his. The legend, as now, ends with the amicable declaration of Visnu about his -tial identity with Siva, and is thus harmonised with the p- -valent spirit of the times. But, in its central theme, we see evidence of a conflict between the adherents of the two faiths, in which the Vaisnavas represented themselves as vi- -rious. On the otherhand, the Saivas developed the legend the fight between Visnu and Siva in their 'Nrsimha' and 'Sa- incarnations respectively, in which Siva was represented as triumphant over Visnu. This legend is related in the Linga-²⁾ -ana. :

With regard ~~of~~ to the attitude of the Saivas toward other creeds, the Puranas do not tell us much. We have not above the passage showing the contempt of the Saivas for all who did not belong to their faith, and their intolerance of those who criticised it. Apart from this, we have also noticed a passage in the Saura Purana referring to those who were re-

L.

1. Visnu. V, ch33.
Brahmanda. I, ch.204.

2. Linga I, ch.95-96.

-ed as heretics by the Saivas, and who included the material
 the Kaulas, the Kapalikas, the Buddhists and the Jainas. ¹⁾
 their case, the grounds of difference between them and Saivi
 were far more fundamental than in the case of Vaisnavism. The
 latter was, after all, a part of the same religion to which
 -vism belonged, and both had common foundations, having emer
 out of the same Vedic religion, and recognising the same scr
 -tures. These other creeds, however, denied the very basis
 which the Brahmanic religion was founded. A clash between
 and the Brahmanic creeds was, therefore, something to be exp
 -ed, and what is remarkable is that right up to the time of
 Puranas, there is hardly any evidence of any such clash, or
 any persecution of the one by the other. On the whole, the
 tolerant spirit displayed by the edicts of Asoka seems to ha
 been the general prevalent spirit in the religious sphere in
 India, and this is proved by the literature of the period like
 the works of Bhasa, Asvaghosa, Sudraka, Kalidasa and others.
 was with the rise of sectarianism, the first indications of
 we have noticed above, that a conflict of creeds arose in the
 country. And, in this conflict the Saiva zealots took the lead.
 Professing to be championing the cause of the Brahmanic reli
 -gion against the heresies of Buddhism and Jainism, they first
 appeared as actively engaged in confuting their doctrines.
 the Saura Purana, these doctrines are said to have led the
 -ple away from the path prescribed by the Vedas, and to hav
 -ded them. Accordingly, a Saiva king is asked to forbid the
 Buddhists and the Jainas, and all other heretics from enter

into his kingdom. The Atheists never became very formidable in the country, but against Buddhism and Jainism, the relentless antagonism of the Saivas became a very prominent feature in the history of Saivism in the post-Pauranic period, and was one of the major causes in bringing about the almost total disappearance of the one from the country and the practical overthrow of the other as a serious rival to the Brahmanic creeds. We shall have occasion to see this in the next chapter. The Puranas, the whole follow the example of earlier religious literature, and just ignore all the non-Brahmanic creeds then prevailing in the country.

Appendix.

(A)

Passages referring to Śiva in the works of Aśvaghoṣa.

The Buddhacarita.

I, 66. Reference to Pārvati as Devī.

Dhātryāṅka-saṁvīṣṭam avekṣya cainam,
Devyāṅka-saṁvīṣṭam ivāgnisūnam.

I, 93. Mention of Skanda as the son of Śiva.

Bhavanam ato vigāhya śākya-rājo,
Bhava iva saṁmukhajanmanā pratitah.

X, 3. Reference to Śiva as 'Vṛśadhvaḥ'.

Viśiṁsiye tatra janas tadānim sthānuvratsyaiva
vṛśadhvaḥjasya.

The Saundarānanda.

X, 9. Mention of 'Āmbika'

Saṁtapta-cāmikara-bhakta-citram,
Rupyāṅgadam śirnam ivāmbikasya.

Passages referring to Śiva in the Mṛcchakatikam.

I, 15, (prose following the verse)

Tadvayasya kṛto mayā gṛhadēvātābhyo balih. G
Tvam api catuspathe mātṛbhyo balim upahāra.

I, 41. Mention of the different names of Śiva.

Esāsi, vāsu śilasi gṛhaidā keśesu valesu śilol
Akkosa vikkośa labāhi candam saṁbhūṣa sivan sa
-lam issalam ca.

III, 12(prose following the verse).

Mention of Skanda as the Patron deity of the

Prathamam etat skandaputrānām siddhilakṣaṇam
karma-prārāmbhe kīdrām idānīm saṁdhim utpāda
Iha khalu bhagavatā kanakasaktinā oaturvidhā
sāṁdhyupāyo darśitah.

VI, 27.

Reference to Śiva as Hara, and to the goddess

Abhaam tuha deu haro vinhu bamha ravi a candi
Hattuna sattuvakkham sumbha-nisumbhe jadha de

X, 45.

Reference to Śiva's destruction of Dakṣa's se-
-fice.

Jayati vṛṣabhaketur dakṣayajñasya hanta
tadanu jayati bhettā sanmukhah krauñcasati

Passages relating to images etc. in the Manusmṛti.

III, 152.

Reference to those who made a living out of the
worship of the images of the gods.

Cikitsakān devalakān māmsayikrayinas tathā;
Vipānena ca jivanto varjyā havya-kavyayoh.

IV, 39.

Reference to images of gods.

Mṛdam gām daivatam vipram ghrtaṁ madhu catuṣṣ
Pradāksānāni kurvīta prajñātānāṁ ca vanaspatin.

IV, 130.

Same.

Devatānām guro rājñah snātakācaryayos tathā;
Nākrāmet kāmataśchāyāṁ babhrūṇo dikṣitasya ca

(Comm. devatānām pāsānādinamayinam etc.).

IV, 153.

Same.

Daivatānyabhigacchet tu dhārmikānāṁ dvijotta
Iṣvaram caiva raksārtham guṇṁ eva ca parvasu.

Passages relating to Śiva in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

- I,1. Mention of Śiva with Brahmā.
 Praṇanya śirasā devau pitāmahaparamesvarau;
 Nāṭyaśāstram pravakṣyāmi brahmanā yadudāhṛtam
- I,45. Śiva as a dancer.
 Dr̥ṣṭā mayā bhagavato nilakanṭhasya nr̥tyataḥ;
 Kāśīki ślakṣṇanaipathya sṛṅgārarasasambhavā.
- Ip60. Śiva as giver of 'śiddhi'.
 Sūryas̄chatram śivassiddhim vāyurvyajanam eva
- I,93. Mention of Skanda.
 Tr̥tīyam ca sthito Viṣṇus̄caturthe skanda eva c
- II,24. Reference to Śiva's 'bhūtas'.
 Adau nivesyo bhagavān sārḍham bhūtagaṇair bha
- IV,5-10. Reference to Śiva as 'trinetra' and 'vṛṣāṅka'.
 Bharata is said to have produced the play 'Tr
 -ha' before him.
- IV,17-18. Śiva gave the 'tāṇḍava' to the dramā.
 Tatas̄tandūm samāhūya proktavān bhuvanēsvarā
 Prayogam āṅghārāṇām āceksva bharatāya vai.

Important passages relating to Śiva in the works of Kālidāsa

The Malavikāgnimitra.

- I,1. Ekais̄vare sthito'pi praṇatabahuphale yah ev
 kṛttivāsāh
 kānta-samīśradeho'pyavisayamanasā yah purā
 yatinām;

Astābhir yasya kṛtsnam jagadapi tanur^{-bhū} bibhrat
 nabhimanah,
 sanmārgālokanāya vyapnayatu sa has tāmasīm vr
 īśah.

The Vikramorvaśīya.

I,1. Vedāntoṣu yam āhur ekapurusaṃ vyāpya sthitam
 rodasi,
 yasminnīvara ityananyaviśayah sabdo yatharth
 -kṣarah;
 Antar yasca mumukṣubhir niyamitaprānādibhir m
 -yate,
 Śa sthānuḥ sthira-bhakti-yoga-sulabho nihsrey
 -sāyastu vah

The Sakuntalā.

I,1. Yā srstih srastur ādyā vahati vidhibutam yā h
 yā ca hotrī
 Ye dve kālam vidhatte sruti-visaya-guṇā yā st
 vyāpya visvam
 Yam āhuh sarvabijaprakṛtiriti yayā prāninaḥ
 prānavantah,
 Pratyakṣabhiḥ prasanna tanubhir avātu vas tā
 astābhir īśah

The Meghaduta.

I,34. Apyanyasmin jaladhara mahākālam āsādyā kāle,
 sthātavyam te nayanaviśayam t yāvad atyet
 bhānu
 Kurvan saṁdhya-bali-paṭahatām sūlinah slāghan
 Amāndrānām phalamavikalām lapsyase gārjitānām

I,35. Pādanyasaih kvanitarasanās tatra līlavadhūtai
 ratnachāya-khacita-valibhie canaraih klentaha
 -ih;
 Vesyās tvatto nakhapada-sukhān prāpya varṣagr
 bindūn,
 Amēksyante tvayi madhukara-sreni-dīrghān kata

I,36. Nṛtyārambhe hara pasūpaton ardranāgājinecchā
 sāntodvegastimitanayanam dr̥stabhaktir bhavāny

The Raghuvamśa.

I,1.

Vāgāthāḥ iva saṃprktau vāgārtha-pratipattaye;
Jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvati-paramēśvarau.

Appendix.

(B)

Passages relating to Siva in the Purānas.

The Agni Purana.

Ch. III, Drinking of poison by Siva.

8. Kṣirābdher mathyamānācca viṣam hālāhalam hyabh
9. Harena dhāritam kanthe nilakanthas tato'bhavat

Siva infatuated with the female form of Viṣṇu.

18. Darsayāmasa rudrāya strīrupam bhagavān hariḥ;
Māyayā mohitah sambhur gaurīm tyaktvā striyam
19. Nagna unmattarūpo'bhūt striyah kesān adhārayat
Agād vimucya kesān stri anvadhāvacca tam gatam
20. Skhalitam tasya vīryam kau yatra yatra harasya
Tatra tatrābhavat ksetram līngānām kanakasya ca
21. Mayeyam iti tam jñatvā svarupastho'bhavaddharat
Sivam āha hari rudra jita māyā tvayā hi me.
22. Na jetum enam saktō me tvad r̥te'nyah pumān;
Aprāptāścāmrtam daityā devair yuddhe nipatitāḥ

Ch. XVIII, The eleven Rudras.

41. Surabhi kasyapād rudrān ekādasa vijijñuṣi;
Mahādeva-prasādēna tapasā bhāvitā sati.
42. Ajaikapād ahirbudhnyas tvastā rudrasca sattama;
43. Tvastuscātmajah sriman visvarupo mahāyasaḥ;
Harasca bahurūpasca tryambakascāparajitah.
44. Vṛsakapiscā sambhusca kapardī raivatas tathā;
Uṛgavyādhasca sarpasca kapālī dasa caikakah.
45. Rudrānām ca satam laksam yair vyāptam saccarāca

Ch.LIII, Characteristics of the 'śivaliṅga'.

1. Liṅgādilakṣaṇam vakṣye kamalodbhava tacchrnu;
Dairghyārdham vasubhir bhaktvā tyaktvā bhāgatr
-yam tath
2. Viśkambham bhūtabhāgaistu caturasram tu kāraye
Ayam rtubhir bhaktvā eka-dvi-tri-kramānyaset.
3. Brahmā-viṣṇu-śivāṅgeṣu vardhamāno'yam ucyate;
Caturasre'śyakarnārdham guhya-koneṣu lāñchayet
5. Catuh sastyasrakam krtvā, vartulan sādhayet tat
Kartāyed ātha liṅgasya siro vai deśikottamah.
6. Vistāro'tha liṅgasyāstadhā samvibhājayet;
Bhagārdhārdham tu saṁtyajya chatrakaram siro b
etc.etc.

Ch. LIV, Description of the 'liṅgas'.

1. Vaksyāmyanyaprakāreṇa liṅga-mānādikam śrṇu;
Vakṣye lavanajam liṅgam ghṛtajam buddhi-vardha
2. Bhūṭaye vastra-liṅgam tu liṅgam tātkālikam vidu
Pakvāpakvam mṛṇmayam syād apakvād pakvajam var
3. Tato dārumayam punyam dārujācchailajam varam;
Sailād varam tu muktājam tato lauham suvarṇajam
and so on. Liṅgas of silver, copper, brass, jew
and of 'rasa' are mentioned.
7. Pūjyo haras tu sarvatra liṅgē purnārcanam bhav
8. Calam āṅgula-mānena dvāra-garbha-karāṅg eṣṭhitam
Āṅgulād grha-liṅgam syād yavaṭ pañcadasāṅgulam.

41-48. Description of 'mukha-liṅgas'.

Ch. LXXI, Worship of Gaṇeśa.

1. Gaṇāya svabhā hṛdayam ekadamāstrāya vai śirah.
2. Gajakarnine ca sikhā gajavaktrāya carma ca;
Mahodarāya sudanda-hastayāksi tathāstrakam.
3. Gaṇo guru pārśvakaśca śaktyānantau ca dharmakath
Mukhyāsthi-maṇḍalam cādhascordhvam chādanam arc

4. Padma-karnikā-bijāṃ ca jvaliniṃ nandayārcayet;
sūryeṣā kāmārupā ca udayā kamavartini.
5. Satyā ca vighna-nāsā ca āsanam gandha-mṛttikā;
Vamśo ghorāṃ ca dahanāṃ plavo lambāṃ tathā surā.
6. Lambodarāya vidmahe mahodarāya dhīmahī;
Tanno dantiḥ pracodayāt.
7. Ganapatir ganādhipo ganeśo gaṇa-nāyakaḥ;
Gaṇakṛdo vakratunda ekadantro mahodarah.
8. Gajavaktro lambakuksir vikāto vighnanāsanah;
Dhūmravarno mahēdradyāḥ puṣṭyā gaṇapateḥ smṛtāḥ

Ch. LXXII, Conception of Raudrī.

29. Raudrīm dhyāyed vṛṣābjasthāṃ trinetraṃ śaśi-bh
-tām;
Trisulākṣa-dharāṃ dakṣe vāme śabhaya-śaktikāṃ.

Ch. LXIV, Directions for the worship of Śiva.

42. Prakṣalya pīṇḍikā-linge astra-toye tato hrda;
Arghya-pātrāmbunā siñced iti līṅga-viśodhanam.
43. Ātma-dravya-mantra-līṅga-suddhau sarvān surān
Vāyavye gaṇapataye sarvān haṃ gurubhyo'rcayed
50. Nyaset siñhāsane devam suklaṃ pañca-mukhaṃ vi
Dasabāhum ca khandendūṃ dadhānam dakṣiṇaiḥ kar
51. Śakty-ṛṣṭi-sūla-khatvāṅga-varadaṃ vāmakaiḥ kar
Damarūṃ bijapuram ca nilābjāṃ sūtram utpalam.
81. Tan me śiva-padaṣṭhāya huṃ keṣaḥ keṣaya śaṅka
Śivo datā śivo bhoktā śivaḥ sarvam idaṃ jagat.

Śivo jayati sarvatra yaḥ śivaḥ so'ham eya ca;
Śloka-dvayam adhityaivam jagan devāya carpayet.

Ch. LXXVI, Directions for worship of Śiva as Gaṇḍa.

1. Tataḥ śivantikam gatvā gatya puṣṭyā homādikam ma
Gṛhāṇa bhagavān puṣṭya-phalam ityābhidhāya ca.
4. Samhṛtya divyayā līṅgam mūrti-mantrenajayet;
Sthāṇḍile tvārcite deve mantra-saṃhāram ātmani

5. Niyojya vidhinoktena vidadhyaccāṇḍa pūjanam.
6. Om dhūli-candēśvarāya huṃ phaṭ svāhā tam āhvaya
8. Candāstrāya tathā huṃ phaṭ candram rudrāgnijam
Sūla-taṅka-dharam kṛṣṇam sākṣa-sūtra-kamandalam
smar
9. Taṅkare'rdhacandre vā caturvaktram prapūjayet;
Yathāsakti japam kuryād angānam tu dasanātatah
//

Ch. LXXIX, Worship of Śiva (contd.).

7. Sannidhāne tatah sambhor upaviśya niśāsane;
Pavitram ātmane dadyād gaṇāya guru-vahnaye.
16. Svahāntam vā namo'ntam vā mantram eṣam udiraye
17. Om hatma-tatvādhipataye śivāya svāhā;
Om vidyā-tatvādhipataye śivāya svāhā.
18. Antāścāreṇa bhūtānam draṣṭā tvam parameśvara;
Karmanā manasā vacā tvattō nānyā gatir mama.
38. Pavitrāpi samaropya praṇamyāgnau śivam yajet.
39. Bhukti-kāmaḥ śivāyātha kuryāt karma samarpanam
44. Viśrjya lokapālādīn ādāyesāt pavitrakam;
Sati candēśvare pujaṃ kṛtvā vidhinā pūrvavad y

Ch. LXXXVI, Prayer to Śiva.

5. Om namaḥ śivāya sarva-prabhāve śivāyesāna-mūrd
Tatpuruṣa-vaktrāyaghora-hṛdayāya n vāmadeva-gu
6. Sadyojātamūrtaye Om namo namo guhyātiguhyāya;
Goptrē' nidhanāya sarvādhipāya jyotirupāya para
-śvarāya bhāvena Om vyom.

Ch. LXXXVIII, Mention of Śiva and Śakti, and of Śiva as 'Hetu'

3. Ubhau śakti-śivau tatve bhuvanāṣṭaka-siddhikam
7. Hetuḥ sadā śivo deva iti tatvādi saṃcayam;
Saṃcītya śāntyatitākhyam vidadhyāt tādanādikan

Ch. XCVI, Worship of the 'linga' in the house.

22. Mūrtis tadīśvārāṁstatra pūrvavad viniveśayet;
Tadvyāpakam śivam sāngam śiva-hastam ca mūrdha
23. Brahmā-randhra-pravistena tejasā bahya-sāntara
Tamaḥ patalam ādhūya pradyotita-digantaram.
24. Ātmanam mūrti-paṅkṣāḥ sardham srgvastra-mukutāḥ
Bhūṣayitvā sivo' smṛti dhyatvā bodhāsim uddhara
64. Arcayet tato līngam snāpayitvā mrdādibhiḥ;
Śilpinam toṣayitvā tu dadyād gām gurave tataḥ.
65. Līngam dhūpādibhiḥ prārçya gayeyur bhartṛgāḥ
Savyena cāpasavyeḥa sūtrenātha kuṣena vā.
-yah;
66. Sprstvā ca rojanam datvā kuryur nirmanthanādī
Gudā-lavaka-dhānyārka-dāneṣa viśrjecca tāḥ.
etc.etc.

Ch. XCVII, Directions for the installation of the 'līngam'

The 'Dvārapālas', the 'Dīkpatīs', and the 'Śivala
-bha' are worshipped first. Then, eight handfuls
of rice are offered to Agni and to the 'līngam'.
Then, the worshipper enters the sanctuary reciting
auspicious 'mantras'. Then, the 'līngam' is installed.

4. Tanmadhye sthāpayellīngam vedhadosaśivāṅkay
Tasmān madhyam parityajya yavārdhena yavena

Then, the 'ananta' slab is carefully placed. This is
symbol of universal receptivity ('sarvādhārasvarūpiṇi').
Then, the 'atala' slab is placed in position with the
following 'mantra'

8. Om namo vyāpini bhagavati sthīre' ca dhruv

Then, the worshipper meditates upon the various sur
-ceslike jewels, different metals, and different gra
as giving beauty, energy, good appearance, and streng
Then, the various pitchers are placed in the proper
positions, with the proper 'mantras'. Then, having made
offerings to the 'Vastu-devatas', the worshipper
takes up the 'līngam' and, with necessary circumambu
-tions deposits it in front of the 'bhadrā' door.
After this, the Mahapasupata hymn is recited.

Ch. CIII, Restoration of old and decayed 'līngas'.

1. Lakṣmōjjhitam ca bhagnam ca sthūlam vajra-hata
Samputam sphutitam vyāngam līngamityevamādikam

2. Ityadi dusta-līngānām tyājya piṇḍī tathā vṛṣah
21. Asuraimunibhir gauṭrais tantravidbhiḥ pratist
Jīrnam vāpyatha bhagnam vidhināpi na cālayet.

Ch. CXII, The 'mahātmya' of Kāśī.

1. Vāraṇasī param tīrtham gauryai praha mahesvara
Bhukti-mukti-pradam puṇyam vasatam gr̥natam har
2. Gauri-kṣetram na muktam vai avimuktam tataḥ su
Japtam taptam hutam dattam avimukte kilākṣyam
5. Guhyānām param guhyaṃ avimuktam param mana.

Ch. CXIII, The 'mahātmya' of Narmadā.

1. Sadyah punāti gāṅgeyam darsanād vāri nāmadam.
4. Gauri sri-rupinī tepe tapastam abravīd hariḥ;
Avāpsyasi tvam adhyātma nāmnā sriparvatas tāva.
6. Maranam sivalokāya sarvadam tīrtham uttamam;
Harō'tra kṛīdate devyā hiranyākāśipus tathā.

Ch. CLXXIX, Worship of Gaṇesa on the 'sūkla-caturthī' in Mā

3. Ulkāntair gādī-gandhādyaiḥ pūjayen modakādḥibhiḥ
Om maholkāya vidmahe vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi;
Tanno dantiḥ pracodayāt.

Ch. XCCIII, Worship on the 'Sivarātri'.

1. Magha-phalgunayor madhye kṛṣṇā yā ca caturdaśī;
2. Kāmayuktā tu sopeṣyā kurvan jāgaranam vrati.
3. Avāhayānyaham sambhum bhukti-mukti-pradāyakam.
4. Narakāṇḍavottaranāvam siva nāmo'stu te;
Namḥ sīvāya santaya prajārajyādayine.

etc.etc.

Ch. CCLXVI, The 'vināyaka'.

1. Vināyakopasrtānām śnānam sarvakaram vade;
Vināyakah karmavighna-siddhyartham viniyojitaḥ.

2. Gaṇanām ādhipatyē ca keśavesapitanahaḥ;
Svāpñe'vagāhate'tyartham jālam mundāṃśca paśy.
3. Vināyakopasr̥stāstu kravyādān adhirohati;
Vrajanāstātātmānam manyate'nugataḥ paraiḥ.
4. Vimanā viphalārambhah saṃśidatyānimittataḥ;
Kanyā varam na cāpnoti na cāpatyaṃ varāṅgaṇā.

Ch. CCLXIV, The story of Soma and Tārā.

2. Somāścakre rājasuyam trailokyam dakṣiṇām dadau
Samāpte vabhr̥the somam tadrūpalokaṅcchavaḥ.
3. Kāma-bhānābhitaṅgyo nava devyaḥ siṣevire;
Lakṣmī nārāyaṇam tyaktvā
5. Dhṛtis tyaktvā patim nandim somam evābhajat t.
6. Svakiya eva somo'pi kāmayāmāsa tās tadā.
8. Brhaspa-te sa vai bhāryām tārām nama yāsavim
9. Jahāra tarasā somo hyavananyāṅgirahsutam;
Tatas tad yuddham abhavat prakhyātām tarakāma.
10. Devānam dahavānām ca lokakṣayakaram mahat;
Brahmā nirvāryosanasam tarām angirase dadau.
11. Tam antah prasām dṛstvā garbham tyajābravid g.
Garbhastyaktaḥ pradīpto'tha prābaham somasamb.
12. Evam somād budhah putrah..... etc.

Ch. CCCXIII, Worship of Vināyakaor Ganesa.

1. Om vināyakārcanam vaksye.....
 3. Gaṇamūrtim ganapatim hrdayam syād gaṇāñjayaḥ;
Ekadantotkatasirah sikhayacalakarnine.
 4. Gajavaktrāya kavacam haṃ-ruphadantam tathāsta
Mahodarī dandahastah purvādau madhyato yajēt.
- Jayo ganādhipo gaṇanāyako'tha gaṇeśvarah;
Vakratuṅḍa ekadantotkata-lambodaro gajah.
6. Vaktro vikāṭanāmātha haṃrūpūrvo vighṇanāśine;
Dhūmravarno mahendrādyo bahye vighneśa pūjana

Ch. CCCXVIII,

The 'sivagāyatri'

7. Tannahasāya vidmahe mahādevāya dhimahi;
Tannah sīvah pracodayāt.

Worship of Ganeṣa for the removal of obstacles
and his various names.

8. Yatrāyāṁ vijayādau ca yajet pūrvam gaṇam śriya
14. Śirohatam tatpuruṣena umādyāṁ ca namo'ntakam;
15. Gaḷākhyāṁ gajasirṣam ca gāṅgeyāṁ gaṇanāyakam;
Trirāvartam gaganāgam gopatim pūrvapanktigam.
16. Vicitrāsam mahākāyam lambaṣṭham lambakarnakam;
Lambodaram mahābhāgam vikṛtām pārvatīpriyam.
18. Mahānādam bhāsuram ca vighnarājāṁ gaṇādhipam;
Udbhatasvanasundau ca mahasundam ca bhīmakam.
20. Layam nrtyapriyāṁ laulyam vika-rnam vatsalam t
Kṛtāntam kāladandam ca yajetkumbham ca pūrvava

Ch. CCCXXII,

The 'Pāsupatasānti'.

Om namo bhagavte mahāpasūpatāya.....tripāncana-
-nāya.....sarvāṅgaraktāya.....śaśānavetālapri-
-ya sarva-vighna-nikṛtana-ratāya....bhaktānuka-
-pine' sāmkyavaktrabhujapādāya....vetālavitrāsa-
śākinikśobhājanakāya vyādhinīgrahakārine....du-
nāgaksayakārine.....krurāya...vajrahastāya.....
mundāya...mundāstrāya...kākalāstrāya...yoginye-
-rāya....sivāstrāya...sarvaloka...sarvasatva...
etc.etc.

Ch. CCCXXIV,

The 'Rudrasānti'.

13. Om rudrāya....vṛsabhāya namo'vimuktāya sambhavā-
puruṣāya pañcapūjyāya śaputre paṇṇase pañcapar-
-ttare viśvarūpāya karālāya vikṛtarūpāya....

15. 15. Ekapingalāya svetaṅgāyā kṛṣṇapingalāya na
 16. Madhupingalāya niyatavanāntāyārdrāya suṣkāya
 -ganāya kālataṭve karālāya vikarālāya dvau ma
 tatve sahasrāsīrsāyasahasravaktrāya
 19. Bhūpataye pasūpatāya umāpataye kālādhipataye
 25. Śāśvatāya yogapīthasamsthītāya nityayogine....
 sarvaprabhāve....tatpuruṣāya....pancavaktrāya.
 31. Brahma-visṇu-rudra-pādānarcitastuta.....

Ch.CCCXXVII, Worship of the 'linga'.

10. Yad Ōm namah śivāyeti etāvat paramam padam;
 Anena pūjayellingam linge yasmāt sthitah śiva
 12. Lingārcanād bhuktir muktir yāvajjīvam ato yaj
 Varām prānaparityāgo bhūñjītāpūjya naiva tam.
 14. Sarvayajñopādāne tīrthe vedesu yatphalam;
 Tatphalam kotigunatam sthāpyā lingam labhenna
 15. Trisandhyam yo'rcayellingam kṛtvā bilvena pār
 Sataikadasīkam yāvat kulam uddhṛtya nākabhāk.

Ch.CCCXLVIII, The mantra of Gaṇeśa.

24. Ōm gaṁ svāhā mūlamantro'yam gaṁ va gaṇapataye
 Śadāngo raktāsuklasa dantāksaparāsutkatah.

Some epithets of Gaṇeśa.

26. Kuśmāṇḍāya ekadantāya tripurāntakāyeti
 -lkāya....vāhnesvarāya....bhūjagendrahārāya...
 sasānkadharāya gaṇādhipataye svāhā.

The Brahma Purāna.

Ch. IX, The story of Soma and Tara.

21. Uśanā tasya jagrāha pārṣṇīm āngirasastāthā;
Rudrasca pārṣṇīm jagrāha gṛhitvājagavam dhanuḥ
23. Tatra tad yuddham abhavat prakhyātam tarakama
Devānam dānavānam ca lokakṣayakaram mahat.
24. Tatra sistāstu ye devās tusitāascaiva ye dvijāḥ
Brahmānam saranam jagmur ādidevam sanātanam.
25. Tadānivāryosānasam tam vai rudraḥ ca sākaram;
Dadāvāngirase tārām svāyam eva pitamahāh.

Ch. XXVIII, The Rāmesvara 'tirtha'.

56. Aste tatra mahādeyas tīre nadanadīpateḥ;
Rāmesvara iti khyataḥ sarvakāmaphalapradaḥ.
59. Rājasūyaphalam samyag vājimedhaphalam tathā;
Prāpnuvanti mahātmanah samsiddhim paramām tat
62. Sankaram yogam āsthaya tato mokṣam vrajanti te.

Ch. XXXIV, The destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

1. Yo'sau sarvagato devas tripurāri trilocanah;
Unāpriyakaro rudras candrārḍhakṛtasekharah.
2. Vidravya bibudhān sarvān siddhavidyādharaṇ raṣiṇ
Gandharava-yakṣa-nāgaṃsca tathānyāmsca samāgata
3. Jaghāna pūrvam dakṣasya yajato dharanītale;
Yajnam samrddham ratnādhyam sarvasambhārasambhr
4. Yasya pratāpasamtrastā sakradyāstridivaukasāḥ;
Sāntim na lebhire viprah kailāsam saramam gata
5. Sa aste tatre varadah sūlapānir vrsadhvajah;
Pinākapanir bhagavān dakṣayajñavināsanah.
6. Mahādevo' kale dese kṛttivāsā vrsadhvajah;
Ekamrake muniresthah sarvakāmaprado harah.
11. Najuhavātmajam tam vai dakṣo rudram abhidviṣan;
Akarot sannatim dakṣe na ca kāmcin mahesvarah.

16. Tvattah sresthā varisthāscā puṣṭyā bālāḥ sutā m
Tāsām ye caiva bhartāras te me bahumatāḥ sati.

19. Taiscāpi spardhate sarvaḥ sarve te caiva tam y
Tena tvām na bubhūsamī prātikūlo hi me bhavaḥ.

Dakṣa's counter curse on Siva after the destru-
-on of the sacrifice.

34. Yasmāt tvam matkrte krūra rāin vyahrtavān asi
Tasmāt sardham surair yajñe na tvām yakṣyanti
dvijāḥ

35. Kṛtvāhutim tava krūra apah spr̥ṣanti karmasu;
Ihaiva vatsyase loke divam hitvāyugakṣayāt.

Description of Siva.

101. Mahesvarah parvatalokavāsī carācaresah pratha
-prameyāḥ;
Vinendunā hindrasamānavarcasā bibhisam rūpam
-śhīto yaḥ.

Ch. XXXV, Siva visits Pārvati in disguise after her pen

5. Vikṛtam rūpam āsthāya hrasvo bahuka evaca;
Vibhagna -nāsiko bhutvā kubjāḥ keśānta-piṅgal

6. Uvaca vikṛtāsyasca devi tvām tvam varāyamyaḥ

The story of the 'svayamvara' and the marriage
follows and is carried on in the next chapter

Ch. XXXVI, Indra's arm paralysed by Siva.

33. Sa bahur utthitas tasya tathaiva samatishhat
Stambhitah śisurupena devādevena sambhunā.

Greatness of Siva.

39. Purānaih sāmāngitaih punyākhyair guhyanāmā
Ajastvamajaro devah sṛastā vibhuh parāparam.

40. Pradhānapuruso yastvam Brahmadyeyam tad aks
Amṛtam paramātmā ca Īsvarah kāraṇam mahat.

41. Brahmaṣṛk prakṛteḥ sṛastā sarvakṛt prakṛteḥ pa
Iyam ca prakṛtiḥ devī śādā te sṛāṭikāraṇam.
42. Patnirūpam samāsthāya jagatkāraṇam agata;
Namastubhyaṃ mahādeva devya vai sahitāyā ca.
43. Devādyastu imah sṛṣṭā mudhas tvadyogamayaya.
45. Mudhāśca devataḥ sarvā nainam budhyata sankaṛa
47. Tataste stambhita sarve tathaiva tridivaukaṣaḥ
Pranemur manasa sarvam bhavasuddhena cetasa.

Ch. XXXVII,

Prayer of the gods to Siva.

2. Namah pārvatalingāya...pavanavegāya virūpāya j
-ya ca.....
3. Nilasikhandāya ambikā-patayesatarupaya.
7. Kapalamālāya kapālasūtradhāriṇe.....kapālahast
dandine gadine.....
8. Trailokyanāthāya pasulokaratāya....khatvaṅgaha
-ya.....
9. Kṛṣṇakesapaharīṇe.....
10. Kālakālāya
12. Daityānām yoganāsāya yojinām gurave.....
13. Smaśānaratāye smaśānavaradāya.....
14. Gṛhasthasūdhave....jatile....brahmacāriṇe....m
-rdhamundāya pasunām pataye.....
17. Saikhyāya.....
19. Pradhanāyāprameyāya kāryāya karnāya.....
20. Puruṣasamyogapradhānagunakarīṇe.....

Ch. XXXVIII,

Denunciation of Siva by the mother of Par

26. Daridrā kṛidānais tvam hi bhārtrā kṛidasi saṅg
27. Ye daridrā bhavanti sma tathaiva ca nirāśrayaḥ
Umē ta eva kṛidanti yathā tava patih subhe.

Siva's comment of this.

36. Evameva na saṁdehah kaśmān manyur abhūt tava;
Kṛttivāsā hyavāśāśca smaśānanilayaśca ha.
37. Aniketo hiranyesu parvatānām guhāsu ca;
Vicarāmi ganāir nāgnair vrto'mbhojavilocane.
38. Mā krudho devi mātre tvam tathyam matāvadat ta

Ch. XXXIX, Another version of the 'Daksayaga' story.

31. Santi me bahavo rudrah sulahastah kapardinah;
Ekadāśa sthānagatā nānyam vidmo mahesvaram.

Dadhici says

32. Sarvesam ekamanthro'yam mameso na nimantritah;
Yathāham samkarad ūrdhvaṁ nānyam pasyāmi daiva
Tathā daksasya vipulo yajño'yam na bhavisyati.

Siva's reply to Sati's query.

38. Surair eva mahābhāge sarvam etad anusthitam;
Yajñesu mama sarvesu na bhāga upakalpitaḥ.

39. Purvāgatena gantavyam mārgena varavarnini;
na me surā prayacchanti bhāgamyajñasya dharmatā.

Siva creates Virabhadra.

48. So'arjad bhagavan vaktrād bhūtam krodhāgnisambhavam.

49. Tam uvāca maham gaccha daksasya tyaṁ mahesvarā
Kāsāyāsu kratum tasya daksasya madanujñayā.

Pacification of Siva by Brahma.

85. Bhavte'pi sura sarve bhāgam dasyanti vai prajā
Kriyatām pratisamharāḥ sarvādevēsvara tvayā.

Ch. XL. Hymn to Siva by Dakṣa.

5. Gajendrakarṇo gokarṇaḥ satakarṇo.....

8. Tvattah sarire pasyāmi somam agnim jalesvaram;
Adityam atha viṣṇum ca brahmanam sabrhaspatim;

18. Sthitāya dhāvamānāya kubjāya kuṭilāya ca.

20. Namo nartanasīlāya mukhavāditrakarṇe.

22. Namo kapalahastāya sitabhasmapriyāya ca.

36. Sāṅkhyāya sāṅkhyamukhyāya yogādhipataye namaḥ.

40. Namo'nnadānakartre ca annaprabhave namaḥ.

63. Mrtyuścaivāksayo'ntasca kṣamamaya karotkarah.

66. Ksarāksarah priyo dhūrto gaṇair ganyo gaṇādhipa

67. Silīsaḥ silpīnaḥ sreṣṭhaḥ sarvasīlpappravartā
 78. Vyādhinām akarokaraḥ.....
 98. Athavā māyayā deva mohitāḥ sūksmayā tava;
 Tasmāttu kāranād vāpi tvam mayā na nimantrita!

Results of worshipping Śiva.

126. Na yakṣā na piśācā vā na nāgā na viṇāyakāḥ;
 Kuryur vighnam gr̥he tasya yatra samstūyate bh

Ch. XLI, The Ekāmṛaka 'tīrtha'.

11. Lingakotīsamāyuktām vārānaśī-
 Ekāmṛaketi vikhyātām tīrthastakāsamānvitam.
 50. Aste tatra svayam devaḥ kṛttivāsā vṛṣadhvajah.
 76. Tasmin kṣetравare līngam bhāskaresvarasamjñita

Ch. XLIII, Mahākāla in Avanti.

65. Tatrāste bhagavān devas tripurāri trilocanaḥ;
 66. Mahākāleti vikhyataḥ sarvakāmapradah śivah.
 70. Sampūjya vidhivad bhaktyā mahākālam sakrechiva
 Āsvamedhasahasrasya phalam prāpnoti mānavah.

Ch. LXXI, The legend of the burning of Kāma.

39. Sambhum dṛṣṭvā suraganā yavat pasyanti manmath
 Tāvacca bhāsmasād bhūtam kāmam dṛṣṭvā bhayātur
 Tustuvus tridasesānam kṛtāñjalipuṭāḥ surāḥ.
 40. Tarakad bhayam āpannam kuru patnīm gireḥ sutām
 41. Viddhacitto haro'pyāsu mene vākyaṁ suroditam;
 Arundhatīm vaśiṣṭham ca mān tu cakradharam tat
 42. Prasayamasur apara vivahāya parasparam.

Ch. LXXVII, Bhagiratha is told to worship Śiva by Kapilāṅga

54. Kailāsam tam narasreṣṭha gatva stūhi mahesvaram
 Tapah kuru yathāsakti tatasepsitam apyasi.

Ch. XCVII, Reference to the eight forms of Śiva.

21. Tvam astamūrtyā sakalam bibharsī,
Tvadājñayā varatataśva sarvām.

Ch. 100. The greatness of Śiva.

19. Lokatrayaiśkādhipater na yasya
kutrāpi vāstunyabhimanalesah;
Sa siddhanātho'khilavisvakartā
bhartā sivāya bhavatu prasannah.

Ch. CIX, The Cakra'tīrtha', and Viṣṇu's prayer to Śiva for
obtaining his discus.

2. Yatra viṣṇuḥ svāyam devāścakrārtham saṅkaram
-bhāh.
Pūjayamāsa tattīrtham cakratīrtham udāhṛtam.

Ch. CX, Śiva as the one God.

100. Sarvāi karmāni vihāya dhīrā
Tyaktaiśnah nirjitacittavataḥ;
Yam yanti muktyai sarāṅgāṁ prayatnāt
Tam śdidevam pranaṁami sambhum.

Ch. CXIV, Propitiation of Gaṇeśa.

7. Na vighnarājena samosti kascid
devo manovāṅchitasampradātā;
Hiścītya caitat tripurāntako'pi
Tam pūjayamāsa vadhe purāṅgam.
10. Yo mātur utsaṅga gato'thamātrā
nivāryamāno'pi balācca candram;
Saṅgopāyamāsa pitur jatāsu gaṇādhināthasya
vinodaśah.
13. Yo vighnapāsam ca kareṇa bibhṛat
skandhe kutharam ca tathā pareṇa.
15. Svatantrasāmarthyakṛtātīgartam
bhratṛpriyaṁ tvākhuratham tam īde.

Ch. CXV, Prayer to Śiva.

7. Namaḥ trailokyanāthāya dakṣayājñavibhedine;
Adikartre namastubhyaṁ namaḥ trailokyarūpine.

9. Sarvada sarvarūpāya kalarūpāya te namah;
Pahi saṅkara sarveśa pahi someśa sarvaḡa.

Ch. CXVI, The 'Ātmatīrtha'.

1. Ātmatīrtham iti khyātam bhuktimukti pradam nṛṇ
Tasya prabhavam vaksyāmi yatra jñānesvarah siv

Ch. CXXIII, Rama's prayerto Siva.

195. Namāmi sambhum puruṣam purāṇam
namāmi sarvajñam āpārabhāvam;
Namāmi rudraṁ prabhum akṣayam tam
namāmi sarvam śirasā namāmi.

200. Namāmi vedatrayalocanam
namāmi mūrtitrayavarjitam tām;

202. Yajñesvaram samprati havyakavyam tathā gatim
lokasada sivo yah.

265. Namānyajadīśa-purāṇdarādi-surāsurair arcita
pādapadmam;
Namāmi devī-mukha-vādanānam
īksārtham āksitritayam ya aicchat.

Ch. CXXVII, The Vedas are under the order of Siva.

37. Paratantrā vayan tāta īsvarasya vasaṅgāḡ;
Aśeśajagadadhāro nirādharo nirañjanah.

38. Sarvasaktyaikasadanam nidhanam sarvasampadām
Sa tu kartā mahādevah saṁhartā sa mahēśvarah.

Hymn to Siva.

49. Na tvām jānanti nigamā na devā munayo na ca;
Na brahmā nāpi vaikunṭho yo'si so'si namo'stu

Ch. CXXVIII, The legend of the birth of Skanda.

7. Tataḡ katipayekale tārakād bhaya āgate;
Anutpanne ca kārttikēye cirakālarahogate.

8. Mahēsvare bhavanyam ca trastā devāḡ saṁgataḡ.
etc.etc.

Agni's prayer to Siva.

44. Viśvasya jagato dhātā viśvamūrtir niranjanah;
Adikartā svayambhūśca tam namāmi jagatpatim.

Ch.CXXIX, Indra's hymn to Śiva.

68. Svamāyayā yo'khilam carācaram
sṛjatyavatyatti na sajjate'smin;
69. Na yasya tatvam sanakādayo'pi
jananti vedānta-rahasya-vijñāḥ.
71. Pāpam daridram tvatha lobhayaçñā moho vipacco
-to'pyanantam;
Aveksya sarvam cakitah sureṣo devīm avocajjag
astameti.
72. Tvam pāhi lokesvari lokamātar
ume śaranye subhage subhadre.

Oneness of Śiva and his consort.

81. Eke tarkair vimuhyanti liyante tatra cāpare;
Sivaśaktyostadadvaitam sundaram naumi vighraha

Ch.CXX, Unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

10. Brahmā viṣṇuḥ śivasceti devānām tu parasparam;
Trayānām āpi devānām vedyam ekam param hi tat
17. Yadyapyeṣām na bhedosti devānām tu parasparam
Tathāpi śarvasiddhiḥ syāt śivād eva sukhātman
18. P-rapañcasya nimittam yat tajjyotisca param s
Tameva sādhyā haraḥ bhaktyā paramayā mune.
23. Kaṣṭhesu vahnih kusumesu gandho
bījēsu vrksādi dṛeatsu hema;
Bhūtesu śarvesu tathāsti yo vai
tam somanātham śaranam vrajāmi.
26. Yena trayidharman aveksya pūrvam brahmadayas
tatra samihitāśca;
Evaṁ dvidhā yena kṛtam śarīram
someśvaram tam śaranam vrajāmi.

- Ch.CXXXV, The legend of the origin of the 'linga'.
2. Brahmavienavośca samvāde mahatve ca paraspara
Tayor madhye mahādevo jyotir mūrtir abhūt kil
 3. Tatraiva vāg uvacedam daivī putra tayoh subhā
 4. Daivi vāk tāv ubhan prāha yastvasyāntam tu pa
-t
Sa tu jy^estho bhavet tasmāh ma vadam kartum ar
-t
-th
- etc.etc.

- Ch. CLVII, Rama's worship of the 'linga' on the banks of
the Gautami.
21. Evaṁ tu pañcāham esire te
svaṁ svaṁ pratiṣṭhāpitaṅgam arcya.
 24. Ye' śraddhānāḥ śivaliṅgapūjān,
vidhāya kṛtyān na samācaranti.
 25. Yathocitam te yamakiṅkarair hi
pacyanta evakhilā-durgatiṣu.
- etc.etc.

- Ch. CLXII, Śiva as the Manifest and the Unmanifest.
17. Naiva kaścit tam vetti yah sarvaṁ vetti sarva
Amūrtam mūrtam apyetaḥ vetti kartā jagannayah
 28. Sa eva rudra-rupī syād rudro manyuh śivo bhav
Sthāvaram jaṅgamam caiva sarvaṁ vyāptam hi ma
-na

- Ch. CCVI, Story of Uśā and Aniruddha.
13. Yayau baṅapurābhyāsam nītvā tān saṅksayān har
 14. Tatas tripadaś trisira jvaro mahesvaro mahān;
Baṅaraksārtham atyartham yuyudhe sārṅghhanvan
 16. Tataḥ samyudhyamanastu saba devena sārṅginā
Vaiṣṇavena jvarenāśu kṛṇadehannirakṛtāh.
 21. Tatas samastasainyaena daiteyanān balaḥ sṛtāh
Yuyudhe saṅkarasāciva kartikeyasā sāurina.

22. Harisamkarayor yuddham ativasit sudarunam;
Cuksubhuh sakala lokā sastrāstrair bahudhārdit
24. Jṛmbhenāstrena govindo jṛmbha-yānasa sāmkarām
Tatah braṇesur daityāḥ pramathāsca samantatah.
Śiva pleads on behalf of Bāna.
41. Kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇa jagannātha jāne tvam puruṣottamam;
Parēsam pāramātrānam anadi-nidhanam param.
42. Deva-tīryān-manuṣyēṣu sariragrahaṇātmikā;
Lileyam tava cestā hi daityānām vādha-lakṣṇā.
The reply of Kṛṣṇa.
46. Yuṣmaddatta-varo bāno jivatād esa sāmkarāḥ;
47. Tvayā yad abhayam dattam taddattam abhayam may
Matto' vibhinnaḥ atmanam draṣṭum arhasi sāmkarā

The Brahmānda Purāna.
Pt. I.

Ch. IX,

Creation of the hordes of Śiva.

23. Abhimānātmakam rudram nirmame nilalohitam;
58. Prajāḥ sṛjēti vyadiṣṭo brāhmanā nilalohitāḥ;
So'bhidyāya satim bhāryām nirmame catmasambha
70. Tulyānevātmanā sarvān rupatejobalāsrutāḥ;
Piṅgalān sanisāhgāmsca kapardi nilalohitān.
71. Viśikhān hinakēsamsca dr̥ṣṭighnastankapalināḥ;
Mahārūpan virūpāmsca viśvarūpāmsca rūpināḥ.
74. Atamedhrograkayāmsca sitikanthogramanyukan;
92. Evameva mahadevaḥ sarvadevanamaskṛtāḥ;
Prajamanudyamam sṛṣṭvā sargad uparārama ha.

Ch. XIII,

The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

45. Tāsām jyesthā sati nama pātni yā tryambakasya

46. Nājuhavātmajam tam vai dakṣo rudram abhidviṣa
Akarot sannatim dakṣe na kādācin mahesvarah.
etc.etc. Story identical with that given in
ch.34.

Ch.XXV, The legend of the churning of the ocean.

60. Viṣam kālanalaprakhyam kalakūṭam itih smrtam;
Yenā prodbhūtamātrena na vyarajanta devatah.
61. Tasya viṣnur aham vāpi sarve va surapungavāḥ;
Na saknuvānti vai sodhum vegam anyatra sākari

Brahmā, then, prays to Siva, and requests him to
take up the poison. Siva does so, and, as the
poison reaches his throat, his neck turns blue.
The gods request him to keep the poison there,
and, thus, Siva gets a blue neck.

Ch. XXVI, Viṣnu glorifies Siva.

9. Yah srastā sarvabhūtanam kālah kāla-karah pra
Yenāham brahmanā sardham srstaca lokasca mayaj

Ch.XXVII, The legend of the seduction of the women of the
sages.

10. Tatas tesam prasādartham devas tadvanam āgatah
Bhasma-pānduradigdhāngo nagno vikṛta-lakṣnah;
11. Vikṛt-srastakeśasca karāladāsanas tathā;
Ulmūka-vyagra-hastasca rakta-pingala-locanah.
12. Siṣnam savṛsanam tasya rakta-gaurika-sannibhan
Mukham angāra-varnena sulkena ca vibhūṣitam.
13. Kvacit sa hasate raudram kvacid gayati viṣmita
Kvacinnrtyati srngari kvacid rauti muhurmuhur.

Nrtyantam rurudhus turnam patnyastesam vimohitah;
Āsramobhyagato' bhikṣnam yacate ca punah punah.

15. Bārya kṛtā tathā rūpā trnābharanabhūṣitāḥ;
Vṛṣanadam pragarjanvai Kharanādam nanaḍa ca.
16. Tatha vancitum ārabdho ha sayan sarvadehinah;
Tatas te munayah kruddhah krodhena kalusikṛtah

17. 17. Mohitā mayayā sarve sapitum samupasthitāḥ;
Kharavad gāyase yasmād khara eva bhaviṣyāsi.
19. Sepuh sāpaistu vividhaistam devam bhuvanesvare
29. Yatinām vā tathā dharmo nāyam dr̥stah kathanācan
Anayastu mahān esa yenayam mohito dvijah.
30. Lingam prapatayasvaitān nāyam dharmaḥ tapasvin
Vadasva vaca madhuraṁ vastram ekam samasraya.
31. Tyājite ca tvayā linge tatah pūjām avāpsyasi.
Siva's reply

33. Brahmādi dāivataih sarvaih kimutānyais tapodha
Pātayeyam ahaṁ caitan lingam bho dvijasattamaḥ

The sages tell him

Āsrame tiṣṭha vā gaccha vākyam ityeva te'bruvan;
Evaṁ ukto mahādevaḥ prahr̥tendriyaceṣṭitah.

35. Sarveṣāṁ paśyatām eva tatraivantardadhe prabhu!

The sages tell Brahmā,

43. Snusānam ca duhitṛṇām putrinām ca viśeṣataḥ;
44. Vartamānastatah pārve viparitam abhilāṣataḥ;
Unmatta iti vijñāya so' smābhir avamanitah.
45. Akruṣṭas tāditascāpi lingam cāpyasya coddhṛtam;
Tasyā krodhappasādārtham vayam te śaranam gataḥ
Brahma tells them,
55. Dr̥stam vai yādṛsam tasya lingam āsin mahātmanah
Tadr̥k pratikṛtim kṛtvā sūlapanim prapasyata.
Siva tells the sages,
92. Ye hi me bhasmā-nirātā bhasmanā dagdha-kilbisah
Yathoktakāriṇo dāntā viprā dhyānaparāyanāḥ.
93. Na tām parivaded vidvān na ca tām atilāṅghayet.
107. Asakrocāgninā dagdham jagatsthāvarajaṅgamam;
108. Bhasmasādhyam hi tat sarvam pavitram idam uttamam

115. Bhasmasnāna-visuddhātma jitakrodho jitendriyah
Matsamīpam upāgamyā na bhīyo vinivartate.
118. Magnā eva jāyante devatā munayas tathā;
ye cānye mānavā loke sarve jāyantyaवासasāḥ.
119. Indriyair ajitair nagnā dukulenāpi samvrtāḥ;
Taireva samvrto gupto na vastram kāranam śrīta
125. Daksinenātha panthānam ye śmasānāni bhejire;
126. Isītvam ca vaśītvam ca hyamaratvam ca te gatāḥ

Pt. II.

Ch. X,

The legend of the birth of Skanda.

22. Anyonya-pṛitamānasor umāsāṅkarayor atha;
23. Śloṣam sāmsaktayor jñatvā saṅkītaḥ kila vrtraḥ
Tābhyam maithunasāktābhyam apatyodbhavabhīrunā
Tayoh sakāśam indrena pṛesīto havyavāhanah.
26. Umāḥ devah samutarjya sukram bhūmau visarjaya
28. Yadevam vigatam garbham raudram sukram mahāpra
Garbhe tvam dharayasvaivam esa te dandadhāraṇā
etc.etc.

Ch. LXVII,

The mother of Pārvati condemns Siva.

- 35.. Mama pārsve tvanācāras tava bhartā mahesvarah;
Darīdraḥ sarvathāiveha ha kṛṣṭam lajjate na va

The Brahma Vaiivarta Purana.

Pt. I.

Ch. I,

Exaltation of Viṣṇu over Śiva.

1. Gaṇeśa-brahmeśa-sureśa-śeṣāḥ surāśca sarve ma
munindrāḥ;
Sarāśvatī-śrī-girijādikāśca namanti devyah pṛ
-māmi tam vibh

4. Vande kṛṣṇam guṇātītam param brhamacyutam ta y
Avir babhūvuh prakṛti-brahma-viṣṇu-sivādayah.

Ch.III,

Siva born out of the left side of Viṣṇu.

18. Ayirbabhūva tatpascād ātmano vāmapārsvatāḥ;
Suddhasphaṭikasamkāśaḥ pañcavaktro digambarah.
20. Sarvasiddhesvarah siddho yogindrāṇāṃ gurorguru
23.. Vaiṣṇavanām ca pravarah prajvalanbrahmatejasā.
24. Sri kṛṣṇa-purataḥ sthitvā tuṣṭāva tam putāñjal

Ch.VI,

Condemnation of the goddess by Siva himself.

4. Tataḥ sūkaram bhūya saryeṣo yoginām gurum;
Uvāca priyam ityevam grhīyaḥ śimhavāhinām.
6. Adhunāham na grhṇāmi prakṛtim prakṛto yathā;
Tvad-bhaktyaikā-vyavahitām dāśyamārgavirodhinī
7. Tatvajñāna-samācchannām yogadvārapatīkām;
Mukticchādhvaṃsarupām ca sakamaḥ kāmavardhinīm
8. Tapasyācchannarūpām mahāmohakarandikām;
Bhava-kārāgrhe ghore drḍhām nigadārūpinīm.
9. Sasvad vibuddhijanānīm sadbuddhicchedakārinīm;
śāsavad vibhogasārām ca viśayecchāvivardhinīm.
10. Necchāmi grhinīm nātha varam dehi madīpsitam.
Viṣṇu's reply.
26. Matsevām kuru sarveṣa sarva sarvavidām varah;
29. Adyaprabhṛti jñānena tejasā vayasā siva.
31. Tvat paro nāsti me preyāṃ tvam madīyatmanah p
Ye tvām nindanti papīsthā jñānahinā vicetanāḥ;
Pacyante te kālasūtre yāvaccandradivākarau.
46. Kṛtvā līngam sakṛt pūjya vaset kalpāyutam divi
47. Jñānavān muktivān sādhuḥ śivalīngārcanād bhava
Śivalīngārcanasthānam afīrtham tīrtham eva tat

Visnu says to Durgā or the goddess

- 55. Adhunā tisthā vatsē tvam goloke mama sannidheḥ
Kālē bhaviṣyasi śivam śivadam ca śivānam.
- 60. Kālesu sarvesu viśvesu mahāpuja supūjite;
Bhavitā prativare ca śāradyā sureśvarī.
- 61. Grāmesu nagaresveva pujitā grāmadevatā;
Bhavati bhavitetyedam nānabhedena carunā.
- 62. Madājñayā śivakṛtais tantrair nānāvidhair api;
Pujavidhim vidhāsyāmi kavacam stotrasaṅstutam.
- 64. Ye tvannātar bhajisyanti punyakṣetre ca bhārat
Tesām yasasā kirtisā dharmaisvaryam ca vardh

Ch. XII,

Siva exalts Visnu.

- 22. Yasya bhaktir harau vatsa drdhā sarvamāṅgalā;
Sa samarthah sarvaviśvam pātum kartum ca lila

Ch. XXV,

Siva in 'śivaloka'.

- 8. Lokam trilokācca vilaksanam param
bhimṛtyurogārtijarāharam varam;
- 10. Digambaram.....
Kṛsneti nāmeva mudā japantam.
- 12. Bhaktajñāikabandhum.....

Pt. II.

Ch. X,

Bhagiratha as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa.

- Vaiṣṇavo viṣṇubhaktasā gunavān ajarāmarah; 16.
- 17. Tapah kṛtvā laksavarṣam gangānāyanakāranāt;
Dadarsa kṛṣṇam hr̥ṣṭāsyam sūryakotisamaprabham.

Ch. XVIII,

Siva as the god of both the 'devas' and the 'as'.

- 73. Tatrāvayor vārodhe ca gamanam nisphalam tava;
Samasambhandhino bandhvor Īśvarasya mahatmanah

Ch. XXII,

- Ch. LXI, Siva worshipped by both the gods and the demogods.
37. Ubhayeṣāṃ guruh sambhur mānyo vandyasā sarva
Dharmasā sāksi sarveṣāṃ tvameva ca pitāmaha.
Exaltation of Viṣṇu.
56. Tato na balavamechambhur na ca pāsūpatam vidh
Na ca kāli na sesasā na ca rudrādayah surah.
58. Sodasāṃso bhagavatah sa caiva hi mahan virāt.

- Ch. LXVII, Exaltation of the goddess.
9. Brahma-ṽṣṇu-sivādīnāṃ puṅgavāṃ vandyāṃ sanātana
Nātāyanīm viṣṇumāyām vaiṣṇavīm viṣṇubhaktidām
10. Sarvarūpām sarveṣāṃ sarvadhāraṃ prāparām.
Sarvavidyā-sarvamantra-sarvasakti-svarūpinīm.
14. Durgāṃ satabhujām devīm mahādurgāti-nāsinīm;
Trilocanapriyām sādhvīm triguṇām ca trilocanā
44. Kṛtvā ca vaiṣṇavīpuṅgavāṃ viṣṇulokam vrajet sudh
Mahēśvarīm ca sampūjya sivalokam ca gacchati.
48. Mahēśvari ca balidanasevanvita;
Śaktādayao rajasāsca kailāsam yanti te tathā;
49. Kiratas tridivam yanti tāmasya puṅgavā tathā.
Sacrifices to the goddess.
92. Balidānavidhānam ca śrūyatām munisattama;
Nayatim mahiṣam chāgam dadyān mesādikam subha
95. Mamsam supakvādi phalair akṣatair iti nārada.
96. Yuvekam vyādhihinām ca saśṛṅgam laksanānvitam
Viśuddham avikarāṅgam suvarnam puṣṭam eva ca.
100. Nāyatīnām svarūpam ca śrūyatām munisattama;
Vakṣyamyatharvavedoktām phalāhānir vyatikrame

- Ch. LXV, Same continued.
10. Balidānena vipreṇdra durgāprītir bhavennṛṇam;
Himsājanyam na papam na ca labhate yajñakarma

23. Viṣṇu-brahma-sivādinām aham ādyā parātparā;
Sagūṇā nirguṇā cāpi varā svecchanayī sadā.
24. Nityānityā sarvarūpā sarvakāranakāranam;
Bījarūpā ca sarvesām mūlaprakṛtir īśvarī.

Pt. III.

Ch. I,

Curse of Pārvati upon the gods.

41. Dṛstvā surān bhayārtāmsca punah stotum samudya
Viśāhu sukhasambhogam kaṇṭhalāgnām ca pārvatī
42. Uttiṣṭhato mahesasya trāsalaṅkā yutasya ca;
Bhīman papāta tadviryam tatah skando babhūva ha

Ch. II,

The actual curse of Pārvati .

Ch. VII,

Viṣṇu promises a son to Śivaby Pārvati.

91. Svayam golokanāthasca punyākasya prabhāvatah;
Pārvati-garbhajātasca tava putro bhaviṣyati.
92. Yasya smaranamātrena vighnanāso bhaved dhruvam
Jagatām hetunānena vighnanighnābhido vibhuh.
94. Sanidrṣṭyā śiracchedād gajavaktrena yojitah;
Gajānānah śiśus tena sarvesām sarvasiddhidah.
95. Dantabhaṅgah parasūnā parasurāmasya vai yatah;
Hetunā tasya vikhyātascaikadantābhidhah punah.
97. Pūjāsu sarva devānām agre saṁpūjya tānjanāh;
Pūjaphalam avāpnoti nirvighnena vrthānyathā.
99. Gaṇesapūjane vighnam nirmūlam jagatām bhavet.

Ch. XIII,

Epithets of Gaṇeśa.

41. Iśah.....
42. Siddhānām yoginām guruḥ.....
49. Prakṛtirūpah. prakṛteḥ param.....

Ch. XXXVII,

Exaltation of the goddess.

29. Namaḥ saṅkarakāntāyai sarāyai te namo namaḥ;
Prasīda jagatām matah sṛṣṭi-saṁhāra-karīṇī.

The Ganesa Purāna

Ch. I, Ganesa as the one God.

20. Sīve visṇau ca saktau ca sūrye mayi ca narādhi
Yo'bhedaḥ buddhiryogah sa saṁyag yogo matah.
21. Aham eva jagat yasmat arjāni pālayāmi ca;
Kṛtvā nānavidhaṁ veśaṁ saṁharami svalilaya.
22. Aham eva mahāvisṇur ahaṁ eva sadāsivah;
Mohayatyakhilān māyā sṛeṣṭhān mama narān amūn.

Ch. III, Ganesa incarnates himself over and over again

6. Anekāni ca te janmanyatītāni mamāpi ca;
Saṁsāra tāni sarvāni na smṛtis tava vartate.
7. Matta eva mahābāho jātā viṣṇvādayaḥ surāḥ;
Mayyeva ca layān yanti pralāyesu yuge yuge.
8. Ahamevāparo brahmā maharudro'ham evaca;
Ahamekam jagat sarvaṁ sthāvaram jaṅgamam ca ya

Ch. VI, Further exaltation of Ganesa.

11. Na mām vindanti pāpisthā māyamohitacetasaḥ;
Trivikāra mohayati prakṛtir mama jagattpāyam .
19. Brahma-visṇu-sivedrādhyān lokān prāpya pupaḥ
patet.
Yo mām upaityasaṁdigdhaḥ patanam tasya na kvac

Ch. VII, Fruits of worshipping Ganesa.

23. Yo'sito'tha durācārāḥ pāpāstraivarnikās tathā;
Madāśrayā vimucyantē kim mad bhaktā dvijātayaḥ

Ch. VIII, The pantheistic conception of Ganesa.

8. Vikse'ham tava dehe'smin devān rsiṅganān pitṛn;
9. Pātālānāṁ saṁdrāṇāṁ dvīpānāṁ caiva bhubhṛtān.
10. Brahma-visṇu-mahesendrān devān jantūn anekadha

20. Tvam indro'gnir yamscaiva nirrtir varuno maru
Gubhyekadesas tathesānah somah sūryo'khilam ja

The Garuda Purāna.

- Ch.VII, Siva is worshipped in the body of Vishnu.
52. Madhye pitāmaham caiva tathā devam mahesvaram
Pujayecca vidhānena gandhapuspādibhih prthak.
- Ch. XII, Siva associated with the north.
9. Uttarasyām rudrakumbham puritam madhusarpisā;
Sri rudram sthāpayet raktavastrenāvestitam.
- Ch.XVI, Supremacy of Siva.
6. Asti devah paranabrahmasvarūpi niskalah sivaḥ
Sarvajñah sarvakartā ca sarveso nirmalodvayah.
7. Svayam jyotir andyanto nirvikarah paratparah;
Nirgunah saccidānandas tadansājjivasaññakah.

The Linga Purana.

- Pt. I,
- Ch. I, Siva as the Supreme God.
1. Namo rudrāya harāye brahmane parāmātmane;
Pradhānapuruseśaya sargasthityantakārine.
- Ch.XVII, The legend of the origin of the 'linga'.
14. Tathā bhūtam aham drstvā sayānam pañkajeksana
Māyayā mohitas tasyā tam avocam amarsitah.
15. Kastvam vadeti hastena samutthāpya sanātanam;
Tadā hastaprahārena tivrena sa drdhena tu.
22. Kimartham bhasase mohād avaktum arhasi satva;
So'pi mām aha jagatām kartāham iti lokaya.

31. Ityukavati tasminsca mayi capi vacastatha;
32. Avayocābhavad yuddham sughoram romaharsanam.
33. Itasminnantare lingam abhavaccāvayoh purah;
Vivadasamanārtham hi prabodhārtham ca bhāsvare
34. Jvālāmālāsahasrādhyam kalānalasatopamam;
Ksayavrddhivinirmuktam ādimadhyāntavarjitam.
35. Tasyajvālāsahasrena mohito bhagavan harih;
36. Mohitam prāha mām atra parikṣāvo'gnisambhavam;
Adhogamisyāmyanalastambhasyānupamasya ca;
37. Bhavan urdhvam prayatnena gantum arhasi satvar
45. Satvaram sarvayatnena tasyāntam jñatum icchaya
Srānto hyadrstvā tasyāntam ahankārad adhogatah
49. Tadābhavat tatra nādo vai sabdalaksanah;
Om om iti surāśreethah suvyaktah plūtalaksanah
50. Kimidam tviti mayā samcītya mayā tisthan mahā
Līngasya daksine bhage tadāpasyat sanātanam.
51. Ādyavarnam akaram tu ukaram cāntate tathā;
Makaram madhyataścaiva nādāntam tasyacom iti.
- etc.etc.

Ch. XVIII, Śiva as 'ardhanārīśa'.

30. Ardhanārī śarīrāvyaktāya namo namaḥ.

Ch. XIX, Śiva as the One God.

12. Tridhā bhinno'ham viśno brahma-viśnu-bhavaḥkhyā
Sargaraksālayagunair nīkalah parameśvarah.

Śiva and Parvatī in the 'linga' and 'vedi'.

15. Lingavedī mahādevī līngāsāksān mahesvarah.

Ch. XXI, Śiva called 'lambodarasarīrin'.

67. Dyayate jimbhatecāśva rudate dravate namaḥ;
Valgate kridate caiva lambodarasarīriḥ.

Siva's association with Sāṅkhya and Yoga.

85. Bhavn̄ īśo' nādimānstvā ca sarvalokanām
tvām brahmakartādisargah;
Sāṅkhyāḥ prakṛte paramam tvām viditvā
ksīṇadhyanāstvām amṛtyam visanti.
86. Yogāśca tvām dhyāyino nityasiddham jñātvā yog
santyaajante punastān;
Ye cāpyanye tvām prasannā viśuddhāḥ svakarmab
divyabhoga bhavanti.

Ch. XXIV, Different incarnations of Siva.
Account identical with that in Vayu ch.23.

Ch. XXV, Worship of the 'linga'.

21. Acāmya ca punastasmājjalād uttīrya mantravit.
Praviśya tīrthamādhye tu punah puṇya vivṛddha;
22. Śṛṅgeṇa parṇaputakāḥ palāśāḥ; kṣālitais tādā
Sakusēna sapuspēna jalenaivabhṛṣecayet.

Ch. XXIX, The legend of the seduction of the women of the
sages.

5. Mīnayo dārugahane tapastepu sudārunam;
Tustyartham devadevasya sadāratana yāgnayah.
7. Pravṛtti laksanam jñānam jñātum dāruvanaukasam
Parīksārtham jagannāthah śraddhayā krīdayā ca
8. Nivṛttilaksana jñānapratisthārtham ca sankarah
Devadāruvanāsthānam pravṛttijñānacetasam.
9. Vikṛtānrūpam āsthāya āgvasā viśameksanah;
Mugdho dvihaastah kṛṣṇāṅgo divyam dāruvanam ya
10. Mandasmitam ca bhagavān striṇām manasijodbhavan
Bhrūvilāsam ca gaṇam ca cakārātīva sunderah.
11. Sāmprekeyanarivṛndam vai muhurmuhur aṅgahā;
Anāṅgevṛddhim akārod atīva madhurakṛtīh.
12. Vane tam puruṣam dr̥ṣtvā yikṛtam nilalohitam;
Striyāḥ pativrataścāpi tāmēvanvayur adarāt.

13. Vanotajadyaragatāśca naryo
visrastavastrābharana vicestah;
Labdhvā smitam tasya mukharvindād
drumalayasthās tamathānvayustāh.
15. Atha drstvāpara naryah kiñcitprahasitānanah;
Kiñcid visrastavasanah arastakāñciguṇā jaguḥ.
18. Kāścijjagus tam nanrtur nipetusca dharātale;
Nisedur gajavaccanyāprovāca dvijapungavah.
19. Anyonyam sasmitam prekṣya cālilinguh samantat
Nirudhya mārgam rudrasya naipunani pracakrire
23. Drstvā narikulam viprās tathā bhūtam ca sanka
Ativa parusaṃ vākyam jajalpuste munisvarah.
37. Te'pi dāruvanāt tasmāt prātah samvignamānasah
Pitamaham mahātmanam āsinam paramāsane.
38. Gatvā vijñāpayamasuḥ pravrttam akhilam vibhoḥ
Sabhe dāruvane tasmīn manāyah ksīnacetasah.
40. Utthāya prāñjalir bhutvā pranipatya bhavāya ca
Uvāca satvaram brahmā munin dāruvanalayān.
42. Yastu dāruvane tasmīn līngī drsto'pyalingibhi
Yusmābhir vikrtākarah sa eva parameśvarah.
66. Tasya tad vacanam śrutvā brāhmano brāhmanārsat
Brahmānam abhivandyāntah procur akulīteksanah.
etc. etc.

Ch.LXXII, The legend of the destruction of the three citi

1. Atha rudrasya devasya nirmito visvakarmaṇā;
Sarvalokamayo divyo ratho yatnena sādaram.
- Ayahadyas tathā sapta sopānam hainam uttamam;
Sārathir bhagavān brahmā devābhīśudharah smrtah. 1
34. Athāha bhagavān rudro devāhalokya sankaarah;
Pasūnam adhipatyam ne dattam hanmi tato'surān.
52. Agre surānam ca ganesvarānām
tadātha nandā girirajakālpam;
Vimānam āruhya puram prahartuḥ jagāma mṛtyum
bhagavanivesah.
75. Ganesvarair devaganaiśca bhṛngī
samavrtahasarvaganēdravaryah;

Jagāna yōgi tripuram nihantum
vimānam aruhya yathā mahēndrah.

101. Atha sajyam dhanuḥ kṛtvā sarvaḥ saṁdhāya tam
Yuktvā pāsūpatāstreṇa tripuram samacintayat.
102. Tasmin sthite mahādeva rudre vitatakārmuke;
Purāṇi tena kālena jagmur ekatvam āsu vai.
110. Dagdhum arhasi sīghraṁ tvam trīnyetāni purāṇi
Atho devamahādevaḥ sarvajñaḥ tad aviksata.
111. Puratrayam virūpākṣas tatksanād bhasmā vai kṛt
114. Mumoca bānam vipr-endra vyākṛsyākarnam īśvaraḥ
Tatksanāt tripuram dagdhvā tripurāntakarah sai
etc.etc.

Ch. LXXIII, Fruits of worshipping the 'linga'.

6. Pujaniyah sivenityam śrēddhaya devapūṅgavaiḥ;
Sarvalingamayo lokah sarvam lingam pratisthita
7. Tasmāt sampūjayellingam ya icchet siddham ātmā
Sarve līṅgārcaṇād eva devā daityāsca dānavāḥ.
9. Arcayitvā lingamūrtim sansiddhā nātra saṁśayaḥ
Tasmāllingam yajennityam yena kenāpi vā surāḥ.
24. Bhavasamamaranodyuktā na te duḥkhasya bhājanam
Bhavanāni manōjñāni divyam ābhāranāḥ striyah.
25. Dhānam vā tusti partyantam sīvapūjāvidheḥ phal
Ye vāncchanti mahabhogān rājyam ca tridasālaye
Te'rcantu sadā kalam lingamūrtim mahesvaram.
26. Hatvā bhītvā ca bhūtāni dagdhvā sarvam idam ja
27. Yajed ekam virūpākṣam na papaiḥ sa lipyate.
29. Tadaprābhṛti sakrādyah pūjayamāsīr īśvaram;
Sāksāt pāsūpatam kṛtvā bhasmoddhūlitavigrahaḥ.

Ch. LXXIV, Different kinds of 'lingas'.

2. Indranīlamayam lingam viṣṇuṇā pūjitam sadā;
Padmarāgamayam śakro haimam viśravasah sutah.

3. Visvedevas tatha raupyam vasavah kantikam subh
Arakutamayam vayur asvinau parthivam sadā.
- Sphatikam varuno rājā Adityastā^mranirmitam;
Mauktikam soparād dhimanstathā lingam anuttamam. 4
5. Anantādyā mahānāgā pravālakamayam subham;
Daityā hyayomayam lingam rāksāsāśca mahātmanah
6. Trialohikam guhyakāśca sarvalohamayam ganāh;
Cāmundā saikatan sākṣān mātaraśca dvijjottamāh
7. Dārujam nairritir bhaktyā yamo markatam subham
Nīlādyāśca tāthā rudrah suddham bhasmamayam su
8. Laksmīvrksamayan laksmī guho n vai gomāyatmak
Munāyo munisārdulāh kusāgramayam uttamam.
12. Bahunātra kimuktena carācaram idam jagat;
Sivalingam sambhyarēya sthitam atra na saṁśaya
13. Sadvidham lingam ityāhur dravyānām ca prabhedat
14. Tēsān bhedāscaturyuktācatvāriṁśad iti smrtāh.
Sailajam prathamam proktaṁ taddhi saksācatūrv
Dvitiyam ratnajam tacca saptadhā munisattamāh.
15. Tṛtīyam dhātujam lingam aśadhā paramesthinah;
Turiyam dārujam lingam tattū soḍasādhocyate.
16. Mrnmayam pañcanam lingam dvidhā bhinnam dvijot
Sāstham tā keanikam lingam saptadhā prakīrtitam

Ch.LXXXIV.

The Umāmahesvara'vrata!

2. Purnamasyam amāvasyam caturdasyastamisu ca;
Naktam abdam prakurvita havisyam pūjayed bhavan
3. Umāmahesapratimam hema krtvā susobhanam;
Rajatīm vātha varsānte pratisthāpya yathāvidhi.
4. Brāhmanān bhojayitvā ca datvā śaktyā ca daksinā
Rathādyaair vāpi deveśam nītvā rudrālayanam prati.
5. Sarvatisāyasanyuktaisēchatracāmarabhūṣṇaih;
Nivedayed vratam caiva śivāya paramesthine.

Ch. XCIII, The legend of the slaying of Andhaka.

3. Hiraṇyākṣasya tanayo hiraṇyanayanopamaḥ;
4. Purāndhaka itī khyātas tapasā labdhavikramaḥ.
6. Bādhitās taditā baddhah patitastona te surah;
Vivisur mandaram bhita nārāyanapurogamah.
8. Tataste samasta surendrah sasādhyah
suresam mahesam puretyahur evam;
Drutam calpaviryaprabhinnāṅgabhinna
vayam daityarajasya śastrair nikrttāh.
9. Itidam akhilam śrutvā daityagamamanaupamaḥ;
Ganeśvaraisca bhagavan andhakābhūmukham yayau.
11. Athāśesāsuraṁstasya koṭi koṭisataistataḥ;
Bhasmī kṛtya mahādevo nirbibhedāndhakam tathā.
15. Dagdho'gninā ca sūlena protah preta ivāndhakaḥ
Satvikam bhavam āsthāya cintāyamāsa cetasā.
16. Janmāntare'pi devena dagdho yasmācchiveṇa vai;
Ārādhito mayā sambhuḥ purā śakṣan mahesvarah.
17. Tasmād etan mayā labdham anyathā nopapadyate
Yah smaren manasā rudram prānante sakṛdeva va.
18. Sa yati sivasayujyam kim punar bahusah smaran;
Brahmā ca bhagavan viṣṇuḥ sarve devah savāsava.
19. Śaranam prāpya tiṣṭhanti tāmeva śaranam vrajeto
Evam samcītya tustātma so'ndhakasāndhakardana.
20. Śaganam śivam īśānam astuvat punyagauravat.
21. Hiraṇyaneṭratānyam ōlāgrastham suresvarah;
Provāca dāhavam prakṣya ghrṇayā nilalohitah.
22. Tustosmi vatsa bhadrām te kāmam kim karavāni t
Varāṁ varaya daityendra varado'ham tvāndhaka.
23. Śrutvā vākyaṁ tadā sambhor hiraṇyanayanātmajaḥ
Marsagadgadaya vācā provācedam mahesvaram.
24. Bhagavan devadevesa bhaktārtihara śankara;
Tvayi bhaktiḥ prasīdeṣa yadi deyo varasca me.

Ch.XCV.

The fight between Śiva, as Śarabha, and Viṣṇu, as Nṛsiṃha.

20. Tatas tair gataih saṣṣa devo nṛsiṃhah
sahasrākṛtiḥ śarvapat sarvabāhuh;
Sahasrekṣaṇāḥ śomasūryāgninetras tādā samsthi
sarvam avṛtya mayi.
21. Tam tustuvuh surāśresthā lokā lokācale sthitā
Śabrahmakah sasādhyasca sayamah samarudgaṇah.
32. Tato brahmādayas tūrṇam samstūya parameśvaram
33. Anantranāya śaranam jagmuh param karanam ;
Mandāraśtham mahādevam kridamānam sahomayā.
53. Hiranyakaśipum hatvā karajair nisitaih svayam
Daityendrait bāhubhiḥ sardham hitārtham jagat:
prab
54. Sainhiṃ samānyanyonim bādhatē nikhilam jagat
Yatkrtyam atra devesa tat kurusva bhavan iha.
60. Athotthāya mahādevah śarabham rupam asthitah.
61. Yayau prānte nṛsiṃhasya garvitasya mrga-siṃhah;
62. Simhat tato naro bhūtvā jagāna ca yathā kraman

Ch.XCVI.

Same continued.

65. Tataḥ saṃhārarupena suvyaktaḥ parameśvaraḥ.
70. Haris taddarsnādeva viṇastabalavikramah;
Bibhradaurmyam sahasraṃśoṛ adha h khadyotavibh
-an
71. Atha bibhramya paksābhyām nabhpādebhyudārayan;
Pādāvābadhya pucchena bāhubhyām bahumandalam.
72. Bhindannurasi bāhubhyām nijagrāha haro harim;
75. Niyamānah paravaśo dīnavaktraḥ kṛtāñjaliḥ.
76. Tustāva parameśānam haristam lalitākśaraiḥ;
95. Namnamastāsātenaivam stutvāmrtamayena ty;
Punastu prārthāyāmāsa nṛsiṃhah śarabhesvaram.
96. Yadyadā mamājñānam atyahankarādusitam;
tadā tadāpanetavyam tvayaiva parameśvara.

Ch. XCIX,

The 'linga' and the 'vedi' representing the 'ardhanārīśvara' form of Siva.

6. Sa bhagākhyā jagaddhātrī līngamūrtestrivedikā;
7. Līngas tu bhagavān dvābhyāṃ jagatsrstir dvijot-
8. Līngavedī-samāyogād ardhnanārīśvarao bhavāt;

The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

13. Śraddhāhyasya purā patnī tataḥ pūmsah puṃtānī
Saivājñayā vibhor devī daksaputrī babhūva ha.
14. Sati sanjñā tadā sāvai rudraṃ eyāsrītā patim;
Dakṣam vinindya kalena devī mainā hyabhūt puna
16. Anādrīya kṛtim jñātvā sati dakṣena tatksanāt;
Bhāmī kṛtvātmano deham yogamārgena sāvai punaḥ.
17. Babhūva pārvati devī tapasā ca gireḥ prabhoh;

Ch. C,

Same continued.

3. Bhadro nāma ganāstena preṣitah paramesthinā;
Viprayogena devyā vai duḥsahenaiva suvṛataḥ.
4. So' srjad vīrabhadraśca ganeśān romajāncchubhan
Ganeśvaraih samāruhya ratīm bhadraḥ pratāpavā
5. Gantum cakre matim yasya sārathir bhagavān aja
Ganeśvarāśca te sarve vividhāyudhapāninaḥ.
12. Uvāca bhadro bhagavān dakṣam cāmitatejasam;
13. Dagdhūm sampreṣitāścāham bhavantam samunīśvaraī
Ityuktva yajñasālām tām dadāha gaṇapudgavaḥ.
15. Grhītvā gaṇapāḥ sarvān gangāśrotasi cikṣipuḥ;
Vīrabhadro mahātejah śakrasyodyacchataḥ karam.
16. Vyastambhayad adīnātma tathānyesam diyaukasam;
Bhagasya netre cotpāṭya karajagrena līlayā;
17. Nihatya mustīnā dantān pūnāscāiva nipātayat;
23. Jaghāna bhagavān rudraḥ khāḍgamuṣṭyādīśāyakaiḥ;
Atha viṣṇur mahātejasacakram uddāmya murchitah.
24. Yuyodha bhagavānsteṇa rudreṇa saha mādhavaḥ;

27. Nihatya gadayā visnum tādāyāmāsa mūrdhani;
Tatascorasi tam dēvam līlayaiva ranājire.
31. Tribhīśca dharsitam sārṅgam tridhābhūtam prab-
-sta
Sārṅgakotiprasaṅgād vai ciccheda ca siraḥ pra-
39. Etasminneva kale tū bhagavān padmasambhavaḥ.
40. Bhadram āha mahatejāḥ prārthayan pranataḥ pra-
Alam krodhena vai bhādra nastāścaiva divaukas-
41. Prasīda ksamyatām sarvam romajaiḥ saha suvrat-
So'pi bhadrāḥ prabhāvena brahmaṇaḥ parameṣṭhi-
42. Samā jagāmasanakaiḥ śantas tasthau tadājñaya-
Devo'pi tatra bhagavān antarikṣe vṛśadhvajāḥ.
43. Prārthiścaiva devena brahmaṇā bhagavān bhavaḥ
44. Hatānām ca tadā teṣāṃ pradadau purvat^{VAP} tanuḥ.
49. Gaṇapatyam dadau tasmai daksāyaklistakarmane;
Devāśca sarve deveṣāṃ tuṣṭuvuḥ paramesvaram.
50. Nārāyaṇaśca bhagavān tuṣṭāva kṛtāñjalih;
Brahmā ca munayah sarve prthak prthag ajodbha-

Ch.CI.

The legend of the burning of Kama.

16. Devatāśca sahendreṇa tarakād bhayapīditāḥ;
Na śāntim lebhire surāḥ sarāṇāṃ vā bhayarditā-
24. So'pi tasya mukhācchrutvā pranayāt pranatārti-
Devair asesaḥ sendraistu jivam āha pītanahāḥ
25. Jane vortim surendrāṇāṃ tathāpi śṛṇu sāmprata-
Vinindya daksam yā devī sati rudrāṅgasambhavā-
26. Umā haimavati jājñe sarvalokanamastkṛtā;
Tasyāścaiveha rūpeṇa yūyam devāḥ surottanāḥ.
27. Vibhor yatādhvam ākrastum rudraśyāsya mano ma-
Tayor yogena sambhūtaḥ skandāḥ saktidharāḥ pr-
28. Sadāsyo dvādasabhujāḥ senāniḥ pāvakiḥ prabhuh-
30. Līlayeva mahāsenāḥ prabalam tarakāsurem;
Bālo'pi vinihatyaiko devān sātārayisyati.
35. Tam āha bhagavāncechakraḥ sambhavyaḥ makaradhv-
Sankarenāmbikam adya saṃyojaya yathā sukham.

38. Evam ukto namaskṛtya devadevaṃ śacīpatim;
Devadevāsramam gantum matiscakre tayā saha.
39. Gatvā tadāśramam sambhoḥ saharatyā mahābalaḥ;
Vasantena sahāyena devaṃ yuktumanābhavat.
40. Tataḥ sampreksya madanaṃ hasan devas tryambak
Nayanena trtiyena sāvajñam tam aveksata.
41. Tato'sya netrajo vahnir madanaṃ pārsvataḥ sth
Adahat tat kśahād eva lalāpa karuṇam ratih.
42. Ratyāḥ pralapan akarnya devadevo vṛṣadhvajah
Kṛpayā parayā prāha kamapatnīm nirikṣya ca.
43. Amūrto'pi dhruvam bhadre kāryam sarvam patis
Rati-kale dhruvam bhadre karisyati na samsaya

Ch.CII,

The 'svayamvara' of Pārvati.

1. Tapasā ca mahādevyāḥ pārvatyā vṛṣabhadhvajah
Pṛitāśca bhagavānceharvo vacanād brāhmaṇas ta
2. Hitāya ca āśramānām ca kṛdārtham bhagavān bh
Tadāhaimavatīm devīm upayame yathāvidhi.
17. Svayamvaram tadā devyāḥ sarvalokeṣvaghosayat.
23. Atha śailasutā devī haimam āruhya śobhanam;
vimānam sarvato bhadram sarvaratnair alamkṛta
27. Mālām gṛhya jayā tasthau suradrumasamudbhavān
Vijayā vṛjajanam gṛhya sthitā devyāḥ samipata
28. Mālām pragṛhya devyām tu sthitāyām devasamsa
Śisurbhūtvā mahādevaḥ kṛdārtham vṛṣabhadhva
29. Utsāngatalasamsupto bahūva bhagavān bhavaḥ;
Atha drṣtvā śiśum devās tasya utsāngavartina
30. Ko'yam atreti sammatrya cūksubhusca samāgatā
Vajram ahārayattasya bāhuruddamya vṛtrahā.
31. Sa bāhuruddamyaḥ tasya tathaiva samupasthita
stambhitah śiśurupena devadevena līlayā.
41. Sa buddhvā devam isanam śighram utthāya viśm
Vavande caranau sambhoḥ astuvācca pitamahāḥ.

61. Tasyadevī tadā hr̥stā samakṣam̄ tridivaukasām.
62. Padayoḥ sthāpayāmāsa mālām̄ divyām̄ sugandhinīm̄

Ch. CIII, Describes the marriage ceremony of Śiva and U

Ch. CIV, Creation of Gaṇeśa by Śiva.

2. Etasminnantare devaḥ sendropendrah̄ sametya te
Dharmavighnam̄ tadā kartum̄ daityānām̄ abhavan̄ dv
4. Avighnam̄ yajñadanādyaiḥ samabhyarcya mahēsvara
Brahmānam̄ ca hariṁ viprā labdhepsitavarā yata
6. Putrārtham̄ caiva nārīnām̄ naraṇām̄ karmasiddhaye
vighnesam̄ saṅkaram̄ sr̥ṣṭum̄ gaṇapam̄ stotum̄ arha
7. Ityuktvānyonyam̄ anagham̄ tuṣṭuvuh̄ śivam̄ īśvaram̄

Ch. CV, Same continued.

4. Suretarādibhiḥ sadā hyavighnamarthito bhavan̄.
6. Tataḥ prasīdatād̄ bhavan̄ suvighnakarmakāraṇam̄;
Surāpakāraḥ karīnam̄ ihaiṣa eva no varah̄.
7. Tatastadā nisamyā vai pinākāḥ suresvaraḥ;
gaṇesvaraḥ suresvaram̄ vapurdadhāra sa śivaḥ.
9. Ibhānanaśritam̄ varam̄ trisūlapāsadhārinam̄;
Samstalokasambhavam̄ gajānanam̄ tadāmbikā.

Ch. CVII, Legend of Upamanyu.

24. Etasminnantare devaḥ pinakī paramesvaraḥ;
Sakrarūpam̄ samsthāya gantum̄ cakre matim̄ tathā.
31. Evam̄ ukṭvā sthitam̄ vikṣya kṛtāñjali-putam̄ dvij
Prāha gambhitayā vācā Sakrarūpadharaḥ haraḥ.
32. Tuṣṭo'smi te varam̄ brūhi tapasānena suvrata;
Dadāmi cepsitān̄ sarvān̄ dhaumyāgraja mahāmata.
33. Evam̄ ukṭva tadā tena sakreṇa munisattamāḥ;
Varayāmi śive bhaktim̄ ityuvāca kṛtāñjaliḥ.

34. Ta to nisamya vacanam muneh kupitavat prabhuh
Praha savyagram isanah sakrarupadharah svayam
36. Madbhakto bhava viprase mamevarcaya sarvadā;
Dadāmi sarvam bhadrām te tyaja rudram ca nirg
37. Tatah sakrasya vacanam srutvā srotravidāranam
Upamānyur idam prāha jayan pañcākṣaram śubham
41. Srutvā nindām bhavasyātha tatksanādevasāntyaj
Svadeham tam nihatyasū sivalokam sa gacchati.
42. Yo vā cotpatayegjihvām śivanindāratasya ca;
trihsaptakulam uddhṛtya sivalokam sa gacchati.
43. Āstam tāvan mamecchāyah kṣitam prati surādham
Nihatya tvām sivāstrenā tyajāmyetat kalevaram.

Pt. II,

Ch. IV,

Superiority of the Saivas or the Vaiṣṇavas.

20. Anyabhaktasahasrebhyo viṣṇubhakto viśiṣyate;
Viṣṇubhaktasahasrebhyo rudrabhakto viśiṣyate;
Rudrabhaktāt parataro nāsti loke na saṁsayah.
21. Tasmāttu vaiṣṇavam oāpi rudrabhaktam athāpi a
Pujayet sarvayatnena dharmakarmarthamuktaye.

Ch. LIII,

Fruits of worshipping Śiva.

34. Sarvāvasthām gato vāpi mukto'yam sarvapatakaḥ
Śivadhyānāna saṁdeho yathārudras tathā svayam
35. Hatvā bhītvā ca bhūtāni bhuktvacanyayato'pi vā
Śivam ekam sakṛt smṛtvā sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna.

Ch. LXXXII,

The goddess created out of the wrath of Śiva and
Viṣṇu and of other gods.

8. Ittham nisamya devānam vacānsi madhusūdanah;
Cakarakopam sambhusca bhṛkūṭikuṭīlananau.
9. Tato'tikopapūrnasya cakriṇo vadanāt tatah;
Niscakrama mahāt tejah brahmaṇah saṁkarasya ca.

10. Anyeṣāṃ caiva devānāṃ śakrādīnāṃ śarīrataḥ;
nirgātaḥ sumahattejas taccaikyam samagacchata.
11. Ekastham tad abhūnnārī vyāptalokatrayaṃ tvisā.
etc.etc.

Ch. LXXXV, The white and black forms of the goddess.

40. Śarīrakosāt tasyāḥ parvatyā nihsrtāmbikā;
Kausikīti samsteṣu tato lokesu giyate.
41. Tasyāṃ nirgatayāṃ tu kṛṣṇābhūt sāpi pārvatī
Kāliketi saṅkhyātā himācalākṛtāśrayā.

Ch. LXXXVIII, The 'saktis' of the different gods.

13. Yasyadevasya yadrūpaṃ yathābhūṣanavāhanam;
tattadeva hi tacchaktir asurān yoddhum āyayau.
15. Ayātā brahmanah saktir brahmaṇi sabbhidhiyate;
Māheśvari vṛṣārūdhā trisūlavaradhārī.
16. Kaunāri śaktihastā ca mayuravāhanā.
17. Tathaiva vaiṣṇavi śaktir garudopari samsthitāḥ
etc.etc.

Ch. XC, The essential identity of these different 'sak
with the great goddess, the great Sakti.

3. Ekaivāham jagatyatra dvitīyā kāmāparā;
Pasyaita duṣṭa mayyeva viśantyo madvibhūtayah.
4. Tataḥ samastāṣṭa devyo brahmaṇi pramukhā nayan;
Tasyā devyah stanau jagmur ekaivāsīt tadambikā

Ch. XCI, Exaltation of the goddess.

2. Prasīda mātṛ jagato'khilasya,
tvam īśvari devī carāśrasya;
3. ādhārabhūta jagatas tvam eṣā.
4. Tvam vaiṣṇavisaktir ananta-vīryā
Viśvasya bijam paramāsi māyā;
Samohitāḥ devī samastam etat
tvam vai prapannā bhūvi mukti hetuḥ.
9. Sarvamāṅgalamāṅgalye sive sarvārthasādhike
Saranye tryambike gaurī narāyaṇi namostu te.

The Matsya Purana.

Ch.V, Skanda called the son of Agni.

26. Agniputraḥ kumarastu sarastambe vyajayata;
Tasya sākho viśakhasca naigameyasca prsthataḥ
Apatyam kṛttikānāḥ tu kṛtkeyas tataḥ smṛtaḥ

Ch.VIII, Sivaas the lord of 'pisācas' and other spirits.

5. Pisācarakṣasahpasubhūta-yakṣa-veṭāla-rājam tvat
sūlapānim.

Ch. XI, How Ila became a woman.

44. Jagānopavanam sambhor asvākṛstah pratāpavan;
Kalpadrumalatakīrnam nannā śāravānam mahat.
45. Ramate yatra deveśah sambhūh somārdhasekharah
Umayā samayastatra purā śāravane kṛtah.
46. Punnāma satvam yatkiñcid āgamisyati te vane;
Strītvam esyati tat sarvam daśāyojanamaṇḍale.
47. Ajñātasamayo rajā ilah śāravane purā;
Strītvam āpa viśannevā vadavātvam hayastadā.

Ch. XIII, The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

12. Dakṣasya yajñe vitate prabhūtavaraḍakṣiṇe ;
Samāhūtesu devesu pitaram sati.
etc.etc.

Dakṣa prays to Satī.

18. Tvamasya jagato mātā k jagat saubhāgya-devatā
Duhitṛtvam gatā devī mamānugrahakāmyayā.
19. Na tvayā rahitam kiñcid brahmāṇḍe saacarācaram
Prasādam kuru dharmajñe na mām tyaktum arhasi

Ch.XXIII, The legend of Soma and Tārā.

35. Mahesvar enātha caturmukhena sādhyair marudbh
saha lokapālah;
Dadau yadā n tan na kathaheid indus tadā sival
krodhaparo babhūva.
37. Dhanur grhitvā jagavam purārir jagāma bhutesva
siddhajuṣṭah;
Yuddhāya somena viśesa-dīpta-trīya-netra-nala
bhima-Vaktrah.

etc.etc.

Ch.XLVII,

Kavya's prayer to Śiva.

128. Namo'stu sitikanthāya kaniṣṭhāya suvarcase;
Lelihānāya kāvyāya vatsarāyāndhasah.
129. Kaprdine karālāya haryakṣane varadāya ca ;
Samtutāya sutīrthāya devadevāya rāhase.
131. Hrasvāya muktakesāya senānye rohitāya ca.
132. Saherasīrase caiva saharākṣāya mīdhuse;
Varāya bhavyarūpāya śvetāya puruṣāya ca.
134. Niṣāngine ca tarāya svakṣāya kṣapanāya ca;
Tāmrāya caiva bhīmāya ugrāya ca śivāya ca.
135. Mahādevāya sarvāya viśvarūpasivāya ca;
137. Kapāline ca vīrāya metyave tryambakāya ca.
138. Dundubhyāyaikapādāya ajāya buddhidāya ca ;
Aranyāya grhasthāya yātaye brahmācārīne.
139. Sāṅkhyāya caiva yogāya.....
..... bhavyeśāya yamāya ca.
142. Śikhandine karālāya daṁstriṇe viśvavedhase.
143. Krūrāya vikṛtāyaiva bhīṣanāya śivāya ca.
149. sucine cordhvaretase.
157. viśvāya kṛttivāsase;

163. tubhyam sākhyātmane namaḥ.

166. Hityāyatmalīngāya sūksmāyāitarāya ca.

Ch. LVI, The Kṛṇāstamī worship.

1. Kṛṇāstanīm atho vakaye sarvapāpaprānāsinīm;
Sāntirmuktisā bhavati jayah pumsāḥ viśesataḥ
2. Sāḅkaram mārgasīrasi sambhum pauṣe' bhipūjayet
Māghe mahesvaram devam mahādevam ca phālgune.
3. Sthānam caitre sīvam tādavad vaisakhe tyarcaye
Jyesthe paśupatiḁ cārced āśādhe ugram arcayet
4. Pūjayet, śrāvane sarvam nabhasye tryambakam ta
Haramāśvayuje māsi tathesānam ca kārtike.

Ch. LX, The legend of the creation of the 'līngā'.

3. Tataḥ kālena mahatā punaḥ sargavidhau nṛpa.
4. Spardhāyam ca pravṛttāyam kamalāgnakṛṇayoh;
Līngākārā samudbhūtā vahnerjvalātibhīsanā.

The worship of Sati.

16. Taya sahaiva devesam trtiyāyam atharcayet;
Phalair nanāvidhair dhūpair dīpanaivedyasamyu
17. Pratimāḁ pañcagavyena tathā gandhodakena ca;
Snāpayitvārcayed gaurim indusekhara samyutām.
25. Namo'rdhanārisāharam asitāngiti nāsikām;
42. Umāmahesvaram haimam vṛsabham ca gavā saha;
Sthāpayitvātha śayane brāhmanāya nivedayet.

Ch. LXIV, Worship of Mahādeva and Bhavānī.

3. Mahādevena sahitām upavistām mahāsane.
11. Viśvakāyau viśvamukhau viśvapādakarau sīvau;
Prasannavadanau vande parvatīparameśvarau.

Ch. LXXII, The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

11. Purādakṣavināsāya kupitasya tu sūlinah;
Atha tadbhimavaktrasya svedabindulalāṭajah.
12. Bhitvā sa saptapātālān yadahat saptasāgarān;
Anekavaktrānayo jvālajjvalanabhisānah.
13. Virabhadra itik khyātaḥ karapādayutairyutah;
Kṛtvāsauyajñamathanam punarbhūtalasambhavaḥ;
Trijagannirdahan bhūyah śivena vinivaritah.
etc.etc.

Ch. XCV, The Śivacaturdaśī.

3. Dharmo'yan vṛṣarupena nandī nama ganādhipah;
Dharman māheśvaran vaksyatyataḥ prabhṛti nārad.
6. Mārgasīrsatrayodasyām sitayām ekabhojanah;
Prārthayed devadevesān tvām aham śaranam gataḥ.
8. Kṛtasnānājapah pascād umayā sahasānka ram;
Pūjayet kamalāḥ subhraiḥ gandhamālyānulepanai.
9. Pādaḥ namah śivāyeti sirah sarvātmane namah;
Trinetraḥ netrāni lalāṭam haraye namah.

Ch. CXXXI, Continuation of the story of the destruction of the three cities.

13. Arcayanto dīteḥ putrās tripurāyatane haram.
14. Puṇyahasabdān uccerur āsīrvadamsca vedagān.

Ch. CXXXII, Prayer to Śiva.

21. Namo bhavāya sarvāya rudrāya varadāya ca;
Pasūnam pataye nityam ugrāya ca kapardine.
23. Kumārasatrunighnāya kumārajanakāya ca;
25. Uragāya trinetraya hiraṇyavasuretase.
26. Vṛṣadhvajāya muṇḍāya jatīne brahmacāriṇe;
27. Viśvātmane viśvasarje viśvam avṛtya tiṣṭhate.

Ch. CLIV, Viṣṇu called 'rudramūrtiḥ'.

7. **Ivam omkāro' syānkurāya prasūto
Viśvasyātmanāntabhedasya pūrvam;
Sambhūtasyāntaram satvamūrte Sambhārecchos te
rudramūrte.**

Siva as the perfect yogi.

213. **Anayā devasāṅgryā munidānayaabhīmayā;
Duhsādhyah sākaro deva kim na vetsi jagatprab**

The legend of the birth of Gaṇeśa.

501. **Kadācid gandhatailena gātram abhyajya sailajāḥ**

502. **Cūrnair udvartāyānāsa malināntarītā tanum;
Tadudvartanakam grhya naram cakre gajānanam.**

503. **Putrakam krīdati devī tam cāpyarpayad ambhasi;
Jahnavyastu śivasakhyās tataḥ ix so'bhūd brhad**

504. **Kāyenativisāleha jagadāpūrayat tadā;**

Putretyuvāca tam devī putretyuvāca ca jāhnavī.

505. **Gāṅgeya iti devaistu pūjito'bhūd gajānanah;
Vināyakādhipatyam ca dadavāsyā pitāmahah.**

The 'gaṇas' of Siva.

531. **Yāvantas te kṛṣā dīrghā hraśvāḥ sthūlā mahodar
Vyāghrebhavadanāḥ kecit kecimeṣajarūpinah;
Anekapānirūpāscajvalāsyāḥ kṛṣṇapīṅgalāḥ.**

533. **Kauśeyacarmavasanaḥ nagnāścānye virūpinah;
Gokarnā gajakarnāśca bahuvaktreṣṇanodarāḥ.**

535. **Vrkananāyudhadharā nānakavacabhūsitāḥ;
Vicitravāhanarūdhā divyarūpā viyāccarāḥ.**

538. **Kotisāmkhyā hyesaṃkhyātāḥ nānavikhyāta-paurusa
Jagadāpuritāḥ sarvair ebhir bhīmar mahābalaiḥ.**

Ch. CLV,

Parvati's condemnation of Siva.

6. **Naivāsmi kutilā sarva viśamā naiva dhurjate;
Savisayas tvam gataḥ khyātim vyaktadośakarāsay**

7. **Nāham pūṣno'pi dasanā netre cāsmi bhagasya hi;
Adityasca vijānāti bhagavaṇ dvādasātmakah.**

8. 8. Yastvam māṃha kṛṣṇeti mahākālā itismṛtaḥ.
 22. Vyālebhyo'nekajihvatvam bhasmanā snehabandhanam
 Hṛtkaluṣyam śasāṅkāttu durbodhitvam vṛṣad api.
 23. Tathā bāhu kimuktēna alam vācā śramēna te;
 Śmasānavāsānnirbhīstvan nagnatvāna teva trapā.
 24. Nirghṛnatavam kapālitvād dayā te vigatā ciram.
 31. Eṣā strilampato devo yātayāṃ mayyanantaram;
 Dvararākṣā tvayā kāryā nityam randhranvaveśinā.

Ch. CLVII, Brahmā's boon to Pārvatī.

12. Evaṃ bhava tvam bhūyasca bhartṛdehārdhadhārinī

Ch. CLVIII, Prayer to the goddess.

11. Natāsurasuramaulimilanmaniparācayakāntikaralan
 -nkte;
 Nāgasute saraṇāgatavatsale tavanato'smi natart
 -vinaśinī.
 12. Viśabhujāṅganiṣṅgaviḥbhūṣite
 'girisute bhavatiṃ aham āśraye;
 14. Sitasatāpataloddhatakandhara-
 -bharamahāmr̥garājarathasthitā.
 16. Nigaditā bhuvanair iti caṇḍikā
 janani śumbhaniśumbhaniśūdani.

The story of the birth of Skanda follows after

Ch. CLXXIX, The legend of the śakī slaying of Andhaka.

2. Āsīd daityo'ndhako nāma bhinnāñjana-cayopamaḥ;
 Tapasā mahatā yukto hyavadhyas tridivaukasām
 3. Sa kadācin mahādevam pārvatya sahitām prabhum;
 4. Kṛīḍamānam tadā dr̥ṣtvā hartum devīm pracakrame
 Tasya yuddham tathā ghoram abhavat saha śāmbhu
 9. Pānārtham andhakāśrasya so'erjat mātaraś tadā;
 Mahesvari tathā brāhmaī kaumārī malinī tathā.

34. Tatah sa saṅkara devas tvandhakaḥ vyākulīkṛta
Jagāmasaranam devam vāsudevam ajam vibhum.

Viṣṇu created the goddess 'Suṅkeravati' who drew up all the blood that fell from Andhaka. Then the demon was killed.

Ch. CLXXX, A description of the 'yaksas'.

9. Guhyakā vata yūyam vai svabhāvat kṛracetasah;
Kṛvādāścaiva kiṁ bhakṣā himsāsīlāśca putrakā.

Glorification of Vārāṇasī.

59. Dhyatastatra mām nityam yogāgnir dīpyate bhṛṣā
Kaivalyam paramam yāti devānām api durlabham.

Ch. CLXXXIII, Śiva is to be known through 'bhakti'.

51. Sadāyaḥ sevate bhikṣām tato bhavati rañjitaḥ;
Rañjanāt tanmayo bhūtvā līyate sa tu bhaktimān

52. Śāstrānām tu varārohe bahukāraṇadarśinaḥ;
Na mām paśyanti te devī jñānavākyavivādinah.

The legend of the cutting away of Brahmā's forehead by Śiva.

85. Āsit pūrvam varārohe brāhmanastu śirovaram;
Pañcamam śṛṇu suśroni jātam kañcanasaprabham.
Jvalatī tat pañcamam śīrṣam jātam tasya mahātmā
Tadevam abravīd devī janmā janāmi te hyaham.

86. Tatah krodhaparītena raktanayanena ca;
Vamāṅguṣṭhanakhāgreṇa chinnaṁ tasya śiro mayā;

Upon this Brahmā cursed Śiva.

87. Yadā niraparadhasya śīracchinnaṁ tvayā mama;
Tasmāt śāpasamayuktah kapāli tvam bhaviṣyasi.

89. Brahmahatyākulo bhūtvā cara tīrthāṇi bhūtale.

Ch. CLXXXVIII, The legend of the destruction of the three cities.

61. Utthitah śīrasā kṛtvā līṅgam tribhuvaneśvaram;
Nirgataḥ sa puradvārāt parityajya suhr̥tsuṭan.

62. Grhitvā sīrasā līngam gacchan gaganamāṇḍalam;
 63. Stuvāṁsca devadevesam trīlokādhīpatim sīvam;
 Tyaktā purī mayā deva yadi vadhyo'smi sākara;
 Ivat-prasadān mahādeva nā me līngam vinasīyatu.
 Siva's reply.
 74. Na bhṛtavyaṁ tvayā vatsa sauvarṇe tīṣṭha dānav
 Putra-pautra-suhṛt-bandhu-bhāryā-bhṛtyājanaiḥ
 -h
 75. Adyaprabhṛti bāṇa tvam avadhyas trīdasair api;
 Bhūyas tasya varo datto devadevena pāṇḍava.
 77. Tṛtīyam rakṣitam tasya sākarena mahātmanā;
 Bhramattu gāgane divyam rudratējah-prabhāvataḥ
 79. Ekam nipātitam tatra sīrasīle tripurāntake;
 Dvītīyam patitam tasmin parvate 'marakāntake.

Ch. XCIII, The exaltation of Kapilatīrtha.

10. Ghr̥tena snāpayellīngam pūjayed bhaktitāo dvija
 Sāivam padam āpnoti yatra cābhīmatam bhavet.
 11. Aksayam modate kālam yathā rudrastathaiva saḥ.

The Bhrgutīrtha.

58. Evaṁ tu vadato devīm bhrgutīrtham anuttamam;
 Na jānanti narā mūdhā viṣṇumāyāvīmohitāḥ.

Ch. CCL, Prayer to Siva.

30. Brāhmanē caiva rudrāya namaste viṣṇurūpine;
 39. Namaḥ Kapḷālahastāya digvāsāya sikhandīne.

Ch. CCLX-CCLXI, Directions for the construction of the various kinds of the images of Siva, the Matr̥s and Gaṇeśa.

The Nilamata Purāna.

The worship of Śiva on the Kṛṣṇacaturdaśī.

508. Chṛtakambalahīnam tu lingam samsnāpayed budhaḥ
 511. Śrotavyāḥ śivadharmāśca prādurbhāvāśca tatkr̥tā
 512. Paistāśca pasavaḥ kāryā naivedye samskarasya ca
 558. Tām rātrīm lakṣaṇam kāryam balakānam gr̥he gr̥he
 559. Puṁścalisahitair neyā kṛḍamānair nīśā tu sā;
 Brahmācaryeṇa gīṭeṇa nr̥tyair vādyair manoharaiḥ

Indra's question to Brahmā.

1087. Sarvam etat tvam evaikah tvattah kimaparam vi
 Yam nato'si mahābhāga etan me samsayo wahan.

Brahmā's reply.

1243. (appendix.).

Mā mā sakra vādir evam avijñāto'si putraka;

- 1244 Esa sarvesvarah sakra esa kāranakāranam;
 Esa cacintyamahima esa brahmā sanātanam.

- 1245 Sa esa sarvakartā ca sarvajñāśca mahesvarah;
 Yadiśchayā jagaditi varvarti sacerācaram.

The Saura Purāna.

Ch. II,

Exaltation of Śiva.

2. Visvam tenākhilam vyāptam nanyenetyabraviechrut
 4. Eko'pi bahudhā bhāti līlayāḥ kevalah śivah.
 Brahmaviṣṇvādirūpeṇa devadevo mahesvarah.
 6. Ātmabhūtan mahādevāllilāvigrāharupīnah;
 Adisarge samudbhūtau brahmaviṣṇu surottamau.
 8. Mumuksubhiḥ sadā dhyeyah śiva eko nirañjanah;
 12. Tasminjñāte'khilam jñātam ityāhur vedavādīnah

14. Na dānsir na tapobhir vā nasvamedhādibhir mak
Bhaktyaivānāyayā rājan jñāyate bhagavāncchivah
16. Tasya jñānamayī śaktir avyayā giriajā śivā;
Tayā śamahādevah arjatyavati hanti ca.
17. Acaksate taylor bhēdam ajñā na paramārthinah;
Abhedah śivayoh siddho vahnidāhakayor iva.
18. Mayā sa paramā śaktir aksarā girijāvyayā;
Mayī visvātmako rudras tajjñātvā hyamṛtī bhave
19. Svātmanyavasthitam devam visvavyāpinam īśvaram
Bhaktiyā paramayā rājan jñātvā pāsair vimucyate
28. Arjad yogīnām dhyeye nirgunas tu svayam śivah
31. Yaṁ prapasyanti vidvāṁso yoginah Kṣapitāsāyah;
Niyamya karanagrāman sa evatmā mahēśvarah.
42. Bālāgramātram hrtpadme sthitam devam umāpatim;
Ye'nipasāyanti vidvāṁsah tesām śāntir hi śasvat

Ch. III,

Further exaltation of Śiva.

8. Tatrakṣayah paramo dharmah śivadharmah syādbhav
-dhan
11. Kurvannapi sada pāpam sakrdevārcayedchivam;
Lipyate na sa pāpēna yāti mahēśvaram padam.

Ch. VII,

The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

10. Vairam nidhāya manasi sambhānā saha suvratah;
Dakṣah prācetaso yajñam akarojjahnavitāte.
12. Dēvan sarvāṁsca bhāgārtham ahutaṁ padmasambhava
13. Dṛṣtvā sivena rahitaṁ dakṣam pratyevam abravīt.
Aho dakṣa mahamūḍha durbuddhe kim kṛtam tvaya;
Devah sāve samāhutaḥ saṁkareṇa vinā katham.
17. Yasya padarajahsparsād bhahmatvaṁ prāptavaṁ ah
Sardgināpi sadū murdhnā dhāryate kaḥ śivātpara
18. Yasyavamaṅgajo viṣṇu r daksināṅgād bhavāpyaham
Yasyajñayākhilam viśvam bhramati sarvadā.
20. Sa ca śaktih parā gaurī svecchāvighrahacārini,
21. Kastam jānāti viśvesīm īśvarārdhasarīranīm;
Aham nādyāpi jānāmi cakrī śakrasya kā kathā.

30. Eka evati yo rudrah sarvavedesu giyate;
Tasyaprasadalesena muktir bhavati kinkari.

Dakṣa's reply.

34. Naham narayanād devat pasyamyanyam dvijottama;
Kāranam sarvavastūnām nāstītyeva suniscitam.

Dakṣa went to Varānasi, and there

57. Pratisthāpya mahāliṅgam gaṅgātire mavorame;
Ārādhyā parayā bhaktyā tasmīllinge layam gatah

Ch. XI,

Emphasis on 'bhakti'.

5. Madbhaktāḥ sarvadā skanda matpriyo na guṇadhik
Sarvāṣī sarvabhakṣā vā sarvācaravilopakaḥ.
6. Matparo vānmanahkāryair muktā eva na saṁsayah;
Naham prasanna tapasa na danena nacejyaya.
7. Tusto'ham bhaktilesena kaiprah yacche param pa
9. Vaiṣnavānam sahaṛebhyo śivabhakto viśiṣyate.
22. Bhaktigamyastvahaṁ vatsa mama yogo hi durlabha
30. Aham atma vibhuh suddhah sphatikopalasannibhah
Upādhirahitah śāntah svāyam jyotihprakasakah.

Ch. XII,

The Mahesvara yoga.

1. Mayyekacittatā yoga iti purvam nirūpitaḥ;
Sādhananyastadhā tasya pravakṣyāmyadhunā śṛṇu.

These 'sādhanas' are: 'Yama', 'Niyama', 'Āsana',
'Prāṇayama', 'Pratyahāra', 'Dharaṇā', 'Samādhi',
and 'Dhyāna'. Each of these is described in detail.

Ch. XVI,

The Anangatrayodasi 'vrets'.

3. Pura devena rudrena dagdhah kamo durasadah;
Uposita tithis tena tenanangatrayaodasi.

The details of the worship are then described.

- Ch.XXIII, The oneness of the Trinity.
53. Tridhā bhinnō' anyaham brahman brahmā-visnu-ha
-khyā
Sarga-rakṣā-laya-guṇair nirguṇo'ham na samsay
- Ch.XXIV, The 'bhaktas' alone can see the highest trans-
-tal form of Siva.
43. Tadiyam trividham rupam sthulam sukṣmant
param;
Asmadadyaim surair drśyam sthulam sukṣma
yogibhi
44. Tatah param tu yannityam jñānam ānandam avyay
Tannisthais tatparair bhaktair drśyate vratam
asthita
- Identity of Siva and Viṣṇu.
68. Nāvābhyam vidyate bhedo macchaktis tvam na sa
- Ch.XXIX, Siva as the Supreme God.
- 31.. Tvam ekam āhuḥ puruṣam purāṇam adityavarṇam t
parastā
32. Tvamātmatatvam paramārthasabdā bhavantam āhu
sivam eva kec
35. Vedantagūhyopaniṣatsu gitāḥ
sadāsivas tvaṁ paramēśvaro'si.
- Ch.XXXIV, R The demons as the devotees of Siva.
26. Hantavyāste katham daityā mahadevaparāyaṇāḥ;
27. Trailokyam apī to hatvā mahadevaparāyaṇāḥ;
28. Kas tam nihantā trailokye vinā sambhor anugra
- Ch.XXXV, Siva worships Gaṇeśa for the removal of obsta
19. SvakāryavighnaKartāram devam drṣṭvā vināyakam
Sampūjya bhakṣyabhojyaisca phalāisca vividhail
subha
20. Underair modakaiscaiva puṣpair dipair manḍhar
Evam sampūjya bhagavān puram dagdhum jagāma ha

Ch. XXXVI, The legend of Upamanyu.

23. Bhakti sūlinyabam yace sīvad eva nacānyatā;
Alam anyair varaih sakra tarāṅgair iva cañcala

The pretended Indra replies.

29. Tena pārvatise-na nirguṇena mahātmana;
Kriyate munisārdula tasmānmatto varam vṛṇu.

Upamanyu's reply.

33. Sivanindākaram drṣṭvā ghatayitvā prayatnataḥ;
Hatvātmanam punāryastu sa yāti paramāṁ gatim.

Ch. XXXVIII, Exaltation of Siva.

1. Caturāvapi vedesu punāṅṣu ca sarvasaḥ;
Sīmahādevāt paro devo na samāno'sti kascana.
6. Kecillokā mahesānam tyaktvā keśava-kinkarāḥ;
Tatra kim karanam eṣa vada saṁsāyanāsaka.
7. Antakāle smarantyeva prāyena garudadhvajam;
Vidyamāne sive viśṇoḥ prabhau sriparvatipatau.
8. Yada yada prasanno'bhuḥ bhaktibhāvena dhūrjati;
Viṣṇunārādhito bhaktiā tadāsau dattavaṁ varān.
10. Hetunā tena vipreṇḍrāḥ sīvam jānanti kecana;
Prāyena viṣṇunāmani gr̥hṇanti varadānataḥ.
11. Viśṇoḥ smarana-mātreṇa sarvāpapakṣayo bhavet;
Sambhuprasād evaiṣa nātrakārya vicarana.
16. Jmadi-karanam sambhum brahmadipurvajam;
Na jānanti mahamukha viṣṇumayavimohitah.

The heretics.

54. Na carvako x na vai bauddho na jaino yavano'pi
Kapalikāḥ kauliko vā tasmin rājye viśet kvacit.
63. Siva-dveṣṭā mahāpāpapreraḥ sivanindakāḥ.
64. Dāmbhena yadi tadrājye sivaninda kṛtā bhavet;
Tada tatpurvajah sarve narakam yanti daruṇam.

The supremacy of Siva.

66. Kascāndalah sivan brūyat sadharanyena visnuna.
Yasya prasādad vaikunthah praptavan idream pad

70.f. The story of king Pratardana.

84. Rajan vedarthavijnane bahavo mohita janah;
Sivapujaratah santo nanadaivatapujakah.

85. Eko visnur na dvitiyao dhyeyah kintvitaraih su
Krūram ca krūrakarmaṇam samkaram manyate katha

The king replies,

90. Anadinā pramānena vedena procyate siva;
Visnor apyadhikō vipra sadpujyo na katham bhav

91. Sivādisu purāṇesu procyate samkaro mahan.
Sarvasu smrtisu brahman sivacaresu sarvatah.

92. Nanagamesu punyesu procyate hyaja isvarah.

The 'kinnara' says

93. Naikagramanasaste tu ye'rcantiha dhurjatim;
Smasanavasi digvasa brahmamastakadhr̥g bhavah.

94. Sarpahārah katham sevyo viśadhāri jāṭadhārah;
Tasmādvīsnuh sada sevyah sundarah kamalāpatih.

Ch. XXXIX, Visnu exalts Siva.

14. Matsvamino'vaganāna na hi sakyate me,
Krtvāpi puḥyatamamurtim itam girisam;
No manyate tadidh vajrasamam mamaiva.

16. Asti sarvam vararāche mayi tattathyam eva hi;
Srimahesvarallabāham madiyam hi na kincana.

18. Vedavedāṅgavetrnām sahasrānyagrajannamam;
Ranananmucyate jivo na tū sri sivahelanat.

22. Svāmī madiyah srikanthas tasya dāso'smi sarvad

Ch. XL, The identity of Siva and Visnu.

1. Sūta bhadrā samācaksva sevako yasya madhavaḥ;
Sri mahesasya viṣṇōca tulyatvam bruvate katha
2. Bruvanti tulyatam kecid vaiparityena kecana;
Ekatvam kecid isena kesavasya vadanti hi.
3. Atra siddhanta maryadam bruhi tatvena sutaja.
9. Advaitam sivismisanam ajnatva naiva mucyate.

Few followers of Saivism.

10. Ghore kaliyuge prapte sri sankaraparanmukhah;
Bhavisyanti naras tathyan iti dvaipayano'bravi

Exaltation of Siva.

16. Nyunatam tasya yo brute karmacandala ucyate;
17. Tena tulyo yada visnur brahma va yadi gadyate;
Sasthivargasahasrani visthayam jayate krmih.

Ch. XLI, Visnu worships the 'linga' of Siva.

9. Lingam tatra pratisthapyā snapyagandhodakaih
10. Ivaritakhyena rudrena sampujya ca mahesvaram;
Tato namna sahasrena tustava paramesveram.

Some of the epithets of Siva in Visnu's prayer
him.

15. Vedantasarasandobah....
16. Astamrtih, visvamurtih.....
20. Nagacidah... .survasah.....
23. Mahavyadhah.... ..
28. Kapliacaryah.. ..
30. Bhisak..... ..
38. Pancavimsatitatanyah.....
40. Kesapanah.....
43. Unantavesah.....
46. Param brahma.....
53. Nisacerah..... ..
55. Martakah.....
94. Camundi... ..
106. Nagnah... .. nagnavratadharah....

107. Lingādhyakṣah.....
110. Viṣṇukāṇḍharapatanah.....

Ch. XLII, Exaltation of the 'linga'.

41. Adimadhyānta rahitam theṣajam bhavaroginām;
42. Sivaliṅgam iti khyātam sivaliṅge vyavasthitam.
Pranavenaiva mantrena puṣayellingamurdhani.

Ch. XLIII, The Umanāhesvara 'vrata'.

As given in the Linga Purāna (ch.84) and elsewhere.

Ch. XLIX, Description of the goddess.

5. Nānārūpadharā saivam avatīryaiva pārvatī;
Dharamsamsthāpanārthāya nighnati daityadānavān.
6. Paramatmā yadā rudra eko'pi bahudhā sthitah;
Prayojanavasād devī saikāpi bahudhā bhavet.
63. Babhuvādbhutarūpā sā trinetrā candrasekharā.
64. Simhārūdhā mahādevī nānā sastrāstradhārini;
Suvaktrā vimśatibhujā sphūrjā vidyullatopamā.

Ch. L, Worship of the goddess on Ulkānavamī.

29. Puṣpair dhūpaisca naivedyāḥ payodadhiphalādī;
30. Bhaktyā sampūjayitvaivam stutvā samprārthayet.
36. Anena vidhinā varṣam māsi māsi samācaret.
37. Tataḥ samvatsarasyānte bhojayitvā kumārikāḥ;
Vastrābharanāḥ pūjyāḥ pranipatyā visarjayet;
Sarukmasṛṅgam gām dadyāt suviprāya susobhanām.
71. Gobrahmaṇārcanaparāscarataḥ svadharme
Ye madyamāṇsavimukhāḥ śucayasśasaivāḥ;
Satyapriyāḥ sakalabhūtahite ratāśca
Teṣāṃ ca tuṣyati sādā sumate mṛdāni.

Ch. LIII, Describes the penance of Parvati and the burn
of Kama.

Ch. LIV, Describes the sequel to the burning of Kama.

The philosophical aspect of Siva.

14. Yadaksaram nirgunam aprameyam yajjyotirekam p
-anti santah;
Duram gamam devam anantamurtim namami sukshman
paramam pavitram.

Ch. LV, One ness of Siva and Parvati.

6. Bhedo' sti tatvato rajan na me devan mahesvarā
Siddhamevaāvayoraikyam vedantārthavicāranat.
8. Aham sarvāntarā saktir mayā mayi mahesvarah;
Aham ekā parāsaktir ekā eva mahesvarah.
14. Sivasya paramā saktir nityānandamayī hyaham;

Ch. LX-LXIII, Describe the marriage of Siva and Parvat
the interruption of their amorous sport by th
gods, and the birth of Skanda.

Ch. LXIV, Merits of worshipping Siva.

30. Nati lingārcanāt punyam adhikam bhuvanatrāye.
31. Linge'rcite' khilam visvamarcitam syanna samea
Māyayā mohitātmāna na jānanti mahesvaram.
34. Prthivyā yāni tīrthāni punyanyāyatanāni ca;
35. Sivalinge vastatyeva tāni sarvāni nārada.
44. Sivabhaktān varjayitvā sarvesam sāsako yamah.

Ch. LXVI, The origin of the 'linga'.

19. Ekārnave purā ghore naste sthāvarajāngame;
Mamavisnōh prabodhārtham āvirbhūtam bhūtam
sivātmakam.
20. Tada prabhrtiyaham visnur bhaktyā paramayā mud
Līngamūrtidharam sātām pujāyavo vrsadhvajam.

The story given in more detail.

24. Kuru yuddham mayā sārḍham aḥameva jagatpatih;
Athava bhaja mām devā trailokyasyabhojapradam
27. Prādurbhūtam tadā lingam avayordarpahāri tat;
29. Tasmillīṅge mahādevah svayam jyōtīḥ sanātanah;
Sahasrāsīrṣā puruṣah sahasrākṣah sahasrapāt;
Ardhanārīśvaro nāntās tejo rāsīr durasadah.
- etc.etc.

Ch. LXIX,

The legend of the seduction of the women of the sages.

34. Anyad dāruvanam punyam saṅkarasyativallabham;
Girijāpatinā yatra mohitā munipatnayah.
50. Ministriyah śivam dratva madanānaladīpitah;
51. Tyaktalajjā vivastrāśca yayustā anusāṅkaram.
52. Strīrupadhārinam viṣṇum sarve munikumārakāḥ;
Anvagacchanta devarāṣo kānabāṇaprapīditah.
53. Tadadbhutam tadā jñātvā kupitā munayas tadā
Lingahīnam haram kṛtvā gopavesadharam harim;
Tadāprabhṛti vipreṅdra śivāmekhalasamjñitā
54. Ubhayoscaiva samyogah sarvapāpaharah śivah.

The Varaha Purana.

Ch. IX,

Identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

7. Yeyam mūrtiḥ bhagavataḥ saṅkaraḥ aśa svayam har

Ch. X,

Supremacy of Viṣṇu.

15. Sa ca nāṣṭayano devah kṛte yugavare prabhuḥ;
16. Tretayām rudrarūpastu dvāpare yajñamūrtimān.

Ch. XXI, The legend of the destruction of the sacrifice
Dakṣa.

4. Tasya brahmā subhām kanyām bharyāyai mūrtisam
Gaurināmni svayam devīm bhāratim tam dadau p
8. Tasmin nimagne deveṣu tam brahmā kanyakām puni
Antah sariragam kṛtvā gaṅgim paramasobhanām.
9. Punaḥ siskṣur bhagavan asṛjat sapta mānasān;
Dakṣaṅca tesām arābhya prajāḥ samyagvivarḍhiti

When Rudra approached the sacrifice,

36. Rtvijām mantranicayo nāsto rudragame tadā.
37. Viparītam idam dṛstvā tadā sarvatra rtvijāḥ;
Ucuh sannahyatam devāḥ mahad vo bhayam āgatah.
38. Kascid āyāti balavān asuro brahmanirmītaḥ;
Yajñabhāgārtham etasmin kratau paramadurīabham
48. Dudruvuh sarvato dikṣu rudrastvekadāsa drutam.

Brahmā pacified Śiva, and made him equal to Vi

62. Ubhau hariharau devāu loka khyātim gamisyatāh
65. Brahmā lokan uvācedam rudrabhāgo'sya diyatam;
Rudrabhāgo jyesthabhāga itiyam vaidikī śrutih.

Ch. XXII, Sequel to the above story.

1. Tasminnivasatatastasya rudrasya paramēsthinaḥ;
Cukopa gaurī devasya piturvairam anusmaran.
2. Cintayamāsa devasya anenāpahrtam puram;
Yajño vidhvamsito yasmāt tasmād deham tyajāmya

Ch. XXIII, Creation of Ganeśa by Śiva.

7. Devadeva mahādeva sulāpane trilocana;
Vighnārtham avisistānām utpasayitum arhasi.
13. Murtiman atitejasvī hasataḥ paramēsthinaḥ;
14. Pradiptasyo mahādīpaḥ Kumāro bhāsayan disaḥ;
Paramēsthigunair yuktāḥ sakṣād rudra ivaparāh.

16. Tam dr̥stvā paramān rūpam kumarasya mahātmanah;
Umanimesānetrabhīyā tāmapasyata bhamini.
17. Tam dr̥stvā kupito devah strīsvabhāvam cañcalam
tatha
Maitra kumararūpam tu sobhanam mohanam dr̥sam.
18. Tatah sāsapa tam devam gaṇeśam paramesvarah;
Kumāra gajavaktrastvam pralambajatharas tathā;
Bhavisyasi tathā sarpaṭ upavitagatir dhruvam.
28. Vināyako vighnākaro gajāsyo
Gaṇeśa nāma ca bhavasya putrah;
Nte ca sarve tvapayantu bhṛtya
Vinayākaḥ krūrādṛśah pracandah.

Ch. XXV,

Gives the legend of the birth of Skanda.

Identity of Siva and Visnu.

4. Puruso visnuḥ ityuktah sivo vā namatah sūrtah;
5. Avyaktam tu umā devī srīr vā padmanibheksanā;

Exaltation of Siva by the gods.

18. Trisūlapāna puruṣottāmyata;
19. Iyam ādidevah puruṣottamo hariḥ
bhavo mahesās tripurāntako vibhuh;
24. Kapālamālin saśikhanda-śekhara
śaśanavāsīn sitabhasmagunthitah.

Creation of Skanda.

32. Eyamuktva hare devan viśrjya svāngasthitam;
Saktim sankṣobhayāmasa pūtrahetoḥ parantapah
33. Tasya kṣobhayatah saktim jvalanārkasamaprabhah
Kumarah sahajām saktim bibhrajñānāśikalīnīm.
34. Utpattis tasya rājendra bahurūpā vyavasthitāḥ
Manvantaresvānokesu deva senapatih kila.

Ch. XXVIII,

Birth of Katyayani.

23. Evam cintayatas tasya pradurāsīd ayonijā;
Suklāmbaradhara kanyā srakkiritojjvalānā.

24. Astābhīḥ bahubhir yukta divyaprahārodyata;
Cākraṁ khadgam gada pāṣaṁ saṅkham ghantam tat
dhanuḥ

25. Dharayanti tathānyān buddhatūnā jalad bahih;
Niscakrāma mahayogisimhavāhanāvegita.

Siva praised her.

30. Vedamātar namastubhyam aksarasithe mahesvari.

Ch., LXXI, One ness of the Trinity.

2. Tavat tasyaiva rudrasya dehastham kamalasanam;
3. Nabāyanam ca hrdaye trasareṇu sūśukamakam
Jvalad bhaskaravarṇābham pasyāmi bhavadehatah.

Ch. XC, Siva created out of Viṣṇu.

3. Tasmād rudro'bhavad devi sā ca sarvajñatam gat

The goddess as the sakti of the gods.

19. Nilotpalaadalasya-mā nilakuñcitamūrdhajā;
Sunāśā eulalātāntā suvaktrā supratisthita

22. Kim mām na vetha susronīm svasaktim paramesvar

Ch. XCVI, The goddess as Camundā.

49. Cāmundē jvalamanāsyē tikenadamstre mahābale;
Satāyanasthite devi pretās ana gate sive.

50. Karāle vikarāle mahākāle ca karālini;
Kāli karāli vikrāntā kālarātri namostu te.

Ch. XCVII, The legend of Siva's cutting off Brahma's fifth head.

Brahmā's fifth head spoke to Rudra,

4. Mantram ātharvanam rudro yena sadyah pramucyat

5. Kapālin rudra babhro'tha bhava kairata suvrata

Then

6. Evamuktas tadā rudro bhavisyair hāmabhir bhava
Kapālasabdāt kupitastacchiṛo vicakarta ha.
7. Tannikṛtam śiro dhātri hastalagnam babhuvā hā.

After Siva's pilgrimage

12. Tasmin bhinne prthak kesān grhītvā bhagavan bh
13. Yajnopavitam kaisam tu mahāsyaśamaṇīstathā;
Kapālasakalancaikam asṛk pūrnam kare sthitam.
14. Aparam khandasah kṛtvā jatajute nyavesayat.
Evam kṛtvā mahādevo babhrāṇām vasundharam.
20. Paḍhanān tu kaupinam nagnah kapaliko'bhavat

The Vayu Purana.

Ch.V,

Exaltation of Siva;

41. Devesu ca mahān devo mahādevas tatah smṛtah;
Sarvetsacca lokanam avasyatvat tathesvarah.
43. Brhatavacca serto Brahma bhutatvad bhuta ucyat
Yasmāt paryanusete ca tasmāt purusa ucyate.

Ch. IX,

The birth of the goddess.

82. Tatra ya sa mahābhāgā saṅkarasyardhakayini;
83. Prag ukta na mayā tubhyam stri svayambhor mukt
-ta
Kāyardham daksinaṃ tasyah suklaṃ vamaṃ tathas
-ta
84. Atmanam vibhajasveti sokta devi svayambhuva;
Sā tu prokta dvidha bhūta sukla kṛṣṇa ca vai

Ch.X,

The 'bhutas' of Siva.

46. Vivāsan harikesān ca drṣṭighnāṅśca kapālinah;
48. Sthūlasīrsān astādamstrānū dvijihvānstriloca
49. Medhrāpāṅścatikāyāṅśca sitikanthogramanyavah.

Ch. XXIII, The incarnation of Śiva as Nakulin.

217. Astāvimsē punaḥ prāpte parivarte kramāgataḥ;
Pārāsarasutaḥ śrīman viṣṇuḥ kapite manah.
218. Tadaḥ saṣṭhena caṣṭhena kṛṣṇaḥ puruṣasattamaḥ;
Vasudevādyadu-śreṣṭho vāsudevō bhaviṣyati.
219. Tadaścaham bhaviṣyami yogatma yogamāyayā;
221. Divyāṃ meruguhāṃ puṇyam tvaya sardham ca viṣṇuṇā;
Bhaviṣyami tadaśca brahmaṇ nakuli nama namataḥ.
223. Tatrapī, mama te putra bhaviṣyanti tapasvinaḥ;
Kusikāścaiva gārgyaśca viśvāko ruṣṭa eva ca.

Ch. XXIV, The legend of the origin of the 'līṅga'.

35. Tade hyaparamayatma bhūtānaṃ prabhur īśvaraḥ;
Sūlapānir mahādevō haimacīrambarachadaḥ.
36. Agacchat tatra so'nanto nāgabhogapatir haraḥ;
54. Pratyāsannaṃ athāyantaṃ bālarkābhaṃ mahānanaṃ
Bhūtaṃ atyadbhutaṃ drṣtvā nārāyaṇaṃ abravīt.
55. Aprameyo mahāvaktro daśtrī vyaśtasīroruḥaḥ;
Daśabāhuṣṭrisūlāṅgo nayānair viśvato mukhaḥ.
56. 56. Lokaprabhur svayaṃ śakṣād vikṛto mūñjamokḥ
Medhreṇordhvena mahatā nadamāno'tībhairavam.
57. Ka khalveṣa puṣāṇ viśno tejorāsīr mahādyutiḥ;
Vyāpya sarvā diśo dyaṃ ca ita evābhivartate.
62. Ko'yaṃ bho śankaro nama hyāvayor vyatiricyate.

Viṣṇu explains,

64. Māyayogeśvaro dharmo durādharṣo vara-pradaḥ;
Hetur aśyātra jagataḥ purāṇaḥ puruṣo'vyayaḥ.
66. Pradhānaṃ avyaktāṃ jyotir avyaktāṃ prakṛtistamā
Asya caitāni namāni nityaṃ praśvadharmiṇaḥ;
Yah kaḥ sa iti duḥkhārtair mrgyāte yatibhiḥ śi
67. Eṣa bījī bhavaṇ bījaṃ śhaṃ yoniḥ sanātanaḥ.
70. Aśmanmahattaraṃ guhyaṃ bhūtamaṇyanna vidyate;
Mahataḥ paramaṃ dhāma śivam adhyatmināṃ padam.

71. 71. Dvaidhibhāyena cātmanam prāvīṣṭastu vyavasthi
Niskalah sūkṣmam avyaktah sakalasca mahesvara
- Prayer of Viṣṇu and Brahmā to Śiva.
92. Anedhrāyerdhvamedhrāya namo vaikunṭha retase;
94. Namaste hyasmadādinām bhutānām prabhavāya ca.
95. Namō yogasya prabhave sāmkyasya prabhave nam
107. Daityadānavasamghānām rāksasām pataye namaḥ.
108. Gandharvānām ca pataye yakṣānām pataye namaḥ.
111. Namostu lakṣmīpataye śrimate hrimate namaḥ.
129. Namaḥ kapalahastāya digvastrāya kapardine;
132. Sumedhase'ksamālāya digvāsāya śikhandine.
134. Raksoghñāya makhaghñāya śitikanṭhordhvarretase
135. Arihāya kṛtāntāya tigmajudhadharāya ca.
140. Smasānaratinityāya namastryambakadhāriṇe;
Namaste prānapālaya dhavamalādharāya ca.
141. Naranārīśārīrāya devyāḥ priyakarāya ca
142. Namostu nr̥tyasīlāya vādyanr̥tyapriyāya ca.
147. Calate krīdate caiva lambodarasārīriṇe.
156. Japo japyo mahāyogī mahādevo mahesvarah;
Pure sayo guhavāsi khecaro rajanīcarah
162. Brahmanyō brahmaāri ca goghñastvamśi-stapūjī
163. Sāmkyāḥ prakṛtibhyāḥ paramam tvām viditvā-
ksīnadhyānāste na mṛtyuṃ visanti;
164. Yogena tvām dhyāyino nityayukta
Jñatvā bhogān samtyajante punastān;
Ye'nye maryaś tvām prapannā visuddhās
te karmabhir divyabhogān bhajante.

Ch. XXV.

Identity of the Rudras with Śiva.

16. Ātmaikādāśa ye rudra vihītaḥ prāṇahetavaḥ.

17. So'hamekāśasātma vai sūlahastah sahanugah;

Identity of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

21. Prakāśam cāprakāśam ca jaṅgamam sthāvaram ca y

Viśvarūpam idam sarvaṁ rudranārāyaṇātmakam.

23. Ātmānam prakṛtiṁ viddhi māṁ viddhi puruṣam śi
Bhavaṁ ardhāśarīram me tvaham tava tathaiiva ca

Creation of the 'bhūtas' of Śiva.

64. Sakrodhaviṣṭapetrābhyāṁ apatannasrubindavaḥ;
Tatastebhyo' srubindubhyo vātapittakaphātmakāḥ

65. Mahābhogaḥ mahāsatvāḥ svastikairabhyalankṛtāḥ
Prakīrṇakeśāḥ sarpāste prādur bhūtā mahāviśāḥ;

Ch. XXX,

The legend of the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

39. Dakṣasyāsan sutā hyastau kanyā yāḥ kīrtita mayā

41. Tāsāṁ jyesthā sati nāma patnī yā tryambakasya
Najuhāvatnājāṁ tām vai dakṣo rudram abhidviśam

43. Tato jñatvā sati sarvāḥ svasar prāptāḥ piturgrh
Jagama sāpyanāhūtā sati tat svam piturgrham.

44. Tato' bravīt sā pitaram devī krodhād amarsitā;
Yaviyasībhyo jyāyasīm kim tu pūjāṁ imāṁ prabho
Asmatām ajñayā kṛtavānasi garhitām.

45. Evan ukto' bravīd evaṁ dakṣa samraktalocanaḥ;

46. Tvam tu sresthā varisthā ca pūjyā balā sadā ma
Tāsāṁ caiva bhartāraṣṭe me bahusruta sadā;

47. Guṇaiścaivādhikāḥ ślaghyāḥ sarve te tryambakāt

49. Tena tvāṁ na bubhusāmi pratikūlo hi me bhavaḥ.

52. Tatastenāvamanena sati duḥkhad amarsitā;
Abravīd vacanaṁ devā namaskṛtvā mahēsvaram.

53. Yatraham utpatsye'ham punardehena bhāṣyatā;
Tatrāpyaham asamūdhā sambhūta dharmikī punaḥ
Gaccheyam dharmapatnītvam tryambakasyaiva dhar
-ah.

Dakṣa's counter curse on Śiva.

63. Yasmāttvam matkrte kruram rsin vyāhrtavān asī
Tasmātsārdham surair yajñe na tvām yaksyanti
dvij
64. Hutvābutim tatah krūra apastyaksyanti karmasu
Ihaiva vatsyasi tathā divaḥ hitvāyugaksyāt.

Another version of the legend.

Dadhici asks,

104. Pujyam tu pasubhartāram kasmānnāhvayase prabhu

Dakṣa's reply,

105. Etan mahesāya suvarṇapātre haviḥ samastam vi
-nantraputam;
Viṣṇornayāmyapratimasya sarvam prabhor vibho
hyāhavanīyanityam.

To Sati's query Śiva replies,

112. Suraireva mahābhāge sarvam etad anuṣṭhitam;
Yajñesu mama sarvesu na bhāgā upakalpītāh.

Then follows the account of the creation of Vi
-bhadrā and Mahakālī, and the destruction of the
sacrifice by them.

Dakṣa's hymn to Śiva. Some important epithets
of the god.

183. Gajendrakarnah.....
198. Nartanasila.....mukhavādīr^ukārī....
253. Silpinām śreṣṭyah.....

etd. etc.

Śiva's supremacy.

283. Sarvastvam sarvago deva sarvabhūtapatir bhavān
Sarvabhūtantarātmā ca tena tvām na nimantritāh.

Ch. XXXI,

Kāla identified with Śiva.

32. Ahaṅkārad rudraṅ rudrah sadbhūto brahmanas tvaḥ
Sa rudro vatsarastesāṃ vijajñe nilalohitah.

Ch. LIV,

The legend of the churning of the ocean, and drinking of poison by Śiva.

49. Mathyamāne' mṛte pūrvam kśīrode suradānavaiḥ;
Agre samutthitam tasmīn viṣam kalānalasannibhū
Hirdagho raktagaurāṅgaḥ kṛtāḥ kṛṣṇo janārdanaḥ

49. The gods invoke Śiva.

68. Brahmane caiva rudrāya viṣnave caiva te namaḥ
Sāṅkhyāya ca yogāya bhūtāgrāmāya vai namaḥ.

70. Kapardine karālāya saṅkarāya kapāline;
Virūpāyaika rūpāya śivāya varadāya ca.

74. Vyaktāya caivavyaktāya vyaktāvyaktāya vai namaḥ

75. Bhaktānam ārtināsāya nāranārāyaṇāya ca.

77. Namḥ kapālahastāya digvāsāya śikhandīne.

The gods request Śiva to take the poison.

88. Bhavān agryasya bhoktā vai bhavānscaiva varah
Tvam mṛte'nyo mahādeva viṣam sodhum na sakyate.

On Śiva's taking the poison

90. Kanthāḥ samabhavat tūrṇam kṛṣṇo me varavarṇinḥ

The oneness of the Trinity.

97. Tvāmeva viṣṇuscaturānanastvam
tvāmeva mṛtyur varadaś tvāmeva.

100. Tvāmeva sarvasya carācāryasya lokasya kartā pra
ca bhoktā.

Ch. LV,

Siva's supremacy.

10. Yenāham brahmaṇā sardham sṛṣṭā lokāśca māyayā.
The legend of the origin of the 'līṅga'.
17. Uttaram diśam āsthāya jvalādṛṣṭāpyadhīṣṭitā.
20. Tasya jvalamādhye tu paśyāvo vipulaprabham;
21. Pradesamātram avyaktam līṅgam paramadīpitam.
23. Atha līṅgasaya yo'ntam vai gacchet mantrakāraṁ
Chorarūpinam atarham bhīdantam iva rodasī.

Brahma and Viṣṇu exalt Śiva.

31. Paramēṣṭhi param brahmā aksaram paramaṁ padam
Sreṣṭhāśtvam vanadevāśca rūdraḥ skandah śivah
-bhū
35. Bhūmer gandho rasāścapāṁ tejorūpaṁ mahesvara.
37. Tvam kartā sarvabhūtanāṁ kālo mṛtyur yamo'nat
55. Vyālayajñopavitī ca surānāṁ abhayaṁkaraḥ.

Ch. LXVI,

Śiva as the one God.

108. Ekah svayambhuvah kālas tribhistrin karoti y
Sṛjāte cānugṛhṇāti prajāḥ saṁharate tathā.
110. Ekā tanuḥ smṛtā vede dharmasāstre purātane;
Sāṁkhya-yoga-parair viraiḥ pṛthakatvaikadarsī
111. Ekatve ca pṛthaktve ca tāsu bhinnāḥ prajāsvih
Idam param idam neti bruvanto bhinnadarsanāḥ.
112. Brahmānam kāranam kecit kecit prāhuḥ prajāpat
Kecicchivan paratvena prāhur viṣṇum tathāpare
Avijñānena saṁsaktā saktā ratyā dī cetasā.
116. Ekatmā sa tridhā bhūtvā sammohayati yah prajā
Etesāṁ tu trayānāṁ tu vicārantyantaram janāḥ.

Ch. LXXII,

The legend of the birth of Skanda.

20. Anyonyapṛitiranayor umāsāṁkarayor atha.

21. Slesasamsaktayor jñatva samskitah kila vrtraha;
Tabhyam maithunasaktabhyam apatyodbhavabhirona
Tayoh saksam indrena presitek havyavahanah.
23. Umadeham samutsrjya sukram bhuma visarjitam.
24. Tato rusitaya devya sapto'gnih samsapayanah,
25. Yasman mayyavitrptayam rativighnam hutasana;
Krtavan asyakartavyam tasmattvam asi durmatih.
26. Garbham tvam dharayasvaivam esa te dandadharam
etc.etc.

Ch.XCVII, Hymn to Siva.

166. Girisayarkanetraya yatine jambavaya ca.
194. Sraetre dhartre tatha hotre hartre ca kepanaya
201. Nityaya cāthalingaya suksmaya cetanaya ca.

Ch.CI, Characteristics of true Saivas who go to Trya
-apura.

311. Hrimantah surjitah dantah sauryayuktā hyalolup
Madhyaharasca matrāsca afnarāmajitendriyah.
312. Jitadvandva mahotsahah saumya vigatamatsarah;
313. Karmanā manasā vacā visuddhenantarātmanā;
Ananyamanaso bhūtvā prapannā ye mahesvaram.

Ch.CXII, Siva as 'Bhasmanātha'.

53. Bhasmakūṭe bhasmanātham natvā ca tarajet pitrā
Tyaktapāpo bhaven muktah saṅgame snāhamācaret.

The Viṣṇu Purana.

Pt. I.

Ch.VIII, Identity of Viṣṇu and Siva.

21. Sankaro bhagavan saurirbhūtir gauri dvijottama

Ch. IX, Visnu called 'pinakadhṛk'.

68. Namō namō 'vīśeṣastvam tvam brahmā tvam pinakadhṛk'

Pt. IV,

Ch. VI, The legend of Soma and Tārā.

5-14. Atra somah....sa rājasūyam akarot. Tat-pr
-bhavat.....cainam mada āvivesā. madāvalepācc
sakaladevagurorbrhaspater kharyam tārām nāma p
-m jahara..... angirasasca sākāsādopalabdhav
-dya bhagavān rūdre brhaspateḥ sahayyam akarot
tatasca bhagavān apyusanasam sāmkarām asurān
devāsca nivārya brhaspateṣṭārām adāt.

Pt. V.

Ch. XXXIII, The legend of Usā and Aniruddha.

22. Hariśāmkarayoṛ yuddham ativasit sudārunam;

25. Jṛmbhābhībhūtasca haro rathopastha upavisat;
na śasāka tathā yoddhum kṛṣṇenāklīṣṭakarmanā.

40. Sa y upetyāha govindam sāmāpūrvam unāpatih;

41. Kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇa jagannātha jāne tvām puruṣottamam;
Parēśam paramānandam anadi nidhanam param.

44. Mayādattavaro daityas tatastvām kṣamayānyaham.

Visnu's reply.

46. Yuesādattavaro bhāno jīvatam esa śāmkarah;
Tvad-vakyagauravād eṣāmayā cakram nivartitam.

47. Matto 'vibhinnamātmanam drastum arhasi śāmkarah;

48. Yo'ham sa tvām jagacedam devāsura mānuṣam;
Avidyamohitatmanah puruṣa bhinnadarsinah.

Relevant passages bearing upon the worship of the goddess
from the Tantras.

The Kālī Tantra.

Ch. I, 3. The conception of the goddess.

Karālavadanām ghorām muktakesīm caturbhujām;
Kālikām dakṣiṇām divyām mundamālāvibhūṣitām.

Sadyasohhinnaśirah khadgavāmadhohūrvakarambuj
Abhayam varadāṅcaiva dakṣinordhapānikām.

Mahameghaprabham syāmām tathā caiva digambarin
Kānthāvasaktamundālī galadrudhiracaritām.

Ghoraravām maharāudrīm smasānalayavāsinīm;
Bālārkaṁḍalākāralocanātritayānvitām.

Savarūpamahādevahrdyopari samsthitam;
Sivābhir ghorarāvābhiscaturdikṣu samanvitām.

Mahakālēna ca samam viparitaratāturām;
Sukhaprasannavadanām smaranānasaroruhām.

Evam saṁcintayet kālīm sarvakāmasamrddhidām.

Ch. I, 15. One of the modes of worshipping the goddess.

Samantād āpina-stana-jaghana-dhrg-yauvanavati-
-ratāsakto naktam yadi japati bhaktastavam amu
Vivasāstvam dhyāyan Galitacikuras tasyavasago
Samastāh siddhaugha bhuviciratarām jīvati kavī

Ch. I, 17. The goddess as the great mother.

Prasūte sāmsāre janāni jagatīm pālayati ca,
samastām keṭiyādi pralayasamayē samharati ca.
Atas tvam dhātāpi tribhuvanapatih śrīpa-tir ay
Mahesō'pi prāyah sakalam api kiṁ staumi bhava

Ch. III, 2. The different manifestations of the goddess.

Tārā.

Pratyālīḍhapadām ghorām mundamālāvibhūṣitām

Balarkamādalakāralocanatrāyabhūsitām;
 Jvalaccitāmadhyagatām ghoradamstra-karalinīm;
 Visvaryāpakatoyāntah svetaśpadmāparisthitām.

Mahāvidyā.

Caturbhujām mahādevīm nāgayajñōpavitinīm;
 Mahābhīmām karālāsyām siddhavidyādharair yutam
 Muṇḍamalāvalikīrnām muktakeśīm smitānanām
 Evām dhyāyen mahādevīm sarvakamārthasiddhaye.

And so on.

Ch. V, 2,

The goddess as the creator of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

2.

Ādyam aśeṣajanānim arvaṇdayoneṣ-
 -viṣṇoḥ śivasya ca vapuḥ pratipādayitri;
 Sṛṣṭi-śhiti-ksaya-karīm jagatām trayānām,
 Śtūtvāgiram vimalayānyaham ambike tvam.

In the following chapters, the descriptions of
 the other manifestations of the goddess are given.
 These are the following:-

Bhairavī, Chinnamasta, Dhūmavatī, Matangī, Ka
 and Lakṣmī.

The Kaulopaniṣad.

Injunctions for the secrecy of Tantrika teaching.

Prakatyam na kuryat. . . . Ātmarahasyam na vade
 śisyāya vadet. antah śaktah, bahiḥśaivah, loke
 vaiṣṇavah. ayamevācārah

The Kulacūdamanī Tantra.

Ch. I,

Exaltation of the goddess.

24. Yadi mām viddhi sarvajñam kvacānnayah kva yaj
 Na viddhi mām cet sarvajñam kva cānnayah kva y
 -a
25. Nārīrūpam samāsthāya sṛṣṭisāram madātmakam;
 Bhavantam bhāvayogastham gurum jñātum vijṛmbh

The secrecy of the Kaula doctrines.

28. Sarvajñam sarvajñadam guhyam tatvabodhaprabodh

31. Na mayā viṣṇave prokṭeḥ na dhatre gaṇapāya ca.

Ch. IV, Worship of the goddess in the cremation ground

39. Dhyāyet kalim kārāḷāsyam daṁstralīnavilocanam
Sphuracchavākārasrenikṛtakāñcim digambarim.

The Kulārṇava Tantra.

Ch. I, Description of Siva.

11. Asti devī parabrahmasvarupi niskalah sivaḥ;
Sarvajñah sarvakartā ca sarveso nirmalāsayaḥ.

12. Ayam jyotir andyanto nirvikarah parātparah;
Nirgunah saccidānandas tadānsā jivasamjñakah.

Ch. II, The Tantrika doctrines not revealed to Siva
Brahma and Ṣ Visnu.

4. Brahma-visnu-guhādibhyo na mayā kathitam priyo
Kathāyami tava snehāt sṛṇusvaikāgramānasa.

Tāntrika doctrines secret.

6. Tvayāpi gopayitavyam/hi na deyam yasyakasyaci
Deyam bhaktāya śiṣyāya anyathā patanam bhavet.

The Tantrika doctrines as the essence of the V

10. Mathitvā jnanamanthana vedāgamamaharnavam;
Sarvajñena mayā devī kuladharnah samuddhṛtah.

Kaulas looked down upon.

51. Hindantu bāndhavah sarve tyajantu strīsutādaya
Jānā hasantu mām dṛṣṭvā rajāno dandayantu vā.

52. Seve seve punaḥ seve tvām eva paradevate;
Tvatkarma naiva muñcāmi manovakkāyakarmabhih.

Ch. III, The Kaula doctrines are secret as opposed to the Vedic doctrines which are open.

4. Vedasāstrapurānāni prakāśyāni kules'vari.

5. Rahasyātirahasyāni kulasastrāni parvati.

Ch. V, Exaltation of wine.

Suradārsanamātreṇa sarvapāpāḥ pramucyate;
Tadgandhaghraṇanamātreṇa satakratuphalam labhet;
Tasyasamīdarsanamātreṇa tirthakotiphalam labhet;
Devi tatpānataḥ śaksāllebhen muktim caturvidham.
(p.46.).

Justification of the use of wine.

Yathākṛatusu vipranām somapānam vidhiyate;
Madyapānam tathā kāryam samagrābhogamoksadam.
(p.50.).

Ch. VII, Dead drunkenness is supposed to give salvation

Pitvā pitvā punah pitvā yavat patati bhūtale;
Utthāya ca punah pitvā punarjanma na vidyate.

Anandāt trpyate devi murchanād bhairavaḥ svayam;
Vamanāt sarvadevasca tasmāt trividham acaret.
(p. 68.).

Ch. VIII, The wild abandon of the Kaula ceremonies.

Cakre'smin yogino virā yoginyo madamantharāḥ;
Samācaranti devesi yathollāsam manogatam.

Śanaiḥ prechati parśvasthā vismrtyatnavicestitam;
Vidhāya vadane pātram nirvināni vasanti ca.

Yadanyam puruṣam mohadā kantānyamāvalakṣate;

Puruṣaḥ puruṣam mohadālingatyānganānganam;
Prechati svapatim mugdhā kṣtvam kāham ime ca ke.

All this is taken seriously.

Tebhyo droham na kurvīta nāhitam ca samācaret;
Bhaktyaśaṅgrahāyet tacca gopāyen matrjāravat;
Cakre madakulān drṣtvā cintayed devatādhiyā. (p.73-

No distinction of caste in the Kaula ceremonies.

Pravṛtte bhairavīcakre sarve varnā dvijajayah;
Nivṛtte bhairavīcakre sarve varnāḥ pṛthak pṛthak.

(p.76)

Importance given to sexual intercourse.

Madakumbhasahasraistu māṁsabhārasātaḥ api;
Na tusyāmi varārohe bhagalingāmṛtam vinā.

Na cakrāṅkam na padmāṅkam na vajrāṅkam idam jagat;
Lingāṅkam ca bhagāṅkam ca tasmācchaktiśivātmakam.

(p.77)

Ch. IX, The epicurean tenets of the Kaulas.

Yauad asavagandhaḥ syāt pasuḥ pasupatiḥ svayam;
Vinālimanṣagandhena sāksāt pasupatiḥ pasuḥ.

Anācā-rah sadācaras tvakāryam kāryam eva ca;
Asatyam āpi satyam syāt kaulikānam kulesvari.

(p.81.).

The Mahanirvana Tantra.

Ch. II, The justification of the Tantrika doctrines and practices as meant for people in the Kali age.

6. Mēdhyāmedhyavicatāṅam na suddhiḥ śrautakarmanā
Na saṁhitādyaiḥ smṛtibhir istasiddhir nr̥ṇām bh

7. Satyam satyam punaḥ satyam satyam satyam mayoc
Vinahyāgamamārgena kalau nāsti gatiḥ priye.

Siva as the supreme God.

10. Sarvair vedaiḥ purāṇaiśca smṛtibhir saṁhitātib
Pratipadyosminānyo'ṣṭi pṛabhur jagāti mam vinā

Different schools of the Saktas.

24. Saktāḥ saivā vaiṣṇavāśca sauragānapatādayaḥ.

- Ch. III, The non-Brahmanic character of the Tantrika wo
15. Na tithir na ca naksatram na rāsigananam tathā
Kulākulādiniyamo na samsakāro'tra vidyate.
Sarvathā siddhamantro'yam nātrakāryā vicāranā.

- Ch. IV, The goddess as the supremedeity.
10. Tvam parā prakṛtiḥ saksād brahmanah parāmātman
Tvatto jātam jagat sarvaṁ tvam jagajjananī siva

The Kaula ceremonies are to be performed open

79. Gopānāddhiyate satyam na guptir anṛtam vinā;
Tasmāt prakāsataḥ kuryāt kaulikāḥ kulāsādhanam

- Ch. V, The worship of Ganesa in the Kaula ceremonies.

75. Ganesam ksetrapālāṅca batukam yoginīm tathā;
Gaṅgā ca yaminām caiva lakṣmīm vanīm tato yaj

Deification of wine.

202. Sudhadevyai vasād anto manur asyaḥ prapūjane;

204. Mūlena devatābuddhyā datvā pūpañjalim tataḥ;
Datsāyed dhūpadīpau ca ghantāvādanapūrvakam.

Purification of flesh.

206. Māṁsam āniya puratas trikoṇamaṇḍalopari;
Phatabhujyavāyuvahnimijabhyām mantrayettridhā.

- Ch. VI, Taking un sanctified wine is sinful.

13. Suddhim vinā madyapanam kevalam viśabhaksanam.

'Maithuna' to be performed with one's wife only.

14. Śeśatvatvam mahesāni nirbīje prabale kalau;
Svākiya kevalā geyā sarvadosāvivarjitā.

Moderate drinking in the Kaulaceremonies.

194. Yāvanna cālayed dr̥ṣṭim yāvanna cālayenmanah;
Tāvāt pānam prakurvīta pasupānam atah param.

Ch. VII, The significance of the five 'tatvas' of the K
ceremonial.

104.f. Mahośadham yajjīvanam duḥkhavismarakam mah
Anandajanakam yacca tadādyatatvalakṣanam.

Grānya-vāyavya-vanyānām udbhūtam puṣṭivafā
Buddhitejobalakaram dvitīyatatvalakṣanam.

Jalodbhavam t̄a yatkalyāṇi kāmānīyam sukhepr
Prajavrddhikaram cāpi tr̥tīyam tatvalakṣanam.

Sūlabham bhūmijātam ca jīvanam jīvanam ca y
Ayurmūlam trijagatām caturtham tatvalakṣanam.

Māhanandakaram devī praṇīṇam s̄rstikāranam;
Aṇḍyanta jagannūlam sesātatvasyalakṣanam.

Ch. VIII, A reformed 'Bhairavīcakra'.

154. Bhairavī cakravīṣaye na tādr̄n niyamah priye;
Yathāsamayam asādyā kuryāccakram idam sūbham.

172. Svabhāvat kālījanmanah kāmavibhrāntacetasaḥ;
Tadrūpeṇa na jānanti śāktim sāmānyabuddhayaḥ.

173. Atas tesām pratinidhau sesātatvasya pārvati;
Dhyānam devyāḥ padāṃboje śvestmantrajapas tatk

Ch. X, Worship of Ganesa in the Kaula ritual.

117. Saddhirghāyuktamulena sadāngāni samācaret,
Prāṇāyāmaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā dhyāyed gaṇapatim sive.

The Prapancasāratantra.

Ch. 12ix Divine origins of the Tantras.

21. Vaidikān tāntrikāṃscāpi sarvaṇ ityuvāca ha.

Exaltation of the goddess as the Śakti.

28. Pradhānam itīyam āhur yā śaktiriti kathyate;
Ya yuṣman api mān nityam avastabhyābhivartate.

Ch. IX, Description of the goddess as Tripurā.

8. Atānraṣṭāyutābhām kalitasāsīkalārañjitaptām tr
Devīm purnenduvaktrām vighṛtajapavatīpustākab
-tyābhīst
Pīnottungastanartambalilāsītāvilagnām asrīk pā
-mandasrīmandītāngīm arunataratdukūlanulepām
-mi.

Ch. XIV, Association of the goddess with the 'śaktis'.

6. Prabhā mayā jayā sukṃā visuddhā nandini tathā
Suprabhā vijayā sarvasiddhā navamī tathā.

Ch. XVII, The association of Ganesa with the 'śaktis'.

22. Tivrā jvalinī nandā sabhā gadā kāmārupinīcogrī
Tejovatī ca satyā samprokta vighnanāsini navamī

Ch. Worship of Kama with his 'śaktis'!

The Tantrābhidhāna Tantra.

Exaltation of the 'śivalinga'.

33. Etatpadmantarāle nivasati ca manah sukṃarūpā
prasiddhā
Yonau tatkarṇikāyam itarasivapadam lingacinhay
-sam;
Vidyunmālāvilāsam paramakulapadam brahmasūtra
-dhām
Vedanam adibijam sthiratarahrdāyascintayet kr
-na.

The Tantraraja Tantra.

The Tantraraja Tantra.

- Ch. I, Secrecy prescribed for Tantrika rites.
4. Gopyam sarvaprayatnena gopanam tantracoditam.
-
- Ch. VI, Intimate connection of the worship of the gods
with superstitious belief in goblins and other
spirits.
64. Nirjane vipine ratrau masam tram tu nirbhayah
Yajeddevim cakragatam siddhadravayasamanvitam.
65. Tena sidhyanti vetālas tārūhya svecchayā ca
66. Smāsāne caṇḍikāgrhe nirjane vipine'pi vā
Madhyarātre yajeddevim kṛṇavastrādibhūṣaṇaḥ.
-
- Ch. VII, 14-15. One of the saktis associated with the
goddess is Rati.

Chapter VI.

In the last chapter we noticed that Saivism had emerged as a full fledged cult by the time of the Puranas, and had become one of the two chief faiths of the post-Vedic Brahmanic religion. It had also spread over the whole of India. The development of the cult itself finished at this point, and from that time down to the present day its essential features have remained the same, with the exception of its philosophic side which reached its fullest development in the post Pauranic period. The new features that are observable, are mainly in the external forms and details, and in the relations of Saivism with other creeds. The one important new development that took place was the emergence of sects within Saivism itself, an inevitable process in every religion once it becomes established. Even the new developments were, however, all completed by about the end of the 12th century, after which we find no important development in Saivism right up to the present time. We shall, therefore, close our survey at that period.

The sources of our information about the condition of Saivism during the period from about 600 A.D. to the close of the 12th century, which we shall call the post-Pauranic period, are both archaeological and literary. The first ~~among~~^{among} the sources are the inscriptions. Then, there are the temples and numerous images of Siva which illustrate and supplement the existence of the other records. Among the literary records, we

the different religious works dealing directly with the Saiva faith, most of which are found in the south. Their evidence supplemented by incidental information supplied by the copious secular literature. This comparative abundance of records enables us to get a fairly complete picture of the Saiva faith as it existed and developed during this period.

Perhaps, the most important feature of Saivism during this period is the distinct character it developed in the north and in the south. The character of any religion, in actual practice is greatly influenced by the character of the people among whom it prevails. When, therefore, Saivism penetrated the south, and was accepted by the people there, who, in temperament, and to large extent, in culture also (at least originally), were very different from the people of the north, it was inevitable that they should put their mark upon the religion they had adopted. Hence, when Saivism, first, appeared as an established faith in South India, in the post-Pauranic period it had a character of its own which clearly distinguishes it from northern Saivism. It will, accordingly, be advisable and also, convenient to treat them separately.

In the north, the Puranas had practically fixed the character of Saivims not only in form, but also in spirit. The first source of information, here, is furnished by the inscriptions of the contemporaries and successors of the later Gupt monarchs. In them, we find that Saivims had essentially the

features as in the Puranas. We have already noticed the Ma
 -sor inscriptions of the king Yasodharman of the 6th century.
 In the Apsadh stone inscription of Adityasena, of the late 7
 century, reference is made to Karttikeya who is regarded as
 actual son of Siva, thus showing how far the original account
 Skand's birth had been forgotten.¹⁾ In the Nagarjuni hill ca
 inscription of Anantavarman, also of the 7th century, refer
 is made to the images of Siva and Parvati, which were instal
 by the monarch on the spot.²⁾ Another inscription of the same
 king, in the same place, alludes to the legend of the killing
 of the demon, Mahisa, by the goddess who is conceived of in
 fierce aspect.³⁾ In it, the goddess is regarded as the same
 Parvati. Her actual name is not given, but the king is said
 have installed an image to Katyayani in these caves, and to
 dedicated a village to Bhavani, both of which names may be
 taken to this same goddess. To the same century belong the
 Chammaka copper plate inscription and the Siwani inscription
 Mahraja Pravarasena II, both of which allude to a particular
 group of Saiva devotees who are called Bharasivas, and whose
 peculiar practice it was to carry a 'sivalinga' reverently
 their shoulders.⁴⁾ They appear to have been a sect of some
 importance, as they are said to have had a chief, Bhavanaga
 who is styled a Maharaja. Their heads were consecrated with

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1. CII vol.III, Pl. XXVIII, p.200.
 2. CII.vol.III, Pl.XXXI,p.223-26.
 3. ibid. Pl.b, " "
 4. ibid. P Pl.XXXIV,p.235.

the waters of the Ganges. It is interesting to remember that in one version of the legend of the destruction of the three cities of the demons by Siva, in the ~~the~~ Puranas, the demon chief, Bana, is said to have reverently placed a 'linga' on his forehead as a mark of his devotion. It is, therefore, possible that the allusion, there, might be to a practice in actual fact and the Bharasivas may be older than is apparent from available records. We shall meet them again under a different name, later on.

The inscriptions of the 7th century also reveal to us the general spirit of tolerance that prevailed among the followers of different creeds. We noticed, in the last chapter, that the Gupta monarchs, who were, probably, Vaisnavas themselves, gave their protection and patronage to other creeds, including Saivism. The kings of the succeeding period, also, maintained the same tolerant attitude on the whole, and in the inscriptions in which one god is primarily invoked, it is not unusual to find praises of, and prayers to, other gods also. Thus in the Sangloi plates of Harivarman, of 545 A.D., though the donor is a Saiva, and exalts Siva as the supreme God, the last verse is a salutation to Siva, Visnu and Brahma. The same is seen in a number of other inscriptions also. In two inscriptions of the same period, we find a reference to the Matrkas whose peculiar worship we have already noticed in the Mrcchakatika. They are to be distinguished from the Matrkas mentioned in the Puranas, who appear as fierce spirits and are associated with

L. I. EI, XIV, p.166.

Siva or his consort in their fierce and destructive aspects. These Matrīkas, here, are regarded as mothers, and are, to all appearances, auspicious deities, worshipped and prayed for prosperity and general happiness.¹⁾ They were also associated with Skanda, as seen in the Bihar pillar inscription of Skandagupta, and this, as has been suggested, raises a possibility of their having been identified with the Kṛttikas. But we cannot be certain on this point.

The mode of worship, as revealed in these inscriptions, shows that temples, with regular priests attached to them, were possessed by all the creeds. Nearly all the inscriptions commemorate the erection of such temples, and the installation of images in them, or grants made for the support of such temples and their attendant priests. The temple had become the centre of religious life, and temple priests officiated on days of special worship.

The evidence of the inscriptions of the 6th and 7th centuries is supplemented by literature, and, in it, the works of Dandin and Bana are most important. Dandin lived in the latter half of the 6th century, and from his romance, the *Dasakumaracaritam*, even though it deals mainly with the weaknesses and vices of contemporary society, a fairly good idea of the religious conditions of the period prevailing at that time can be obtained. As regards Saivism, his references to the various Saiva temples

1. Deogarh Rock inscription of Svambhata. 6th century. EI. XVIII, p. 12.
Sangloi plates of Harivarman. 6th century. EI. XIV, p. 166.

different parts of the country, and the manner of worship in them, bear out and illustrate what we noticed in the Puranas. Some Saiva temples had become famous, and people came from far and near to worship in them. There is no evidence of any sectarian animosity, except that the Jainas appear to have been pushed down upon and are ridiculed by Dandin. The two works of Bana are more informative. Bana himself was a Saiva, and, in the introductory verses of the Kadambari and the Harsacaritam he exalts Siva as the one God who manifests himself in the Trinetra. In the Kadambari, moreover, he mentions the famous temple of Kankalaka at Ujjayini, which is referred to by Kalidasa in his Meghaduta. The queen Vilasavati is described as going to that temple for worship. Besides this, Bana shows himself fully conversant with the Pauranic mythology of Saivism, and in both works there are frequent references and allusions to Saiva legends. In these works, again, we do not find any evidence of a definite sectarian conflict or credal animosity, though, from the fact that Bana left off writing the Harsacaritam at the point when Harsa, probably, became a Buddhist, it might be inferred that relations between Buddhism and the Brahmanic faiths were quite friendly.

1. Dasakum. e.g. Avimuktasvara at Benares(ch.IV,p.123.), and Tryambakesvara at Sravasti(ch.V,p.142.).
 2. ibid. e.g. Ch.II,p.75.
 3. Kadambari. Introd. 1-2. Harsa. Introd. 1-2.
 4. ibid. (BSS.no.24.). p.50.
 5. ibid. " " p.61.

The Chinese pilgrim, Hieun Tsang, also travelled i
India during the reign of Harsa, and his work gives conside
-able information about the religious conditions of the cou
at that time. He frequently refers to Siva and his temples
over India. In Langala¹⁾(round about modern Kacch) , was a
temple of Siva , which is described by Hieun Tsang as richl
adorned with sculpture.²⁾ From some passages it can also be
that Saiva sects had come into being by that time. These w
shall have occasion to notice later on. His work gives us
first definite indication of a the conflict between the Bud
-st and the Brahmanic creeds, though this conflict was not a

Coming to the inscriptions of the 8th and the 9th c
-turies, we find the essentially Pauranic character of Saivi
still maintained. Whenever Siva is invoked, he is conceived
as the supreme God, and is worshipped in the ordinary Pauran
manner.⁴⁾ Frequent reference are made to the installation o
his images in temples under various names. In the first of
Baijanatha Prastis of the early ninth century, the consort
Siva is invoked under the name of Durga, and shows, again, the
complete fusion of the two aspects of the goddess.⁵⁾ In the
Prasastis , reference is made to the eight 'murtis' of Siva.
different creeds still seem to have maintained amicable rel
-ns with one another on the whole. An invocation of the Budd
in an inscription of Dantivarman of Gujerat, of 867 A.D., is
followed by a verse in which Visnu and Siva are prayed to. S⁶⁾

1. Hieun Tsang. I, pp. 114, 202; II, pp. 44, 119, 127, 262, 263, 276.
2. *ibid.* II, p. 277. 4. Lakhamandala. E⁺. I, p. 12.
3. *ibid.* I, p. 218, 220-21. 5. EI. I, p. 104. 6. EI. XXI, p. 140

-larly, in the Surat plates of Kakkaraja Suvarnavarsa, of 821.A.D. the first invocation is to Jina and the inscription is clearly Jaina, yet in the second verse Visnu and Siva are invoked for blessings.¹⁾

It is in an inscription of the 8th century that we find the first mention of a new development in Saivism, or, to be more correct, of a feature of the Saiva cult, which we had not noticed before, though it perhaps existed. This is the dedication of female attendants to the Saiva temples, probably for general service.¹⁾ In the spurious Talesvara plates which probably date from the 7th - 9th centuries, mention is made of 'votas' or female attendants who were given as gifts to a temple of Siva, along with other gifts? Their duties are not specified but from the fact that in other inscriptions, male servants ('dasas') are also said to be similarly dedicated to these temples, we may infer that these attendants were probably ordinary servants who were thus appointed for service (probably menial) in the temple at the expense of the donor. They are to be distinguished from the Devadasis, in the manner of whose dedication was quite different, and besides who were not servants, but daughters of families.

In the inscriptions of the 10th to the 13th century the general character of Saivism is seen to remain unchanging. In the Khajurao inscription, no.5. about 1000 A.D., Siva is²⁾

1. EI.XXI,p.140.
2. EI,I,p.148.

regarded as the one Supreme Being, and Vishnu, Buddha, and Jina are all said to have been his incarnations. Siva is called in this inscription, by the name of Vaidyantha, which is harking back to his old Character as a Physician. In the Svapnesvara inscription at Bhevanesvara of about 1192,²⁾ mention is made of Devadasis who danced in the Saiva temple there. These girls are said to have been dedicated by the King. This is one of the very few records in North India, in which reference is made to the Devadasi system, and shows that by this time this system had spread to some places in the north, though it never became common there. It is in a 12th century record also that we find evidence of antagonism between Saivism and other creeds, especially Buddhism, in north India. In the Badaun inscription of Lakhanapala,²⁾ one Varnasiva, a devout Saiva, is said to have gone to the south and seeing a Buddha image at one place, to have angrily removed it. The Malhar inscription of Jajjaladeva, of 1150 is even more explicit. In it, the person commemorated is a Saiva and he is described as being like a fire to the great pride of the Carvakas, a veritable Agastya for the ocean of the persistent Buddhist doctrine, and the doom of the Digambra

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1. EI.VI, p, 200.
 2. EI.I, p, 64.
 3. EI.I, p. 40.

Jainas. Saivism is thus seen to have been in active conflict with these three creeds.

Throughout this period Iconographical representation of Saiva, found in abundance all over the country, not only supplement the evidence of other records regarding the flourishing condition of Saivism, but also reveal the great variety of forms under which he was worshiped. Though, with the exception of some heretical sects like the Kapalika the mode of worship of Siva had been made more or less uniform by the Pauranic times, the variety of aspects which Siva was supposed to possess, was great. In the succeeding period, this variety of Siva's aspects was not only maintained but even multiplied, several subsidiary aspects being derived from one main aspect. The reason for the perpetuation of these various aspects seems to have been that functional attributes were ascribed to them, Siva being supposed to perform a particular function in each of his aspects. The numerous images found, represent all the different aspects, and are efforts at literal interpretation of the poetic, and, perhaps metaphorical conceptions of the Puranas. Representing the god in his benevolent aspect, we have, first, the ordinary images of Siva ^{in which he} is represented as standing or seated, with ¹⁾ handsome appearance and, usually, with four arms. A special

I. The accounts, here given, of the iconographical records, based mainly on Mr. G. F. Rao's comprehensive book, 'India Hindu Iconography' Vol II.

-sed form of these images is seen in what are called the 'Daksinamurtis' of Siva, in which the god is conceived of as the great Teacher and the Patron of all learning and art, and as such, invoked by students and artists. These images are usually surrounded by representations of animals, reptiles, ascetics, and semi-divine beings, and are set in a sylvan setting. The 'Kalyanasundara' images, representing his marriage with 'Paravati', also, he is conceived of as a god with a handsome appearance. The 'Murtyastaka' represents the eight 'Murtis' of Siva in which he manifests himself, while, in his 'Mahesamurtis'; He is conceived of as the creator, preserver, the destroyer. Besides this, images were also made to represent his philosophical aspect. These were called the Sadasiva or Mahasadasiva 'murtis', representing the 'sakala-niskala' or the highest form of Siva. Such an image of his is found ~~at~~ at Elphanta. Other conceptions of Siva, emphasising his essential Oneness, were also frequently represented in stone or metal. The most well known of these, of course, is the 'Trimurti'. The images representing it show Brahma and Vishnu emerging out of the body of Siva, or, out of his 'linga' image. Most of these images have been found in the south. There are also images representing the 'Ardhanarisvara' aspect of Siva, which appears to have become quite popular. A description of these images has been given in the last chapter. The earliest specimens date from the 7th century, and are found in a rock-cut temple at Badami, and also, at Kumbhakonam and Conjeevaram. In one bronze image, a

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parrot is, also, seen, who, perhaps, represents Agni who took that form to disturb the union of Siva and Parvati. The most famous of these 'Ardhanarisvara' images is the one at Elephanta. Rarer than either the 'Trimurti' or the 'Ardhanarisvara' images of Siva are those which represent his oneness with Visnu. They are called the 'Haryardhamurtis' of Siva. One such image has been found at Badami, and there are a few others at other places. The fierce aspects of Siva show a similar variety. A common characteristic of almost all the images, representing one or the other of the fierce aspects of Siva, is that they all show the god with side-tusks. These appear to have become the conventional symbols of ferocity, and are, perhaps, a literal interpretation of the epithet 'damstrin' found in the Puranas. The most common of the images of Siva in his fierce aspect are those which represent him as a 'Bhairava'. In these he is seen as having a hideous appearance, either unclad or wearing the 'krtti', with serpents coiled round him. A black dog is, sometimes, shown as standing beside him, which reminds us of the character of the Vedic Rudra as a death deity. Other images represent him as 'Tripurari', and have reference to his destruction of the three cities of the demons. The 'Virabhadra' images allude to his destruction of the sacrifice of Daksa, and evidently refer to the being of that name, who is said to have been created by Siva in the legends, as identical with Siva himself. Then, there are the 'Aghoramurtis' which represent Siva as a 'kapalin'. In them, he is shown with a blue neck and a black body, and wearing a garland of skulls. The side tusks are seen as usual. The

worship of these 'Aghora' images was performed in cremation grounds, probably, by the Kapalikas. In his 'Mahakala' image, Siva is, again, represented as black. He is shown as drinking excessively, and embracing his consort. This is evidently a representation of the Bacchic aspect of Siva. But the worship of these 'Mahakala' was performed in the normal way, and the Mahakala temple at Ujjayini, as we have seen above, was one of the most famous temples of Siva in the country. A special development of Siva's aspect as a deity of death was his 'Mallari' form in which he was particularly associated with dogs. In actual images representing this form of his, he is shown as riding a white bull and accompanied by one or more dogs. The worship of these images was, probably, performed by the adherents of the Mallari sect who were reputed to live and behave like dogs.

Apart from the above representations of the different aspects of Siva, as there is another type which became very popular, and which represents Siva as a dancer. This aspect of Siva was, in all probability, a development of his character as a Bacchic deity. He was usually called Nataraja in this aspect and the sculptural representations of it show him doing the 'tandava' dance. He has matted locks, wears a skin garment, is fourarmed, and bears the Ganges and the crescent on his head. Sometimes, he is represented as trampling upon the demon, Gajāsura, after killing whom he was supposed to have performed the 'tandava' and whose skin he took for his use. Numerous images, both in stone and metal, representing this aspect of Siva have been

found in all parts of India.

Thus, it is seen that in northern India, Saivism continued to be essentially Pauranic in character, and that there was never any big departure from the norm established by the Puranas. The influence of the Pauranic Brahmanic religion always remained dominant in the north, and prevented any such departure. In the south, on the other hand, conditions were very different. Having, already, a comparatively developed civilisation of its own, and far removed from the centre of the Vedic and, later on, Brahmanic civilisation, the south was, from the very beginning, much less under those influences which dominated the north. Aryan culture penetrated but slowly, and then with many compromises with the existing culture. And, even when the south had been 'aryanised', its people retained sufficient individuality to put their own stamp upon the culture they had adopted. Thus it was, that though the influence of Pauranic Brahmanism was felt in the south to the extent of maintaining the essential continuity of the Brahmanic creeds in the north and the south, the religious thought and practice in the period immediately succeeding the rise of the Puranas, in the south, differed in several important respects from those in the north. And, Saivism, as it prevailed there during the post-Pauranic period, shows these differences in a very clear manner. Its outward features remained the same as in the north. The rise of powerful kingdoms in the south after the decline of the Gupta Empire saw a great activity in every sphere of life, and not the least in ~~the~~ religion. Saivism

had become the dominant creed of the country, and innumerable temples, some of them truly magnificent, were constructed for the worship of Siva. Indeed, from the 6th to the 13th century the south was very prolific in architectural productions which include not only the masterpieces of Madurai and Ellora, but also, countless other less known temples constructed and endowed by private persons or bodies of people. The images of Siva installed in them were either 'linga' or anthropomorphic, and of a similar variety.

The spirit of Saivism, however, was very different in the south from what it was in the north. It was, perhaps the greater emotionalism of the people, coupled with an impatient temperament, which made the south Indian people at once highly fervent and intolerant of those who held different views from them. The inevitable consequence of this was a conflict of creeds, should two or more of them happen to exist side by side. This is what happened in the 6th and the following centuries, and the south became a centre of acute religious rivalry. The different creeds had been introduced into the south by the ~~early~~ early centuries of the Christian era. Up to about the close of the 5th century we do not find any evidence of any major conflict among them. But by this time the three main creeds, Buddhism, Jainism, and Brahmanism had come to have about equal strength, though Jainism continued to be somewhat dominating for some time more, and there began a struggle for supremacy between them, the temperament of the people making a compromise impossible which

resulted in the eventual triumph of Saivism. The most important peculiarity of Saivism in the south, therefore, during the post-Pauranic period, was the militant and intolerant spirit that it developed. What was confined only to the more extreme followers of Saivism in the north became general in the south and that creed entered into a mortal struggle with the other prevalent creeds. The entire Saiva literature of this period bears the mark of this struggle. From the accounts of the lives of the famous Saiva saints, Sambandhar and Appar, both of whom lived in the 7th century, it appears that Jainism had been powerful during the 6th century and the arrogance and intolerance of the Jainas led to an active antagonism between them and the Saivas. The names of these two saints are prominent among those who, by their own example and by arguments and actions, confronted the claims of the Jainas and greatly increased the prestige of Saivism. Sambandhar appears specially to have thrown himself into the task of defeating the Jainas. He condemns them in one of his 'padigams' that he wrote. In one of these, he calls Siva "the warrior who vanquished the Jainas", and there is an account of the Jainas having set fire to his camp when he was at Madura, a great Jaina stronghold, which fire was, however, miraculously extinguished as a result of Sambandhar's reciting

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1. The observations made here about these saints are based only on the accounts of their lives given by Mr. C.V.N. Ayyar in his recent book 'Origin and Early History of Saivism South India' (ch. X-XI.).
South India

'padigam' to Siva. References are also made to several other similar miracles, in his 'padigame', by which he put the Jain to shame. This shows that he took an active part in the conflict between Saivism and Jainism, and was, on the whole, successful. Appar was, originally, himself a Jaina, but was converted to Saivism. This, in itself, might be taken as an indication of the increasing prestige of Saivism. He was a contemporary of Sambandhar. An allusion to his conversion is made in one of his poems where he condemns the Jaina doctrine as sinful. Unlike Sambandhar, he was a scholar as well as a poet and a saint, and between them these two contributed not a little towards the final overthrow of Jainism in the south. Slightly later than them, was Manikkavasagar, the author of the 'Tiruvagasam', who did the same for Buddhism what the other two had done for Jainism. There is no reference in his work to the Jainas as serious rivals to the Saivas, which might show that the efforts of saints like Sambandhar and Appar were already bearing fruit, and that the Jainas had become quiescent. On the other hand, there is a tradition of his dispute with the Buddhists at Cidambaram, and a resounding victory over them.¹⁾ This is supposed to have been a big event, the debate being arranged by the king himself, and the greatest Buddhist scholar coming there from Ceylon to champion the cause of his faith. If there is any element of historical truth in this tradition, then, Manikkavasagar's victory, probably coming on top of several minor ones, must have been v

1. Tiruvagasam. ed. G. Pope. p.67. (Introd.).

decisive, and must have dealt a heavy blow to Buddhism. Besides these saints who have become famous, there must have been numerous others who, similarly, fought for their faith in debates and disputations or increased its prestige by their examples. The accounts of the lives of some of them are given in a work known by the name of Periya Purana. They were called by the special name of Nayanars. In the life of Ninra Siva Nedumar that saint is said to have established the superiority of the Saiva faith by performing greater miracles than his rivals could do, miracles being, then, evidently regarded as tests for the comparative merits of the creeds by the common populace. In the account of Mangarkkarasiyar, we read of the aggressive character of the Jainas. "At the sight of them ordinary people, versed in the Agamas and the Mantras, stepped aside in fear." On the other hand, the aggressiveness and bigotry of some of the over-zealous Saivasis also reflected in the accounts of the lives of other Nayanars. The stories of Eripanda Nayanar who killed an elephant and its five attendants simply because a basket of flowers, meant for use in a Saiva temple, had been accidentally upset by the former, and of Kalaracinga Nayanar who cut off the nose of a queen because she smelt a flower intended for the worship of Siva, show the fanatical bigotry of some of the Saivasis which must have found expression in more violent forms against the heretics like the Jainas and the Buddhas.

1. Summaries of these have also been given by Mr. Ayyar in his book (ch. VIII.).

What was the attitude of the Saivas towards the Vaisnavas in South India? We saw in the last chapter that the latter share in the general spirit of tolerance that prevailed the centuries immediately following the beginning of the Christian era, and the Vaisnava devotees called Alvara maintained amicable relations with the Saivas. Even in the time of Tirumala the Saiva saint and scholar, who translated the Saiva Agamas from Sanskrit into Tamil and who ^{lived} in the fifth century, the two creeds appear to have been friendly towards one another and the essential identity of Siva and Visnu was recognised. 'Peyalvar' thus describes the deity at Tirupati, "The descendingjata and tall crown, the shining axe and the discus, the encircling serpent and the golden waistband are sacred. So my lord ^{of} the sacred mount surrounded by overflowing streamlets has united himself both the forms". But it is also during the time of Tirmular that we see the first signs of the beginning of rivalry between these two creeds. Tirmular himself is supposed to have expressed himself thus, most probably referring to the Vaisnavas, "If low people disrespect Isa and say that he is an outcast from Deval-oka, their fate be like that of the parrot that is torn by a cat." We are reminded at once by this utterance of the diatribes of Daksa against Siva in some of the Puranas, and it is quite possible that there were some Vaisnavas of this kind who reviled Siva

1. Origin and early history of Saivism in South India p.214

and his worship in south India also at this time. This is confirmed by the actual accounts of the Vaisnava Saints of this period that are available to us, and we learn that the more zealous of the Vaisnava Alvars showed open hostility to Saivism. One of them, Tirumalishai Alvar, is supposed to have said that those who believed in Siva were intellectual bankrupts. And we have other utterances of other Alvars of a similar nature. This rivalry grew as the time passed, and after the overthrow of the heretical creeds, when these two creeds were left in sole possession of the field, and had come to possess elaborate and fixed dogmas of their own, this rivalry became fairly acute, though it never seems to have been marked with the bitter hostility that existed between Saivism on the one hand, and Jainism and Buddhism on the other.

Curiously enough, the inscriptions of this period that we find in the south, do not reflect this rivalry of creeds that prevailed there till comparatively very late. In the 6th. century, Mudayannur Plates of the Bana king, Malladeva Nandivarman,¹⁾ Siva and Visnu are invoked side by side and there is no evidence of any antagonism between their respective creeds. In the Nagamangalar Copper Plates of Prthivi Kongam Maharaja of about 777 A.D.²⁾ the opening invocation is to Visnu, then one Visnu Gopa is represented as the devotee of Siva who is referred to with reverence, and the inscription itself records a grant

1. I.A.

2. I.A. Vol II. p.155.

made for the support of a Jain temple. Again, in the Balagair Stone inscription of Somesvara Deva I., of the eleventh century the first invocatory verse is to Jina, and the next is to Venu. The concluding portion of the inscription is also significant. " At the desire of the king, the lord Nagavarman caused to be built a temple of Jina, a temple of Venu, a temple of Isvara, and a temple of the saints in the country of Banavase." It thus appears that individual monarchs, and other persons also, refused to be taken in by the whirlpool of narrow sectarianism and continued to adhere to the old sane policy of tolerance and a broad outlook. It is in the inscriptions of the 11th and the 12th centuries that we first find evidence of the conflict. At this time, the able saint, Akalanka, appears to have revived, for a short time, the hopes of the crushed Jainism and these now appear to have been in sharp conflict with Buddhism, and Saivism in conflict with both. In the Sravans Belgola inscription of 1128 A.D.,²⁾ the hostility of the Buddha towards Akalanka is alluded to, while in another part of the same inscription, the Jaina Vimalacandra is said to have rooted out the Saivas, the Pasupatas, the Kapalikas, the Kapilias (probably Samkhyists), and the Bauddhas. The latter is also mentioned in another Jaina inscription of 1183 A.D., recording the death of Candraprabha, and is similarly described³⁾ as having rooted out the Saivas and others.

1. I.A. IV. p.179.
 2. Epig. Car. Vol.II.No.54.
 3. " " Vol. III. P.N. 105.

From the Periya Purana we also learn about the new characteristics that Saivism was developing in the south of which we do not find any trace in the north. It was perhaps, again the greater fervour resulting from the emotional character of the Dravidians that led them to draw from the doctrine of Bhakti the logical conclusion that among the true 'bhaktas' there could be no distinction of caste or sex, all being essentially equal in the eyes of the Lord. Hence, some of the more fervent of the Saivadevotees broke through the barriers of caste and sex distinctions, and preached the idea of perfect equality of all true Saivas, a low caste man, provided he was a sincere bhakta being deemed as much worthy of honour as a person of a higher caste. The Periya Purana itself says of the Nayanars¹ that while some of them were Brahmanas, others were Vellalas and yet others belonged to the aboriginal castes. The Adi Saiva Brahmana Sundaramurti is said to have taken food with a low caste Nayanar Seraman Perumal. Sundara, another famous Nayanar of a high caste married a dancing girl. The hunter Kannapa and Nanda both Siva bhaktas and both belonging to low castes, were paid as much honour, and were regarded as entitled to as much sacrifice as the greatest of the Brahmanas. The story of Nami Nanda Afigal, a Brahmana Saiva priest who had scruples about being polluted by the touch of all castes, was admonished by the god himself. "Then he dreamed that God appeared to him and told him that all those who were born in Turuvarur were Siva-ganas". But this rejection of caste rules was a step which cut right across the

long established caste system, and it is, therefore, not surprising that the more conservative of the Saivas recoiled from this step, while the opponents of Saivism found in this a very favourable point of attack and condemned Saivism as heretical. This was, perhaps, the reason that the Saiva scriptural works, the Agamas, were not, at first, given place in the recognised religious literature of the land. It was only later, when Saivism had become the predominant faith of South India, and had also perhaps, discarded the anti-Brahmanic practices, that the Agamas were formally recognised.

The great emphasis on 'bhakti', however, worked in other directions also, and acts which would not have been otherwise condemned, were permitted and even applauded if they were done out of zeal for the faith. In the words of Mr. Ayyar, "The faith of the Saiva worshippers was such that they would not mind people coming even in objectionable forms, provided they numbered themselves among Saiva ascetics". The belief in purification through 'bhakti' was considered better than virtuous mas who was not a 'bhakta'. Here, Saivism, in common with all religions which put emphasis on faith, left a big loophole for abuse by the unscrupulous for gaining their own vile ends, and from the story of Iyar-pagai who was ready to surrender his wife to an apparently pseudo-Saiva yogi, we can infer that some libertines and other objectionable persons did wander about in the garb of Saiva ascetics and took advantage of their guise at the expense of the simple minded people who took them to be genuine. In this, a parallel is

found also in the north where Saivism was similarly abused.

Another peculiar development in Saivism in South India, which did not exist in the north, remains to be seen. From the story of another Nayanar, Munaiyaraiya, in the Periya Purana, we learn that some Saivas had adopted the practice of going about unclothed. We have seen in the Puranas that one epithet of Siva was 'digambara', and that in his 'kapalin' aspect and also in his Bacchic aspect, he was conceived as being naked, and that in accordance with this conception of Siva, the Kapalikas also used to go about almost nude. In the south however, some of the devotees of Siva seem to have dissociated this epithet of Siva from the two aspects of his, ^{with} which it was connected, and taking rather the attitude seen in the Brahmanda Purana, considered nudity as a test, and also a sign of perfect control over all the senses, and hence appropriate for a person who had acquired such control. And in this, it is ~~in~~ ~~ke~~ strongly to be suspected that the Saivas, in spite of their acute hostility to that creed, were under the influence of the tenets of the Digambara school of Jainism. At any rate, in what ever way they might have originated, such Digambara Saivas existed at the time of the composition of the Periya Purana, and probably much before that. At first, they seem to have been looked down upon, and regarded as crazy people who were more akin to the heretical Jainas than to the Saivas as is evident from the passage in which they are mentioned. But later on, they gained recognition, and one of them Sadasiva Brahmata became a famous saint. They gradually spread, and in

course of time, made their appearance in the north also.

The last important development in Saivism in this period that we have to consider is the emergence of various subsects within Saivism itself. This development must have begun soon after it had established itself as a recognised creed. The earliest reference to a particular sect of Saivas is found in the Mahabhasya of Patanjali, in which an allusion is made to the Siva-bhagavatas, or those who worshipped Siva as Bhagavata. This has been seen already. That the term refers to a sect and not to the worshippers of Siva as a whole, is clear from the mention of their distinguishing characteristic which was the carrying of a lance as an emblem of the deity. This, therefore, is the oldest known sect of the Saivas. But it seems to have disappeared early, for the Siva-bhagavats are not mentioned again in later literature. Coming to the later portions of the Mahabharata, we find that in the Santi Parva, mention is made of the Pasupata school of the Saivas, which was regarded at that time as one of the five schools of religious doctrine. We are not told much about the tenets of this school except that it held its doctrines to have been revealed by Siva himself. In the Sivasahasranama, also found in another part of the Santi Parva, Siva is said to have revealed the Pasupata doctrine which is said to have been partly in accordance with and partly opposed to the orthodox Brahmanic regulations of castes and asramas.

1. Mbh. (Ed. Krsnamacarya and Vyasacarya. Bombay 1907.).

Santi, 359, 64.

2. Mbh. (P.C. Ray's translation. Cal. 1891.). Santi, 285, 124.

We have had also occasion to notice above the disregard for the regulations by some Saivas in South India, and it is possible that the practice originated with the Pasupatas. The mention of this characteristic also proves that the Pasupatas did not represent the Saivas in general whose doctrines and practices were in full accord with the Brahmanic standards, as seen in the epics themselves. The school probably arose about the same time as the Vaisnava Pancaratra school, as the two are mentioned side by side in the passage above. As to the founder of the school, we learn nothing from the Mahabharata, but later on, in the Puranas, one Lakulin, or Nakulin is said to have taught Mahesvara or the Pasupata yoga. He is regarded as the incarnation of Siva himself, and is described as a contemporary of
 1) ¹⁾ ~~na.~~ There is no reason to doubt the historicity of Lakulin even though we cannot be certain about his date. The Sarvasamgraha describes him as the founder of the Pasupata school, and the same is affirmed by the evidence of the Nagajaya temple inscription of 971 A.D., and several other epigraphical records. Besides the Pasupatas, it has already been noticed that Siva was also worshipped in his 'kapalin' aspect with blood and even human sacrifices. This was seen in the Mahabharata. But we cannot be certain from the evidence of that epic whether those who worshipped him in this aspect had developed into a definite sect or not. Hence, during the period of the epics, we can only be sure of the existence of at least one sub-sect among the Saivas.

1. Vayu. 23, 217-21. Also, Linga. 24, 124-32.

Coming to later times, we find that Wema Kadphises (2nd century), in one of his coin types calls himself a Ma-svara, which appears to have been another for the Pasupata. The latter were, therefore, flourishing at that time, and, probably, received royal patronage. Records of other sects however, are still lacking in the pre-Pauranic period. We, therefore, pass on to the Puranas in which we find the first definite mention of Saiva sects. The Vayu and the Linga Puranas passages bearing upon the Pasupata sect ~~sect~~ have already been referred to. The Kapalikas are also first mentioned as a definite sect and, as was noticed in the last chapter, were considered as heretical at that time. The worshippers of Siva in general appear to have been called simply Saivas, and it is with their doctrines and practices that the Puranas chiefly deal. No definite mention is made of any other Saiva sect in the Puranas.

It is in the post-Pauranic times that we find evidence showing the existence of several sects of the worshippers of Siva. We have already noticed the mention in two inscriptions of the Bharasivas, with their peculiar practice of carrying 'linga' image of Siva on their foreheads. In the 7th century the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang toured India, and at several places in his book he mentions the Pasupata sect by name. ¹⁾

1. Hieun Tsang. II, pp. 276, 277, 279, 280, 281 etc.

~~ad~~herents appear to have been very numerous. Some he ~~is~~ de-
 scribes as worshipping Siva in temples, these being, proba-
 lay Pasupatas, and others as residing in the temples or wan-
 -ing about, these being, probably, Pasupata ascetics. The
 characteristic of the Pasupatas was the smearing of the bod-
 with ashes, and 'ash-covered' is the regular title by which
 Hieun Tsang refers to them. ¹⁾ Among other Saivas, he mentions
 some who grew 'jatas' and went naked. ²⁾ These were evidently
 Digambara Saivas whom we have noticed in the South Indian re-
 -ds. At Benares he saw others Saivas who cut off their hair ³⁾
 and who were, in all probability, the 'mundi' Saiva ascetics.
 It is interesting to remember that in the Puranas Siva is
 -times called a 'mundin', which indicates that such ascetics
 had existed for a considerable time when Hieun Tsang saw them.
 We cannot, however, be certain whether they formed a separate
 sect or not. Hieun Tsang also mentions the ~~K~~ Kapalikas at
 places in his work. At Kapisa he saw some ascetics, " who wear ⁴⁾
 chaplets of bones which they wear as crowns on their heads."
 At another place he refers to some who " wear as ornaments ⁵⁾
 necklaces made of skull bones." He does not say definitely
 that they were worshippers of Siva, but the two descriptions

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1. Hieun Tsang. I, 55, 114, 176, 200. II, 45, 261, 276-81.
 2. ibid. II, 45.
 3. ibid. II, 45.
 4. ibid. I, 55.
 5. ibid. I, 76.

unmistakably points~~s~~ to the Kapālikas, and the fact that the first passage they are distinguished from those " who call themselves with ashes", shows that they were regarded as a separate sect. Further information about them is not given by him, but from a 7th century grant of Nagavardhana, nephew of Pulakesin II, we learn that, in spite of their condemnation in the Puranas, they had, by that time, succeeded in gaining for themselves some amount of recognition, and had temples of their own. The grant gives a village for the support of such a temple dedicated to Siva under the name of Kapalesvara, and for the maintenance of a certain number of ascetic devotees called Mahavratis, which was but a euphemistic synonym of the word Kapalika. A reference to another such temple of Kapalesvara is made in the Nirmanda copper ~~and~~ plate inscription of Mahasamanta Maharaja Sundarasena, which also belongs to the 7th century.¹⁾

The works of Bana also throw some light on the state of Saivism that existed in the 7th century. In the Kadambari he refers to the Pasupatas, clad in red garments who came to see the minister Sukanasa.²⁾ They probably represent a sub-sect of the Pasupatas, though it is curious that Hieun Tsang makes no reference to them. From the Kadambari we also learn that the ordinary Saivas did not belong to any particular sect and followed closely the Pauranic doctrines and injunctions. Queen Vilasavati is represented as having been such a Saiva

1. CII.volIII, Pl.XLIV,p.286.

2. Kad. p. 94-95.

and Bana himself belonged to the same class.

In the 8th century, Bhavabhuti, in his play, the Malatimadhavam, gives a very good picture of the Kapalika s¹⁾ as it existed in his time. The temples where the Kapalik conducted their worship were situated in the cremation gro. The practice of offering human victims to the god still ex-
-ed among them, and for this they were condemned and shunned by society, though they themselves claimed to possess superhuman powers which they had acquired by their practices. A new feature to be observed is that there were female adherents of the sect as well as the male, and they wore the same distinguishing marks. Not did the Kapalikas preserve any distinction of caste. It is interesting and instructive to observe that practically every religious sect that arose in India which did not come within the pale of orthodox Brahmanism, invariably rejected the distinctions of caste and, very often, of sex.

As time passed, new Saiva sects arose, and by the 9th century, when Anandagiri wrote his 'Samkaravijaya', there were quite a number of these. Some of them must have existed for a considerable time, as they are mentioned as quite established, though they have not been referred to in extant records. In the 4th chapter of the book, are mentioned the Pasupatas, the Saivas, the Raudras, the Ugras, the Kapalik

1. Malatimadhavam. Act V.

2. Samkaravijaya. Bibl. I

the Bhatas or Bhattas, and the Jangamas, all of whom came to dispute with Samkara. The external¹⁾ distinctive marks of them are given. From them we can identify the Jangamas as the Bharasivas, as they are described as carrying a 'linga' on their heads. The Pasupatas stamped the 'linga' sign on their forehead, breast navel, and arms. The other sects had other distinguishing marks. Their special doctrines are not described, but they argue collectively with Samkara, and in essential principles they appear to agree with him. But, as we shall observe in the next chapter, this could not have been the case, for, the unqualified ~~of~~ monism of Samkara was incompatible with the doctrines which, in varying forms, these different sects held and expounded. And, in fact, in a later account of Samkara's life by Vidyanaraya¹⁾, a Saiva Nilakantha, who had written a commentary on the Siva Satras, is described as attacking the central doctrine of 'tattvamasi' of pure monism, which Samkara rejected. In Anandagiri's work, Samkara is said to have merely taken exception to the external markings of the various Saiva sects, and to have succeeded in convincing them of their utter futility. He is also said to have objected to mere worship of God without self realisation, which may take a person to heaven but cannot give salvation. Of the Kapalikas, we find more detailed account in Anandagiri's work. Samkara is said to have met them in Ujjayini where they were very powerful. From the

description we learn that they wore matted hair on which they placed a crescent in imitation of Siva, carried a 'kapala', ate meat and wine, and worshipped Siva in his 'bhairava' or 'kapalika' form. They were also notorious for their loose morals and were a nuisance and a terror to the general people. There also appears a false Kapalika on the scene, who had joined the sect merely for the purpose of leading a licentious life with impunity. Samkara, naturally, is said to have severely rebuked them and to have punished them for pretending to put forward their abominations as a serious creed. In Vidyananaya's work Samkara is said to have met the Kapalikas in Karnata, where the chief, one Krakaca, came out to meet Samkara. Their outward marks were the same as those described in Anandagiri's book; they are said to have worshipped Siva and Parvati conceived as embracing each other. Meat and wine are said to have been used by them in their worship. They appear to have been very violent in temper, and always ready to resort to arms which they carried upon them. In Karnata they appear to have been especially strong, as they are said to have organised a serious revolt against the king which was put down with some difficulty. Vidyananaya also mentions another Saiva sect, the Bhairavas, whom Samkara met in Vidarbha. But nothing is told about their professions or practices except that they had as their authoritative scriptural work a Bhairava Tantra, which shows that they might have been under Tantric influence. About the remaining sects we learn nothing from either account of Samkara's life except their names.

Our next source of information about the Saiva sect is the Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇamīśra, the well known allegorical play. It belongs to the 11th century. In it, the author very effectively satirises the hypocritical adherents of the various religious creeds and sects, who abused and disgraced their faiths. Among the Saiva sects, he mentions the Saivās and the Paśupatas, who are ridiculed, along with other religious sects by the Materialist. Apart from this, a Kapalika is introduced among the characters by the author, and about him we learn the most. He is represented as wearing a garland of skulls, residing in the cremation grounds, eating out of his 'kapala', and considering himself as having gained true knowledge through his 'yoga'. As to his mode of worship, human sacrifice is explicitly mentioned as an important feature of it. Śiva was conceived of in his 'bhairava' form, and the various parts of the human victim were offered to him, and the flowing blood from the newly cut head of the victim was used for the worship of the god. Wine was also offered to the deity and drunk by the worshipper from the skull-bowl. The introduction of a Kapalini as a companion of the Kapalika supports the evidence of the Malatīmādhava that women also belonged to this sect.

The information about the later history of these sects has to be gleaned from miscellaneous sources. The Paśupatas are mentioned fairly constantly in epigraphical and literary records, and thus appear to have continued to exist

an important sect of the Saivas. We have noticed above their mention in the inscriptions of the 10th-12th centuries. In the Cintra Prasti of the late 13th century, Lakulin is mentioned as the founder of the Pasupata school and his sons are said to have founded four different schools, which were, probably sub-sects of the Pasupatas. Finally, in the Sarvadarsanasamgraha, the Pasupatas are recognised as one of the two chief sects of Saivism, and an account is given of their philosophic doctrines. The other chief sect of Saivism was the Saiva sect to which incidental references to which have been made in the records examined above. A summary of their doctrines is also given. About the Kapalikas, we gain information from occasional references in literature and other records. They seem to have developed an extremist sub-sect called the Kalamukhas, or, perhaps, originally Karukasiddhantins. They existed at the time of the Vaisnava saint and scholar Ramanuja who lived in the 12th century, and who describes their practices. From him we learn that they had euphemised these practices by the name of Siddhis of which they counted six, viz. eating out of a skull, besmearing the body with ashes, eating the ashes brought from the crematorium, holding a club, keeping a pot of wine, worshipping Bhairava as seated in it. They wore matted hair, carried a skull, and had a garland of Rudraksa beads round their neck. Ordinarily, slight distinction was made between the Kalamukhas and the Kapalikas. The Sarvadarsanasamgraha makes no mention of these two.

In the subsequent centuries, some of the sects seen above disappeared, while others changed their names, and new ones appeared. This process has continued down to the modern times.

The more important of these sects spread into the north also. Lakulin and his Pasupatas are mentioned in several Mysore inscriptions ranging from the 10th to the 13th century. This shows that the Pasupatas flourished in the south also throughout this period. In one inscription of 943 A.D., on Muninatha Cilluka is said to have been an incarnation of Lakulin¹⁾ In another, dated 1078 A.D., an ascetic is spoken of as an adherent²⁾ of the school of Lakulin. Lastly, in an inscription of the 12th century³⁾, one Somesvara Suri is said to have again popularised the doctrine of Lakulin. Yet another inscription⁴⁾ of 1285 A.D., the grant-maker is called the supporter of a new school of Lakulin, which is taken by some scholars to refer to the Lingayatas. But we cannot be certain about this. It should be remembered, however, that there is a tendency in these inscriptions to use the word Lakulin (a follower of the school of Lakulin) as a general term for all Saivas, and in one inscription⁵⁾, even the Kalamukhas are called Lakulas. Hence, there is a possibility that all these inscriptions may not mean by the terms Lakulin and Lakula the Pasupatas only, but also other

- 1. Epig, Carn. XII, p.92.
- 2. ibid. VII, Sikarpur Taluq no.107.
- 3. ibid. VII, Pt.I, p.64.
- 4. ibid. V, p.135.

Saivas. More definite is the Karhad grant of the Rastrakut king Krsna III, of 958 A.D. This mentions one Ganga Siva, a great scholar who appears to have been an adherent of the Siva sect, and was the head of an establishment of this sect at Valkalesvara. This shows the existence of the Siva sect in south. The Mysore inscription of 1177 A.D., which included the Kalamukhas among the Lakulas, incidentally, shows the existence of the former sect in the south at that time. Similarly, in another Mysore inscription of 1183 A.D.,¹⁾ one Nagasi Pandita is said to have been much versed in the Saiva Agama and the Saiva Tattva, the latter being the authoritative text of the Saivas. This shows that this sect also continued to flourish in the south.

One sect, however, did develop in the south, which was destined to become very important later on. This was Lingayata or the Virasaiva sect. Its exact origin and founder are still subjects for conjecture. But one thing is certain that the famous Basa was not the founder of the sect, though he was a great patron of the sect and did much to make it popular. Dr. Fleet's Ekananda Ramayya, also, appears to have been not the founder, but a great preacher of this sect who held a great deal to undermine the position of the Jainas. The Lingayata sect, however, could not be very ancient, as no definite mention is made to it anywhere in the older literature, and, as pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar, the occurrence

1. Epig.Carn. V, Arsikere Taluq, no.85.

of such technical terms in its doctrinal works as 'sthala',¹⁾ 'anga', and 'linga', prove it to be comparatively modern. The Lingayatras may be described as Protestant Saivas who revolted against the superfluous and, possibly also, against some abuses of the existing Saiva cult, and endeavoured to create purer, simpler, and an essentially rational creed. Originally their doctrines appear to have been, in the main, akin to those of the Saiva sect, and it is possible that the promulgator or promulgators of this sect, before breaking away from the old church and forming a new one, belonged to the Saiva school. After their separation, the formulation of their doctrines, the establishment of a definite cult of the Lingayatras were carried out by able scholars who were greatly honoured and were called the Aradhyas. The exact period at which this took place cannot be determined with certainty. But, soon after their emergence as a sect, the Lingayatras began to move away from their original position still farther from the orthodox Saivism, in their earliest available records, we find them as a militant sect, opposed not only to orthodox Saivism, but also to some of the long established tenets of Brahmanism, which were accepted by all Brahmanic creeds. Thus, they initiated girls in the same way as the boys, and instead of wearing the sacred thread they adopted as their symbol of initiation the 'siva-linga' which they wore always on their persons, and whence

1. The account of the Lingayata sect is based on that given

they derived their name. Their sacred mantra was not the Ga but 'Om namah Sīvāya'. But their boldest departure from orthodoxy was their rejection of the caste system and its restrictions. We have seen above that some Saivas had, from comparatively early times, refused to recognise the caste system and its distinctions among the Saivas, but the Lingayatas adopted the non-recognition of the caste system as a definite article of their creed. These new practices gave this sect a definite anti Brahmanical character, and it was looked upon as such. It appears, however, that in these new departures, the Lingayatas did not have the approval of all the adherents of the sect, these dissentients included the very Aradhyas who had placed the sect on its feet, and who refused to accept the anti-Brahmanical practices which the sect had adopted. But the advocacy of the latter prevailed, and we find that the dissentients were reduced to the position of a sub-sect, and were regarded as heretics. Among the other features of the Lingayata sect we must notice their eschewing the use of meat and wine by its adherents and other puritanical practices. They also allowed their widows to remarry. They did not lay much stress on external worship and did not approve of much pageantry as being useless and detrimental to self realisation which was the aim of religion. This was their position when our survey closes. Subsequently though they became very powerful in the south, they seem to have gradually succumbed to the influence of Brahmanism and gave up their anti-Brahmanical practices, particularly their non-recognition of caste, and, in course of time, themselves became

divided into castes, which, at the present time are numerous. It was also, perhaps, owing to this rapprochement with Brahmanism that we find Lingayata scholars trying to find authority for their tenets in the Brahmanical and Vedic scriptures and discovering the worship of the 'linga' in the Vedic Samhitas themselves. A very good illustration of this is found in the late but interesting 'Lingadhāraṇacandrikā', recently published by Mr. M.R. Sakhare, which is wholly devoted to prove that the Vedic scriptures themselves enjoin the worship of the 'linga', and that this worship is fully in accord with the tenets of Brahmanism.

The last point to be dealt with before we close this chapter is the development of the cults of the goddess and Ganesa. During the post-Pauranic period, these developed independent cults, and, hence, strictly speaking, they do not come within the scope of this survey. But, in view of their close association with Shivism, it will not be out of place here, to make a brief reference to their history during the post-Pauranic period. As to the cult of the goddess, we saw in the last chapter how it had developed into Saktism, with the Tantras as its scriptural works, though, as the consort of the goddess continued to be worshipped along with that goddess the Saivas. As in the case of Siva, the various aspects which she was conceived of and worshipped in the Puranas and the Tantras, were literally interpreted in stone and metal images and numerous specimens of these are found in art

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parts of India throughout the post-Pauranic period. As to her mode of worship, the picture given in the Puranas and the Tantras, several of which latter belong to the post-Pauranic period, but do not differ very much from the older works, is good for this period also. One development, however, has to be noticed. We saw the efforts made to reform the Sakta cult and to make it conformable to the standards of the Brahmanic creeds, in the last chapters. These efforts succeeded to a large extent, and the majority of the Saktas adopted what is known as the right-hand path ('daksina-marga'). Among these sub-sects gradually arose, according to the particular form which the goddess was conceived of. By the time of Anandagiri there appear to have been several of them. Those who worshipped the goddess as the Sakti of Siva were called the Saktas. Those who worshipped her as the Sakti of Visnu called her Mahalaksmi or Mahavaisnavi, and were known as the worshippers of this deity. Others conceived of the goddess as the deity of Vak, and were known as her worshippers. Anandagiri mentions all three of them. Their doctrines were the same as those found in the Tantras.

Some worshippers of the goddess, however, continued to worship her in the old orgiastic manner, with all its disgusting features. They were called the followers of the

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1. G. Rao. Hindu Iconography. vol.II,
 2. Samkaravijaya. ch.19-21.

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left-hand path ('vāma-mārga'). They, too, are mentioned by Anandagiri, and their tenets show the consequences of the abuse of the high philosophic doctrines, when applied to an objectionable cult by a perverted intelligence. The belief in the spiritual elevation of a true devotee above the ordinary persons was utilised by the adherents of this sect for the abandonment of all restraint of conduct on the ground that a person who had obtained true knowledge, as they claimed to possess, was above the ordinary restrictions which bound the conduct of ordinary persons, and was free to do what he liked without incurring any sin. The doctrine of the perfect equality of all devotees without regard to caste or sex, they perverted into a kind of a communism of women by which they justified the unbridled license during worship. Both the right-hand and the left-hand Saktas appear in Vidyanarāyaṇa's work also. The former were called the Tantrikas who worshipped the goddess according to the injunctions of the Tantras, and were, on the whole, a respectable sect. The others were called the Sakta, whom Sakra is said to have met in the extreme south, and for them the author has nothing but condemnation. They are called hypocrites who, pretending to worship Parvati, addicted themselves to drinking and were ostracized by the 'dvijas'. Thus the left-hand sect of the Saktas was always regarded as heretical and disreputable. Owing to its strong condemnation the number of its adherents does not appear to have ever been numerous, and though it continued to exist till modern times,

was practically reduced to the position of a secret society the underworld. The right-hand Saktas, on the other hand, continued to flourish, and, at the present time, are a very -erous sect, particularly in Bengal which seems to have become the great stronghold of Saktism .

As regards the worship of Ganesa, the normal position of the cult~~ure~~ was that reflected in the Ganesa Purana which, many of the Tantras, chronologically falls in the post-Pauranic period. The worshippers of Ganesa had emerged as a distinct sect called the Ganapatya sect, and looked upon Ganesa as the supreme God. This has been seen above from the Ganesa Purana. The first definite mention of the Ganapatya sect is made in Anandagiri's work, in which, however, it already appears as ¹⁾ having four sub-sects. This shows that it must have come into being considerably earlier. These sub-sects, with the exception of one , are named after the particular aspect of Ganesa in which that deity was worshipped by ~~its~~ their adherents. The conception of the god was the same as in the Ganesa Purana, this additional development that, probably under the influence of Saivism and Saktism, Ganesa, also, was now supposed to possess a consort who was regarded as his Sakti. Apart from these common characteristics of all the four sub-sects, the Haridra Ganapatyas conceived of Ganesa as wearing a yellow garment, a yellow sacred thread, having four arms and three eyes(which

1. Samkaravijaya. ch.15-18.

as in the case of the goddess, shows the influence of the conception of Siva upon Ganesa), with turmeric smeared over his face, and holding a noose and a trident. The Mahaganapatyas appear to have been the chief sub-sect of the worshippers of Ganesa, and they preserved, most faithfully, the features of the Pauranic worship of that god. The general rites of the Ganapatyas, described above appear to have been evolved by them, for, it is in the chapter dealing with them that they are given in detail by Anandagiri. The navanita-suvarna-samtana-Ganapatyas conceived of Ganesa as having a human form, but in all other respects they did not differ from the first two sects, and their spokesman supports the argument put forth by the latter. The fourth sub-sect of the Ganapatyas, however, was radically different from the others, and represents an offshoot of the Ganapatya sect, which had come completely under the influence of, and had been assimilated to, the left-hand sect of the Saktas. Ganesa was worshipped by adherents of this sect under the name of Herambha, and was conceived of as being fourarmed, three eyed, holding a noose and other things in his hands, drinking wine with his trunk seated comfortably on a large seat, and amorously caressing his Sakti who was conceived of as a female sitting on his lap on the left side. Their doctrines and practices were gross to the extreme, surpassing even those of the Vamacari Saktas. Absolute freedom of action was not only allowed but enjoined, and the one means of salvation was said to be unrestricted enjoined.

-ment , and gratification of the senses. In common with the left-hand Saktas, they abolished all caste and sex distinctions and, on the pretext of the identity of every male with Heramb and of every female with his Sakti, they permitted a sexual license and unchecked license of a type grosser than ~~than~~ what the left-hand Saktas allowed, not only during worship but at times, and abrogated the institution of marriage. Like the Kaulikas, they are said to have been sternly rebuked by Samkara

By the 10th century, therefore, the cult of Ganesa had not only come into existence, but had become divided into sub-sects. Its subsequent history is fragmentary. In northern India, the cult does not seem to have flourished to any great extent, though the worship of Ganesa himself, as the goddess's success, became very general , and was performed by the followers of all Brahmanic faiths, and was even accepted by the Mahayana Buddhism. The last sect of the Ganapatyas, called Uchchhishtas, was introduced into Nepal at some time and gained a stronghold there. In the south, on the other hand, the Ganapatya sects were strongly established, and , though continuous records are not available, we can form a fairly good idea of the development of the worship of Ganesa from the evidence of more recent records. In Travancore, for example, the god is worshipped for ensuring the prosperity of the country, which shows the development of the character of the god who, from being a deity invoked for the successful accomplishment of actions, had come to be

looked upon as a giver of prosperity. Further, on special days 'homas' used to be performed, till recent times, in honour of the god, and these were days of public festivals. Apart from this, Ganesa was also worshipped in the south, as in the north as a god of success, and still continues to be so worshipped.

This account of the worship of Ganesa in the post-Vedic times, as in the case of Siva, illustrated and supported by the evidence of the iconographical records that are available. These records have been examined and described in detail in an excellent monograph by Miss Alice Getty, and it will suffice for our purpose to pick out a few examples given in it and append a short description of them here.

Though the worship of Ganesa must have come into existence by the beginning of the Christian era, and, in fact, considerably before that, as is evident from the evidence of the Sutras, actual images of him are not found till comparatively late. There are representations of 'ganas' with elephant heads on the Amaravati railings (1st century) and on a frieze at Mahintale in Ceylon (1st or 2nd century), and a similar representation of a 'gana' is also seen in the terracotta bas reliefs at Akra in the North Western Frontier Province, which belong to the 2nd century. But images of Ganesa, as such are not seen, though these representations of the 'ganas' may have provided the models for the later images of that god. The first real representations of Ganesa are found among the Bhur

sculptures of the 6th and the 7th centuries. In these, he is already associated with his Sakti, which shows that this development in his conception had taken place by this time. In the Fatengarh stone slab, Ganesa is represented as nude, with a bowl of cakes or sweets into which his trunk is dipping. This last characteristic became very common in later representations of Ganesa. In the Badami and Aihole rock-temples, Ganesa is represented as attending on Siva while the latter is doing the 'tandava'. This, probably, has reference to Ganesa as the son of Siva. In South India, Ganesa is almost always associated in sculptural representations, with the Matrkas. The origin of this association is, probably, to be found in the fact that the Matrkas were prayed for prosperity and happiness, as shown by the evidence of the inscriptions, and Ganesa was also the god of success and, hence, indirectly, the giver of prosperity.

As a god of success, Ganesa, as has been remarked above, was worshipped by the followers of all the faiths, and his worship spread even among the Mahayana Buddhists. As an illustration of this fact we find that on a fragment at Sarnath belonging to the later Gupta period, and representing the death of the Buddha, the figure of Ganesa is carved. It was this acceptance of the worship of Ganesa by the Buddhists which, perhaps, explains the appearance of Ganesa as a guardian outside the temples of Buddha the Buddha in Tibet.

Chapter VII.

We have had occasion to notice in previous chapters that side by side with the development of Saivism as a popular cult its philosophic side was also developing, and, in course of time, it emerged into a definite school known as the Saiva Siddhanta. The tenets of this school were, first, clearly formulated in special works which were known by the name of the Agamas, which appear to have come into existence during the Pauranic times. But for the proper understanding of them it is necessary that we should start from the beginning and trace the gradual development of the various theories and doctrines expounded in them. This takes us back to the period of the Upanishads. We noticed in a previous chapter that it was during this period, when a veritable revolution in religious and philosophical thought was taking place, that the doctrine of Bhakti made its appearance, which may be described as the result of the repudiation, on popular religion, of the new philosophic doctrines that were being evolved by the Upanisadic seers. The idea of the Supreme Self who was to be realised through study, self-discipline, and meditation, was popularised into the idea of one God who was to be realised through sincere devotion and penance. Upanisadic conception of the Supreme Self, therefore, formed the philosophical background of the Bhakti cult. And, as this Bhakti cult centred round Siva and Visnu, who were the two gods most generally worshipped at that time, to the practical exclu-

of all others, they were raised to the position of the one God, and, as such, each of them was identified with the philosophical Supreme Self. In the case of Siva, this was in the Svetasvatara Upanisad, where ~~is~~ he is described as the Bhakti god on the one hand, and the philosophical Purusa on the other. The philosophical conception of Siva outlined there forms the germ of the whole Saiva philosophy of later times. We saw how Siva, as the Purusa, was described as the Supreme Reality and the Sole Creator who worked through his Maya Sakti or Prakrti, who is the active and the immediate agent in the manifestation of this universe, while the Purusa is the animator. The individual self was regarded as also eternal, finding its salvation by merging into the Supreme Purusa. The ideas developed, in the post-Upanisadic times, along two lines. One was that of pure monism according to which the Supreme was the one and only Reality, and the individual soul was essentially identical with it, being, in fact, only a manifestation of It, and obtaining salvation by realising this identity and completely merging itself into the Supreme Self. The Sakti Maya or Prakrti was nothing but a creation of the Supreme Self and had no independent existence. It was this pure monism which Samkara became the greatest exponent. The other line of development was also monistic in so far as its conception of the Supreme Self was practically the same as of the other, but monism was qualified, first, by the conception of Prakrti, which was not regarded as merely a kind of illusion, but as real,

though the creation of the Supreme Self, and, secondly, by idea of salvation which meant not the complete merging of the individual self into the Supreme Self, which was looked upon as being practically equivalent to annihilation, but a state of existence in perpetual bliss in the presence of the Supreme. As the less abstruse and, hence, more easily comprehensible, this school of thought appears to have been much more popular than the other which could be properly understood only by those who were very advanced intellectually. Neither in the post-Upanisadic Vedic literature nor in the epics or the Puranas nor, yet, in the secular literature of the post-Vedic period right up to the time of Sankara, do we find much mention of a purely monistic school of thought. On the other hand, it is not difficult to see that the doctrines of qualified monism formed the philosophical background of all the Bhakti creeds of the post Vedic period. In the epics, the conception of Prakriti or Maya, in the person of the consort of Siva, is very much like that in the Svetasvatara Upanisad. Salvation, also, is supposed to be the attainment by the individual soul to the world of God, in other words, ~~of~~ To His presence where ~~he~~ resides for ever. In the Puranas, of course, where the chief Bhakti cults, Visnavism and Saivism, reached their full development, the position of qualified monism is accepted by both. They postulate the existence of a supreme God who creates the universe -se of experience through his Maya or Sakti, and through w

grace the individual soul frees itself from its bonds, and is emancipated by attaining to his presence. The two schools of qualified and unqualified monism were, however, called by the same general name of Vedanta, and continued to be so called afterwards also, being distinguished from each other by the other names of 'Visista' and 'Suddha' Advaita! This explains the frequent assertion of the Puranas that Saivism and Vaisnavism were in accordance with the doctrines of Vedanta. The position of Saivism, however, as it developed, was slightly different from the correct position of qualified monism. This divergence was due to the special position of Siva's consort who was identified with his Sakti or Prakrti. The latter, as has been noticed above, was an important goddess, with an independent cult of her own, and even after her association with Siva, she had retained her position, and had never been eclipsed by the god. This prominent position of the goddess had an influence on the development of the philosophical side of Saivism, which tended to approach the position of Samkhya in which the position of Prakrti was much more prominent than in Vedanta. This explains the association of Siva with Samkhya in the Upanisads, the epics, and the Puranas. Of course, being theistic, Saivism soon diverged from classical Samkhya which became essentially atheistic, but the original Samkhya influence upon its philosophy was permanent. This is seen in some sections of the Puranas, and in some of the Tantras, in which the goddess, as

Sakti or Prakṛti of Siva is regarded as co-eval with him as being the active principle in the manifestation of the universe, while Siva is more or less the spectator of her

Along these lines, therefore, the philosophic tenets of Saivism continued to develop during the period in which popular Saivism was taking shape, and were, finally, embodied in special works called the Agamas, which are the first doctrinal works of the Saiva faith. Their exact age is uncertain, probably, their composition, like that of the Puranas, extended over a considerable period. Mr. V.V. Raman, in an article in the Siddhanta Dipaika places them even before the Buddha, but this will hold good only of the essential doctrines, the roots of which, as we have shown, are to be found in the Upanisads. But whatever the upper limit of their date, they seem to have been in existence about the time of the Puranas, as they are mentioned in the Brahmavaivarta Purana. Going a little further back, we have the evidence of Tirumular, the South Indian saint, whose date has been fixed as some where in the 5th century. He translated the Agama works from Sanskrit into Tamil, and these, therefore, must have been existing then. From his account it is clear that by that time, these Agamas were accepted as Saiva scriptures whose authority was equal to that of the Vedas. He regarded both of them as revealed. "The Vedas and the Agamas," says he, "are both of them true, both being the word of the Lord." He is also at pains to emphasise

that the two are essentially complementary and not rival scriptures. " Think that the first (i.e. the Vedas) is a general treatise and the latter (i.e. the Agama) a special one. Both form the word of God." At another place, he is even more explicit. " When examined, and where difference is perceived between Vedanta and Siddanta, the great will perceive no such difference and yet again, " The Veda is the cow, the Agama is the milk. This shows, on the one hand, that Saivism recognised the Vedic scriptures and, hence, regarded itself as part of the Brahmanic religion, but also, on the other, that, owing, perhaps, to the great authority accorded to the Agamas, and the distinct character of their doctrines, combined with the anti-Brahmanic practices of some of the Saivas, which we have had occasion to notice above, some doubts had arisen as to whether the Agama doctrines were in accord with the Vedic scriptures, which were the authoritative texts of the Brahmanic religion. This, however, is incidental. The point to be noticed is the authoritative character of the Agamas by the time of Tirumular. This, therefore, must have existed for a considerable time before. From his evidence it also becomes certain that they were originally written in Sanskrit, and this fact, coupled with the tradition, strongly prevalent in the south, of the Saiva faith being brought there by Saiva scholars and saints coming from the north, makes it practically certain that they first came

L. 1. These observations of Tirumular are taken from Mr. Ayyar's book, 'Origin and Early History' etc. ch. IX.

into existence in North India. And this is natural enough, the north of the centre of culture from the ~~earliest~~ earliest times and all the principle schools of thought arose there. Also, in the early centuries of the Christian era, the non-Brahmanic religions, Buddhism and Jainism, held sway in the south, and was not till their overthrow by Saivism that the south also became a very important centre of Brahmanic culture.

The doctrines expounded in the Agamas formed the official Saiva Siddhanta. The most representative of the Agama works is the Kamika Agama, and a summary of its contents will enable us to get a very good idea of the main tenets of Siddhanta. Siva is regarded as the Supreme Reality, who is beginningless, causeless, and perfect. He is the All-knower, and the All-doer. He operates through his Sakti who serves his instrumental cause, and, though co-eval with him, is, in reality, not different from him. This Sakti is identified with the consort of Siva, Uma or Parvati, Through his Sakti, Siva pervades the universe so fully that he does not appear different from it. Yet, he is not identical with it, for, he is above it, and it lives within him, The universe and man are indeed, the body of which Siva is the soul. This, therefore is the second major point of difference between the Siddhanta and ~~pure monism which postulates the~~

and pure monism which preaches the essential identity of the Self with the universe ~~and~~ in the sense that the Self is regarded as the only Reality behind the manifest universe, diversity of names and forms of which is a mere illusion, has no real existence. Again, the individual selves are supposed by the Siddhanta to be eternal and infinite in number. They belong to Siva, but are not absolutely identical with him, as pure monists would have. Nor are they different from him, and their relation is best expressed by the term 'bhedabheda', the nearest equivalent of which in English is 'inseparability'. It is just like the relation of heat to the flame. The heat is always in the flame, yet, it is not quite identical with it. Similarly, the Supreme Self is always in the individual self but is not identical with it. Indeed, in this conception of the individual self, it is not difficult to see a development of the idea expressed in the Svetasvatara Upanisad through the simile of the two birds, one representing the Supreme Purusa and the other, the individual self, from which the Samkhyist developed their idea of the self and its relation to the Purusa and the conception outlined here is not very different from Samkhya position. These individual selves, in their embodied form unite temporarily with the material body which is, in itself unconscious, but is animated by them. Thus united, they fall into the three fold bondage of 'avidya', 'kama', and 'maya', and from this threefold bondage they are released through the grace of Siva who is constantly engaged in their rescue. The doctrine

of Karma is, at this point, incorporated into the Siddhanta and the work of salvation is said to be carried on through world of matter and soul and is regulated by the law of Karma. The material world, therefore, has a serious moral purpose behind it, and cannot be regarded as a mere illusion. The bondage of the soul constitutes sin which is removed by the knowledge and grace of Siva. And, when this is removed, the soul is emancipated, and, released from the cycle of birth and death, attains perfect ~~perfect~~ resemblance to Siva to whose presence it goes. It does not become one with him, but exists in an independent state in his presence, and with his light shining through it. Here we have the third major point of difference between the Siddhanta and pure monism, the latter holding the theory of complete merger of the individual soul after emanation from the Supreme Self or Brahma.

The fundamental tenets of the Saiva Siddhanta, as outlined in the Agamas, did not change materially afterwards and were accepted by all philosophers whose chief work lay in the scholastic elaboration of its details. This elaboration took place chiefly in the south which became the stronghold of Saivism after the 6th century, and nearly all noted Saiva scholars from that time onwards belong to the south. The most notable among these, in the 7th century were Appar and Manikkavasagar, Both were thoroughly conversant with the Siddhanta philosophy, and were great exponents of its tenets. Both,

however, accepted the Agmas as scriptural authorities and no-
-er of \them deviated materially from them.

The work of preaching and popularisation of the Sidd-
-ta must have been carried on after these two scholars by other
philosophers and preachers of less repute. They in the 9th
-tury, arose Samkara, and it was critical \time for the Sidd-
philosophy when he began to preach his doctrine of pure monism
and by sheer power \of his genius and dialectical skill, he
carried all before him. He professed the Saiva faith, and
when he preached the doctrines of pure monism, which were in-
-sistent with the Agamic philosophy, the Saiva philosophers
must have found themselves in an awkward position. Reliable
contemporary records are not available which would show what
exactly was the attitude of the Siddhantins toward Samkara.
That they \must have opposed his central teaching is certain
and in Vidyanaraya's account of Samkara's life, a Saiva Sidd-
-in is actually mentioned as attacking the doctrine of 'tat-
-asi' which Samkara expounded. But, on the whole, the Saiva
Siddhantins appear to have refrained from challenging Samkara
actively, and this for two main reasons. First, in any formal
disputation with Samkara, they were certain to be defeated
and a prolonged and too pronounced opposition to him, who
after all, a Saiva, would have given an appearance of a schism
within the Saiva creed, a catastrophe which Saivism, engaged
as it was in a mortal struggle with the heretical creeds,

dared not face. Secondly, in his uncompromising opposition to these very heretical creeds, Sankara was a veritable godsend to the Saivas, and it would have been very unwise to hamper in this work by distracting his attention too much elsewhere. Hence, during Sankara's lifetime, the Saivas, probably, remained quiescent. After he had passed away, however, the Saivas declared themselves completely opposed to his teachings, and on with the work of propagation of the Agamic doctrines in which they were aided by the extremely abstract nature of Sankara's teachings, especially his doctrine of illusion, which prevented it from ever becoming popular.

In the 10th or the 11th century, or probably, slightly later, arose the famous scholar and saint Meyñanda Devar. He gave the essence of the entire Saiva Siddhanta thought, as it existed at that period, in a short epitome consisting of no more than twelve Sanskrit 'anustubhs'. This work is known by the name of Sivajñanabodham, and it became to the Saivas what the Bhagavadgita had become to the Vaisnavas. It marks the fullest development of the Saiva philosophic thought, and it fixed its form. It is also the last original philosophic work dealing with the Saiva Siddhanta. Since then, all works have been, mostly, in the form of commentaries on one or the other of the old works, and of glosses and abstracts of commentaries.

During the time that the Saiva saints and scholars were actively engaged in the south, winning for Saivism a position of supremacy, and developing its philosophy, another region had also become the centre of Siva learning. This was Kashmir. It is difficult to determine exactly at what period and in what form, Saivism was introduced into that country. But it could not have reached there very late, firstly, because Kashmir had been within the pale of North Indian culture from the earliest times, and the different religious movements that arose in India proper, invariably reached Kashmir also. Secondly, because even by the time of Vasugupta, who lived in the eighth century, the Saiva Agamas were regarded as of high antiquity, and therefore, must have been known there for a considerable time before that. Originally, their interpretation in Kashmir must have been the same as elsewhere, as is proved not only by the evidence of Vasugupta who says that they were interpreted in this manner, and, secondly, by the evidence of an old work called the Virūpākṣapañcāśikā, belonging to the 6th or the 7th century, whose contents agree, in all essentials, with the teaching of the Agamas, as interpreted, say by South Indian scholars. But about this time, a movement appeared to have arisen in Kashmir, for a more purely monistic interpretation of the Agamic philosophy. Under what influence this happened it is not possible to say. But it may have been that a pure monistic school rose into prominence, possibly, under some able scholars, and its adherents tried to interpret the

Agamas according to their own doctrines just as in India Saml and his followers tried to interpret all the Upanisads in a y -ly sense. The earliest definitely known scholar who did so Vasugupta who lived in the later eighth or the later ninth century.¹⁾ From the semi-legendary accounts given of him, it appears that he either himself composed certain 'Sutras' which were called the Siva Sutra, or learnt them from a teacher, and then, taught them. In these, he interpreted the doctrines of Saivism in a purely monistic sense, and thus founded the 'Advaita' or what came to be called the Kashmirian school of Saivism. These Sutras are not to be confused with the extant Siva Sutras which are of uncertain authorship, as also the gloss upon them known as the 'Vrtti'. The work of more fully expounding Vasugupta's teachings was done by his pupil Kallata through explanatory treatises, one of which is now known as the Spanda Sutra and the Spanda Karikas. The work of these two scholars was, however, confined to the statement and elucidation of the new philosophy without going into their justification by full philosophic reasoning. The latter task was ~~not~~ undertaken by Somananda who was a contemporary of Kallata, and might have been a pupil of Vasugupta. He wrote the famous Sivadrsti in which he developed the theme propounded by Vasugupta and Kallata, and made it into a definite system of philosophy, in accordance with pure monism. He was succeeded by his pupil Utpala who wrote the Pratjabhij

1. The account of Kashmirian Saivism given here is based on M. C. Chattopadhyaya's book Kashmirian Saivism.

Sutras, and from his use of this use of this new term 'pratyabhijna' the school came to be known by that name, and is mentioned as such in the Sarvadarsanasamgraha. In or about this time, appeared Samkara in India whose championing of the monistic school must have given a great fillip to the new Kashmirian school, and must have greatly increased its prestige, there is also a tradition of Samkara visiting Kashmir, and he, probably, did actually go there, and helped, on the one hand, to overthrow the Buddhists who appear to have been very powerful in Kashmir in the 7th and the 8th centuries, and on the other, to establish the 'Advaita' school of Saivism firmly. From that time it became the accepted philosophy of Kashmirian Saivism, and attracted scholars of note. The greatest among these was Abhinavagupta who was a disciple of Utpala. His Paramarthasara and the Pratyabhijna Sutra of Utpala form the most authoritative texts of the Kashmirian Saivism, and, in them its philosophy reaches its full development. Abhinavagupta's pupil ^{was} Ksemaraja who wrote the celebrated Sivasutravimarsini expound the Sivasutras of Vasugupta. He appears to have been a voluminous writer, and wrote several authoritative works giving an exposition of the philosophical school to which he belonged. Among these, the Pratyabhijnahrdaya, the Spandanadoha, and the Spandanirnaya may be mentioned as the most important. After Ksemaraja, the further development development of the Pratyabhijna philosophy was carried on chiefly through commentaries written on existing works. The first among the

most eminentⁿ of these^l later commentators was Yogaraja, a disciple of Abhinavagupta. He wrote a commentary on the Paramarthasāstra of the latter. Some what later, in the 12th century, lived Jayaratha who wrote a commentary on the Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta. He is the last scholar of note in the history of the Kashmiri school till the close of the 13th century at which date our survey concludes.

Having thus given a short summary of the rise and history of the school, we may now briefly consider the chief peculiar features of the philosophy developed by it in which it differed from the ~~main~~ orthodox Siddhanta. The first of these is the conception of Sakti or Prakrti. While, in the Siddhanta she was conceived of as co-eval with Siva more or less like the Samkya Prakrti, in the Kashmirian philosophy, she is regarded as essentially a manifestation of the Paramasiva or the Paramasiva. She is supposed to reside in him and in him only, and may be best described as his creative power, and hence, regarded as one with him. Thus the apparent dualism of the Siddhanta is reduced to a monism. The Sakti has five ~~five~~ primary aspects: the Ananda Sakti, or the power of absolute joy of the Paramasiva; the Iccha Sakti, or the power of the Paramasiva through which he feels himself possessed of an absolute will, and of his resolve to create; the Jnana Sakti, or the power of the Paramasiva of knowing; and lastly, the Kriya Sakti, or the power of the Paramasiva through which he assumes the diverse of the

-fest universe. When the last aspect is attained, actual
-tion begins, which is called Abhasa. This Abhasa is very
-ilar to the Vivarta process of the Vedanta, the only diffi-
ce being that the diverse forms of the created universe are
the latter regarded as mere & 'maya', neither real nor unre-
('sadasadbhyām anirvācya'). In the former, they are regar-
as real or 'sat' on the ground that whatever pertains to the
Self or has existence in him cannot be unreal. The individ-
Purusa is essentially a manifestation of the Paramasiva, an-
limited by Maya, which, here, means the power of Obscuratio-
the Paramasiva, and the penultimate stage in the creation of
the material universe. Under its influence, Siva's true re-
-tionship with the universe is obscured, and he limits hi-
-self in the fivefold limitation of time ('kala'), space ('ni-
k'interest ('raga'), consciousness ('vidya'), and authorship ('-
-la'). At the same time, as Siva thus limits himself, he a-
multiplies himself indefinitely and thus produces an infin-
number of selves. These pass through the various cycles of
births and deaths until they are finally released from their
bonds by gaining true knowledge and recognising their true
character and relation with Siva, and change back again into
the unlimited Siva. Here again, the Kashmirian school appro-
-es very near the vedantic theory of the essential identity
of the individual and the Supreme Self, and the complete mer-
-ce of the former into the latter after emancipation.

Chapter VIII.

In the foregoing chapters, we have endeavoured to trace the rise of the worship of Siva in India from the earliest times to its full development as one of the foremost religious creeds of the country by the close of the 13th century. But Saivism did not remain confined to India. From the early centuries of the Christian era, the countries round about India and the Further East came under the influence of the Indian civilisation. Available records show that from about the 2nd century, there was an active commercial contact between India and the countries immediately surrounding it, and, also, between India and the Eastern Archipelago and Indo-China. A continuous stream of emigrants also flowed from the Indian mainland to these various countries. As a result of this contact with India, there grew up in these countries a brilliant civilisation, though of comparatively short duration, which, for a time, rivalled the glories of the classical civilisation of India. Saivism was carried to these countries, along with other Indian religions, and continued to flourish there right up to the period of the decline and fall of the civilisation of these countries. We shall complete our survey therefore, by devoting this chapter to a brief examination of the history and character of Saivism outside India, as far as the available records enable us to do this.

As regards the countries immediately surrounding India, Tibet and Nepal in the north, Burma in the east, and Ceylon in the south, there is not much to be said. From the time of Asoka or soon after, Buddhism established a stronghold in these countries, and, with the exception of Nepal, in which Hinduism came to prevail, it has remained the chief religion there right up to the present times. In the last named country Puranic Vaisnavism and Saivism seem to have existed side by side with Mahayana Buddhism for a considerable period without any one of them gaining any marked ascendancy over the others. This was the position when Hieun Tsang visited that country, and it remained practically unaltered for a long time afterwards. Then gradually, the Brahmanic creeds became most generally accepted. The worship of the goddess was also introduced there at some period, and, at the present time, there are several temples, some, like the Devi Bhavani temple at Bhatgaon, truly elegant in the worship of the goddess. But no extant records of that country are of a date earlier than the 14th century. Hence, we are not in a position to study the early history of the various religions there. In Tibet also, some temples of Siva are found. Images of Ganesa as a guardian deity are, also, to be seen before the Saiva and other Buddhist temples. But this is, practically, the limit of our information about Saivism in that country.

It is, therefore, in the Further East, in Indo-China and the Eastern Archipelago, that we have to look for most

our information regarding Saivism as it prevailed outside the bounds of India. The chief sources of information here, are the numerous inscriptions and monuments, and these range from the early centuries of the Christian era to the final fall of the civilisation of these parts in ~~the~~ about the 15th-16th centuries. This enables us to get a fairly complete and continuous account of the religious history of these parts, with which we are, here, principally concerned. The most complete records available are those of Indo-China or Campa and Cambodia. We shall, therefore, trace the history of Saivism in Indo-China first.

The earliest mention of Saivism in Indo-China is in the Choh-Din rock inscription in Campa, of about 400 A.D., by which time Saivism appears to have been quite established in the country and was professed by the king. It is to be noted, however, that the manner of worship of Siva, as seen in this inscription, is neither Pauranic nor, yet, epic, but is more like the Vedic rites. The inscription records a sacrifice performed in honour of Siva by the king Bhadravarman, very much in the manner of the Brahmanic sacrifices. The language of the inscription, itself, is reminiscent of Brahmanic formulas (e.g. 'agnaye tvā́ jastam karisyāmi'). It appears, therefore, that the worship of Siva, here, had been fused with the old Vedic rites which had probably been introduced at a comparatively early period, and being isolated, had survived ~~at~~ up to the time when

this inscription was written. As a continuation of this inscription, there is a second one, consisting merely of one single line 'sivo dāso badhyate'. Isolated as it is, it is very difficult to say what this sentence actually means. Perhaps, it is only a sacrificial formula, though if translated literally 'the auspicious slave is tied', it seems to point to a rather startling fact that the victim in the sacrifice to Siva might have been a man. But we cannot be definite about this.

The influence of contemporary religious thought and practice was, however, gradually making itself in these parts and, in another inscription of the same king, Siva is referred to as Mahesvara and mention is also made of Uma as his consort while Visnu and Brahma are both mentioned and salutations¹⁾ offered to them. By the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th the character of Saivism was essentially Pauranic, and the Myson Stelae inscription of the late fifth century of the early 6th, of Sambhuvarman, a descendent of Bhadravarman, describes Siva as the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, the Cause of the three worlds, the Pure, the One Supreme and Omniscient, quite after the manner of the Pura. From the various inscriptions of Prakasadharmān of the late 6th century, we learn that the 'linga' of Siva was, also, quite well known by this time, and the king is described as having installed one 'linga' in a temple. In his Myson Stelae inscription, Siva is exalted as the Supreme Being and as the Source of the manifest universe. The same inscription also refers

of the manifest universe. The same inscription refers, also to the 'kapalin' aspect of Siva, and the latter's association in that aspect, with the cremation grounds. The manner of the reference is, however, worth noting. The author expresses surprise that the Supreme God who was honoured even by Brahma, Visnu, and all the other gods, should choose to dance in the cremation grounds, though, no doubt, this must be for the good of mankind. This indicates that this aspect of Siva was not familiar to the author, and that he, probably, knew of it only from the epithets and other descriptions of Siva in the Indian Puranas and other Indian texts which were known in these parts. And, as we shall see below, this aspect of Siva is but rarely referred to in the inscriptions of Indo-China, while there is no mention of the Kapalikas. From this it might be concluded that the Kapalika sect did not arise in this country. Another verse in the same inscription alludes to the eight forms of Siva, and creation is said to be not possible without them. The Myson pedestal inscription of the same king mentions Kubera, the friend of Siva, and refers to the Pauranic legend of his losing one eye through looking at Parvati.

The same essentially Pauranic character of Saivism is also seen in the records of the 7th century. The Myson Stele inscription of king Vikrantavarman mentions the bull as the vehicle of Siva, and refers to the legend of the penance

of Upamanyu and his obtaining the grace of Siva. Two verses in the inscription refer, again, to the eight forms of Siva; the second verse associates them with the different names of Siva. Vikrantavarman was succeeded by Vikrantavarman II who was also a patron of Saivism. In his Mysore Stela inscription of the early eighth century, Siva is exalted above Brahma and Visnu, who are said to be saluting his feet. In the Po-nagara inscription of king Satyavarman, of the late 8th century, mention is, for the first time, made of the 'mukhalingas' of Siva and a reference is also made to the images of the goddess and of Ganesa, both of whom, therefore, must have been worshipped by now,

Passing on to the inscriptions of succeeding centuries we find that the Glai-Lamov Stela inscription of Indravarman of the early 9th century, refers to the legend of the destruction of the three cities of the demons, and also mentions the three eyes of Siva and the sacred ashes on his person. In the same inscription the devotees of Siva are also said to go to Rudraloka. In another inscription of the same king, the Yang-Tikula Stela inscription of 798 A.D., mention is made of the dedication of male and female servants to the temples of Siva, which custom, we have noticed in a previous chapter, prevailed in South India, and was, probably brought from there to these parts. It appears to have become very common as references to it are made in many other inscriptions. In this

inscription, also, Siva is described as 'patala-prabhava' which is a new epithet the exact origin of which cannot be ascertained. The Bakula Stelae inscription of the 9th century records the donations made by one Samanta both to the Bauddhas and the Saivas. This shows the absence of any rivalry or conflict among the different creeds. This absence of any conflict among the creeds is the chief distinguishing feature of the religious history Indo-China and also of the Archipelago, and is all the more remarkable in view of the acute rivalry that prevailed in India between Saivism Vaisnavism and Buddhism the three creeds that which are known to have prevailed most generally in these regions. The same spirit of tolerance is also displayed by the Dong Duong inscription of Indravarman of the late 9th century. The inscription is Buddhist, and the king also appears to have been a Bauddha, as he is described installing an image of Svabhayada and Lokeshvara. But it records the installation of a 'linga' of Siva by the same king. The reason for this complete toleration was that Mahayana Buddhism that prevailed in these regions showed a strong tendency to assimilate itself to the Brahmanic creeds, and, gradually, came completely within their influence. Having practically, lost its un-Brahmanic character, as it were, Buddhism was no longer looked upon as a rival to the Brahmanic creeds, but almost as one of them. Between these creeds all no sectarian animosity appears ever to have arisen. On the other hand, we can discover a definite tendency, in these

creeds, to assimilate one another's characteristics, thus -ther blurring their distinctive character. Two indications of this mutual influencing of these creeds are to be seen in the above inscription itself. First, the king is said to have dedicated male and female servants to the temple of Lokeshvara exactly after the manner of the dedication of such servants to Saiva temples, which shows that Buddhism was taking up the practices of the Saiva creed. Secondly, Lokeshvara is, through the name called 'Laksmindra', or the 'lord of Laksmi', which shows how Buddhism was taking up the deities of Vaishnavism. We shall have occasion to notice further indications of this tendency below.

To the 9th century, also, belong the inscriptions of Indravarman III, and of Jayasimhavarman I, and these further make clear the character of Saivism at that period. The Boissac Stelae inscription of the former refers to the 'mukhalingas' of Siva which were installed by the king, and, also, to the images of Siva's consort, which were erected by the side of the image of the god. This shows the prevalence of the practice of worshipping Siva and Parvati together. From the same inscription we also learn the reason for dedicating male and female servants to the temples, for, these are said to have worked on the fields which had been given for the maintenance of the temple and its priests. When there were not fields, the servants probably, did other menial work connected with the temple. The Bau Iyahn inscription of the latter king, of the early 10th

century, is worth noting. It is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Cham. In the former portion, Siva is called by the usual epithet of 'Guhesvara' which is found only very occasionally in some Puranas. This shows the thorough familiarity of the people of these parts with the Pauranic literature. In the ^{Cham} ~~Dharmas~~ portion occurs an interesting passage. It reads: "The men would protect this good work.....who would conduct their sons and daughters to the temple for living therein as its property. This is an allusion to a peculiar form of dedication. It is different from the dedication of male and female servants, it is the sons and daughters who are dedicated. Nor is it like the Devadasi system in India, in which only girls were dedicated. We cannot be certain how this system of dedication originated. The sons and daughters are called the property of the temple by which it might be inferred that ^{they} ~~they~~ ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ the temple in a capacity determined by the custodians of the temple. But whether these services might have been there is no indication to show. Somewhat later is the Hoa-Que Stelae inscription of Bhadravajra of 909 A.D., in which we find what may be called the apotheosis of the 'linga' after the manner of the Linga Purana. The 'linga' is called eternal, infinite, and so on, and the legend of Brahma and Visnu being unable to find its limits is brought in as an illustration. At the close of the inscription a reference is made to the 'Trimurti', with Brahma on the right side and Visnu on the left side of Siva. In the Bang AN Stelae inscription the same king Siva is described as enthroned on a mass of

ashes, and being adored by all the gods, while in a contemporary inscription of Rudravarman III, we find an allusion to the legend of the burning of Cupid by Siva. To the same time belong the Nhan Bien Stelae inscription of Indravarman III, and in it, a dignitary and his son are said to have consecrated a linga; and shortly afterwards, a Buddhist monastery of Avakitesvara. This shows, again, the prevalence of the spirit of toleration between Saivism and Buddhism. In the Po-nagar Stelae inscription of the same king, we have the first indication of the existence of the Saiva scriptural works. These are, here called the Uttarakalpa, and the king is said to have been versed in them. But we know nothing more of them either from this inscription or from other records, and, hence, it is not possible to say anything about their character, and about their relation with the Saiva scriptures in India. In the inscriptions of the 10th and the 11th centuries we find that Saivism is still flourishing. In the Po Klam Garai rock inscriptions of Paramesvaravarman I, of about 1050 A.D., we read how the 'linga and its markings, when showed to a revolted people, made a great impression upon them. In the Po-nagar temple inscription of the same king, we find evidence for the existence of Sakti worship in these parts. The goddess is invoked as the Supreme Sakti, and is conceived of as united with Siva. She is called the Divinity of Yampunagara. In another inscription of the same king at the same place, the goddess is mentioned again, and fifty five servants of all nationalities are said to have been

dedicated to her temple for service in it. In a later inscription at the same place, the goddess is called by the name Maladakuthara, which was, evidently, a local name of hers. In this inscription, again, she is described as being well known in Yampunagara, which, therefore, appears to have been a centre of her cult. It should be noted, however, that though the above inscriptions, perhaps, make the first definite mention of the actual prevalence of Sakti worship in these parts, Sakti herself was not unknown before this time. We have already noticed, above, the references to the consort of Siva, to her images. Besides these, in other inscriptions, she is often mentioned as the Sakti of Siva, and, in this aspect she was conceived of in the same manner as in India. Thus the Phnom Prah Vihara inscription of the ninth century is called 'Sivasakti', whose devotee was a sage of the same name. In the Prea Kev inscription of about the same period she is, similarly, referred to as 'Sambhusakti'. In the Pny Chosey inscription of the 10th century, ~~she is~~ she is identified with Sarasvati and is called Vagisvari. As in the Tantrika works in India, she is regarded as the Supreme Deity who, at the time of involution, breaks through the lotus of the universe and goes above, and then comes back again for beginning the work of creation once again. She is also called 'Bhuvaneshvarodayakari', which refers to her conception as

conscious intelligence and the active power of the Purusa. Thus, the philosophic conception of the goddess as the Supreme Sakti was well known in Indo-China. On the other hand, the conception of a plurality of 'saktis' supposed to belong to when conceived of in his philosophic aspect was also not known, and, ~~and~~ at least one inscription refers to it.

In the inscriptions of the 12th and the 13th century also, the same character of Saivism is revealed. The Myson temple inscription of Jaya Indravarman IV, of 1163 A.D., a reference is made to that conception of Siva when he was regarded as having four or five faces. The slightly later Myson Stelae inscription of the same king begins with an invocation to Siva, but the king is said to have installed an image of Lokavara, and of the goddess Jaya Indresvari. In the next paragraph, he is said to have been a devotee of Siva. This, again, shows the mutual good relations maintained between Saivism and Buddhism, and the eclecticism of the monarchs. In the Myson Pillar inscription of Suryavarman, of the early 13th century the king appears to have been a Buddhist, as he is said to have practised the Mahayana Dharma, but his son is described as a Saiva and installing an image of Siva. The Po-nagar temple inscription of Jayapamesvaravarman II, of the 13th century mentions the dedication of male and female servants of all nationalities to a temple of Siva, while in the Choh-Dinh temple inscription of the same king, and of the same date, Siva is styled 'svayam-utpanna' which epithet is a variant of the word

known epithet 'svayambhu'.

The inscriptions are the chief sources of information for the religious and secular history of Indo-China. Their evidence is supplemented and supported by that of other archaeological records, chiefly monuments, which, so far as the history and character of Saivism is concerned, merely illustrate the account given above.

In the Archipelago, the fullest available records are those of Java, and here, the numerous monuments and images of gods are our chief, and also the easiest and surest, guides. The Brahmanic creeds were introduced into Java also, at a comparatively early period, and, when Fa Hien visited the island in the 5th century, these were flourishing, while Buddhism, in the words of the pilgrim, 'not worth speaking of'.¹⁾ Saiva and Vaisnava symbols are seen under an inscription of the 7th century at Tuk Mas, while in another inscription at Tjangan (central Java), reference is made to the erection of a Saiva temple by a Brahmana of the Agastya 'gotra'. The model for this temple was said to have been the Saiva temple at Kunja Kona in South India. This shows that Java was in intimate contact with South India. This contact was maintained and explains some important features of Javan culture that arose thereon.

1. Fa Hien. Travels. ch, XL.

The first tangible evidence of the prevalence of Saivism in Java is supplied by a group of Saiva temples in the Dieng Plateau, all belonging to the 7th century. They show resemblance to South India pagodas, which is another indication of the influence of South India upon Java. One of the temples (Candi Srikhandi) has panels in high relief showing representations of Siva, Brahma, and Visnu.

To the latter 8th or the early 9th century belongs the Candi Banon, another Saiva temple. In it, images are found not only of Siva, Brahma, and Visnu, but also of Ganesa, which shows that the worship of the latter had also come to prevail in Java by this time. A statue of Agastya is also found at this temple. This sage was, later, commonly known under the name of Siva-guru, and a legend grew up of his having made the first temple of Siva in Java. This legend, evidently, had its basis in the actual fact that a Brahmana of the Agastya 'g had built a temple, probably the first one of Siva, as shown by the Tuk Mas inscription noticed above. To the same period probably, also belongs a statue of Durga, now in the Leiden Museum, representing the goddess as eight armed, holding the sword and other weapons, and, on the whole, similar to the representations of the goddess in India. This statue shows that the goddess was also worshipped in Java at this time.

The most famous Saiva monuments of Java are, however, those which are collectively known as Candi Loro Janggrang,

group of temples belonging to later 9th century, which rivaled the glories of the Buddhist Borobuddur. The central temple is of Siva., and in it, stands an image of Siva who is represented as standing and four armed. An image of Durga, eight armed and slaying the demon Mahisa is also found at the same place, and still an object of popular devotion. Another image of Siva, belonging to the same period and made in bronze, which is now in the Essen museum, shows the four armed Siva three eyed, holding a 'kamandalu', and with snakes coiling round the arms. This indicates that this aspect of Siva was also known in Java.

Saivism continued to flourish in Java during the 11th, and the 12th centuries, though the monumental records of this period are scanty. In the 13th century, the records become abundant, and we find a Siva temple at the Candi Kumbh in Eastern Java, which shows that Saivism had spread to those parts also. It also appears that during the centuries immediately preceding, Tantrism had also been introduced into Java and had become established by the 13th century. For, at Candi Jago at Sigasuri, was found a statue of Ganesa conceived of in his Tantrik aspect, with imprints of skulls on his forehead and ears, and a row of skulls round the pedestal on which he is represented as seated. Also, an image of Siva in his 'bhairava' form, with side tusks, garland of skulls, and rows of skulls on the crown and on the pedestal, and entirely nude, has been

at the same place and of the same date. The one feature we noticing about it is that Siva is represented as apparen sitting on a dog who, as we know from the images of the go India, was associated with him in some of his fierce aspect. The particular way in which Siva is represented as sitting the dog is, however, peculiar to this image. An image of t goddess in the same aspect of 'Mahisamardini' is found, aga along with the two above images of Ganesa and Siva. Evide this was the most common aspect in which the goddess was w-shipped. To the 13th century also belongs the famous imag of Ganesa from Bara, which represents him, again, in his Ta-ka aspect, and in which the fantastic features of the god emphasised by a mouth at the back.

The 13th century was also the period when the great Majapahita empire flourished in Java. One of its kings the was the famous Krtanagara. His reign is of great interest from many points of view. Not only was he a great patron o literature and art, and his reign was a brilliant period of both, but it was he, who is reputed to have given the royal patronage to the Tantrika cult, and is said to have perfo many ceremonies according to Tantrika rites. But the point most interest to us is that it was during his reign that th process of the mutual assimilation of the different creeds, -pecially of Saivism and Buddhism, indications of which wer seen in the records of Indo-China, and which went much furt in Java, reached its culmination. Saiva and Buddhist tem

had existed together from the earliest times in Java, and the
 Tanktika images of Ganesa and Siva, noticed above, were found
 a Buddhist temple, and during the reign of Krtanagara, the
 two creeds are seen to be practically fused with one another.
 The king regarded himself as an incarnation of Siva and Buddha, and
 in an Buddhist work of the period¹⁾, Siva is regarded as identical
 with the Buddha. There was, perhaps, even a Siva-Buddha
 form of worship, as in one temple we find an image of Siva, with
 one of the Buddha above it. In another temple (CHUpuwatu), we
 have what may be called the 'stupa-linga'. Thus Buddhism in
 almost became a form of Saivism.

To the early 14th century belongs a joint image of Siva
 and Visnu, found at Simpang, which shows mutual assimilation
 of Saivism and Vaisnavism. At the same place has, also, been found
 one of the few images representing Siva's consort in her bene-
 -volent aspect.

For our knowledge of Saivism in Bali we suffer from
 an initial disadvantage of lack of early records. Inscriptions are
 numerous, but the oldest of them belongs to the 9th century.
 Indian influences must have reached this island, however, in
 the early centuries of the Christian era, as in Java and elsewhere.
 Fa Hien records the existence of the 'Mulasarvastivadin' school
 of Hinayana Buddhism in Bali. This was, in course of time, dis-
 -sented by Mahayana Buddhism. Saivism was the next most impor-
 -tant creed in the island, though, later on, it became dominant and

1. The Sang Hiang Kamahayanikan.

assimilated the Mahayana Buddhism. The oldest representation of Siva is a seated figure of the god belonging to the period 10th century. It has four arms and represents the god in his benevolent aspect. Besides this, the 'lingas' and the 'yoni' symbols are found in great numbers in Bali which show the popularity of the Saiva cult. Some 'mukhalingas' are found, and one of them had the eight faces of Siva carved on it, representing, no doubt the eight forms of Siva. A peculiar type of the 'mukhalinga' is that in which four figures of Siva are represented, each having the peculiar characteristics of Brahma, Visnu, and Siva. It is a peculiar conception and best described as "a 'caturkaya' of the 'trimurti'". This -re belongs to the 13th or the 14th century, and, serves, -fore, as an indication of the prevalence of Saivism at that -iod. Besides the archaeological records, we have also a number of literary records, most of which are only corrupt -sions of Indian Samskrit works, and, as existing now, are of a late date. But they include several hymns to Siva in his benevolent and fierce aspects, and to the goddess, and Ganesa, which show not only the continued prevalence of Saivism in Bali, but also its close similarity to Pauranic Saivism. These texts have been collected and edited by H. Levi.

About the prevalence of Saivism in other islands of

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1. Stutterheim. Indian influences on Indian Old-Balinese Art p.30.
 2. ibid. p.31. 4. Levi. Sanskrit Texts from Bali
 3. ibid. p.31.

Archipelago and in the Malaya Peninsula, does not extend beyond the fact that the images of Siva and of the goddess also of Ganesa have been found there, and that, therefore, Saivism must have prevailed in those regions. Except in Sumatra, records are too fragmentary to enable us to give an authenticated account of Saivism, and in Sumatra itself, the character of Saivism does not appear to have differed in any material respect from its character in Java and in Indo-China. This therefore concludes our survey of the cult of Siva.

Appendix to ch. VI-VIII.

Important inscriptions referring to Śiva or the goddess and their worship.

India.

Mandāsor stone inscription of Yaśodhar~~var~~man and Viṣṇuvar
(early sixth century.). CII, Pl. xxii, p. 150.

1. Sa jayati jagatām patih pināki smitaravagitiṣ
ya danta-kantiḥ,
Dyutiriva taḍitam nisi sphuranti tirayati ca
-ṭayatyadaśca viśvam.

Svambhur bhūtānam sthitilayasamutpatti vidhiṣu,
Parayukto yanājñām vahati bhuvanānām vidhrtaye;
Pitrtvam cānito jagati garimānam gamayata,
sa sambhur bhūyamei pratidiśatu bhadraṇi bhavatām.

Sangloi Plates of Harivarman (545 A.D.). EI, XIV, p. 166.

Jayati dhruvabālendu-jatāmukūṭamaṇḍalah;
Anādyanidhanasāca sambhur viśvesam jagatām pat
.....
Vijayavaijayantyaṁ svāmi-mahāsena-mātr-gaṇānu
-nābhisiktām
.....
Namo hariharahiranyagarbhebhyo.

Deogarh rock inscription of Svāmibhata. (6th century). EI, XVII
p. 126.

....sthānam jagad rakṣamaujasām mātrṇām lokama
maṇḍalam bhūtayestu vah.

Apsadh stone inscription of Adityasena (7th century).
CII, Pl. xxviii. p. 200.

Ajanayad ekam sa nṛpo hara tva sikhivāhanam ta
-yam.

Nagarjuni Hill cave inscriptions of Anantavarman. (7th century).
CII Pl. xxxi, p. 223-26.

Bimbam bhūtapater guhasritam idam devyāśca pa
jjagat.

Unnidraśya saroruhasya sakalam ākṣipya śobhām
Sāvajñam mahiśāsurasya śirasi nyastah kvananni
-rah.

etc. etc.

Vinyastādbhutavindhyabhūdharaḡuhām āgritya kā
-yani.

.....

Grāmam analpabhogavibhavam ramyam bhavanyai d

Chammaka Copper Plate inscription (7th century). CII. xxxiv,
235.

Aṃśa-bhāra-sāmniveśita-śivaliṅgodvahana-śiva-supa
-ṭa-samutpādita-rājavamsānām parākramādhigata-bhāg
-yamala-jala-mūrdhā-bhisiktānām dasāśvamedhavābh
śnānānām bhārasivānam mahārāja śrī bhavanāga-daubi
-sya.....

Nirmanda Copper Plate inscription (early 7th century).
CII. xlv, p. 286.

... bhagavatastripurāntakasya lokālokeśvarasy
praṇatānukampinah sarvaduḡkhakṣyakarasya kap
-śvare kapāleśvara-bali-čaru-satra-srag
-a-dipi-dānāya.....

Lakhamanḡala Prasasti (about 700 A.D.). EI. I, p. 12.

Sarga-sthiti-layahetorviśvasya (brahma) viśnuru
-nām;

Mūrti-trayam pradadhate sāmsāra-bhide nāmo vi

Baijanātha Prasasti (8th century) EI. I, p. 104.

I, Durge..... dvārahārini hari-brahmā-didevastute
Bhaktih ksemavidhāyini trinayane

II. Devasyāhutilampatasya paramā pustir yato jāyat
Tābhir mūrtibhir asthābhir avatu vo bhūtyai
bhavanivibhuh.

Kasthoddipanakarmathājagati yā yā nirnimesekṣa
Satpākṣair upajīvyate dvijananam yā bibhrati
-te.

Spurious Talevara Plates. (8th century). EI. XIII, p. 115.

.....rāja-dauvārikāgnisvāmi-karaṅkika votā-dh
-karaṅkika-mātya-bhadrasvāmi-purāhsareṇa.....

Surata Plates of Karkkeraja Suvarnavarsa. (9th century). EI. X
p. 140.

Invocation to Jinendra. Then

Sa vo vyād vedhasā dhāma yannābhikamalāṅkṛtam
Haraśca yasya kantendukalayā kamalāṅkṛtam.

Inscription of Dantivarman of Gujerat. (9th century). EI. VI
p. 287.

Invocation to the Buddha. Then

Sa vo vyād vedhasā dhama etc. etc. as in prev
inscription.

Khajurao inscription no. 5. (11th century). EI. I, p. 148.

Anye tatsivameva buddham amamlāṁ tvanye jinā
vāmanam;
Tasmai sarvamayaikyakāraṇapateḥ sarvaya nitya
namah.

Malhar stone inscription of Jajalladeva (12th century).

Yascāravāka-visālamānam analo durvārabaddhā
pānānenditakumbhasambhavamunir digvāsasām an

Inscription of Svapnesvara at Bhuvanesvara. (12th century).
EI, VI, p. 200.

Nrtyārambhe valayamanibhir nirmitā yatnadipā
Tasmai dattās tripurājayine tena tāstā mrgāk

Badaun inscription of Lakhanapala (12th or 13th century).

Yo bālah kila dakṣiṇāpathagato bauddha-prati-
-pitām
Sampāsyan pratimām jahāra vidhinā kenāpi dur-
rusā;
Mantroccāraṇavelayaiva paṭahadhvānat tato vi-
Vijñāto gurugauravān nijapade ninye.....

Dabhol inscription. (13th century).

Aṣṭabhis tanubhistanotvabhimatām śri vaidyaṇā
svāyam.....

Further India.

All inscriptions are taken from:

1. Inscriptions Sanscrites du Campa et Cambodge. Bergaigne and I
2. Inscriptions du Cambodge. Coedes. Hanoi. I
3. Indian colonies in the Far East. Campa. Majumdar.

Cho-Dinh rock inscription. (about 400.A.D.).

1. Namo devāya bhadresvarasvāmiprasādat agnaye t
justam karisyāmi dharmamahārāja śri bhadra-
-no yāvaccandrādityau tāvat.....
2. Sivo dāso badhyate.

Mysor Stele inscription (12th century).

Myson Stelae inscription of Badravarman (5th century).

Siddham namo mahesvaram umāñca pra.....
brahmaṇam viṣṇum eva ca.

Myson Stelae inscription of Sambhuvarman. (about 6th century)

sthityutpattipralayavasinas sūlinas samarāṇam

.....
Kṛtsam vetti tribhuvanagurukāraṇam sthānur ev

Duong Mong Pedestal inscription (6th century), of Prakasadh

Idam bhagavataḥ puruṣottamasya viṣṇor anādi-
-nidhanasyāśeṣabhuvanaguroḥ pūjasthānam.....

Thach Bich rock inscription of the same king.

Śri prakāśadharmeti sthāpitavan amaresam iha

Myson Stelae inscription of the same king.

Svah saktih prātiyojnatam upagataḥ ksityadayo mrt
lokasthitudayadikaryaparata tabhirvina nasti hi.

Yo brahma-viṣṇu-tridaśādhipādi-
surāsurabrahmanrparasimānyah;
Tathāpi bhītyai jagatām anrtyac
chmaśanabhūmāvaticitrāmetat.

Myson Pedestal inscription of the same king

Mahesvarasakhasyedam kuverasya dhanākaram;
Prakāśadharmanrpati pūjasthānam akalpayat.

Ekākṣipīṅgaletyesā devyādarśanadūṣitaḥ;
Samvārdhaytviśadhanam pāyaccāhitatas sadā.

Myson Stelae inscription of Vikrāntavarman(687 A.D.).

.....
Isānasyaṣṭamūrtih kṣatamabhilasitam rūpyakośe
nādo.....

Myson Stelae inscription of the same king . (undated).

Lokānām paramesāvratvasamām yāto nadadvāhano;
.....
Bhūkte^pdyāpyupamanyurindudhavalam kṣ-īrarhva
bandhavaiḥ.

.....
Aṣṭārḍhabrahmadhuryam sakalasuremayasyandanam
viṣṭapānām
Sāntyartham yena dāho^pyugapadapi purātraipurā
putānām.

.....
svarūpenāpyavani-vana-pavanaśakha-pavana-vana
-path-dāśasātakiraṇa-sātakiraṇa-dikṣita-tanub
atanuprabhāvābhiḥ sarva-bhava-pasūpatī-sāna-b
rudra- mahādevo-grābhidhānā-pradhāna-samupavr
-ābhir āvirbhāvitaviśvamūrtinā.....

Myson Stelae inscription of Vikrāntavarman II, (731.A.D.)

Śrisambhurmukhalingamujjvalanibham sarvāpabho
-itam.

.....
Kośam sānanam āditulyavibhavam saśrībhanārīv
-puh.

Yangtikuh Stelae Insc. of Indravarman I. (799A.D.).

Paṭālaprabhāvasca viryatapasā sātvena vā yogi

.....
Antahpuravilāsinīdāsadaśigomahiśakṣetrādīdrav

Glai Lamov Stelae inscription of Indravarman I. (801.A.D.).

A Atha kālena mahatā śambhor bhaktiparāyanāt;
Kīrtiyā ca dharmena śata rudralokam agānn^p

.....
Jayati mahāsurapuratrayāvā mardanavividhāvīkra
'pi sitabhasmaprabhāvayogādijapahūmkāranirmal
-taraśarīrapradesāśca....jvalitanetraśraya-
jyotsno.

Bakula Stelae inscription of 829 A.D.

Vihārau devakulau dvau dve jinasāṃkarayostay

Po-nagar Stelae inscription of Vikrāntavarman II, (9th cent

Tasmai śri bhagavāṅśvarāya....koṣṭhāgāram...
strigaṅśahādita....

Dong Duong Stelae inscription of Indravarman II. (9th centu

Imam ca paramam loke buddhasantānajaṃ varāṃ
Aham lokesvarāṃ kartuṃ jagatāṃ syāṃ vimuktay
.....
... apī ca yas śri indravarmā ksetrāni s
-ānyāni dāsīdāsān....lakṣmīndrāya lokesvarāy
bhiksusaṅghaparibhogāya....dattavān iti.

Bo Mand Stelae inscription of Indravarman III (889 A.D.).

Śri mahālingadevo'yam sthāpitastena tatpituh
Sthāpita ca mahādevi śrimatī mataripriyā.

Hoa Que Stelae inscription of Bhadravarman II (909 A.D.).

Tataśca daksine brahmā samehitō vāmato hari
Ityekatvam imau yena yena labhete yadanujñay

Po-nagar Stelae inscription of Indravarman III, (919 A.D.)

Ākhyāna-saivotterakalpaminah....

Po-nagara temple inscription of Paramesvaravarman I. (1050A

Bhūtābhutesābhutā bhuvibhavatibhavodbhāvātmbhāvā
Bhāvābhāvasvabhāvā bhavabhavakabhāvābhāvabhāvāika
-bhāvā
Bhāvābhāvāgrasaktih śasīmukutaṅtanorardhakāyā sukā
kaye kayesakāyā bhāgavati namato no jayevasvasidd

Po-nagar temple inscription (undated but later than 1050.)

Yā devī sā śrimaladākuthārā-
-khyā śam hara mama tāsyā bhāryā.

Vyāpnoti yo'nikhilavastvasubham śubham vā
no lipyate ravir iveddhakalā tadiyā;
Devo ca yāpunagaraprathitābhidhānā;
yā sā natābhimatadā mama śam kuru tvam.

Myson temple inscription of Jaya Indravarman IV. (1163 A.D.).

Dr̥ṣṭair mahasyair bahuvāk sa śarvaḥ.....

Vat Prey Virer inscription. (867 A.D.)

Viṣṇvīśāvekamūrti kagalitayaminā śthāpitāvatra
yuktyā.

Prea Eynkosey inscription (868 A.D.).

Udyadbhānunibhā vibhidya kamalam kham yati yā
samṛtau,
sr̥ṣṭyartham punareti candrārucirā yanmanasam
manini;
.....
Sā śaktir bhuvaneśvarodayakarī vāgīśvatī pātu

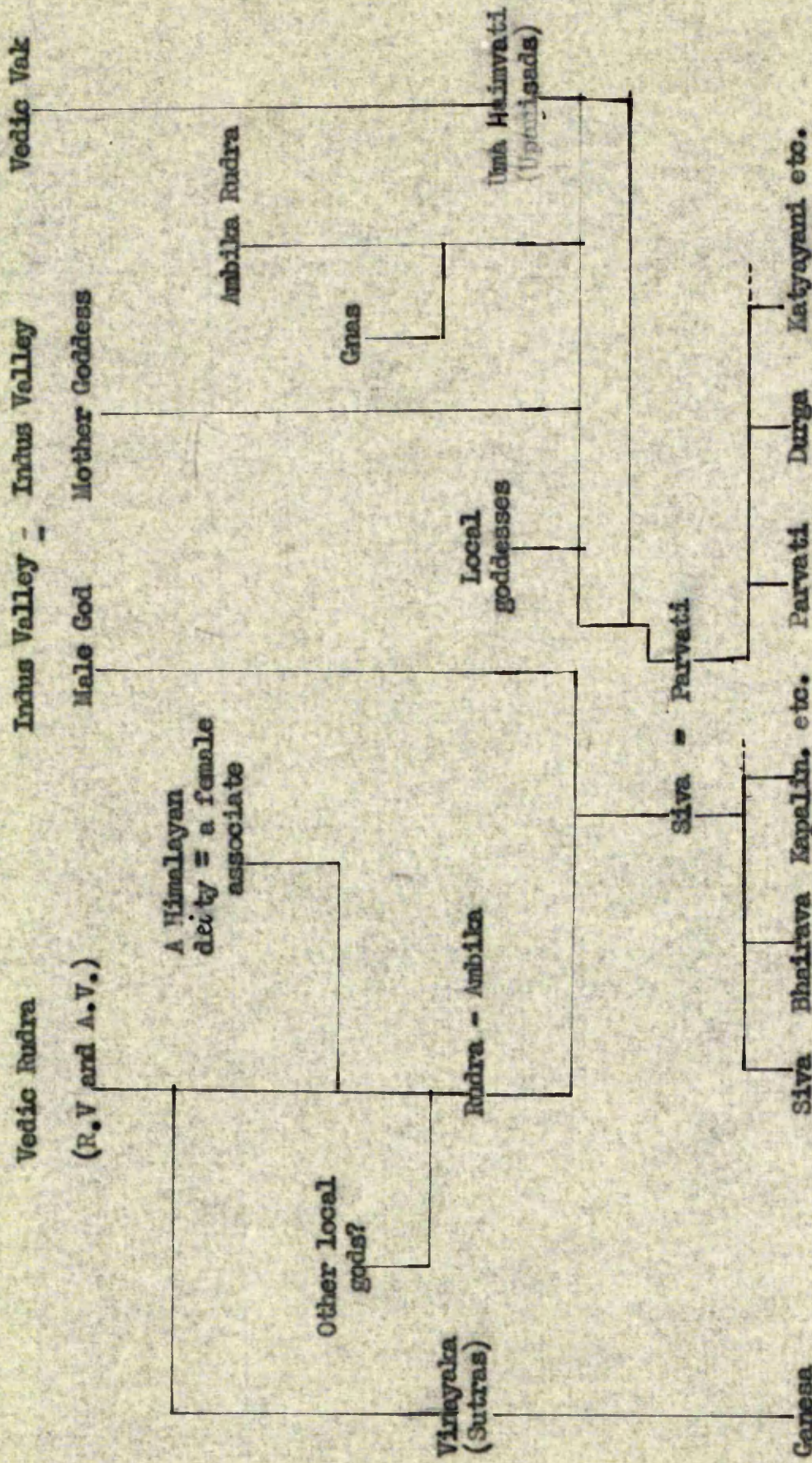
Phnom Prah inscription (about 893A.D.).

Śivasaktiḥ sa cāryaḥ śivasaktivibhāgavit.
.....
Śivasaktyānubhāvena śivasaktirvivardhate.

Prea Keu inscription (9th century ?).

Vasati yad acalāsam sambhusaktis susubhrā.

The 'evolution' of Siva.



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V E D I C)

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